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Town-Gown Relations at Providence College: Perspectives and Interactions Between Students and the Local Community

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze and comment on the relationships that exist between Providence College students and the local Smith Hill-Elmhurst community. In conducting my research I concentrated mainly on the nuanced perceptions that the students and the local residents have of each other. My main interest was to see how the students defined themselves in relation to the outside community, and in discovering how much their relationship is based upon these perceptions. At the same time, I also aimed to find out what the locals' opinions were on the place of the students; namely, if they believed Providence College students were truly part of the "community", or whether they formed a separate entity within the geographic confines of the Smith Hill-Elmhurst neighborhood. I believe it is important to better understand town-gown relationships, not only in the case of Providence College but in the case of all institutions of higher education. Being two populations that live side by side and interact with each other, any sort of disconnect between the students and the locals can be detrimental to the community as a whole. Town-gown tensions have existed since the development of the university in medieval Europe, and in many cases have had negative – and even violent – effects on both parties. It is therefore crucial to understand the dynamics of these relationships in order to create an atmosphere of peace and cooperation in university communities. I interviewed on-campus and off-campus students, as well local residents. My findings show that most students in fact do not consider themselves part of the "community", but rather as an isolated group within the society. The opinions of the local residents on the students' place is split between viewing them as an important, vibrant part of the community and a noisy sub-population that is tolerated but kept separated from the local society.

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 2009, an ordinance was implemented by the local police department to take effect in the neighborhoods surrounding Providence College, a small, Catholic institution of higher education in Rhode Island's capital. Nicknamed "Operation Red Cup", the plan entailed a weekly series of intense police crackdowns on party-going college students. The plan was for many local residents the answer to long-awaited prayers for some peace and serenity on the weekends. It seemed to offer a break from in the weekly routine of "the noise, trash, drunkenness and disruption that comes from unwillingly living in the heart of the party."[1]

The realization of Operation Red Cup was monitored heavily by *The Providence Journal* in the early months of its operation. In a series of articles which portrayed college students in a less-than-flattering fashion, the "Projo" lauded the Providence Police Department for cracking down on unruly drunken young people, who turned an otherwise sleepy section of a small city into what one politician referred to as a "war zone".[2] The police, it was said, were "pulling the plug" on a party that had lasted too long. It appeared that the local community would finally receive a reprieve from the hassle of having to live amongst youth in revolt.

In this thesis I intend to examine these tensions between the students of Providence College and their local neighbors. I interviewed students and attempted to get their

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[1] Milkovits, Amanda. "Providence Police Look to Pull the Plug on Parties". *The Providence Journal*, 27 September 2009. Print.
[2] Milkovits, "Providence Police Look to Pull the Plug on Parties".

opinions on the local community's perception of them. At the same time I attempted to see what the students believed their own place was in this society, and how they believed they should relate with the outside community. I also interviewed members of the local community in order to get input from them in regards to the students. I was interested in whether they perceived students as nothing more than a nine-month nuisance, or if they believed the students actually provided a benefit to the area.

LITERATURE REVIEW

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WHY ARE TOWN-GOWN RELATIONS IMPORTANT TO STUDY?

There is a current trend of negative relations between universities and their surrounding communities ('town-gown tensions'), resulting from animosities on the part both sides. Providence College is no exception, and tensions abound between its students and the inhabitants of the outlying Elmhurst-Smith Hill neighborhoods. The term 'tensions' in this case refers to any source of disagreement between the two parties, be it physical or cultural, expressed or repressed. According to Martin, universities and their communities have historically often come at odds, this state of affairs being the result of, among other things, opposing philosophies and practices.[3]

At Providence College, relations between the establishment and the community are by definition tense. It is my opinion that an absence of interaction between the two communities is a major contributor to the town-gown tensions that exist. I also believe that the biggest reason for a lack of interaction between the two parties is the negative perception of the community and the overall fear that Providence College students have of the outlying areas. It is important to do this research because recently the animosity between these two communities has caused a general sense of agitation and anxiety for

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[3] Martin, Lawerence L. et al (2003). "Bridging 'Town & Gown' Through Innovative University-Community Partnerships". *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, Vol. 10(2), article 20, p. 2.

each side: students complain of feeling unwelcome, unwanted, and unsafe at school, while

local residents complain of being mistreated, ignored and made outsiders in their own

homes.

TOWN VS. GOWN: A HISTORY OF ANIMOSITY

According to Rubenstein (2003), since the university's inception in medieval

Europe, there has been a strong sense of antagonism between the establishments' students

and the university towns' inhabitants. A dispute over a bill between a landlord and a group

of students from the University of Paris led to an all out street riot in 1229, complete with

"swords and sticks," that led to the damage of property and the injuries and deaths of a

number of students and locals.[4] A similar incident occurred at the University of Oxford in

1355. There an event known as the St. Scholastica's Day Riot took place, in which "a party

of clerks drinking at [a tavern] quarreled with the vintner and broke his head with a quart-

pot". This led to all-out anarchy, in which the local townspeople stormed the campus of the

university, setting fire to lecture halls, burning dormitories and wounding, killing and

torturing students and professors.[5]

While both examples are very extreme (though not rare for the colorful history of

medieval universities), they show that town-gown tensions have existed since the founding

of the institution of the university. However, it is interesting and necessary to point out

that each of these riots were caused by outside social forces and pre-existing hostilities that

merely manifested themselves after rowdy, alcohol-induced altercations between students

[4] Rubenstein, Richard E. *Aristotle's Children: How Christians, Muslims, and Jews Rediscovered Ancient Wisdom and Illuminated the Dark Ages* (Orlando, FL, USA: Harcourt, Inc., 2003), p 169.
[5] Mallet, Charles E. *A History of the University of Oxford: Volume I: The Medieval University and the Colleges Founded in the Middle Ages*. (New York, NY, USA: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1968), p. 160 – 161.

and locals. In the case of the University of Paris, for example, the university was under the protection of the Church, which was stronger than the king in medieval France. This was a source of resentment for the townspeople, because not only were the students spared from paying taxes, they were also exempt from prosecution by the king's court. The schoolmasters also tended to side with their students in matters of disciplinary action to protect them from outside sources of authority.[6] In the case of Oxford, the university again was a "self-governing community", with a long list of rights and privileges that separated it from the town. This position was complicated further by the fact that the university, a community of consumers with a preference for cheapness, drove the market of the town which consisted mostly of producing farmers. As a result, the university officials were "closely concerned in all questions relating to the quality and price of goods."[7] While these two examples may seem far-off and outdated, they actually tie in very well with modern town-gown strife, Providence College being no exception. These show that there have been, and still are, various underlying forces that go assumed but unspoken which fuel the animosity between universities and their communities.

TOWN-GOWN TENSIONS: CAN'T WE ALL JUST GET ALONG?

As one can gather from the cases of Paris and Oxford, the sources of tension between universities and their communities are broad and deep, rarely ever as simple as they appear to be on the surface. Although universities have changed quite a bit in 700 years, certain issues persist, perhaps giving some validity to the old cliché that history tends to repeat itself. It should be pointed out that one does not pretend to assume that the

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[6] Rubenstein, 169.
[7] Mallet, 39.

modern university is completely analogous to the university of medieval Europe; as

Gumprecht states, "the degree of privilege enjoyed by medieval universities and the

intensity of town-gown conflict have no parallels in America."[8] With that said, however,

one must point out that there is nonetheless a noticeable atmosphere of uneasiness caused

between many universities and their communities, Providence College numbering amongst

them. It is therefore pertinent to explore some of these tensions, examining both their

causes and consequences, to better understand the issue at hand.

      According to Gumprecht (2008), colleges have both positive and negative effects on

their outlying communities. Universities can provide for their neighboring community

many commodities, including access to research libraries and the possibility for graduate

education; cultural enrichment in the forms of plays, concerts and foreign or independent

films; an exciting and competitive athletic atmosphere, and campuses that often serve as

public green space for locals. On top of all these advantages comes the prestige often

associated with universities, usually allowing for a rise in property value. At first glance, it

would seem that all of the pros for living in a college town would outweigh the cons. As any

inhabitant of a college town would be quick to point out, however, this is far from the case.

      One of the biggest sore points for the local residents of a university neighborhood is

the behavior of the students themselves.[9] People often look back on their "college

experience" as a time of personal growth and development, shaking off the parental yoke to

which they'd been attached for nearly two decades and learning (often through outlandish

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[8] Gumprecht, Blake. *The American College Town* (Amherst, MA, USA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), p. 297.
[9] Gumprecht, 297.

excursions) to enter adulthood and fend for themselves.[10] Leaving the euphemisms aside,

it is usually assumed in modern American culture that much of this experience is based on

raucous behavior driven by an overzealous consumption of alcohol. This causes a problem

for local residents, who do not wish to be kept up all night by obnoxious, inebriated college

students. The matter, although usually not given a second thought by the undergrads

themselves, is in fact one of the major complaints that inhabitants of university towns have

against their student neighbors. In *The American College Town*, Gumprecht (2008)

presents the account of one such annoyed resident from the University of Delaware's

campus at Newark, comparing his horrific town-gown experience to a sort of warfare:

> All around [X]'s home are the battle sites in an undeclared but unresolved civil war. Next door is a house until recently occupied by undergraduates, one group of which so angered [X], allowing their dog to defecate on his lawn and keeping his family up late playing loud music, that he considered moving. Around the corner is a former fraternity house that was closed by the university after police were called to the house eleven times in one year. Nearby and the Ivy Hall Apartments, one of four Newark apartment complexes the city identified as "problem" properties because they are the sources of a disproportionate share of alcohol and disorderly conduct complaints.[11]

While student rowdiness is a major contributor to the animosity between

universities and communities, it is not the only factor to play an important part in straining

these already icy relationships. According to Gumprecht (2008), another major hot button

issue revolves around money. As was the case with medieval universities, modern

universities in the United States are tax exempt institutions. Since municipalities are

heavily dependent on property taxes as a source of revenue, property owners in the same

areas as these universities are often faced with a heavier tax burden. When this combines

with the fact that universities often buy land at a somewhat reasonable price, thereby

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[10] Gumprecht, 297.
[11] Gumprecht, 296 – 297.

bringing up the property value even more and creating more untaxed property, locals

become infuriated. Such was (and is) the case in the well known college town of

Cambridge, Massachusetts. As one scholar notes,

> To the working people of Cambridge, Harvard and MIT are not great academic institutions worthy of world-wide attention to them, the universities are two disabilities that apparently cause a great increase in their tax rate and make their cost of living far greater than that which exists in Somerville, their seemingly dreadful neighbor.[12]

To be fair, some universities have instituted payment plans in the form of donations to

their municipalities in lieu of a property tax per se. These payments, however, are small in

comparison and support only a fraction of the funds needed. The first actual *proposal* of

such a tax on American university students came in the city of Pittsburgh in 2009. Home to

ten universities and some 100,000 college students, Pittsburgh proposed a 1% "Fair Share

Tax" on college tuition. The plan, which was projected to gain some $16 million a year, was

met by huge opposition on the part of the universities and the proposal was quickly shut

down.[13]

Another complaint that local inhabitants have on the part of university students is

their lack of care for their property. The development of "student slums" or "student

ghettoes", areas in which large amounts of students rent property, has risen since the end

of World War II.[14] After the war, more students began to seek higher education, leaving

many universities unprepared to house them. As a result, students sought housing off

campus, and the student slum was born. Over the past sixty-five years, these areas have (as

the name implies) converted themselves into slum-like quarters, stereotypically

[12] American Academy of Arts & Sciences. "Town and Gown: The Urban Community and the University Community". *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 22, No. 6 (April, 1969), p. 2 – 10.
[13] Fischer, Karin. "Towns, Gowns, and Taxes". *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol. 56, Issue 21 (5 February 2010).
[14] Gumprecht, 86.

characterized by "dilapidated houses, beat-up couches sitting on porches, cars parked on lawns, and bicycles chained to anything that won't move."[15] While many may make light of the state of decay that university students let befall their houses, neighbors and city councils do not. In Boulder, Colorado, for example, the city council placed an ordinance prohibiting upholstered furniture outdoors in response to several riots of the University Hill slum that involved the burning of couches.[16] Local residents often become fed up with the squalor that students live in, complaining that it is a detriment to the whole neighborhood. In an interview done by Lofland (1968), one resident of a university town complains that student residents are responsible for creating a society that contains

> ...elements of the classic portrait of failings attributed to ghetto dwellers throughout American history...They let their dwellings run down, living like 'animals', crowded six or seven together in small apartments...They are residentially unstable, always moving...[17]

"WON'T YOU BE MY NEIGHBOR?" – TOWN-GOWN COMMUNICATION BARRIERS

Looking at the evidence it becomes quite clear that the relations between universities and their surrounding communities are often stressed for various social and economic reasons. These stressors, as a result, cause an atmosphere of tension between the two communities that can create and fuel a cycle of negative consequences. Because of the lack of positive interaction between universities and their neighbors, a definite separation emerges between the two groups. Kenyon (1997) speaks about the toll a lack of positive interactions (or any interaction at all) can have on a college town. "[The] student presence leads to an erosion of feelings of stability, cohesiveness and confidence within the

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[15] Gumprecht, 86.
[16] Gumprecht, 86.
[17] Lofland, J. "The Youth Ghetto". *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 39 (March, 1968), p. 121 -143.

community," she states. This is believed to be a direct result of "the students' failure to interact with the community."[18]

This lack of interest on the part of the students for their surroundings may be the result of an "ivory tower" syndrome deeply ingrained in American culture and dating back to the origins of the university itself. As Hackney (1986) states

> The inward-turning architecture of institutions designed for self-protection in a dangerous European urban environment was transplanted to idyllic surroundings on the other side of the Atlantic. These were usually as far away from the corrupting influences of the city as nineteenth-century legislators could manage.[19]

This image was also reinforced by the creation of an American "aristocracy" in the first two centuries of the American university's existence. Higher education, far from being open to all, was in reality only accessible by a small minority of white, well-to-do young men from more affluent families. This created a vicious, highly exclusive cycle in which "colleges and universities restricted themselves to that small segment of the population deemed qualified to teach or qualified to be taught."[20] It was not until the end of the Second World War, in fact, when colleges began to recruit students and faculty from more humble origins, abandoning the old setup of an institution "where the taxes of the poor were used to 'educate the sons of the rich.'"[21]

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE 'TOWNIES'?

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[18] Kenyon, Elizabeth L. "Seasonal Sub-Committees: The Impact of Student Households on Residential Communities". *The London School of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June, 1997), p. 286 – 301.
[19] Hackney, Sheldon. "The University and Its Community: Past and Present". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 488, Revitalizing the Industrial City (November, 1986), p. 135 – 147.
[20] American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 3.
[21] American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 3.

In many cases, including that of Providence College, university-community interactions are icy, if existent at all. In Kenyon's (1997) study of town-gown relations at the University of Sunderland in North East England, she found that many local residents take umbrage at the noticeable lack of communication between them and their student neighbors. This leads to an overall sense of estrangement, in which "local people no longer feel that they own or belong to the areas in which they live an in which they have bought their homes."[22]

One might assume that it could be part of an unspoken, almost elitist attitude on the part of the students toward the local 'townies', but the residents themselves will be the first to admit that there is a deeper cause. According to the inhabitants of university towns, it is the short-term nature of student tenancy that is responsible for these disagreeable relations. As anyone familiar with student housing knows, university students rarely live in a house for more than the duration of a school year. Students often rent a property at a reduced price for around eight or nine months, leaving it empty for the summer months. It is also rare for students to return to the same house from one year to another, opting for a change of scenery from one school year to the next. This, in turn, makes students feel unobligated to have any kind of interaction at all with their next door neighbors, assuming that after their nine months are up they have no reason to ever see them again.[23]

Another unfortunate consequence of a transitory student presence in university towns, according to Kenyon (1997), is the higher risk of physical danger in the neighborhood due to a rise in crime and violence. Areas which house large a amount of

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[22] Kenyon, 293.
[23] Kenyon, 293.

university students attract burglaries, especially if the majority of the student population

comes from a higher socio-economic class than that of the surrounding community.

Student houses are gold mines for robbers in search of expensive electronic devices,

including laptops, televisions, cell phones, GPS devices, and music players. What students

do not realize, however, is that the time when their houses are most prone to theft is when

the houses are left vacant during the winter and summer breaks. Since the dwellings are

left uninhabited, neighborhoods surrounding universities and colleges with a large off-

campus population become "crime centers". In an interview with a resident of an English

university town, Kenyon (1997) discovered how this creates a general sense of anxiety and

fear in the community:

> We have streets along here that have unemployed people in them, and they see students as easy pickings. Come Christmas and summer, there is nothing easier than an empty house to break into, with rotten windows and shabby back doors. They are an easy touch.[24]

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE 'GOWNIES'?

In the autumn of 2000, a group of university students living in the beach town of

Fairfield, Connecticut decided to host a luau. The result was a massive, loud, alcohol-driven

mêlée of some 2,000 intoxicated undergrads. The community, obviously, responded by

appealing to the police and the town council. The university, under pressure from town

and state authorities, decided to institute a series of harsh, restricting policies against

alcohol and noise violations for students off- and on-campus. Town residents formed an

association designed to constrain the social activities of student renters, and at the same

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[24] Kenyon, 291.

time put greater pressure on landlords to discourage taking on student tenants.[25] There would be no more luaus in Fairfield, Connecticut, but there would also be a lot less student freedom.

Students attended a town meeting to voice their concerns, but the police and the residents refused to take their case seriously, showing "little evidence of accommodation, compromise, or cooperation in resolving the manifest conflict."[26] For the 'townies', the college punks got their just desserts. The students, however, felt that the punishment they received was harsher than their crimes. They argued that the new policies only served to tread on the students, discouraging any form of cooperation or interaction between the university and the community while simultaneously hoping to create an irrational, idyllic beach paradise that doesn't accommodate a university presence. These unrealistic expectations, the students argue, have negative consequences for the university as a whole. While it was student renters who were responsible for hosting the raucous luau, students on campus were subject to the same crackdown, which one student summed up as: "There is no room for mistakes, one problem and you are out [of the school]!"[27]

Since students are viewed as outsiders by local residents – not just in Fairfield but in practically all other university towns – they are often not considered a legitimate presence in the community. While this may partially be due to actions done by the students themselves, it is also in large part due to these perceptions held by the indigenous members of the community. Students are isolated as 'others', forced to stick together as a

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[25] Aggestam, Maria, et al. "'Contraversations' Constructing Conflicts: Lessons From a Town-Gown Controversy". *Business & Society*, Volume 46, Number 4, (December 2007), p. 430 – 432.
[26] Aggestam, 436.
[27] Aggestam, 449.

foreign, almost unwanted presence. They rarely feel welcomed by their local neighbors,

and therefore feel no need to interact with them. According to Kenyon (1997),

> As students are perceived to be a separate 'community within the community', with their own friends and distinctive needs and lifestyles, then their acquaintance is neither desired nor sought by local residents.[28]

College students are viewed as young and rambunctious, and locals often believe

that the generation and lifestyle gaps separating them make any kind of positive

interaction impossible. Town meetings involving students like the one in Fairfield (which

itself happened under an extreme circumstance) are uncommon, and students are almost

never involved in any resident associations or neighborhood watch groups.[29] The

university community is therefore isolated from the outside community for the same

reasons locals feel threatened by the student presence: lack of communication,

social/cultural misunderstandings, and deep-rooted prejudices.

IN CLOSING: PROVIDENCE COLLEGE

The research clearly shows that not only are poor relations between universities

and their communities prevalent, they are a constant source of problems that under better

circumstances wouldn't exist. The tensions caused by these animosities have lead to

violence in the past, and today – while not as drastic – they are a direct and indirect cause

of great stress and uneasiness for students and locals alike. The research also implies that

these tensions could be solved, or at least made better, by a strengthening of

communication and neighborly bonds between students and local residents. Problems like

social isolation, lack of stability, and antagonism, for example, would be solved as a direct

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[28] Kenyon, 294.
[29] Kenyon, 294.

result. As an indirect result, more amicable interactions between the two groups would

foster not only a stronger sense of community but one of understanding, which would lead

both parties to try and see each other's points of view when it comes to hot button issues

like taxes, housing, and partying.

METHODOLOGY

In gathering my research, I conducted eight total interviews. In an attempt to gain a balanced student perspective, I interviewed four students that live on-campus and four students that live off-campus. I also aimed to interview a variety of majors, taking into account the fact that the students' academic concentrations may reflect their personalities. As a result, I conducted interviews with three Global Studies majors, one History major, one Management major, one Psychology major, one Health Policy and Management major, and one undeclared freshman. Six of the students interviewed were female, and two were male. I asked the students a series of questions, listed in the *Appendices* section, which differed depending on the location of their residences (on- vs. off-campus). I also conducted follow-up interviews with each student in which I presented them with a map of the areas surrounding the Providence College campus. I asked the students to highlight the streets or areas in which they feel least safe in pink, the streets or areas in which they felt most safe with in blue, and the streets or areas which they frequent most often in orange. The findings of this exercise, and of the interviews in general, can be found in the *Analysis* section.

I also carried out ethnographic research by observing the actions, interactions, and statements of students on and off-campus. I gained some insight through observation, but my biggest finding came in attending a so-called "security panel". At this meeting about thirty students were present, and they voiced their concerns on "security issues", namely

their fears of the dangers posed by the outside community. This panel will be discussed in the *Analysis* section.

In an attempt to cover the perspectives of the community, I conducted interviews with two local residents. My status as an outsider in the local community greatly hindered my access to this demographic. I was forced to rely on the connections made by others for help in this area. Nonetheless, the data collected from these sources was deeply insightful. An official list of questions is listed in the *Appendices* section, and my breakdown of these interviews will be discussed in the A*nalysis* section.

ANALYSIS

I had originally hypothesized that Providence College students fear the local community, and therefore assumed that they had no interest in creating any sort of amicable relations with them. This hypothesis was based on observations made during my four years as student, and was reinforced by a security panel I attended in November of 2010. This panel was hosted on-campus by representatives from Providence College Security, the Providence Police Department, the Office of Residence Life, and Off-Campus Living. It was attended by some thirty students who expressed their worries about the seemingly-growing trend in acts of violence and confrontations with the outside community.

The panel itself was held to address the growing concern of the student body. The first question posed by a student, in fact, sought an answer to increased number of assaults on Providence College students in the past year. As a police officer pointed out, "there are not more assaults this year than in the past, only more are being *reported* than in the past." According to Providence College Security, this seemingly-high rate of violence in the area is in fact due to the increased number of crime alerts that have gone out to the student body. These crime alerts do not reflect a rise in crime, but merely reflect a rise in the reporting of crime. Previously, Providence College Security has been picky with the information it chose to share in regards to violent assaults, but has recently begun to share more reports in the hopes of raising awareness and cautiousness.

At the panel there was also an overtone that went unspoken but seemed to be acknowledged and accepted between the presenters of the panel and the students themselves. This was an insinuation that everyone knew the college was in an "unsafe" section of a city, and that the students themselves were targets for their skin color and social class. Much time was spent on the phenomenon of "vandals" coming from other parts of the city to stalk the streets around campus at night for easy prey. A police officer warned the students of the dangers of house parties: "Drunk kids are easy targets at night. Vandals enter house parties to rob students' houses, and they don't discover 'til the day later."

However, while the security panel did advise the student audience to be more alert while off-campus, they also encouraged them to attempt to seek better relations with their local neighbors. The police officer present stressed on three separate occasions throughout the panel to "know who your neighbors are". This was addressed primarily to off-campus students, who tend not to get involved with the local residents living next door. The importance of better relations with the locals was promoted for two main reasons: the first was to avoid confrontation, and the second was to improve the reputation of Providence College to the outside.

The security panel pushed students to "make nice" with their neighbors because it was a good way of evading punitive and disciplinary action from the police and from the college's administration. The on-campus alcohol policy was blamed by many for forcing students to drink off-campus, hence causing the rise in public intoxication, complaints from neighbors, and brushes with the police and the Student Conduct Office. The presence of

unruly students from other universities (most prominently, Johnson & Wales University), was also mentioned as a reason for the negative reputation of the College in the community; PC, they claimed, often takes the blame for the behavior of these students. However, as one policeman pointed out, neighbors will often be willing to tolerate certain weekend noisiness and activities to an extent if they know personally the students themselves. "If your neighbors know who you are," stated the officer, "they won't have problems, and they won't call the cops when parties are thrown."

Positive links between the community and the students of Providence College have been made in the past. Neighborhood cleanups and community outreach programs have greatly enhanced the outside's perception of the College. The most recent one in the summer of 2010 was lauded by many members of the local community. According to one police officer, "the neighborhood cleanups go a long way towards the reputation of the school. They notice it's PC kids and not [Johnson & Wales] kids that are cleaning up the neighborhood." Apparently this "reputation" the College has acquired is plastic, and many members of the local community are willing to give the students a second chance if it seems they themselves are willing to reach out beyond the Huxley Gates.

Through my personal interviews with the students, it became more and more obviously that the fear I had originally perceived was not the main hindrance to the establishment of more stable town-gown relations at Providence College. That is not to say that fear played no part in this because, in fact, it did. However, it became evident to me through my one-on-one interviews with students that they did have any sort of relationship with the community because they merely chose not to do so. They perceived

themselves as other, and therefore elected to maintain the status quo of an "us versus them" atmosphere. This was combined with the fact that the majority of students interviewed perceived locals as having a negative image of them, and therefore they chose not to interact as a way of avoiding further confrontation.

One of my first goals in conducting interviews with the students was to analyze their perception of the outside community. I asked them all general questions about security, and how safe they felt on and off campus, particularly at night. Of all eight students interviewed, only one admitted she felt safe walking around off-campus after sundown, and even this one admitted to "always staying alert at night." The proximity of the Chad Brown projects to campus led many students to admitting that they often local youths as "gangsters" or "thugs", and comparing the neighborhood to an urban slum. When asked her opinion of the area around Providence College, one student who lives off-campus stated:

> It's very ghetto – I know it's not but I just think that it is. In my mind
> it is and it's funny because for my first three years here I never
> would've imagined myself living off-campus.

It became more and more apparent to me that Providence College students had this perceived fear of the outside community as a dangerous place. This fear (for that was the best word I could use to describe it) was increased by the fact that the students believed themselves to be different from the local community. The demographic majority at Providence College comes from the white, middle class, suburban neighborhoods of the Northeast. In contrast, a large portion of the outside community – in particular the residents to the south, north and east of the campus – are black or Latin American, and

many come from the working and lower classes. It should be noted that this is a

generalization, as there is a prevalent middle class community (of various races) scattered

throughout the community, and there is a concentration of this demographic to the west

and southwest of the college. Nonetheless, many of the students interviewed admitted to

perceiving the members of the outside community as "mostly lower-class" or "uneducated

and underprivileged".

In order to judge the areas in which the students perceived the most danger, I

organized a color coordinated map of the neighborhood which attempted to measure this

phenomenon. I gave each student interviewed a map of the neighborhood surrounding the

campus and told them to highlight certain streets or areas according to a color-gauging

system. The organization and findings of this exercise are detailed below:

TABLE 1 shows a map of the area surrounding Providence College which student

interviewees were asked to fill out at the end of their interview. The maps are color-coded.

Each student was asked to highlight the streets/areas in which they feel least safe in *pink*,

the streets/areas in which they feel most safe with in *blue*, and the streets/areas which

they frequent most often in *orange*. The following table shows the average answer for the

most common streets/areas highlighted by students. The streets/areas shown in *purple*

are those which were split evenly between being highlighted in *blue* and *pink*.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

TABLE 1 shows that the majority of students fear the northern, south-eastern and eastern

borders of the Providence College campus. Huxley Avenue serves as a rough border

between the "safe" blue areas of the west-southwest and the remaining "unsafe" pink areas.

It should be noted that the highlighted pink areas are generally inhabited by people of a

lower social class than those in the blue areas. A notable example of this class separation is

the zone to the south of campus, which forms a tricolor area of blue-purple-pink according

to the student color-rating system. The pink areas to the east comprise mostly lower- and

lower-working class residences, as well as the Chad Brown housing projects. The blue

areas to the east, starting around Hilltop Avenue, are inhabited mainly by middle-class

residents and give the impression of a suburban neighborhood. The purple area in the

middle is a mixture of these two types of residents (lower- and middle-class), but also

contains a large student population. It is also pertinent to note that this purple area (Eaton

Street, Huxley Avenue, Tyndall Avenue, Pinehurst Avenue, and Smith Street), was marked

by a majority of students as orange, indicating that they often travel to these areas. The

table therefore shows that while students may fear these pink and purple areas, they

nonetheless travel to them to visit friends or to get to other parts of the city.

This issue of a sense of security further led me in my questioning of the students.

Every one of the students interviewed admitted that they felt safer on campus than off

campus. This was not necessarily a judgment of the lack of security or "unsafeness" of the

community, however. There seemed be a general consensus that the campus itself had an

innate sense of security because, as one off-campus student stated, "you have the presence

of security literally on your doorstep…I don't necessarily feel unsafe off-campus but I'm

sure I would feel even less unsafe on-campus" The seeming omnipresence of members of

campus security, combined with well-lit paths, security cameras, check-in stations at each

gate, and the ever-popular "blue lights", all worked together to create a protective cushion

from the city beyond the walls. At least three students also admitted that the constant

"security alerts" sent via email gave them the impression that one is inherently safer on

campus, and that the lack of a vigilant security presence off-campus made the idea of

travelling into the outside community after dark that much less appealing.

It must be said that not all students claimed to be petrified of the world outside of

Providence College. The students that lived off-campus particularly served to disprove this

assumption. When asked her opinion of the area in which she lived, one off-campus

student replied, "The neighborhood is nice. I can tell the people really like where they live."

It is interesting to note that this student lived in one of the "purple" areas highlighted in the

map exercise, meaning she lived in a neighborhood that was composed of a mixture of

students and residents of varying races and social classes. When asked if he felt safe in his

house at night, another student agreed without hesitation, going so far as to admit that his

roommates and he don't even lock the doors at night. This student's house is located in the

"blue" area, however, and mentioned in passing that "if I lived on Pinehurst, then I probably

wouldn't feel safe. Cars get broken into and stolen all the time down there."

In light of this information, and using the background I had acquired in doing

research for my literature review, I hypothesized that this fear would prevent the students

from forming any sort of relationship with the community. However, the more I

interviewed students, the more apparent it became that this was only part of the puzzle.

Students were in fact avoiding the community, but other factors were playing into this

avoidance. One of the main reasons was the students' beliefs about how the outside

community viewed them. The other reason was basically the reverse of this – the students' perceptions of their own role in the community.

All of the students interviewed were asked how they believed members of the outside community perceived Providence College students. The replies were overwhelmingly negative. In response to this question, one student claimed: "I don't think they like us because of the whole red cup thing." Another, answering the same question, stated:

> I believe that their opinion is very low because they just think that all
> we do is drink and party which is pretty true to an extent and that
> we just take advantage of the neighborhood. All we do is use it as
> our personal dumping ground but we don't clean it up.

Other students expressed different, though no more flattering beliefs. One said that the local residents view the students of Providence College as "snobby, stuck-up white kids born into money who didn't work for where they actually are." As it turns out, there were two main themes in how the students perceived they were being perceived: they either fell into the category of the drunken weekend hooligan or the snobbish, moneyed brat.

Because of these negative opinions the students expressed, many believed that they were isolated from the community. As a result, the students accepted their isolation as both a form of solidarity and as an accepted norm. When asked about whether or not she felt separated because of her status as a student, one on-campus interviewee responded "Absolutely – it's because I didn't grow up here. Students are students. The campus could be anywhere on the planet. It's like its own little bubble." Even freshmen notice this divide between the student and local communities. According to one freshman interviewee,

> It's not so much isolated as much as PC is supposed to be its own
> community. We occasionally interact with locals, we choose to
> acknowledge or ignore them.

Not all students believe that this separation between the students and the locals should remain the established status quo. Some, in fact, even regret this isolation from the local community. One off-campus senior states,

> I feel isolated from *my* community [emphasis added] because I am a
> student and I feel like I'd like to get to know the people around me
> more but I just don't have time and they don't have time for me.

On the contrary, many claim that the divide is not only inevitable, but just natural. Some students state the differences in lifestyles between the two groups as an insurmountable challenge in forming any sort of relationship. For others, the short-term residency of students, in comparison to the permanent residency of locals, is responsible for this phenomenon. On-campus students claim that they don't feel the need to interact with locals because they don't feasibly need to leave campus to come into contact with them. On the other hand, many off-campus students state that their nine month housing contracts prevent them from wanting to get involved with local neighbors. As one off-campus student puts it,

> I feel isolated but it doesn't bother me. It's not like I don't want to be
> isolated. I mean I'm only gonna be there for a year so I'm not like
> trying to make friends with the neighbors or anything like that. I'm
> just trying to be friendly and neighborly while I'm there.

Having understood the students' perceptions of their relationship with the community, I was eventually led to seek out the community's point of view. Being a student, I was fairly connected with the student population, but had practically no connections in the local community. With some help, I was able to find a couple of locals willing to let me interview them. As with the students, the main goal of the interviews I

conducted with the locals was to try and understand how they perceived the presence of the students in the community and what their relationships with them had been.

As stated earlier, there seemed to be two general views the local community had in regards to the student population. One, which I had originally hypothesized based on my research and my own personal observations, was that the local residents would have a somewhat negative perception of Providence College students. This hypothesis was somewhat proven by an interview I conducted with a local member of the community henceforth referred to as Rick. Rick lives with his wife and his young daughter in a neighborhood to the north of the Providence College campus, fairly close to a bar frequented by students. He has lived in the area for ten years. It should be noted that he works in higher education at another private institute in Rhode Island, and therefore encounters and works with college students on a daily basis.

According to Rick, he hasn't had the best experience living near students in the community. Admittedly, this is largely due to the fact that he lives in close proximity to a corner bar, which happens to be one of the most popular watering holes for students from Providence College and other local colleges. In his own words, "what I get to see is probably not the best that a college student has to offer." For his family and him, the presence of inebriated students causes an unpleasant environment in which they are constantly forced to deal with "the noise level, the drinking, the urination out on people's lawns, [and] fights…" While it is realized that not *all* the young men and women responsible for these disturbances attend Providence College, the majority are nonetheless students of various institutions living in the area.

In spite of their rowdy nocturnal activities, however, Rick claimed that he personally has never had a confrontation with one. In fact, he believes that regardless of the reputation students in the area have acquired, they treat locals with a level of respect – "although there are some that are very disrespectful." He is aware of the student outreach programs and other service projects like Habitat for Humanity in which many Providence College students participate, although none have been active in his neighborhood. His daughter also attends a school nearby campus at which PC students volunteer, and in this way he states he is "aware of their positive impact."

Nonetheless this "positive impact", Rick believes, is still not enough to balance out the raucousness of the students. He claims to have on more than one occasion come into confrontation with students, mostly over trespassing. He also admits to occasionally having to call the police for security reasons: "We've had full out brawls that take place…we've had to call [the police] a few times. The neighborhood has also had to call every once in a while."

I found this point both interesting and ironic. It seems that the local community at times feels threatened by students, in a way similar to the fears and security concerns students have claimed over the locals. To better understand Rick's perception of the student presence in the community, I then asked him whether or not he believed the neighborhood was being "taken over by students". This phenomenon has been observed in other college towns, in which the growth of a student population and the halt or even decline in a local population has led local residents to feel outcasts in their own neighborhoods. Once again, I was surprised by Rick's response: "We understand the boundaries here of where the students live." He then went on to give an outline of these

"boundaries", claiming that River Avenue serves as a rough dividing point between the two populations (with students living to the east). As a follow-up question, I asked Rick if he believed students were in his opinion a part of the local community. His response was simple but precise, "They form their own community."

Rick was cautious not to place too much blame on the students themselves. He states that he is aware of the ongoing struggle on the part of the administration at Providence College to try to keep the students under control. When asked whether or not he believed the administration was doing all that it could to strengthen the relationships between the institution and the community, he replied

> I certainly think they can do more. As someone that has worked in higher ed., I understand…you don't really have control over the students that live off-campus, but there are some colleges and universities that will form ethical standards for students in regards to treating not only each other but to treating the community with respect as well. I'm not sure that Providence College has done that.

Rick claims that he has seen other colleges and universities handle this sort of situation better. However, his suggestions only served to highlight his lack of knowledge of Providence College, and the disconnect between the local and student communities which is the overarching theme. He stated that at one of the institutions he used to work – a small, private Rhode Island university whose campus is not in a residential area – there were bars on campus. When I informed Rick about McPhail's, the on-campus bar at Providence College, he was clearly surprised. He was also completely uniformed of the relatively strict drinking policy on-campus. After I had explained him the alcohol policies, Rick seemed to be more understanding and even sympathetic of the students' behavior: "Maybe that's part of the problem. It forces kids to go off-campus."

In conclusion, I asked Rick if there were any closing comments he would like to make or any subjects he felt needed to be covered which I hadn't mentioned. His response showed a yearning for closer ties between the two groups, expressing a desire for "some kind of communication with the college." When asked to expand on this, and particularly why he felt this way, Rick claimed that "certainly it's an asset to have Providence College here in this area, but it would also be nicer to have some dialogue…with the community." As a suggestion, he offered community forums to "talk about the issues as homeowners that we face…with some of the students at the college and maybe discuss how those issues can be remedied." Speaking for himself and his neighbors, Rick claimed to believe that many people from the neighborhood would attend, seeing a chance to express their concerns and at the same time hear the students' perspectives.

I also interviewed a woman whom henceforth shall be referred to as Sarah. Sarah's interview provided me with an interesting perspective, as her opinions varied greatly from those of Rick. Sarah lives in a triplex house on one of the streets to the immediate south of the Providence College campus, in an area marked pink('less than safe') by the majority of students interviewed, which she has inhabited for the past seventeen years. There happens to be, nonetheless, a large student contingent on her street, many of which attend Providence College. Sarah lives with her husband, who has worked as a custodian at Providence College for over twenty years. She also has two young-adult children who attend other local institutions, so she claims that it is probably easier for her to understand the perspectives of her student neighbors than other locals.

Unlike Rick, who does not live in close contact with students themselves but rather lives in close proximity to a bar frequented by them, Sarah and her husband have been surrounded by student neighbors for nearly two decades. In spite of their seeming omnipresence, however, Sarah claims that she keeps no sort of relationship with any students. This she claims is due not to any sort of hostility or resentment between the two groups, but is rather a result of schedule and lifestyle difference. Sarah states,

> Students go to school in the morning or during the day and I'm at work and then I get home…They wave and say hi on the weekends but during the week we have no contact, you know, at all. Even the house directly behind us is all student rentals and we have no contact. I work all day and then I get home and I'm house cleaning, taking care of my dogs…I don't have time. I just don't have time.

Also unlike Rick's situation, in which he acknowledges that students from various local institutions patronize the bar near his house, Sarah claims that "almost everybody around here is just PC." She claims it is a rarity to find students from other schools on her street, even large populations of these students can be found just a few streets over. For this reason Sarah seemed to express a connection with students from Providence College. When asked to describe PC students, Sarah replied, "They're pretty friendly." This "friendliness" that Sarah attributes to the students that live in her neighborhood also entails a form of courteousness and consideration, a trait in which Rick claims the young people he normally encounters are lacking. Sarah explains,

> On Saturdays I'll step outside and they'll ask me, "Are we bothering you? Is the party too loud?" and I'll say no. They're conscientious of the community…

The reasons for this, according to Sarah, are geographical in nature. "Closer down to Smith Street they're more conscientious," she claims, "down closer to Eaton they don't

[care] about the neighborhood." Sarah's house, it should be noted, is located fairly close to Smith Street, further away from Eaton Street which borders the Providence College campus. A general tendency has emerged in the housing patterns of the area in which off-campus students congregate in the houses closer to campus, whilst the houses further away are mostly occupied by locals. According to Sarah, the differences between the streets south of the campus between Eaton and Smith Streets, divided in two by the perpendicularly intersecting Chad Brown Street, are enormous. In her own words, "it's a whole different world...They just treat this side...differently"

In order to judge how her experience with that compared with those of others like Rick, I asked Sarah if she had ever personally had a bad experience with students. She claimed never to have had any sort of confrontation or negative interaction. In fact, most of the interactions she has had with students have been positive. Even the 'wild' parties which has earned Providence College a reputation (or a 'red cup status', as it often dubbed) have not been any major source of discomfort for Sarah or her husband.

> They're pretty cool, you know. I've seen it when it's gotten really out
> of hand... [But] they've never treated us bad or anything.

This is not to say that she has not observed other local neighbors clash with students. She admits to having seen the police break up student parties, and the tenant on the first floor of her building triplex has come into verbal arguments on more than one occasion.

Confrontations of this sort between students and locals are, however, unusual. Sarah has even stated that she has seen students engaged themselves in the neighborhood. She claims that student residents on her street are invited to – and attend – local neighborhood meetings. The meetings are held at a local police station and usually serve as

an open forum for community members to discuss security issues and concerns. As part of

the research for my literature review, I found that student involvement in local community

forums of these sorts are rare, but are a key indication of student integration into the

neighborhood.

As a follow up to this discovery, I then asked Sarah if she ever felt as if the

neighborhood were being taken over or invaded by students. The purpose of this question

was to discover whether or not she believed students had an outsider status, and therefore

felt threatened by their presence. She responded that she has never felt this way. She

claims that she may be partial to Providence College students because her husband works

at the institution and her university-aged children also know students that attend the

college. Nonetheless, she still admits, "I don't feel like they're a threat or they're

cumbersome to us or the neighborhood."

Sarah attests that the image of Providence College and its students has been

particularly enhanced by the institution's participation in off-campus neighborhood

cleanups. She claims that the local residents not only take note that it is students taking

initiative, but they often work with them in the effort. This way, a student project becomes

a neighborhood enterprise. She believes that this student-run program could be due to a

sense of guilt on the part of the students themselves, who may possibly feel as if they are, in

fact, 'taking over' the areas in which they live. Sarah describes her views on this

phenomenon and her own personal experience with the program:

> Every summer the kids…clean up the neighborhood…and neighbors
> join them. I've joined them a couple of years…We do it every year,
> every summer, and it's PC that organizes that. And I think they do it

> because…I think PC students feel like they are overpowering the
> neighborhood…

After hearing Sarah express this opinion, I then attempted to find out exactly how she viewed the students in relation to the community as a whole. I explained to her the fact that most Providence College students feel unwelcome in the outside community because of their acquired reputation, and therefore they feel they need to avoid locals and stick together when they chose to live off-campus. This surprised her and at the same time made her feel almost distressed, merely being able to utter "that's sad". Unlike Rick, who was used to seeing mostly the negative side of this young presence, Sarah explained that she thought rather highly of students, and particularly of students of Providence College:

> I do have a positive view and I think they bring more than just their
> young, vibrant energy to the neighborhood. They do have a
> conscience. I think a lot of people think…they don't have a
> conscience…and that's not true. That's not true. Especially in this
> area…

Sarah was adamant in expressing her positive perception of the students in the neighborhood, in spite of the fact of what they may believe of their own presence in the community. She also assured me that "the opinions of my neighbors are about the same as mine." In regards to the phenomenon of students choosing to live close together off-campus as a way of avoiding conflicts with locals, she said "Stop! No more looking." She is not only convinced that students not only make good neighbors, but believes that they should stop trying to form separate communities-within-communities and realize that they have a lot to offer to the local area in spite of their short-term residency. "I really think that they bring a good element to the community," she concluded,

> I've always thought that. They have a good energy…It's never
> negative…They're willing to help out people

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, one can see that the dynamics of town gown relations at Providence College are an intricate web of perceptions and misconceptions. There is a disconnect between how the students and the locals feel about themselves and about each other. Students avoid the local community, and the local community at times feels as if the students are a danger and a nuisance. Nonetheless, the idea of ameliorating these relations is not a lost cause. There is evidence that these two groups can live together peacefully, or at least better understand each other.

The students are confused and divided of their place in the local Smith Hill community. Many students admit to fearing the neighborhood outside campus as a place of danger, and as the map exercise has shown there is proof that students make visible, conscious distinctions between what is 'safe' and what is 'unsafe'. Not all students feel afraid of the community, however, as many of the off-campus students interviewed have pointed out. Nonetheless, even the off-campus students have admitted to avoiding or isolating themselves from the local residents. They not only feel that they are unwelcome outsiders, they also feel that the short length of their residence in the area merits their avoidance of permanent members of the community.

The local residents are also split amongst their opinions of the student presence. Through their drunken activities the students have proven to be a constant source of noise, vandalism, and violence. They disturb the peace in a residential neighborhood, having caused the authorities to intervene in their loud parties and physical altercations fuelled by

alcohol. Providence College students have even been branded by the local police and media as an ugly, inconsiderate scar on the community.

There is, however, plenty of evidence which may help to undermine this souring of relations between the two groups. It is *not* true that the students don't care about the community or get involved in it. They volunteer in neighborhood cleanup activities and have been proven to attend local forums to voice their opinions. Although they throw the occasional party and may seem aloof at times, with a bit of patience and understanding they prove to be considerate neighbors. At the same time, not all locals view students as a burden to society. While local people may be wrongly perceived as 'thugs' or 'gangsters' by some students, there are nonetheless plenty of them who see the positive side of their student neighbors. Locals like Sarah admit that their youthful, positive energy has a lot to offer to the community as a whole.

It is this last point which I believe should be stressed above all others. Locals and students should be encouraged to learn about each other and understand each other. Through my research I have found that lack of communication and understanding leads to misconceptions and ultimately to poor relations. As the information uncovered in my literature review shows, poor town-gown relations have led to the deterioration of communities and even violence in some drastic cases. Therefore, positive interactions, fostered by greater understanding and more face-to-face communication, are the best and perhaps only way to ensure peace in a college town. I believe that the students of Providence College and their neighbors in the Smith Hill-Elmhurst community have the tools to mend these strained relationships, they just have to be willing to put in that effort.

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APPENDICES

TABLE 1
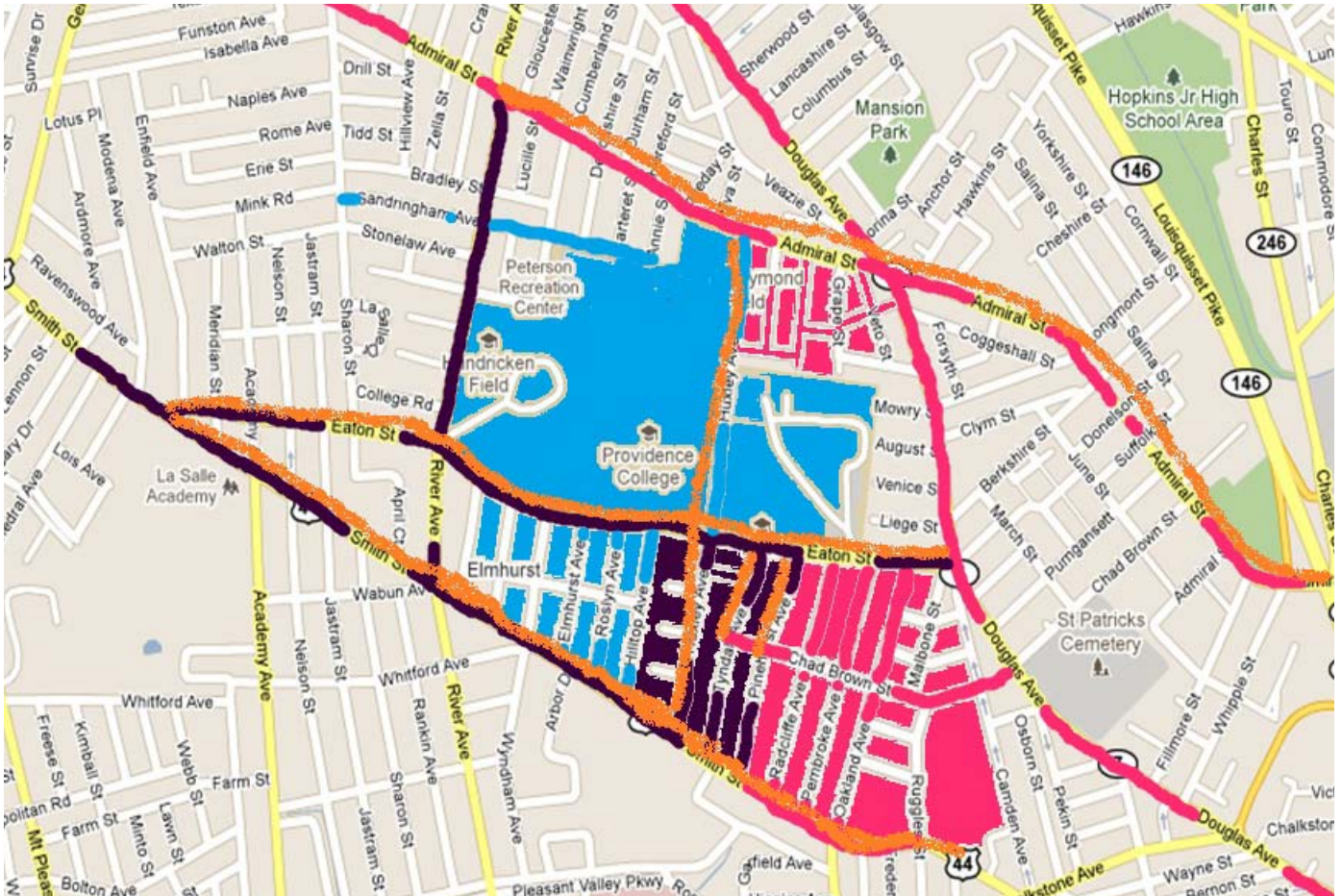
KEY: pink = "unsafe", blue = "safe", purple = even number of pink & blue, orange = most traveled to

OFF-CAMPUS STUDENT QUESTIONS

- Are any of your neighbors local residents that aren't related to the Providence College community (students, professors, etc.)?
- How would you describe the relationship you have with your neighbors?
- How would you describe the social class of your neighbors?
- When was the last time you spoke to any of your neighbors, if at all?
- Have you ever had any sort of confrontation with your neighbors or received any complaints from them? If so, about what?
- Have you ever done any sort of work in the local community (volunteering, internship, actual job)? If so, how would you describe the experience?
- Have your neighbors complained to you about any other college students, whether or not they attend Providence College?
- What is (or what do you believe is) the local community's opinion of Providence College Students? Of university students in general?
- What is your opinion of local members of the community? Of the neighborhood in general?
- Do you feel isolated from the rest of your community for the fact that you are a student?
- Have you ever felt threatened by or uneasy around your neighbors or any local people?
- Do you feel safe in your house at night? Why/not?
- Do you feel safe walking to and from your house at night? Why/not?
- Do you believe you would feel safer living on campus?
- Do you feel safe taking public transportation? Would/do you feel safer driving your own car?

ON-CAMPUS STUDENT QUESTIONS

- Have you ever had any sort of interaction with a member of the local community? If so, how would you describe it?
- When was the last time you interacted with a local?
- How would you describe the social class of the surrounding community?
- What is (or what do you believe is) the local community's opinion of Providence College Students? Of university students in general?
- Have you ever done any sort of work in the local community (volunteering, internship, or actual job)? If so, how would you describe the experience?
- What is your opinion of local members of the community? Of the neighborhood in general?
- Do you feel isolated from the rest of your community for the fact that you are a student?
- Have you ever felt threatened by or uneasy around any local people?
- Do you feel safe walking around campus at night? Why/not?
- Do you feel safe walking in the surround neighborhood at night? Why/not?
- Do you believe you feel safer living on-campus than you would feel if you lived off-campus? Why/not?
- Did your opinion of the surrounding community have anything to do with the reasons for which you chose to live on-campus?
- Do you feel safe taking public transportation? Would/do you feel safer driving your own car?

LOCAL RESIDENT QUESTIONS

- How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
- Are any of your neighbors university students? Are any students from PC? Other colleges/universities?
- If yes, how would you describe your relationship with these student neighbors? How would you compare those relationships with the relationships you have with non-student ("local") neighbors?
- How would you describe students in the area? (social class, personality, way of living, etc.)
- How do you believe students perceive local (non-student) members of your community?
- Do you believe students make "good neighbors"? Are they a positive or a negative part of the community?
- If you have any students as neighbors, when was the last time you spoke to one?
- Have you ever had any sort of confrontation with a student or filed a complaint to the police over them?
- Do you ever feel aggravated by students in general? If so, about what?
- Have you ever felt an outsider in your own community because of the presence of students in the neighborhood?
- Do you consider students to be part of the "local community" or are they outsiders to you?
- Have you ever felt threatened by/uneasy around a student? Have you ever felt mistreated or condescended to by a student?
- If not personally, have you ever witnessed a negative interaction between a local resident and a student?