

Challenges for the Historically Black College and University (HBCU) in the Neighborhood Revitalization Process

Abstract

This paper identifies a role for the HBCU in the neighborhood revitalization process. HBCUs have a unique history and mission, which directly lends them to external outreach in their respective communities. This study looks at one such HBCU, Tougaloo College, a small private HBCU in Jackson, Mississippi, and its efforts to provide housing, economic development opportunities, and student placement in local non-profits in the Jackson Urban Enterprise Community. This research identifies the challenges that Tougaloo College faced in the neighborhood revitalization process.

Various programs and methods are used to combat the conditions that plague our inner cities, realized through federal intervention, mediating local and state agencies, and grassroots community efforts (Ross and Leigh 2000). An important institutional sector has also taken notice of these urban problems and begun to get involved: the university. Universities have found a reason to reach out to the larger community, if not for the community's sake, then certainly to aid the university's survival. The role of the urban university in community collaborations continues to grow (Cox 2000, Rubin 2000, Wiwel and Lieber 1998, Young 1995).

Although many historically white universities are engaging local neighborhoods, conflicts usually develop (Wiwel and Lieber 2000, Jackson and Meyers 2000, Rowley 2000). The most common conflicts and challenges stem from the posture of a majority university in its environment. Rowley (2000) presented a compelling analysis of the conflicting relationship that exists between historically white universities and their African American communities that show how predominantly white universities located in predominantly black neighborhoods must contend with the reality of racial conflict that sometimes develops between the university and local residents. A historical source of racial conflict that envelops universities and their surrounding communities is the encroachment by universities on local urban space. A number of universities in urban areas cause resentment in local communities by expanding their campuses with or without consultation from local residences or against their will. This expansive behavior on the part of the university causes displacement of residents and the loss of residential facilities. This behavior only serves to undermine the physical well-being of residents and their ownership of community space (Rowley 2000).

Given this reality, higher education must recognize that, within the institutional space occupied by universities in America, an institution already involved in the neighborhood revitalization process has been overlooked: the Historically Black College and University (HBCU). Within the walls of our HBCUs are found more than one hundred years of sweat equity toward building a system of higher education for African Americans, even as pervasive historical racial discrimination has bounded the academic and economic well-being of these institutions and the communities they serve.

This research considers Tougaloo College and the challenges it faced in enhancing the Jackson Enterprise Community (JEC) in Jackson, Mississippi. The first section of this research provides a brief history of the development of HBCUs and their historical mission of outreach, the second section describes the methods used in this research, followed by the third section, which discusses Tougaloo College, and its current outreach efforts, the fourth section is a discussion of the challenges faced by Tougaloo College in the neighborhood revitalization process, followed by the conclusion.

The Historically Black College and University

The presence of HBCUs denotes a unique chapter in the development of American education. When the first black colleges were founded more than 150 years ago, they filled an important void that existed in the educational environment of black America (Willie and Edmonds 1978). According to Murty and Roebuck (1993) since 1837, HBCUs have demonstrated a capacity to survive and serve as cultural and intellectual enclaves for America's black population. Most HBCUs are four-year institutions located in the Southern region of the United States. HBCUs encompass a variety of institution types, including public and private; single sex and co-ed; predominantly black and predominantly white; 2-year and 4-year colleges, research universities, professional schools, as well as small liberal arts colleges (Hoffman, Snyder, and Sonnenberg 1996).

The story of HBCUs began before the civil war. The earliest of these colleges began during the 1830s to provide educational opportunities for black Americans, most of who as slaves were prohibited from receiving an education. Education at HBCUs intended to prepare college educated black leadership that would uplift the black masses from the legacy of slavery and the restraints of the southern caste system (Anderson 1988). From those early beginnings, HBCUs took on the mission of providing for the educational and economical well-being of Black Americans (U.S Department of Education 1996).

HBCUs embrace the same basic mission as other institutions of higher education: teaching, research, and service. However, HBCUs also have a strong tradition of promoting human and financial capital as part of their community outreach agenda. Throughout their history, HBCUs have never moved away from their two most valuable attributes: uplifting African Americans individually and collectively, and economically empowering both their graduates and African American communities (Freeman and Cohen 2001).

HBCUs vary in size, prestige, and resources, but images of campus buildings, grass, and trees encircled by poor, deteriorating, African-American communities characterize the environment of many urban HBCUs (Grandison 1999). These surroundings, segregated from more affluent white areas, evolved with the universities. Thus, HBCUs play a significant role in developing the predominantly African-American communities in which they were located as a function of segregation. Reddix (1974) observes that because the historically black college was borne out of struggle, it connects naturally to residents in the surrounding community.

HBCUs offer academic and human resources that are badly needed to build social capital in poor African American communities. Yet, little scholarly work exists to study such efforts by HBCUs. Moreover, what literature does exist with respect to the broader topic of university community collaborations suggests that HBCUs approach neighborhood revitalization in ways and with challenges that differ from those experienced by the more “typical” mainstream university (Maurrasse 2001, Adebayo et al. 2001). The viability of HBCUs is inextricably linked to the development of their communities. Because HBCUs tend to be intricately linked to their neighborhoods, in many cases the future of HBCUs will be tied to the redevelopment of these urban areas (Freeman and Cohen 2001).

Tougaloo College

The Story of Tougaloo College begins with the story of the Amistad. In 1839, two Cubans bought a group of Africans at auction, and intended to ship them to a remote island. Enroot the Africans mutinied and the ship ended up landing on Long Island, New York. In the controversy to follow, the slaves, now prisoners proceeded to go to trial to avoid return to their purchasers. Lewis and Arthur Tappan, well-known abolitionists, formed the Amistad Committee to assure the prisoners a fair trial. The Amistad Committee eventually evolved into the American Missionary Association.

The American Missionary Association (AMA) of New York founded Tougaloo College in 1869. The College was founded on 500 acres of land that was once a 1,200-acre plantation in the northern section of Jackson, Mississippi.

Tougaloo College is a small, private, African American, coeducational liberal arts institution. The current enrollment of the college is approximately 800 students. Tougaloo College provides its students, sixteen associates, and bachelor programs throughout five academic divisions. Tougaloo College has a long and distinguished history of serving the City of Jackson and the State of Mississippi. Tougaloo College sends more African American students to medical and law schools than any other institution in the state. Tougaloo has historically produced more than forty percent of the African American dentists, doctors, and lawyers who have been servicing Mississippi over the past 100 years (Campbell and Rodgers 2002).

In the 1960's, Tougaloo College was known as "The Cradle of the Civil Rights Movement". It was the meeting place for the Freedom Riders, and a shelter and planning center for such noted civil rights leaders as Martin Luther King Jr., Fannie Lou Hammer, Bob Moses, and many others. Even before the Civil Rights movement, Tougaloo College positioned itself as an institute dedicated to the interest of African Americans throughout Mississippi (Campbell and Rodgers 2002).

In 2000, Tougaloo College was successfully awarded a Housing and Urban Development/ Historically Black College and University (HUD/HBCU) grant award of \$350,000. This award supported housing and economic development activities in the JEC through five goals: first, develop a business incubator and house at least four businesses; second, establish an operational brightfield site in a designated brownfield area, third; develop a one-stop business development center to house non-profit business support organizations; fourth, construct or renovate four houses; and fifth, provide technical assistance and supportive services to targeted community development corporations.

Research Methodology

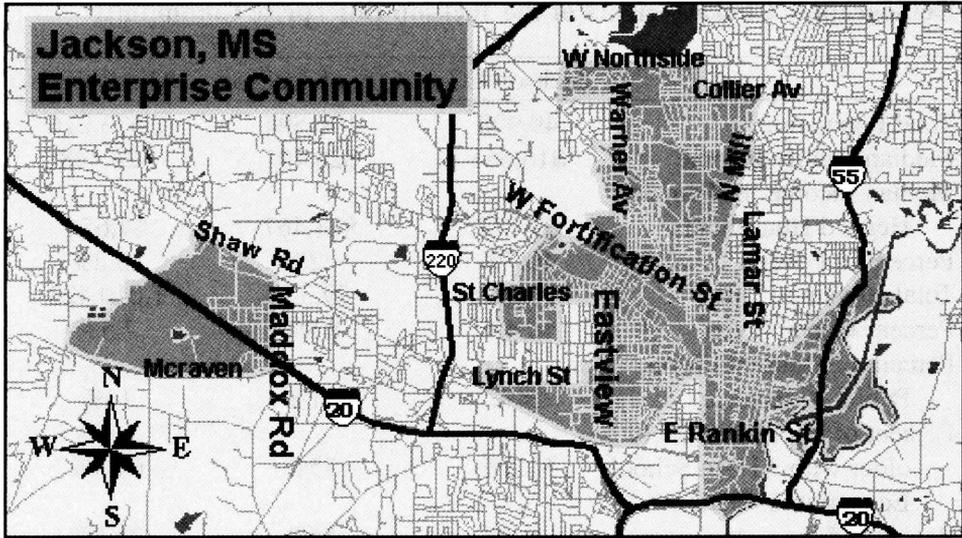
This research is qualitative. Personal interviews and content analysis of public documents and materials from informants support the research. Interviews were conducted with key staff at Tougaloo College who administered the HUD/HBCU grant program and local non-profit agencies that were recipients of the grant programs. These individuals include the project director, the consultant, the director of the Health and Wellness Center at Tougaloo College, which administers all community outreach grants, and the director of the North Midtown Community Development Corporation. Secondary sources utilized for this research includes information obtained from the grant proposals and reports made to HUD by the grant staff.

The Jackson Enterprise Community (JEC)

The geographic context for the HUD/HBCU grant proposal is within the JEC (Map 1). The level of poverty that exists in a given region is the basis for the national designation of an enterprise community. Moreover, need for housing, extent of crime, and lack of economic development opportunities are important variables for consideration. Unfortunately, the JEC was struggling in all of these areas (JEC Strategic Plan 1994).

The HUD/HBCU grant proposal activities took place within the demographic context of the 1990 census (Table 1). The JEC is approximately 15.9 square miles in size.

Map 1.



The JEC had a total population of 49,998 persons with an average poverty rate of 41 percent. In addition to the high poverty rate, the JEC sustained significant rates in crime, unemployment, single parent households, substandard and vacant housing units, and the percentage of households on public assistance, higher than the citywide average. The JEC population continually declined, from 1980 to 1990 by 13,000 residents. Levels of median income were also below the city, state, and national averages (\$16,651), especially for female-headed households (\$9,177). Percent of the population 25 and older with a high school education, or better was 51.6 percent (JEC Strategic Plan 1994).

A high number of substandard housing units characterized the JEC. Of the total number of housing units in the area, 16,622, approximately 3,500 units were abandoned or substandard and an estimated 3,000 vacant. The public infrastructure was outdated and in need of repair due to the age of the neighborhoods and previously under-designed systems, neglected at the expense of suburban development by the city and county. Property values in the JEC continued to decline and many of the neighborhoods have been “written off” or devalued by the county’s property assessment department (JEC Strategic Plan 1994).

Table 1.
Demographic Characteristics of the Jackson Enterprise Community

	Jackson EC	City of Jackson	Mississippi
Total Population	49,998	196,594	2,573,216
Median Family Income	\$16,651	\$28,401	\$24,448
Median Income for Female Headed Households	\$9,177	\$13,467	\$7,654
Percent in Poverty	40.7%	22%	25.2%
Total Housing Units	16,622	79,352	1,010,423
Percent Unemployed	16.4%	8.8%	7.5%
Percent of Households on Public Assistance	24%	11%	13%
Percent of Population 25 or older with a High School Education or Better	51.6%	75%	64.3%
Percent African- American	95.8%	56%	35.6%
Population Change from 1980 to 1990	-13,115	-6,258	+52,578

Source: 1990 U.S. Census Bureau

The JEC Strategic Plan called for improved housing and economic development opportunities. The strength of the HUD/HBCU grant proposal was its ability to meld the tasks of the proposal with the needs of the JEC. The opportunity to fit the proposal within the context of the JEC was a result of the experience and work of the consultant in the JEC, and his assistance in the development of its strategic plan. The consultant recognized that Tougaloo College provided a tradition of community service, that if utilized for the sake of the JEC could have a lasting and beneficial effect for the College and the community.

Housing Assistance

The 2000 grant proposal aimed to locate four low-to-moderate income families, to qualify for mortgages to purchase homes in the JEC. It commenced by recruiting and evaluating the credit worthiness of potential homeowners. It also provided gap financing to aid potential buyers. The project director recruited banks and mortgage companies to participate in the program. The HUD/HBCU grant staff provided technical assistance to homebuyers through out the acquisition process and into the home-ownership phase (Cooley 2002).

In order for the housing activities to be successful, the project director and project specialist had to locate potential homebuyers who were interested in homeownership within the JEC. According to Jackie McKee, “We would like people to show an interest in the neighborhood first, once they have shown an interest in the neighborhood we investigate possible houses that are for sale or currently being rehabbed in the JEC” (McKee 2002). This involved constant monitoring of the housing market. The availability of a house could change daily. This necessitated driving through the JEC each week to conduct a windshield survey.

Upon selecting a home, Tougaloo College contributed up to \$5,000 toward the down payment, closing assistance, or minor property rehabilitation. Three local non-profits agencies—the West Jackson CDC, North Midtown CDC, Voice of Cavalry Ministries, and Jackson Metro Housing—eventually stepped in to help make the program more efficient. These local non-profits and housing agencies often already had homes and potential buyers available, and could in turn reach out to Tougaloo College for down-payment assistance (McKee 2002).

Economic Development

To enable Tougaloo to pursue economic development in the JEC, the 2000 proposal contained three activities; first, to develop a business incubator and locate at least four businesses within it; second, to turn a brownfield site into a brightfield project, and third to renovate a building for use as a one-stop business development center.

Business incubator: Developing a business incubator involved five tasks: first, acquiring a building to serve as an incubator; second conducting at least one “Fast-Track” entrepreneurship class; third, furnishing the incubator with office equipment; fourth, recruiting and selecting tenants; and fifth, managing the incubator on a day-to-day basis. The plan was to retrofit a building in the inner-city, to provide space for up to five start-up businesses. The tenants would pay minimal rents during their formative stages, so a rent subsidy was needed. All tenants would be required to complete a Fast-Track class and complete a business plan prior to moving into the facility (Cooley 2000).

W. M. Cooley, a consultant on the project, summed up the concept:

There are always barriers to business entry and the poor people in the JEC have significant barriers to entry in the business arena. Some of those barriers are equipment-related and cost-related in terms of rental space, so one has a lot of barriers. I thought that if we get an incubator and support that incubator, then it would reduce the barrier to entry that small poor entrepreneurs face. So the whole idea was: how do we get entrepreneurs in the JEC up and going? (Cooley 2002).

Brightfield project: This activity involves converting a brownfield site into an energy savings project or plant. It consists of four tasks: first, to identify at least two successful brightfield projects in the country; second, to evaluate the feasibility of replicating the projects in the JEC; third, to develop a negotiation strategy to establish a project in the JEC; and fourth, to set up a means to manage the plant. The grant proposal noted that this activity would build on earlier work with a brownfield site.

To get some ideas the HUD/HBCU grant staff first researched brightfield projects on the Internet. Eventually the staff identified a project that had a high probability of success: a solar water heating system. The project would install solar panels in residences to provide heat at lower cost. It was selected because it seemed realistic and would provide direct economic benefits to the residents of the JEC (Cooley 2002, McKee 2002).

One-stop business development center: This activity proceeded in four tasks: first, acquiring the materials needed to renovate a building; second, accessing human capital labor to renovate the center; third, persuading non-profit business organizations to locate in the one-stop center; and fourth, operating the center (Cooley 2002). The proposal noted that a number of small, non-profit, minority support agencies exist in Jackson. However, they are geographically dispersed. The one-stop center would consolidate these agencies under one roof to create synergy among them and to provide higher-quality service to minority businesses. This would enable the agencies to increase the number of minority businesses they serve and make easy referrals among themselves. Businesses in the area would have better access to services and would have close and comprehensive support (Cooley 2002).

Student Placement

An important aspect of the grant proposal was the provision of funds for technical assistance, carried out by Tougaloo students. Rather than establishing a new CDC, Tougaloo chose to provide support to CDCs and other non-profit agencies in the JEC. Each student at the College must donate forty hours of work in the community as a condition for graduation. Through the HUD/HBCU grant program, many of these hours went toward completion of grant funded activities and economic development. In turn, the students – such as business majors who helped with accounting and other management activities – gained valuable experience while earning \$8.50 per hour. Student personnel working in local non-profits thus forged a powerful partnership between the College and the community. The impact that this activity has had on the community is nothing but positive. It has infused the CDCs with quality human resources that have raised both the quality and scope of community development to a much higher level in the JEC (Burks 2002).

North Midtown CDC employed student interns for the duration of the grant program. The students provided assistance in after-school tutoring GED preparation classes, research on services provided by the agency, potential grant funding, and working with individuals in the community to organize new program offerings (Burks 2002).

The students proved to be a major asset to North Midtown CDC. According to the director of the CDC, the students were a valuable addition to their staff: “Yes, it gave us additional personnel where we were understaffed and I had access to students who were knowledgeable and capable, so it has affected us in a very positive way in providing an opportunity for us when we were short-staffed” (Burks 2002).

Discussion

The implementation of the 2000 HUD/HBCU grant proposal presented formidable barriers. Tougaloo’s experience in providing housing assistance was not without its challenges. Three types of challenges appeared during the life of the grant: locating individuals who could qualify to buy a home; finding lending institutions that would lend money in the JEC; and third, convincing people to move into the JEC (Cooley 2002, McKee 2002).

The housing assistance program interested a lot of people. Unfortunately, many of these individuals could not qualify for a home loan. “I can estimate that over the last three years we have communicated with up to three hundred people regarding housing assistance and only seven or eight have qualified” (McKee 2002). The project director attributed this to the low credit scores of many applicants. The remainders were qualified through the assistance of the local non-profits (McKee 2002).

Attempts to get individuals in poor communities qualified for loans is difficult due not only to their individual credit scores, but also to pervasive urban redlining (Bullard and Lee 1994). Cooley speculated that many lending institutions were unwilling to provide home loans for individuals wanting to buy homes in the JEC and attributed this to the low number of individuals who were actually qualified.

The JEC also suffered from a negative perception, which acted as a deterrent to many people. Often when individuals inquired about the program, they did not realize that the home had to be located within the JEC; once they learned this, they often did not follow up. JEC renters were thus, the main recipients of the housing assistance, since the “stigma” did not affect them. Once they realized they could buy a home for little more, or less, than what they paid in rent, they became interested in the program.

Challenges to economic development also existed. Completing the incubator has been a challenge. Cooley admits that, “The building... was far from being an incubator; it was a building with all kinds of problems, seen and unseen” (Cooley 2002). M.C. Burks added that the greatest challenge stemmed from having underestimated the cost and the amount of time it required to renovate the building (Burks 2002). Meeting this challenge has also meant seeking external funding. Both Cooley and North Midtown CDC have written additional grant proposals and have solicited support from the Mississippi State Development Authority. Tougaloo College also found it necessary to make changes in its use of grant funds for the project. The HUD/HBCU grant staff and North Midtown CDC found it necessary to use funds originally intended for rent subsidies to help rehabilitate the building. Both partners completed a memorandum of understanding guaranteeing that the tenants would still receive rental reductions. Cooley has said this was regrettable, but there was no other way to complete the job in a timely way (Cooley 2002).

At this writing, the business incubator was not yet completed. No tenants have moved into the building, but three perspective tenants have been selected: a video production company, an automobile detailing and service business, and a business that distributes and installs solar water heaters.

The next economic development activity intended to establish a brightfield site in a designated brownfield area. Implementation of this activity looked quite different from what was written into the proposal. “What will happen in these projects, more often than not, is that you will go charging down a path with every intention of doing it one way and there comes a hurdle you can’t get over, so you try to move in another direction” (Cooley 2002). This project was to be placed on the brownfield site, cleaned up using funds from a previous 1997 grant. The owner of the site was unable to secure funding from a local lending institution for further development and sold the property. For this reason, the brightfield project will be located in the business incubator.

At this writing, the brightfield project is still in progress. Until the business incubator is complete, however, the project’s business will not be fully functional. A few hot-water units have already been installed in the JEC, but it is too early to gauge success. While the business incubator develops, Cooley has found a source of solar panels, and training of installers has begun (Cooley 2002).

The third economic development task renovated a building for the one-stop center. This proposed activity duplicated a previous activity written into a 1997 proposal. The activity had been deleted in reports to HUD because of HUD’s claim that Tougaloo College could not demonstrate the in-kind contribution provided by the Mississippi Minority Contractors Association, for rehabilitation. In order to recoup the lost funds, this activity was rewritten into the 2000 proposal (McKee 2002).

The one-stop center is located at 1020 Robinson Street and is home to the Mississippi Minority Contractors Association. The HUD/HBCU staff has also sought to house the Mississippi Minority Business Alliance (MMBA) there, but members of MMBA were concerned about the safety of the neighborhood and remained where they were (Cooley 2002). Attracting minority support agencies has been a challenge. One way the College is meeting this challenge is by developing a proposal on behalf of MMBA to the U.S. Department of Commerce, which would relocate them to the building (Cooley 2002).

Challenges related to student placement were minimal. On occasion, students graduated or, for personal reasons, did not continue with their assigned agencies. In each case, the project director and project specialist found replacement interns. For Tougaloo College, this grant-funded activity has been a “win-win” effort for the College, as well as for the CDC.

The success of the HUD/HBCU grant program was not complete. Unexpected obstacles prevented the program from reaching its full potential. As interviews with HUD/HBCU staff members revealed, problems outside their control impeded achievement of certain desired outcomes. These impediments were either internal to the College or external, in the form of larger institutional forces.

Internal problems arose from the College’s business management and practices and from the physical location of the program (Cooley 2002, Johnson 2002, McKee 2002). One of the main challenges involved deficiencies in fiscal management of the grant (Johnson 2002). McKee said that the lack of timely budget information prevented him from meeting deadlines that he had set with clients and various agencies. He suggested that the program would have operated more efficiently if the College had arranged for off-campus accounting services, enabling the grant staff to manage funds themselves. He cited housing assistance as an example: “When one put in a request for funds to assist a client, Tougaloo College required a waiting period of up to two weeks, so why not have your own separate entity under Tougaloo College, but away from the College, whereby you can handle your own finances?” (McKee 2002). Often homebuyers had to meet certain deadlines with lending institutions and others involved in the purchase process, so timely assistance from grant staff was critical. Several times, a client came close to losing homeownership assistance because the Tougaloo business office delayed disbursement of funds (McKee 2002).

Cooley admits that there were internal challenges: “Accounting has been a challenge, budget reporting from the College has been a challenge, and I might add that these challenges are fairly common in many institutions, including HBCUs” (Cooley 2002). In order to address these challenges, he tried (and failed) to make the HUD/HBCU grant program more external to the campus by privatizing it:

I really would like to see more of these types of programs off campus where you would have the resources to monitor and manage and do what you will and let the institution do what it does best, so I think getting it away from the campus is the way I would tend to go, and let academicians do what academicians do. That means not run programs, so I would take it off campus (Cooley 2002).

The project director affirmed this view: “If we had [had] our own accounting office, we could have made sure everything was done correctly in a timely manner. That way the program would have run a lot smoother” (McKee 2002).

The physical location of the HUD/HBCU grant program in the Jackson Medical Mall and not in the JEC also posed problems. This location prevented Tougaloo College from being readily visible in the community. Individuals became aware of the program only through the efforts of staff members to spread information by word of mouth. CDCs and other local non-profits also assisted in publicizing the program. However, there is an important lesson for future efforts.

We have got to be in the community in order to work with the people, in a facility or even a house [that serves] as a central office representing the College. The Jackson Medical Mall is okay, but you are upstairs in an office, which is not visible, and a lot of people still do not know you are there and they have to learn by word of mouth. But to have something within the community, with signs that say “Tougaloo College” and what we are doing, would have had a greater impact and reached more people in the community (McKee 2002).

Other factors that prevented the program from reaching its full potential were external to Tougaloo College — these were larger institutionalized forces, such as the poor credit ratings of the grant proposal recipients, which impeded their ability to secure loans, and the willingness of lending institutions to make loans to recipients and projects in the JEC.

Locating individuals who wanted to become homebuyers was not a challenge. The challenge lay in qualifying potential homebuyers with local lending institutions. McKee attributes this to the credit issues that many potential homebuyers had which, combined with their low-income status and the poor image of the JEC, made them problematic borrowers. “Getting banks to loan funds to low-income people with credit problems is a major obstacle. If we are going to stabilize the JEC, we must have support from the lending institutions and that seemed to be a challenge” (McKee 2002). Cooley supports this accusation: “The financial institutions did not want to lend money in the JEC” (Cooley 2002).

From the perspective of the project director, getting low-income individuals qualified for housing or economic development requires an educational effort. “Many non-profit housing agencies provide home-buyer education. This is important so that the credit issue can be reinforced, [and] so that people can attempt to improve their credit over a period of time. Before you take a person to the bank, they have to know what they are getting into and know the role that their credit plays” (McKee 2002). He suggests that Tougaloo College could have played a role in providing this kind of education.

The consultant provides a realistic insight about these obstacles:

Being able to do exactly what you thought you could do was an on-going challenge in this program. You thought you could do one thing when you wrote the proposal, and yet you find that you cannot do that, but you can do something else and that has always been a problem. I really believe at the end of the day that we need to write these grants and programs in such a fashion that we look at them from a holistic point of view. [We should look at], what was accomplished, versus did you do A, B, and C? And “You did B and D, but not C. When you write a proposal it becomes gospel. I do not know why. Just because I took a seat at the table and wrote a proposal, based on what I thought at that time — well over two years it changes. As the program progressed, I could see other opportunities that I did not see then. I can now see the barriers, so I move in a different direction, yet that in itself is an impediment. When you write a proposal and it becomes the law (Cooley 2002).

Conclusion

The obstacles that beset Tougaloo College in the neighborhood revitalization process — issues of individual credit scores and the willingness of lending institutions to provide loans in the JEC, is a microcosm of the larger reality faced by the African American Community. These conditions contribute to larger institutional forces that prevent group mobility in the area of housing and economic development (Bullard and Lee 1994).

The internal business and accounting challenges that hampered the HUD/HBCU grant program may or may not be unique to the Tougaloo experience. The findings in this research cannot be generalized without further study of the challenges other HBCUs face in the neighborhood revitalization process. Continued research in the area of university neighborhood revitalization as it relates to the HBCU experience is necessary to determine if these challenges are part of a larger problem or if they are unique to Tougaloo College.

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