The Woodlawn Organization and the Trauma Center Campaign: The University They Faced and the Terrains They Fought on from an Accumulation Perspective

By Warren Wagner

Thesis Preceptor: Larry Svabek

Faculty Advisor: Professor Gabriel Winant

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the BA Degree in Critical Race and Ethnic Studies

The University of Chicago

April 21, 2023

Table of Contents

Abstract

This thesis interrogates how the shifting roles of the University of Chicago (UChicago) in systems of racial capitalist accumulation shaped the sites of struggle in conflicts with two key neighborhood groups: that of The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) in the 60s and the Trauma Care Coalition (TCC) from 2010-2015. Utilizing Abolitionist University Studies as a theoretical framework, this paper combines existing historical research and archival research to place both campaigns in their historical political-economic context and plot the trajectories of each group's confrontation with UChicago. In the 1960s, UChicago's anti-Black urban renewal efforts were closely linked to postwar imperialistic state priorities that demanded more campus capacity. The University then leveraged those state demands to design and pass a federal program empowering it to clear and acquire land, giving TWO opportunities to partially limit displacement through community control of neighborhood development by positioning themselves as a democratically representative 'spokesman' group. However, by the 2010s, as state influence on University priorities ebbed and real estate capital rose to power in Chicago, UChicago's anti-Black displacement and accumulation projects took place through more diffuse collaborations with various private sector actors. This enabled the TCC to exert pressure by directly disrupting a wide range of different UChicago-linked private projects until they won a Level 1 Adult Trauma Center. The specific modes of accumulation that the University was implicated in each historical period played a major role in the tactics, targets, and demands of each campaign.

Acknowledgements

I thank my friends and family for their continuous support. I especially thank Alicia, who always has my back and has helped me get through this project when I doubted myself. Thank you to Larry Svabek for his support as my preceptor and thank you Professor Gabriel Winant for graciously advising this project. I'd also like to appreciate my CRES thesis cohort for the advice, support, and camaraderie throughout this process. I'm deeply thankful for everyone whose physical, emotional, and intellectual labor has made my learning and growth possible over the past few years. I particularly want to thank all the friends and acquaintances I've met through campus organizing in one way or another — you're far too many to name, but every one of you has contributed to a community which I will be forever grateful for, and has shared revolutionary ideas that have pushed me to live and dream better. That community changed my life and is the only reason I was able to make it through this institution. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to all the social movements, from TWO and TCC to movements for ethnic studies, cops off campus, divestment, unionization, and more, whose epistemologies and organizing influenced this paper directly or indirectly. And finally, to those who read it, thank you. I hope you find something useful in it, leave the rest, and use it however you see fit.

Introduction

For decades, social movements on and off the campus have been grappling with Universities as sites of racialized struggle over labor, land, resources, and much more. Students and neighbors alike have sat-in, walked out, petitioned, struck, marched, rioted, stolen, vandalized, died-in, and picketed to protest University investments in war and apartheid, to stop campus expansion into communities of color, to win autonomous Ethnic Studies departments, to end campus police violence, and more. This research project is an analysis of two of the largest prolonged confrontations between the University of Chicago (UChicago) and two key community-based movements that fiercely challenged its projects of racialized accumulation. This is not an attempt at a comprehensive historical survey. Rather, it is a study of how the broader historic configuration of the US political economy structured these local struggles. To do this, I will use the invaluable analytical framework offered by Abigail Boggs, Eli Meyerhoff, Nick Mitchell, and Zach Schwartz-Weinstein in *Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation* and related works to place each case study in its historical political-economic context.[1] Then, I will use existing historical work and original archival research on The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) and the Trauma Care Coalition (TCC) to examine how their respective conflicts with UChicago were structured by their material conditions. In particular, my questions are: (1) How did the large-scale organization of US racial capitalism and UChicago's role in that system shape the sites of struggle in these two confrontations? (2) Did UChicago's regimes of racialized resource accumulation shift between these two periods, and if so, how?

The goal of this project is to illuminate the material conditions that give UChicago certain points of leverage over neighborhood organizations and certain vulnerabilities, and see how these

[1] Boggs, Abigail, Eli Meyerhoff, Nick Mitchell, and Zach Schwartz-Weinstein. "Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation." Abolition University, September 29, 2019

conditions shaped the terrains that The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) and the Trauma Care Coalition (TCC) operated in. I do not seek to pass judgment on past movements, or to prescribe solutions for future ones. Instead, I hope to use these two slices of history and Abolitionist University Studies (AUS) to draw attention to the ways that high-level — even international — economic shifts can meaningfully shape the primary sites of contention for movements waging hyperlocal campaigns against US Universities' regimes of accumulation.

After a note on my positionality, I will give a theoretical background on AUS. Particularly relevant to this project is its proposed historical periodization of how the US University's regimes of accumulation have evolved, the post-slavery University as an analytic tool to emphasize the role the University played in putting down radical Reconstruction, and the focus on highlighting spaces of resistance in and around the University. Then, with each case study, I will locate UChicago's specific roles in racial capitalist projects of accumulation in each time period, noting similarities and departures from the periodization presented by AUS of the US University at large. I will give historical background on the movement formations in each case studies and then explain the arc of their conflicts with the University.

For the first case study, I will show how the US government's pursuit of increased military research to maintain world hegemony during the Cold War, among other post-World War II priorities, demanded an increase in campus capacity. UChicago leveraged this need to pass federal legislation to facilitate the urban renewal projects it used to push poor Black people away from campus and make room for an expanding, overwhelmingly white faculty and student body. This campus expansion brought them into conflict with TWO. I'll show how TWO worked to contest the implementation of federal programs by asserting their credibility as a 'spokesman organization' that should be allowed to plan and carry out people-oriented development in

Woodlawn themselves. TWO made significant gains and was able to use some urban renewal funding to protect housing on their terms, but UChicago used their structural position of power in the federal program as leverage to extract strong concessions from TWO.

For the second case study, I will analyze changes and continuities in UChicago's regimes of accumulation from the first study. This includes new technologies of anti-Black, classist displacement that rely more on collaborating with non-profits, real estate capital, and other private interests, rather than federally aided urban renewal plans centrally implemented by the city government. I'll also show UChicago's increasing investment on more lucrative medical care and research, before explaining the origin of the TCC and its coalition structure. I will then assemble the trajectory of TCC escalation and the administration's attempts to manage and punish the movement and highlight the ways TCC organizing consistently targeted several of UChicago's key projects of accumulation. Since UChicago's newest modes of accumulation were situated in the private sphere, unlike the government-implemented urban renewal of the 60s, TCC's site of struggle encompassed a diverse set of individual UChicago-sponsored initiatives. These projects wouldn't have been damaged by the counterclaims of a democratically representative 'spokesman' group the way a public program would be, and TCC chose instead to directly disrupt the projects while stigmatizing UChicago until they won.

Finally, I will conclude by summarizing my analyses, discussing the limitations to my project, and highlighting promising areas for further thinking and research.

Note on Positionality, Intent, and Content

I am a white person from California and currently an undergraduate student who pays tuition to UChicago. My residence in Hyde Park, on the stolen lands of the Ojibwe, Odawa,

Potawatomi, and other Indigenous peoples, is a direct result of settler-colonial conquest and occupation and anti-Black displacement and gentrification. My presence contributes to the violent maintenance of those ongoing processes. The fact that I pay UChicago money to attend and help reproduce the University with my labor inside and outside the classroom means that I am materially implicated in each new dorm room that's built in Woodlawn and new UChicago Police Department (UCPD) officer that's hired. I'm also acutely aware that mere critique of exploitative systems is not only insufficient to bring about change, but also, when done as academic work, actually risks rehabilitating the institution of the University and its violences. After all, production, publication, and circulation of 'critique' is itself a mode of accumulation for the University.

With this in mind, this project is not meant to simply denounce or expose oppressive systems, but to hone our understandings of how those systems materially function and shape our conditions so we can more strategically work to break them. I also hope to make a potentially useful theoretical approach more available to local movement communities by applying it to local histories of resistance. Throughout my time as a student, I've been a part of campus collectives that fight to abolish the UCPD (and all forms of policing) and to end the displacement of Black neighbors through coalitions with South Side organizations, popular education, community building, and direct action. This work and the larger legacy of UChicago student organizing is, perhaps like everything, rife with harms, complicities, and contradictions. But it also contains urgent solidarities and bold anti-oppressive visions. This thesis is a contribution to the long body of work produced by student organizers to better equip movements with the

historical and analytical tools they need to win. As Alice Sparkly Kat wrote: "It is a limited contribution because my perspective is limited."[2]

Finally, the nature of this project means I discuss profound social violences throughout the essay, particularly anti-Black structures of enslavement, displacement, policing, gun violence, and criminalization. There are also excerpts of anti-Black and misogynoiristic rhetoric quoted in the section on UChicago's Urban Renewal period. These topics are largely broached in broad terms, not in specific detail. I have tried to write about these forces with care while also conveying their gravity, and to avoid needlessly recounting the violence of oppressive systems when it brings us no closer to understanding how to end them.

The Project of Abolitionist University Studies

Abolitionist University Studies is crystallized in the 2019 essay *Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation*, by Abigail Boggs, Eli Meyerhoff, Nick Mitchell, and Zach Schwartz-Weinstein. The *Invitation* draws on the principles of prison-industrial complex abolition through the work of Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Angela Davis, Dylan Rodriguez, Erica Meiners, and many others, as well as the tradition of radical Ethnic Studies critiques of the US University to chart a new route of analyzing the institution.[3] AUS seeks to produce a line of inquiry and organizing to cut through romanticized histories of US Universities as places of inherent progress or social good, and instead precisely analyze the historically contingent ways that Universities materially operate and have existed in the world. They do this both by examining the US University's specific "centrality within settler colonial and racial capitalist regimes of accumulation" at national and global levels, and also by investigating the various

[2] Kat, Alice Sparkly. *Postcolonial Astrology: Reading the Planets through Capital, Power, and Labor*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2021 p. 16
[3] Boggs et al. p. 7

modes of accumulating "lands, lives, resources, and relationships," that constitute universities themselves.[4]

The authors thus take a historical materialist survey of the development of the US University while critiquing other dominant understandings of the institution's history, particularly that of Critical University Studies. Discourses from Critical University Studies often index the current problems of higher education to a rather nostalgic vision of the postwar public University, where government funding expanded and more people were accessing higher education. This view papers over the fact that this (relatively fleeting) period was made possible by the militaristic priorities that drove the state to government to expand higher education *and* that the GI Bill limited access to higher education through hierarchies of race, gender, and citizenship. This paradigm has given the postwar period an oversized role in scholarly imaginations of higher education's history, with scholars "inflating the democratic potentiality, righteousness, and innocence" of the US University as a way to make an argument against the neoliberal backlash to the postwar public University.[5] While AUS shares a commitment to resisting privatization and austerity in higher education, it refuses to uphold the postwar University as a model we should emulate while doing so. Instead, AUS materially examines the entire history of the US University, revealing that, as Dylan Rodriguez writes, "the university (as a specific institutional site) and academy (as a shifting material network) themselves cannot be disentangled from the long historical apparatuses of genocidal and protogenocidal social organization."[6]

---

[4] Boggs et al. p.3
[5] Boggs, et al. p. 7
[6] Rodríguez, Dylan. "Racial/Colonial Genocide and the 'Neoliberal Academy': In Excess of a Problematic." *American Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (2012) p. 812

The *Invitation* then offers a broad periodization of the US University that gives a non-exhaustive analysis in each phase of what the institution's role is in the US racial capitalist economy, the primary modes of accumulation that the University is engaged in at the time, and the forms of resistance that took place. The US University begins in the British colonial and then independent US "Planter College Era," where they are sites designed to reproduce an elite social class and also to use education as a tool for the genocidal assimilation of Indigenous peoples.[7] These institutions were constructed and maintained in large part through land stolen in settler-colonial conquest in the US, as well as the profits from enslaved labor, the global African slave trade, and colonialism from other parts of the British Empire among other places.

UChicago was founded in the final years of this period, in 1856 when Stephen A. Douglas gifted the 10 acres of land in the South Side neighborhood of Bronzeville that would birth the University. Douglas bought that land in a real estate blitz a few years prior, using the profits he brutally extracted from the labor of almost 150 enslaved Black people on his 3,000 acre Mississippi plantation.[8] He had also used those enslaved Black families and laborers as collateral seize on the booming real estate market of antebellum Chicago, and UChicago would use their slavery-funded endowment similarly, "taking out a series of bank loans against the Douglas land to fund its operations."[9] After running up debt on the Douglas land while they expanded their Northern religious fundraising network through the Divinity School, the Board of Trustees pulled a legal maneuver that moved most assets to their new "University of Chicago" to be located in Hyde Park, while leaving their vast, still unpaid debt with the legal entity that they renamed "The Old University of Chicago" and abandoned.[10]

---

[7] Boggs et al. p. 13
[8] Jordan, Caine, Guy Emerson Mount, and Kai Perry Parker. "'A Disgrace to All Slave-Holders': The University of Chicago's Founding Ties to Slavery and the Path to Reparations." *The Journal of African American History* 103, no. 1-2 (2018) pp. 166-167
[9] Jordan et al. p. 169
[10] Jordan et al. p. 170

The periods after formal emancipation are what AUS terms the "Capitalist Reconstruction," era from the onset of the Civil War to the 1890s, and then the "Corporate Liberalism" period from 1890 to 1928.[11] This time frame is when the "post-slavery University," comes into being, a formation that AUS emphasizes to center the still unfinished work of abolition, and to point out the roles of Universities in the decades-long attacks against Reconstruction. AUS shows how a number of post-emancipation pivots in the US University were conducted to recuperate exploitative racial capitalist economic projects after slavery's end — including large new investments in scientific agriculture to replace the lost value of hyper-exploited enslaved labor, and the new wave of statistical gender and race science which "rationalized modern modes of exclusion and exploitation."[12] Pivots like these were guided by the newly ascendant class of religious and industrial philanthropists who were the leading designers and funders of the US University in this phase. While a fuller accounting of UChicago's material development in this period is needed, the above history of UChicago's early years offers a powerful example.

Immediately after emancipation, Black movements were fighting for what W.E.B. DuBois termed "abolition democracy" by demanding and building radical new redistributive measures like institutions of public education.[13] At the very same time, post-emancipation UChicago was using its slavery capital as collateral to build out its network of Christian northern philanthropists, working for a smooth transition to the new modes of subjugation and racialized accumulation that the US political economy was moving towards as a backlash to Reconstruction. By the 1890s, UChicago would be re-established in Hyde Park, adding to its

[11] Boggs et al. p.13
[12] Boggs et al. p. 15
[13] Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition Democracy beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture: Interviews with Angela Y. Davis*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2005 p. 91

existing religious donor circles a new infusion of industrial money to the tune of almost $35 million from Standard Oil founder John D. Rockefeller alone through 1910.[14]

I share this history and analysis to ground this study of UChicago with an attention to ways in which dominant regimes of racialized capital accumulation respond when they're radically challenged, including how that manifests at the specific context of UChicago. That brings us to the final AUS principle I'm taking as a point of departure for this study: seriously engaging with spaces and lineages that resist dominant modes of accumulation or organize "accumulation towards non-capitalist ends in, through, and in relation to universities."[15] This includes the long trajectory of abolitionist struggle against enslavement, imprisonment, and policing on, off, and around University campuses, radical Ethnic Studies movements that demanded Third World Colleges, campaigns for universities to divest from settler colonial projects from the US to Palestine, and so many more. It also includes movements that may not advocate as all-encompassing rejections of racial capitalism, but still represent intense resistance to its accumulative projects and "contribute to struggles for building world-making projects alternative to racial-colonial capitalism."[16]

It is in this latter camp that confrontations of The Woodlawn Organization and the Trauma Care Coalition fall. As I will demonstrate below, both of these campaigns show a forceful reaction against UChicago's then-expanding projects to use the Black communities surrounding it for its accumulative projects. Both of these struggles also bring new contradictions to the surface that can be analyzed to better understand how national and citywide socioeconomic conditions structure activist confrontations with UChicago.

---

[14] Johnson, Brandon L. "Building for a Long Future: The University of Chicago and Its Donors, 1889-1930." Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, n.d. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.
[15] Boggs et al. p. 25
[16] Boggs et al. p. 26

Accumulation and UChicago in the Postwar / Urban Renewal Period

In the 1940s through the 60s, the political economy of the US University was principally defined by the economic, military, social, and other national objectives in the wake of World War II and the ongoing Cold War. The mass of veterans returning from war formed a surplus population that the University stepped in to manage. One way the federal government facilitated this was through the GI Bill, which provided substantial funding for primarily white male citizens to attend institutions of higher education.[17] This also provided a convenient US response to global "communist arguments that capitalism requires unemployment by offering a population accumulation strategy that removes people from the labor force for years at a time."[18] Accompanying this was massive federal investments and contributions from state budget surpluses that expanded US Universities' enrollments, campuses, and programs, with a particular focus on military research to ensure US geopolitical dominance over the communist world was maintained.

The University of Chicago was no exception. Fueled by the GI Bill, UChicago's enrollment spiked in the years immediately following World War II, decreased for a few years, and then saw a steady increase from 1953 into the late 60s.[19] In addition to an expanded student body, UChicago received government funds to build out programs that would bolster US military hegemony during the Cold War. Most famously, it received over $30,689,865 in federal funds in the mid-1940s to carry out nuclear plutonium research as part of the Manhattan Project during and after the war, which, adjusted for inflation, is equivalent to about $510,082,606 at the time of

[17] Boggs et al. p. 6
[18] Boggs et al. p. 13
[19] "Historical Enrollment." University Registrar. University of Chicago. Accessed March 6, 2023. https://registrar.uchicago.edu/data-reporting/historical-enrollment/

writing in.[20] That lab alone brought hundreds of scientists to the area and some campus buildings were remodeled, expanded, or newly erected to house the operation.[21]

At the same time, racially discriminatory New Deal programs combined with other economic factors to deepen racial wealth gaps between Black people and white people, and facilitate 'white flight' in many urban areas, including the South Side of Chicago.[22] In this context, Juliet Eldred points out that UChicago President Hutchins' liberal-at-the-time stance on non-discrimination in admissions didn't extend beyond the campus walls.[23] Arnold R. Hirsch explains that the UChicago administration had a long-standing fear of what they termed a "negro invasion" of the region, and studied ways to prevent such 'racial succession' starting in 1939. After several studies, they determined that "racial succession and 'blight' were inextricably bound up with each other," Hirsch writes.[24] This cements the idea of 'blight' as an inherently racialized one, as the UChicago administration's extensive efforts to combat 'blight' or 'deterioration' were driven by their understanding that that was how they could restrict the growth of Black populations around the University and "maintain the white population."[25] A 1949 report by the UChicago Treasurer's Office, issued as local Black populations were increasing, provides more evidence of this goal, as it decries the "invasion" and decline of much of Woodlawn and the "forces of deterioration" that UChicago was up against, recommending that immediate action be taken by the University.[26]

---

[20] Manhattan District (1947), *Manhattan District History, Book IV – Pile Project X-10, Volume 2 – Research, Part 1 – Metallurgical Laboratory*, pp. 2.2-2.3
[21] Meyer, Daniel, and Eileen Ielmini. "Science and Conscience: Chicago's Met Lab and the Manhattan Project." Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, n.d.
[22] Eldred, Juliet S. "'A Highly Complex Set of Interventions': The University of Chicago as Urban Planner, 1890-2017." *Chicago Studies*, 2019, p. 143
[23] Eldred p. 145
[24] Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-60*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983 p. 147
[25] Hirsch p. 148
[26] Eldred pp.145-146

In the following decade, UChicago — driven to expand its campus to manage increasing numbers of students and postwar research priorities, among other things — took sweeping actions to reshape its surrounding neighborhoods. One of these actions was the establishment of the South East Chicago Commission (SECC), for which UChicago provided half the funding and the leadership: UChicago Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton selected UChicago alum Julian Levi to be SECC's executive director.[27] Chancellor Kimpton said that the University needed to maintain a neighborhood in which faculty and students would "desire to live in," and to do this, they had to "combat" the "deterioration at work in the neighborhood," which they founded the SECC to do.[28] His connection of those two priorities demonstrates how the University's myriad goals in this period were viewed as co-constitutive: preventing 'racial succession' was a necessity, and to do so they had to stop 'blight,' which was in turn needed to retain and attract a growing body of (overwhelmingly white) students, faculty, and researchers, to the campus. So, the SECC got to work preparing the tools they would use to reduce and regulate the Black population immediately surrounding the campus and make room for an expanding UChicago. In 1953, the SECC successfully lobbied for two pieces of legislation that made it easier and cheaper for UChicago and the SECC to acquire and clear land, and the SECC was the primary instrument UChicago used to sculpt and implement multiple urban renewal projects.[29]

An exhaustive accounting of all UChicago's renewal programs is beyond the scope of this paper, but the bottom line of their four urban renewal plans illustrates the scope and nature of their interventions. Between the Hyde Park A & B Renewal Project, the South West Hyde Park Redevelopment Corporation Plan, the Urban Renewal Plan, and the South Campus Plan, UChicago-led urban renewal efforts "called for the demolition of 193 acres (or 20 percent of the

[27] Eldred p. 146
[28] Fish, John Hall. *Black Power/White Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015 p. 15
[29] Hirsch pp. 150-151, Fish p. 15

community); cost $120 million ($730 million when adjusted for inflation [in 2019]), approximately half of which was public funds and the other half private; displaced more than 30,000 people; and enabled the University of Chicago to add 41 acres of land to its campus."[30] The impact of these programs, which expanded the campus and dispersed communities in the name of 'combating blight,' illustrate the racist and classist nature of UChicago's broader neighborhood project, as they hit poor Black residents hardest. Looking at the Urban Renewal Plan, the largest of the four, 58% of those displaced, or 2,534 families, were Black.[31] As for Hyde Park A & B, which did uproot many white people, 46.1% of white families and 48.8% of white individuals displaced were relocated within Hyde Park-Kenwood, while only 16.6% of Black families and 13.8% of Black individuals displaced were similarly able to stay in the neighborhood.[32] Hirsch quotes the critique that sociologist and Pan-Africanist St. Clair Drake levied against the urban renewal efforts, highlighting how UChicago sought to regulate the "class and proportions" of Black people living in the area. Combined with the empirical impact of the plans, Hirsch clearly shows that UChicago's urban renewal plans, while they had wide-ranging impacts on several populations, were organized around driving out poor Black people.[33]

Accompanying these broad urban renewal operations were racialized fears among largely white residents of crime from Black neighborhoods, including (but not at all limited to) misogynoiristic depictions of irrational, "muscular" Black female Ray Elementary School students 'attacking' white female students from University High School.[34] UChicago's President at the time explicitly worried that these narratives of crime would drag down student recruitment and were a broad threat to "the whole future of the University."[35] Accordingly, these fears were

[30] Eldred pp. 147-148
[31] Eldred p. 150
[32] Hirsch p. 169
[33] Hirsch p. 170
[34] Cole, Eddie R. "The Racist Roots of Campus Policing." The Washington Post. WP Company, June 2, 2021
[35] Eldred p. 156

repeatedly leveraged, through various different high-profile incidents, to expand the size and scope of UChicago's campus security apparatus throughout the 1950s and 1960s until it would be more fully established as a police force in 1968.[36] Even before then, UChicago security was a considerable force in the neighborhood: in just eight months in 1965, they stopped and questioned 541 people, the overwhelming majority of whom were Black and under 18.[37]

About 10 years after the treasurer's report and with several urban renewal projects in full swing, Julian Levi headed to Washington D.C. to testify before Congress. The SECC had already gotten national legislation passed to facilitate University-led urban renewal projects, and in January 1959 Levi was there leading a coalition of over a dozen US Universities to do so again. These Universities shared what Levi called "environmental problems," or, as he later stated more precisely, they were all "surrounded by a sea of slums and blight" and "must attempt to perform their public service in a neighborhood environment wholly incompatible with their purpose and function."[38] Levi, there on behalf of UChicago and the SECC which he still led, then laid out how Universities were in dire need of support clearing this 'blight,' if they were to ever fulfill their role to the US nation. He specifically focused on the idea that these 'slums' would cause faculty to live further and further away from the institution and would have to commute to work. This in turn, would mean that the University's working hours would have to be cut short to allow for longer commute times.[39] Levi asserts that this trend would be devastating to the US 'national interest' more broadly. These commuting patterns are "fatal to many types of research," he said, citing UChicago's research in nuclear physics as an example of a project imperiled by 'blight.'[40]

---

[36] Larson, Jordan. "A Brief History of the UCPD." Chicago Maroon, May 25, 2012
[37] 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 et al. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008) in Eldred p. 157
[38] *Housing Act of 1959: Hearings Before the United States Senate Committee on Banking and Currency*, Eighty-Sixth Congress, (1959) p. 502
[39] Housing Act of 1959 Hearings p. 503
[40] Housing Act of 1959 Hearings p. 504

The consequences of this flight of faculty are "vital to the future of our nation. America cannot survive with punchclock universities, harassed by urban problems."[41]

The frequent, broad invocations of the 'national interest' are punctuated with more specific references that broach the University's role in the US' Cold War era geopolitical objectives. Levi bringing up nuclear research as critical demonstrates the ongoing US effort to maintain military dominance over the Soviet world or its potential allies, while a New York University official's nod to the increased research needs of the "space age" points to the space race and the technological competition between the powers.[42] Levi also references the unprecedented need for Universities to absorb larger swaths of people, to give them the "training which our national interests demand."[43] In military, technological, and economic spheres, Levi argues that these urban Universities are critical to the very survival of the United States. He leverages these Universities' role in the US' Cold War agenda to great success, as lawmakers lauded his persuasiveness and passed the law without amendment, paving the way for Universities across the country to take up further projects of urban renewal, expansion, and displacement.[44]

This measure, Section 112 of the 1959 Federal Housing Act, "essentially transferred eminent domain powers to private universities."[45] It did this by making large amounts of federal money available to city governments that used eminent domain on behalf of Universities, and that money could then be spent on any urban renewal project(s) anywhere in the city. While federal money didn't flow straight to Universities, letting campuses acquire land through eminent domain was a far cheaper and faster process than having to buy it on the real estate market. And

[41] Housing Act of 1959 Hearings p. 503
[42] Housing Act of 1959 Hearings p. 516
[43] Housing Act of 1959 Hearings p. 504
[44] Bradley, James. "The University of Chicago, Urban Renewal, and the Black Community." Black Perspectives. African American Intellectual History Society, April 12, 2021, and Housing Act of 1959 Hearings p. 525
[45] Bradley

cities were heavily incentivized to implement the University's plans, as they'd receive substantial, flexible federal funding as a result.[46] This law would be used by other Universities to attack what they labeled 'blight' and would become an important part of the conflict that unfolded between The Woodlawn Organization and UChicago over the South Campus Plan, as is discussed later.[47]

This is the scene in which The Woodlawn Organization and UChicago would come into confrontation. UChicago in this time was increasingly led by federal and state funding and militaristic research priorities as other Universities were. To pursue those research priorities, and to manage a largely white surplus population of students from the GI Bill, and later a growing student population more generally, UChicago was driven to expand its campus. This coincided with 'white flight' and growing low-income Black populations across much of the South Side, which UChicago administrators viewed as an existential threat to their continued operation of the institution and thus to all the projects above. In response, the administration took drastic action, flattening swaths of Hyde Park and adding it to its campus, displacing tens of thousands of people, and widening its security network to keep lower-class Black populations away from its campus.

The Woodlawn Organization and UChicago

Beginning in late 1958, various churches in Woodlawn began meeting in response to various social problems that Woodlawn faced, including but not limited to: lack of safe and stable housing, price gouging among local business owners, and substandard educational

[46] Bradley
[47] Puckett, John. "Federal- and State-Funded Urban Renewal at the University of Pennsylvania." West Philadelphia Collaborative History. Accessed April 22, 2023

resources.[48] Clergy and several other neighborhood groups had tried to agitate for action on these problems before to little success. But in July 1960, UChicago announced to the press and the city government a thorough, complete proposal to expand southwards into a one block by one mile stretch. The University classified the region as "slum and blighted," and planned to bulldoze the whole thing to make way for more campus, promoting the $21 million in federal urban renewal credits the city would get from Section 112.[49] This out-of-the-blue development galvanized and enraged religious and neighborhood groups in Woodlawn immediately. After a few more months of planning, with funding from some churches and support from a famed community organizing network called the Industrial Areas Foundation, the Temporary Woodlawn Organization —– that would later become just The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) — was born.[50]

TWO was a multi-issue group whose specific politics and pursuits changed over the years as their class makeup and neighborhood conditions shifted, and they engaged UChicago at different points in different ways as they saw fit. However, TWO was heavily influenced by the Saul Alinsky school of organizing, and always saw the fundamental problem of Woodlawn as external, colonial-esque control by white institutions and politicians, which could be defeated only through community control by the people of Woodlawn.[51] To win community control, TWO sought to become a 'spokesman organization' which would be the sole credible voice to negotiate on behalf of the community, extract concessions from power, and administer their own social programs. This meant that they worked to build a huge base of people to engage in their

[48] "The Temporary Woodlawn Organization For Community Planning and Rehabilitation: Background and Chronology of Participation," by First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, February 22, 1961, Box 1, Folder 1, The Woodlawn Organization records (Chicago History Museum), Chicago IL p.1
[49] Fish p. 17
[50] Chronology of Participation, First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, p. 5
[51] Fish pp. 21-24

fairly democratic organization, including a base that crossed class lines and included almost all the diverse interests in the neighborhood.[52]

As a brand-new formation, TWO took up smaller fights against particular landlords and fraudulent merchants and used small tangible wins to build confidence among neighbors and bring them into the organization. Arthur M. Brazier, a pastor and then-leader of TWO writes that the UChicago announcement epitomized the typical feeling of political powerlessness that many people in Woodlawn felt: a huge, renowned white institution that had "spent nothing to relieve poverty in Woodlawn," and already had a barbed wire fence across some of its southern property line, had just proposed a fully developed South Campus Plan to the city with no prior notice to the people of Woodlawn. Many people in Woodlawn didn't like it but had no expectation that this clearance plan could be stopped. For that reason, TWO moved to oppose UChicago's plan to show that collective action could make a difference and grow their organization.[53]

Just after the South Campus Plan was announced, Julian Levi and one pastor approached an association of pastors and proposed a new Woodlawn community organization that would be funded with $50,000 per year from UChicago and the Ford Foundation. This was widely interpreted as an attempt to create a front group to ease the passage of an otherwise unpopular urban renewal operation, and it was quickly rejected (Fish 19, and ARCHIVE).[54] In December 1960, the pastors that were in the process of forming TWO learned of an ordinance being presented the next day that was written by Levi to essentially get the city's approval and set things in motion. They rallied around 40 Woodlawn people to protest the proposal and successfully delayed it for just over a month.[55] In January, after then-formalized TWO further

[52] Fish pp. 25-26
[53] Brazier, Arthur M. *Black Self-Determination: The Story of the Woodlawn Organization*. Eerdmans, 1969 p. 51-53
[54] Fish 19 and Chronology of Participation, First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, p. 3
[55] Chronology of Participation, First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, p. 4

lobbied Mayor Richard J. Daley and city planning agencies, they got all references to "South Campus" removed from the ordinance, and a more holistic neighborhood planning process considering all of Woodlawn was initiated by the city.[56]

TWO did not oppose the whole idea of development in Woodlawn, nor did it even inherently oppose the idea of UChicago expanding its campus. What it vehemently opposed was subjugating the interests of Woodlawn residents to UChicago priorities by having a clearance-heavy, UChicago-designed plan enacted with no input from the broader neighborhood population (Brazier 52-53). Instead, TWO passed an internal resolution outlining the principles they demand be included in any community rehabilitation plan: preserving Woodlawn as a dense neighborhood for "people of modest means," liberal use of public housing and private low-income housing, construction of housing before any demolitions so it's ready for anyone in need of relocation, funds to help people repair their homes or apartments, the clearance of a few select structures that are "a danger to the community's health and morals," and a deeply participatory planning process.[57]

In March of 1961, UChicago pushed to discredit TWO in the press, with Levi going on record likening the organization to lynch mobs, and UChicago's Public Relations office trying to plant a damaging story. All the major newspapers wouldn't take it, so they gave it to the student newspaper the *Maroon*, which ran the story that labeled TWO a segregationist hate group.[58] These wild claims from UChicago's side only boosted TWO's credibility in Woodlawn, and TWO used the high-profile conflict to grow their base by the hundreds. In April, TWO led a march of 600 down 63rd street in a show of strength aimed at both price-gouging shopkeepers

---

[56] Chronology of Participation, First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, p. 6
[57] "Basis for the Development of a Woodlawn Community Rehabilitation Plan," by The Woodlawn Organization, January 5, 1961, Box 2, Folder 4, The Woodlawn Organization records (Chicago History Museum), Chicago IL pp. 1-3
[58] Fish p. 40

and UChicago, and in August it again showed the power they could mobilize with a highly publicized "Northern Freedom Ride" that brought 2,000 Woodlawn residents to City Hall to register to vote.[59]

In March 1962, the city's promised holistic plan for Woodlawn development was released. While it averted "massive clearance," it was similar to typical urban renewal plans of the period, and it made no reference to TWO in the planning or implementation process.[60] In response, TWO found their own urban planners and put out "A People-Oriented Approach to Urban Renewal and Planning," a program that reflected deep citizen involvement, a focus on rehabilitation and conservation with minimal clearance or 'renewal,' and the fundamental belief that people who already lived in Woodlawn should get to stay and see the benefits.[61] It received zero response from UChicago or the city, which was a problem for TWO, as they saw an opportunity to get funding to improve the dire housing conditions of Woodlawn residents on some of their own terms. But as UChicago surely knew, "due to the nature of the federal grant system the city would be disinclined to move forward on renewal without University support," so the city and UChicago sat quietly.[62]

TWO took the initiative and lobbied Daley to get moving on the project, to no avail; however, when they brought 700 Woodlawn residents to City Hall, a meeting was quickly scheduled.[63] TWO, UChicago, and the city met an agreement on July 16th, 1963, and TWO extracted several promises: that the committees leading the planning be majority-TWO people, that the head administrator of the program be approved by TWO, that low-cost housing be built before demolition begins, that Woodlawn residents aren't walled off from accessing the Midway,

[59] Fish pp. 47, 50
[60] Fish p. 68
[61] Fish 69
[62] Bradley
[63] Fish p. 71

and that the city commit more funds to this project than it has in past urban renewal programs. However, the agreement also suggested the vague need for wider clearance than TWO's internal priorities had wanted, which would allow UChicago to proceed in clearing the mile stretch one block below the Midway and building South Campus.[64]

This agreement was a remarkable victory for TWO by some standards — no other Black community in that time period had played such a prominent role in shaping neighborhood development efforts.[65] However, things wouldn't unfold as agreed to on paper. TWO partnered with a nonprofit developer and promptly readied plans to build the new affordable housing, but City Hall dragged its feet, and TWO had to repeatedly mobilize hundreds and sometimes thousands of Woodlawn residents just to keep the project moving slowly along. By the time construction could finally begin, over *five years* after the July 1963 agreement, clearance in the South Campus zone had already begun, displacing people who had no new affordable housing to be relocated to.[66]

TWO built a vibrant, fighting organization of thousands of Woodlawn residents in large part through resisting a blatant attempt by UChicago to disperse Black families and take the land they lived on to advance its own accumulative interests. Despite strong incentives for UChicago to expand at any cost, TWO was able to stop the South Campus Plan dead in its tracks through collective action. As a housing crisis in Woodlawn accelerated, TWO chose to try to use the project to win some concessions. Since the Section 112 funding was a city priority and contingent on UChicago's participation, the University held leverage that led TWO into a compromised position that resulted in the clearance and campus expansion going forward. Even

[64] "Agreement Reached Between Mayor Daley and T.W.O. On July 16, 1963," July 16, 1963 Box 5, Folder 6, The Woodlawn Organization records (Chicago History Museum), Chicago IL
[65] Fish p. 77
[66] Fish p. 75

so, TWO's organizing subverted Section 112, which had been written *by Universities* as a blank check for them to demolish or disperse largely poor Black neighborhoods as they saw fit. Instead, TWO leveraged the program to develop hundreds of units of affordable housing that were designed and directed by the community, carry out other localized grassroots development demands, and break new ground in what community leadership of urban development could look like.

Accumulation and UChicago in the Neoliberalism II / Gentrification Period

Five decades after the struggles over the South Campus Plan, the South Side and UChicago exist in very different social, racial, economic, and political conditions due to sinking government support of higher education, the rising power of real estate capital, austerity in city-level housing and healthcare programs, and more. The theorists who collaborated on *Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation* term the general period from 2008 to the present as "Neoliberalism II," and they lay out the primary characteristics of the US University's place in the contemporary racial capitalist economy. This and other work studying the institution of the University help illuminate the national forces affecting UChicago, and more specific case studies demonstrate local particularities.

Since the 70s, federal and state funding for higher education declined significantly, which led to increasing student debt and reliance on endowments invested in hedge funds.[67] As a backlash to social movements that demanded Third World Colleges, democratized higher education, and an end to militarism, *corporations* re-asserted themselves as distinct parties with rights to be protected on campus akin to those of people and marginalized groups.[68] The

[67] Boggs et al. p. 13
[68] Ferguson, Roderick A. *We Demand : The University and Student Protests.* University Of California Press, 2017 pp. 42-45

Bayh-Dole Act in 1980 allows the private licensing and patenting of University research, meaning that industry now primarily dictates research objectives rather than the government.[69] The rising influence of corporations is a leading factor that increasingly crowds out faculty co-governance in favor of vastly expanded administrations and corporate Boards of Trustees to manage industry partnerships, among other things.[70]

In urban settings, Universities and their associated hospitals and institutions become "central poles of reorganization of urban labor force amid deindustrialization and capital flight.".[71] This occurs across several different sectors, so that by the 2010s, Universities are now the dominant employers, real-estate holders, policing agents, and education and health-care providers in many major cities."[72] At UChicago specifically, we can see this broader trend playing out, as it currently operates not only a research university, but multiple charter schools, a multi-billion dollar hospital with multiple locations throughout Chicago, its own private K-12 school, and a full private police department numbering almost 100 armed officers that polices 65,000 people, to name a few things[73]

Formerly 'ruled' directly by federal, often militarized, research priorities, private market interests have risen dramatically in power within the University. I should note that this is not to say that military priorities are gone or weak, they are still omnipresent, but they more often operate through partnerships with the private sector like defense contractors and weapons manufacturers, rather than through federal government funded programs as they were in the postwar period. In Chicago, UChicago is surrounded by an economic (and political) environment now dominated by finance and real estate capital.[74] In this contemporary urban economy, cycles

[69] Boggs et al. p. 13
[70] Ferguson, p. 52
[71] Boggs et al. p. 13
[72] Baldwin, Davarian L. "When Universities Swallow Cities." The Chronicle of Higher Education, July 30, 2017
[73] Hui, Kelly. "Who Keeps Us Safe?" Chicago Maroon, September 6, 2021
[74] Larson, Sean, and Tyler Zimmer. "Who Runs Chicago?" Rampant Magazine, February 23, 2020

of racist gentrification and real estate speculation are a primary mode of capitalist accumulation, and, as I'll explore further below, UChicago participates in these cycles due to both self-interest and the private market forces that are leading influences in contemporary University administrations as we saw above.

In this period, UChicago continues to play a role in anti-Black displacement in Hyde Park and surrounding neighborhoods, but the form and process of that displacement has changed since the postwar period. Combining the broader social shifts described above with Davarian Baldwin's study of UChicago-neighborhood dynamics in *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, helps show shifts and continuities in regimes of racist displacement in the mid-South Side over time.

The central continuity is that UChicago still operates around a need to attract a largely wealthy, non-Black body of students and faculty in spite of a hegemonic racist media depiction of the poor Black communities on the South Side as inherently dangerous and threatening. Segregated and then labeled as a 'ghetto' and a 'sea of blight' in the 60s, the Black South Side in the 2010s and now is invoked by the news media, pop culture, and more as ubiquitous with gun violence and crime, eliding the austerity, deindustrialization, privatization, policing, incarceration, and many other systemic forces that structure life on the South Side.[75] Meanwhile, UChicago, like other Universities, is more reliant on tuition money from wealthy students than they were in the postwar period, which means forming a suitable and attractive environment for that class of people is an enduring need for the institution to survive. However, the means of achieving that end have shifted. Postwar urban renewal pushed working class Black people out

[75] Schwarze, Tilman. "Discursive Practices of Territorial Stigmatization: How Newspapers Frame Violence and Crime in a Chicago Community." *Urban Geography* 43, no. 9 (April 26, 2021) and Moore, Natalie Y. "We Are Not Chiraq: Yes, Chicago Has Too Many Murders, but Labeling Us with Terms like 'War Zone,' 'Chiraq' and 'Urban Terrorism' Doesn't Help." Salon, March 27, 2016

"through primarily residential development. The irony, today, is that colleges and universities are left with few amenities to sell and little commercial development."[76] Now, while residential projects continue through new dormitories and luxury condos, gentrification is driven somewhat more by commercial interests like chain stores, hotels, businesses, as well as a variety of other projects meant to alter the class character of the neighborhood.

The Harper Court development project led by UChicago epitomizes this dynamic. In the early 2000s, Harper Court was a modest spot with cheap pizza and chicken restaurants, outside of which Black elders could often be found talking and playing chess. It was also a place where youth could hang out without having to buy anything — there was a public graffiti 'permission wall' where folks could paint what they wanted. In 2008, labeled 'deteriorating,' UChicago and the city government launched a $200 million redevelopment of Harper Court to be done by Vermilion Development, a specialist in "university towns."[77] The court was replaced with luxury condos above, several chain stores like Chipotle, Sweetgreen, and Stan's Donuts below situated around a private street now stationed with UChicago blue light emergency phones, the accompanying surveillance cameras, and a frequent UChicago Police Department presence. It also includes some more local cultural spaces like the Promontory and the Silverroom. Baldwin notes that the entire character of the project was to create a more upper-class space oriented around consumption, which shows in that the businesses have higher price points than those that existed before the redevelopment and there isn't really space to socialize without buying something.[78]

---

[76] Baldwin, When Universities Swallow Cities
[77] Baldwin, Davarian L. *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower : How Universities Are Plundering Our Cities*. New York, Ny: Bold Type Books, 2021 pp. 136-137, and Vermilion Development. "Harper Court Chicago | Mixed Use Retail Development Project." Accessed March 15, 2023
[78] Baldwin, *In the Shadow* p. 139

A former UChicago administrator said that a consistent goal in their development projects is to bring stores and spaces that "rich students are used to going to," while another who worked on the Harper development said it was part of an "image campaign" to bring students, faculty, and their revenue streams to the University by countering the hegemonic depiction of the South Side as a place of poverty and violence.[79] These testimonials confirm that UChicago's urban planning is motivated by a similar priority in the 2010s as it was in the 1960s: to draw a largely non-Black and wealthy pool of students and faculty by making the environment comfortable to them. Meanwhile, the Harper court project and others shows that they're willing to invest massive capital in the course of reshaping neighborhoods to better draw the tuition dollars they need.

However, the methods of organizing these developments have changed. The South Campus Plan was a collaboration between UChicago and the city government, and the funds largely came from the University, with federal funding given to cities as an incentive for facilitating University goals. The Harper Court project was a collaboration between UChicago, the city government, and other private interests, and a significant part of the city's involvement was subsidizing its private partners: the city gave $27 million in Tax Increment Financing to the Hyatt Hotels Corporation for their Harper Court location.[80] In this case, the project, structured by UChicago's desire to shift the class character of the neighborhood, was carried out with substantial private funding from the University as well as public funds and subsidies from the city. Other major UChicago developments follow a similar model, where private interests and funds lead, and the city helps facilitate.

[79] Baldwin, *In the Shadow*, pp. 139-140
[80] Baldwin, *In the Shadow*, pp. 136-137

The Obama Presidential Center is one of the most high-profile and expensive examples of this. The University of Chicago led the campaign to lure what would eventually become an $830 million development to the South Side, which included mobilizing city political leadership and commissioning studies that promoted the center.[81] Once UChicago's bid was selected, some South Side residents predicted that the center would make the area a prime environment for high-end development which would lead to gentrification and displacement of Black people in the area.[82] A 2019 UIC study corroborated those concerns, finding "clear evidence of rising rents in newly renovated and new construction units, which the majority of current renters cannot afford" in the community areas near the center's site.[83] The funding for the project is provided by the Obama Foundation, which draws contributions from a wide range of philanthropic foundations, corporations, and wealthy individuals, even including a few hundred thousand dollars from UChicago.[84] The city, for its part, handed over the 19 acres of public land in Jackson Park where the OPC is being constructed on a $10 for 99 years lease.[85] Where Harper Court sought to shift the region's class character mainly by changing the commercial offerings of Hyde Park, the Obama Presidential Center is accelerating that class shift largely through its impacts on the housing market. In addition to rising rents, the share of homes purchased by private equity firms and other corporate investors has risen markedly in the Black communities around the site

[81] Manier, Jeremy. "UChicago-Led Effort Submits Final Bid to Bring Obama Presidential Library to South Side." UChicago News. The University of Chicago, December 12, 2014, and Sweet, Lynn. "Obama Foundation Reveals $830M Needed to Build, Operate Obama Center in First Year." Chicago Sun-Times, August 18, 2021, and Fang, Marina. "Univ. Mobilizes to Save Obama Library Bid." Chicago Maroon, January 9, 2015
[82] Associated Press. "Obama Library Brings Elation but Also Fear of Displacement." WTTW News, August 5, 2019
[83] Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. "Protect, Preserve, Produce: Affordable Housing & the Obama Center." University of Illinois at Chicago, August 2019 p. 2
[84] Obama Foundation. "Bringing Hope Home," n.d.
[85] BS Chicago. "Construction Crews Begin Work on Obama Presidential Center in Jackson Park." www.cbsnews.com. CBS News, August 16, 2021.

of the center, reflecting how this project fits in with the interests of the real estate finance industry that's a dominant economic force in 2010s Chicago.[86]

The case studies of Harper Court and the Obama Presidential Center show the ways that UChicago's impact on the racial and class character of its surrounding neighborhoods have changed from the postwar period. UChicago's central institutional self-interest has remained similar: make the area attractive to wealthy non-Black students to secure the flow of the increasingly expensive tuitions that it relies on. However, the role of UChicago in the larger racial capitalist economy has changed. In the postwar period, nationalist state military, economic, and technological agendas were the leading force animating the expansion of US universities in general, including UChicago. This meant that the federal legislation that essentially conferred eminent domain powers to Universities structured UChicago's urban renewal projects that pushed out working class Black residents. In the 2010s, those state interests were less central to the University and real estate capital had risen to organize much of Chicago's economy and politics. Instead of direct eminent domain and clearance buoyed by federal funding incentives for cities, UChicago's efforts to reshape its surrounding neighborhoods in the 2010s functioned by collaborating with other private interests to both directly shift the class character of the area and facilitate further racial and class shifts by enabling speculation and aggressive development from real estate capital with projects like the Obama Presidential Center.

The above context of course does nowhere near an exhaustive accounting of UChicago's regimes of accumulation, how they have changed since the postwar period, or even the ways in which UChicago has sought to influence the neighborhood in recent years. I have not addressed UChicago's activities in Washington Park, where it bought dozens of properties and developed

[86] Ramos, Manny. "As Investors Buy More Homes around the Obama Presidential Center Gentrification Worries Soar." Illinois Answers Project, December 12, 2022

The Arts Block, in the course of which it closed the neighborhood's only grocery store and flattened Black feminist organization Assata's Daughters' community garden without notice.[87] I also have not focused on the many ways UChicago's neighborhood reshaping projects operate beyond large development projects: for example, research by Laurel Chen shows how the structure of UChicago's ongoing Employer-Assisted Housing Program serves to make Woodlawn whiter.[88] These programs and many others are also bound up with UChicago's broader regime of gentrification and deserve to be studied and challenged. For this paper, I have focused on Harper Court because Baldwin's thorough case study of it reveals UChicago's broader approach to neighborhood development in the 2010s, and on the Obama Presidential Center because it is an important factor in the TCC's struggle for a trauma center.

Finally, another shifting part of the University's accumulation regime that is relevant to the Trauma Center Campaign fight is the decades-long expansion of UChicago Medicine and its increasing investment in expanding more lucrative, specialized offerings over primary care or mental health care. UChicago Medicine is a large network of not-for-profit healthcare facilities that are owned outright by UChicago.[89] The first hospital opened in 1927, and it added or merged with a few other facilities from then through World War II. From the 1950s onwards, UChicago Medicine has gradually and substantially expanded, adding cancer and brain research facilities, a children's hospital, and more throughout the 70s.[90] In May of 1986, UChicago opened a Level I Adult Trauma Center, to treat blunt force trauma like bullet wounds and car crash wounds, as part of a new city network of trauma centers.[91] However after just two years, citing the center's

---

[87] "U. Of C. Buys 26 Properties on South Side ahead of Obama Library Decision." DNAinfo Chicago. DNAinfo Chicago, December 10, 2014 and Assata's Daughters. "Assata's Daughters." Facebook, July 19, 2019
[88] Chen, Laurel. "Towards a Whiter Woodlawn: Racism and the University of Chicago's Employer-Assisted Housing Program." Advocates' Forum. Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice, 2020
[89] Markman, Sharon, and Craig Umscheid. "The University of Chicago Medicine." Center for Healthcare Delivery Science and Innovation, August 12, 2021
[90] UChicago Medicine. "The History of UChicago Medicine." The University of Chicago, February 1, 2023
[91] Vega, Katherine. "History of Trauma Center Closing." Chicago Maroon, February 17, 2015

operating loss of around $2 million annually (about $5.3 million adjusted for inflation in 2023) that doctors attributed to a large portion of patients being uninsured, UChicago Medicine chose to close the center in 1988.[92] UChicago Medicine's general expansion continued though, including the 1996 opening of its primary outpatient facility, the Duchossios Center for Advanced Medicine, at a cost of $140 million (about $269 million adjusted for inflation), and the 2004 construction of the Comer Children's Hospital which cost $132 million (or around $211 million adjusted for inflation).[93] And after four years of construction, in what would become a major point of contention for the Trauma Care Coalition, UChicago Medicine opened the $700 million Center for Care and Discovery in 2013 (about a $907 million cost when adjusted for inflation).[94] The Center for Care and Discovery reflects a trend where UChicago Medicine's more recent expansions prioritize investment in more specialized and lucrative "private suites and cancer research to draw both publicity and profits," (Baldwin, p. 142). While advanced cancer research, screening, and treatment are vitally important services, Dominic Robolino points out that expanding access to "mental health and primary care that is open to all people regardless of insurance payer" is the most desired and more medically urgent need on the South Side specifically.[95]

It is in this context, with UChicago fueling gentrification in Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and neighboring areas through collaborations with private forces and the city while increasing investments in specialized, expensive medical care, that the organized fight to reopen the Trauma Center was waged.

---

[92] Moore, Natalie Y, and Gabriel Spitzer. "Why Trauma Centers Abandoned the South Side." WBEZ Chicago. WBEZ Chicago, October 12, 2011

[93] UChicago Medicine Facilities Design & Construction. "Duchossios Center for Advanced Medicine." University of Chicago, 2013 and UChicago Medicine Facilities Design & Construction. "Comer Children's Hospital & Center for Children." University of Chicago, 2013

[94] Schorsch, Kristen. "Get a Sneak Peek at University of Chicago Medicine's New Hospital." Crain's Chicago Business, January 11, 2013

[95] Robolino, Dominic. "Cancer Is Not the Problem." Chicago Maroon, March 23, 2023

The Trauma Center Campaign and UChicago

On August 15th, 2010, Damian Turner, an 18-year-old activist in Woodlawn, was hit by a stray bullet just three blocks away from UChicago Medicine's hospital complex in Hyde Park. Three years too old for treatment at UChicago Medicine's pediatric center, he was taken on a long ambulance ride to a Level 1 Trauma Center on the Near North Side, during which he died. Days after, Turner's friends and fellow organizers with Fearless Leading by the Youth (FLY) met and, out of righteous rage and pain, the campaign to bring an adult trauma center to UChicago was begun.[96] The history of the five-year campaign is so rich that I cannot tell all of its urgent stories in the course of this paper. Instead, I will summarize the movement's general character and trajectory over the years and analyze how its confrontations with the university administration were structured by the particular regimes of accumulation that constituted UChicago during that period.

The campaign was started by, led by, and always anchored in the Black youth organizing of Woodlawn-based FLY. FLY was a youth outgrowth of Southside Together Organizing for Power (STOP), a Woodlawn group focused on tenant and public health organizing that was originally founded out of a 2004 student-neighbor solidarity campaign to save a subsidized housing complex from redevelopment by UChicago. FLY led the direct actions and outreach in the early phases of the campaign, and over the next five and a half years, the campaign built a broadening Trauma Care Coalition (TCC). The beginning stages of the TCC included FLY, STOP, working class neighborhood organization Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization, and a UChicago student contingent called Students for Health Equity. Over the second half of the

[96] Bushey, Claire. "How Chicago Activists and Their Allies Forced a Reckoning with U of C Medicine #Uofctrauma." Crain's Chicago Business, 2016

campaign, the coalition expanded to include the interfaith Prayer and Action Collective that activated faith organizations to support the campaign, the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, and National Nurses United.[97] And the groups that lent some form of support through turnout, speaking at an action, or other means during the course of the campaign are many: anti-police violence organization We Charge Genocide, graduate worker union Graduate Students United, student group Coalition for Equitable Policing, community organization Reclaiming Inner-City Streets and Elevating Chicago, and so many others.

The TCC continuously grew its base and over the years put on countless actions, including teach-ins, marches, vigils, forums, town halls, banner drops, die-ins, fundraisers, sit-ins, and more. They escalated their campaign continuously, with an increasingly frequent drumbeat of events and protest actions punctuated by explosive disruptions and massive weeks of action, especially in 2014 and 2015. Through protests, press conferences, and other events, the TCC solidified their message that the UChicago administration "does not value Black life" due to their refusal to open a trauma center *or* raise the age limit of their existing pediatric trauma center.[98] The TCC took this message and then used it to apply narrative and material pressure on the many different forces that UChicago had commitments to.

Actions like the November 2013 coffin march from the site of Damian Turner's shooting to UChicago Medicine's Hyde Park campus that drew 150 people, die-ins and rallies by FLY that chanted "How can you ignore, we're dying at the door?" and carried signs like "Y'all say insufficient funds while we're dying by the gun," and a 2015 overnight vigil in front of then-President of the University Robert Zimmer's house all made the stakes clear: UChicago

---

[97] Stern, Randi. "JCUA Inducted into the Trauma Center Coalition." JCUA News. Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, January 29, 2015 and Southside Together Organizing for Power. "Trauma Center Won! (for Real This Time!" STOP News, June 15, 2016

[98] Southside Together Organizing for Power. "Trauma Care Coalition Challenges University of Chicago's Bid for Obama Library." STOP News, May 8, 2014

choosing to open a trauma center would save the lives of South Siders, particularly young Black lives.[99]

The TCC brought this message into visible confrontation with UChicago's desired reputation as a reliable business partner through escalating direct actions at key junctures. In January 2013, they staged a sit-in at UChicago Medicine's newly built Center for Care and Discovery, highlighting the contradiction of the University spending $700 million on a new building, while simultaneously claiming that a vital adult trauma was financially infeasible.[100] In May 2014, TCC organized a lock-in at a UChicago Medicine construction site, disrupting the work.[101] They also took public actions to discredit the University's bid for the Obama Presidential Center for over a year, using marches, town halls, canvassing, and media pushes to draw substantial local and national attention to the South Side's trauma care desert and UChicago's maintenance of that desert.[102] The TCC also repeatedly mobilized against major University donor events, from rallying outside of the kickoff event for a $4.5 billion capital campaign to shutting down Michigan Avenue traffic for an hour outside of a Ritz-Carlton fundraising event, where Chicago Police Department arrested nine demonstrators.[103] Lastly, in one of the final mobilizations of the campaign, the TCC held a week of action during

---

[99] Rabb, Jonah. "'Coffin March' at University Draws Crowd after Downtown Senate Hearing." Chicago Maroon, November 22, 2013, Fearless Leading by the Youth. "'How Can You Ignore, We're Dying at the Door?' - SOUTH SIDE TRAUMA CENTER NOW!" YouTube, May 25, 2011, and Students for Health Equity. "Candle Light Vigil for a Trauma Center." Twitter, April 22, 2015, and Students for Health Equity "Morning Press Conference." Twitter, April 24, 2015..

[100] Srikantha, Madhu. "Four Arrested in Trauma Center Protest." Chicago Maroon, January 28

[101] Manhardt, Sarah. "UCPD Ends Trauma Center Sit-In." Chicago Maroon, May 20, 2014.

[102] Perlstein, Rick. "There Goes the Neighborhood." The Baffler, July 2015, Madhani, Aamer. "Activists Protest University's Bid for Obama Library." USA TODAY. USATODAY, May 11, 2014, Granderson, LZ. "Chicago Needs Help, Not Obama Library | CNN." CNN, May 21, 2014, Thorp, Adam. "Trauma Center Protesters March from Proposed Obama Library Site." Chicago Maroon, May 15, 2015, and Bellware, Kim. "Chicago Protestors: We Need a Trauma Center, Not Obama's Presidential Library." HuffPost. HuffPost, January 15, 2015

[103] Chicago Tribune staff. "Trauma Center Protesters Target U. Of C. Capital Campaign." Baltimore Sun, October 30, 2014 and McGhee, Josh. "Protesters Block Traffic on Michigan Ave. Seeking Trauma Center at U. Of C." DNAinfo Chicago. DNAinfo Chicago, March 5, 2015

UChicago's 2015 Alumni Weekend, which is itself a large fundraising event.[104] During this week of action, some TCC organizers locked-in in the administration building, Levi Hall, sitting-in for several hours. Later that weekend, organizers disrupted then-University President Robert Zimmer's speech, and later that day about 150 supporters marched through campus and died-in at various alumni events.

In response to the over five year campaign of growing support and escalation for a trauma center, UChicago responded for a long time with statements dismissing even the possibility of the TCC's demands: "It took two and a half years for the hospital to talk to us," a student activist supporting the campaign said in January 2014, and even at that point, the administration had made no meaningful concessions.[105] Meanwhile, UChicago would continuously send in UCPD to subvert TCC activities. At the Center for Care and Discovery sit-in, UCPD beat some Black demonstrators and arrested four people, and a few months later a UCPD officer went undercover as a protester and infiltrated a demonstration.[106] UChicago also banned the weekly prayer circle from praying inside the hospital lobby.[107] After about four years of organizing, the TCC won its first major concession when UChicago announced on December 9th that it would raise the age limit for its pediatric trauma center, allowing 16- and 17-year-olds to get treatment, but the Coalition continued the pressure by once again targeting the Obama Presidential Center bid with a social media blast just two days later.[108] In 2015, UChicago would

---

[104] JCUA News. "Trauma Care Coalition Takes Action." Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, June 9, 2015
[105] Manhardt, Sarah. "One Year after Arrest of Four Protestors, Trauma Center Activists Hold Vigil." Chicago Maroon, 1, 2014
[106] Video of the UCPD violence at the sit-in is at: Students for Health Equity. "Peaceful Trauma Center Protesters Request Meeting with UCMC Administrators, UCPD Remove Them." YouTube, January 27, 2013, Srikantha, Madhu. "Undercover UCPD Detective Infiltrates Protest." Chicago Maroon, March 1, 2013
[107] Manhardt, Sarah "Trauma Center Campaigners Barred from Praying in Hospital." Chicago Maroon, May 13, 2014
[108] O'Connell, Patrick M., and Lolly Bowean. "U. Of C. Aims to Expand Treatment at Children's Trauma Center." Chicago Tribune, December 9, 2014 and Southside Together Organizing for Power. "Victory: U of C to Raise the Age of Children's Trauma Center." STOP News, December 11, 2014

bust down a wall and windows of its own campus in order to extract and arrest the nine demonstrators who had locked down in a sit-in of the administration building, who were then jailed for 48 hours. UChicago banned eight of the nine demonstrators from campus, which criminalized their presence on any UChicago property as trespassing, though the administration didn't move to enforce that ban when they continued to speak on campus.[109] At this point, the University had shifted from rejecting the trauma center as impossible to telling the media that they were "conducting a feasibility study" to determine whether they could open one.[110] In late 2015, UChicago briefly planned to open a joint trauma center with Sinai Health Systems six miles west of the Hyde Park campus, before, at last, conceding fully when it announced in December 2015 that it would operate a Level 1 trauma center at its main medical campus.[111]

Even while UChicago showed no public movement on the issue and sent in police to infiltrate and criminalize protests, the Trauma Center Campaign continued to broaden its coalition, grow its base, and escalate its disruptions of UChicago projects of accumulation. It mobilized around a demand that made the University choose between saving tens of millions of dollars annually or saving young Black lives and were relentless in making that question unavoidable. It used diverse methods to demonstrate the false scarcity of resources that UChicago claimed to face by demonstrating at donor events and expensive new developments, and it directly disrupted those lucrative operations. After five years of showing that the TCC would continue to be an increasingly burdensome obstacle to key lines of University

[109] Stein, Isaac. "Trauma Center Protesters Banned by University Speak on Campus." Chicago Maroon, November 20, 2015
[110] Cholke, Sam. "U. Of C. Barricade Torn Down, 9 Arrested at Trauma Center Protest." DNAinfo Chicago. DNAinfo Chicago, June 3, 2015
[111] Strahler, Steven R. "U of C Dumps Sinai, Launches Plan to Build Its Own Trauma Center." Crain's Chicago Business, December 17, 2015

accumulation, they won, and thousands of Black South Siders have vastly quicker access to life-saving care because of it.[112]

Discussion and Conclusion

The fights of TWO and TCC were both emphatic challenges to the subjugation of Black neighborhood interests to the accumulative interests of the University, and they're some of the most prolonged and disruptive neighborhood resistance campaigns in UChicago's history. When UChicago was ready to bulldoze without consulting Woodlawn to make room for the US' nationalist military and economic agendas, TWO said no. UChicago's expansion being state-funded and the urban renewal project being carried out by the public sector, which allowed TWO to take action and force a powerful argument that they were a democratic, credible spokesman for the community, with a right to have a say in the city's planning for their neighborhood. This effective pressure from a huge base of people meant that TWO managed to use the federal program to advance a more people-centric vision for their community, even though the initiative had been fully designed and lobbied for by UChicago to be used for University-led clearance and acquisition. However, since UChicago and fellow universities had leveraged their position to Congress and designed the law to fundamentally rely on University approval, UChicago was able to push their key priorities through in the urban renewal planning process.

By the 2010s, UChicago's methods of shaping the racial and class makeup of the adjacent neighborhoods had evolved into a less centralized, private-sector-heavy model. At a period when UChicago had been expanding largely unchecked, from policing and the hospital system to

[112] Chase, Brett. "University of Chicago Trauma Center Linked to Shorter Ambulance Trips to Emergency Room." Chicago Sun-Times. Chicago Sun-Times, November 25, 2020

enrollment and outright land holdings like Harper Court, TCC demanded that it provide essential, life-saving care to largely Black neighborhoods even though it would cost UChicago millions each year. The shift towards more fully private regimes of UChicago accumulation meant there were no significant democratic meetings or control mechanisms to contest, so TCC built a clear narrative of people versus profits and pushed the issue through explosive direct actions and aggressive media campaigns. After weathering years of repression their disruptions only grew, and, at last, UChicago gave in.

In each case, UChicago's function in the larger racial capitalist economy structured the local movements that fought to win material concessions for their communities. When UChicago worked with the postwar state to push racialized regimes of land clearance and 'renewal,' the struggle centered on contesting sites of governing power through a push for community control and presenting a radical new vision of what 'renewal' is. Whereas when UChicago had moved towards a wider network of accumulation projects conducted with support from real estate capital, nonprofits, and commercial interests, TCC targeted UChicago through direct action and narrative campaigns to endanger those various projects.

This project was limited by several time constraints that meant I couldn't always research as deeply as I would have liked to. I also wasn't able to interview former TCC organizers as I had initially hoped. While the general direction of my research was informed by informal conversations I've had with some former TCC organizers, interviewing them in this context would have brought great value to my analysis. The wide scope of this project also means I had to avoid pursuing important elements that could have impacted my findings — an exhaustive accounting of UChicago's major modes accumulation would amount to a massive project on its own. To keep the thesis manageable, I traced the developments of several key lines

of accumulation that seemed more directly relevant to local neighborhood struggles: redevelopment, market-driven gentrification, hospital campus expansion, policing, and others. Beyond these, there are many other modes of accumulation that likely played some role influencing these movements, like changes in endowment investment patterns, for example. Tracking how they changed over the years would have been a valuable addition to this project.

This study raises several subjects deserving of future analysis. While the Trauma Center Campaign is widely known and studied in local movement circles, it is virtually absent from academic literature, despite being a rare example of a private University fully acceding to a very substantial demand. Abolition University Studies is a versatile and rich framework, but it is so new that it has a lot of room to be applied to new sets of conditions, tested, and expanded upon. Both of these subjects hold insights for people working to understand what structures the US University, and those working to dismantle exploitative systems in/of the University.

While my findings aren't unexpected, there is value in zooming out and situating local struggles in their broader political-economic context. Certain contemporary forms of conflict that may seem inherent to the institution are revealed to be historically contingent and liable to change as conditions are altered. In addition, analysis like this brings to the surface material connections between, for example, the US' global anticommunist military agenda and anti-Black displacement in Woodlawn, which can be used to provoke new solidarities that might otherwise seem distant. Finally, this kind of work helps demonstrate that even private universities like UChicago are not simply self-interested parties, but actually have specific, identifiable obligations to other actors in the racial capitalist political economy. Studying those obligations and linkages can help liberatory movements identify where potential power lies and better understand why Universities function as they do.

Bibliography

Baldwin, Davarian L. *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower : How Universities Are Plundering Our Cities*. New York, Ny: Bold Type Books, 2021.

——— "When Universities Swallow Cities." The Chronicle of Higher Education, July 30, 2017. https://www.chronicle.com/article/when-universities-swallow-cities/.

Boggs, Abigail, Eli Meyerhoff, Nick Mitchell, and Zach Schwartz-Weinstein. "Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation." Abolition University, September 29, 2019. https://web.archive.org/web/20230422220238/https://abolition.university/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Abolitionist-University-Studies_-An-Invitation-Release-1-version.pdf.

Bradley, James. "The University of Chicago, Urban Renewal, and the Black Community." Black Perspectives. African American Intellectual History Society, April 12, 2021. https://web.archive.org/web/20230416000650/https://www.aaihs.org/the-university-of-chicago-urban-renewal-and-the-black-community/.

Brazier, Arthur M. *Black Self-Determination: The Story of the Woodlawn Organization*. Eerdmans, 1969.

Chen, Laurel. "Towards a Whiter Woodlawn: Racism and the University of Chicago's Employer-Assisted Housing Program." Advocates' Forum. Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice, 2020. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417032644/https%3A%2F%2Fcrownschool.uchicago.edu%2Fstudent-life%2Fadvocates-forum%2Ftowards-whiter-woodlawn-racism-and-university-chicagos-employer.

Cole, Eddie R. "The Racist Roots of Campus Policing." The Washington Post. WP Company, June 2, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/06/02/racist-roots-campus-policing/.

Davis, Angela Y. *Abolition Democracy: Beyond Empire, Prisons, and Torture*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press, 2005.

Eldred, Juliet S. "'A Highly Complex Set of Interventions': The University of Chicago as Urban Planner, 1890-2017." *Chicago Studies*, 2019, 127–82. https://doi.org/10.6082/uchicago.5538.

Ferguson, Roderick A. *We Demand: The University and Student Protests.* University Of California Press, 2017.

Fish, John Hall. *Black Power/White Control: The Struggle of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-60*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

"Historical Enrollment." University Registrar. University of Chicago. Accessed March 6, 2023. https://registrar.uchicago.edu/data-reporting/historical-enrollment/.

Hui, Kelly. "Who Keeps Us Safe?" Chicago Maroon, September 6, 2021. https://web.archive.org/web/20230111003105/https://chicagomaroon.com/28605/viewpoints/column/keeps-us-safe/.

Johnson, Brandon L. "Building for a Long Future: The University of Chicago and Its Donors, 1889-1930." Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, n.d. Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center.

Jordan, Caine, Guy Emerson Mount, and Kai Perry Parker. "'A Disgrace to All Slave-Holders': The University of Chicago's Founding Ties to Slavery and the Path to Reparations." *The Journal of African American History* 103, no. 1-2 (2018): 163–78. https://doi.org/10.1086/696362.

Kat, Alice Sparkly. *Postcolonial Astrology: Reading the Planets through Capital, Power, and Labor*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2021.

Larson, Jordan. "A Brief History of the UCPD." Chicago Maroon, May 25, 2012. https://web.archive.org/web/20230307203808/https://chicagomaroon.com/15685/grey-city/a-brief-history-of-the-ucpd/.

Larson, Sean, and Tyler Zimmer. "Who Runs Chicago?" Rampant Magazine, February 23, 2020. https://web.archive.org/web/20230322211041/https://rampantmag.com/2020/02/who-runs-chicago/.

Meyer, Daniel, and Eileen Ielmini. "Science and Conscience: Chicago's Met Lab and the Manhattan Project." Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, n.d.

Moore, Natalie Y. "We Are Not Chiraq: Yes, Chicago Has Too Many Murders, but Labeling Us with Terms like 'War Zone,' 'Chiraq' and 'Urban Terrorism' Doesn't Help." Salon, March 27, 2016. https://web.archive.org/web/20230322071306/https://www.salon.com/2016/03/27/we_are_not_chiraq_yes_chicago_has_too_many_murders_but_labeling_us_with_terms_like_war_zone_chiraq_and_urban_terrorism_doesnt_help/.

Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. "Protect, Preserve, Produce: Affordable Housing & the Obama Center." University of Illinois at Chicago, August 2019.

Puckett, John. "Federal- and State-Funded Urban Renewal at the University of Pennsylvania." West Philadelphia Collaborative History. Accessed April 22, 2023. https://web.archive.org/web/20230202120443/https://collaborativehistory.gse.upenn.edu/stories/federal-and-state-funded-urban-renewal-university-pennsylvania.

Robolino, Dominic. "Cancer Is Not the Problem." Chicago Maroon, March 23, 2023. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417152535/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F38568%2Fviewpoints%2Fop-ed%2Fcancer-is-not-the-problem%2F.

Rodríguez, Dylan. "Racial/Colonial Genocide and the 'Neoliberal Academy': In Excess of a Problematic." *American Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (2012): 809–13. https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2012.0054.

Schwarze, Tilman. "Discursive Practices of Territorial Stigmatization: How Newspapers Frame Violence and Crime in a Chicago Community." *Urban Geography* 43, no. 9 (April 26, 2021): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2021.1913015.

Housing Act of 1959: Hearings Before the United States Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Eighty-Sixth Congress, (1959)

Archives Consulted

The Woodlawn Organization records, Chicago History Museum, Chicago IL

Primary Reporting

Associated Press. "Obama Library Brings Elation but Also Fear of Displacement." WTTW News, August 5, 2019. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417052856/https://news.wttw.com/2019/08/05/obama-library-brings-elation-also-fear-displacement.

Bellware, Kim. "Chicago Protestors: We Need a Trauma Center, Not Obama's Presidential Library." HuffPost. HuffPost, January 15, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419210628/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.huffpost.com%2Fentry%2Fobama-library-protests_n_6471990.

Obama Foundation. “Bringing Hope Home,” n.d. https://web.archive.org/web/20230413233431/https://www.obama.org/fundraising-overview/.

Bushey, Claire. “How Chicago Activists and Their Allies Forced a Reckoning with U of C Medicine #Uofctrauma.” Crain’s Chicago Business, 2016. https://web.archive.org/web/20230418211057/https://www.chicagobusiness.com/static/section/trauma-protest.html.

CBS Chicago. “Construction Crews Begin Work on Obama Presidential Center in Jackson Park.” www.cbsnews.com. CBS News, August 16, 2021. https://web.archive.org/web/20221123143245/https://www.cbsnews.com/chicago/news/obama-presidential-center-construction-begins-jackson-park/.

Chase, Brett. “University of Chicago Trauma Center Linked to Shorter Ambulance Trips to Emergency Room.” Chicago Sun-Times. Chicago Sun-Times, November 25, 2020. https://web.archive.org/web/20230421074550/https%3A%2F%2Fchicago.suntimes.com%2F2020%2F11%2F25%2F21719355%2Funiversity-chicago-trauma-center-emergency-room-ambulance-trips-study-south-side-health-care.

Chicago Tribune staff. “Trauma Center Protesters Target U. Of C. Capital Campaign.” Baltimore Sun, October 30, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419213003/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.baltimoresun.com%2Fchi-trauma-center-protesters-target-u-of-c-capital-campaign-20141029-story.html.

Cholke, Sam. “U. Of C. Barricade Torn Down, 9 Arrested at Trauma Center Protest.” DNAinfo Chicago. DNAinfo Chicago, June 3, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419204045/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.dnainfo.com%2Fchicago%2F20150603%2Fhyde-park%2Fseven-trauma-center-protesters-barricaded-u-of-c-admin-building%2F.

——— “U. Of C. Buys 26 Properties on South Side ahead of Obama Library Decision.” DNAinfo Chicago. DNAinfo Chicago, December 10, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417031900/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.dnainfo.com%2Fchicago%2F20141210%2Fhyde-park%2Fu-of-cs-washington-park-land-grab-could-secure-obama-library-for-s-side%2F.

UChicago Medicine Facilities Design & Construction. “Comer Children’s Hospital & Center for Children.” University of Chicago, 2013. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417191000/https%3A%2F%2Fucmfacilities.uchicago.edu%2Fconstruction%2Fproject_archive%2Fcomer_childrens_hospital_center_for_children%2F.

UChicago Medicine Facilities Design & Construction. “Duchossios Center for Advanced Medicine.” University of Chicago, 2013. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417190255/https%3A%2F%2Fucmfacilities.uchicago.edu%2Fconstruction%2Fproject_archive%2Fduchossios_center_for_advanced_medicine%2F.

Fang, Marina. “Univ. Mobilizes to Save Obama Library Bid.” Chicago Maroon, January 9, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20221128042439/https://chicagomaroon.com/19874/news/univ-mobilizes-to-save-obama-library-bid/.

Granderson, LZ. “Chicago Needs Help, Not Obama Library | CNN.” CNN, May 21, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419210525/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cnn.com%2F2014%2F05%2F21%2Fopinion%2Fgranderson-chicago-obama-library%2F.

Vermilion Development. “Harper Court Chicago | Mixed Use Retail Development Project.” Accessed March 15, 2023. https://web.archive.org/web/20230301215850/https://vermiliondevelopment.com/developments/featured/harper-court-chicago/.

Madhani, Aamer. “Activists Protest University’s Bid for Obama Library.” USA TODAY. USATODAY, May 11, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419210617/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.usatoday.com%2Fstory%2Fnews%2Fnation%2F2014%2F05%2F11%2Fobama-presidential-library-university-of-chicago-trauma-center%2F8898629%2F.

Manhardt, Sarah. “One Year after Arrest of Four Protestors, Trauma Center Activists Hold Vigil.” Chicago Maroon, 1, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419221124/https://chicagomaroon.com/18390/news/one-year-after-arrest-of-four-protestors-trauma-center-activists-hold-vigil/.

——— “Trauma Center Campaigners Barred from Praying in Hospital.” Chicago Maroon, May 13, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419164425/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F19136%2Fnews%2Ftrauma-center-campaigners-barred-from-praying-in-hospital%2F.

——— “UCPD Ends Trauma Center Sit-In.” Chicago Maroon, May 20, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419172425/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F19188%2Fnews%2Fucpd-ends-trauma-center-sit-in%2F.

Manhattan District (1947), *Manhattan District History, Book IV – Pile Project X-10, Volume 2 – Research, Part 1 – Metallurgical Laboratory*, https://www.osti.gov/includes/opennet/includes/MED_scans/Book%20IV%20-%20%20Pile%20Project%20X-10%20-%20Volume%202%20-%20Research%20-%20Part%20I%20.pdf

Manier, Jeremy. “UChicago-Led Effort Submits Final Bid to Bring Obama Presidential Library to South Side.” UChicago News. The University of Chicago, December 12, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230422212831/https%3A%2F%2Fnews.uchicago.edu%2Fstory%2Fuchicago-led-effort-submits-final-bid-bring-obama-presidential-library-south-side.

Markman, Sharon, and Craig Umscheid. “The University of Chicago Medicine.” Center for Healthcare Delivery Science and Innovation, August 12, 2021. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417173138/https%3A%2F%2Fhdsi.uchicago.edu%2Fthe-university-of-chicago-description%2F.

McGhee, Josh. “Protesters Block Traffic on Michigan Ave. Seeking Trauma Center at U. Of C.” DNAinfo Chicago. DNAinfo Chicago, March 5, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419213803/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.dnainfo.com%2Fchicago%2F20150305%2Fstreeterville%2Fprotesters-block-traffic-on-michigan-ave-seek-trauma-center-at-u-of-c%2F.

Moore, Natalie Y, and Gabriel Spitzer. “Why Trauma Centers Abandoned the South Side.” WBEZ Chicago. WBEZ Chicago, October 12, 2011. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417183336/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.wbez.org%2Fstories%2Fwhy-trauma-centers-abandoned-the-south-side%2F050a7c49-530a-457b-ac31-c2401e7b91c7.

O’Connell, Patrick M., and Lolly Bowean. “U. Of C. Aims to Expand Treatment at Children’s Trauma Center.” Chicago Tribune, December 9, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20210701132356/https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/breaking/ct-u-of-chicago-trauma-center-20141209-story.html.

Perlstein, Rick. “There Goes the Neighborhood.” The Baffler, July 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230314110324/https://thebaffler.com/salvos/there-goes-the-neighborhood.

Rabb, Jonah. “‘Coffin March’ at University Draws Crowd after Downtown Senate Hearing.” Chicago Maroon, November 22, 2013. https://web.archive.org/web/20230418202743/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F18171%2Fnews%2Fcoffin-march-at-university-draws-crowd-after-downtown-senate-hearing%2F.

Ramos, Manny. “As Investors Buy More Homes around the Obama Presidential Center Gentrification Worries Soar.” Illinois Answers Project, December 12, 2022. https://web.archive.org/web/20230422212653/https%3A%2F%2Fillinoisanswers.org%2F2022%2F12%2F12%2Fas-investors-buy-more-homes-around-the-obama-presidential-center-gentrification-worries-soar%2F.

Schorsch, Kristen. “Get a Sneak Peek at University of Chicago Medicine’s New Hospital.” Crain’s Chicago Business, January 11, 2013. https://web.archive.org/web/20201218174105/https://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20130111/NEWS03/130119957/get-a-sneak-peek-at-university-of-chicago-medicine-s-new-hospital.

Srikantha, Madhu. “Four Arrested in Trauma Center Protest.” Chicago Maroon, January 28, 2013. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419201313/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F16526%2Fnews%2Ffour-arrested-in-trauma-center-protest%2F.

——— “Undercover UCPD Detective Infiltrates Protest.” Chicago Maroon, March 1, 2013. https://web.archive.org/web/20230413153300/https://chicagomaroon.com/16801/news/undercover-ucpd-detective-infiltrates-protest/.

Stafford, Zach. “Obama Library Not the Urgent Care Chicago Needs as Protests Overshadow ‘Final Campaign.’” The Guardian. The Guardian, June 8, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419210618/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.theguardian.com%2Fus-news%2F2015%2Fjun%2F08%2Fobama-library-university-chicago-trauma-center-protests.

Stein, Isaac. “Trauma Center Protesters Banned by University Speak on Campus.” Chicago Maroon, November 20, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419202925/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F21107%2Fnews%2Ftrauma-center-protesters-banned-by-university-speak-on-campus%2F.

Strahler, Steven R. “U of C Dumps Sinai, Launches Plan to Build Its Own Trauma Center.” Crain’s Chicago Business, December 17, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419230840/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.chicagobusiness.com%2Farticle%2F20151217%2FNEWS03%2F151219862%2Funiversity-of-chicago-plans-level-1-trauma-center-dumps-sinai-partnership.

Sweet, Lynn. “Obama Foundation Reveals $830M Needed to Build, Operate Obama Center in First Year.” Chicago Sun-Times, August 18, 2021. https://web.archive.org/web/20230422212407/https%3A%2F%2Fchicago.suntimes.com%2Fcolumnists%2F2021%2F8%2F17%2F22629390%2Fobama-center-cost-foundation-funding-michael-jordan-george-soros.

UChicago Medicine. “The History of UChicago Medicine.” The University of Chicago, February 1, 2023. https://web.archive.org/web/20230201213707/https://www.uchicagomedicine.org/about-us/our-history.

Thorp, Adam. “Trauma Center Protesters March from Proposed Obama Library Site.” Chicago Maroon, May 15, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419202902/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F20577%2Fnews%2Ftrauma-center-protesters-march-from-proposed-obama-library-site%2F.

Vega, Katherine. “History of Trauma Center Closing.” Chicago Maroon, February 17, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230417181927/https%3A%2F%2Fchicagomaroon.com%2F20121%2Fnews%2Fhistory-of-trauma-center-closing%2F.

Primary Activist Accountings

Assata’s Daughters. “Assata’s Daughters.” Facebook, July 19, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/AssatasDaughters/posts/2285578454829366.

Fearless Leading by the Youth. “‘How Can You Ignore, We’re Dying at the Door?’ - SOUTH SIDE TRAUMA CENTER NOW!” YouTube, May 25, 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C5ELJl7Dy8g.

Southside Together Organizing for Power. “Trauma Care Coalition Challenges University of Chicago’s Bid for Obama Library.” STOP News, May 8, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419203352/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.stopchicago.org%2Fnews%2Ftrauma-care-coalition-challenges-university-of-chicagos-bid-for-obama-library-we-say-no-trauma-center-no-library.

——— “Trauma Center Won! (for Real This Time!” STOP News, June 15, 2016. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419164343/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.stopchicago.org%2Fnews%2Ftcwon.

——— “Victory: U of C to Raise the Age of Children’s Trauma Center.” STOP News, December 11, 2014. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419225305/https%3A%2F%2Fwww.stopchicago.org%2Fnews%2Fvictory-u-of-c-to-raise-the-age-of-childrens-trauma-center.

Stern, Randi. “JCUA Inducted into the Trauma Center Coalition.” JCUA News. Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, January 29, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419164052/https%3A%2F%2Fjcuanews.wordpress.com%2F2015%2F01%2F29%2Fjcua-inducted-into-the-trauma-center-coalition%2F.

Students for Health Equity. “Candle Light Vigil for a Trauma Center.” Twitter, April 22, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419175525/https%3A%2F%2Ftwitter.com%2FSHEuchicago%2Fstatus%2F590922644402343936.

——— “Morning Press Conference.” Twitter, April 24, 2015. https://web.archive.org/web/20230419175314/https%3A%2F%2Ftwitter.com%2FSHEuchicago%2Fstatus%2F591590488945332225.

——— “Peaceful Trauma Center Protesters Request Meeting with UCMC Administrators, UCPD Remove Them.” YouTube, January 27, 2013. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=03kW2m9YUMg.

JCUA News. “Trauma Care Coalition Takes Action.” Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, June 9, 2015.https://web.archive.org/web/20230419215232/https%3A%2F%2Fjcuanews.wordpress.com%2F2015%2F06%2F09%2Ftrauma-care-coalition-takes-action%2F.