

9

Penn and the City Inextricably Intertwined

In 1992, Sheldon Hackney, then in the midst of the Mayor's Scholarship controversy, could point with pride to Penn's financial and service contributions to Philadelphia. The University admitted more than twenty-three hundred Philadelphia students between 1978 and 1991, matriculating about 60 percent of them. By 1992 more than fifty-eight hundred of the University's roughly 12,360 employees claimed West Philadelphia as their home. Penn's 1990 employee wage taxes to the city totaled \$23.5 million. In 1990, when Philadelphia faced bankruptcy, Penn prepaid \$10 million in wage taxes to help keep the city solvent.¹ A Coopers & Lybrand study for FY 1990 reported that Penn's direct contributions and "multiplier effects" amounted to a total contribution of at least \$2.5 billion to the Commonwealth.² Of no mean consequence, the University boasted the region's largest medical center: the gargantuan Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania (HUP), the Penn medical school, and the University's clinical practices.³ Penn, under Hackney, was also engaged in restructuring the University's uneasy relationship with West Philadelphia— a restructuring based on the proposition of mutual benefit. What Hackney initially saw as Penn's moral responsibility to West Philadelphia, he would also later regard as enlightened self-interest: Penn would contribute to West Philadelphia's revival in ways that strengthened the University's historic missions of research, teaching, and service; a revitalized West Philadelphia would be Penn's best guarantee of an open, secure, and beautiful campus.⁴

Mindful of the structural causes of the urban crisis, the Christian Association's assistant director, Rev. Florence Gelo, spoke prophetically in 1988, when she said, "While in the short term, greater security might be a response to this issue, it will not in the long term create the kind of society and the kind of relationships between the University and the community that will foster the necessary environment for long-term safety. Our vision of a safe and just community depends on these improved relationships." Toward this goal,

Hackney declared in 1988 that Penn's social responsibility to the city included service initiatives in West Philadelphia commensurate with the University's historic mission of producing and transmitting knowledge. Penn and Philadelphia, Hackney said, stand on common ground, our futures very much intertwined. Several years later, he established a permanent center whose main purpose was to build an infrastructure for teaching and research within the University focused on solving problems in West Philadelphia. Though Hackney was a student of the rural South and Meyerson of the cities, says Michael Zuckerman, I think it's clear that the University did more with the city under Hackney than it had done under Meyerson, and that Hackney's heart was in that.

This chapter centers on Hackney's contributions toward a reconciliation with West Philadelphia. Undeniably, his actions reversed the alienation and drift that had severely damaged the University's community relations in previous decades. In particular, we look at Hackney's creation of the Center for Community Partnerships (a milestone development in American higher education), his reconstruction of the West Philadelphia Corporation as the West Philadelphia Partnership, and his resolution of the twenty-year-long Sansom Street imbroglio. Underscoring the considerable inheritance his administration bequeathed to his successor, Judith Rodin, we also enumerate his contributions toward establishing Penn as a top-tier university. Segueing to the Rodin era, we conclude the chapter with a brief discussion of the not-inconsequential interregnum of Claire Fagin, Penn's interim president from 1993 to 1994.

■ The Center for Community Partnerships: A Mediating Structure for Penn and West Philadelphia

The Center for Community Partnerships (CCP) originated in the Office of Community-Oriented Policy Studies (OCOPS) in the School of Arts and Sciences in 1983. Ira Harkavy, the former student leader of the 1969 College Hall sit-in and member of the Quadripartite Commission, now with a PhD in American history, directed OCOPS and cotaught an undergraduate seminar on University-community relations with two other Penn historians, Lee Benson⁸ and Hackney. Hackney recalled:

One day Ira and Lee Benson came to see me. They said, We're interested in West Philadelphia and we teach a course on West Philadelphia—a seminar in which students are supposed to go get some kind of internship in West Philadelphia and . . . we do the theory in class, they

go out and do their thing, and they write a paper on how the theory and practice relate to each other. And we want you to teach with us. This was very shrewd. . . . I guess it appealed to me because I was then increasingly active in West Philadelphia, and it made sense, so I said, Sure, and I did. They didn't overwork me. I did a couple of sessions during the semester and would sit in at other times; [I] enjoyed it, I learned a lot. I came to admire both of them— very different people.⁹

In the summer of 1985, the students in the Benson-Harkavy-Hackney seminar responded to the devastation of the infamous MOVE fire by organizing a youth corps, the West Philadelphia Improvement Corps (WEPIC), and acquiring a U.S. Department of Labor grant to employ West Philadelphia high school students to work on school and neighborhood beautification projects in the area of the fire. (The fire was ignited by a satchel bomb dropped from a helicopter during a shootout between Philadelphia police and MOVE, a militant, back-to-nature African American cult; the melee resulted in the deaths of eleven MOVE members and the destruction of two full blocks of middle-class row houses in West Philadelphia's Cobble Creek neighborhood.)¹⁰ The first project site was the Bryant Elementary School, just a few blocks from the MOVE site. Such was the enthusiastic reception for this initiative from city and local leaders that by 1989, WEPIC was able to expand to other West Philadelphia schools, notably the John P. Turner Middle School and West Philadelphia High School, where WEPIC, now with a full-time staff and an assortment of state, federal, and local grants, sponsored evening and weekend cultural, educational, vocational, and recreational workshops and programs for students, their families, and local residents. The myriad WEPIC activities ranged from pipe-organ restoration to carpentry, to ceramics and calligraphy, to African American storytelling, to basketball and swimming. These programs were the vanguard of a Penn-West Philadelphia joint initiative— one that involved Penn faculty, staff, and students in collaboration with teachers, school administrators, local politicians, and neighborhood cultural affairs leaders— to establish university-assisted community schools in West Philadelphia. Since 1989, the participants in this initiative have acted on their core proposition that the neighborhood school can effectively serve as the core neighborhood institution and catalyst for urban community development— an institution that both provides primary health and social services, and galvanizes other community institutions and groups to support education- and community-improvement initiatives. Extensive research by Penn faculty on the history, theory, and pedagogy of community schools supports the viability of this proposition.¹¹

Observing the growing interest in this work among faculty and students, the School of Arts and Sciences established the Penn Program for Public Service, an expansion of OCOPS, with Harkavy as director. Believing that WEPIC projects warranted the University's institutional imprimatur, Hackney appointed a task force that included Harkavy, John Gould (Hackney's chief of staff), Francis Johnston of the Anthropology Department, Jane Lowe of the School of Social Work, and John Puckett of the Graduate School of Education to write a proposal to establish a University center for WEPIC project development; the task force completed its work at a Campus Compact retreat on service-learning at Stanford University in the summer of 1991. A signature component of the proposal was the concept of "academically based community service" (ABCS), that is, service rooted in academic study that centers on a real-world social problem. Having approved the proposal, in 1992 Hackney established the Center for Community Partnerships on the fifth floor of the University-owned office building at 36th and Walnut streets, with Harkavy appointed as the founding director. Of Hackney's role in cultivating Harkavy's formidable organizing skills for turning around Penn's community relations, Zuckerman observes, "I think what was going on from the day that Ira arrived as an administrator at Penn, from the day he decided not to go looking for a teaching job when he finished his PhD but to make his career trying to do community relations for Penn, that Ira has been a genius, extending himself, finagling for himself, extending the reach of the community relations operation at Penn. And I would certainly credit Hackney with creating the institutional structure that augmented Ira's operation."²

After more than twenty years, the CCP (as of 2007, renamed the Netter Center for Community Partnerships) is a national model of both service-learning and higher education civic engagement in urban community affairs. Unlike many other centers at Penn, which are fully dependent on external resources, the CCP, since its inception, has been institutionalized within the University's formal administrative structure, and its director and administrative staff are funded by College Hall. The Netter Center's permanence is properly attributed to its fidelity to the University's academic mission; in fact, its hallmark is academically based community service courses offered by the University's professoriate in several different schools and departments.

The academic centering of ABCS courses distinguishes them from conventional service-learning, which typically detaches the service component from academic study. Approximately 150 ABCS courses and seminars have been developed *de novo*, or have involved the redesign of existing courses, in education, social work, history, English, mathematics, engineering, fine arts (landscape architecture, city and regional planning), urban studies, business,

communications, medicine, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, classics, environmental studies, and biology. A WEPIC national replication project at other universities evolved through several iterations with foundation support. The Center has developed a substantial body of theoretical and empirically grounded literature to advance its agenda on a national stage.¹³ Research is also a component of CCP work, though the oft-stated goal of “communal participatory action research”⁴ has been slower to develop than the ABCS component. CCP-sponsored or affiliated work at ten schools has included curricular and cocurricular programs that bring disciplinary perspectives to schoolchildren—studies in nutrition and disease detection/prevention, urban environmental issues (lead toxicity, brownfields, submerged urban floodplains, urban gardening and landscaping, for example), social-base mapping, vest-pocket park design, transit-oriented development, and African American culture and history in West Philadelphia.

Research projects at the sites have developed programmatic components that contribute directly to teaching and learning. For example, a study of reading difficulties among African American children at the Wilson Elementary School, directed by William Labov, a world-renowned professor of linguistics, led to the development of a reading improvement program that was tested at this and other WEPIC sites— and in the Oakland, California, schools as well.¹⁵ The Urban Nutrition Initiative, headed by Francis Johnston, one of the world’s foremost physical anthropologists, translated research findings from nutrition studies of West Philadelphia schoolchildren into curricular materials for use at several West Philadelphia schools.¹⁶ And a study of the Mill Creek submerged floodplain in West Philadelphia, directed by Ann Spirn, a leading historian of urban landscape design, resulted in the development of imaginative curricular activities at the Sulzberger Middle School related to the beautification and potential uses of abandoned property in the floodplain.¹⁷ Healthcare-pipeline programs from local high schools to the Penn Health System and the Penn-assisted Community Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Program at West Philadelphia’s Sayre High School, which involves faculty and students in the medical, dental, and nursing schools, as well as social work and departments in the School of Arts and Sciences, represent a One University approach.¹⁸

■ The West Philadelphia Partnership

A reconstituted West Philadelphia Corporation (WPC), renamed the West Philadelphia Partnership in 1983, played a key support role in the growth of

the CCP, providing an office for the WEPIC component, as well as the imprimatur of University City's community associations and African American leaders in a wider swath of neighborhoods in West Philadelphia. Changes Hackney introduced as chairman of the WPC marked a critical turning point in Penn's community relations after two decades of mutual distrust.

For a quarter of a century, the WPC represented the interests of the universities and hospitals in University City. As noted previously, the Corporation was established in 1959 as a de facto operation of the University of Pennsylvania, with Penn positioned as the dominant shareholder and senior partner. Leo Molinaro, the first executive director of the WPC, was Gaylord Harnwell's agent in University City. Drexel and the other institutions were willing to stand in Penn's shadow, as they stood to benefit from the University's leveraging of resources to improve University City. While the neighborhood associations were kept abreast of developments and allowed input at WPC board meetings, they had no vote. The most substantial development was the University City Science Center, the much ballyhooed Market Street project that arose in the bulldozed landscape of Unit 3. It was, and fifty years later remains, controversial. For the displaced black residents of Unit 3, the removals became a rallying cry and symbol of the University's callous disregard of poor and working-class African Americans in West Philadelphia. Even today the mistrust lingers, as old-timers see Penn-sponsored gentrification encroaching as far west as 52nd Street, even as the University moves its campus development eastward to fill in unoccupied land between 32nd and 36th streets and the Schuylkill River.

Under Hackney, the West Philadelphia Corporation took a first step toward redressing the long-standing public relations disaster wrought by Unit 3 displacements and demolitions. He learned about the West Philadelphia Corporation when he was appointed, pro forma, the chairman of the organization. Anthony Marks, one of Hackney's assistants (later a president of Amherst College and chief executive officer of the New York City Public Library) who became the president's eyes and ears in the surrounding neighborhoods, helped him reorganize the WPC. "It quickly became apparent to me that this was not organized right," Hackney recalled. "This was an organization that allowed [the major institutions] to coordinate their activities in West Philadelphia . . . but there were no West Philadelphia people in it. So we reorganized it. I did the talking to the other institutions in getting it together. . . . This is something I'm actually pleased about and proud of: we got everybody together and changed the name of the organization to the West Philadelphia Partnership."

A revision of WPC bylaws in March 1983 gave an equal vote on the board of directors to the neighborhood associations: Mantua Community Planners,

Powelton Village Civic Association, Spruce Hill Community Association, Walnut Hill Association, Garden Court Civic Association, and Cedar Park Neighbors. And civic and business leaders were given the opportunity to participate in ways that had real clout.¹⁹ African American leadership became increasingly prominent in the Partnership, beginning with the appointment of George Brown as executive director in 1985. Hackney would later hail the Partnership as “a true tripartite organization that is composed of the major institutions in University City, the organized neighborhoods of West Philadelphia, and civic spirited individuals who are active in West Philadelphia.”²⁰

As a show of good faith to the Partnership, Hackney instituted a “Buy West Philadelphia” policy. Whereas before 1985, Penn contracts with West Philadelphia vendors amounted only to a couple of hundred thousand dollars by FY 1990 the total was \$5 million. By FY 1993, the total was \$10 million, of which \$2.7 million was directed to black-owned businesses.²¹ Hackney’s major local impact, however, was on public education. Under Partnership auspices, Penn implemented numerous public school improvement initiatives. Starting in the fall of 1987, for example, the Graduate School of Education, under Dean Marvin Lazerson, sponsored Say Yes to Education, a program funded by wealthy Penn donors George and Diane Weiss, who pledged full college scholarships to 112 sixth graders at the Belmont Elementary School, with the proviso that they graduate from high school and gain admission to a college or university; the GSE and the Weiss family provided sustained guidance and mentoring to keep the youngsters in school and on track to college. The Wharton School’s West Philadelphia Project included, among other programs, Young Entrepreneurs at Wharton, which helped local high school entrepreneurs to start their own businesses. The most widespread, long-standing, and impactful program in Penn’s outreach portfolio was the aforementioned WEPIC, the Penn–West Philadelphia coalition that grew out of Ira Harkavy and Lee Benson’s undergraduate seminar in 1985 and evolved into the Netter Center for Community Partnerships.²²

■ Sansom Street Dénouement

Among the community problems Hackney inherited from his predecessors was the Sansom Street imbroglio. As previously noted, it was a battle waged by the Sansom Street Committee over the University’s plans for Unit 4 commercial redevelopment in the block from Walnut to Sansom Street between 34th Street and the imaginary line of 35th Street. In 1966, the RDA, with au-

thorization from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, had condemned the 3401 Walnut Street properties for graduate classrooms. But in the spring of 1971, the University signed a "nominee agreement" with the firm of Fox and Posel to develop the area not for institutional use but for a commercial high-rise. Now the University's plan, which was once again authorized by HUD, was to "buy the parcel of land from the Redevelopment Authority and lease the land to the private developers, at a rate sufficient to amortize the University's investment in the area. The lease to the private developers [would] be for a term of 50 years with two 20-year renewal options. The private developers [would] plan and construct, subject to the University's approval, such University-related facilities as commercial stores, office space, and research, apartment, hotel, and parking facilities all of which were recommended by studies conducted in 1963 by the Baltimore based firm of Hammer and Company Associates and became the basis of the approved urban renewal plan."²³ It appears that the new plan initially called for the demolition of the Sansom Street houses and construction of an eleven-story complex of retail enterprises and offices that would wrap around the 34th Street corners of Walnut and Sansom streets. In the late fall of 1971, the plan was revised to renovate the houses for "commercial use." "The character of Sansom Street will be much the same as at present, though the houses will be remodeled into a variety of shops and restaurants. An arcade will be created on Moravian Street [a cul-de-sac between Walnut and Sansom], with a transparent roof on a space frame." There was no mention of any residential use of the houses or their historic character.²⁴ In June 1973, the Sansom Committee filed a suit in federal district court against the RDA and HUD for having authorized a diversion of the 1966 plan without an environmental impact study or a City Council hearing. (HUD subsequently agreed to do the study.) "We don't object to the university tearing down buildings for academic facilities," Elliot Cook of the Sansom Committee said. "We do object to the university destroying the neighborhood to turn it over to a private developer to build a non-university commercial high-rise."²⁵

Whereas the Sansom Street Committee insisted that the deteriorating Walnut houses could be effectively conserved, Martin Meyerson, ever the city planner, scoffed at the idea and told HUD that they were "slum buildings . . . dangerous to their few occupants and to others as well" and lacking "any architectural, aesthetic, historical or other significant value which would make them worth rehabilitating." In July 1974, a federal district judge, Clarence C. Newcomer, ruled that the demolition of the 3401 Walnut properties could proceed, as "it would pose an unjustified threat to the public welfare if the hazards



GARY PALMA

RESIDENTS AND MERCHANTS of the 3400 block of Sansom Street have threatened to sue the University if it does not meet certain redevelopment stipulations. Planning officials are now negotiating with developers for the construction of an office building on the corner of 34th and Walnut.

The *Daily Pennsylvanian* reported faithfully on the decades-long struggle to save the Sansom Street houses from Penn's redevelopment schemes. Photo dated 17 November 1971. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

created by these properties were allowed to continue until the impact statement was prepared and its sufficiency litigated, a process that might take years.⁶

Soon after Newcomer's decision, a bulldozer appeared on narrow Moravian Street behind the condemned Walnut Street buildings. I heard this rumble coming up the back alley. Judy Wicks, a former Samson Committee member, recalls. It was a bulldozer, and [it] was systematically ramming into the backs of each of the houses on Walnut Street. And I figured out later what

he was trying to do was to just irreparably damage [the houses] before we could do anything. While Wicks lay down in front of the bulldozer, Elliot Cook called the Sansom Committee lawyer to get a restraining order from the Emergency Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. We got the restraining order, Wicks says. And we kept them from tearing down the houses for I don't know how many more months.²⁷ But the restraining order was only a temporary stoppage.

HUD dithered for a few weeks, first ordering RDA not to demolish the buildings, then, under pressure from Meyerson, rescinding its order to halt the demolition: There is no barrier to their demolition and the Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia may proceed without any further delay, a HUD official told Meyerson.²⁸ The evictions and demolitions proceeded in August 1974. The building that housed Cy Penn Luncheonette (the Dirty Drug) was the first Walnut structure to fall. Anticipating his eviction notice, Cy Braverman had left 3401 Walnut temporarily and then returned to open Cy Place in the middle of the block, assured by Elliot Cook that the Sansom Committee would win its legal battle against Penn and the RDA.

Potter Hall, a University-owned building that stood next to the townhouses on the southwest corner of Sansom and 34th streets, was flattened at the same time as the Dirty Drug—the Sansom Committee, which tried to save Potter Hall, put up a sign in the new parking lot on the site, Martin Meyerson Memorial Parking Lot (Wicks claims that John Hetherston, Meyerson's vice president for operational services, kept a brick from the Potter Hall demolition on his desk, vowing to collect a brick from every building the RDA flattened.)²⁹ Wrecking crews leveled the remaining Walnut Street buildings, beginning on September 17. Cook lamented, I felt as though I had let Cy and the others down. I talked them into staying and then we lost.³⁰

By the end of 1974, Meyerson stood firmly behind plans to wrap the corner of 3401 Walnut with a large L-shaped building no taller than the Franklin Building that he vowed would be for mixed commercial and office use. Regarding the Sansom Committee's grievance, Meyerson acknowledged the value of the old brownstones: Recognizing the shortage of restaurants, small book shops, and other ancillary services to provide the required amenities for the University's residential population, the plans call for the retention of Sansom Street, the bringing of those buildings up to code standards for the continuance of small restaurants, boutiques, and other enterprises on the lower levels and the development of flats on the upper levels.³¹ He refused, however, to consider a full-block rehabilitation, which would have conserved the brick row houses on Walnut as well as the Sansom brownstones. In 1977, the City Planning



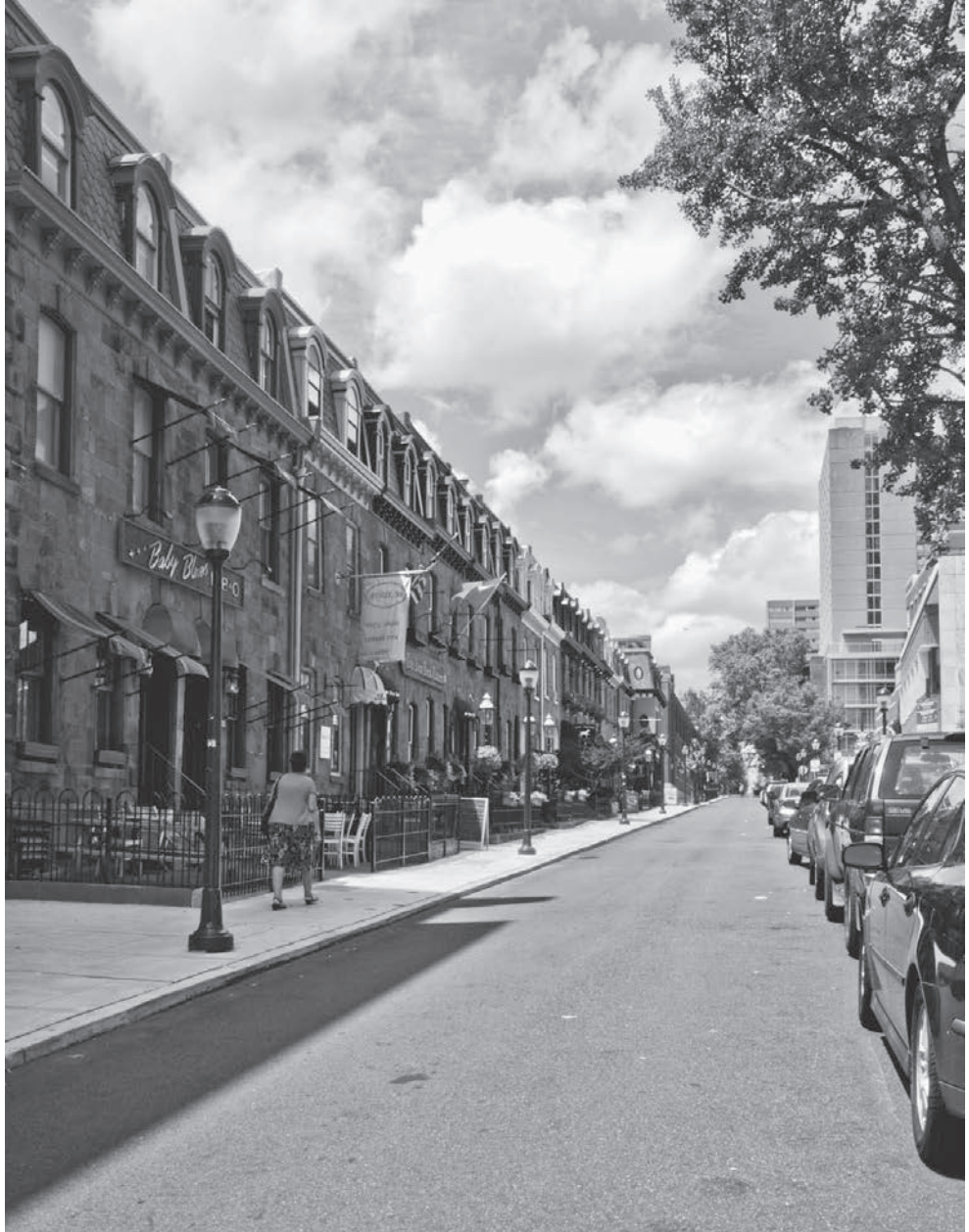
(Top) Red-brick houses with commercial facades, 3401 block of Walnut Street, before RDA Unit 4 demolition. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

(Bottom) Contemporary view of the Shops at Penn, 3401 block of Walnut Street. Photograph by Michael M. Koehler. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

Commission approved a developer's proposal for the project when the University promised to build a parking garage on 34th Street above Chestnut.³²

The Walnut Street demolitions, which Elliot Cook called a "nightmare," left a grassed-over lot that stood empty for a decade.³³ Judy Wicks had two small children whose playground in the early 1980s was the Walnut vacant lot. Following the demolitions, the Penn-Sansom Committee dispute flared in and out of court— it was a bitter and protracted struggle. In January 1981, the two parties grudgingly signed a consent decree. Wicks recalls that "Newcomer decided to cut the baby in half," giving Walnut Street to Penn and Sansom Street to the Sansom Committee. Jane Jacobs, author of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, was the Sansom Committee's mentor, says Wicks. "She really believed in living above the shop and the ballet of the city sidewalk . . . which [was] certainly the case on [Sansom Street], with all the characters that lived here." Wicks and her associates had two plans, both of which envisioned Walnut and Sansom as residences on the second and third floors, with restaurants and shops on the first floors. One plan had the commercial operations fronting Moravian, which would be an interior corridor for retail and restaurant activity, and had the residences facing Walnut and Sansom. The other plan located the commercial toward the thoroughfares and the residential toward Moravian. Walnut Street was integral to both plans. "It was the *whole* block that we looked at," says Wicks. "So we were really upset when Newcomer decided to give Penn Walnut Street because we didn't feel that one block was enough to make a difference on the campus. And we wanted to have a Georgetown feel or a Cambridge feel. And if we were just left with half of a block, we wouldn't be able to have the impact that we were looking [for] in terms of really transforming the feeling of the Penn campus. So that was a huge blow."⁴

The consent decree of 1981 established that the designated redeveloper of both parcels at issue— Parcel IA (3401 Walnut); Parcel IB (3400 Sansom)— would be the University of Pennsylvania. According to the consent decree, "the Sansom Committee or its designees as *nominees of the University* shall purchase and rehabilitate [Parcel IB]."⁵ In a 1982 consent decree, the University acceded to a "sunlight clause" that prohibited the envelope of Parcel IA redevelopment from blocking winter sunlight into "greenhouse style dining rooms" on the southern side of Sansom Street on the shortest day of the year— more concretely the clause restricted the height of the proposed Walnut Street complex to five stories.³⁶ Two years later, the Sansom Committee refused to budge when offered \$100,000 to allow the University to raise the height of the building.³⁷ In the spring of 1984, worried that Sansom Street might become "a street-long strip of bars that will adversely affect the University



Contemporary view west on the 3400 block of Sansom Street. These elegant Victorian brownstones compose a thriving restaurant venue. Photograph by Michael M. Koehler. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

community⁸ overzealous Penn administrators moved to block a liquor license for Wicks's new White Dog Caf⁸. That summer, Wicks, who was a board member of the West Philadelphia Partnership and chair of the Economic Development Committee, exposed the absurdity of such reasoning. She told the Partnership:

For the past fourteen years, our community organization, the Sansom Committee, has worked to purchase, restore and develop the 3400 block of Sansom and Walnut streets, providing needed quality businesses on the first floors of owner occupied housing. It is our goal to establish an exciting commercial center for the campus with the atmosphere and vitality of a Harvard Square. Sansom Committee members are currently in the process of buying and renovating the Sansom Street houses. LaTerrasse will be expanding into a fourth house; LeBus has developed the house on the other end of the block as a gourmet cafeteria; the White Dog Caffé occupies two houses in the center; and other members of the group are planning a newspaper shop (carrying papers from around the world), a handcrafted jewelry store, an Irish restaurant, a quality clothes store, and more. The development of Sansom Street properties is strictly controlled to insure quality commercial development and proper renovation of the historically significant buildings. The completion of our project will result in a lovely row of Victorian brownstone houses, providing quality services to the University community.³⁹

When some Sansom Street designees withdrew their proposals in 1983, the University filed a motion in Judge Newcomer's court on the question of whether the Sansom Committee may designate new parties to replace any of the parties . . . who decided to withdraw from development. The University claimed the right to purchase those properties under the terms of the 1982 consent decree. Newcomer ruled against the University, stating that the consent decree did not limit the power of the Sansom Committee to designate designees. In the fall of 1984, the University's appeal reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to hear the case, letting stand the 3rd Circuit Court of Appeals denial of the University's appeal.⁴⁰ In an agreement signed 28 November 1984, the University finally agreed to the liquor licenses, and both parties reaffirmed the terms of the 1982 consent decree.⁴¹

For all the aggravation she experienced with the Office of Operational Services, Wicks found a sympathetic ear in Sheldon Hackney, who inherited what he described wearily as an altercation "so prolonged and confused."⁴² First of all, he moved onto the block. Wicks recounts, "He lived here while they were fixing up the presidential mansion. So he and Lucy and their old black lab . . . lived in [G. Holmes] Perkins' house [at 3414 Sansom]. And they loved it here. So I think he was trying to figure out what [was] going on, and he was very diplomatic, I mean he didn't want to come in and step on toes or whatever. I think he was just trying to figure out what



(Top) Cy's Penn Luncheonette ("Dirty Drug"), 3401 Walnut Street, 1971. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

(Bottom) Contemporary view of the northwest corner of 34th and Walnut streets. Starbucks Coffee marks the former site of Cy's Penn Luncheonette. Photograph by Michael M. Koehler. Collections of the University Archives and Records Center.

was happening. Overall, he was a good guy.⁴³ The battle-scarred Wicks wanted to wrap this up with Hackney. I do believe in your personal good intentions, she told him. I admire the attention you are giving to public education and economic development and the encouragement you have given the entire University to become more involved in the real issues of the community. . . . You and I seem to share many values. We should be able to work out an agreement which protects our mutual concerns, and which can show that an institution and a community can work together for the best interests of all.⁴⁴

After the mid-1980s, as Wicks predicted, the block thrived as a mixed commercial-residential venue. Years after the Dirty Drug removal, Cy Braverman joined his son David at LeBus, the bistro/bakery that the younger Braverman had opened in 1984 in a Sansom brownstone. True to the pioneering spirit of the Sansom block, David Braverman launched LeBus in the winter of 1977–78 in a converted school bus that he parked across the street from the brownstones. By the mid-1980s, the block claimed four restaurants that far surpassed the likes of the erstwhile Pagano and Grand on Walnut: LeBus, La Terrasse (originally named the Moravian), New Deck Tavern, and Wicks' White Dog Caf , the jewel in the crown, a restaurant that became nationally famous in the 1990s. The caf  moniker honored the block's colorful history: The White Dog got its name from a 19th-century mystic and founder of the Theosophical Society named Madame Helena Blavatsky, who once resided in the Sansom Street building and claimed to have been cured of a serious illness by having a white dog lie on her. Wicks later opened the Black Cat Boutique in an adjoining brownstone, with a passageway connecting the two businesses. After Wicks opened the White Dog, Cook left Philadelphia and La Terrasse closed in 1986. La Terrasse reopened at the same site under new ownership in 1997.⁴⁵ In the winter of 1988, more than twenty years after the RDA's condemnation of the block, Penn opened the \$21 million, five-story, L-shaped retail mall and office complex on Walnut Street, called the Shoppes at Penn, an ugly monstrosity replete with ground-floor fast-food chains such as Philly Steak & Gyro, Cosimo Pizza, Bain's Deli, Bassett's Original Turkey, and Everything Yogurt. (At this writing, Starbucks Coffee occupies the corner spot that was once the Dirty Drug; Dunkin' Donuts is a few doors up the street.) There almost couldn't be a worse-looking building than the one they built back here. I mean, it's just horrible, laments Wicks, who argues that the brick houses on Walnut were salvageable. They were actually much nicer than these [Sansom Street] houses. These were kind of the working class houses. They were grander houses. They

had parquet floors and marble bathrooms. I mean, they needed a lot of work—granted— a tremendous amount of work to restore those houses. There were all these tacky facades put on the front, really horrible, sloppy stuff. . . . But that would have been the first choice . . . to restore those grand houses that were facing Walnut.⁴⁶

■ Keeping Franklin's Promise: Other Contributions of the Hackney Era

Though Hackney was not a transformative president, he wrought incremental changes that moved the University in directions that would be . . . both economically and intellectually profitable for Penn.⁴⁷ Sheldon did a good, solid job as president—says Paul Miller, who was the trustee chairman for five years of Hackney's term and served on the board until 1996. His strongest suit was his ability to choose very good people as managers under him. He was never shy about being upstaged and even seemed to encourage it and was always ready to give others full credit rather than claiming it for himself. There were certainly times when I wished he would be more forceful and more of an A-type personality, but I believe he was right for the time.⁴⁸

One reason— perhaps the key factor— the Penn trustees hired Hackney was his proven ability as a fund-raiser. Keeping Franklin's Promise, an over-the-top capital campaign from 1989 through 1994, which raised \$1.4 billion, an astounding sum at the time, is properly credited to Hackney's adroit social networking and affable persuasiveness as a fund-raiser. The primary beneficiary of this largess was the School of Arts and Sciences. Recalling Gaylord Harnwell's orchestration of the Educational Survey of 1954–59, Hackney summoned five-year strategic plans from each school— a process that provided the rationale and impetus for the capital campaign. His administration produced an ambitious campus master plan in 1988, which forecast many of Judith Rodin's campus initiatives in the flush economic years of the Clinton administration. Hackney instituted measures for strengthening undergraduate education, raising scholarship funds, sponsoring the standing faculty's development and teaching of undergraduate seminars, and establishing the Provost's Council on Undergraduate Education as a central planning unit. On Hackney's watch the University quadrupled its endowment, which stood at roughly \$1.73 billion when he left office.⁴⁹ And his administration oversaw the introduction of the digital revolution at Penn, the upshot of which was PennNET, the University's first campus-wide network of personal computers, and an enormous proliferation of computerized library, research, and data-management services, visible in all corners of the campus, all comple-

mented by an ever-growing network of technical support for schools and departments.⁵⁰

Establishment of the Medical Center

Of no mean consequence, Hackney consolidated the formerly separate operations of the University Hospital, Medical School, and Clinical Practices into a single administrative unit called the Medical Center, headed by an executive vice president, a "CEO-type" Hackney appointment of William Kelley of the University of Michigan as both dean of the Medical School and executive vice president of the Medical Center in 1989 marked a turning point that lifted Penn into the top tier of the world's leading medical research institutions. Although Kelley, a notoriously undiplomatic mover and shaker, would preside over huge financial losses in the Health System (which comprised the Medical Center, three additional hospitals, and Clinical Associates) after the mid-1990s and be fired by Judith Rodin, his accomplishments were formidable. As John Kastor attests in his account of this period:

The University of Pennsylvania appointed Dr. William N. Kelley dean of its school of medicine and leader of its medical center on August 2, 1989, and discharged him from these responsibilities on February 16, 2000. During the intervening ten and a half years, the Kelley administration formed a health system; bought three hospitals and the practices of 270 primary care physicians; constructed two medical school research buildings and one new hospital building; equipped several suburban practice facilities; renovated one million square feet of space in the medical school and the principal teaching hospital; appointed new chairs for each basic science department (one twice) and all but three of the clinical departments (one twice); created twelve institutes and centers; revised the curriculum for medical students; and helped recruit so many productive investigators that the research conducted by the medical faculty won a level of support from the National Institutes of Health (NIH) surpassed only by the medical enterprises at Harvard and Johns Hopkins universities.⁵¹

Hackney-Era Buildings

The University constructed nine new buildings on Hackney's watch: the Wharton School's Steinberg/Aresty Conference Center, at 38th and Spruce Street, replacing a parking lot (formerly the Victoria Apartments) on that site; Lauder-Fisher Hall, also of the Wharton School, at 37th and Locust streets; the Founders Pavilion of HUP in the Medical Education Quadrangle on

Hamilton Walk; the Clinical Research Building— Penn’s first building in the new Philadelphia Center for Health Sciences, on the former grounds of the Philadelphia General Hospital at Curie Boulevard and Osler Circle; the Stellar-Chance Laboratories on Curie Boulevard, also in the Health Sciences Center; the Mudd Biological Research Laboratory on 38th Street below Hamilton Walk; Tannenbaum Hall, a new wing of the Law School and home of the Biddle Library, on the 3401 block of Sansom Street; and the Institute of Contemporary Art on the northwest corner of 36th and Sansom. The entrances to the three new Wharton buildings faced the newly landscaped park of the Shearson Lehman Hutton Quadrangle, in the former roadbed of Irving Street.⁵² Under Hackney, Penn’s design review committee oversaw the early stages of the restoration of College Hall and the exterior refurbishment of Logan Hall (both completed under Judith Rodin in 1996 and 1997, respectively); the renovation of the Quadrangle dormitories; and the centenary restoration of the historic, Furness-designed Fine Arts Library to its Victorian elegance.⁵³

In 1989, Penn purchased a thirteen-story Beaux-Arts building on 44th Street in New York City between Fifth and Sixth avenues for the Penn Club. Located on the same block as four other Ivy League clubhouses, Penn’s social club, after a major building renovation, opened to alumni, faculty, staff, and students in 1994.⁵⁴ Six other major projects were in various stages of development when Hackney left College Hall, all of them completed under Judith Rodin: the Institute for Advanced Science and Technology on 34th Street in the physical sciences precinct; the Rhoads Pavilion of HUP; a biomedical research facility in the Philadelphia Center for Health Sciences; a new clinical and research building for the School of Dental Medicine; and a six-hundred-car parking garage and air conditioning facility at the corner of 38th and Walnut streets.

Advancing Research and Teaching

From the standpoint of federally sponsored research and research productivity, Hackney bequeathed to Judith Rodin a strong, first-rate institution. For the 1980–1990 decade, the University ranked seventh in total federal R & D funding for Research 1 private institutions and eleventh for Research 1 public and private institutions; in 1986, Penn’s social sciences departments ranked sixth overall in federal R & D support in that category; in 1990 the medical school ranked tenth overall in NIH research awards; for the period 1986–88, Penn ranked seventh among Research 1 private institutions in per-capita publications and ninth among Research 1 public and private institutions in that category.⁵⁵

In 1989, *U.S. News & World Report* introduced a multi-indicator, quantitative procedure for ranking the quality of undergraduate colleges in different categories of institutions (national universities, regional universities, liberal arts colleges). Before 1983, when *U.S. News* asked college and university presidents to rank the undergraduate colleges, reputational surveys had focused exclusively on the quality of the nation's graduate schools. These rankings remained remarkably stable across a period of eighty years. As Clark Kerr put it, "A reputation once attained usually keeps on drawing faculty members and resources that sustain that reputation. A reputation, once established, is an institution's single greatest asset." Penn was no exception: ranked eleventh among the nation's research universities in 1906, it stood at fourteenth in 1982, with an average rank of thirteenth for the eighty-year period.⁵⁶ Yet being perennially listed below the likes of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia, says Robert Zemsky, gave the University an image problem— "an internal sense of not being quite as good as its competition." Despite Penn's considerable strengths, this inferiority complex would not be fully purged until Rodin's presidency. Rodin would make *U.S. News* "the president's business" and charge her deans to achieve a "top-ten ranking" for each school, with "spectacular results," according to Zemsky.⁵⁷

As Zemsky notes, "5th is about where Penn consistently placed in the *U.S. News* rankings prior to Rodin." This is not a criticism of Hackney; *U.S. News* does not measure "good teaching, engaged faculty, and industrious students."⁵⁸ substantive qualities of particular concern to Hackney, who assigned a high priority to strengthening undergraduate education. He called for, among other improvements, greater involvement of students in faculty research, more teaching of undergraduate courses by standing faculty, and a stronger interface between the College (Arts and Sciences) and the three undergraduate professional programs (Wharton, Engineering, and Nursing). In *Six Working Papers for Strategic Planning* (January 1982), the Academic Planning and Budget Committee pledged fealty to One University, even as they acknowledged the continuing barrier of responsibility center management: "We reaffirm that concept with enthusiasm. The current budgeting system, however, may encourage some schools and departments to build fences around their resources and to dissuade their students from taking courses elsewhere."⁵⁹

In *Choosing Penn's Future* (January 1983), Hackney reaffirmed his administration's commitment to undergraduate education, now listing it as one of the University's top three priorities, calling for an increased number of standing faculty teaching undergraduates, as opposed to fobbing that responsibility onto graduate students. He cited four undergraduate majors— the design of the environment, urban studies, management and technology, and the biological

basis of behavior— as models for programs involving mixed faculties, and he called for the expansion of such programs. Hackney asserted research excellence and student aid and financial assistance as the University's other strategic planning priorities. Writing against the backdrop of the economic recession of the early 1980s (an adverse economic situation, he called it) and the fiscal conservatism of the Reagan administration, he worried about the threatened shifts in federal policy— particularly with respect to research support and student aid— that, together with the precarious budgetary situation of the Commonwealth, presage unequal levels of government support.⁶⁰ When he presented the plan to the trustees, Hackney adjured them, "Even though the times are stringent and we are facing challenges, we can still be masters of our fate if we take action deliberately and thoughtfully and very forcefully."⁶¹

Hackney announced the formation of a new Faculty Council for Undergraduate Education, which he charged to recommend a set of curricular options and instructional mechanisms for University undergraduates that draw on the strengths, experiences, and academic perspective of faculty from the liberal arts and the professions.⁶² Over the next several years, this faculty council, which issued periodic recommendations, evolved into a number of cross-School committees that were coordinated by a new Provost's Council on Undergraduate Education, in conjunction with the Council of Undergraduate Deans and curriculum committees of the four undergraduate schools.⁶³ In 1986, a \$10 million Undergraduate Education Fund was established to fund, among other initiatives, faculty development of freshmen seminars, Writing Across the University (a cross-school program sponsored by the English Department), an enhanced General Honors program, and undergraduate research. By 1987, each undergraduate school had concluded a five-year planning process that included major commitments to undergraduate education in the years ahead.⁶⁴

In the summer of 1981, Hackney and his provost, Thomas Ehrlich, mandated the aforementioned five-year plans from each school. Not since the Educational Survey of 1954–59 had University-wide five-year plans been required of the deans. The first drafts were completed in April 1984. Though Hackney and Ehrlich acknowledged that these drafts were developmental prospectuses, they were concerned that some of the plans were quixotic— a number of the schools proposed to increase the size of the faculty even when the budgetary and enrollment projections failed to justify these expenditures. "If a choice must be made between maintaining academic quality and reducing scale, the former is our first priority," said Ehrlich. "In short, we must at all costs ensure adequate resources for the faculty we have, in terms of compensation, research assistance, and other support."⁶⁵ Put differently, "selective excellence" would

be applied to schools and departments that had shortfalls in their five-year balance sheets. The revised five-year plans were published in May 1985.⁶⁶

Breakthrough Capital Campaign

Nearly two years later, Hackney and Ehrlich reported to faculty and administrators that they were planning a "breakthrough campaign" the basis of which were the academic needs fleshed out in the schools' five-year plans. The "first priority" of the capital campaign would be to strengthen the quality of the faculty through endowed chairs (a minimum of one hundred) for retention and recruitment of distinguished faculty, with special attention to Arts and Sciences, "currently the School with the greatest need for sustained external investment."⁶⁷ Hackney acknowledges that when he put a price tag of \$1 billion on the campaign at the October 1987 meeting of the trustees, they were "visibly nervous" they told him, in effect, "if you announce this campaign goal and it fails, it's going to have a depressing effect on the psychology of the University and it will be a terrible thing." In any event, the trustees agreed to the amount Hackney wanted and undertook a "quiet campaign" to raise \$250 million over the next two years— the amount they agreed would be necessary to make it likely that, when the five-year campaign was announced publicly, it would have a good chance of succeeding (the rule of thumb in capital campaigns is to raise one-quarter to one-third of the goal before the public phase starts). Spurred by a \$25 million contribution from the publishing mogul and former ambassador to Great Britain Walter Annenberg and his wife, Lee, the quiet campaign raised \$344 million.⁶⁸ In October 1989, the trustees announced the Campaign for Penn: Keeping Franklin's Promise. The campaign started as a \$1 billion development drive and concluded in December 1994 with \$1.47 billion added to Penn's coffers— for a brief period the largest amount ever raised by an American university in a five-year campaign. The capstone donation was \$120 million from the Annenbergs to endow the Annenberg School and to establish the Annenberg Public Policy Center, to be directed by the Annenberg School's dean, Kathleen Hall Jamison.⁶⁹

With nearly half the total earmarked for the Arts and Sciences, "reported the *Almanac*, the drive is described as a people-and-programs campaign with only six building projects in view and with 150 endowed professors targeted."⁷⁰ Student financial aid, a casualty of the first Reagan administration, was a campaign priority. In the wake of federal cuts in the early 1980s, college and university outlays nationally for student aid rose from \$904 million to \$3 billion. Between 1979–80 and 1984–85, federal Pell Grants, which did not require repayment by grantees, were cut by 41.6 percent in constant dollars.⁷¹ Responding to Hackney's call for bolstered student support, the campaign raised

\$50 million for undergraduate scholarships and another \$96 million for PhD fellowships and other graduate and professional support— a total of \$149 million. And the campaign raised another \$35 million to support Penn's minority presence (fellowships, professorships, recruitment/retention of faculty and students), the most ever raised by any institution for this purpose.²

New Campus Master Plan

The Hackney presidency bequeathed to Judith Rodin the largess of the capital campaign and the vision of the 1988 Campus Master Plan, which was developed by the Center for Environmental Design and Planning of the Graduate School of Fine Arts. The Master Plan provided a bold conceptual framework that Rodin's presidency, taking advantage of a surging stock market and open-pocket donors, brought to practical fruition. The Master Plan, for example, underscored the centrality of Walnut Street to Penn's future: "As Locust Walk was the thematic element of the master plans of the 1960s, the central theme of the Campus Master Plan for the next 25 years will be the development of the Walnut Street corridor. . . . As the prime westbound connection between the city and the Campus, it is undeniably a part of the campus of the 1990s and beyond." The Master Plan called for reorienting campus buildings along Walnut and Spruce toward the street in community- and pedestrian-friendly ways and for improvements "in the character and quality of these streets as important public spaces." Significantly for the future expansion of the campus, the Master Plan envisioned that the University would purchase the 19.2-acre Civic Center properties, opposite HUP on Convention Boulevard, for expanding the Health System— as the city was building a new Convention Center in Center City, the old Civic Center had become a white elephant. Other major sites the Graduate School of Fine Arts planners earmarked for purchase and redevelopment were the huge U.S. Post Office on Market Street opposite 30th Street Station, and the Postal Lands in the Schuylkill River flats between Walnut Street and Penn's River Fields. The Postal Lands were an empty wasteland south of Walnut that was used for post office parking and maintenance. Here the planners envisaged "a major gateway to University City and the University—a mecca for new housing, parking, recreation, retail, and research facilities."³

These proposals and others, such as "a strong reaffirmation of the Woodland Diagonal" on Hill Field, which was a well-traveled footpath by the 1980s, and completion of the 1977 landscape development plan on 38th Street between Walnut and Spruce, were implemented in spectacular fashion by Rodin and her executive vice president, John Fry. Rodin and Fry put their particular stamp on these projects, incorporating in lively ways the red-brick

palette of several nineteenth-century campus buildings in the redevelopment of the 3601–3801 (north side) blocks of Walnut Street— blocks on the edge of the academic core of the campus— and opting for bold retro-futuristic designs for new commercial buildings in the 3901, 4000, and 4001 blocks of Walnut— blocks on the periphery of the Superblock residence hall complex. It does not detract from Hackney's contributions to say that implementation of the elements of the 1988 Master Plan required a president of a less modest demeanor than his— indeed, a president of Judith Rodin's vaulting ambition, hubristic temperament, and damn-the-torpedoes fortitude, a charismatic president who was able to galvanize the trustees behind her goal of kicking Penn into the very top tier of the nation's research universities.

■ Valedictory: Toward Campus Reconciliation

Hackney's resignation from Penn, effective 30 June 1993, left three critical issues to be resolved by his interim successor, Claire Fagin, the former dean of Penn's School of Nursing. The first thorny issue was how to resolve the case of black students' removal of fourteen thousand copies of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* as a protest action. The second issue was how to change Penn's student judicial code to soften its adversarial orientation. The third issue, an even larger problem of the campus ethos, was how to strengthen the campus community to prevent such incidents as Water Buffalo. Prior to leaving College Hall, Hackney appointed a Panel to Reform Judicial Procedures and a Commission on Strengthening the Community, the latter to be chaired by Penn African American trustee Gloria Twine Chisum.⁷⁴

Fagin's most pressing concern on her arrival at College Hall was the *DP* theft case, which the vice provost for university life referred to social work professor Harold Arnold, a special judicial inquiry officer appointed to investigate the complaint filed against nine of about sixty students involved in the newspaper seizures. Acknowledging that the accused students, members of the Black Student League, had violated University policy by removing the papers from the distribution sites, Arnold reported that he saw "no need for further judicial or disciplinary action"— he declared the matter "resolved," ostensibly because the protestors were probably unaware of the University's confiscation policy. Arnold himself stood squarely with the students, viewing their behavior as an opportunity for education on the harmful effects of institutional racism. Accepting Arnold's recommendation, Fagin and interim provost Marvin Lazerson declared that "the confiscation of any publication on campus is wrong and will not be tolerated" that henceforth "individuals who

engage in such actions will be subject to the full range of judicial sanctions. As the confiscation policy would appear in new editions of the student handbook, there can be no further doubt or confusion as to the policy's significance or the seriousness with which the University will respond to its violation. Issuing a rare dissent, the trustees reproached Fagin and Lazerson for a decision they considered pusillanimous.⁷⁵ Perhaps, but it was also a fair and prudent decision, removing any doubt that a real or imagined racial or ethnic insult would be treated by the University as an allowable justification for newspaper theft. And it had the effect of quelling racial tensions that were still roiling in the aftermath of the Water Buffalo spring.

The Commission on Strengthening the Community began its work in September 1993 and issued its final report on 5 April 1994. Its recommendations included, among many others, disestablishing the student racial speech code. Henceforth the content of student speech would not be subject to disciplinary action, although this protection would not apply to threats of physical harm, bomb threats, and the like. Commission members argued that offensive speech should be considered a subject for education, not a cause for discipline. They called for the University faculty to articulate clear norms of civility, honesty, academic integrity, and responsibility for being an effective member of the community . . . to students during orientation, and regularly and consistently thereafter. They called on the president and provost to strengthen community service programs both inside and outside the established curriculum. They advocated implementation of the University of Pennsylvania version of a College House system as soon as possible, expanding the existing program to create virtual colleges that included every undergraduate dormitory. And they gave a ringing endorsement to *The Report of the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk*.⁶ Within the following month, Fagin abolished the student speech code, echoing the Commission's recommendation: Student speech, as such, should not be the basis of disciplinary action.⁷

Following her first semester as Penn's new president, Judith Rodin, in January 1995, reaffirmed in writing that the speech code was a dead letter:

Hearing the hateful is the only way to identify and educate the hater. Seeing the offensive is a necessary step to understanding and rejecting the perspective from which it comes. Seriously considering even the most distasteful idea is the absolute precondition to arguing effectively against it. . . . Only conduct that violates the law or interferes with the educational mission of the University merits punishment. . . . The words of hatred and bigotry, insult and ignorance, destroy dialogue and community and must be answered. I hope the day will come when no one

in our community will use such words or inflict pain on others with intent. But until then, when we are faced with words of offense and awfulness, we must draw those who use them into the dialogue of ideas. That is the essential precondition of the dynamics of change. That is why we must *censure* speech, but never *ensor* speakers.⁷⁸

Among other flaws in Penn's judicial process, Water Buffalo exposed the absence of a mediation clause, which might have allowed an amicable settlement behind closed doors. It should have been handled by Penn informally through mediation, Hackney wrote ruefully in his memoirs, bringing the involved parties together so that they might learn from each other why tempers had flared up, and why words that had been used stung so much.⁷⁹ In January 1995, the Code of Student Conduct was amended to include a clause for informal mediation— a voluntary discussion and agreement for resolution of a dispute or allegation between the respondent and the complainant, facilitated by a trained mediator. The University is not a party to such agreements and assumes no responsibility for their enforcement. The judicial inquiry office and a hearing board could be involved in mediated cases only if the disputants failed to reach an agreement.⁸⁰ In 1996, the University transferred the judicial inquiry office's responsibilities to the newly established Office of Student Conduct, which included a Student Dispute Resolution Center.⁸¹

By the mid-1990s, progress toward conciliation was evident on another diversity front— Penn's lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. Outraged by the military's policy of discrimination against homosexuals, LGBT people had lobbied the University in the 1980s to ban military recruitment at Penn, an administrative action that might have jeopardized the University's relationship with the federal government. In 1983, Hackney tiptoed pragmatically around the issue. As the military's policy of limiting employment on the basis of sexual preference was not illegal in Philadelphia or elsewhere, Hackney said, the University would continue to allow the services to recruit on campus. At the same time, in order to promote maximum opportunity for Penn students, I will continue to urge that the armed forces review their restrictive employment policies, including those concerning enlistment and retention of homosexuals.⁸² Hackney issued a similar response in 1991 when the University Council voted to recommend the removal of ROTC: he set aside the recommendation with the assurance that he would once again lobby the Department of Defense to change its policy.⁸³ Penn opened other doors to LGBT people. In 1992, the vice provost for university life extended family housing to gay and lesbian couples, as well as unmarried heterosexual partners.⁸⁴ And in 1993, the trustees approved the same benefits

package— all health, retirement, and tuition benefits— for gay and lesbian couples that were currently extended to spouses and children of married employees with the proviso that these couples present evidence of a committed relationship and of mutual financial responsibility.⁸⁵ Though there were occasional expressions of antigay sentiments, a general climate of tolerance and support prevailed after the mid-1990s. And in 2002 the Rodin administration renovated the Carriage House in Hamilton Village (the renamed Superblock) to house the new LGBT Center.⁸⁶ The ROTC issue was finally laid to rest in 1996 when Provost Stanley Chodorow announced that ROTC would remain at Penn and further negotiations with the military would not be pursued.⁸⁷

■

The year following Hackney's retirement marked a shift in campus firestorms from internal racial matters to issues of security and aesthetics on the University's periphery. Crime, poverty, trash, homelessness, panhandling, and decline of the built environment— these were still unresolved crises in Penn's boundary areas. Though Penn under Hackney made a good start toward improving conditions in the boundary areas through a strengthened police presence and educational and economic supports for West Philadelphia, these initiatives were insufficient in the face of the continuing crack cocaine epidemic and the attendant, often deadly, crime wave. A sizable, well-organized, politically savvy group calling itself Penn Faculty and Staff for Neighborhood Issues (PFSNI) mobilized in 1992 to pressure the University to ratchet up efforts to stave off decline in the neighborhoods west and north of the campus. PFSNI included an eleven-member steering committee and eight named committees, with scores of participants and some five hundred faculty and staff signatories to PFSNI's petition to the University. While the group applauded Hackney's outreach efforts, they were adamant that the urban crisis on Penn's doorstep demanded a full-hearted, multipronged initiative from the University. Only a concerted effort to preserve the well being of the communities surrounding the University would suffice for the continued viability of the institution, the steering committee announced.⁸⁸

PFSNI's proposed action steps for urban revival in University City harkened back to the multifaceted programs initiated by the West Philadelphia Corporation thirty years earlier. The Penn-dominated WPC was forced to curtail its programs in the face of the University's severe economic crisis in the 1970s and the upswing of crime in University City. PFSNI called for Penn to upgrade two of the area's public schools, to recruit University faculty and staff to University City through an enhanced mortgage program, to invest in the local housing stock (especially in declining neighborhoods), and to pro-

mote retail and entrepreneurial enterprises on Baltimore Avenue, between 45th and 50th streets, and a University atmosphere in the blocks around 40th and Locust streets, bustling with restaurants, pubs, bookstores, and cinemas. PFSNI's public safety committee struck an urgent chord, calling for Penn to hire more campus police officers, expand the area of Penn police patrols west of 43rd Street, south of Baltimore and north of Walnut, install twenty new blue-light emergency telephones, and provide matching funds for homeowners to install streetlights. PFSNI also recommended the demolition or redevelopment of the Walnut Mall, a low-end, small shopping area owned by Penn in the 3901 block of Walnut. Perhaps most important, in a recommendation that prefigured the University City District organized by Judith Rodin, the group called for formal collaboration with other major institutions in the area, including the College of Pharmacy, Drexel, and the major hospitals, to officially designate the communities west of campus as being of special interest to these institutions for security purposes. This area need not have precise boundaries, but it would help everyone concerned if it had a name.⁸⁹

Concomitantly, behind-the-scenes strategic planning at Penn paralleled and supported PFSNI's public advocacy. Trustee chairman Alvin Shoemaker, Ira Harkavy, and John Gould, the acting executive vice president, spearheaded this in-house project. Their vision thing was a multipronged West Philadelphia strategy that asserted the external environment as Penn's highest priority over the course of the next decade. Some of their recommendations helped chart the path that Judith Rodin followed in the next decade: the creation of a Penn-assisted public school for the children of faculty members, graduate students, staff, and community members, and partnerships with the West Philadelphia public schools; the development of the 40th Street corridor from Locust Street north to the south side of Market Street, to include bookstores, jazz clubs, craft stores, bakeries, small shops, and small restaurants; the (unspecified) development of the north side of Walnut Street between 39th and 40th streets; the development of Baltimore Avenue between 48th and 60th streets as a combined retail, residential avenue; the purchase and rehabilitation of housing east of 47th Street; and the establishment of school-based, limited primary care facilities, linked to health education and the training of health professionals in West Philadelphia schools.⁹⁰

A third plan, sponsored by the Spruce Hill Community Association and released in 1995, was also visionary and emphatic. The neighborhood nearest to the Penn campus, Spruce Hill is bounded by 39th and 46th streets on the east and west, Market Street and Woodland Avenue on the north and south. By the 1990s, this racially, ethnically, economically diverse neighborhood—hailed by the Spruce Hill planners as the area with the greatest American

architecture and urban design of the late nineteenth century— was threatened by drug-related crime, trash, declining property values, housing deterioration, and housing abandonment— and the neighborhood had no public school. Spruce Hill—white population, which in 1990 accounted for 59 percent of the neighborhood total, had diminished by 11 percent since 1980, while the African American population, with 24 percent of the 1990 total, had increased by 12 percent. Asians, a growing constituency, composed 15 percent of the 1990 total. The rental housing market for one- and two-bedroom apartments was undermined by the flight of graduate students to Center City and an influx of cost-conscious undergraduates who eschewed apartment dwelling in favor of single-family houses owned by absentee landlords, into which they could pack up to ten students, exacerbating noise, litter, and general disorder in the neighborhood (more on this in Chapter 10).⁹¹

Assisted by a planning team from the Center for Community Partnerships, the Spruce Hill planners offered more specific recommendations than the other proposals we have just reviewed. Saliently, they called for a partnership public school that would be on the grounds of the Penn-owned and -stewarded Divinity School buildings in the quadrant of Locust, Spruce, 42nd, and 43rd streets. Citing a plan recently adopted at Yale University, they also advocated that Penn strengthen its guaranteed mortgage plan to include—direct acquisition subsidies over several years—as —incentives—for faculty and staff to move to Spruce Hill; for Penn homeowners who already resided in Spruce Hill, they called for —home maintenance and moderate rehabilitation program—Eyeballing the 40th Street corridor, the association planners were disturbed by the presence of —too many low quality businesses, which, to give examples, sell cheap clothes, perfume and electronics, as well as check cashing and notary services—They might have added the presence of dueling hamburger franchises, McDonald— and Burger King, at opposite corners of the intersection of 40th and Walnut streets; or, for that matter, the absence of any high-quality anchor store in the corridor.⁹²

In combination, the 1993 PFSNI report, the Shoemaker-Harkavy-Gould in-house project, the Spruce Hill plan, and the 1988 Campus Master Plan proposed many ideas that Judith Rodin implemented, often in novel ways, as the basis of her transformative presidency. Her administration also brought to fruition the incomplete elements of RDA Unit 4, as well as the 1977 campus landscape plan: parking lots and empty streetscapes bequeathed by 1960s urban renewal were transformed into architecturally adventurous buildings and vibrant pedestrian venues. In the next chapter, we view Rodin—West Philadelphia Initiatives in historical perspective, showing the continuities and differences between her decisions and actions and those taken by her predecessors in College Hall.