

**RESONANCES: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PERCEIVED IDENTITY OF AN HEI
THROUGH THE EXPERIENCES AND VALUES OF ITS NEIGHBORS**

By

Eric Adolf Gobel-Lynch

Bachelor of History, 2013
Heidelberg University
Tiffin, Ohio

Master of Medieval Studies, 2017
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan

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Abstract

Higher education institutions and their host communities are necessarily intertwined. Town and gown systems continually interact, influencing and defining one another as they do. For most residents of the broader community, a college's identity is comprised of pieces of information learned through dozens and hundreds of these interactions. This perceived identity may drastically differ from the one intended to be projected out into the world by the institution, which is felt and interpreted within individual contexts.

This study used qualitative interviews and quantitative modeling to examine the identity of a specific college, North Texas Private School (NTPS) through the perceptions of residents in its community. Participants saw NTPS as a place of learning, privilege, and surprises. Interactions with the school resonated and had conflict with community members' intrapersonal, interpersonal, and communitarian values.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and their surrounding communities are inextricably linked. Especially when considering universities with a primary population that is geographically tied to a certain location, normally a campus, the impact of that institution on the lives of the people living nearby and the identity of the town or city can be immense (Murphy and Tacy, 2002). Much of the time HEIs focus their efforts on the quality of experience for students and internal communities, and it seems that relationships outside of the HEI itself are relegated to lower priorities at best or entirely disregarded at worst (Gavazzi et al., 2014; Yates & Accardi, 2019). Conscientious HEIs may desire good – even symbiotic – relationships with their communities, but the unpredictability of students and changing attitudes may complicate what efforts are in place (Gavazzi & Fox, 2014).

The impact of HEIs on surrounding communities goes far beyond those neighborhoods immediately adjacent to a campus. While land use and student behavior can become divisive issues between Town and Gown (T&G), HEIs have the capacity to affect broader change that impacts the social, economic, and sometimes political lives of their host communities (Florida, 2012; Yates & Accardi, 2019). Despite this possibility for positive change that goes beyond an individual earning a degree, dips in funding and a public opinion that has begun to question the value of a college degree mean that HEIs must now justify their existence. Traditional HEIs such as North Texas Private School (NTPS) are increasingly forced to reflect on their T&G relationships and reassess their approaches to build partnerships in the community.

Gauging the perceived identity of an HEI is a crucial step in formulating a plan to build, improve, and promote perceptions. This study shows the dissonance that can come when an HEI's projected identity doesn't match its perception – everything from the name of a school to

the apparent privilege of its students informs its perceived identity. The research also highlights the influence that students, graduates, and employees of NTPS wield to shape these opinions, as well as steps that an urban institution might take to increase their standing in its host town.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand the priorities, perceptions, and perspectives of community members who live, shop, and work around NTPS and the impact that NTPS has on their lives. This study is not intended to prescribe behavioral paradigms for HEIs to follow. Nor is it to serve as an indictment or validation of NTPS or its practices.

To this end, the purpose is twofold. First, the study gauges community perceptions of an HEI. Building a picture from diverse community perspectives provides insight into the HEI's perceived identity over time and in specific moments for each individual. This insight will inform scholars' understanding of when perspectives shift, what may cause a shift, and the differences in perception among several factors. Collecting data from multiple demographics and geographic locations proximate to the school further bolsters the results by providing a nuanced view that is reflective of shared experiences across communities (Patton, 2015). Understanding perspectives is valuable not only for idle or marketing reasons – these views may reveal negative perceptions and areas that the HEI is failing to meet community expectations, thus allowing university leadership a chance to address these issues.

Second, the study develops an understanding of how perceptions of the HEI connect to community members' values. In short, this goes beyond gathering and understanding perspectives to describe deeply held beliefs that shape these individuals' perceptions of self and of the HEI. Learning more about how perceptions of HEIs are rooted in values highlights

underlying inclinations of how an HEI resonates within a person's individual, interpersonal, and communitarian ideals.

Research Questions

1. How do North Texas Private School's (NTPS') surrounding systems view the HEI?;
2. How do experiences with and impressions of an HEI resonate within community members?

Statement of the Problem

HEIs are indelibly tied to their communities (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Not only geographic locations and collections of buildings, communities that surround and interact with the HEI influence and are in turn influenced by those institutions (Boyer, 1996; Swanson, 2009). As funding for higher education in the US dwindles and people increasingly question the value of receiving 4-year or greater degrees (Boyer, 1996; Yates & Accardi, 2019), connections with local communities will be essential to justifying the value and continued existence of HEIs.

A critical obstacle to HEIs seeking to build, improve, or promote relationships in its communities is the divide between assumed and perceived identities (Bortolin, 2011; Bruning et al., 2006) The leaders of an HEI may think their organization is perceived a certain way, in accordance with its name, mission statement, and known practices, when it is actually perceived quite differently in the community. A better understanding of community perceptions would allow higher education leaders to address needs and promote successes that might otherwise go unnoticed. This is especially true because individual perceptions of an institution are not idle. When a person interacts with an HEI, their experiences elicit reactions and deeper resonances with personal values, preferences, and beliefs. Instability increases between systems when they

are not in equilibrium, and so understanding the perceived identity of the school opens the door to address the disruption and restore harmony (Laszlo & Krippner, 1998).

Along with this perceived identity, implicit assumptions about the HEI's role in the community and its connection to the values of community members are difficult to capture (Stains & Sevian, 2015). An HEI seeking to establish strong relations in its communities without considering the perspectives of those who will be impacted runs the risk of harmful missteps that inadvertently damage those same relationships (Yates & Accardi, 2019). A culturally humble approach that grounds research in the words and perspectives of community members can provide an informed base for decision-making or further research.

Significance of the Study

This study has significant implications for practice and research in higher education. The study shows how an HEI's projected and perceived identities differ based on its name, representatives, and engagements with the town. Dissonances arise between the HEI's projected and perceived identity as well as with the values of community members. The perceived identity of the school shapes townspeople's interactions with the students and attitudes toward NTPS, which may have broader implications for both T&G communities as they grow and interact with each other more (Florida, 2002; Laszlo & Krippner, 1998; Gavazzi et al., 2014; Copeland, 2020). Students, as the primary representatives of the HEI, play an influential role in determining its perception among external community members, both solidifying and defying participant expectations. This study also demonstrates the flexibility of perceptions, suggesting that HEIs can do much to change their perceived identity with increased community engagement.

Further, by introducing a new methodology to gather and analyze data on community perceptions, it will provide a new tool to higher education researchers to use for professional or

academic purposes. As a qualitative method that uses quantitative modelling, results can be tailored to each institution studied, but taken together, individual cases have the potential to reveal new trends that change our understanding of the impacts and expectations of HEIs. As Laszlo and Krippner (1998) assert, cognitive maps of individuals taken together can represent broader societal views not only about a subject, but also about how individuals believe it ought to be. Using systems theory and cognitive maps can suggest a path toward correcting dissonances between these views where they exist (Laszlo & Krippner, 1998).

Paradigmatic Framework

This study is guided by a constructivist, systems-based framework (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba, 2011; Patton, 2015). Acknowledging that knowledge, perspectives, and personal realities are shaped by one's specific contexts, relationships, and experiences, the researcher will not seek to minimize these idiosyncrasies and nuances, but rather highlight and promote them as integral pieces of the puzzle that the researcher seeks to uncover. As systems theory suggests, however, these experiences do not occur as random acts of chaos – instead, they are influenced by the social and internal organizations already present in the world (Laszlo & Krippner, 1998; Luhmann, 2013).

Just as HEIs consist of multiple communities (namely students, staff, faculty, administrators, executives, and governors), so too do multiple communities exist around them, divided along geographic, racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, educative, and other boundaries. Similarly, each individual absorbs, reacts to, and internalizes their experiences among other cognitive and emotional systems (Laszlo & Krippner, 1998). Out of the lived experiences and cognitive and emotional internalizations rises a perception that is informed as much by the individual as the object (Soja, 1996; Goodsell, 2008; Laszlo & Krippner, 1998). The perceptions

in turn relate to personal values, beliefs, and preferences that guide reactions and attitudes toward the HEI (Grunert & Grunert, 1995; Laszlo & Krippner, 1998).

Historical Context

Understanding the historical context of HEIs in the US is critical to developing an informed view of their place in society. The identity of an HEI is necessarily dependent on historical and current interactions with various communities, as many colleges and universities in the US are finding out as they reckon with problematic legacies. As HEIs increasingly recognize the benefits of a strong T&G relationship, they do not have the luxury of building those relationships from a blank state. Instead, they must operate within the relational, social, and geographic framework built over decades, and sometimes centuries. Despite these localized contexts, the legacy of US higher education emphasizes a general past as a vehicle for individual, local, and national growth and leadership.

In the case of most US HEIs, the genesis of their constituent system (the university or college) occurs through the efforts and enthusiasm of the town (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Many early US colleges served explicitly community-based roles by training men to be ministers and political leaders. In addition to producing (male) leaders for the church and society, the presence of an HEI brought prestige to a town, often stimulating growth along the way (Boyer, 1996; Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Florida, 2002). These early colleges were uniformly private schools, founded by churches, philanthropists, and determined educators (Cohen & Kisker, 2010).

The higher education paradigm in the US underwent a major shift in the 19th century. With the passage of the first and second Morrill Acts (1862 & 1890), Hatch Act (1887), and Smith-Lever Act (1914), T&G ties deepened to include more immediate relationships and interactions (Boyer, 1996; Cohen & Kisker, 2010). These acts created land-grant universities and

encouraged cooperative partnerships in research and outreach between HEIs the “industrial classes,” particularly agriculture workers, but also increasingly teachers (Boyer, 1996; Cohen & Kisker, 2010). This fundamentally changed the nature of US higher education. HEIs were no longer just bastions of the elite and the intelligentsia that produced preachers, leaders, and teachers. Instead, at some institutions, HEI systems, including faculty, students, and administration, were intimately involved in the prosperity of the surrounding systems and the education of great numbers of their students (Boyer, 1996; Bull et al., 2004; Cohen & Kisker, 2010). The land-grant HEIs and newly founded public HEI system emphasized close ties with the community, but private schools were slower to change, maintaining some degree of distance between themselves and surrounding systems.

From the turn of the twentieth century through the passage of the GI Bills and much of the Cold War, T&G relationships thrived among public and private HEIs, largely due to a focus on practicality and connections toward a common, recognized goal (Boyer, 1996). The focus on practicality and increasing demands on HEIs led to the US higher education system strengthening and forging new connections with varied other systems. The World Wars, GI Bills, and Cold War strengthened those connections in addition to creating new, valuable relationships with military, governmental, and corporate systems (Boyer, 1996; Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Public and private HEIs were caught up in the (particularly STEM) research fervor, and were spurred to chase an “elite” status tied to scholarly production (Cohen & Kisker, 2010).

In the early twentieth century, many HEIs had what Gavazzi (2016) would classify as a harmonious relationship – the two systems found a mutually beneficial balance with high engagement through T&G partnerships and relationships (Luhmann, 2013). With the onset of the Cold War, however, government grants shifted to emphasize highly specialized research (Cohen

& Kisker, 2010). At many HEIs, even as record numbers of students enrolled in higher education, the institutions themselves began to withdraw from their communities.

In the years that followed, HEIs saw a continued increase in student and faculty populations coupled with the worsening of wealth disparities in the US (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). As HEIs struggled to justify their budgets and survive amid financial difficulties, many increased their involvement in the community with professional programs, industry partnerships, and advocacy efforts; others withdrew into themselves and cut programs deemed too costly (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Still, despite differences in opinion about public and private schools, in recent years US HEIs have generally been seen as helpful institutions with the potential to drive economic and social change (Cohen & Kisker, 2010).

Researcher Positionality

My interest in this project is influenced by several factors, including my personal and professional identities. As a researcher interacting with varied and diverse individuals, it is important to understand my position, perspectives, and biases as they might relate to the study. To begin with the personal, I identify as a white, cisgender, straight man who is an antiracist and ally to the LGBTQ+ community. As a PhD student, I am highly educated (and presumably more so each day) in the sense that I have many years of formal education after high school, and value the transformative nature of education, including at the higher education and university levels. I am also a practicing humanist and liberal Democrat in a largely religious and conservative area. Although I grew up comfortable, I have also lived in poverty.

In spite of any possible resemblances, conflicts, or friction resulting from my identities and those of the communities and individuals involved in the study, I have endeavored to present the information and analysis fairly and equitably, amplifying the voices of those included in the

study and setting aside my own beliefs and opinions. The methods used in this study aid in this task by privileging the words of the participants over the interpretation of the researcher – use of direct quotes, multiple sources of data, and member checking serve as checks against researcher bias.

Definition of Key Terms

Cultural humility: Understanding that one’s understanding of another’s experience will always be limited. This approach emphasizes placing the research participant as the expert and uplifting their voices and perspectives (Hohman, 2013).

Diachronic: Used in microphenomenology, this refers to the development of an experience or perception over time (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019a).

Hierarchical Value Map (HVM): This is a way of visually representing the ladders that result from an MEC analysis and connecting them into chains. Typically, different colored nodes represent attributes, consequences, and values, and are connected by lines of thicknesses that vary by the frequency of connections (Grunert & Grunert, 1995).

Means-End Chains and Laddering Theory (MEC): This theory and methodological approach seeks to understand the underlying values that shape behavior (Reynolds and Gutman, 1998).

Through an explication process, researchers can use MEC to understand why participants react to or feel a certain way towards something, and what effect that thing has on the person.

Typically, MEC tracks attributes (characteristics of the studied topic), consequences (impacts on the participant), and values (the closely held beliefs of the participant) (Grunert & Grunert, 1995). In this study, the qualitative soft laddering approach will be used.

Microphenomenology: A variant of phenomenology, this approach understands cognition as a process that occurs “between [an] organism and its environment” (Valenzuela-Moguillansky &

Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b, p. 161), validated through the linkages and internal understandings that constitute that process (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b).

Perceived Identity: In this study, this term is used to represent an institution's identity through the lenses and contexts of an individual or a group of individuals.

Phenomenology: This methodological approach uses interviews and observation to understand a particular experience, often through the eyes of multiple people who have shared a similar experience (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Patton, 2015). In this paper, the experience studied is living near and interacting with a particular HEI.

Projected Identity: In this study, this term is used to represent the identity that an HEI sends out into the world through its name, branding, and actions.

Synchronic: Used in microphenomenology, this refers to characterizations of an experience at a given moment (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019a).

Town & Gown (T&G): This term most often refers directly to relationships between the non-collegiate community (town) and the HEI (gown), represented in this phrase by the gowns worn at graduation and by academics at formal events.

Synonyms include: Campus and community, college-town, university-community

Summary

This chapter has introduced the purpose, significance, and direction of the study as well as its paradigmatic framework and researcher positionality. No HEI operates within a vacuum. Colleges and universities have always rubbed shoulders with the communities that house them, and the relationships that form from those interactions impact both entities and many individuals. In the next chapter, a review of the literature will cover traditional approaches to T&G relationships as well as methodological foundations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter presents and synthesizes the literature related to relationships between HEIs and surrounding communities. As it falls to HEIs to argue their worth, Town and Gown (T&G) relationships become more important and more complex. An HEI's perceived identity reflects and shapes the lived experience of campus and community residents, but understanding the nature of those perceptions is a difficult task.

As a private school with elite research ambitions and an ambiguous T&G relationship, we will first discuss North Texas Private School (NTPS) through a traditional lens. The context of the school as an urban university will then be considered, followed by an analysis of how HEI systems interact with the community and past methods used to study T&G relationships before ending with a discussion of the guiding theoretical lenses.

Traditional University

For the purpose of this study, NTPS was preliminarily considered as a traditional university. This categorization was not arbitrary – it is informed by its aspirations, history, and apparent T&G connections, including demographics. This information is readily available on the institutional website and through informal conversations on campus and in the community. Gavazzi and Fox (2014) describe a traditional T&G relationship as “adequate but sub-optimal” (p. 191). They further clarify that, in practice, this means that T&G are comfortable with each other, but lack consistent engagement and strong connections (Gavazzi & Fox, 2014). As the term implies, traditional universities reflect longstanding trends on many fronts, including T&G relations.

Traditional Approaches to T&G Relationships

Some scholars of the 1950s and 60s wrote about the community-college dynamic specifically in terms of how it can most benefit the HEI. Decker (1952), for example, considered universities as separate entities from the community, havens of scholars whose independence was necessary and should be unquestioned. Solnit (1967), felt that cities should adapt to provide the services and facilities that universities need, even making property available for them to claim regardless of plans for its imminent use. Perhaps appropriately, this era also emphasized positivist and objective scholarship rather than more engaged approaches such as constructivist or participative (Barker, 2004; Lather, 1986; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011; Patton, 2015).

By the heart of the Cold War, T&G relations fit well within Gavazzi's "traditional relationship" framework (2016), effectively becoming the baseline for many institutions that seek to improve their T&G relationship. At this time, we see a strengthening of connections with military and corporate systems, and a weakening of the connections between T&G as questions of serving the public good were satisfied by the results of educating individuals (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). It should be noted, however, that this period also brought increased access to higher education for many demographics, including women and people of color, especially at public and land grant HEIs (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Solomon, 1986). In many instances, disparities between the demographics of an HEI and its surrounding systems remain stark, especially when considering private HEIs. Social distance between T&G is accentuated due to the trend of traditional approaches bringing HEI goals to the forefront of the process and outlining a relationship that may have mutual benefit, but is exploitative by virtue of the HEI entering partnerships seeking a specific advantage or gain.

Service-Learning. A classic approach to T&G relationships, and one that remains ingrained in the minds of many faculty members, is through service-learning (Cohen-Cruz,

2001). Ranbom (1983) discusses the learning opportunities when students enter the community, with the potential for the community and faculty to learn as well as the student (Langseth & Plater (Eds.), 2003). Borrero and Reed (2016) warn, however, that faculty may overestimate the service-learning project's contributions to the community or underestimate the professional and educational contributions of community members. Indeed, research at a large public HEI suggests that even at state schools, course, student, or HEI goals are placed above community concerns (Buzinski et al., 2013).

This reflects a larger trend in service-learning that has led to the distinction between traditional (now sometimes viewed as neoliberal) and critical service-learning, in which reciprocity is more highly emphasized instead of the benefit to the student or HEI (Morton & Bergbauer, 2015). All service-learning projects necessarily juggle concerns regarding the students' education and the community organization's productivity; Mills (2012) breaks down four common stress points between student and organizational priorities. 90% of community organizations hosting service-learning students reported frustrations with the commitment, efficiency, dependability, and realism of the students (Mills, 2012).

Privileging HEI Interests. When HEIs are more involved in their communities, In Ranbom's (1983) article, the HEI is described as working with the local school system and begins implementing curricular changes, seemingly without the district, parents, or student involvement in the process. Stevenson (1998) and Murphy and Tacy's (2002) articles each describe processes of community engagement that first prioritize HEI goals, defining those before entering the community to assess needs or interest, instead seeking organizations and movements that align with institutional interest, an approach that Vaterlaus et al. (2015) also describe in their study. These processes may reveal underlying tendencies to view community

engagement as something that the HEIs practice in order to be served by their communities rather than the other way around (Bortolin, 2011).

When HEIs do consider community perceptions and priorities, they have historically often undertaken leadership roles, effectively owning the effort (Heaney, 2013). While this sponsorship may lead to increased funding, it can also lead to slower processes and HEI – not community – driven priorities and initiatives (Carlton et al., 2009; Bacon, 2002; Bloomgarden & O’Meara, 2007; Heaney, 2013). Poor communication about community contributions can also sour relations, as can lack of proper member-checking when researching and using community perspectives (Arrazattee et al., 2013; Bortolin, 2011; Patton, 2015).

Campus Resources. Access to facilities is another common trope in T&G relations. Dempsey (2015) and Gomez (2015) echo Decker (1952) when they focus their discussions of T&G around access to facilities and events, rather than seeking answers to underlying problems. There is some merit to this idea, as community members who attend campus events tend to have a more favorable view of the HEI (Bruning, McGrew & Cooper, 2006). There are also common assumptions that the economic benefits of HEIs lead to better community relations (Dempsey, 2015), particularly between the fostering of a creative class alongside a tolerant and productive workforce (Florida, 2002), and while there may be a link between these concepts, it is not clear that average citizens not in leadership roles can articulate those benefits (which calls into question how those economic factors might affect community members’ perceptions of the HEI).

Summary

NTPS can be classified as a traditional university in light of its history as a nineteenth century college, continued pursuit of research excellence over community enrichment, and lasting divisions between the HEI and its community. Like many private U.S. HEIs, NTPS’

demographics are a pale shadow of the surrounding community, and anecdotal evidence from multiple sources attest to the discomfort of local people of color on campus. NTPS and school like it have long expressed desires to promote greater equity and inclusion. Still, they are slow to change and uncertain in their steps to best rectify the dissonance between the T&G communities.

This study provides a snapshot of the perceived identity of one traditional private HEI. This snapshot is rooted in the context of lived experiences and historical influences stemming from a traditional approach to T&G relations. Engaging directly with community members, as shown in this dissertation, will provide a valuable starting point for HEIs seeking to improve their T&G relationships. In addition to developing NTPS specific data with the potential to inform future practice, this study shows how an HEI is perceived over time and why its impressions resonate with community members.

Urban Universities

For hundreds of years, HEIs and their constituent systems have relied on towns and cities for students, entertainment, services, and land (Boyer, 1996; Cohen & Kisker, 2010). These intimate and ever-evolving T&G relationships have the potential to lift each system up or to bring each other down. Many scholars (Addie et al, 2014; Amey et al., 2002; Barker, 2004; Boyer, 1996; Bull et al., 2004; Burbank & Hunter, 2008; Edwards & Mazey, 2018; Gavazzi et al., 2014; Gomez, 2015; Heaney, 2013; Massey et al., 2014; Murphy & Tacy, 2002; Stevenson, 1998; Swanson, 2009; Yates & Accardi, 2019) recognize the importance of good T&G relations and advocate for increased symbiosis between traditionally disparate elements. Despite this, studies on urban universities tend to focus on public HEIs and the economic benefits rather than favoring a more holistic perspective that includes private HEIs and social elements.

The Field Guide for Urban University-Community Partnerships addressed the “need to repair broken trust and build reciprocal, local relationships” (Ellis, 2019; Yates & Accardi, 2019) that stem from, among other things, traditional approaches to the T&G question. Yates and Accardi (2019) go so far as to refer to some of those approaches as “parasitic” (pp. 6). Several reasons were suggested for urban universities’ failure to forge a mutually beneficial relationship with their communities. Mismatched missions, tenuous connections, fleeting commitment, and skewed power dynamics can prevent symbiosis with community partner organizations, made all the more likely when skeptical HEI leadership and faculty are involved, and rhetoric takes the place of action. Yates and Accardi further show that while many universities have some kind of demonstrable commitment to T&G community, co-ownership of initiatives is rare (2019). As Heaney warns (2013), lack of community ownership and leadership leads to a lack of attachment to a partnership with an HEI (Bortolin, 2011; Ellis, 2019).

The growing urgency to repair these relationships comes in part from studies attesting to the effect that a positive relationship can have on the college and on the community. Florida (2002) writes on the economic and cultural impacts that HEIs can have on a community, in particular through the attraction of creative workers who like to move to cities that are economically and culturally distinct. The easiest way to get creative young workers in your community is to keep them there. Massey et al. (2014) conducted a study that shows a student’s sense of connection between T&G contributes to their sense of belonging and willingness to remain in that town after graduation. Since community members who engage with an HEI tend to value its contributions more (Swanson, 2009), increasing T&G partnerships can in effect create a reinforcing loop, in which positive relations lead to retainment of students, which in turn strengthens the economy and relations.

The grounds and public spaces of an HEI can greatly influence community perspectives of the institution and its relationship to the town (Berman, 2017; Herts, 2013). Building on the ideas of Florida (2002), universities are practicing placemaking and developing areas on and around campus to encourage interaction between T&G (Herts, 2013). Columbia, for example has worked to build a gradual transition from the town to the campus, in addition to building scenic walkways that encourage members of T&G alike to explore the campus (Berman, 2017). When done in partnership with the community government, businesses, and organizations, these physical and spatial transformations can lead to mutual benefit and mutual investment (Herts, 2013). Even through the curation of lands and public spaces, HEIs embrace an oft-neglected symbiosis, promoting the town alongside their own interest. Traditional HEIs and Primarily White Institutions (PWIs) may reap additional benefits of blending T&G communities. Students of color in particular may feel a greater sense of belonging at a PWI that shares its grounds with more diverse community members, as they may feel less social pressure if there are more people around with shared identities (Lewis, 2018; Mitchell, 2018; Reyes-Barrientez, 2019).

It is important to punctuate the distinction between potential economic and social benefits of T&G partnerships. Yates and Accardi (2019) are not alone in promoting the idea that reciprocity and co-ownership of initiatives is critical. Saltmarsh et al. (2014) emphasize the importance of developing community-driven initiatives that focus on community – not HEI – identified issues as a way to foster deep, pervasive change. Among the American Association of State Colleges and University (AASCU) members studied for the *Becoming a Steward of Place* (2014) report, a plurality reported on the importance of engagement in social and structural change as well as economic contributions. Swanson (2009) also suggests that social endeavors are more impactful among community members, although economic benefits get more press.

Summary

Studies on T&G relations tend to focus on public HEIs or those already recognized as high achieving in the area of community engagement. By focusing on a private university with a history of distancing itself from its larger and more diverse community, my study provides a different context in which to view T&G relations. Further, by pursuing the perspective of community members with varied relationships to NTPS, this dissertation develops a new understanding of the HEI's perceived identity, and why that perception is important to the community members.

The T&G Interface

Bergquist and Pawlak (2008) break universities down into six cultures: collegial, managerial, developmental, advocacy, virtual, and tangible. Like internal systems, these cultures influence and respond to one another all the while brushing up against disparate other systems, including the local community (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Boyer, 1996; Kezar, 2018; Luhmann, 2013; Manning, 2018). Each of the subcultures is associated with some degree of autonomy and a unique set of goals and responsibilities on campus (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). This leads to varied opportunities for the subcultures to engage the local communities, for better or for worse. Where relevant, each internal system will be reviewed in terms of how it might assist or hinder the development of positive T&G relationships. Considering these interactions and partnerships in isolation is a mistake; as Barnes et al. (2009) write, “without a systemic approach to partnerships, the chances of long-term partnerships, the kind needed to produce positive results in the communities – are diminished” (pp.17).

Collegial

The first culture that Bergquist and Pawlak (2008) discuss is the oldest and that most closely associated with the Faculty – The Collegial Culture. Characterized by disciplinary silos and an emphasis on research, as the teaching branch of the university, the collegial culture advances the curricular and knowledge-dissemination functions of the institution, and can be heavily influenced by tangible, managerial, and advocacy cultures (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). As the resident experts and face of university operations, members of the collegial culture have ample opportunity to assist or hinder institutional relationships with a community.

Assist. Studies show that access to university facilities and events can lead to lasting positive impacts with community members (Black, 2013; Bruning, McGrew, & Cooper, 2006; Decker, 1952; Gomez, 2015; Swanson, 2009). As sponsors for events and clubs, and as people simply in the know about university affairs, faculty can encourage community involvement on campus by spreading the word and inviting participation. As class leaders, faculty can similarly encourage campus involvement in the community, bringing their classes off campus for service-learning or simply an assignment or lecture. Even small steps like these can improve economic benefits for the community, as students form bonds with the town and choose to stay (Dempsey, 2015; Florida, 2002). Evening and Saturday classes can also increase bonds between the Town & the Gown (T&G). Dempsey (2015) found that making evening and Saturday classes open to the community led to stronger bonds between students and the town as well as increased tolerance in community members.

Many collegial members live in the town where they work. As members who straddle the T&G divide, they can, and sometimes do, establish partnerships with community organizations based on clear communication, close relationships, and co-ownership (Arrazattee et al., 2013; Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Bortolin, 2011; Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009; Edwards & Mazey,

2018; Gavazzi, 2018; Gavazzi & Fox, 2014; Miller & Hafner, 2008; Yates & Accardi, 2019).

When they do, faculty tend to bring more resources and sustainability when community partnerships formally connect to faculty responsibilities (Bloomgarden & O'Meara, 2007; Buzinski et al., 2013). When faculty and members of the collegium encourage students to work with communities the benefits are reciprocal, with both parties learning and inspired to seek a partnership in the future (Arantes do Amaral, 2019; Borrero & Reed, 2016). As the owner of the curriculum, the collegial culture can also wield great influence advocating for improved community partnerships (Hendrickson et al., 2013; Manning, 2018).

Hinder. Any time someone from the university interacts formally with the local community, clear communication that properly acknowledges and considers them is crucial (Arrazattee et al., 2013). Failing to do so might sour the relationship with a community partner, and dissuade them from partnering with the university in the future (Arrazattee et al., 2013). This might be a good problem to have, however, if the alternative is a gridlock brought on due to disciplinary traditions and protection of an old-fashioned scholarly ideal (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Bloomgarden & O'Meara, 2007; Buzinski et al., 2013). Unfortunately, perceptions that community-based pursuits lack academic value are not unfounded on many campuses (Yates & Accardi, 2019). This departure from oft-stated goals of civic and global leadership demonstrates a deference to rhetoric over commitment and action (Yates & Accardi, 2019). In some instances, university ownership of a project or partnership becomes a point of friction as university priorities begin to take precedence and the increased red-tape associated with grants and institutional bureaucracy indelibly changes the community "partner" (Bortolin, 2011; Heaney, 2013).

Managerial

Largely defined by organizational structure and steering capacity, university administration best exemplifies the managerial culture (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). With the combination of executive power, curricular influence, and cooperation with the collegial culture, the administration might be the university branch most capable of driving change and engaging external systems. It might also be the most susceptible to fossilization, especially if there is a strong tangible culture and traditional bureaucratic ideals (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Manning, 2018).

Assist. Like the Collegium, administration can foster access to facilities and campus events to break down T&G barriers (Black, 2013; Bruning et al., 2006; Decker, 1952; Gomez, 2015; Swanson, 2009). One way to disseminate such information as well as create a contact point for community members or faculty interested in a partnership is to create a bridge person on the staff (Barnes et al., 2009). As key drivers of community relationships, the managerial culture is uniquely positioned to advance the economic benefits from the creative class through positive relationships between T&G, and especially students, something the collegium can also advance (Arantes do Amaral, 2019; Borrero & Reed, 2016; Dempsey, 2015; Florida, 2002; Massey, Field, & Chan, 2014). Indeed, they can take those relationships a step further by institutionalizing programs such as multidisciplinary partnerships across campus (Arrazattee et al., 2013; Barnes et al., 2009), evening and Saturday classes (Dempsey, 2015), and a pattern of equitable partnerships (Amey et al., 2002; Arrazattee et al., 2013; Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Bortolin, 2011; Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009; Burbank & Hunter, 2008; Edwards & Mazey, 2018; Gavazzi, 2018; Gavazzi & Fox, 2014; Langseth & Plater (Eds.), 2003; Miller & Hafner, 2008; Yates & Accardi, 2019).

The managerial culture can further assist community relationships by committing to and institutionalizing transformational learning that focuses on complex local and regional issues (Bull et al, 2004). This would also mean incentivizing partnerships and curricular involvement in the community by connecting community-based teaching and scholarship to responsibilities and rewards (Bloomgarden & O'Meara, 2007; Buzinski et al., 2013; Langseth & Plater (Eds.), 2003). Such institutionalization cannot happen overnight, and may not fit within every institution's strategic plan. If it did, however, administration would need to work with the faculty to plan and implement any such change (Hendrickson et al., 2013).

Hinder. The managerial culture harms T&G relationships when it fails to communicate its ideas, programs, and results effectively. Not only must an administration accurately and equitably portray community partnerships in public-facing materials (Arrazattee et al., 2013), but internal messaging must be equally reciprocal, involving all stakeholders from ideation forward (Hendrickson et al., 2013). Without consideration of faculty rights and independence, administrators will struggle to earn their buy-in (Arrazattee et al., 2013; Hendrickson et al., 2013). Similarly, if the managerial culture lacks enough buy-in to back up their claims of prioritizing the community, the effort is doomed to fail (Yates & Accardi, 2019). Lastly, university administration, like faculty, can harm community partnerships by overpowering community partners (Bortolin, 2011; Heaney, 2013).

Developmental

The Developmental Culture is defined by its focus on the creation of programs and broader definitions of communities in higher education (Bergquist and Pawlak, 2013). With an emphasis on cocurricular education, the developmental culture is most closely associated with student affairs. As such, members of this group are likely to establish and maintain relationships

with local organizations and institutions, though their influence may be markedly less than that of the collegial and managerial cultures, which may instead have influence over the developmental culture (Bergquist and Pawlak, 2008; Hendrickson et al., 2013; Kezar, 2018).

Assist. Like the groups mentioned above, the developmental culture can influence relationships by increasing and advertising access to facilities for events, hosting community-specific events (Black, 2013; Bruning et al., 2006; Decker, 1952; Gomez, 2015; Swanson, 2009), advocating for increased development of community relations (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Hendrickson et al., 2013; Kezar, 2018;), and forming equitable partnerships with community partners as co-owners (Arrazattee et al., 2013; Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Bortolin, 2011; Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009; Edwards & Mazey, 2018; Gavazzi, 2018; Gavazzi & Fox, 2014; Miller & Hafner, 2008; Yates & Accardi, 2019). Further, student affairs can bolster relations by hosting their own weekend and evening classes (Dempsey, 2015) and engaging students in the local community without large-scale buy-in from around campus (Arantes do Amaral, 2019; Borrero & Reed, 2016; Hendrickson et al., 2013).

Hinder. Like most university sub-cultures, the developmental culture must exercise caution in partnership with community organizations, lest HEI priorities and bureaucracy take over the effort (Bortolin, 2011; Heaney, 2013). For student affairs especially, though, the short tenure of their main points of contact – students – can cause problems. A constantly rotating cast of students in and out of different programs doesn't allow the time necessary for a true symbiotic relationship to form, and might lead to community members feeling disillusioned (Barnes et al., 2009).

Advocacy

Defined primarily by its efforts in ensuring equitable working conditions and bargaining, Advocacy culture is best represented by university unions (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). Advocacy groups can spur great change on the campus of an HEI, but their impacts on external communities are limited (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). Impacts on external communities largely hinge on priorities and results of the bargaining process, which may strengthen or weaken relations depending on how professorial and staff duties and promotion are defined (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Bloomgarden & O'Meara, 2007; Buzinski et al., 2013). On the other hand, advocacy culture is heavily informed by managerial, collegial, and sometimes developmental or tangible cultures; like tangible culture, context is crucial when considering advocacy culture (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008)

Virtual

The virtual culture, defined by its emphasis on technology and global perspectives (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008), is best represented by the internet. Access to information, innovation, and institutions across the world doesn't just open up new avenues of research, it changes the way one thinks about the world (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008).

Assist. Virtual cultures offer unique access to technology and information. Many universities now have technology centers, where community members can come into the institution and use 3D printers, experience virtual reality, and experiment with other new technology in addition to accessing the vast physical and digital library holdings offered by their local HEI. Access to these services directly impacts community relationships (Black, 2013; Bruning et al., 2006; Decker, 1952; Gomez, 2015; Swanson, 2009), but the internet also allows for the flourishing of interinstitutional initiatives, in which multiple HEIs work together toward a common goal, increasing their power and capacity to create change (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008;

Kezar, 2018). A different aspect of virtual cultures is the rejection of tradition for tradition's sake. For example, professors may now operate within looser boundaries, with more freedom to bring their classes into the community (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008).

Hinder. The major hindrance to T&G relationships associated with virtual culture is simply the physical distance between individuals and the community. Whether considering adjunct faculty, who don't hold regular positions on campus and may work several jobs, or students in online classes, these "absent" members of the university can't contribute to local relationships in person and may even be perceived as an example of the university earning a profit without the benefit of the town (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008).

Tangible

Defined by its tenacious hold on tradition and an assumption of community service (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008), tangible cultures are best represented by that one grizzled professor at every institution who doesn't bother adapting to new teaching techniques but continues to publish and volunteer at an alarming rate. That generalization is too broad, however, since traditional cultures are, by definition, informed by local context. Just as there might be a tradition of community partnerships and citizenship at one HEI (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Dempsey, 2015; Florida, 2002), there might be a tangible culture at another that emphasizes HEI dominance over the community or scholastic isolation (Decker, 1952; Solnit, 1967).

Tangible student cultures also influence T&G relationships. Student traditions of parties, raucous lifestyles, and irresponsible behavior are perennial issues especially in areas with student housing (Glass, 2011; Massey, Field, & Chan, 2014). On the other hand, many of those same offenders also participate in at least annual bouts of community service around town, potentially strengthening T&G relationships with other parts of the community.

Expressions of Culture

Schein (2017) breaks organizations into three levels of culture – artifacts (visible symbols), espoused beliefs, and basic underlying assumptions. When we consider the systems – or subcultures – above, we can see that each culture has at least great potential for interaction, and thus strengthening of relationships (Swanson, 2009), with outside communities as well. Accordingly, each subculture can be analyzed with the process described by Schein (2017), and each simultaneously informs the analysis of the overall university’s cultural artifacts, espoused beliefs, and underlying assumptions.

The above discussion of potential relationship-building points for the various university subcultures is complicated, however, if an HEI’s artifacts fail to match its underlying assumptions, showing a lack of buy-in, or if its underlying assumptions are incongruous with its espoused values, demonstrating a lack of conviction (Yates & Accardi, 2019). As organizations with so many stark and varied communities, HEIs are inevitably shaped by context and strained with the tension of so many systems influencing one so immediate parent system. A university’s mission – and thus its nominal operating principles – is rooted in tangible, historical traditions and executed by thinkers from various cultural bases. The execution of a university’s central directive passes through those cultural bases to produce different cultural artifacts based on similar espoused beliefs originating from central administration but interpreted through the lens of basic underlying assumptions that vary as widely as a university’s disciplines and departments.

There are certainly still commonalities across some of the subcultures. For example, collegial, managerial, developmental, and advocacy cultures can all work to form equitable partnerships within the local community (Arrazattee et al., 2013; Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008;

Bortolin, 2011; Bringle, Clayton, & Price, 2009; Edwards & Mazey, 2018; Gavazzi, 2018; Gavazzi & Fox, 2014; Langseth & Plater (Eds.), 2003; Miller & Hafner, 2008; Yates & Accardi, 2019). The fractured nature of an HEI, however, makes establishing a comprehensive understanding of its underlying beliefs is a daunting task.

Summary

US higher education today finds itself in an unfamiliar position. As many members of the population question the usefulness of the higher education system, HEIs are attempting to shake a perception of elitism and cultural isolation (Barnes et al., 2009; Yates & Accardi, 2019). As organizations made up of many disparate cultures (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008), HEIs struggle to maintain one identity, instead engaging internal and external systems with each of its own in a unique manner and context (Luhmann, 2013). Since improving perceptions of HEIs involves engaging communities' economic (Florida, 2002), social (Swanson, 2009), and educative systems (Dempsey, 2015), the varied nature of an HEI should be seen as a benefit, not a drawback. Relationships may not be uniform across an HEI, but as cultures develop partnerships, students, teachers, communities, and HEIs will benefit when the experts that HEIs already employ are encouraged to bring their skills to the community in a humble, democratic manner (Saltmarsh et al., 2015).

Understanding Relationships

Attempts to gauge community perceptions of an HEI and the relationships between the T&G largely rely on quantitative methods and the perspectives of community leaders (Bruning et al., 2006; Buzinski et al., 2013; Gavazzi & Fox, 2014; Gavazzi, Fox & Martin, 2014; Gavazzi 2015; Gavazzi 2016; Gavazzi 2018). When qualitative methods are used, their scope tends to be limited to individuals who have an established relationship with the HEI (Bacon, 2002; Carlton

et al., 2009; Miller & Hafner, 2008) A more holistic approach to gauging perceptions that includes community members outside of the campus reveals not only the perspectives of different populations, but also the factors that shape those views.

Many approaches to understanding T&G relationships are leader and survey based. Bruning et al. (2006) used a survey to solicit the perspectives of community members who were not leaders, but the scope was extremely limited to focus on perceptions of those who attended events on the campus, finding a positive relationship between attending events and a favorable impression. This offers valuable data on one strategy an HEI might use to build or increase perceptions, but fails to consider underlying reasons for community members' perceptions, and lacks the nuance and context provided by a qualitative approach. Buzinski et al. (2013) also used a survey to examine perceptions of engagement and service learning but only questioned faculty. They found that faculty comfort and use of active learning in their courses varied widely by discipline, and recorded notable skepticism about pedagogies of engagement (Buzinski et al., 2013). Long-established and university-supported initiatives to increase community engagement were met with apprehension, and even when considering the benefits of service-learning, only 38.6% of respondents across all disciplines identified benefitting the community as a goal.

Gavazzi is a particularly prolific writer on T&G relationships. His studies with various partners assume a marriage metaphor as a framing tool, and measure relationships on a scale with effort as one axis and comfort as the other (Gavazzi & Fox, 2014; Gavazzi, Fox & Martin, 2014; Gavazzi 2015; Gavazzi 2016; Gavazzi 2018). His work with the Optimal College Town Assessment tool is impressive and well-validated (2016), but its focus on campus and community leaders limits its scope. Gavazzi includes a qualitative element to his survey

(Gavazzi, 2015), but it is limited to a single open-response text box. When he does interview participants, he talks with university presidents and city managers (Gavazzi, 2018).

Swanson (2009) used a true mixed-methods approach that also examined community perceptions of HEIs and their value. Swanson used a phone survey and interviews to gauge how perceptions of HEI value influence engagement with the HEI. The mixed-methods approach yielded rich data, including uncovering a positive relationship between beliefs of HEI value and engagement (Swanson, 2009). The study also made the distinction that social programs make bigger impacts on individuals, but that it is the economic impact that appears most in studies, reinforcing the need to understand community needs to have the greatest impact (Swanson, 2009).

Qualitative studies have tended to focus on understanding T&G relationships through the lens of one partnership or subject. For example, Carlton et al. (2009) focused their study only on members of the HEI and a community organization, choosing not to interview community participants in the project to assess their perspectives. They identified “people, relationships, vision, and structure” (Carlton et al., 2009, p. 36) as challenge points that can make or break partnerships, and emphasized the importance of a shared vision between T&G. Copeland (2020) interviewed community leaders from a variety of systems, and found that when T&G are open to collaboration, it benefits both entities. Miller and Hafner (2008) used a case study approach, but interviewed members of more systems, including neighborhood parents, teachers, and other community members in addition to HEI members. Miller and Hafner’s (2008) data are rich. They assert the importance of a culturally humble approach grounded in community-identified needs, historical context, and cohesive mutuality, including in leadership (Miller & Hafner, 2008). The inclusion of so many perspectives with context gives them the tools necessary to develop a

theory that is holistic and rooted in cultural humility (Hohman, 2013; Miller & Hafner, 2008). Their approach is also limited, however, as it examines a single issue rather than an overall perspective, and it seeks to understand the relationships through a Freirean lens. Bacon (2002) is similarly limited. Their study revealed differences in the ways that faculty and community members perceived learning and expertise, including a note on apparent faculty disinterest in getting to know the community that hinders optimal partnerships (Bacon, 2002).

Yates and Accardi (2019), in the *Field Guide for Urban University-Community Partnerships*, echo Miller and Hafner's (2008) assertion of the importance of first understanding what community residents and organizations desire from a relationship with the HEI. Indeed, they include stakeholder involvement in the formation of institutional goals as well, and emphasize the use of qualitative methodologies to do so (Yates & Accardi, 2019). Listening sessions, collaborative planning workshops, and interviews are all offered as ways to solicit community feedback, a notable acknowledgment of the value of these methodologies in creating engaged partnerships, as opposed to the use of more impersonal surveys. In this model, HEIs seek to strengthen T&G partnerships even as their role continues to develop, informed by the voices of the community.

Summary

Studies on T&G relationships offer traditional universities valuable starting points to develop better community relations. Something that is lacking, however, is an established methodology to holistically evaluate the defining aspects of an HEI. This dissertation advances the scholarship of T&G relationships by developing an approach that can include all segments of the community systems and produce rich data about the source of community members' views and the underlying values that guide those perspectives. Rather than relying on surveys,

impersonal information gathering, or a severely limited scope, this study pushes the boundaries into individuals' experiences and perceptions to build an image that represents community members' lived and perceived relationship with NTPS.

Theoretical Lens

This study is underpinned by a decidedly community-focused set of theoretical lenses. Drawing heavily from systems theory, my approach takes the view that communities are made up of more than just groups of people living in a common space. Instead, individuals and organizations exist within and make up systems which interact with each other and are influenced by their environment and other systems (Luhmann, 2013). For example, an HEI consists of several internal systems – students, faculty, staff, administration – and interacts with many external systems – community organizations, local and national government, schools and districts, local, regional and national economies, and of course the citizens of the town (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Gavazzi et al., 2014; Kezar, 2018). When considering citizens, there are further categories to consider, including proximity, relationship, and exposure to the school and demographic factors such as socio-economic status. Indeed, with digitization and the internet, communities and systems exist and interact in contexts no more physical than the servers that host their discussions as the contributors interact from across the globe (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008).

Part of the interactions between people and systems occur within the physical, tangible world. Equally significant are the parts of the interactions that occur internally, housed within thoughts and impressions – and possibly stemming from tangible interactions. Indeed, as Goodsell et al. (2008) write, “what people *think* about the objective conditions of their community is more consequential than the objective conditions themselves” (emphasis in the

original). This interplay between a lived and objective reality strikes at the core of the constructivist approach of Thirdspace. In Thirdspace, the truth is more than and made up of our perceptions and that which we perceive or imagine. Instead, Soja (1996) argues that space and spatiality exert a constant influence on our lives, experiences, and memories. In this way, simply by existing in a community, HEIs influence those around them. It is incumbent upon HEIs to understand the impact that they have on their communities; not doing so may even be an act of negligence.

Understanding community and the perspectives of individuals within it requires understanding community itself. To quote Goodsell et al. (2008) again,

Community is the compilation of shifting stories within place and time that are a dynamic compromise of individuals as they interpret and act upon events and structural contingencies... community is an ideal, one of many stories we have in our individual and, to a degree, collective, heads that informs us where we belong socially in a certain place and time.

The interaction of these stories to create a sense of belonging (or exclusion) plays a prominent role in community members' conceptions of their relationships with societal institutions, including HEIs (Goodsell et al., 2008). As the authors state (and as systems theory would predict), these stories are continually shifting as contexts develop, decisions are made, and change happens. Gauging an individual's understanding of their place in the community requires also understanding how they fit their relationship to the HEI within their personal and collective stories and contexts.

Dolan's (2008) tripartite approach to community development, including social support, social justice, and social capital theories, also provides a helpful lens through which to understand these stories. When collecting interviews and reaching out to research participants, these three lenses provide useful sorting mechanisms and analytical frameworks through which

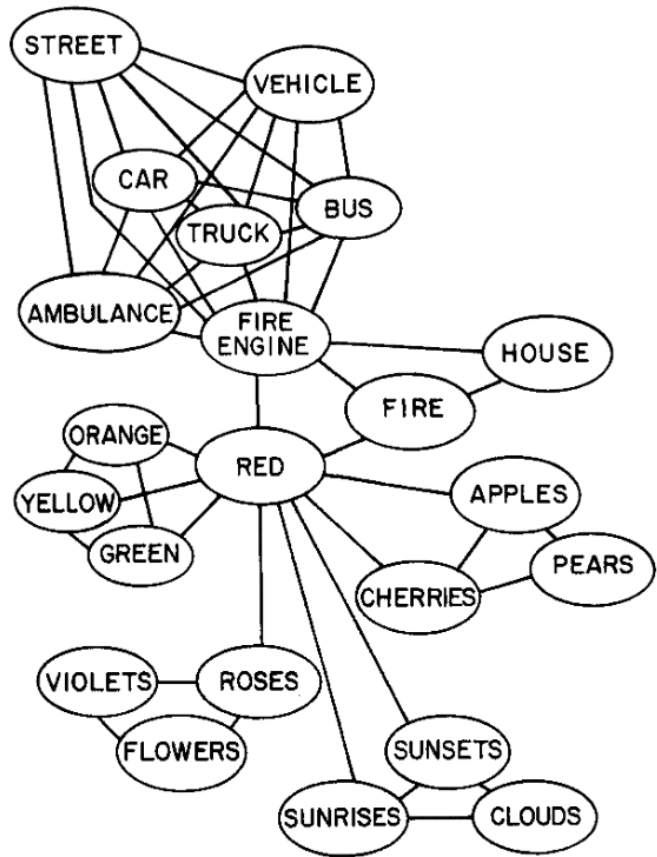
to understand participant experiences and perspectives. In particular, social justice theory, which focuses on “issues such as levels and types of support on offer between kin and non-kin members [that] may be overtly or covertly underpinned by how people are valued, respected, and treated within the community in which they work and live,” is relevant (Houston & Dolan, 2007). Gavazzi and Fox’s (2014) conception of town and gown relationships as marriages is also be considered. Similar to social justice theory, the marriage metaphor considers the relationships in terms of effort and comfort. Simply put, HEIs and their communities exist on a spectrum between high effort/high comfort and low effort/low comfort, which shows the strength and type of relationship (Gavazzi and Fox, 2014).

A primary method of analysis as well as a theoretical approach to understanding, Means-End Chain (MEC) theory and analysis is underwritten by spreading activation theory, which states that cognitive categories are made conscious whenever connections to it are strong enough, and that multiple categories can activate from one stimulus depending on the strength of the connection (Collins & Loftus, 1975; Grunert & Grunert, 1995). Spreading activation theory describes the way that humans process concepts. Once a concept is introduced or stimulated in an interviewee’s mind it activates other concepts along a cognitive pathway, decreasing as conceptual links weaken and time passes; see figure 1 for a graphical representation of spreading activation from the concept of “red.” (Collins & Loftus, 1975). For the researcher, this means that care must be taken during the interview to track each category as it arises, and to return to them each if possible. It also means that the choice of elicitation technique is crucial, as an ineffective stimulus will lead to few pathways to mine later.

MEC takes spreading activation theory a step further. While still relying on the structure of nodes and links, it goes beyond initial connections to understand how a concept resonates within a person in a more personal and abstract way. MEC classifies those initial links and nodes as attributes, probing further to understand the consequences of the attributes (basically a participants' reaction) and finally the values that supply the reasons for these reactions. By providing a process for abstraction and representation of data, MEC offers researchers a way to understand community perceptions and values unlike other approaches.

Figure 1.

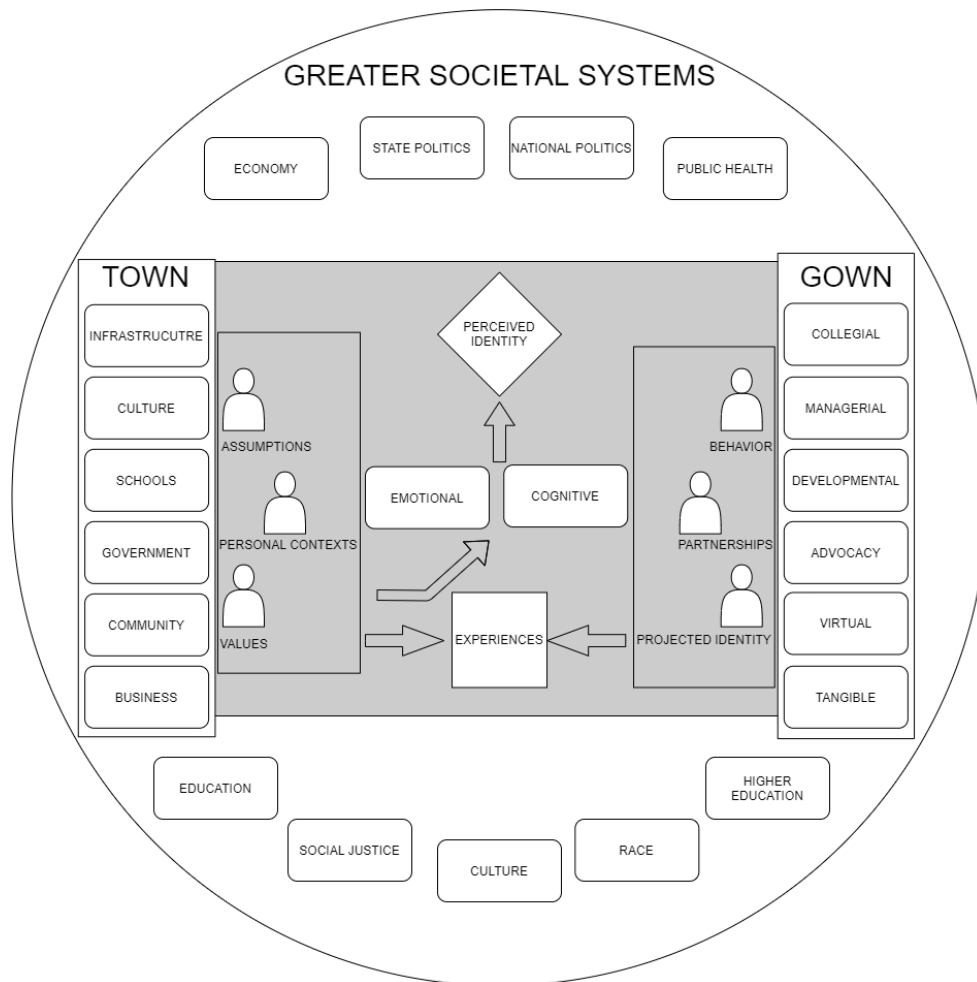
Example of Spreading Activation Theory (Collins & Loftus, 1975)



Conceptual Framework

The many internal and external systems surrounding an HEI continually exert their influences on each other and on the individuals that they come into contact with. Greater societal systems beyond the control of an HEI – such as the economy, national politics, or the region's religious landscape – are ever present, though this study does not examine those in great detail. Still, their presence is felt at the next level of systems, those of the university and community, as

Figure 2.
Conceptual Framework



well as the most fundamental systems contained within the individual. In this way, the perceived identity of the institution is constructed in the minds of individuals, colored inextricably by the experiences and contexts of the observer, the nature of their experiences with NTPS and its representatives, and the many local and broader systems.

Summary

A review of the NTPS mission statement, strategic plan, and website shows that it continues to operate largely in the paradigm of a traditional university. Desire to grow in rankings and size are explicit, and mention of community partnerships scarce. It is clear that the HEI does directly interact with the community, but elite ambitions and a T&G approach that

relies heavily on service-learning, access to facilities, and HEI interests means that its connections to the systems around it are tenuous. By utilizing systems and spreading activation theories, this study produces a vision of community perceptions rooted in relationships, experiences, and cognition.

Chapter 3: Research Design

The literature outlines clear conceptions of what a positive Town and Gown (T&G) relationship looks like, and while some scholars have outlined approaches to understanding these relationships (Gavazzi & Fox, 2014; Miller & Hafner, 2008) reliance on narrow segments of the population and single topics limits their scope. As Yates and Accardi (2019) suggest, interviews and other qualitative methods are the best way to understand the priorities and perceptions of the community. Miller and Hafner (2008) expertly apply these methods to their study of a particular T&G partnership and community perceptions of working with a Higher Education Institution (HEI). Rather than focusing on one aspect of the T&G relationship, this study seeks to fill a lacuna in the corpus by developing a systematic qualitative approach to understanding community perceptions of an HEI and the values and experiences that shape those perceptions. To do so, this study will answer the following questions:

1. How do North Texas Private School's (NTPS') surrounding systems view the HEI?;
2. How do experiences with and impressions of an HEI resonate within community members?

Patton (2015) defines qualitative research as that which “inquires into, documents, and interprets the meaning-making process” (p. 3). Qualitative research is characterized by approaches that emphasize rich, thick descriptions rooted in context, and is particularly useful to understand people’s perceptions, experiences, and how they make sense of the world around them (Patton, 2015). A Microphenomenological (MP) approach, a version of qualitative research, homes in on understanding a specific phenomenon in a particular moment and over time (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b), while the Means-End Chains and

Laddering Theory (MEC) approach abstracts contextual data to understand the underlying cause of one's perceptions.

Methodology

I chose MP and MEC as guiding methods for this study as a way to approach the topic without strict bounds and to have enough flexibility to include participants of varied backgrounds and communities while simultaneously developing a model to understand the results. By studying the phenomenon of living in a community that houses a HEI, this study surpasses limitations that might otherwise hinder it by placing artificial bounds (as a case study might) or limiting the scope (as a narrative study would). Incorporating MEC into the approach helped to refine the data collection tool and with data analysis and communication. The principles of MEC and MP lend themselves to interpreting the data into a theoretical model, building on the trends and themes that emerge from interviews to develop a picture of NTPS' perceived identity.

Means-End Chains and Laddering

MEC is a theory and methodological approach. At its core, it seeks to uncover the rationale underlying why consequences are important (Reynolds & Gutman, 1998). Originally used in marketing research, the approach focused more on understanding these values so as to exploit them for profit (Grunert & Grunert, 1995). This approach is worthy of ethical consideration, but its techniques can be useful to the qualitative researcher (Voss et al., 2007). Through the use of laddering interviews, characterized by "why is that important to you" questions (Reynolds & Gutman, 1998), a model of cognitive processes related to a product or experience can be created (Grunert & Grunert, 1995). Following spreading activation theory (Collins & Loftus, 1975), MEC assumes a cognitive network of links and nodes, progressing up

a hierarchy from attributes (characteristics of the studied topic) to consequences (impacts on the participant), and values (the closely held beliefs of the participant) (Grunert & Grunert, 1995).

This understanding of values and consequences can then be used to explain or predict behaviors in certain situations (Grunert & Grunert, 1995; Laszlo & Krippner, 1998).

By focusing on questions of why a consequence or attribute is important to a participant, MEC drills deep into the participant's perceptions, seeking to construct attribute-to-value pathways that serve as possible perceptual orientations of the subject (Reynolds & Gutman, 1998; Voss et al., 2007), most often without stopping to consider the larger contexts of the perceptions and experiences. Grunert and Grunert (1995) note the need to develop a method that provides more context that informs the respondents' answers, and hint that a more rigorous approach to transcriptions and coding would be beneficial, however. They further maintain that raw data should reflect the participants' cognitive structures and processes, not the researchers, perhaps bringing MEC closer in spirit to MP than may initially appear.

Microphenomenology

A variant of phenomenology, this approach understands cognition as a process that occurs between an organism and its environment, validated through the linkages and internal understandings that constitute that process (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b). MP is a reframing of more standard phenomenological inquiry, in which explicitation occurs in three stages: eliciting a reaction that brings the participant to relive an experience, helping them understand their action/reaction as representative, and assisting them in articulating the represented experience (Petitmengin, 1999). This approach emphasizes asking "how" questions to gain a broader, not necessarily deeper, understanding of the topic (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Patton, 2015; Petitmengin, 1999).

MP differs from standard phenomenology in how it represents and processes data. Researchers using MP seek to identify generic structures of an experience across diachronic and synchronic axes of multiple participants (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b). The diachronic axis illustrates the development of perceptions or experiences over time, whereas the synchronic axis characterizes the perception or experience at a given moment (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b). The axes are combined around milestones that function as hinge points, typically important or impactful moments around which synchronic themes are collected (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b).

Site Selection

I chose NTPS for this study through a combination of criterion and convenience sampling methods (Creswell & Poth, 2018). NTPS fit my desired criteria of being a long-established private school with demographics that don't closely match its surrounding communities. As a matter of convenience, NTPS was geographically proximate, allowing for greater ease of data collection.

NTPS is a PWI established in its current community greater than fifty years ago. Serving roughly 10,000 undergraduates, the HEI is an expensive private school with elite aspirations. The HEI has historically struggled with diversity on campus, resulting in stark disparities between the on and off campus demographics. Despite this bubble-like culture that sets NTPS apart from its broader community, merchandise and advertisements for the school can be found throughout the community, apparently fueled largely by the athletics program. These elements result in a site that is as distant from its community as it is indelibly linked. Understanding more about the perceived identity of a longstanding HEI like NTPS not only highlights the ways that it resonates

with community members but also reveals aspects of the T&G relationship that may be the result of a complacent neglect.

Participant Recruitment and Sampling Strategy

Recruitment

Systems theory understands societies as simultaneously existing within and interacting with multiple systems (Luhmann, 2013). Just as this theoretical lens provides a way through which to view T&G relationships, so too does it influence sampling and recruitment choices. Further, Gavazzi's (2016) findings that perspectives are correlated with geographical proximity to the institution were taken into consideration.

Racial, socioeconomic, educational, spatial, and relational systems were considered for sampling purposes. While the present study is unable to attain true representative sampling of the entire municipality, attempts were made to include multiple participants from each category to provide triangulation and develop a more complete picture, following the principles of maximum variation sampling (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Use of the program Social Explorer to represent data along racial, income, and educational factors using a common data set (the US Census 2017 American Community Survey) reveals trends that roughly correlate to proximity in relation to NTPS. It may be helpful to imagine three bands of a bullseye, with the HEI in the center. Within each band, extending several miles away from the school, two to three participants were selected along the systems named above, for a total of nine interviews. See figure 3 for an example of how these geographical features extend away from a central location. In addition to fulfilling the need for spatial diversity, the bands correspond with racial, socioeconomic, and educational system diversity. Each level further from NTPS is either noticeably different on the whole or in pockets along every factor.

I first created a survey that described the project and included questions on participant demographics and contact information. The survey also made clear the requirements of the participants – namely an hour of their time – and used a Social Explorer map for participants to approximate their location. It also included a section for any questions the potential participant might have.

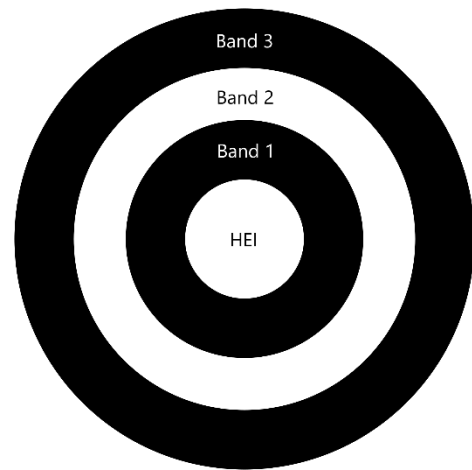
I then designed fliers that briefly explain who I am, the purpose of the study, and provided a link to the survey. By separating data into census tracts, the Social Explorer maps provided helpful approximations of where I could go to seek participants within a particular system. Unfortunately, several rounds of flier distribution failed to return any survey responses.

I then used my network of contacts, particularly in the HEI’s local school district, to garner participant recommendations. By speaking with community members and asking them to advertise the study, I was able to source several interviews. After they filled out the screening survey, I contacted them via email and arranged a time to hold a Zoom interview, sending the informed consent form at the time of scheduling.

I also advertised the study on Reddit. A social-media site, Reddit has active communities for the town and NTPS. In this instance, I wrote a text post very briefly describing the study and posting a link to the survey, which again served as the common starting point for all participants. As a Reddit user active in several communities in my personal life, I created a new account for the purposes of the study so as not to unduly influence participants based on my profile’s history. After gaining moderator approval, I posted the call for participants in the town’s subreddit,

Figure 3

Example Bands for Participant Selection



which brought me to seven participants. The final two participants I recruited by knocking on their doors within band one and reaching out to them via text message and email.

Selection

I used purposeful sampling (Creswell & Poth, 2018) to select participants. Maximum variation, a version of purposive or purposeful sampling, allows for intentional variation across a range of diverse perspectives (Creswell & Poth, 2018). I used maximum variation sampling to present a more holistic view of an experience by consciously including data from varied sources (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Selecting participants according to racial, socioeconomic, educational, and geographic factors allows the study's findings to represent the character of the community's various systems more confidently than random selection.

All potential participants first filled out the introductory survey. This included demographic and geographic questions, providing additional information about the study and a chance for participants to ask questions if they have any. The participants' answers determined the systems they identify with and thus their fit for the study.

My initial goal was to select between nine and twelve participants, or three to four in each geographic ring, for singular, individual interviews. This is in line with Creswell and Poth's (2018) suggestion of 5-25 participants in a phenomenological study for singular or repeated interviews. Each participant represents multiple systems, and care was taken that each system was represented by three or more participants, succeeding in every category but education. The total number of participants was 9.

Connecting with participants was especially difficult in light of the COVID-19 crisis. While in-person interviews would have been preferred, conversations over video call were necessary to properly account for participant and researcher safety. Accordingly, in-person

recruitment was ethically and practically difficult, requiring instead that I rely more on referrals and recommendations from others.

Data Collection

Data was primarily collected through one-on-one semi-structured interviews facilitated by an interview guide (see Appendix C). Interviews incorporated a blended methodology involving two approaches: MEC and MP. MEC, an approach native to marketing research, focuses on adding depth to interviews, going beyond reactions and experiences to impacts on and values of the participants (Grunert & Grunert, 1995; Reynolds & Gutman, 1998). In contrast, MP seeks to identify the generic structure of a type of experience along diachronic and synchronic axes. This study shows that together, MEC and MP can provide a picture of community perceptions that shows development over time, depth of impact, and underlying principles.

Combined Approach

MEC and MP share a number of characteristics. Because MP conceives of cognition as a process, it is particularly well-suited to interpretation through systems thinking as well as partnership with the similarly process-oriented approach of MEC. (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b). Both also represent data visually, with MEC using Hierarchical Value Maps (HVMs), detailed below, and MP using the diachronic and synchronic axes. The conception of data as consisting of linkages between concepts is also shared, further accentuating their compatibility.

MEC and MP also complement each other by strengthening areas of weakness. The MP focus on explanatory and context-defining “how” questions that fulfill the contextual need Grunert and Grunert (1995) identified, and MEC techniques encourage the participant to create additional cognitive links through “why is that important to you” questions that further develop

the cognitive process, a shared goal of the two approaches (Reynolds & Gutman, 1998; Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b). The result of a combined approach will be a more holistic understanding of participants' perceptions of the HEI, including the relationship over time, impacts on the individual, and guiding values.

Interviews. The primary data-gathering method was single, individual interviews with nine participants. Practice interviews suggested that each conversation will likely last between 45 and 60 minutes, but in practice they tended to approach 75 minutes. Interviews occurred over video conference using Zoom. Each interview was recorded using Zoom. These recordings were then uploaded to Temi, a digital transcription service, to obtain a rough transcription. This rough transcription was then cleaned up to a more polished version to assist with data analysis and preliminary modeling.

Putting this blended approach into practice meant using elicitation techniques such as narrative retelling and comparisons to begin cognitive activation and the generation of linkages (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Grunert & Grunert, 1995; Patton, 2015). Each stage of questioning began with MP-inspired "when" and "how" questions to establish context and initial reactions. Once these first steps are completed, MEC-inspired "why is that important to you" questions sparked further consideration and cognitive activation, revealing more connections and abstracting the conversation. This was again followed by "how" questions to better understand and define the consequences or values revealed by the participant.

Conducting interviews in this way requires careful note taking by the researcher, underscoring the importance of having primary and backup recording equipment for transcriptions as well as practice before going into the field (Janesick, 2016). A flexible interview protocol helps this process, the development of which was helped through practice

interviews. Both MEC and MP emphasize an approach of cultural humility, though they do not use those words. Engaging with participants in a culturally humble manner means positioning participants as the experts, and valuing their responses and linkages as authentic expressions of their voice and perspective (Hohman, 2013). To this end, I frequently checked preliminary codes with participants and referred back to their words to move the conversation forward.

Memos. Memoing also played an important role in the study. Writing memos and doing ongoing analysis is a core tenet of qualitative research, and provides valuable data about initial insights, observations, and researcher reactions (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Janesick, 2016; Patton, 2015). Memoing occurred after each interview and during the coding process described below. Memos often took the form of typed notes, though some were also handwritten.

Data Analysis

The methods used in this study produced mainly qualitative data. The screening survey and demographic questions produced descriptive statistics that represent the characteristics of the group. Interviews produced transcripts and preliminary qualitative coding. Upon completion of all the interviews, iterative coding produced 26 categories, which were then assigned numbers and quantitatively coded, producing implication matrices as described by Reynolds and Gutman (1998). Construction of the implication matrices served as another round of coding, reducing the total number of final codes to 17. In this process, ladders are mapped so that direct connections are counted to the left of the decimal point, and indirect connections to the right. So, a connection of 1.02 would be three total connections. Hierarchical Value Maps (HVMs) were then built using the matrices as a guide to represent the data as both means-end chains and as synchronic models that capture individual experiences within a specific timeframe when coupled with individual ladder maps constructed during interviews (Valenzuela-Moguillansky &

Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b). Finally, a timeline was built to generally convey the evolution of the group's perceptions over time in a diachronic structure.

Trustworthiness

Ensuring trustworthy data in qualitative research requires careful attention to detail and meticulous planning. For this study, I included three primary methods of validation to provide confidence in the findings. First, upon completion of transcriptions and HVMs, I sent these products to participants as part of a member-checking process (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Participants had at least one month to review the data and offer clarifications and comments. Second, incorporating multiple sources of data through the use of memos bolstered researcher confidence in findings and analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Post-interview and coding memos not only provided extra data points, but also served as a check on researcher assumptions by ensuring consistency with in-the-moment thoughts and observations. Finally, incorporating rich, thick descriptions in the form of participant quotes ensures that any analysis is grounded in the actual words and thoughts of those interviewed (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Summary

This blended-methodology approach incorporates elements of MP and MEC to develop an understanding of T&G relations of NTPS. Facilitated through nine individual interviews of participants chosen according to racial, socioeconomic, education, and geographical factors, the study uses maximum variation sampling to paint something close to a holistic view of the relationships. Constructing HVMs alongside the use of quotes and observations provides a personalized and synthesized view of the data, bolstering the trustworthiness of the results alongside member-checking of transcripts and analyses.

Chapter 4: Results

After reviewing the descriptive statistics and timeline, coding and HVMs will also be considered.

Descriptive Statistics

Data were collected from nine residents of North Texas Private School's (NTPS') host town. Race, estimated socioeconomic status, level of education, relationship to the school, and current lived distance from NTPS were all factors considered.

Of the participants, five (55%) identified as women, the rest (45%) as men. Five (55%) identified as white only, two (22%) as Black, one (11%) as Latino/Hispanic, and one (11%) as two or more (white and Latino/Hispanic). When asked to estimate their socioeconomic status, one (11%) responded "Low", six (66%) responded "Middle", and two (22%) responded "High". Concerning education, one (11%) was finishing high school, two (22%) had attained an associate's degree or professional certification, two (22%) had earned a bachelor's degree, and four (44%) had achieved greater than a bachelor's degree. Two participants (22%) had an established personal relationship with the school, having been students; three participants (33%) had some kind of professional relationship with NTPS either currently or in the past; and four participants (44%) had no formal relationship with the school. In terms of geographic proximity, three participants (33%) reported living in band one, closest to the school; two (22%) reported living in band two, within about three miles of NTPS, and three (33%) lived in band three, within about five miles of NTPS. One participant (11%) lived outside of the bounds, but lives and works in the area still.

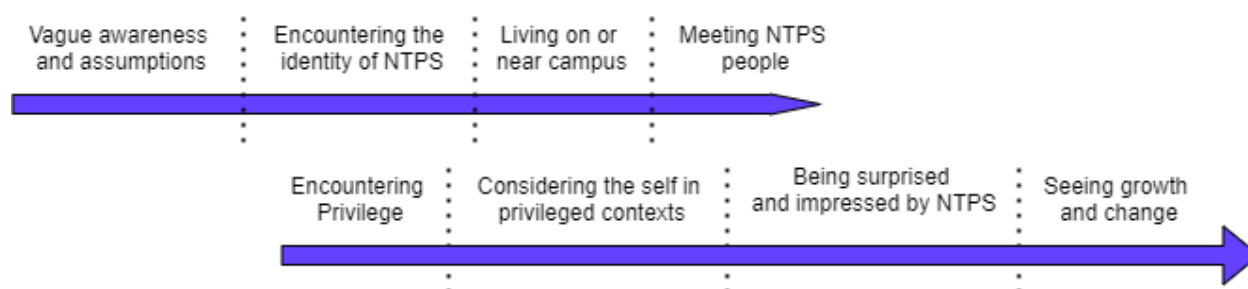
Table 1
Descriptive Statistics

Name	Race	SES	Education	Relationship	Nature	Distance
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Kristie	White	High	Bachelor's	Personal	Alum	3
Dr. Fang	White	Middle	Graduate	Professional	Adjunct	2
Antonio	White, Hispanic	Middle	Graduate	None	N/A	1
Nicholas	Latino/Hispanic	Low	High school	Professional	Staff	3
Travis	White	Middle	Associate's	None	N/A	2
Cheryl	White	High	Bachelor's	None	N/A	3
Billy Jenkins	Black	Middle	Associate's	Professional	Staff	1
Monica	Black	Middle	Graduate	Personal	Alum	3+
Sadie	White	Middle	Graduate	None	N/A	1

Figure 4

Timeline



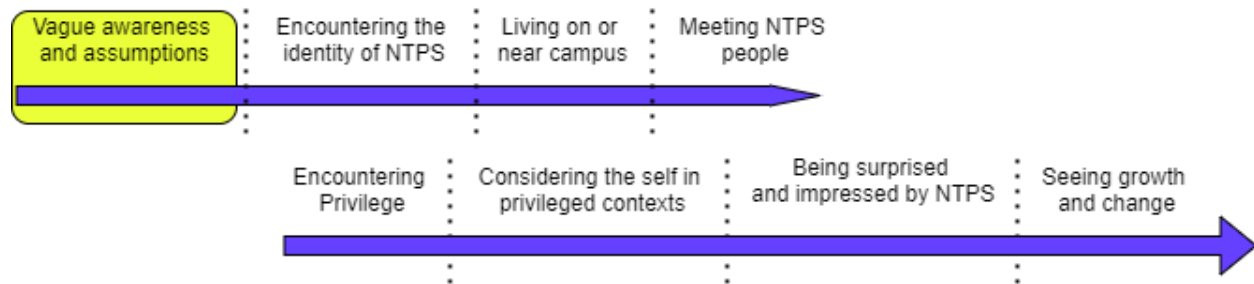
Timeline

Using a similar construction to the Microphenomenological diachronic structure (Valenzuela-Moguillansky & Vasquez-Rosati, 2019b), a timeline was also created to demonstrate the general flow of experiences that participants underwent as their perceptions developed. Each segment of the timeline denotes a common point in the experience of living near NTPS, continuing forward to the time of the interview. These moments in the timeline capture elements of both the attribute and consequence levels of abstraction in more or less explicit terms. Participants often mentioned that they had not considered their reactions to the point of values level abstraction. To maintain the integrity of the timeline and add context to the values, qualitative support for that level has been separated later in the chapter.

Vague Awareness and Assumptions

Figure 5

Timeline: Vague Awareness and Assumptions



Each participant self-selected their milestone moments and topics. Every participant shares some sort of moment wherein they encountered the identity of NTPS in an experience that provides clarity to their perceptions, but six (66%) identified a vague awareness of the school before that clarifying moment. These individuals, all but one of whom grew up in Texas, characterized this early awareness as passive, non-critical, and largely insubstantial. For instance, Nicholas centered his first impressions on his middle school years, but he mentioned an awareness of the school's color and mascot from his elementary years. He also described it as becoming the general idea of college, and recognized it as starkly different than his own neighborhood,

Whenever I heard [NTPS], I was like, 'oh, that's college.' So I always knew that that's college; I'm going to college, so I'm going to [NTPS]...In my head it felt like a whole new world that I wanted to visit because I had never been to that side of the city.

Like Nicholas, Sadie had some vague early knowledge of the school. She remembered people who were associated with or supported NTPS who she had known when she was much younger, but no significant impressions or stances on the school at that age, "I didn't really know anything about that at all...my sister-in-law did wind up getting her master's in education at [NTPS]. But until I moved here, that was it. Nothing." Both Nicholas and Sadie grew up relatively close to the school, and in the early years their perceptions of it didn't go much beyond acknowledgment and perhaps curiosity.

Several participants mentioned an early awareness in the context of considering colleges to attend after high school. When asked about her impressions of the school before coming to campus for an interview, Dr. Fang said,

I didn't really have one before that teaching gig. It was not a school that I considered when I was applying to colleges, even though I lived in Texas at the time – I graduated in [the mid 1970's] – [NTPS] was not considered even a second-tier school. It was more of a third-tier school in the conversations that we had in my part of the world, which was down in Houston, so I never even considered it.

Where Dr. Fang's perspective was fueled by academic concerns, Travis' first impression of NTPS was an assumption linked to its outwardly Christian identity in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. This association with patriotism and bigotry dissuaded him from applying,

I don't think I ever really thought of it as a school I would apply to, honestly, because of the name and the perceived religious – you know, even if it's not an expressly religious school, I never self-identified as Christian and my parents didn't either...so at the beginning of my junior year of high school and 9/11 happened and I knew a lot of people who were, let's just say, of the more patriotic mindset than my family was...I kind of connected Christianity with the anti-Muslim sentiment that I was seeing at the time.

Billy Jenkins also decided to pursue a different path than NTPS when the choice arose. He was recruited to play football at NTPS, but didn't take the option due to its distance from home and a lack of follow-up from the school, "I never really knew about that school, especially being in West Texas and just not knowing a lot of towns outside of West Texas at the time...I didn't think much about it because...I wasn't seeing past West Texas." In both Travis and Billy Jenkins' circumstances, a core aspect of the school's identity was enough to dissuade their interest in enrolling.

The vagaries of Cheryl's early awareness stemmed primarily from unfamiliarity and limited contact. When she moved to Texas, her church was establishing a ministry on campus, but she had no other major influences at the time, and reported limited knowledge of the institution,

I didn't even know it existed before I lived in [town]. So probably it was [late '90s] the first time I was aware of it was my church mentioned a college ministry on the campus of [NTPS]. The pastor was very involved in getting [the ministry] started at [NTPS] and the pastor who initially was the pastor at [NTPS] was a member of my church.

Cheryl, like the other participants, would have her perceptions clarified as they came into closer contact with NTPS. As the above selections show, however, several systems of the university are already at play in forming these early perceptions. The tangible culture in particular appears in the influence of those affiliates and fans of the school who serve as its representatives as well as the artifacts and espoused values that attest to its character. The developmental and managerial cultures also exhibit an influence in Cheryl's accounting of the partnership between her church and NTPS, but others are lacking at this point in the timeline. This should not be surprising – long-established cultures should have a larger impact as a matter of course (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008), and increased contact with the school brings the inclusion of more elements of its systems.

Encountering the Identity of NTPS

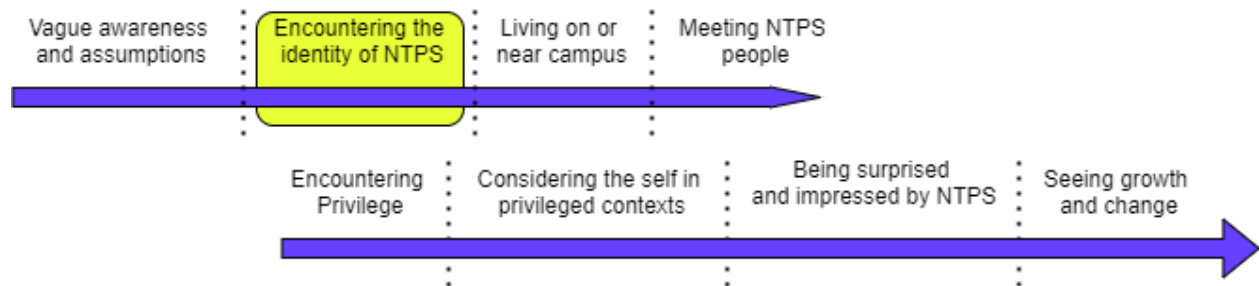


Figure 6

Timeline: Encountering the Identity of NTPS

This phase of the timeline includes visits and moves to NTPS or its host town, as well as meeting graduates and employees of the school for the first time while impressions are still forming. For many participants, coming onto campus and experiencing elements of its tangible culture in a more significant way played an important role. For example, Kristie recalled

knowing someone who ended up attending NTPS, and being struck by the campus when she visited,

A girl that was a year older than me at my high school went to [NTPS] for her freshman year, and I had never even heard of [the town or NTPS]...So when we came to visit, we really liked it...I remember it being really beautiful, the campus itself, and it being more personal than some of the other colleges I had visited.

Monica, the other NTPS alum interviewed for this study, mentioned similar themes when she visited the campus, “I think when I visited [NTPS], I liked it. I liked the fact that it had small classes...the campus was beautiful.” In contrast, Dr. Fang remembered feeling discontent about how the social sciences were viewed when she visited campus the first time before becoming an adjunct sociology instructor, in part informed by interviewing in a portable building. As her words show, however, she was also struck by the man who interviewed her,

It is [the late ‘90s]. I have a freaking PhD. It has taken me 20 years to get this thing. And it is 7:30 on a Saturday morning...I am about to go wait tables with my PhD. And I am sitting in this little office in a portable building...So to me, it was kind of on a personal level. It was like, you worked your butt off for gazillions of years, and you’re in debt like a small country. And you’re sitting here about to go wait tables and asking this guy who really clearly does not particularly care to give you a job that you really need.

Like Kristie and Dr. Fang, Travis’ perspective was informed by visiting campus, in his case when he moved to town after graduating high school. He was struck by the appearance and feel of the campus, but also the apparent privilege and cost of such a place,

I would drive through [campus] and go, ‘wow, I feel kind of peaceful driving through these trees,’ and it makes me want to drive slower so that I can enjoy it. So I remember feeling that... but I also remember feeling like, ‘this school is really preppy. This school is for upper-class kids, it’s this private school, this is for kids whose parents have a lot of money, obviously, because look at this beautiful place and how gorgeous it is. And no one could ever afford to go here.’

Dr Fang noticed a cultural dissonance on the academic front and Travis on the socioeconomic one; for Billy Jenkins, the whiteness of NTPS was a predominant feature. Billy Jenkins moved to town in the 2010s and was soon hired as athletics support staff through a third-

party partner to NTPS. He was surprised by the size of the school, but also noted cultural factors related to himself and his work with the student athletes,

When I got to campus and I figured out it was only 10,000 students and the campus is really small, I was like, ‘Oh man, this is awesome. Walking around this campus is going to be amazing. And also my football guys don’t have any excuses to miss classes here at [NTPS]...in a way it creates more of a family atmosphere...[but] being on NTPS’s campus, I automatically had to think twice as a Black man, ‘How do I conduct myself in this culture...how do I make sure that my football guys...aren’t intimidated by these things?’...If our fellas weren’t on scholarship, I’m not sure what would be the draw to come to [NTPS].

In Antonio’s case, he said that he had no knowledge of the school before moving to town, but quickly met NTPS people and gained an initial impression,

I had gotten a job out of college and it was one of those things where they recruit a whole bunch of graduates and start them all in a cohort. And there were a fair amount of [NTPS] students there and they all seemed pretty sharp, pretty friendly. So my first impressions were, ‘Okay. It must be a pretty good school, academically,’ and, you know, quickly learned that there was quite a bit of athletic achievement from the school as well.

An encounter with someone from NTPS was also influential for Nicholas. When he was a sophomore in high school, an NTPS student came to class to talk about their experiences on campus. After initially feeling intimidated by the impromptu presentation, he felt increased confidence and interest in the school,

It still made it seem like it was possible for me to go to college. And it gave me even more confidence in my early career planning that it was still possible...And she was saying that the idea of meeting new people and getting to- she pretty much met her life friends, like the friends you keep for life...that kind of stuck out [to] me.

Similarly, it was students who left a major first impression on Sadie. Her first encounter with NTPS students came as she arrived at her new home after a long move from another college town out of state, noting how lenient local authorities were with parties near campus, “I was already so wound up and anxiety-ridden from moving...I remember I couldn’t sleep because of [the partying next door], but I don’t really know that it bothered me too much.” She remembered being surprised at how long the party went on without intervention from the authorities.

In contrast to other participants, Cheryl’s perspective was informed primarily when she performed some research to counsel a student interested in attending NTPS. In this way, she engaged with the virtual culture of the institution and examined its self-image. She noted the cost and academic strength of the school in particular,

I encouraged her to pursue what she was interested in as well as trying to bring up in her mind the thought of future employment...it seemed like a private institution that was expensive and did pretty well in music and nursing and maybe education and otherwise middle of the road to not-so-good...it’s also important to take into account the cost and [NTPS] is not cheap.

Encountering NTPS created more solid perspectives in the minds of participants, including perceptions of privilege. Where only a vague awareness might have been, details and influences from the school encouraged crystallization. These more informed perceptions would in turn be shaped over time as participants lived in town and continued to have contacts with NTPS and its systems. The tangible culture is prominent again at this point in the timeline – participants reacted strongly to the physical aspects of the campus – but the virtual and managerial cultures also exert an influence.

Living on or Near Campus

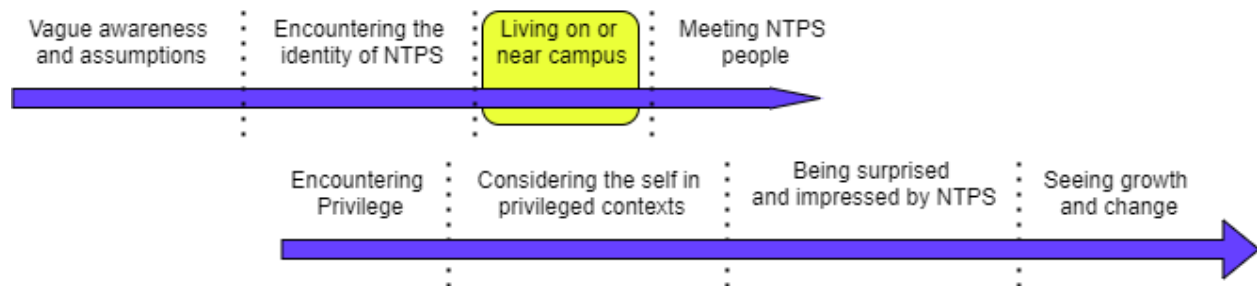


Figure 7

Timeline: Living on or Near Campus

Just living in proximity to a college campus makes it part of one’s daily life. Several participants attested to this, and the various ways that they encountered NTPS in their daily lives. Dr. Fang mentioned passing by the school as part of a daily commute that tended to confirm her first impressions, “I’d end up driving through campus, and what I see when I drive through

campus is pretty much what I saw when I taught there.” She also mentioned proximity in the later context of COVID-19, “[NTPS] has a high COVID infection rate. And I think in my house...there is now a perception of the kids at [NTPS] being irresponsible in terms of the pandemic...I tend to avoid them now.”

Like Dr. Fang, Sadie also mentioned concerns about student responsibility and shared spaces. She mentioned a specific incident in which she saw a student drunkenly crash into a parked car on her street, and echoed Dr. Fang’s sentiment of going out of her way to avoid them,

I’ve seen a kid run into the neighbor’s cars one night in the middle of the night. And then the next morning, I don’t know if it was the same kid or not, but [I see] some college kid walking barefoot, creeping through everybody’s yards, going down to see the wreckage, sees it, the look on his face, and then he turns around and walks back down the other way... Honestly, I generally try to steer clear of places where I feel like there will be a ton of college students.

Travis worked and put down roots near campus, finding his perceptions shifting as his familiarity with NTPS grew. He worked only a couple of blocks from Sadie’s house, and mentioned encountering a number of intoxicated NTPS students in his own right. The more he met, however, the better his opinion of the school seemed to become,

I used to work at a pizza shop like right next to [NTPS] that was pretty popular and open really late. I met a lot of students doing that... [I see it with] a lot more nuance now. It strikes me as a place with a diversity of opinions and a diversity of types of people.

When Nicholas started high school, he took the bus around town to areas less privileged than his own, as well as nicer ones nearby to NTPS. He mentioned encountering gentrification and new levels of poverty that he had not seen before on a route that brought him close to NTPS, “I did notice that that is really only [one street], that they’ve changed to a higher wealth, because if you walk two blocks [away] from there, it’s the South Side again, it’s a big wealth drop completely.”

As a student of the school, Monica felt a sharp disconnect between the university’s conservative identity and the actual expectations of the students. This identity is particularly tied to the overtly Christian name of the school and expectations of its inclusiveness,

That was a misperception of people that were there...does it mean that everybody there was a Christian? Or that you had to act a certain way...I think a lot of people that either didn’t go there, that was coming there, I think [for] some people that was an issue. And so it’s just the name, honestly.

As participants rubbed shoulders with NTPS systems, they incorporated these experiences into their daily lives and their perceptions of the school. Perspectives are heavily influenced by the students and their behaviors, which both contradict and confirm earlier impressions, sometimes encouraging a change, other times crystallization. For the most part, participants are reacting to elements of the tangible culture and artifacts of NTPS – the traditional and observable elements. Participants at this stage appear to begin developing a stronger perception of the underlying beliefs of NTPS in reaction to their experiences. As the next section shows, the people associated with NTPS continue to be influential in shaping its perceived identity.

Meeting NTPS People

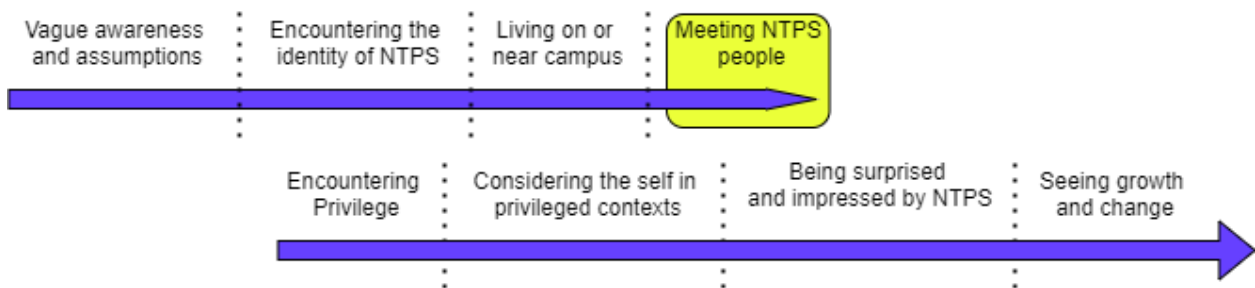


Figure 8

Timeline: Meeting NTPS People

Perhaps the most significant catalyst for shaping participant perceptions, the people associated with NTPS inform and reframe the university’s identity. As participants are surprised – or not – by NTPS people, their established perceptions are tested. The people associated with

the institution determine its character and the experiences that happen around it. Monica started her time at NTPS as one of the only Black women in her dorm, and later became the only Black resident assistant in that hall. She reported making white and Black friends on campus and finding ample social support, though she was sometimes pulled between the two groups,

The small amount of us, of course we're gonna gravitate, we're gonna work together and whatever, but I have this other piece because I am an RA... I may hang with my hall director, me and her ran every single morning, ran three miles every morning. She was my running partner, you know? Yes, she was white, but she was my friend. And so, then I have these groups of Black friends that we may hang out at the form, or we may go here some places...but the two worlds never connect.

Dr. Fang, who had taught at other universities before her time at NTPS, was left disillusioned from her time as an adjunct. She remembered being disappointed in the mundanity of the work and what she observed as a lack of passion in her colleagues. The students also left a strong impression. She recalled encountering a surprising level of privilege when she taught an introductory sociology class,

Typically when I taught intro to soc[iology], we would not have any difficult or incredulous conversations until we got to race and then everything would blow up and we would have to deal with everybody's misconceptions. But the class conversation was typically pretty easy for my students at [other universities]. There was not a whole lot of controversy... That was fundamentally different at [NTPS]— it was puzzling to me as an instructor — because when we got to the conversation about class, I could tell by their response that this was not resonating with them... It told me that I was dealing with a group of people whose resources had allowed them to experience the world in a certain way that I was unfamiliar with or had not seen in my social classes before then...My sense of those kids was just that they had no idea their level of privilege.

Antonio and Cheryl each adjusted their perceptions of NTPS' academic profile after getting to know students and graduates. Antonio's coworkers gave him a positive perception of the school, which in some ways subverted his expectations due to its name,

Most of [the NTPS graduates] were computer programmers and, you know, they seemed competent, but they also seemed like critical thinkers...I never knew anyone that went to a school that professed to be Christian or otherwise religiously affiliated... I guess I associated it with these private institutions...where you nearly straight up teach creationism or something like that.

In contrast, Cheryl's perceptions of NTPS' academic strength were initially embodied by one coworker in particular whom she was unimpressed by. This impression is a lasting one, continuing to today,

I didn't work directly with him. I was aware of some of the stuff that he was working on and honestly, he wasn't a very good engineer...it made me question NTPS' engineering school. I looked into a little bit more of what NTPS was known for, what degrees they offered. And I honestly don't understand why anyone would go to NTPS for an engineering degree.

Travis' perception grew more positive. He mentions similar themes to Antonio of people from NTPS and the town raising his opinion of the school, though he does not mention the academics,

Once I knew more people from [town], I started making more friends and becoming more involved in the community here and then meeting people that either went to [NTPS] or taught at [NTPS] or worked for [NTPS] in some kind of fashion. And I would say once that happened, my perspective got a little more positive.

NTPS people were a source of surprise and information for participants. Several university cultures come into play at this point in the timeline. As participants have been around NTPS long enough to get to know members of multiple systems they all exert an influence on its identity. Chief among these elements, however, is a perception of privilege that is inseparable from NTPS.

Encountering Privilege

Participants universally reflected on privilege at some point in their interviews. Privilege manifested primarily as wealth and whiteness. Kristie only reflected on privilege so far as to note

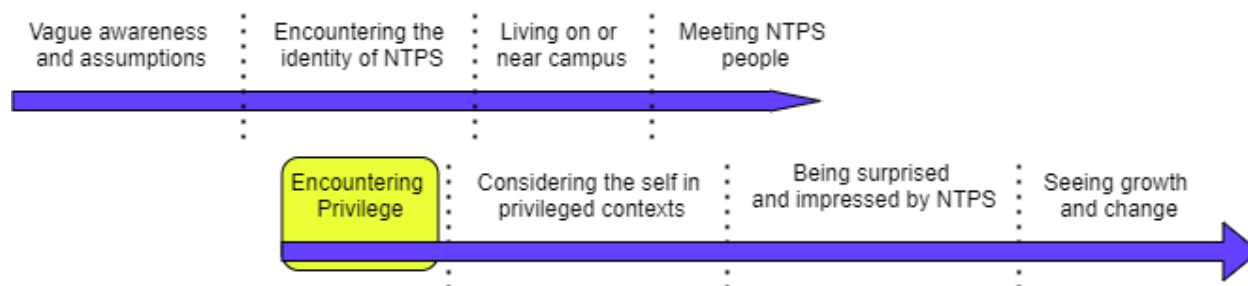


Figure 9

Timeline: Encountering Privilege

that it was something that NTPS had struggled with since she was a student, but would touch on it again later as it pertains to herself. Dr. Fang’s experience teaching at NTPS framed her understanding of the community as privileged, a conception that has been reinforced during the COVID-19 pandemic, “[There is a] sense of distance. The sense that ‘my economic privilege also allows me some biological privilege.’ Like COVID is something that happens to the riffraff, but it won’t touch us because we’re not riffraff.” Nicholas expressed similar concerns about COVID-19 and the NTPS community, which he experienced firsthand as a staff member, “The coaching staff and athletes, they were being very lazy with their safety compared to us. And it kind of sends that message of, ‘we don’t care about your health,’ from the college to the company.”

Antonio’s view of NTPS gradually shifted to an understanding of NTPS as a place of privilege. He grew to identify a similar sense of distance between the Town and Gown (T&G) communities to that identified by Dr. Fang,

I started getting the perception that, at least the people I knew individually were all pretty good folks, but I started developing a sort of, let's say, bias or stereotype that the average student or the student body as a whole was, let's say very, socioeconomically privileged... perhaps a little insulated from the average person... Anything that doesn't seem like a shiny development is kind of seen as sketchy by them.

By contrast, Travis’ perspective has grown to see NTPS as more inclusive than he expected, though the school seems to still carry the privilege at the root of its identity,

Every current student that I've met has been a respectful person that seems to have a moral compass for the most part. The international students especially seem really happy to be there, the ones that I've met anyway. And there's also that element of white privilege though, that you can't overlook...there's a xenophobic element, a conservative Christian element, for all the good and bad that that brings.

Cheryl voiced a similar view, characterizing the students at the school as "entitled white kids",

The [NTPS] population is not terribly diverse in general- racially diverse as well as socioeconomically diverse. It seems like a number of the students come from higher socio-economical areas, and maybe that privilege that they have impacts some of the ways that they interact with the world. Maybe not as service minded, more selfish and narcissistic and all the bad things that we think about, uh, when we think about the current college generation.

Billy Jenkins also pointed out the socioeconomic and racial privilege of the campus,

There just not a lot of Black culture at NTPS...it's hard for our students to identify with what's happening on NTPS campus on a larger scale. And I'm talking about our Black students because their culture, our culture isn't really championed at an all-time high like it would be at a school where there's more Black students... What is dominating the [NTPS] culture is the white students that pull up in the parking lot with their Mercedes or their Land Rovers or their six passenger new model Suburbans.

For Nicholas, the lack of diversity on campus was disheartening as he realized that NTPS might not be the place that he had hoped,

What I did see was predominantly white people, and you never saw the minority. And if it was the minority, they were mostly athletes. So that kind of sent the image that if I am there, I am not going to speak to the kind of people that I was hoping I would...people from different nations, from across the United States. It kind of sent that image, like everybody's here and they stick to their own group. And I didn't really like that because I wanted to explore other people.

Monica noted the lack of Black faculty members and the apparent quotas for enrollment and organizations, but was not shaken by them as she was used to being at predominantly white institutions. As mentioned above, Sadie noted the disciplinary and legal privilege of the students, who seemed able to party until very late without police intervention.

Taken together, these perceptions of privilege reflect an essential part of NTPS' identity.

Socioeconomic, racial, and behavioral privilege are givens when considering the school.

Exceptions do exist, and they may prevent these perceptions of privilege from becoming

monolithic, but they are not enough to break the mold of the majority. The various cultures of NTPS are not perceived to be diverse or inclusive enough at this point in the timeline.

Considering the Self in Privileged Contexts

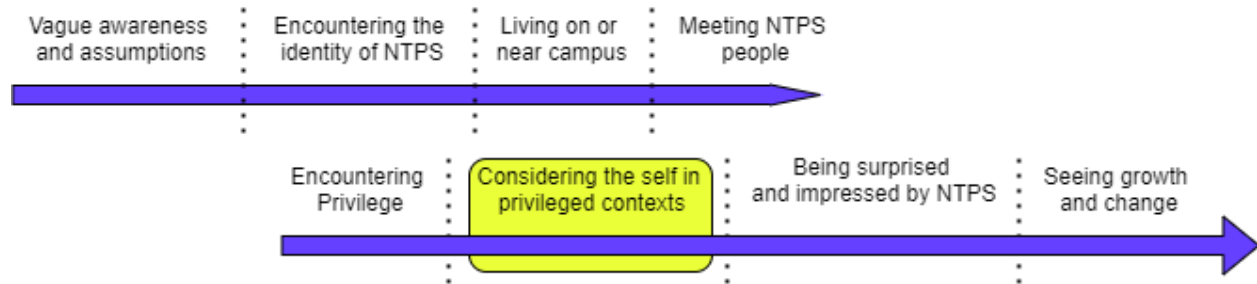


Figure 10

Timeline: Considering the Self in Privileged Contexts

Most participants reacted to the privilege apparent at NTPS by considering themselves and their own privilege. It should be noted that every interview was conducted less than one year after the murder of George Floyd and the resulting social unrest, so issues of racial privilege and justice were prevalent at the time. Travis and Kristie tied the two together in their responses.

Travis said, “It’s made me more and more aware of my own privilege and wanting to check it,” and Kristie reflected on her time at NTPS,

I’m a privileged white female at [NTPS], I was the largest percentage on campus. So I don’t remember ever running into those type of- it wasn’t something that I thought about when I was there. I personally want to be more self-aware and more responsible for how I’m living and working in the community. And so my university that I care about so much, I want them to be too.

For Dr. Fang, the privilege at NTPS was incompatible with her identity as a gay woman,

Having grown up in an upper middle-class environment with all of the privileges and things that, that provided me, the things that I was socialized to regard as important from that environment, the structures that I would need to participate in to fully participate in that part of the world don’t work for me first and foremost because I’m gay. So just by my sexual orientation, I’m somewhat removed from that economic structure and the social environment that it creates and necessitates.

Billy Jenkins also felt a sense of dissonance with his own experience. The privilege that he saw was in stark contrast to his youth,

As a Black man who came from a single parent household, not a lot of money, there was moments where I only had a can of beans in the cabinet to eat, right? And a lot of white students that I've talked to...that's a foreign concept to them. None of them ever had to survive, right? It was just strictly 'you can thrive because you don't have to worry about where your next meal is going to come from.'

Nicholas' exposure to privilege and poverty near NTPS reframed his understanding of his hometown and his place within it. Within those stratifications, he saw opportunity,

It kind of put a stamp on me that I know my place in [town]. Like I know that I'm a lower income person and it doesn't mean that I have to be like that for the rest of my life...So I saw the worst of it. And so far I've seen the best of it. I know my place in between, and I see the possibilities that I can get because I've talked to some people at the top and I see that they're not so much different from me as a person. It's just, they took the right opportunity and they stuck with it.

Monica recalled feeling nervous as the only Black applicant to be an RA. She remembered a legacy of being the only Black person in white spaces, but like Nicholas she found a sense of purpose in that dissonance,

I knew none of my friends that I knew at college were applying to be an RA, but I still did it anyways. I have always been told all my life that I was different, always from people that probably really knew me... So eventually I had to accept that difference. And so I did...you want to be accepted – who doesn't – but at some point you have to say, 'I accept my difference. I accept who I am. I'm going to be my own person. I'm going to do this.'

With privilege has come reflection. As privilege is central to the identity of NTPS, so too did participants consider themselves in its contexts. From the wealth of the students to the campus norms, every university culture comes into play when fostering an environment of inclusiveness. Still, despite the strength of these perceptions, as participants got to know NTPS more and lived in town longer, they began to reevaluate their opinions.

Being Surprised and Impressed

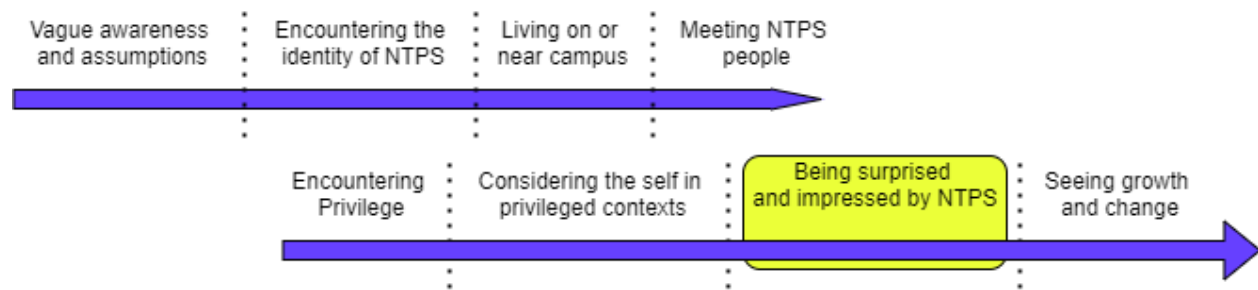


Figure 11

Timeline: Being surprised and impressed by NTPS

For several participants, their expectations of the school were subverted, often again due to getting to know NTPS graduates or workers. By this point, a participant's perceptions have had long enough to settle before being countered. For instance, Antonio mentioned his view of NTPS as a privileged place being reinforced in part due to a relationship that he had with a graduate, but knowing another graduate led to a moment of surprise,

She came from a pretty poor background and a very good understanding of how the world works and that people come from different walks of life. That certainly I think played a role in...helping me see that there's some pretty level-headed students coming out of there too.

Travis was also impressed by NTPS students. In particular, he was surprised to see that NTPS attracted international students, who he thought acted responsibly, "That's a really huge plus in my book...international students especially seem really happy to be there...[and] there were some of them you could tell were looking out for their fellow students." He also met a faculty member who changed his opinion of the school, who he was surprised to learn was accepted as a gay man and professor,

I remember meeting this person briefly, but upon learning that they were a professor at [NTPS] and that they were out and proud and stuff. I remember thinking, 'Wow, that's really cool. Apparently it's not so closed-minded a place after all.'

Nicholas was also surprised, but unpleasantly. As his friends became NTPS students, he noticed a loss of curiosity that worried him. Compounded by the lack of diversity on campus, the more Nicholas got to know NTPS, the less desirable it became,

When they speak about their experience, they seem like they changed completely as a person. Like they aren't as excited for education anymore. Now that they did get the community scholarship, they kind of lost their personality and their drive for school. Now that they've got there, they actually said that they want to transfer from [NTPS]. That [NTPS] is very draining for them.

Knowing current and former students did change some of Cheryl's perceptions about the character of the student body, but she continued to question the academic impact of NTPS,

The individuals who I've met who are current students, they've all been really great, and again, it could be partly because of just the self-selection because all of the current [NTPS] students that I know, I know through my church... I think the individuals who are doing really well would have done really well regardless of where they went to school...I'm not sure how much [NTPS] academically has impacted who they are today.

For the most part, as participants got to know NTPS they were positively surprised. As time passed and more individuals and systems interacted with each participant, they began to see patterns of contradictions that reshaped their views of the university. These contradictions sometimes come with reevaluations, and are representative of the complexities held within an HEI and its systems.

Seeing Growth and Change

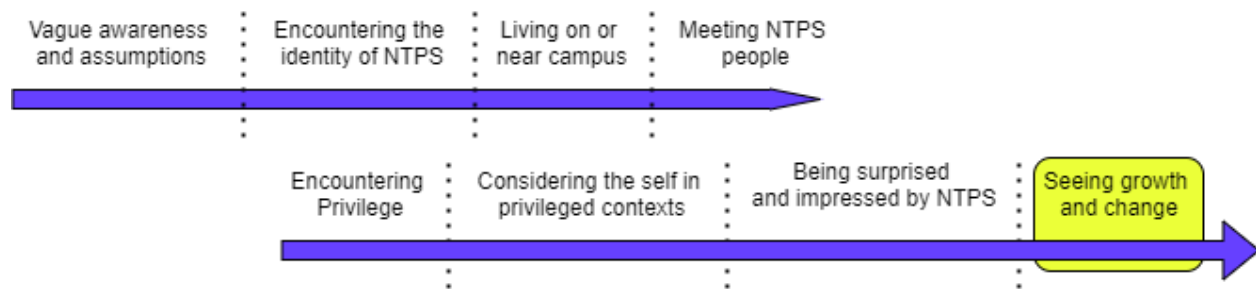


Figure 12

Timeline: Seeing Growth and Change

Some participants recognized the university as an institution undergoing change, especially regarding diversity and inclusion on campus. Sadie noticed increased efforts to be

more inclusive at NTPS, “I do feel like there is a strong push from [NTPS] to try to get a more inclusive and diverse population of students.” Kristie mentioned that this change is the work of several years even if they are struggling currently,

I even remember when I was in school 10 years ago, that diversity was something that they were working towards and something that they were proud of with having students from many different countries. I think that it always has been an important thing for [NTPS]. Not to say that I don't think they're working towards it, I think it's just a struggle that they've had recently.

Monica spoke with certainty about the necessity of continuing those efforts and adding diversity at NTPS to operate responsibly in a diverse world,

It does need to be more culturally diverse; we don't have much diversity here...[NTPS] has to change with how the world changes...if our world is going to be diverse and we're trying to work as a world to know more about cultures and stop just being in our own entities, your college has to be there. So you have to bring in students of all races and all colors.

In contrast, Dr. Fang primarily pointed toward construction and increased news coverage as evidence of growth,

Mostly it's just been construction that has shown me growth. It's hard to disentangle the growth of the city from the growth of the university... I do notice that with things like sports come national coverage of especially football games. And along with that come all of the basically PSAs for the school. And I've watched them kind of climb academically just off in the periphery of my awareness. But mostly I'd have to say it has to do with the physical plant. 'Cause I've driven around it.

NTPS is a developing institution. It professes to be growing in status, size, and equality of representation. These perspectives would appear to support that view. The participants focus their conversation on the students and have positive things to say about the direction of NTPS. They acknowledge the importance of addressing the lack of diversity at the institution and note progress toward this and other goals.

Coding

Coding includes the process of condensing data into themes and categories in order to allow for more nimble and generalized discussions around that topic. In line with MEC research methods (Reynolds & Gutman, 1998), initial coding took place during the interview itself. Preliminary ladders were made from the conversation, driven by questions included in the interview protocol. Participants identified attributes for each period of time, after which we discussed the impacts of those attributes and eventually how they resonated within individuals' personal values and motivations. Participants were regularly included in the coding process to verify or consider the appropriateness of a theme. After completion of each interview, participants were asked to review a copy of their ladders, and were emailed with a guide to

Figure 13

Base Codes

Values

20. Community
21. Empathy
22. Equity
23. Growth
24. Responsibility
25. Opportunity
26. Purpose

Consequences

8. Achievement
9. Benefits culture
10. Branding
11. Comfort
12. Community benefit
13. Cost
14. Culture shock
15. Different
16. Learning
17. Pleasant surprise
18. Encountering privilege
19. Self-image

Attributes

1. Campus beauty
2. Distance
3. Diversity
4. Meeting NTPS people
5. Apparent privilege
6. School identity
7. Shared spaces

reading the model. No participants requested that any changes be made.

Interviews produced a total of 56 ladders. First rounds of coding identified 127 initial codes unique to each participant. Of these, 36 (28%) were attributes, reflecting impressions of NTPS. 66 (52%) were consequences, reflecting reactions or outcomes of the attributes, and 25 (19%) were values or deeply held beliefs. Of the 127 initial codes, 26 (20%) were mentioned by at least three (33%) participants and used as the basis for quantitative coding of the ladders (see figure 13 for initial codes and Appendix D for summary codes of each participant's ladders).

Reducing the overall responses into codes necessarily reduces the number of connections considered in the rest of the study. With a cutoff level of three, the vast majority of preliminary codes were

either subsumed into others as sub-categories or removed altogether. In the latter case, this sometimes meant preserving an item that met the cutoff level even when it had no link to another valid item. In these cases, ladders were maintained and those items coded with a direct relationship to themselves in order to reflect their prominence in the minds of the participants. None of those self-sustaining items would feature in either the master HVM or the time specific HVMs.

A further round of coding occurred during the construction of the implication matrices. Mapping the relationships of the items revealed several trends and weaknesses in the codes, resulting in the elimination of several categories and the fusion of others. This brought the final number of codes to 17. Of these, five (29%) are attributes, six (35%) are consequences, and six (35%) are values (see figure 14).

Figure 14
Final Codes

- Values
- 12. Community
- 13. Empathy
- 14. Equity
- 15. Growth
- 16. Responsibility
- 17. Fulfillment

- Consequences
- 6. Benefits
- 7. Cost
- 8. Improvement
- 9. Surprise
- 10. Encountering privilege
- 11. Self-image

- Attributes
- 1. Diversity
- 2. Knowing NTPS people
- 3. Apparent privilege
- 4. School identity
- 5. Shared spaces

Attributes

The attributes reflect the most common answers to questions of what comes to mind when one thinks about NTPS. Each attribute is made up of several subcategories or disparate elements across a common theme. They are: diversity, knowing NTPS people, apparent privilege, school identity, and shared spaces.

Diversity (1). The diversity attribute includes observations about racial diversity and discussions of inclusion struggles or initiatives.

Knowing NTPS people (2). The knowing NTPS people attribute includes notable contact with students, graduates, and employees of NTPS.

Apparent privilege (3). The apparent privilege attribute is distinct from the diversity attribute in that it relates more to mention of visible and assumed socioeconomic privilege and concrete examples that convey a sense of entitlement rather than the presence or lack of a particular group.

School identity (4). The school identity attribute includes mention of the name or brand of the college, its practices, and its classifications.

Shared spaces (5). The shared spaces attribute specifically refers to the experience of living near the college and regularly encountering the campus or students. NTPS employees did not seem to encourage the identification of this attribute in participants.

Consequences

The consequence level reflects the outcomes or participant reactions to the attributes. Consequences are one level abstracted from the attributes, and most often directly stemmed from them. Consequences are also made up of subcategories or multiple responses across a theme. They are: benefits, cost, improvement, surprise, encountering privilege, and self-image.

Benefits (6). The benefits consequence encapsulates perceived positives to the NTPS and external communities.

Cost (7). The cost consequence is derived from the monetary burden that usually accompanies enrollment at NTPS.

Improvement (8). The improvement consequence includes learning that happens on or around campus as well as notions of achievement and accomplishment.

Surprise (9). The surprise consequence includes several important subcategories. Culture shock, pleasant surprises, and unexpected differences make up this theme. Note that by including

elements of culture shock, this is slightly different than the “being surprised and impressed” section of the timeline.

Encountering privilege (10). More than noticing inequities as in the apparent privilege attribute, the encountering privilege consequence reflects participant reactions to those perceived inequities.

Self-image (11). The self-image consequence includes participant considerations of themselves in relation to the attributes.

Values

The six values identified by participants contain the most abstracted reactions to NTPS captured in this study. They follow from the consequences and attributes first described in the interviews, but participants were much more likely to remark that they had never thought about these connections before, and so including their contents on the timeline would be a misrepresentation of the shared experience. Values were the only items mapped with quotes for participants to sanction during the member-checking process, a change from MEC norms to increase the validity of the data alongside increased context as suggested by Grunert and Grunert (1995).

Community (12). The community value represents ideas of collective benefits and the public good as well as social support.

Antonio noted the importance of community engagement for the school, expressing that, “everything that it does extends beyond the people that it employs, the students that it educates and cultivates, they're all gonna have influence outside of [campus] borders.” He also connected the growth of students to ideas of community and a broader higher educational purpose, suggesting that, “[NTPS] cranking out a bunch of good critical thinkers, that alone won't change

the world, but if everyone does it, then that would probably have positive effects on society.”

Cheryl expressed similar thoughts as she spoke about the importance of serving the community, a trait she was glad to see in the NTPS students that she knew.

Billy Jenkins’ sense of community in West Texas dissuaded him from applying to NTPS as a student. As an employee, he tied community to the size of the school and the greater opportunity for individuals to affect change on campus, “When your community is tight, then y’all can make power moves together and it’ll still have a large-scale effect.” Nicholas spoke about a sense of community as something that he sought from the college he would like to attend. Not finding this at NTPS, he looked elsewhere,

“Once you get there, congratulations...but automatically you're not the number one priority anymore... [At another college] it felt like, 'we're going to give you all the resources you do need so that you only have to focus on education...And that's why I'm going to attend [the other school].

Noting the lax attention to COVID-19 protocols exhibited by NTPS students and opportunities to build community between the T&G, Dr. Fang expressed concern that students would not show a commitment to community in the future,

It speaks to a group of people who are not going to, as they age, necessarily engage in community building activity... What looks more likely is that they will continue practices that will support, sustain, establish boundaries, especially economic boundaries that make community much more difficult to create.

For Monica and Travis, community was connected to questions of diversity and representation. They each suggested that diversity could strengthen connections between individuals and the institution. In addition to suggesting that she might have a stronger connection with her alma mater had it been an HBCU, Monica said,

If it's only three Blacks and it's in a dorm with 300 girls and they're all white, how often were any of them going to talk to me? How often did they want to know who I am? How often?... I just believe you have to bring it in so that we're forcing ourselves to come out of our comfort zones and to migrate and learn with people.

Empathy (13). The empathy value represents ideas of concern for and connection with individuals who are different than oneself.

Travis described empathy as an ideal central to his identity and rooted in his upbringing as a Unitarian. He spoke about it as an important trait to building strong communities, and praised NTPS for developing students with the capacity for empathy. Kristie also connected empathy to solidarity, but in times of crises on campus, “If one of their students was feeling discriminated against, I would want my school to react in a kind manner, in an empathetic manner and truly try to address those issues and make positive changes.” For Antonio it was a leadership trait, “I would hope that anyone in a position of power is able to look at all different viewpoints and understand all different walks of life, because they’re probably going to have to deal with people from all different walks of life.”

Billy Jenkins and Dr. Fang noticed a lack of empathy in NTPS’ identity. For Billy Jenkins, it came from the privilege of students who had never faced economic hardship, “you don’t really relate to those who have had to survive because you’ve never been in that position. Dr Fang connected the prominence of football at the institution to an identity that rejected empathy,

To make that the primary source of your growth as an institution, even if it’s just to jumpstart you, is saying that ‘these values are okay with us; we’re willing to be mean, aggressive, violent and all those things in the service of making more money and growing our institution.’

Sadie expressed frustration at student neighbors who had habitually destroyed and stolen her political signs in support of Democratic candidates. She felt that it was morally incorrect, and said that it suggests the students “don’t respect LGBTQ [people] either, they don’t respect people of color.”

Equity (14). The equity value represents ideas of social justice and the righting of historical wrongs.

In discussions about privilege, Sadie and Dr. Fang each brought up equity as an important guiding value. Dr. Fang identified equity as her primary motivation to pursue sociology and teaching, calling it “a fundamental commitment to a more equitable distribution of resource and opportunity; a desire for greater social justice.” Her experience at NTPS clashed with that ideal, leaving her feeling indignant and disillusioned. Conversely, after meeting NTPS graduates from underprivileged backgrounds Antonio and Travis viewed the school as more equitable. Travis noted, “My personal values sort of require that [if] someone’s employed here, treat them with respect and dignity. And so meeting this person whose employer was doing that...resonated with me.”

Growth (15). The growth value represents ideas of self-improvement, learning, and development over time.

Kristie spoke of growth as she considered herself and NTPS in privileged contexts. She expressed a desire to “be more self-aware and responsible,” and hoped that the university would be too. Dr. Fang and Cheryl noted the school as an incubator for growth. Cheryl mentioned that a campus ministry was important in part because “people continue to grow and change throughout their lives, but...it’s a very formative time”. As the university has changed, Dr. Fang hoped that it has also increased its learning opportunities for students, “I hope that means that students are getting a wider variety of experiences and voices...I hope that means that the library has a wider variety of resources...and more students who cannot afford a private education are supported.”

Growth was a motivating factor for Monica, who chose to attend NTPS in part due to its distance from home – still in Texas, but enough for her to have some new experiences. She

described herself as always seeking to learn and explore something that drove her as a student, “I’m not usually the type to wait for someone to come and give me the information, I’m going to seek it out and learn it.” Nicholas described himself as much the same, “Exploring gave me a way to open up my mind and then give me other thoughts to create new ideas, be creative.” Like Monica, he spoke of NTPS as a place to broaden his experiences, though in his eyes this illusion would later be dispelled. Antonio, on the other hand, was just thankful that students would be exposed to science, and not creationism.

Responsibility (16). The responsibility value represents ideas of duty and morality.

Kristie noted the work and resources that NTPS puts into their efforts, “You realize that there’s more that goes into the university and how much they do to try and make those experiences important and available for their students and alumni.” Monica spoke on feelings of responsibility when she explained being motivated to become a resident assistant in order to help defray the cost of education for her mother. Sadie’s perspective on responsibility recalled seeing an NTPS student drunkenly crash into a neighbor’s car and wishing that the students exercised better judgment.

Cheryl spoke on ideas of responsibility in terms of duty and support. The poor engineer produced by NTPS concerned her because in their profession they “do work that impacts people’s lives and people’s safety, and if you do bad engineering, people can die.” As a mentor to young people at her church, she also mentioned feeling called to provide “wise counsel” to students who were deciding on their next steps after high school.

Fulfillment (17). The fulfillment value represents ideas of opportunity, purpose, and personal ideas of success, even if yet unrealized.

For Black students on athletic scholarship especially, Billy Jenkins emphasized the enormity of the opportunity before NTPS students,

If you get a scholarship to come here to [NTPS], this predominantly white private institution that is paying for your degree and paying for you to be a part of athletics here, you should capitalize on that because man, you have an opportunity to change the narrative of your family or just the trajectory of what you can do because of this education, if you capitalize on it the right way.

Travis saw past NTPS' impact on the individual and recognized the broader economic implications as the school bolstered the town even beyond his personal investments, "Economic opportunities allow people to manifest their dreams and allow people to live their best life."

Nicholas was also impressed by the impact of NTPS on the community, and reflected on his own privilege as shown above.

Cheryl looked at the high price tag of NTPS as a possible barrier to fulfillment as student loan debt removes flexibility from and adds stress to the lives of graduates, but that did not negate the school's potential to "encourage students to [find their purpose] and provide them with services that would help them get to that point...being able to pursue what you want to pursue is a great opportunity."

Monica found purpose at a young age thanks in part to lessons that she learned in church about how to be a leader, a factor that resonated with her due to the size of the school. She also embraced discomfort in her search for fulfillment as the only Black resident assistant applicant, as discussed above.

Matrices and Maps

Examining the development of perceptions over time requires the creation of several implication matrices and HVMs to correspond with each milestone. Each participant was asked about their first impressions of NTPS, when their perceptions underwent a major shift, and their

current perceptions. Three (33%) participants identified only first and current perceptions, not identifying any major shifts between their first impressions and the date of the interview.

Implication matrices are constructed so as to show both direct and indirect relationships between items; as such, the x and y axes are the same. A direct relationship is any two adjacent items in a coded ladder, and is scored to the left of the decimal point in the matrix. An indirect relationship includes any items in the same coded ladder that are not adjacent, and is scored to the right of the decimal point (Reynolds & Gutman, 1998).

Overall Relationships

Reynolds and Gutman (1998) suggest using variable cutoffs in creating HVMs so as to maintain meaningful connections and avoid maps that are so crowded to be without meaning. A cutoff value of Three total connections was used in the overall matrix. Every item appears in the master map, with every direct connection over the cutoff limit included, excluding attributes. Among attributes, only one connection was recorded (knowing NTPS people – school identity) due to its strength of four connections; the others were excluded in an effort to maintain the integrity of the map.

The HVMs follow a consistent coding pattern. Attributes are represented by the squares, and are located toward the bottom of the map. Attributes most often connect to consequences, represented by hexagons, which are in the middle of the maps. Values are represented by circles, and are at the top of the map. The strength of each connection is shown by the number near each set of connecting lines, though indirect relationships may only be evident through the path that each chain forms. Each bolded number appears in the map somehow, and each italicized value is above the cutoff but not represented in the HVM.

The most prominent connection in the overall HVM is the surprise consequence. With seven nodes on the chain directly linking to it, including every attribute and two values, it is clear that NTPS consistently subverts the expectations or norms of the research participants. School identity has the most connections of the attributes, including four direct connections to other nodes. It also indirectly connects six times each to the fulfillment and growth values. The knowing NTPS people attribute connects three times each to the fulfillment and empathy values, but lacks sufficient connections to a related consequence, and so these do not appear in the map.

First Impressions

Table 3
First Impression Implication Matrix
Code

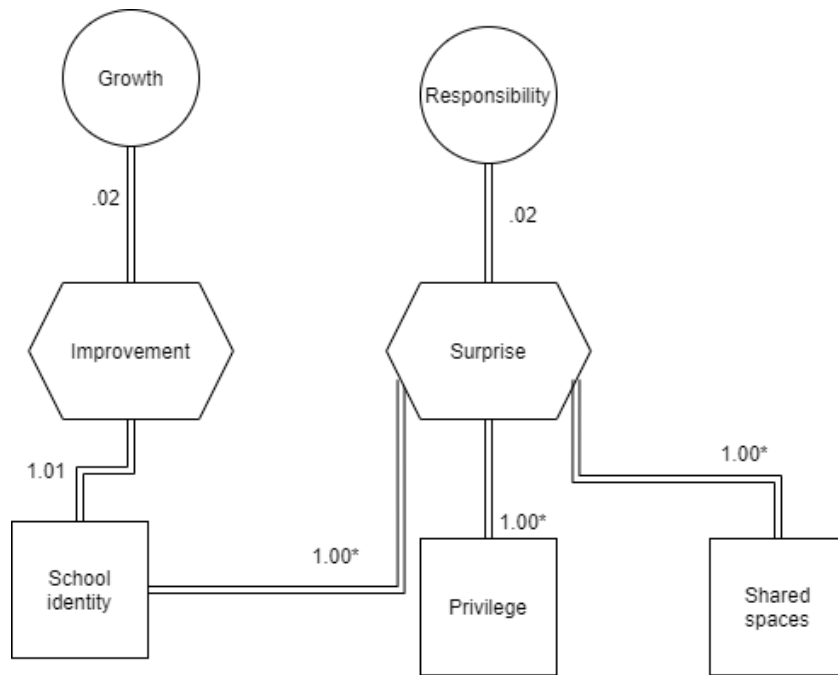
	Attribute				Consequence							Value					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	0		0.1														
2		0															
3			0	0.1			<u>1</u>		1					.1	1		
4				1			1	1.1	1				.1		1.4		.1
5					0	.1			1								.1
6						0											
7							0		1					1	.1		
8								0							.2		1
9									0					1	.1	.2	
10										0							
11											0						
12												0					
13													0				
14														0			
15															0		.1
16																0	
17																	

As the category set furthest from the present, it may be expected that first impressions contain the least number of connections and thus also the sparsest map. Due to the low number of connections, a cutoff value of two was used for the implication matrix for first impressions. Connections between ‘privilege’ ‘shared spaces’ and ‘school identity’ are included to show origins of ‘surprise-responsibility’. Otherwise, the school identity attribute, improvement and surprise consequences, and growth and

responsibility values appear in the map. School identity connects indirectly to ideas of growth four times, including through the improvement consequence.

Figure 16

First Impression Hierarchical Value Map



Middle Milestone Impressions

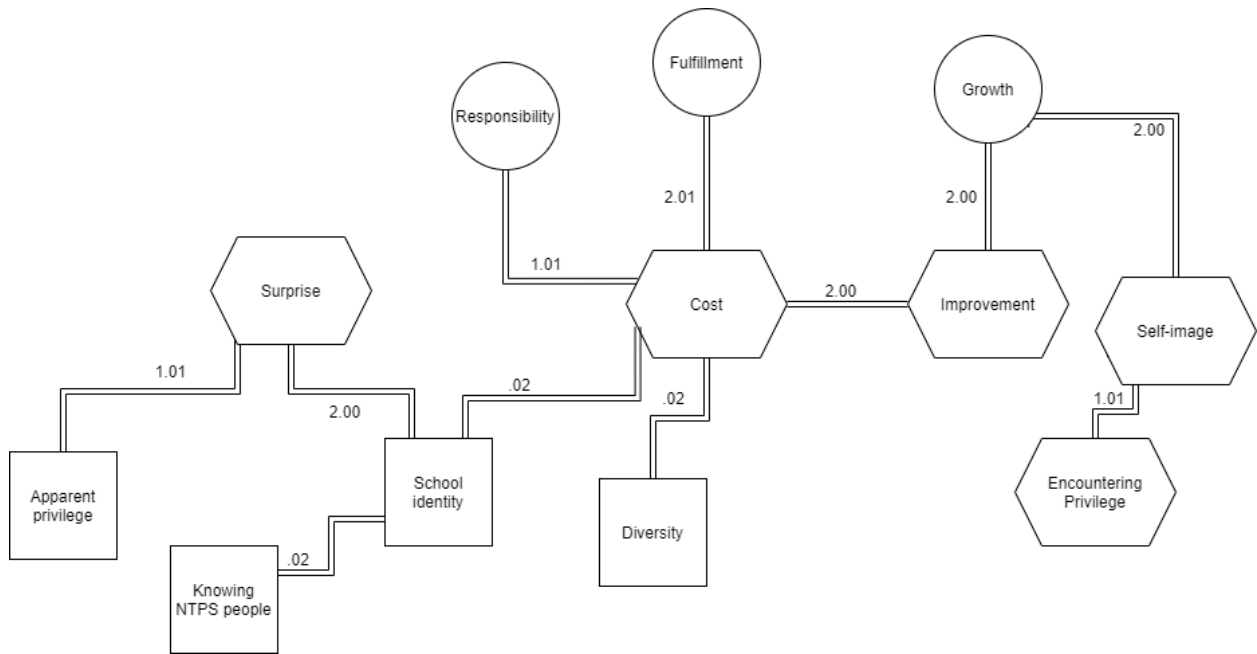
Several participants (3; 33%) only identified first and current perception, resulting in a somewhat sparse second set of implications as well. A cutoff level of two was used for this map due to the scarcity of connections, but many more nodes appear in the chain compared to the map of first impressions. The attributes apparent privilege, knowing NTPS people, school identity, and diversity appear, as do the surprise, cost, improvement, self-image, and encountering privilege consequences. The values responsibility, fulfillment, and growth also appear.

Table 4
Middle Milestone Implication Matrix
 Code

	Attribute					Consequence							Value				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	0		0.1	0.1			.2	.1	.1		1				.1	1	2
2		0	1	0.2	0.1		1	.1	.1				.1			.2	.1
3			0	0.1	1		.1		1.1				.1				.1
4				0	1		.2	1	2	.1	.1				.1	2	.3
5					0				1	1	.1		.1		.1		.1
6						0	.1	1		.1		.1	.1				
7							0	2	.1	1			1			1.1	2.1
8								0	.1			1			2	.2	.1
9									0				1	1	.1		.1
10										0	1.1		.1		.2		1
11											0				2		.1
12												0					
13													0				
14														0			
15															0		.1
16																0	.2
17																	

Figure 17

Middle Milestone Impressions Hierarchical Value Map



Despite connecting to three attributes, surprise does not connect to a value in this HVM. Instead, cost is more central, connecting to school identity and diversity attributes and improvement value as well as the values of responsibility and fulfillment. School identity connects indirectly to the fulfillment value three times, including partially through the cost consequence as pictured in the HVM.

Current Impressions

Current impressions were much more numerous than the previous levels. A cutoff level of three was used for this HVM. ‘Surprise-equity’ was included to highlight the strength of the indirect connection between ‘apparent privilege’ and ‘equity’ (.03). The shared spaces, diversity, and apparent privilege attributes appear, as do the surprise, encountering privilege, and benefits consequences and the values of community, equity, empathy, and fulfillment. Surprise appears

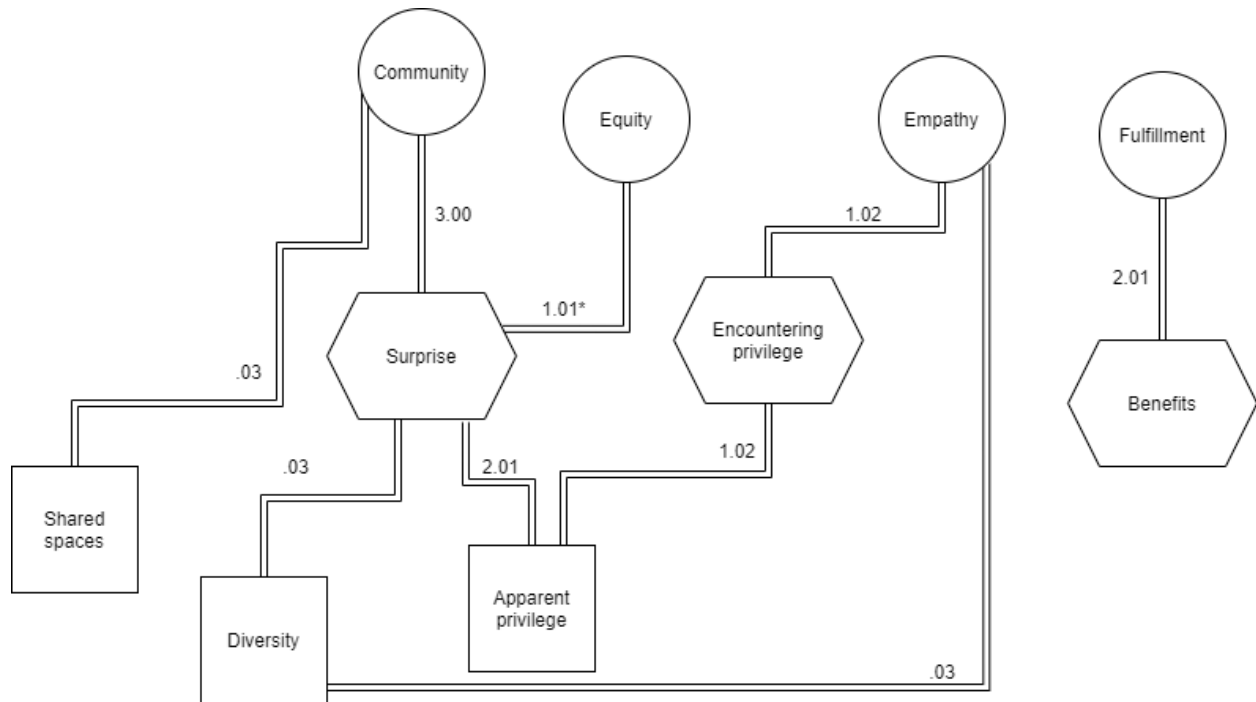
Table 5
Current Impressions Implication Matrix
Code

	Attribute					Consequence							Value					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
1	0	1	1	0.1					.3	.1		.3	.3		1.1			
2		0	1.1	2	1	1			1.1	.2		.1	.2	.2		.1	.2	
3			0		1	2			2.1	1.2	.2	.2	.2	.3				
4				0				1	1	.1		1			.1	.1	.2	
5					0	.2			.1			.3						
6						0		.1		.1		2	.2	.1			2.1	
7							0									1		
8								0		1							1	
9									0	.1	1	3		1.1	.1			
10										0	2		1.2	2				
11											0		.1	.1				
12												1	1.1					
13													0	1	1			
14														0				
15															0			
16																	1	1
17																		.1

central to this HVM, connecting to the diversity and apparent privilege attributes and two values, community, and equity.

Figure 18

Current Impressions Hierarchical Value Map



Summary

The interviews show that participant perceptions are complex, and made up of more than just direct experiences with NTPS. As people interact with the school and its various systems, their perceptions grow out of their own upbringings and contexts. As the participants spend more time near NTPS and continue engaging with it, those perceptions change, sometimes in unexpected ways. Despite this potential for change, some aspects of the university, such as its privilege, appear as constants over time. Chapter five will discuss these results in greater detail, including implications for research and practice.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Implications, and Limitations

Chapter 4 provided the results of the study. This chapter includes a discussion and analysis of those results, followed by implications for practice and research. Study limitations conclude the chapter. This study began with two questions:

1. How do NTPS' surrounding communities of varied demographics and relationships with the institution view the HEI?
2. How do the experiences and impressions of NTPS connect to community members' values?

In chapter 2, the default classification of the NTPS Town & Gown (T&G) relationship was assumed, and the multi-bodied structure of a university addressed alongside systems theory in an attempt to demonstrate the complexity of the T&G interface. It is out of this interface that the perceived identity of the institution is formed, and its relationship to the people of the town clarified.

Review of the Findings

A Traditional T&G Relationship

As discussed in chapter two, the NTPS website and published institutional identity suggests a traditional relationship with its host town. Gavazzi, Fox, and Martin (2014) describe a traditional relationship as lower effort and higher comfort. Interviews support this idea; there is neither so much conflict nor cooperation to suggest either high levels of effort or animosity. Traditional forms of interaction between T&G do occur involving multiple systems, but most connections are tenuous and one-sided.

Strikingly, no participants mention encountering NTPS via an organized community project or initiative, further suggesting a low-effort, traditional T&G relationship, albeit one

lacking in some elements of a strong tangible culture (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008). Coming onto campus was a typically nice experience, especially due to the fine landscaping and design noted by participants, but traffic and students near the school came with their own irritations. Every participant remarked on the apparent privileges of the students at NTPS, with several interviews mentioning a sense of distance between NTPS and its surrounding communities.

As Gavazzi et al. (2014) mention, there are draws to the traditional T&G model. For one, a low effort relationship frees up time and resources for both NTPS and the town to devote to other matters. For another, maintaining the status quo may have an attractive appeal if the relationship is amicable to start. Both T&G entities leave opportunity unrealized when they maintain this kind of distance, however, and such happy disengagement is increasingly unlikely to be sustainable between a growing urban university and its city (Gavazzi et al., 2014).

The Perceived Identity

Together, participant perceptions of NTPS paint a picture of an institution with a strong projected identity and privileged population. This projected identity is reinforced and undercut by the university. The view of NTPS as an expensive educational institution that can benefit individuals and the community was maintained, as were initial perceptions of apparent privilege. The university surprised participants over time with the success of underprivileged individuals, strength of its academic programs, and scope of its activities; combined with elements of privilege and surprise at student behavior in part based on NTPS branding, the perceived identity differs significantly from participant expectations.

A Place of Learning and Advancement. NTPS is perceived to be engaged in the ancient roles of educating individuals and benefitting the community. Participants connected the school with ideas of personal and communal improvement, identifying traditional benefits like growing

the town economy and helping people improve their standing as well as bringing diversity to the town. While participants recognized NTPS' involvement in the pursuit of education, there was some doubt as to its efficacy.

It is significant, if unsurprising, that education is recognized as central to the NTPS identity. The absence of this most critical characteristic would signify deep problems with the perceived identity of the school, and would likely be the result of a more hostile divide between T&G to signify a conflicted or devitalized relationship (Gavazzi et al., 2014). Similarly, the relative lack of comments connecting negative consequences to NTPS' presence in town suggests that participants do not consider it to be a liability or hindrance to the community at large.

The lack of community engagement initiatives or partnerships in the community is again notable. None were mentioned in the course of the interviews apart from a community scholarship, which participants referenced mainly as a way to increase diversity and access to campus and not as ways to benefit to community. Three participants work in the field of K-12 education and none of them drew on experiences with NTPS as professionals to shape their perspectives. It is possible that community engagement and partnerships exist that have escaped the attention of this sample, but these results further reinforce the classification of NTPS as a relatively insular institution with a traditional T&G relationship: the benefits are apparent, but so is the lack of engagement.

A Place of Privilege. In its current form, NTPS seems inseparable from perceptions of privilege. In large part, these perceptions stem from the apparent privilege presented by students; nice vehicles in particular received repeated mention. The niceness of campus with its beauty, nature, and architecture was understood as the result of great financial expense and served as a

boundary between the T&G communities. Participants also noted the whiteness of the school alongside other dominant cultural traits including Christianity, conservatism, and heteronormativity. These aspects of NTPS were sources of discomfort for some participants and also led some to reflect on their own privileges and struggles. The privilege of the school is an influential marker of how it stands apart of the surrounding community, and is insulated from the concerns of the less well-off.

Participant acknowledgment of NTPS struggles with diversity points out a longstanding issue for the school. The alumnae each mentioned diversity initiatives from their time as students, and at the time of writing the NTPS homepage features a committee to address its ongoing and historical issues around racial diversity and equity. This initiative is an example of how multiple university systems can work together to influence campus culture – with engagement from campus leadership, faculty, staff, and students, it is a compelling effort. Still, there are some aspects of privilege that NTPS cannot directly control or address, such as the vehicles that students drive and their behavior in the areas near campus where the rules seem less clearly defined.

A Place Unexpected. NTPS styles itself as an institution on the brink of the elite echelons of US higher education. In spite of those aspirations, the name and branding of the school led several participants to discount its standing while the apparent racial and socioeconomic privilege of its students also influenced perceptions. These initial impressions often – though not always – gave way to feelings of surprise and optimism about the impact of NTPS, however. Most often, interactions with NTPS employees, students, or graduates influenced participants toward a reconsideration of initially negative perceptions, though at times they also cast doubt about its qualities. Any marketing or communications from the university

lauding achievements or progress on social justice fronts did not receive mention in the interviews, suggesting that any impact they may have on perceptions is limited.

The centrality of surprise evident in participant reactions to NTPS may be a net positive for the institution, but it nonetheless suggests a disconnect between the school's projected and perceived identities that may impact the construction of coherent perceptions as well as recruitment and retention of students and employees. The name and branding of the school as an outwardly religious (and presumably conservative) institution led participants to skewed expectations on everything from sports activity to academic rigor and student expectations. It is clear that a prominent disconnect exists between the projected identity of NTPS as an elite institution that can offer the entirety of the college experience for any student and its perceived identity as one with less academic prestige and more social barriers.

Resonances

The six values identified by participants contain the most abstracted reactions to NTPS captured in this study. They follow from the consequences and attributes first described in the interviews, but participants were much more likely to remark that they had never thought about these connections before, and so including their contents on the timeline would be a misrepresentation of the shared experience. The values emerge into three themes, each representing a different type of resonance. First are values that primarily relate to the individual, including growth and fulfillment. Second are interpersonal values of empathy and responsibility that in some ways governs how individuals interact with others around them. Third are communitarian values including community and equity.

Intrapersonal Values. Growth and fulfillment are linked concepts – each has a connotation of change from something less to something greater, and is generally positive. The

concepts are also linked in the Overall HVM via the improvement consequence. Despite the close relationship of these concepts, there are important differences that inform their interpretation, namely that growth is a process and fulfillment a state of being. Both are intrapersonal values in that they are internal. Growth and fulfillment may be demonstrated or noticed, but ultimately, they occur within a single person.

When participants discussed these ideas, they connected them primarily to school identity, with six connections between that attribute and fulfillment and seven between it and growth, with most connections indirect. Indeed, as the HVM shows, these individual values were a response to the consequences of improvement and benefits as well as the responsibility value. Their prominence underlines the fundamental importance of self-improvement and opportunity to the identity of any educational institution. Some participants identified factors like cost and privilege that may temper one's ability to learn and realize their full potential, but overall participants viewed NTPS as a vehicle to help individuals live better lives.

Interpersonal Values. Empathy and responsibility emerged as values with a common thread of serving as a mediating influence in interactions between both individuals and institutional actors. Primarily connected to ideas of privilege and diversity, participants overall mentioned empathy as a counterpoint to their experiences with NTPS. Where some participants viewed students as acting irresponsibly, others saw NTPS itself as taking admirable stances when it came to supporting their students and seeking to address wrongs.

The results suggest that participants are uncertain of NTPS' success in teaching lessons related to empathy and responsibility. Considering student behavior along with the apparent privilege and lack of diversity around the campus led to doubts about the ability of students to relate to those different than themselves and act responsibly. As our country continues to reel

from the historical injustices that have long defined race relations in the US, questions of empathy and social justice are prominent, as is skepticism toward historically privileged institutions. Participants seem to expect NTPS to not only teach these interpersonal values, but also to employ them in daily operations.

The overall HVM shows connections between school identity and responsibility on one side and apparent privilege and empathy on the other; the groups have very few connections to each other. This is important because it shows that while responsibility may resonate with participants simply because NTPS is a college, concerns about empathy may instead be more directly related to the privilege particular to NTPS.

Communitarian Values. The last theme that we see at the values level contains communitarian values of community and equity. These values are explicitly outward facing, with participants tying them to themes of social justice, collective benefit, and group identity. Both values include suggestions of breaking down barriers between people and are related through the surprise consequence. Taken together these two values have at least one connection with every other node on the overall HVM. Participants noted the strengths and weaknesses of community and equity related to NTPS as well as musing on the values generally.

Participants connected ideas of community and equity to their impressions of NTPS in a way that speaks to the contradictions captured in the surprise consequence. Just as participant encounters with NTPS caused reconsiderations of its identity, so too do reflections on these values suggest views muddled by conflicts between the assumed and perceived identity of the institution. In particular, the school identity and apparent privilege attributes suggested a particular way that NTPS and its people would interact with the world; increased familiarity with the institution in turn shifted perspectives and expectations, altering the tenor of the resonance

within participants and engendering hope or doubt as to the compatibility of personal values of empathy and community with NTPS’.

The Impact of Distance

Gavazzi (2016) found that feelings of effort and comfort decreased as distance from the school campus increased. This study found that all attributes appear at least once in interviews with participants from each geographic band, though some consequences and values appear less frequently as distance from campus increased. This suggests that the ability to recognize traits about the school may not rapidly decay over distance, but that recognizing and feeling the impacts of those traits might.

Every item appeared in the interviews with participants in band one, closest to the school. In band two, the improvement and self-image consequences were absent as well as the responsibility value. Band three, furthest from the campus, did not contain mention of the benefits consequence or the equity value. The effect of distance is particularly evident in the absence of responsibility in band two and equity in band three, two values that govern encounters with other people and the community at large. Shielded by their distance from campus, these matters can be forgotten by those living sufficiently far from NTPS.

The Impact of Relationship

Five participants had a personal or professional relationship with NTPS, only one of whom was still engaged in that formal relationship at the time of the interview. Those individuals who had no formal relationship with the school included mention of every item included in the study, whereas those people who had been students did not mention the apparent privilege attribute, encountering privilege and benefits consequences, or the equity value; and those with a

professional relationship failed to mention the knowing NTPS people attribute and responsibility value.

These data points initially seem to suggest that an established relationship with the school impacts one's perspectives on it, creating blind spots or subjects that an individual avoids. This conclusion is challenging to assert, however. Because both alumnae live in band 3, which seems to create its own blind spots, the relationship between those individuals' perceptions and their time as NTPS students may be masked by issues of distance from campus.

With representatives in each geographic band, those who have had professional relationships with NTPS offer a less conflicted view. These participants only talked about the people of NTPS in support of other attributes, mostly shying away from dwelling on specific individuals. The connection between the NTPS people attribute and responsibility value is relatively strong with three indirect links in the overall HVM, and so the subsequent exclusion of that value does not seem unusual considering the absence of the attribute. It is possible that those with professional relationships at NTPS preferred to steer away from discussions of NTPS people in part to protect themselves and the potential to obtain a positive reference in the case that their identity and involvement with this study becomes known, though this is conjecture.

Implications

The results of this study have implications for the practice and research of urban Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and their employees, students of those institutions, and the townspeople who live near them. The many systems inherent in an HEI each represent the school and give people an impression about its character. This study shows that those impressions may not always be fair, leading to reevaluations of the school over time as familiarity increases. The impressions that one has of an HEI resonate within them, touching upon deeply held personal

values that shape perspectives and form the perceived identity of the school. This perceived identity then influences participant behaviors and attitudes toward the HEI.

Institutional Implications

HEIs and their employees of various systems will note the impact that the school's projected identity had on participant perceptions, the consistency of those perceptions among townspeople with no relationship to the school, and the impacts that engagement with individuals had on changing perceptions. The name and profile of the institution, coupled with the apparent privilege of students, gives an impression that is at odds with the felt character of the school. This impression is one of potential prejudice and a questionable commitment to social justice; participants recognized NTPS' potential for fostering growth, but noted its isolation from the community. For a school that advertises itself as fostering responsible and understanding citizens, its perceived identity is troubling if it intends to recruit students from or foster partnerships in its locale. Recruiting students from the town may not be a primary concern for NTPS – for the past several years less than 60% of its students have been from Texas – but other urban universities may not have that luxury, and local partnerships can provide opportunities to enrich both HEIs and their host communities (Yates & Accardi, 2019, Arrazattee et al., 2013).

As university and town continue to grow, so too will their contacts with one another (Gavazzi et al., 2014). A positive identity and established relationships would help to smooth over any issues coming from those growing pains in addition to creating a more friendly environment around the university for students and townspeople (Florida, 2002; Herts, 2013; Berman, 2017; Copeland, 2020). In the case of NTPS, the prominence of the surprise consequence is closely tied to the perceived identity of the school and its apparent privilege; it is by coming onto campus and getting to know people from NTPS that minds are changed. These

engagements with the community – along with communications about those engagements (Arrazattee et al., 2013) – can shift opinion away from any assumptions stemming from first impressions of the school to allow for the surprise reaction and subsequent reconsideration. The timeline suggests that currently changes to perception occur only after quite some time in town. Increased efforts to engage townspeople more regularly would encourage perspectives to shift more quickly.

As townspeople without relation to the school were able to identify every item captured in the HVMs, their perceptions cannot be discounted as ignorant. Even further, because cognitive maps can serve as indicators for general sentiment (Laszlo & Krippner 1998), participant perceptions may reflect T&G relationships in other, similar institutions. Living in town inevitably leads to contacts with NTPS, and in those contacts people not only see themselves, they see the potential for change created by the institution. Changing the name and projected identity of an HEI is laborious and may even be restricted by its founding charter, but changing opinions with engagement and communication offers a way to achieve this while potentially reaping other rewards along the way.

As Copeland (2020) shows, T&G entities may hesitate to begin conversations of partnerships and engagement for fear of harming their current relationship. Once that first step of opening the discourse is taken, however, positive outcomes can follow (Copeland, 2020, Yates & Accardi, 2019). Such changes might be part of a larger paradigm shift. A recent article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* suggested a rethinking of higher education that focuses more on impact than on cost or exclusivity (Rosenberg, 2021). Rosenberg suggests that the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic provide an opportunity to insert new norms into a broken system (2020). He suggests that the long-established norms of US higher education have been

barriers in the way of access and broader impact, something that could in part be assuaged by reconsidering how HEIs achieve their missions.

Carlson (2021) and Stripling (2021) have also recently written about T&G issues, and underscore the importance of this moment for T&G relations. Stripling paints a trouble picture of an HEI in a college town that drove a painful wedge between itself and its community in the COVID-19 era. Out of a seemingly traditional relationship, the students and leadership of an HEI turned the town against them with their handling of the pandemic, at times outright refusing to work with the town for better outcomes. Carlson notes the heavy toll that the pandemic has placed on American industry and workers alike. He suggests that HEIs have an opportunity to step up and help their communities recover from a crisis that began even before the pandemic, in particular by making degrees easier to attain and emphasizing career training options (Carlson, 2021). Indeed, the Taskforce on Higher Education and Opportunity is seeking to do just that – the efforts of those institutions will be an important measure of how engaging with one’s community can impact both systems (Taskforce on Higher Education and Opportunity, 2021).

Urban HEIs like NTPS have a unique opportunity to forge partnerships, strengthen their relationships, and improve perceptions in light of the pandemic. Rather than relying on assumptions tied to the projected identity of a mysterious institutions, townspeople and outside viewers could instead form and change their perceptions based on the people and actions associated with the school. An institution like NTPS that has an identity apparently at odds with its branding particularly has much to gain. By engaging with the community, they stand to spread clarity about their identity. Stripling (2021) quotes Gavazzi, who does not mince words when he warns colleges of the importance of beginning this work now, as pressures from the pandemic and economic downturn raise the urgency of building partnerships between T&G.

Greater engagement can come in many forms, including traditional methods such as service learning and access to campus facilities. Community service events, neighborhood or street adoptions, and public services such as hosting vaccine sites, are also ways that a college or university can leverage its influence and internal systems to increase its involvement in the community. As Yates and Accardi (2019) emphasize, however, true, long-lasting partnerships come from a foundation of mutual interest, benefit, and ownership – not unilateral efforts from the privilege to their less fortunate neighbors.

Communication is another area that can be better utilized by HEIs. First and foremost, the people of the town can't know about the partnerships that do exist unless they are told about them. Better advertising about the contributions of students and other HEI community members can help change perspectives just by making people aware of them (Arrazattee et al., 2013). These communications, however, should recognize that HEIs are guests in their communities and serving them, not the other way around (Bortolin, 2011; Arrazattee et al., 2013; Bull et al., 2004). This might be achieved via targeted digital marketing or even neighborhood mailers. Mailers – and community organizing – might also be a way to recruit participation for neighborhood townhalls and listening sessions. Gatherings like those, or contact solicitations in the mailers, can serve not only to spread awareness of university activities or plans, they can also become a source of local concerns and areas of need that may blossom into an opportunity for a mutually beneficial partnership. Any efforts, though, will be scrutinized by the community, and if an HEI is found to only be serving in privileged communities, then its commitment to equity and social justice will be questioned.

Some HEIs may want to mirror the efforts that Stripling (2021) describes and create an executive level position dedicated to T&G relations. Others may consider creating an external

affairs committee including representatives of multiple T&G systems to consider creative solutions to real problems in the community. The varied resources and expertise shared between these different systems provide a fertile offering of ideas and opportunity to innovate, build experience, and make a difference as engaged citizens.

Student Implications

No NTPS group was mentioned more than its students and graduates. In Sadie's case, they influenced her perception of the school within minutes of arriving at her new home. Students were spoken of as indistinguishable from the school in many instances, concretely driving perceptions of privilege and lack of diversity and abstractly connecting to the HEI's potential to advance participant values. This should be unsurprising. In addition to being the largest system on a college campus, students are also the de facto reason for their existence and the product of their work. The varied ways that students were mentioned by participants suggest that their impact is not unique to some aspect of NTPS but instead related to a wide range of aspects from living near a college or university. This study demonstrates the impacts of student identity and interaction with the town on perceptions of an HEI. By defining and defying the identity of NTPS, students may encourage or deter interactions between themselves and the broader community.

It is common knowledge that the people associated with an institution determine its character. This is especially true for the students of an HEI who, as discussed above, play an influential role in determining perceptions. What this means for students, then, is that their actions as representatives of an HEI have repercussions beyond what they may expect from their experiences as members of other groups. For better or worse, the image that students present and the way that they act directly inform the perceptions that others have of their school and

determine its perceived identity. This is certainly not all bad – the high number of students means a high number of potential points of interaction to influence perceptions and build relationships. Student groups and institutional initiatives can harness this potential to engage the community and build relationships with the largest and most influential group on campus, potentially furthering educational goals along the way.

As Stripling’s account of an embattled T&G relationship shows, however, students can just as easily cause harm to local dynamics (2021). Even when HEIs have only a tentative control over their student population, the actions of those students represent the entire institution and may have repercussions that reverberate long after their tenure at college is up. The state university that Stripling’s article focuses on is at a tipping point. Situated in a true college town, the futures and successes of T&G are intimately intertwined, and so working together is more of an obligation than an extracurricular (Stripling, 2021). In contrast, the fate of a city is not tied to an urban HEI like NTPS. In the event of animosity arising between T&G, the residents and businesses of the city may no longer be amenable to partnerships or deals with the school or its students, and city leadership may hesitate to make concessions on zoning or jurisdiction issues. Any change in the relationship between T&G will almost certainly have students at the center, not only of the impetus for change, but also its impacts.

Townpeople Implications

This study shows that the people who live near an HEI pick up about it from many different sources. Everything from the name of an institution to the vehicle driven by a student neighbor influences one’s perception. This study also shows that contact with NTPS and the people associated with it can lead to a reevaluation of that perception, supporting the work of

Bruning et al. (2006) and Swanson (2009), who each asserted that increased contact between community members and an HEI leads to positive perception changes.

What this means for townspeople is that there is more to the identity of NTPS that meets the eye at first impression. Behind the appearance of privilege and religious styling is a modern university that is struggling with its own identity as it tries to raise its standing. During the course of the interviews, several participants remarked on learning something about their own understandings of NTPS, and so another implication for townspeople might be that their interactions with HEIs resonate within them in unexpected ways. Values like the ones described in this study are powerful and personal, as are our reactions to the world around us. To recall Goodsell (2008) and Soja (1996), the people and spaces around us exert constant influences on our perceptions of reality.

Recommendations for NTPS

The strong branding and projected identity of NTPS as a place of privilege, learning, and religious conservatism undercuts the perceived identity felt by participants. As citizens of the town came in contact with NTPS, they reevaluated their opinions and recognized institutional efforts toward social progress. Without these contacts, or without enough to break the negative stereotypes that people may have, the institution's relationships and reputation in its host town will struggle to remain amicable (Laszlo & Krippner, 1998; Stripling, 2021). NTPS is located in a city with great inequities; by publicly aspiring to global leadership while apparently ignoring problems close to home, it may give an impression of ambitious hypocrisy that could be quashed with increased community partnerships and initiatives. That these partnerships would in turn strengthen both T&G by increasing interactions and connection only adds to the reasons that it should be considered.

It may be that a change in communication strategy could also help bolster the perception of NTPS in the community. Better advertising the impacts of NTPS service efforts – and the local repercussions of the university and alumni work in the community – might shed light on local impacts that are currently going unnoticed. Still, it is hard to imagine long-term partnerships arising without a concerted effort thoroughly backed by the institution. The creation of a community engagement officer or committee could help align institutional engagement initiatives with both T&G interests and formalize efforts in such a way that they are not forgotten or simply dismissed as low priorities.

Implications for Future Research

This study provides a glimpse into perceptions of a single, urban private school in the US using experimental research methods of combining Means End Chains (MEC) and principles of Microphenomenology (MP). The results show a complex picture of an institution defined as much by its façade as by its substance and with resonances that connect to the cores of the people who live around it. They also raise the question of how other participants would react to another school. The US is undergoing a period of national reckoning as institutions from Congress to structural racism to Wallstreet are challenged and questioned by a people exhausted from pandemic and politics. HEIs are not exempt from these questions, and rightly so (Rosenberg, 2021).

Qualitative research does not easily lend itself to generalization. Still, replicating this study in other college towns with a focus on different institutional types and identities will provide valuable comparisons and the possibility of drawing themes across these factors. The use of cognitive maps in particular aids in the generalization of the data and drawing of themes across locales and institutional types (Laszlo & Krippner, 1998). This could lead to an expansion

of higher education scholars' understanding of the college's perceived place in the US landscape – and how higher education reflects people's deeply held beliefs. Even moreso, it could lead to a realignment of HEI activities to better match the values and expectations of their local and national communities where the research finds deficits.

In addition to identifying places of disequilibrium between T&G systems, this methodology can also serve as a gauge of the institutional mission. Asking about impressions of the institution is one way to access that line of inquiry – it's likely that the leaders of every HEI would hope to see its mission reflected in its perception – but a researcher could also use the mission statement itself as an elicitation tool. MEC is designed to respond to multiple aspects of a single item, and so gathering general impressions and then seeking further clarification about participant perceptions compared to the mission (or selections from the mission) would not be stretching the methodology. It should also be noted that these investigations do not have to occur within the immediate vicinity of the institution. For those schools seeking national or international profiles, interviews could be done wherever is desired.

These investigations also need not be limited to external audiences. Perceptions of those within an HEI can also suggest better paths toward filling the institutional mission or general purpose as perceived by an individual. In the case of students, perceptions of the role of an HEI or of the educated individual may reveal gaps in their education and suggest curricular realignments. This is not to say that HEIs should champion specific perspectives, but that these interviews may reveal unsophisticated critical thinking patterns or beliefs based on false information that could be influenced by targeted changes to the curriculum.

For future studies, I would recommend an important methodological shift regarding the interview protocol. This study's interview protocol was designed to encourage the identification

of three milestones for each participant to capture change over time. I asked for first impressions, when impressions underwent a major shift, and current impressions. In the future I would suggest asking for first impressions and then, after building the ladders for that section, asking participants more generally how their perceptions have changed. They will likely relate this question to their current perceptions and identify the catalysts for that change along with other attributes, consequences, and values. At this point, the researcher can ask for clarification of when that change took place without artificially breaking the flow of spreading activation theory by enforcing a milestone structure.

Limitations

The chief limitation of this study is its sample. Over half of the participants had some kind of established relationship with NTPS, and only two had attained less than a bachelor's degree. The COVID-19 pandemic made sourcing interviews difficult, and so increasing the sample size to add relational and educative diversity was not an option within the study's timeframe. As it stands, questions remain about NTPS' identity particularly in the eyes of less educated townspeople.

Education level is particularly important because with education comes familiarity with colleges and universities generally, and sometimes NTPS specifically. This increased familiarity with the work of an HEI means that participants were more likely to have considered its role in the community, and could draw on their own experiences to inform their perspectives. The views of less educated people who have had less contact with HEIs might show a different perceived identity and personal resonances. They might also have different associations with the HEI, potentially viewing it mainly as a source of athletic entertainment or seminary without more intimate knowledge of its operations.

One of the benefits of using the geographic bands as a selection tool was that it allowed for the targeting of specific neighborhoods according to demographic statistics. As I learned, however, recruiting for interviews using fliers is a difficult proposition. Due to COVID-19 precautions, I avoided knocking on doors to recruit participants as long as possible. As a result, I was unable to be as targeted in my maximum variation sampling as I would have liked, relying on the less precise source of Reddit to primarily fill interviews. COVID-19 precautions also meant that interviews were restricted to Zoom only, adding some communication barriers but also allowing for one interview across the country as a participant was traveling for work at the time.

Conclusion

This study attempted to capture the perceptions of an HEI according to its broader community. With an underpinning of systems theory and the complexities of interactions between university and community, the study is situated in a long tradition of T&G dynamics. By utilizing a blended methodology that emphasizes both qualitative context and quantitative modeling, this study captures both generalizations and specifics of participants' lived experience. The implications of this study should give added weight interactions between the various systems of an HEI and its surrounding town – as they engage with one another, the identity of the institution is created and changed in the minds of individuals. Distance and relationship to the school may influence opinions, but no factor was given more weight by participants than the people associated with NTPS and the actions that they chose to take.

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Appendix A

IRB Approval



*TCU Institutional Review Board
3101 Sadler Hall
Fort Worth, Texas 76129*

DATE: 16-July-2020

TO: Taryn Allen & Eric Gobel

FROM: TCU Institutional Review Board

RE: Approval of Protocol Number 1920-248

Dear Taryn & Eric:

In accordance with applicable federal law governing the use of human subjects in research, the TCU Institutional Review Board ("IRB") has reviewed and approved your proposed project entitled "Understanding Community Perceptions of an HEI Through Blended Methodologies". Your study is considered minimal risk and was reviewed through the expedited process, category 7. Please know that the IRB has not evaluated your project for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the risk/benefit ratio (i.e. do benefits outweigh risk). This approval does not replace any other approvals that may be required.

Your IRB approval is effective on July 16, 2020. Continuing Review is not required; however, an [Annual Check-in Report](#) is required. You must submit the Annual Check-in Report to the IRB before each anniversary of your approval date every year until this study is closed. Once your research is complete, you must submit a [Project Closure and Final Report](#) form to the IRB to close this study.

The approved consent form(s) is included as part of your research approval notice. You may only use this version of the consent form(s) to recruit research participants.

Remember that you are responsible for ensuring that your study is conducted in an ethical manner and in accordance with applicable law and TCU policies and procedures. You must submit required reports, as well as any proposed modifications to the IRB for review. No changes to your protocol may be implemented without prior IRB approval. Also, you are required to promptly report unanticipated problems and adverse events.

Your study may be selected for a Post-Approval Monitoring ("PAM"). You will be notified if your study has been chosen for a PAM. A PAM investigator may request to observe your data collection procedures, including the consent process. All active projects are subject to PAM.

Please contact Research Compliance at research@tcu.edu or (817) 257-5070, if you need any additional information.

Sincerely,
TCU Institutional Review Board

Appendix B

Consent Form



Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Research: Understanding Community Perceptions of an HEI Through Blended Methodologies

Principal Investigator: Taryn Allen

Co-investigators: Eric Gobel

You are invited to participate in a research study. In order to participate, you must live within approximately 5 miles of [NTPS]. Taking part in this research project is voluntary. Please take the time to read this document in its entirety.

What is the purpose of the research?

The purpose of this study is to understand participants' perceptions of North Texas Private School [NTPS], and why those impressions resonate within an individual.

How many people will participate in this study?

If you decide to be in this study, you will be one of 9-12 participants in this research study.

What is my involvement for participating in this study?

If you agree to be in the study, you will participate in one one-hour Zoom interview. During the interview you will share your experiences and perceptions of NTPS.

How long am I expected to be in this study for and how much of my time is required?

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to participate in one (1) one-hour Zoom interview.

What are the risks to me for participating in this study and how will they be minimized?

There are minimal risks associated with this study. Risk is minimized by maintaining participant confidentiality and anonymity via a pseudonym.

What are the benefits for participating in this study?

Participants may benefit by gaining additional insights and knowledge about their own perceptions of higher education institutions. In addition, others might benefit from the research as it informs researcher understanding of community perceptions of a higher education institution. The findings of the study may influence the policies and practice of

[NTPS] or other institutions. Additionally, this study will provide researchers with another tool that can be used to study this topic further.

Will I be compensated for participating in this study?

You will not be compensated for participating in this study.

What is an alternative procedure(s) that I can choose instead of participating in this study?

There are no known alternatives available to you other than not taking part in this study. However, any significant new findings developed during the course of the research which may relate to your willingness to continue participation will be provided to you.

How will my confidentiality be protected?

I will maintain digital records from your transcript on a password-protected computer, and hard copies of any interview records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet. All participants' will receive a pseudonym, and their names and identifying information will be deleted from transcripts. When data are published or presented, I will use the participant's pseudonym and remove all identifying information.

What will happen to the information collected about me after the study is over?

I will keep your research data to use for future research. Your name and other information that can directly identify you will be kept secure and stored separately from the research data collected as part of the project.

I may share your research data with other investigators without asking for your consent again, but it will not contain information that could directly identify you.

Is my participation voluntary?

It is totally up to you to decide to be in this research study. Participating in this study is voluntary. Even if you decide to be part of the study now, you may change your mind and stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you decide to withdraw before this study is completed, simply tell the interviewer or send an email to the researchers if the interview has already been completed.

Who should I contact if I have questions regarding the study?

You can contact Eric Gobel at eric.gobel@tcu.edu or by phone at 713-447-4589 with any questions that you have about the study. You may also contact Dr. Taryn Ozuna Allen, dissertation chair, at t.o.allen@tcu.edu.

Who should I contact if I have concerns regarding my rights as a study participant?

Dr. Dru Riddle, Chair, TCU Institutional Review Board, (817) 257-6811, d.riddle@tcu.edu; or Dr. Floyd Womley, Associate Provost of Research, research.tcu.edu

By signing this document, you are agreeing to be in this study. Make sure you understand what the study is about before you sign. You will be given a copy of this

document for your records. A copy also will be kept with the study records. If you have any questions about the study after you sign this document, you can contact the study team using the information provided above.

I understand what the study is about and my questions so far have been answered. I agree to take part in this study.

Printed Subject Name

Signature Date

Printed Name of person obtaining consent

Signature Date

Appendix C

Interview Protocol

Purpose	Question
* Explanation	Now we're going to talk about your perceptions. We'll start with first impressions and then continue to discuss how they changed over time and then end with your current perceptions. We'll discuss different elements of your answers for each "moment in time" before continuing to the next, but I want to again emphasize that we can skip anything with no questions asked.
1 Context – Relational	Tell me about your relationships with NTPS.
2 MP – First touchstone/attributes <i>Probes – MP</i>	Tell me about your first impression of the school. <i>How old were you? Can you talk more about that situation? How did it make you feel?</i>
3 MEC – Consequence <i>Probe – MEC</i> <i>Probe – MP</i>	Why do you think that left such an impression? <i>Why was that important to you?</i> <i>What else may have contributed to that impression?</i>
4 MEC – Values <i>Probe – MEC</i> <i>Probe – MP</i>	What is it about those factors (LIST) that resonated with you? <i>Why would you say your younger self found those things important?</i> <i>Where do you think those feelings came from?</i>
5 MP – Second touchstone/attributes <i>Probes – MP</i>	Can you talk about how your perceptions changed after that first impression? <i>How did it change? When? What sparked that change? How did you feel about the change?</i>
6 MEC – Consequence <i>Probe – MEC</i> <i>Probes – MP</i>	Why do you think that stood out? Why was that important to you? What was it about that that made you rethink? <i>Why was that important to you?</i> <i>What was it about that that made you rethink? How did that change in thinking make you feel?</i>
7 MEC – Values	What is it about those factors that left an impression with you?

Appendix D

Summary Implication Matrix

Table D											
Number	Participant	Milestone									
			Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5	Item 6	Item 7	Item 8	
1	1.1	1	0	11							
2	1.2	1	1	11							
3	1.3	3	3	0	23	21					
4	1.4	3	0	13	24						
5	1.5	3	0	24							
6	2	1	2								
7	2.1	1	5	13	22						
8	2.2	1	1	15	22						
9	2.3	3	7	5	12	20					
10	2.4	3	0	9	20	0	21	10			
11	2.5	3	0	10	23						
12	3.1	1	0	13	6	23					
13	3.2	1	0	13	15						
14	3.3	2	4	5	7	17	21				
15	3.4	2	0	12	16	20					
16	3.5	3	4	5	17	22					
17	3.6	3	7	0	12	20					
18	4.1	1	6	14	5	23					
19	4.2	1	6	8	0	23					
20	4.3	2	0	13	8						
21	4.4	2	6	7	18	0	23	19	18	25	
22	4.5	3	0	6	15	0	23	3			
23	4.6	3	0	20							
24	5.1	1	6	0	21						
25	5.2	2	2	12	1	0	18	13	21		
26	5.3	2	4	0	17	22					
27	5.4	3	0	25	12	0	26				
28	5.5	3	0	3	0	21	20				
29	5.6	3	4	3	0	0	18	21			
30	6.1	1	0	17	0	24					
31	6.2	2	4	0	16	6	24				
32	6.3	2	4	13	25	0	6	24			
33	6.4	2	0	17	0	16	23				
34	6.5	3	6	4	0	26	24				
35	6.6	3	5	3	0	15	20				
36	6.7	3	4	6	0	26					

37	7.1	1	0	2	6				
38	7.2	1	2	0	20				
39	7.3	2	6	14	5	11	13	25	3
40	7.4	2	6	11	0				
41	7.5	3	5	0	18	19	0	21	
42	7.6	3	0	16	25	9			
43	7.7	3	6	20					
44	7.8	3	0	6	8	18	0		
45	8.1	1	6	2	0	8	26	0	23
46	8.2	1	6						
47	8.3	2	0	16	23				
48	8.4	2	3	19	23				
49	8.5	2	0	16	13	24	3	26	
50	8.6	2	6	17					
51	8.7	3	0	3	0	14	20		
52	8.8	3	7	4	15	20	11		
53	9.1	1	7	15	10	24			
54	9.2	1	7	0	12				
55	9.3	3	5	15	19	18	22		
56	9.4	3	4	12	5	18	22	21	
