Report of the Committee to
Diversify Locust Walk

Having read and carefully considered the Report of the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk, I want, first, to express my deep appreciation to the members of the committee and particularly to its co-chairpersons, Drs. Kim Morrisson and David Pope. The committee worked long and hard to meet its charge. I believe that the report is excellent.

Second, I want to invite all members of the University community to consider the report as well. To that end, I have released it to the campus press. As the document is rather lengthy, I assume that it may be summarized to some degree by Almanac, The Compass, and The Daily Pennsylvanian. Should anyone desire to examine the report in full, it is available at the Office of the Vice Provost for University Life, 200 Houston Hall, or in Van Pelt Library at the Reference Desk on the first floor or in the Rosengarten Reserve Reading Room on the ground floor.

In general, I believe the recommendations of the report to be sound and I am moving without delay to act on them. For some projects the implementation process should be relatively short; for others, however, timetables will have to be longer.

With respect to the “Objectives for Locust Walk,” (recommendations 1 - 7), these provide a philosophical foundation which can guide our action over short and long term.

Recommendations 8 through 13 offer us the opportunity to plan our next steps with respect to specific Locust Walk sites. For example, I have asked our Vice President for Facilities to undertake an evaluation of the site at 3609—11 Locust Walk to determine the best strategy for its conversion to use as a residential facility for students. While the timetable for the conversion is dependent on the findings, it is my intention to accomplish the task as soon as feasible.

I commend the committee’s foresight in anticipating the changes that will occur on campus as new facilities, such as the Campus Center, are completed, and new pathways and traffic patterns evolve. The ongoing planning process shall incorporate the committee’s thinking in a fully integrated way.

Of the remaining recommendations, 14 through 16 offer us the quickest way to encourage programmatic access and social exchange. With respect to recommendation 14, I have asked the Vice Provost for University Life to have her office compile and distribute the recommended inventory. I intend to discuss the issue of fees with appropriate Deans and Directors. I have asked our Director of Hospitality Services to work with the Department of Facilities Planning in response to recommendation 15. With respect to recommendation 16, we will need not only to plan, but also in all likelihood to negotiate arrangements where possible. Recommendation 17 appropriately underscores a serious behavioral expectation of the University.

As sites become available and programmatic opportunities occur, I will naturally consult broadly in order to have the benefit of the widest range of University opinion.

Finally, I invite further comment and discussion as we move ahead to achieve the goals that I set forth on April 11, 1990 and in my charge to the committee.

—Sheldon Hackney, President
Membership of the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk

Co-Chairs:
Dr. Kim M. Morrisson, Vice Provost for University Life
Dr. David Pope, School of Engineering and Applied Science

Members:
Dr. Gloria Chisum, chair, Trustees Committee on Student Life
Dr. Drew Faust, chair, President’s Committee on University Life
Dr. Robert Lucid, chair, Council of College House Masters
Dr. Almarin Phillips, chair, Faculty Senate
Dr. Adelaide Delluva, chair, Council Safety/Security Committee
Dr. Lawrence Eisenberg, chair, Council Facilities Committee
Doris Cochran-Fikes, director, Alumni Relations
Dr. Nicholas Constan, assistant to the President
Elena DiLapi, director, Penn Women’s Center
Tricia Phaup, director, Fraternity/Sorority Affairs
Susan Garfinkel, chair, Graduate and Professional Students’ Assembly (GAPSA).
Duchess Harris, chair, Undergraduate Assembly (UA)
Anita Hsueh, Panhellenic Council
Bret Kinsella, InterFraternity Council (IFC)
Melanie Sham, Greek Alumni Council
Erica Strohl, Penn Women’s Alliance
Kathryn A. Williams, Black InterOreek Council (BIGC)
Nalini Samuel, United Minorities Council (UMC)
Robin Wood, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance (LGBA)

Advisory/Support Members:
Kernel Dawkins, director of project management, Facilities
Christopher Mason, associate treasurer
Stephen G. Poskanzer, associate general counsel

In its original form the Report of the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk consists of 55 text pages plus its appendices, A through J. In this printed version, the 55-page body of the report is given in full, but only two appendices are included. Many of the appendices were previously-published documents; when the report refers to one of these, the date and publication are cited in footnotes.

The full report is available at the Van Pelt Library Reference Desk, in the the Rosengarten Reserve Reading Room at Van Pelt Library, and in the the Office of the Vice Provost for University Life, 200 Houston Hall.
Summary of Key Committee Recommendations

Objectives for Locust Walk:

1. The entire University community should be welcomed on an equal footing along Locust Walk. (p. 8)
2. It is more important to spread the intensity of use in the center of the campus off Locust Walk than it is to reinforce Locust Walk as the primary East-West campus axis. (p. 8)
3. A mix of academic, residential and administrative space in the center of campus is desirable for it enriches the campus both intellectually and socially, and provides for the constant presence, day and night, of a critical mass of people that promotes a safer environment. (p. 8)
4. The scale of any new construction on Locust Walk should be equivalent to the current scale of Locust Walk between 36th and 37th Streets. (p. 8)
5. New or renovated residential sites on Locust Walk should be comfortable in size and appearance with sufficient and well-designed common space to promote the development of community. (p. 8)
6. Residential communities along the Walk should embody the following characteristics:
   a. they should either be internally diverse or heterogenous in composition, or they should add to the pluralistic environment of the Walk;
   b. they should consciously join together aspects of living and learning;
   c. they should exemplify high standards of behavior;
   d. they should provide outreach and benefit, both through programming and social activity, to the University community so as to enhance the welcoming nature of the Walk;
   e. they should include opportunities for both undergraduate and graduate students;
   f. their design should include enclaves that support more contemplative kinds of activity; and
   g. they should include provision for some kind of supervision through live-in role models or advisors (p. 9)
7. The opportunity to live on Locust Walk is a privilege and the standards of behavior of all who live on Locust Walk should support this recognition. (p. 9)

Additional Recommendations

8. We recommend that the University recreate the desirable physical aspects and residential character of Locust Walk in other locations such as Sansom Street and Hamilton Walk. (p. 8)
9. We recommend that as any functions now located in sites on Locust Walk are considered for relocation or change, the site be evaluated carefully for residential conversion. (p. 9)
10. In the interest of constructive change we encourage those chapters now on the Walk to work with their alumni to evaluate their needs and to give careful consideration to how those needs might be met in other locations, and we recommend that the University facilitate potential relocations that grow out of these discussions. While the University should encourage such relocations, it should be careful not to perpetuate or exacerbate existing inequities. (p. 9)
11. We recommend that the University evaluate the possibility of converting one or more Hi-Rises to academic departmental or classroom use as it considers any new construction along Locust Walk. (p. 9)
12. We recommend that the University consider the construction of a mixed use academic, residential and retail neighborhood incorporating flexible living and common spaces on the current Bookstore site when the construction of the Campus Center is completed. (p. 10)
13. We recommend the long-range development of the western end of Locust Walk for mixed academic, residential and administrative use in a manner that captures the architectural character and streetscape of the eastern end of Locust Walk, adds landscaped green space, and provides greater definition to that part of the central campus. (p. 10)
14. We recommend that the University publish for student groups an inventory of spaces available for social uses on Locust Walk together with associated costs and procedures for reservation. We urge the University administration to ensure that commonly held space is available for use and not prohibitively expensive. (p. 10)
15. We recommend that the University create sidewalk cafes with umbrellas, tables and chairs to encourage social exchange for a wider variety of people on the Walk. (p. 10)
16. To the extent legally possible and in accord with agreements worked out with owners of the land, we recommend that the University examine the possibility of replacing some existing lawn space in front of buildings with benches in order to make the Walk a comfortable place to sit for non-residents. (p. 10)
17. If, in accordance with the principles of collective responsibility, a fraternity violates University standards, the committee recommends that even if the fraternity owns its own house, the loss of recognition for a serious act of misconduct should be understood to mean the loss of the right to use the chapter house for fraternity purposes. (p. 11)
18. We recommend that, as sites become available, decisions about who will occupy them be made in consultation with an appropriate group of students, faculty and staff so that the evolution of Locust Walk is in keeping with a participatory process. (p. 12)
Report of the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk

I. Introduction

The President’s Task Force on Diversifying Locust Walk grew out of more than a generation of change in University life. From a largely white and male institution, Penn had evolved during the 1960’s, 70’s and 80’s into a much more heterogeneous community in which individuals of diverse racial, ethnic, and international identities sought to live together with civility and mutual respect. Yet respect and civility often seemed unattainable. Like other universities across the United States, Penn was confronted by the mid-1980’s with what the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching described as a “declining quality of campus life.” Reports of intergroup conflict, sexual and racial harassment, acts of violence and of bigotry and intolerance disrupted the university with alarming frequency.

Groups of faculty, staff, students, and administrative units across campus began independently to focus on these issues in a variety of residential, teaching and extracurricular contexts. More formally, the President requested two sweeping examinations of the problem. In response to his charge, the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Violence, Harassment and Discrimination (Berg Report) of 1987 and the Report of the Committee on University Life (Faust Report) of 1990 drew attention to the importance of Locust Walk within Penn’s community life. Physically central to the campus, Locust Walk had become symbolically central as well. As the Faust Report explained,

“In a University of individuals often fragmented by their differing interests and commitments, physical space is a central dimension of what is shared. Spaces make statements as eloquent as any emanating from administrators in College Hall. The current arrangement of the campus, with white male fraternities lining its central artery… is more appropriate to Penn of the 1950s than to what Penn hopes to be in the 1990s.”

The Berg and Faust Reports emphasized that these fraternities made Locust Walk for many members of the Penn community not only a site of racial and sexual exclusivity, but also a site of verbal and physical harassment. If Penn intended to move beyond merely attracting a diversity of students, faculty and staff towards creating and maintaining a genuinely heterogeneous and pluralistic community of equal access and opportunity, it could no longer ignore the symbol and the reality of exclusivity and, too often, incivility, that stood at its physical heart.

Shifting the value of diversity from the margins to the center of University life took on a literal as well as a figurative meaning, as Locust Walk became a focus of increasing concern in the discussions surrounding the Berg Report and in the ongoing investigations of the Committee on University Life. If Locust Walk’s significance lay in its reflection of the University as a whole, then the University’s commitment to the diversity of its population needed to be matched by its commitment to create, in its central core, an atmosphere conducive to diversity. It was in the context of these concerns that President Hackney issued his call for the diversification of Locust Walk on April 11, 1990.

II. Charge to the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk

Although increasing concern had been expressed for some time about the character of Locust Walk, it was nonetheless a surprise to most people in the University community when President Hackney announced that a task force was to be established to advise him and the Provost on the diversification of residences on Locust Walk. The announcement was made in the “Report of the President” at the April 11, 1990, meeting of the University Council. (See Appendix A1 for the statement in its entirety.) Emphasizing the importance of the “right sort of living environment” to the promotion of the “quality of campus life,” President Hackney in his announcement noted “increased concern in the University community about the atmosphere in the core of the campus, especially along Locust Walk east of 38th Street … The current mix of student residences along Locust Walk must change,” he said. “While … fraternities should continue to be a prominent part of the student residential precinct in that area of campus, there are three reasons for taking conscious action now to change the situation.”

These reasons for change can be summarized in terms of the need for diversity—that is, for a composition which comes closer to representing the full range of students at Penn; for conduct that sets a standard for exemplary behavior; and for increased access of opportunity to live in what students perceive to be a convenient and privileged place in the center of campus. The task force was to advise the President and Provost “not about whether the mix of student residences along Locust Walk should change … but about how the changes might be equitably made.” It was to provide options for short and long term actions that would “accomplish our goal of a more variegated student culture in the middle of the campus.”

The task force became known as the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk. A list of its members appears as Appendix B2. At its first meeting on September 19, 1990, the committee was charged by President Hackney to direct its attention to:

1. the development of an overall set of objectives for the diversification of Locust Walk from College Green to 40th Street;
2. recommendations for a set of strategies—both short-term and longer range—for equitably achieving such diversity; and
3. recommendations for programs and activities that will contribute to the creation of the welcoming, representative and positive environment that we envision for Locust Walk.

(The full text of the charge to the committee appears as Appendix C.3)

The committee was asked to consider the question, “What would it take to make Locust Walk one of this country’s premier residential walkways?” Such a question had been posed earlier to the architectural firm of Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, and the results of their study “Preliminary Thoughts: Locust Walk” was made available to the committee for its consideration. The committee was also asked to solicit suggestions from others within the campus community and from alumni constituencies. The President also noted his intention “to accomplish our goals without requiring the relocation of any fraternities currently located along the Walk.” In his conversation with committee members and later, in his article entitled “A Vision for Locust Walk,” (see Appendix D for text) President Hackney cited his desire to avoid the divisiveness to the University community and its alumni of the social and legal trauma that would accompany any “protracted and fractious struggle” to dispossess fraternities. He noted arguments in equity for not
removing fraternities and added, “if we can provide…enough additional residential opportunities for women and non-fraternity students on Locust Walk, then there will be no need in equity to force existing fraternities off the Walk.”

The charge also noted that the development of Locust Walk must be considered within “the larger plan to develop academic facilities within the campus core...Ultimately,” the president noted, “our vision must reflect a community where student residences and academic programs are central to the physical life and activity of the heart of the campus.”

The composition of the committee elicited strong reactions from groups and constituencies which felt underrepresented or unrepresented. The initial absence of student representatives from the women’s community and the lesbian, gay and bisexual community—both sources of vocal critique of conduct along the Walk—drew strong criticism to which the President responded by adding representatives from these groups to the committee. In addition, the President added two chairs of relevant University Council committees, Safety and Security and Facilities.

Another strong reaction came from the Graduate and Professional Students Assembly (GAPSA) in response to President Hackney’s nomination of only one graduate/professional student. GAPSA, with support from the Undergraduate Assembly (UA) and the Faculty Senate, requested two additional graduate/professional student members, noting that graduate/professional students comprise half of the University’s student body and should be equally represented. A third reaction came from groups of organized alumni who felt that they were not represented. The President declined to add any further members to the committee, and he noted that eight members of the full committee were Penn alumni, including graduate alumni.

Criticisms of the charge, including resolutions and statements passed by a number of campus organizations, centered around the President’s stricture against the involuntary relocation of any fraternities currently located along the Walk. The President’s April announcement that “the mix of student residences along Locust Walk should change” had been interpreted by several members of the committee to mean that the committee had license to recommend the mandatory relocation or removal of at least some fraternities. Further, a number of committee members, unimpressed with the reasons given by the President for the constraint placed on the committee, felt that the committee was as good an instrument as the President’s Office for weighing the reasons for keeping fraternities. The President was interpreted as saying that he would not allow such a consideration and this was regarded by some as undermining the ability of the committee to accomplish the very task for which it was established.

As discussions continued, it became clear to most members that the President’s charge would not constrain the committee’s discussion in the ways anticipated. Indeed, the committee decided to let its own process determine the outcome of its discussion, rather than to enter discussion with any predetermined conclusion. The committee believed this would allow consideration of the fullest range of options, while keeping the President’s goals for change fully in mind.

In summary, the committee began its work under the following operational charge:

— to recommend how changes in the mix of student residences along Locust Walk from College Green to 40th Street might be equitably made;
— to shape the recommendations to:
  (a) reflect more comprehensively the full range of diversity at Penn;
  (b) encourage exemplary standards of behavior;
  (c) make living in the core of the campus available to a wider segment of the community;
  (d) reflect a community where student residences and academic programs are central to the physical life and activity of the heart of the campus;
  (e) not require (but perhaps encourage) the relocation of any fraternities currently located along the Walk.
— to include in the recommendations the consideration of alternatives and both short-term and long-term options to accomplish the goal of more variegated student culture in the middle of the campus.

III. Committee Process and Solicitation of Opinion

The committee began its work by reviewing a variety of resource materials including the Faust Report, the Berg Report, the 1988 Master Plan for the Campus, and a map of existing buildings on Locust Walk. In addition, the Venturi, Scott Brown study, “Locust Walk: Preliminary Thoughts,” provided structure for early discussions and helped the committee focus on points of agreement. A full list of resources used by the committee is included as Appendix E.

Realizing the extent to which the diversification of Locust Walk was the subject of debate on campus, the committee felt it was of utmost importance to solicit opinions from a wide spectrum of the University including undergraduates, graduate and professional students, faculty, staff, and alumni. The committee wishes to acknowledge members of the University community who expressed opinions and suggestions at fora attended by the committee, in correspondence, in articles and editorials that appeared in the campus press, and in individual conversations. These opportunities for communication were enlightening—opinions ranged from the open-minded to verbiage best described as racist, sexist, and/or homophobic—but all comments were useful in helping the committee reach consensus on the issues at hand. Summaries and samplings of opinion are included in this section; indeed, many of the ideas and recommendations articulated in this report are a result of what the committee heard and learned from concerned members of the University community.

A. On-Campus Community

In a November 8, 1990 meeting of the committee, it was decided that the opinions of the student body on the diversification of Locust Walk should be more actively solicited by: 1. committee sponsored public fora, 2. individual organization sponsored fora, and 3. written opinions.

The entire student body was invited to attend the two public fora (February 20, 1991 and February 21, 1991) through advertisements and articles placed in The Daily Pennsylvaniaian. This effort attracted approximately 30 students to each of the fora. Student members of the committee encouraged their constituencies to hold their own fora regarding the diversification of Locust Walk; however, no such fora were independently sponsored by student organizations. Students were also invited to provide their written opinions to the committee. Some of the proposals received were specifically in reference to the Psi Upsilon property (see p.33); however, all proposals were utilized in the discussion of potential future make-up of the entire Walk. Indirect written opinions, such as Daily Pennsylvaniaian articles, letters to the Editor, and editorials were also reviewed by the committee.

Because of the under representation of graduate and professional students, GAPSA formed a subcommittee including students from several of the graduate/professional schools, international students, and minority students to work with the GAPSA chair on graduate/professional student opinions, interests and needs. Special attention was given to the needs of international students; toward this end, the subcommittee distributed a survey to international students through the newsletter of the Office of International Programs relating specifically to the character of Locust Walk’s physical and social environments. The report and recommendations of GAPSA's subcommittee are included as Appendix F.

1. Summary of Public Fora

The public forum discussions centered around the fraternities, their presence on Locust Walk, and the President’s charge that diversification be orchestrated without the involuntary removal of any fraternities currently on the Walk. Progressive Student Alliance members pointed to several incidents of sexual harassment against women in fraternity houses in the past few years and insisted that diversity on the Walk could only begin by the removal of all fraternities. Interfraternity Council (IFC) members argued that diversity on the Walk could only begin by working with the fraternities, not by removing them. ITC members added that diversity is already a goal within the fraternity system and that they are working toward a more pluralistic environment. Some members of the community did not feel comfortable expressing their views in public; after one of the fora, a woman who said she had been sexually assaulted in a Locust Walk fraternity approached a committee member to discuss the experience she did not feel comfortable raising before the group.

Participants also discussed differing perceptions of diversity. Some favored housing many diverse groups in different houses on the Walk

5. Appendix E lists numerous sources available to readers, including policies found in University manuals and published reports of committees. Among the latter are the Faust Report (Almanac October 16,1990), the Berg Report (Almanac January 12, 1988), and the Campus Master Plan (Almanac May 17, 1988).

6. Appendix F begins on page 12 of this supplement.
whereas others favored mixing diverse students together in each house. Specific suggestions about creating senior houses and student organization offices on the Walk were brought up as possible options for future diversification of the Walk. Committee members also discussed the feasibility of providing classroom space on the west end of the Walk, converting the high-rises to office space, the safety of Locust Walk at night, and the legal status of fraternity housing currently on the Walk.

2. Summary of Written Opinions

Many letters of opinion were received from undergraduate students, graduate students and faculty. One international graduate student wrote that she felt “uneasy” walking on Locust Walk because of its exclusive atmosphere. Another wrote that graduate students do not feel a part of the University and that the center of campus [LocustWalk] does not make a “positive contribution to my intellectual, cultural, and social life at Penn.” Other undergraduates cited the fraternity system as racist, sexist, and homophobic, and a source of sexual violence. It was asserted repeatedly that the committee members, who were predominantly male, did not understand the experience of students on the Walk.

One undergraduate student wrote that it was the University’s own acquisition policies that had transformed the University’s (in particular Locust Walk’s) character. Through a history of the relocation of fraternity and sorority housing, he wrote, the fraternity system had been the victim of University policies and the fraternities were only at their present locations due to circumstance. Another writer claimed that fraternities have historically been given “second-class” property rights; fraternities have relocated multiple times for the development of Locust Walk and the addition of Superblock.

Opinions printed in various publications, including *The Daily Pennsylvanian* and *Almanac*, suggested providing alternative housing on a nondiscriminatory basis for all members of some class (e.g., senior class housing, first year housing), honors housing, the residential development of Sansom Street, lottery housing, and abolishing housing all together.

B. Off-Campus Community: The Alumni

At the request of President Hackney, wide solicitation of alumni opinion was incorporated into the committee’s data collection process. In a December 1990 letter, approximately 1750 alumni leaders were asked to inform their constituencies about the work of the committee, to send letters of opinion, and to attend a General Alumni Society open forum with committee members on Saturday, January 19, 1991. These leaders represented the General Alumni Society Board, school alumni societies, trustees and associate trustees who are alumni, the Trustees’ Council of Penn Women, the Association of Alumnae, the Council of Recent Graduates, the Greek Alumni Council, Organized Classes, the Black Alumni Society, and other Penn alumni organizations.

A letter to the editor inviting 76,000 alumni to send letters of opinion was published in the February 1991 issue of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. Limited resources made it impractical to solicit opinions directly from all of the University’s 206,000 alumni. The committee wishes to acknowledge that the voices of many alumni who may have wished to express opinions on these matters may have been left unheard.

The committee co-chairs were invited to discuss the diversification of Locust Walk at fall conferences sponsored by the Trustees’ Council of Penn Women (November 9, 1990) and the Council of Recent Graduates (November 10, 1990).

Committee members also attended fora sponsored by the Alumni Relations Publications Committee (January 23, 1991), the alumni trustees (January 24, 1991), the General Alumni Society Executive Committee (February 7, 1991), and the Council of Recent Graduates’ Campus Life Committee (February 18, 1991).

The Council of Recent Graduates distributed a questionnaire to selected alumni representing the fifteen most recent graduating classes of all schools of the University. Results from 155 responses were compiled and distributed to members of the committee.

From these efforts, more than 77 alumni letters were received, acknowledged and distributed to committee members. Of the 77 respondents, 48 or 62.3 percent were males in the classes of 1922 through 1990; 20 or 28.6 percent were females in the classes of 1932 through 1990; and 7 or 9.1 percent were alumni organizations, one of which was all-female, one which was all-male.

Alumni opinions on the diversification of Locust Walk were divergent although letter writers showed strong support for preserving the essential character of Locust Walk, for allowing the fraternities to remain, and for creating additional residential facilities in or on the site of buildings presently used for other administrative purposes. Additional comments ranged from concern regarding the make-up of the committee and the committee’s charge to behavioral standards, safety issues, and architectural and space issues. Some alumni made specific recommendations. Along with expressions of deep gratitude for the experience alumni had enjoyed as students, came expressions of frustration, alienation and anger.

A sampling of opinions voiced at fora and in letters to the committee follows:

**Concern was expressed about the make-up of the committee:** “the classes responsible for the creation of Locust Walk should be represented on the committee Who on this committee represents the general, average, unaffiliated Penn student?”

Some alumni expressed concern about the formation of the committee: “the Locust Walk controversy is a big to do about nothing. Leave things as they are and concentrate on more productive issues There are so many problems, opportunities, challenges and needs at Penn. I think our University should focus on higher priority issues.”

Many alumni defended the fraternity system:

“To me it is a tragedy that even the thought to alter or remove traditional fraternities at Penn has come to pass. What a price to pay, for fraternities, above all, represent the esprit de corps which is the heart or essence of Penn…” “There are those who try to equate fraternity life with the propriety and openness of the University there has never been any recent examples of both, but they are still rare, and by far outweighed by the positive aspects. Fraternities are extremely important to the life of a significant number of students at Penn.” “think it is time that the University either openly say that it does not want fraternities on campus or quit their subtle and slow destruction of the fraternity system.”

Others expressed frustration:

“I also question that the president is trying to placate the fraternities and their alumni at the same time he expresses little of the same concern for independent and/or female alumni [sic] who suffered in the past because of those who ‘owned’ the walk. I wish that the silent suffering and embarrassment that has existed through the years and the perception of a Fraternity Row culture which begins on Locust Walk and permeates the entire campus would be seriously considered by the Administration and the committee as equally worthy of concern Women at Penn continue to be barred from the privilege of living on Locust Walk and minorities still are the unofficial personas non grata [sic] there.” “Unfortunately, the walk provides a ready source of entertainment for students insensitive to the rights of those differing from them.” “what truly confirmed my pro-diversification position was the stream of letters to the editor in *The Daily Pennsylvanian* and *The Pennsylvania Gazette* from fraternity members and alumni detailing the positive experiences they enjoyed while living in close-knit residential communities in the center of campus. Before reading these letters, I had never thought about how wonderful it would be to live on Locust Walk because I had never perceived it to be an option for myself…”” It staggered me somewhat to realize that 50 years since I first set foot on campus, fraternities seem to be just as big a problem, and diversity among students harder to handle than any academic subject.”

A few alumni expressed concern about limitations placed on the committee’s charge, but many alumni supported President Hackney’s “Vision of Locust Walk,” stating that fraternities should not be forcibly removed from the Walk...

...“the concentration of fraternities along the Walk is truly an historical accident. Many of us remember when Locust Street was one of the most undesirable locations on the campus. Trolleys clanged at all hours of the day and night, the traffic was horrendous and the area wasn’t very safe. The properties were purchased because they were affordable and the push to remove them now that their locations are prime smacks of blatant expropriation.” “it would be inappropriate to punish organizations, many of which have been in existence since the end of the Civil War, simply because the University has expanded around them” “Like it or not, the chapters that live on the walk have a historical claim on the space.”

Another alumnus suggested “Can we ask for 1 or 2 volunteers amongst our fraternities to surrender their houses for women, international, and minority students in exchange for the University’s commitment to provide housing of equal quality in another location?”

Alumnae expressed concern to members of the committee that no on-campus housing has been made available to the growing number of
sororities at Penn, indicating that some of the sororities were displaced by expansion and asserting that housing commitments to these sororities remain unfilled.

Now, this need was unasked for in the early 60s if we alumnae were upset when the University bought a property that the Tri-Delta Corporation owned. But, then women’s rights were not an important issue.”...”Our committee is not suggesting that any student group currently residing on Locust Walk be ousted but rather that the Walk be expanded to integrate diverse student interests and attitudes. One of those interests among undergraduates are sororities; therefore, it would seem reasonable to house two to four sororities on Locust Walk depending upon the other factors involved.”

Others expressed concern for the behavioral standards of Locust Walk residents:

“The problem with fraternities is not their location, but the bratty behavior of some of their members.”...”I am not blind to the blemishes of the records of some of Penn’s fraternities in recent years, including my own. The experience of these incidents should teach us that they should be dealt with swiftly, in an established judicial forum, and that, where appropriate, punishment should be harsh so there can be no doubt that such behavior cannot be tolerated from any source.”...”I think it is important for the University to adopt an appropriate code of conduct which the fraternities would agree to in consideration of their being allowed to remain on Locust Walk. The code of conduct should, of course, embody standards of behavior appropriate to an area which is the center of University life.”...”I think the University should encourage good citizenship. Let’s keep what is good and discard what isn’t, by allowing and encouraging good fraternities to remain on Locust Walk.”

Several alumni suggested alternatives:

“I believe that the best method for diversifying Locust Walk is by diversifying the fraternities themselves.”...”Today, the members and alumnae/ae of Elmo’s include men and women of various races, religious, and backgrounds. Not only has this produced a more diverse house, but since the house has become co-ed...disciplinary problems have been virtually non-existent and scholarship has improved.”...”all fraternities should join the 1990s; racially integrate, and—yes—even admit women.”

Concern was expressed for the safety of University students:

“The University must offer closer, safer, and more attractive housing and shops, if Penn is to continue to attract the top undergraduate students.”...”because I read of a mugging (fatal) incident on or just off the campus, I sent one of my sons to Cornell instead of Penn.”...”Save the diversification for required courses and help students stay at/choose Penn by allowing them to live safely on Locust Walk.”

Many alumni supported the addition of residences on Locust Walk, stating “The essential character of Locust Walk should not be altered. It should not become another canyon or a wind tunnel like Superblock.”

“High-rise buildings are not acceptable options for Locust Walk.”...”There was concern that the “project be accomplished with minimal disturbance to the trees and foliage which are as essential to the character of the walk as any building.”

“This Old Guard hopes ‘Diverse’ refers to the use of the buildings and not the architecture. At least let us return to the beautiful elegance of our traditional architecture, exemplified by the Quad, Medical School and others.”...”The mixed use human scale of Locust Walk should be used as a model and an attempt should be made to replicate it elsewhere on campus.”...”Create more of what works.”

Suggestions were also made to build smaller dormitories and housing units with kitchen space and lounges to develop a sense of community—similar to the housing occupied by fraternities on Locust Walk. One alumna suggested that fraternities be required to allocate a certain percentage of lounge space for use by other groups. Another added a more radical suggestion—that “the buildings be removed and that the whole area be an extension of the campus green.”

Others targeted their comments at the high-rise buildings in Superblock: “Make Superblock a decent place to live for its own sake. Work on programs to make Penn a smaller place.”...”It would be a service to the University if we could do something to humanize Superblock.”

Suggestions were made to convert existing administrative offices for residential use. “I suggest that all University administrative offices on the north side of Locust Walk, including the E. Craig Sweeten Alumni Center, be reconverted back into student residences for non-fraternity members, especially women. That would give you true residential diversity along the walk.”

A number of alumni, particularly those who had had the opportunity to live in Locust Walk fraternities, expressed an uplifting sense of connectedness to the University. These opinions were particularly profound when juxtaposed with comments made by those who have traditionally lived on Locust Walk. One alumna urged the committee to work together to identify opportunities that bind us together and foster ties to the University without jeopardizing and tearing apart connectedness for those who already enjoy it.

Alumni leaders also urged the committee to guard against overplanning, stating that the long-range plan for Locust Walk should be put together in increments—“it should grow like an amoeba, a living organism that moves, shapes itself, and is flexible.” No recommendations should be set in concrete.

And lastly, one alumna sent this reminder to the committee, “What the University does with Locust Walk will send a strong message to the community and to alumni about who matters.”

In many ways, the alumni opinions quoted in this section of the report reflect similar sentiments expressed by students, faculty, and staff. The committee hopes that inclusion of this sampling of opinions will serve as a lasting reminder to the University community that its many voices have been heard and carefully considered.

IV. Locust Walk: Physical Aspects

A survey of the spaces on Locust Walk from Blanche Levy Park to 40th Street reveals a mix of academic and academic support buildings, fraternities, administrative and student support spaces, non-University buildings (e.g., the Christian Association), retail space (the bookstore), residential hi-rises and dining facilities, and open spaces between buildings. Currently, more than 300 students live in the 13 fraternity houses located on or near Locust Walk. (See Appendix 0.1 for a map of Locust Walk and Appendix G.1 for a detailed breakdown of buildings and ownership.)

As the primary east-west artery of campus, Locust Walk functions as both a heavily used corridor and as a campus outdoor living room. It is used densely during the middle of the day as students move toward classes and the library on the east and to residences on the west. The Sweeten Alumni Center located on Locust Walk at Blanche Levy Park serves as a locus for special events for alumni and visitors. The block of Locust Walk between 36th and 37th Streets is particularly crowded in good weather and when the Palladium Restaurant has its tables set out, when student groups are selling tickets for events, or when vendors have tables set up along the Walk. In the evenings, Locust Walk becomes synonymous with the University’s undergraduate social scene, long-dominated by fraternity parties, particularly on weekends. With thirteen of the University’s 27 existing IFC chapters located on or near Locust Walk, the Walk has become symbolic of IFC fraternity social activity.

On its eastern edge, Locust Walk begins at the visually open space of College Green. As it heads westward from 36th Street, it takes on the narrower, tree-lined street quality that most people associate with “Locust Walk,” with buildings set back from the Walk itself and scaled to a height of about three stories. It is this streetscape that the committee was most often advised to preserve or to reproduce elsewhere. This architectural quality is generally seen as the most successful part of Locust Walk.

Moving westward over the 38th Street Bridge, Locust Walk loses its street-like character and opens up into a less well-defined plaza in Superblock. Here Locust Walk is characterized by concrete buildings and pathways, poor landscaping, ill-defined walkways and air circulation that can only be defined by its wind-tunnel effect. It is this western end of Locust Walk that offers the greatest long-term opportunity for redefinition or for a re-creation of what is successful on the eastern end of the Walk.

V. Locust Walk in the Context of Campus Planning: Past, Present and Future

Locust Walk in its current form evolved as the central core of the campus of the University of Pennsylvania expanded westward. Locust Street with its fraternity, sorority and private row houses was closed as a city street, properties were condemned by the Redevelopment Authority, and the properties were condemned by the Redevelopment Authority, and the streetwidths and vehicular routes were narrowed to ease traffic. This change took place at a time of University expansion and, as many comments to the committee revealed, they left a...
VI. Locust Walk: Options for Diversification

A. General Principles: Alternatives

As the committee considered the composition of Locust Walk from a planning perspective, it examined various alternatives, each of which had advantages and drawbacks:

(1) the academic model—In this alternative, Locust Walk would become a chiefly academic enclave surrounded by student residences on the periphery of campus. The advantages of this model are that it is the most democratic and widely representative from the standpoint of student access and that it symbolically reflects in physical space a principle around which the committee found consensus: that the academic enterprise is the heart of the University. The disadvantages are more pragmatic: academic efforts are largely confined to day use and therefore the absence of a critical mass of people from the heart of the campus in the evening would make the campus feel less safe. There is also the reality that a large number of student residences already exist in the heart of the campus. Adoption of this model would therefore lead to a significant amount of displacement.

(2) the residential model—In this alternative, Locust Walk would be emptied of its administrative and academic spaces, insofar as possible, which would then be recast as student residences. It is presumably a version of this model which President Hackney had in mind when he asked the committee: “What would it take to make Locust Walk one of this country’s premier residential walkways?” The advantage of this model is that it preserves the vitality that comes with having students living in the center of campus. The constraints are also pragmatic: the significant presence of existing academic facilities sets inherent limits on the number of residential opportunities.

(3) mixed use academic/administrative/residential—This alternative affirms the current composition of Locust Walk and recognizes that there is both intellectual, educational and social value in interposing academic and administrative uses with residential uses. This alternative might also be applied to any new construction along the Walk, either at the Bookstore site or on the western edge of the campus.

B. Venturi, Scott Brown Study—Conceptual Possibilities for Diversification

The consultant study by Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates entitled “Preliminary Thoughts: Locust Walk,” commissioned by the University and made available to the committee, suggested three general conceptual approaches to a consideration of development alternatives. These were entitled “Residential Gateways,” “Main Street,” and “Paths and Plazas,” each offering a different model of a vision of Locust Walk. (The full text of the “Preliminary Thoughts” is attached as Appendix H.)

The “Residential Gateways” model proposes a critical mass of new residential housing located at College Green, predominantly in College and Logan Halls, on the one end, and at Locust Walk at 38th Street on the other. This alternative would allow for the addition of up to 700 new student residences to Locust Walk, in a variety of new housing types, compared to the 300 students who now live in houses on or adjacent to Locust Walk. This would also be the most costly to implement of the three models.

The “Main Street” model suggests a combination of new residential construction, additional outdoor activity on Locust Walk, such as a cafe spilling out from Logan Hall, and a reorientation of the entrances of existing academic buildings such as the McNeil and Castor Buildings towards the Walk. This model is the least costly to implement, fine-tunes the existing balance of functions on Locust Walk, but offers no dramatic change from the current perception of Locust Walk. This model would create new housing for approximately 800 students.

The “Paths and Plazas” model provides alternatives to Locust Walk as the “only path and gathering place” by suggesting a network of secondary activity that would take place off the Walk with the development of strong intersections and parallel walkways. This alternative is more sensitive to future campus planning and development, particularly the Campus Center, and takes note of the possibilities offered by the Annenberg Plaza, 36th and 37th Streets, and the pathway between the McNeil Building and the Wharton Executive Education Center. This model also focuses on upgrading the foils of the campus on and off the Walk, but offers an even more dispersed pattern of change rather than focusing on a concentrated section of Locust Walk.

While the models differ in overall conception, the elements of change within them can be mixed and matched, according to desirability. For example, new residential construction on the bookstore site (“Residential Gateways”) would not preclude a use of Logan Hall that includes a cafe (“Main Street”).

C. Objectives for Locust Walk

In addition to the Venturi, Scott Brown study’s conceptual models, the committee found useful the study’s identification of possible objectives to be achieved by different approaches to Locust Walk. These objectives served as the basis for considerable committee discussion from which emerged agreement on the following issues:

(1) The University community should be welcomed on an equal footing along Locust Walk. The committee believes this precept should prevail in all areas of campus, without appropriate considerations of security, but in view of its central importance to the campus, Locust Walk in particular should exude a feeling of welcome, access and community. The presence of academic facilities along the Walk reinforces this principle; the addition of non-residential public space open to the University community would contribute to a more general sense of welcome. Residences on the Walk could also add to a greater sense of inclusion by hosting events which are open to the University community so that non-resident community members feel welcome on the Walk.

(2) It is more important to spread the intensity of use in the center of the campus off of Locust Walk than it is to reinforce Locust Walk as the primary east-west campus axis. This conclusion is perhaps surprising in view of the committee’s concentrated focus on Locust Walk, but it recognizes that there are limitations to the number of functions or activities that can be placed in one central location. There was considerable support for viewing Locust Walk, over the long term, as one of several important east-west campus arteries, with Sansom Street, Hamilton Walk, Spruce Street and Walnut Street also playing important roles. The construction of the Campus Center will redefine both Walnut Street and Sansom Street. In addition to opening the campus northward, the magnet created by the Campus Center will pull pedestrian traffic from all directions and create new patterns of movement.

The committee takes this future direction northward to be desirable and supports the repositioning of pathways with an ambiance similar to that of Locust Walk between 36th and 37th Streets.

We recommend that the University recreate the desirable physical aspects and residential character of Locust Walk in other locations such as Sansom Street and Hamilton Walk.

(3) A mix of academic, residential and administrative space in the center of campus is desirable for it enriches the campus both intellectually and socially, and provides for the constant presence, day and night, of a critical mass of people that promotes a safer environment. The committee favors the mixed use alternative along the length of Locust Walk from all directions and create new patterns of movement.

(4) The scale of any new construction on Locust Walk should be equivalent to the current scale of Locust Walk between 36th and 37th Streets. The scale and intimacy of Locust Walk are important features of the ambience that make it so attractive. The addition of residences to the Walk in any new or renovated locations should accommodate to the Walk’s architectural character rather than redefine that character in the interest of greater density of population.

(5) New or renovated residential sites on Locust Walk should

8. See note on page 2 of this supplement for availability of appendices.
comfortable in size and appearance with sufficient and well-designed common space to promote the development of community. The design of space can easily enhance or detract from the creation of residential community. In particular, community can be strengthened by the availability of common space and a “home-like” setting. The design of new construction of whatever size or shape should take these needs into account.

(6) Residential communities along the Walk should embody the following characteristics:

(a) they should either be internally diverse or heterogeneous in composition, or they should add to the pluralistic environment of the Walk;
(b) they should consciously join together aspects of living and learning;
(c) they should exemplify high standards of behavior;
(d) they should provide outreach and benefit, both through programming and social activity, to the University community so as to enhance the welcoming nature of the Walk;
(e) they should include opportunities for both undergraduate and graduate students;
(f) their design should include spaces that support more contemplative kinds of activity; and
(g) they should include provision for some kind of supervision through live-in role models or advisors.

(7) The opportunity to live on Locust Walk is a privilege and the standards of behavior of all who live on Locust Walk should support this recognition. As an issue, this is somewhat problematic for the committee to articulate, for committee members believe that standards should be uniform and consistent throughout the campus and that all community members should be held to the same level of accountability. However, it is clear that the centrality and high visibility of Locust Walk to residents, community members and visitors alike, carries with it clear responsibility for adherence to appropriate conduct norms.

D. Specific Sites for Change

The sites considered by the committee as possibilities for short and long term change fall into three general categories: existing facilities which could be converted to usage supporting a mixed use vision for Locust Walk; new construction opportunities along Locust Walk; and sites adjacent to or near Locust Walk which might have an impact on its utilization.

(1) Conversion of existing facilities

(a) Administrative spaces

The sites currently supporting administrative functions on Locust Walk are:

- 3533 Locust Walk-Sweeten Alumni Center
- 3537 Locust Walk-Penncap/African-American Resource Center
- 3609-11 Locust Walk-Counseling Service and Tutoring Center
- 3641 Locust Walk-Colonial Penn Center
- 3805 Locust Walk-University Chaplain’s House
- 3914 Locust Walk (University Police Department)
- Carriage House (adjacent to Locust Walk and behind 3905 Spruce Street)

In reviewing these options, the committee identified 3609-11 Locust Walk and 3914 Locust Walk as offering the most likely short-term opportunities for conversion to residential use. Studies of 3609-11 Locust Walk indicated that it could house between 16 and 44 students, depending upon the extent of renovations.

There might well be other considerations affecting changed usage of any of these Locust Walk sites over the longer term. We recommend that as any functions now located in sites on Locust Walk are considered for relocation or change, the site be evaluated carefully for residential conversion. In making this recommendation, we assume that functions located within these facilities will be relocated to appropriate sites.

(b) Fraternities

In his charge to the committee, President Hackney focused on his desire to achieve change equitably and noted that he would not seek the forced relocation of any fraternities currently located on the Walk. While these sentiments were echoed by many alumni and students communicating with the committee, there was also substantial support within the committee and within the University community for a Locust Walk without fraternities. The committee discussed this dilemma at great length and, had the President not stated clearly his intentions, it is possible the committee would have recommended the removal of at least some fraternities from Locust Walk. In view of the President’s intentions, the committee agreed that relocation should be examined on a voluntary basis with emphasis placed on the best interests of the University as it faces the 1990’s and the 21st century.

In the interest of constructive change we encourage those chapters now on the Walk to work with their alumni to evaluate their needs and to give careful consideration to how those needs might be met in other locations, and we recommend that the University facilitate potential relocations that grow out of these discussions. While the University should encourage such relocations, it should be careful not to perpetuate or exacerbate existing inequities.

Should circumstances change for existing Locust Walk chapters, either through loss of recognition or through membership fluctuations, the committee recommends that the University evaluate future uses of these sites giving residential conversion a priority. In this way, the committee considered short-term uses for 300 S. 36th Street, the former Phi Epsilon Upsilon house commonly known as the Castle. In February, President Hackney accepted a recommendation to make the Castle a community service living-learning house (see Appendix I), a recommendation from the vice provost which grew out of the committee’s discussion of ideal residential communities on Locust Walk.

(c) Hi-Rise buildings

The ambiance of Locust Walk west of 38th Street is dominated by the three Hi-Rise structures of Superblock. As residences, these buildings offer anonymity more often than community; if community within a building is achieved, perhaps at the level of a floor or a suite, it is in spite of the architectural constraints.

The committee’s consideration of the desirable mix of academic and residential spaces on Locust Walk led to the obvious possibility of using one or more of the hi-rises as academic, departmental or classroom space. The conversion of a hi-rise to such use might be attractive for several reasons: the buildings might well be more suited to academic or classroom functions and such conversion might be achieved at minimal cost; additional departmental and classroom space in the center of campus is needed and in these spaces, might provide fruitful interaction among departments; academic functions, pulled west of 38th Street, will help to produce the blending of academic and residential functions the committee sees as desirable; and these residential spaces could be replaced by others more suited to the goal of developing community in which the University is engaged.

We recommend that the University evaluate the possibility of converting one or more Hi-Rises to academic departmental or classroom use as it considers any new construction along Locust Walk.

(d) Non-university owned sites

A number of non-University owned sites are located on or near Locust Walk, including the Christian Association (CA), Hillel, St. Mary’s Church, and three privately owned fraternities. The religiously-affiliated organizations, in particular, provide a place for significant University related activity for students, faculty and staff, often joined to a mission of constructive social service. Should any of these facilities ever in the future come under University ownership, the committee recommends that their use be consistent with the objectives of Locust Walk diversification.

(2) New construction opportunities

(a) Bookstore site

The Campus Center program calls for the University Bookstore to move into the newly-constructed center. This move will leave vacant a portion of the “temporary” facility at 38th Street between Locust Walk and Walnut Street built in the late 60’s. This entire site offers the possibility of a mixed-use new construction, with academic departmental space, residential space and retail space.

Among the materials the committee examined were drawings of residential facilities at Brown University designed like town-houses (see Appendix J), three to four stories in height, and functioning as self-contained communities. Such a model might work well on the Bookstore site, retaining the scale of the rest of the eastern end of Locust Walk while providing flexibility for a number of different residential arrangements, from College Houses to sororities, each of which could function independently but be joined in a kind of neighborhood. This site might also accommodate some retail functions fronting on 38th Street.

We recommend that the University consider the construction of a mixed use academic, residential and retail neighborhood incorporating flexible living and common spaces on the current Bookstore site when the construction of the Campus Center is completed.

(b) 38th Street site (just west of bridge)

The Venturi, Scott Brown study offered several possibilities for design on this narrow site along 38th Street. The shape of this site may have some attendant problems, but any future development should be undertaken in a manner consistent with the residential and/or programmatic goals of diversification of the Walk.

VII. Locust Walk: Programs and Activities to Promote Diversification.

Residential redevelopment or redesign is one way to approach the task of diversification, but it has inherent limitations in space and ability to accommodate thousands of Penn students. Additional steps are necessary to achieve the “welcoming, representative and positive environment” that the President charged the committee to envision. To this end, the committee proposes several types of spaces and programs, some permanent and some informal, to attract more non-residents to the Walk and to increase their sense of comfort.

10. See page 2 of this supplement for note on availability of appendices.

Students, particularly those without a Greek affiliation, spoke often to the committee about fraternity dominance of the Walk, not only in terms of physical presence, but also in terms of social power or monopoly on social functions for undergraduates. The social space planned for the Campus Center may help to provide alternatives, but in this transition 11 time before the Center is built, available affordable enclosed social space is difficult for many groups to find. High-rise rooftop lounges and basements are available only to residents, thus making access to general University groups difficult. Dining spaces, particularly in Class of ’20 Commons, are not available for social use. Moreover the cost of reserving, providing housekeeping and security for some spaces is prohibitive for many student groups.

In order to address some of these difficulties, we recommend that the University publish for student groups an inventory of spaces available for social uses on Locust Walk, together with associated costs and procedures for reservation. We urge the University administration to ensure that commonly held space is available for use and not prohibitively expensive.

Outdoor space is as important as enclosed space. The use of College Green for the 250th celebration showed how a large-scale space can contribute to the success of a major event. School-wide social events such as Spring Fling, Homecoming, and Celebration of Culture (new in 1990), places on sites along the Walk from Superblock to College Green, would provide an increased sense of welcome for non-resident students, as would the creation of more informal gathering places such as sidewalk cafes. Sites that lend themselves to such purposes include the courtyard between the School of Social Work and the Graduate School of Education, Castor Plaza, Annenberg Plaza, the garden walk-way behind the Steinberg-Dietrich cafe, and the grassy area between “We Lost” and Logan Hall.

We recommend that the University create sidewalk cafes with umbrellas, tables and chairs to encourage social exchange for a wider variety of people on the Walk. Some of these spaces could be covered. Castor Plaza, for example, could be developed as a mini-amphitheatre where performing arts groups could perform street theater or poetry readings. A cafe or coffeehouse on the ground floor of Logan Hall, spilling onto College Green, as suggested in the Venturi, Scott Brown study, would provide a valuable “hangout” space and an imp ortant magnet for the east end of the Walk.

The Wharton School is a dominant feature of Locust Walk, as are the McNeil Building, Stittler Hall and the School of Social Work. Classes available to students in all schools should be taught in all of these buildings. Similarly, classes should be taught in all of the residential spaces along the Walk, including Hi-Rises and future residences, in order to make the Walk more accessible to a wider range of students.

Locust Walk would be made more welcoming with the addition of benches and places to stop and sit. For example, the area in front of Steinberg-Dietrich could be more hospitably landscaped in order to attract people. Benches could be added in front of fraternities with some umbrellas, tables and chairs to encourage social exchange for a wider variety of people on the Walk.

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Locust Walk would be made more welcoming with the addition of benches and places to stop and sit. For example, the area in front of Steinberg-Dietrich could be more hospitably landscaped in order to attract people. Benches could be added in front of fraternities with some reduction of lawn space. To the extent legally possible and in accord with agreements worked out with owners of the land, we recommend that the University examine the possibility of replacing some existing lawn space in front of buildings with benches in order to make the Walk a comfortable place to sit for non-residents.

The Venturi, Scott Brown study suggested that Locust Walk east of 38th Street would better accommodate moving pedestrian traffic and relaxed seating capacity by shifting access to buildings away from the Walk through the use of back passageways and entrances. We see this as desirable but recommend that such passageways be widened, be well lighted and be adequately patrolled for safety. Such a network of paths could provide access to the residential buildings on the Walk as well as to the Annenberg Plaza.

Unexpected traffic on Locust Walk adds to the discomfort of those who use the Walk as a corridor and those who might choose to use it as a comfortable place to sit. Vehicles are already prohibited, but service vehicles and bicycles are dangerous at crowded times and every effort should be made to minimize their use. Vendor activities often contribute to the crowding of the Walk; special events requiring tables and/or vendors should make better use of Annenberg Plaza and other areas linked to the Walk that provide more open space.

Physical access, particularly for those who use wheelchairs, is an important consideration for Locust Walk. Programs that are open to members of the community should be held in spaces that are accessible
as well as inviting, and access to restrooms adjacent to such spaces should also be assured. To the extent possible, architectural and other barriers that prevent such access should be eliminated from both indoor and outdoor spaces, and those who use Locust Walk should be sensitive to the needs of persons with disabilities, particularly during the Walk’s most crowded times.

Existing residential spaces on Locust Walk, both Greek and non-Greek, can contribute to a welcoming environment by co-sponsoring events and programs with other groups and departments within the Penn community. Such events might be educational and/or social. The committee was impressed, for example, by the efforts of Phi Gamma Delta to open its doors to non-member students for study hours; other houses could follow this example and sponsor film festivals, coffeehouses or performing arts evenings. In this way, space on Locust Walk would be shared in spirit with others within the community.

Social functions such as parties in fraternities I me most often billed as “private” events by invitation only so that chapters can better control access for risk management purposes. Committee members were concerned to hear that students often regard the manner in which these invitations are distributed as a subtle form of discrimination. The committee urges that the fraternity chapters on Locust Walk review the processes by which they invite students to parties, and the clarity with which they describe their parties as either “open” or “closed” in order to ensure that harassment and/or discrimination does not occur, either deliberately or unintentionally.

The inclusion of spaces and programming directed toward the graduate/professional student population is also an important concern. This need is particularly crucial for the international graduate population, comprising approximately 20% of the more than 9,000 graduate and professional students on campus. In GAPSA’s survey of international graduate students, a majority of students expressed feelings of alienation from the campus community as exemplified by Locust Walk, sentiments echoed by other segments of the graduate/professional community at GAPSA meetings and in less formal settings. The integration of graduate student living spaces on the Walk, as well as graduate-oriented events—coffeehouses, happy hours, film and lecture series—would benefit the entire community. By integrating the graduate/professional student community into Locust Walk, diversity and community atmosphere can be markedly improved for the entire campus community.

The creation of a hospitable and welcoming environment cannot be a function of programs and spaces alone. It must be accompanied by a commitment to civility, respect for others, and community if Locust Walk is truly to become the positive environment envisioned in President Hackney’s charge.

VIII. Behavior on Locust Walk

An important aspect of the charge given to the committee was the question of how to encourage student behavior on Locust Walk that would set an exemplary standard for the rest of the University. The urgency of this need was well-articulated in the Berg Report which described acts of harassment as well as activity ranging from violent to discomforting experienced by many members of the Penn community around fraternities, and by the Faust Report which identified Locust Walk as “the site of racial and sexual exclusivity, and, too often, verbal and physical harassment” for many “concerned students, staff, and faculty.” This linkage of misconduct, discomfort and the presence of fraternities on Locust Walk was considered a need to balance equality and responsibility to both the University and to the residents. Whether a faculty member, an administrator, a graduate fellow, a head resident or a resident advisor, these individuals were considered to have a role in the guidance of the students who are residents and to the University through the Office of the Vice Provost for University Life. No such system is seen to operate within fraternity residences.

This disparity in standards of accountability was discussed thoroughly by the committee, and there were clear arguments for the need for a more uniform policy across campus. While ideas on how to achieve more uniformity ranged from introducing faculty or graduate fellows into each fraternity or sorority house to complete independence of governance, there was strong support on the part of many committee members for live-in advisors and general agreement that training and supervision of chapter leaders, particularly presidents, along the lines of graduate fellows and resident advisors, would be desirable. The committee applauds those chapters who have introduced live-in advisors already, and believes such individuals, if they are well-trained and work closely with the University through the Office of Fraternity/Sorority Affairs, will be of benefit to individual chapters and will help to restore confidence in chapter behavior overall.

Another area of concern is the perceived disparity of standards regarding access to alcohol between the residential system and fraternity residences and the linkage between such access and resultant misconduct. Like other university policies, the alcohol policy should be uniformly enforced throughout campus with strong measures taken by the University and by nationals when chapters are found to violate policy.

If, in accordance with principles of collective responsibility, a fraternity violates University standards, the committee recommends that even if the fraternity owns its own house, the loss of recognition for a serious act of misconduct should be understood to mean the loss of the right to use the chapter house for fraternity purposes. Should
a chapter return to campus at some later time, it would be with the un-
derstanding that it would have the lowest priority for housing on Locust Walk or anywhere else.

The committee recognizes that many alumni view such sanctions as unfair punishment to undeserving alumni as well as to (perhaps) deserving students. One way to provide added insurance against such a contingency would be for local alumni chapters to ensure strong, sustained and vigilant involvement with their undergraduate chapters in order to provide the kind of assistance, wisdom, advice and rolemodeling that will prevent future misconduct.

The committee believes that the issue of conduct on Locust Walk will only be addressed by increased accountability of fraternity chapters, increased involvement of alumni in those chapters, and a clear understanding by all concerned that University rules apply, that the University judicial system can be trusted to enforce those rules, and that failure to comply with appropriate conduct standards will result in sanctions.

X. Achieving More Variegated Student Culture on Locust Walk

The committee’s vision of the Locust Walk of the future is a vision of inclusion, where the Walk is defined not by who is on it or who owns space, but rather by the manner in which the residents and functions of Locust Walk reflect the community of the University of Pennsylvania.

The committee has come to believe that the diversification of Locust Walk is a process, not a product. Perspectives on what constitutes diversity will change over the years as the composition of the University community changes; indeed, it is the process of change itself that must be preserved so that, in decades to come, no single group will feel entrenched on Locust Walk, or in any area of the campus.

In the months in which it has been working, the committee received dozens of proposals and recommendations from individual students, faculty and student groups who wish to reside on Locust Walk or otherwise have their functions take place on the Walk. It also became clear that there were categories of students, notably women, minority students, graduate students, and non-Greek-affiliated students who have felt that their numbers were underrepresented or unrepresented on Locust Walk and who therefore felt left out of the center of activity on campus. Many of the proposals received by the committee were worthy of support and the committee recommends that they be kept on file in the Office of the Vice Provost for University Life to be drawn upon as appropriate sites become available.

We recommend that, as sites become available, decisions about who will occupy them be made in consultation with an appropriate group of students, faculty and staff so that the evolution of Locust Walk is in keeping with a participatory process.

The committee also discussed more innovative types of group living arrangements, such as cooperative housing, which might be more attractive to graduate students and/or upperclassmen and upperclasswomen. Although such models are different from currently supported residential models, the committee recommends that they be explored more fully in response to student needs.

Apropos of diversity within the Greek system, the committee notes with approval efforts by fraternity chapters to have their membership become more representative of the University at large, and it notes with interest the efforts of some national organizations to develop co-educational models.

Over the next decade, the committee believes that, within the limits of its charge, change on Locust Walk can best be addressed physically by the addition of new residential spaces, and in some cases, the conversion of existing spaces; programmatically by the addition and increased usage of social spaces; and behaviorally, by a series of steps taken to increase accountability for conduct by the existing residents of fraternities along the Walk. In the long run, committee members would like to see the University move towards implementing its ideal vision in a process of evolution which will ultimately produce a balance more truly representative of Penn’s pluralistic community.

XI. Timetable

The changes recommended in this report can be divided into short-term (one to two years), mid-range (three to five years) and long-term (five to ten years) prospects.

In the short-term category, the committee views the potential physical conversion of 3609-11 Locust Walk, 3914 Locust Walk, and 3905 Spruce Street and its adjacent Carriage House to residential use or to other use consistent with the objectives of this report. The programmatic and behavioral recommendations can also be implemented over the short term, particularly if they do not require the physical conversion of existing facilities. A Logan Hall cafe would most likely be a short to midrange possibility, linked to the reconstructive work to be done on that building.

Much of the new residential construction recommended in this report falls within the mid- to long-range category, with the Bookstore site and potential Superblock Hi-rise conversion occurring after the completion of the Campus Center; the replanning of Superblock is more likely to be a long-range prospect.

Change on Locust Walk, accomplished over the short and long term, will define the University of Pennsylvania of the 21st century. It is the committee’s hope, remembering the words of one alumnus, that such a Locust Walk will be “a living organism that moves, shapes itself, and is flexible”—in its adaptation, mirroring the changing community of the University.

Addendum to the Report by the GAPSA Subcommittee on Locust Walk

June 1991

Formation of GAPSA Subcommittee on Locust Walk

The GAPSA Subcommittee on Locust Walk was formed in response to the lack of representation of graduate/professional students on the Committee to Diversify Locust Walk. While graduate/professional students comprise approximately half of the student population at Penn, they are a much less visible presence on campus than the undergraduate population. Accordingly, only one graduate/professional student, the chair of GAPSA, was appointed to the Committee. Although GAPSA is a representative organization, a single person cannot easily or thoroughly represent the diversity of views and needs within a community of ten thousand people. The presence of seven undergraduates on the committee, only one of which was drawn directly from student government, demonstrates this same principle.

Graduate Student Life

All too often, graduate student ‘student life’ is taken for granted, and relegated to the margins of the University community. The campus life of the University, centered around Locust Walk, is geared toward undergraduates. Penn can be an unfriendly and at times hostile environment to those members of the University community who are not part of its undergraduate sub-culture. The lives of graduate/professional students, however—like those of the staff, faculty and international students who share this problem of disenfranchisement from Locust Walk—are equally as focused on the University and the activities of campus. Many of us have moved to the University from other states or countries, and look to the University to provide a sense of community, to counter the common lack of a stable or strongly-developed home life. Graduate/professional students care about Locust Walk as one of the central environments of the Penn campus. Our existence is central to the vitality of Locust Walk, and we believe that concern Locust Walk are issues that affect us. Improvements to the Walk, such as increasing the residential diversity and the safety of the Walk for all members of the University community, are improvements that will be of direct material benefit to the conditions of our lives as graduate/professional students.

Recommendations

A) Maintain and increase the academic uses of Locust Walk buildings. Diversifying the population that has access to the residences and academic facilities that line Locust Walk will improve and maintain the academic profile of campus. The University prides itself on a thriving and diverse intellectual community. The greater presence and visibility of graduate/professional students on Locust Walk will help provide Locust Walk with a more serious and diverse intellectual and academic atmosphere than it currently enjoys. While there are obvious
safety reasons for having residential buildings located in the center of campus, turning LocustWalk into “a premier residential walkway” is not necessarily in the interests of the graduate population. The majority of graduate/professional students have their primary identification through their school or department, and academic concerns inform most other aspects of their University life. The academic character of Locust Walk, at the heart of the University, should enable its secondary social and residential functions, and not the reverse.

B) Correct the present domination of Locust Walk by the undergraduate sub-culture. Currently, Locust Walk is dominated by a largely homogeneous and exclusive undergraduate sub-culture that disproportionately privileges the undergraduate experience. This contributes to the strong feelings of disenfranchisement or alienation that many graduate/professional students experience on the Penn campus. The current apportionment of Locust Walk buildings contributes greatly toward the maintenance of this disequilibrium. Until the University recognizes the need to provide social and programmatic space to graduate/professional students in the center of campus, it remains complicit in preventing the growth of a healthy and productive environment for its graduate population.

C) Improved community for international graduate/professional students. International graduate students are particularly invisible and silenced members of the Penn community. For this reason, GAPSA has included an international student representative as one of its elected voting members, and the needs of international students were an area of our particular concern. A survey written and implemented by the GAPSA ad-hoc committee on Locust Walk, and distributed in March through the Office of International Programs’ newsletter, provided the sub-committee with some concrete expressions of international graduate student opinion regarding Locust Walk. For example, 74% of respondents agreed that public informal meeting space in the center of campus is much needed. 53% could not say that they feel welcome on campus; 57% felt that there were no social events on campus that catered to their interests; 70% of the respondents said that more intellectual life on campus was desirable. Other responses showed a general alienation from, and distrust of, the Walk’s fraternity culture, as well as a corresponding lack of positive feelings of belonging on the Walk. The Office of International Programs is currently housed in an inadequate space in Bennett Hall, and cannot comfortably accommodate the number of students it serves. We feel that the creation of an international student center, in the center of campus, is both necessary and long overdue.

D) Formation of Graduate Student Center on or near Locust Walk. Several of the proposals for use of the Castle or equivalent facilities that were received by the committee to Diversify Locust Walk focused on the graduate/professional student community. The fragmentation of graduate/professional students into twelve separate schools, and the resulting strains upon the creation of an integrated graduate community, must be recognized and dealt with by the University administration. Because of the University’s focus on undergraduate residential and social needs, the importance of a central graduate space has been too long overlooked.

E) Creation of University sponsored community living options for graduate/professional students. Current residential options at Penn consist of either dormitory or fraternity living. Fraternities are a segregated and undergraduate institution, leaving conventional residences as the only on-campus living choice for graduate/professional students. Community living arrangements, particularly cooperative housing, should be established for graduate students (as well as for undergraduates). The establishment of cooperatives as options for group living is a viable way to integrate graduate student living onto Locust Walk.

Conclusion

Graduate and professional programs, and the students who populate them, are an essential component of the academic project of this University. The lack of a visible graduate student community on campus, as exemplified by the conditions of Locust Walk, must be addressed by the University administration. Until now, the University has allowed its graduate population to feel and to remain largely invisible. The very debate over diversification of Locust Walk focused as it is on fraternities and related undergraduate communities, is paradigmatic of the marginalization of graduate students within University dialogues on the campus community. A graduate student center, an international student center, and alternative living options at the heart of campus are necessary first steps that the University should take to address the absence of a strong and visible graduate/professional community.

Comment and Criticism by Committee Members

In a letter sent to the committee on June 17, four members of the committee—Dr. Adelaide Delluva, Ms. Duchess Harris, Ms. Anita Hsueh and Ms. Erica Strohl—indicated they were unable to sign the report “because we believe it will not ‘significantly alter the mix of student residences along Locust Walk’ nor will it be effective in accomplishing ‘our goal of a more variegated student culture in the middle of campus.’” Two these members sent more extensive comment, below and on the next page. Also on the next page, Bret Kinsella, a member of the committee who did sign the report, adds a statement, “Thoughts on the Committee and its Goals.”

Letter of Dissent by Adelaide M. Delluva June 27, 1991

I have written, in this dissenting opinion, my reasons for being unable to sign the report as it is. With much of the report I am in general agreement, in that while some of the recommendations may need strengthening, they at least point the way to further action. My view is that some of the planning could be better focused by appointing Ad Hoc committees to attack specific areas of concern, something which the parent committee, because of its unwieldy size, was not able to do—partly because of the large volume of recommendations for the disposition of the Castle; one scheme was selected as being desirable above all the others suggested, and an Ad Hoc committee was later formed to draft definite plans. This direction would seem to be productive, and a model for further action.

However, my reasons for my dissent center on my dissatisfaction with the charge which was given by President Hackney to the Committee at its first meeting in September, and that was, that no fraternity was to be moved. (thereby greatly reducing one degree of freedom). I personally have felt constrained by this during the course of the Committee deliberations. This, despite the fact that a Committee decision was made that Dr. Hackney’s charge was not meant to be a constraint, nevertheless the spectre of stricture was always there. Without that freedom of action, the ability of the Committee to set out a plan which it felt to be the most desirable was diminished. I do not believe that the presence of fraternities on Locust Walk, or even in the University community itself, adds any benefit. First, with the enjoiner that they not be moved, whatever the other plans for the Walk might be, an aura of elitism and immunity from standards set for the rest of the community is conferred. This is harmful. The fraternities perpetuate a social standard and a mode of behavior which is deplorable and which distresses me (and many others who are of like mind) greatly: patterns of uncontrolled harassment of others, (1) hurling of epithets on passersby—racial, sexual, and derogatory remarks concerning affectional preference, (2) utter disregard for the worth and rights of women, (3) flagrant disregard of the alcohol policy (I refer to a specific example of tubs of ice with cans of beer embedded, in front of a certain fraternity house and in full view of passersby on the Walk). (4) loudspeakers at full blast—a prime example of noise pollution—to the utter distraction of people in the School of Social Work, Wharton, and other nearby buildings. These instances all speak to what seems to be a calm assumption of privilege, a disregard of the rights of the rest of the community, and a deplorable lack of the elements of decent and civilized behavior.

I would recommend the removal of fraternities, not only from the Walk, but also from the University. Other institutions have already done so. However, this is the strongest recommendation I would make. Less drastic, perhaps, would be to remove from the Walk any fraternity which has shown serious infration of decent standards of behavior within the past three years.

Last of all, removal of fraternities from Locust Walk, and relocating them somewhere else, in facilities (in good condition) provided by the
Thoughts on the Committee and its Goals
by Bret D. Kinsella

I am concerned about the direction too many University committees have been following in recent years. It seems that for lack of a better scapegoat, fraternities have been targeted as the root to almost all of the problems that people perceive to exist on our campus. Things did not change with the committee on Locust Walk.

The President wanted to compose a committee that was to represent the many constituencies at Penn. Once assembled, these people were to pool their knowledge and recommend how to achieve a more variegated and inclusive model for Locust Walk residences. Unfortunately, the partisan make-up of the committee was decidedly anti-Greek and wished to go beyond the President’s charge and pass judgement on a system that they knew little about. Although much of the discussion was fruitful and will present current and future University planners with valuable ideas, I found it unfortunate that once again people felt compelled to play special-interest group politics.

This activity was not the exclusive domain of students. In fact several administrators and faculty threw their hat in the ring in order to carve up the Penn pie or take a pot-shot at the Greek system. Hopefully, the result of this report will be the creation of a more accepting campus populace that can put aside personal agendas in order to achieve inclusivity and understanding. With some luck and good programming, the finger pointing will be replaced by cooperation.

The President’s charge to the committee was thus: “What would it take to make Locust Walk one the country’s premiere residential walkways?”

First of all, Locust Walk already is one of the country’s premiere residential walkways. The dilemma is how to improve the artery to make it more inclusive of the entire student body without destroying some of the Walk’s most compelling qualities: its dynamism, history and tradition. To go beyond what currently exists is quite a challenge, but one that is necessary to confront. It will be beneficial to all associated with the University if more people who pass through the halls of Pennsylvania are instilled with a strong sense of belonging and ownership of both the central space and the University at large.

It is my sincere hope that we avoid generating divisions within the community and use this as an opportunity to facilitate interaction among different student, faculty and staff groups. These instances will serve to create the pluralistic environment that strives for the dissemination of differences, be they in knowledge, customs, or values.

Fraternities at Penn have a long and distinguished history. They have been successful at enhancing the education of thousands of undergraduates and have helped maintain and strengthen alumni interest in the University. To exclude such a resource would be divisive for the campus and a terrible blow to many who worked so hard to make Penn what it is today. Right now the University is in a transitional stage as it has been many time since its founding. Fraternities will be part of the change, facilitate it for the better and continue to benefit the university community in the future as it has done in the past.


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* In connection with construction financing, title to any of these buildings is vested in financing authorities. Several of the buildings sold as fraternity houses are subject to reversionary or quasi-reversionary interests or other agreements affecting title.