University-Community Relations and the Need for a Representational Discourse:
Exploring Town-Gown at the University of Pennsylvania

by

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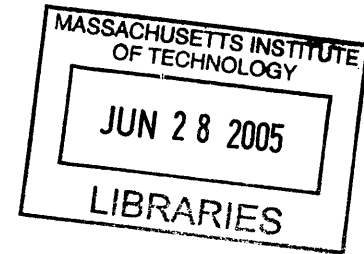in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND THE NEED FOR A REPRESENTATIONAL DISCOURSE: EXPLORING TOWN-GOWN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines university-community relations, arguing that the current discourse requires rigorous theoretical attention to the use of representation in media and in physical design to adequately gauge and understand this relationship. Modeled after Naomi Carmon's framework of urban redevelopment, the author provides a new framework for understanding eras of university-community partnerships. Then, the author synthesizes a series of theoretical constructs to develop the representational discourse, to be used in a more rigorous analysis of university-community relationships. Drawing on John Gaventa's framework of power, the study closely examines the University of Pennsylvania and analyzes the University's use of imaging, narrative, and other forms of representation since the 1960s as a way to ensure and perpetuate its dominance. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to inform the ever-evolving discourse around neighborhood change in relation to "anchor institutions," and offers recommendations for points of intervention on the part of communities, planning practitioners, university officials, and theoreticians.

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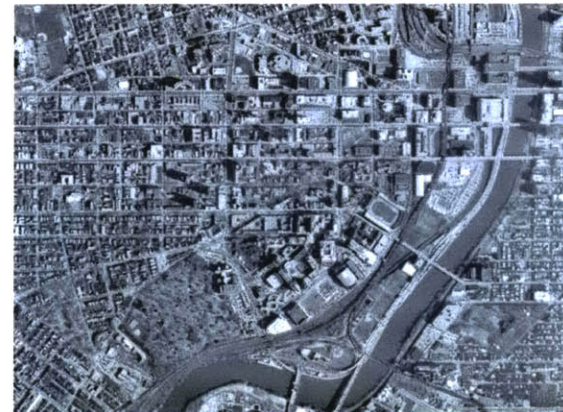
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In the spring of 2000, an anonymous donor gave the University City District (UCD), a special services district in University City, a donation for the creation of a mural that would illustrate and honor landmark buildings of this West Philadelphia neighborhood around the University of Pennsylvania (Penn). UCD retained the Philadelphia Mural Arts Program (MAP), a program in the City's Department of Recreation, to facilitate the project. An artist was selected and the mural was executed on the side of a building at 39 North 39th Street, at the corner of 39th and Ludlow. The wall was visible from Chestnut Street, a busy commercial street, just to the north of campus.

After researching the neighborhood, the artist created a mural that depicted a number of key buildings. In the painting, the buildings sit in the sky, floating among clouds, their only context the surrounding environment of bustling University City. On the bottom of the mural reads the quote "A city without old buildings is like a person without a memory."

FIGURE 5: CLOSE-UP OF QUOTE ON MURAL

Soon after the mural was completed and the scaffolding removed, representatives from the University who sat on the board of UCD voiced extreme concern over the mural. While they had had access to the design during the design approval process, they did not get a full sense of the images because the artist had not presented a full to-scale sketch. They insisted that the mural be changed or taken down immediately.

FIGURE 6: "A CITY WITHOUT BUILDINGS" BY HENRY MARTIN, MAP 2000

How could paint on a wall engender such fierce protest from University officials? They worried that the mural would remind people of Penn's actions during the era of urban renewal; most of the buildings depicted had been demolished by the University in the service of "slum clearance" and campus expansion. This mural would undermine the University's efforts to transform its perception in the neighborhood.

The artist refused to change his work, UCD and MAP did not host a public dedication of the mural, and the piece still stands today. The University marketing campaign around its relationship to and role in the neighborhood plows forward. Recognizing the power of the visual media, they feared that such a large representation of one aspect of the neighborhood-university dynamic could interrupt their own visual campaign. In the end, the multiple representations remain.

This mural controversy was my introduction to my role as Director of Community Murals at the Philadelphia Mural Arts Program. My personal experience as an undergraduate at Penn enhanced my connection to this project. I spent the following three years trying to understand Philadelphians' passion and commitment to murals in their communities, while I watched this West Philadelphia neighborhood, which I once

called home, transform physically and metaphorically through new real estate development, improved street façade, increased commercial activity, and a bevy of marketing and promotional materials. Penn's promotional materials describe a new chapter in the story of its relationship with the neighborhood. However, the fierce reaction to the mural indicated to me that the history of the relationship still loomed large in Penn and the neighborhood's collective memories. I thus became fascinated with visual representations, their multiple manifestations, and their role as a tool of empowerment and control in the negotiation of power dynamics at a neighborhood level. This university-community dynamic seemed particular suited to an analysis of these issues.

University-community relationships are one example of an institutional power dynamic operating on a neighborhood level. I argue that current theory and analyses of university-community relationships is lacking without the addition of what I call a representational discourse. A representational discourse provides a semiotic analysis of visual images and narratives propagated by institutions and deconstructs the process by which these broadly defined representations emerge.[1] Ultimately, this piece aims to inform the ever-evolving discussion about neighborhood change that is often driven by institutions that are, in terms of interest and mission, simultaneously part of and outside of a particular neighborhood. Deconstruction of representations serves as one tool to understand the negotiation of power in these neighborhoods, and while by no means offers a complete picture, contributes to the understanding of these particular processes of neighborhood transformation.

Prior to developing this argument, I pose the question: Why does the discussion of a representational discourse matter? How does a representational discourse function and relate to actual decision-making? This thesis takes as a fundamental premise that discourse, specifically representational discourse, matters because the construction of representations serves as a tool to assert, manipulate, and negotiate power. Those institutions with both the decision-making authority and the control to frame decisions through representation hold two sets of resources – the ability to act and the access to voice. An analysis that only focuses on university decision-making and programmatic activity neglects this second set of resources

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[1] Throughout this paper, I will use the generic term "representation." This refers broadly to visual images, verbalizations, and dominant narratives of a particular issue and/or place.

that a university has at its disposal, and thus provides an incomplete analysis. Through this work, I call on planners, universities, and academics to recognize that university redevelopment efforts should include a deconstruction of representations, as this analysis provides a rigor that can improve the relational power dynamic between universities and their neighborhoods.

AN ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK OF POWER

Through his multi-dimensional categorization of power, John Gaventa provides an analytical framework to understand power relations that form the basis of the above assumption. The first dimension of power focuses on "observable conflict in decision-making arenas," where "power may be understood primarily by looking at who prevails in bargaining over the resolution of key issues" (Gaventa, 1982). In other words, party A maintains power over party B through "superior bargaining resources," which are "relatively straightforward and widely understood," such as "votes, jobs, influence" (Gaventa, 1982).

The second dimension of power includes the resources of the first dimension and adds "those of a 'mobilization of bias,'" which are defined in Gaventa by Bachrach and Baratz as:

> ...a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures ('rules of the game') that operate systematically and consistently to the

benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others. Those who benefit are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests. (Gaventa, 1982)

This "mobilization of bias" is used not only in decision-making arenas, but in other ways, as well, including "the manipulation of symbols" and the "establishment of...new symbols against the challengers' efforts to widen the scope of conflict" (Gaventa, 1982). This dimension therefore includes not only decision-making per se, but also unobservable non-decisions and inaction that occur because of the threat of sanctions by A against B. This second dimension involves "agenda setting," in which A wields power over B by determining the agenda, dictating levels of participation, and thusly eliminating any chance for challenges to this pre-determined agenda.

Gaventa characterizes the third dimension of power as the "least developed and least understood mechanism" (Gaventa, 1982). It is also the most linked to notions of representation, imaging, and construction of space through abstraction, metaphor, and narrative. As Gaventa elaborates:

> (Identifying the third dimension of power) involves specifying the means through which power influences, shapes or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities, and strategies of challenge in situations of latent conflict. This may include the study of social myths, language, and symbols, and how they are shaped or

manipulated in power processes. It may involve the study of communication of information – both of what is communicated and how it is done. It may involve a focus upon the means by which social legitimations are developed around the dominant, and instilled as beliefs or roles in the dominated. It may involve, in short, locating the power processes behind the social construction of meaning and patterns that serve to get B to act and believe in a manner in which B otherwise might not, to A's benefit and B's detriment. (Gaventa, 1982)

In other words, the control of information, propagation of particular images in media and messaging, and dominant codes incorporated in the design of the built environment all contribute to perpetuating a particular power dynamic that privileges party A at the expense of party B.

The third dimension of power is striking precisely because of the varied and subtle ways in which A wields power over B:

> (Power serves) to shape conceptions of the necessities, possibilities, or strategies of conflict. Not only (as in the second dimension) might grievances be excluded from entering the political process, but they might be precluded from consideration altogether. Or, B...may recognize grievances against A...but desist from challenge because B's conception of self, group, or class may be such as to make actions against A seem inappropriate. Or, B may recognize grievances, be willing to act upon them, but not recognize A as the responsible agent...because of the mystifications or legitimations which

surround A. Or, B may act, but do so on the basis of misconceived grievances, against the wrong target, or through an ineffective strategy. (Gaventa, 1982)

These three dimensions of power are interrelated, mutually reinforcing, and often overlapping. As party A possesses resources and maintains control of decision-making (first dimension), A may acquire additional resources to begin shaping the agenda of decision-making arenas and constructing barriers to party B's participation (second dimension). This constant domination may allow A to further dominate the creation of images and justifications through the control of media and other institutions (third dimension). In summary, the "power of A to prevail in the first dimension increases the power to affect B's actions in the second dimension, and increases the power to affect B's conception in the third" (Gaventa, 1982).

Gaventa's categorization provides an explanatory framework for understanding how a powerful institution can operate and maintain its dominance.[2] With resources to initiate real estate development, a university wields the power to physically

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[2] Gaventa's framework assumes that party B is a unified and cohesive group. While I do not suggest that neighborhoods are monolithic entities, part of the manipulation in the third dimension may collapse diverse groups of people into unified "others."

reconfigure the neighborhood, a process and product imbued with messages of authority and domination. Implicitly, this thesis offers an understanding of the importance of representation as a tool to navigate among Gaventa's different dimensions of power within the context of university-community relationships. An understanding of the importance of representation to maintaining power reveals a potential point of intervention for those individuals and institutions not in control.

THE CHALLENGES FACING A UNIVERSITY

A university communicates to both its internal community of students, faculty, and staff and externally to the general public. With increased development activity, a university looks to a broader market base, trying to attract not only prospective students, faculty, and staff, but also prospective consumers to their destination-campuses. Meanwhile, a university also understandably focuses on its institutional and educational missions, which requires attention to its wider image in the public realm. Unfortunately from the perspective of the local community in which a university is located, this university-centered focus may come at the expense of honest collaboration with and interest in community/neighborhood needs.

This inevitable tension among competing priorities raises important questions: what are reasonable expectations of a university in terms of its interaction with its surrounding community? If expectations point to efforts that ultimately are in a university's self-interest, what is a reasonable expectation for how a university frames and represents this relationship and these efforts? Do these representations (collectively creating a discourse) operate as a signifier of a university's power vis a vis the community? Overall, how does discourse about the relationship intersect with the power negotiation that dictates the relational dynamic between university and community?

Understanding the course of events over time, looking critically at the representations (both visual and verbal) employed, and listening to alternative (if quieter) narratives reveals a larger story than the version told by those in power. Rather than representations providing a vehicle for joint placemaking, this thesis explores how they have been well-utilized at critical points in time with increasing sophistication to perpetuate existing the power dynamics. As Gaventa emphasizes, "power in a given community can never be understood simply by observation at a given point in time," (Gaventa, 1982) and therefore a closely focused study of this dynamic over time, may help illuminate some answers to the questions posed above.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Toward this end, Chapter One explains my methodology, including case selection, content analysis of documents, and interview protocol. Chapter Two develops the foundation of the representational discourse by laying out the multiple theoretical discourses around imaging, representation, perception, and narrative, and these forces' influence and impact on perception and actual transformation of a neighborhood. I argue that images propagated by institutions of their neighborhood are not merely artifacts of neighborhood change, but also serve as mechanisms of such change through transformation of perception, which is inextricably linked to concrete physical and demographic changes. This chapter also links Gaventa's framework of power with planning theory.

Chapter Three traces the literature of university-community relationships. In the past ten years curriculum development, community development activity, research endeavors, and real estate development have undergone particular trends. I situate these current general concepts and models around the "town-gown" dynamic in an historical context of past approaches, to understand the trajectory of university behavior and undertakings. Chapters Four, Five, and Six detail activity at the University of Pennsylvania. Chapter Four focuses on general campus planning and external relations, while Chapters Five and Six each evaluate a specific development initiative over time. Chapter Seven concludes and provides recommendations for future analysis around the issue of university-community relationships.

BROADER THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The first section of the literature review in Chapter Two seeks to link a number of similar, yet separate theoretical discourses into one discourse, which I term a "representational discourse." This discourse first includes the work of geographers, such as James Duncan and David Ley; sociologists, such as Henri Lefebvre and Sharon Zukin; political scientists, such as Murray Edelman; and interdisciplinary theoreticians, such as Dolores Hayden, who focus on the media representations of space and coded meanings in the built environment. Then, a representational discourse elaborates on dimensions of power, thus situating these theories of space and media more deeply in practitioner-focused work of John Gaventa and John Forester. The construction of such a thorough and interdisciplinary discourse aims to understand the multi-dimensional and nuanced use of representations in planning processes. The second portion of this literature review, Chapter Three, focuses on the historical and current trends in university-community relationships.

THE CASE STUDY METHOD

The case study model is a useful way to explore and describe a particular institutional activity in a neighborhood, especially where there is a discrepancy in race, age, class, ethnicity, etc. between the institution and the neighborhood. The dynamic between institutions and their geographic constituents is complicated, and thus the "need for (a case study) arises out of (this) desire to understand complex social phenomena" (Yin, 2003). This method will allow me to "retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics" of the situation in West Philadelphia in particular (Yin, 2003).

Yin frames the use of case study along three parameters: the type of research question, the amount of control a researcher has over behavioral events, and the temporal focus (contemporary versus historical events). He concludes that the case study method is best when "a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control" (Yin, 2003). While not experimental in nature, case studies allow for elaboration on particular theories, what Yin refers to as "analytic generalization" (Yin, 2003). A benefit of the case study method

is the breadth of evidence available, including, but not limited to documents, interviews, and direct observation. These multiple sources of evidence allow a researcher to triangulate information to ensure a fair and sophisticated analysis.

This research has theoretical grounding in a multiplicity of discourses. My goals are to explore how the Penn case fits into the intersection of these discourses and ultimately to assess the implications of these findings, in the case of Penn, other universities, and other "anchor institutions" broadly. Analytic generalizations aim to use an existing theory "as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study" (Yin, 2003); situating this data in distinct theoretical discourses may prove challenging, as the coordination of multiple theories into a single, reconcilable template provides significant challenges

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA AS A CASE STUDY

While the case selection of the University of Pennsylvania initially emerged from personal experience, a literature review of relevant publications, establishes Penn as both a "typical" and a "unique" case of the university-community dynamic (Yin, 2003).

The University of Pennsylvania is a private university founded in 1751 by Benjamin Franklin. It educates nearly 10,000 undergraduates and approximately 10,000 graduate students across twelve schools. Penn's campus is located in University City, a neighborhood in West Philadelphia, with campus buildings extending from 30th to 43rd Streets and from Powelton Avenue to Woodland and University Avenues, approximately 130 square blocks, as of this year.[3] University City is an economically and ethnically diverse community with diverse housing stock and a myriad of community associations and institutions. Penn's student and faculty population are predominantly white, and because of its cost (upwards of $35,000 per year), remains accessible primarily to middle and upper class families.

In academic and industry literature, Penn is held up as an exemplar of new trends, operating on the cutting edge of forging new and better community relations. The University's efforts to improve its urban neighborhood and to build connections to the community have allowed Penn to serve as

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[3] According to the University City District, the special services district of University City, the boundaries of the neighborhood are "on the east, 29th Street and the Schuylkill River; on the west, 50th Street; on the north, Spring Garden Street (to 40th Street), Powelton Avenue (to 44th Street), and Market Street; and on the south, Civic Center Boulevard, University Avenue and Woodland Avenue" (http://ucityphila.com/about_ucity/index.cfm).

a model in the development of "innovative partnerships (that) can build community assets" (Maith, 2004). Penn has an extensive real estate development portfolio, a breadth of research projects, and diversity of classes offered that focus on work in and about the West Philadelphia neighborhood. Arguably, Penn stands apart from other universities in its ability to synthesize and sustain these efforts into a coordinated campaign that has ultimately served Penn's own interest: the increase and shift in Penn's various outreach efforts ran concurrently with an increase in its rankings in U.S. News and World Report, and contributed to increasing its "competitiveness" among other elite universities.

However, the history of Penn's relationship with the neighborhood reveals extreme tension and often conflict. Thus, I became particularly interested in the potential parallels, connections, and disconnections between Penn's past and current behavior. Penn thus emerges as a useful "longitudinal" case study (Yin, 2003). This longitudinal perspective confirms Gaventa's assertion that the impact of "a power relationship is more than the sum of its parts" and that "power in a given community can never be understood simply by observation at a given point in time" (Gaventa, 1982).

Because Penn is a large university in a large urban setting, the implications that may emerge are generalizable primarily to a subset of universities: those located in large urban centers with a concentration of many universities in other neighborhoods. However, Penn does seem to be a leader in an emerging phase of university-community relationships, and thus, the lessons of the Penn experience provide long term recommendations for other institutions.

FRAMEWORK AND UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The empirical research of this case study explores to what extent representation is an exercise of reinforcing and perpetuating the power dynamics between the University and the neighborhood that has existed over the past five decades. The materials I uncovered can be distinguished as either representations *of* place or representations *in* place:

- *Representations of Place* include visual representations and verbal or written narratives of the neighborhood including, but not limited to: maps, brochures, tourism information, newsletters.

- *Representations in Place* include visual representations marked in the neighborhood that also indicate a particular construction of place including, but not limited to: actual buildings/architecture, billboards and other advertisement, signage, murals, graffiti.

After a general discussion of the history of Penn's campus planning efforts, I center the discussion on key locations and sites of development and redevelopment in the neighborhood about which many images have been propagated at different points in time.

- *3400 Blocks of Sansom and Walnut Street:* In the mid-1960s, these blocks were owned by the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, slated for demolition and eventual sale to and redevelopment by the University. The efforts of a community group saved the Sansom Street block from demolition and influenced the design of the new construction at 3400 Walnut Street.

- *40th Street:* University of Pennsylvania officials have identified 40th Street as the western edge of campus. Over time, this street became a boundary between the "town" and "gown." In the 1970s, a group of students and community members initiated the People's Park as a way to bridge this boundary; the project failed. Recently, however, the University has developed a new initiatives and development to integrate commercial activity along 40th Street from Market Street south to Baltimore Avenue in order to create a "seam" between campus and community.

"Institutional representations" serve as the unit of analysis, which includes that of the University, community-based organizations, the media, etc. As previously mentioned, "representations" refer to verbal and written communication generated from the institutions or in the press; maps, photographs, and other visual materials; and coded meanings found in the built environment.

DATA COLLECTION: ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

I visited the University of Pennsylvania Archive on four occasions and searched through their files under the following categories: Office of Undergraduate Admissions, Campus Guide, Community Park, Community Relations, Office of External Affairs, Office of Facility and Development, Real Estate Development, 3401 Walnut, and University City. These files include records of interdepartmental communication, news clippings, press releases, and other materials to external audiences about the University and its plans for campus development and/or expansion in West Philadelphia from the mid-1950s through the mid-1980s. Further, I searched the archives since 1990 of the University newspaper, the Daily Pennsylvanian, specifically on the newer development around 3400 Walnut and 40th Streets. I have also gathered marketing materials for commercial development projects on campus generated by the University and current materials from the Office of Undergraduate Admissions.

The analysis focuses on characterizations and descriptions of the neighborhood and community organizations in the

neighborhood; the University's roles and responsibilities to the community and the wider urban context of Philadelphia; and the relationship between the University and the community. The aim of such analysis is to explore the historical and current trajectory of the narratives constructed through various media, including those *of* place and those *in* place.

DATA COLLECTION: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

I identified key University employees in the following departments: Facilities and Real Estate, Undergraduate Admissions, City and Community Relations, and the Center for Community Partnerships. I conducted hour-long semi-structured interviews that focused on each department's relationship to the University and to the University's overall goals in the neighborhood. These interviewees also provided additional visual materials from their specific departments.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis does not strictly follow a singular method, but rather draws on a number of types of qualitative analyses. Narrative analysis and three other qualitative methods inform the analyses: semiotics, dramaturgy, and deconstruction.

While traditionally applied to interviews and/or oral tellings, Narrative Analysis also applies to narratives that emerge out of written texts. The analysis centers on how information imposes "order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions" by analyzing "how it is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of authenticity" (Reissman, 1993). This method assumes that language is not a "transparent medium, unambiguously reflecting stable, singular meanings" (Reissman, 1993). Thus we need to take into account the language used in these stories created. This method of analysis intrinsically supports the theoretical discourse, as "artifacts" of visual and verbal communication contribute to, structure, and are in fact narratives from various stakeholders. Narrative analysis requires an understanding of historical context, as social and historical constraints inform elements of a message. I utilize Narrative analysis as I compare and synthesize "plot lines" across a series of individual narratives as a means to examine overall institutional characterizations of the neighborhood.

Semiotics is "concerned with identifying signs and understanding the processes by which they come to have meaning" (Feldman, 1995). Meaning emerges in three ways: through metaphor, metonymy, or opposition. Table 1 provides a comparison of these three types of meaning.

TABLE 1: COMPARISON OF MEANINGS

Form of Meaning	Sign/Signifier Relationship	Example
Metaphor	Different Domains	Rose symbolizes Love
Metonymy	Same Domains	Crown symbolizes King
Opposition	Dependent on Oppositional Knowledge	Exit Sign

A semiotic analysis assumes that "there are underlying relationships between denotative phenomena, or signs, and connotative phenomena, or meanings;" further, they "assume that there is an underlying structure and that the signs are manifestations of it" (Feldman, 1995).

In a dramaturgical analysis, meaning is assumed to be produced in action. The act and the "meaning produced by the act or the messages that are conveyed by the act" are the unit of study (Feldman, 1995). This analysis looks at the structure and mechanisms of public performance and asks the questions "what performance is taking place or what meaning is being portrayed to an audience and how (do) the elements that make up the performance contribute to that meaning?" (Feldman, 1995).

Finally, the analytic tool of deconstruction assumes that "ideology imposes limits to what can and cannot be said" and

"aims at exposing these ideological limits" (Feldman, 1995). Deconstruction offers the opportunity to evaluate what is *not* said, as often the gaps and disruptions in action and communication are often important elements to understanding data. For example, Gaventa asserts that within a given situation of apparent non-challenge, processes of communication, socialization, acculturation, etc., can be studied to determine whether there is specific relationship between the actions or ideologies of the powerholders and the action, inaction, or beliefs of the powerless" (Gaventa, 1982).

Informed by these tools of analysis, the following presents data analyzed with attention to the following key ideas: partnerships, collaboration, coalition, and the center of the neighborhood. Further, the verb tense, either passive or active offers insight into the negotiation of power dynamics, as the history of a "neighborhood that was demolished" or a neighborhood that "Penn demolished," may call for different future course of action.

GAPS IN DATA

As with any short-term research endeavor, this project does not include all relevant data. Data collection proved difficult, as inconsistent materials were available over time. At certain

points in Penn's history, there is too much data, and I had to selectively choose what to include; at other times there were no materials at all. Further, a community perspective is missing. A more complete evaluation should include interviews with and data from more community groups; due to logistics and availability these were not accessible. Finally, additional case studies that closely examine multiple universities would provide a more rigorous comparative analysis. This broader assessment of urban universities could provide a continuum of university-community partnerships to understand varied use representation in their work.

Presenting a fair analysis proved to be my biggest challenge. I wanted to ensure that I was fairly assessing the University and not over-analyzing particular images or narratives. The challenge inherent in studying this "third dimension" of power is that the analysis is of the absence of something, not of something.

This chapter explores the notion of a "representational discourse," which develops out of connections between discourses in imaging, placemaking, and physical determinism, coupled with an understanding of power and planning. Here, both "representation" and "planning" signify processes by which people come to understand, engage with, construct, and reconstruct their places, both physical and symbolic.

IMAGING

Experience in physical spaces is mediated continually by images and visual representations of our surrounding environment. According to Vale and Warner, imaging is "the process of constructing visually based narratives about the potential of places" (2001). These images, at least in part, stem from external stimuli that help guide visions of our urban spaces. The media of these images varies widely: literature, film, television, graphic design, public art, drawings, computer software, graffiti, marketing materials, press releases, advertising, maps, and even descriptive statistics may create and/or perpetuate a view of an urban space. The diversity of the media implies the pervasive nature of imaging. It has become a dominant mode of communication, utilized not only by city planners and government officials, but also by private interests. The construction of places through imaging is a strategic tool in the physical transformation of cities; these conceptions influence the function of space and the level of public support for particular changes of space.

These images not only convey a particular character of space, but also provide a reference for understanding ourselves in relation to place and to others in that place. This process of "orienting" has as its starting point physical space, but also transcends that reference and "reflects a need...for a kind of transcendent orientation that asks not just where I am, but where do I fit in this landscape? Where have I been? Where shall I go, and what values will I pack for the trip? What culture of knowledge allows me to know what I know, which is often another way of knowing where I am?" (Hall, 2004). Images thus provide important social cues.

These cues are intrinsically context-specific. As Sarah Pink comments, "Images have no fixed or single meanings (and) are not capable of capturing an objective 'reality;'" the "most one can expect is that observation and images will allow one

only to interpret that which is visible" (Pink, 2001). Likewise, Duncan and Ley elaborate that there is no "neutral, univocal, 'visible world' out there" and concur that the notion of "reality" is elusive because "realism (is) 'the coincidence between a representation and that which a society assumes as its reality'" (Duncan & Ley, 1997). The dominance of a particular representation may appear as reality; often only those "whose cultural site or point of view differs from ours, may see our discrepancies (though perhaps not their own) much more clearly" (Duncan & Ley, 1997). This barrier to self-criticism emerges because people's "knowledge is acquired...in the context of 'social worlds' dominated by the perspectives of different 'reference groups,' in which meaning is attributed to acts and events through communication and interaction with limited numbers of people" (Agnew, 1997). The power dynamics among and between reference groups may determine which reality an individual experiences.

This abstract concept of "representation" may become manifest in a number of visual ways, and beyond visual representations are other modes of representing people and places. These other types of representation function in a similar manner semiotically. Lisa Peattie, while providing much of the foundation from which Duncan and Ley build their argument, also broadens the definition of "representation" to include

conceptual categories, such as political representation. She insists that "intellectual categories arise out of social arrangements and in turn help to make the arrangements seem the only possible ones, and thus maintain them" (1987). This construction and deconstruction of social arrangements has important implications for individuals and groups to form effective partnerships and coalitions. Sarah Pink also expands the notion of visual images and links them to verbal communication and invisible imaginations: "the visual also forms part of human imaginations and conversations (in as much as) images play a central role in the human mind and in human discourse" (Pink, 2001).

The human mind develops cognitive maps or "environmental images," which are "the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world" (Lynch, 1960). As described, these cognitive maps emerge from a combination of spatial, social, and political influences. While not always the dominant contributor, actual maps have a role as well. The transcription of topography into two-dimensions becomes problematized when looked at closely. As Duncan and Ley introduce, "one can see that running alongside a language of 'objective' science (of cartography and topography) is another language of power" (Duncan & Ley, 1997). These two fields of social science purport to generate knowledge; this type of

knowledge has been historically used by individuals in positions of power, and as described above, "knowledge in the service of power that is deeply intertwined in the cultural, social and political webs of a society" (Duncan & Ley, 1997). This assumption leads us back to understanding knowledge in the form of maps as a culturally constructed abstraction, imbued with its own value judgments and assumptions about particular relationships of people to each other and to the place.

Mapping requires observation and a process to analyze that which is observed. Those who map therefore presume to see the whole and to order it according to "classifications (that) provide the rules of representation, of inclusion and exclusion, of precedent and antecedent, of inferior and superior" (Duncan & Ley, 1997). In this way, maps "(confirm) boundaries, (secure) norms, and (treat) questionable social conventions as unquestioned social facts" (Duncan & Ley, 1997).

One example of the creation of "fact" is the centrality of particular places. Agnew identifies use of the "core" and the "periphery;" these concepts "signify the Sacred and the Profane or the socially Fundamental and the Marginal" (1997). He continues to point out that "centrality is not *merely* locational" (author's emphasis) (Agnew, 1997). Objects, places, etc. that are located at the center of something are seen as important and often dominant from which all else emanates and encircles. While winnowing down complex processes and relationships to this dichotomous dynamic may be an unfair simplification, the analysis of particular spatial reference points on a map does offer important clues to understanding more complex relationships.

The above analysis establishes the importance of representations as a way to more completely understand particular relationships in space. As intimated, relationships in space may be a function of a power dynamic. Further, relationships foster particular understanding of self and other, which contributes to individual and group identity-development. Thus, in a rapidly changing urban environment with growing inequity, the types of, motivations for, and messages in particular representations hold important implications for individual and group identity construction in place. Identity may become constituted through the articulation and generation of images and/or through the reception of externally created representations. In this way, representation and the cultures implicit in them are not merely afterthoughts or surface issues; they are the "'very (media) through which social change is experienced, contested, and constituted'" (Mills, 1997).

The particular tools of culture, such as photography and other visual imagery are products of culture, but also have a role in encouraging "shifts in ways of understanding and 'seeing'" (Pink, 2001). Thus, from this broad array of theorists, the importance of the "relationship between the context in which the images are produced and their visual content" (Pink, 2001) emerges, whether the images manifest in maps, photographs, graphic arts, or written text. Because of the way in which these representations are constructed, understanding these "images" as the "result of the interplay of policy, structure, and people" (Birch, 2001) helps us see why "it always matters who builds these images, for which reasons, and for whom" (Vale & Warner, 2001).

PLACEMAKING

An analysis of representations of places should not occur at the expense of the material reality of a place. Just as representations imply particular social relationships, geography is also "implicated in social processes rather than being a 'backdrop' or a 'board' upon which social processes are inscribed" (Agnew, 1997). Representations (positive, negative, neutral, etc.) of place are ubiquitous, but often specific locations undergoing dramatic physical changes are constructed and reconstituted in heightened ways through representation.

When imaging occurs across an urban space and is coupled with physical changes in landscape, we may say that those individuals and institutions "who create images stamp a collective identity" on that place" (Zukin, 1991). This "collective identity" becomes the context from which individuals and groups "orient" themselves, from which future representations will emerge, and from which individuals and groups develop their cognitive maps.

The notion of place implies "both spatial and political meanings" (Hayden, 1997), from both the "inside out" and the "outside in." Lynch's work reveals that individual mental pictures will vary according to race, gender, age, etc.; thus the development of a spatial image depends on these identifiers and image of self. Alternatively, "place attachment can develop social, material, and ideological dimensions, as individuals develop ties to kin and community, own or rent land, and participate in public life as residents of a particular community" (Hayden, 1997). Further, place, as defined by the science of cartography, provides a description not only of the physical layout, but also of property relations and boundaries between people. Finally, Deborah G. Martin demonstrates how written and visual narratives of place provide "important mobilizing discourse(s)...for collective action;" she has found that place-framing "illustrates the meaning-making that groups

of people undertake in their social and political lives" (Martin, 2003).

The collective memory and framing of place "relies on storytelling" (Hayden, 1997). In addition to the representations that these stories may take, they are embodied in the physical components of the urban landscape, which "are storehouses for these social memories" (Hayden, 1997). For example, as many living in inner cities in the United States have learned, years of "'urban renewal' and 'redevelopment' of a savage kind have taught many communities that when the urban landscape is battered, important collective memories are obliterated" (Hayden, 1997).

As Hayden's work exemplifies, the physical can not be extracted completely from the representational. The types of myths, stories, and characteristics attributed to particular places and disseminated through television media, fiction writing, press, and general conversation may provide moral justifications for particular policy measures. On one level, the particular spatial order is the consequence of more tangible activity: zoning regulation and infrastructure. However, a code of values and priorities set by society's governing bodies indeed guide these initiatives, as a "society's 'moral order' is reflected in its particular spatial order and in the language and

imagery by which that spatial order is represented" (Mills, 1997). Again the notion of naturalizing the existing (and often entrenched) power dynamic appears, as these moral orders emerge from contesting value systems that "invoke an 'authentic' organization of space to naturalize a mythical version of the way the world works" (Mills, 1997).

While this spatial order and representations thereof are socially constructed, this relationship is not unidirectional; the dialectic between the social and the spatial emerges. As much as the spatial is socially constructed, "(c)onversely, the social is spatially constituted, and people make sense of their social identity in terms of their environment;" for example, their "place of residence offers a map of their place in society" (Mills, 1997). By extension then, people make sense of their social identity or "place" in society by developing a consciousness of self and group as articulated in the language and imagery of their spatially ordered existence.[4]

This spatially ordered existence must be "read" in order to understand the symbolic meaning in buildings and urban design. The argument that buildings or site plans hold intrinsic

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[4] Here the meaning of "place" has been expanded in an analogous way to the expansion of "representation," to include not only physical/geographic definitions but also more meta-physical definitions.

symbolic meaning is too simplified and deterministic. However, buildings and spatial configurations do serve as symbols; as much as other symbols represent social constructions of meaning, architecture and urban design can be read as a code. This "reading" needs a slightly closer examination. The act of reading a space occurs best when "a significant text is embedded in the place (and) it can be recognized by the viewer as falling within a class of literary tropes that he or she already knows" (Stock, 1997). The interplay between these preexisting metaphorical references and the space is critical. The notion of reading is also embedded in the landscape. As Stock explains:

> When we use metaphors of reading, writing, and texts to describe our experience of a landscape in the post-print age, we are partly reading what we see. But we are also seeing through eyes that are historically predisposed to read. We read...because our notion of landscape contains within it an already conceptualized notion of the reading process. The metaphor is part of the act. (Stock, 1997)

The use of metaphors presumes a particular "grammar and syntax, a logic and rhetoric, and a social, cultural or political context that is understandable" by particular individuals through particular typologies (Stock, 1997). Building on this concept of literacy in the built environment, Murray Edelman emphasizes that "it is the meaning read into a scene, rather than its physical properties, as such, that is critical" (Edelman,

1995). This reading assumes a literate experience, and thus, a full analysis would consider what these messages may mean, if anything, to people who lack proficiency with the dominate literacy.

Understanding shared literacy is critical. Design serves "as an objectification of whatever shared meaning a particular group of people need to reinforce in each other" (Edelman, 1995). Architecture and urban design can thus serve as a unifying or divisive force; the existing relationships determine the role design plays because it serves only as a codification of these relationships. In Edelman's words, "(s)paces reaffirm a dialectic of hierarchical distinctions" (Edelman, 1995). Thus, the deconstructive analysis of a particular space is arguably a futile effort without understanding broader social, political, and cultural constraints and relationships, and perhaps without feedback from individuals and/or communities who use the space, or from those who are excluded from use because of new configurations.

In the interpretation of architecture and urban design, one faces a dilemma: Is meaning determined by the urban designer's vision and intention? Or rather, does the user and surrounding public read and interpret the vernacular of the place, thereby imbuing it with a broader and more

communally constructed meaning? Edelman argues that what matters in the determination of meaning are the "responses, not the intentions" (Edelman, 1995). "If a lion could talk, we could not understand him" (Wittgenstein & Anscombe, 2001).

Considering the economic and political realities of real estate development in cities today, the construction of meaning begins at the mere initiation of a large scale development project. Regardless of what the intended or ultimate design conveys, the act of production of space and transformation of landscape conveys a particular power dynamic, and is in and of itself a process by which meaning is created. Access to economic and political resources places large institutions in the position to embark on development and redevelopment projects, which inherently result in the systematic construction and reconstruction of space. Starting with this assumption calls for a heightened consciousness about the design and implementation of such development, so as to ensure processes, designs, and subsequent representations that rely on multiple voices and a consistent dialogue over time.

The function of buildings is as (or perhaps more) important than the design. One may get lost in the semiotic argument around implicit meaning-making of buildings. However, usage offers more explicit messages about the intended community of users. As Edelman explains:

> Spaces in general present themselves as having an explicit use function and an aesthetic function; that they can also condense psychological and economic anxieties people do not want to face makes them all the more potent as political symbols, for the explicit function covers for the unconscious one. (Edelman, 1995)

In this way, the uses and aesthetic choices made for the built environment serve as manifestations of explicit intentions, and also as a means to obscure or relieve underlying tensions between communities.

Partly due to the financial demands of real estate development, public spaces in the United States increasingly have become privatized spaces, or alternatively, private entities have created semi-public spaces, which, while open to a broader public remain controlled and guarded by private parties. While these spaces are ostensibly for the general public, their uses often are predicated on consumption, and therefore create an implicit exclusivity, only welcoming those with enough purchasing power or desire to participate in these consumptive activities. As Margaret Crawford points out, "Consumption hierarchies, in which commodities define life-styles, now furnish indications of status more visible than the economic relationship of class positions" (Crawford, 1992). This

dependence on commodities extends not only to class relations but also towards individual identity. Again, Crawford suggests that if "the world is understood through commodities, then personal identity depends on one's ability to compose a coherent self-image through the selection of a distinct personal set of commodities" (Crawford, 1992). The functions and representations of these spaces seek to unify through consumption.

Developers design and build public spaces with these ideas in mind, a process which conflates development of public thoroughfares and commons with cagey marketing strategies. Michael Sorkin's cynical view of redevelopment also encapsulates this idea:

> Here is urban renewal with a sinister twist, an architecture of deception which, in its happy-face familiarity, constantly distances itself from the most fundamental realities...such design is based in the same calculus as advertising, the idea of pure imageability, oblivious to the real needs and traditions who inhabit it. (Sorkin, 1992)

Caroline Mills concurs that today urban development relies on "the representation of socio-spatial order through the discourse of advertising," and that imaging involves complicated marketing schemes and "place advertisement," which will make the city "'appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live, play, and consume'" (Mills, 1997).

These decisions and actions of developers fall into Henri Lefebvre's framework for the production of space. His theory relies heavily on representations of space, particularly by professionals (planners, real estate developers, engineers, architects, etc.). This "conceived" space "reflects the arcane models, signs, and jargon used and transmitted by these 'specialists'" (Merrifield, 2002). Thus, two-dimensional visual representations also may offer communities an opportunity to imbue this professionally-imposed environment with particular meaning through the articulation of their perception of the world. This perception emerges out of the lived day-to-day experiences in their urban space (often understood as "neighborhood"). Further, individuals and communities of people represent themselves and give voice to their stories, struggles, and experiences as they play out in their space.

In other words, individuals and communities of people may now define their neighborhood and themselves in relation to that neighborhood through visualized narrative. Thus, "representing" is a pervasive and powerful tool potentially accessible to broad constituents. This understanding of mechanisms of "representational" and "lived" spaces of urban

dwellers may provide an opportunity to incorporate non-professionals in the process of "conceiving" of space. However, the path to the inclusion of diverse conceptions is itself constrained by existing power dynamics.

PLANNING AND POWER

While geographic patterns and the representations thereof offer some clues to sociological processes and power negotiations between groups, the spatial manifestations only tell a story when coupled with other political, economic, and social forces, and with a more complete understanding of decision-making processes around development of the built environment. As described, these decisions in part occur through the process of "conceiving" space, or planning. Planning is thus a process similar to that of representation; it helps facilitate and create meaningful places and "invent the possibility for new kinds of place attachments" (Vale & Warner, 2001). Those institutions and professionals that manage planning processes often control the means and modes of communicating such methods, as well. Thus, new myths emerge through "the codification of symbolic landscapes by developers, planners, and architects" (Mills, 1997).

Planning that seeks to build equity and more universal literacy, so as to allow for broad constituents to "read" the landscape,

must account for power structures, decision-making processes, and potential constraints to implementation. While professionals certainly do not have the means to single-handedly make broad structural changes in society, "they can influence the conditions that render citizens able (or unable) to participate, act, and organize effectively regarding issues that affect their lives" (Forester, 1989). The control of information is a key tool within the planner's repertoire to exert influence. Planners may control the flow and method of information transfer, thus ensuring that multiple narratives of the same place are publicly presented. This diversity may yield to more universal literacy around final designs, representations, and actual physical structures. Planners also may be able to make processes more or less democratic, as they can "shape not only documents but also participation" (Forester, 1989)

Forester assumes that information is a source of power, and grounds this assumption in an analysis of common planning perspectives: the technician, the incrementalist, the liberal-advocate, the structuralist, and the progressive. While these planning perspectives offer different ideas about the utility of information, they all find information as the key to garnering authority and/or power.

The technician finds power in technical information that "supplies simple solutions to technical problems" (Forester, 1989), while the incrementalist sees information as "a source of power because it responds to organizational needs" and "knowing the ropes is a source of power" (Forester, 1989). For the liberal-advocate, "information can be used by underrepresented or relatively unorganized groups to enable them to participate more effectively in the planning process" (Forester, 1989) . The structuralist views information as serving to "legitimize the maintenance of existing structures of power and ownership, and…to perpetuate public inattention to…fundamental issues" (Forester, 1989). Finally, the progressive sees information as a tool that can "enable the participation of citizens and avoid the legitimizing functions of which the structuralist warns," and "anticipates such regular, structurally rooted misinformation" (Forester, 1989).

Forester argues that the progressive planner is the most effective, in part because he/she understands that misinformation is often not accidental, but actually systematic. Responses to systematic misinformation calls for different analyses and interventions than inadvertent misinformation requires. Systematic misinformation often manifests in multi-layered communications, including narrative, coded images, marketing, and urban designs. Thus, this information, broadly

manifested in "cultural objects" have the potential to become "media for domination *and* for resistance" (Mills, 1997).

Recalling Gaventa's categorization of the mechanisms of power and integrating it with Forester's analysis reinforces the idea that the power of "representing" lies with those who have the tools and the means to create and deploy them. As Lisa Peattie says, "(e)very way of representing the world implies one perspective among other possible perspectives and serves some interests better than others" (1987). A closer analysis of modes, uses, and mechanisms of representations provides a window into relational dynamics between diverse constituents' located in shared urban space.

INTRODUCTION

To many, university-community[5] relationships represent a potentially untapped resource in the revitalization of neighborhoods and in the development of university's institutional and community leadership. Institutions of higher education in cities are often in a position to engage the neighborhood in which they are located. According to Andrew Cuomo, former Secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "(Universities) are the creators, preservers, and transmitters of knowledge and culture; they are also economic engines, applied technology centers, major employers, investors, real estate developers, and reservoirs of creative and energetic people" (Cuomo, 1998).

The capacity of universities to share their resources with its surrounding community and vice versa may make "the town-gown community uniquely rich in comparison to those

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[5] I refer to "universities" as opposed to "colleges" due to the nature of the case study. However, this historic overview of the literature on institutions of higher learning in urban neighborhoods is applicable to colleges and universities.

communities having no higher education institution" (Nichols, 1990). The synergy of universities in neighborhoods may prove more effective in addressing urban problems than the federal or local governments alone or than "more traditional partners such as private industry and faith-based institutions;" therefore, "university-community partnerships are justified and should be institutionalized" (LeGates & Robinson, 1998).

University initiatives often seek to improve the character of the neighborhood in one of two ways: by truly empowering the surrounding community or by removing those individuals whom university officials deem unsavory for campus. Particularly in the past five to ten years, university-community partnerships have been the subject of a number of symposia; foundation and government grants; and a new body of literature from planning professionals, academics, local and federal governments, and universities.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Higher education in the United States has traditionally focused on intellectual production. With the advent of land-grant universities in the late nineteenth century, however, universities

began to serve a more utilitarian purpose. These colleges and universities aimed to provide higher education to a broader spectrum of individuals, including those who previously could not afford to attend private colleges. These institutions also offered changes to classical curricula, offering coursework that was more relevant to working class peoples, including technical and agricultural skills.[6] These changes transformed the atmosphere of campuses and the communities in which they were located. "The status of the campus as a privileged sanctuary has been replaced with one of an open community subject to the influences of the real world" (Nichols, 1990).

The notion of "sanctuary" and reference to "open community" can be taken both literally and metaphorically. First, campuses became accessible to more diverse students, thus literally opening themselves to new populations and ideas. The notion of the college campus as a place of "ivory tower" research and learning diminished slightly, as the goals of land grant colleges included more practical application of knowledge. Particularly during the social movements of the 1960s and 70s, campuses became places of student protest and activism,

embodying both the literal and figurative changes in campus activity.

With this increased access to higher education for minorities, women, and lower-income individuals, and with subsequent increases in enrollment, universities inevitably required the physical expansion of academic, social, and housing facilities. These infrastructure developments placed increased physical and economic pressure on the surrounding neighborhoods. The convergence of federal urban renewal programs and university expansion needs in the 1950s and 60s meant that institutions of higher education became a new actor in the clearing and reconstruction of neighborhoods as part of the controversial federal urban policies.

Consequently, competing priorities over business development and housing construction emerged between the community and the university constituents. Nichols attributes this to a lack of appreciation of higher education by less educated "townies" (Nichols, 1990). Different lifestyles, lack of access to higher education because of neighborhood conditions, and physical imposition of the university may offer an alternative explanation for the different priorities of "community" and "university."

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[6] The Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 sought to teach "agriculture, military tactics, and the mechanic arts as well as classical studies so that members of the working classes could obtain a liberal, practical education... that had direct relevance to their daily lives" (http://www.nasulgc.org/).

Philosophically, the goals and objectives of higher education have also expanded, with an increased emphasis on the university's institutional role in society. Due to various historical patterns of development and urbanization, "many established, often elite, universities find themselves located in socially and economically distressed urban areas." With the shifting and multiplicity of roles that universities take on, many public sector entities look to universities as "responsive corporate citizens" (Edwards & Marullo, 1999). In other words, the university is not only a place that produces individuals who (presumably) will work for the betterment of society, but today, the university, its curriculum, and its stakeholders also serve as a vehicle to transform society. This shift rejects "the logic that the best way to attain the optimal society is for each individual to seek to maximize his or her own persona gain (and rather), the well-being of individuals and societies are reflexive" (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). This opens up universities to see themselves as social change agents, often using their local environment as a testing ground.

Like the patterns of development, philosophies and pattern of research also have shifted over time. The Chicago School of sociology of the 1950s called on academics to adopt a scientific objectivity, which led to researchers studying communities as static objects, rather than engaging communities as dynamic entities (Mayfield *et al.*, 1999).[7] Today, the push is towards service-learning initiatives and the active engagement of students and faculty with communities.

DESIGN/PLANNING OUTREACH

Planners and designers have engaged in outreach to low-income communities for some time. During the late 1960s and 1970s, designers became involved in community design centers, providing design consulting services to communities. By the late 1970s, a national network, the Community Design Center Director's Association (CDC/DA), later known as the Association for Community Design (ACD) formed (Pearson, 2002). In the 1980s, however, federal funding declined for these types of outreach efforts, and many community design centers closed.

At this time, universities and design schools were able to provide support where community design centers had been working. This civic engagement also benefited students, as they had the opportunity to engage in professional work. Over the 1980s through today, the increasing interest nationally in

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[7] While the Chicago School's theories did presume neighborhood change, the methods employed influenced researchers across the country that focused on communities as data sources to be researched as opposed to communities with whom universities partnered.

service-learning as an important pedagogical tool encouraged these endeavors. Service-learning emphasizes the enhanced education for students who engage in applications of theoretical constructs, as well as promotion of civic mindedness. Thus, design and planning projects may "meet dual educational objectives, simultaneously educating students in the realities of public service and educating communities about the value of design in achieving a positive future" (Pearson, 2002).

OTHER PARTNERSHIP PROGRAMS

In addition to coursework in planning and design schools, the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has recognized and funded various types of outreach initiatives. In 1994, its Office of Policy Development and Research created the Office of University Partnerships (OUP), which provides funding and support to colleges and universities engaged in community outreach and community-building work. They have published books of current best practices, including endeavors in service-learning, service provision, faculty involvement, student volunteerism, applied research, and other major institutional changes (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995). OUP sponsors the Community Outreach Partnership Center (COPC) program which provides grants to university endeavors that work in conjunction with community-based organizations specifically looking at urban problems. The COPC grants provide important seed money, although these partnerships need long-term infrastructure to ensure sustainability. (LeGates & Robinson, 1998) COPC grantees

> are expected to play an active and visible role in community revitalization – applying research to real urban problems, coordinating outreach efforts with neighborhood groups and residents, acting as a local information exchange, galvanizing support for neighborhood revitalization, developing public service projects and instructional programs, and collaborating with other COPCs. (http://www.oup.org)

The COPC program serves as a progression in the connection between the federal government and universities, building on the legacy of land grant colleges of the late nineteenth century and urban renewal of the 1950s and 60s. The expectations established by OUP may lead to unrealistic partnerships, as they inspire universities to "assert that they can solve major urban problems in short order with limited resources and they encourage faculty and community members to believe such claims" (Baum, 2000). As detailed below, such mismatch of expectations are critical variables in the success, or failure, of partnerships.

LEADERSHIP

While institutional analysis is important, universities are not monolithic entities; coordinating and guiding their outreach activities requires dynamic and effective leadership. The president of a university is an important visionary. To avoid the "revolving door problem," the leader needs to ensure that, despite their absence or changes in staff, collective memory is recorded to ensure that expectations and commitments do not get "confused or overlooked by successors" (Briggs, 2003).

Additionally, university presidents need to establish "a broad base of support form the various publics in the surrounding...communities" (Nichols, 1990). Management and leadership that spurs the university "to follow through on changes needed to make the partnership work" (Briggs, 2003) will frame the work as primary in the university's activity and not secondary to its academic endeavors.

SELF-INTEREST

The convergence of current pedagogical context, funding opportunities, and effective leadership create an opportune time for universities to engage in and benefit from partnerships with their surrounding neighbors. LeGates points out that as "long-term immobile institutions with fixed physical facilities, (universities') self-interest is intimately connected to the well-

being of their communities" (LeGates & Robinson, 1998). Thus, the interests of universities are intertwined with their location; to remain competitive to a diversity of students, who are the "best and the brightest," universities must sell themselves not only as a quality education, but also as culturally and geographically attractive places to live. Today, the demographics of university campuses are diversifying, as access to these institutions increases. Increases of women, students of color, students in sexual minorities, middle- and working-class students, and older students mark new trends in higher education and require new types of marketing for the university to remain attractive to this new diversity of student. Increases overall in student body also mean universities require more physical space for housing and educational facilities.

Beyond the physical needs of a university, the changing nature of society calls for different skill sets from students. These skills can be obtained through a combination of scholarships. As skills for navigating political systems and ideas about "charity" and "helping others" have all shifted in the past few decades, applied research and outreach become important features to integrate into higher education curricula (Edwards & Marullo, 1999). This thrust leads naturally to the development and emphasis on service-learning.

Marullo points to an interesting nuance of the service-learning movement; his argument focuses on universities as social change agents and draws interesting distinctions between social justice and charity. Some of his argument, however, is a bit tenuous. He employs a "social cost" logic: "unless the well-being of the least well off is assured at some acceptable level, they pose a threat to those who are better off" (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). While he otherwise poses important philosophical shifts for universities to consider, this idea may exacerbate and heighten self-interested motivation. In Marullo's conceptualization, a university must worry about the community only in as much as it may negatively affect the institution.

MULTIPLE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

Institutions of higher education are embedded in economies, politics, and spheres of influence that transcend the local; thus, their immediate self-interests are intertwined with other factors that they must consider. They are simultaneously private entities with self-interests, economic engines for regions, and globally competitive educational and research institutions. However, the local nature of universities is real, and they are embedded in a city politic. Many of the university's constituents (staff, faculty, administrators, etc.) do not live in the neighborhood, yet these are often the people who choose and/or create the aesthetic for and image of the neighborhood. Universities have a vested interest in the success and security of the surrounding community; their constituents live day to day in these environments (students going to class, faculty on lunch breaks, staff living and working in the vicinity).

At the same time, universities are interesting organisms because while they are embedded in a municipality, in many ways they function as an alternative one: they have their own governance structure, residents, public safety services, infrastructure maintenance, etc. Further, despite their non-profit status, they operate like a business and often have full for-profit arms.[8] The economic connections between universities and municipalities may be well-defined, as officials highlight the contribution to city and/or regional revenue and job creation. However, the relationship at the scale of local economic development may be more nuanced. The multiple levels of interaction require a closer look at these multiple scales, especially as the effect on local businesses and neighborhood job creation/retention may differ from the city and/or regional impacts.

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[8] While outside the scope of this thesis, the non-profit, tax-exempt status of universities poses additional concerns and challenges (particularly to localities with already depleted tax bases), which deserve significant critical attention.

POWER AND PARTNERSHIP

While both universities and communities have resources available to each other, the type of resources, history and legacy of real estate development and neighborhood transformation, and the distribution of financial resources (often weighted heavily towards the university) obscures the possibility of a balanced exchange. Both university administrators and neighborhood leadership may need a shift in perception to understand their respective assets. However, universities "may be particularly well suited for specific roles (such as) convener, planner, and capacity builder" (LeGates & Robinson, 1998). Likewise, universities have particular limitations, as "much research activity is too academic to be of direct use locally" and "their own urban agendas are not always benign from a community perspective" (LeGates & Robinson, 1998).

While today scholars' self-consciousness about the relationship between communities and universities and their respective assets seems obvious, even as recently as 1990, they needed to articulate that universities and their neighbors not take for granted their connections from both the present and the past (Nichols, 1990). Scholars began to highlight that the university community and community of residents and/or businesses in the surrounding neighborhood may have different priorities, perceptions, and understanding of this relationship.

Some of the early literature on this "town-gown" dynamic accepts university behavior, expansion, and student action as assumptions and provides very little productive analysis of how to deal with difference, aside from both "sides" accepting these operating assumptions (Nichols, 1990). Recently, the understanding of university-community relationships has acknowledged and tried to address the "cultural barriers as well-educated, stably employed faculty and upwardly mobile students work with community members who may have limited formal education, less income, and less secure jobs" (LeGates & Robinson, 1998). Further, the racial and ethnic differences between "town" and "gown" requires closer critical attention. Finally, as universities embark on large-scale real estate development, questions of gentrification arise.

These limitations, obstacles, and concerns are not insurmountable, but require a sensitivity that de-objectifies community institutions, emphasizes the strengths of both parties, and ensures "mutual respect, equal status, and mutual give and take" (LeGates & Robinson, 1998). This type of arrangement requires a true partnership with critical attention to the dynamic that this connection demands. Through

partnerships, individual parties can achieve more together than what they could have achieved separately. Further, partnering "usually offers less control...and suggests a level of mutuality and shared control that we don't associate with" a non-partnered relationship (Briggs, 2003).

Marullo and Edwards pose a framework for determining the efficacy of a university's efforts around this question of partnership. In addition to key points about service-learning, he also poses questions about institutional and organizational arrangements including:

(1) Are the institutional operations of the university-community partnerships organized in such a ways to support and sustain the collaborative efforts of faculty students, and community members?

(2) Does the university-community collaboration build community, increase social capital, and enhance diversity?

(3) Do educational institutions operate their community partnership programs in accord with social justice principles? (Marullo & Edwards, 2000)

Marullo's overall point is that the motivations behind university-community partnerships must be morally justifiable and established. "Quite apart from the insensitivity, disrespect, or indignity that might be imposed on those in need by volunteers operating on faulty motives, charity work that is not guided by social justice values will reproduce unjust structures and fail in

the long run to stem the tide of injustice" (Marullo & Edwards, 2000). Unfortunately, Marullo and Edwards' framework offers little rigor, and leave open the critical question of measuring success.

This discussion points to the absence of an important critical discourse in the literature cataloging and studying university-community relationships. Xavier de Souza Briggs is a scholar on collaborative problem-solving and on partnerships. His work critically informs partner-making endeavors, and may help illuminate some of the key concerns and pitfalls of partnerships. Partnerships, particularly cross-sector partnerships are "common in fields that are changing or evolving rapidly" (Briggs, 2003). He specifically sites university-community partnerships as an example of the "complex, promising, and increasingly visible set of partnerships...between very different types of nonprofit organizations" (Briggs, 2003).

Briggs details the need to think critically about the mutual benefits of partnering; parties must carefully consider why they are entering, what they can gain from, and how vested they would like to be in partnerships. Partnering should thus be a proactive step, not a reactive one. When these types of considerations are not taken seriously, partnerships "can be more symbolism than substance, generating confusing signals

about what defines the partnership and whether accountability is a two-way or a one-way expectation, driven by the party with 'the power of the purse'" (Briggs, 2003). Regardless of the model[9], certain "strategic tasks" should be accomplished together. Briggs summarizes these tasks in the following way:

> 1. Defining the problem: Deliberating and defining the target problem(s) or opportunity(ies) on which joint work will focus (in effect, the substantive purpose of acting jointly), determining stakes and stakeholders (what is at stake and for whom?).
> 2. Setting directions: Defining guiding principles, ground rules for working together, overall strategies for action, and accountability mechanisms; defining needed information (data and analysis needed to support decisions).
> 3. Implementing Defining and pursuing specific operational tasks, work roles, and responsibilities; changing alliance partners' individual activities as needed; sharing information and measuring performance; troubleshooting and correcting or terminating the alliance, as required.
>
> (Briggs, 2003)

Complementary to Briggs' model, Howell S. Baum suggests an evolution of partnership development, starting with an altruistic

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[9] Briggs identifies three types: the cooperation model, in which parties agree to work on problems together; the coordination model, in which parties pool resources; and the merger model, in which organizational boundaries are removed.

stage "in which one party (gives to) another for moral reasons and (takes) recompense from doing good" (Baum, 2000). Next, is the "exchange" stage, in which each party would give the other something serving its interests" (Baum, 2000). Finally, the third stage is "mutualism," where parties develop and serve "common interests" (Baum, 2000). However Baum's does not clearly call for the rigor of all three stages of planning, as articulated by Briggs in all his phases.

Jointly working on these particular tasks serves pragmatic and political purposes. Partnerships often form as means to increase legitimacy. "Legitimacy is a priceless asset…in any community…where important values are contested, perceptions are important, and a complicated past creates mistrust, a lack of respect, and other barriers to collaborative work" (Briggs, 2003). Certainly in many instances of university-community relationships with long histories of distrust, the question of legitimacy looms large.

This identification of opposition perpetuates the divide and de-legitimizes attempts at new relationships. As Marilynn Brewer explores through the discipline of social psychology: "Simply the symbolic knowledge of the shared category of identity (is) sufficient to produce psychological differentiation between

individuals who shared a category identification and those who did not" (1999).

POWER AND PHYSICAL PRESENCE

The literature on university-community relations has focused on programmatic and curricular issues. Another important dimension is the physical presence of a university in a neighborhood. As briefly mentioned above, University real estate development is not an entirely new phenomenon. College and university campuses, especially urban ones, have always required the acquisition of land from their surrounding environs. Likewise, in the early- and mid-eighties publications such as Business Week cite university real estate investment as a new, innovative strategy for bringing financial resources into the university.

The nature of campus development has seemingly varied over time, however. Brian P. Kelly, a professor of architecture at the University of Maryland at College Park, notes that "Campus planning...occurred mostly behind closed doors" (Lewis, undated). He compares campus planning to "medieval fiefdoms," in which development concerned only a small number of senior officials, facilities managers, and consultants, while other university and neighborhood stakeholders remained outside of the process.

As discussed previously, the federal government often awarded universities with financing during the days of urban renewal; universities cleared blocks, built new facilities, and/or banked this land for later development. All of this was a way not only for the university to expand its investments, but also to protect itself from ever-encroaching deterioration of the surrounding neighborhood. Today, a new and forceful movement of real estate development among universities is taking hold. This expansion through new construction, renovation, and shifting land use asserts a university's power and resources in a physical, visible way.

The past decade has brought a notable change to the development process. Universities now work to provide a more transparent process in which neighbors and other stakeholders engage openly. In his recommendations for improved campus planning initiatives, Roger K. Lewis explicitly addresses the "town gown" tension: "Love-hate relationships are typical...colleges must look beyond their borders and coordinate their planning with municipal officials and neighbors" (Lewis, undated). Also explicit is the need to use the physical planning and development as a means to "represent and facilitate" a university's intellectual and academic mission through urban design, architecture, and land use programming.

Through these development efforts, the universities' relatively larger share of power to "stamp" a collective identity becomes visible on the physical landscape. With increased attention to commercial development, a risk exists that these players will "choose an abstract aesthetic with...(a) vision of public space (that) derives from commercial culture" (Zukin, 1991). The question remains how communities galvanize to "stamp" their own identity and integrate and/or contest the identity of the university in their communities.

Through an honest partnership, universities and their neighbors may be able to articulate a "meaningful recognition of their interdependence," which may help provide "some minimal level of voice and power to redirect the process" to all stakeholders; this collaboration would work towards overcoming "such barriers as differing values and work norms, different styles of communication, uneven information, and mistrust— including 'the weight of history'" (Briggs, 2003). This partnership may be represented not only through programming in the community and the actual planning process, but also through sensitive urban design and other visual images that describe the neighborhood as a shared space.

Lessons and Conclusions

Overall, universities may engage in particular facets of planning and community-building processes. These efforts include: "needs assessment and problem definition, identification and mapping of assets, advising on program design, training and mentoring staff and residents, technical assistance, building organizational capacity, formative evaluation, summative evaluation, and comparative documentation across initiatives" (Rubin, 1998). This diversity of activity has emerged out of an evolution of university-community partnerships and leads to a few broad lessons for moving forward.

First, successful partnerships today focus on jointly perceived needs and shared vision for the future between and capacity building of multiple constituents. Further, working together leads to greater outcomes than either party working individually. The dichotomous nature of the discussion is not necessarily productive, as neither "community" nor "university" is a monolithic entity, and each has elements of grassroots and structural processes. With a diversity of organizations, local institutions, and constituents, communities may face internal dissention and communication challenges. Likewise, universities serve multiple constituents through a multitude of

departments and colleges, which may have different funding, priorities, and/or strategies.

Further, an effective partnership between universities and communities requires clear expectations of roles and responsibilities, and with "'(1) a clearly defined project (2) that is central to the work of the participating organizations, (3) that involves work to which each organization can make obvious contributions, and (4) that is undertaken by organizations with the capacity (staff, resources, competence) to contribute,'" parties will be more likely to engage in the process of partnering (Briggs, 2003).

FRAMEWORK FOR UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

While current literature on university-community relationships and partnerships provides a description of how current endeavors are working, it does not provide a coherent theory about the relationships. Further, a critical look at how universities say and represent their partnerships and an evaluation of how these things are measured and/or achieved is also absent.

Modeled after Naomi Carmon's phases of urban redevelopment (Carmon, 1997), I have distinguished four distinct phases of the university's role in university-community relationships (Table 2). I call phase one the Disengaged Service Provider. This role emerged out of the land grant colleges and focuses on developing technical, agricultural, or military skills of students so as to serve society in a broad sense. The mission is thus people-based, yet internally so, focusing on improving students through the provision of a relevant college education to a broader segment of the population.

In the second phase, the university acts as an Urban Renewal Agent. Universities benefited from increases in federal dollars for urban renewal and became agents of city planning agencies and redevelopment authorities across the nation. The goals and actions of universities were thus place-based as they sought to contribute to society through physical development and transformation.

The third phase presents universities as a Service-Learning Provider. This period, still ongoing, is programmatic and HUD's Office of University Partnerships and other funders facilitate this activity. Like the Disengaged Service Provider, the Service-Learning Provider is student-centered, and thus offers a people-based intervention strategy. Building on phase two, however, the Service-Learning Provider adds another, external, layer of people-based intervention, focusing on programming for non-university-affiliated people, as well.

Finally, select universities have engaged in private real estate development and sought neighborhood revitalization in a role I call Gowntown Developer. Universities are increasingly dabbling in real estate development, subcontracting to private developers, expanding commercial activity on a scale comparable to other downtown commercial development activities. While not uncommon for universities to maintain portfolios that include non-campus assets, the increased focus on commercial development targeted to non-university-affiliated markets distinguishes the Gowntown Developer. This new strategy changes the nature of "town-gown," often dramatically; the "town" becomes an actual and imagined product of the university, and the "gown" becomes a private, capital-driven entity. This sophisticated role embodies place-based interventions of the Urban Renewal Agent, while maintaining the student focus and externalized people-based solutions of the Service-learning Provider.

TABLE 2: PHASES OF UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Phase of University-Community Relations	Strategy	Driver
Disengaged Service Provider	People-based Student-Centered	Federal Government (land grant)
Urban Renewal Agent	Place-based	Federal and Local Government
Service-Learning Provider	People-based Student-Centered Service-Centered	Curriculum/Student
Gowntown Developer	Place-based	Private Market

4. Mapping, Planning, and External Relations at Penn

This chapter provides an overview of mapping, planning, and general external relations at the University of Pennsylvania since the early 1960s through today. First, I recount the naming of this West Philadelphia neighborhood as University City, which occurred in the 1950s and 60s as the University adopted its role as Urban Renewal Agent. Next, I explore the techniques of mapping and the orientation suggested by the University, particularly by the Office of Undergraduate Admissions, which communicates extensively with one of Penn's main constituents: undergraduate students and parents.

Then, I investigate campus plans, spanning four decades. The analysis will focus on the language and coverage of overall plans of the University and situate the University of Pennsylvania in the broader historical context of university-community relationships. Further, the plans and maps of the time will be analyzed for an understanding of how the University sees itself in the city, the neighborhood, and relative to the community. Finally, I will detail other current modes of external relations that focus on the University's representations of its relationship to and of neighborhood.

FIGURE 7: KEY MAP UNIVERSITY CITY IN RELATION TO CENTER CITY, COURTESY OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION AND VISITORS' BUREAU

THE NAMING OF UNIVERSITY CITY

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, a number of institutions in the neighborhood formed the West Philadelphia Corporation, a chartered non-profit corporation, which would "reclaim residential West Philadelphia where it (was) blighted" ("5 institutions join to attack W. Phila blight: Penn, Drexel head non-profit group for improving area", 1959). The West Philadelphia Corporation, with large representation from the University of Pennsylvania, was instrumental in conceiving of University City, a newly delineated neighborhood in West Philadelphia that would provide a hub of intellectual and research activities.

The Corporation developed its own media, publishing the University City News. The concept for University City was "precedent-shattering (and) awesome in size and breathtaking in scope," and described as something that the "country – indeed the world" had never seen before ("University City: Dream to reality", 1960). The University City initiative sought to "transform the area, sprinkled...with dilapidated commercial structures and substandard housing, into a parklike panorama of college campuses, educational and medical buildings, research centers plus appropriately designed and attractively landscaped business and residential communities" ("University City: Dream to reality", 1960). Overall

the media embraced this "new kind of approach to urban redevelopment whereby established institutions of higher learning seek to fulfill important roles of good citizenship and civic duty" ("University City: Dream to reality", 1960).

FIGURE 8: "FREEDOM AND PROGRESS" FROM THE EVENING BULLETIN, JUNE 4, 1961

FIGURE 9: ADVERTISEMENT TO APPEAR IN THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, AUGUST 12, 1961

Beyond the physical and intellectual regeneration, the Corporation also anticipated "a concurrent spiritual rebirth," where the neighborhood would "resemble the 'noble village' of wise men envisioned by Henry Thoreau" ("University City: A 'noble village' for Philadelphia", 1961).

FIGURE 10: "THE NOBLE VILLAGE" FROM THE SUNDAY BULLETIN, OCTOBER 10, 1961

FIGURE 11: AD FOR UNIVERSITY CITY CA. 1965

The Corporation, in its own publication published an article entitled, "The Mythology of University City" to dispel myths about the work of the Corporation. Myth number one challenged the Corporation that "University City is strictly 'Cloud 9' talk and will never happen" ("The mythology of University City", 1962). In response the piece comments:

> University City is "happening." In a deeper sense, however, University City is not a project or a group of new buildings, however big, or exciting these may be. University City is a way of life built upon a commitment to a balance of cultural, scientific, educational, commercial, and residential values. University City is a state of mind about our area, its potentialities and the role it must play in our city, region, and nation. Anything less than that does not do justice to University City. ("The mythology of University City", 1962)

The Corporation and general media conflated the concept of University City with "progress." At a time when the federal government provided grants for research, often for military projects, "progress" meant science. Figure 12 shows the central illustration of the University City News article quoted above. The dramatic space-age activity is juxtaposed with diagrammatic sketches of Philadelphia inside a crystal ball, as a predication of the neighborhood.
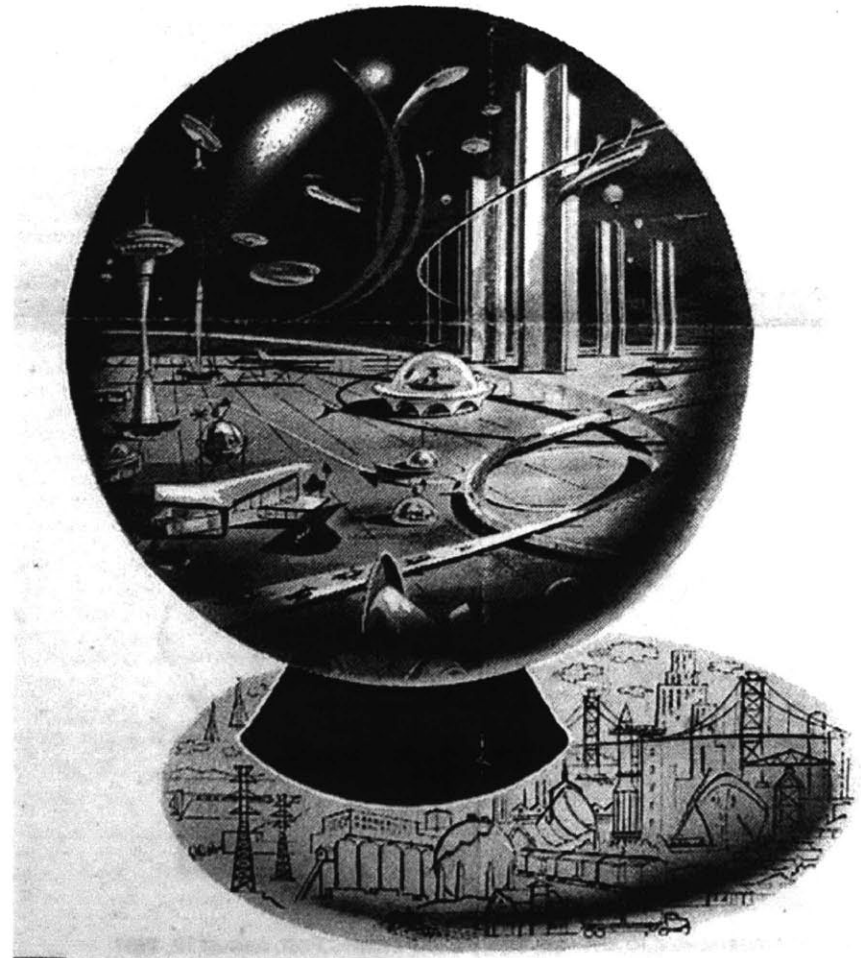
FIGURE 12: "THE MYTHOLOGY OF UNIVERSITY CITY" FROM THE UNIVERSITY CITY NEWS, FEBRUARY 1, 1962

The University thus defines the neighborhood as a site of physical expansion and location for the projection of an idealized intellectual vision.

The relations between University and the neighborhood were hostile, and in October of 1968, the Daily Pennsylvanian, the University publication, announced that it would open a department to cover West Philadelphia issues. The goal of the bureau was to "provide news coverage of West Philadelphia and to answer a basic question: Why do black West Philadelphians dislike and distrust the University?" (Editors, 1968). The announcement explains that the news will tell students "where they are," a comment that speaks to the issue of mapping and orientation of official University materials disseminated to students. The editors invoke the metaphor of an "island of wealth in the midst of poverty," not conscious that this language perhaps lies at the root of some of the tensions. The editors are aware of the paper's role as a powerful communicative tool, and embrace their "special obligation to cover the community" (Editors, 1968). Further, they recognize the potential of their role as critical and explicitly state that they will "not be afraid to probe in a way which may embarrass the University" (Editors, 1968).

The newspaper also opened its doors to community members. However, the editors acknowledge that because of its affiliation with the University, the paper may not serve its intended purpose as "a sounding board for the community" (Editors, 1968). Again, the editors fail to realize that they place themselves and the University as the primary point of reference. The neighborhood is unilaterally defined by its contention with the University.

Just as this bureau opened[10], a conference was convened at the University. An article covering the event boldly stated "Subtle Hatred of University's Guts is Displayed by Neighbors" (Arkow, undated). From the conference, emerged the question of what kind of assistance the University could offer to the surrounding community, and more importantly, what assistance the community actually needed and wanted. While some community leaders attended the event, the reporter quoted University professors to explain the "specific reasons for the community's distrust of the University" (Arkow, undated). Again, the nexus of power remains with the University, as they are the entity empowered to name and characterize the problem.

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[10] The exact chronology is unknown, as the article is undated. Events in the article, such as reference to the "*new* Center for Urban Research and Experiment," which was started in 1968, indicate that it was written in 1968 or 1969.

Meanwhile, resistance brewed on college campuses across the country. In the late 1960s, Penn students began to engage in anti-war protests. They coupled these efforts with fighting the plans for the University City Science Center and the displacement of neighborhood residents. In 1969, Students staged a sit-in at College Hall outside of the president's office and demanded that the administration address their concerns about classified research at the University City Science Center and affordable housing for displaced residents. They announced their sit-in strategy by flyers (Figures 13 and 14), and after coming to an agreement with the Trustees had coverage in a full foldout in the Daily Pennsylvanian (Figure 15).
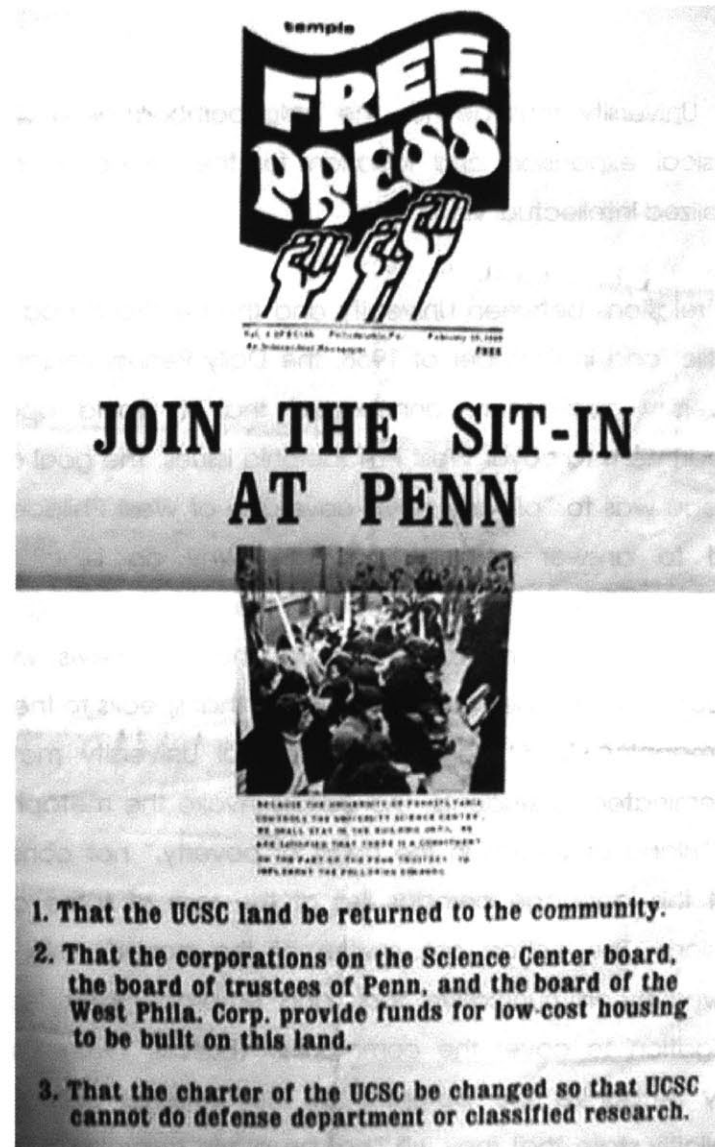
FIGURE 13: "JOIN THE SIT-IN," COURTESY OF THE UPENN ARCHIVE
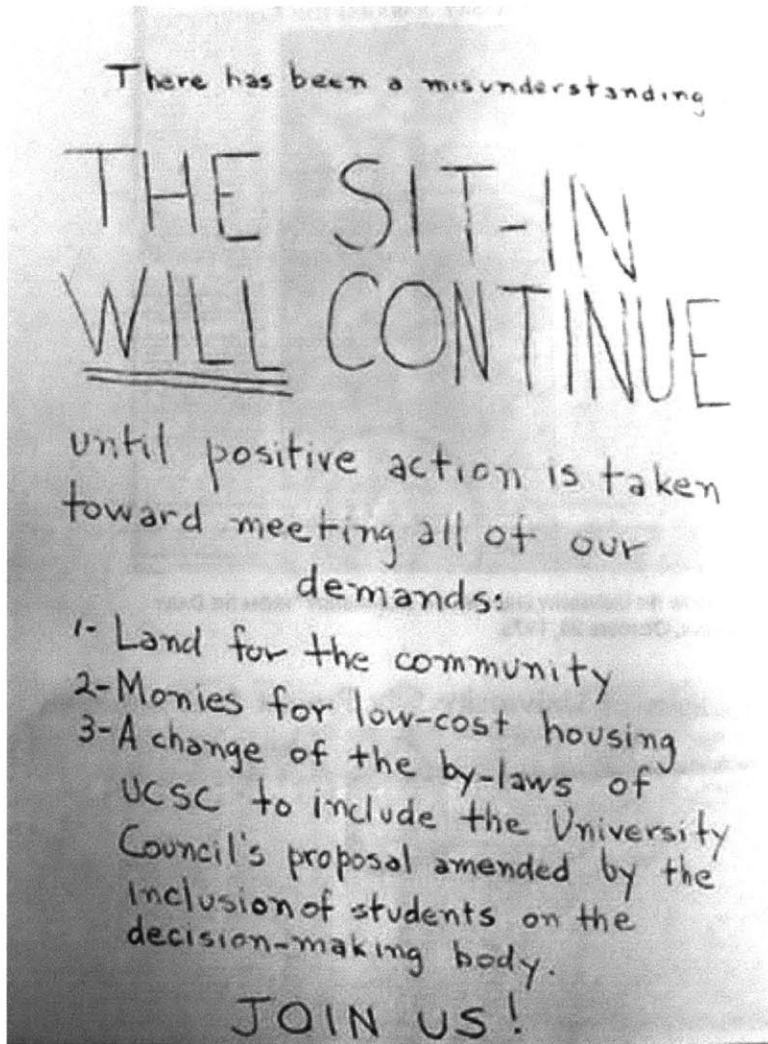
Figure 14: "The Sit-In Will Continue," Courtesy of the UPenn Archive

Figure 15: Daily Pennsylvanian Wall Poster (2 sides), Courtesy of the UPenn Archive

While students reached an agreement, issues between the neighborhood residents and the University were still less than optimal. In 1972, the Philadelphia Tribune ran an article entitled "U. of Pa. Evicts Poor, Houses Rich," thus reiterating the class-based identity power dynamics that consistently appeared in this conflict. In the article, the president of the University goes so far as to say that the new housing development will bring a "better class of people" to the campus area ("U. Of pa. Evicts poor, houses rich", 1972); the class of people who once lived on that site were primarily African-American, lower and working class individuals.

The tension persisted; in 1975, the Daily Pennsylvanian ran an article entitled "How the University Shunned the Community," describing the unkept promise of affordable housing development (Grant, 1976). Three years later, the paper published the results of on-street interviews in "West Philadelphians See University as Outsider" (Jacobs, 1978).

FIGURE 16: "HOW THE UNIVERSITY SHUNNED THE COMMUNITY" FROM THE DAILY PENNSYLVANIAN, OCTOBER 24, 1975

FIGURE 17: "WEST PHILADELPHIANS SEE UNIVERSITY AS OUTSIDER" FROM THE DAILY PENNSYLVANIAN, JANUARY 30, 1978

Campus Mapping

As described in Chapter Two, maps are one specific type of representation that imply spatial and relational context. Maps of the University of Pennsylvania campus illustrate the dramatic expansion and real estate development over the 130 years.
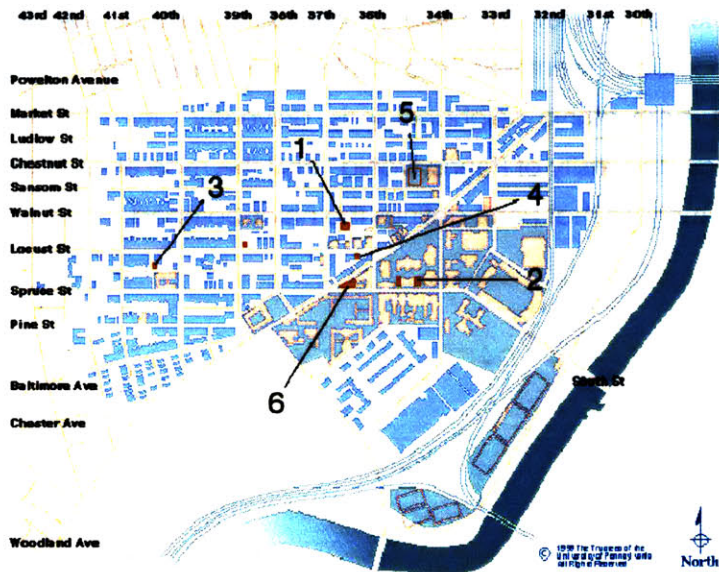
FIGURE 18: CAMPUS MAP 1935
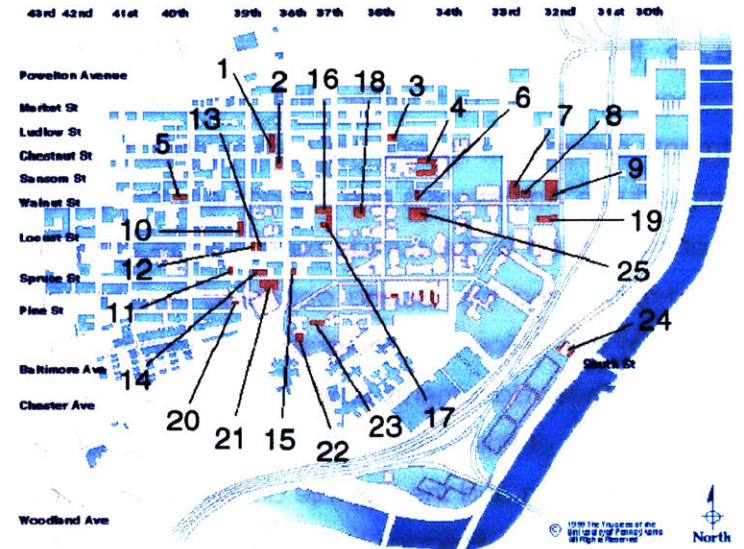
FIGURE 19: CAMPUS MAP 1965
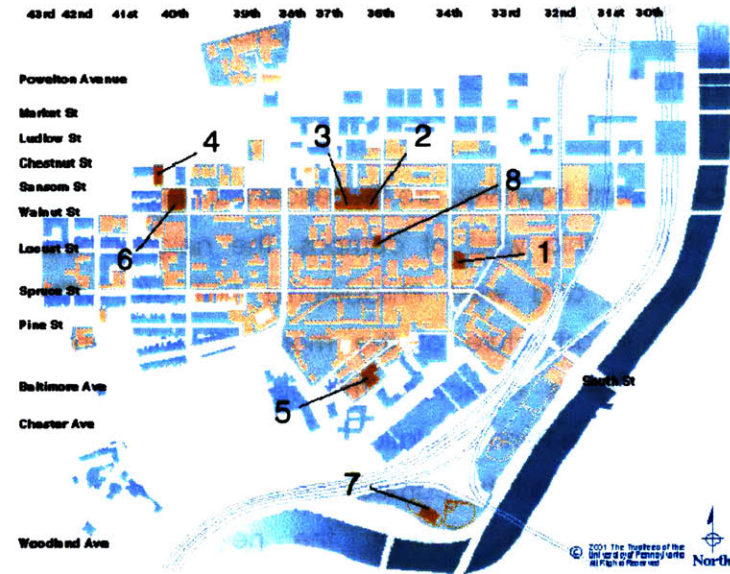
FIGURE 20: CAMPUS MAP 2000

Perhaps more telling about the institution's image of itself relative to the neighborhood are maps not of campus development per say, but rather, the maps that various departments disseminate to external communities. The Office of Undergraduate Admissions is one department that provides a bevy of information to the outside public. Figure 21 shows a foldout pamphlet and the second appeared in a brochure; both are from the Office of Undergraduate Admissions from the mid 1980s. These documents provide a view of campus in relation to the City of Philadelphia. The key campus buildings, including the museum and the high-rise dormitories are clearly depicted. Likewise, key Philadelphia architectural features in Center City, such as City Hall and Independence Hall are prominent. In northwest Philadelphia, Fairmount Park dominates the landscape.

Notably absent, however, are the residential neighborhoods of West Philadelphia west of campus. The neighborhoods of north, south, and west Philadelphia trail off, while the residential infrastructure of the more affluent center city neighborhoods is depicted. This visual representation of Philadelphia and Penn in relation to the City sends a message that center city and the campus are the nexus of activity for prospective students. Further, the neighborhoods often populated with more lower income people of color, even if they are adjacent to areas of interest, are not worthy of mapping.

Figure 22 shows another map, which has a very different style, but contains the same implicit message about campus and city. This map is one-dimensional and uses a simple, flat graphic with labels. The map labels specific landmarks, such as City Hall, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and Independence Hall. The squares of Philadelphia are also marked. The only neighborhood identifiers are Chinatown and the Italian Market, both ethnic neighborhoods. University City is labeled simply as "University of Pennsylvania" and the map ends at 38th Street, implying that Penn defines the neighborhood.
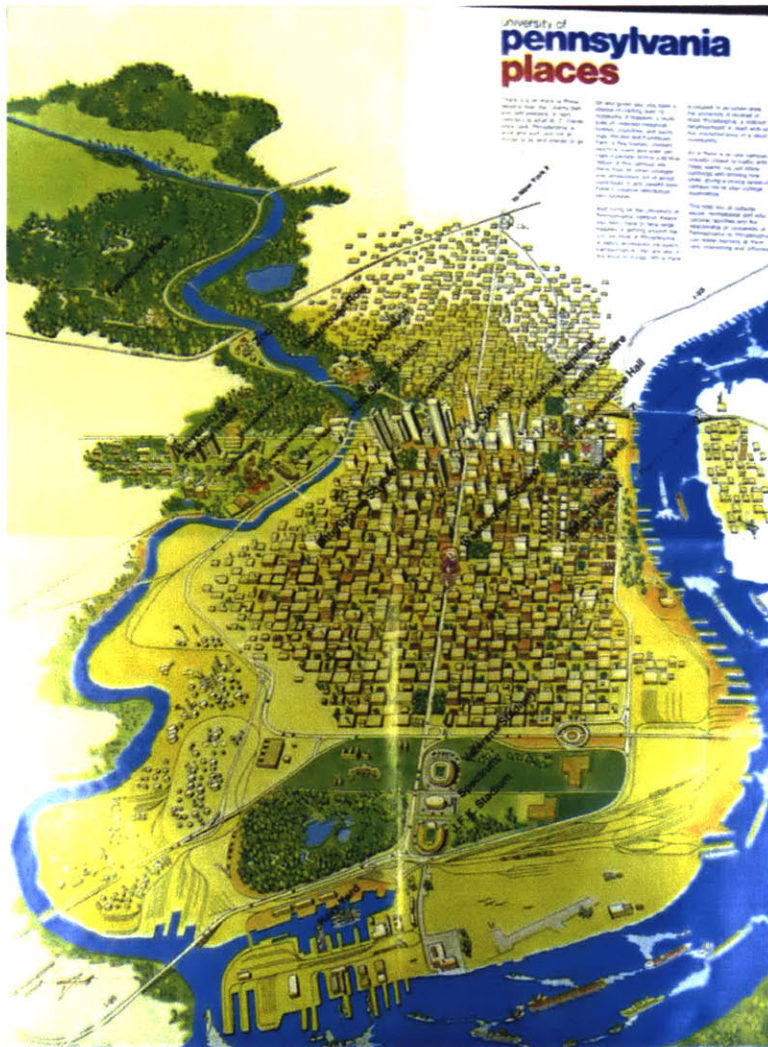
FIGURE 21: OFFICE OF UNDERGRADUATE ADMISSIONS FOLDOUT MAP
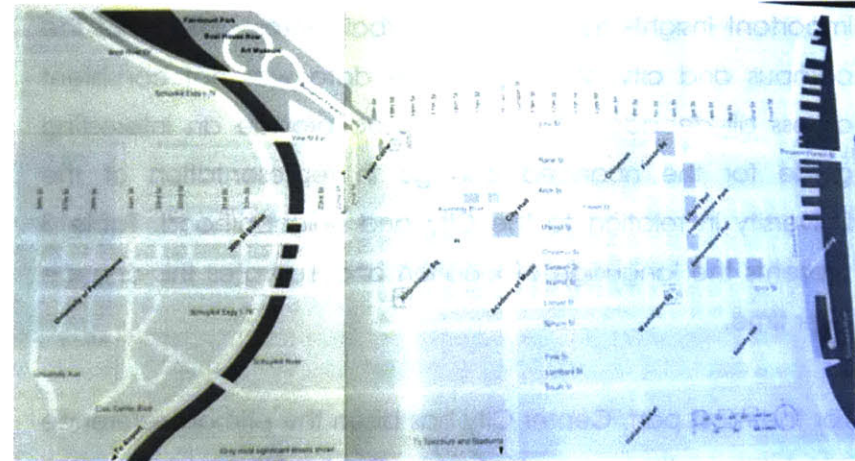
FIGURE 22: OFFICE OF UNDERGRADUATE ADMISSIONS MAP FROM BROCHURE

Figure 23 depicts an example of other maps distributed, which assume that the users' reference point and orientation is singularly the campus, again obliterating any potential of relationship with the surrounding neighborhood.

FIGURE 23: AXIOMATIC CAMPUS MAP

The Office of Undergraduate Admissions also provides important insights through their verbal representations of the campus and city. While available data was not consistent across all decades, the materials do provide an interesting guide for the nuanced change in representation of the University in relation to the City and neighborhood. Table 3 presents the language of location and illustrates this change over time.

For the most part, Center City has been the primary reference point; this position seems logical, as Center City is a well-known reference point. However, this orientation is coupled with little discussion of University City's assets. Cultural resources are attributed to either Philadelphia as a whole or to the campus, but not to the immediately surrounding area. While the neighborhood did lack some amenities such as a grocery store and upscale movie theater until Penn's recent development, neighborhood arts associations, organizations, and activities pre-date Penn's efforts. Admittedly, comparison across these different documents is not an entirely fair assessment. However, generally, the notion of Penn embedded in a neighborhood with its own assets independent of the campus was relatively absent until recently.

TABLE 3: COMPARISON OF MATERIALS FROM THE OFFICE OF UNDERGRADUATE ADMISSIONS

Material	Distance to CC (min)	Side of River	From/To CC	Reference to Campus	Reference to "Urban"	Access to Resources	Neighborhood
1970 guidebook for alumni children	8	across the Schuylkill River	"from CC"	n/a	n/a	n/a	"in West Philadelphia"
1975-76 undergraduate application	10	n/a	"from CC"	"one campus"	n/a	n/a	"in West Philadelphia"
1982 undergraduate application	10	n/a	CC "from campus"	n/a	"the Philadelphia neighborhood most physically transformed in recent years"	City as "integral to campus life"	"immediate community of Univ. City in West Philadelphia"
undated	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	"oasis within the City"	n/a	n/a
undated (map in chapter) late 70s/80s	n/a	n/a	n/a	"one campus"	"Phila. is easily accessible via public transportation. Nor are you in the thick of things...virtually closed to traffic with trees, lawns, ivy"	"Univ. City...has the greatest concentration of educational institutions in the city"	"in West Philadelphia, a distinct neighborhood in itself"
"See for yourself" brochure Undated (late 70s early 80s)	n/a	n/a	city accessible "from the University"	"extending our campus in a uniquely convenient way"	"entire city is accessible...on foot or by public transportation"	n/a	n/a
undated 1980s? "Penn and Philadelphia"	20 (walk)	"just across the river"	campus "from downtown"	n/a	n/a	"cultural life of city"	"West Philadelphia"
Information for candidates from abroad 1984-5	10	"separated from downtown Phila. by the Schuylkill River"	"city...to the east of campus"	"lively pedestrian campus"	n/a	"Beyond the limitless resources of University itself"	n/a
1989 brochure	less than 2 miles	along the west bank of the Schuylkill River	campus "from the center of Philadelphia"	n/a	"without question an urban university...a pedestrian's paradise. Locust Walk...forget you're in a city...Yet the city...(is) there for you to enjoy."	"resources of Penn and Philadelphia"	n/a
2005 brochure	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	"city and campus ... a metropolitan adventure infused with intellectual discovery, cultural stimulation..."	Philadelphia as city of neighborhoods; long list of University City amenities	"University City, in West Philadelphia, is Penn's neighborhood"

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CAMPUS STRATEGIC PLANS

While campus plans are internal documents, Penn publishes these plans in the Almanac, a publication for Penn faculty, students, and staff. They offer important insights into how Penn views itself vis a vis the community and vis a vis their role as an active agent of change in the neighborhood.

The lack of plans from the 1970s is notable, and this absence is due to the availability of copies of the plans through the University Archive. In addition, a changing political climate, which led to decreases in federal support for redevelopment/renewal projects coupled with Penn's fiscal constraints led to a decrease in University planning initiatives in the late 1970s and 1980s.

My closer analysis of the more recent plans reflects an important element to the argument contained here within; the availability of campus planning documents and the most recent wave of campus planning and development represent the new phase of university-community development, Gowntown development. Intrinsic in this effort is increased media savvy, which includes the publication of planning documents and heightened attention to the external communication of planning and partnership activities. Also aided by advances in technology, the most recent plans are readily available on the Penn website, listed as a "Spotlight" on the "Campus in the City" page (Figure 24).

FIGURE 24: UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA WEBSITE http://www.upenn.edu/campus/

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF 1962

The campus plan of 1962 mirrors the practices of other universities during this time acting as Urban Renewal Agents. The plan expresses and reiterates its primary commitment to the education of its students. The plan also includes explicit reference to the larger urban context, referring to Philadelphia as a place that "to our students, fine music, outstanding museums, unusual libraries, and the many other assets of a great city" ("Integrated development plan", 1962). As this was a time when large institutions "turned their backs" physically on neighborhoods, the emphasis for physical development focused on internal interactions between students and faculty is not surprising. The plan maintains a commitment to its urban context, insisting that the University's "buildings, its walks and quadrangles will inevitably reflect the urban character of its setting within the larger University City" ("Integrated development plan", 1962).

In the 1960s, the University was much more of a commuter school, and thus, their development planned envisioned a future "when a much larger proportion of undergraduates and graduate students will be in residence than at present" ("Integrated development plan", 1962). Even in the 1960s, the University had a program to encourage faculty to move back to the neighborhood. However, physical expansion and development in the neighborhood had "no validity except to the extent that (it) serve(d) the faculty and students of the University in their attainment of their educational objectives" ("Integrated development plan", 1962). The relationship between physical development was thus defined only in terms of academic and/or dormitory facilities. Further, as an agent of larger governmental programs, the University articulated a clear relationship with the local, state, and federal governments to facilitate the acquisition and financing of additional land.

Finally, the University acknowledged and accepted "certain obligations" to Philadelphia, the state, the nation, and more broadly, society. However, it articulated that the best way to "discharge with (its) primary obligation (was) by furnishing a superior education" ("Integrated development plan", 1962). Any additional activity in the community should fall on individual initiative, but without compromising faculty's commitment to the institution: "Community service is fine as long as it is consistent with the primary obligation of the faculty member and the primary objective of the institution" ("Integrated development plan", 1962).

From Here to 1970: A Digest of the Integrated Development Plan (1963)

The following year, the University published a plan with a broader vision, expanding their strategies out to 1970. Instead of merely acknowledging the "educational advantages" of Philadelphia as the 1962 plan did, this plan sought to "capitalize" on these advantages "while developing a green and congenial campus within a hospitable University City" ("From here to 1970: A digest of the integrated development plan", 1963). The University changed its position from the previous plan slightly, as it explicitly sought to encourage faculty members to engage in public and community service" ("From here to 1970: A digest of the integrated development plan", 1963). While the plan added the caveat "to an extent consistent with the performance of their University responsibilities," this subtle change of tone indicates a slight shift in University commitment to encouraging faculty to involve themselves in service ("From here to 1970: A digest of the integrated development plan", 1963). Notably, this service was not explicitly situated in the University City neighborhood. Further, the plan made no mention of local institutions or people when it asserted that the "communities we serve are international, national, and regional." ("From here to 1970: A digest of the integrated development plan", 1963).

Campus Development Plan 1982

In 1982, the University again articulated its (now "indispensable") "service to society" as the creation of knowledge and "preparing students to be intellectual and professional leaders" ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982). This plan expressed a shift in the institutions relationship to the city; in the past, the University saw the City as an asset to the University. In this plan, however, the University articulated itself as a main asset of the City. The plan identified the institution's cultural resources, its contribution to Philadelphia's and the region's economy, and the "the civic and professional work of (its) students, faculty, staff, and alumni," which served "to enhance the lives of the people of Philadelphia" ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982).

This plan also provided a new verbalization of the university-community dynamic. The University acknowledged that the relationship could be "improved and better organized and publicized" and that perhaps such organization would require dedicated administrative resources at Penn, as "ties with the City (were) a matter of external relations and a proper subject of direct administrative responsibility" ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982). Further, the plan reiterated the communications imperative citing the need for "multi-lateral

communications between the University and the City, so as to inform community members of interests and abilities within the University and to inform us of perceived needs within the City" ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982). These efforts referred to the relationship with Philadelphia as a whole, however, and not necessarily the neighborhood specifically. Despite this broader application, Penn thus began to actualize the need for imaging itself and its connection to the neighborhood and its community in a strategic way.

The services provided focused on institutional activities, such as that of the hospital and veterinary school. The plan remained vague citing that "operational services enhance(d) the amenities of life in University City" and that "political and civic leaders, neighborhood organizations and special interest groups" benefited from the institution's resources; the plan did not clarify the specific services, amenities, and resources ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982).

The University believed that the list of activities in and the "array of benefits" (some of which are "directly educational" and others which are "necessary consequences" of the University's mission) for the surrounding community acted as an indicator of its relationship vis a vis the community: "It is important that we become increasingly aware of these ongoing activities for they indicate, to some degree the present state of relations between the University and the City" " ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982). The utilization of this categorization of activities is a one-sided way to structure indicators and does not provide with a full understanding of how each entity understands and/or engages each other. Meanwhile, the plan cited the collective motivation of staff and faculty : "all of us at the University work in Philadelphia and our futures are bound up with the future of the City...(o)ur personal interest, the long term interest of the University, and of the city, are all intertwined" ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982). Penn's self-referential indicator is consistent with its motivation, grounded in enlightened self-interest.

Despite these subtle inconsistencies, this plan called for action steps towards strengthening ties with the community through increased service. Penn also acknowledged that its limited ability to assist the community was not necessarily a function of lack of desire or conflict, but rather that the University has a mission and strengths and to "pretend to be something (it is) not, or to offer services (it) cannot afford and are not equipped to carry out, would only lead to frustration in the general community and would detract from the effectiveness of (its) special contribution" ("Six working papers for strategic

planning", 1982). Thus, Penn articulated a healthy management of expectations. Further, the plan insisted on not only assessing the University's abilities, but also understanding the City's needs so that the activities were "both responsive to the shared priorities of the community and consistent with (Penn's) educational mission" ("Six working papers for strategic planning", 1982).

AGENDA FOR EXCELLENCE AND LEADERSHIP AGENDA

In 1995, the University, under Judith Rodin's leadership, published the Agenda for Excellence.[11] The Agenda served as a five year strategic plan to set "critical priorities" for the University through 2000, and it marked a shift in University articulation of community relations. Like other plans, the introduction of the Agenda asserts a clear identity of the University, grounded in Benjamin Franklin's goal to "learn everything that is useful and everything that is ornamental."

The Agenda expands the academic and intellectual goals for the University to include Penn's relationship with the neighborhood. Under Subgoal 3(b), the Agenda calls for the implementation of a "University-wide Public Safety Master Plan to reduce crime and enhance the security of people and property on campus and in adjacent neighborhoods." Further, Strategic Goal 5 directly speaks to community relations:

> The University will plan, direct, and integrate its government and community relations to enhance its mission of teaching, research, and service. The University also will clarify and strengthen the links between its academic programs and the public service performed by its faculty, students, administrators, and staff. To achieve this goal, the University, working with the schools, will take the following steps, among others...

- Build partnerships with corporations, educational institutions, medical institutions, medical institutions, and others that have financially invested in Philadelphia, to share resources and services that strengthen the community.
- Consistent with the University's basic missions of teaching and research, work with the community to promote economic development and increase the quality of life in West Philadelphia.

This plan from 1995 reflects the desire to move Penn up in the national rankings of undergraduate colleges and universities, as well as to focus on the internal University community. As with past plans, the Agenda contextualizes inclusive campus planning only within its contribution to University vitality. However, the explicitness of creating a more "inclusive" and open campus is a new attitude at Penn.

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[11] http://www.upenn.edu/president/agenda.html

In April 2002, the University published a second strategic plan, entitled "Building on Excellence: The Leadership Agenda."[12] The Leadership Agenda calls for a "singular and distinctive role in shaping the future of society, in this country and around the world." Like the Agenda for Excellence, the Leadership Agenda contextualizes Penn in the "practical genius of Benjamin Franklin," which sought to link theoretical and applied endeavors "while promoting service to mankind, country, friends and family." These bold and lofty visions for the University lead to a more complex set of goals and initiatives that more completely acknowledge the University's place in the City of Philadelphia, as well as in a global sphere.

Through its repeated references to service, the Leadership Agenda creates an immediate connection to the external environment of Penn, in contrast to the more internal goals of the Agenda for Excellence. This strategic plan also refers to the "urban context" in its introduction, identifying civic engagement "in all its multifaceted forms" as "the norm and hallmark of Penn's faculty and students." While this statement fosters a positive image of Penn, the document neglects to establish how Penn's prior attitudes, actions, and policies constitute a "norm" of civic engagement.

Further, the Leadership Agenda repeatedly emphasizes the "larger human communities" the University serves; the University's role as a "global competitor;" and the critical part that the University plays in the economic vitality of the City, Region, and the State. Again these multiple connections refer back to the University's well-being: "Finding ways to help Philadelphia renew its regional economy will be one major determinant of our own future success." This clear articulation of community relations carries with it a sense of altruism, more than the 1982 plan, which maintained a tone of entitlement and self-righteousness at Penn's position in and to the City and the region.

The Leadership Agenda offers a heightened awareness of and commitment to civic engagement and service-learning, incorporation these things throughout the document. The urban context receives individual attention in a section called "The Urban Community." This explicit goal returns to the notion of the City as an asset to Penn, and one on which the University can build a reputation and distinction:

> As one of the nation's premier academic institutions, Penn can and should be a nationally recognized leader in urbanism...Our location creates many opportunities for model partnerships, analysis of critical problems confronting cities, and the design and testing of new approaches to urban revitalization...If we wish to achieve a national reputation in urbanism

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[12] http://www.upenn.edu/provost/strategic_plan.html

and public policy, a central organizing mechanism that would provide visibility for these efforts is essential.

In light of this goal, the University announced the advent of the Penn Urban Research Institute, an interdisciplinary institute headed by faculty from the School of Design and the Wharton School.

The Leadership Agenda contains an entire section called "Creating the Capacity for Success," in which the University actively articulates its "non-academic activities" as an integral part of its operations. The second goal in this section states: "Create a physical environment supportive of the academic and research missions of the University, both on campus and in its surrounding environment." The narrative continues, focusing on the fact that Penn's success depends on attracting high quality students and faculty and that "attractive, functional physical facilities are essential" to this success. Further, Penn articulates that the campus facilities represent only one piece of the physical environment, as they must be "woven together with other determinants of the Penn environment – a vibrant cultural hub, varied shopping and dining opportunities, and efficient transportation." This commitment to extra-curricular activities marks as shift from previous plans, in which outside activity had to be linked to academic endeavors. This reflects Penn's adoption of Service-Learning Provider, which

encourages not only in-class service, but also creates an environment in which service is an overall priority.

The emphasis on physical infrastructure "on campus and in its surrounding environment," set the stage for Penn's innovations as a Gowntown Developer. The recommendations suggest the creation of "a culture that encourages Penn and the surrounding community to become a more inviting and supportive place within which to live, work, study, and visit" through improved integration of "food, retail, and cultural venues;" support of "the development and improvement of arts and cultural venues on the Walnut Street and 40th Street corridors;" and the maintenance of "the ongoing improvements to Penn's West Philadelphia neighborhood in partnership with other University City-based institutions, private businesses, local foundations, and the public sector." The devotion to these strategies represents a dramatic shift of Penn's focus from a primarily internal interest to external projects and programs. Further, it represents a commitment to physical determinism never before expressed.

OTHER EXTERNAL RELATIONS

PROGRAMMATIC EFFORTS

Not all messaging around the university-community relationship appeared in print; much of it was programmatic. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the University emphasized programs that brought West Philadelphia youth to the campus and other projects that sent undergraduates into the schools for tutoring. In 1987, the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), a national organization, started an initiative called Into the Streets. Into the Streets provides a model for one-day community service activities and operated on hundreds of undergraduate campuses. Penn also provided opportunities for these one-day service activities as part of freshman orientation.

Glenn Bryan, the current Director and Assistant to the Vice President of the Office of City and Community Relations, criticized the premise of the events. He commented that the program presents the community's weakness as an introduction that shapes freshmen's first impression. This message implies that University City is a "dirty neighborhood and (the students) have to serve these people" (Bryan, 2005).[13]

The 1995 tee-shirts depict a stylized cartoon of people picking up trash carelessly strewn about the streets (Figure 25). The graphics on the tee-shirts handed out to freshman in 1996 depict a brick wall with graffiti-sprayed "Into the Streets," thus invoking stereotypically negative "urban" images and perpetuating that message about which Bryan expressed concern (Figures 26 and 27).

FIGURE 25: INTO THE STREETS TEE-SHIRT, 1995

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[13] The Office of City and Community Relations and community organizations have changed this orientation event to a "Welcome to the Neighborhood" party, where the community welcomes students with a festival in a neighborhood park.

FIGURE 26: INTO THE STREETS TEE-SHIRT, 1996

Penn and the Community:
A Partnership for Clean Streets

"Keep It Clean, Keep It Safe"
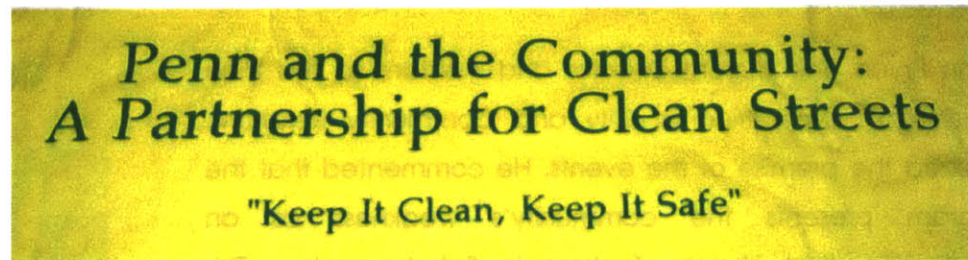
FIGURE 27: INTO THE STREETS TEE-SHIRT, CLOSEUP, 1996

CURRENT PUBLIC RELATIONS

Other public activities perpetuate and reproduce the current narrative of the University's "heroic" efforts in West Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Inquirer carried a series of stories about University City's "comeback" in 2004. One headline read "Penn Trades Ivory Tower for Bridge" (Lin, 2004). Barry Grossbach, a community activist and resident for nearly thirty years validated the "bridge" when he commented, "For the most part, we view Penn as an 800-pound gorilla – a gorilla that had systematically razed houses as it moved westward" (Lin, 2004). Now, according to Grossbach, University officials have "made a choice that Penn would only be as safe as the neighborhood around it" (Lin, 2004). With developers taking an interest and describing University City as a "walk-to-everything, family oriented neighborhood" and as "becoming to Philadelphia what Cambridge is to Boston," (Holcomb, 2004) the representation of Penn's transformation from a gorilla to a hero seems ubiquitous.

Descriptions of this latest wave of University activity are strikingly similar to that of the West Philadelphia Corporation. One reporter comments, "A half-dozen years ago, the neighborhood was riddled with crime; its streets were dark" (Holcomb, 2004). Another piece says that "the nicest thing anyone called you for moving (to University City) in decades

past was a pioneer" (Dubin, 2004). Today, the neighborhood is "chic" and "hot" because of Penn's work to "bring the neighborhood back" (Dubin, 2004). Perhaps more notable, is that the university now sees itself "*in* the community" (Dubin, 2004) (original emphasis). University City's vibrant atmosphere emerges most when juxtaposed with its dire, empty past:

> So today the once sleepy intersection of 40th and Walnut Streets bustles with pedestrian energy. Joggers run through Woodlands Cemetery, and the children of every hue giggle together at the new tot lot in Clark Park or in the playground of the new Penn Alexander school. Subway-surface trolleys on Woodland, Chester, and Baltimore Avenues shuttle residents to and from Center City.
> (Dubin, 2004)

The reference to "children of every hue" emphasizes the diversity of University City, absent the racial tension implicit in the past dynamic between the primarily-white institution and the neighborhood. While the Penn Alexander School does boast a diverse student population[14], this representation of racial harmony has been notably absent in publications until the University can take credit for the atmosphere.

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[14] The Penn Alexander School features a "Diversity" section on their website that asserts that "The student body reflects the rich diversity of the school's neighborhood. Representing more than 19 countries and speaking many languages, Penn Alexander students thrive as they learn to appreciate world cultures."
http://www.phila.k12.pa.us/schools/pennalexander/aboutus.htm

In addition to press coverage, Judith Rodin, now president of the Rockefeller Foundation has become nationally recognized because of her tenure at Penn. At the 2005 national conference of the American Planning Association, Judith Rodin served as the keynote, delivering a speech entitled "Rediscovering the Urban Campus of the 21st Century." The content did not stray from other information available from the University; she detailed the work under her administration from 1994 through 2004. She emphasized the "soaring crime" in the early 1990s, insisting that areas near the campus had become "business addresses for drug dealers." She described her administration as having reached a "moment of truth." Penn had to decide how it could end its treatment of the neighborhood as "a lab, liability, or charity case." This moment allowed Penn to realize its "true calling as an urban university" and as a catalyst for neighborhood change. Again, lost in this narrative is the fact that the University has always been an agent of change in the neighborhood, and contributed to the less-than-optimal conditions currently on the ground.

Rodin described how Penn had to acquire debt, but that financial decision was a reasonable tradeoff to successfully demolish "walls and decades of ill will." Although she referenced a commitment to collaborative planning and decision-making, Rodin also described how Penn made "no formal announcement" about the revitalization activities "until implementation was underway;" how this indicates collaboration is a bit elusive. Rodin confirmed what I inferred from the Office of Admissions materials: ten years earlier the neighborhood had been represented as a liability to Penn and something not worth mentioning; today, Penn "celebrates the transformation" of University City.

Rodin's presentation included various "before" and "after" photographs. Her "before" pictures included dilapidated buildings, trash-strewn lots, and vacant corridors; these photographs were black and white. In contrast, the "after" photographs depicted sunshine-filled, tree-lined streets with repaired housing stock and shiny new construction of commercial buildings; these photographs were full color. This subtle use of black and white versus color photography adds to the drama of Penn's narrative, and fosters the metaphor of Penn "breathing life" back into the neighborhood.

FIGURE 28: KEY MAP UNIVERSITY SQUARE 34TH TO 37TH STREETS, WALNUT TO CHESTNUT STREETS

INDEPENDENT BUSINESSES TO "UNIVERSITY SQUARE"

The Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority (RDA) owned the 3400 blocks of Walnut and Sansom Streets. The RDA, having left the blocks in severe disrepair for years, underwent a condemnation process in the mid-1960s, with plans to sell the land to the University. As part of the campus master plan approved in 1964, the 3400 block of Walnut Street was to be developed for academic facilities. In 1965, a bill was signed by City Council approving the Urban Renewal Plan of the University, which included this site. In 1969, the Executive Board of the Trustees of the University authorized lease of the land to Fox and Posel developers. The tenants of 3400 Walnut included a pharmacy, a bar, and a sandwich shop, which were all frequented by the neighborhood residents and students.

FIGURE 29: 34TH AND WALNUT STREET, COURTESY OF THE UPENN ARCHIVE

FIGURE 30: 34TH AND WALNUT STREET, COURTESY OF THE UPENN ARCHIVE

In the spring of 1971, the tenants received notice that the RDA would evict them. The University offered business-owners another new commercial space across campus and assured them that when new construction was completed, they would have first option to move back into the block. However, the University's characterization of these moves as a "checker game," implies a less-than-optimal level of commitment (Lichten, 1971). Many merchants said that the move would force them to close their businesses.

However, merchants also did not readily trust that the University would be able to pull off its plans for demolition due to financial troubles. As depicted in the press, the University·was a confused entity, highlighted by the fact that the individual whom a University official "cited as the head of the Walnut Plaza Merchants' Association resigned that post nearly two years" prior (Schade, 1971).

The University's relationship with the Redevelopment Authority remained particularly confusing to outsiders; despite this, as the press reported it, the 3400 Walnut Street plans fit into the University's larger schemes for renovation of lots in West Philadelphia (Davidson, 1971). The sense of a standoff developing emerged with the first announcement of development plans; merchants asserted that "they refuse to move until the wrecker's ball strikes the first blow" (Schade, 1971).

In September of 1971 the University revealed plans to build a shopping mall and an eleven-story office tower. They also renamed the development site "University Square," thus not only physically asserting its presence through the development, but also in name. The press release announcing the plans emphasized that the "major commercial development" aims to "serve the University of Pennsylvania community" ("Draft of press release re: University square development", 1971). Further, the president of Penn, Martin Meyerson, stated that "The University Square concept, with its imaginative and sensitive concern for the preservation and utilization of existing structures, is in keeping with the scale and character of the contiguous University environment and with the economic and social needs of our campus community" ("Draft of press release re: University square development", 1971).

The specific nature of the development also focused on students, as articulated by John Hetherston, president for facilities management and construction: "We expect University Square to become a social center of gravity. The galleries, restaurants, theater, and shops will provide, particularly in the

evening, an alive atmosphere which I think students have missed and will enjoy" ("Draft of press release re: University square development", 1971). Through this naming and repeated reference to the "campus community," the University ensured that the building as a site of university-centered uses remained primary.

ORGANIZED OPPOSITION

The Sansom Committee, a community group made up of residents and business-owners of the 3400 block of Sansom Street formed; they expressed deep concern about the development, emphasizing the need to preserve the brownstones and housing on Sansom and Walnut Streets, specifically, and the atmosphere of the area, generally. Aside from their opposition to the demolition on Walnut Street, the University's plans were particularly egregious, as the construction of the proposed eleven-story building would disturb the residential, intimate scale of the neighborhood.

FIGURE 31: 3400 SANSOM STREET, COURTESY OF THE UPENN ARCHIVE

The Sansom Street Committee was led by Elliot Cook, proprietor of La Terrasse, a French restaurant on the block. Also living on the block was Michael Karp, a lawyer, Sam Little, an architect, and Judy Wicks, activist and business-owner. This group thus had a number of resources at their disposal, and the bulk of their efforts involved legal action against the University and the RDA. While hoping to start demolition in November of 1971, University officials publicly acknowledged that not only the logistics of relocating businesses, but also the protests of the Sansom Street Committee had "caused delays in the formulation of redevelopment plans" (Davidson, 1971).

Sansom Group Criticizes U. Redevelopment Plans

By ROBERT KOTZEN

Several residents and merchants of the 3400 block of Sansom Street have threatened to file suit against the University if their demands concerning the proposed redevelopment of the block are not met.

But a spokesman for the Sansom Street Committee, Eliott Cook asserted Monday that "negotiations are coming along just fine" and that his committee does not anticipate "any trouble."

John C. Hetherston, University vice president for coordinated planning, refused to discuss the matter with the press.

According to Arthur Freedman, director of planning and design, the University is in the process of negotiating with a developer for the construction of an eleven story office building and shopping mall at the corner of 34th and Walnut Streets. Included in the University's proposal for the redevelopment of the area is the rehabilitation of nearby existing structures on Sansom Street.

Announcement of an agreement between the University and the developer is reportedly imminent.

Cook, the proprietor of La Terrasse, restaurant on the 3400 block of Sansom Street, charged that the developer, whom he identified as Richard A. Fox Associates, is also trying to obtain the contract for the rehabilitation of the buildings on Sansom Street on a profit basis.

The Sansom Street Committee is insisting that any rehabilitation be done at cost plus a "small" percentage and that rents subsequently be administered on a corresponding basis. The organization would also require that no existing structures be torn down and that floors of buildings which are presently used for residential purposes remain residential after rehabilitation.

If the University is unable to locate a developer willing to perform work on the Sansom Street structures at a cost plus percentage basis Cook's

committee would then insist on contracting its own developer to rehabilititate the buildings on Sansom Street.

Cook claimed that the committee has located several developers whom he said have expressed interest in erecting the Walnut Street buildings at a profit but who would be willing to reconstruct the Sansom Street buildings on a non-profit basis. He identified them only as "several alums who are interested in preserving campus atmosphere." The spokesmen added that rent for Sansom Street buildings under the committee's scheme would come to "about half" that which would be

charged under the University's potential developer's plans.

Professor of Finance Gordon Keith, who is chairman of President Meyerson's 3400 Walnut Street Task Force, speculated Monday that the Sansom Street Committee's proposal to develop the block by itself is "rather late."

Nonetheless, Keith indicated that at the present time the University does not intend to demolish any Sansom Street buildings and specifically remarked that La Terrasse has been assured by the University that it will be permitted to remain at its present location.

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.

FIGURE 32: "SANSOM GROUP CRITICIZES U. REDEVELOPMENT PLAN" FROM THE DAILY PENNSYLVANIAN, NOVEMBER 18, 1971

As one of their first actions, the Sansom Committee filed a "four-part administrative complaint with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) charging that several aspects of the project violated legal requirements for the area's redevelopment" (Eglick & Riley, 1972). In 1972 the Redevelopment Authority acknowledged that the University was perhaps in violation of the terms of the agreement. In their public discussion of this obstacle, the University constructed itself as the victim and viewed the Sansom Committee as potentially causing more harm to the neighborhood:

> "The thing we're really afraid of," Freedman (University planning director) noted, "is handling this project over (to the City), losing control of it. You could end up with a Gino's or a Howard Johnson's. We can't let that happen...We haven't given up yet." (Eglick & Riley, 1972)

The University continued to slyly characterize the Sansom Committee as utilizing "some political know-how," a strategy that Freedman claimed the University had not yet "mobilized" (Eglick & Riley, 1972).

At this time, the Sansom Committee articulated that they had "defeated" the University in some way. Cook asserted that despite the University's anticipated attempts to "use its clout," it probably did not "have that much weight anymore" (Eglick & Riley, 1972). Even more bold, Sam Little, an architect on the Sansom Committee, stated "We don't have these guys by their

arms, we have them by their balls" (Eglick & Riley, 1972). Despite this aggressive stance, Little articulately critiqued the University's development practice and outlined the Committee's ultimate goal: "to create a change in University thinking so that land is open and so that businesses can grow and flourish and die" (Eglick & Riley, 1972). Cook and Little have the final word in Eglick and Riley's coverage; they seem reasonable, agreeable to compromise, but also assertive about their optimal scenario (all houses on Walnut and Sansom Streets rehabilitated).

Defeat was not decisive, however, and by 1973, the Sansom Committee was still organizing against demolition. They gathered people together in October of 1973 for a "Save the Block Party." The party fliers depicted happy neighbors partying under the shadow of the wrecking ball – a way to galvanize people around the opposition of urban renewal.

In this way, the University and the RDA are conflated, and other negative images of the RDA are invoked. The Committee's strategies and know-how eventually wore on the RDA, as one representative expressed frustration at the dichotomy the Sansom Committee established: "I'm tired of always being cast in the role of villain," said an RDA representative (Holton, 1974a). Penn is still held accountable,

however, as architectural historian George Thomas recounted on the day of the party:

> "These buildings," said a bearded, youthful George Thomas, pointing to the Sansom brownstones, "date back to the 1870s and represent one of the few brownstone rows in West Philadelphia...These buildings are one of few remnants of what caused this area to develop." Ironically, said Thomas, vice president of the architectural society's local chapter, the quality of the neighborhood was the key reason that Penn located there late in the 19th century. "And now," said Thomas, "the university wants to destroy it." ("Hundreds crowd Sansom street for a 'save the block party'", 1973)
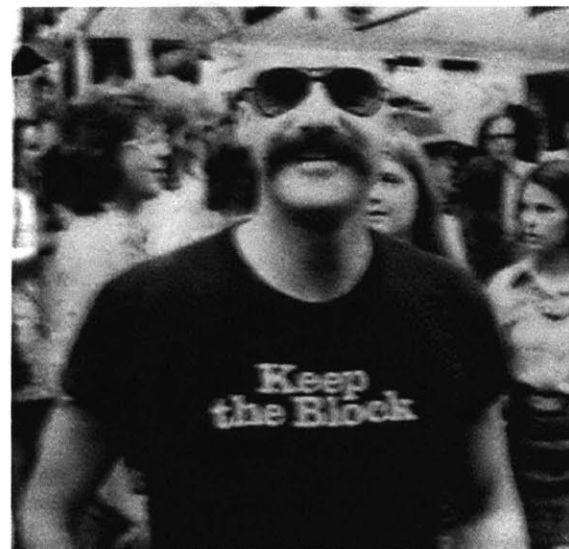
FIGURE 33: "KEEP THE BLOCK" TEE-SHIRT, CA. 1973, COURTESY OF THE UPENN ARCHIVE
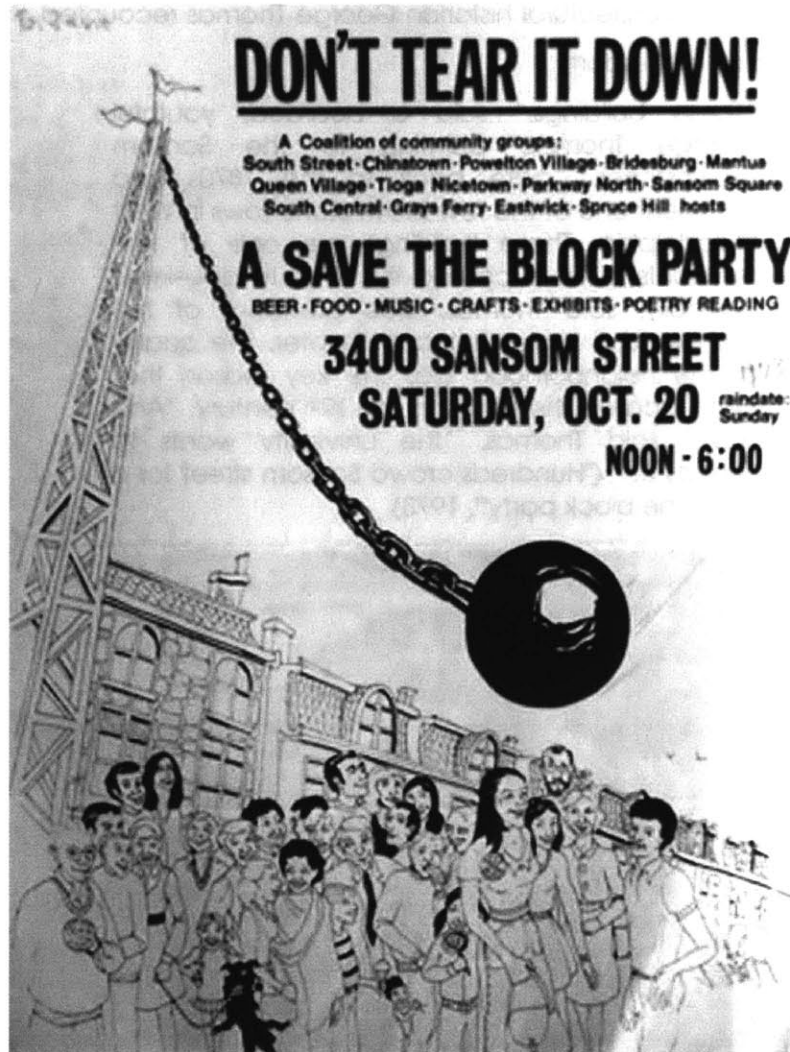
FIGURE 34: "SAVE THE BLOCK" PARTY POSTER, CA. 1973, COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVE

With individuals like George Thomas (today, a distinguished professor of architectural history at the University), the players of the neighborhood in this land dispute were more affluent, educated, and politically connected than other neighborhood organizations, and thus, could more readily wage a legal battle with the University, the RDA, and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The residents were also primarily white, and some had actually moved into the block after an initial wave of displacement by the RDA.

Interestingly, the organizing efforts around the University Science Center that built off the momentum of anti-war protests and galvanized neighborhood residents, students at Penn, and other broader coalitions had not expanded to organizing around this development. Even at the height of citizen activism, the era of urban renewal in West Philadelphia was a time of limited citizen efficacy, as "protest has been futile and fast-fading in the path of Penn's wrecking ball" (Holton, 1974b). Despite this context, the Sansom Committee was held up in the media as one group "sticking to its toe-to-toe battle with Penn" (Holton, 1974b).

Particularly effective was the Sansom Committee's legal and administrative methods which invoked powerful "planning"

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lingo and made dramatic claims about the consequences of the University's proposed development:

- 75% of the existing buildings (most are historical Victorian structures) will be torn down;
- all residents will be evicted;
- the neighborhood will become a sterile commercial facility;
- crime will increase because the buildings are not occupied 24 hrs daily;
- adequate light and air will be taken away by the intrusion of the high-rise, and by the pollution resulting form increased traffic generated by this commercial venture. (Committee, 1973)

In that same memo, the Sansom Committee employed another sophisticated argument which required a great attention to detail in the redevelopment plan. The university had signed a contract ensuring that they would use the land for educational purposes, and due to a number of circumstances, had decided to lease the land to a private developer for a profit-making development. This for-profit endeavor included the rehabilitation, renovation, and/or redevelopment of the row homes on Sansom Street, an agreement which probably would result in rents that current residents and businesses would not afford. The Sansom Committee even reiterated their alternative plan, developed in 1971, that included certain stipulations about rehabilitation and usage as well as a detailed proposal for financing to ensure that current tenants would not be displaced by higher rents (Kotzen, 1971).

The clear advantage of ability, resources, and social networks to navigate "the system" also meant that the Sansom Committee could attempt to control the discourse of design. They employed their own architects who proposed a building of only four stories of a style more similar to the existing architecture of the neighborhood. The Sansom Committee had always "sought to preserve the 'visual and aesthetic integrity of the block'" ("U. Of p. Wins battle to destroy 4 houses ", 1973). As Committee member Judy Wicks commented, their "plan would be a considerable contribution to West Philadelphia because it would provide an architectural relief to the increasing amount of new and hi-rise construction and it would also provide housing for which there is considerable shortage (and create the) safest arrangement for the community" ("Students, merchants win first round in battle with university and RDA over walnut block", 1974). These circumstances added an additional dimension to the conflict between "university" and "community," and equalized the power dynamic because the "community" was able utilize the same tools and language.

Thus, the battle over the 3400 blocks of Walnut and Sansom Streets was a battle over the preservation of a particular neighborhood aesthetic and lifestyle. The conflict does not "fit into easy stereotypes of obstructionists blocking progress or of rapacious developers razing the future," but is a debate around the "urban texture, feeling for the past, a need for an anchor in the midst of the new" (Hine, 1974).

EVICTION AND DEMOLITION

In August 1974, the Philadelphia Inquirer dramatically reported the following:

> Two lawyers, four Redevelopment Authority staff members, three sheriff's deputies, three armed private security men, two maintenance men, four police cars and two paddy wagons showed up in the 3400 block of Walnut St Friday morning. Their mission: To evict six merchants to make way for the University of Pennsylvania to raze the block and erect an office building. The merchants were shocked when their doors were padlocked. (Holton, 1974c)

However, it was not until September of 1974 that physical evictions actually began. The press depicted the first attempt at eviction a rather dramatic event; a showdown between the City and the University interests and the interests of small business-owners and the neighborhood.

> *from the Evening Bulletin*
> ...Late yesterday afternoon, University of Pennsylvania students and neighborhood residents gathered in force in front of the Onion a bar in the 3400 Walnut block expecting a confrontation with city officials...Demonstrators estimated at more than 300, milling and chanting on sidewalks lining the 3400 Walnut Street...apparently frightened away eviction agents for the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority. "We decided not to move today because of the possibility of a confrontation," RDA Solicitor Emil Iannelli said last night. "We still want to move in," Iannelli said last night, "but we will probably have to go in force." (Naedele, 1974a)

> *from the Pennsylvania Voice*
> ...a rally of over 300 people prevented the eviction of the six remaining merchants on the 3400 block of Walnut. By 5:00, a large crowd of community people and Penn students had gathered outside The Onion under signs which read: 'Save the Block' and 'Don't tear it down.'...(The RDA never showed up and) Horn (owner of the bar The Onion) then asked the crowd to disperse thanking them for their help and support. This announcement was met with cheers and statements that "The Onion has been saved!" and "Power to the people!" ("Students, merchants win first round in battle with university and RDA over walnut block", 1974)

In the "battle" between the "people" and the University and City, the "people" had won.

However, the RDA tried to downplay the efficacy of such neighborhood protests, saying that "the evictions were

postponed because there would be 'too much hassle' from the milling, beer-drinking students" ("Walnut merchant evictions halted as RDA chief withdraws order", 1974). The same newspaper article provided a diverse characterization of students: "Some students expressed support for the merchants' plight but many also reported they had been lured to the block by the prospect of 'a happening' and plenty of free liquor...'Collegeville is getting too big; we don't like what they're doing to the little guys,' one student added" ("Walnut merchant evictions halted as RDA chief withdraws order", 1974). This particular student identifies as a member of the "community" and sees himself in opposition to the University. This allegiance recalls the alliances of students and neighborhood during initial urban renewal efforts.

Meanwhile, the evictions did take place soon thereafter, much to Horn's chagrin. On September 14, 1974 the Philadelphia Inquirer reported that only a few dozen students came out in support of the businesses on the block; Horn wore a "mask of gloom" and offered one last stand shouting with a bullhorn on the steps of College Hall to President Meyerson, "'You whipped us this time. We lost because we didn't have the money to fight you any more'" ("Walnut street evictions carried out", 1974). Horn is described as finally "giving up" his business to the "iron ball of a wrecking crew;" another victim of the University

and the RDA, who is barred from entering his own establishment ("Walnut street evictions carried out", 1974). Again the press invokes the "battle" metaphor, calling Horn as one of the "last holdouts."

Responding to the popular press accounts, which the University said had "resulted in public misunderstanding and confusion regarding the University's plans," the University released a "Situation Report" in "the interest of clarification" for both the "campus and public news media" (*Situation report*, 1974). As the RDA finally bulldozed the 3400 block of Walnut, the Sansom Committee stepped up legal and political action. The characterization shifted slightly; still described as a "battle," an element of strategy was added as now the struggle over land use became known as a "chess match" (Mondesire, 1974).

In 1976, there seemed to be compromise, and the new development on Walnut Street would not be a massive eleven-story building, but rather the scale of the nearby houses. Invoking the history, and perhaps nostalgia, of West Philadelphia, neighbors saw the flipside as the "bad news (which) is, of course, that the buildings that were there, houses with considerable character and a reminder of the West Philadelphia that was, have all been destroyed" (Hine, 1976). Overall, the language employed emphasized Penn and the

RDA's continual destruction of the neighborhood to no clear end. The Sansom Committee asks "Does (the RDA) want to destroy (the 3400 block of Walnut) for the sake of destroying one of the last blocks of original housing in the wasteland it has already made?" ("City wins court decision to level block at Penn", 1974).

UNIVERSITY SQUARE 1971 TO UNIVERSITY SQUARE 2005

The Sansom Committee was able to save the brownstones on the 3400 block of Sansom Street through their sophisticated legal challenges of the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority and the University. The group of preserved and rehabilitated buildings is now known as Sansom Row and home to a diverse set of restaurants, shops, and residences.

3401 Walnut Street was built in the late 1980s, after continued negotiations around design and site planning. The structure is four stories high and houses a food court and other retail shops on the first floor the length of the block and administrative and academic offices/departments on the upper levels.

FIGURE 35: 3400 SANSOM STREET, AKA SANSOM ROW, CA. 2005

FIGURE 36: 3400 SANSOM STREET, AKA SANSOM ROW, CA. 2005

FIGURE 37: 3401 WALNUT STREET, CA. 2005

FIGURE 39: 3401 WALNUT STREET, CA. 2005

FIGURE 38: 3401 WALNUT STREET, CA. 2005

FIGURE 40: 3401 WALNUT STREET, CA. 2005

In the 1990s, the 3401 complex was branded "Moravian Court" and the Sansom Street shops became known as Sansom Row. The University then turned to Walnut Street between 36th and 37th Streets. Here they built Sansom Common, a complex with a hotel, a new campus bookstore, and various retail spaces. The University's narrative of this development seems to erase the history of the area and Penn's involvement.

An article highlighting the efforts of Dr. Judith Rodin as president of the University states "Built on land that for the previous 30 years had been a parking lot, the project *effectively reclaimed* Walnut Street as a thriving part of Penn's campus…" (Prendergast *et al.*, 2004) (emphasis added). This narrative ignores the fact that Penn had site control of the parking lot for those decades (after the displacement of residents) and did not develop the land. Moreover, the narrative positions Penn as the savoir of the block, implying that without Penn's actions, the site would have remained vacant and "claimed" by no one.

With the eventual development of a vacant site at 36th and Walnut, the Real Estate and Facilities Office developed a more comprehensive marketing package. Resolution over the blight of the 1960s that inspired University development, the subsequent delays due to citizen action, and the exacerbated blight because of these delays came only ten to fifteen years prior to this cohesive and comprehensive branding effort. The goal was to develop a network and identity for the area that created a unique experience and helped foster this pocket of West Philadelphia as a unique destination location for residents, students, faculty and staff, and tourists.

Upon creating a green space out of a parking lot, the two-block radius of shops and restaurants between Walnut and Chestnut, 34th and 36th Streets became known as University Square.[15] University Square provides extensive retail and restaurant space for the University and surrounding community. Current tenants include Smith Bros., EMS, and Urban Outfitters, three up-scale clothing stores targeting a young, hip, professional market of twenty- and thirty-somethings; Cosi coffee shop and restaurant; Douglas Cosmetics; and the Inn at Penn, a hotel run by Hilton. Recently, the Citizen's Bank located on the northeast corner of 36th and Walnut has been converted into an Ann Taylor store, which is the highest grossing Ann Taylor in the area.[16]

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[15] In interviews with University officials, no mention was made of this label stemming from the original moniker granted to the 34th and Walnut development plans by President Meyerson.
[16] According to Eric Goldstein, former Executive Director of University City District,

The University marketed the "greening" of the campus, not acknowledging that the site was home to row houses prior to the University and RDA's renewal efforts. Rather, a press release entitled "A Square's Roots: Parking Lot Converted to Public Green" highlights the "lively public space" and the University's efforts to restore "some ecological balance to the area and providing an environmental benefit" the to the community at large (Sorrentino, 2001). Anthony Sorrentino, Director of Marketing for the Facilities and Real Estate department emphasizes that the green space serves as a central organizing element of urban design and justified the use of the term "square" to brand the six square block area.

FIGURE 42: GREEN SPACE ON 36TH STREET BETWEEN WALNUT AND SANSOM STREETS (FACING WEST FROM "35TH" STREET)

FIGURE 41: GREEN SPACE ON 36TH STREET BETWEEN WALNUT AND SANSOM STREETS (FACING WEST FROM SANSOM AND "35TH" STREET)

FIGURE 43: GREEN SPACE ON 36TH STREET BETWEEN WALNUT AND SANSOM STREETS (FACING NORTH FROM 36TH STREET)

Efforts to brand University Square involve increased attention to programming in the space. According to Sorrentino, the University has planned artist festivals, concerts, and other events in the common at 36th and Walnut Streets near the bookstore. These strategies echo Hayden's description of festivals as aids "to define cultural identity in spatial terms by staking out routes in the urban cultural landscape" and as "highly effective" tools "in claiming the symbolic importance of places" (1997). Street furniture, uniform signage, good lighting all enhance the area and create the feel of a cohesive "square."

Glossy pamphlets available to the public describe University Square as an experience that is "eclectic," "hip," and "urban." Marketing materials, including a website[17], identify the (small) swath of green space as "University Square's hub" and call University Square the "heart of University City." The pamphlet includes black and white photographs, tinted sepia and blue tones, interspersed with sleek cartoons of young urbanites engaging in the key activities of University Square.

shop.

dine.

meet.

on the square.
on the penn campus.

UNIVERSITYSQUARE

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[17] http://universitysquare.biz/ns/indexLr.html

FIGURE 45: UNIVERSITY SQUARE BROCHURE

**university square.
experience it.
www.universitysquare.biz**

Eclectic. Hip. Urban. University Square adds to the Penn experience, bringing shopping, dining, culture, and sports together on the University's beautiful Ivy League campus. University Square's hub is a public green space and brick plaza located at 36th and Walnut Streets.

Experience over 100 places to shop, dine, and meet in the heart of University City. Dine around the globe. Shop at national name and one-of-a-kind specialty stores. Catch a movie. See an art show. Cheer for collegiate sports at their best. Relax and catch a live performance at the corners of 36th and Walnut Streets and 40th and Walnut Streets during warm weather months.

FIGURE 46: UNIVERSITY SQUARE BROCHURE

square meals are just the beginning.

University Square has something to tempt everyone's tastebuds. Enjoy great dining from casual coffee shops and ethnic inspirations to bistros and trendsetters. Whatever you are in the mood for, you'll find it on the Square.

shop around the square.

University Square is shopping central for students, University City residents, and visitors. From what you need to what you want, the Square offers an exciting mix of stores to inspire the shopper in you.

catch ivy league sports action.

Cheer the Penn Quakers at historic Franklin Field. Root for Penn Big Five basketball, women's basketball, volleyball, and wrestling at the Palestra. Get your adrenaline pumping by watching the best in track & field at the world-famous Penn Relays every spring.

arts & entertainment

sports & recreation

quench your cultural thirst.

Penn offers the most diverse choice of theaters, galleries, and museums found in Philadelphia's neighborhoods. So feed your mind and explore a world of culture from the ancient to the avant-garde.
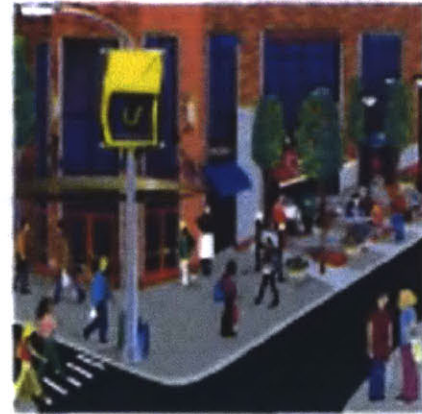
FIGURE 47: UNIVERSITY SQUARE BROCHURE

dine.

meet.

Only one of the cartoons depict racial diversity: the "dine" cartoon depicts an African-American, Caucasian, and Asian-American individuals happily eating a meal at a restaurant with a view of a city skyline (one that does not belong to Philadelphia). The "meet" cartoon which is a slightly broader view of the corner of 36th and Walnut includes two people of color, and the arts and entertainment panel depicts an African-American man playing guitar.

The remaining four graphic representations of University Square activity are thin, stylish, white people. This lack of diversity is notable because while the marketing materials identify this space as the "heart of University City," the images do not reflect use by diverse populations, at least defined by age or race.
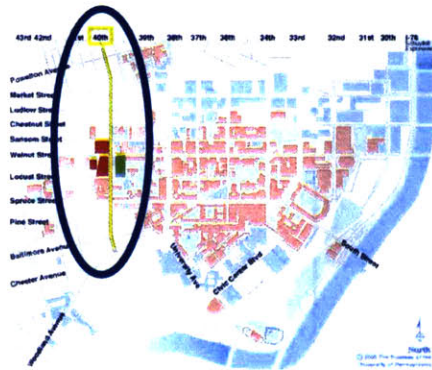
FIGURE 49: KEY MAP 40TH STREET

Fortieth Street lies at the western edge of campus. It has represented not a point of intersection or transition between campus and neighborhood, but rather, an invisible barrier through which students and parents were warned not to pass. At various points in history, students, community members, and University officials have sought to create a "seam" between campus and community along 40th Street.

THE PEOPLE'S PARK

As the Sansom Street Committee battled with the University and the Redevelopment Authority, students were joining with other community groups further west. Land next to the public library at 40th and Walnut Streets sat empty, and a group of concerned students, faculty, and citizens organized to create the People's Park. 40th Street was seen as a boundary, but as one that presented an opportunity instead of an obstacle. Project leaders identified the 40th Street location as appropriate because it was the "perimeter of the University" and therefore "accessible to people from the community" ("The greening of Penn or power to the people's park", 1971). The goal was to identify a site where the community people could "feel comfortable" and "feel that it (the park) was *theirs*" ("The greening of Penn or power to the people's park", 1971).

The project offered the opportunity for a University-sponsored project to fulfill a community need, as there was limited recreational space in West Philadelphia at this time. The proponents of the park framed their request to the University as one of retribution, as in the "wake of demolition of area buildings and displacement of local residents, many Coalition members...felt the University had certain responsibilities to the neighborhoods surrounding it" (Kanal, 1981). One representative put it more bluntly: "This park is a solution to their having messed up the area" (Naedele, 1974b). The tactics employed included sit-ins, festivals, and marches.

The efforts around the park also emphasized an environmental mission, highlighting the need for "a haven for all people" and

a place to "retreat from the noise, the fumes, the concrete" of the city, and that a parking lot (the University's alternative plan for the space) was "one of the most ecologically unsound constructions" (Kanal, 1981). While publicly, the University proclaimed "considerable enthusiasm" for the project, the reaction of the University to the proposal symbolize a resistance to the project: the University said that the group could use the space if it could raise $10,000 by October 1, 1971. The nexus of power never really shifts, as a 1974 article headline indicates "U of P *to Allow* a Park Instead of a Parking Lot" (Naedele, 1974b) (emphasis added).

FIGURE 51: PROPONENTS OF THE PEOPLE'S PARK CAMPING ON SITE

FIGURE 50: LIBERATION OF THE PARK

FIGURE 52: "U OF P TO ALLOW A PARK INSTEAD OF A PARKING LOT" FROM THE EVENING BULLETIN, FEBRUARY 7, 1974

The park never happened, however.

FIGURE 53: "PEOPLE'S PARK: AN UNREALIZED DREAM" FROM THE DAILY PENNSYLVANIAN, JULY 1, 1981

While some argued that the plans became too complicated and ambitious, some involved point to an issue of representation: "the movement suffered from association with the widespread student (anti-war) protests" of the late 1960s and early 1970s and to "call it a People's Park at the beginning was a mistake" (Kanal, 1981).

The land sat empty, the University eventually planting grass. Next to the dilapidated public library on the "dreaded" 40th Street, it was not a well-utilized area, despite its proximity to the undergraduate high-rise dormitories. Today, the space is better-utilized. With the rehabilitation of the library branch, the recent commercial activity on 40th Street, and the renovation of the dormitories, the University also made some improvements to the land, adding a walkway and a portico over the brick-laid sidewalk. As I will detail later, the space became part of the University's marketing plan, and the

events and festivals programmed to attract people to West Philadelphia, and to 40th Street, took place on this vacant land.
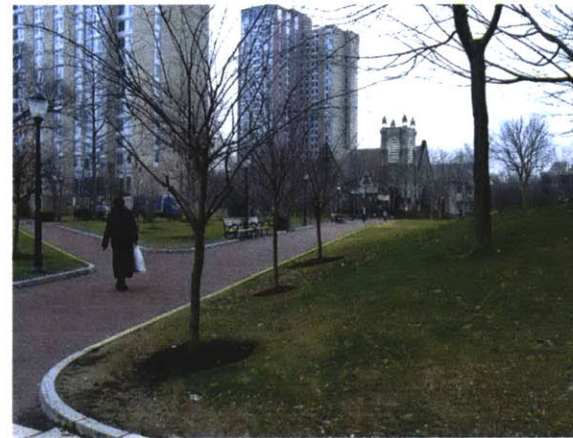
FIGURE 54: AREA OF PEOPLE'S PARK, CA. 2005

FIGURE 55: AREA OF PEOPLE'S PARK, CA. 2005,

40TH STREET AS A BARRIER

As the initiative for the People's Park died, the University faced financial difficulty in the early 1980s, institutional expansion past 40th Street seemed unlikely.[18] In fact the University made an agreement with the Spruce Hill Association and community relations board that the University would not "expand past 40th Street" (Posner, 1980). Aside from this agreement, University officials saw such expansion as "impractical from a logistical standpoint" and predicted that either "'the campus will shrink due to declining applicant pool and resources, or urban growth spurred by energy savings might make the campus more dense'" (Posner, 1980). This prediction ultimately proved incorrect, but at the time, the thought of moving beyond the barrier of 40th Street in a physical way was declared virtually impossible.

The notion of overcoming this barrier in other, programmatic ways was considered, however. The metaphor of a wall between campus and community is a common trope among students and university officials. In a 1980 edition of the Almanac, a University of Pennsylvania publication particularly directed at Penn faculty and staff, the headline on the front page proclaimed "The University and the Community: Breaking Down the Barriers" (Staff, 1980).
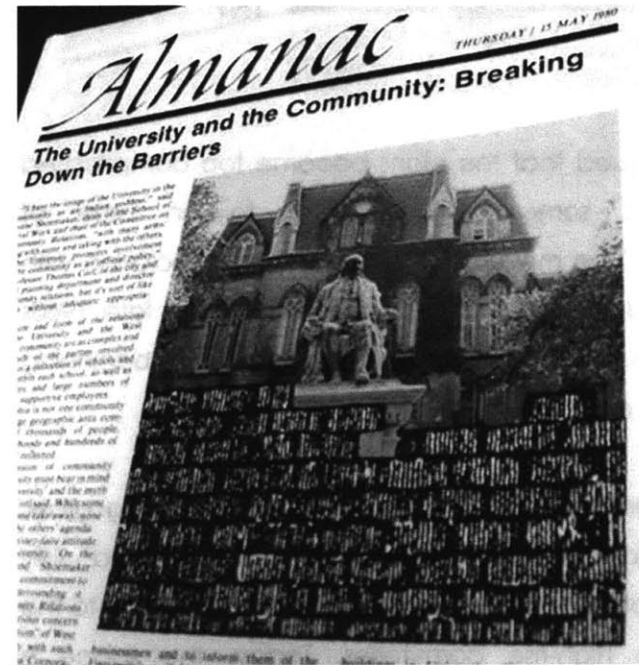
FIGURE 56: "BREAKING DOWN THE BARRIERS" FROM THE ALMANAC, MAY 15, 1980

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[18] Expansion to the east of campus was impossible because of the Schuylkill River. To the north of campus, Drexel University and Presbyterian Hospital dominated the landscape and the property. The Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, the Convention Center, and interstate 76 impeded growth to the south of campus.

The article describes the challenge of overcoming the myth of the University and the Community as monolithic entities and describes attempts by various departments to break through the "walls." The emphasis is on balance between the University needs and service. One professor says, "I have the image of the University in the community as an Indian goddess with many arms: giving with some and taking with others" (Staff, 1980)

In the mid-eighties a column in the University newspaper dramatically depicts 40th Street as an invisible wall:

> The wall, which allows only a trickle of humanity to pass through its gates stands not just because of the attempt to build an elite Ivy League institution within the confines of an urban environment – it stems from fear and misunderstanding. While the wall is only in the minds of those who believe it exists, it blocks the movement of campus residents with more force than any physical barrier could. The wall is that mental blockage which disavows life in West Philadelphia and allows residents to live in a land of Ivy Towers and Bloomie charge cards...(Dormont, undated)

The columnist evokes class distinctions between the West Philadelphia community and Penn students, describing students as existing only within the confines of an elite university and upscale department stores (Bloomingdale's).

FIGURE 57: "BEYOND FORTIETH STREET" FROM THE DAILY PENNSYLVANIAN, UNDATED

The columnist has a love-hate relationship with his fellow students. On the one hand, he criticizes them for driving "the price of housing and other basic necessities sky high," being "inconsiderate neighbors," and providing "little if any support to the community they have chosen to live in for four years." However, he then goes on to look to them as a potential source of activism and change, citing "student commitment" as "the main impetus for any change." His final plea proved ironically short-sighted, as he says: "There is no place to move and Penn can no longer keep building walls" (Dormont, undated); in the twenty years since, Penn experienced extensive growth along this invisible wall and beyond.

In a speech in March 2004 and again in March 2005, Dr. Judith Rodin's commented that the "depressed and desolate commercial corridor of 40th Street had become an invisible campus boundary beyond which Penn students and faculty were advised not to venture" and that the "'streets were littered with trash, and abandoned homes and buildings became canvasses for graffiti artists and business addressees for drug dealers" (Prendergast et al., 2004). Even today, University officials acknowledge the implicit barrier of 40th Street. The Dean of Admissions, Lee Stetson commented that security improvements have been made on 40th Street following a "flurry of activity" in the area. He continued that

"(40th Street has) always been the trouble area." (Stetson, 2005). Abounding anecdotal evidence from students, who recall being forewarned to not venture past 40th Street under any circumstances, reinforce Rodin's negative characterizations of and perpetuates myth about 40th Street.

In addition to security measures, the mid-90s and Rodin's Agenda for Excellence brought new attention to development on 40th Street. Many of the changes were initially internal to campus life and initiated through seemingly simple name changes. In September 1998, "administrators hope to convince students that a high rise can be a house, a food court can be a café, and that...Sansom Common can be everywhere" (Dreazen, 1998). Like today's reversion to "University Square" branding for the area around 34th and Walnut Streets, the University employed "Hamilton Village" to describe the area of shops on 40th Street between Spruce and Walnut Streets, a moniker that belonged to the area of houses between 38th and 40th and Spruce and Walnut Streets before the University demolished them to build "Superblock," three high rise undergraduate dormitories.

More substantive changes were not so simple, however. In 1997, the University helped to create the University City District, a special services district to work in University City. They

provided additional patrols, "ambassadors," and branding efforts to include the areas beyond 40th Street. In University mythology, this initiative came out of a partnership between Penn, Drexel University, and the University City Science Center. However, what few know is that Barry Grossbach, president of the Spruce Hill Association, and some of his neighbors organized an "association, modeled on the Center City District, that would put a workforce on the streets to clean up and to provide extra security" (O'Neill & Quinones Miller, 1999). The group raised money for the project and hoped to garner interest from the larger institutions, but they "showed little interest" and eventually "the idea was shelved" (O'Neill & Quinones Miller, 1999).

However, with the spikes in violent crime in the area, "Penn knocked on Grossbach's door" and "wanted to know about the association, what had worked, how the idea could be expanded" (O'Neill & Quinones Miller, 1999). The benefits that the University City District provides to the neighborhood should not be underestimated, but the representation by the University that this initiative emanated from the institution begs a question of Penn's commitment to partnership. Not until the initiative emerged out of a University self-interest was it willing to contribute to the organization's financing and development.

In 1998, the University announced "long-awaited plans to turn the 40th Street area into a major retail and entertainment corridor," which would hopefully come to fruition by 2000, with the opening of a new movie theater and supermarket that promised to "breathe new life into 40th Street" (Grossman, 1998). Thus, the University is again seen as the sole savoir of the neighborhood, providing "breath" to a presumably lifeless area. Subsequent articles identify Penn's developments as an "anchor" to the "new" 40th Street (Hanko, June 1999), again implying that the University must not build bridges to existing businesses, organizations, or residents, but rather remake the "old" in its own image. Finally, 40th Street is described as preparing for its "facelift" (Stockson, 1999).

The supermarket was expected to serve "all members of the University City community," and University officials sought a provider like Whole Foods, an upscale grocer. The potential divergence in Whole Foods' target market and the lower income residents of University City was not mentioned. The market would be open twenty-four hours, which "fits into the University's efforts to increase late night foot traffic in the University City area" (Grossman, 1998). The University portrayed these developments as a "catalyst" for the area that would attract "large crowds" to "create more of a street presence in

the 40th Street area and encourage further redevelopment of the western side of campus" (Hanko, 1999).

The Spruce Hill Association, the neighborhood group most immediately affected (and the group with whom the University signed an agreement two decades earlier to not expand westward), received the development well. However, the press overstated this reception as "widespread support of community leaders" (Hanko, 1999). While many did feel that the new development would spur further revitalization efforts, many concerns were left unaddressed, such as the displacement of current business owners and the affordability of new retailers, for both residents and students. Barry Grossbach, then president of the Spruce Hill Association and a West Philadelphia homeowner since 1970 commented in September 1999 that "For (University officials) to take an interest in anything west of 40th Street was an improvement. For them to be willing to extend all the way out to 50th Street (with many of their new programs) seemed a miracle" (O'Neill & Quinones Miller, 1999).

While the University officials explicitly stated that it had no intention of acting as the primary redeveloper of 40th Street, subsequent communication around planning included attention to commercial development and almost exclusively mentioned needs of the "University community" (Lucey, 1999). In this time of rapid retail development, the metaphor of 40th Street as a "wall" expanded to include "malls." In an article entitled "Malls, Walls, Dividing Penn and the Community" published in the Daily Pennsylvanian, Brian Cope suggests that "the University equates crime fighting with ridding our campus of any vendor that might attract any local residents" (Cope, 2000). The reporter identified the new barrier as a "retail wall intended to protect us from our more disadvantaged neighbors" (Cope, 2000). This suggestion confirms Crawford's theory of consumption, where commodities "define life-styles" and foster particular personal identities dependent on "one's ability to compose a coherent self-image through the selection of a distinct personal set of commodities" (Crawford, 1992).

These discussions and plans did come to fruition: the FreshGrocer moved into the northwest corner of 40th and Walnut and provides a 24-hour grocery store. On the southwest corner, the Bridge du Lux, an upscale movie theater, described by Dean Stetson as a "special place" (Stetson, 2005), opened. The development faced a number of problems, with the original entertainment company declaring bankruptcy and construction delayed considerably. While some may have considered this proof that the University should not delve into real estate development, others depicted the

University as a victim, commenting that the "University persevered" to eventually "strike a deal" with the current tenants (Prendergast et al., 2004). Here the authors employ a similar technique as the University officials did during the 3400 Walnut development; by applying language of victimhood to the University, they reconstruct the dialogue so that these types of business dealings seem like obligations and/or responsibilities that the University takes on nobly. Today, the grocery store and cinema are used by diverse populations, including students and West Philadelphia residents. Further, many of the employees at FreshGrocer are West Philadelphia youth.

In addition to this retail development, the University has identified a key cultural asset as the anchor of future 40th Street development; the cornerstone venue that perpetuates the organic "arts and culture" image of 40th Street is the Rotunda. Located just west of 40th Street on Walnut Street, the Rotunda houses the Foundation, a student-initiated and community-oriented performing arts organization that started as a project of a service-learning class by a Penn undergraduate.[19]

Penn is not a monolithic entity, although in the case of the Rotunda, there seems to be consensus across a number of vested departments. The real estate division sees the Rotunda as a link between the University's academic mission and its real estate endeavors. Further, it provides a wonderful opportunity for community development that represents a partnership between the University and the community. The President's office sees the Rotunda as fostering its positive public relations around the University's relationship with University City. Andrew Zitcer, founder of the Foundation and now the 40th Streets Cultural Assets Manager for the University's Facilities and Real Estate Department, also serves as a role model. He began his career as an undergraduate and through a service-learning class developed the concept for the Rotunda; has gone on to work in the University and is simultaneously pursuing a Master in City and Regional Planning degree; and is a neighborhood

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[19] From the Foundation's web site and mission statement (www.foundationarts.org): "The Foundation is a community gathering place for the promotion of arts and culture. This center seeks to bring together the Penn student community with the people of West Philadelphia and the greater Philadelphia area. We work from the belief that art is a catalyst for change, and that arts events can lead

to the formation of meaningful Penn-West Philadelphia partnerships." The Foundation runs on a curatorial model and relies on community members to act as curators and book shows, giving them full artistic freedom and full responsibility. Many of the musicians and artists involved live in West Philadelphia. The venue is alcohol-free and thus offers a cultural evening as an alternative to other University activities and to families in the neighborhood. The identity of the Rotunda and the Foundation programs relies not on particular bands or music genre, but rather on the venue itself, as an open, innovative, and partner-driven performance space. Through the work and perseverance of founder Andrew Zitcer and his partners, the Rotunda has been hugely successful. The University recognized this and suggested increasing activity from one or two performances per week to three to five. They hired one of the guest curators to organize and manage the programming.

resident who maintains a professional and a personal commitment to the West Philadelphia community. (Zitcer, 2004)

Now that the grocery store and movie theater serve as anchor buildings on the corner of 40th and Walnut, the Rotunda creates a core for arts programming, and other initiatives such as the Slought Gallery and the International Cultural Festival foster a culturally enhanced environment, Penn is looking to create a cohesive character from Filbert Street on the north through Baltimore Avenue on the south. The University's goals claim to work towards a more comprehensive character for the rest 40th Street, as opposed to previous spot development efforts.[20]

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING ON 40TH STREET

To further this goal, in the spring of 2003, the Department of City and Regional Planning sponsored a service-learning class, Planning Problems Workshop. The students produced a document, *Planning at the Interface of Campus and Community*, which outlines potential development strategies for the 40th Street Corridor. The 40th Street Corridor project

literature promotes a vision of arts and culture, explicitly contrasting this retail corridor with the more upscale University Square. The planning document asserts a mission to:

> Identify a strategy and plan to create a unique identity for 40th Street that builds upon existing arts and cultural assets of Penn and West Philadelphia, and enhances the academic and social life of faculty and students at Penn, while increasing interaction with and enhancing quality of life for neighborhood residents. (Praxis, 2003)

The goals of the document focus on enhancing quality of life for University-affiliated people and for neighborhood residents.

The authors argue that the cohesive vision for the 40th Street Corridor takes the University and its relationship with the neighborhood in a new direction. As the plan comments, "the University's history of interaction with West Philadelphia neighborhoods over the last half-century mirrors the evolution of urban planning philosophy." The plan continues to talk about a shift in the "University's top-down, self-centered outlook" to an approach that "embodies self-interest and sees community participation as essential" (Praxis, 2003). The distinction between "top-down, self-centered" and embodied "self-interest" in the context of this partnership may be negligible, however.

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[20] The plans for the grocery store and movie theater emerged primarily from a singular vision out of the President's Office and from John Fry, Executive Vice President, who was hired from Coopers and Lybrand after publishing a report on the need for Penn to adopt a model of corporate downsizing (Ruben, July 1999).

The plan describes Penn's involvement in urban renewal accurately, and also succinctly describes the architecture of the 1960s, which "faced their backs toward the street...as the University...attempted to protect it(self) from the decline of West Philadelphia" (Praxis, 2003).

The description again uses the language of victimhood, asserting that Penn is vulnerable to the evils of the neighborhood, and thus must "protect itself." Further, the plan does not at all speak to the current architectural aesthetic that may work to alienate the community in a different way, by creating an upscale, arguably sanitized and opulent aesthetic. Finally, due to the above-market rents that the University demands on its properties, the businesses that can afford to stay do not necessarily represent the retail needs to all of the surrounding community. The development of upscale retail may in fact exacerbate and reinforce existing class and cultural distinctions between "town" and "gown." The aesthetic of the new development may "reaffirm...hierarchical distinctions" (Edelman, 1995) between the University and West Philadelphia community, as the design of buildings that built solid walls with no public access literally and figuratively turned their backs on the neighborhood in the 1960s and 70s.

As the planning document acknowledges, 40th Street may serve as an interface between the community and the University, but the quality of that interface remains in question (Praxis, 2003). As previously mentioned, 40th Street was the geographic line between the safety of the University campus and the dangers of West Philadelphia. The "neighborhood" was seen as a haven for illicit activity and crime. In the 1980s, the University began to understand that the health of the neighborhood was inextricably linked to the vitality of the University, and among other things, President Sheldon Hackney created the precursor to the Center for Community Partnerships as way to more closely involve students in service activities in the neighborhood. In the mid 1990s, crime was at an all-time high, and in many ways, Rodin's Agenda for Excellence was a direct response. Slowly, students felt more comfortable living west of 40th Street and as the University expanded its development, the clear distinction between "'hood" and campus dissolved (or moved further west).

However, it would be naïve to believe that this increased sense of safety on the part of the University community represents an actual qualitative shift in the relationship between the Penn and the community. The dynamic is much more complex. As Andrew Zitcer comments, the 40th Street initiative could never happen without the strength of Penn's public relations or

financial resources. President Rodin concurs, "It is about Penn leveraging its resources – its ability to *convince other entities* that also must make investments that we are serious" (Praxis, 2003) (emphasis added). Here, even in Rodin's formal communication with the public, the nexus of power remains with the University.

Additionally, the sheer mass of property that the University owns demands the perpetuation of the power imbalance. As much as the plan calls for creating a "unique identity" for 40th Street, the way to accomplish this is through a consolidated and perhaps unilateral vision and implementation. The University's systematic land banking during the days of urban renewal are now given great thanks as "strategic property acquisitions," which facilitate the University's influence over "how the street develops in the way that a smaller property owner cannot...(but rather) as a mall developer would" (Praxis, 2003). The plan suggests using "commerce as a means to further connect the University to community," (Praxis, 2003).[21] The plan explicitly looks to consumerism as a transcendent force that can bring together the diverse constituents of University City. However, this approach may only serve to

make visible the economic relationships defined by a stark divide between the "haves" and the "have-nots."

The plan calls for "filtering for retail development," and explicitly seeks to foster retail uses that build bridges by promoting "interaction between Penn and non-Penn constituencies" (Praxis, 2003). Further, the plan suggests avoiding establishments that may "unintentionally exclude certain groups of people based on age, race, income, affiliation with Penn, gender, etc." or "engender complaints of growing gentrification" (Praxis, 2003). The University can often combat arguments against gentrification because many of the current projects are not actually displacing lower income people and are developing infill on currently vacant land. The strategic plans tend to ignore the fact that Penn has already displaced lower income peoples and that the vacant land exists because of Penn's history of demolition. As Ruben describes it, "the current Penn-driven redevelopment of University City constitutes part of an *historically discontinuous* process of gentrification" (Ruben, July 1999).

While, the plan aims to highlight opportunities for diverse communities to interact, it employs patriarchal language that serves to perpetuate the existing power dynamic between Penn and the neighborhood. Suggesting that the University

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[21] The University prides itself on employing local and minority contractors on construction when possible and on placing "welfare to work" hiring requirements on tenants, as well as purchasing from local vendors.

can use "properties on 40th Street, particularly in the North Zone (where there is a concentration of subsidized housing), to host service-learning projects run through the Center for Community Partnerships" does not provide for a vision of the North Zone as an independent, empowered community that may or may not want to engage in "service" projects that often serve students more than recipients (Bierbaum, 1999).

Other observers of the process see this stage of upscale development as the final step in solidifying a new identity for the neighborhood. George Thomas and David Brownlee, both faculty members at the University comment:

> With these changes, it is anticipated that Penn's neighborhood will lose its provisional quality and become a true University City, serving University faculty, staff, and students, as well as others who appreciate the possibilities of a cosmopolitan community set in a handsome Victorian suburb with remarkable transit connections to the city and the entire east coast.
> (Thomas & Brownlee, 2000)

This comment denies this West Philadelphia community any identity independent of the University. Further, by defining "others" as only those people who "appreciate" the "cosmopolitan" atmosphere the University has systematically engineered, polarizes the analysis of the University's endeavors; it leaves those that may critique the development in the role of ungrateful, insular, and unsophisticated.

After the planning document was created, the University asked Penn Praxis to facilitate a series of meetings, which came to be known as the 40th Street Forum, a series of meetings in winter 2004 and an online discussion site to promote dialogue around the development of the 40th Street corridor. The Forums were met with some skepticism. As one community member and business owner said:

> All of (a) sudden there are these forums, and they are going to talk about the development of 40th Street as though it has already been decided that it needed some sort of development. I just have this uncomfortable feeling about these self-anointed people that somehow think that they know what is best for everybody else. I believe the whole idea is to get rid of these people and to change the look of those places and make it attractive to the kind of enterprises (the Penn community finds appealing) (Dubilet, 2004).

This business owner describes imaging in and of the built environment as a powerful tool used by the University and points to Penn's use of imaging as way to build a stronger base of university-affiliated neighbors.

The University initiated the first forums and provided space for the meetings. Further, the Penn Praxis has involved students. However, Penn officials insist that the University's role will be hands-off; they are leasing the space to developers and have merely provided the facilitation of these forums. In a 2004

interview, Rodin described the Praxis facilitation as "a very exciting 40th Street planning exercise that was very *neighborhood-friendly* and included all of our harshest critics" (Prendergast et al., 2004) (emphasis added). She goes on to characterize the process as collaborative insisting that Penn was "really not in the leadership role but (as one of the) participants" and that the group "created a shared vision for 40th Street" (Prendergast et al., 2004). She does not seem to think that the University's initiation and resources will impede or bias this joint effort:

> It's a neighborhood planning process now. The more that happens...the more it will feel to everyone that, although Penn launched all of this six or eight years ago, it now is owned by the neighborhood and we're one of the participants. In the long run, that will be the outcome that makes all of this sustainable. (Prendergast et al., 2004)

Further, a representative from the Office of the President notes that the "University is really trying to work closely with area residents to cater to everyone's needs" (Horowitz, 2004). Overall, the concerns about new development focused on gentrification and the increased rents driving out small businesses and those businesses catering to lower income consumers.

In May following the initial forum presentations, the Friends of 40th Street formed. Friends of 40th Street is a nonprofit local advocacy groups that "synthesizes and represents the interests of a diverse cross-section of the University City community" (Horowitz, 2004). The group provides a space for all stakeholders to "voice their hopes with regard to the future commercial and economic development of the neighborhood" (Horowitz, 2004). The Friends also see a lobbying role in future development projects "once it has achieved consensus on the community's collective interests" (Horowitz, 2004).

The group sees its diversity of representation as an asset and "prides itself in that...it truly represents all of the parties that are invested in the area's development" (Horowitz, 2004). Notably, the Friends of 40th Street positions itself as a party at the negotiating table, rather than a partner with the University. As a leader of the Friends of 40th Street commented, the group has "enough clout" that "whoever does the development...definitely would be foolish not to take the community's wants into consideration, which will ultimately help to ensure that those wants are recognized" (Horowitz, 2004). This assertion recalls the words of Sansom Committee members who doubted the clout of the University in dealing with the RDA.

Penn's "hands-off" approach at this stage does not necessarily connect with the prior initiative of the Penn Praxis plan for 40th Street. The introduction of that plan implies that the University has already defined the problem. The community members' dismay that the mere creation of the Forum indicates that "it has already been decided that (40th Street) needed some sort of development" confirms these mixed messages. The dichotomous language on the part of the Friends of 40th Street also undermines partnership; the group has established themselves in opposition to developers. This group identification sets the stage for the persistence of combative and negative perceptions on both sides. With the problem established, the Forum set principles and ground rules. Its ability to establish accountability is not clear, and the group has not had the opportunity yet to implement their action. Interestingly, the Forum has accepted the situation of new development and redefined the problem to get as many stakeholders involved as possible.

This strategy may ultimately paralyze the efficacy of the Friends of 40th Street and the partnership possibilities; with so many stakeholders in this "unified" body, will they be able to get to internal consensus and if they do not, does that limit their ability at the negotiating table with developers and/or the University? Thus far, the principles set out are broad enough to satisfy the diverse membership. When the group must start coping with detailed implementation plans, however, that consensus may disintegrate. Meanwhile, Penn is in a difficult position, as it has convening power and resources. However, due to the history of its presence in West Philadelphia, this competence does not guarantee a trust in the University's motives.

This partnership endeavor seems to have potential for success. However, upon closer analysis, there are a number of structural flaws. First, as previously discussed, the University owns a significant portion of the property and will lease out to developers; the choice of developer can dramatically alter the mix of uses, rent structure, and phasing. Second, the University facilitated the 40th Street Forums, thus defining the problem for the group. Understandably, the University, knowing that development would happen probably acted for the best by trying to include community stakeholders as early as possible. However, to frame this as a collaborative effort is misleading. Finally, the Friends of 40th Street group that formed is large with diverse stakeholders. While the group sees this diversity of interest and vision as an asset, ultimately it may render the group ineffective; the group will have to cope with the challenges of partnership internally and overcome "such barriers as differing values and work norms, different styles of communication, uneven information, and mistrust" (Briggs,

2003) before they can deal with the external community of developers.

THE BRANDING OF 40TH STREET

These organizational challenges do not impede active development or marketing. The Facilities and Real Estate department began to evaluate whether or not 40th Street needed "its own brand identity" in order to "emerge as this seam that stitches (campus and community) together" (Sorrentino, 2005). Unlike University Square, the marketing around 40th Street is more organic because the character of 40th Street is "a little grittier" and "more community-oriented (with) a library...a grocery store...a movie theater" (Sorrentino, 2005). Anthony Sorrentino described the marketing strategy in detail:

> Instead of spending a lot of money on a logo like we did for University Square or a ton of research, this one we allowed to mature slowly and we paid more attention to street furniture to plantings to facades, banners. We started looking to brand the place physically because the customers were already there. There was no attempt to make 40th Street a destination in the way University Square was. 40th Street would become a main street that serves both campus and community and so there wasn't a huge demand to go out and create new marketing for it. But what we did do is we'd host events. One spring we had this international cultural festival where we had all these restaurants that represent all these different cuisines out and we had live music...all day long

we had people walking up and down the street. It was a great street fair. We took pictures of that and it made its way into newspapers and onto websites and into University reports and all of a sudden *the image of 40th street as a place that was once forbidden*...in 1996 you didn't go there, 9 years later...*people look at 40th street and think that's a cool street.* [22] It's clean, it's safe, it looks like someone cares about it. There's an interesting mix of retailers. (Sorrentino, 2005) (emphasis added)

The University articulates an awareness of the stigma of 40th Street in people's minds and chooses strategy that will help transform that image into something positive by using commercial activity as a stimulus.

Further, in February of 2005, developers with twenty-five year leases from the University announced plans for 40th and Chestnut Street.[23] A major headline appeared on the front page of the Daily Pennsylvanian: "Major Changes in Store for

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[22] While not explicit, in the context of the interview, I understood Mr. Sorrentino's reference to "people" as the multiple markets he serves. This includes University students, faculty, and staff, as well as University City and West Philadelphia residents and business owners, and other broader constituents of individuals who may live in other parts of the City.

[23] Further, a headline on the front page of the Daily Pennsylvanian on March 24, 2005 announced that "Penn Plans Move into Local Condo Market." In an effort to continually improve the housing stock in the area and to increase home ownership, the University has made a deal with a developer to renovate a "century-old mansion at 4200 Pine St. into 33 luxury condominiums." (Snider, 2005).

40th, Chestnut"[24] (Dubilet, 2005). However, the headline on the continuation said "Local vendors to face steep rent increase" (Dubilet, 2005). The location of these two headlines emphasizes the positive approach to development; the concerns of local vendors only appears on the inside page, after the developer's description on the first page.

The vendors voice a sense of entitlement commenting, "We have been here for a long time, almost 20 years. I think the University should accommodate us (as longtime tenants)" (Dubilet, 2005). Despite the rosy picture of "shared vision" that Rodin and others provided, merchants on 40th Street characterize the University as not caring "about the small people" and as an institution that "does what it wants to do" (Dubilet, 2005).

FIGURE 59: 40TH AND CHESTNUT STREETS (FACING EAST DOWN CHESTNUT STREET)

FIGURE 60: PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT ON SOUTHEAST CORNER OF 40TH AND MARKET STREETS

FIGURE 58: 40TH AND LOCUST STREETS (FACING NORTH UP 40TH STREET)
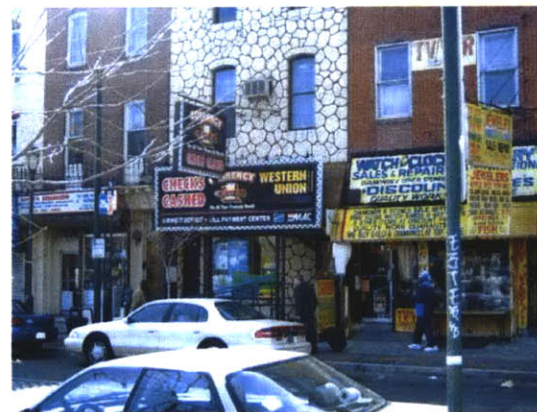
FIGURE 61: WEST SIDE OF 40TH STREET BETWEEN MARKET AND CHESTNUT STREETS

[24] The main headline of this day's news was "2 Men Open Fire at Bridge (the movie theater at 40th and Walnut)." The article clarifies that those involved in the shooting were "all unaffiliated with the University" (Kaufman, 2005).

Penn's story provides a detailed illustration of the history of university-community partnerships. The analysis here describes Penn's astute attention to the power of representation in furthering not only its own planning agenda, but also in presenting such efforts to a broader public audience. The audience to whom Penn directed its representations shifted over time. Likewise, the shift in Penn's characterization of "partnership" followed historical trends of development. Penn served as an important and useful case study because of its current leadership as a Gowntown Developer.

Recall the framework of university-community relations. While not a land grant college, Penn adopted some of the goals of the Disengaged Service Provider, asserting its primary mission in campus development plans as educating individuals for good works in society. The University embraced its role as Urban Renewal Agent, and focused its energy on communicating the good works of the institution to combat slum conditions to the general public and on characterizing itself as a victim in the midst of such blight. As Penn adopted a service-learning curriculum and rapidly ascended to the top in this field, its imaging sought to attract students, and the message of service-learning was directed internally to new students and to the community. Today, with the market as the driver, Penn welcomes its new role as Gowntown Developer. The market captures the multiple levels of embeddedness of a university in a new and different way; Penn now has concentric circles of outreach, which are not necessarily about partnership, but rather about money and consumption.

As revealed through its reaction towards the mural and its commitment to strategic marketing, the University recognizes the power of imaging. This case therefore raises a question concerning the places for intervention of outside groups. In the struggle around the 3400 blocks of Walnut and Sansom Streets, the Sansom Committee acted independently, despite the fact that they shared a common goal with other student and community activists working on the University City Science Center; what these two groups did not share, however, was a common identity.

The Sansom Committee had at its disposal professionals and resources to combat the University actions with similar tools of representation. Those battling two blocks north utilized different

tactics and modes of communication, attaching them to the anti-war movement. While neither group was large enough on its own to overcome the resources and power of Penn, the question remains as to whether the groups working together could have influenced the redevelopment process.

Further, was the disparate protest activity a function of grassroots organizing that narrowly defined local issues and built on identity politics? Or did the University negotiate and manipulate representations and alliances in such a way so as to avoid community-based coalition building? In the case of 3400 Walnut Street and the University City Science Center, I suspect that the communities were comprised of diverse constituents, who among themselves may not have communicated. I speculate that because of their enhanced resources the Sansom Committee chose to seek other forms of discourse (legal, architectural, etc.), rather than join the anti-war, anti-University City Science Center activity, a strategy which allowed the Committee to control the direction of resistance for their block.

Notably, the only effort of resistance that demonstrated marginal efficacy was the Sansom Committee who employed language, tools, and discourse that are arguably of the power structure in the form of litigation and alternative planning and

architectural documentation. In the case of 40th Street corridor development, I have detailed how the framing of the issue by the University has at one level precluded true inclusivity. Further, the structure of partnership may ultimately be self-defeating, as there are so many diverse constituents in the Friends group.

Penn's story reveals the University's dominant ideology propagated not only through representations in print and media, but also through design of the built environment. Because of these multi-faceted strategies, I reiterate that an understanding of representation is necessary but not sufficient to understanding this power relationship. The means to literally transform a place is potent expression of power, and can not be overlooked. However, ultimately Penn's "success" came from the coupling of physical and metaphorical transformations.

But what was Penn's success? The University's narrative implies that success is the transformation of the neighborhood from a liability to an asset. From Penn's perspective, its only recourse was to transform this West Philadelphia neighborhood in the University's image. The University does not genuinely value the pre-existing assets in the neighborhood, but rather must physically transform the landscape and metaphorically

change the meaning of "University City" into something that Penn has defined as "hip" and "eclectic." For Penn to perceive the neighborhood as intrinsically good would have required a fundamental ideological shift and the modification of the existing power dynamic. As this analysis has shown, Penn chose to view the neighborhood as a problem to neutralize, rather than as an opportunity to embrace. Penn's particular view of its neighbors, coupled with its resources perpetuates and exacerbates the existing power dynamic between the University and the surrounding communities.

Recall Gaventa's dimensions of power. In summary, in the first dimension, party A has power over party B because A can influence the decision-making process; A has an advantage at the negotiating table. In the second dimension, A has power over B by setting the agenda and regulating levels of participation; A invites B to the negotiating table and dictates the flow of discussion. In the third dimension, A has power over B by shaping B's consciousness; often, B does not know the table even exists.

With the immense resources to physically transform the neighborhood, Penn sits squarely in the first dimension of Gaventa's analytic framework of power. The case of the 40th Street Corridor development illustrates how Penn frames the problem and sets the agenda, evidence of the second dimension of power. In the end, however, this critical analysis reveals that the University operates in the third dimension. Its dominant ideology has not changed significantly and its use of imaging and narrative construction has served as a tool in reconfiguring the base of support and positioning Penn as a singularly positive force in the neighborhood.

The implications for community intervention vary depending on the dimension of power. For example, if a university is only operating in the first dimension, certain types of coalition building and resource development may be necessary. In the second dimension, communities may need to mobilize other types of support to ensure participation and involvement in the framing of an issue. However, in the third dimension, a different type of consciousness-raising exercise is necessary for communities to become actively engaged and involved in resistance.

In addition to informing various types of intervention, this analysis presents new challenges to practitioners in universities and to theoreticians of university-community relations. I have argued that the current literature on university-community relationships is incomplete without the addition of a representational discourse. As the case of Penn demonstrates,

absent a critical evaluation of the University's narrative about its relationship with the community over time, Penn's work today seems nothing but positive. However, a semiotic analysis of the University's narrative in print, the press, and architecture over time reveal that the power dynamic has not to date shifted significantly. Rather the advancements in imaging technology and sophistication of marketing techniques have allowed the University to perpetuate the existing power dynamic, in which it maintains control, while obscuring this fact behind glossy publications. This issue has important implications for both universities embarking on partnership work and for those scholars analyzing the work.

The university-community relationship must be understood as one in which parties have uneven resources and access to power. Further this power is not equalized simply because one party says and "images" a partnership. Rather, this obfuscation is in fact another expression of the power dynamic (in Gaventa's scheme along the second and/or third dimensions). As universities increasingly use tools of representation in their work, the tools of evaluation must follow suit in order to effectively identify, reveal, and remedy the obfuscation and dilemmas of the dynamic.

As universities act as Gowntown Developers, their responses will focus on the market, a mechanism for change that is not necessarily directly connected to the local community. Universities should consider their levels of embeddedness, their "concentric circles" and understand that marketing and imaging to one may not be the same as that to another. Finally, this analysis reveals that the point of intervention for communities is perhaps not simply alternative discourses, but rather alternative narratives mediated through the discourse of the power structure. The role for planners managing flows of and access to information emerges. Professional planners may facilitate partnerships and coalitions by designing processes that foster a mastery of shared language and representations across all participants.

The relationship between universities and their communities is a complicated one. The advent of sophisticated marketing and extensive real estate development do not simplify these complexities, despite the language and modes of communication. With the current increase in popular, academic, and government support for university initiatives in urban neighborhoods, these methods need critical attention to ensure the integrity of both community and university assets.

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