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The Interlocking Roles of Campus Security and Redevelopment in University-Driven Neighborhood Change: A Case Study of the University of Pennsylvania

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Abstract

Why are many urban universities' relationships with their surrounding communities fraught despite university efforts at community engagement? Relationships between the factors underlying university-driven neighborhood change remain largely unexplored. In this article, I take the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) as a case study and examine the relationship between campus security on the one hand and university-related redevelopment projects in Penn's West Philadelphia neighborhood on the other. I ask what this relationship can reveal about how university-driven neighborhood change operates and why Penn's relationship with its community is persistently tense. I organize my data into two case studies and argue that campus safety and redevelopment have long worked hand-in-hand to securitize campus by creating and reinforcing private zones of exclusivity. Not only have crime and resulting security measures played a key role in driving redevelopment projects, but recently, redevelopment itself has further begun to serve as a form of securitization.

Keywords: university-driven neighborhood change, campus policing, campus safety, redevelopment, University of Pennsylvania

Across the United States, many urban universities' relationships with their surrounding communities are tense, as neighborhoods experience change as a result of campus expansion, gentrification, and university-related policing and surveillance. I take the University of Pennsylvania (Penn)—which has the second-largest campus police force in the country and a long history of campus expansion and redevelopment initiatives in surrounding West Philadelphia—as a case study through which to explore these dynamics.

Drawing on existing theories of urban fear, social exclusion, and "othering," I frame Penn as operating within a context in which elite subsets of the urban population attempt to remove and protect themselves, through gated communities or other means, from groups that they perceive as "other" and as threats to their safety. This attitude among elites leads to the construction of geographic and social spaces of exclusivity that are reinforced by securitization in many forms. This context, I argue, has shaped Penn's approach to campus safety and to expansion and redevelopment projects in its surrounding community. I define campus safety as Penn's overall approach to security, including but not limited to its campus police department. I refer to campus expansion and university-related redevelopment as the facet of Penn's impact on its community that reshapes urban infrastructure. I argue that campus safety and redevelopment have worked hand-in-hand at Penn in that they have both functioned to securitize campus via creating and reinforcing these formally or informally private zones of exclusivity.

I explore case studies from two large waves of expansion and redevelopment in Penn's surroundings, the first during the 1950s–1970s and the second during the 1990s–2000s, and find an evolving relationship between campus security and redevelopment. In both cases, redevelopment emerged from or was justified by crime and resulting security concerns. In the second case, redevelopment itself further served as a form of securitization. Throughout its history, campus policing has contributed to this narrative in that it has continually played a reactive rather than a preventive role. Penn's campus police force has grown by increments into what it is today largely in response to individual incidents of crime, even as these increases have generally been more effective at appeasing concerned students, parents, and investors than at reducing crime rates. Overall, university-driven neighborhood change at Penn is deeply intertwined with dynamics of securitization, exclusivity, and privatization.

These takeaways raise a multitude of new questions for research that seeks to understand universities' relationships with their communities and how community engagement can be made more effective. Whether the patterns I find at Penn hold for urban universities in general is a topic for future research. However, these patterns suggest that universities must incorporate an understanding of historical patterns of privatization and exclusivity into community engagement initiatives, and must endeavor to break down the walls between campus and community that have historically been constructed and reinforced.

Literature Review

Campus Security and Redevelopment

Although scholarship has begun to probe the nature and history of campus security on the one hand and of university-related redevelopment on the other, few have considered whether these two topics are interconnected and what their relationship might reveal about the overall nature of university-driven neighborhood change. Taking Penn as a case study, this article will put these two areas of scholarship into dialogue and explore the results of doing so.

In the existing literature, the history of campus security offers interesting parallels to that of university-related redevelopment, substantiating the idea that exploring their relationship can be productive. Although campus police forces existed as early as the turn of the 20th century, prior to the 1950s or so they were typically small and informal (Paoline & Sloan, 2003; Powell, 1994). A trend toward expansion and professionalization began in the 1950s and accelerated during the 1960s and 1970s; this period saw campus police forces grow in numbers, funding, and technology (Peak et al., 2008). Interestingly, the 1950s–1970s was also the period when urban universities were first taking a hand in transforming their surroundings on a large scale, as Cold War–era defense research funding and urban renewal legislation paved the way for them to realize massive campus expansion initiatives (Bradley, 2018; O'Mara, 2005; Puckett & Lloyd, 2015). In more recent decades, especially during the 1990s and 2000s, a second wave of university-related redevelopment emerged. During this period, universities engaged in efforts at urban revitalization of their surrounding neighborhoods, following the disinvestment that accompanied suburbanization; these efforts were typically realized in partnership with private developers or by stimulating independent private development (Baldwin, 2021; Carpenter et al., 2016). Correspondingly, during these decades campus police forces further expanded and professionalized, undergoing law enforcement training, gaining arrest powers, and employing more and more sophisticated technology (Bromley & Reaves, 1998; Hummer et al., 1998).

Some researchers have begun to explore these connections. For example, Baldwin (2021) framed campus policing and university-driven redevelopment as working hand-in-hand; Carpenter et al. (2016) made connections between the demographics harmed by redevelopment and those targeted by campus police. Even this research, however, does not focus directly on the connection between security and redevelopment in urban universities' histories, instead making this connection a smaller part of a different overall topic. This article will explore this connection at Penn in detail.

Urban Fear, Othering, and Securitization

The dynamics I discuss in relation to Penn and its community reflect broader theories around the psychologies and motivations behind gated communities, private security forces, and similar phenomena. Human society has a long history of the elite seeking to remove and protect themselves from

local populations; in recent decades, the psychological lure of defended space has become especially enticing as media coverage and national hysteria surrounding urban crime have created a "culture of fear" (Low, 2001). This fear is closely intertwined with increasing reliance on urban securitization, policing, and segregation, as security systems become increasingly connected with membership, prestige, and personal insulation from "unsavory" groups and individuals (Davis, 2006).

The concept of othering is useful for conceptualizing the basis of urban fear and securitization. The theory of othering can be traced back to 1948, when the term was coined by French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas; since then, othering has received significant attention as a theoretical framework explaining oppression (Boyce & Chunnu, 2019). Othering occurs when some individuals and groups are negated, excluded, and dehumanized, typically by those with power based on class and/or race privilege. Davis (2006) linked othering to urban fear and securitization: Today's upscale, pseudopublic spaces, Davis wrote, "are full of invisible signs warning off the underclass 'Other.'" Whereas "architectural critics are usually oblivious to how the built environment contributes to segregation, pariah groups—whether poor Latino families, young Black men, or elderly homeless white females—read the meaning immediately" (Davis, 2006, p. 225). Thus, "othering" is a term that helps to describe a wide variety of phenomena including the dynamics of fear and social exclusion.

To draw this into my research on Penn, a few brief pieces of context are relevant. Penn moved to its current West Philadelphia location (across the narrow Schuylkill River from the city center) during the 19th century, when the area was still a middle- and upper-class suburb. Local demographics changed as upper-class people moved even further afield to escape increasing congestion and industrial pollution, while working-class people moved from the city center to West Philadelphia with the emergence of public transportation lines. West Philadelphia, along with the city as a whole and alongside a national trend, suffered from economic decline starting in the early to mid 20th century. Deindustrialization led to job loss among the working class, and suburbanization caused population loss and economic divestment from the urban core (Elesh, 2017). Sparse population and shuttered businesses led to unemployment, poverty, and vacant urban spaces that created an ideal setting for the growth of the drug trade and rising crime rates starting in the 1960s (Puckett, n.d.-a; Schneider, 2014). Only in the 21st century has Philadelphia, again alongside cities across the country, begun to emerge from economic decline. This upturn has largely been fueled by "meds and eds": large hospitals and research universities that serve as economic powerhouses in their surrounding cities (Baldwin, 2021). In Philadelphia, Penn is one of the largest of these.

As a result of these historical patterns, Penn is located within a largely working-class and majority-Black community. A shocking wealth gap exists between its campus and the rest of West Philadelphia. In the 21st century, Penn is further one of the most powerful economic players in the city. As I analyze the rise of campus security alongside Penn's development efforts, I frame Penn as an elite, predominantly White institution, operating within and inevitably shaped by these evolving psychologies of urban fear, social exclusion, othering, and securitization.

Research Methods

This research relies on a mixture of qualitative, quantitative, and archival data. The qualitative component consists of a dozen interviews with various stakeholders, from longtime neighborhood residents to community activists to the head of Penn's campus safety department. Interviewees are anonymous unless they asked for their names to be included. The appropriate Internal Review Board (IRB) procedures were taken. The quantitative component consists of GIS mapping as well as statistical information drawn from public reports released by the Penn and Philadelphia Police Departments. The archival component is based on newspaper archives as well as archival photos and maps.

I take a largely historical approach, organized around two case studies that correspond with the two most prominent periods of campus expansion and neighborhood redevelopment during Penn's 20th-century history. The first is set during the urban renewal era of the 1950s–1970s, during which urban universities including Penn frequently took advantage of federal and state urban renewal legislation coupled with Cold War–

era research funding to expand their campuses into surrounding communities. The second is set during the urban revitalization era of the 1990s–2000s, during which time state-driven urban renewal had given way to efforts to stimulate private development in cities, and urban universities again frequently engaged in this effort. Taking a historical approach allows me to trace change over time as well as bring out patterns in what has remained the same.

Case Study 1: 36th and Market Streets, 1950s–1970s

Crime, Security, and Campus Expansion in the Black Bottom

During the first half of the 20th century, the area just north of Penn's campus was a working-class, predominantly Black neighborhood known as the Black Bottom. Leading up to the 1960s, as Penn sought to establish itself as a world-class research university, it began eyeing the area as a target for campus expansion. During this time period, federal and state urban renewal legislation authorized the seizure and redevelopment of neighborhoods determined to be "blighted." Penn could not realize its plans to redevelop the Black Bottom unless the city designated the neighborhood blighted. Penn bided its time, but, according to Penn professor and former Black Bottom resident Walter Palmer, not idly. He recalled, "Little by little, they bought properties [in the Black Bottom] and allowed the properties to fall into disrepair" (personal communication, September 30, 2021), creating the signs of blight that they needed.

Penn further played a key role in building up perceptions of blight beyond signs of physical disrepair. It relied significantly on discourses of crime and security in order to do so. Penn's desire to expand its campus coincided with growing attention on the part of Penn administrators and the Penn community at large toward area crime, starting in the 1930s and intensifying in the 1950s and early 1960s—before crime rates on record began to rise as they did during the later 1960s and 1970s. The significant evolution of campus police during this period is an indicator of the university's growing attention. Penn had dormitory watchmen as early as 1912, but they grew into a real campus police force in the early 1930s—around the same time as, according to Palmer, conversations around redeveloping the Black Bottom were beginning. By 1938, Penn had 13 official campus guards, each of whom was commissioned by the city, permitted to carry a revolver, and authorized to make arrests on campus or in the near vicinity ("Finding Dead Man and Carrying Guns," 1938). Their numbers, duties, equipment, and patrol zone only grew from there. Another indication of Penn's increasing focus on crime was its decision, in 1954, to join the Campus Security Association, made up of several northeastern universities with the purpose of exchanging information on campus thefts, suspects, and arrests ("Penn Police Force Joins Campus Security Ass'n," 1954). A third example is Penn's commissioning of a thorough study of "crime and delinquency" that compared its surrounding neighborhoods with one another and with the campus area, published in 1963 (Hornum, 1963). This focus on crime and security reflects an increasing circulation of concern around area crime. Further, unlike during earlier decades when rowdy students had been the university's main disciplinary target, Penn was now locating the threat outside the university's boundaries and in the neighborhoods surrounding campus.

The broader Penn community, as well, was paying increasing attention to crime. Petty theft, for example, which was common on and around campus, was receiving greater attention and gaining press coverage in campus publications such as the *Daily Pennsylvanian*. As one contributor put it, "The exception has become the person whose car hasn't been damaged, whose possessions haven't been stolen." The same contributor added, "The city and campus police seem helpless to stop this petty crime wave" ("Student Complains About Thievery," 1950), indicating a perception that policing was not an effective means of addressing these types of crimes.

Violent Crime as Catalyst

The connection between security concerns and campus expansion was solidified with the 1958 murder of In-Ho Oh, a Korean exchange student at Penn. As historian Eric Schneider has documented, Oh lived near 36th and Hamilton Streets, just north of the Black Bottom. On the evening of April 25, 1958, he was mugged by several local teenagers in search of money for admittance to a church dance. The robbery turned violent and Oh was beaten to death (see Schneider, 2020).

The murder quickly made local, national, and international news. All of the 11 perpetrators were soon arrested. Although they ranged in age from 15 to 18, they were tried as adults; further, the city's district attorney called for a death penalty sentence before the trial even began. The teenagers, who were all Black and all young men, were described in racialized terms in most media stories, to the point where one *Philadelphia Tribune* journalist, speaking out against these characterizations, likened the aftermath of the murder to a "lynch atmosphere" ("Slayers of In-Ho Oh," 1958). Another voiced concerns that the murder had "given rise to an unnecessary wave of hysteria, bordering on racism" and demanded, "Why is there no heat, anger or hysteria about the removal of the conditions that breed juvenile crime?" (Nabried, 1958).

The rhetoric belied the reality. According to a set of interviews conducted by the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the offenders were all from the area and all had at least one parent involved in their lives and dedicated to caring and providing for them. Most parents were shocked that their sons could have been involved in the crime (Philadelphia Tribune Staff Writers, 1958). The revelations in these interviews complicate a line of reasoning that sees environmental factors as wholly responsible for producing young people who commit crimes, again emphasizing the need for humanization.

In-Ho Oh's murder was a focal event that, combined with background attention toward crime and characterizations of the Black Bottom as blighted, provided justification for action. Within a month of the murder, Penn trustees approved a new partnership between the university and the city's Redevelopment Authority to create "University City," their name for the area its residents called the Black Bottom. Less than 2 months after the murder, representatives from Penn, Drexel University, what is now the University of the Sciences, and a range of other institutional partners established the West Philadelphia Corporation (WPC), a real estate development entity. They stated as rationalization for forming the WPC, "We face the potential of an ever increasing and encroaching area of residential slums surrounding our colleges and our hospitals" (West Philadelphia Medical and Educational Institutions, 1958)—demonstrating just how far perceptions of the area as blighted had come.

The extent to which "blighted" was an intentionally manufactured characterization becomes clear when taken against former Black Bottom residents' recollections of the neighborhood. When asked to describe their neighborhood, interviewees almost invariably emphasized its safety due to its tight-knit, family- and community-oriented nature. "I don't have any specific memories exactly, but just an overwhelming feeling that everybody cared about everybody," one former resident recalled. "You could leave your door open at night and no one cared. It was like you had more than one mother and father . . . kinda like a big extended family" (Walter D. Palmer collection, "The 'Black Bottom' Interviews," 1995, p. 2). Others concurred, recalling, "It was like family and no one ever locked any doors" (Walter D. Palmer collection, "Interviews of the 'Black Bottom,'" 1995, p. 6) and "The sense of community was key, we could leave our doors unlocked, we could sleep at night with our doors open, and just screen doors closed" (Walter D. Palmer collection, "Life in the 'Black Bottom,'" 1995, p. 3). Residents also emphasized how much things have changed: "What was so remarkable was that we didn't have the danger or fear that there is today. . . . There was just a great deal of trust that doesn't exist today" (Palmer Papers, "The 'Black Bottom' Interviews," 1995, p. 20). Another recalled, "There was nobody pulling out a knife and stabbing somebody or shooting somebody. There wasn't none of that back in those days. We fought with our fists, and it wasn't about killing nobody" (Walter D. Palmer collection, "Life in the 'Black Bottom,'" 1995, p. 10). The residents' sense of the neighborhood as safe suggests that Penn's perceptions of the area as crime-ridden were likely exaggerations, and that In-Ho Oh's murder, while a tragic event, did not represent a common occurrence.

The Science Center: Redevelopment at 36th and Market Streets

As noted above, the area surrounding 36th and Market Streets was originally the heart of the Black Bottom neighborhood, as Walter Palmer recalled. He lived at 3645 Market Street as a child, in a two-room apartment behind a beauty shop. His family and friends lived nearby, within a block. He described 36th and Market as "the heart of the neighborhood, where people congregated." He recalled the neighborhood's self-sufficiency: "You had everything you

needed. You had a veterinarian building on 34th or 35th and Market. You had a Crown laundry, where people went to go to work. I worked there part-time after school." For food and other supplies, "You had the Acme Market on 36th and Market, south side; you had the Baron's Drug Store on the corner of 36th and Market on the west side. You had Titus Apothecary, right next to Baron's. You had Poppy's, an Italian marketplace, at 37th and Market." For entertainment, "It had a nightclub called the Club Vilmar, where I got a chance to play music as a teenager" (personal communication, September 30, 2021; see Figures 1–4).

During the 1960s, the WPC, in partnership with city agencies, redeveloped the stretch of Market Street that includes this intersection into the University City Science Center (UCSC), an urban research park intended to attract gifted scientists and scholars to the area and to establish Philadelphia as a national leader in high-tech research and development (see Figures 5 and 6). After the Cold War push for research and development faded, more recently the UCSC was rebranded as uCity Square, a business incubation center that today includes 17 buildings along Market Street.

As the map in Figure 7 demonstrates, the UCSC thoroughly transformed the infrastructure along this section of Market Street. The blocks enclosed in red dotted lines are from 36th to 38th Streets and from Market to Filbert Streets, the center of the original UCSC redevelopment area. The base image is a land use map from 1962, just before redevelopment. Current building footprints are overlaid in pink. The differences are striking: Whereas these blocks were previously made up of small parcels, they are now dominated by large buildings and complexes. To the south, the infrastructure has transformed in a similar way, with small parcels giving way to large building footprints. To the north, the land was originally redeveloped by the WPC into the University City High School, intended to be a magnet science school. However, the school, which served low-income Black students, was closed in 2013 and demolished in 2015 to make way for further redevelopment, which is currently ongoing.

A total of 2,653 people were displaced from their homes to make way for redevelopment in the area. Roughly 78% of the people forced to relocate were Black, and most were renters (Puckett, n.d.-b). Moreover, the Black Bottom's tight-knit community was destroyed. As one former resident testified, "The University seriously did nothing for the people that lived down here. They turned their backs on them. They're responsible for breaking up the neighborhood." The resident went on, "They said they're doing it in the name of progress. Progress for who? They're giving people like $1,100.00 for their homes, no moving expenses. I mean they just cheated people" (Walter D. Palmer collection, "Life in the 'Black Bottom,'" 1995, p. 21). Others opined regarding both Penn and Drexel, "They ripped up the community" (Walter D. Palmer collection, "Interviews of the 'Black Bottom,'" 1995, p. 6) and "They moved us out and in place of us is a couple of damn buildings. It's ridiculous" (Walter D. Palmer collection, "The 'Black Bottom' Interviews," 1995, p. 9).

In transforming the infrastructure of the area, redevelopment also changed its character: what it is used for, who inhabits it, and which types of people feel at home in it. Whereas it had been an economic and social center for the Black Bottom community, redevelopment transformed it into a space for researchers and businesspeople, so that it first served to further Cold War–era militarization efforts and now serves to incubate businesses (see Figures 8 and 9).

Analysis of the Black Bottom Case Study

Drawing on theories regarding urban fear, social exclusion, and othering helps to frame Penn's approach in redeveloping the Black Bottom. This period was in the midst of industrialization, the Great Migration, and high rates of working-class European immigration. The rhetoric around urban blight, slums, and diseased neighborhoods apparent in characterizations of the Black Bottom was common among upper-class White people who shied away from these neighborhoods and instead retreated into zones of exclusivity, whether suburbs, gated communities, or other types of enclaves. This context shaped Penn's approach, as an elite, predominantly White university adjacent to a working-class, majority Black community. Walter Palmer's description of Penn's intentions echoes these themes of exclusivity and othering. As he opined, "I think Penn really wanted to make a gated community, and I think their perception of Black people being criminals, Black people being subhuman, I think Penn fostered a lot of that" (personal communication, September 30, 2021).

The approach Penn took here, in which it seemed logical to respond to crime by redeveloping a neighborhood, is cast in sharper relief when comparing it with other responses to crime. Oh's murder spurred the development of the WPC, but it also led nearby resident and activist Herman Wrice to found the Young Great Society, a community group that organized sports programs, day care centers, and other initiatives designed to keep young people off the streets and inspire them to become proactive community organizers and leaders. Wrice's response to the murder reflects how he located the issue at hand in gang violence; Penn's response reflects how it located the issue in the otherness of its surrounding neighborhoods.

Although statistical data on policing from this era is sparse, anecdotally we can see that policing was deeply interrelated with redevelopment. Chronologically, increased campus policing and Penn's increasing attention toward crime accompanied its growing desire to expand its campus and preceded the Black Bottom's redevelopment. Following from Mike Davis (2006), who argued that "the market provision of 'security' generates its own paranoid demand" (p. 224), perhaps here increased policing and corresponding attention toward crime allowed Oh's murder to gain the public attention and the level of sensationalism that it needed to be used as justification for redevelopment. Anecdotes from former Black Bottom residents and the *Daily Pennsylvanian* also indicate that there was significant police presence in the Black Bottom and suggest that policing, both campus and city, was not effective at addressing crime in the area. These anecdotes suggest a further role that policing played here: paving the way for redevelopment to come to the table. If policing had been perceived as an effective solution, it would likely have been the logical response to Oh's murder rather than redevelopment.

Case Study 2: 40th and Walnut Streets, 1990s–2000s

Background: Rising Crime Rates

As the 1960s progressed, crime in Philadelphia began to rise steeply. This trend occurred against a backdrop of industrial decline and resulting job loss,

Figure 1. Residents of the Black Bottom

Note. [Photograph of a group of Black Bottom residents], ca. 1960–1970, Walter D. Palmer collection of materials on the Black Bottom Project and other displaced Philadelphia communities (Folder "Black Bottom Photos 1960s"), University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center, (https://findingaids.library.upenn.edu/records/UPENN_ARCHIVES_PU-AR.UPT50P173)

Figure 2. Residents of the Black Bottom

Note. [Photographs of individual Black Bottom residents], ca. 1960–1970, Walter D. Palmer collection of materials on the Black Bottom Project and other displaced Philadelphia communities (Folder "Black Bottom Photos 1960s"), University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center, (https://findingaids.library.upenn.edu/records/UPENN_ARCHIVES_PU-AR.UPT50P173)

Figure 3. View East From 37th and Market Streets, 1956

Note. [Photograph of 37th and Market Streets, facing east], 1956, City of Philadelphia Department of Records Archives, (https://www.phillyhistory.org/PhotoArchive/MediaStream.ashx?mediaId=227900)

Figure 4. 36th and Market Streets, 1949

Note. [Photograph of 36th and Market Streets], 1949, City of Philadelphia Department of Records Archives, (https://www.phillyhistory.org/PhotoArchive/MediaStream.ashx?mediaId=19353)

Figure 5. The Demolition of a Building Near the Southwest Corner of 34th and Market Streets, 1967

Note. [Photograph of the demolition of a building near the southwest corner of 34th & Market Streets], 1967, University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center, Digital Image Collection, (https://www.jstor.org/site/upenn/universityarchives/?so=item_title_str_asc&searchkey=1715803097009)

Figure 6. View North From Filbert Street to a Site Leveled for the University City High School

Note. [Photograph of the view north from Filbert Street to a site leveled for the University City High School], May 5, 1968, *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*. Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia.

Figure 7. Map of Redevelopment at 36th and Market Streets

Note. Base image: *Philadelphia Land Use Map, 1962*, 1962, Plans & Registry Division, Bureau of Engineering Surveys & Zoning, Department of Public Works, Federal Works Progress Administration for Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Geohistory Network, (https://www.philageohistory.org/rdic-images/index2.cfm?w=LUM1962) Overlay: *Building footprints,* 2014, City of Philadelphia Department of Transportation, Open Data Philly, (https://opendataphilly.org/datasets/building-footprints/)

Figure 8. The University City Science Center at 37th and Market Streets Today

Note. Photo by author.

Figure 9. Sign for uCity Square at 34th and Market Streets Today

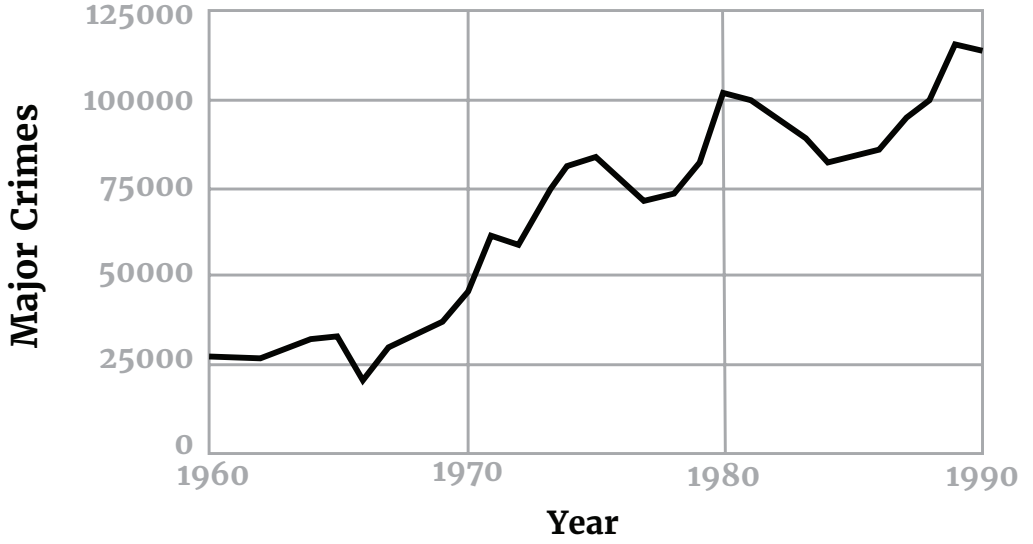
Note. [Photograph of UCity Square at 34th and Market Streets], 2019, Walter D. Palmer collection of materials on the Black Bottom Project and other displaced Philadelphia communities (Folder "Black Bottom 2019 Photos"), University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center, (https://findingaids.library.upenn.edu/records/UPENN_ARCHIVES_PU-AR.UPT50P173)

suburbanization and subsequent population loss, and the emerging drug trade. As historians Eric Schneider and John Puckett have documented, these conditions built on one another to create the backdrop for rising crime rates (Puckett, n.d.-a; Schneider, 2014). Sociologist Elijah Anderson (1990) further demonstrated how the drug trade transformed Philadelphia communities' social fabric: Drug dealers became young people's role models in the place of parents and elders, and a "code of the street" that was heavily dependent on one's perceived capability of violence took hold (pp. 77–78).

The chart in Figure 10 illustrates the Philadelphia Police Department's reported number of major crimes, based on data in their *Annual Statistical Reports* (Philadelphia Police Department, 1960–1990). According to their classification system, "major crimes" include violent offenses such as murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, as distinguished from "minor crimes" such as prostitution, vagrancy, and public drunkenness. Evidence indicates that these crime reports are an imperfect reflection of reality. For example, the Philadelphia Police have been known to underreport or underclassify sexual harassment and sexual assault cases in order to keep their crime numbers artificially low (Fazlollah et al., 1999). They are not alone; other departments across the country, for example the Los Angeles Police Department, have underreported serious crimes in order to lower their cities' perceived crime levels (Poston et al., 2015). Notwithstanding, the data are a viable indication of overall trends. Starting around 1966, crimes began to rise steeply and did not fall significantly until the mid-1970s, after which they began another steep rise, then fell, and then rose again as the 1990s approached.

Penn saw bits and pieces of this rising crime rate as students were caught in the crossfire or became the victims of armed robberies. Correspondingly, throughout this period, policing on and around campus grew and evolved. By 1970, Penn was spending half a million dollars a year on campus security (O'Connell, 1970). The campus police force was now made up of 48 guards, and by this point, Penn was combining multiple approaches to campus security. In addition to the campus police, it had installed several dozen emergency phones, a spotlight system throughout campus, and a campus bus to reduce students' need to walk at night. The campus police force also became more official and visible during the 1970s. In 1973, they received new uniforms intended to make them stand out (Berger, 1973). The following year, their name changed from University Safety and Security to the Penn Police Department. Soon after, it was certified by the state as a fully fledged police

Figure 10. Chart Illustrating Number of Major Crimes Reported by the Philadelphia Police Department, 1960–1990



Note. Graph calculated using data from Philadelphia Police Department, 1960–1990.

department (Burnard, 2009). In 1977, the department acquired the name Public Safety to further reflect its role as an official police department, and its headquarters were moved from the Quad to a more official location in the Superblock (Lasker, 1977). The 1980s saw a series of crime waves around campus as the crime rate continued to rise. Penn responded to the increasing violence by bolstering security, including uniformed police officers as well as emergency phones, cameras, and building security (Weber, 1980).

Crime at the 40th and Walnut Intersection

During the 1980s, the intersection of 40th and Walnut Streets became central to violent crime in the vicinity of campus. By 1988 and 1989, the *Daily Pennsylvanian* was reporting on extensive crime waves at this one intersection, as Figure 11 illustrates. The accounts reflected in Spiegel's (1989) article are substantiated by Philadelphia Police Department crime data. Between 1988 and 1989, the number of crimes against persons reported less than a block from the intersection jumped from 18 to 27. Another 27 were reported in 1990—on average, more than one every 2 weeks. By far the majority of these crimes against persons involved either guns or knives, and almost all of the others involved physical violence.

Both the Penn Police and the Philadelphia Police, at Penn's request, took measures to address crime at the intersection. After the crime wave of 1988, the city police added more officers to patrol the area; Penn itself hired a new security guard specifically for the area around the intersection (Taubman, 1988). However, these measures had little effect, as 1989 saw an even worse crime wave and the crime rate increased dramatically (Stone, 1989).

Penn administrators as well as the city police and area business owners believed that the intersection's geography and infrastructure were contributing to its unusually high crime rate. As a Philadelphia Police captain commented, the intersection was a major transit thoroughfare (Link, 1988). But more important, the intersection's infrastructure and in particular the characteristics of its retail development were seen as contributing factors. The intersection housed businesses that catered to Penn students and area residents alike—a McDonald's, a Burger King, a CVS, and similar chains, as well as a theater and an arcade. There was also a parking lot on the northwest corner and a branch of the Philadelphia Free Library on the southeast corner (Figures 12 and 13).

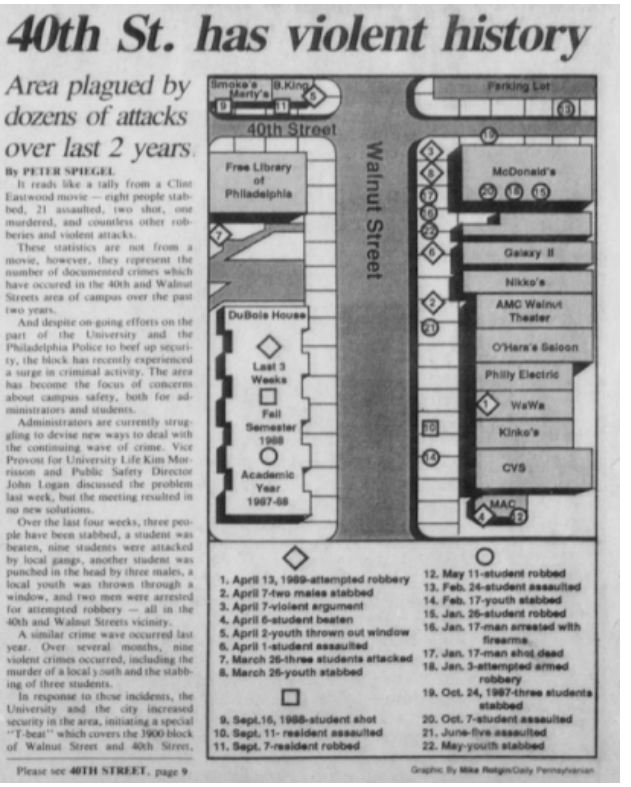
The McDonald's was central to infrastructural safety concerns. Penn affiliates as well as the Philadelphia Police connected its policy of staying open 24 hours a day with the intersection's crime rate, citing how most crimes at the intersection took place late at night and how many happened inside or in close proximity to the McDonald's. Although the Burger King across the street was also open late at night, it closed at 2 a.m. on weeknights and at 3 a.m. on weekends. Correspondingly, it saw its share of crimes, but not nearly as many as the McDonald's. The manager of the McDonald's reported that it was often drunk people coming to the eatery from area bars after the 2 a.m. last call who caused problems (Link, 1988). The owner of another area establishment cited the McDonald's floor layout as part of the problem: "The floor layout is such that there is no way for it to be supervised by those who work there" (Link, 1988 p. 1). The AMC Walnut Theater was another focal point for area crime, as moviegoers inside the theater or leaving it late at night frequently became the victims or perpetrators of crimes (Goldstein & Hilk, 1989; Levi & Spiegel, 1989; O'Donnell, 1990).

As early as the 1980s, Penn began to address these connections. In February 1988, under pressure from Penn, the McDonald's began closing early. Penn's real estate division also met with the other businesses on the block that stayed open late to convince them to cut their hours. However, these arrangements did not last, in particular with the McDonald's (Mitchell, 1988). Around the same time, Penn devised a tentative plan to buy the land where the McDonald's was located. Its owner was amenable provided that Penn could offer it an alternative location. The plan never came to fruition, likely because Penn did not have money to finance it at the time (Parker, 1988).

The Redevelopment of 40th and Walnut Streets

Resources devoted to campus safety grew significantly during the second half of the 1980s. By the fall of 1990, Penn's Department of Public Safety had 76 employees, including 69 police officers, two plainclothes teams, five patrol cars, and 29 contract security guards. Throughout the campus area, there were 250 emergency

Figure 11. Newspaper Report on Crime Near 40th and Walnut Streets, 1988–1989



40th St. has violent history

Area plagued by dozens of attacks over last 2 years

By PETER SPIEGEL

It reads like a tally from a Clint Eastwood movie — eight people stabbed, 21 assaulted, two shot, one murdered, and countless other robberies and violent attacks.

These statistics are not from a movie, however, they represent the number of documented crimes which have occured in the 40th and Walnut Streets area of campus over the past two years.

And despite on-going efforts on the part of the University and the Philadelphia Police to beef up security, the block has recently experienced a surge in criminal activity. The area has become the focus of concerns about campus safety, both for administrators and students.

Administrators are currently struggling to devise new ways to deal with the continuing wave of crime. Vice Provost for University Life Kim Morrisson and Public Safety Director John Logan discussed the problem last week, but the meeting resulted in no new solutions.

Over the last four weeks, three people have been stabbed, a student was beaten, nine students were attacked by local gangs, another student was punched in the head by three males, a local youth was thrown through a window, and two men were arrested for attempted robbery — all in the 40th and Walnut Streets vicinity.

A similar crime wave occurred last year. Over several months, nine violent crimes occurred, including the murder of a local youth and the stabbing of three students.

In response to these incidents, the University and the city increased security in the area, initiating a special "T-beat" which covers the 3900 block of Walnut Street and 40th Street.

Please see 40TH STREET, page 9

Graphic By Mike Rotgin/Daily Pennsylvanian

Note. From "40th St. Has Violent History," by P. Spiegel, April 17, 1989, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, p. 1.

Figure 12. The Galaxy II Arcade, 1980s

Pinball: A Respectable Way To Spend Your Time

By RICH HOFMAN

The method for selecting which pinball machines the Vally Corporation will manufacture is indeed an arduous one.

"First of all," Tom Nieman, Bally's vice-president for marketing, said Wednesday, "we all go into a room and get stoned up and smoke opium. No, that's not even funny, is it?"

Compared to what the average business executives say, it's very funny. But pinball is not your average industry.

For years, the only places to find pinball machines were in truck stops, grimy arcades, and seedy bars — America's underworld.

Today, the industry hasn't abandoned its roots — there are still plenty of dreary places to play pinball — but it has added places like diners, restaurants and shopping centers to its list of establishments.

And all of a sudden, pinball has become respectable. At Penn, it's played by lots of people for lots of reasons. Most of them revolve around the word "escapism."

"It's just an escape from all the controls that the University atmosphere has on a student," said Wharton senior Ilia Markesa. "When you play pinball, your mind is at total rest and your problems are far away.

"It becomes your own little world."

For Scott Goldstein, a high school student whose father, Kenneth, teaches in the folklore department, pinball is also an escape.

"I escape," he said Tuesday, "and then (later) I can go and take the pressures of putting my mind on something I don't really want to put my mind on — studying."

And by the time Goldstein gets to college, pinball will become a substitute for studying.

"It keeps my mind off my studying," Markesa said. "You need an excuse for not studying. If you just sit down, you think 'I should be studying.' That doesn't happen when you play pinball."

"I mean, how would you feel if you were always a month behind in your studies? I have to keep my mind off my studying."

"It's an outlet for my frustrations," said engineering senior Gary Rothmill Thursday. "You just let it out on the machine."

Notice: all the people quoted above are males. On a recent trip to Galaxy on Walnut Street, a pinball center, the count was 23 men, one woman. She looked lost.

At this point, another statistic — this one from University Pinball on Spruce Street — seems relevant. Out of 35 pinball machines, 31 have pictures of barely-dressed women with huge breasts — prehistoric women, disembodied women, outer-space women.

"We don't have a one-track mind," said Nieman of Bally. Short pause. "Well, maybe three-quarters of a track."

"We've been trying to hook the female audience," he continued, "without much success. Only about five percent of our market is female — the core is guys between about 12 and 25 years old. You know as well as I do what the number one thing on their mind is."

Baseball? No!

"We've tried not to be vulgar," Nieman said. "We have a Daily Parlay machine, and that's understated — certainly less than life size. And we have the Playboy machine, and that's tastefully done, I think.

"Some people say I propagate the whole thing by the artwork, but I can't ignore the market. We have to sell the products as best we can.

"I mean, FDR didn't use someone like John Wayne in their ads."

Understandably, no one interviewed admitted that they were playing pinball because of the artwork on the machines or to relieve any suppressed sexual pressures. Not even the little skinny guy who rhythmically banged his pelvis against the machine while he played.

And then there's Scott Wolfsky, a senior in Wharton. He doesn't play pinball to relieve tension, to escape, or anything else.

"I play," he, "because it's fun. That's all."

Note. From "Pinball: A Respectable Way to Spend Your Time," by R. Hofman (1980, February 1), Daily Pennsylvanian, p. 3.

Figure 13. O'Hara's Saloon, 1980s

O'Hara's new Fish House and Saloon

Michael Sparks

BON APPETIT!

Some New Ways To Satisfy Munchies

By DEBORAH KAVESH

For restaurants in the University area, times are changing. Pier 39, the new seafood house on the corner of 39th and Chestnut Streets has been transformed into O'Hara's Fish House and Saloon. Cap'n Yokum's will become Giuseppe's within a month, and Mom's Pizza has been renamed The Roost. In addition, Audrey's, a barbeque take-out, has just opened and Burger King will probably open in April.

The eateries are changing for a variety of reasons. Pier 39 West has been revamped in order "to hit a broader market", according to owner Richard Cellini.

He explained that the owners are now "more interested in the student market." To broaden their market, he said, the seafood house "has been renovated to speak again for an intimate, cozier atmosphere."

The restaurant's change in name and atmosphere has been accompanied by a change in menu. Pier 39 boasted a wide selection of seafood dishes ranging in price from $4.95 to $17.95 for lobster. Entrees for O'Hara's Fish House and Saloon have a price range of $3.45-$7.75 for New York Strip Steak. In addition, the restaurant now has a wide variety of non-fish items, including salads, sandwiches, hamburgers and omelettes.

O'Hara's Fish House and Saloon is owned by the popular O'Hara's Dining Saloon on Walnut Street, and the change in the restaurant's name illustrates the increased similarity between the two restaurants. An advertisement in today's Daily Pennsylvanian calls the seafood house "the sister to O'Hara's Dining Saloon" and says it provides "the same quality food and warm atmosphere."

When Pier 39 opened, the manager, Joe Campbell, said that the restaurant would be "more of a real seafood restaurant" and less of a fast food restaurant.

Another University City restaurant undergoing a transformation is Cap'n Yokum's, also owned by Ed and Rich Cellini. "Light Italian" food such as spaghetti and meatballs has been added to the menu, and the name will be changed to Giuseppe's within a month.

Mom's Pizza had its name changed to The Roost over winter vacation. The new name accompanies the restaurant's move to making its own pizza.

(Continued on page 8)

Note. From "Some New Ways to Satisfy Munchies," by D. Kavesh (1980, January 15), *Daily Pennsylvanian*, p. 1.

phones, and all residences were locked or monitored by a security guard. All student rooms were equipped with a deadbolt or card-proof lock, and windows less than seven feet from the ground had bars or security screens. Penn was even winning nationwide rankings for its campus security (Puckett & Lloyd, 2015, pp. 184–185). However, these measures proved largely ineffective as Penn students continued to fall victim to crimes.

In 1994, Penn PhD student Al-Moez Alimohamed was killed in a robbery near the corner of 48th and Pine Streets. Outrage that followed the murder involved calls for Penn to go beyond increasing police presence and other security operations. For example, Penn Faculty and Staff for Neighborhood Issues (PFSNI), a group that had long advocated for increased off-campus security, stated, "Indications of rapid decline are everywhere. More houses go on the market weekly as residents attempt to flee" (Lees, 1994, p. 3). On behalf of the PFSNI steering committee, Lees (1994) expressed the view that "More police cars, escort vans, and blue-light telephones—while undeniably necessary—are not the answer to University City's security problems. The solution, we believe, lies in investment—a decisive, strategic financial involvement and engagement of academic resources to assist the revitalization of West Philadelphia" (p. 2). This statement recalls earlier appeals for urban renewal and explicitly connects neighborhood revitalization to security concerns, envisioning how revitalization and increased policing might work in concert with one another.

Penn bolstered security throughout the next 2 years, but crime rates continued to rise. On Halloween night, 1996, research associate Vladimir Sled was stabbed to death in a robbery near 43rd and Larchwood Streets. This event finally catalyzed large-scale action, spurring Penn to develop the West Philadelphia Initiatives (WPI), a multipronged neighborhood improvement strategy aimed at thoroughly transforming the university's environs much along the lines that PFSNI had envisioned. Sled's murder yielded reactions both similar to and different from In-Ho Oh's several decades earlier. In both cases, individual murders sparked the beginning of large-scale neighborhood change projects. Penn's motivations, however, differed significantly: In the former case, it wanted to redevelop the land on which the Black Bottom was located and used Oh's murder as justification for doing so. In the latter case, redevelopment was more of a central strategy for responding to crime, and Sled's murder was not an isolated incident but was rather the last straw.

Between 1996 and 2002, the WPI developed programs in five domains: neighborhood safety and cleanliness, housing stabilization and reclamation, neighborhood retail development, West Philadelphia purchasing and hiring, and public education investments. The safety and cleanliness initiative involved hiring new police officers, collaborating with the Philadelphia Police to patrol trouble spots such as the 40th and Walnut area, and setting up closed-circuit television cameras for street-level surveillance. The Division of Public Safety also opened a mini station at 40th and Walnut, behind the Burger King, in 1997 (Lanman, 1997). The safety and cleanliness prong also involved the creation of the University City District (UCD), an institutional alliance of 11 partners including Penn, Drexel University, the University of the Sciences, and (ironically) the University City Science Center. One of the UCD's major programs was the UCD Ambassadors, trained staff members dressed in highly visible blue and yellow uniforms and carrying two-way radios. They patrolled by foot and bicycle day and night. Augmenting them was UC Brite, a UCD-managed program that provided matching funds to homeowners and landlords who agreed to purchase and install sidewalk-level lights on their properties.

The security prong was only part of a larger effort toward improved safety, however. At 40th and Walnut and at other key locations, the WPI addressed infrastructural safety concerns of the late 1980s and early 1990s via redevelopment. Throughout the 2000s, they thoroughly transformed the intersection, overhauling the infrastructure and retail development seen as conducive to crime and replacing it with upscale, student-centered developments designed to interact with one another and create an entirely new environment. This approach was a departure from Penn's earlier strategy of improving safety on the intersection by convincing businesses to close early and attempting to prevent groups from congregating. Now, it was encouraging people to be on the intersection—but specifically Penn affiliates and other higher end clientele.

The Fresh Grocer and Bridge Cinema de Lux

Leading up to this time, Penn did not have a real campus grocery store; it built the Fresh Grocer to serve this purpose and provide a commercial anchor for the redeveloped intersection. Although Penn had purchased the land on the intersection's northwest corner in 1965 during the urban renewal era, for decades it had been a surface parking lot. Starting in 1999, Penn finally redeveloped it alongside the intersection's southwest corner, which had housed the Burger King and now became the Bridge Cinema de Lux entertainment complex. The two structures were meant to complement one another: Members of the Penn community could fulfill their shopping and entertainment needs at once. To reflect this intention, they were designed in the same style (Hanko, 1999a). Executive Vice President John Fry said, "The whole notion is getting people back on the streets at all hours of the day" (Hanko, 1999b). However, the "people" Fry referred to were specifically the clientele that these higher end businesses would attract. As well as Penn students and faculty members, the complexes were intended to draw people from Center City, who would come, as Rodin said, "because they want the University City experience." When the cinema opened, Penn offered promotions such as free parking in the new garage to entice people from further afield to come (see Figures 14 and 15).

Although these projects did not force residents from their homes, they effected a different kind of displacement. Ethnographer Harley Etienne performed an extensive set of interviews with local residents in the aftermath of the WPI. A young squatter from West Philadelphia, for example, shared this opinion regarding the Fresh Grocer: "I hate that store. It's just this rich bougie place that caters to white people who have too much money" (Etienne, 2012, pp. 59–60). Regarding the movie theater, one former West Philadelphia resident shared, "Yeah, I think that the tickets are like $10.75. That's just a n—— tax. They don't want us up in there. Wasn't that theater supposed to be for the community? Who's going to pay that to see a movie? I'll take my ass to sixty-ninth street" (Etienne, 2012, p. 60). (The nearest alternative was a movie theater located on 69th Street.) These interviews suggest that as the intersection was redeveloped and it became oriented toward wealthier, Whiter people, its former clientele were increasingly forced to travel further afield for the services the intersection used to provide them.

The Radian

The other larger redevelopment project on the intersection was the Radian apartment and retail complex. During the 1990s, the businesses east of the McDonald's had formed a small strip mall on land that had, like the parking lot, belonged to Penn for decades. The strip mall was finally demolished to make way for the Radian, which began construction in 2007 and opened in time for fall 2008 student occupancy. The complex was constructed by a private developer working in partnership with Penn. It is a 12-story, 500-bed residential and retail center with businesses on the ground floors and student apartments on the upper floors. In contrast to the 1950s and 1960s, when the mixed-use character of buildings in the Black Bottom was heralded as a sign of blight, now mixed-use development was embraced as a way to provide students with everything they needed in one place (Figures 16 and 17).

The businesses at the Radian's base were handpicked by Penn's Facilities and Real Estate Services office and were noticeably different from those in the Walnut Mall. The only overlap was a CVS, one of the first businesses to open in the complex, following students' desire to bring one back to the area. Other businesses consisted of, for example, Capogiro, an artisanal gelato store, and City Tap House, an upscale restaurant and bar on the Radian's second-floor terrace. In 2011, the health-focused salad chain Sweetgreen filled the Radian's final retail spot.

Building an apartment complex at 40th and Walnut was a bold move, considering how many Penn students had fallen victim to violent crime here in the recent past. However, it ensured that the businesses on the intersection would have a strong student clientele base. Like the Fresh Grocer and Bridge Cinema complexes, the Radian was aimed not at keeping students away from the intersection but rather at saturating it with students. Instead of a place where students went for services before retreating back to the safety of campus, it became a student-centered environment. Ed Datz, Penn's Real Estate and Operations director, corroborated this notion of the intersection's changing character. In the late 1980s, he said, there was a "paradigm shift of what retail was" (Brooks, 2011b, para. 4).

Figure 14. The Fresh Grocer

Note. From "Penn Wants to Replace The Fresh Grocer With Acme," by G. Glatsky, December 17, 2016, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, (https://www.thedp.com/article/2016/12/penn-replace-fresh-grocer)

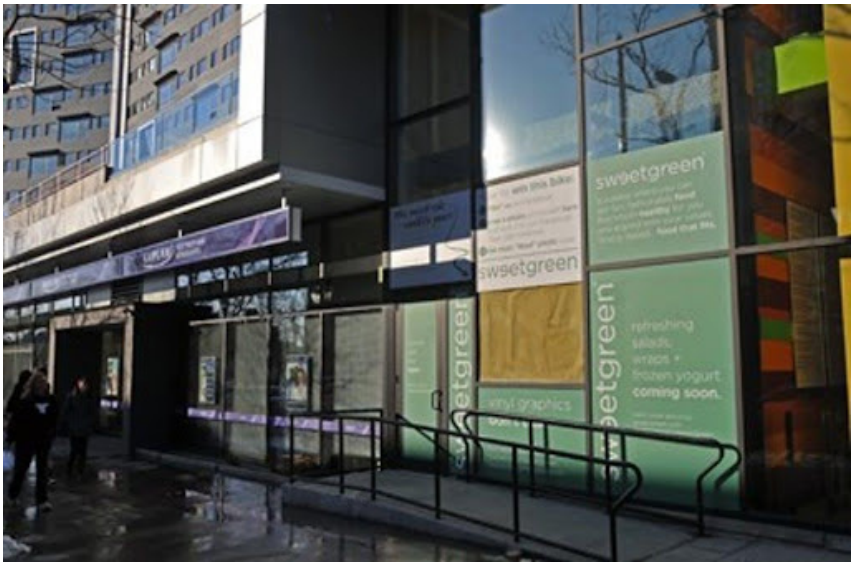
Figure 15. Harvest Seasonal Grill and Wine Bar in the Bridge Cinema de Lux Complex

Note. From "Harvest Seasonal Closes Its Location at 40th and Walnut," April 25, 2017, *West Philly Local*, (https://www.westphillylocal.com/2017/04/25/harvest-seasonal-closes-its-location-at-40th-and-walnut/)

Figure 16. The Radian

Note. The Radian, Parallel Co., n.d., (https://www.parallel-co.com/the-radian)

Figure 17. Sweetgreen Filling the Radian's Final Retail Vacancy



Note. From "Sweetgreen to Fill Final Radian Spot," by H. Brooks, February 4, 2011b, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, (https://www.thedp.com/article/2011/02/sweetgreen_to_fill_final_radian_spot)

Whereas then, most retail in Penn's area catered to service-based needs, the university gradually lured more food, beverage, and "higher-end" retail to the area. As they did so, Datz said, prospective retailers learned that their target demographic was no longer West Philadelphia residents but rather Penn faculty and students (Brooks, 2011b).

"McPenntrification"

Nearly every business on the intersection has changed since the late 1990s due to redevelopment. The McDonald's, once the center of area crimes, is a noticeable exception. This is no accident but is rather the result of a drawn-out conflict involving community opposition to redevelopment.

A 1999 UCD study recommended that the UCD "encourage the McDonald's to update and upgrade the appearance of its store," or alternatively "work with McDonald's to relocate their store to a suitable nearby location, and then redevelop this prime parcel into a higher and better use than the current one-story fast food restaurant" ("McPenntrified Neighborhood," 2002, para. 4). This strategy recalls Penn's plans from the late 1980s to relocate the restaurant as a way of reducing crime at the intersection. Now there was additional incentive as Penn redeveloped the land around it and the property became prime real estate.

In October 1999, the McDonald's corporation bought a parcel at 43rd and Market Streets and announced plans to open a restaurant there. The project encountered numerous challenges, however, including the discovery of soil pollution, the need for zoning changes, and especially community opposition to construction and the gentrification, or "McPenntrification," that area residents believed it would cause. While McDonald's dealt with initial pollution and zoning challenges, residents mobilized into an opposition group called Neighbors Against McPenntrification (NAM). The group combined direct action with political and legal advocacy in their efforts to stop construction (Amorebieta, 2001b; Ruscitti, 2000; Wells, 2001).

One of the group's foremost members was Reverend Larry Falcon, a local community leader and pastor of Covenant Community Church in West Philadelphia. Falcon's own home directly abutted the proposed McDonald's site; construction was set to take parts of his backyard and garden with it. Falcon, who had lived in the area for 51 years, had watched the character of the neighborhood change around him—including its demographics, as its largely African American residents gave way to Penn students and faculty. Penn graduate and area resident Richard Rogers said, "Penn has acted like an invading army since I've been in the neighborhood," operating by "grabbing land, destroying neighborhoods, and driving people out systematically" (Ruscitti, 2000). Numerous articles in local media covered local reactions (Figures 18–19).

In 2004, after numerous delays, forceful resident opposition, and a nationwide economic downturn for the company, McDonald's scrapped its proposed new franchise. The McDonald's at 40th and Walnut continued to stand as one of the few echoes of the intersection's past. In December 2021, however, Penn announced new plans to acquire the land, demolish the existing McDonald's, and construct a high-rise, mixed-use building with a McDonald's at its base.

Further Turnover

Notably, redevelopment at the intersection has continued throughout the years as businesses have phased in and out and redeveloped infrastructure has been overhauled to make way for further redevelopments. These changes have not taken the intersection in new directions as much as they have brought it closer to what Penn originally intended for it.

For example, the Fresh Grocer, intended as an upscale store, gradually gained a negative reputation as many health violations were found (Philadelphia Inquirer Clean Plates, 2017–2019). After a legal battle with Penn, it shut down and was replaced by Acme Markets in October 2020. Acme overhauled the inside of the store, improving its layout and cleanliness. The company also tailored this particular location to serve the needs of the Penn community: In addition to a variety of takeout stations and a robot salad bar, more than half of the store was made up of fresh and ready-to-go products that would appeal to busy students and faculty members (Lowenkron & Yildirim, 2020).

Another example is Marathon Grill, which replaced the Burger King after the Bridge Cinema complex was built and eventually closed in 2011. It was replaced by Harvest Seasonal Grill & Wine Bar, which in turn

Figure 18. Representative Article Covering Resident Protests Against Rezoning, West Philadelphia

Residents protest rezoning

By Maite Amorebieta
The Daily Pennsylvanian

Community opposition has prompted the temporary halt of a proposed rezoning bill that would limit new development west of the Penn campus.

Under the bill, all zoning designations would become more restrictive. Current C-4 commercial areas would become R-10 resi-

Angie Louie/The Daily Pennsylvanian

Neighbors Against McPenntrification, a community activist group, protests a West Philadelphia rezoning bill at City Hall.

Note. From "Residents Protest Rezoning," by M. Amorebieta, February 20, 2001c, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, p. 4.

Figure 19. Representative Article Covering Resident Protests Against "McPenntrification," West Philadelphia

Area residents discuss 'McPenntrification'

Over 200 people voiced concerns about Penn's future development plans.

By Maite Amorebieta
The Daily Pennsylvanian

Over 200 community members packed into the Newman Center last night for a town meeting about what the event's organizers call the "McPenntrification" of West Philadelphia.

Neighbors Against McPenntrification, a community activist organization, hosted the town meeting, which allowed local residents to vent about some of the University's ongoing neighborhood initiatives. Many feel Penn's plans for West Philadelphia may force them from their homes.

Topics of discussion included Penn's plans to rehabilitate multi-tenant apartment buildings, the revitalization of the 40th Street corridor, the possible relocation of the McDonald's at 40th and Walnut streets and the construction of the Penn-assisted public school — measures which the activists say will not benefit West Philadelphians.

"The University has enacted an assault upon the neighborhood," said Richard Rogers, a 1973 Penn alumnus and area resident.

The event's organizers claim that, in the 1960s, the University destroyed the African-American neighborhood known as the Black Bottom, which was bound by Market and Warren streets between 32nd and 38th streets.

Now, members of the community allege that Penn is using the same techniques to expand westward and displace community members from their homes.

"I see the University's plans as another 30-year plan to move people off the land, as they did in the Black Bottom," community activist Roxie Smith said.

She said this will occur through Penn's housing rehabilitation plan and the relocation of the McDonald's at

■ See RESIDENTS, page 7

Justin Ren/The Daily Pennsylvanian

Area residents speak at a town meeting at the Newman Center. Many in attendence said they feel Penn's development plans will push locals out.

Note. From "Area Residents Discuss 'McPenntrification,'" by M. Amorebieta, February 7, 2001a, *Daily Pennsylvanian*, p. 1.

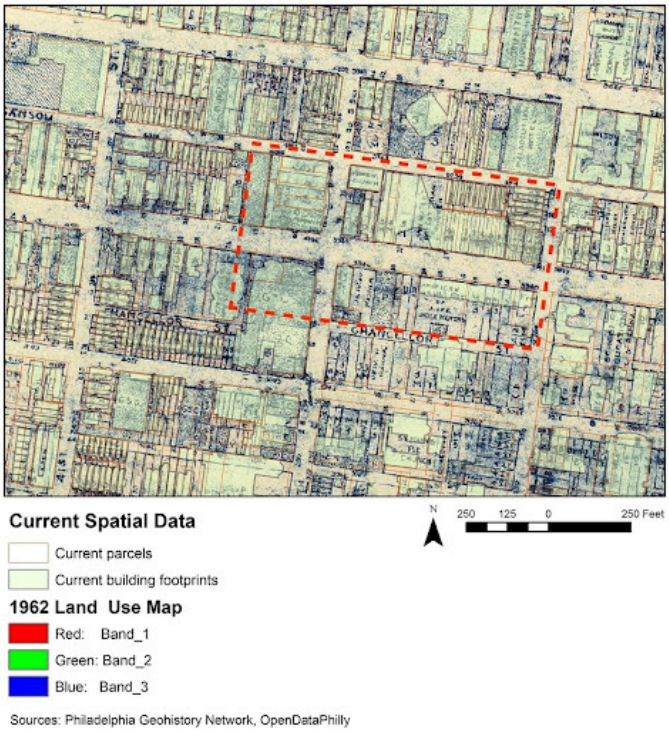
closed in 2017 and was replaced by the Panera Bread currently standing. The Panera added extensive study spaces throughout to appeal to students. These and other changes speak to how the WPI-era redevelopments did not by themselves transform the intersection into what it is today but rather laid the foundations for a continuing process.

As the map in Figure 20 shows, the intersection's infrastructure has transformed almost entirely. On the map, the red dotted line centers around the intersection. The base image is a land use map from 1962, the closest year available. Current building footprints are overlaid in green. The parcel on the intersection's northeast corner (where the McDonald's is located) is the same; however, to the east the Radian complex has thoroughly altered much of that block. To the northwest and southwest, similarly, multiple smaller parcels including the parking lot and the property where the Burger King existed were combined into large complexes. Notably, the most recent building footprint map available does not include New College House West on the intersection's southwest corner, which has further transformed the landscape.

The Results of Redevelopment

After the fact, Penn officials credit redevelopment as partially responsible for declining crime rates in the area, alongside improved security measures. Director of Special Services Patricia Brennan said, "Now we're a little oasis in the middle of a crime-ridden city" (Castellano, 2014). In my interview with her, Vice President for Public Safety Maureen Rush described her department's holistic approach to improving safety: "We have safety and security in the middle, and then we have prongs of all the things that you're now seeing in University City that were not here. All the buildings, the New College Houses, retail space." Rush suggested that Penn is conscious of and even strategizing around how redevelopment and security relate to one another. She also described how the WPI programs were intended to build on one another: The

Figure 20. Map of Redevelopment at 40th and Walnut Streets



Note. Base image: *Philadelphia Land Use Map, 1962*, 1962, Plans & Registry Division, Bureau of Engineering Surveys & Zoning, Department of Public Works, Federal Works Progress Administration for Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Geohistory Network, (https://www.philageohistory.org/rdic-images/index2.cfm?w=LUM1962) Overlay: *Building footprints*, 2014, City of Philadelphia Department of Transportation, Open Data Philly, (https://opendataphilly.org/datasets/building-footprints/)

housing mortgage program, for example, "stabilized the environment, which again helps move towards the safety and security of that community." She continued, "This was a strategic plan. This was not, oh let's try this. This was all part of the strategy of how to make the environment of Penn and University City/West Philly residents safe." Again, she suggested that Penn's security strategy is not limited to traditional policing or even to surveillance, communication, and lighting programs. Rather, Penn now intends security and redevelopment to build on one another (M. Rush, personal communication, October 25, 2021).

Penn touts striking decreases in area crime as a triumph of the WPI and subsequent similar developments. According to an evaluation of the WPI conducted in 2003, crime reports requiring a response from Penn's Division of Public Safety decreased by 40% between 1996 and 2002 (Kromer & Kerman, 2004). Rush (personal communication, October 25, 2021) cited an overall 63% reduction in crimes in the Penn Patrol Zone between 1996 and 2020 (see Figure 21).

This difference is striking. Also notable, however, is that crime was decreasing all over Philadelphia during this time period, as the drug trade declined in response to strident criminalization of crack cocaine and resulting mass incarceration. In fact, the state of Pennsylvania has raised its number of incarcerated people by 288% since the 1980s (Vera Institute of Justice, 2019). Major crimes reported by the Philadelphia Police Department's 18th District (West Philadelphia south of Market Street) declined by approximately 48% between 1996 and 2020. Citywide, major crimes reported by the Philadelphia Police declined approximately 42% (see Figure 22). Although causation between Penn's efforts and declining crime rates would be difficult to establish, it is telling that Penn saw the highest reduction. Also interesting, however, is how the Penn data show a spike in crime during the WPI before crime rates began to fall more steadily—perhaps because redevelopment-related changes were a longer term process.

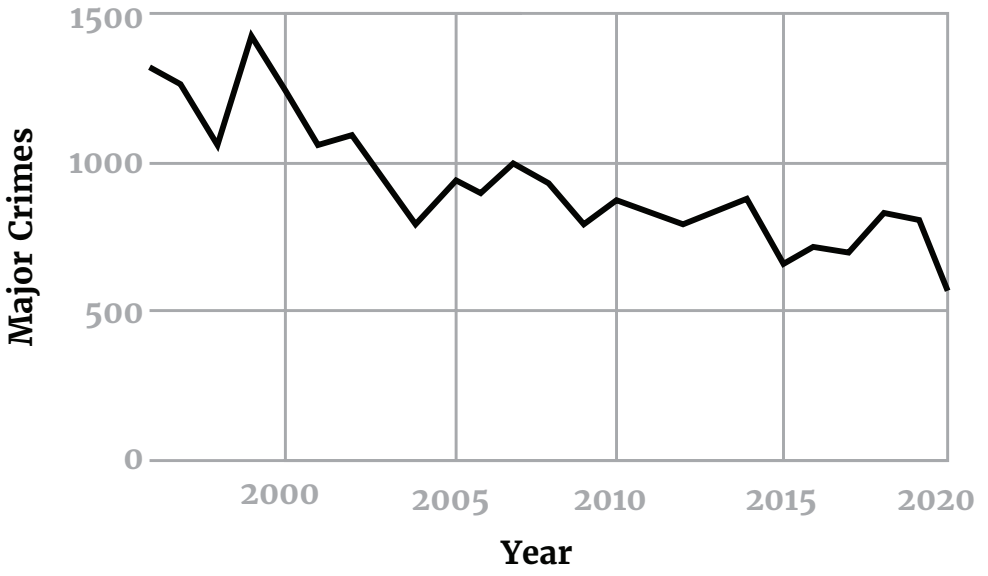
Analysis of 40th and Walnut Streets

Like the murders that sparked their formation, the WPC's creation of the University City Science Center and the WPI played different and yet strikingly similar roles. Although during this later era, Penn was opposed to the kind of campus enclosure and expansion via displacement that had characterized the urban renewal era, the transformation of the 40th and Walnut intersection has affected different forms of expansion and displacement.

Penn's approach to campus security during this later era bears more similarities to than differences from its approach in the earlier urban renewal era. Fear, social exclusion, and othering played similar roles in both periods. Penn responded to incidents of crime by redeveloping the intersection in a way that excluded local low-income people of color and reoriented it toward its "own" types of people. Penn located the issue, as it did during the urban renewal era, not in the drug trade, gang warfare, or urban disinvestment but rather in its surrounding neighborhoods themselves. In the same period as Penn was carrying out the WPI, Herman Wrice, founder of the Young Great Society, went on to found another community organization, Mantua Against Drugs. Wrice and other members of this group would hold antidrug demonstrations in the streets and publicly pressure drug dealers to leave the neighborhood. In contrast to Penn's approach, Wrice located the real issue as in the drug trade and the activities surrounding it.

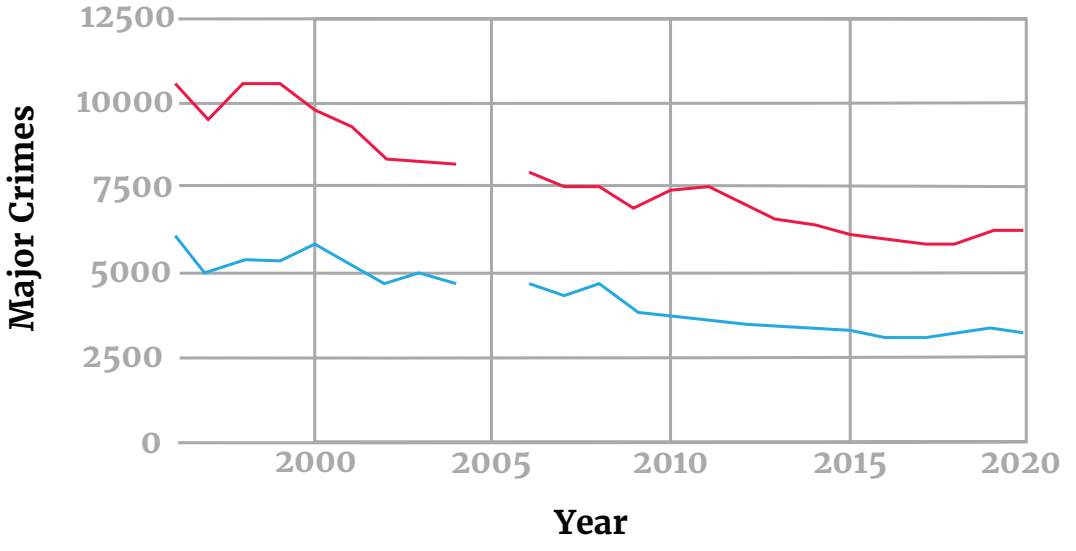
The WPI case study reveals more developed relationships among crime, campus security, and redevelopment than existed in the 1960s urban renewal case study. Here, not only did violent crime catalyze redevelopment, but redevelopment itself served as a form of securitization, alongside a gradual broadening of the Division of Public Safety's approach to campus security. In this case study, more documentation exists to assess the role of policing in relation to redevelopment. Again and again during the 1980s and 1990s, we see anecdotally and in statistical data that as Penn bolstered police numbers and presence in response to area crimes, crime rates continued to rise. As in the first case study, this evidence suggests that policing accompanied redevelopment: Had policing been effective at addressing crime, redevelopment would never have come to the table as a logical response. In the crime data, it was not until redevelopment was well under way that crime rates began to subside. In addition, in this case study, increased policing was intended to work in tandem with redevelopment and other initiatives, further solidifying their relationship.

Figure 21. Chart Illustrating Number of Major Crimes Reported by Penn's Division of Public Safety, 1996–2020



Note. Graph calculated using data from University of Pennsylvania Department of Public Safety, 1996–2020.

Figure 22. Chart Illustrating Number of Major Crimes Reported by the Philadelphia Police 18th District and by All Districts, 1996–2020



Note. Data for 2005 was not available. Graph calculated using data from Philadelphia Police Department, 1996–2020.

Conclusion

Not only have campus security and redevelopment interplayed in Penn's recent history, but they have been evolving toward an even closer relationship. These two case studies have identified patterns of continuity and change across time. Even though both are now historical cases, these patterns are ongoing. Penn's Division of Public Safety continues to grow and evolve, and Penn-related expansion and redevelopment continue. The growth and evolution of campus policing alongside and in combination with redevelopment projects is not only a historical concern; it may be used in order to better university–community relations today. The overarching lesson here is that Penn's relationship with its community has long been shaped by a persistent tendency toward separation and fortification of campus from its surrounding community. An understanding of this tendency on the part of university leadership is the first step toward comprehensive healing of university–community relations. Incorporating this understanding into community outreach and engagement initiatives could mean, for example, extending access to university facilities and resources to the surrounding community. It could also look like encouraging zones of contact and interaction between Penn and the surrounding community; for example, adding affordable retail and service amenities in the vicinity of campus that would draw students and community members alike. Penn leadership could also draw on noncampus urban planning paradigms—for example, participatory planning, which has been gaining respect and popularity in recent years—that are designed to involve community members in the decision-making process and center their input throughout.

Whether these patterns hold true for other urban universities is a topic for future research. Davarian Baldwin's (2021) work affirmed that many urban research universities hold positions similar to Penn's: as wealthy, predominantly White economic powerhouses within largely working-class communities of color. Baldwin's findings offer a basis for further research, which could use a similar premise to that used here to explore patterns at other universities. In addition, this article is only the start of research on Penn itself. Future research could address other historical and contemporary campus-related development projects. Doing so would likely unearth more dimensions of the patterns that have emerged from these two case studies, and potentially more patterns altogether. Further research could also take the patterns that I outline here and explore contemporary community engagement projects in depth with them in mind, suggesting in more concrete detail how university leaders can incorporate the lessons of the past into current community engagement efforts.

If this research is any indication, universities' relationships with their communities can be greatly shaped by long-standing patterns of underlying bias. It is no wonder that urban university–community relations are often fraught: Communities see and remember these biases, and smaller scale engagement initiatives, although they may have an impact, do not have the power in and of themselves to reverse overarching patterns. Penn, for example, runs tutoring programs that pair university students with West Philadelphia children for help in their school subjects. These programs certainly have an impact on children's lives, and the practice does effect more interaction between university and community. But an individual initiative like this one does not address overarching patterns of securitization and fortification. In Penn's case, the university needs a more comprehensive initiative that thoroughly reckons with historical patterns of bias and creates a multipronged approach to healing university–community relations. Such an endeavor could include current community engagement initiatives, but they would be part of a larger organized effort that would address policing, redevelopment, gentrification—all the factors that make up Penn's impact on its community. In order to improve their community engagement initiatives, universities must create more thorough and comprehensive approaches that take into account the complexity of how they have impacted their communities over time. Without this comprehensiveness, individual community engagement initiatives will do little to heal damaged university–community relations or have a genuine impact. Willingness to examine and reckon with all the ways they have shaped their communities is the first step universities can take toward making their community engagement initiatives more effective and building positive relationships with their communities.

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