

# “A Highly Complex Set of Interventions”



## The University of Chicago as Urban Planner, 1890–2017

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### Introduction

*The University intended to provide its own landscape. Or at least it gave evidence that it would do so eventually.<sup>1</sup>*

My interest in the University of Chicago's boundaries was piqued as a first-year student during Orientation Week in September 2013. The upperclassmen leading discussions of transportation and city life did not explicitly tell us where we should or should not go, but instead told us the boundaries of the University of Chicago Police Department (UCPD) patrol zone: 37th Street to the north, 64th Street to the south, Lake Shore Drive to the east, and Cottage Grove Avenue to the west. Two things struck me about this comment: the UCPD's patrol area extended so far beyond the main campus<sup>2</sup> and the framing of urban space in terms

1. Neil Harris, foreword to *The Uses of Gothic: Planning and Building the Campus of the University of Chicago, 1892–1932*, by Jean F. Block (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1983), xii–xiii.

2. See “University of Chicago Campus Boundaries,” University of Chicago Safety & Security, accessed January 8, 2017, <https://d3qi0qp55mx5f5.cloudfront.net/safety-security/uploads/files/Campus-Boundary>

of policing. The comment stuck with me throughout my time at the University of Chicago and informed much of my creative and academic output for the remainder of my undergraduate experience.

This thesis is not an overview of the university's construction and property acquisitions or a comprehensive narrative of university history.<sup>3</sup> Rather, I emphasize how policies and the built environment reveal the university's values and attitudes toward its surrounding neighborhoods. From Marshall Field's 10-acre land grant in 1890 to 217 acres and 197 Hyde Park properties in 2016, I investigate how the University of Chicago has understood its role as an agent in the urban environment, how the university has demarcated its boundaries, and how these roles, boundaries, and relationships have shifted over the course of the university's 127-year history.<sup>4</sup>

## A Very Brief History of American University Planning

Universities—particularly American universities—have historically been defined not only by their faculty and their contributions to academic inquiry, but also by their campuses. Although the college campus can be traced back to the medieval universities of Europe, in which students and faculty lived and worked together in a cloister, American universities developed college campuses as separate entities, with distinct characteristics. Early American universities were based on a classical curriculum and typically started with a single multipurpose building to house classrooms, offices, and students.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Jefferson's "academical village" at

3. John W. Boyer already wrote this book, *The University of Chicago: A History*, which was an invaluable resource for me.

4. "Campus and Capital Projects: At a Glance," University of Chicago Data, accessed March 13, 2017, [https://data.uchicago.edu/at\\_a\\_glance.php?cid=19&cpid=4&sel=atg](https://data.uchicago.edu/at_a_glance.php?cid=19&cpid=4&sel=atg).

5. Paul Kapp, "The University Campus: An American Invention," Building the University: The History and Architectural Sociology of Universities Conference (Chicago, IL, February 2, 2017).

the University of Virginia departed from this model. He believed that physical form could express pedagogical function, and he designed a campus to encourage scholarship. Jefferson constructed "a small and separate lodge for each professorship," connected the lodges to student dormitories by covered passageways for "dry communication between all the schools," and arranged them around "an open square of grass and trees."<sup>6</sup>

After the Civil War, the Land-Grant College Act of 1862 provided states with land for colleges that specialized in agriculture, engineering, and military science. This practical curriculum changed the physical space of campuses with specialized buildings, such as laboratories and observatories. The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the City Beautiful movement revived classical aesthetics and principles, which influenced Columbia University's Morningside Heights campus. In contrast, the University of Chicago was one of the first American universities to use the neo-Gothic style, based on English colleges; Duke University and Princeton University also used the neo-Gothic style in the following decades. By the mid-twentieth century, modernist principles declared university master plans to be "corsets," cumbersome and restricting.<sup>7</sup> Universities like the Illinois Institute of Technology, primarily designed by Mies van der Rohe, sought a more porous and open campus framework.<sup>8</sup> By the mid- to late twentieth century many city universities moved toward a "UniverCities" model, with "meds and eds" (universities and hospital complexes) becoming one of the great forces in contemporary urban development. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, as the global North's economy abandoned large-scale manufacturing for information, cultural, and educational services, urban

6. M. Perry Chapman, *American Places: In Search of the Twenty-First Century Campus* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), 5–6.

7. Kapp, "The University Campus."

8. "IIT Campus Historical Architecture," IIT College of Architecture, accessed March 14, 2017, <https://arch.iit.edu/about/iit-campus>.

universities became economic engines.<sup>9</sup> Contemporary urban American universities can no longer be ivory towers: they are major employers, developers, and landowners whose decisions affect people far beyond their campus boundaries.

## Town-and-Gown Relationships

The phrase “town and gown” comes from the distinctive robes, cloaks, and hoods worn by students and faculty at medieval European universities, which distinguished them from the townspeople. Relationships between universities and surrounding communities were strained in early American universities, especially at universities founded to train future ministers, which viewed cities as morally corrupt and which sought to insulate their students from urban vices.<sup>10</sup> Many universities located their campuses in the country or used spatial practices and policies to insulated their students from the outside world. The town-gown split was further reinforced in the latter half of the twentieth century when the majority of American universities adopted the campus model, in which students could have the majority of their needs met without leaving campus. This separation divided university and city and facilitated distrust between the two.<sup>11</sup> Columbia University, the University of Cincinnati, the University of Pennsylvania, and numerous other urban universities have experienced conflicts and tensions with their

9. Davarian L. Baldwin, “The ‘800-Pound Gargoyle’: The Long History of Higher Education and Urban Development on Chicago’s South Side,” *American Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (March 2015): 82, 88.

10. Stephen D. Brunning, Shea McGrew, and Mark Cooper, “Town–Gown Relationships: Exploring University–Community Engagement from the Perspective of Community Members,” *Public Relations Review* 32, no. 2 (June 2006): 126.

11. Dale McGirr, Robert Kull, and K. Scott Enns, “Town and Gown: Making Institutional and Community Development Work Together,” *Economic Development Journal* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 42.

surrounding communities.<sup>12</sup> Though this paper focuses on the University of Chicago, its conclusions have wider implications.

## Overview

Each section of the thesis covers a particular time period. The first section (1890–1932) covers the University of Chicago’s use of the neo-Gothic architectural style to cloister the university from the city. The second section (1933–1948) discusses the university’s covert financial support of racially restrictive covenants in the surrounding neighborhoods. The third section (1949–1962) covers urban renewal and the university’s active manipulation of the built environment. The fourth section (1963–1998) discusses policing and physical buffer zones. The fifth section (1999–2017) chronicles the 1999 Master Plan, university charter schools, the expansion of policing, and the simultaneous expansion and contraction of the university’s real-estate holdings.

While the University of Chicago’s understanding of its role in the built environment and its attitudes toward its peripheries have changed substantially since the doors of Cobb Hall first opened for classes in 1892, the university’s broad history can be described as a progression of barriers. These barriers—physical, legal, psychological—helped create and emphasize distinctions between “town” and “gown.” Many of the university’s programs in recent decades have sought to repair some of these divides. A study of the history and the development of the University of

12. Sewell Chan, “When the Gown Devours the Town,” City Room, *New York Times*, November 16, 2007, <https://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/11/16/when-the-gown-devours-the-town/comment-page-1>; Hansi Lo Wang, “University Re-imagines Town and Gown Relationship in Philadelphia,” *Code Switching*, NPR, January 29, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/01/29/375415911/university-re-imagines-town-and-gown-relationship-in-philadelphia>; for relationships of American universities and cities see Thomas Bender, *The Urban University and Its Identity: Roots, Locations, Roles* (Boston: Kluwer Academic, 1998) and Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

Chicago's policies and practices has implications beyond Hyde Park: to what extent do private institutions have the right to alter urban space—particularly spaces that are occupied by people unaffiliated with the institutions—in order to further their own interests?

## “Flourishing in Its Isolation”: The Neo-Gothic Period, 1890–1932

### Marshall Field's Land Grant

Rising from the “ashes” of its former incarnation, which shut its doors in 1886 due to financial problems, the present-day University of Chicago was chartered on July 1, 1890.<sup>13</sup> The wealthy Chicago entrepreneur Marshall Field donated the land that initially comprised the university's campus. Field had purchased sixty-three and one-third acres of land in Hyde Park in 1879 at \$1,253 an acre. In January 1890, he pledged to donate ten acres to the new university. The initial site stretched from 55th to 58th Streets, between Ellis and Greenwood Avenues, but was later amended to ten acre between 56th and 59th Streets. University trustees feared that the ten-acre site was too small to accommodate future campus expansion, and Field offered to sell them more nearby land. The final agreement included land from 57th to 59th Streets, between Ellis and Lexington (now University) Avenues. Field donated one and a half blocks and sold an additional one and half blocks for \$132,500 to the university. The university's first action was to close off all streets and alleys running through the site, which would become a self-contained campus.<sup>14</sup>

13. Jean F. Block, *The Uses of Gothic: Planning and Building the Campus of the University of Chicago, 1892–1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1983), 8.

14. Robin Faith Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 34–35, 42–43.

## Henry Ives Cobb's Master Plan

The university convened and created the Committee on Buildings and Grounds nine days after Illinois granted its charter in July 1890. The committee's primary tasks were to consider the site, prepare a preliminary plan, find an architect, and oversee the construction of the campus. Its members included Chicago businessmen Martin A. Ryerson, Thomas W. Goodspeed, and Charles L. Hutchinson; Ryerson and Hutchinson presided over the committee for the rest of their lives, ensuring a degree of aesthetic continuity and architectural unity in the fledgling campus. The committee chose architect Henry Ives Cobb to draw up a campus master plan and to design a “general recitation hall” and dormitories for divinity and graduate students. The committee wanted a master plan in order to avoid the ad hoc development of many other nineteenth-century universities, which often began with a single building and haphazardly added more as donors appeared.<sup>15</sup>

The trustees built the campus in the neo-Gothic style for practical, structural, and ideological reasons. The Gothic aesthetic gave institutional legitimacy to the new university by association with the ancient scholastic lineage of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>16</sup> The architect Michael Sorkin, in his hypothetical 1999 master plan for the University of Chicago, refers to neo-Gothic as a “simulacrum,” which served as a “grafted expressive authority... as if Chicago really were Oxford.”<sup>17</sup> The lack of an opening ceremony also reflected a desire to situate the university in an ancient history of scholarship. In a letter to John D. Rockefeller, University President William Rainey Harper wrote that he did not want any special festivities; he wanted “the work of the University [to] begin on

15. Block, *The Uses of Gothic*, xviii, 8, 11.

16. Sharon Haar, *The City as Campus: Urbanism and Higher Education in Chicago* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 24.

17. Michael Sorkin Studio. *Other Plans: University of Chicago Studies, 1998–2000. Pamphlet Architecture 22*. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001), 15.

October 1 as if it were the continuation of work which had been conducted for a thousand years.”<sup>18</sup> The University of Chicago held its first classes without fanfare.

A concern for legitimacy was partially rooted in the new the money that paid for the university’s creation. Unlike early American universities, such as Harvard and Yale, which were initially funded by the colony and the church, the earliest benefactors of the University of Chicago had made their fortunes in oil (John D. Rockefeller), department stores (Marshall Field), and lumber (Martin A. Ryerson). Architectural scholar Sharon Haar in *The City as Campus* describes the disjunction between the industrial age and its aesthetic as an “architectural paradox”: the newer the university, the older it appeared to be.<sup>19</sup>

Social historian Neil Harris argues that the University of Chicago “began from its perimeters rather than its center.”<sup>20</sup> The university was not built around or defined by a single iconic structure but was defined by the quadrangle’s outer limits. The college quadrangle—based on the Oxbridge model and sequestered from the outside world—created a “fantasy of leavened monasticism” in a rapidly changing world.<sup>21</sup> Cobb’s quadrangle buildings create a “wall against urban encroachment,” which reveal the university’s desire to close itself off from the distractions of the outside world (fig. 1).<sup>22</sup> According to Sorkin, Cobb’s architectural plan is notable for what is not shown:

The perspectival image floats in abstraction, its context a continuous street grid, each block filled with greenery. Missing is any idea

18. Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 25.

19. Haar, *The City as Campus*, 25.

20. Harris, forward to *The Uses of Gothic*, xiii.

21. Michael Sorkin Studio, *Other Plans*, 9.

22. Haar, *The City as Campus*, 23–24.



**Figure 1. Henry Ives Cobb Site Plan, 1893.**

University of Chicago Photographic Archives, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library [SCRC subsequently], apf2-02712. <http://photoarchive.lib.uchicago.edu/db.xqy?one=apf2-02712.xml>



**Figure 2. View of Campus Looking Southeast toward Cobb Hall, circa 1905**

University of Chicago Photographic Archives, SCRC, apf2-02729. <http://photoarchive.lib.uchicago.edu/db.xqy?one=apf2-02729.xml>



of the community beyond its walls—those unspecified surroundings could be anything. The absence is strategic, a portrait of the ivory tower, flourishing in its isolation. While such disengagement may be the matrix of scholarly endeavor—the ground of “objectivity”—it also speaks of the unworldliness of the university and of a history of ambivalent relations to its neighbors.<sup>23</sup>

The neo-Gothic style and the quadrangle plan also allowed “adaptability and variety within a controlled plan.”<sup>24</sup> The trustees knew they could not complete the ambitious project all at once, but Cobb’s plan gave them confidence that the campus would remain architecturally consistent when money became available to fund new construction.<sup>25</sup> Even though the buildings were designed by five different architects/firms<sup>26</sup> over forty years, they maintain a consistency and continuity that would have been impossible without the framework of Cobb’s neo-Gothic plan. The plan’s execution was haphazard and uneven, with large plots intended for future buildings creating gaps in the theoretically impenetrable fortress, but like many things at the University of Chicago, what mattered was not execution, but the underlying ideas and theories:

The first plan, and even the second and third, were fantasies of an ideal university. They would undergo many changes. But the idea of a plan, the notion that the growth of the University would be stylistically consistent, contained, and articulated—safe from the

23. Michael Sorkin Studio, *Other Plans*, 9.

24. Block, *The Uses of Gothic*, 13.

25. Ibid.

26. Henry Ives Cobb; Dwight Heald Perkins; Shepley, Ruten and Coolidge; Holabird and Roche; and Coolidge and Hodgdon. See “UChicago Heritage Map,” University of Chicago Facilities Services, accessed March 15, 2017, [http://facilities.uchicago.edu/about/uchicago\\_heritage\\_map](http://facilities.uchicago.edu/about/uchicago_heritage_map).

whims and caprices of individual donors—would persist, promising, as Martin Ryerson said in his report to the trustees, “beauty, simplicity, and stability” (fig. 2).<sup>27</sup>

## Continued Development and the South Campus Plan

Though Cobb’s plan was never fully realized, the University of Chicago’s leaders stuck to the plan’s aesthetic and structural parameters until 1932.<sup>28</sup> The construction of the main quadrangle began around Cobb Hall at 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, which opened in October of 1892; Gates, Blake, and Goodspeed Halls were also completed that year. The quadrangles took shape with the completion of such iconic buildings as Hutchinson Commons and the Reynolds Club (1903), the William Rainey Harper Memorial Library (1912), and Bond Chapel (1926).<sup>29</sup> During this period, the university also began to acquire land surrounding the quadrangles on both sides of the Midway Plaisance, a ninety-acre parkland that had been connected to the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition.<sup>30</sup>

Trustee Frederic C. Woodward published a report in 1927 calling for the radical expansion of the campus housing system, as only 8.3 percent of undergraduates lived in residence halls.<sup>31</sup> Woodward argued that unless students were living, socializing, and studying together in the same physical spaces it would be “impossible to achieve the social solidarity

27. Block, *The Uses of Gothic*, 13, 224–27.

28. Editor’s note: International House (1932) and the Field House (1932) were the final buildings constructed in a “minimal Gothic” style, streamlined by art deco and modernist design. See Block, *The Uses of Gothic*, 166, 180–85.

29. Block, *The Uses of Gothic*, 224–26.

30. “Midway Plaisance,” Cultural Landscape Foundation, accessed May 6, 2018, <https://tclf.org/landscapes/midway-plaisance>.

31. John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago: A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 208.

and *esprit de corps* which are essential to the carrying out of a well-rounded educational program.” Trustee Harold H. Swift shared Woodward’s commitment and in 1927 he commissioned Philadelphia architect Charles Z. Klauder to draft a hypothetical south campus plan. Located between 60th and 61st Streets and Ellis and University Avenues and modeled on the Harkness Memorial Quadrangle at Yale, Klauder’s neo-Gothic plan included a tower, a library, a large central office and classroom building, and residence halls surrounding the tower that would have housed two thousand students (fig. 3). For administrative and financial reasons, the plan was scaled back to focus on residence halls and only Burton-Judson Courts, which opened in autumn of 1931 and housed 390 male undergraduates, was built.<sup>32</sup>

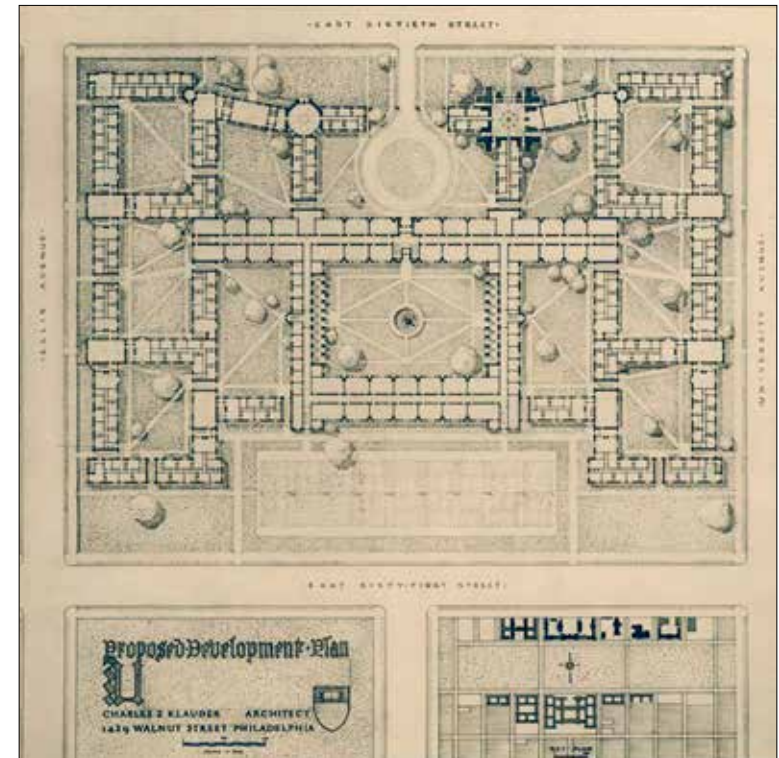
In its first forty years, neo-Gothic architecture kept the university cloistered from the rapidly growing metropolis of Chicago. But the work of its own researchers, who used the city as a laboratory to study social processes in the 1920s and 1930s, suggested that the university’s aloof relationship to the city would have to change.<sup>33</sup> By the mid-1930s the economic and social shifts occurring in Hyde Park and beyond would eventually force the university to interact with its surroundings in unprecedented ways.

## “The Problem of Our Property”: Racially Restrictive Covenants, 1933–1948 The Great Depression and the Great Migration

The University of Chicago’s relationship to its peripheries experienced a major change during the Great Depression. A 1933 survey concluded that the university’s neo-Gothic buildings were “educational obsolete” for new disciplines, especially the sciences, and their maintenance drained money

32. *Ibid.*, 209–10.

33. Haar, *The City as Campus*, 44.



**Figure 3. Site Plan of the College, South Campus,  
Charles Z. Klauder, Architect, circa 1927**

University of Chicago Photographic Archives, SCRC, apf2-01885, <http://photoarchive.lib.uchicago.edu/db.xqy?one=apf2-01885.xml>

away from education during difficult economic times. Hyde Park historian Jean Block noted: “When the University resumed building after World War II, the designs would be in a contemporary style.”<sup>34</sup>

The early 1930s also saw the beginning of the university’s attempts to control its surrounding neighborhoods by financial supporting racially restrictive covenants, which are contracts among property owners that prevent the lease, purchase, or occupation of their properties by specific groups of people.<sup>35</sup> They first gained widespread use in Chicago white neighborhoods in the late 1920s as a reaction to the Great Migration, when millions of blacks moved north in search of better employment opportunities.<sup>36</sup> In 1927, the Chicago Real Estate Board began a campaign to promote the use of racially restrictive covenants, and by the mid-1930s they were in widespread use across the South Side (fig. 4).

## The University Steps In

In 1933 Frank O’Brien, the vice president of McKey & Poague realtors and a university alumnus, asked the university to finance legal resistance to the racial integration of the Washington Park Subdivision.<sup>37</sup> The subdivision, located directly southwest of campus, was at the center of a legal battle surrounding the use of racially restrictive covenants.<sup>38</sup> The university

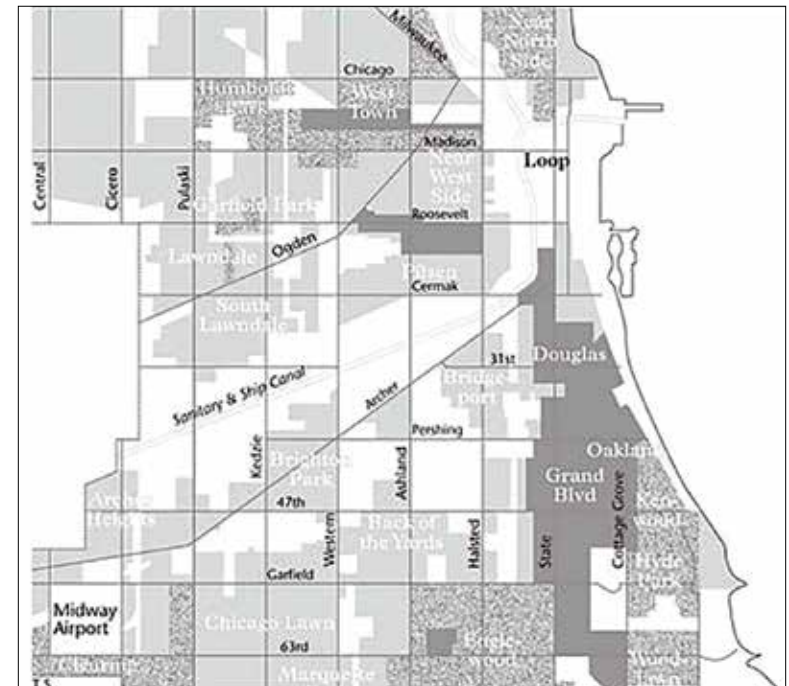
34. Block, “*The Uses of Gothic*,” 189–90.

35. Arnold R. Hirsch, “Restrictive Covenants,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, ed. James R. Grossman, Ann Durkin Keating, Janice L. Reiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1067.html>.

36. James R. Grossman, “Great Migration,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/545.html>.

37. Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 144.

38. Amanda Seligman, “Washington Park Subdivision,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1320.html>.



- Predominantly white areas with racial covenants
- Predominantly white areas without racial covenants
- Predominantly nonwhite areas
- Nonresidential areas

**Figure 4. Racially Restrictive Covenants on Chicago’s South Side, 1947**

(based on a map by Robert Weaver; source: Newberry Library)  
*The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1067.html>



quickly stepped in to reorganize the existing property owners' association into the Woodlawn Property Owners League and also created similar associations in other surrounding neighborhoods: Hyde Park, Oakland, and Kenwood. Between 1933 and 1947 the university spent \$110,923.72 on "community interests," \$83,597.46 of which supported legal assistance for the defense of racially restrictive covenants.<sup>39</sup>

The *Chicago Defender*, an influential black-owned newspaper on the South Side, criticized the university for supporting racially restrictive covenants, but the university stood by its decisions and denied allegations of racism. In 1937 University President Robert Maynard Hutchins responded to the *Defender's* charges: "an examination of the University's record will, I am sure, convince any fair-minded person that, in determining the policies of the institution, neither the Trustees nor the administrative offices are actuated by race prejudices." But at the same time, Hutchins stated that the university "must endeavor to stabilize its neighborhood as an area in which its students and faculty will be content to live," and that residents of Hyde Park and nearby communities had the right to "invoke and defend" racially restrictive covenants as legal instruments.<sup>40</sup>

The Supreme Court ruled in *Hansberry v. Lee* (1940) that restrictive covenants in the Washington Park Subdivision were unenforceable and ruled in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) that all racial covenants were wholly unenforceable.<sup>41</sup> These rulings accelerated "racial succession" in numerous South Side neighborhoods in the 1940s and 1950s. The university worried about the rapidly advancing "dividing line between the colored and white neighborhoods" and turned to methods other than racially restrictive covenants to curtail what it perceived to be a serious threat to the institution.<sup>42</sup>

39. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 144–45.

40. Ibid.

41. Seligman, "Washington Park Subdivision"; Hirsch, "Restrictive Covenants."

42. Quoted in Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 146. (Memo from Donald W.

The pull of forces beyond the university's walls—racial tensions, the Great Migration, and fear of "racial succession"—ended the university's cloistered isolation and spurred it to action. Financing and organizing neighborhood groups that supported segregation were indirect interventions, but, they nonetheless show a major change in the university's attitudes toward its surroundings. Hutchins's rationalization for these policies is also significant in that he explicitly states that the university is obligated to "stabilize" its surroundings in order to make them amenable to the institution. Though its strategies would soon shift, the University of Chicago's earliest forays into neighborhood intervention lay the foundation for what was to come.

## "Tear It Down and Begin Over Again": Urban Renewal, 1949–1962

### American Cities and Urban Institutions after World War II

American cities experienced large-scale changes after World War II that would eventually lead to urban renewal. The legacy of the Great Depression was still palpable in many American cities, with many buildings, including in Hyde Park, in disrepair.<sup>43</sup> New Deal programs, such as the Federal Housing Act of 1934, brought home ownership within reach of millions of Americans. However, these programs discriminated against minorities, which channeled funding from old inner-city neighborhoods to new white suburbs. These policies widened the wealth and resources gaps between black and white Americans, facilitated the process of white

Murphey to J. A. Cunningham, 31 December 1948, "Statement on Community Interests," p. 8, Presidents' Papers, 1945–1950, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Libraries [SCRC in subsequent footnotes].)

43. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 346.

flight, and decimated the tax bases of many major American cities.<sup>44</sup> The end of racially restrictive covenants and the influx of black residents before and after World War II to northern cities often led to predatory real-estate practices, including the illegal conversions of six-flat apartment buildings into twenty-four unit “rooming houses,” which were dangerous, unsanitary, and overpriced.<sup>45</sup> Many white residents of Hyde Park were worried about these conditions and sought to take action. Some groups, such as the Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference, were progressive; established in 1949, its initial goals were to “keep whites from moving away, to welcome the new Negro residents into all community activities, and to maintain community property standards.”<sup>46</sup> Other conservative groups, such as the South East Chicago Commission, sought to maintain the white status quo.

### Confronting “Racial Secession” through Alternative Means

Even before *Shelley v. Kraemer* end racially restrictive covenants in 1948, University President Hutchins was confronting race in both the university’s admissions policies and property ownership. Hutchins took a progressive stance on admissions, arguing to his advisors and trustees: “A university is supposed to lead, not to follow... a university is supposed to do what is right, and damn the consequences.”<sup>47</sup> Hutchins advocated for the “absolutely indiscriminate selection of all students who meet our

44. George Lipsitz, “The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: Racialized Social Democracy and the ‘White’ Problem in American Studies,” *American Quarterly* 47, no. 10 (September 1995): 372–73.

45. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 346.

46. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 1948.

47. Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 144.

intellectual and moral requirements.”<sup>48</sup> Although Hutchins sought to eliminate discrimination in university admissions, he was unable to reconcile his egalitarian principles with the problems surrounding the university’s property and suggested a separation of academic and real-estate policies: “I have always been perplexed by the problem of our property on the south side... I think [the academic and real estate policies] are different, but don’t ask me why.”<sup>49</sup>

By the mid-1940s the black population in the area immediately surrounding the university was increasing: Hyde Park had 573 black residents in 1940 and 1,757 in 1950, most of whom had arrived after 1948. In response, the University of Chicago decided to expand its real estate investments and engage in urban planning itself.<sup>50</sup> These methods would become the University of Chicago’s primary means of shaping the built environment over the next two decades.

### The 1949 Treasurer’s Report

One of the first university documents to deal with “racial succession” in the wake of *Shelley v. Kraemer* was a report by the Treasurer’s Office in 1949. The report said that the “forces of deterioration” were greater than the university’s or nearby property owners’ efforts to “stabilize conditions,” and the university would need to take more drastic actions, especially in the area south of the Midway Plaisance. The report claimed that the “invasion” and decline of the area from 63rd to 67th Streets had “advanced too far to be checked” and that the costs of rehabilitating the area between 60th and 63rd Streets would be “more than the University can assume.” The report recommended that the university acquire the strip of land between 60th and 61st Streets to “serve as a buffer between the university and the deteriorating neighborhood to the south.” The

48. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 146.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*, 139, 147.

report also contained suggestions for areas north of the Midway Plaisance, including an allotment of \$200,000 per year to eliminate “the most undesirable buildings and residents” west of Ellis Avenue, with the eventual goal of university ownership of the entire area and the removal of small “pockets” of blight between 55th and 59th Streets east of University Avenue.<sup>51</sup>

This report is significant for several reasons. First, it showed the university’s willingness to intervene in the urban environment beyond its earlier financial and legal support of neighborhood groups. Second, it indicated the university’s desire to further insulate itself by creating spatial buffer zones against outside conditions. Third, it provided a template for the large-scale urban renewal interventions that the university, with support from the city and the federal government, would carry out within the subsequent two decades.

### The South East Chicago Commission

A turning point in community organizing occurred on March 17, 1952, when an armed man held a psychology graduate student hostage in her apartment for five hours and attempted to rape her. At an emergency meeting in Mandel Hall ten days later citizens condemned the police for failing to patrol Hyde Park adequately. In response, the university established the South East Chicago Commission (SECC) in June of 1952; the university provided \$15,000 of the initial \$30,000 budget, with the assumption that community members would contribute the other half. University Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton asked Julian H. Levi, a graduate of the College and the Law School, to serve as the executive director of the SECC in the autumn of 1952. The chancellor needed someone who could increase patrols by the Chicago police in Hyde Park and develop a “highly complex set of interventions.”<sup>52</sup>

51. *Ibid.*, 148.

52. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 347; editor’s note: Julian H. Levi was the

The SECC used its institutional connections to lobby for passage of laws favorable to urban renewal. The Urban Community Conservation Act of 1953 made “slum prevention” a public concern that warranted the use of public funds and allowed the City of Chicago to exercise eminent domain.<sup>53</sup> Chancellor Kimpton deemed the act “of vital importance to the University and its community.”<sup>54</sup> The 1941 Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act allowed three residents to form a private corporation; once they bought at least 60 percent of a designated area, they could exercise eminent domain to acquire the rest of the area.<sup>55</sup> Levi lobbied successfully in 1953 for an amendment to the act that would allow a neighborhood redevelopment corporation to exercise eminent domain if they obtained the consent of 60 percent of the property owners of a given area, without having to acquire a 60 percent ownership share.<sup>56</sup> The University of Chicago now had a powerful tool in its crusade against the encroachment of “blight.”

### Urban Renewal

The four phases of Hyde Park’s urban renewal were the Hyde Park A & B Urban Renewal Project, the South West Hyde Park Redevelopment Corporation Plan, the Urban Renewal Plan, and the South Campus Plan. Cumulatively, these plans called for the demolition of buildings on 193 acres (20 percent of the total acreage); cost \$120 million (\$730 million when adjusted for inflation); displaced more than 30,000 people;

brother of Edward H. Levi, a Law School faculty member who would become president of the university (1968–75).

53. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 150.

54. Quoted in Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 151. (Lawrence A. Kimpton to Walker Butler, 1 July 1953, Butler Papers, SCRC.)

55. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 151.

56. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 348.

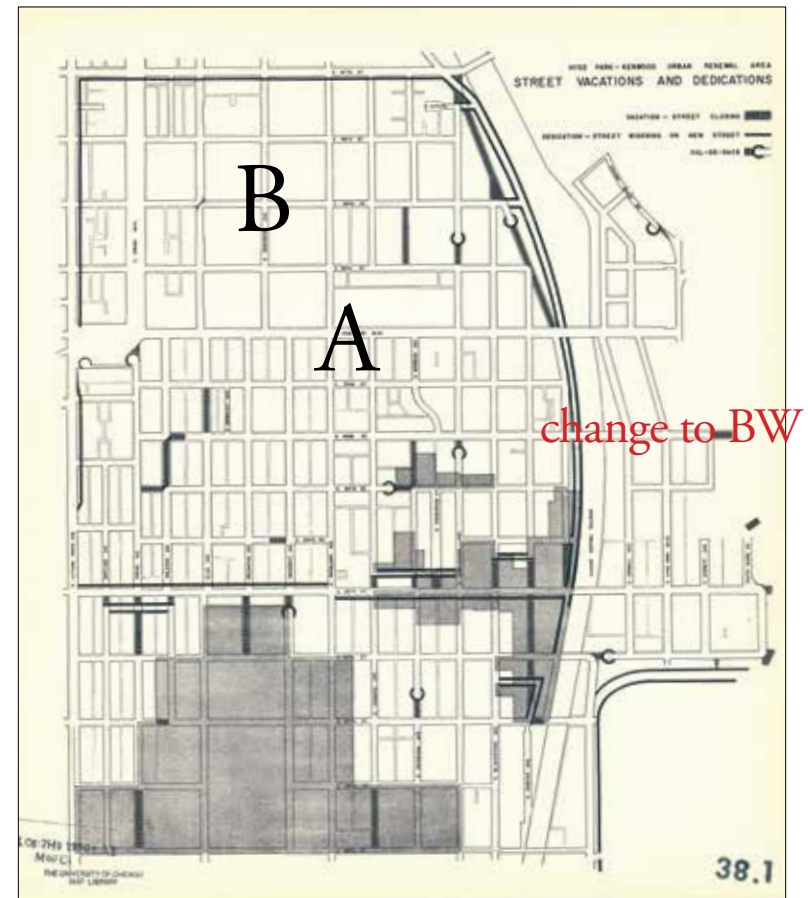
and enabled the University of Chicago to add 41 acres to its campus.<sup>57</sup> The plans and policies of urban renewal, roughly from 1954 through 1962, radically changed the urban landscape and social dynamics of the neighborhoods surrounding the University of Chicago and demonstrated the extent to which the university responded to perceived threats by exerting greater control over the built environment.

Hyde Park A & B was launched in 1954 and aimed to clear and redevelop approximately 48 acres (fig. 5). The project stretched along the Illinois Central tracks from 54th to 57th Streets and on 55th Street from Lake Park to Kimbark Avenues, including a small section on 54th Street near Dorchester Avenue. The intent was to replace “blighted” buildings with new residences and businesses (fig. 6). It was financed with approximately \$3.6 million in city and state funds and \$6.5 million in federal funds.<sup>58</sup> The Chicago Land Clearance Commission, a city agency, managed the project. The city bought the land in 1957, demolished buildings, and sold the land to a New York developer, Webb and Knapp, which built townhouses along both sides of 55th Street, the twin towers of I. M. Pei’s University Apartments in a medium strip on 55th Street, and a shopping center at 55th and Lake Park Avenue. The project relocated 892 families who were 72 percent white, 18 percent black, and 10 percent Hispanic or Asian.<sup>59</sup> Afterward, the character of Hyde Park changed dramatically. Many small business owners agreed to the project, under the assumption that they would be able to relocate within Hyde Park,

57. “The Urban Renewal Period in Hyde Park and Kenwood,” Hyde Park Historical Society, accessed January 8, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenewal.htm#opening>.

58. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 349.

59. Susan O’Connor Davis and John Vinci, *Chicago’s Historic Hyde Park* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 301–2, 308.



**Figure 5. Proposed Street Vacations and Dedications, Hyde Park A & B Urban Renewal Project**

Map Collection, University of Chicago Library

but found themselves displaced by the private developer who decided the size and tenancy of the new shopping center.<sup>60</sup>

The Southwest Hyde Park Redevelopment Corporation guided the second phase of Hyde Park's urban renewal. The University of Chicago created the corporation and used the 1953 revision of the Neighborhood Redevelopment Corporation Act to take eminent domain of an area from 55th to 59th Streets and from Cottage Grove to Woodlawn Avenues (excluding property already occupied by the University of Chicago campus). Most of the 54 acres were marked for "rehabilitation"; only the 14.5 acres between 55th and 56th Streets and Cottage Grove and Ellis Avenues were slated for demolition and university acquisition.<sup>61</sup>

The third phase, the Urban Renewal Plan, was the largest and most comprehensive. It was drawn up and approved in 1958 and construction began in 1960 (fig. 7). In contrast with previous "slum clearance" efforts, the new plan called for some demolition, but also modernization of aging parks and streets. It covered 855.8 acres from 47th to 58th Streets and from Cottage Grove Avenue to Lake Michigan. Of the total acreage, 105.8 were subject to either total or "spot" clearance, including 638 structures containing 6,147 units slated for demolition.<sup>62</sup> It also called for the creation and modernization of low- and high-density residential areas, parks, schools, residential and commercial areas, and additional amenities. The plan relocated 4,371 families (1,837 white and 2,534 black). The university, by way of the SECC, drafted the plan and community input was absent until the final stages.<sup>63</sup>

The fourth and final phase of the University of Chicago's involvement in urban renewal was the South Campus Plan. Several new buildings increased the university's footprint south of Midway Plaisance: the Laird

60. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 158.

61. *Ibid.*, 159.

62. *Ibid.*, 161.

63. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 351.



**Figure 6. Fifty-fifth Street from Lake Park Avenue looking West, before and after Urban Renewal**

Hyde Park Historical Society, accessed January 8, 2017, <http://www.hydepark.org/historicpres/urbanrenewal.htm#opening>



Bell Law Triangle (1960), the New Graduate Residence Hall (1962), and the Edelstone Center (1966).<sup>64</sup> The university also followed through on one suggestion in the 1949 Treasurer's Report to acquire a strip of land between 60th and 61st Streets and between Cottage Grove and Stony Island Avenues in order to create a "buffer zone" between the campus and Woodlawn immediately to the south. The university convinced the city to purchase all private property in the strip and then sell the land to the university.<sup>65</sup> The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), a group of activist residents who opposed the university's encroachment into their neighborhood, organized fierce resistance to the plan. The university eventually reached an agreement with TWO in 1964 to not buy land south of 61st Street.<sup>66</sup> (The university's operation and expansion of the Woodlawn Charter School at 63rd Street and Woodlawn Avenue<sup>67</sup> calls into question whether it intends to keep the agreement.)

Prior to urban renewal, the university had exerted influence in the community through covert financial support of racially restrictive covenants. With urban renewal its strategies were outwardly apparent. The university used the SECC to exert influence and to create a "controlled, integrated environment"<sup>68</sup> in the neighborhoods surrounding campus.

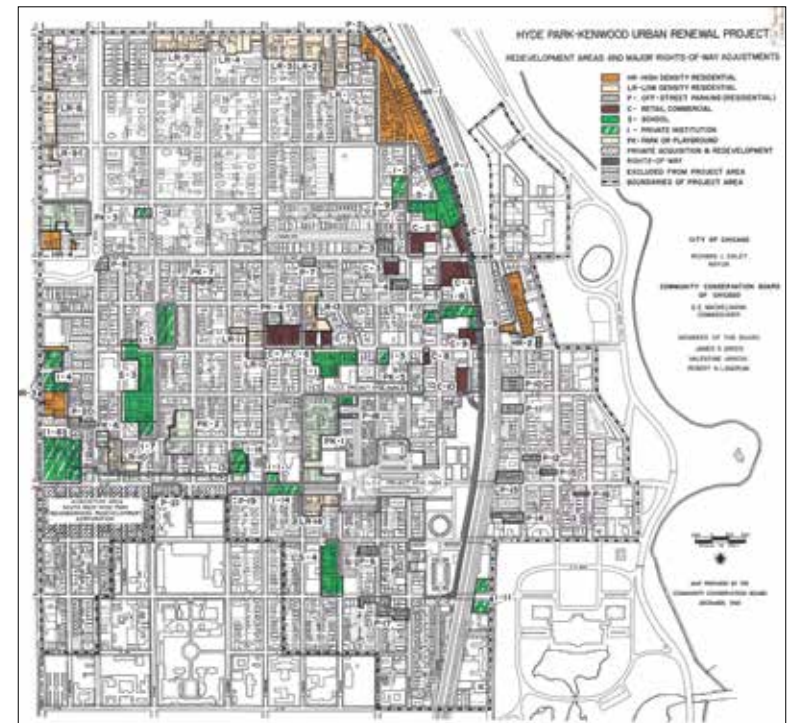
64. UChicago Heritage Map," accessed March 15, 2017, [http://facilities.uchicago.edu/about/uchicago\\_heritage\\_map](http://facilities.uchicago.edu/about/uchicago_heritage_map).

65. Memo from G. L. Lee re: Purchase of Parcel 5A of the 60th and Cottage Grove Project, 3 April 1972, box 80, folder 6, Levi Administration Records, Office of the President, SCRC.

66. Carrie Breitbach, "The Woodlawn Organization," in 68/08 *The Inheritance of Politics and the Politics of Inheritance: A Local Reader on the Legacy of 1968 in Chicago*, special issue, *AREA Chicago* 7 (2008), accessed March 15, 2017, <http://areachicago.org/the-woodlawn-organization>.

67. Ben Andrew, "University Buys Land for Charter School Expansion," *Chicago Maroon*, February 23, 2016, <https://www.chicagomaroon.com/2016/02/23/university-buys-land-for-charter-school-expansion>.

68. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 137.



**Figure 7. Hyde Park–Kenwood Urban Renewal Project, 1958**

Map Collection, University of Chicago Library.

These policies had a profound effect on the populations and the built environment of Hyde Park. Thousands of families and dozens of small businesses were displaced between 1953 and 1962, and the physical legacies of these decisions are still tangible in Hyde Park's urban morphology. They also affected other cities. Julian Levi's report in the *Casebook on Campus Planning and Institutional Development* would influence urban renewal initiatives across the country.<sup>69</sup>

## **“A Conspicuous Presence”: The Birth of the UCPD and other Post-Renewal Interventions, 1963–1998**

### **New Types of Spatial Interventions after Urban Renewal**

The SECC was also involved in crime prevention and served as a liaison between citizens and city police officers. By the early 1960s the SECC's crime prevention efforts were not enough and the university became increasingly involved in policing. The expansion of the university security force entailed a spectrum of spatial interventions: patrolling areas beyond the boundaries of campus, increasing the numbers and powers of its personnel, using private campus shuttle buses, installing an emergency phone network, and encouraging officers to create “invisible borders” around campus through racially targeted policing.<sup>70</sup> The expansion of policing went hand-in-hand with the expansion of off-campus university-owned housing. The university rationalized the

69. Julian H. Levi. “Expanding the University of Chicago,” in *Casebook on Campus Planning and Institutional Development: Ten Institutions, How They Did It*, ed. John B. Rork and Leslie F. Robbins (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1962), 107–27.

70. Joshua A. Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves’: Police Reform and Police Privatization in Chicago’s Hyde Park, 1960–1970,” in *Chicago Studies*, ed. David A. Spatz (Chicago: University of Chicago College, 2008), 216, 238.

expansion of their policing jurisdiction under the terms of its mandate to protect members of the university community. In contrast to the police force, buffer zones, and off-campus exclusively student housing, the University of Chicago's Office of Community Affairs (OCA), established in 1974, signaled the university's willingness to engage with neighboring communities. The OCA is best known for the Neighborhood Schools Program, which places university students as volunteer tutors and teaching assistants in local public schools.<sup>71</sup>

### **Early History of University Security**

In the early 1930s university security was informal; academic divisions would hire one or two security guards who often also worked as a building's janitor.<sup>72</sup> As concerns about “blight” and “racial succession” began to percolate in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the university formalized and expanded security. Between 1949 and 1958 the university doubled its security force from eighteen to thirty-six. The university also increased communications with the Chicago Police Department (CPD) through the SECC. In 1952 the SECC hired alumnus Don Blackiston as a full-time law enforcement officer and liaison between citizens and the police. The SECC pressed the CPD to respond promptly to complaints, no matter how trivial. Blackiston mainly “regulat[ed] the social character of the neighborhood” and maintained order, which included urging police to handle noise complaints or “racial undesirables,” rather than dealing with violent crime. Throughout the 1950s the SECC responded to Hyde Parkers' perceptions of increasing crime by increasing police patrols and maintaining strong cooperation with the CPD. However, this changed in 1960 with the appointment of Orlando W. Wilson as the superintendent of the CPD. Wilson made a series of comprehensive

71. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 452.

72. Jordan Larson, “A Brief History of the UCPD,” *Chicago Maroon*, May 25, 2012, <http://chicagomaroon.com/2012/05/25/a-brief-history-of-the-ucpd>.

reforms that emphasized statistical analysis and reduced patrols in safer neighborhoods, such as Hyde Park.<sup>73</sup>

In response to Wilson's reforms, the university made two changes in its security policies. First, the university took over its own security interests<sup>74</sup> and hired fifteen Chicago policemen to patrol Hyde Park in their off-duty time.<sup>75</sup> Second, it expanded policing to include both the campus and the neighborhood.<sup>76</sup> The university's assumption of policing beyond the campus core indicated a new understanding of its role in the urban environment—as an institution that could use resources to control both the space around it and the people within it.

### Spatial Policies and Security Practices along 61st Street

The University of Chicago created and expanded its security forces to protect its reputation, property, and people. These forces now operated beyond the boundaries of the campus, affected residents not affiliated with the university, and highlighted the tensions between the rights of the public and the interests of the institution. University President Edward Levi argued that perceptions about crime would hamper recruiting efforts: “The whole future of the University depends on [the reduction of crime].”<sup>77</sup> The neighborhood immediately to the south of campus was a particular concern. Woodlawn's population change from 86 percent

73. Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 214, 216, 218, 221–3.

74. *Ibid.*, 226.

75. “University Hires Off-duty Policemen to Replace Patrols Wilson Withdrew,” *Hyde Park Herald*, October 12, 1960.

76. Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 223.

77. Quoted in Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 229. (Letter from Edward Levi to Jack Wiener, 28 May 1968, File “U of C Security Committee,” South East Chicago Commission, Unprocessed, In-office Papers.)

white in 1950 to 86 percent black by 1960.<sup>78</sup> The university engaged in racially biased “proactive” policing along the southern edge of campus. As early as 1963 security officers were encouraged to follow aggressive preventative action and to stop and question any “suspect persons” that they encountered on patrol. Tony Eidson, the university's security director, wrote that these policies were meant to “remind potential wrong-doers that we know they are here and that we are ready and willing to deal with them.”<sup>79</sup> These policies were about more than just preventing crime; university administrators viewed the presence of young black men on campus as a security threat, regardless of their involvement in criminal activity. Between January 1 and August 31, 1965, 79.5 percent of the 541 persons detained by university security were under eighteen years old, and 90.4 percent of them were black.<sup>80</sup> Blackiston and Levi of the SECC were both alarmed by “the *mobility* of younger age groups” (Blackiston) and that they “originate from the south and, incidentally, on foot” (Levi).<sup>81</sup> Administrators sought to reinforce the boundaries between Woodlawn and the University by restricting mobility of black adolescents between the two areas.<sup>82</sup>

78. John Hall Fish, *Black Power/White Control: The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 12.

79. Quoted in Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 234. (Memo from Eidson to All full-time men and extra patrolmen, re: Street stops and aggressive patrol, 15 April 1965, Folder “Police-Campus Security, 1965,” box 14, series 39, Unprocessed Presidents' Papers, SCRC.)

80. Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 232–35.

81. Emphasis in original. Quoted in Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 233. (Memo from Blackiston to Julian Levi, re: The Crime Situation in the Woodlawn Area, 6 April 1965, Folder “Police-Campus Security, 1965,” box 14, series 39, Unprocessed Presidents' Papers, SCRC; letter from Julian Levi to Jack Wiener, 4 June 1968, File “U of C Security Committee,” South East Chicago Commission.)

82. *Ibid.*

As mentioned earlier, university administrators had recommended a southern buffer zone in 1949, the South Campus Plan was first proposed in July of 1960, and the City of Chicago adopted ordinances in 1964 that approved the acquisition of land between 60th and 61st Streets and Cottage Grove and Stony Island, under the umbrella of the Cottage Grove redevelopment project.<sup>83</sup> The city would sell most of this land to the University of Chicago at \$1.10 per square foot. However, there were numerous “unresolved matters” that prevented the city from entering into a contract with the university to sell the entire tract at once.<sup>84</sup> The city agreed to sell the university particular parcels separately, but by 1972 the university had only purchased one parcel, 8A, which was part of an addition to the American Bar Association at 60th Street and Woodlawn Avenue (now the Harris School of Public Policy Studies).<sup>85</sup>

Perhaps because of the slow pace of purchasing land in the southern buffer zone, the university created culs-de-sac in the 1970s to restrict “free and easy access”<sup>86</sup> and to “provid[e] definite boundary limits to the campus.”<sup>87</sup> These barriers remain in place today. University Avenue is

83. Haar, *The City as Campus*, 350; memo from G. L. Lee re: Purchase of Parcel 5A of the 60th and Cottage Grove Project, 3 April 1972, Levi Administration Records, Office of the President, box 80, folder 6, SCRC.

84. Memo from G. L. Lee, Levi Administration Records, SCRC.

85. Memo from G. L. Lee re: Purchase of land in the area bounded by 60th Street, 61st Street, Stony Island Avenue and the Illinois Central Right of Way (Parcels 1A, 2A, and 2B of the 60th and Cottage Grove) and the lease of said land to the Woodlawn Organization, 3 April 1972. Levi Administration Records, box 80, folder 6, SCRC.

86. Quoted in Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 233. (Memo from T. W. Harrison to Julian Levi, 23 January 1961, Folder “Police–Campus Security, 1951–1962,” box 14, series 39, Unprocessed Presidents Papers, SCRC.)

87. Quoted in Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 234. (Letter from Julian Levi to Jack Wiener, 4 June 1968, Folder “U of C Security Committee,” South East Chicago Commission.)

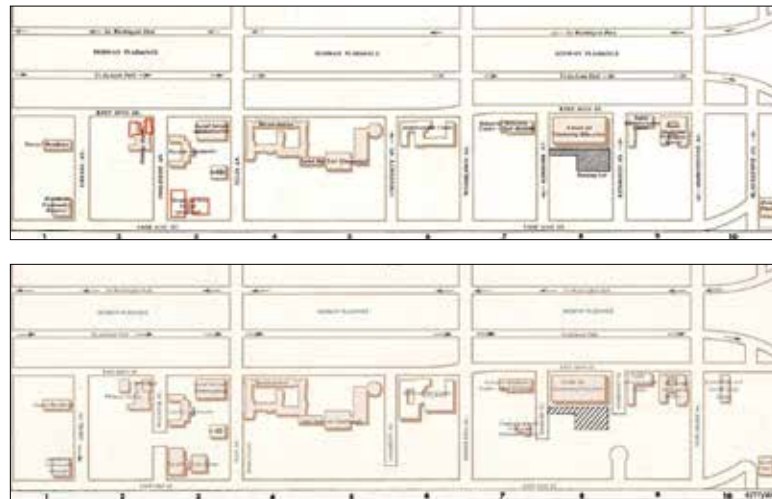
cut off from 61st Street by a sidewalk and a buffer augmented with trees and shrubbery that is no more than twenty feet wide; Kimbark Avenue becomes a dead-end approximately halfway into the block; Kenwood Avenue is split into a driveway going into a parking lot from the north and a cul-de-sac from the south; Blackstone exists only as a small cul-de-sac between 60th and 61st. In a 1968 campus map all four avenues ran straight through to 61st Street. However, by 1977 these street adjustments had been implemented (fig. 8).<sup>88</sup>

Additionally, there is a high concentration of parking lots in the south campus strip (fig. 9). There are thirteen parking facilities between Cottage Grove and Stony Island Avenues: two surface lots on 60th Street facing the Midway Plaisance, four lots along the northern edge of 61st Street, six lots mid-block between 60th and 61st Streets, and a ten-story parking garage at the northwest corner of 61st Street and Drexel Avenue. These parking lots are a conspicuous presence on the southern edge of campus and create an urban “dead zone.”

Recently, the university has lessened the severity of this dead zone. The southern side of Renee Granville–Grossman Residential Commons (2009), located at the northeast corner of 61st Street and Ellis Avenue, has sloped roofs and is only five stories tall at street level. This brings the southern side of the building closer to the scale of the apartment buildings across the street and makes the nine-story building feel less imposing. The Reva and David Logan Center for the Arts (2012), located at 60th Street between Ingleside and Drexel Avenues, has a driveway and southern entrance intended to signify openness and connection with the community.

Recent efforts notwithstanding, though, 61st Street still marks the great divide between University and City. Its land use and morphology demonstrate the university’s longstanding fear of crime seeping into

88. 1977 and 1994 campus maps shows that Ingleside Avenue was also blocked halfway through; Ingleside currently runs straight through, but I was unable to determine when it was reconnected.



**Figure 8. Campus Maps of 60th–61st Streets,  
1968 (top) and 1977 (bottom)**

Map Collection, University of Chicago Library



**Figure 9. Parking Lots between 60th and 61st Streets**

(map by author)

campus from Woodlawn and the deep connections between the university's policing strategies and its attempts to shape its environment.

### **Security: Policies, Controversies, and Expansions, 1968–1999**

In 1968 Captain Michael J. Delaney, a thirty-six-year veteran of the CPD, was appointed to head campus security.<sup>89</sup> Delaney reorganized security into a more robust police force.<sup>90</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard, the University of Chicago's first vice president for community affairs, understood that the expansion of the force was not merely more officers, but was a comprehensive change in a community. He wrote to his counterpart at Harvard University:

As you know, security and all that word implies is a many-faceted effort here. It might also be called “neighborhood,” since so many things seem to go together—schools, real estate, lighting, transportation, the amenities of the district (bookstores, shops, restaurants); and I suppose the view is that every thing [sic] that happens has some effect and must be viewed in that way—whether it is the opening of a building, the closing of an [Illinois Central] station or the failure of the City to repair roads or lights, and on and on. This includes, of course, the deployment of the City police in the neighborhood, mortgage funds and the relationship with financial institutions. I say all of this because I would not want to leave the impression that anyone believes that “security problems” can be handled merely by handling one aspect of neighborhood issues.<sup>91</sup>

89. “Police Youth Director to Head Larger U of C Security Unit: Chosen by Advisory Group,” *Hyde Park Herald*, January 17, 1968.

90. Larson, “A Brief History of the UCPD.”

91. Letter from Jonathan Kleinbard to Charles U. Daly, 2 January 1974, Levi Administration Records, box 80, folder 6, SCRC.



Kleinbard's comprehensive view of security shows that a university's "security problems" are closely tied to the built environment.

The University of Chicago's private police force continued to expand throughout the subsequent decades. When Leary was appointed in 1968 the force had eleven patrol cars and seventy-five emergency telephones, one of the first such systems in the United States.<sup>92</sup> By 1980 the force had thirteen squad cars, 107 emergency phones, over one hundred officers, and its patrol area extended from 47th to 61st Streets, and Cottage Grove Avenue to Lake Shore Drive.<sup>93</sup> Expansion did not occur without opposition. In 1986 two student groups, the Organization of Black Students and the Black Graduate Forum, accused university security officers of racially biased policing for regularly stopping black students without cause, questioning them, and asking for student identification. Mark Graham, the security department director, denied these claims: "It is not happening... we have not received any evidence of it."<sup>94</sup> However, after meeting with the groups' representatives, University President Hanna Holborn Gray agreed to form a seven-member committee to evaluate complaints, primarily related to civil rights, against university security officers, as well as how those complaints are handled.<sup>95</sup> Gray's committee provided a way to hold university security officers accountable and was possibly the first institutional acknowledgement of the inequitable behaviors of its security officers.

The university appointed Rudolf Nimocks, the former deputy superintendent and thirty-three-year veteran of the CPD, as chief of the

92. "O'Leary Appointed Director of Security," *Hyde Park Herald*, June 21, 1972.

93. "Our Added Safety Factor: The University Police," *Hyde Park Herald*, April 30, 1980.

94. "Blacks at University Protest Harassment," *Hyde Park Herald*, May 7, 1986.

95. "Committee Forms to Study UC Security Complaints," *Hyde Park Herald*, October 29, 1986.

university security force in 1989.<sup>96</sup> One of his first actions was to enhance the status of the university's force from security officers to police officers certified by the state.<sup>97</sup> The 1989 Illinois Private College Campus Police Act allowed private universities to establish formal police forces with peace officer status.<sup>98</sup> The law allowed the University of Chicago to "broaden the department's authority to maintain public order" and enabled the agency's transition from security force to full-fledged police department.<sup>99</sup> Nimocks acknowledged that the university's new police department primarily attended to matters relating to university faculty, staff, and students, but he added, "any citizen who calls within the [university's] geographic area gets the same response from us. We are concerned about the whole neighborhood... you cannot logically separate one from the other."<sup>100</sup> Nimocks's remarks are reminiscent of Kleinbard's 1974 comments about the ties between university and neighborhood security. To Nimocks, the university and Hyde Park are more than just neighbors; they are essentially one and the same. This socio-spatial understanding has guided university policing up to the present.

96. "Deputy Police Supt. to Take Charge of UC Security Force," *Hyde Park Herald*, May 10, 1989.

97. Jordan Larson, "A Brief History of the UCPD."

98. Private College Campus Police Act of 1989, 110 ILCS 1020, General Assembly of Illinois, accessed March 5, 2017, <http://ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs3.asp?ActID=1176&ChapterID=18>.

99. "University Police Enforce Law throughout Neighborhood," *Hyde Park Herald*, September 12, 1990.

100. Ibid.

## “We’re Not an Island Here”: From Master Plans to the Present, 1999–2017

### 1999 Campus Plan

In 1999 the University of Chicago commissioned the architecture, planning, and design firm NBBJ to update its master plan. The commission asked for short- and long-term improvements for further expansion and development within the context of its “built-up historic campus.” The university wanted to further the “strategic directives” of University President Hugo Sonnenschein: become a “top-five” university in all academic divisions, increase undergraduate enrollment, and improve the quality of campus life. The plan’s architectural component would derive from the “original design intent” of the campus and “reinforces the quadrangle as an organizational principle.” NBBJ recommended the “careful integration” of new structures into the present campus-neighborhood land-use pattern and shared campus-neighborhood amenities, such as recreation and retail facilities. The plan identified \$500 million worth of improvements to the University of Chicago campus and established guidelines to ensure that future development was “sympathetic to the Gothic legacy of the existing campus.”<sup>101</sup>

### Education

Education is a core component of the University of Chicago’s community outreach efforts. In 1964 the Student Woodlawn Area Program (SWAP) connected undergraduate tutors with elementary and high school students in Woodlawn.<sup>102</sup> In 1968 the Office of Special Programs organized a

101. “Gothic Revival: The University of Chicago Campus Master Plan, Chicago, IL, USA,” NBBJ, [1999], accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.nbbj.com/work/university-of-chicago>.

102. “Our History,” The University of Chicago Civic Engagement, accessed April

variety of community projects, including Upward Bound, a summer youth program, the Pilot Enrichment Program, and the open tutorial program, which helped public schools students prepare for college. Founded in 1974, the Office of Community Affairs (OCA) began the Neighborhood Schools Program in 1976, which has placed hundreds of university students in local public schools as tutors and teaching assistants.<sup>103</sup>

The university’s most substantial foray into public education occurred in 1998 with the opening of the first school in its charter school network. The University of Chicago was one of many American universities to open charter schools in the mid- to late 1990s.<sup>104</sup> Initially, the Illinois Center for School Improvement and the university’s Consortium on Chicago School Research ran the charter schools. These organizations saw the city as a “fascinating and comprehensive laboratory” for studying urban school policy and sought to create a “professional-development school for its work.”<sup>105</sup> University President Hugo Sonnenschein proceeded with the charter school application in October of 1997; when questioned by trustees about the university’s exit strategy, he replied: “We have none. We will make this work.”<sup>106</sup> The first school, the North Kenwood/Oakland Campus, opened in 1998, and serves students from pre-Kindergarten to 5th grade.<sup>107</sup> The network’s other schools are Carter G. Woodson (grades 7–8), Donoghue (grades preK–5), and Woodlawn

25, 2017, <https://civicengagement.uchicago.edu/about/our-history>.

103. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 452.

104. Stanford University, Arizona State University, and the University of California, San Diego, also opened charter schools during this period. See Ron Schachter, “Universities Go to School,” *University Business*, February 1, 2010, <https://www.universitybusiness.com/article/universities-go-school>.

105. Boyer, *The University of Chicago*, 454.

106. *Ibid.*, 455.

107. “North Kenwood/Oakland,” University of Chicago Charter School, accessed April 25, 2017, <http://www.uchicagocharter.org/page.cfm?p=501>.

(grades 6–12). They are a key point of contact between the university and the surrounding neighborhoods and are tied to the expansion of the UCPD's patrol jurisdiction. Since 2001, the university has used the location of the charter schools in Kenwood/Oakland and Woodlawn to justify the expansion of the UCPD's geographic range into neighborhoods primarily occupied by people unaffiliated with the university.

## Policing

In 1989 the UCPD's patrol zone spanned from 47th Street to the north, 61st Street to the south, Lake Shore Drive to the east, and Cottage Grove Avenue to the west. In 2001 the university sought to push the southern patrol boundary to 64th Street. This extension was part of a broader program of collaboration between the university and Woodlawn and included input from residents. Community groups lobbied for the extension of UCPD patrols; Leon Finney Jr., chairman of the Woodlawn Organization, remarked, "to make sure our redevelopment efforts are successful, we had to make sure the neighborhood is safe."<sup>108</sup>

In June 2003 Toni Preckwinkle, alderman of the 4th Ward, urged the northward expansion of UCPD patrols beyond 47th Street, which was initially approved by an advisory council, who welcomed the possibility of crime reduction. Longtime Oakland resident Loretta O'Quinn said: "It's a plus for us... they're offering to double the police, and it's for free."<sup>109</sup> In July 2003 Alderman Preckwinkle, Chair of the North Kenwood–Oakland Conservation Community Council Shirley Newsom, SECC Chair Valerie Jarrett, and the university's Vice President of Community and Government Relations Hank Webber supported the expansion of the UCPD's patrol zone to Pershing Road (3900 south) and a portion of East Oakwood Boulevard extending west of Cottage

108. Crystal Yednak, "U. of C. Police Extend Patrol Border into Woodlawn," *Chicago Tribune*, October 16, 2001.

109. "Advisory Council Approves U. of C. Police Expansion," *Hyde Park Herald*, June 11, 2003.

Grove Avenue. They framed the expansion as a symbol of progress: "[this] new partnership in public safety marks another major step forward."<sup>110</sup> Webber linked the proposed expansion with the university's Employer-Assisted Housing Program and plans to open a new charter school in North Kenwood–Oakland; he said that the university wanted to "make way for what could be in the future."<sup>111</sup> Webber's sentiments are emblematic of the university's twenty-first-century role in urban development, and he explicitly links the strength of the university to the surrounding neighborhoods: "We are a stronger institution if the communities and neighborhoods around us are stronger... I believe those living in Hyde Park and Kenwood believe the services of the University of Chicago Police Department are a great asset."<sup>112</sup> The UCPD continued to expand its patrols over the next decade: in 2005 it proposed another northward expansion from 39th Street to 35th Street,<sup>113</sup> and in 2006 it announced the installation of five new emergency phones between 47th and 49th Streets, bringing the total number of emergency phones in the UCPD coverage area to three hundred.<sup>114</sup>

Violent crime in Hyde Park and Kenwood dropped nearly 50 percent between 1997 and 2007, and overall crime reached a thirty-year low. Bob Mason, a former beat cop who compiled crime statistics for the SECC,

110. Toni Preckwinkle, Shirley Newsom, Valerie Jarrett, and Hank Webber, "Letter to the Editor: Benefits of University Police's Northward Expansion," *Hyde Park Herald*, July 2, 2003.

111. Jeremy Adragna, "University Police Looking Northward to Bronzeville," *Hyde Park Herald*, February 11, 2004.

112. Ibid.

113. Kiratiana E. Freelon, "U. of C. Police Chief Aims to Expand Patrol North of 39th," *Hyde Park Herald*, April 27, 2005. The UCPD patrol zone did move north to 37th Street, but not to 35th Street.

114. Nykeya Woods, "Police Cameras, Phones to Be Added to Drexel Boulevard," *Hyde Park Herald*, May 10, 2006.

noted that this drop in crime was due to a “combination of efforts” by both the community and the university, which included the expansion of the UCPD, modernization of police technology, and “revitalization.” Longtime Hyde Park realtor Winston Kennedy agreed that revitalization reduced crime by overhauling housing stock.<sup>115</sup> However, the November 2017 death of graduate student Amadou Cisse, who was fatally shot in a botched robbery attempt at 61st Street and Ellis Avenue,<sup>116</sup> prompted university administrators to bolster policing efforts and resources.<sup>117</sup> At present the UCPD patrol zone extends from 37th Street to the north, 64th Street to the south, Lake Shore Drive to the east, and Cottage Grove Avenue to the west (fig. 10).

While many community members welcomed the expansion of the UCPD patrol zone and applauded Hyde Park’s overall reduction in crime, the department nonetheless faced criticism from inside and outside of the university. Undergraduate Ashley P. White-Stern, in a fiery *Chicago Maroon* 2004 op-ed, described her experience telling prospective students and their parents about the university’s security situation while serving on an admissions Q&A panel. White-Stern situates the UCPD’s role in a (neo)colonial narrative:

The superficial claims of policing the campus and Hyde Park hides the reality that we live in a distrustful, colonial social order. Our colonial status is ensured by the distrust between temporary settlers (that’s us, the students) as a precious set of imported individuals, and the native “other” (often called community members),

115. Brian Wellner, “Hyde Park Crime Hits 30-year Low,” *Hyde Park Herald*, April 18, 2007.

116. Catrin Einhorn, “Killing of Chicago Student Unsettles Campus Life,” *New York Times*, November 22, 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/22/us/22chicago.html>.

117. Kat Glass, “Fear Factor,” *Chicago Maroon*, June 3, 2008.



**Figure 10. University of Chicago Police Department  
Extended Patrol Boundaries, 2017**

University of Chicago Department of Safety & Security, accessed January 8, 2017.  
[https://d3qi0qp55mx5f5.cloudfront.net/safety-security/uploads/files/  
Extended\\_Patrol\\_Map.pdf](https://d3qi0qp55mx5f5.cloudfront.net/safety-security/uploads/files/Extended_Patrol_Map.pdf)

the dark peoples, savage and unknown. Since militarism is necessary when resources are unevenly accessible, we seek reassurance in the fact that our streets are heavily guarded by UCPD, rather than interrogating the ways that our social order is structured.<sup>118</sup>

Student concerns about of racial profiling continue to plague the UCPD, and they are similar to the 1986 allegations of the Organization of Black Students and the Black Graduate Forum. The Coalition for Equitable Policing (CEP) held a community hearing in October 2014 during which black students and community members spoke out about their racist experiences with the UCPD, which detracted from their college experience. One attendee remarked: “Even if you’re walking out of the library, you gotta make sure you’re wearing a book bag.”<sup>119</sup> In early 2015 the CEP pushed for the passage of HB3932, an amendment to the Illinois Private College Campus Police Act that would hold private universities to the same standards as public police departments: “information and records in the custody or possession of a campus police department shall be open to inspection or copying in the same manner as public records under the Freedom of Information Act.”<sup>120</sup> The bill ultimately stalled in the Illinois State Senate; however, in part due to the activist pressure, the UCPD began to release its traffic-stop and field-

118. Ashley P. White-Stern, “University Benevolence Does Not Compensate for Lasting Inequality,” *Chicago Maroon*, November 22, 2004.

119. Tamar Honig, “Students Recount Racial Bias of UCPD,” *Chicago Maroon*, October 31, 2014.

120. Higher Ed-Campus Police of 2015, HB3932, 99th General Assembly of Illinois, accessed May 5, 2018, [ilga.gov/legislation/fulltext.asp?DocName=09900HB3932&SessionID=88&GA=99&DocTypeID=HB&DocNum=3932&print=true](http://ilga.gov/legislation/fulltext.asp?DocName=09900HB3932&SessionID=88&GA=99&DocTypeID=HB&DocNum=3932&print=true).

report data voluntarily in June of 2015.<sup>121</sup> My analysis of UCPD data shows that blacks comprised 74.6 percent of the police traffic stops and 92.3 percent of field interviews between June 1, 2015, and April 14, 2017 (fig. 11). These rates are similar to the mid-1960s when black youths represented 90.4 percent of detentions by university security officers.<sup>122</sup>

Announcements in recent years indicate that the UCPD is striving to increase both patrols and community communications. In the summer of 2016 University President Robert J. Zimmer announced plans to increase the number of UCPD officers by 28 percent, to augment patrols along the commercial parts of 53rd Street, and to increase the number of joint UCPD/CPD patrols. Zimmer also announced the creation of a “community engagement program” developed in partnership between the UCPD and the Office of Civic Engagement, intended to “inform the community about new safety measures.”<sup>123</sup> It remains to be seen when and how this program will be implemented.

## Real Estate

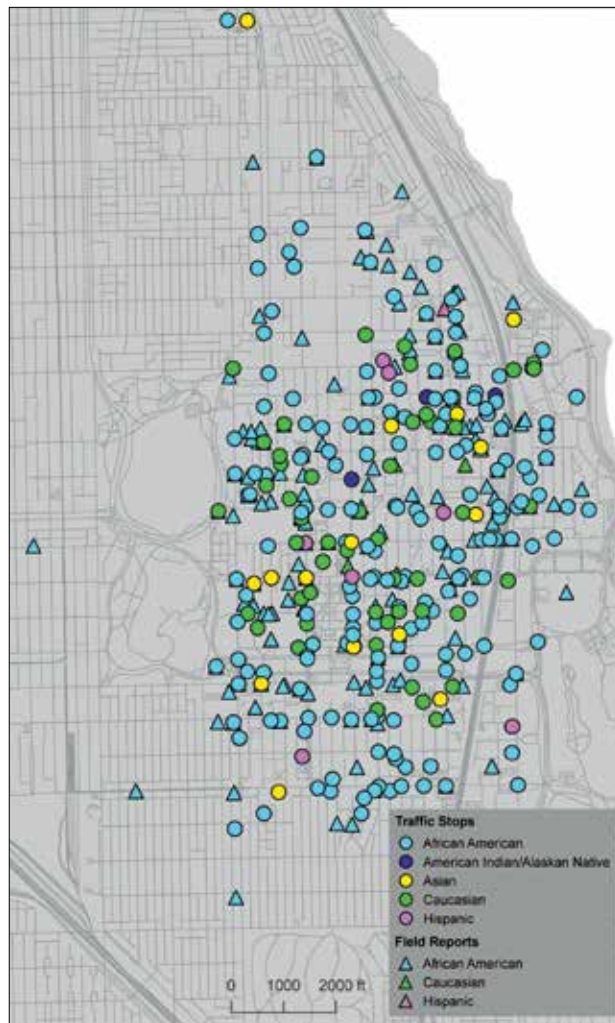
Over the past twenty years the University of Chicago has simultaneously expanded and contracted its property holdings. The types of properties that it has chosen to buy, lease, and sell indicate shifts in the university’s overall land-use priorities. The Office of Civic Engagement manages many of the university’s recent real estate transactions. Its programs include the Employer-Assisted Housing Program (EAHP) and Arts and Public Life, a wing of OCE and UChicago Arts, which has been active

121. Natalie Friedberg, “UCPD to Make Public Information on Traffic Stops, Field Stops, and Arrests,” *Chicago Maroon*, April 14, 2015; “Daily Field Interviews Archive,” University of Chicago Safety & Security, <https://incidentreports.uchicago.edu/fieldInterviewsArchive.php>.

122. Segal, “‘We Must Do Something Ourselves,’” 232–33.

123. Sonia Schlesinger, “UCPD to Increase Number of Officers on Patrol by 28 Percent,” *Chicago Maroon*, August 17, 2016.





**Figure 11. UCPD Traffic Stops and Field Reports,  
June 1, 2015–April 14, 2017**

(map by author)

“Traffic Stops Archive,” University of Chicago Safety and Security,  
<https://incidentreports.uchicago.edu/trafficStopsArchive.php>

in property acquisitions in the Washington Park neighborhood. The university has simultaneously sought to shrink its portfolio of residential properties across Hyde Park, selling thirty-three residential buildings and four lots in Hyde Park between 2004 and 2016 and buying twenty-six mix-used properties in Washington Park since 2008.

The EAHP encourages full-time university employees to live near the university by providing mortgage down-payment and rental assistance in nine South Side neighborhoods: Woodlawn, South Shore, Greater Grand Crossing, Washington Park, Grand Boulevard, Douglas, Oakland, North Kenwood, and Hyde Park/South Kenwood (fig. 12). Program benefits are greatest in the “Woodlawn Focus Area,” a section of Woodlawn directly south of the university.<sup>124</sup> According to the university, the program “strengthens connections to surrounding neighborhoods, retains valuable employees, and helps staff optimize their work-life balance.”<sup>125</sup> The program, which has helped more than 240 university employees purchase homes near campus since 2003 and provides valuable investment in disinvested neighborhoods, nonetheless expands the university’s influence on the built environment.

The University of Chicago first began acquiring properties in the late 1950s and early 1960s in order to house students. The buildings were older residential buildings and former hotels, such as the Shoreland and the Broadview.<sup>126</sup> In 2004 the university sold the Shoreland to developer Kenard Corporation for \$6 million.<sup>127</sup> Kenard then sold the Shoreland to Antheus Capital for \$16 million in 2008. Students moved out in 2009,

124. \$10,000 in down-payment assistance or \$2,400 in rental assistance.

125. “Employer-Assisted Housing Program,” University of Chicago Civic Engagement, <https://civicengagement.uchicago.edu/anchor/uchicago-local/employer-assisted-housing-program>.

126. “Editorial: University: Friend or Foe?” *Hyde Park Herald*, August 10, 1966.

127. Rachel Cromidas, “Shoreland Residents Revel in Dorm’s Rough Edges as Closing Nears,” *Chicago Maroon*, October 21, 2008.



**Figure 12. Employer-Assisted Housing Program, Frequently Asked Questions**

Office of Civic Engagement, University of Chicago, accessed April 22, 2017, [http://humanresources.uchicago.edu/benefits/retirefinancial/EAHP-FAQ\\_final\\_11%2030%2015.pdf](http://humanresources.uchicago.edu/benefits/retirefinancial/EAHP-FAQ_final_11%2030%2015.pdf)

renovations began in 2011, and the Shoreland was reopened as an apartment building in the autumn of 2013.<sup>128</sup> In March of 2015, the university announced that it was planning to sell twenty-one properties (nineteen apartment buildings and two vacant lots) in Hyde Park. The university said it “purchased the majority of these properties many years ago, when the residential market in the communities surrounding the university was not as robust as it is now”<sup>129</sup> A total of 676 residential units were sold to Pioneer Acquisitions, a New York developer, for \$70.1 million in 2015.<sup>130</sup> In 2016, the university announced the sale of another thirteen properties (ten residential buildings with a total of 387 units, a building containing four local restaurants, and two vacant lots) to Pioneer Acquisitions for approximately \$54.9 million (fig. 13).<sup>131</sup> The University plans to use the profits to support its teaching and research activities.<sup>132</sup> Despite an outcry from students, the university closed four “satellite” residence

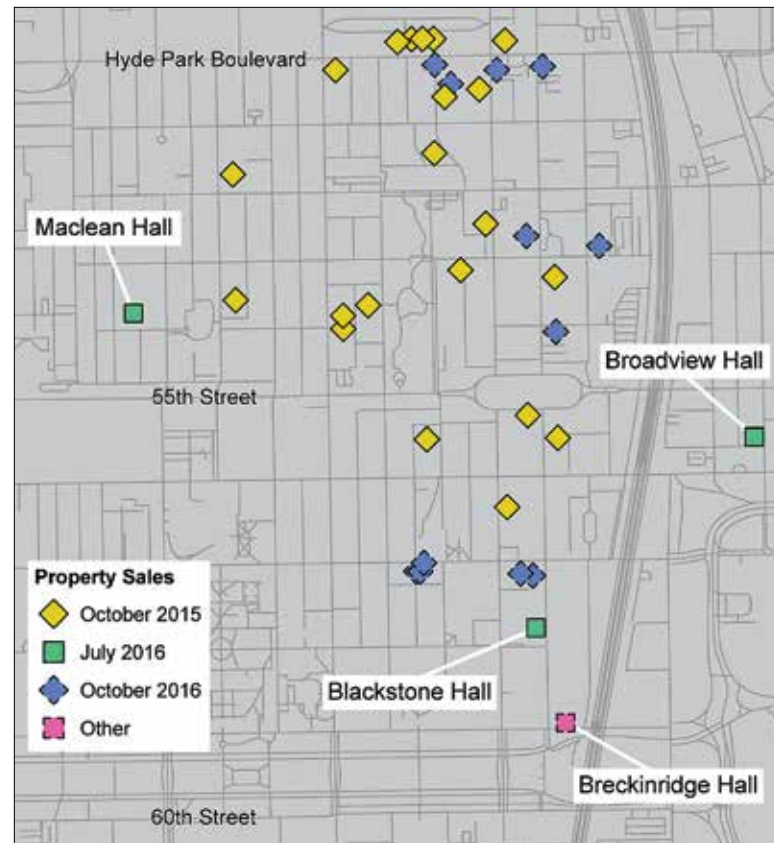
128. Lina Li, “Shoreland, Former Dorm, to Get a New Lease on Life,” *Chicago Maroon*, April 23, 2013.

129. University of Chicago News, “University to Sell Select Residential Real Estate Properties,” March 31, 2015, <https://news.uchicago.edu/article/2015/03/31/university-sell-select-residential-real-estate-properties>.

130. Eileen Li, “University Sells 21 Properties for Over \$70 Million,” *Chicago Maroon*, January 15, 2016.

131. University of Chicago News, “University to Sell to Sell Select Residential Real Estate Properties,” April 25, 2016, <https://news.uchicago.edu/article/2016/04/25/university-sell-select-residential-real-estate-properties>; Sam Cholke, “U. of C. Selling 387 Apartments and Home of Medici, Z & H, Packed,” *Chicago DNAInfo*, May 4, 2016, <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20160504/hyde-park/u-of-c-selling-387-apartments-home-of-medic-zh-packed>.

132. University of Chicago News, “University to Sell,” April 25, 2016.



**Figure 13. Satellite Dormitories and Residential Property Sales, 2015–16**

(map by author)

at the end of the 2015–16 academic year.<sup>133</sup> The real estate firm, 3L, purchased three of the satellites (Blackstone, Broadview, and Maclean) in 2016 for an undisclosed sum and operates them as private dorm-style rentals for students.<sup>134</sup> The university still owns the fourth satellite, Breckenridge Hall, and its future use is undetermined. The closure of the “satellites” coincided with the opening of Campus North Residential Commons in September 2016.<sup>135</sup> The commons, designed by Studio Gang, houses eight hundred students and contains a dining hall, classrooms, a coffee shop, and retail properties. Campus North is part of a longer-term goal of retaining a larger percentage of students in on-campus housing.<sup>136</sup>

Beginning in 2008 the university began to quietly buy properties around the Green Line El stop at Garfield Boulevard in advance of Chicago’s (ultimately failed) 2008 bid to host the 2016 Olympics; by 2014 the university had acquired twenty-six properties for \$18 million, between 54th and 56th Streets and Martin Luther King Drive and Prairie Avenue.

133. Anne Nazzaro, “Residents of Satellite Dorms Protest Following Housing Changes by Admin,” *Chicago Maroon*, April 28, 2015; “Residence Hall Closures,” College Housing at the University of Chicago, accessed April 17, 2017, [http://housing.uchicago.edu/houses\\_houses/community\\_and\\_traditions/residence-hall-closures](http://housing.uchicago.edu/houses_houses/community_and_traditions/residence-hall-closures).

134. Sonia Schlesinger, “University of Chicago Sells Three Residence Halls to 3L Real Estate,” *Hyde Park Herald*, July 19, 2016.

135. University of Chicago News, “University of Chicago Opens Campus North Residential Commons,” September 12, 2016, <https://news.uchicago.edu/article/2016/09/12/university-chicago-opens-campus-north-residential-commons>.

136. Camille Kirsch, “College Housing: Past and Present,” *Chicago Maroon*, February 9, 2017, <https://www.chicagomaroon.com/article/2017/2/10/new-era-college-housing>.

Pat Dowell, alderman of the 3rd Ward, called the university “greedy.”<sup>137</sup> The university’s Arts and Public Life initiative opened an art gallery, a restaurant, and a bookstore in buildings just west of the Garfield El stop; this “Arts Block” is the first phase of a long-term effort to develop the area around the El stop as a cultural destination.<sup>138</sup> Although Washington Park was an unsuccessful contender for the Barack Obama Presidential Center residents remain concerned about gentrification and displacement as a result of the Arts Block developments.<sup>139</sup>

## Conclusion

This thesis describes how University of Chicago acted as an agent in the built environment and how it has related to its peripheries. For 127 years the university constructed peripheral “walls” and although these “walls” were not always made of brick and stone, they were spatially manifested nonetheless. The first divisions were physical: the quadrangles separated “town” from “gown” and isolated the University from the outside world. The next divisions were legal: racial covenants that prevented blacks from living near the university. The urban renewal period combined legal (the legislative lobbying of the South East Chicago Commission) and physical means (demolition of housing stock) to insulate the university from

137. Sam Cholke, “U. of C. Buys 26 Properties on South Side Ahead of Obama Library Decision,” *Chicago DNAInfo*, December 10, 2014, <https://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/2014/12/10/hyde-park/u-of-cs-washington-park-land-grab-could-secure-obama-library-for-s-side>.

138. Harrison Smith, “The Art of Development,” *Chicago South Side Weekly*, April 17, 2014, <http://southsideweekly.com/the-art-of-development>.

139. Kathy Bergen, Blair Kamin, and Katherine Skiba, “Obama Chooses Historic Jackson Park as Library Site,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 26, 2016, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/g00/news/obamalibrary/ct-obama-library-site-jackson-park-met-20160727-story.html?i10c.referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>; Christian Belanger, “Bringing Obama Home,” *Chicago South Side Weekly*, January 27, 2015, <http://southsideweekly.com/bringing-obama-home>.

people believed to threaten its institutional goals. The creation and expansion of the university’s private security force (later the UCPD) created psychological walls. Policing imprinted the university’s authority on the landscape—with a police presence, campus shuttles, emergency phones—and restricted campus access through racially biased stops, detentions, and arrests. The university has sought to mend some of the wounds of urban renewal, often in response to organizing and protests by black students and community groups.

The university’s interventions in surrounding neighborhoods raise broader ethical questions of how to mediate tensions between private interests and the public good. Should private institutions have the right to impose their values onto urban space and to reshape the urban landscape in ways that may benefit themselves but can harm nearby residents who are unaffiliated with the institution?

The University of Chicago’s policies toward its peripheries have implications beyond the quadrangles. The university’s support of racially restrictive covenants contributed to structural patterns of housing discrimination in other cities; the SECC’s urban renewal initiatives were used as a “pilot study” by the federal government for other urban universities to emulate. Further, the university’s private police force is part of broader trends toward the privatization of law enforcement and security.

American universities, particularly those in urban settings, have long sought to further their institutional goals through interventions in the built environment, and the University of Chicago is by no means the only university to have taken drastic measures in this regard. However, the ways in which the university has acted as an urban planner make it not only a prime example of such an institution, but also reveal it to be the archetypal “university as planner.” Its interventions into its surroundings have served as models for other universities to emulate, and they have broad implications for the future of American cities.

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