

University of Pennsylvania
Public Safety Review and Outreach Initiative
Hearing 6: Thursday, September 10, 2020, 2 pm EDT

Advisors:

Dorothy Roberts	Penn Integrates Knowledge Professor of Africana, Studies, Law, and Sociology
Reverend Chaz Howard	Vice President for Social Equity and Community

Panelists:

Eric Furda	Dean of Admissions
Karen Hamilton	Senior Associate Director of Stewardship, Wharton External Affairs
Mamta Motwani Accapadi	Vice Provost for University Life
John MacDonald	Professor of Criminology and Sociology
Tukufu Zuberi	Professor of Sociology and Africana Studies Lasry Family Professor of Race Relations

[00:00:00]

[00:00:04] **Dorothy Roberts**

Welcome to the sixth virtual hearing of the Penn Public Safety Review and Outreach Initiative. I am Dorothy Roberts; a Penn Integrates Knowledge Professor of Africana Studies, Law, and Sociology. And I, along with Reverend Chaz Howard, are leading this initiative as appointed advisors to Penn President Amy Gutmann. Reverend Howard will introduce himself and welcome you in a minute. We are working with the Law School's Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice, and you will hear from its Executive Director, John Hollway, after Reverend Howard.

The Public Safety Review and Outreach Initiative is conducting a comprehensive review of public safety at Penn. The goal of the review is to assess Penn's success in creating a physically and emotionally safe environment on campus and in the surrounding

community while treating every person with equal dignity and respect. And in a way that prioritizes and promotes anti-racism, racial equality, and justice.

The outcome of the initiative will be a report and recommendations that we will present to President Amy Gutmann, Executive Vice President Craig Carnaroli, and Provost Wendell Pritchett in the fall.

Our report and recommendations will be based on two main efforts. First, we have begun collecting and reviewing hundreds of documents from Penn's Division of Public Safety regarding a wide range of policies, procedures, and outcomes, including use of force, vehicle and pedestrian stops, complaints, budgets, transparency, and relationships with other policing agencies.

The second part is why we are here today. We are holding a series of virtual hearings to receive input from members of the Penn and West Philadelphia communities on their experiences with Penn's Department of Public Safety and on their ideas and suggestions. The hearings will be made publicly available via live stream and recorded for future public access.

Reverend Howard and I both have long records of commitment to racial justice, and we approach our leadership of this initiative very seriously and independently. We have been given complete freedom to listen, to learn, and to make recommendations without any pressure from the university administration. Our aim is to move Penn toward achieving a vision of public safety that treats everyone with equal respect, in which everyone can feel physically and emotionally safe with a sense of equal belonging, and that prioritizes racial justice.

To be candid, many of us are finding it hard to go on with business as usual after the recent police violence and ongoing protests in Kenosha, Wisconsin, Rochester, New York, and around the nation. The work of reimagining public safety is more urgent than ever, and we are very grateful to everyone in the Penn and neighboring communities who are participating in this initiative.

I will now turn to my Co-Presidential Advisor, Reverend Chaz Howard.

[00:03:27] **Chaz Howard**

Thank you, Professor Roberts. Thank you everybody who has tuned in this afternoon. And just to add to what Professor Roberts said earlier. We are committed in this process to a couple different things. One of those is including openness. We are committed to a project, a journey that invites voices from a full spectrum of opinions about contemporary policing in America. We have invited people from Penn's Public Safety, as well as people who are students and faculty and staff and alumni and members of our community. We are open to hearing from everybody [*unintelligible*].

Likewise, we are trying our best to journey in a process that is open and transparent. There are aspects of student life that can't be shared publicly, but we want to make sure that this journey is fully accessible to anybody who wants to hear the conversation even if you can't make it for these sessions, they are all being recorded as well. And with that, we sort of invite anybody who wants to contribute, and we will say more about this at the end, through email or through leaving a voice message for us, we want to hear from you. We need to hear from you along this way.

So, again, thank you so much, and with special gratitude to the Quattrone Center, they have done so much of the heavy lifting of this journey thus far. And with that, I turn it over to our colleague, John Hollway, from the Quattrone Center.

[00:04:56] **John Hollway**

Thank you, Reverend Howard, and thank you, Professor Roberts. I am John Hollway; I am the Executive Director of the Quattrone Center for the Fair Administration of Justice at Penn Law. And along with my colleagues, and Professor Roberts and Reverend Howard, I want to extend our sincere welcome to the members of the Penn community who we will be hearing from today, and to those who are watching and will be sending in questions online as we conduct this, the sixth in our ongoing series of public hearings in this Public Safety Review and Outreach Initiative to solicit input from our community on these important issues.

As these hearings continue, we are learning more and more about the many ways that our Division of Public Safety interacts with the Penn community, which we broadly define to include both the campus itself and the West Philadelphia community. Each person who has participated has provided a valuable and unique perspective, not just with

regard to what our relationships with the Division of Public Safety are today, but in terms of what they can be, what they could be, what they should be in the future so that we could optimize these relationships to truly create an environment where all members of our community feel not just physically, but emotionally safe at Penn,

The last hearing, on Tuesday, September 1, the video has been posted online at www.pennpublicsafetyreview.org. And in the conversation, we heard from Reverend William Gipson, Penn's Associate Vice Provost for Equity and Access, as well as Valerie Dorsey Allen, the Director of the African American Resource Center, and two representatives of CAPS, our counseling and psychological services group. Michal Saraf and Batsirai Bvunzawabaya.

As I said, those were recorded, the conversation was recorded, it is on video, and a transcript is forthcoming that you can receive, and you can see both of those on pennpublicsafetyreview.org.

Today, we will be hearing from a variety of university voices. We will start with Dean Eric Furda, the Dean of Admissions, and we will also hear from Karen Hamilton, the Senior Associate Director of Stewardship at Wharton External Affairs, but also a Penn alumna and a Penn parent. From there. We will hear from Doctor Mamta Motwani Accapadi, the Vice Provost for University Life; from Penn Criminology and Sociology, Professor John MacDonald, and Professor Tukufu Zuberi, the Lasry Professor of Race Relations and Professor for Sociology and Africana Studies at Penn.

Each of these speakers has invited to share a brief opening statement. And once each of them has spoken, Professor Roberts and Reverend Howard will engage with them in a question and answer session.

The ground rules for this are the same as for the prior hearings, but just to restate them. This webinar is being recorded. Both the recording and a transcript will be posted at pennpublicsafetyreview.org. Members of the audience are encouraged to submit questions or thoughts they may have at any time through the Q and A feature found at the ribbon at the bottom of the window. We are monitoring the Q and A; we may not be able to address every question today because we do want to make sure that each speaker has a full opportunity to speak within the limited time allotted, but we will keep a record of the questions, and we will strive to answer them to the extent possible.

We recognize that these topics are deeply felt throughout our community and may be emotional. We both ask and appreciate that members of the audience will keep their questions topical and appropriate.

And with that, I will turn it back to Professor Roberts, Reverend Howard, and our first speaker, Dean Eric Furda. Dean Furda...

[00:08:37] **Eric Furda**

Good afternoon and thank you! It is really an honor to be able to share the screen with so many colleagues and also friends and people that I have known over the years in the Penn Community, class of 1987, need to put the glasses on.

Professor Roberts, Reverend Howard, and Executive Director Hollway, thank you for inviting me to address this panel and our audience today. I have served as Penn's Dean of Undergraduate admissions since 2008 and will continue in this role until December 31, 2020.

Prior to 2008, I served in a few administrative capacities, including two senior leadership positions in admissions and alumni relations at Columbia University in the City of New York from 1991 through 2008. Perhaps more important, and less well-known context is that I first arrived in West Philadelphia as an undergraduate in 1983. After graduating in 1987, I then worked as an entry-level admissions officer in 1 College Hall until 1991.

Growing up in a rural part of Western New York, I attended a high school that is no longer open as the towns in this upstate region experienced the same economic convulsions that so many of our cities experienced. I went to Penn because I wanted an urban college experience. Although some people speak about the "Penn Bubble," as a sophomore in 1984, I moved off campus to the corner of 44th and Locust Streets, next to the Acme Market, across the street from Koch's Deli, and on the opposite corner, Murphy's Tavern, where the proprietor would say good night with a smile and see you in church. I lived in the community.

I lived with two other Penn undergraduates and a young man who was not affiliated with the university. In some ways, we were kind of an island of misfit toys. Despite being a Penn student-athlete, I had anything but a mainstream college experience.

My senior year, I lived in the Fairfax Apartment Building on 42nd and Locust, with my brother, who was taking a year to work after earning his Master's degree prior to pursuing his Doctoral Degree in Psychology. Again, not a typical college experience, but one that prepared me for life in the so-called real world.

I also spent the better part of two summers at Penn taking classes and working in the Athletics Department. I experienced hot summers during garbage strikes, witnessed firsthand the plight of the crack epidemic on communities, and, yes, was frightened and appalled as city blocks burned down in May of 1985 after a bomb was dropped from a police helicopter into a residential community.

Again, I want to Penn because I wanted an urban college experience. But that was hardly the case for many families at the time, as crime rates were hitting all-time highs, while the quality of urban life was bottoming out. In fact, in the year that I applied to Penn, the number of applications was at an all-time low.

While working in Penn Admissions from 1987 to 1991, I recruited from high schools across the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, cities, rural areas, and around the five-county region, including the City of Philadelphia.

In the early 1990s, when I moved to New York City, the country was experiencing what was termed a "mild recession with a jobless recovery." But by 1995, the housing market started to recover, and cities experienced growth and revitalization with Mayors Giuliani and Rendell serving roughly similar terms from the early nineties and early two thousands. Cities were safer, and students and parents were finding urban institutions as appealing college options. The problem, as is often the case in America, is that not all groups benefited from an improving economy, and many more became dislocated from their jobs and homes due to gentrification.

In April of 2007, the Virginia Tech shootings exposed the vulnerability of schools and campuses, bringing back horrific memories of Columbine in 1999. From 2007 to 2009, the world would experience a global economic meltdown and a great recession.

I provide my own personal narrative alongside micro and macro events which shaped cities, states, and national economies because the role of Dean of Admissions does not happen in a vacuum. And so, these events provide some context to my return to Philadelphia as Dean in July of 2008.

In 2008, a non-applicant survey of students, those prospects who chose not to apply to Penn, again, a non-applicant survey, cited factors like affordability and the safety in the City of Philadelphia—the safety in the City of Philadelphia as reasons not to apply to Penn. Fortunately, Doctor Gutmann and the Trustees [*entrusted*] affordability that year by putting in place grant-based financial aid packages, taking loans out of our aid packages. Capitalizing on the Phillies World Series, Penn Admissions also started to work closely with the Philadelphia Tourism Bureau, promoting the Visit Philly campaign. And on campus, we put Penn's Division of Public Safety front and center with other offices like Vice Provost for University Life, Counseling and Psychological Services, Student Financial Services, Student Health Services and Academic Affairs, including the college houses and academic services, to present a comprehensive and coordinated approach to safety, health, financial literacy, and emotional support to prospective students and their families.

Public Safety has a shared responsibility as opposed to is that we see around campus that shared responsibility because personal items is the number one crime on campus—the theft of personal items is the number one crime on campus—was emphasized to families. DPS, and the student volunteers of the Medical Emergency Response Team, gave presentations to prospective and admitted students and families, including programs for underrepresented populations to help educate the newest members of the Penn Community about the resources and services available to them.

In short, DPS became an important part of the narrative about the Penn undergraduate experience. I am grateful to Maureen Rush and the women and men of DPS for their partnership during my tenure as Dean.

There are lessons from the last four decades, which I know the data-driven and interdisciplinary Quattrone Center will draw on in this review, as 2020 is looking much like the 1980s and 1990s. Unemployment, an opioid epidemic, and increased violent crime amidst a global pandemic are challenging current systems and institutions to rethink themselves while being critically reviewed by the most interested stakeholders.

Again, I would like to thank you for inviting me to meet with you today. I understand and wholeheartedly support the need for all members of the Penn and Philadelphia communities to feel safe and emotionally secure while recognizing that

education, healthcare, economic opportunity, and justice are not distributed equally in America and in West Philadelphia. Thank you.

[00:16:16] **Dorothy Roberts**

Thank you so much, Dean Furda, for that really interesting and comprehensive set of remarks that extended back to when you were a college student, all the way till being Dean of Admissions here at Penn.

I'd like to ask you about the impact that the Division of Public Safety has on admissions. You mentioned that part of the reason you came to Penn was because you wanted an urban college experience and that that is appealing to many parents and students. But that safety in Philadelphia plays a role in admissions as well. You didn't mention another aspect of life on campus, and in Philadelphia, that might also play a role, and that is any concerns about policing and its possible impact on making Penn a more diverse and inclusive campus.

And so, I wondered if you would speak about how Admissions takes into account these different ways that policing impacts students' and parents' decisions to come to Penn.

[00:17:51] **Eric Furda**

Certainly, and I could draw on the experiences of not only being a student but then also working for two great urban institutions, the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University. And I think the approach that I outlined was one that was one that would, in some ways, break down barriers and try to build some relationships and trust by; I think it is very easy at urban institutions, particularly over the timeframe that I outlined, to try to not put safety and kind of the wellbeing of the overall community up front and center. I think too often people would kind of shy away from it and hope that that first question wasn't about public safety. I think by being proactive and by putting the women and men of DPS and our student volunteers in places like MERT up front and center, alongside other colleagues, some of whom have addressed this panel and this group, was really just to try to show that individuals were communicating with each other, we were coordinating with each other, and if people had questions, that they should

ask them, certainly along the lines of, well, what does policing look like? What does community involvement look like?

We have sophisticated families that know what questions to ask. I think more about the families that may not know the questions to ask as we think about maybe first-generation families as well. So, just trying to be proactive and upfront and not just try to be marketers, although we are here to promote the university and its values, but to really just try to establish those relationships early on. And I feel with the number of the panels that we put together, usually in Irvine Auditorium, which I have missed so much, just being able to see some families and let them know that there is somebody to call and put a face to those names and departments was really important for us.

[00:19:48] **Dorothy Roberts**

Thank you. Let me follow up because I think there was an aspect of my question maybe that wasn't clear, which is whether or not parents and students of color might be concerned about policing either on campus or in the Philadelphia area in the sense that they might be either profiled, treated differently than white students on campus? Might that have been expressed a concern as well? We certainly heard that concern in our hearings, and I wonder if in Admissions, that comes up at all?

[00:20:32] **Eric Furda**

I think that those tend to be more sidebar conversation, Professor Roberts. I have never heard that question raised in a public forum, but I could understand why it wouldn't be raised in a public forum. When I do think about programs that we have had specifically for families that are coming from backgrounds that would be concerned about this and, again, I think it's the relationship side, it's more the sidebar conversations when we are having receptions in Du Bois College House, or we are meeting with students and families throughout campus. And that's where those questions would usually be asked, and I feel that we have tried to address those in a proactive way while, quite honestly, I am worried about the questions that aren't asked. And so, again, it was never asked in the larger forum; perhaps it will be more now, as certainly dialogue is different now than over some of the other years that I have been dean.

So, is that a concern? I am sure it is. How could it not be? While also trying to build some relationships and trust by putting people out front right away, hopefully, that gave some sense of, if not guarantee, but some assurance that individuals cared about their child.

[00:21:46] **Dorothy Roberts**

Thank you.

[00:21:47] **Chaz Howard**

I really appreciated your comment, Dean, and, more broadly, thank you for the service you have provided our whole university. My question is connected to what Professor Roberts was getting at too. Is this tension for university—I remember in the mid-nineties when there was an uptick in crime, where, I believe, a professor was shot—a student may have been shot at the same time, and there was a large demand from parents, alumni, a lot of people that do more as a university public safety-wise. And a part of what our university's reputation and admissions. And if wanted to continue to be who we are, we need to be a safer university and increase our police force, lighting, blue phones, all that. And it was very much an admissions question.

Now, there is this other admissions question, not from everybody, but as, like [Professor] Roberts was sort of saying, that there are some people who may—I am not sure I want to send my kid to a place that has a police force, period, and that has kind of that surveillance and has all that. And it is not inconceivable to think that there will be these two competing requests from different potential family—Penn families. What advice would you give the university, like who do we listen to? And in once sense, if these were sort of racially motivated requests around I want to feel safer with more cops. I don't feel safer with more cops. Then that want to feel safer would be a much larger number simply just because of the makeup of our student and our peer institutions. But who should we listen to? If we are putting our heads together and this is a new request that we not be over-policed, to use simple language, who should we listen to when we are deciding about the future of the experience of public safety at the university and Penn?

[00:23:42] **Eric Furda**

That's great, and Professor Roberts, I know, I heard the question. I just want to make sure, am I cutting out, or am I okay?

[00:23:53] **Dorothy Roberts**

You're fine, yeah.

[00:23:55] **Eric Furda**

It was just a little wonky there, so I want to make sure people can hear me. You know, Chaz, it's a great question because I think, as with anything, whether we are talking about budgets, as we're talking about budgets and we are talking about other pieces, it's, you know, what is the calibration? What is the calibration of the message? What is the right tone? What size of force is the right balance? What size is too much? And how is that received by our increasingly diverse, not only the student body but also what our nation looks like and what our nation needs as we are looking at shifting demographics and shifting geography, and shifting demographics overall. And we do compete against other institutions, too. As I said, we do not operate in a vacuum in admissions, and we do compete with other institutions and try to find, and I am sure through this review, try to find what is that right balance?

And you know, from being in the eighties and the nineties and feeling a certain way walking around campus to now, one measure of that is applications, but that is not the reason to try to because the admissions question is always one that looms large is what is it that we are trying to achieve? And I think one of the biggest pieces here, and this is why on other panels I talk about how important it is to have a diverse student body, intellectually, racially, across the board, is that we want young people to learn from one another and learn the challenges that they have had through their own experiences. And so, I think a way to get to some of this, you know, to answer your question would be, is how do our students feel? And you are getting that from these hearings while also just making sure that we are striking the right tone and striking the right balance.

What we don't want to see are these huge swings that can take place, particularly since macro forces, whether it is the economy, health, pandemics—that exacerbates

everything and we have been realizing that and seeing that over the last six months, but even for a longer period of time. So, I do think the admissions question is an important one. There are different constituencies that will have different points of view of this while making sure, regardless of background, is you want your 18 to 22-year-old child to be safe. And how can we do that? And what is the right way of approaching it? What are the strategies? And I am sure that we are going to see some changes coming from this review; just make sure that we are striking that right balance.

I do think, from my remarks is, we are heading into another period of time. Urban institutions have done very well in the last 25 years or so. And there are swings in the way institutions are perceived, and we will see what steps we can take to ensure that Penn is a desirable place for students to apply to and to attend.

[00:26:59] **Dorothy Roberts**

Thank you so much, that was very helpful. Thanks!

[00:27:04] **John Hollway**

Thank you, Dean—we appreciate your time and your thoughtful remarks. At this time, we would turn to Ms. Karen Hamilton, from Wharton External Affairs, who is also a Penn Parent. Ms. Hamilton...

[00:27:17] **Karen Hamilton**

Thank you so much, John, and good afternoon to everyone! I want to thank you for this opportunity to share but also to hear from my fellow classmate, Class of 87, Dean Furta, and the other panelists that I am looking forward to hearing.

When I was 14, growing up in Mantua, just north of 34th and Market Street, I discovered Penn. I was part of a summer high school program at the School of Engineering, and I fell in love with the place that would become such a significant part of my life. It did not seem strange to straddle the two worlds of the Black Bottom and the Ivy League until my freshman year as a Penn student when an orientation leader cautioned us not to travel north of Market Street or west of 40th, especially alone. As a commuter student, that would be a complicated one to figure out! Yet, I navigated these

two vastly different worlds, encouraged by proud family, supported by administrators, and cheered on mostly by custodial and dining hall staff, security guards, shuttle drivers who looked like me. I don't recall much direct experience with Public Safety as a student, and so my impression was neither negative nor positive.

I had a relatively isolated experience as a commuter, but I found my way and began my career at Penn after graduation, eventually discovering the ways that my work could support students and programs at Penn. I love Penn, and I love Penn people—so much so that I married an alum from the neighborhood, and two of our four children followed in our footsteps as Penn alumni.

My experience with Public Safety has been mostly as a staff member – our daughters did sessions on safety, I toured the command center through the Essentials of Management program, and had many wonderful opportunities to engage with Vice President Mo Rush on panels similar to what Dean Furta described. But then, as a Penn parent, I was alarmed, but grateful when Public Safety called to advise me that my son had injured himself playing basketball at Pottruck and escorted him to HUP for treatment. I believe many Public Safety staff are devoted professionals who care about the university and its community as I do. But I sense there is a disconnect.

Public Safety's mission is to enhance the quality of life, safety, and security of our community. These tenets should promote belonging. Both my daughter and son agreed that Public Safety has a strong presence on campus and the surrounding neighborhood, but my son especially, expressed a sentiment that mirrors my own perception of how Public Safety often engages with people of color from the community on campus. And since there can't always be clarity about the people of color who are from Penn and those who are not, that feeling has been a part of his engagement. His feeling may be rooted in the overall experience of a young black man in America, in the city of Philadelphia, and yes, at Penn. In my son's words, "I know I'm from Philly, and I know I look like I'm more from Philly than from Penn." So, how did that shape his experience at Penn?

He felt anxious around campus police and was ultra-conscious of wearing Penn branded clothing, especially at night and on weekends, lest he be mistaken for someone who didn't belong on Locust Walk, jogging on Walnut Street, walking into Houston Hall, sitting outside the Bookstore, you can fill in the blank. As much as he loves West Philly,

his time on campus resulted in feelings of often being viewed as out of place and contributed to his reluctance to live in the community after graduation when, no longer a student, he might be perceived as someone who did not belong. I do not believe that this is an experience that white people in the Penn community have.

If operating through a lens of suspicion, Public Safety cannot promote a feeling of security at Penn for people of color. I respect many wonderful police, including my late grandfather, who was a retired Philadelphia police officer. But Public Safety's alignment and partnership with the Philadelphia Police Department does not necessarily signal an enhanced quality of life or safety for everyone. This is particularly true for black students, like my son, who was unjustifiably stopped on a short walk from 38th Street to his room at Du Bois in his freshman year. He was asked to have a friend come down to vouch for him, even after showing his PennCard. I worry that an assumption that black people on campus do not belong shapes much of the engagement with the community.

While I speak only for the experiences of those closest to me, and from the heart of a mother, admittedly, I know that my son's experience not just with the Philadelphia police while on campus, but also that sense of trepidation when you feel like your belonging could be questioned by a member of the community charged with protecting all Penn citizens, has been articulated by other students and alumni of color. I sincerely hope that any effort to examine the culture and impact of Public Safety, especially in relation to people of color, will be viewed in terms of how they affect students and staff, yes, but also, the community of people who are our neighbors, people like the 14-year-old me, people whose paths may lead them to our campus where hopefully, they are welcomed, and where they pursue lifelong connections that benefit us all. Thank you so much!

[00:33:53] **Dorothy Roberts**

Wow! Thank you, Ms. Hamilton. That was a very moving set of remarks, and I think you really brought into focus what Reverend Howard and were discussing with Dean Furta. This tension between the protection for some people that the Division of Public Safety provides and the fear that other people that they are going to be mistreated by Public Safety Officers on campus and off campus. And I think your son's experience

really is a very poignant example of that. And so, I would really like you to go into that a little bit more deeply.

Let's be honest, the reason why, it sounds like, and I don't mean to put words in your mouth, but what I am hearing from you, your son has trepidation about being on campus; he feels he has to dress a certain way to avoid being stopped. He has been stopped by the police, his way near campus is because of a sense that people from West Philadelphia don't belong on campus and are a danger to students here and others here, which means that black people don't belong. I mean, there is an equation with West Philly and black people; that's why black students are more at risk, right, of being stopped or otherwise treated in a way that equal or respectful.

And so, what do you think should be done about that? What could, as a parent, as a member of the Penn community in so many different ways, what can Penn do about that so that students of color and people in West Philadelphia as well, our West Philadelphia neighbors don't feel threatened by our Division of Public Safety?

[00:36:27] **Karen Hamilton**

Yeah, I thought about that, and one of the things, I think it may seem very simple, but a key perspective to me is to expect the best of people. And so, if someone is walking on campus, they are walking on campus and, you know, no more and no less. And so, I think, for me, the troubling thing for hearing that story, and I just want to also reframe two things. One is, it was the Philadelphia Police, so I know that there is some distinction between Public Safety—

[00:37:15] **Dorothy Roberts**

Just to be clear, when your son was stopped off campus, it was the Philadelphia Police who stopped him?

[00:37:21] **Karen Hamilton**

He was on campus.

[00:37:22] **Dorothy Roberts**

Oh, he was still on campus?

[00:37:23] **Karen Hamilton**

Yes. He walked from 7-Eleven, felt that he was—felt that a police officer was watching him in the 7-Eleven, with a roommate, who was non-black, and they walked back to campus; he got to—well, not back to campus, they walked from 7-Eleven, at 38th Street, near Walnut, walked up Walnut Street to Du Bois, his roommate proceeded ahead of him and, then, he saw the police car come around the corner on Walnut Street, flashing lights.

The horrible thing for me is he didn't tell me this until after he graduated, which, and what he shared was he was so embarrassed as other students walked by, knowing he had done nothing—he never had, you know, any—there was no cause, nothing to justify being stopped. And he was frightened and then more humiliated when he showed his PennCard. And what he said to me was it was almost as if they acted as if my PennCard wasn't enough and, then, they escorted to the entrance of Du Bois, and he had to call his roommate to come down and verify or validate that he was a student and lived in Du Bois House.

And so, I think for me, the sad thing is I think of his 18 years of life at that point, that my husband and I and family members and church members have affirmed him and done all we could to esteem him as the wonderful young black man that he is and that, in a moment, an instance, in his freshman year could shape so much of his feeling not just about the police, but having a feeling of needing to validate his belonging on campus. And he didn't share that with me until after graduation. In some ways, one of the things is he thought like, well, this is what happens to black men, and that saddened me.

So, I think, in a nutshell, to say one of the things, even in training or orientation of Public Safety personnel, is there has to be a balance between not assuming the worst of someone, and that takes a lot of—a lot of these things are systemic and built-in, not just from what police officers, but from black police officers as well. And so, there is this sense that can we reverse the assumption that the color of your skin means something negative? Or that it means something positive if you are a white student.

And so, I don't know if that is an answer or a solution, but—

[00:40:14] **Dorothy Roberts**

That's very helpful, thank you. Thank you so much for your remarks. Reverend Howard—

[00:40:21] **Chaz Howard**

I have no further questions. But I really appreciate your vulnerability and sharing of your son's story, both of them, about being hurt and you getting that call, and also the story of being profiled and followed into Du Bois. So, thank you for sharing.

[00:40:36] **Karen Hamilton**

Thank you.

[00:40:40] **John Hollway**

Thank you, Ms. Hamilton. I want to echo Professor Roberts and Reverend Howard's remarks and add my gratitude as well for your sharing your personal story. Thank you so much.

We will turn at this point to the Vice Provost for University Life, Doctor Mamta Motwani Accapadi. Doctor Accapadi...

[00:40:56] **Mamta Motwani Accapadi**

Hello, everyone! Professor Roberts, Vice President and Reverend Howard, and Executive Director Hollway, thank you so much for this opportunity to be in community with all of you today. I echo the gratitude to be here and to learn from my fellow panelists and from all of you through this very important dialogue and conversation.

My name is Mamta Accapadi; I use she/her pronouns. And before I offer some reflections, I just want to take responsibility for a few things. First, I am in day nineteen of my role, here, as a new Vice Provost for University Life. Which means I have a lot of more listening to do than talking. So, I just want to be really mindful of that.

I want to take responsibility that I carry a great deal of privilege in this position that I have. I carry a great deal of privilege—a whole host of privilege identities that I come with as I sit at this table.

I also want to affirm that my commitment is to stay in this work alongside all of you because it is the most meaningful work of our time.

So, I join all of you with deep faith and hope. And it is that faith and hope that brought me here to Penn. And I just believe that this conversation and this journey that we are on together could not only transform our community here at Penn, but it could transform our approach to public safety on college campuses and schools nationally.

I am going to pull from the—I am always drawn by anchoring statements and, so, I want to pull—take this moment to pull from the Penn Compact 2022 language, which states that Penn Compact 2022 motivates community members to innovate, to be radically inclusive, and positively impact their local, national, and global communities.

And so, that anchor for me reminds me that I can't think of a more pressing societal issue than this one where we have an opportunity to be radically inclusive, to positively impact our communities, particularly those that are disproportionately impacted and are most vulnerable.

In my career, I have worked at six different colleges and universities, and have grown up on one, for some context—of different types – urban, small liberal arts, rural. I grew up on an HBCU campus where my father worked until two years ago. So, I have had the opportunity to understand what—the liberatory impact of higher education. And I have had the opportunity to learn from and serve students. And at every single one of these institutions, I have heard student concerns about the ways in which campus safety operations result in the disproportionate targeting of black and brown bodies.

At my own alma mater, in the mid-eighties, America's beloved astrophysicist, you know him as Doctor Neil deGrasse Tyson, reflected on his own experience on campus as a graduate student, where he was there for only two and a half years. And this is a quote from him, directly, "I was stopped and questioned seven times by university police on my way into the physics building. Zero times was I stopped going into the gym, and I went to the gym a lot. That says all you need to know about how welcome I felt."

In the nineties, as a student at my alma mater, I saw black student groups singled out as being "potentially disruptive" even before events happened. For example, I can remember the brother of Kappa Alpha Psi being stopped when they were using their ritual canes in stepping and strutting and strolling activities because those canes were perceived as weapons.

I noticed the up-charging of black student groups for access to spaces in the name of security and safety during relays weekends.

As an educator—early career educator, I worked with a student who was targeted by campus police while he was waiting, playing the piano in the student union, waiting for a Bible Study, because the campus police were told he looked "furtive." They told the student he looked furtive.

In the early two-thousands, as a multicultural affairs educator, I can't tell you, I lost count, the number of students of color broadly, and black students specifically, as they grappled with their experiences with campus safety and local law enforcement that became so exhaustive to them that they often chose to leave the institution due to anxiety and mental health impact and just needing to go home to experience love and caring restoration.

As I have shared with you all, I am new to Penn, and so there are many stories and wisdom that I need to learn from. I have also, in my education, learning about the Penn community, I have spent a lot of time reading the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, and then I was really shocked—not shocked, hurt, I think, to read the similar stores—narratives of young black men at Penn with parallel experiences, not unlike the narrative that Ms. Hamilton shared just now.

So, it breaks my heart to know that our black men, who have to carry the daily pressure and anxiety to wear campus paraphernalia deliberately to mark themselves as members of the Penn community because they have been routinely stopped and questioned and campus.

At every single one of these institutions, I have also had a deep, enduring, individual, and loving relationship with campus safety officers, who I love, who are loving, who are just, and who are devoted human beings. I offer this context again to reiterate this is a systemic issue that happens to also be present at Penn. I engage this

conversation as we have the chance to be an exemplar of shifting a system that can transform our country. But we are called to ask a tough question here. I guess the question that I have for all of us, and one that I would want us to think about in our own set of recommendations and deliberations, is what is revealed about a system that is run by good and just people that results in specific communities experiencing differential and targeted treatment? And how can we shift this conversation from a set of falsely juxtaposed issues, meaning there is an artificial debate between the goodness of individuals versus the disparate impact of campus safety practices that result in the targeted treatment of black people. And how do we disrupt that false juxtaposition to a single unified question, which should be, in what ways do we need to reimagine a system led by good people, just people, loving people, that has historically had a disparate impact on black and brown bodies?

These are the questions that I ask of myself, so I am not saying that these are questions that I want to put on other people. I need to take responsibility for asking these questions of myself as an educator and a member of this community. This is a question honestly and full vulnerability on day nineteen that I am asking of my own organization in University Life.

So, for those of us in these roles with institutional power and privilege, what does it mean to own my privilege and stay and stay in the conversation? In other scenarios around identity-based work, a pattern that I often see is that members of a marginalized group will share these systemic issues that they are experiencing or that we are experiencing, and the dominant group will often do one of two things. First, they will go into fix-it mode; you don't want us to do this? Fine, we won't do this; we'll fix it. That is kind of the—we call that a band-aid approach, right? Or they might entirely disengage and leave it to the marginal group. Fine, you have an issue? You fix your problem, right? And it could be very tempting in our dominant-identity spaces to defer to these as options for ways that we are going to navigate these uncomfortable and tense moments.

To give you a mild example. Many cisgender heterosexual women can attest to the struggle. In the dialogue around the division of labor in my home, I remember being continually frustrated that—somehow, the unloading of the dishwasher, along with other domestic responsibilities, fell into my domain. My good intended heterosexual male

partner began to understand that that was a sore issue for me and began unloading the dishwasher but still couldn't understand my frustration. After all, he was doing me a favor by unloading the dishwasher. He felt he was being kind and supportive by doing this work and, yet, in continued to be frustrated because what I wanted him to understand was the systemic impact of domestic work being defaulted to me and that we needed to have a conversation about the shirt and how we talk about labor.

And so, in a male privileged space, I needed him to stay in the conversation and not check out of the dialogue. I needed him to understand the unhealthy ecosystem of gender socialization that resulted in dishwashing being my responsibility and not his act of generosity.

So, in a parallel reflection, how are we in the case of campus safety practices – what does it look like to stay in the conversation with one another, especially when we are most uncomfortable?

In the case of campus safety practices, how could we move through the narrative of a group of good individuals who do not do racist things to a recognition of an unhealthy ecosystem that we need to heal by actively doing restorative things?

I will use a medical example. In the case of an open wound with an infection, as treatment providers, we wouldn't look at the wound and the person screaming in pain and say, I didn't cause the wound; I didn't cause the infection; you ranger is part of the problem. As treatment providers, we would have a duty of care to consider the ecosystem. What is the pattern of these types of wounds? When is the simple intervention of cleaning and dressing the wound required? When do we need to talk about the role of nutrition in one's ability to heal?

How do we take that same health approach to this conversation? Where we see a student and community activism and anger, how could we pause to recognize that that anger and that activism is a request to be loved and a request for healing. Anger is never a primary emotion; it is a secondary emotion that presents itself when generational pain and wisdom have gone unrecognized.

And when we are able to get to that place of pause and recognize our black and brown communities and voices and bodies and sacrifices and tears through that activism, are we courageous and humble enough to recognize that this activism is code for do you

love me? And if our answer is yes, I love you, then how would they know and feel that love?

To me, in this watershed moment, we have an opportunity to venter the dignity of all of our students, all members of our community, and create a system of coordinated care and partnership. I am most interested in the conversation about what a new ecosystem is that we could create together. One that tethers a coordinated care approach and case management support with resources for basic human needs in mental and healthcare when necessary. With campus safety partners integrated into a community care team as cherished partners. Imagine what it could look like if we created a culture of community health and wellbeing where campus safety partners were key conveners of these restorative practices and partnerships. To create the world we want to live in, how do we stay focused and committed to the necessary conversations we need to have and implement the actions we need to take? What would it mean for us to belong to each other in this moment? Thank you.

[00:53:17] **Dorothy Roberts**

Well, thank you so much, Vice Provost Accapadi, that was very moving and welcome to Penn, first of all, as well. You really hit on something that I think has come up throughout the hearings, which is people telling us that the Division of Public Safety is made up of good people, whom they are friends with, who have good intentions and, yet, also, talking about unjust outcomes that happen. And there does seem to be this tension or dichotomy that is inexplicable, for some people, though I thought that you pointing out that there are systemic issues that also affect Penn, regardless of the motives of people involved, is very helpful.

And you spoke a radically inclusive ecosystem. Now, I know you haven't been at Penn for long, but you have been at six different colleges and universities. Can you say a little bit more about what the ingredients of that would be with respect to public safety here at Penn that we could be radically inclusive in our approach?

[00:54:45] **Mamta Motwani Accapadi**

Thank you so much for the question. You know, you're creating space and allowing me to dream alongside you, right, because—

[00:54:53] **Dorothy Roberts**

We're reimagining, come on... [Absolutely.] Go ahead.

[00:54:56] **Mamta Motwani Accapadi**

And I just, I think that which took centuries to create, I mean we are in a country that has had permission to police and target black bodies for over four centuries, right? We are not going to change that in a semester. And I say that to be—that the work starts now, and it is continual. So, if people are feeling—like if I am feeling tired because I experience a certain type of activism for a semester for two years or ten years, that's nothing compared to an over four-hundred-year history, at least of this particular nation, right?

And so, I think—I just go back to, me, just like Ms. Hamilton said, I really—there are the simple moments; it's the partnerships, it's in what ways is there active—I get a flu vaccine every year because the flu strain evolves every year, I need a flue vac. So, what is the vaccination of consciousness that we are all committed to every year around anti-racism? In what ways do our good colleagues, and I count myself among—what is my responsibility to build relationships with community leaders in the local community? What is my responsibility to build relationships with black students, so the first time I am not in community with black students, it is that I am reacting to something or is an issue, right? That love takes time to build. And so, what would you do in a loving relationship? In a loving relationship, you come back, and you keep coming back.

And so, to me, radically inclusive means coming back even if you don't feel comfortable and you are uncomfortable, right? Because that discomfort is nothing compared to the anxiety that many members of our community carry daily on a regular basis, so...

I also think it is being honest. We are all steeped in anti-blackness, no matter the race—no matter what racial identity we carry. And for me, I have to be honest about that. I have to be honest that I have been socialized in a frame of anti-blackness that includes

not hearing black excellent stories in K through 12 experiences and college. The percentage of teachers who I had who were black or not black, right? And so, all of that converges into this experience about the perception of why a white student might be considered a good student or not a threat in a way that Ms. Hamilton referenced versus a black student being seen and then automatically coded in a certain way.

How are our campus safety colleagues in black churches, in partnership with black churches, not just showing up, I mean, but with the agency of local communities co-creating the experiences that build empathy alongside one another?

I will say one more thing, and then I will stop talking. You know, in medical multicultural affairs, this article, it is a bit dated, it's a 1998 piece on cultural humility. And ultimately, this came from medical doctors actually grappling with diversity and inclusion issues because of the power dynamic between medical providers, or doctors, and patients. And so, the shift in medical care, at that point, then became doctors needed to recognize the power dynamic that they had with their patients. And so, the first piece of self-reflection, that doctors engage in self-reflection. The scone is that medical providers need to recognize the power imbalance between medical provider and patient, recognizing that patient—the medical provider is the expert on the medicine, the patient is the expert on their lived experience and their bodies. And then the third is the mutual commitment, not just to say I am not doing racist things, but I am also contributing to restorative things. So, I am going to be fully present as active members of the community. You are going to see me at events that our students put together so that we are building, again, that cultural empathy and humility in our frame of grounding our relationships. So, I would start there. But I have so much learning to do that I am happy to be in the learning space alongside others.

[00:59:19] **Dorothy Roberts**

Well, thanks for all of the knowledge that you imparted. Thank you so much.

[00:59:24] **Chaz Howard**

Doctor Accapadi, I really—you're my friend, and I really appreciate all that you shared, and I think that you bring an interesting perspective having done this student-facing work at several different institutions.

My question is around systems. And you named something that I think is true that the experience of a lot of our students, for example, students of African descent, is similar at a lot of different predominantly white institutions that have police forces or campus security. And that they feel profiled, they feel like they need to wear campus or school representation. And, in fact, a lot of our peer institutions are having very similar kinds of conversations right now all around the country.

What does that point to? Is it something about contemporary policing in America or in higher education institutions? Or/and does it point to higher education and just the broader, even sort of campus security aside, the experience of black and marginalized students at colleges period? And/or does it also point to something just about America being an historically sort of racist place? And so, that's kind of part one of the question. Do you think this is something that is a multi-system, multi-level challenge? And if so, and it is worth thinking about the recommendations that we are ultimately going to make to Doctor Gutmann and the Provost and the EVP, should the recommendations transcend just recommendations for kind of public safety? So, should we be thinking more about—should these recommendations also be thinking about Penn or kind of like, I am not sure we can make a recommendation for the country, but should we be thinking a little wider and bigger than this one system, if there are several systems connected to it?

[01:01:26] **Mamta Motwani Accapadi**

So, a mentor of mine—I use the term ecosystem quite a bit because a mentor of mine—I used to use the term pipeline a lot, and he was like, you are not a linear thinker, so why would you use pipeline when one part of an ecosystem is struggling that it affects the other part, right? And so, that has been the shift in my language over the past three or four years, so I want to own that.

And I appreciate your question not because I have—all I have are my opinions, right? And so, based on my own lived experiences and my own education, and I think my feeling and heart and thoughts lead me to believe that it is beyond campus safety and it

presents in campus safety or police scenarios in a way that people's lives are at risk, right? I mean, people's lives are at risk at any point in this continuum, but very literally, people's lives, livelihood, dignity, humanity are positioned differently.

Now, I can give you also a whole litany, you know, had a time limit, to reflection, but the way that I see black girls bodies treated in middle schools, you know, and something I can—you know, we just recently moved here to Philadelphia, but my daughter's middle school, she'd come home and say, there was an incident. Two of the students were involved, two black women, and you know, a taser was used on them. And I am thinking, what could two 12-year-olds do that you need a taser, right? And what made it okay? Like what humanity is not visible that that intervention was needed at that point in time?

Or I think about, you know, when we look at K through 12 classrooms, and you see the disproportionate sorting of young black men, right, into special education courses, which, again, I dismantle and work on my own ableism, there a need for unique identity-based and learning-based needs. But when there is a disproportionate sorting, in a way that is attributed to maybe a student's behavior or a labeling of the student's inability to learn in a certain way, that has life-rippling effects on, again, I am speaking very specifically to the black community.

The last thing I will say is I was part of a research team for the School of Social Work when I was in graduate school. And we were on a research team looking at women of color who received benefits, right, so, human service need benefits, essentially. But they were sanctioned on those benefits, and so the research study was to see where domestic violence played a part in them not being able to access or fulfill the requirements to be able to access their benefits. I didn't think anything of it. I was learning to be a new researcher and scholar. And countless upon countless of interviews with women of color and they are saying domestic—like, what do you mean? They could see where the questions and they were like; I can't fulfill the compliance of the benefits because it takes me four buses to get to the office, and then the office is closed, and I don't have childcare, and I don't have electricity. So, again, where are we—we have an opportunity here to talk about the basic human needs, right? And when those basic human needs are not met, what are the ripple effects of that?

And so, I do believe it is beyond this conversation, but I also want to be clear that there are very specific things that are specific to policing and campus safety, right? There is a unique flavor to that. So, if we were talking about teaching, there might be some unique dimensions to that. So, I don't want to discount that, but I do think being in a community where are committed to anti-racism and being honest about anti-blackness is part of our work. It's part of my work.

[01:05:25] **Chaz Howard**

Thank you, my friend.

[01:05:26] **Dorothy Roberts**

Thank you so much.

[01:05:30] **John Hollway**

Thanks, Doctor Accapadi, in particular, for being willing to join us so rapidly after your arrival on campus. We appreciate hearing your perspective and approach to these topics. Thanks so much!

We will turn now to Penn Criminology and Sociology Professor John MacDonald. Doctor MacDonald...

[01:05:48] **John MacDonald**

Thank you all for having me here; it is an honor to come and speak before the panel and share some of my remarks about policing, public safety at Penn, as well as just more generally, the topic of police and minority distrust in the United States.

I am a Professor of Criminology and Sociology; I have been studying various topics, but racial disparities in the criminal justice system have been a focus of my research and scholarship for over 20 years, starting in graduate school. And currently, I am involved in a number of projects. Outside of Penn, I serve as an analyst on a collaborative reform agreement, court settlement agreement imposed by the federal court around the Stop-Frisk-Question case in New York; Floyd, et al., Davis, et al., Ligon, et al. versus the City of New York. I also work on a settlement agreement for LA County

Sheriff's Department around racial profiling. So, I have been studying the issues around racial profiling, the effect of police on crime, and racial disparities in the criminal justice system more broadly for, again, over 20 years. It is an area I am very passionate about.

[*I am*] just going to say that research has long identified that race and perceptions of criminal justice in the U.S. are inextricably tied to one another. There are systemic differences and perceptions that blacks and whites hold about agencies' official control; for example, blacks are more than whites, on average, report feelings that they have been personally experienced injustices at the hands of the police, as well as the larger criminal justice system. Blacks are more likely than whites, for example, to perceive that they had been victims of excessive police use of force, racial profiling, and perceived that the police, in general, treat people differently based on race.

Just to give you a couple of contemporary statistics. For example, public opinion poll data reflects [*this*] not just presently, but even historically. Gallup Poll data, for example, show that black citizens, 82% report that racial profiling is a problem versus 60% of whites. In terms of people's actual experiences of being stopped by the police, blacks, about 40% report having an experience where they feel like their race was the basis for a stop versus 5% of whites.

Now, so there are these large disjunctures between people's perceptions of the criminal justice system and the police specifically, and we have to recognize that that is shaped by the history of police brutality in the United States. But it is also shaped by high-profile cases that receive media attention, and we are here because of a number of cases that have about media attention and public outcry. But it is also a reflection, both historically and contemporaneously, of aggressive arrest policies, especially around issues like zero tolerance or public order maintenance strategies and how those are carried out in which communities. And then just people's personal and vicarious experiences with either feeling that they have been racially profiled or experiencing an intrusive police encounter, which we heard about earlier in today's panel a very clear example of that.

So, at the same time, it is important to recognize that the police actually do, and universities have developed police departments have done so because of the concern with public safety. So, we have a disjuncture between trust but, at the same time, police—there

is some evidence that police are very effective at reducing crime. And I have been studying this in the context of multiple police departments but as well as university police.

And so, I am going to show you just a couple of examples of statistics from some of my own research. And then, there is going to be kind of an arc to my comments. I am going to come back to the issue of distrust.

Professor MacDonald's Slides can be reviewed at the end of the transcript.

So, if everyone can see this, I hope—yes? Okay. So, this is just a map, for example, showing where Penn Police are and in blue is the Penn Police patrol boundary, in red is the University City District, and in light blue are the larger police districts, the 16th and 18th. So, this is just to give you some sense of the boundaries.

So, one of the studies I worked on with a colleague at Penn Law School, Jon Klick, and a former graduate student, Ben Grunwald, who is now a Professor of Law at Duke University. We looked at the effect that the extra patrol provided by Penn's police in this area—in the blue boundary—had on crime by comparing blocks just on each side of the boundary. And we found clear evidence, earlier, that Penn experiences about a 45 to 86% reduction in serious reported crime. So, these are crimes where there is a victim that's filled out a report, and that work is published in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*. But basically, the idea is on either side of these blocks that are seemingly similar but for the extra patrol provided by Penn's Police Force.

We some more effects in work looking at the extra police provided the University of Chicago—finding about a 55% reduction in crime.

So, these are data from several years back but, just recently, I pulled up the data to look at Penn's Police Force's effect on crime. These next slides I am going to show you are not as sophisticated an analysis, but they are just a descriptive analysis. And will move through these pretty quickly.

So, this is just comparing the most serious offenses reported to the police: murder, shooting, robbery, gun assaults, assaults, commercial burglaries, and thefts. And I won't read through each one of these numbers; I will just show you some graphs that make it clear.

Penn, between 2016 and 2020, inside the patrol zone, so this isn't just the campus; it is also that boundary experienced one homicide. Outside the University City District area experienced twelve. And you see there are differences of orders of magnitude in each of these.

See the same thing with shooting victims. So, this is where someone has actually been shot and not just had been shot at. The data show that about four cases inside the patrol zone versus 38 outside versus 287 in the rest of the 18th District.

So, clear, huge un-equalities in serious violent crime. And I think there is pretty convincing evidence that the extra patrol and the extra security provided by Penn's Police have a lot to do with that. Then, go through gun assaults, the same thing. Assaults—you see orders or magnitude difference as well as commercial burglary, so that is a property offense. And residential burglary—a lot fewer homes are being broken into inside the patrol boundary versus just outside.

Now the one area where we see *[audio skip]* a difference, and the same thing with motor vehicle—theft from vehicles, so there are people breaking into motor vehicles.

The one area where we see a difference is just general theft, and this tends to be retail theft. So, inside Penn's patrol boundary, around 40th Street, there is a lot of commercial retail, and those establishments call the police to report thefts.

So, in terms of any measure of actual serious public safety on the street, I think there is pretty clear evidence that Penn's police force is making a difference. So, it is not a complete accident that Penn invested in developing a public safety apparatus, but Penn is not unique. And that has come up on our discussions earlier. Most urban research universities have police departments. Howard University has one, Georgetown, George Washington University, University of Maryland Baltimore, Temple University, the University of Chicago, Harvard, Yale—most research universities inside urban areas have developed police forces, and this goes back to the initial briefing. And part of that was a development that started in the 1980s with the concern about safety and the desire to protect students, staff, faculty, and property on university campuses and a recognition that often that the local police forces were not as responsive or as effective as the universities desired.

At the same time, we have to recognize that just because police forces can be effective at reducing crime, that doesn't mean that there aren't tensions in terms of what people experience. So, I will just final comment on the effect of police on crime. This isn't just my own research; there are over 30 randomized control trials that show, so that is the equivalent of a medical experiment that when you randomly assign extra police to an area, you see substantial reductions in crime. The National Academy of Sciences, in fact, found that there is consistent evidence of the effectiveness without clear evidence of negative community outcomes, at least negative community outcomes that they could yet measure, and I am happy to talk about that in discussion.

At the same time that we have recognize, and the research shows this, that trust in the police is seldom tied to crime reduction. So, even if the police are very effective at reducing crime, that doesn't instill public trust. Instilling public trust really requires positive community interactions; it requires community input and police responsiveness. It requires that police behave in procedurally just ways. So, interactions that are based that people's perceptions are that those are just interactions. And there is some evidence suggesting that if you know an officer by name or sight, people are more likely to trust police.

So, really what it comes down to, the evidence suggests, is that positive personal contact and interactions with the police are more important for improving relations between community members and police than just crime control. So, this is really a continuous effort that the police have to be engaged in in terms of trying to establish community engagement because that is really essential to improving police-community relations. And there is evidence this is true across race as well as across class distinctions in the U.S.

And I imagine that our thinking about what kind of approaches that Penn Public Safety can use, it's got to be continual community engagement. I know there has been a lot of effort tat that. And to negate those kinds of interactions that we have heard about, which are police behavior, don't police appearance. Suspicion shouldn't be based on what someone looks like; it should be based on their actual actions. I have heard Vice President Rush, in fact, say that in meetings before, that the Penn Police focus on policing behavior, not policing appearance. Suspicion should be based on actual behavior. And

that is also consistent with the law. The law requires, Supreme Court State rulings require that police actually observe a crime in progress, or what appears to be a crime in progress, that police shouldn't be pulling over people or stopping them just based on loose suspicions that aren't tied to actual actions and actual behavior.

The last comment I would have is that I really think going back to community engagement that it is kind of hard to do virtually right now, but I really think that is going to be a—I think an important feature is figuring out how to build better social cohesion between all students, staff, and faculty on campus, and the police that are serving the campus. So, that might include more meetings, ride-alongs, discussions. And when things happen that go wrong, there should be open dialogue about figuring out how to correct that, so it doesn't happen again.

So, those are my—those are concluding remarks, and I am happy to take questions.

[01:20:21] **Dorothy Roberts**

Thank you, Doctor MacDonald, for all that information. I have so many questions, and I know that you have to leave shortly—

[01:20:35] **John MacDonald**

This is so important; I'll hang out.

[01:20:36] **Dorothy Roberts**

We will probably have to continue this at another time. But let me just try to ask some questions quickly and briefly.

So, one is about your study. I have to say, I didn't have a chance to read it carefully, but it just seems to me that the reason why there might be less crime near campus than in other parts are because of things other than the Penn Police. I mean, those are just two very different neighborhoods. In fact, the fact that retail thefts don't seem to matter in terms of the police presence is probably there are nice stores near campus, I would think. I am just wondering why, how we can conclude it's the Penn Police and not all the other factors that differentiate the area where the Penn Police patrol versus other

parts of Philadelphia. And I am sure I would need to study your research to answer that question, but maybe you could just say something quickly.

[01:21:41] **John MacDonald**

Yeah, I can tell you. I agree on the global scale that if you are comparing just a total area, it is hard to make this—the areas are much different. But what the—

[01:21:53] **Dorothy Roberts**

[*Unintelligible*] like there is a drastic difference just going five blocks, you know.

[01:22:00] **John MacDonald**

What relied on both in the Penn study and the UChicago study was really the boundary at that 43rd Street boundary. So, just looking at why was crime just dropping discontinuously at that boundary? So, it is called a geographic regression discontinuity. So, we can't estimate the total effect across the entire zone; it is really at that boundary you see these reductions. And I think the only really noticeable at that boundary is the extra patrol, which is, in our estimates, are really consistent with what you find in empirical research looks at when you put extra police on a block that crime will go down. People observe the police there, they see their presence, and so serious crime is going to drop because there will be fewer people who are potentially motivated to commit crime, they do it right in front—or in front of a police officer.

[01:22:57] **Dorothy Roberts**

Which to me, is pretty obvious that we could line the streets with Penn Police, and there would be less crime. We could also line the streets with tanks and artillery, and there would be—so, then you would have to take into account what are the harms of having so many police. And so, the harm that you focused on was trust and perceptions. And I wondered why you didn't focus on other kinds of harms that aren't just about trust, but actual physical impacts on people. In other words, is it just a perception that black people more likely to be stopped by the police in Philadelphia, let's say? Or is it a fact that they are more likely to be stopped?

And so, let me just wrap this up in the question that if—you pointed out that preventing crime doesn't influence trust. Might that be because preventing crime also has, in a certain way—there are lots of ways to prevent crime, but preventing crime in the way that police prevent crime has negative effects on some people that induces a lack of trust? [*You have to*] take that into account as well. Understanding that yes, if you add more and more and more and more police, we could reach a point where it would be—we would reduce crime just because of the presence of lots of police on the street, but there might be also negative consequences to that.

[01:24:50] **John MacDonald**

Right. I agree. So why I focused on trust is because that is the research, that is what we typically—people have measured the best. There is some research, for example, there is a study by Amanda Geller, Tom Tyler, and Jeff Fagan that shows that trauma or—trauma kind of related measures were higher for young men; young, predominately black men in New York City who have experienced a police interaction. That makes a lot of sense. We don't have as much research on those kinds of direct measures because you're right, if you are doing a cost-benefit calculation, if you will, you would have to have on the benefit of crime, you would have to—that benefit for crime reduction, you would also have to take into account, well, what are the collateral consequences of that for people? And there is an emerging area. I do think, though, we don't have good enough—so, this is just more of a hypothesis that we don't really have good studies of. But I am not convinced that police need to be intrusive to be effective. I think their presence—there is some work to suggest, including my own in New York City that if just being there can be sufficient without doing the extra kinds of stops and things that people would think are going to reduce crime. I haven't looked at the data carefully recently on Penn's police actions, but my recollection in the past is they do fairly few stops relative to the scope of the area they are in. But I agree, this is something that has to be weighed. You have to think about not just the crime reduction but also how do you weigh those negative externalities, and can you do it? Can you get the crime reduction through police, through community engagement, through approaches that are less fear-inducing?

And I agree. Police surely are only part of the equation of public safety. There is also—there is work I have done with Charlie Branas and Gina South—you can clean up vacant lots, you can remediate abandoned housing, you can provide—reduce income inequality. There are lots of things you could do to reduce crime, but police are just part of that equation. But it is hard to do it if you don't have police in an area to have public safety.

[01:27:26] **Dorothy Roberts**

There might be other ways on Penn's campus and around it to increase public safety, or continue public safety, that don't necessarily rely on police to do it as well. I take it that's what you were saying at the end, but—

[01:27:44] **John MacDonald**

You can speculate but would have to actually try out other models and see what works. I believe in using science in trying to evaluate what works because otherwise, you end up just in a situation—you wouldn't want to scale something overnight. You want to do things and figure out what they were. And I do know that Penn's Public Safety Division has a lot of mixture of people in different roles. And so, in terms of the actual number of police on the street, maybe it is ten or twelve on patrol at a given moment. So, they are not everywhere. But there is evidence that police or people in police roles are more effective at reducing crime than private, unarmed security. There are a number of studies that find that. That they tend to not have the same, and it's just common sense, you know, if you see someone who is unarmed, who is not in an official capacity with arrest powers, for some people, that might not be as much of a deterrent.

[01:28:54] **Dorothy Roberts**

That's interesting. Professor Abrams said that he was aware of studies that showed that disarming campus police is actually beneficial for public safety—

[01:29:06] **John MacDonald**

I have never seen any of those studies, so I would be curious to read them. I mean, I honestly haven't [*unintelligible*]—

[01:29:13] **Dorothy Roberts**

Okay, all right.

[01:29:15] **John MacDonald**

Maybe it's new, maybe it is something new that has happened recently, but most of our peer institutions have police other than like New York City because New York State has certain rules around who can be a police officer. So, private institutions, universities can't have uniformed patrol.

[01:29:39] **Dorothy Roberts**

Thank you very much for your indulgence. I appreciate it.

[01:29:44] **Chaz Howard**

Professor, I appreciate you giving us a couple of extra minutes. I just have a question, maybe a question and a half. One of the important calls coming forth around the country has been around defunding and abolition of the police broadly and in different places. I understand, and I appreciate the research that you shared about the increase in police reducing crime. Would you imagine if it went the other way, if the number of police officers in our area was reduced, if the budget was reduced, would you imagine crime going up if we did follow a radical defunding toward abolition? Would you imagine that suddenly there would be like a major uptick in crime in the area? Is there something that has shown that before...?

[01:30:34] **John MacDonald**

Yeah, the closest is police strikes. So, when the police have actually gone on strike in cities, crime soars. We know that historically. But that is kind of like a power vacuum that has kicked in. People know—they hear that there are no police there anymore and, so, you see this in the 1970s, I'm trying to think when the last police strike

was, 1930s. Historically, when police—the couple in Europe, examples of that. So, if it was done like overnight? Yeah, I think that that would be a likely consequence. Crime would go up a lot—serious crime, too.

On the other hand, yeah, it's hard to know what—how quickly, it depends on what is done. And I think that kind of a radical defund, the police movement—or approaches, as you mentioned, would be a threat to public safety in cities. I mean, I think you would need to build up an alternative infrastructure of public safety and experiment with it and figure out what will work. But if you just take people off the street, I mean it is pretty obvious what is going to happen.

[01:31:52] **Chaz Howard**

I appreciate... The other question, and then I will let you go, is around this notion of the cost and Professor Roberts was getting at this that in order to bring crime down, one of the major theories is you got to increase visibility and presence of police forces, and it will work. And the cost is people feeling [*unintelligible*] safe trauma, and a base distrust of the police. Do you think sometimes, like whatever, and I just saying these aren't your words, but sometimes that's the cost, that's the price, and do institutions and neighborhoods and cities kind of just need to kind of eat it, and feel there would be one safer spot than the people of color in that area and the poor people in the area are going to hate it, but we will be safer. And is that just the cost that society just needs to take—

[01:32:43] **John MacDonald**

No, I don't think so. I think you need more effective, fair police. I think it needs to be done in a way that people don't feel that trauma. And that's where, you know, ideally, like a really a good community-engaged approach where people know the police officers personally at some level, or vicariously you can build up trust, so they don't feel that trauma. I think that's the direction. There is no magic solution, but it is because—as you are well aware, these are current and institutional and historical situations that have evolved. And so, it is going to take an effort, or a strong effort for people to have trust and not feel—feel that a police presence is there as a service, not as a threat. And I think that is—how to do that, that's where I think Penn could really be at the vanguard as an

institution. Figure out, continue to work at improvement, and figure out how to make it so that students, regardless of their background, don't feel threatened and don't experience being asked about their ID or something just for their appearance. That they should—everyone should be treated the same way according to what the law says, which is based on your behavior, not on your appearance.

[01:34:09] **Chaz Howard**

Thank you, friend.

[01:34:11] **Dorothy Howard**

Thank you.

[01:34:12] **John MacDonald**

Good seeing everyone, too.

[01:34:15] **John Hollway**

Thanks, John; I appreciate your staying longer. Thank you very much. And last, but certainly not least, Doctor Tukufu Zuberi, the Lasry Professor of Race Relations and Professor of Sociology and Africana Studies. Professor Zuberi...

[01:34:31] **Tukufu Zuberi**

Hello! Thank you very much, Professor Hollway, Doctor Howard, how are you doing, brah? And my good sister, Dorothy Roberts. It is my pleasure to participate in this conversation, although I don't know if I should mention it that way, but I will.

Let me start by just; I am thinking this month by a guy named Harold Haskins. I don't know if you all knew Harold, but he was kind of like one of the real pillars here at Penn. At least, I have been here for about 30 years; he is one of the pillars. He was one of the pillars during my stay here at Penn. And one day, I was on my way to a meeting, walking across campus, you know, dressed in my nice suit and everything, and I had driven my nice car to work. And I was walking towards the meeting, I was trying to get mind straight, and he jumped in front of me, and he said, wait a minute, man, where you

going? You know. And I said, I got a meeting, you know, African Studies going to make me Director and everything. He said, now, I don't know what it is, but your disposition is just wrong. Let's sit down and let's talk for a minute. Now, if you knew Has, then you know that's the kind of dude he was.

And the reason he wanted to talk to me and the reason I was upset is because I was on my way to the meeting and I was 30 minutes late. The reason I was 30 minutes late is I was stopped by the police and made to remove myself with my nice suit on and my nice car I was driving, and step outside, and put my chest on the ground.

Now, given that this has happened to me a number of times is not something that I say with a lot of pride, but I say it with a real bitter taste in my mouth. And this wasn't the only time that I was stopped by the Penn Police, but it has happened on several occasions in this manner. Some before that time with Has and some after that time with Has,

And so, for me, we are not here because of science. Because science didn't lead us to this conversation. We are not here because of the research because research didn't lead us to this conversation. Really, I think we are here because of the organic efforts of people against anti-black racism and against the police appearing to occupy their communities. You have to understand, in the sense of West Philadelphia, and for those who have a sense of history of West Philadelphia, thinking of Penn and an occupying force is not so far apart. The relationship of Penn to the African American community has not been one that has worked on a balanced keel. People don't feel that. And since they don't feel that, they kind of respond to that.

But the very fact that we are here because people get to see some of these everyday experiences that other citizens are going through, that we get to the point of questioning the police department, not because of the research, not because of the number, not because of the complaints that people have raised. And I am going to tell you—because, in part, there is a piece of this where there is always the question where we are being asked to adapt to the conditions of racism and pernicious forms of economic behavior in society.

And I remember I was sitting at a table with Hannah Gray; you mentioned the University of Chicago a couple of times here. And I was sitting in her office. And the reason she had us sitting in her office is because about 500 students were outside the

office with Jesse Jackson there giving a speech, and the *New York Times* and interviewing people. But I sat there with her and with the chief of the University of Chicago Police Force. And I was trying to explain to him, I was a student at the time, but I was trying to explain to him that there is nothing he can say that will convince me that I should accept more interactions of a negative type with the police because most of the crime in the neighborhood was created by black people. So, his idea about policing was grounded in a fundamental misunderstanding about equality in American society.

And I think we have to almost start that there is a problem with the police. There is a problem with how we do public safety. I don't start at the nice place where some people are because I don't feel it. Because if you are the person lying on the ground, you can't hear any of that. And all of that is what makes people angry. And they don't get happy simply because you reconfirm to them that having more police is going to do something positive for you when, often for them, it just means more harassment for them. And definitely, that more harassment of the black community may result in less crime, but that more harassment is un-tolerable and unjustifiable. There is no way you can justify that people should accept that notion.

There is a problem with the police, and I think we would do a disservice by ignoring that we are here because that problem exists. The organic response of the community to police violence is not so much that just one death occurred here, or one death occurred there, but it's the repeated deaths as a reflection of what other kinds of micro-aggressions of racist tint that people experience in this society. Enough is enough! Is what they have said. And so, the response can't be I am going to do more by giving more of the police that you say are causing you problems. The solution has to be grounded in change. The system is broke. And the reason the system is broke has nothing to do with instilling the old solutions. They didn't solve then, and there is no indication that they will solve it now. And there is no indication that the research which has been done has been of a nature that it will raise these questions, which is why people with their organic rejection of how they have been treated has gotten us to this point.

So, and I think, so, what do we do once we get here? Because I could argue about why the police are the problem, but there has been enough of that argument. And I could argue about well, what are people saying when they say, "defund the police?" Well, part

of what they are saying is we do not need more police. If you want to do something in the community that addressed the problems of anti-blackness being built into the institution of policing, then you need to come with some innovative ideas which do not include more police. I don't think that the question is simply take money from the police. The question is really what can we do that is new and will address this problem? You have to remember because I grew up in Oakland, and you have to remember that police brutality has given rise to some of the most profound kinds of social rebellions in this society because it is the edge of the knife or racism, and it cuts people. And just because you don't get cut doesn't mean you don't need to empathize with those who have been cut.

And so, let me just kind of say what I think this implies. It implies that we need to have a different imagination. It needs to be something which connects the various tenets of the struggles of what people are—they are unhappy about. It needs to address those things. Some of that has to do with poverty. Today, some of that has to do with homelessness. Tomorrow, it will have to do with other things. But you have to reimagine what the future can be, and please don't let that future be what it was yesterday before you had the rebellion. The organic rebellion has raised a real question. The solution to answering the question is to try something new and to imagine creative ways to engage with the community that are not simply policing. Policing is not enough. We need some interactions with the community that make the police more part of the community. And I am sorry, the aim cannot be just crime reduction. I know parents are concerned about that, but that is an unjust demand. Because what it suggests is policing without responsibility to those who you are policing. If you are not going to take a moment to get involved in those communities, then all you are doing is occupying their space. And the space around and through Penn, it's an urban campus, it cannot just belong and facilitate Penn. We have to have a consideration for the community. We have to have a consideration for how they feel about the interaction they have with the students. It is that sense of community creation that we need to think about it. We need to repair the past, so in building the future, we should think about innovative ways in which people's problems can be solved. Because when you are being protected by violence, it is not really safety. And those who are already marginalized and penalized by criminal justice systems; they will not get more safety; they will get more punishment. And so, we need to begin to

reinvigorate how we rethink our future and not just focus on the police and not just kind of ask people, not just ask people to accept the status quo. We are tired of telling our children—I had two sons who went to Penn, okay? And my sons complained about the police all the time. They complained about the police walking home, and I lived in University City for a very long time, just moved two years ago.

So, the whole cycle about this conversation is it is enough. Please don't offer me the same solution that didn't work last time so that we end back up here talking about this again. And it is not just police; it is not just security, it is interaction, it is developing a conversation with the community, it is having interventions that make a difference for the social life of the people in the community. How about sports programs? How about arts programs? How about intervening with children during those moments when they don't have other things to do? How about engaging with those aspects of the community which you are trying to change people's social and economic position. Those things are alternatives to just thinking about policing.

I hope I didn't go over my time. But I did feel a need to say those things because I think it is very important for us to recognize we are not here for a simple reason. We are here because of the demand of the people. The people are saying enough is enough. So, what are we going to do? Let it be real; let it be substantive, and let it not apologize for the status quo is not good. You may not feel it, but every time they take somebody out of their car and make them lay on the ground, I feel it. I am just thankful nobody put their knee on my neck. I am just thankful that it didn't escalate to that point. But we know now it could very easily do that.

And so, the police definitely need retraining. I don't know who don't get that. I don't care what the numbers are; they need retraining, they need more education, critical race theory has been under critique more recently, but it needs to go just away. We need to counter this narrative of white supremacy because it doesn't work well for people like me in our everyday experience. And that's what this is, an everyday experience—walking down the street being afraid that the police is not on your side.

And I will just end with this. You know, you can't have a division of interests between the police and the people they are policing. Because if you have this division, then the police are no longer just the police, they become kind of almost an enemy of

those people they are policing. The police have to serve the interests of the people. They work for us; we don't work for them. And as a consequence of that, they need to see that they are part of the community. If they don't see that, if they are not part of that, if they are not kind of seeing themselves as a vigorous member of the community, not a vigorous security component of the community, then, basically, they become an occupying force in that community because they are not part of it and they are not speaking to it.

Okay, that may have been a quite a shaky take on some of the words of Huey Newton, so you all got to put it in context, but to me, he was a philosopher.

[01:49:11] **Dorothy Roberts**

Are you done now, Professor Zuberi? Thank you so much. You did not take too much time, and we really appreciate your joining us and giving us your perspective. You always say things that just put in a nutshell, in very memorable ways, what the task is. And, for me, when you said that we are not being asked to adapt to the conditions of racism, or we shouldn't be, that really hit home for me. I think we do need to remember we were tasked by President Gutmann to prioritize anti-racism, not to adapt to the conditions of racism. And I find that very helpful.

So, another part of what you said that I found helpful was that I think throughout the hearings there has been a suggestion that the Penn Police are dramatically different from the Philly police, and that some of the problems with police that others have talked about really have to do with the Philadelphia Police, not with Penn Police. And I thought that you helped to draw a connection between the policing of the broader West Philadelphia community and the Penn Police in particular. But I think that might still be a little difficult for some people to see. Although I did suggest earlier, that why are black people, professors, staff, students stopped? It's because they look like they might be from West Philadelphia. So, there is that connection there. But I just wondered if you would say some more about why the Penn Police, in particular, in Penn's Division of Public Safety is related to these problems with police in general. So, and what should we be thinking about in reimagining Penn's Public Safety in particular that can draw lessons from the criticisms of the problem of policing? Again, because there is a sense that we

have heard throughout the hearings that Penn Police are different—they are different, and so, some of these criticisms don't apply to the Penn Police.

[01:52:05] **Tukufu Zuberi**

I have heard that on a number of occasions, but I have experienced that, and I have lived that. And so, it's the Penn Police who have stopped me. I don't know why they stopped me. It's not like I am a secret professor at Penn, even that, it just is—it made no sense to me. But it has happened, you know. And I keep step because that is what we do. That is the problem. We have accepted this logic and continued in it. Part of it is that we have criminalized too much of the black body. That's what this—when you say it looks like I came out of West Philly, I did come out of West Philly. If you say it looks like I came off the street of West Philly, I did come off the street of West Philly. I am with those kids who come off the streets of West Philly and are riding their bike looking criminal-like. That is me. Those people are me. West Philadelphia looks like me because I look like West Philadelphia, and I feel like West Philadelphia.

So, when I come to the campus, and I do not get that difference of being a citizen worthy of that equality, I don't take exception to it. And I expect my fellow citizens to empathize with my situation and say nothing to it exists like that. We need to decriminalize the strategy we have about intervening with the campus, with the people on the campus, and with the community around the campus. We need to decriminalize that. We need to stop looking for the criminals and start looking for our friends. We need to start making sure that the community has a big say in whatever the police are doing, both the Penn Police and the rest of the police. Because it is not sufficient, as I am suggesting to you, to have a police force which is not seen organically as being part of the community, if this is just their job and they are coming to get on it, and they ain't got that level of concern, we need to really reconsider the role of policing. And the role of policing has been something that has not been good for black bodies. Policing black bodies, surveilling black bodies means we get stopped; I am on the ground. Somebody is pulling me over because my car is nice. So, what do I do, stop buying nice cars? What do I do, take my suit off? What do I do? Do I change? And I am saying, no, I don't change—we need to change the system. So, if we are talking about changing the system,

I think one thing is decriminalizing the approach that we take for how to interact with the community.

We need to rethink our future in a way that kind of accepts that we have had a legacy of racism and accepts that we have had a problem in policing, and start there to talk about how you talk to those people and how you engage with those people who interact or who appear to be doing things on the campus.

And I think rather than saying more police will reduce the criminals, or the crime, maybe we ought to think of more creative interventions in the community. More creative ways to engage with people about making spaces safe. If we feel there is a problem, we need to find ways to do that. And I think we need to have a different notion of what crime is and, therefore, a different notion of how to decriminalize. And it has to be less about having people walk around with more guns, making more people be afraid and more people at risk of being harmed. Somehow, we need to rethink this thing, and the only way we will rethink is by not trying to solve this old problem with the solutions that have not worked, and just adding police doesn't do it—and not thinking creatively about what we can do with these resources. That's what we need to do. We need to do things other than just having more police. What do we do? How do we do those things? How do we engage the community? How does the community engage with oversight of the police? With oversight of the direction of the police and the police's ability to do what it is doing?

Because a solution is not just found in the number of crimes that have been reduced. A solution is not just found in the more safe space that the students report. I'm sorry, it's more than that, and we have to think that we are part of a community, we must respect those people, we must engage with them, and just have some empathy with a cat like me, with a person like me. I mean, just empathize that I should not, okay, with my grey hair and carrying on, I should not be being stopped by the police, but if I am, it is a symptom of something else. And that's what the problem is because I am not the problem. We need to figure out that something else and deal with that. If that's not in your research, if that's not in your survey, of course, your survey is going to say the same solution of the past is the solution, and we need to go beyond that. Again, science didn't get us here. The people saying it's enough is enough got us here.

[01:57:48] **Chaz Howard**

I really appreciate your remarks, and you were my first professor here at Penn, and I hope you see that as a good reminder, not a bad reminder... [Oh, I remember.] And you bless me, and you gave me one of the very few A's I got in college, so I appreciate that too, I mean, I...

One of the chants on the street in the last few months has alluded to the fact that while there might be good humans who happen to be police officers, that it is impossible to be a good cop in a racist system. I think the question I am trying to articulate is around is American policing a racist system, full stop? And I would say that doesn't mean every cop is a racist, obviously, but is it a racist system because of its origins, because of its makeup, because of [*unintelligible ... origins*] because of just like 50 years in this city. And if the system is racist, then is it possible that like a couple reforms here and there can fix it? Or maybe framing it differently, how should we address a system? Because I think it's one thing to think about, hey, there are different ways we can reduce crime [*unintelligible ... without ... and more policing*] we can do other things over here. But if this system remains, what can be done to address this?

[01:59:24] **Tukufu Zuberi**

I think that's why we have to remember the police work for us. They need to protect the citizens. They need to keep us safe. That should be their job. But, unfortunately, their history is grounded first in being the slave catchers, and then, in having institutional structures articulated by the evolution of American society, which incompletely eliminated enslavement, that is part of the problem with the Thirteenth Amendment, right? It facilitates the use of enslavement among those who are in prison. And, of course, that led to a whole set of laws immediately after the emancipation amendments to the Constitution, but it has kind of grown into this. And to have segregation on the heels of the failures of the emancipation meant that there was a continuation of this idea of policing black bodies as an institutional necessity to have peace in the society.

And so, police, it really doesn't matter whether they are black or white because they are taught this risk strategy about how to deal with those individuals that you

encounter. I remember when, at this meeting, I mentioned that I went to when I was a student in the eighties, okay, it's in the eighties at the University of Chicago, but the head of the police was a black guy. And so, he and I were the only black guys in the room. The President was Hannah Gray, the Provost, and you know, everybody else, with Dean, all those people were white guys, I'm trying to make it a black and white issue, it's just in this case it really wasn't because he was telling me I needed to man up and accept this. And I was talking to him, you know, first, this analogy I need to man up doesn't address the question for women but, beyond that, it doesn't even address the question for me because if I was going to man up, should I man up to being treated differently? No. I should not. So, that requires an institutional transformation because it really is not enough to just put more police in the room, even though that may make crime go down, it may make the situation even more intolerable.

And so, we need to think creatively about the ways to connect the police to the community. And these are all elements of the community. Our students are one element of that community, but then, the other people who interact in this community are another element of that community.

So, I think that the problem has been in not seeing that the police need to change. The police cannot stay the same. If they are going to stay the same, just—okay, we're just waiting on the next time. We are waiting on the fire to just erupt again. And if we want not to wait on the fire to erupt again, then we must take preventive action, okay? It's like we are in the midst of social climate change, and the people have said it is enough, and we are willing to engage in action that is extraordinary to get your attention. I should not be afraid of the police. I should not have to tell my son to be cautious about their interaction with the police. The police should respect them, and they should respect the police. This situation demands that the police be re-educated. The notion that they don't need to be re-educated is the idea that has fostered more anti-black racism in police departments. And you can't solve that problem by just getting the black police in there because the black policeman is going to have to do what the other policemen are doing. And if they have a mutual system of protection and confirmation, then they are going to have that, and that black police officer is going to get with that program or suffer the consequences. I don't know what those consequences are. I don't know what culture they

need to disrupt, but they need to disrupt whatever culture has made them issue out differential treatment. The differential treatment is not enough. And maybe they cannot do it alone. Maybe the institution is too polluted to make the changes it needs to make. And I think that is the situation, which is why I think that the police department always needs heavy-handed oversight. And this oversight can't be with other policemen. And it has to have representatives from the significant components of the community, students, people who live in the community, and all of these people who are responding to this organic desire to have black lives mean something, to reduce this kind of anti-black racism, that we need to do things which will shift that. And to do that is to do something else. It is not just in the policing, but getting the police to share their space with others, and that, I think, is the way.

The solution is not going more down the policing hole; it's not going more down the criminalizing hole; it is going in the opposite direction. Let us find a way to empathize with the situation of each other. Let us empathize with poverty on the rise. Let us empathize with homelessness on the rise. Let us empathize with people who have basically lost a lot of hope as a consequence of not only the epidemic of COVID-19 but the possibility that even when they come out, they are going to continue to be treated unequally by the police in the streets. And this is a call for all institutions because it is not a call just for the police. Penn needs to deracialize itself. Penn needs to be less anti-black. And it doesn't do that overnight; it's grounded in the institutions. And the way you do that is transform the space. So, I hope we have the courage to do that. Transform the space. To do things creatively, to interact more with the community that is supposed to be policed. The only right you should have to police me is if I have the right to talk about what you are doing. If I have the right to engage in that conversation. Other words, don't police me. Who are you to police me if you can't listen to me? Because you should work for me. If you and I are not part of the same community, don't come just talking to me about some law that you think you know how to enforce in the name of me because that's how you got the right to be there.

Thank you for your question. I remember you, man!

[02:06:55] **Chaz Howard**

It means a lot that you took time to be with us, Doc; thank you so much.

[02:06:58] **Dorothy Roberts**

Yeah, we really appreciate it. Thank you for all of your thoughtful and sobering comments. Thanks. And insightful.

[02:07:11] **John Hollway**

Thank you, Doctor Zuberi; we very much appreciate your time and your commitment.

I want to thank all of our speakers. I want to thank our audience and their participation. For those of you whose questions were not answered, we have saved those questions, and we will continue to take them into consideration as our review continues.

Our next hearing will be on Tuesday, September 15, at 2 p.m. Eastern Time. We will hear from representatives from the student body, including the Graduate and Professional Student Assembly, the Undergraduate Assembly, the Latinx Law Students Association, and other students.

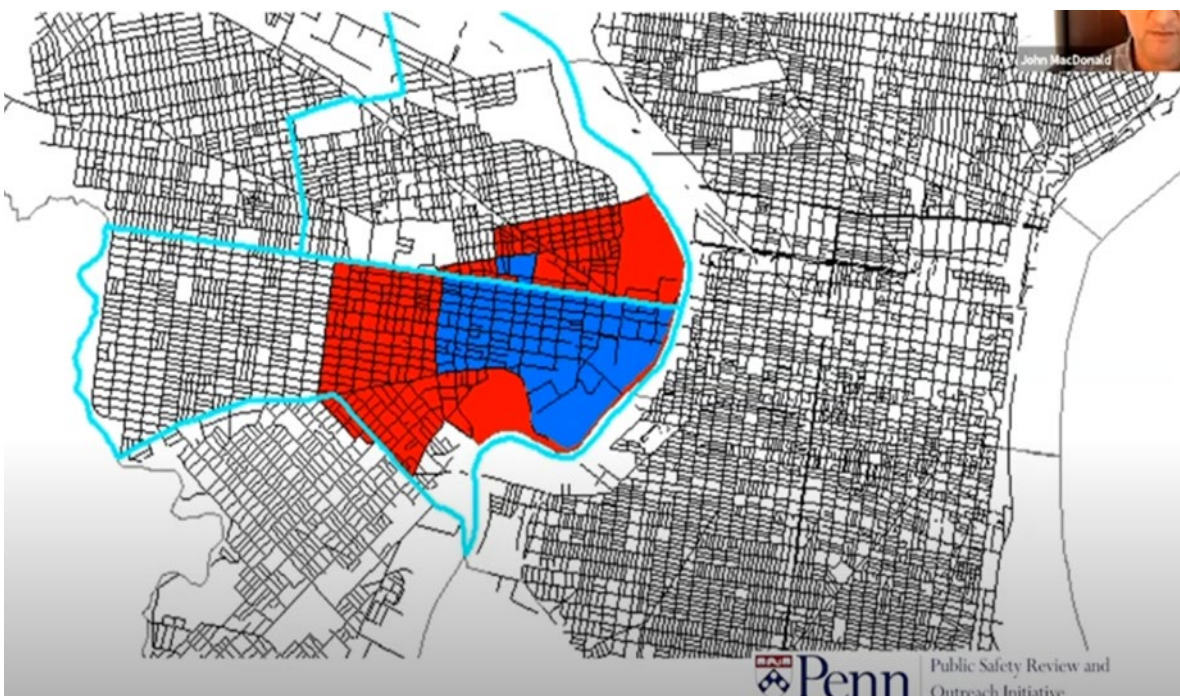
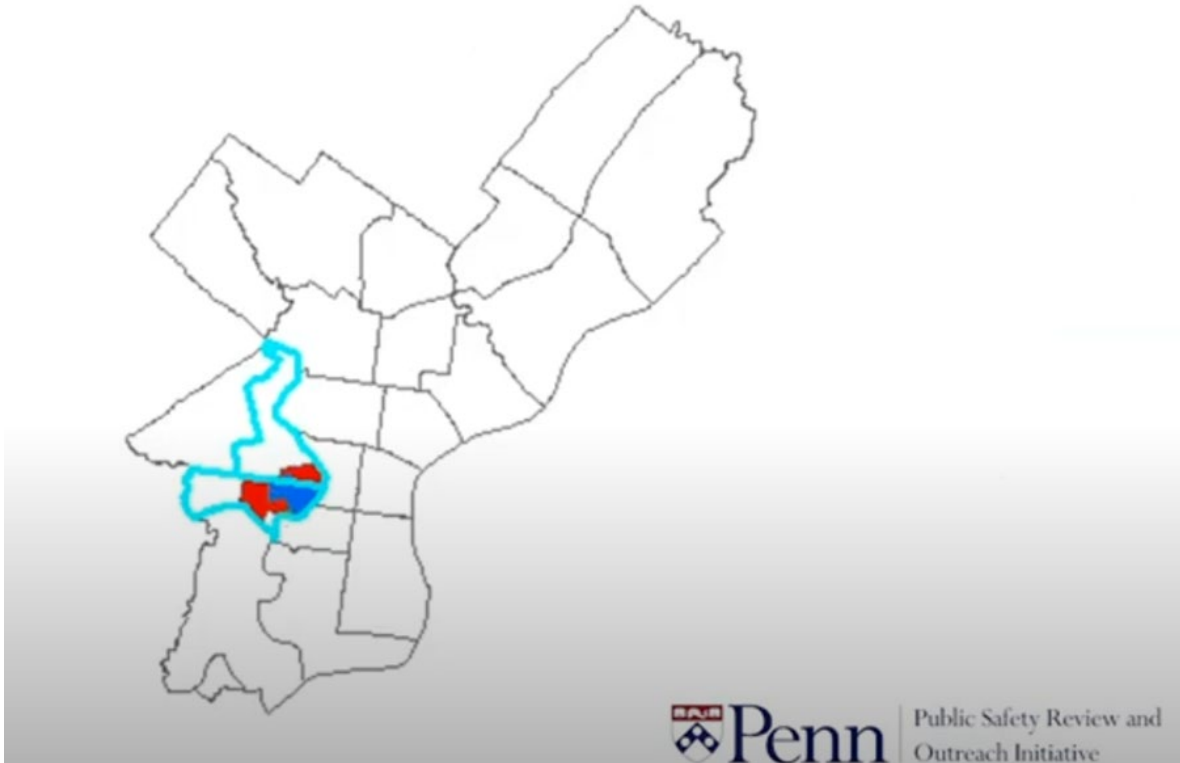
I just want to end by saying, again, thank you for an incredibly insightful and thought-provoking afternoon. And as stated, we will post this recording and a transcript as soon as both of them are available at pennpublicsafetyreview.org.

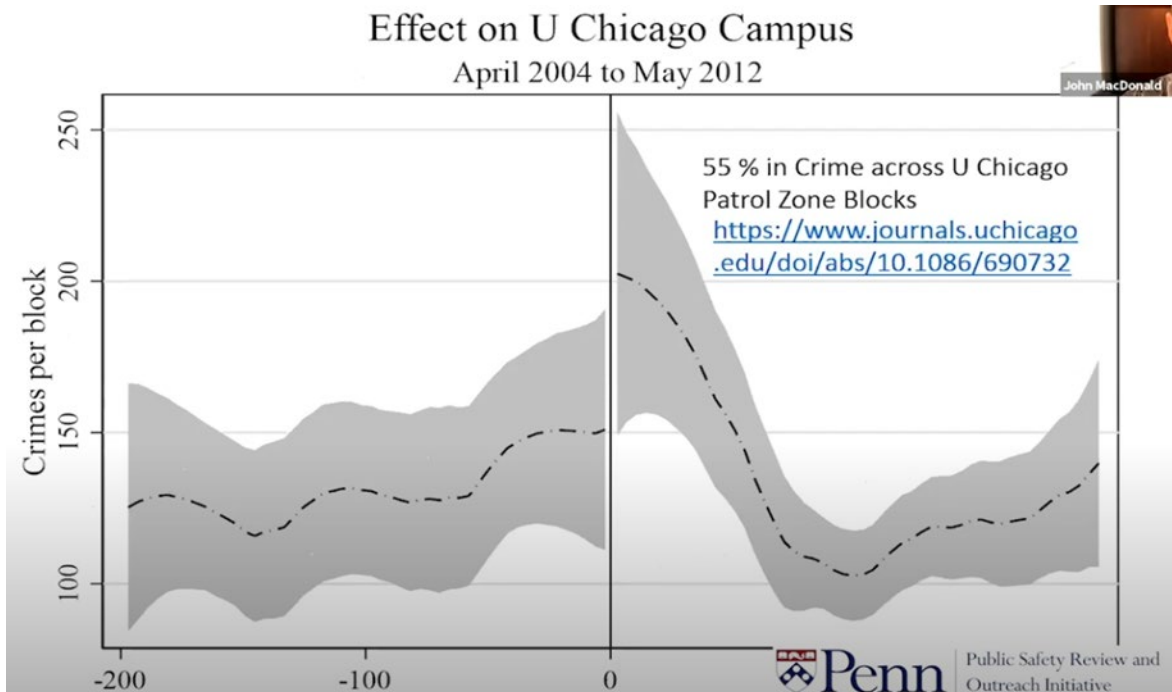
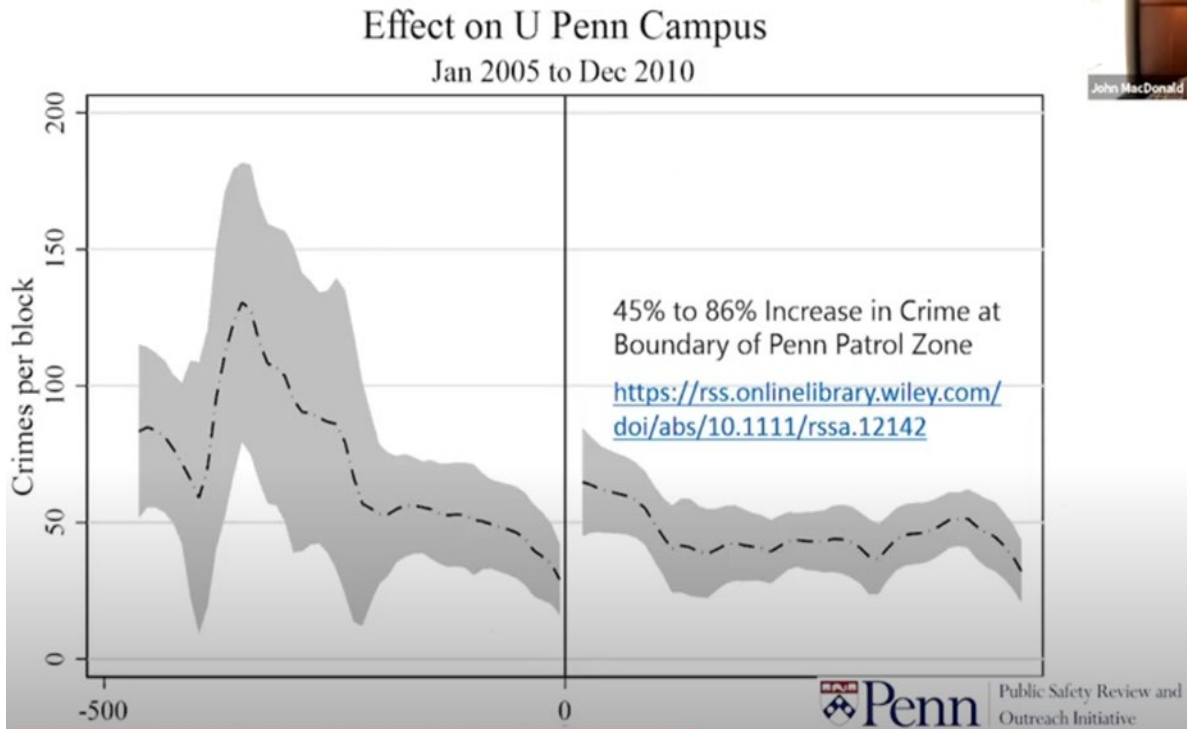
Be well, and thank you again for all of your participation and commitment to the improvement of Penn. Thanks!

[02:08:09] **End Hearing 6**

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Professor MacDonald's Maps and Charts





Penn Patrol Zone Remains Considerably Safer Today (Jan 1, 2016-Aug 8, 2020)

Area	Murder	Shooting	Gun Robbery	Robbery	Gun Assault	Agg Assault	Assault	Burglary Com	Burglary Res	Theft from MV	Theft
Inside Patrol Zone	1	4	43	127	23	167	760	64	145	265	3024
UCD Outside	12	38	253	332	84	260	1181	119	517	917	2636
18 District Outside	65	287	331	491	482	1179	4116	165	887	1258	2163


 Public Safety Review and Outreach Initiative

