

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LEGITIMIZING THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT: 1978-1993

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<sup>1</sup> The undated photo from the archives shows a University of Chicago Police Department patrol car. *Campus Activities and Events*, Photographic prints, 11.4 x 16.3 cm, University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Archival Photographic Files, accessed March 11, 2025, <https://photoarchive.lib.uchicago.edu/db.xqy?one=apf7-04513.xml>.

## Introduction

*“There are no firm records, it may surprise you, on the history of the [Police] Department.”<sup>2</sup>*

- *The Public Information Officer of the University of Chicago Police Department, 2012*

Imagine the University of Chicago’s neighborhood with no police officers. It is an almost unthinkable reality today, where patrol cars drive past at regular intervals and blue security lights shine from every corner. The University of Chicago has one of the largest private police forces in the world, second only to the Vatican.<sup>3</sup> However, as recently as 1980, the University had a “security department”— but no capacity to make arrests or file charges. Over the course of the 1980s, its police force size increased substantially and the officers assumed vastly increased legal power. Whereas in 1983, the University of Chicago Security Department was made up of one hundred police officers, unsure of their delineated arrest capabilities, the University of Chicago Police Department of 1993 was forty percent larger and newly empowered by the Illinois Private Campus Policing Act to make arrests and file charges.

This transformative period is an unwritten chapter in the University’s policing history. Most accounts gloss over the 1980s, describing it as the period when the University “legitimized” the department.<sup>4</sup> The lack of discussion is likely due to the fact that, until March 2024, the University presidential administration records from the period were restricted, which complicated the study of the decade.<sup>5</sup> The release of the papers allows for a more nuanced

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<sup>2</sup> Jordan Larson, “A Brief History of the UCPD,” *The Chicago Maroon*, May 2012, <https://chicagomaroon.com/15685/grey-city/a-brief-history-of-the-ucpd/>.

<sup>3</sup> Nathalie Baptiste, “Campus Cops: Authority Without Accountability,” *The American Prospect*, November 2, 2015, <https://prospect.org/civil-rights/campus-cops-authority-without-accountability/>.

<sup>4</sup> Baptiste, “Campus Cops: Authority Without Accountability.”

<sup>5</sup> “Presidential Records of Hanna Holborn Gray Open for Research,” accessed February 9, 2025, <https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/about/news/presidential-records-of-hanna-holborn-gray-open-for-research/>.

investigation into the motivations of key administrators of the period, which I pair with key interviews, including with former University President Hanna Holborn Gray.

An investigation into this period reveals that University administrators were conflicted about the expansion of policing. Vice President of University News and Community Affairs Jonathan Kleinbard urged leadership to not link “University” with “police.”<sup>6</sup> However, ultimately, the expansion of the police department won out. In this paper, I investigate the question: how was the University Police Department birthed from the Security Department in the 1980s, and why did that change happen?

Most of the literature on the University and the neighborhood focuses on its campaign to halt the transformation of the Southside through racially restrictive leases and urban renewal, a controversial policy where the University cleared buildings it deemed “blighted.”<sup>7</sup> This literature tends to equate policing with urban renewal, though there was a long gap between them.<sup>8</sup> The University supported racially restrictive lease agreements in the 1940s, but it only legitimized its security force in 1989, raising the question: even as the University sought to determine the development of the neighborhood, why did the University take so long to adopt visible police power?

In the 1980s, facing a budget crisis, increased crime, and the withdrawal of Chicago’s city police forces, the University of Chicago fortified their police department in an attempt to reinforce their control over movement into the neighborhood and signal their investment in

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<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Charles D. O’Connell et al., “Name Change for the Security Department,” Memorandum, Private, October 5, 1983, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 33, Folder 19], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>7</sup> Arnold Richard Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*, ed. Nathan Daniel Beau Connolly, Historical Studies of Urban America (Chicago (Ohio): The University of Chicago Press, 2021), 30.

<sup>8</sup> Davarian L. Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities Are Plundering Our Cities* (Bold Type Books, 2021).

safety. By reviewing documents from the period and interviewing key sources, this paper illuminates how the University built their policing power from an insider's perspective, investigating the University of Chicago's decision making and the evolving role of the university itself. I begin with the University's history before discussing the gap in the scholarly literature: the 1980s. I then track the University's motivations for transforming the security department into a police department, which was driven by a budget crisis and Chicago's withdrawal of city police forces. After discussing the University's motivations, I move to its strategies for legitimizing its force: which included lobbying for the Illinois Campus Police Act, hiring former Chicago Police Department Deputy Rudolph Nimocks as head of the Department, and managing controversies, particularly from Black students. I then discuss how, beyond mitigating crime problems, the police department expansion was intended to carefully signal a safer neighborhood.

### **The History of The University and its Neighborhood: Property and Security**

The history of the University of Chicago, including its relationship with the surrounding neighborhoods, has been remarkably well chronicled. The University of Chicago is located in the neighborhood of Hyde Park, bounded to the north by Kenwood and to the south by Woodlawn. Key scholarship about the University and the surrounding area includes Historian Arnold Hirsch's 1983 *Making the Second Ghetto*, which details how the University and affiliates leveraged legal frameworks and community organizations to advance segregation in Chicago's South Side.<sup>9</sup> In this section, I rely on the research of Hirsch and other key scholars to outline the history of the University's relationship to Hyde Park, culminating in the beginnings of the Security Department. I then turn my attention to contemporary literature about the University's

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<sup>9</sup> There is a wealth of research about the University and its relationship to the South Side. I cite other key authors throughout the rest of the section.

role before identifying the gaps in the literature, which lacks a study of the University of Chicago Police Department's history in the 1980s.

Throughout its history, the University of Chicago has had a close and contentious relationship with the Hyde Park community, where it was incorporated in 1890.<sup>10</sup> Its presence and landholdings made Hyde Park an integral part of its identity: historically, 60% to 80% of the University's faculty lived within a square mile radius of campus.<sup>11</sup> As the neighborhood's demographics changed in 1940s, Hirsch argues that the University pursued an increasingly aggressive strategy to "protect" the University and maintain its role as a "white island" among increasing Black populations in Chicago.<sup>12</sup> In order to "protect" the University and maintain a certain character of the neighborhood, the University employed urban renewal, a practice that refers to preventing vibrant neighborhoods from becoming slums by clearing "'blighted' urban land," but has also been criticized for its unequal racial effects.<sup>13</sup> The University's actions from the 1930s to the 1960s transformed the character of the Hyde Park neighborhood. This transformation provided a foundation for the University of Chicago Security Department.

Starting as early as the 1920s, the University of Chicago's real estate practices made it financially dependent on Hyde Park property values. This history is described in Historian Robin Bachin's 2004 *Building the South Side*, which tracks the University's influence in neighborhood property. In the 1920s, the University bought many properties in the neighborhood, keeping its

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<sup>10</sup> Robin Faith Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890-1919*, Historical Studies of Urban America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 43.

<sup>11</sup> Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), <https://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/159785?sid=72413226>, 66.

<sup>12</sup> Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*, 30.

<sup>13</sup> Marc Loeb, "Building a Selective Permeability of Space" (University of Chicago, 2021), <https://humanities-web.s3.us-east-2.amazonaws.com/college/chicagostudies-prod/s3fs-public/2021-05/Loeb,%20Marc%20-%20Building%20a%20Selective%20Permeability%20of%20Space%20-%20Urban%20Renewal%20and%20The%20University%20of%20Chicago%20Campus%20Shuttle%20System.pdf>, 11-12.

ownership secret by putting building titles in the name of a leasing agent.<sup>14</sup> These real estate investments tended to perform better than bonds and other investments and yielded substantial returns for the University.<sup>15</sup> Further solidifying the University's foothold in the community, individuals would donate land to the university because they could receive an annual payment with a percentage from the property's sale.<sup>16</sup> This investment in nearby land as a source of income established a dependent relationship between the University and the surrounding neighborhood, which the University made essential to their financial success.

Their investment in the land set the stage for a cycle that would repeat throughout the 20th century: when the University of Chicago faced a financial crisis, it ascribed this crisis to the neighborhood. Revealing the fact that the University saw itself as apart from and a victim of the neighborhood, top administrators would claim that the neighborhood was inhibiting the University, often using subtly racial language. It would then assume responsibility for "cleaning it up," including an aggressive legal strategy to maintain control, developing tactics that could be replicated by other universities across the country. The most researched period of this cycle is the University's urban renewal project of the 1940s and 50s. Building on this history, this thesis argues that the University's turn towards policing in the 1970s and 80s echoed the cycle of the urban renewal project.

Before urban renewal, in the 1920s, Hyde Park, often grouped together with its northern neighbor of Kenwood, housed many wealthy white residents. Kenwood had rows of expensive mansions and was described as a "building ground for billionaires."<sup>17</sup> To the west of Hyde Park were mostly black neighborhoods, termed "the Black Belt," which were bounded by racially

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<sup>14</sup> Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 60-61.

<sup>15</sup> Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 60-61.

<sup>16</sup> Bachin, *Building the South Side*, 60-61.

<sup>17</sup> Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 15-17.

restrictive covenants, terms in the deed that prohibited selling the land to members of a specific racial group.<sup>18</sup> These two communities were extremely segregated, which drove later tensions in the Hyde Park neighborhood.

During the 1930s, following the Great Depression, more middle class families moved into Hyde Park, and its older, stately buildings began to degrade.<sup>19</sup> In this period, the University took on a more active role in the neighborhood, investing in neighborhood associations and security.<sup>20</sup> Beginning in the 1930s, the University subsidized property owners associations that blocked Black residents from moving into the neighborhood.<sup>21</sup> The University's racial exclusion coincided with the hiring of its first security officers during the same period.<sup>22</sup> The timing highlights how neighborhood segregation has historically been intertwined with security concerns. As the University became concerned about racial and financial shifts in the neighborhood, it built up a security apparatus.

Driven by the Great Migration of the 1940s, Black Americans moved into the neighborhood, and the University of Chicago's administration became concerned about property values.<sup>23</sup> Their investments remained tied up in property, and they worried the influx of Black residents would decrease property values.<sup>24</sup> Hirsch describes how University administrators,

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<sup>18</sup> Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 21.

<sup>19</sup> Muriel Beadle, *The Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Years: A History to Date* (Chicago: Privately printed, 1965).

<sup>20</sup> Beadle, *The Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Years*.

<sup>21</sup> Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 145.

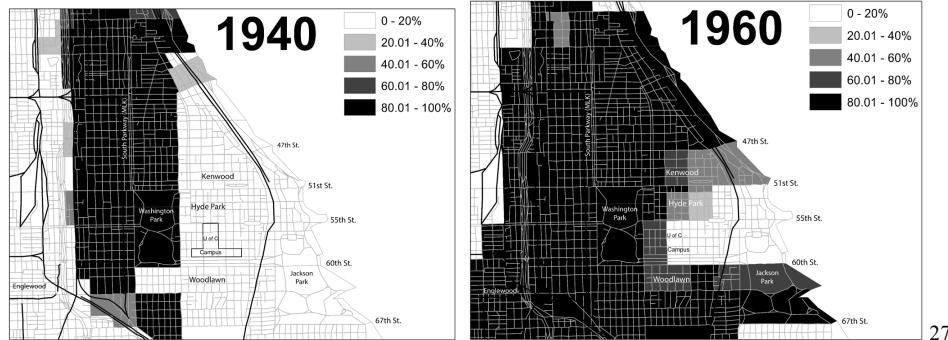
<sup>22</sup> Larson, "A Brief History of the UCPD," citing Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*.

<sup>23</sup> Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 21 and David C. Perry and Wim Wiewel, eds., *The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis*, Cities and Contemporary Society (Armonk, N.Y. : Cambridge, Mass: M.E. Sharpe ; Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2005),

<https://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/5645238?sid=73764505>, 69.

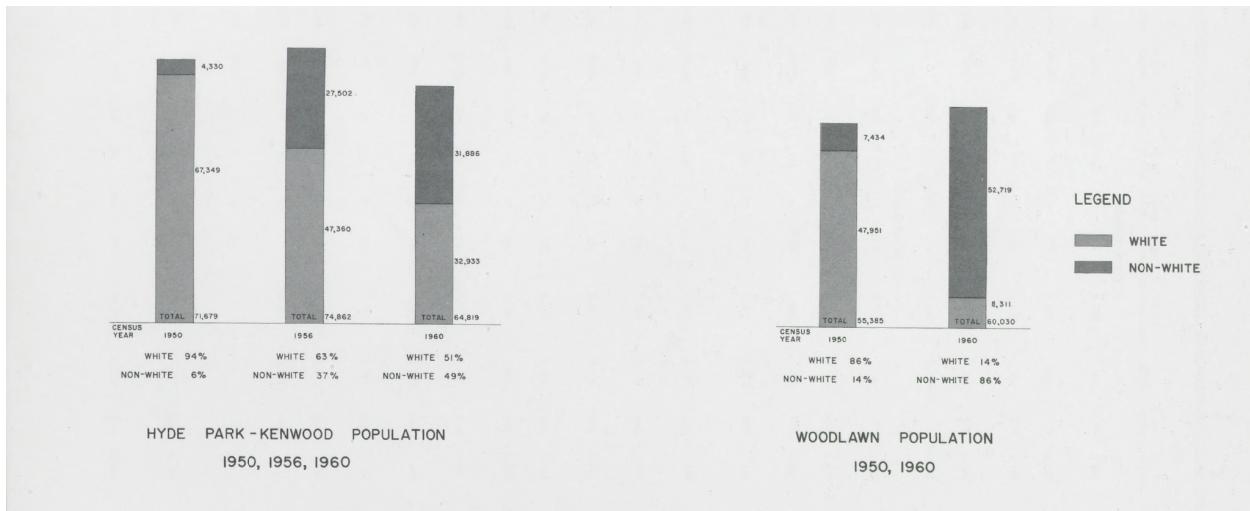
<sup>24</sup> "Oral History Interview," Uncorrected Draft, Conducted by Daniel Meyer, on September 21, 22, 23, 1992, The University of Chicago Archives: The Reminiscences of Julian H. Levi, Oral History Program, 1994, 34, Edward H. Levi, Papers, 1894-1998, Box 3, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago, Library, Chicago, IL.

using overtly racialized language, called Woodlawn “darker day by day.”<sup>25</sup> As the neighborhood’s demographics shifted, the University relied on covenants: throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the University spent \$83,597 defending racially restrictive covenants.<sup>26</sup>



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*The legend corresponds to % African-American residents. These maps reveal the shifting racial demographics of the Hyde Park area over time as Black families moved into Chicago during the Great Migration. Even as demographics shifted, the racial boundaries of Chicago remained clearly delineated.*



<sup>25</sup> Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 146.

<sup>26</sup> Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 145.

<sup>27</sup> “Chicago’s Black Belt, 1930, 1940, and 1960,” *Redlining Virginia*, accessed March 3, 2025, <http://www.redliningvirginia.org/items/show/6>.

*President of the University Julian Levi and Treasurer Al Svoboda presented this graph to the University's Board of Trustees.*

In 1948, racially restrictive covenants were ruled unconstitutional under the Supreme Court's *Shelley v. Kraemer*, inspiring a new strategy from the University: urban renewal. Capitalizing on fears of a disintegrating neighborhood, they founded the South East Chicago Commission (SECC) in 1952. The University had already been planning to form the organization but utilized a public outcry to push the organization into fruition after the wife of a faculty member was assaulted and robbed on the Midway.<sup>29</sup> As described by Chancellor of the University Lawrence Kimpton, "We used a rather sensational kidnapping and attempted rape case to bring the community together and announce a plan for the organization of the South East Chicago Commission."<sup>30</sup> The SECC was founded to plan and implement the re-development of the neighborhood.<sup>31</sup> Though it was registered as a nonprofit, the SECC was seen as a front for the University, as it was headed by later University President Kimpton, and partially funded by the University.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to urban planning, the South East Chicago Commission was concerned with managing crime in the neighborhood. The organization was founded to "help local police captains to do their job" and secure "the maximum utilization of those police facilities available" within Hyde Park.<sup>33</sup> The SECC would monitor the local police and inspect and track their

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<sup>28</sup> Julian Levi, *The Neighborhood Program of the University of Chicago : Statements of Albert C. Svoboda and Julian Levi to the Board of Trustees, October 12, 1961.*, 1961.

<sup>29</sup> Larson, "A Brief History of the UCPD."

<sup>30</sup> Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 144. Though contemporaries thought the SECC was created due to "public indignation about the rising crime rate."

<sup>31</sup> Loeb, "Building a Selective Permeability of Space," 25.

<sup>32</sup> Larson, "A Brief History of the UCPD."

<sup>33</sup> Joshua A. Segal, "Police Reform and Police Privatization in Chicago's Hyde Park, 1960-1970" (University of Chicago, 2008), 216.

operation. In fact, crime was so central to their mission that, researcher Segal notes, in the 1950s, the University newspaper would accidentally refer to the organization as the South East *Crime* Commission.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to monitoring the city police department, the South East Chicago Commission assisted in establishing the University's security department, hiring what has been characterized as the first incidence of real policemen working for the University.<sup>35</sup> In Rossi and Dentler's 1961 *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, they describe how Julian Levi, the President of the University, hired two full-time private policemen to investigate a hotel known for criminal activities.<sup>36</sup> After the policemen uncovered evidence, Levi shared it with the hotel's insurance company, which then canceled their coverage of the hotel. The hotel's mortgage holder demanded repayment, forcing the hotel to foreclose and forcing out its owner. Levi replicated a similar tactic on other "undesirable" locales.<sup>37</sup>

The University intimidated landlords and employed legal maneuvering to address building code violations. After a real estate organization purchased a six-family household and moved in nine Black families, Levi threatened them with legal action for violating the housing code, and then made a sizeable offer on the property from the University Real Estate Office.<sup>38</sup> This strategy was clearly racialized: the former President of the University, Robert Hutchins, wrote in 1957 that "since the University would probably have to go out of business if it were

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<sup>34</sup> Segal, "Police Reform and Police Privatization in Chicago's Hyde Park, 1960-1970," 216. See Segal's footnote 162.

<sup>35</sup> Larson, "A Brief History of the UCPD."

<sup>36</sup> Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*, 82.

<sup>37</sup> Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*. "In 1950, in one two block stretch on 55th street there were twenty-three taverns" is from Beadle, *The Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Years*, 4.

<sup>38</sup> Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal*.

surrounded by Negroes, there is nothing to do but say openly that we propose to use all honorable means to protect ourselves from inundation.”<sup>39</sup>

The University lobbied to pass legislation that would allow them to seize and demolish buildings in the neighborhood. Legislation enabled the University to acquire properties through eminent domain, allowing the University to seize land, demolish structures, and then sell the land to a developer. These tactics enabled the seizure of 80% Black-owned land in southwest Hyde Park.<sup>40</sup> Later, the University lobbied for the Section 112 amendment to the Housing Act of 1959, which was passed almost as written by the University and provided funding to University urban renewal projects.<sup>41</sup> The University’s legal actions justified the urban renewal projects of universities across the country.<sup>42</sup>

At the end of the urban renewal project, the University’s neighborhood looked substantially different than before, with 638 buildings demolished and 4,000 families displaced.<sup>43</sup> The project was extremely costly, with over 46 million in public funds and 250 million in private funds invested in a two-square-mile area, including 29 million spent by the University.<sup>44</sup> Through their investment in the neighborhood, administrators created a “controlled, integrated environment.”<sup>45</sup> The era set the standard for the University: when changes were happening in the neighborhood, it would go to whatever lengths necessary, even underwriting legislation, to

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<sup>39</sup> John W. Boyer, *The University of Chicago: A History*, Enlarged edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2024), 396.

<sup>40</sup> Rossi and Dentler, *The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings*. 158-159. Cited in Hugh, “Constructing a ‘Compatible Community.’”

<sup>41</sup> “The Private Use of Public Power: The Private University and the Power of Eminent Domain Special Project,” *Vanderbilt Law Review* 27, no. 4 (1974): 681–813, 705.

<sup>42</sup> Loeb, “Building a Selective Permeability of Space,” 29.

<sup>43</sup> Ajamu Amiri Dillahunt, “The University of Chicago, Urban Renewal, and the Black Community,” *Black Perspectives*, African American Intellectual History Society (blog), April 12, 2021, <https://www.aaishs.org/the-university-of-chicago-urban-renewal-and-the-black-community/>.

<sup>44</sup> Beadle, *The Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Years*, 24.

<sup>45</sup> Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto*, 137.

maintain the neighborhood as they intended. And, through this work, the University laid the groundwork for the University of Chicago Security Department.

The University of Chicago Security Department served an integral role in maintaining urban renewal's legacy. As stated by University sociologist Phillip Hauser in 1959 "the crime rate here could jeopardize the whole urban renewal program...[solving the] campus area crime problem is required for the success of the Hyde-Park Kenwood redevelopment project."<sup>46</sup> In the decades to come, the Security Department would continue the project of controlling and patrolling the neighborhood and also transform the University's relationship to its urban community.

#### *The Beginning of the Security Department: 1960-1970*

Though the growth of the University Security Department in the 1960s and 70s remains relatively under-researched compared with the earlier urban renewal decades, it has been chronicled in a 2008 UChicago BA thesis by Joshua Segal, which tracks the evolving University of Chicago Police Department and its relationship to the city police.<sup>47</sup> In this history, we also see the cycles in University response, as several elements foreshadow later developments in the 1980s: the close relationship with the city police, legal uncertainties, and intense staffing increases.

According to Segal, the University organized its own private police force directly in response to the "perceived failures" of the city police.<sup>48</sup> When the city police began to withdraw from the Hyde Park neighborhood, the administration saw them as violating their agreement to

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<sup>46</sup> Segal, "Police Reform and Police Privatization in Chicago's Hyde Park, 1960-1970," 229.

<sup>47</sup> Segal, "Police Reform and Police Privatization in Chicago's Hyde Park, 1960-1970."

<sup>48</sup> Segal, 163.

the University.<sup>49</sup> Because the University was unsure about their legal authority in the neighborhood, the University relied on the city police, contacting them daily and relying on the city police to conduct arrests.<sup>50</sup> As a result, the withdrawal of the city's forces led the University to hire fifteen off-duty police officers to patrol Hyde Park.<sup>51</sup> This pattern of the city police driving transformations in Hyde Park would continue and expand in the 1980s.

Furthermore, the withdrawal of the public police sparked a professionalization of the department and an increase in personnel at the University. In 1968, the University paid \$11,000 to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the leading police consultants organization, to conduct a study of its security program.<sup>52</sup> As the study was underway, the University picked former Chicago Police Department Captain Michael J. Delaney to head their department.<sup>53</sup> In the University of Chicago Security Committee, they claimed that they no longer felt the city police held the solution and declared "we must do something ourselves."<sup>54</sup> The security force ballooned in size— from thirty-six guards in 1958 to forty-one full-timers, three unarmed watchmen, forty-five part-time off-duty Chicago officers, and thirty-five private guards in 1968. In Segal's words, "a minor guarding service had been transformed into a small army."<sup>55</sup> This legitimization of the Department and increase in staffing would continue throughout the 1980s.

Drawing these two histories together - of urban renewal and the security department - recent scholars have argued that the University's actions in the neighborhood function as a form of racialized control. In an article on race and land grabs on the Southside, scholar Teona

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<sup>49</sup> Segal, 223.

<sup>50</sup> Segal, 220.

<sup>51</sup> Segal, 223.

<sup>52</sup> Segal, 226.

<sup>53</sup> Segal, 226.

<sup>54</sup> Segal, 226.

<sup>55</sup> Segal, 228.

Williams contends that “The University of Chicago’s approach to improving its landscapes and making the university spaces legible and attractive to students and faculty have relied and continue to rely on tactics of racialised policing to sanitise the greater Hyde Park neighbourhood.”<sup>56</sup> Williams claims that both urban renewal and policing have worked to “sanitize” the neighborhood for an outside audience.

Throughout the history of the University, we see its acute focus on the surrounding neighborhood not only as a source of identity and financial stability but also as a projection of racialized fear. The University has perpetually negotiated its relationship with the Chicago government, carefully maintaining allyship while quietly amassing legal and police power. These strategic moves have rippled across urban environments in the United States. The University’s consistent set of concerns and strategies remained as it embraced police power in the late twentieth century.

### **The Gap in the Literature: University of Chicago Campus Policing in the 1980s**

The history of the University of Chicago’s neighborhood relations has been fairly well-studied, but there remain two key gaps: an analysis focusing on the University of Chicago’s police department and research into the University in the 1980s. There are few works that take on the history of University of Chicago campus policing as their sole focus. Segal’s 2008 BA thesis focuses solely on the University of Chicago police department but hones in mainly on the 1960s and 70s. A 2016 casual paper analyzes on the impact of the University of Chicago police force on crime, although it does not take a historical frame. Williams’ 2021 “For ‘Peace, Quiet, and Respect’: Race, Policing, and Land Grabbing on Chicago’s South Side” investigates

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<sup>56</sup> Teona Williams, “For ‘Peace, Quiet, and Respect’: Race, Policing, and Land Grabbing on Chicago’s South Side,” *Antipode* 53, no. 2 (2021): 497–523, <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12692>, 516.

policing from a Black ecological lens.<sup>57</sup> Other important research has situated the University of Chicago more broadly in the changing role of the urban university, including historian LaDale Winling's *Building the Ivory Tower* and historian urbanist Davarian Baldwin's 2021 *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*.<sup>58</sup>

Literature about the University briefly mentions the police department and is interested in what urban renewal reveals about the changing role of the University in the post war period, utilizing several key metaphors. Scholars have discussed the University of Chicago as urban planner (Eldred), bordered entity (Loeb), global organization trapped in a local neighborhood (Winling), and as UniverCity (Baldwin). Perhaps the most provocative of these analyses is Baldwin, who invented the term UniverCity, which posits the University as a city in miniature. Baldwin claims that city harness public power for exploitation, describing how the positive public image of universities has obscured their reliance on tax-exemptions to control land, which often drives prices up in nearby low-income neighborhoods.<sup>59</sup> He argues that universities have assumed control of city functions, at the expense of communities, writing that "Through UChicago, we see how city schools can deploy the blunt force of campus police...to enact what seems to some as a violent confiscation and control of local communities."<sup>60</sup> Though Baldwin's theory is useful as a means to begin thinking about the university's assumption of public power, it lacks an analysis of why and how the University attained this power, which is addressed in this thesis.

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<sup>57</sup> Williams, "For 'Peace, Quiet, and Respect.'"

<sup>58</sup> Davarian L. Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities Are Plundering Our Cities* (Bold Type Books, 2021) and LaDale C. Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Universities and Metropolitan Development in the Twentieth Century*, 1st edition, Politics and Culture in Modern America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

<sup>59</sup> Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, 14.

<sup>60</sup> Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, 126.

Other histories that include the University of Chicago Police Department do not take on the history of the department in the 1980s, aside from brief references. For example, in University of Chicago student Julia Ellred's 2017 thesis, she briefly mentions the 1980s changes that cemented the University's legal status, like the Illinois Private College Campus Police Act and the appointment of Rudolph Nimocks as University Police chief.<sup>61</sup> However, the remarks are a short section of a piece that focuses on the University as urban planner. Similarly, in the widely cited 2012 *Chicago Maroon* article "A brief history of the UCPD," these changes are referenced but not unpacked.<sup>62</sup> A history of the University of Chicago Police Department in the 1980s has not been undertaken, which could enrich the longstanding tradition of literature about the University's relationship to the neighborhood and its evolving social role.

### **From Security Department to Police Department: The 1980s expansion**

Before investigating how and why the Department expanded, I will provide a brief explanation of what actually transformed during this period. During the 1980s, the University of Chicago Security Department built on the developments of the 1970s to expand from a Security department into a full-fledged police force. The University's Vice-President for University News and Community Affairs, Jonathan Kleinbard, acknowledged the importance of the 1980s, writing that "over...ten years, our department has assumed a much more aggressive role."<sup>63</sup>

This "aggressive role" is made even more striking by the fact that, at the beginning of the 1980s, administrators were debating what the role and public-facing image of the campus

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<sup>61</sup> Juliet Sprung Eldred, "'A Highly Complex Set of Interventions': The University of Chicago as Urban Planner, 1890-2017" (University of Chicago, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.6082/uchicago.5538>, 162.

<sup>62</sup> Larson, "A Brief History of the UCPD." The *Maroon* is the University of Chicago's campus newspaper.

<sup>63</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Robert A. Ferguson, "Survey of Policing," Letter, February 15, 1993, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 90, Folder 39], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

security department should be. On October 5, 1983, Kleinbard wrote a memorandum to his coworkers about the state of campus policing. In the memorandum, he commented on how the administrators were “unable to regroup regarding our discussion of a name change for the Security Department.” Kleinbard was particularly unsure about linking “University” with “Police,” which reflected his symbolic concern about the University appearing to have its own police force.<sup>64</sup> He worried that identifying the department as a “police force” could negatively affect “future campus relations,” perhaps suggesting that students and faculty could have a negative relationship with the police.<sup>65</sup> Kleinbard was attuned to the fact that a name change could prove controversial on campus.

In addition to symbolic concerns, Kleinbard worried about how the name change would affect policing operationally. He suggested that the name change could make it harder to control officers in the exercise of their functions. He also was concerned that the name change would negatively affect labor negotiations, causing officers to demand equity with the Chicago police. Weighing his concerns, Kleinbard concluded with the suggestion that the department retain the name “The University of Chicago Security Department,” while referring to patrol officers as “University police.”

These concerns about the public image of the department were emblematic of the University’s cautious stance following urban renewal. They were aware of what they called “lingering resentments” in the Woodlawn neighborhood.<sup>66</sup> However, despite these concerns about the public appearance of the University and its labor relations, they still went through with a massive transformation that increased the powers of the department. In sections below, I

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<sup>64</sup> Kleinbard to O’Connell et al., “Name Change for the Security Department,” October 5, 1983.

<sup>65</sup> Kleinbard to O’Connell et al., “Name Change for the Security Department,” October 5, 1983.

<sup>66</sup> Hanna Holborn Gray, Interview, interview by Jordyn Flaherty, January 28, 2025.

explore the motivations and strategies that drove the University to embrace policing power, despite their concerns at the beginning of the decade.

Throughout the decade, they assumed increased legal status, arrest abilities, and force size. Under an act discussed in a later section of the thesis, they assumed the ability to make arrests without the approval of the Chicago Police Department. In addition to legal status, the University of Chicago also expanded the size of their police force. In 1980, they hired about one hundred officers, including part time patrol officers.<sup>67</sup> By 1993, the Department included 69 full-time patrol officers, 16 sergeants and lieutenants, four assistant directors, and Chief Rudolph Nimocks. Over the course of the year, the University used about 57 Chicago Police Officers on a part-time basis, adding up to a grand total of 140 police officers, a 40% increase in staffing.<sup>68</sup>

Over the 1980s, the University solidified their policing power, by legally clarifying their status and arrest abilities and expanding their physical patrol area and police force size. In the end, they had a force that was, as Kleinbard identified, “much more aggressive,” adding sirens and mars lights, oscillating warning lights, to their police cars. The police officers also were all armed.<sup>69</sup> The changes transformed the University’s Security Department into a Police Department and left it significantly stronger at the end of the 1980s, despite their earlier concerns. In the rest of the paper, I investigate their motivations and strategies for the expansion.

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<sup>67</sup> Eldred, “A Highly Complex Set of Interventions,” 162.

<sup>68</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Robert J. Sampson and Rudolph Nimocks, Memorandum, Forward, January 25, 1993, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 90, Folder 39], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>69</sup> Kleinbard to Ferguson, “Survey of Policing,” February 15, 1993.

## The University's Motivations for the Security Department Expansion

### The University in Crisis

During University President Hanna Holborn Gray's administration, which spanned from 1979 to 1993, administrators were faced with a litany of challenges that helped foment the creation of the University of Chicago Police Department out of the Security Department. Struggling University finances, including the budget and the endowment, drove a focus on attracting undergraduates. This focus on undergraduates led the University to reexamine the neighborhood of Hyde Park and the surrounding Woodlawn, especially as crime rates rose through the 1980s. As the crime rate rose, there were internal and external perceptions of Hyde Park as a "dangerous" neighborhood that concerned higher-ups at the University. Key administrator Jonathan Kleinbard managed both policing and public relations, revealing the University's view of policing and public relations as interwoven challenges. The University's financial situation, combined with rising crime rates, created the conditions for the emergence of the University of Chicago Police Department out of campus policing.

In the late 1970s, the University had a large budget deficit, resulting from poor management, a shrinking endowment, federal cuts, and fallen enrollments. In the 1978-79 school year, the University had an anticipated budget deficit of 2.8 million dollars.<sup>70</sup> In President Holborn Gray's memoir, she described how when she arrived at the University, there was no dedicated office that managed the budget. The situation was so dire that the budget was made to look in balance by inserting a revenue line of "money to be raised."<sup>71</sup> University budgets are financed from undergraduate tuition, federal funding, and sparingly from the endowment. By

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<sup>70</sup> "The University of Chicago Record" (The University of Chicago, March 30, 1979), ISSN 0362-4706, <https://campub-test.lib.uchicago.edu/pdf/?docId=mvol-0446-0013-0001>. In 1978 inflation.

<sup>71</sup> Hanna Holborn Gray, *An Academic Life: A Memoir*, The William G. Bowen Memorial Series in Higher Education (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018), 237.

1980s, the College's undergraduate enrollments were steadily rising, but they were significantly lower than in the 1930s and 40s. The other sources of funding were lacking. After a boom period for academia in the 1970s, President Reagan cut federal funding to universities.<sup>72</sup> At the same time, the endowment had dramatically shrunk by 1978 and was almost cut in half: whereas in 1968, it had been worth 1.5 billion, in 1978, it was worth 735.8 million.<sup>73</sup> All of these budgetary challenges drove a focus on increasing undergraduate enrollments.

The University wanted to attract more undergraduates, and, along with them, a top-notch set of faculty, and in order to accomplish these goals, they needed to establish a perception of safety in the neighborhood. In University President Gray's words, "There was the concern about the community which led to a concern about applications, about keeping faculty and improving faculty."<sup>74</sup> President Gray emphasized how the perception of the community was intertwined with the goal of increasing applications. Attracting both undergraduates and faculty depended on recruiting families. The University needed to convince parents of undergraduates and faculty with families that Hyde Park was safe. Vice President of Research Walter Massey described how families were concerned about the neighborhood: "It was faculty and people with young kids who perceived [the neighborhood] as unsafe."<sup>75</sup> In order to attract undergraduates and faculty, the University fixated on the neighborhood.

The concern about the neighborhood was so dire that the administrators even considered moving the University to the suburbs. As described by President Gray, "there had been serious

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<sup>72</sup> Gray, *An Academic Life*, 237.

Sriskandha Kandimalla, "Ronald Reagan's Legacy: The Rise of Student Loan Debt in America | New University | UC Irvine," *University of California, Irvine New University*, February 13, 2023, <https://newuniversity.org/2023/02/13/ronald-reagans-legacy-the-rise-of-student-loan-debt-in-america/>.

<sup>73</sup> "Another Chapter in the Life of the College," *University of Chicago Magazine*, 1999, <https://magazine.uchicago.edu/9904/html/curriculum.htm>. These numbers are adjusted for 1999 inflation.

<sup>74</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>75</sup> Walter Massey, Interview, interview by Jordyn Flaherty, February 5, 2025.

discussions about moving everything elsewhere,” which were corroborated by Administrator Massey.<sup>76</sup> In Massey’s view, the discussions were motivated by the fact that people saw the neighborhood as becoming “more unsafe” and thought it would be difficult to attract students and faculty.<sup>77</sup> These concerns about the neighborhood coupled with the challenging financial situation drove the fortification of campus security.

### *Crime and the Perception of Crime*

As the administration was concerned about the neighborhood, crime rates increased, driving a perception internally and externally of Hyde Park as a dangerous neighborhood. It is challenging to uncouple the real crime rates from the perception of crime: as crime rates rose, the neighborhood truly became more dangerous, but there were simultaneously potentially overblown responses. The administrative role of Jonathan Kleinbard further enforces how for the University, the treatment of actual crime was enmeshed with its effect on public relations.

Over the 1980s, the crime rate increased in the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhood. Based on data University administrators kept, we can surmise that, whereas in the end of the 1970s, the crime rate had fallen to about 2300 crimes per year, from 1980-1982, the rate was about 2700 crimes per year. It reached a peak of around 3200 in 1986. The increase in crimes was driven by an increase in property crime, which rose from 2000 in the late 1970s to 2700 in 1986. In the first six months of 1986, the crime rate in Hyde Park increased by 26%, driven by an increase in burglaries and “purse snatchings.”<sup>78</sup> Simultaneously, there were costly incidents on

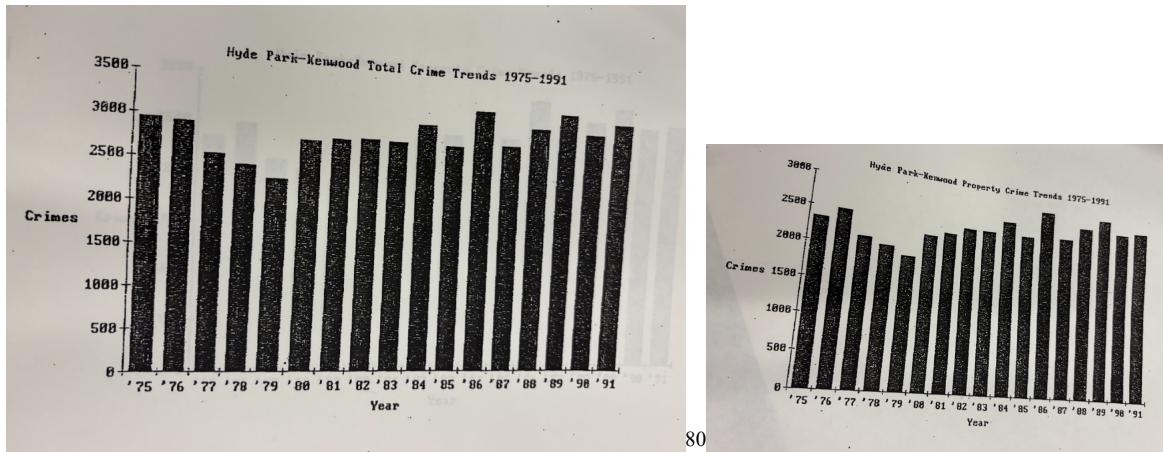
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<sup>76</sup> Gray, Interview and Massey, Interview.

<sup>77</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>78</sup> Molly McClain, “Crime Is on the Rise in Hyde Park, Police Search for an Attacker,” *The Chicago Maroon*, August 8, 1986, <https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0004-1986-0808;query=crime#page/1/mode/1up/search/crime>.

campus, like when the University was robbed of \$86,000 dollars of computers.<sup>79</sup> The increasing crime rate and prevalence of incidents created a environment ripe for increased policing.



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Simultaneously, incidents contributed to a perception of campus as unsafe for students and families. *The Maroon* reported on the crime increase: the Director of the South East Chicago Commission, founded to monitor crime rates in the area, told *The Maroon* “We’re not doing well.”<sup>81</sup> Students were particularly worried about gang crime, due to several incidents where groups of young men attacked individuals on the street.<sup>82</sup> *The Maroon* interviewed Vice President Kleinbard who “admitted that they are cause for concern” and remarked that the University “has stepped-up security.”<sup>83</sup> These incidents spiked fear on campus about the situation in the neighborhood.

<sup>79</sup> “U. of C. Robbed of Computers Worth \$86,000,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 22, 1986, Access World News – Historical and Current.

<sup>80</sup> (6297)

<sup>81</sup> McClain, “Crime Is on the Rise in Hyde Park, Police Search for an Attacker.”

<sup>82</sup> Howard Ullman, “Gangs Not Cause of Crime Increase,” *The Chicago Maroon*, November 7, 1986, <https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0004-1986-1107:query=crime#page/1/mode/1up/search/crime>.

<sup>83</sup> McClain, “Crime Is on the Rise in Hyde Park, Police Search for an Attacker.”

Parents were also concerned about the safety of the neighborhood, sending letters to the University. One letter from April 23, 1980 was written by a mother expressing concerns about her daughter, who had been a “victim of crime” twice, including once at gun point.<sup>84</sup> The mother wrote that her daughter “is a prudent person. It seems obvious that the University is not protecting its students... I do not want my daughter to spend two more years in an atmosphere of fear.”<sup>85</sup> As a result, the parent quit the Alumni Schools Committee. The crime rate coupled with letters such as these likely turned the administration’s focus to the neighborhood as they approached the task of increasing enrollment.

For the University, security was a method to reduce crime and an element of the University’s public relations strategy. This argument is supported by the unique job description of administrator Jonathan Kleinbard, who served as the Vice-President for Community Affairs and University News and Information. While other Vice Presidents at the time managed departments like “Business and Financial Affairs,” “The Medical Center,” and “Research,” Kleinbard took on two broad categories: Community Affairs and University News.<sup>86</sup> The community affairs position addressed the University’s relationship to the neighborhood.<sup>87</sup> As part of the community affairs role, Kleinbard oversaw the entire security department.

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<sup>84</sup> Chloe Zerwick to Hanna Holborn Gray, Letter, April 23, 1980, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 103, Folder 12], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>85</sup> Zerwick to Gray, April 23, 1980 and Phil to Jonathan Kleinbard and David O’Leary, “Wife Wants to Move,” Letter, September 17, 1979, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 103, Folder 12], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. The letters seem to be particularly centered around women, including one about how a resident’s wife wants to leave the neighborhood.

<sup>86</sup> “Governance and Administration” (The University of Chicago, n.d.), University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 27, Folder 16], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>87</sup> Kleinbard famously hung one-way street signs around Hyde Park, potentially to discourage visits from outsiders. Hanna Holborn Gray, Interview, interview by Jordyn Flaherty, January 28, 2025.

Additionally, University News and Information construed a broad category including the University's communications with the press and marketing.

The fact that the administration designed community affairs and university news as one position revealed their perspective that the roles were intertwined. While security was about reducing crime in the neighborhood, it was also about the relationship to the community (community affairs). Furthermore, it was about University News and the portrayal of the University to the general public. As the University approached increasing their police department, Kleinbard played a crucial role as a decision-maker and shored up external support for the department.

Struggling with their budget, the University needed to increase undergraduate enrollments, which they saw as necessitating certain “safe” conditions in the neighborhood. Then, as crime increased, contributing to a perception of Hyde Park as dangerous, the University worried about recruitment. As a result, when the Chicago Police Department began to withdraw from the neighborhood, the University, concerned about its enrollments and crime, was uniquely motivated to invest in policing.

### **The Relationship Between Two Forces: The University and the Chicago Police Department**

The University of Chicago's relationship to the city police force proved hugely influential in the decision to transform the security department to the police department. From the 1960s, the University security department worked closely with the city police force, in a relationship that it established out of necessity. As a result, when the city police were forced to withdraw from the neighborhood due to staffing shortages, it drove the University of Chicago to legitimize and expand the size of their police force. The relationship between the two police forces

demonstrates the University of Chicago's shrewd strategy and markedly close affiliation with the city government. It also exemplifies how, in the twentieth century, private organizations have come to fill gaps in public infrastructure.

During the 1980s, the University worked closely with the city government, including the Chicago Police Department. According to former University President Hanna Gray, this close relationship existed for two reasons: Mayor Daley wanted to have a stable interracial neighborhood and he appreciated the resources of a major institution like the university, "which was willing to invest and to cooperate with the city government."<sup>88</sup> Their close relationship with the City extended to the Police Department, which was described by the University's president as being a "cooperation and collaboration between the two forces."<sup>89</sup>

The relationship was deepened by the fact that the University of Chicago depended on off-duty Chicago police officers to fill out their force. In 1960, the University hired 15 off duty Chicago police officers to patrol Hyde Park and "replace the patrols" the Chicago Police Commissioner had withdrawn.<sup>90</sup> By 1993, the University had 57 off-duty Chicago Police officers in their rotation.<sup>91</sup> Their use of Chicago Police officers made the relationship particularly important to maintain. Because the University of Chicago did not have a full police force without the Chicago Police Department's off-duty officers, they had to accommodate them.

Additionally, because the University of Chicago was unsure about their arrest capabilities under Illinois law until the late 1980s, they depended on the Chicago Police Department to complete arrests for them. University police officers would detain suspects until Chicago officers

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<sup>88</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>89</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>90</sup> Segal, 223.

<sup>91</sup> Kleinbard to Sampson and Nimocks, January 25, 1993.

could make arrests, which led to frequent encounters between the two departments.<sup>92</sup>

Furthermore, University police officers could not file charges and depended on the Chicago city forces to file charges for them. The University's dependence on the city police meant that they had to maintain a close relationship.

The South East Chicago Commission (SECC) and Vice President Jonathan Kleinbard carefully maintained and monitored the University's relationship to the Chicago Police Department. The close relationship dated back to President Julian Levi's work creating scholarships for children of firemen, policemen, and emergency workers.<sup>93</sup> Levi also created the South East Chicago Commission (or SECC), a major agent in the urban renewal process, which scanned for building code violations and completed other work for the city, but on behalf of the University. Because the SECC engaged in the work of the city, it kept close contact with the city government. Every year, the SECC would host a "big dinner" in Hutchinson Commons, a hall in the University lined with the photographs of its past presidents, and invite the Mayor, Police Superintendent, and city commissioners to hand out special awards.<sup>94</sup>

Vice President Jonathan Kleinbard of Community Affairs and University News worked to maintain a close relationship with the Chicago police officers and chiefs stationed in the Hyde Park neighborhood. Throughout his tenure, Kleinbard congratulated Chicago Police Department officers on their promotions, retirements, and reappointments.<sup>95</sup> As early as 1974, Vice President Kleinbard a letter to the Deputy Chief of Police, writing "We'll miss you. You were an asset to

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<sup>92</sup> Sher to Graham, "Peace Officers," December 21, 1987.

<sup>93</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>94</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>95</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Deputy Chief James O'Grady, "We'll Miss You," Letter, April 19, 1974, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 44], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library and Jonathan Kleinbard to Commander Richard J. Brzeczek, February 27, 1981, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

our community.”<sup>96</sup> Even though the Deputy Chief would not serve in the neighborhood anymore, Kleinbard was still invested in maintaining the relationship, demonstrating the University’s depth of connection to the Chicago force. In 1984, Kleinbard wrote to Commander Richard Dwyer, “Please accept my personal congratulations on your promotion...I hope you will call on me or others who work with me, if we can be helpful.”<sup>97</sup> The letter reveals how Kleinbard offered the University’s services to support the police department. In addition to his communications, he took Chicago Police Department officers to lunch.<sup>98</sup> His consistent efforts to maintain the relationship underscored the importance of the Chicago Police Department to University administrators.

As a result of the University of Chicago’s SECC events, letters, and networking, the University managed to stay particularly close to the Police Department. And this relationship between the University of Chicago Police Department and the city police department was mirrored at the higher level, where the President of the University was close to the city’s mayor. President Hanna Holborn Gray commented that she could “call up Mayor Daley if I had to. And that’s a fairly unusual thing, probably for a university.”<sup>99</sup>

### *Patrol Beat Restructuring*

In 1985, the Chicago Police Department faced a staffing crisis due to their retirement policies. Most police had been hired in the mid-1950s and reached retirement age in the 1980s. There was little incentive to remain on the force because police pension paid retirees 72% or

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<sup>96</sup> Kleinbard to O’Grady, “We’ll Miss You,” April 19, 1974.

<sup>97</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Commander Richard Dwyer and Superintendent Fred Rice (bc), April 20, 1984, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>98</sup> Kleinbard to Brzeczek, February 27, 1981.

<sup>99</sup> Gray, Interview.

even 75% percent of their full-time pay. One officer explained that he made only \$25 dollars less every week after retiring.<sup>100</sup> The force was hemorrhaging officers and operating at only an 83% capacity. As a result, the police officers left were forced to cover unstaffed nearby territories.<sup>101</sup> In response, new Police Superintendent Fred Rice announced that he would remap police patrol beats, reducing patrol car beats from 1,261 to around 1,000.<sup>102</sup>

In a city facing high crime rates, the news about the updated map drove an intense uproar. One alderman demanded that Superintendent Rice appear before the Finance Committee to detail the cuts, while another demanded hearings in every affected police district. An alderman called the new map “a bad idea that is being rammed down our throats.”<sup>103</sup> Districts were particularly concerned that a decrease in police staffing would drive an increase in crime.

In Hyde Park, the SECC and University of Chicago administrators were concerned as well about the decrease in staffing of Chicago Police officers. The University of Chicago had their Security Department but was dependent on Chicago officers to fill out their part-time force and complete arrests.<sup>104</sup> The day before the news went public, University administrators were informed by “an insider at 1121 State” (the Police station)<sup>105</sup> that there would be a new beat structure.<sup>106</sup> After the news became public, the president of the SECC, Michael J. Murphy, wrote a letter to Police Superintendent Fred Rice, urging him to reconsider the beat structure. He wrote that, “the subject is a very sensitive one to the entire city and it concerns me a great deal... I

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<sup>100</sup> Chicago Tribune, “SURGE OF RETIREMENTS STRIPS STREETS OF COPS,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 9, 1986, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/1986/11/09/surge-of-retirements-strips-streets-of-cops/>.

<sup>101</sup> Harry Golden Jr., “Police Push Ahead on Plan to Cut Beats,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 15, 1985.

<sup>102</sup> Golden Jr., “Police Push Ahead on Plan to Cut Beats.”

<sup>103</sup> Golden Jr., “Police Push Ahead on Plan to Cut Beats.”

<sup>104</sup> Sher to Graham, “Peace Officers,” December 21, 1987.

<sup>105</sup> “Central Police Station,” Chicagology, accessed January 20, 2025, <https://chicagology.com/skyscrapers/skyscrapers005/>.

<sup>106</sup> Bob Mason to Michael Murphy, “Beat Structure,” Memorandum, January 14, 1985, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

believe that the University of Chicago/Hyde Park-Kenwood community can make a valid argument as to why the present beat structure should remain at least as it is.” Though he signed the letter with “with warm regards,” his tone was laced with a deep anxiety around the University about the future of the Chicago Police Department’s support in the neighborhood.

Superintendent Fred Rice allowed University administrators to meet with him, but the issue dragged on into the spring.<sup>107</sup> On May 23, Jonathan Kleinbard followed up on their conversation, writing, “I have not heard from you about the beat restructuring… I assume that, as we discussed, I should not be alarmed.”<sup>108</sup> Ultimately, Superintendent Rice’s patrol plan reduced the cities beats from 1,261 to 1,018.<sup>109</sup>

Important community stakeholders claimed that Superintendent Rice’s policies hampered the police response time. In Hyde Park, the executive director of the Southeast Chicago Commission bemoaned the police’s late response to a case in July 1986. A squad car took an hour to respond and the director claimed, “This is not the typical response. Normally, the police are much faster.”<sup>110</sup> The government made a strong argument that nothing significant had changed: Rice claimed that “nothing is changed except the formal beat structure,” and Mayor Washington added that the “bottom line is that there will be more beat patrol officers on the

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<sup>107</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Superintendent Fred Rice, Letter, March 4, 1985, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>108</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Superintendent Fred Rice and Robert Mason (bc), Letter, May 23, 1985, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>109</sup> Jim Casey and Mark Brown, “More Cops to Walk Beat,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, accessed February 27, 2025, <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/apps/news/document-view?p=WORLDNEWS&docref=image/v2%3A1443FD2E0D78767F%40WHNPX-173384A39DD85B31%402446207-1732C562871496CC%405-1732C562871496CC%40&hlterms=%22Fred%20Rice%22%20AND%20%22police%22%20AND%20%22beats%22&f=classic>.

<sup>110</sup> Jim Merriner et al., “‘Hands off’ on Public Safety - Mayor Puts Confidence in Police, Fire Chiefs,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, WASHINGTON’S CHICAGO: The State of the City, September 21, 1986, sec. SUNDAY NEWS.

street.”<sup>111</sup> Despite their pleas, Hyde Park officials noticed a change in Chicago Police Department coverage.

The Chicago Police Department withdrawal from the neighborhood in this period played a key role in the expansion of the University of Chicago Department. This perspective was reinforced by Vice President Kleinbard, who explained to a professor at Columbia in 1993 that “with the cut backs in the Chicago Police Department over the past ten years, our Department has assumed a much more aggressive role.”<sup>112</sup> Kleinbard referred to the fact that, after the Chicago Police Department withdrew, the University expanded their policing capacity, gaining arrest power and adding sirens and mars lights, oscillating warning lights, to their police cars.<sup>113</sup>

#### *Public/Private Implications*

Where formerly the policing of the Hyde Park neighborhood was a public function, over the 1980s it became a private function, overseen by the University of Chicago. This pattern replicates a trend in the twentieth century, where private organizations have assumed formerly state functions.<sup>114</sup> From the story of campus policing in Hyde Park, we can see that the University did not forcefully seize public power from the city. Rather, the city’s own blunders caused the withdrawal of their forces from the neighborhood, driving the University to expand their police force, where formerly they had been hesitant.

Examining the University’s expansion as a case study reveals how private police forces emerge in formerly publicly policed jurisdictions. Leading police scholar Sklansky describes

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<sup>111</sup> Casey and Brown, “More Cops to Walk Beat.”

<sup>112</sup> Kleinbard to Ferguson, “Survey of Policing,” February 15, 1993.

<sup>113</sup> As mentioned in an earlier section, they achieved the capacity to make arrests and added sirens and mars lights to their cars.

<sup>114</sup> Quinn Slobodian, *Crack-up Capitalism: Market Radicals and the Dream of a World without Democracy*, First edition (New York: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company, 2023).

how the most widespread explanation for the growth in private security is “the failure of public law enforcement to provide the amounts and kinds of policing that many people want.”<sup>115</sup> In the 1980s, public policing ceased to provide the kinds of policing that the University wanted to attract students and assuage parents. As a result, the University rose to the fore as the primary police department in their neighborhood.

This transfer of public power to private power could have implications for the function of the police department, making it more unequal. While public police departments are ideally accountable to all citizens, policing scholars Shearing and Stenning proposes the term “client-defined mandate” to emphasize the fact that private police forces are accountable primarily to their clients.<sup>116</sup> In a University context, there is a concern that the police department will respond more quickly to concerns from “clients,” meaning students and affiliates of the University, than to the concerns of the broader community.<sup>117</sup> A University police department first serves the University stakeholders before serving the broader community.

On the flipside, some emphasize that the community actually preferred the University response to the city cops. This echoes claims in the private policing literature that private policing is more efficient and responsive.<sup>118</sup> A Northwestern policing scholar mentioned that colleagues living in Hyde Park always called the University police, rather than the city police.<sup>119</sup> This demand for University policing was reinforced by University president Hanna Holborn

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<sup>115</sup> David A. Sklansky, “The Private Police,” *UCLA Law Review* 46, no. 4 (1999 1998): 1165–1288, 1222.

<sup>116</sup> Clifford D. Shearing and Philip C. Stenning, “Private Security: Implications for Social Control,” *Social Problems* 30, no. 5 (1983): 493–506, <https://doi.org/10.2307/800267>, 499-500.

<sup>117</sup> Jeffrey S. Jacobson, “The Model Campus Police Jurisdiction Act: Toward Broader Jurisdiction for University Police,” *Columbia Journal of Law and Social Problems* 29, no. 1 (1996 1995): 39–84, 53-54.

<sup>118</sup> Elizabeth E. Joh, “Conceptualizing the Private Police,” *Utah Law Review* 2005, no. 2 (2005): 573–618.

<sup>119</sup> Wesley Skogan, Interview, interview by Jordyn Flaherty, March 28, 2025.

Gray, who discussed the outsize demand for University policing, claiming, tongue-in-cheek, that “universities operate like welfare states.”<sup>120</sup>

This expansion of the University’s policing power, overseeing the community, was enabled by the Chicago Police Department’s decision to withdraw from the Hyde Park neighborhood. This change was ushered along by the city government, acting as allies to the University. As the University approached the legal expansion of their force, they continued to work with the city government to legitimize their police force.

### **The University’s Strategies for Legitimizing the Security Department**

#### **The Illinois Private Campus Policing Act**

Responding to the budget crisis and the withdrawal of the Chicago Police Department, the University moved to legitimize their police force, and one important mechanism was the 1985 Illinois Private College Campus Policing Act (H.B. 0598). The act allowed private colleges to appoint their own police officers and granted these officers the same force powers as official state “peace officers.”<sup>121</sup> Through the University’s work to pass an amendment to the bill, the University quietly transformed campus policing. The University’s amendment, proposed by its legislative network, allowed the University to appoint and maintain a larger police force without devoting significant resources to training and insurance. Despite the bill’s marked (and ongoing) impact on campus policing, the media at the time largely ignored the bill. After the act’s passage, some stakeholders at the University worried about the public effects of implementing the act and increasing the University’s influence. However, ultimately, administrators decided to adopt the bill despite their concerns because it clarified the scope of their policing role and enhanced their

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<sup>120</sup> Hanna Holborn Gray, Interview, interview by Jordyn Flaherty, January 28, 2025.

<sup>121</sup> “Illinois Private College Campus Policing Act,” 598 HB § (1985).

policing power. Examining the passage of the Illinois Private Campus act illuminates the University's closely held relationship to state government and concerns about formalizing its work in the neighborhood.

Illinois House Bill 0598, titled “The Illinois Private College Campus Policing Act,” was first introduced in March 1985 and allowed private colleges to appoint official police officers.<sup>122</sup> The bill’s first iteration, as proposed by several representatives, required that all members of the force complete an approved training course under the Illinois training act and receive costly insurance. On June 21, Representative Bloom, formerly the alderman of Hyde Park, proposed an amendment which loosened training standards and removed the insurance requirement. In the amendment, which was ultimately adopted, the training requirement no longer applied to all members of the force but only to members of the department “established for police protection.”<sup>123</sup> The amendment narrowed the scope of which officers were required to receive training, and it also diminished the training standards: now, officers only had to complete firearms training and the minimum Standard Basic Law Enforcement Training Course. Additionally, the amendment removed the requirement from the original provision that the Board of Trustees provide each member of the campus police department with liability insurance coverage for at least \$250,000 dollars. The act left after the amendment was significantly more favorable for the University of Chicago, requiring lowered training standards for fewer officers and no insurance requirement.

The University of Chicago’s contacts allies to pass the amendment, including Senator Richard Newhouse and Representative Barbara Flynn Currie. Newhouse, an Illinois state senator

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<sup>122</sup> Illinois Private College Campus Policing Act.

<sup>123</sup> “Final Legislative Synopsis and Digest of the 1985 Season of the Eighty Fourth General Assembly” (Legislative Reference Bureau, 1985).

who had graduated from the University of Chicago's law school, "arranged" for the amendment.<sup>124</sup> Thanking him for his work, the University of Chicago's General Counsel wrote that, "As you are aware, the operation of the University security force is quite important to the University and to the community. Your willingness to make yourself available on such short notice to be of help is greatly appreciated."<sup>125</sup> Representative Barbara Flynn Currie, of the Hyde Park district, who attended the University's Lab School, College, and master's program, also played a key role in the passage of the amendment.<sup>126</sup> The amended bill was signed into law by the Governor of Illinois on September 17, 1985. On September 24th, Vice-President Jonathan Kleinbard wrote to the University of Chicago's General Counsel, "I thank you for all of your help."<sup>127</sup>

The bill played an important role in clarifying the legal status of the University of Chicago's Security department. As Sussman explained to the University's allies, the act was crucial because it was "vitally important that there be clarity as to the authority of University security."<sup>128</sup> Before the act, police officers were appointed through the city's Superintendent of Police, but after the act, the University could appoint their officers themselves, through their own Board of Trustees.<sup>129</sup> With the implementation of the act, the officers could legally make arrests

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<sup>124</sup> Arthur M. Sussman to Richard Newhouse, Letter, June 21, 1985, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>125</sup> Sussman to Newhouse, Letter.

<sup>126</sup> Jeanie Chung, "After 40 Years Representing Hyde Park's District in the Illinois House, a Veteran Lawmaker Steps Aside," *University of Chicago Magazine*, accessed March 11, 2025, <https://mag.uchicago.edu/law-policy-society/after-40-years-representing-hyde-parks-district-illinois-house-veteran-lawmaker>.

<sup>127</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Arthur M. Sussman, Memorandum, September 24, 1985, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>128</sup> Arthur M. Sussman to Barbara Flynn Currie et al., Letter, June 21, 1985, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>129</sup> Sher to Graham, "Peace Officers," December 21, 1987.

and file charges against individuals, without the charges being screened by the Chicago Police Department. They could also issue tickets for parking and traffic violations. In addition to an expansion of power, the officers could physically extend their jurisdiction, operating on any property owned by the University in Illinois and not just the main campus. The act allowed the University of Chicago Security department to operate more like a civil police department.

Despite the influential nature of the Illinois Private College Campus Police Act, which continues to offer the statutory basis for Illinois university police power, it received no coverage in the press at the time. It was not reported on by the *Chicago Sun Times* or the local *Hyde Park Herald*, or the campus *University of Chicago Maroon*.<sup>130</sup> The local news media was uninterested in the role of campus police. The quiet public response to the bill reveals the extent to which the University of Chicago's efforts to expand their police force in the 1980s took place behind the scenes.

After the act's passage, the University debated whether to fully implement the act and transfer their officers into peace officers. In a 1987 memo from Susan S. Sher, of the University's legal counsel, she laid out how the act could drive recruitment of officers, by making the role appear to entail a higher status. Materially, it would allow the department to access the Federal Bureau of Investigation's National Crime and Information Center. Sher explained how the bill would ultimately give the officers "greater and more clearly delineated authority."<sup>131</sup>

However, Sher also wrote that the clarified legal role of the police force could come with accompanying downsides. Sher commented that "we need to decide whether we really want our officers to exercise full police powers" because these additional powers come with "additional

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<sup>130</sup> As found in Newsbank searches and searches of the University of Chicago Campus Publications Archive.

<sup>131</sup> Sher to Graham, "Peace Officers," December 21, 1987.

training, additional responsibilities and additional risks.”<sup>132</sup> The ambiguities of the current status “would not longer be present.” If the officers made arrests, they could face false arrest and civil rights lawsuits. Sher’s list showed the downsides of taking on full public police authority, which could come with potential increased oversight.

However, eventually, administrators decided that the list of advantages was too extensive for the University to pass up. The University was still unsure about their ability to make arrests, which was a major hindrance. Whenever they made an arrest, they had to wait for the Chicago Police Department to arrive and for their “wagon” to transport the suspect.<sup>133</sup> Additionally, cases would sometimes be dismissed in court if a Chicago Police Department officer did not show up. Finally, judges were confused about the police department’s authority and would sometimes dismiss cases “because they believed our officers did not have the authority under Chapter 173 to detain officers.”<sup>134</sup> This inability to make arrests and press charges was a major inconvenience for the department. Furthermore, the oversight of hiring provided occasional roadblocks, as when, in 1983, the city of Chicago denied the hiring of a special policeman by the University due to his prior arrest record.<sup>135</sup> Ultimately, administrators decided to set aside the downsides and take on additional power by professionally licensing their police force through the Board of Trustees.<sup>136</sup>

The decision to implement the Illinois Private Campus Policing Act was a major milestone for the University Security Department. It allowed the Department to become less

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<sup>132</sup> Sher to Graham, “Peace Officers,” December 21, 1987.

<sup>133</sup> Mark Graham to Jonathan Kleinbard, “Peace Officer Status,” Letter, June 2, 1988, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 172, Folder 17], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>134</sup> Graham to Kleinbard, “Peace Officer Status,” June 2, 1988.

<sup>135</sup> Oscar D’Angelo to Jonathan Kleinbard, “Special Policeman License Application,” Letter Forwarded, November 16, 1983, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>136</sup> Larson, “A Brief History of the UCPD.”

dependent on the Chicago Police Department, by giving officers the ability to act like official police officers who had the authority to make arrests and file charges. The Act passed quietly but transformed the role of the department.

### **Hiring Official Security Director, Rudolph Nimocks**



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Another strategy to legitimize the University of Chicago Security Department was the hiring of former Chicago Police Department Deputy Superintendent Rudolph Nimocks as Director of Security. Nimocks had an extensive career in law enforcement, serving for the Chicago Police Department for thirty-three years. He moved up in the force from sergeant to lieutenant, captain, commander, Chief, and then Deputy Superintendent.<sup>138</sup> His experience made him a valued asset to the University of Chicago, which worked persistently to hire him.

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<sup>137</sup> *Nimocks, Rudolph*, 1989, Photographic print, 24.1 x 19.2 cm, 1989, University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Archival Photographic Files, <https://photoarchive.lib.uchicago.edu/db.xqy?one=apfl-12742.xml>.

<sup>138</sup> Rudolph Nimocks, “Resume of Rudolph E. Nimocks Sr.,” April 1989, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 172, Folder 6], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

Furthermore, as a Black police chief who had lived in Woodlawn, he gave additional credibility to the department.

Kleinbard was determined to hire Nimocks and spent five years attempting to recruit him.<sup>139</sup> Kleinbard played a major role in Nimocks' appointment, forwarding his CV around the department.<sup>140</sup> This dedication to hiring Nimocks revealed how important it was to Kleinbard that the Department have a strong, Chicago Police Department affiliated leader. Kleinbard only succeeded when Nimocks decided to retire from the Chicago Police Department, and former Chicago Police Department Chief Nimocks was appointed director of University security on April 27th, 1989.<sup>141</sup>

After his hiring, President Hanna Holborn Gray expressed how important he was to the University. In our conversation, she called his hiring "a big step forward for the university and for our police people."<sup>142</sup> She explained that for faculty and staff and students, his hiring was instrumental in transforming the role of the Department. "I think they trusted him in a way that perhaps earlier chiefs hadn't really been known."<sup>143</sup> He had also lived in Woodlawn, which gave him added trust in the surrounding neighborhoods. This broad base of support from the University and the community allowed Nimocks to play an important role in securing the expansion of the University of Chicago Police Department's jurisdiction.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Frank Krusel, "Rudolph Nimocks for Police Board," Letter, September 29, 1989, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 43, Folder 46], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>140</sup> Nimocks, "Resume of Rudolph E. Nimocks Sr."

<sup>141</sup> "Rudolph Nimocks Appointed Director of Security," April 27, 1988, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 172, Folder 6], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>142</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>143</sup> Gray, Interview.

<sup>144</sup> Gray, Interview and Larson, "A Brief History of the UCPD."

## Navigating Student Concerns

As the University of Chicago Police Department began to legitimize as a body, they faced pushback from students, particularly the Organization of Black Students. However, they mainly sidestepped these students' most material demands to continue their march towards expansion. They tactfully negotiated with students to meet some of their needs and maintain public relations, while continuing the main functions of the police department.

A key incident illustrates how the University managed student concerns around policing by selectively meeting demands. In 1992, concerns began to brew to the surface around police profiling and minority harassment on campus. For example, the University used the phrase "unknown black male" to describe a suspect in a crime report. In the Provost's Task Force on Crime Notification, formed to comply with the 1990 federal Clery Act, they recommended that "a description of the perpetrator should not be included unless the description is so detailed that it might be of real use in apprehending a suspect." However, in 1992, the University notified the community about a crime with the description "unknown black male." Student A.T. Nguyen wrote a letter to the Provost and the *Maroon* shaming the University for reinforcing racist stereotypes.<sup>145</sup> Despite the University's commitment to defining policy in committees, they did not actually meet policy standards on the ground.

The University's need to mitigate student concerns and their lackluster response is also apparent in the University's response to a 1992 petition. On April 14, 1992, Sandra Cherfrere wrote a letter to *The Maroon* about minority harassment. The Organization of Black Students held a meeting to develop a list of demands for the administration, which were signed by

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<sup>145</sup> A.T. Nguyen, "A Concerned Student Against Stereotyping, Re: Memo That Reinforces Racist Stereotype," Letter, August 31, 1992, Jonathan Kleinbard to Frank Krusel, "Rudolph Nimocks for Police Board," Letter, September 29, 1989, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 90, Folder 39], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

hundreds of students.<sup>146</sup> These demands were as follows: the University should revise their orientation security presentations to better address the role of minority students, the Committee on University Security should have more power to review complaints about University of Chicago police officers, and the officers should issue “stop cards” to students that they stopped with time, date, officer name, badge number, and reason for stopping. The demands reflected the concerns of students about the potentially racist overreaches of the Department.

In response, the University tactfully responded to some of their concerns, while sidestepping others. Jonathan Kleinbard wrote a letter to President Hanna Holborn Gray discussing the events of the meeting, where he described which of the concerns were to be addressed. The first demand, about revising the orientation, would be met: Kleinbard recommended that the presentations “provide sensitivity about the diverse population here.”<sup>147</sup> However, the other two were not. To the demand to strengthen the Committee on University Security, the administration informed the students that they could appeal to the President when they disagreed with the department. This response did not materially change the workings of the committee but simply reinforced its current power. Third, responding to “stop cards” the University told students that that “would not work” and that students could submit follow-up complaints to the Department or University Security Committee.

The University’s response to students avoided a significant change to their policing function. While they did recommend an acknowledgment of Black students in the orientation materials, the University did not materially change student’s oversight of policing. They refused

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<sup>146</sup> “Concerned Students Against Minority Harassment Coalition Petition,” April 21, 1992, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 172, Folder 8], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>147</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard to Hanna Holborn Gray, Letter, April 30, 1992, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 172, Folder 8], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

to actively change their department, instead directing students through the bureaucratic process that already existed.

## **Marketing Security**

In admissions materials and materials for parents from the 1980s, the University subtly reinforced the safety and stability of the neighborhood. Materials repeatedly employed the phrase “Hyde Park, a racially integrated community,” which drew on language from the early urban renewal era. Materials also advertised that “Hyde Park has one of the lowest crime rates in Chicago.”<sup>148</sup> Kleinbard visually had a hand in this: his edits mark the proofs of pages about the University’s neighborhood in a student housing brochure.<sup>149</sup> With Kleinbard’s input, the University simultaneously portrayed the University’s neighborhood as a desirable place to live while acknowledging nascent fears of crime.

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<sup>148</sup> “Opportunities for Minority Graduate and Professional Students at The University of Chicago,” brochure (The University of Chicago, 1985), University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 1, Folder 23], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>149</sup> Jonathan Kleinbard, “Neighborhood Student Apartments Insert,” May 15, 1985, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 27, Folder 16], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.



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*Chicago Parents Magazine, 1987. The red square is my addition.*

The University also worked to subtly assuage parents' concerns while employing vaguely racial rhetoric. A 1987 brochure for parents included a survey from Parents Weekend that asked, "What was your biggest surprise about the University of Chicago?" In the bottom right-hand corner of the document, a blurb was included from Mr. Lim who claimed that "the biggest surprise is that the campus is quite safe. I am very much at ease. We had had the impression that the area was dangerous."<sup>150</sup> The quote reveals two things: one, that the area was viewed as dangerous and its safety was a "surprise." Second, that the University cared to highlight this fact in the *Parents* magazine—but not as a feature article or a header story, only in the margins of

<sup>150</sup> "Chicago Parents," Newsletter (The University of Chicago, Winter 1988), University of Chicago Official Publications, Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>151</sup> "Chicago Parents," Newsletter (The University of Chicago, Winter 1988), University of Chicago Official Publications, Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

the issue, meant to subtly assuage any existing concerns. Through the University's marketing, the University quietly reinforced the idea of a "safe" neighborhood.

## Conclusion

Over the course of the 1980s, the University of Chicago transformed their security department into a police force. Spurred by a budget crisis and the withdrawal of Chicago's city forces, they increased their arrest power and the size of their force by forty percent. This transformation allowed the University of Chicago to have one of the largest police forces in the world.<sup>152</sup>

Over the next few decades, the Police Chief Rudolph Nimocks pursued jurisdiction expansion. In 1993, 2000, and 2003, and then in the years to follow, the University gradually expanded the jurisdiction of the Police Department, which extended from Lake Shore Drive to the east to Cottage Grove Avenue to the west until it came to expand from 47th street to 61st street during the 1980s to 37th street to 64th street in 2025.<sup>153</sup> By 2018, the University had jurisdiction over 65,000 residents of the South Side, the majority of which were not affiliated with the University, raising concerns about equal treatment of University members and the community.<sup>154</sup>

The expansion of policing in Hyde Park drove racial tensions in Hyde Park. Davarian Baldwin interviewed a Black Woodlawn resident, who described how the University police

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<sup>152</sup> Nathalie Baptiste, "Campus Cops: Authority Without Accountability," *The American Prospect*, November 2, 2015, <https://prospect.org/civil-rights/campus-cops-authority-without-accountability/>.

<sup>153</sup> Rudolph E. Nimocks to Robert J. Sampson, "University Police Department," Memorandum, January 14, 1993, University of Chicago Office of the President, Gray Administration Records, [Box 90, Folder 39], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

<sup>154</sup> Ashvini Kartik-Narayan, "The Fight Over Chicago's Largest Private Police Force," *South Side Weekly* (blog), July 17, 2018, <https://southsideweekly.com/the-fight-over-chicagos-largest-private-police-force-university-of-chicago-ucpd/>.

would follow him every time he stepped foot on university campus. Campus police would speak into their walkie talkies or tell him, “You don’t belong over here; what are you doing over here?”<sup>155</sup> The perimeter was not only enforced on foot but also at the boundary of the neighborhood. After the department found that a large percentage of the street level crime was from individuals outside the neighborhood, the University Police Department set up cameras and cars at the perimeter. “They would wait for somebody to drive past who is violating speed law. They would then stop people at the perimeter, as a deterrent to unwanted folk entering ‘our zone.’”<sup>156</sup> Through policing, the University created permeable racialized boundaries around the neighborhood.<sup>157</sup>

Later racial incidents inspired protest: student activist groups from the Campaign for Equitable Policing to #CareNotCops, have sought to disarm, defund, and disband the University of Chicago Police Department.<sup>158</sup> However, in the 1980s, the University Police Department expanded with little reaction from the campus and broader community. The University carefully managed their expansion to avoid a response, and it was successful. When the Illinois Private College Campus Policing Act passed, authorizing Illinois campus police officers, it received no newspaper coverage until 2013.<sup>159</sup> University administrators undertook the policing expansion without any significant external roadblocks from students or community members.

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<sup>155</sup> Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, 125.

<sup>156</sup> Anonymous faculty member, Interview, interview by Jordyn Flaherty, November 19, 2024.

<sup>157</sup> Loeb, “Building a Selective Permeability of Space,” 35.

<sup>158</sup> Ashvini Kartik-Narayan, “The Fight Over Chicago’s Largest Private Police Force,” *South Side Weekly* (blog), July 17, 2018, <https://southsideweekly.com/the-fight-over-chicagos-largest-private-police-force-university-of-chicago-ucpd/>.

<sup>159</sup> JEFFREY BISHKU-AYKUL, “Campus Cop FOIA Bill Growing - Currie Getting Input from University of Chicago on Bill Aimed at Campus Police,” *Hyde Park Herald (Chicago, IL)*, March 25, 2015, Access World News – Historical and Current.

Black Geographer Teona Williams uses the phrase “slow violence” to describe the effects of gentrification on the Southside.<sup>160</sup> The expansion of the University’s police department could perhaps be conceived of as another kind of “slow violence,” a violence that took place over decades in the community without backlash. A third kind of “slow violence” could also be forgetting: the possibility that the history of the University will be forgotten. This development would allow the police department to appear like an inevitability, a behemoth that has always existed; when in fact, the Police Department was manufactured and negotiated. Perhaps the University wants the history of the Police Department to be forgotten: the UCPD’s public information officer did tell the campus newspaper in 2012 that “There are no firm records, it may surprise you, on the history of the Department.”<sup>161</sup> In fact, there are records, though they are scattered, and there is a history.

This historical investigation illuminates a piece of that history. It also draws together existing work to suggest where University policing can fit in the broader narrative of the University. While the history of University policing reinforces certain observations about the exploitation of urban renewal, it also upends understandings: suggesting how public power can become private power and how this transformation happens subtly. Telling a forgotten history can hopefully play some role in stemming “slow violence.” I hope this paper is one of many investigations that continue to unpeel the hidden layers of the University’s history.

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<sup>160</sup> Williams, “For ‘Peace, Quiet, and Respect,’” 511.

<sup>161</sup> Jordan Larson, “A Brief History of the UCPD,” May 2012, <https://chicagomaroon.com/15685/grey-city/a-brief-history-of-the-ucpd/>.

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