Community-University Partnerships: Engagement, Transformation, and Revitalization

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the field of Sociology

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Graduate School Southern Illinois University Edwardsville August 2022

ABSTRACT

Over the past few decades, university partnerships with neighboring communities in the promotion of civic engagement have gained a lot of traction. There have been both positive and negative sides to these partnerships, but too often the goals of the community have not been fulfilled and market-based interests of the university have been given more priority than community needs. This research seeks to find what it takes to achieve mutual benefit between the parties, using a case study of a midwestern university's partnership with three rural-metropolitan villages. In this case study, researchers took on the goal of creating a positive, collaborative partnership in a historically marginalized area. Using the sociological imagination, I realized that in order to create a meaningful partnership, it was important to understand both the history of the communities and the history of community-university partnerships. Given this awareness, I conducted a content analysis of the history of the geographic location along with an analysis of community-university partnerships. This research helped achieve a deeper understanding of systemic disadvantages and historic implications of inequality that must be addressed if the partnership is to be successful and sustainable. Through qualitative research methods, it became clear the factors that can make or break the partnership are communication, transparency, and commitment. These factors are used to build trust; not only does the university need to build trust in the community, but the university also needs to trust in the community members' ability to determine if new developments fit the needs of the community.

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PERSONAL REFLEXIVE STATEMENT

My motives for becoming involved in the partnership were to be a sort of conduit for resource access in the communities. I was able to put my heart into this work because I care deeply about the injustice and crimes on human rights committed in this area and places all over the country. I go to sleep at night in a "safe" neighborhood and have had opportunities for success just because of my skin color. I joined because of the false narrative I have heard repeatedly about the "unsafe" areas around St. Louis and the people that live in them – the areas people warn you about and tell you to stay away from. There is angered passion inside of me that wants to scream at the world that these are lies told to normalize inequality and perpetuate systemic racism. I took on this role, not because I thought I was needed to "save" the communities or to "fix" their problems, but to join them in their fight for justice.

After reading the literature on community-university partnerships, I became concerned about how I would be perceived by the community. I didn't want residents to think I was involved for the wrong reasons or that talking to me would just help me publish a piece. Even writing down my approach to the research feels as if I am overstepping the boundaries of the trust community members and I created. Despite these feelings, I am aware that all participants understood their contribution and gave consent for me to use what they taught me in this paper. Along with this, I hope this paper can help grow the partnership and ensure it continues to be community centered as developments begin and more people become involved.

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INTRODUCTION

Along the Mississippi River three Illinoisian villages, Venice, Madison, and Brooklyn (VMB), hug its edge just northeast to the city of St. Louis. This section of the river has a story to tell; from enslaved people seeking freedom as they take on the current, to a "freedom village" comprised of newly freed folks, the story is centuries old, and it continues to be written. Many residents proudly boast their Ancestors' courage and the continued resilience in the residents. Brooklyn's welcome sign supports their claim to fame "America's Oldest Black Incorporated Community" with the motto "Founded by Chance, Sustained by Courage" first spoken by Juanita Clemons according to the Historical Society of Brooklyn, Illinois (HSOBI). According to former Madison resident, factories emerged all over the area during the Industrial Revolution and Madison became an entertainment hub for workers. In continuation of their history of providing entertainment, Madison recently became home to the World Wide Technology Raceway. As early as 1804, Venice supported a ferry service to St. Louis, by the 1870s the village provided hourly ferry service connecting Illinois to Missouri (https://mississippivalleytraveler.com/venice-illinois/).

VMB collectively occupies less than 10 square miles and is home to about 6,000 residents. The majority of those living here are Black or African American (79%), and about 34% live below the poverty line with the median household income being \$22,850 (Census Bureau, 2014-2018 ACS 5-year Estimates). The villages are defined as rural, despite their proximity to Saint Louis because of their population density, land use, and distance from resources according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

Nearby, sits Southern Illinois University Edwardsville (SIUE), an anchor institution for the St. Louis metropolitan area situated on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River, known as the "Metro-East." An anchor institution is defined as being a non-profit institution with deep ties to its neighborhood, as well as its city and region (Taylor and Luter, 2013). As an anchor institution, we haven't always behaved nicely toward our neighboring communities. Like other anchor institutions, our involvement in neighboring communities has left negative marks. On top of our own negative marks, there are many other universities who have conducted research in the area, making it difficult to distinguish our university from others involved.

In 2021, Southern Illinois University (SIU) Board of Trustees Vice Chair Ed Hightower, EdD, and president of Leadership Council of Madison County (LCMC), initiated a partnership between the SIU system and VMB. The partnership included community stakeholders, SIU Board of Trustees, LCMC, SIUE Successful Communities Collaborative (SSCC), and others. SSCC is a cross-disciplinary program that supports yearlong and multi-year partnerships between Illinois communities and the university to advance community-identified environmental, social, and economic issues and needs (siue.edu/sscc).

The original white paper authored by LCMC sparked the objectives for the partnership. They included:

- 1. Better education and recreational opportunities
- 2. Employment opportunities
- 3. Resources for the most vulnerable
- 4. Safe communities
- 5. Minority representation on boards

- Improved communication and better relationships with law enforcement and recruiting African Americans, women, and other minority candidates to law enforcement and fire department positions
- 7. Increased voter turnout during local and national elections

Corresponding goals included connecting the community with vital services (grocery stores, retail, recreation, etc.), education and workforce training centers, healthcare, economic development, transit, and affordable housing. The goals were then presented to VMB leaders to initiate the partnership. This approach challenges the model upon which SSCC is based. A core element of the EPIC model is that partnerships "focus on community-identified, -driven, and - evaluated contribution to the community" (<u>https://www.epicn.org/the-epic-model/</u>). While the goals may be in line with what the community wants and needs, the community did not identify them for us. Despite this, the interdisciplinary university members and community leaders worked toward co-creating a relationship that allowed us to amplify the voices of VMB as the projects unfolded and to move other goals forward that weren't included on the LCMC's list.

The proposal was, and continues to be, full of projects that can take years to plan and possibly decades to complete. To achieve the goals of the partnership, it was important that we operated in a way that could sustain the amount of time they would take; building trust and operating transparently became incredibly important. This history plus a renewed commitment by SIUE leadership to serving the public and a desire to advance equity means we must be better and intentional in our partnership. This collaboration gave us the chance to begin repairing our relationship with local communities.

In 2021 we were awarded a grant from the Illinois Innovation Network Sustaining Illinois Seed Fund. SSCC applied for the IIN SISF in 2020 and included a graduate assistantship in the budget. I was hired as the GA on the project and joined the SSCC team in summer 2021. During the summer of 2021, SIU Architecture faculty and graduate students hosted two revitalization planning workshops. Here, community stakeholders and residents joined the students in creating master plans for their villages. During this event, I conducted a participatory ethnographic study by sitting in on these conversations to study the relationships between community and university members, to identify the needs of each community, and to better understand the goals all parties had for the partnership. After this, there was a follow-up presentation where the students presented their recommendations to the community.

Given the lofty goals of the collaboration and the villages' histories, those involved from universities knew we needed to tread carefully and intentionally in this project, SSCC carefully began interacting with the community using a model that emphasizes community-identified projects and works on truth-telling through Truth, Racial Healing, Transformation (TRHT). As a predominantly white institution (PWI), we carry with us the stigma of not only SIUE's past, but the history of all PWIs. We had to acknowledge the evident hierarchies in our work and how our own university has withdrawn resources from neighboring communities. Instead of approaching the partnership through avoidance of our past, it became important to allow space for recognition and to not take offense when residents held negative perceptions of us or our work. We had to break down the top-down approach of outsiders coming in to help communities and ensure that we were not looking to "save" the community. The partnership with VMB is rooted in the awareness that community partners possess a wealth of knowledge about their communities and should be considered experts on their experiences. This knowledge includes their understanding of how the university should show up in the partnership and emphasizes the importance of cocreating goals for the partnership.

There are many historic implications of research in overstudied and under-served communities that have been perceived and experienced negatively by the population involved (Tyron et al. 2009). In many cases, partnerships have unevenly benefited the university research, though without direct monetary awards in ways such as book publications that help with promotions and accolades that translate into higher earning power. Recognizing the history and the paradox of conducting another study in a population we are referring to as "overstudied," this partnership seeks to find a balance of mutual benefit among the parties involved while providing institutional expertise that can bring access to reparative resources.

In recognition of the institutionalized privilege we represent, and the time it would take to make a positive, sustainable impression, we began seeking ways to leverage university resources to the community. Instead of making lofty promises, we set out to collaborate in a way that could link the villages to the university to provide avenues of reparations and systemic changes. For example, a graduate Public Administration and Policy Analysis class at SIUE spent a semester on projects focused on affordable housing, food insecurity, and gentrification to be shared as policy briefs to the mayors and residents of the villages. The project on gentrification was specifically chosen because of residents' concerns about the new housing and other improvements they did not have input into. If they had been involved in the process, policies to mitigate gentrification could have been incorporated into the plans.

This case study uncovers how researcher-practitioners from a university can document and engage in a community revitalization project ethically, given the context of previous university-community partnerships that left negative marks on the communities. The goal is to find guidelines to ensure a mutually beneficial partnership built on transparency and trust, along with providing the tools needed to acquire reparations from institutionalized disadvantages that still set the communities back.

THEORY

The sociological imagination has been ingrained into me as a sociology student, and during this research it became clear why so many professors saw it necessary to share. This way of thinking was proposed by C. Wright Mills in 1959. It is this ability to understand the circumstances of the individual and to see the intersection between history and biography that brought them to where they are. It requires that we view society on the outside and dissect systems and structures that are within giving meaning and value to certain things.

In Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, he looked at the interconnected social and environmental ramifications of capitalism and how they exploit and disadvantage groups of people. Anthony Giddens (1990) illustrates how classical theorists — including Marx— saw how "modern industrial work had degrading consequences," for the people doing this work. This has now manifested itself into urban communities known to be impoverished or home to slums. Giddens pointed out that historic sociological research and theories have not covered every aspect of inequality by simply looking at society through its structures, but how society has been structured by social practices (Giddens, 1984). Similar to how actions are understood through symbolic interaction as Herbert Blumer described in his work, Giddens' coined the concept of "reflexivity" which is understood as being "grounded in the continuous monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display (Giddens, 1984, page 3)." Giddens discusses how modernity has led to exploitation and the psychological effects of this level of surveillance that further places groups into hierarchical categories (Giddens, 1990).

Through stigmatizing groups of people and other methods of creating hierarchies, racial projects have appeared. This is defined through the racial formation process as taking place

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through "efforts to shape the ways in which human identities and social structures are racially signified, and the reciprocal ways that racial meaning becomes embedded in social structures" (Omi, 2001, page 13). The use of signifying status through racial lines has created unequal power relations within society and they are easy to notice considering skin color is easy to see while other aspects of humanity are not quite so easy to see (Omi, 2004). Two theorists who continue to use the classical perspectives, while also providing interpretations of race and how it has been used as symbolic disadvantages are George Herbert Mead and W.E.B Dubois. Because differences in appearances, "human bodies are visually read, understood, and narrated by means of symbolics meanings and associations (Omi, 2004, page 13)." These theorists discuss how race can be used to socially construct meanings of status, and along with stigmatizing of race, the conditions people face because of economic exploitation and segregation furthers these views and allows people looking in to make judgements on the conditions of others. When it comes to symbolic meanings that have been created to differentiate the value of people based on skin color, Dubois concept of "colortocracy" show how symbolic meanings of groups and race are used to justify and perpetuate inequalities (DuBois, 1903). Historically Black communities have been systemically mistreated for so long that people who do not understand the history may look at their conditions and think it is a product of their own inferiority.

From the beginning of capitalistic endeavors and new class conflicts, race has played an important role in justification of inequalities. When capitalists wish to grow their industries, they are most likely going to do so in an area that is on the periphery. Through social stigma and symbolic meanings, exploited groups are most often made up of immigrants, people of color, and other disadvantaged groups. Globalization has extended the capitalist's reach to countries vulnerable to racialized inequalities that further obstruct their relationship to power. From social factors to their physical factors, racism becomes environmental through disproportionate levels of water contamination, waste sites, unsustainable water dumping, and more in geographical locations known to be home to minority groups (Park, 2004). Urban communities that are predominately BIPOC, people living in poverty, or both have historically lacked the land-use regulations that are enforced within white affluent communities. Practices of zoning have assisted "unregulated growth, ineffective regulation of industrial toxins, and public policy decisions authorizing industrial facilities that favor those with political and economic clout (Bullard, 2001). The communities that have been systemically used for industry and waste are fighting a battle between their conditions and the power structures that have brought them to face these conditions. Through social stigma, the conditions marginalized groups face can be perpetuated.

Mutually Beneficial Partnerships

Service learning defined by Barbara Jacoby (1996) is "a form of experimental learning where students engage in activities that address human and community needs in a reciprocal relationship". In many case studies on community-university partnerships, the community involved felt they had been exploited for research and were left with very little to show for it. To build mutually beneficial partnerships, many researchers emphasize the importance that partnerships should equally provide learning opportunities and meet community goals (Anderson 2001, Jacoby 1996, Housman, 2012, Stoecker 2016).

In her dissertation, Megan Ehlenz (2015) conducted an evaluation of a national survey about university strategies, an assessment of community outcomes, and three case studies of universities involved in community revitalization projects. She found that, while the universities involved in a case study were proven to increase home value during their intervention from 1990 to 2010, the findings also suggests that the institutions' "market-based interests" were valued more than the priorities heard from the community members. Ehlenz concluded that "planning policy should actively engage with universities to align place-based interests and pursue opportunities to supplement university investments with community-focused efforts thereby generating mutually beneficial outcomes for town and gown (page 10)."

Community based participatory research (CBPR) uses a collaborative model for research with the goals of creating "structures for participation by communities affected by the issue being studied, representatives of organizations, and researchers in all aspects of the research process to improve health and well-being through taking action, including social change" (Viswanathan et al. 2004). Scammel (2004) wrote that CBPR is meant to be an alternative form of research with an eye toward social change and warns researchers that we must not let it become a form of control or exploitation. "Let's ensure that the relationships between researchers and communities have not morphed to match the structures that have given rise to institutional racism and inequality...Instead, let's envision a research infrastructure, including scientists, universities, and governments, with the capacity to be responsive to community concerns, engaging in genuine and empowering partner.

Civic Intelligence

Students in the field of sociology commonly venture into their local environment to produce knowledge in hopes that it will benefit society and the individuals who participated in the research (Breese, 2011). Elliott and Williams (2004), describe how community-university partnerships should strive to civic intelligence which challenges the idea that expertise can only

be created in certain environments. This means that university researchers should not view their own expertise differently from the expertise of the residents, because the community has knowledge that held only by community members and, therefore, cannot be gained through textbooks or data retrieval. Those being studied understand problems they experience and situations they are involved in on an emotional level. Partner communities, furthermore, have developed "an integrative approach to knowledge in contrast to the reductive and analytic like, approaches of most scientific research" (Elliott, 2008, page 13, Brown 1992, Popay and Williams 1996).

In a community-university partnership, the knowledge produced comes from understanding the community's local issues and social relations -- without civic knowledge, the study could not be completed (Stoecker, 2016). Making a testament to this knowledge, Sandy and Holland (2006) wrote that university researchers must see their community partners as "coeducators" and must include them in planning, as well as reciprocal engagement and commitment to long-term projects while creating the infrastructure to support such commitments. Alonzo-Yanez et al. (2019) suggest that academics need to participate in "social unlearning" in order to decenter academia in transdisciplinary "knowledge production and knowledge translation." By decentering academia, communities can take on more active roles and different forms of producing knowledge and the partnership can benefit from new "opportunities for the emergence of alternative forms of knowledge production and for actors beyond academic arenas to engage more meaningfully in the collaborative process of TD work" (Alonzo-Yanez, 2019, page 2).

Civic intelligence is necessary in areas where change is being made through policy and within the public sphere where decisions can be made with "practical-experiential knowledge"

(Elliott, 2008). Partners coming in from outside institutions may feel they know what the community needs and how to get there, and they may have tools to help, but they do not have the empirical knowledge necessary to understand a specific community's needs.

The literature review below will look at how these concepts materialize in the Metropolitan area around St. Louis. Social stigma has played a large role in shaping the opportunities and quality of life in the VMB area. Racial makeup of neighborhoods has been used to justify inadequate funding, industrial policy, and more. Unequal living conditions are perpetuated by those on the outside continuing to other themselves from the situations others face. Instead of allowing time to keep us further away from the truth, we must understand it by learning about the history of VMB and community-university partnerships.

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of the villages and geographic locations

St. Louis and the surrounding metro area are known today as one of the most dangerous places in the United States (Bloom, 2022), with high crime rates, poverty, and residential segregation to match. Some avoid St. Louis altogether, while others ask why things are the way they are in this Midwest region. Depending on who you ask, the story will be told through a specific lens. In this telling, the story will be told through the lens of a sociological imagination based on historical studies, oral histories, and ethnography. I focus here on what led the villages to face systemic barriers that have outlived slavery, the civil rights movement, and the Jim Crow era. Through oral histories, the timeline of the area begins in the early 1800s, when newly freed or escaped enslaved people crossed the dangerous Mississippi to the safety of a free state (Cha-Jua, 2002).

Despite becoming a free state, Illinois legislature quickly created anti-Black statutes or "Black Laws" that left African Americans in lower social and political positions. In 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) banned racial zoning assignments through the Buchanan ruling. While this prohibited the use of race as a determining factor in where someone could live, segregation of the St. Louis area was carried out under the guise of economic zoning. Using Bartholomew's survey for redlining, 1919 zoning designated industrial sites in areas with high populations of African Americans. While race was not mentioned in the ordinances, the new zoning kept African American homeowners out of predominately white areas due to its unaffordability (Rothstein, 2017).

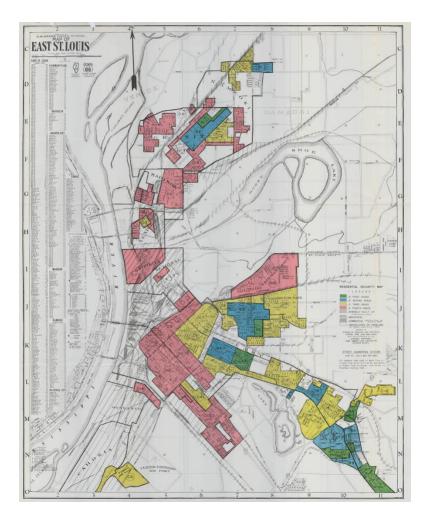


Figure 1 Screenshot of redlining map of the East St. Louis Area from "Mapping Inequality".



Figure 2 Zoomed in screenshot of Venice, Madison, and Brooklyn Illinois from "Mapping Inequality"

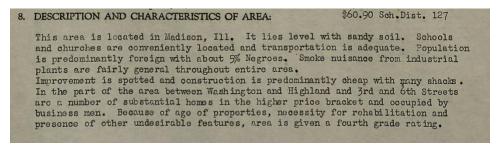


Figure 3 Description of Madison from "Mapping" Inequality"

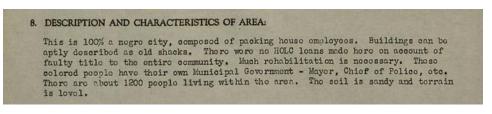


Figure 4 Description of Brooklyn from "Mapping Inequality"

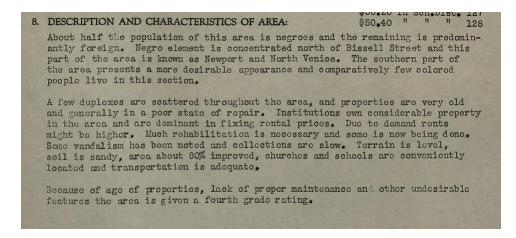


Figure 5 Description of Venice from "Mapping Inequality"

Inequalities enabled by legislation and policies have led to uneven development in areas with greater populations of BIPOC individuals compared to areas with a white majority. This is a product of design, rather than happenstance. In the VMB area, white flight combined with political corruption, a rapid rise in crime, the loss of major employers, and other discriminative practices have combined to isolate the communities from social and economic opportunities. The concept of "systemic avoidance" of both the degradation and the exploitation of people within urban environments has led to these harsh inequalities. Industries have left the communities devastated by poverty and pollution (Bullard, 2004, page 158). The history of the area shows how systems of inequality have existed for over a century and continue to exist today.

Madison, Venice, and Brooklyn are on land known as the "American Bottoms," once known for having rich soil where "two-thirds of all cattle, vegetables and fruit used in St Louis" were grown and raised (Cha-Jua, 2002, page 41). Records show that African American men in the Metro-East had a variety of professional jobs in the 1900s, but this makeup shifted during deindustrialization especially between 1950 and 1995. Education also saw a downfall in this time, from being a high priority, to falling behind by national standards (Theising and Cheeseboro, 2018). When it comes to how the area developed, there are records from the 1900s to show how "racial zoning, restrictive covenants, and exclusionary and expulsive zoning practices" were used to maintain the separate communities and maintain segregation (Reece, 2021). Despite not being part of the Southern Jim Crow, discriminative laws and policies were strategically implemented and kept African Americans from accessing the benefits of the industrial and economic incline. Because structural racialization is not widely understood and the U.S. is embedded in white supremacy, there is a false narrative around the communities – and communities just like them throughout the country—that those living there contributed to their own situation. According to Tim Wise this "historical illiteracy of America's racial history undermines democracy and fuels contemporary social conflict" (Reece, 2021, page 2). When outsiders judge an area based off false perceptions, it keeps accountability from being upheld. It is much easier for those looking in to blame the people, instead of the legal infrastructure that shaped the area not that long ago.

According to George Lipsitz, "white entitlement, stigmatization, and devaluation from Plessy to Ferguson" are still evident in the makeup of cities today. The segregation of urban spaces "promotes opportunity hoarding and asset accumulation for whites while confining aggrieved communities of color to impoverished, under-resourced, and criminogenic neighborhoods." This asset accumulation can be seen in impoverished communities where developers buy land to maximize their own profit, whether it is immediately developed or left undeveloped for years. Industrial sites are often built on this land because of a lack of regulations on industry in the area. Even when they bring in jobs to the community, these jobs are often hazardous and low paying. Lipsitz claims that whites who see this often attribute this unfairness in "opportunities and life chances along racial lines to the allegedly deficient character and behavior of blacks" (Lipsitz, 2015). African American neighborhoods were often zoned to permit "industry, even polluting industry...taverns, liquor stores, nightclubs, and houses of prostitution" while prohibiting them as zoning violations in white neighborhoods (Rothstein, 2017). Confirmed in 1983 by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), zoning for industrial and toxic waste that caused African American neighborhoods to turn into slums was most likely to be in African American neighborhoods. The choices made to permit these facilities were heavily influenced by the desire to "avoid the deterioration of white neighborhoods when African American sites were available" (Rothstein, 2017, page 55).

In 1933, under the Franklin D Roosevelt administration, the Homeowners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) was created to keep household from defaulting. This allowed homes to become more affordable and interest rates to decrease for those admitted into the program. Yet, this program primarily benefited white homeowners due to discriminatory risk mapping authorized by the HOLC. In order to assess the risk of defaulting, these maps color coded neighborhoods in green (low risk) and red (high risk). The real estate agents who conducted the survey largely assessed risk based on race; stable middle-class neighborhoods were colored red whenever African Americans lived there, versus low-income neighborhoods being colored as green because the occupants were white (Rothstein, 2017)

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was created the next year and reinforced the same style of racist appraisals. Appraisers were guided by the "Underwriting Manual" which explicitly uses race as the reason for an area's value to judged negatively or positively (Manual, page 110). "The FHA favored mortgages in areas where boulevards or highways served to separate African American families from whites, separating that 'natural or artificially established barriers will prove effective in protecting a neighborhood and the locations within it

from adverse influences... including prevention of the infiltration of low-class occupant, and inharmonious racial groups" (Rothstein, 2017, page 65).

Instead of being a product of their own creation, the disparities in transportation, schools, healthcare, green space, food, etc. have been created by institutionalized violence against the Black population.

Community-University Partnerships

In 1994, June Manning-Thomas said, "a better understanding of [the] historical Black experience and the history that produced disparities between communities can help us understand how to support racial equity and address contemporary community-based disparities" (Reece, 2021, page 2). With a better understanding of the history of the area, I then furthered my understanding through research on community-university partnerships. Community-university partnerships are defined by Marullo and Strand (2004) as having three main objectives: "1) A collaborative enterprise between academic researchers and community members 2) The democratizing of knowledge by validating multiple sources of knowledge and promoting the use of multiple methods of discovery and dissemination 3) The goal of social action for the purpose of achieving social change and social justice."

Historically, community-university partnerships have not always produced the outcomes initially hoped for by and promised to community members. Since community-based research consists of students looking to collect data about a given community (Stoecker, 2016, Strand 2011), which mostly takes place in neighboring communities due to proximity, access, and civic engagement goals, communities have become overstudied. In theory, an advantage of community-university partnerships is the new access communities gain to resources that can help address social problems created by "unequal power relations in society" (Strier, 2011; McCroskey 1998). But whenever universities partner with communities who face systemic disadvantages, the relationship between university members and community members may be representative of the "imbalances of the society in which they operate" if not carried out strategically using community-centered practices (Strier, 2011, Wiewell 2005, Cruz 1994, Kendall 1990).

As Strier (2011) remarked, there are many paradoxes in community-university partnerships. This is explained by researchers as a paradox where partners are "motivated to promote and emphasize its own interests (Strier, 2014). According to Frank (2015) and Stoecker (2016), universities can work to create a more balanced relationship with the community by understanding the importance of getting away from problematic practices of the university solely identifying the problems and solutions for communities, and instead to focus on collaborative creation of projects with the community.

METHODS

Model for engagement

From the beginning of the VMB-SSCC partnership, it was critical to establish its limits. With developers and other universities in the area having their own projects and agendas, it had to be made clear that we did not have control over every new development. While we were working to ensure the community would be centered in these projects, at times we ran into the reality that not every developer was on the same page. When we found something to be problematic after hearing of concerns from the community or within SSCC meetings, we identified strategies that incorporated community's concerns. For example, we recruited Policy students to draft policy proposals for the community when they expressed concerns about gentrification. By doing this, we worked to address systemic issues through capacity-building work that, if utilized, may force development to be more community oriented. This required a completely transparent atmosphere. Transparency was one of the biggest guidelines for building the foundation of our partnership.

Stoecker, Tryon, and Hilgendorf (2009) developed a list of community standards that serves as a guide for both faculty and organizations involved in service-learning partnerships. They organized the tool into five categories: communication, developing positive relationships, providing an infrastructure, managing service learners, and promoting diversity. We focused on this list throughout the partnership to evaluate, analyze, and plan for the future of the partnership.

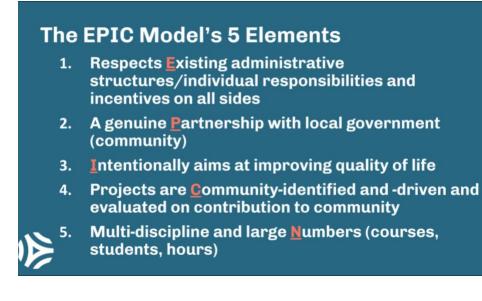


Figure 6 The EPIC Model for community-university engagement from https://www.epicn.org/

In order to respect existing administrative structures, we worked with organizations that have already existed in the community to identify resources they needed for their goals. To form a genuine partnership with local government, we worked to build trust and relationships with community leaders. The work done for the grocery store aims to improve quality of life and allow community members to enhance their grocery experience by having a say in what services are provided. One project that was community-identified and driven was helping Brooklyn receive funding to renovate their Senior Center through providing grant writing help, currently the SIUE Construction Department plans to take on the project. Lastly, we have created a multi-discipline team with many courses, students, and hours devoted to the partnership by identifying all the ways our university system can become involved.

As a member of the EPIC-Network, SSCC followed their guidelines for community engagement (EPIC-Network, 2020). This model was the main model used for this collaboration. During the early months of my research, I attended an EPIC-N conference and was introduced to many case studies on community-university partnerships. The EPIC-N framework for community-university partnerships comes from understanding there may be local level needs that city officials are not able to meet due to lack of time, capacity, or knowledge. Introducing university students and faculty into the mix can provide access to these needs. It is important in this framework to provide positive outcomes to everyone involved, this means the partnership should advance the city's plan and meet educational needs for the university.

During the EPIC conference, the model implementation by Texas A&M's "Texas Target Communities" engagement stood out. I then read case studies from their 25 years of communityuniversity partnerships and found them to be a helpful guide to reference when engaging in the communities. Texas Target Communities, an EPIC model program, focuses on three areas: Community-Centered, Student Learning, and Faculty Expertise, with the core competencies: social, economic, natural, civic, human, and physical. Their implementation of the model emphasizes values of community knowledge, equitable growth, restoration of environmental systems, collaboration, health, and informed development decisions. In order to promote community resilience, the partnerships seek out ways to encourage equity and adaptability within the communities. Instead of fixing a problem when it comes up, they include preventative measures in the plans they create.

Between July 2021-July 2022, I carried out a multi-pronged case study. The research included a content-analysis of VMB history and community-university partnerships, participant observation, community forums, and informal interviews. I also participated in SSCC team meetings, planning, and evaluation sessions.

Guiding questions included:

- How do we build trust with the community?
- How does SSCC create mutually beneficial partnerships?

• What dreams does the community have for the future of their villages?

Outline questions for conversations were:

- How did you hear about the partnership?
- What are your expectations for the researchers in your community?
- How do you think the partnership will help the community grow (social, economic, etc.)?
- What fears do you have about the partnership?
- How important is the area's history to you?
- How should history be told; do you trust university researchers to understand the needs of the community?
- How do you feel about outside developers coming in to make changes?

A probability-sampled survey to assess the need for a grocery store and other essential businesses was created by a partnering Public Health class in the Fall 2021 semester. The data from this survey was used to better understand the grocery needs of the residents. Also, a short survey with easy questions about food access provided a low-risk way to begin building relationships with community members.

I was introduced to city officials, stakeholders, and residents in the summer of 2021 during a revitalization planning workshop hosted by SIU Architecture students and faculty. It became clear during the workshop that there were many strong leaders within the community. There were also moments of dissonance when community members wanted to discuss infrastructure goals such as roads and sewage that felt more realistic and university students striving to create big picture goals such as bike paths and public art displays. This was voiced by a resident asked how the most important needs (infrastructure) would be taken care of and if those would be prioritized.

Gaining access to this field was not easy. There was outreach that never received followup, many emails left unreturned, and more. During interviews, it would usually take me stating my role and proof of my knowledge of systemic problems and my own goals for the partnership to get rid of unfair practices before I would get more transparency in responses. Note, these statements on my part also unveiled a level of transparency within me that the interviewee did not see before. It seemed to me that my statements proved authenticity and made room for reciprocity and trust. Once we established our mutual goals, the conversation typically became more in depth and passionate.

Since the beginning of the partnership, SSCC has applied for and acquired multiple grants for the community including Broadband READY grant, Rebuild Illinois grant, a second Illinois Innovation Network Seed Funding grant, and more. I worked with the senior center of Brooklyn to apply for an AARP grant that would fund the reconstruction of the center's roof. We continue to share any new development plans, resources, and information with the community as grants are written and acquired, and plans are made. Together, we have built relationships and found ways to leverage university resources for the community.

I have continued outreach with partner organizations and community members to keep them connected to university resources. This includes meetings with organizations and reaching out to university faculty to find students who can partner with VMB organizations to create plans and to initiate developments. I have worked to increase accessibility for the community by supporting community events, engaging with community members, socializing with community leaders, was invited to and attended community planning meetings, and represented SIUE in a community where haven't shown up in the past. I also worked on creating a website to launch in the future and brainstormed with our team ways to reach the entire community moving forward.

During the Spring 2022 semester I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with current and previous residents. Interviews were used to assess the community awareness of the partnership and to gain information on how the partnership could be more successful. We also hosted and attended forums where community members had the space to speak about the partnership. We met individually with stakeholders and the Mayors of each Village. We attended community meetings for Juneteenth planning and offered support through sponsorship. We followed up by attending Juneteenth events and setting up a vendor table where we interacted with community members.

We continue to connect University resources to the community through a variety of University Departments to assist with grant writing, fundraising, construction, architectural design, and more. Through continuing efforts to connect with the community, SSCC plans to continue collaboration within the community and community organizations to assist with future projects, provide volunteers to events, and to continue planning efforts. Using the EPIC model, SSCC commits to yearlong partnerships designed to make an impact. If VMB would like to continue the partnership, they will sign another agreement for another year partnership.

DATA COLLECTION

There were many sources of data: semi-structured interviews, a survey, city-planning workshops, community forums, and events. Data was also collected during university team meetings. There were a total of 10 interviews with residents, organization members, and stakeholders. The make-up of the group was 5 Black women, 3 Black males, and 2 white males. They lasted around an hour and asked the participants questions about what they expected from the partnership: had they heard about the partnership, what needs they saw that could be met through university resources, how a grocery store in Venice would change their grocery experience, what kind of dreams they have for the villages, what kind of apprehension they had toward the partnership, etc.

The survey asked participants to give information to help build a grocery store in the community that would best serve the residents. This included data collection on transportation, employment status, and level of need for the store. It also asked what type of businesses and services residents would like to see within or around the grocery store. ¹

In workshops, ethnographic techniques were used to analyze how community members and university members interacted in creating a revitalization plan. During forums, data collected

¹ Public Health Survey: After being cleared by SSCC researchers and SIUE IRB, the survey was distributed both electronically, via posters with QR codes, and by paper copies throughout the three villages.

on how the partnership could better serve the communities was collected, and residents had the floor to discuss their needs, hopes, and fears.

As a white woman attending a PWI, I knew my presentation may come off in ways I could not control; there could be presumptions about my intentions and issues building trust from that first impression. This likely affected data collection throughout the entire study. When I took notes during meetings, my presence was clearly visible and most likely changed the way conversations unfolded in some way. Although I have little proof of this and cannot determine how much my presence changed things, if at all. I can attest to the fact that the more times I met with the same people, the less out of place I felt. Conversations were more directed and open, but this could also be from the comfort of a familiar person. This shows how important it is to continuously show up in the community so that deeper relationships can form.

Once all data was collected, the transcripts and notes were open-coded. Then, the results were axial coded to produce categories and themes. After this, I determined the theme of passion with the subcategories of quick change and history preservation and a second theme of distrust with the subcategories of stealing and systemic neglect.

THEMES FROM INTERVIEWS, FORUMS, WORKSHOPS

Passion

"I'm very passionate about the future of this place."- Resident of Madison, Illinois.

During every conversation I had with community members, they displayed passion for their villages. Residents often voiced their desire to make necessary changes and commonly held the voiced that their needs being met was long overdue. Whether it was overt discussion of the greatness of the villages, or more covert conversations of their resilience, the message was clear; the community is full of passion to not only keep the villages afloat, but to implement changes that will allow them to thrive in the future. This is not a new mindset in the villages; community members have been working to make changes long before the partnership began. From school administrators who see the potential in their students and are taking steps to increase their academic success, to historical societies who are working to preserve the abundant history of the areas, to township faculty who have dedicated their careers to serving the communities. Despite some apprehension, the community members vocalized their passion for the partnership and the resources they know it can bring. In every conversation there was recognition that the partnership could benefit the communities if carried out correctly.

Interviewees were not afraid to speak on how the villages have sustained themselves despite systemic discrimination and policies that keep them from the same means of the more affluent cities nearby. "Brooklyn was birthed out of the spirit of freedom and self-determination. I want Brooklyn to be a community just like other communities where we can define our destiny, where we can thrive, uninterrupted, unthreatened, where the quality of life is on par and equitable with the likes of communities like Creve Coeur, Kirkwood, or Frontenac. Where Brooklyn is recognized locally, nationally, and internationally for its significance as America's first incorporated Black town. I want Brooklyn to thrive."

Conversations about passion led to ideas being shared about where the university can provide our resources and how to make the partnership successful. The community identified needs such as grant writing resources, learning opportunities for all residents, construction, fundraising, revitalization and restoration planning, and more. During these conversations, I identified areas where community organizations could be connected to SIU students and faculty. Then I followed up by having conversations with faculty members to connect the community to the right people within the university.

History preservation

A top community identified goal was the preservation of history. There was a common fear among interviewees and other stakeholders that younger generations and newcomers do not have the same understanding of the area's history. Residents identified ways to bring tourism to their area through advertisement at the St. Louis Gateway Arch with main attractions supporting their history. Despite being part of the Underground Railroad, there is little to show for that history. Many residents stated that there isn't as strong of an understanding of the history as there was before due to people moving away or re-shifting people due to housing authority. Creating tourist destinations with records of the history was something many residents would like to do. [Personal notes from planning workshop].

Many of the interviewees remarked that current citizens are unaware of the historical significance of the villages. This was stated by one of the residents of Brooklyn: "*Even the*

citizens and former citizens of Brooklyn, I don't think they have accurate knowledge of the history of Brooklyn. There was a professor from the University of Illinois that wrote this book about the history of Brooklyn, and we researched the history when we began, and we found that there was a lot of inaccuracies in the book, and we have tried to correct that and put the real story out there."

Narrative shift

When talking about outside developers, a resident said "they miss out on the essence of the town, the spirit of the town, the community. So, they miss out on that and then they end up painting Brooklyn in a negative light which isn't fair."

There's a *"perception problem"* one of the residents said. They need messaging and marketing to get rid of the current narrative that paints the villages in a negative light. A passion for a narrative shift, one where the truth is told by insiders and remarks on the resilience and history the residents represent. Instead of this negative narrative told by outsiders, residents want the world to know how significant the area is.

"The recommended examination of power relations among the partners may open questions of trust which in some cases may lead to internal tensions and conflicts. Old wounds are reopened, along with mistrust, past disappointments, the traumatized nature of exclusion, marginalization and discrimination. On the other hand, a refusal to discuss power relations carries its own risk. The [Community-University Partnership] may replicate or even deepen unequal and oppressive relations between marginalized communities and elite groups. This unique situation can lead in two directions: stagnation in a swamp of mistrust and grievance or, if handled well, an experience of rejuvenation, new hopes for collaboration and greater trust (Strier 2014, Gass 2008)."

Planning Exhaustion: tired of waiting

Instead of sitting down to produce a master plan, residents want to see how money will be acquired and voiced that planning is not necessary until they know they have the funding to make it happen. They are tired of hearing about plans that never happen (personal notes from July 2021 planning workshop).

The theme of planning exhaustion was evident in many conversations. Residents want to know where the money is and how the plans the university talks about will take place. They voiced being tired of waiting for change time and time again, aware that many other similar conversations with other universities or organizations did not lead to anything new. Given the historic disinvestment that neglected the communities and left them with dilapidated infrastructure, our words do not mean a lot without proof to back it up. But often receiving funding requires planning to take place first. This makes it difficult for the community, because it is a large time commitment to devote time to the planning process. Continuously seeing planning without anything to show had an effect on many residents.

Dissonance

As I listened to residents talk with Architecture students, I could feel the dissonance between them. At times the students would propose an idea for tourism or a beautification project, and the residents would sit with it for a minute before asking for things like infrastructure updates. These comments would be addressed, but not in the way I assume the residents hoped for. When flooding was brought up, the students suggested an "easy fix" for rerouting the river, before diving back into the bigger picture planning. It is not necessarily the students assignment to think about infrastructure redesign, but we are here to assess the community needs and to create community-centered plans. The community sees this problem — flooding — and wants to address it when they have the space. They have seen their villages flood for years without a solution. They know it is not something to brush off (Personal notes from July 2021 planning workshop).

It is not that the students had poor intentions or were unaware of the real needs of the villages, it was explained to be more "realistic" to think about the greatest needs; the infrastructure needs to be updated before the suggestions could feel plausible. As students and faculty, who were predominantly white, most of us do not understand the problems the residents face. We take for granted the things that the community members long for.

"In the past there have been hopes for big projects in marginalized communities but economically there has been no value added to said community. Hoping that the community benefits from this project. Avoid exploitation. To prevent that, let's employ community members in the grocery store. Trying to find ways to benefit residents who would want to start a business rather than outside developers. Policies against gentrification. Reciprocity from university through scholarships or incentives. Give classes on how to start a business or how to grow your own food."- Former Resident of Brooklyn, Illinois.

Other case studies of community-university partnerships served as a warning to us, due to a cause of conflict when community members saw the partnership to be "real avenues for civic participation in processes of transformational social change. However, by their own nature these are long term processes, dependent on political circumstances beyond the partners control" (Stier, 2014, p. 160). This has caused other partnerships to fail as well as led some to focus on short-term change instead of the more difficult transformational change, so it has been important to create both long- and short-term goals as a way to build better, more sustainable partnerships (Strier, 2014). Because of the awareness of this, we worked to develop both short-term and long-term changes. Some of the ways we began making short term changes were: 1) assisting community organizations with grant writing, 2) connecting partners with departments such as construction to work on smaller restoration projects 3) being present and helping to sponsor community events.

Systemic neglect

"People deserve to have a neighborhood grocery store right in their community. And those dollars can stay in the community." -Resident of Venice, Illinois.

Residents voiced how they feel cut off from the rest of the area: public transportation, delivery services, rideshares, etc. They voiced how the bridge connections and roads into the city are not easily accessible or pedestrian safe and stated that electric bikes or scooters would be a nice addition to the area. They are also cut off from transportation service providers like Uber who do not drive in their area and food delivery services that will not deliver to them.

When asked their dreams for the community, residents often shared their desires for proper infrastructure and other features many U.S. citizens take for granted. Interviewees reported feeling isolated from opportunity. When introduced to plans for development, concerns were voiced about the placement next to railroad tracks which has historically been a location for low-income housing.

Stealing

Residents spoke of their handed down knowledge being stolen and not credited to them and had reservations about sharing knowledge with the university or outsiders. Community members showed apprehension in the interviews, out of fear of exploitation, due to their previous experiences. One Brooklyn resident spoke on this by saying, "...whenever we try to put information out there to educate our citizens in Brooklyn -- people will copy the information we put out there and write their pamphlets or books or whatever and take credit for it. So, we decided to stop and wait until we were ready to write something of our own."

DISCUSSION

During the interview process, I realized how much time must go into building and maintaining relationships. Trust is not something that is achieved and sustained without continual maintenance. It is not a check on the to-do list, but instead should be viewed as an ongoing relationship like a friendship; you have to check-in, you have to make time, and you must care for it to last.

Our partnership with VMB has been built on transparency, communication, and trust. If the university received a project draft, it would be shared with the community even when we feared it would not be taken well. The goals of the partnership were to make our relationship sustainable, which means future research can build on where we are at. It was necessary to work on building relationships during this year, and in the future, there will be more to show for it.

This research was foundational in establishing positive relationships in our communityuniversity partnership in VMB. It creates a brief history for new researchers to learn more and research that can be utilized and built on as the partnership grows. Through interviews, forums, workshops, and random conversation, the residents of the three villages have made their priorities known, and it is our responsibility to respect that in order move forward with them. . It is important that we gain this understanding so that the approach taken by the university participating in a partnership can be useful in collaboratively repairing the systemic disadvantages faced by the community. Residents have also made it clear that they want to work collaboratively with the university.

Creating positive relationships can be time consuming, and they remain fragile even once they are established. Eventually, we reached a place where our connections led to bigger and

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more open conversations, but to get here we had to build trust with individual community leaders who opened doors for us. I learned that even something like planning a forum or group-interview requires taking a step back and letting someone from the community set it up. Making deeper connections required proving trust in the leadership who could guide me to them.

The outcomes, we have seen so far are stronger relationships forming with transparency at the center. There have successfully been community identified needs that have been addressed through university resources. There is a continued search for more ways to engage the University in the process of creating more avenues to resources.

This year of the partnership provided the foundation for the future. It was clear during the collection of data, community and university members were passionate to make changes by working together in ways we have not in the past. University members have remained cognizant of their role to not tell the community what they need, but to identify where the university can be useful in giving access to resources needed by the community-identified needs.

Through conversation, members of the community identified their needs, concerns, and hopes for the partnership. At times, conversations within the University team have shown a gap between understanding the desires of the community which demonstrates the need for ongoing evaluation. Within the community, revitalization planning that featured big ideas were often second to talks of infrastructure and changes to the foundation that would make for less flooding and safer spaces.

We have identified a need for continued discourse between the community and university, along with developers and all others involved in revitalization work within the area. Some ideas to allow for more transparency are email updates, a website for partnership, continued interaction, and strong communication. It should be discussed that the goals of the partnership may not be reached for many years and the timeline should be upfront.

Community engagement with VMB should continue to be transparent, community centered, and sustainable. To make this possible, researchers should continue to evaluate and analyze the efforts of the partnership and maintain strong communication with the community. This might include creating a way of measuring each of these factors through evaluation that is more quantitative than what we used. This would include finding a community-university partnership assessment to measure the success, weakness, and other aspects that we measured subjectively through interviews.

NOTE FOR FUTURE RESEARCHERS

Introducing future partners to the history of the disparities faced by the partner community. It's important to gain a background understanding, before presenting new ideas or asking questions within an established research area. For the researchers involved in the project to fully acknowledge and understand the implications of community-university partnerships they must understand the history of the community as well as overarching historical themes seen in previous partnerships. SIUE's Truth, Racial Healing, and Transformation initiative should become involved in documenting how residents have been harmed by SIUE and other neighboring universities.

It is imperative that researchers understand that the community is full of experts in their situation and history, and they should be treated as equals. It is also important to show commitment to the project. This means, the university should have several individuals on the project that will not change each semester. To make transitions more seamless, new members should be introduced to members current researchers are connected to.

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APPENDIX A

Public Health Survey: After being cleared by SSCC researchers and SIUE IRB, the survey was distributed both electronically, via posters with QR codes, and by paper copies throughout the three villages.