Staying Within the Ts:

Racialized Boundary and Language Production Processes among Temple University

Students and the White Supremacist Geographies of Urban University Place-Making

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Positionality Statement

Throughout the duration of my work, I contemplated deeply with my positionality as a white academic conducting research about a Black community transformed by generations of racialized movements of displacement, policing, and dispossession, and about students of an institution that has helped to create these conditions.

My whiteness cannot be divorced from the analytical conclusions that I draw in this report, as it forecasted the particular streams of information from which I collected as part of my primary data for two principal reasons. First, it likely made white interviewees more comfortable to employ racialized and classed language and concepts with me than they might around their BIPOC peers. On the other hand, my whiteness may have made BIPOC students along with Black community members with whom I spoke more hesitant to engage or share information with me, and justifiably so.

Academia has an extensive and ongoing history of knowledge and wealth exploitation of Black communities. Though I do not plan to make any money from this thesis, I plan to share this information by:
  a. Sending my work to local Resident Community Organizations who I have contacted throughout this work
  b. Sharing my work with staff members at the Temple IDEAL Office, who I have also reached out to during the research process
  c. Sending to interested students at Temple University and whoever would like it.

Clarification of Involvement with Temple University

This research was not funded or officially supported by Temple University in any capacity, and I as a researcher am not affiliated with the institution who absolutely no involvement in the course of my research.

While I received spontaneous guidance and auxiliary support from select Temple undergraduate professors and conducted several meetings with various Temple University staff members, I completed this research on behalf of my own intellectual curiosity and for the fulfillment of my thesis major requirements at Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges.

The research interviews that I conducted with Temple University students did not require approval from Temple University's Institutional Review Board (IRB), per communications with the office in June 2024.

Abstract

This combined ethnographic study and discourse analysis investigates the use of racialized boundary production language among a sample of 21 Temple University students in reference to the Black community adjacent to their campus that not only reflects structures of racialized surveillance, dispossession, and capital extraction that actively uproot North Philadelphia's Black communities but perpetuates them as well via the reification of borders predicated on university policing and displacement. Through an analytical framework based in Katherine McKittrick's (2006) *plantation analytic* and Margaret Ramirez's (2019) *borderlands analytic* along with additional literature of Black Geographies and Lee and Ahn's (2023) theorizations of "postracial" discursive mechanisms, this research demonstrates how these boundary productions enact active violences against Black North Philadelphians enabled by the university. At the intersection of linguistic anthropology, university gentrification, Black Geographic thought, and carceral geographies, this project provides insight into the role of boundary language among those with access to power in reconstructing white supremacist systems of power at an interpersonal, discursive level within shared spatial imaginaries often circulated among university students.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Butterfly

My first exposure to racialized university student boundary language occurred in 2023 in Baltimore, an Eastern seaboard city that, like Philadelphia, has witnessed massive structural upheavals of its Black and Brown urban communities as a result of carceral state violence and displacement (Sankofa, 2020). During March of that year, as part of my collegiate a cappella group's "spring break tour," we visited and spent the night with another group at Johns Hopkins University, a prestigious research institution located in the midst of a majority-Black community in a predominantly-Black city who have initiated numerous violent displacements of community residents through its history (Pietila, 2018). As the night was coming to a close, one of the Johns Hopkins group members, Adam, asked me if I had been to Baltimore before. When I told him that I had only passed through it but was eager to explore, he responded, "Well, whatever you do, stick within the butterfly."

Categorizing this language as a "general rule-of-thumb" for JHU students, he proceeded to explain that Baltimore's urban grid consists of several large diagonal and east-west avenues that all converge at the downtown located at the southern point of the city near the harbor. Johns Hopkins' campus, he explained, lies directly north of the city center along one of such avenues. "While you are here," he carefully explained, "you are safe if you stick within 'the butterfly,' either along one of the avenues or in the downtown. The areas in between, though, are crime-ridden and dangerous, and you really don't want to risk it." Naturally, I began to envision this spatialization of the city oriented around the prominent boulevards and downtown of which he spoke, the wings and body of "the butterfly" illuminating on my cognitive spatial map. Although my Baltimore knowledge remained rather sparse, I realized rather quickly that this spatial conceptualization fit like a mere puzzle piece with the only other map of Baltimore I could remember: that which showed the 1930s red-lining of the city as depicted in Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law*.

While I could immediately recognize that the JHU "butterfly" was blatantly rooted in anti-Blackness, it was this particular mental juxtaposition moment that showed me that racialized language uses like this do not emerge from a void. Rather, they are direct products of white supremacist structures of disinvestment, displacement, and policing that operate via the establishment and reification of firm symbolic spatialized borders. Additionally, I began to wonder about the particularities of a circulated language use such as this within a rather insular university student community and the very clear lived histories of structural violence on which it rests in order to fundamentally influence students' spatial perceptions of Black urban space. While my group and I departed from Baltimore the next morning, I spent the rest of the trip ruminating about this one language use, and after returning from the tour, I shifted my attention toward Temple University, an institution who I knew had similar histories of violent

displacement to Johns Hopkins. It was soon after that I discovered students' nearly-identical circulations of boundary production language that served as the basis of my senior research.

As part of this thesis, I hope to take you as the reader along in the deconstruction of this language, demonstrating the inextricable legacies of carceral and dispossessive violence that live in language as ostensibly simple as "we don't go north of Diamond Street" and the systemic harms that it both exacerbates and perpetuates. Above all, boundary demarcations by those with access to power in reference to neighborhoods in the midst of mass dispossession and extraction is never neutral nor haphazard. In this work, I hope to show how this language actively endorses and perpetuates lived realities of violence against Black, Brown, and racially-Othered bodies through a profound examination of its manifestations among students at Temple University, in an attempt to illustrate on a broader level, the racialized structures of capital power that permeate hegemonic spatial conceptions of Black and Brown bodies, lives, and communities.

1.2 North Central Philadelphia

North Central Philadelphia (or "North Central" for short), while difficult to define, is an urban region that generally describes the predominantly-Black working- and middle-class (Hyatt, 2010) communities of Cecil B. Moore, Yorktown, Hartranft, and others that happen to surrounding Temple University (Ogorodnikov, V.). Although demarcations of this area remain nebulous, I use this term throughout this paper to make reference to the neighborhoods that have remained in the sphere of influence of the university and whose communities and social and physical infrastructure have undergone significant change as a result. The Black communities of North Central Philadelphia possess rich and cherished traditions, familial lineages, and histories of organizing (interview with Christine Brown, July 11th, 2024). Multiple different active RCOs (Resident-Community Organizations) in North Central have helped to social activity in the neighborhood through annual festivals and community events, including Beech Interplex, Inc. which has been one of the largest property investors in the area over the last half-century (interview with Christine Brown, July 11th, 2024). Unfortunately, North Central Philadelphia and its longtime Black residents have long been victim to both federal and city policies and the capitalist extractions of private actors that have fundamentally altered their communities and exacerbated racialized systemic inequities (Hyatt, 2010). Successive and intentional movements of red-lining, de-industrialization, capital flight and resource disinvestment, urban renewal initiated by both the city and the university, over-policing, and recent tides of gentrification (Hyatt, 2010) have led to displacement, conditions of infrastructural decay, and under-funded public resources. Although greatly impacted by these consecutive and destructive systemic upheavals, the communities of North Central continue to persist. As one community activist in Yorktown responded to a Temple University student interviewee as part of Professor Susan Brin Hyatt's semester project when asked about the "death of North Central Philadelphia,"

What death are you talking about? Where does the death come in because we were here all along. ... Death to me makes me think of a barren, blighted empty street where no one lives (Hyatt, 2010).

I find it important to foreground the active community spirit and rich historical legacies that North Central Philadelphia continues to hold before discussion of the university in any respect.

1.3 Temple University: Overview and Basic History of Displacement

Temple University is a public research university located in the midst of North Central Philadelphia (*Temple University: About*), the majority of main campus facilities between North Diamond Street, West Oxford Street, North 16th Street, and the train tracks of the SEPTA (Southeastern Pennsylvania Regional Transit Authority) Regional Rail lines, as pictured on the campus map in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Temple's depiction of the campus map (*Temple University: Maps and Directions)*

With a wide array of undergraduate and graduate offerings including film and media studies, business, and education, among others; the institution boasts a racially diverse student body of roughly 40,000 and is ranked as a "top-tier research institution" (*Temple University: About*). Founded in 1884 by pastor Russell Conwell in a once-rural region of the city as a night school for local factory workers (Hyatt, 2010), the university slowly began to expand its offerings, with its predominantly-commuter student body traveling from across the city to enroll in courses (Keefer, 2013). Up until WWII, Temple lacked a formal "campus" and operated out of converted rowhouses and other adapted structures in North Central Philadelphia and housed few students out of space-related issues (Keefer, 2013).

Over the last seven decades, however, Temple has constructed dozens of new university facilities via the predatory acquisition and demolition of its surrounding Black communities, actively expanding the physical boundaries of its campus, displacing thousands of residents, and exacerbating systemic inequities initiated by state actors (Hyatt, 2010). To facilitate these

displacements, the university has rapidly grown their robust police force, which actively surveils and profiles both Black community residents and de-housed individuals on the main campus and in their patrol zone (interview with "Jonathan," Jared Saef, November 4th, 2024, Zoom). This rapid proliferation of Temple facility construction and policing mechanisms, accompanying the university's augmented recruitment of out-of-region students, ushered in a massive and ongoing wave of gentrification and speculative real estate investment that continues to displace longtime residents (Nonnemaker et al., 2024) and embolden the university's growing place-making power over North Central.

In response to the university's initiatives of encroachment, Black residents of North Central have repeatedly organized over the years against the university to thwart their attempts to displace their communities. As Cecil B. Moore himself informed the Temple News in a 1964 article, the university lacked any tangible involvement with the community, only "knocked down some buildings," and was obligated to engage with neighbors substantively (Miller, 1964 in Keefer, 2013). However, the university continually ignored requests like that of Moore and other neighbors through the 1960s, unveiling even greater campus expansion plans than the decade previous that entailed the destruction of hundreds more housing units (Keefer, 2013).

In response in 1969, community members organized to form CURE (Citizens' Urban Renewal Exchange) and sat in meetings with Temple University officials for a year to negotiate plans as part of the famed North Philadelphia Charrette (Hyatt, 2010). Eventually, the two parties came to an agreement that the institution would not expand west of North Broad Street without neighbors' consent and would allow residents access to university facilities, among other matters (Bear, 1990, 40-41 and Moore, 2005, 8 in Hyatt, 2010). The university would later violate these agreements, demolishing the Monument Cemetery west of Broad Street to construct sports fields.

However, community organizing stifled the university's immediate encroachment efforts and expansion of borders. Later, in the 1990s, community organizers assembled to protest Temple's construction of the Liacouras Center on North Broad Street, a project that not only violated the 1969 Charrette agreements but also signified the demise of North Central's Black Arts District; unfortunately, efforts were unsuccessful (Hyatt, 2010; Schrider, 2023). In 2018, however, in response to the university's plans for a football stadium in Cecil B. Moore, community residents organized once again to form the Stadium Stompers, partnering with Temple students and faculty to hold public protests advocating against a massive development that would exacerbate inequities and displacement (McGoldrick, 2017). These organizing efforts were successful, as the university seemingly ditched the plans. In relaying this history -- even though it does not bear direct relevance to Temple students' language use -- I seek to illustrate that Black community residents have never been passive agents in the face of university displacement, and these resistance movements are visible in the urban space through the current "main campus borders" that residents prevented from further extensions.

1.4 Temple Students' Racialized Language Uses

On both social media and in interpersonal contexts, many students at Temple University employ and circulate racialized language and tropes about the Black community in which their campus is situated, primarily related anti-Black notions of criminality and stigmatization of infrastructural disinvestment; see Appendix A for examples of various Temple students' TikToks uploaded to community-based Instagram account "@gotoacollegeTemple." This language use has even reached city headlines, after a white Temple student went viral for a TikTok video in which he called the university's surrounding neighborhood "the ghetto," sparking outrage (Orso, 2019). It was specifically through discovering social media posts like these in April 2022 while writing a research paper about the gentrification of Cecil B. Moore that I was made aware of this phenomenon and became curious to further explore its origins.

The formal impetus for this research, however, emerged after conducting informal "fieldwork" interviews with Temple University students at a gathering in March 2023 that exposed me firsthand to the multitude of interconnected systems of structural oppression palpable in this language, an element I had not been able to fully experience before solely seeing posts online. Speaking in total to around ten predominantly white male and female upperclassmen, I approached these interviews as casual conversations inquiring about students' experience at the school, weaving in questions, symbols, and cues that I knew would trigger them to express racialized conceptions of their neighborhood. It is through this initial work that I came face-to-face with students' consistent demarcations of street boundaries and the discursive methods by which they are produced, numerous students repeating to me their avoidance of West Diamond and North 19th Streets. Additionally, I learned of students' consistent use of the Citizen app, sensationalized news reports, and institutional communications regarding crime reports that critically shaped their engagement with North Central (self, 2023). Carrying out this work invigorated my passion for pursuing a thesis on this topic, as I became fascinated by the palpably inextricable entanglements between oppressive structures of policing, ongoing movements of racialized displacement, racialized narratives of Black urban space, and these white students' "bordered" cognitive spatial conceptions of Temple's surrounding communities.

In December of 2023, I explored the online use of racialized and classed language among American college students more broadly in a project for a Swarthmore College Sociolinguistics class with fellow Haverford linguistics student Max Champlin. As part of our project, we conducted a sociolinguistic analysis of students' language uses within the Reddit forums for three different universities which included Temple University, University of Pennsylvania, and University of California at Berkeley, inventorying language via the use of spreadsheets to classify tokens as invoking narratives of class-based or racial hierarchy or both. Out of all the three schools, we found, the language of Temple students was the most specific and consistent in its overt and racialized demarcation of street boundaries, accompanied by rather overt racialized spatial language regarding surrounding Black communities. This insightful exploration, in addition to my informal fieldwork, served as the critical impulsion to design the research study that I detail in the subsection below.

1.5 Literature Review and Research Questions

While I sought to initially direct the focus of my research on Temple University students' general use of racialized language vis-à-vis North Central Philadelphia, which included language of racialized borders ("we don't go north of Diamond Street") but also employments of racialized descriptors of Black urban spaces ("sketchy," or "ghetto" as common examples) and Black people ("crazies" or "thugs"), I quickly realized that the discursive production of boundaries held paramount importance, as their cognitive parsing of Black urban space along lines trailblazed by racialized movements of policing and displacement and within frameworks entrenched in chattel slavery and colonial capital extraction not only underpinned the use of the former two categories but represented ongoing and expanding structures of carceral and dispossessive violence against North Philadelphia's Black communities.

In more simpler terms: students' demarcation of a border is not haphazard, instead born directly out of violent state and university movements of policing, displacement, and capital extraction that employed similar boundaries (red-lining, urban renewal, gentrification). These boundaries are racialized (relating to the concept of "racialization" pointing to the social construction and reification of race), providing important frameworks for defining belonging, exclusion, and orders of violence both within and outside of them. And finally, they are discursively produced, circulated and disseminated among student social groups and forums, constructing lucid shared spatial conceptions of Black urban space defined by university-driven capital extraction and surveillance.

Scholars of Black Geographies, LatinX Geographies, along with what Cedric Robinson calls the "Black Radical Tradition" have long centered the inextricability of colonial and enslavement-era spatial practices and the perpetuation of globalized racial capitalism as fundamental to continual destructions of Black and Brown forms of place via violent displacement and policing (see McKittrick, 2006; Wilderson, 2010; Bledsoe and Wright, 2018; and Hawthorne, 2019), specifically in relation to gentrification as an inherently violent "bordering process" (see Ramirez, 2019). Specifically, as university-driven gentrification has proliferated in the American urban landscape over the past three decades, extensive literature has emerged not only in relation to the mechanisms of power that the process tends to exploit but also in relation to its implicit entanglement with institutions' adoption of neoliberal economic frameworks (see Etienne, 2012; Ehlenz, 2017; Baldwin, 2021).

In relation to discussions of boundaries as a linguistic mechanic, detailed and recent sociological literature explores the about the production of symbolic boundaries materialized via physical/spatial demarcations on a locally urban or neighborhood level (see Jalili, 2022; Neves, 2023), particularly in the context of areas undergoing gentrification (see Anderson, 1990; Hwang, 2015; and Lee and Ahn, 2023). Finally, developing research in the emergent field of "Student Geographies" explores and nuances the particularities of cognitive mapping and boundary productions among urban university students (see Yu et al., 2018) and as influenced by mechanisms of university police (see Sherman, 2022). However, there did not exist any literature that critically filled the gaps between these disciplines (although Yu et al. addressed the subject

on a surface level) that critically connected students' symbolic boundary productions (not only via streets but other methods of differentiation as well) as direct reflections and perpetuations of university capital accumulation projects and policing mechanisms greenlit by structural logics rooted in enslavement and anti-Blackness, which is where I view the crux of my research's importance.

I thus entered the research phase of my project using the questions below as critical guideposts to structure the direction of my work:

1. By what methods do Temple students demarcate boundaries to structure their cognitive mappings/perceptions of and engagement with the surrounding Black urban fabric of North Central Philadelphia? What overlaps of production methods occur, and why?
2. How is the production of these spatialized symbolic boundaries inherently reflective and generative of university policing structures and capital accumulation practices predicated on mechanisms of violence and displacement? Additionally, how do these boundaries work off of past anti-Black spatial restructurings that have inscribed themselves into the urban fabric?
3. How do these boundaries critically inform how Temple students perceive the Black urban space that surrounds their campus – both within and beyond their given demarcations – by spatializing racialized (dis)belonging?

With these questions in mind, I sought to design a holistic research study that would critically investigate and problematize these questions through multiple separate lenses, as detailed in the subsection below.

1.6 Project Design and Methodology

1.6.1 Student Interviews

The bulk of my data collection consisted of compensated, recorded, individual interviews with a range of Temple undergraduate students that I conducted between mid to late October of 2024. Consisting of a flexible question-and-answer period (typically lasting ~20-35 minutes) and a spatial mapping exercise via Google My Maps (~7-10 minutes), interviews revolved around a series of questions that aimed to prompt students to discuss their engagement with surrounding North Central Philadelphia as well as on campus, most often via the realms of surveillance, productions and circulations of bordering practices, and university ownership of space. Additional questions revolved around interactions with community residents (if at all) and students' knowledge of the institution's relationship with the neighborhood. Overall, I aimed to better understand how students perceive the space both *within* and *beyond* their boundary demarcations through the lenses of carceral geographies and university spatial ownership via capital extraction practices. The spatial mapping exercises aimed to more comprehensively unpack students' perception and engagement with surrounding Black urban space via neoliberal consumption and place-making practices. I first asked them to use Google Maps "pins" to locate

the spots in the neighborhood they frequent, and following, use the line-drawing function to demarcate a general zone that encompasses their typical engagement with the neighborhood.

I recruited student participants via a mix of both online and in-person methods between August and October of 2024. I began the process by distributing fliers (see Appendix B) with a vague description of my research and link to an interest form to individuals I approached at TempleFest, the university's annual student involvement fair, on Friday, August 23rd, 2024. I also sent virtual copies to various contacts, friends, and mutual connections at the institution. I also advertised via a paid advertisement on the Temple University News Instagram page and a visit to Professor Allison Hayes-Conroy's food studies course in mid-September. While at least half of my eventual interviewees learned about my research through the aforementioned methods, I recruited the majority of participants via tabling on Polett Walk, a prominent pedestrian thruway on campus, on the afternoon of Tuesday, October 15th, 2024.

In total, I interviewed 21 students of varying race and gender backgrounds as well as diverse representations of class year and places of upbringing (relatively). Table 1 below aggregates and presents this data.

Race	Hispanic/LatinX	Gender	Class Year:
Black: 19% Hispanic/LatinX: 4.8% White: 76.2%	No: 81% Yes: 19%	Man: 23.8% Non-Binary: 14.3% Woman: 52.4% Transmasculine: 4.8% Unlisted: 4.8%	2024: 9.1% 2025: 27.3% 2026: 4.5% 2027: 22.7% 2028: 31.8% Other: 4.5%

Table 1: Demographics of Student Participants

These demographic factors, along with substantial selection bias, fundamentally influenced the border production processes that I analyze as part of my research, with particularly large influence from the subject body's predominance of white students, women and other AFAB individuals, and rather substantial proportion of first-years (2028).

1.6.2 Additional Project Components

Beyond student interviews, I spoke with several longtime Black community residents and leaders in conversational, unrecorded formats between July and October of 2024 relating to the roots they have in their community and the changes they have witnessed as a result of gentrification and university development. In July, I spoke to Christine Brown of Beech Interplex Inc., a historic RCO located in the heart of Cecil B. Moore, and several middle-aged and elderly residents at a family Halloween event hosted by the United Neighbors Alliance Civic Association, another prominent RCO in the area. In November, also spoke to John (codename used), a North Philadelphia native now living in North Central, in a recorded format. Finally, two of the student interviewees were neighborhood residents, having grown up in Cecil B. Moore and currently attending Temple as part of the Cecil B. Moore Scholars program.

In addition, I spoke to several Temple staff members in unrecorded formats belonging to a host of different departments, including the Office of Community Affairs, the Temple University Police Department, the Student Conduct and Community Standards Office, and student staff members of Temple Student Government and Institutional Diversity, Equity, Access, and Leadership (IDEAL).

Beyond these conversations, I spent considerable time in North Central Philadelphia and on Temple's campus between April and October of 2024, attending both community and university events, visiting Temple University Libraries Special Collections, engaging in casual conversation with students and residents not accounted for above, and taking several observational walks and bike rides.

1.6.3 Discourse Analysis

To carry out a thorough discourse and linguistic analysis of students' boundary productions, I uploaded each student's interview transcript along with the notes I collected from resident and staff conversations to NVivo, a qualitative analysis coding software. I created several different categorizations or "codes" into which I classified excerpts of students' language, which served as the basis for my analysis and critical organizational tool to consolidate particular themes and linguistic patterns. While my initial codes consisted of rather broad umbrella topics, I broke them down over time into more fine-grained topics related to, for instance, employment of borders around SEPTA transit lines, mentions of safety mechanisms utilized while in the neighborhood, and perceptions of the university's surveillance mechanisms, among many others. Following, I assigned each student participant a codename that I utilized throughout the writing process. Underpinning my analysis was the theoretical base frameworks of McKittrick's (2011) plantation analytic and Ramirez's (2019) borderlands analytic that I employed to adequately contextualize students' boundary production usages, explained in the following subsection, and generate conclusions.

1.7 Base Analytical Framing

1.7.1 Black Geographies and The Plantation Analytic

A comprehensive understanding of non-local Temple University students' boundary production processes in North Central Philadelphia – a predominantly Black urban region whose geography remains fundamentally scarred by violent, racialized, state-sanctioned processes of dispossession, policing, and displacement – requires a theoretical grounding and framework that not only de-normalizes and scrutinizes the multidimensional and interconnected systems and logics of structural oppression, capital accumulation, and carcerality that have created such conditions but also centers the lived experiences of the communities experiencing such violence. It is precisely for these reasons that I have chosen to foreground my analysis in the field of Black Geographies (and tangentially LatinX Geographies), utilizing Katherine McKittrick's *plantation analytic* and Margaret Ramirez's *borderlands analytic* to foreground the inextricable linkage

between persistent logics of enslavement, the perpetuation of global capital, and the lived realities of North Central Philadelphia's Black communities in the analysis of Temple University students' boundary productions.

At a fundamental level, Black Geographies critically orients itself around the entanglements of systemic anti-Blackness, (settler) colonialism, racial capitalism, and patriarchy and their connections to the production and maintenance of space, place, and power (Hawthorne, 2019). By centralizing critical questions of anti-Blackness and racial capitalism in geo-spatial analysis, Black Geographies not only seeks to center voices and experiences systematically excluded from Western geographical inquiry but also elucidate the production of space within the framework of these oppressive systems (Hawthorne, 2019). As a whole, Black Geographies sheds light more broadly on the roots of contemporary spatial formulations and production practices in specific power relations more broadly (Massey, 2005, 64, 100–101 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018) in ways not only applicable to Black communities. As scholars in Black Geographies assert, white supremacy is a spatial practice, rebuking the notion that space is merely a blank canvas upon which colonialism, white supremacy, and (neo)colonialism occur. Rather, space both reflects and (re)produces racisms (Lipsitz, 2011 in Hawthorne, 2019).

While Black Geographies as an independent field only emerged within the last decade due to the work of Black intellectuals (Black women in particular), the fundamental spatial inquiries that it poses have remained central in numerous other fields concerning Black diasporic studies and Black thought for generations, as countless Black scholars have reimagined the complex spatialities of Black life contoured by oppression, displacement, and resistance (Hawthorne, 2019). As Katherine McKittrick penned in her seminal work *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle,* "black lives are necessarily geographic, but also struggle with discourses that erase and despatialize their sense of place" (McKittrick, 2006). Centrally, the field roots itself upon the works of scholars in what Cedric Robinson deems the Black Radical Tradition (Robinson, 2000), a school of political thought that, among other contributions, links systemic anti-Blackness to the maintenance of global capitalism. Black Geographies also draws on the works of numerous Black women scholars and activists in Black Feminist Theory along with Black Caribbean intellectual thought (Hawthorne, 2019).

As mentioned above, Black Geographies seeks to deconstruct the multidimensional structures of power and oppression that have shaped the socio-spatial landscape of Black and Afro-descendant communities and populations across the Americas, specifically within the context of enslavement-era "spatial logics," hegemonic modes of reasoning regarding one's spatial practices, and capital accumulation. Fundamental to this analysis is Black Geographies' concept of *Black a-spatiality*, an important analytical tool to reinterpret the continual destruction of Black place-making and communities as direct products of plantation economy logics of capital accumulation. As Willie Jamaal Wright and Adam Bledsoe write, chattel slavery – "the social, legal, and political reduction of Africans to the status of nonhumans" (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018) – brought about the caricature of "the Black," a subhuman creature without spatial capacity (Wilderson, 2010, 279 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018), naturally inhibited from

producing legitimate spatial expressions (Santos, 2021 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018). Therefore, as Black and Afro-descendant communities have created communities, settlements, and other forms of place across the Americas both during and following the (in-name-only) "abolition" of enslavement, dominant power structures and societies never granted them acknowledgement as "legitimate" place-making endeavors (Wynter, 1976, 81 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018), Black lives and communities rendered effectively "ungeographic" in hegemonic understandings of space (McKittrick, 2006, x in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018).

In this way, the assumed a-spatiality that once buttressed the system of chattel slavery has persisted, and, as scholars of Black Geographies demonstrate, continues to underpin the socio-spatial practices that reproduce global capital in the West (Robinson, 2000, 81, 200 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018). From the period of enslavement to the Great Migration to the present day, the geographic locations in which Black peoples have produced place and/or reside (whether that be Black neighborhoods in North Philadelphia or Marronage communities in Maryland) are understood as "unhallowed," illegitimately occupied, and "conceptually open" to the agendas of dominant spatial actors, serving capitalist purveyors' persistent need to find new *spaces* of accumulation (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018).

Connected with this logic is author Katherine McKittrick's *plantation analytic,* which ideologically centers the plantation as a significant geographic prototype that not only "housed and normalized (vis-a-vis enforced placelessness)" anti-Black violence in the Americas but also solidified a *plantation logic* that served as the harbinger of the "empirical decay and death of a very complex Black sense of place" (McKittrick, 2011 in Ramirez, 2019). In this way, the analytic connects the plantation's naturalization of anti-Black violence and dispossession with the ongoing destruction of Black place-making in the day present and urbicide, the "deliberate death of the city," through orientation around the continuations of plantation economy in modern processes of capital accumulation (Woods, 1998 in Ramirez, 2019) as well as centering Black geographies of place (Ramirez, 2019). In doing so, the analytic reveals the implicit inscriptions of value attached to Black place-making structures and communities and the complex relations of power and capital that create and transform them.

The plantation analytic and Black Geographies' concept of Black a-spatiality refutes the popular notion of a causal relationship between global capitalism and anti-Blackness (specifically that the former *brings about* the latter). Rather, anti-Blackness remains a "necessary precondition" for the expansionist principles underpinning capital accumulation, as it requires "empty" spaces open for appropriation, greenlit by the assumption of Black placelessness (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018). As Bledsoe and Wright (2018) elaborate, empowered purveyors of capitalism (city/state governments, property investment firms, etc.) most often look to Black communities, neighborhoods, and other place-making forms as spaces apt for expansion and "emerging modes of accumulation" as global capital changes form. These spaces remain "conceptually open" due to the continual assumption of Black a-spatiality and then physically *opened* via the violent removal of Black people (policing and the Prison-Industrial Complex) to make way for vast spatial manipulations (urban renewal, gentrification, etc.) (Bledsoe and

Wright, 2018). Not only are these inherent and state-sanctioned logics of violence explained by the plantation analytic, but they are necessary "constitutive factors of the modern world" that perpetuate the system of capitalism itself (Ferreira da Silva, 2017, 1 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018).

1.7.2 The Borderlands Analytic

Margaret Ramirez's *borderlands analytic* further problematizes cycles of state and capitalist purveyors' continual upheaval and destruction of Black communities for ongoing accumulative practices by theorizing the violent spatial manipulations involved in these processes (principally gentrification but extended here to urban renewal as well) as inherent "bordering practices" rested on carceral and dispositive violences against Black and Brown bodies. By drawing critical connections between the colonial border and those produced within gentrifying urban space, the borderlands analytic calls attention to the white supremacist and carceral geographies required to maintain both of them (Ramirez, 2019). It is for this reason that I find it so important to layer her analytic in order to not only de-neutralize and obfuscate sanitized notions of "gentrification" and "displacement" (Ramirez, 2019) to expose their implicit systemic harms, but also more adequately frame non-local Temple students' production of racialized borders as explicit acts of carceral and dispossessive violence against Black and Brown bodies.

Drawing from Chicana author's Gloria Anzaldúa's influential work *Borderlands/La Frontera* (discussed in more detail below)*,* Ramirez introduces the borderlands analytic in her study exploring racialized dispossession, policing, and gentrification of Black and LatinX communities in Oakland, California as a tool to conceptually reconstruct gentrification and urban redevelopment as "bordering practices" that create "structural and cultural exclusion in city space" (2019). Describing gentrifying cities like Oakland as "open wounds," Ramirez explains how a borderlands analytic can be applied to better grasp, nuance, and foreground the violent lived experiences evoked by capitalist extraction and redevelopment occurring within these cities are nuanced and foregrounded through utilizing a borderlands analytic to understand them (2019). It is precisely through this centralization of "visceral forms of violence against dispossessed peoples" that the analytic a) provides a spatial attention to the emergence and contestation of power relations in gentrifying spaces, and b) reframes and muddies processes of gentrification as not merely spatial redevelopment but "the psychic warfare and violent uprooting of entire communities" (Ramirez, 2019).

Ramirez discusses three principal lenses with which urban spaces undergoing "rapid capitalist extraction and racialized dispossession" can be understood (Ramirez, 2019). At the most basic level, Ramirez utilizes Anzaldua's conception of *the borderlands* as "vague and undetermined" defined by "the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary" to frame the space of the borderland as implicitly relational (Ramirez, 2019; Anzaldúa, 1987). While Anzaldúa's writing is concerned with (settler) colonial borders, Ramirez reapplies these ideas to urban borders produced "structurally, socially, and spatially in gentrifying cities" due to the carceral

logics that surveil and patrol both of these marginal spaces (Loyd, 2011 and Rodrıguez, 2008 in Ramirez, 2019). In doing so, these policing mechanisms make Black and Brown bodies hyper-visible and unwelcome within their own neighborhoods through racializing them as "illegal" and "criminal" (Ramirez, 2019). Moreover, the space of the borderland remains in a "constant state of transition," established by the "relational coexistence" of a city or neighborhood's "legitimate" versus "illegitimate" residents (Ramirez, 2019). Such a relationship dynamic, Ramirez argues, is implicit within a borderlands analytic and provides a spatial conceptualization of how these convoluted and violent interrelationships show up in the urban landscape (Ramirez, 2019).

Ramirez also incorporates Katherine McKittrick's plantation analytic in order to adequately apply the borderlands analytic to Oakland, where racialized policies of surveillance and dispossession have affected and transformed the city's Black and LatinX communities alike. By layering McKittrick's framework around the power structures that control capital value of urban space in relation to the presence of Black life and communities, Ramirez enhances the borderlands analytic by illustrating networks of dispossession tied to the plantation economy. As Ramirez writes,

> Having these lenses simultaneously fixed upon the city of Oakland reveals how the deep histories of racial capitalism and colonialism, rooted in the geographic sites of the plantation and the border, continue to shape the production of the city. These analytics require an attention to carceral geographies and racialized dispossession, and insist that the creative survival strategies of dispossessed peoples are also actively producing urban space. (Ramirez, 2019)

In doing so, Ramirez's analytic adds to previous theorizations of urban borderlands to illustrate a more comprehensive expression of the ways in which power is both constructed and experienced in urban space (2019).

1.7.3 The Plantation and Borderlands Analytics and North Central Philadelphia

Combining the two analytics outlined above produces an adequate framework to properly conceptualize the Black urban space of North Central Philadelphia (on which non-local Temple students produce and reify borders). Through foregrounding this framework that a) centers capital power relations in the production of modern spatial practices and the correlated a-spatial designation of Black peoples (Massey, 2005 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018) b) critically centers Black lived experiences and spatialities, and c) interprets urban spatial manipulations as inherent bordering processes, I aim to establish a proper lens to conceptualize the complex and multilayered spatial canvas of North Central Philadelphia's Black communities which Temple University continues to expropriate. By applying both of these analytics, I hope to:

a. Bring to light and situate the multitude of violent historical and ongoing spatial manipulations, executed by dominant state and university actors alike, that have

transformed and bordered this urban space and thus informed students' demarcations within plantation-era spatial logics of Black placelessness,

b. Deconstruct the university and state's violent policing of Black bodies in North Central as fundamental to and necessary for capital accumulation and university encroachment (and thus critical in the formation of student border processes), and

c. Critically connect these linguistic bordering processes with hegemonic university spatial imaginaries underpinned by capital accumulation and Black a-spatial logics.

As the following chapter will explore more in depth, violent localized manifestations of global capitalism and imperialism have fundamentally shaped the landscape of North Central Philadelphia and the Black communities who live within it, as dominant spatial actors have continually deemed Black Philadelphians a-spatial and their place-making practices illegitimate. Successive and coalescing spatial transformations, including deindustrialization, redlining, capital disinvestment, slum clearance and urban renewal, construction of university facilities, state and university policing and the school-to-prison pipeline, and gentrification (among others); have all rested on the violent dispossession and surveillance of Black bodies within these spaces and permanently inscribe themselves in the lived space of these communities.

In nearly all of these spatial transformations, Temple University has played a rather significant role as it continually attempts to conceptually and physically "open up" North Central Philadelphia via eminent domain, university surveillance, and predatory property acquisition strategies. Thus, in utilizing a framework informed by the plantation and borderlands analytics, I seek to expose and orient these active structural violences woven into the fabric of this urban space via successive bordering processes and their continual effect on Black residents' lived realities in order to construct a conceptual framework that inextricably and implicitly connects them – and their perpetuations of anti-Black violence in particular – with non-local students' border production methods.

1.8 Chapter Overview

This layout of this thesis attempts to gradually build a "Temple Bordering Framework" from the bottom up that comprehensively contextualizes students' language uses and properly foregrounds them within the existing spatial bordering processes that live and breathe in the urban space and their reproduction via linguistic symbolic border productions. This framework thus serves as a comprehensive set of spatial and linguistic conditions under which Temple students who employ this language operate.

The first background chapter, "Spatial Dimensions of the Temple Bordering Framework," utilizes plantation and borderlands analysis to properly deconstruct the multitude of state and university-driven spatial manipulations and processes of violence that have fundamentally instilled bordering processes in the Black urban space of North Central Philadelphia: Temple urban renewal projects of the 1950s, Temple-oriented gentrification (a.k.a "Temple-fication"), and the surveillance mechanisms of the Temple University Police

Department that all coalesce and collaborate to produce bordering processes of systemic exclusion that work to maintain institutional mechanisms of power, written into the very urban space on which Temple students attend school.

The second background chapter, "Linguistic Dimensions of the Temple Bordering Framework," again utilizes the plantation and borderlands analyses to discuss the production of symbolic boundaries – those which separate social groups, access to resources, and reify existent categorical divisions – specifically within their realm as power mechanisms when used by gentrifying residents in order to enact powerful and racialized markers of exclusion against the longtime Black and Brown populations through reliance on structures of policing and displacement. This theory is then paired with Lee and Ahn's (2023) discussion of "postracial discourses" and Yu et al.'s literature around student geographies to fully grasp the linguistic productions of bordering within a Temple-specific framework.

Following the completion of this framework, the thesis moves into discussion of border productions. However, equally important for understanding how Temple students conceptually produce the space of and beyond their *margins* in North Central Philadelphia is how they conceive of the spaces within or bounded *by* them in order to grasp what exactly their demarcations seek to contain and exclude. In the first empirical chapter, "The Violence of Spatial Ambiguities," I thoroughly review the mechanisms of violent capital accumulation and robust institutional policing structures underpinned by persistent logics of the plantation economy that lead students to generate rather ambiguous spatial conceptions of the Black urban fabric immediately adjacent to their campus in terms of its status "on" or "off" campus and the language they use to move between these rigid binaries. As I argue, students' conceptions of "campus space" is largely coextensive of that which their borders denote (thus erasing the Black community place-making structures within such space), the spatial notion of "the campus" itself inextricably entangled with the university's robust systems of anti-Black surveillance. Thus, I conclude, the space of the margins not only denotes the end of "campus" space but the removal of institutional policing structures from Black urban fabric which guide students' engagement with it to begin with. In this chapter, I analyze this ambiguity through three different mechanisms that I found triggered it to begin with: privately-operated, Temple student-catered apartment complexes near main campus facilities; otherwise institutionally-policed Black urban space; and Temple "T" banners and flags hanging from street poles in surrounding North Central. While the onset of ambiguity was not limited to these three formations/entities, I explore these ones in particular as rather pertinent driving forces.

After establishing this "internal" framework, my second empirical chapter, "Productions of the Boundary," brings to light students' varied methods of navigating the *margins*, or their productions of boundaries. I first further de-mystify the anti-Blackness of these border productions by demonstrating that they *specifically* refer to the Black and Brown urban space of North Philadelphia, as Temple students regularly cross their own borderlines to venture to other, whiter areas of the city. Following, I visualize the inextricable connections between students' demarcations and that of the Temple Police patrol zone (largely conceived of as "campus space"

as the previous chapter discusses) by overlaying it with those which students marked as part of the spatial mapping exercise. In my review of the "street demarcation" boundary production method, I show how students' unbalanced and overwhelming designations of northern and western boundaries in particular roots itself in direct legacies of segregation and racialized displacement. Meanwhile, my review of physical entities as boundary markers in the following sub-section splits itself into two sub-categories: those of "landmarks" and "repetitive symbols," each serving unique functions in how they lead students to conceptualize marginal space. In all, I argue, while boundary productions differ, the carceral and dispossessive violences that underpin each and every one of them remains identical. By spatializing (dis)belonging and perpetuating structures of anti-Black policing mechanisms, these boundaries enact active violences against North Central Philadelphia's Black communities.

2. Spatial Dimensions of The Temple Bordering Framework

2.1 Introduction

As iterated above, this chapter seeks to foreground three of the fundamental spatial transformations that have occurred in North Central Philadelphia over the past seven decades --- urban renewal, gentrification, and policing – in the lens of the plantation and borderlands analytics in order to properly situate them within ongoing cycles of capital accumulation facilitated by normalized anti-Black violence. Overall, this chapter seeks to illustrate how these spatial transformations serve as inherent bordering practices that emerge in students' linguistic productions.

2.2 Temple Urban Renewal via the Plantation and Borderlands Analysis

2.2.1 Plantation and Borderlands Analytics and Urban Spatial Manipulations

The plantation analytic and Black Geographers more broadly understand urban spatial manipulations over the last half-century that have significantly transformed Black communities such as capital disinvestment, urban renewal, and gentrification as neither individual, haphazard, or benign. Rather, these sovereign expressions of state power merely represent organizational and resource shifts, symptomatic of capital(ists)' new controls of state power, that demand new "spaces" of accumulation on the grounds of Black communities. All of these processes, of course, rest on the set assumption of Black a-spatiality and orders of state (police) violence against Black bodies solidified by the plantation logic (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018). These local manifestations of global capital reproduce and embolden colonial social spatial power relations that perpetuate enslavement-age logics of Black placemaking as unhallowed, threatening, and insidious (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018). It is for this reason that scholars Deborah Cowen and Nemoy Lewis analyze the idea of the "Black ghetto" within the framework of internal colonialism, asserting that gentrification, displacement, and policing are materializations of

colonial governance and imperial violence (Cowen and Lewis, 2016 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018).

The intentional and incentivized proliferation of deindustrialization, capital flight, and urban renewal decimated and dispersed urban Black communities across the country, leading to intentional resource drainage that greatly impacted land value, availability of stable economic opportunity, and community-based infrastructure, leading to what Frank Wilkerson labels the "deterritorialisation of Black space" (Wilkerson, 2003 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018), a condition necessary for new rounds in the accumulation of capital "vis-a-vis emerging political economic practices" (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018) such as later private development and gentrification, explored later in this chapter.

The borderlands analytic helps to elucidate the inherent violences and "bordering practices" of these spatial manifestations by bringing forth the carceral geographies and systems of racialized dispossession entrenched at the colonial border and reproduced via manipulations of the urban fabric (Ramirez, 2019). In applying these analytical lenses simultaneously, the intertwined histories of racialized capitalism and colonialism, "rooted in the geographic sites of the plantation and the border" reveal themselves as critical forces shaping the production of the city (Ramirez, 2019). Furthermore, the borderlands analytic, in centering the lived experiences of those experiencing racialized violence and dispossession, helps to muddy blanket terms such as "urban renewal" and "gentrification" and bring forward the psychological warfare and violent community upheaval necessary to carry them forward (Ramirez, 2019).

2.2.2 Federal Urban Renewal Programs and the University

Perhaps one of the most transformational spatial manipulations of North Central Philadelphia were Temple University's urban renewal projects of the 1950s that not only violently uprooted Black neighborhoods via massive displacement but also set in motion active bordering processes that persist in the urban fabric. The university's wide-scale demolition of Black urban space to construct a consolidated "campus" and new facilities not only rested on hegemonic plantation logics of Black placelessness but actively sought to separate the university from its surrounding Black communities on both a physical and symbolic level in order to accumulate greater capital in the postwar economy. The institutional bordering practices inscribed into the urban fabric via these displacement campaigns continue to violently separate Black residents from the campus space and inform students' discursive boundary productions, as will be discussed later.

Urban renewal began as a federal policy initiative in the 1950s with the passing of the Housing Act of 1949, seeking to address the vast scarcity of quality housing in disinvested urban communities (Daniels, 2020). As part of the legislation, municipalities were granted authority and money from the federal budget to use eminent domain, the forced government acquisition of private property, to seize blocks and neighborhoods designated as "slums" or "blight" for the objective of "redevelopment." Ten years later via the 1959 amendment, universities became authorized as well (Daniels, 2020), facilitated via the "Section 112 credits program" that offered

a two-to-one federal matching grant for urban renewal projects located on or adjacent to a university up to five years before the project's inception (Baldwin, 2021).

The terminology that underpinned this program ("blight" and "redevelopment" principally) remained amorphous (Teaford, 2000 in Hyatt, 2010) and racialized. As Davarian Baldwin discusses in his seminal work *In The Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, the "blight" designation – originating in the study of plant disease – was used to describe any perceived urban decay that could expand to turn adjacent "healthy" neighborhoods into slums (2021), an explicitly racialized categorization that was deemed necessary to determine of an area before its "renewal" and that disproportionately affected urban Black communities (Baldwin, 2021).

As a result, urban renewal vastly affected and dispersed Black communities in particular (Teaford, 2000 in Hyatt, 2010) across the country to make way for public housing developments, highways, hospitals, and other projects (Baldwin, 2021). Given that the prerequisite for the program's implementation rested on a spatial designation blatantly reproducing Black a-spatial logics, its unrelenting destruction of a "Black sense of place" situated itself in an extensive timeline of ordered violence against and displacement of Black bodies solidified at the plantation and entrenched at the colonial border (McKittrick, 2011 and Ramirez, 2019).

2.2.3 Temple Urban Renewal Projects, 1950s

Up until around the late 1940s, Temple University largely operated out of converted rowhouses and other purpose-built structures, occupying about four city blocks of North Central Philadelphia and rather integrated into the urban fabric (Keefer, 2013). Given its roots as a night school and its little space for dormitories, most students were commuters from various parts of Philadelphia (Keefer, 2013). Surrounding the school was a vibrant and densely-populated Black neighborhood (Keefer, 2013) which suffered from infrastructural disinvestment and overcrowded housing conditions as a result of successive tides of red-lining and real estate disinvestment, capital flight, and intentional federal policies to drain Black and Brown communities of financial resources (Kopituch, 1991 in Hyatt, 2010).

Perturbed by the conditions of their community and seeking vast changes to their institutional structure, Temple administrators in the 1950s sought to "modernize the campus" (Hilty, 2010 in Garton, 2020) via the intentional recruitment of suburban students and the construction of a material campus space to transition to a more residential university model (Garton, 2020). This latter effort implicitly entailed the destruction of their surrounding neighborhood, a reality of which administrators were keenly aware and anticipating. President Robert L. Johnson, for instance, illustrates the university's anxieties in a 1954 speech to the Newcomen Society.

> Move off Broad Street and you find yourself in the midst of what has been officially tagged the No. 1 slum area in Philadelphia. It backs up hard against the University buildings on the east side of Park Avenue. In an area of 65 square blocks North, East, and South of the University, 43,000 persons are living. That population measured against known available housing means 4.6 persons per room (Keefer, 2013).

As part of Temple's Master Site Plan of 1954 – intended to usher in the university's "golden age" (Keefer, 2013) — the City Planning Commission proposed a 38-acre campus plan that would cover the area between North Broad Street, North 12th Street, West Diamond Street and West Cecil B. Moore Avenue (Keefer, 2013), entailing the demolition of thousands of homes and businesses (Keefer, 2013). With buildings designed to face inward and remain shuttered to surrounding streets, Temple sought to erect firm borders to spatially and symbolically separate itself from its adjacent Black community (Keefer, 2013; Schrider, 2023). Still today, these "campus borders" remain as fundamental indicators of "campus" space, as discussed in later chapters.

With assistance from the Philadelphia City Council in granting the university power to seize the property of these designated "blight neighborhoods" via altered zoning ordinances, the university demolished entire swaths of Black urban fabric– hundreds of rowhouses, houses of worship, businesses, and schools (Keefer, 2013) – leaving open vast plains of land for construction of facilities completely inaccessible to those whom the university displaced (Keefer, 2013). As briefly mentioned in the previous paragraph, the campus' architects placed concerted effort into designing the facilities' architecture to resemble a fortress-like structure, with buildings facing their barren rears to the street and reserving their facades for the inner campus as well as setbacks that elevated buildings from the street level (Keefer, 2013). This design paradigm persists in Temple facilities' architecture today with the goal of "creating a wall against the neighborhood without actually erecting one" (Keefer, 2013)

According to Professor Jeannine Keefer, an estimated 8,000 residents fell victim to Temple's displacement campaigns; however, there does not exist any concrete population statistics from this time (Keefer, 2013). While only 320 families were able to rehouse themselves in the nearby Norris Home Public Housing project, it is very likely that a vast majority had to use the meager relocation funds they were provided to find housing in other areas of the city or leave entirely (Keefer, 2013). As mentioned earlier, Black residents tirelessly organized against Temple's successive encroachment attempts over the decades, and while the university would eventually violate or disavow the agreements it made to the community, it was specifically Black residents' (along with Black Temple students') tireless grassroots organizing that prevented the university's encroachment from exacerbating.

The plantation and borderlands analytics help us better understand Temple's urban renewal campaigns as inherently violent bordering processes that persist in the present moment and how these structural upheavals set conditions for future rounds of capital accumulation, displacement, and policing. Critically, the borderlands analytic highlights the active settler colonial logics at play through drawing fundamental connections between colonial and urban borders, specifically those utilized to construct and reify a spatially segregated fortress on the grounds of Black urban space. Meanwhile, Black Geographies and the plantation analytic work to disentangle the logics of Black placelessness and anti-Black violence that underpinned the institution of urban redevelopment to begin with.

Later on, this thesis will explore students' discussion of "on-campus" space and how they ambiguously perceive these boundaries. In doing so, it remains critical to foreground that a) the construction of the "main campus" works as a bordering process *in itself* that designates a complete separation and disavowal from the Black urban space around it through the systematic exclusion, policing, and displacement of Black residents, and that b) nearly *every* facility and facet of Temple's main campus required the demolition of homes, blocks, businesses, and parks. These two important reminders will help illustrate not only how Temple students perceive this space but also the mechanisms which the institution continues to weaponize to continue extractive rounds of capital accumulation in North Central. These structural violences live and breathe in the urban space, as Margaret Ramirez encourages us to think, and are mutually reinforced by the institution's robust systems of policing, as later sections will explore. Finally, a thorough overview of Temple's redevelopment initiatives in the 1950s helps to illuminate how the university directly worked to exacerbate conditions of infrastructural and resource disinvestment "deterritorializing" surrounding Black communities that not only laid the very groundwork for future movements of displacement by both the university and other capitalist purveyors later in time but for the very conditions that the university polices.

2.3 "Temple-fication" via the Plantation and Borderlands Analysis

As Bledsoe and Wright pen, as gentrification has emerged as a predominant capital accumulation strategy (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018), its purveyors – aided by the increasing disposal of policies and relations "that once inhibited the free flow of capital" – have looked to the financially-devalued spaces of Black communities, exacerbating conditions of systemic inequity through aggressive property acquisition and displacement. As a result, urban Black communities find themselves increasingly subject to the hands of the capital market, expropriations, and expulsions (Sassen, 2014 in Bledsoe and Wright, 2018). Furthermore, as Ramirez's borderlands analytic stipulates, urban spatial transformations like gentrification are "bordering processes" in themselves due to the dispossession and violence they inherently entail (Ramirez, 2019) in order to properly make way for ongoing rounds of capital accumulation.

Koontz (2021), in their study of gentrification of Cecil B. Moore, created a specific gentrification likelihood metric based on an aggregation of data from new construction and renovation permits, business licenses, and other information. They found the greatest levels of polarization exist on opposite sides of the neighborhood, with the eastern portion nearest the university most likely to experience property changes while the opposite is true regarding the western border. As Koontz writes, the analysis determined "with 99% confidence" that the majority of Cecil B. Moore east of N. 19th Street "had undergone intense gentrification," while the areas west of that avenue displaced a 99% cold spot confidence (Koontz, 2021). The most intriguing and relevant observation from this conclusion, though, is the significance of North 19th Street itself as a marker of this differentiation. Koontz even writes that as one approaches this central division point, the levels of hot/cold intensity become blurred.

2.4. Plantation and Borderlands Analysis of the Temple Surveillance Complex

2.4.1 Plantation and Borderlands Analytics and Policing

Making possible all of Temple's spatial manifestations is the presence and enforcement of the Temple and Philadelphia Police Departments, who employ racializing mechanisms of profiling and surveillance to disperse Black bodies to make way for ongoing rounds of capital accumulation and spatial manipulations. This subsection will apply a plantation and borderlands analytical analysis of policing structures' inextricable link to normalized anti-Blackness and processes of capital accumulation to explore the mechanisms and functionality of what I label the "Temple Surveillance Complex" (including the police department patrols, contracted private security officers, and other surveillance infrastructure).

As Black Geographies outlines, the robust and violent policing and surveillance practices of Black communities and state-sanctioned incarceration and murder of Black bodies within and beyond them are both a direct product of plantation logics and a critical expedient in cycles of capital accumulation. Foregrounding this analysis in its historical context, Simone Browne in *Dark Matters* traces the antecedents of surveillance technology to colonial practices exercised to circumscribe the movements and activities of colonized and enslaved peoples, demonstrating continuative understandings of Black placemaking as unlawful (Browne, 2015 in Hawthorne, 2019). As systems of global capital have evolved over lapses of time, so too have systems of surveillance and policing required to maintain them. In this way, the policing, incarceration, and murder of Black bodies and communities serves a key function in conceptually and physically opening Black spaces/communities up for capital appropriation by physically removing Black individuals from these spaces and cancelling Black placemaking agency within them (Bledsoe and Wright, 2018). Thus, systems of policing and surveillance serve as the barbaric enforcement arm of the capitalist state, whose very development rests on logics of Black spatiality as void, illicit, and dangerous born in enslavement.

As Ramirez discusses, carceral geographies and the policing of Black and Brown bodies are inherent in the bordering practices of gentrification and other urban spatial manipulations (Ramirez, 2019). Author Treva Ellison, in *The Strangeness of Progress and the Uncertainty of Blackness*, elucidates the notion of carceral geographies below,

> …the spatial network of the prison industrial complex, including the built environment, labor, capital, and human capacity, as well as knowledge, signs, symbols, images and representational forms and modes that are appropriated for domination and control (Ellison, 2016 in Ramirez, 2019).

Connecting the maintenance of these geographies with the naturalized logics of anti-Black violence explained by the plantation logic and the perpetuation of global capital, Ramirez critically reframes the police creation of "gang injunction zones" in Oakland's Black and Brown communities as explicit and violent displacement tactics to make room for incoming white gentry (2019). The creation of these zones, she explains, exacerbated the "borderland state of

Oakland" by producing and reifying spatial boundaries framed around the intimidation of local residents as part of a greater system of carcerality in the name of capital accumulation (Ramirez, 2019). While Oakland's Black and Brown communities have long fell victim to violent policing structures, this surveilled borderland becomes intensified "as capital's gaze draws near" and state-ordered mechanisms of violence subject Black and Brown communities to make space for new rounds of capital accumulation (Herrera, 2012 and Murch, 2010 in Ramirez, 2019), rooted in "the forms of dispossession that stem from the plantation and the border." This subsection specifically focuses on the development of university police departments, who work specifically as a rather explicit agent in the institution's ongoing participation in capital accumulation structures.

2.4.2 Campus Police as Explicit Facilitators of Displacement and Capital

The explosive growth of urban university police departments over the last half-century is explicitly and inextricably entangled with institutional displacement and encroachment initiatives, utilizing robust surveillance technology to traumatize, control, and displace Black and Brown residents to facilitate the institution's ability to acquire more spaces for ongoing rounds of capital accumulation. Baldwin's (2021) case study of the University of Chicago Police Department revealed the harrowing interconnectedness between the institution's encroachment efforts and the violent policing and control of Black residents living in Hyde Park, the majority-Black neighborhood in which the university is situated. Noting a significant shift at the turn of the 21st century in which university administrations reimagined the Black and Brown communities in which they are situated from dangerous to "potentially lucrative real estate," he connected University of Chicago's strong desires to construct a "university neighborhood" with their gradual extensions of police jurisdiction boundaries wherever there appeared a new university development, thus concluding that the institution's security have "have become the unfettered front line for extending an urbane campus lifestyle out into surrounding neighborhoods" (Baldwin, 2021). Following these boundary extensions, he explains, are increased real estate investment, retail, and museums (Baldwin, 2021), further measures that displace longtime Black residents and turn formerly neighborhood space into "university property" (Baldwin, 2021. Additionally, as Sherman (2022) explores, student and parent apprehensions regarding near-campus crime prompt universities to heavily invest in their own fully-sworn police forces to address neighborhood issues, thus facilitating capital investment in surrounding communities thereafter (Sherman, 2022) and other "neoliberal urban development strategies" (Sherman, 2022).

As fully trained police officers with arrest powers, training via police academies, and firearms (Sherman, 2022), university officers – like Western police more broadly – are notorious for their discrimination toward and violence against Black and Brown residents and BIPOC students (Baldwin, 2021). In Sherman's (2022) study, for instance, a Black student at one of the university campuses in which he conducted his case study informed him that he intentionally

wears university gear while in the majority-Black neighborhood surrounding his campus in order to avoid profiling.

Urban university police have a particularly important function in shaping students' cognitive mappings of their surrounding neighborhood, especially if the community is predominantly Black, as Sherman (2022) explores. Because many students are living away from home for the very first time, their mental maps remain amenable to "impressions and guidance from senior peers and authority figures," especially public performances of surveillance. As part of his analysis, Sherman worked in part with students of the Georgia Institute of Technology (or "Georgia Tech" for short) a predominantly white institution located in Home Park, a majority-Black neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia (Sherman, 2022) to grasp how the university's dissemination of crime watch notices via email influenced students' mental conceptions of their surrounding community. Overwhelmingly, he found that these emails were fundamental in shaping students' maps of both Home Park and the city as violent, despite some lacking knowledge about the community's exact location in relation to the campus (Sherman, 2022). In addition, he found that these emails contributed to students' self-confinement to the "campus bubble" due to fears of crime victimhood, thus contributing to these emails' overall affirmation of the majority-white student body's racialized fears of Home Park (Sherman, 2022). However, he notes, students' spatial conceptions may change as the university actively looks to encroach into its surrounding community.

2.4.3 The Temple Police and Temple Surveillance Complex

The Temple Police Department (TUPD) exhibits an incredibly robust set of enforcements and services that not only control the vicinity of North Central Philadelphia within the patrol zone but hold an incredibly important role in shaping students' cognitive mappings of both campus space and borders, as will be explored in later chapters. Additionally, their harassment toward longtime Black community members and de-housed individuals, specifically on campus, helps to strengthen the university's claims to ownership of space in the neighborhood (interview with "Jonathan," Jared Saef, November 4th, 2024, Zoom)..

The Temple University Police have a close and interconnected relationship with the Philadelphia Police Department (PPD), with whom they share surveillance footage and determine patrolling demarcations, described by Enoch McCoy, Captain of Patrol Operations as a "memorandum of understanding" (interview with Chief Enoch McCoy, Jared Saef, September 9th, 2024, Zoom). Specifically with regard to the Temple Police Patrol Zone (discussed below), the PPD allows Temple Police to "take the lead" within its jurisdiction, with the former working to ensure surveillance near Temple student developments near the peripheries of the zone. Additionally, as mentioned above, they allow each other access to security tapes from cameras within each other's districts, with the Temple Police even donating security cameras to PPD stations across the city (interview with Chief Enoch McCoy, Jared Saef).

The TUPD patrol zone delineates where they extend their services into the surrounding neighborhood, determined by the locations of student residences and regularly-frequented

establishments. The university must gain the state of Pennsylvania's approval of the zone every time in which it is updated, and state law requires that borders be no more than 500 yards from any Temple owned or operated structure (interview with Chief Enoch McCoy, Jared Saef). As will be explored later, the demarcations of the patrol zone play an incredibly important role in how students produce spatial boundaries in North Central. An image depicting the current TUPD patrol zone is shown in Figure 2 below.
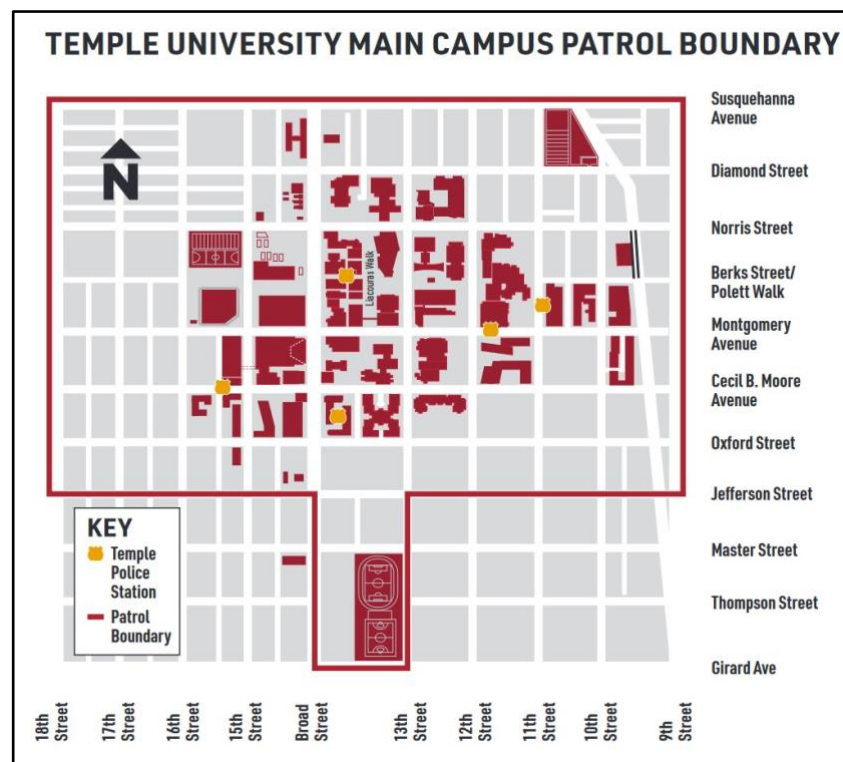
Figure 2: The Temple Police patrol zone ("Patrol Maps." Temple University Public Safety. https://safety.temple.edu/crime-reports/patrol-maps)

On campus and within the patrol zone, Temple Police offers a variety of services, which they claim are available to both students and community members, including automobile patrols, "Temple Flight" shuttle services, and other hotlines (interview with Enoch McCoy, Jared Saef). However, Christine Brown, director of Beech Interplex, Inc., a longtime local community organization, states that the TUPD does not advertise their services to residents (interview with Christine Brown, Jared Saef, July 11th, 2024, Philadelphia).

The Temple Police have a strong partnership with Allied Security, a third-party security corporation, who hires a few hundred contract officers to serve as the "eyes and ears" of the campus, in the words of McCoy (interview with Enoch McCoy, Jared Saef). Wearing bright yellow vests and patrolling the main campus and the patrol zone either on foot or on bike (often to carry out "park-and-walks), they do not have arresting powers but are instructed to their radio dispatch center of any suspicious activity (interview with Enoch McCoy, Jared Saef).

In addition to Temple Police and Allied Security, general systems of visible and invisible surveillance permeate the campus, including ground-floor building security, blue-light call posts frequently stationed across campus and the patrol zone, high-mounted security cameras, and ample LED lighting via on-campus light posts, so bright that "Temple can be seen from space" and holding the (possibly informal) record for the "most lit American college campus" (Temple University campus tour, April 7th, 2024, Philadelphia).

Spending considerable time on Temple's campus – walking on main thoroughfares, entering facilities, chatting with staff, parents, and students — helped me better understand how the Temple Policing Complex serves as a "road map" for non-local students' engagement with greater North Central Philadelphia and illustrated how the institution uses surveillance to impose on yet simultaneously separate from its surrounding Black communities.

While there, I encountered more security staff and equipment than I had ever witnessed on a college campus. Temple Police (along with the institution's other systems of surveillance) practically act as a mascot of the university itself, their personnel visible at virtually any campus location at all points of the day. Allied Security officers, dressed in bright yellow jackets, stroll Liacouras Walk and bike throughout the campus and its vicinity. Temple Police vehicles patrol Temple spaces and facilities and station themselves at various entry points. Beyond the main campus, security officers are stationed at each corner of intersections adjacent to Temple facilities (namely N. Broad St. and W. Montgomery Ave.). Even during mid-July, a period of relatively low student involvement on campus, symbols of the Temple Policing Complex loomed everywhere. This visible and robust array of surveillance reinforcement disseminates unambiguously direct messages regarding who is both invited into and excluded from these spaces. In this way, this technology helps to construct both physical and symbolic *borders* within the main campus itself that critically inform how students (non-local students in particular) engage with the Black neighborhood in which the university is situated and the street borders they may demarcate.

Beyond the surveillance on the campus' exterior, the entrance and ground floor of *every* single Temple facility that I entered – libraries, athletic facilities, campus centers, administrative offices, etc. – was manned by a team of Temple-affiliated security. Devoting attention to the security infrastructure design of these entrance points in particular proves to be of particular importance, as it speaks to how the university seeks to dictate and surveil public engagement *within* their spaces. While some officers (such as those in the Student Center and recreational halls) allowed me to breeze through without questioning, most required me to show a valid government ID and use a sign-in sheet. A select few facilities did not allow entrance to non-Temple students whatsoever.

Temple's employment of security and access restrictions for each facility in the Black neighborhood in which the university has encroached speaks volumes about how the institution continually seeks to exist independently from the Black residents who live within 10 minutes walking from these very places, barring them from accessing these resources.

Reviewing Temple's surveillance apparatuses helps better illustrate Temple Police's pervasive influence on student engagement with the neighborhood and demarcation of racialized boundaries. The Temple administration has taken enormous strides to ensure to upper-income families that they are a "safe" campus, evidenced by their militarist arsenal of surveillance equipment and personnel. In this way, students are conditioned to understand their own safety through the presence and availability of Temple-affiliated surveillance. Thus, in turn, criticality informs the street borders that students circulate as existing in direct connection to Temple Police patrol boundaries and other policy. In this way, applying the frameworks of the plantation and borderlands analytics, Temple's institutional policing serves a fundamental role in both institutional and student bordering practices, as will soon be explored.

3. The Language of The Temple Bordering Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to bridge numerous bodies of literature to construct how boundaries are discursively produced among Temple students. Beginning with symbolic boundary production in gentrifying spaces, the chapter brings in the borderlands analytic to further explain how these two academic literatures complement and extend one another. The discussion then transitions to a deconstruction of "postracial discourses" and relatively recent work in Student Geographies.

3.2 Symbolic Boundary Production in a Gentrifying Neighborhood

The linguistic production of social and symbolic boundaries within urban contexts has remained a fruitful topic of study among sociologists and urban theorists. As Frederik Barth writes in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, boundaries at a fundamental level are both social and symbolic constructions that define the world by spatializing "us" versus "them" (Barth, 1969 in Neves, 2023). As the lines that distinguish groups, spaces and objects (Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki 2015 in Neves, 2023), they provide a crucial framework within which identity is shaped and transformed and in the determination of in versus out-group dynamics (Newman, 2003 in Neves, 2023). In urban contexts in particular, boundaries remain deeply intertwined with identity processes vis-a-vis race/ethnicity, class, and gender (Jalili, 2022).

Scholars often classify boundaries into multiple major groups that readily intersect and inform one another, but while each categorization maintains their own unique qualities, *all* boundaries on a conceptual level remain in transit, continuously being constructed, resisted, and altered (Lamont and Molnár 2002 in Neves, 2023). In the context of boundary productions in urban neighborhoods undergoing rapid capital extraction and racialized displacement, however, the employment of *social and symbolic* boundaries predominates, overlaid with and informed by *spatial*. On a definitional level, sociologists Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár in "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences" differentiate between social and symbolic boundaries vis-à-vis their materiality (2002 in Neves, 2023). While social boundaries are tangible divides that have been "stabilized and materialized through social differences," symbolic boundaries are

conceptual distinctions employed to "compete and agree upon definitions of reality (Lamont and Molnár 2002 in Neves, 2023), which can be conveyed via cultural practices or patterns of likes and dislikes, for instance (Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki 2015 in Neves, 2023). Although conceptual and imaginative, symbolic boundaries are constructed based on "existing cultural, legal, and institutional elements in a society" (Alba, 2005 in Neves, 2023), including the built environment (Sibley 1995 and Dixon 2001 in Neves, 2023). In many cases, social and symbolic boundaries overlap, helping to maintain and rationalize the former (Lamont and Molnár 2002 in Neves, 2023).

Spatial boundaries, on the other hand, ostensibly appear to denote a rather straightforward concept: material or nonmaterial physical entities separating two realms (Verita, 2017) whether that be geographic lines, symbols, or other physical entities. However, as Rice University sociology professor Jaleh Jalili writes, spatial boundaries prove themselves to be rather amorphous and thus are "rarely used as an explicit dimension of analysis" (2022). This puzzle is rooted primarily in the conceptual fluidity of "space," as scholarly consensus about its distinction from "place" remains discordant (Gieryn, 2000 in Neves, 2023). By extension, Jalili continues, this same ambiguity applies to the notion of spatial boundaries:

> "Are they physical barriers? Or are they more than material demarcations? Do they separate two or more spaces (or places)? Or do they, in a sense, connect them? Are they permanent and material, or changing and conceptual, or all at the same time?" (2022).

Keeping these important conceptual queries in mind is crucial in order to grasp a conceptual framework that embraces spatial boundaries' inherent fluidity and applicability.

Within neighborhoods/areas undergoing rapid gentrification, examining the divergent methods by which original community members versus gentrifying residents demarcate boundaries remains a pertinent topic of study, as the latter's demarcations in particular represent predominant power relations vis-à-vis access to space and resources and determination of (un)belonging. The tumultuous conditions of the gentrifying neighborhood – an urban landscape rife with upheaval and state violence via the active dispossession, surveillance, and displacement of longtime residents – renders gentrifiers in desperate need of legitimating their presence by establishing (dis)belonging within the contested space and solidifying racialized and classed power relations vis-a-vis access to space and resources (Anderson, 1990). Thus, the production and dissemination of clear physical (spatial) and symbolic boundaries among the gentrifying class remains a primary method of achieving the aforementioned objectives, spatializing demarcations inextricably linked with racialized geographies of surveillance, displacement, and exclusion. Sociologist Elijah Anderson, for instance, in his 1990 case study of a gentrifying neighborhood in Chicago, demonstrated how gentrifiers' production and reification of a steadfast spatial boundary between their space and that of the adjacent working-class Black community was explicitly rooted in the objective of maintaining high property value (Anderson, 1990 in Jalili, 2022). In another example, Martin's (2008) research on Atlanta's gentrifying neighborhoods explored gentrifying residents' use of coded anti-Black language regarding apprehensions for their children as a means of self-separation from other residents deemed "illegitimate" (Martin, 2008 in Hwang, 2015). Thus, gentrifiers' spatial boundaries function as symbolic as well, as they serve as definitive demarcations of (dis)belonging (Jalili, 2022).

The mere act of boundary production in the gentrifying neighborhood, of course, is not limited to the settler class. Because the neighborhood serves as an often integral part of one's

identity, residents construct symbolic boundaries to spatialize notions of community and group membership (Lamont and Molnar 2002 in Hwang, 2015). However, the process by which these two groups reify neighborhood boundaries remains disparate, as gentrifiers' boundary productions are not only rooted in systemic violences but hold structural power in the distribution of resources, as their claims may be viewed with more legitimacy both by dominant state actors and the wider public (Centner, 2008 in Hwang, 2015).

Additionally, the spatial patterns of boundary production between longtime and gentrifying residents remain rather distinct and reflect disparities in power relations explained above. Hwang's (2015) study of cognitive mapping among residents of a gentrifying majority-Black neighborhood in South Philadelphia found that Black residents, regardless of socioeconomic class, delineated the space of their neighborhood as rather expansive and inclusive, utilizing a ubiquitous name and boundaries and tying in the neighborhood's Black cultural legacy. Meanwhile, longtime and newer white residents defined the same space as smaller, separate communities via the demarcation of rather obscure names and boundaries that largely revolved around the exclusion of areas perceived to be of lower socioeconomic status and contain higher rates of crime. Over time, the latter's compartmentalized conception of this neighborhood space became predominant while Black residents' more inclusive space was casted to the margins, demonstrating the inherent violent power relations at play in gentrifiers' production of racialized and classed boundaries.

3.3 Bridging the Borderlands Analytics and Symbolic Boundary Production

While literature regarding symbolic boundary production and Ramirez's borderlands analytic topically overlap, the latter extends to explain aspects that the former fails to, while the former provides greater detail on the production of the latter. For this reason, I found it salient to bridge them as part of this chapter to illustrate a more complete conceptualization of the complex layers of non-local Temple students' production of racialized boundaries in North Central Philadelphia.

While the literature regarding urban boundary production, particularly in that of gentrifying neighborhoods, has expounded on the complex overlay of power structures and inequitable resource access that gentrifier boundary production can implicate for original residents in a neighborhood undergoing capital extraction and dispossession, scholars of this field have consistently failed to a) contextualize these boundary productions within hegemonic perpetuations of racialized capital extraction and policing, and b) by extension of (a), comprehend the inherent generative structural violences of these boundary production processes. In essence, while scholars like Jacklyn Hwang, for instance, recognize that white/gentrifying residents' boundary demarcations in a Black South Philly neighborhood are a) explicitly racialized, and b) has led to Black spatial erasure, she does not frame these phenomena as explicitly violent arrangements inherently linked with racialized geographies of surveillance and displacement.

It is for the above reason that I find Ramirez's plantation analytic particularly useful, as it explicitly reconstitutes processes like gentrification as "bordering processes," state-ordered violences against Black and Brown people and communities, and centers these lived realities of violence in viewing the gentrifying city through the borderlands analytic. Through layering these two frameworks, gentrifiers' symbolic boundary productions can be more adequately nuanced as explicit perpetuations of state violence linked within broader carceral and racialized geographies. On the other hand, however, scholarly literature of urban boundary production provides a more

microscopic application of the borderlands analytic by reviewing fine-grained intersective complexities of symbolic and spatial boundaries, demonstrating from a sociological viewpoint how these boundaries are generated.

As the following two chapters will review, non-local students' production of racialized boundaries is inherently and inextricably entangled with the Temple University Police Department's patrol zone, itself a product of decades of ever-expanding university property dispossession and displacement of Black residents and gentrification of North Central Philadelphia. Resting on a complex network of carceral geographies, racialized capital extraction, and racialized institutional messaging; these boundary production methods require a model that is able to nuance and deconstruct the multiple power structures and violences packed into their foundation. This combinative model, which dissects boundary production from both individual and structural levels, is apt to tackle this rather daunting task.

3.4 Postracial Discourses

Lee and Ahn's (2023) discourse analysis of West Philadelphia gentrifiers' employment of "postracial practices" via posts on neighborhood social network Nextdoor in order to obfuscate anti-Black and settler ideologies serves as an analytical baseline for this research, as it not only roots these practices within the white supremacist geographies of the neighborhood itself but demonstrates the inextricable connection between settlers' production of boundaries via racializing language and policing technologies. In addition, this study helps nuance the notion of boundary production at a greater level by exploring how the process embeds itself within racialized/racializing language itself, even if not overly demarcating physical or spatial neighborhood borders, thus proving that the employment of coded anti-Black language in a gentrifying urban terrain produces boundaries in ways that remain equivalent to and/or accompany overt spatial demarcations.

As Lee and Ahn (2023) write, the neighborhood (in the Western spatial imaginary) has always remained contested space maintained via the inextricable connections between "land ownership and white supremacy, urban planning and carcerality." These embedded structural oppressions remain central to the "construction of the contemporary neighborhood," particularly through the production of boundaries and employment of violence (Lee and Ahn, 2023), which, while acknowledged as a direct product of dominant state actors and ideologies, have long been enacted and reified by individuals at an interpersonal and communal level as well (Lee and Ahn, 2023). As they explore, the capacity to enact racialized settler logics in the neighborhood terrain is immensely facilitated by the expansive growth of surveillance/policing technologies and hyper-local social media platforms, which construct a sociality grounded in scrutiny and apprehension vis-a-vis "external threats" (Lee and Ahn, 2023). Equipped with arsenals of visibility and these social networks, settlers are able to contour their neighborhood's physical space to "reinforce subjectivities and boundaries in ways that preserve settler ideologies" (Lee and Ahn, 2023).

The employment of "postracial discourses" remains central to the enforcement of these boundaries, an ideology defined by its implicit contradictions of "enshin[ing] racial hierarchies…as rational and normal at the same time that they condemn them" (Lee and Ahn, 2023). By rendering race as irrelevant in contemporary social and political life in order to obfuscate the white supremacist structures governing them, these discourses mark race by repudiating it, a method of "pars[ing] the truth of race as still a fundamental feature of the social order" (Gray, 2019, p. 25 in Lee and Ahn, 2023). Lee and Ahn grouped organized users' into

three principal themes, two of which revolved around users' shift away from "problematic but non-explicit racialized language" such as "thugs," for instance, to instead entrench their racialized ideologies in a) nostalgic narratives that shaped ideals like "safety" into exclusionary futures, and b) greater policy discourse (Lee and Ahn, 2023). The third categorization, in contrast, encapsulated users' consistent and unchanged reliance on surveillance technologies over time, despite other shifts in language denoting "racial identifiers and problematic signifiers" (Lee and Ahn, 2023.) Thus, postracial discourses reproduce themselves in order to normalize and entrench their embedded white supremacist ideologies within the spatiality of the neighborhood and constructions of community futures, filling the void left by clearly-defined and consistent racialized language.

As discussed earlier, policing technologies rest on Browne's concept of "racializing surveillance" (Browne, 2012 in Lee and Ahn, 2023), a system of state observation that reinforces "boundaries, borders, and bodies along racial lines" and exacerbates violence against Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples in order to perpetuate settler logics and colonial order (Browne, 2012, p. 16 in Lee and Ahn, 2023). Dominant state actors have long exploited racializing surveillance modes to demarcate space and construct neighborhoods rested on anti-Blackness and other anti-Other racisms, especially via the use of cartography to draw out boundaries and demarcate identities of belonging. By foregrounding the fundamental entanglement of racializing surveillance and perpetuation of settler ideologies, Nextdoor users' steadfast employment of policing language and technology, despite shifts in use of more overt racialized language, can be more adequately understood as a consistent boundary production process between themselves and longtime Black community members. Nextdoor users relied especially fervently on the use of home security cameras to capture alleged crimes or harms, operating as integral in the settler imaginary "truth" of Blackness and Black bodies as inherently dangerous and volatile (what Lee and Ahn describe as the "production of "race-based 'truths' around who was committing crimes in the neighborhood" while actively disqualifying their own roles in the construction of these realities (Burrows & Ellison, 2004 and Kurwa, 2019 in Lee and Ahn, 2023). In addition, by inextricably linking racializing surveillance practices and the maintenance of neighborhood safety, Nextdoor users concealed their anti-Black ideologies beneath this cover of community ideals (Lee and Ahn, 2023) and constructed neighborhood futures predicated on structural violence against and displacement of longtime Black residents.

The establishment and use of this postracial discursive framework serve a fundamental role in the analysis of Temple students' boundary production language, as it helps to elucidate students' boundary production methods and imaginations of safety as inherently and inextricably wound up in the institution's robust violent surveillance and policing of Black and other racially-Othered bodies. In addition, the framework helps to explain students' notable absence of racial identifiers in reference to Black North Philadelphia residents (particularly among but not exclusive to white interviewees) and more adequately deconstruct students' noticeable obscuration of anti-Black and Black a-spatial ideologies within sanitized and multilayered employment of racialized language, especially around descriptions of Black urban space, crime victimhood, and other acts of harm. All of these language uses coalesce to mark unnamed and named symbolic and spatial boundaries that serve as poignant linguistic manifestations of the institution's scope and expansion of carceral and extractive violence against and displacement of Black North Philadelphians, disguised under multiple layers of sterile settler logics.

3.5 Student Geographies

The particular ways in which the university has conditioned students' engagement or lack thereof within Black and/or Brown urban space is an important framework to layer atop existing bordering practices produced by continuing cycles of capital extraction, spatial manipulations, and racializing language. Yu et. al's (2018) cognitive mapping study investigating the spatial movement patterns of students at Rhodes College, a predominantly-white liberal arts college located in Memphis, Tennessee, a predominantly Black city, not only critically builds upon existing literature in the burgeoning field of Student Geographies but adds a comprehensively applicable lens of study to Temple students' bordering practices. Foregrounding their analysis is the notion that the neoliberal and consumerist transformation of the American university model has profoundly delineated the relationship between students and space both within and outside perceived campus bounds. The authors add onto Baldwin's (2021) analysis of neoliberal "UniverCities" by stipulating that urban campuses are "mini-communities" in which students occupy a certain section of urban space that set the groundwork for segregation (Yu et al., 2018). Additionally, the authors expound the non-local urban university student's unique relationship with their surrounding urban landscape, outlining that for one, the relationship is fleeting, as most students leave the vicinity of the university after graduating, but despite this, the study of such relationship is important given that this period remains an important aspect of their transition to adulthood, many living away from home for the very first time (Yu et al., 2018).

Critical in the application to this analysis is Rhodes College students' realms of engagement with the surrounding, predominantly Black urban space framed by neoliberal consumption practices. As the authors found, students, as part of cognitive mapping activities, primarily marked restaurants, grocery stores, malls, cinemas, and convenience stores in majority-white neighborhoods and areas as spaces with which they regularly engage (Yu et al., 2018). Meanwhile, the city's majority-Black neighborhoods were left either completely blank or marked as "bad neighborhoods" (Yu et al., 2018). Thus, students' participation in the urban fabric is not only framed by practices of consumption and entertainment but bordering practices that systematically avoid the city's expansive Black urban fabric.

Exploration of Rhodes College students' avoidance of Memphis' Black neighborhoods reveals anti-Black tropes relating to crime victimhood, directly correlating to the emergence of postracial language discussed earlier. When questioned about their lack of engagement with these areas, students primarily discussed safety concerns in relation to physical features characteristic of urban decay, which the authors root in racialized perceptions of crime and safety in relation to symbols such as these (Yu et al., 2018). Furthermore, the authors critically deconstructed the notion of fear (specifically of crime victimhood), labelling it a "differentiated experience between Us and Others" reified by social and cultural boundaries (Yu et al., 2018). Oftentimes, to combat such fear, students referred to circulated phrasings of "having common sense (of where not to venture)," which the study broke down by questioning who exactly defines such "common sense" that determines "safe" versus "unsafe" spaces (Yu et al., 2018) and how these racialized tropes become passed down through student circles. Largely, they find, this idea of "common sense" is constructed by sensationalized media and hearsay rather than students' direct experiences in Black and racially-Othered urban space (Yu et al., 2018).

Students' demarcation of boundaries in this study, largely as self-separation mechanisms from the Black neighborhoods to the north and south of the campus, prove incredibly important to place-making practices of the neoliberal university, especially the spatial production of "campus bubbles." The iron gates surrounding the campus, they find, are influential in students'

symbolic conception of the "campus bubble," as they serve as physical symbols of the college's separation from the urban fabric (Yu et al., 2018). Many students paradoxically interpreted these gates in the realm of safety, and the authors demonstrate how this understanding exacerbates racialized conceptions of crime (Yu et al., 2018) and steeped connections with Blackness. Additionally, students' excessive labelling of spaces within majority-white, consumptive areas of the city and seldom activity in Black neighborhoods further shows the tenacious grip to which students adhere to socially-constructed boundaries rested upon existing systemic inequities (Yu et al., 2018). The authors conclude by dispelling the notion that market globalization inherently creates connections and oppositely reinforce spatial segregation via the creation of "university bubbles" (Yu et al., 2018), especially institutions located in Black or other racially-Othered urban space.

4. The Violence of Spatial Ambiguities

4.1 Introduction

In order to understand Temple students' employment of racialized boundaries in North Central Philadelphia – in essence, how they conceive of "the margins" – it first remains necessary to deconstruct their understandings of the Black urban space *within* their boundaries – largely Temple's main campus and the blocks immediately adjacent to it within Temple Police's patrol zone – in relation to historical and ongoing structural violences that continue to surveil, dispossess, and displace Black residents and live within this contested urban fabric. In this section, I attempt to uncover the systems and processes that keep longtime Black residents *out* to understand exactly what Temple students' employment of borders seek to demarcate or achieve.

Temple University's successive violent and large-scale spatial manipulations of Cecil B. Moore and North Central Philadelphia over the past six decades could not have occurred without the racialized policing infrastructures of both the university and the city government that have intentionally produced bordering practices of inherent and rigid spatial segregation between the institution and the Black communities adjacent. Deeply rooted in plantation-enshrined logics of anti-Black violence and placelessness, these localized manifestations of global capital accumulation, particularly the ongoing gentrification of Cecil B. Moore, are "open wounds" (Ramirez, 2019) that live and breathe in the urban space, especially visible within Temple students' discursive productions of that space.

Increasingly, the university exerts an increasingly vicious and expansive power over the urban landscape in which it is situated. Similar to violent spatial manipulations of the past, this power is rooted in the institution's capacity to find new "spaces" of capital accumulation implicitly accompanied by violent geographies of anti-Black policing and displacement that make this process possible to begin with. As the "opening of these wounds" and the reification of bordering practices occurs in front of their very eyes, how does the language of Temple students – as individuals largely benefitting from these violent restructurings – reflect their conscious or unconscious perception of or participation in it?

Perhaps nowhere is this more salient than students' ambiguous and simultaneously carceral language they employ to describe the Black urban space immediately adjacent to the main campus that remains under the predominant spatial and policing power of the institution, specifically in distinguishing "campus" versus "off-campus" space, as the very notion of the "campus" in the student imaginary inherently entails policing, as I will show. As the borderlands analytic implores us to understand, the aforementioned violent spatial manipulations live in the urban fabric, and this chapter explores how it emerges via students' discursive production of "in-border" space and the carceral logics that underpin their spatial conceptions. Throughout interviews, I noticed the fluid categorizations of "on-campus" and "technically off-campus" emerge repeatedly for groups of spaces all definitively not owned by the university, and I organize students' designations into three categories:

    a. Privately-owned apartment complexes catering to Temple students
    b. Other surveilled spaces within the Patrol Zone
    c. Neighborhood spaces proximal to Temple "T" banners

In addition to its location on policed space, a space's designation as "technically off-campus" also must involve additional elements symptomatic of Temple's pernicious encroachment, explored below.

4.2 Private Temple Student-Catered Apartments

Littered throughout North Central Philadelphia (but especially closest to the main campus) are a staggering number of massive, modern, and highly-surveilled apartment complexes catering exclusively to upper-income Temple University students. The development of such complexes can be attributed as a direct result of gentrification that began in the early 2000s due to the university's increased recruitment of out-of-region students (Hyatt, 2010). Beyond steep annual rental costs, these apartments and the companies that manage them systematically bar longtime Black residents from existing in these spaces in any capacity other than a low-wage service employee via incredibly robust surveillance infrastructure and the omnipresent Temple University branding that characterizes many of them. It is thus unsurprising why so many student interviewees – especially those who are residents of these complexes – conceived of them as extensions of main campus boundaries, as they palpably mimic the racializing surveillance and systematic exclusion of Black residents that permeates Temple spaces.

In April of 2024, I toured several of these apartment complexes, posing as a student looking for summer leases (The View/Vantage, Temple University Villas, Temple Nest, The Avery). Each time, leasing agents were quick to highlight the security systems that guarded just about every entrance and exit to their complex; I specifically remember my tour guide at the Temple Nest informing me of 96 on-property security cameras. In this way, these private complexes work hand-in-hand to perpetuate racialized logics of anti-Black violence and

displacement initiated by the university and state actors. While many students (white students in particular but not exclusively) spoke of surveillance systems as measures that underpin their safety, the work of Browne (2015) and others informs us that these very systems rest on the control and displacement of Black bodies.

In general, students who ambiguously spatially categorized these spaces wavered between their placement "on" versus "technically/kind of off" campus, largely related to the facility's proximity to Temple. Ari *(Black/LatinX, female, junior)*, for instance, lives in an expansive and prominent Temple student-catered complex immediately adjacent to the main campus; their mistake in their categorization of this space is shown in the excerpt below.

Jared: And are you living on or off campus at the moment?

Ari: It's an off-campus apartment, but on-campus.

Jared: What do you mean by that?

Ari: It's not run by Temple, but it's like right in the-- it's on Temple's campus. (Interview with "Ari," Jared Saef, October 19th, 2024, Zoom)

Externally adorned with the university's burgundy color scheme, this particular complex (unnamed for confidentiality reasons) surreptitiously blends in with surrounding university facilities and infrastructure. These design choices, of course, were likely intentional in producing the conceptual amalgamation of these two entities within Ari's spatial imaginary. Similarly, Lauren *(white, female, junior)* expressed a similar ambiguity in relation to another notorious Temple student-catered complex a block east of the main campus, seen in the excerpt below.

Jared: And you live off campus right now?

Maddy: Yeah, like a block off campus. It's sort of off-campus but not really.

Jared: When you say "sort of off-campus," what do you mean?

Maddy: Well, the apartment I live in is all Temple students. And it's not technically affiliated with Temple, but it's "the" Temple apartment building. And we're also right across the street from the heating plant for Temple, so there's Temple employees around all the time and Temple trucks. (Interview with "Lauren," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia)

In these instances, these two spaces' proximity to Temple's main campus – while ostensibly a predominant factor in students' haphazard use of spatial ambiguity in reference to them – solely acts as background enforcement. Instead, the systematic exclusion of longtime Black residents via iniquitous rent prices and racialized surveillance mechanisms that both permeate these spaces and precondition their capacities to successfully market exclusively to upper-income, non-local

Temple students renders them main campus "extensions" within students' spatial conceptions, even if lacking contiguity with campus facilities. These extensions, of course, naturally bring about systemic harms. In essence, we must problematize the structural violences that have to have already occurred that foreground Lauren's description of her residence as "the" Temple apartment building.

An excerpt from my interview with Olivia (*white, female, senior*) below also demonstrates this phenomenon, in which I ask her to elaborate on her earlier use of "technically off-campus" to describe the same apartment complex that Lauren mentions above where she also resides. Here, Olivia juxtaposes the townhouse near N. 17th and W. Fontaine Streets in which she lived last year to illustrate this spatial distinction.

> Jared: When you use the words like "technically off-campus" for [redacted], I'm wondering what makes a place "technically" off-campus versus "off" off-campus?
>
> Olivia: I think just like where it's at…because off-campus housing to me is like living where I lived on Fontaine [Street]...And I think [redacted] is still "technically" off-campus because it's not through Temple, but…I feel way closer.
>
> Jared: I see. And I guess it also has to do with whether or not that facility is catered to students?
>
> Olivia: Yes, definitely. Because I would say I'm off campus now, but not as "off campus." That's why I wanted to clarify. I was off campus before. (Interview with "Olivia," Jared Saef, October 17th, 2024, Zoom)

Olivia's juxtaposition of the locations of her previous and current residence in relation to Temple's main campus via the employment of "off" is overwhelmingly entrenched not only in the "campus extensions" that these private, Temple student-catered apartments produce but also the robust systems of surveillance of Black bodies that the institution harnesses in the urban space immediately adjacent to the campus, a phenomenon further explored in the coming subsection. In reality, while both locations are within Temple Police's patrol zone, the space immediately east of the main campus receives more surveillance coverage (interview with "Danielle," Jared Saef, October 21st, 2024, Zoom) likely due to its higher concentration of Temple facilities, while the western half of campus where she lived previously houses far fewer university developments and is likely populated by a higher percentage of Black residents. This process, in turn, reproduces a warped spatiality of the neighborhood predicated on carceral geographies. Figure 3 below maps the individual walking distances between Olivia's previous and current residence in relation to the intersection of Polett and Liacouras Walk, a central point of the campus (interview with "Casey," Jared Saef, October 15th, 2024, Zoom).
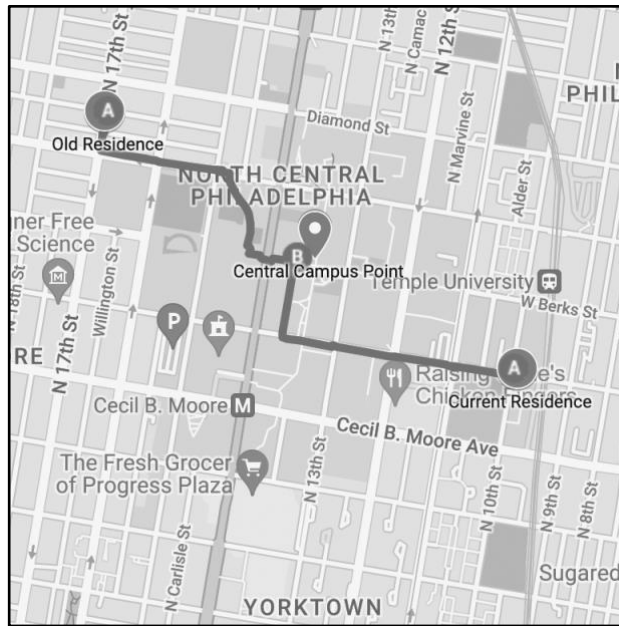
Figure 3: Google My Maps image showing the distances between Olivia's previous and current residence and a central point on Temple's main campus

According to Google Maps, both walks would take around 10 minutes. However, what exactly makes Olivia "feel" so much closer? To grasp this question, an incorporation of Penelope Eckert's (2010) nuance of linguistic spatial conception is critical. As she writes, spaces are inherently fluid socio-geographical concepts whose boundaries and qualities are delineated by how we describe and move through them. In a similar vein, Gaines (2006) outlines that space acts as a "background category of conceptions" (p. 173) whose meaning is derived in relation to other concerns. In this sense, Olivia's conception of the neighborhood space permutes according to her confinement to geographies of normalized anti-Black violence and displacement, the "other concerns" in question, which I believe to be a result of far fewer Temple-oriented developments and potentially reduced surveillance technology at her former residence.

While Olivia's interview may only covertly delineate the extension of these carceral geographies, an excerpt from that of Holly (*white, female, senior*) spells it out in clear detail. A resident of a smaller complex east of the campus, she links the surveillance systems of the campus and her apartment in the excerpt below.

> Holly: The campus security starts like a three-minute walk for me because I'm really close to that Temple arch that has the security guard right there.
>
> Jared: And just like being in the visibility of security guards and the campus makes you feel more safe.
>
> Holly: Yeah. And also living in an apartment building as opposed to not a townhouse, but just an off-campus apartment. That makes me feel a little safer. Because again, there's that kind of sense of security. My apartment has a security officer and stuff like that. It

feels pretty safe (Interview with "Holly," Jared Saef, October 21st, 2024, Zoom).

It is specifically through these surveillance infrastructures that facilitate the university's encroachment by making spaces increasingly inaccessible in which longtime Black residents are permitted to occupy and reside.

4.3 Temple-Policed Black Urban Space and The "Campus"

Throughout interviews, Temple students repeated the trope to me that "the closer you are to campus, the safer," with one interviewee, Casey *(white, unspecified gender, recent alum)* describing this rule as a "general consensus" among the student body (interview with "Casey," October 15th, 2024). This correlation comprehensively roots itself in the robust infrastructure of the Temple Surveillance Complex that is deployed on Temple's main campus, as several students pointed out. As a result, Temple conditions the members of its community – students, parents, and professorial staff alike – to correlate "the campus" with the perception or appearance of safety. Grace *(Black, female, first-year)* is a North Philadelphia resident and member of a newly founded club disseminating safety information to students. In the excerpt below, she discusses what she sees as the university's precarious spatial position in North Philadelphia.

> Growing up so close to the university, since Temple is technically located in the heart of North Philadelphia, I still got North Philadelphia and Temple. Even though Temple is a distinguished institution, it's right in the middle of some interesting neighborhood and some interesting people… And it [Temple] does provide a nice, warm, and welcoming environment. I never felt discriminated [against] or I didn't belong here…But Temple's also around, again, the heart of North Philadelphia. So it's definitely a place you still have to watch your back at. The TU Police does a good job of making you feel safe. But the TU Police can only go so far and come so quick. Since we're in North Philadelphia, a lot of people get robbed and stuff like that. So it's definitely a place where you have to watch your back. (interview with "Grace," Jared Saef, October 26th, 2024, Zoom)

Grace's language reflects the institutional bifurcation of North Central into "the campus" and the surrounding urban fabric under the realm of surveillance. This construction, in turn, frames the Black urban space surrounding the campus as perceivably safe *only* under the condition that it is policed by the institution, thus rendering the portions of North Central within Temple's patrol zone as effectively "campus space" or extensions of such in many students' spatial imaginaries.

This convoluted spatial conception implicates harrowing, violent realities for longtime Black residents, as the mere idea of Temple's ability to maintain a "campus" rests on their systematic exclusion and surveillance entrenched in the mere construction of the main campus in the 1950s. Thus, the continued annexation of North Central Philadelphia's urban fabric into the "campus," both within students' spatial imaginaries and in the lived reality, represents a continued bordering process via the institution's continued encroachment. This process is both precipitated and heightened by ongoing violent institutional and capital spatial manipulations

that continue to dispossess Black residents to construct new university facilities or real estate development, working in tandem to embolden Temple's place-making authority. Nowhere is this phenomenon more visible than through students' ambiguous categorizations of sections of North Central within the patrol zone as either on- or off-campus, revealing the violent structures of dispositive power that set these conditions to begin with.

4.3.1 The "Campus Space" as a Boundary Production Process

To foreground this analysis, it is important to highlight how many students use the boundaries of their mental conception of "campus" as a guidepost for their engagement with the surrounding Black urban fabric explicitly rooted in its systems of policing. While the following chapter dives fully into the subject of boundary production, I found it necessary to establish here in order to set the proper context for the campus' symbolic pertinence in many Temple students' spatial imaginaries.

When prompted to evaluate their safety on Temple's campus, Casey *(white, unspecified gender, recent alum)* framed their response based on the presence of other students and the visible presence of Temple's surveilling mechanisms.

> I mean, it's really all students [on campus]. And you could just tell by what they wear and their age and their little backpacks and stuff. I think the other thing is you see a lot of the bike patrol people around campus. So I don't really know what they do, but it's just kind of nice to know that someone's looking around, at least. And I'll sit outside on campus by the Bell Tower. I'm never really worried about that as much just because I know there's people around… I feel like it would be a freak thing if something happened to someone sitting at the bell tower. That's not really where the concerns are. It's more leaving that safety net. (interview with "Casey," Jared Saef, October 15th, 2024, Zoom)

While Casey's response does not explicitly elicit bordering language or practices, specific language choices indicate racialized and carceral logics that many other students use for the reification of self-confinement to "campus borders." In order to construct the main campus space as a "safety net," Casey not only references Temple's robust anti-Black surveillance systems but also employs a classed and racialized "enregistered social type" of a university student to justify the space as one without potential for harm (Rosa, 2021.). In essence, I believe that the agreed-upon social type of a "student," in this case, is an adolescent/young adult who appears to be of a middle to upper-class background; in other words, the hundreds of predominantly Black high school students that attend George Washington Carver High School in Cecil B. Moore and who frequently socialize on Temple's main campus (interview with "Grace," October 26th, 2024) are not included in this realm. Thus, leaving this campus "safety net" entails departing from spaces in which Black residents are hyper-surveilled and those in one's surroundings are not seeking to cause harm. According to Johnathan, a local resident, he regularly witnesses Temple Police harassing Black residents and removing unhoused people from campus grounds.

4.3.2 The Mutual Reinforcement of Policing and "Campus" Space

Students' spatial conceptions of Temple's "campus" and the institution's policing infrastructures were not merely connected but inextricably intertwined, operating as mutually-reinforcing. In essence, students' perception of campus space invokes policing/surveillance infrastructures, and the perception of policing infrastructures invokes campus space. In the excerpt below, Zoe *(white, female, junior)* demonstrates this correlation.

> Jared: Do you know about the Temple [Police] patrol zone?
>
> Zoe: I know it exists, but I don't know the boundaries… [The Temple Police] don't advertise like, "This is the patrol zone," really. You just know when you're on campus and you see the Temple Police, the Temple Philly police (interview with Zoe, October 21st, 2024, Zoom).

Throughout interviews, it was rather common that students held peripheral or minimal knowledge about the specific demarcations of the patrol zone but nonetheless framed their conception of "on-campus" space and their engagement with the separate surrounding "off-campus" Black urban fabric through the presence of institutional policing infrastructures, these mechanisms often engendering students to blur lines between the two. as demonstrated below.

Both of the following excerpts refer to the space outside the Temple University Hillel building at the intersection of W. Norris Street and N. 15th Street, depicted in the below combined map and Google Earth screenshot in Figure 4.
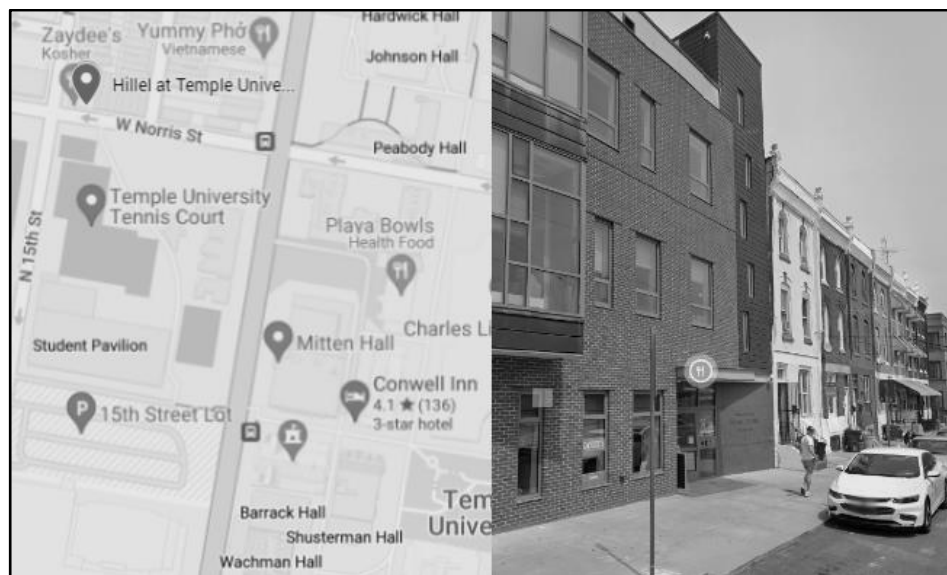

Figure 4: location of Temple Hillel in relation to the main campus (left) and on-street image of the building and its surrounding structures (right) (Google Maps, 2024)

Although located immediately across from Temple University athletic facilities and affiliated with the institution (in some capacity, though the institution does not officially own it), Temple

University Hillel occupies a facility in the middle of a dense city block in a residential neighborhood *adjacent* to the main campus (and within TUPD's patrol zone), clearly evident by the rowhouses that it abuts.

Isabel (*LatinX, female, first-year)* indirectly references this space as firmly on campus in the excerpt below, evident by the presence of surveillance and campus facilities and location within the patrol zone.

> Isabel: …where the marching band practices, there's at least two security guards, one outside the field and one near the field. That's also near the Jewish Hillel thing, and that's where I get my free therapy from. And me personally, I feel like if I walk a little more straight, a little more away from the university, that's when I will find no security, if that makes sense. So that's when I'll be more cautious.
>
> Jared: I see. So you don't try to go to areas where there's not as much campus security.
>
> Isabel: If I'm staying on campus, yes (interview with "Isabel," Jared Saef, October 16th, 2024, Zoom)

By positioning Temple Hillel and Geasey Field as firmly within the confines of the university ("more away from the university"), Isabel utilizes the deployment of Temple's policing infrastructure as a boundary production agent, drawing firm symbolic demarcations constricting her physical movement within Black urban space, as will be explored in depth in the following chapter. Meanwhile, Jordan *(white, female, sophomore)* describes this exact same space with more ambiguous language when prompted to discuss her perceptions of safety in the neighborhood in the excerpt below.

> Jared: How would you evaluate your safety as you get closer to campus?
>
> Jordan: It's definitely safer the closer you get to campus. So I take Norris [Street] just to get home, and there's always a security guard right at the corner of Norris and 15th-- It's Norris and Carlisle, which is still technically almost on campus because that's like right where the Hillel center is. But it still feels, like, more off-campus. So just like I don't know. There's a lot more security guards, yeah, closer to campus.
>
> Jared: I see. And just the presence of security guards makes you feel safer?
>
> Emily: Yeah. Even though I know they really aren't going to do anything, it's just nice when someone is there as a witness. And their job is to kind of help you if you really need it. (Interview with "Jordan," Jared Saef, October 18th, 2024, Zoom)

Jordan's perplexing juxtaposition between where she believes the space *is* (in relation to the main campus) versus where she *feels* it is speaks volumes about the spatial restructuring powers and limits of institutional surveillance and institutionally-affiliated redevelopment and gentrification. Jordan seemingly employs these aforementioned phenomena as semiotic tools to

situate the space as "technically almost on campus," yet an unnamed force thwarts her from including it within the campus space entirely. Overall, though, both of these examples bring to light a disquieting reality: what does it mean for the Black residents who live in the urban space immediately adjacent to the main campus to be perceived as "on campus"? How does this language represent a pernicious full encroachment guided by future rounds of capital accumulation rested on Black a-spatial logics?

4.4 Temple Flags and Banners as Power Mechanism

Traversing North Central, Temple "T" flags are posted on just about every light post in addition to logos plastered on university facilities and affiliated developments. A direct legacy of encroachment and violent displacement initiatives originating within the 1990s presidency of Peter J. Liacouras (Hyatt, 2010), these flags and other university symbols in the neighborhood serve to (intentionally) further ambiguate students' perception of North Central Philadelphia in order to help create the "university neighborhood" reality for which past administrations have long aspired. Resting on this vision, of course, is the violent policing and displacement of Black residents in order to fulfill the vision of this North Philadelphia University City. The Temple Ts, in part, represent these racialized surveillance and displacement efforts by marking ostensible surveillance to Temple students, making bold claims to Black urban space via the simple employment of a symbol. Figure 5 below shows an example of Temple "T" flags in North Central Philadelphia.

Figure 5: Temple "T" flags hanging from wooden telephone posts near the intersection of W. Norris and N. 16th Streets in Cecil B. Moore (photo by Joe Labolito)

Growing up in North Philadelphia, Grace noted that even before attending the institution, "Temple was always in my face." In the excerpt below, she speaks about her early perception of Temple iconography near her elementary school in Spring Garden, a neighborhood located immediately north of Center City.

But when I was younger, in elementary school, I went to Laura Wheeler Waring [Elementary School] in Spring Garden. And even though-- if I was to go on Broad and Spring Garden [Streets], if I look to my left and right, I see Temple signs everywhere. But I can't say I've learned about it. I've always been encouraged to go to Temple since I was in middle school. But I never knew why (interview with "Grace," Jared Saef, October 26th, 2024, Zoom).

Although Grace did not start learning about Temple until high school, her constant interaction with its arsenal of symbols throughout her childhood speaks to the insidious ways in which the institution marks claims to spatial ownership throughout North Philadelphia.

For many students, coming across the Temple "T" while in North Central Philadelphia signals the image of institutional policing and protection, a reassurance as they navigate an urban fabric of which they actively may be afraid. Braeden (*white, male, sophomore*), when prompted, associated the sight of a Temple logo with ideals of institutionally-ensured safety, as shown in the excerpt below.

I mean, whenever I'm on campus, I think that's when I feel the most safe. So to a certain degree obviously to expand campus in that way, I think would be pretty nice because I feel like people associate campus with security in a way of like, "This is kind of a little compound of safety surrounded by the hustle and bustle of the city." So I think that could be a way to kind of make people feel safer (interview with "Braeden," Jared Saef, October 24th, 2024, Zoom)

To anchor his conception of the Temple logo as a safety measure, Braeden refers back to the main campus, which he labels a "compound of safety," to justify how the logo "expands" the security measures local to the institution. Later, Braeden says,

I personally, I think, would rather see a Temple banner on the street than, I don't know, a bunch of trash and maybe raggedy clothes hanging up or some weird [expl.] like that (interview with "Braeden," Jared Saef, October 24th, 2024, Zoom)

This framework helps better illustrate the racialized mechanisms of policing and displacement of Black bodies that Temple's iconography embodies and how it works as a measure of control and facilitator of encroachment. Through employing violent "postracial" language that makes reference to urban decay in Black urban space and its replacement via Temple iconography, Braeden actively condones institutional displacement of Black communities currently ongoing in North Central Philadelphia.

In a similar vein, Oliver (*white, male, first-year*) associates the sight of the Temple logo as a sign of familiarity, specifically positioning its necessity during a hypothetical situation of potential precarity, as seen in the excerpt below.

…because I know if I'm going to see a concert, and I'm coming back at 11 o'clock at night, I see the Temple banner like, "Okay. I'm a four-minute walk from home." So it's like a locality thing… when you see-- I don't know, like you recognize something before going to your house. So it's just like-- I wouldn't say because of Temple, but I think just because it's like a signifier that, "Okay, this is where I live." (interview with "Oliver," Jared Saef, October 16th, 2024, Philadelphia)

By framing the functionality of the Temple logo within a hypothetical situation invoking racialized associations between acts of harm and Black urban space, Oliver constructs this iconography's necessity via its covert association with institutional mechanisms of policing.

Finally, similar to the presence of security elaborated in the previous subsection, Temple's iconography also functions as a boundary marker for some students. Joselyne (white, female, first-year) explains this symbolic use of Temple banners in the excerpt below.

Joselyne: Sometimes, yeah. When I walk down Cecil B. Moore, more down that direction… I see less and less Temple logos. There's that police station or whatever, like the security station down that way. But…it just gets there's a certain vibe of, I don't know, run-down places and just low-income areas, maybe.

Jared: And also, the lessened presence of Temple's logos makes you feel like you're kind of in an area away from the school, that you're more on your own?

Joselyne: Yeah. Definitely. I don't have as many resources to reach out to (interview with "Joselyne," Jared Saef, October 15th, 2024, Philadelphia).

Joselyne's employment of the reduction Temple iconography as a marker of spatial differentiation ("gets…a certain vibe of…run-down places and just low-income areas) is a notable production of symbolic boundaries that tie directly back to the institution's mechanisms of racializing surveillance, as further explored in the following chapter.

4.5 Conclusion

As this chapter moves through various language productions, one through-line remains evidently clear: the most prominent qualities that determine recognition "within" versus "beyond" nebulous "campus boundaries" are the visible or symbolic mechanisms of surveillance, a very idea rested on anti-Blackness (Browne, 2015). Foregrounding this analysis before discussion of border production serves to illustrate how students come to (and are *conditioned* to) define their "margins" and placement of symbolic boundaries as implicitly tied up with the robust policing of and state violence against Black bodies (police state).

Both local and non-local students' rather equivocal categorizations of "campus" versus "off-campus" space (and adverbial modifiers like "technically" to produce nuance between them) represent an incredibly important window and "live snapshot" into the university's expansive spatial and carceral power over North Central's Black communities, illustrating a dark

reality about the ways in which the state has granted urban universities like Temple the powers to control and manipulate Black urban space for capital accumulation. Furthermore, students' ambiguous language about "technically off-campus" space speaks to the Black a-spatial logics that underpin these capital extraction practices and the ongoing deprivation of Black place-making solidified at an individual, discursive, and interpersonal level. At a greater level, though, linked with students' campus space designations is the carceral landscapes that may or may not pervade that space and the previous and completed removal of Black bodies from within it.

5. Productions of the Boundary

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter delineated how violent spatial manipulation processes executed via the historical and ongoing robust policing and displacement of Black residents and the facilitated encroachment of the university and its affiliated corporations has conditioned students to critically base their engagement with Black urban space under the guise of "their campus" and especially correlated with police infrastructure. Now, zooming out to students' conceptions of "the margins," what remains in focus is a) the violence that these borders both represent on an institutional and individual level, and b) what they tell us about the university's ongoing displacement.

Students employed a variety of what I call "boundary production methods" to spatialize and delineate their limits of engagement with the surrounding majority-Black urban fabric, including through naming of streets, symbols, signs, and different sayings. Overall, though, these boundaries most saliently represent localized manifestations of globalized capital extraction actively destroying what McKittrick labels "a very complex Black sense of place" in North Central Philadelphia through the expansion of carceral geographies and other brutal forms of structural violence against Black bodies and communities – gentrification, displacement, and dispossession – facilitated by Temple University and dominant structures of power.

5.2 What Exactly Do These Boundaries Denote?

Before delving into deep discussion about students' employment of racialized boundaries, it remains important to underscore what exactly they demarcate. Do non-local students never leave these boundaries while attending school; do they apply to the entirety of Philadelphia?

As reviewed in Yu et al.'s (2018) cognitive mapping analysis of Rhodes College students' engagement with the predominantly-Black city of Memphis, Tennessee, the authors found that participants regularly travelled to popular tourist and commercial destinations or areas in the city for entertainment or consumption wherein few Black people reside (along the "White Corridor"), but their knowledge of the majority-Black regions of the city in which their campus was situated was seldom. In my research, I found a similar (yet not wholly comparable) pattern.

In my interviews, I found that Temple students are highly mobile and travel to neighborhoods across the city, rarely staying confined to their dormitory or off-campus apartment. The most prominent destination was Center City, Philadelphia's downtown, where students partook in consumptive activities such as Hannah (*white, female, first-year*), who said, "I like going to the Fashion District, and I just like hanging around City Hall" (interview with "Hannah," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia). Another popular spot for students was South Philadelphia, an area of the city located south of Center City, where students discussed going to various restaurants, bars, and clubs. Finally, a select number of students discussed attending shows or finding other establishments in Fishtown, a rapidly-gentrifying neighborhood in Northeastern Philadelphia.

Similar to the findings reviewed above in Yu et al.'s (2018) study, nearly all of the areas of the city outside of North Central Philadelphia in which students discussed semi-regular or regular consumer participation are predominantly white (2022 American Community Survey, Philadelphia). Given this reality, it is clear that students' construction of boundaries does not circumscribe them solely to their immediate campus vicinity, as they regularly cross them to venture outward. Instead, it solely refers to the surrounding predominantly Black and Brown urban fabric of North Philadelphia, where non-local students seldomly noted participation in any form. Hannah *(white, female, first-year)*, who had only been a student at Temple for about one and a half months at the time of our interview, informed me, "I've heard it's not a great neighborhood. And if you want to go off campus, you should go *far* off campus" (interview with "Hannah," October 14th, 2024). In addition, Casey (*white, unspecified gender, recent alum*), when prompted about the question of student-circulated boundaries, said the following in the excerpt below.

> Well, I do think that there was a general consensus of, like, "Don't go too far off campus." I never heard specific boundaries, but that's also because no one's really telling me where to go or anything. But I feel [the] common sense of Temple culture is like "stay as close as you can to the area."

Establishing this context is important in order to delineate that these boundary productions intentionally and systematically both avoid and exclude the majority-Black urban space of North Philadelphia in which the campus is located

5.3 Border Ties with Patrol Zone

Important to foreground in the discussion of students' various production methods involved in bordering is their delineation of largely the same area of North Central Philadelphia, encompassing the blocks immediately surrounding the main campus and largely coextensive with the Temple Police patrol zone, largely unintentionally. This facet of the research remains important to highlight in order to construct a comprehensive picture of the mutual violence these borders enact in the urban landscape and upon the bodies of Black neighborhood residents.

As detailed in the introduction, I asked student interviewees to participate in a spatial mapping activity on Google My Maps in which I asked them to pinpoint establishments and spots in North Central Philadelphia that they frequent and draw a general area that encompasses their engagement with the surrounding neighborhood. While I admit that this latter part of the activity likely produced biased results, as I asked participants to "try to create borders along streets if possible," I nonetheless believe that students' aggregated maps regarding the surrounding urban fabric of North Central present striking results. Figure 6 below shows the aggregation of students' border delineations; thicker lines represent higher frequency.
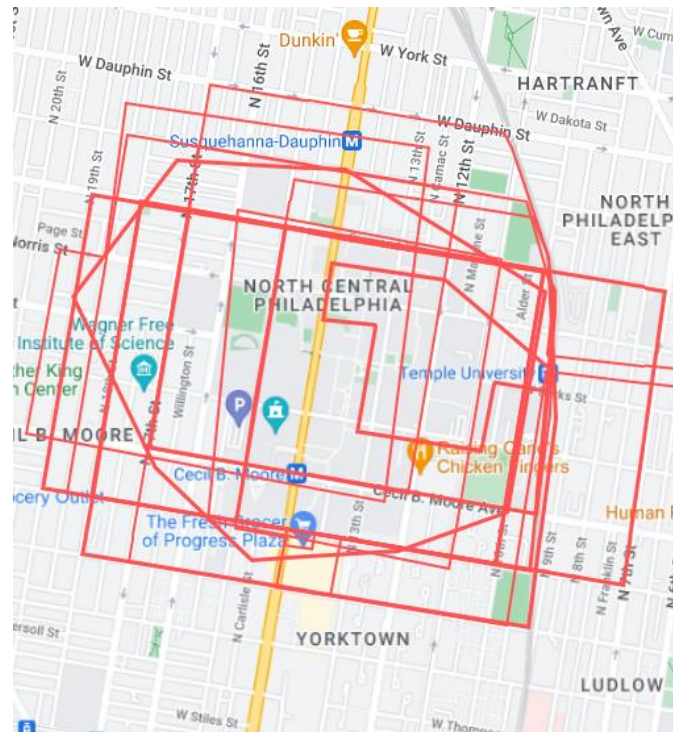

Figure 6: aggregation of student-demarcated boundaries re: North Central

It is important to note that while students often drew four-sided polygons to represent their general areas of engagement (often based on where they would walk/commute in the neighborhood), they did not discursively treat all borders with the same gravity, as discussed in further subsections. Thus, while six students specifically marked West Oxford Street as their southern border of general engagement, for instance, conversational mentions of it seldom emerged, with students most often opting to discuss their avoidance of "going north," again expounded later.

Most notable, however, is the general alignment of students' aggregated borders with the demarcations of the Temple Police patrol zone, shown in Figure 7 below.
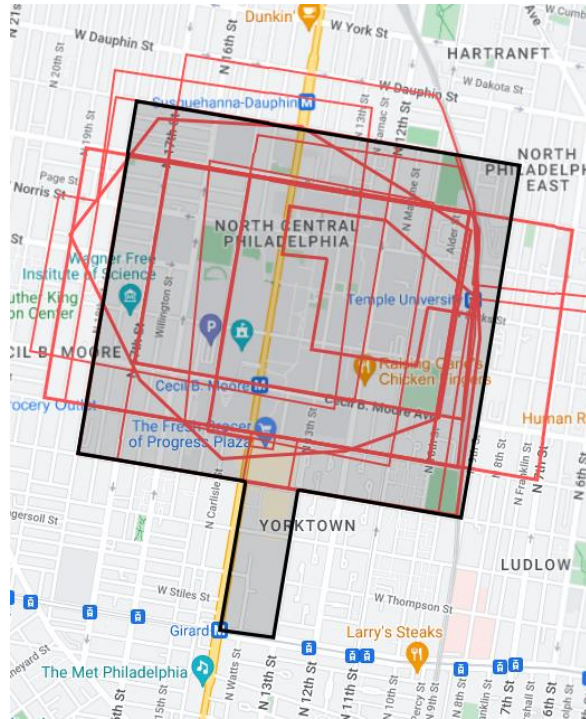
Figure 7: aggregated student maps overlaid with Temple Patrol Zone

As seen above, adherence to the patrol zone's northern and eastern borders remains relatively stringent, while the western border appears to be more flexible and equivocal, indicating, perhaps, waves of gentrification pushing out in that direction as student-oriented housing goes father.

5.4 Street Borders

The demarcation of streets, I argue, remains the most prominent method by which Temple students engage in bordering practices, most often manifesting in the demarcation of just one or two streets (typically northern and western boundaries, as discussed later in this subsection) to define their engagement with surrounding North Central. The salience of this production method directly roots itself in specific institutional urban renewal programs in the 1950s that called for the successive expansion of the campus delineated by sets of streets (Keefer, 2013). As a result, I believe, these streets came to take on new significance as "campus borders" that spatialized systemic anti-Black measures of exclusion and policing, thus gaining incredible symbolic power in determining (dis)belonging, resource access, and power.

The university has continued to encroach upon North Central Philadelphia in the pathway left by the violent spatial manipulations it committed in the 1950s-80s, setting the groundwork for consecutive movements of gentrification and institutional policing of the neighborhood. It is the combination of these interrelated spatial restructurings – specifically the successive expansions of the Temple Police patrol zone – that create an obscured conception of "campus" space and lead students to define it with streets largely in line with (a) those outlined in urban

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redevelopment policies, and (b) current patrol boundaries. As reviewed in the previous chapter, the mere idea of Temple's "campus space" is inextricably intertwined with the institutional surveillance and exclusion of Black neighborhood residents, and it is specifically for this reason that students often intermix the Temple Patrol zone's coverage with the notion of campus "borders" most clearly materialized via streets, to spatialize their engagement with the Black urban fabric around them.

5.4.1 *"Don't Go Past Gratz and Diamond:" Frequency of Street Demarcation*

Most often, students employed this method with only one or two streets in surrounding North Central accompanied by a cardinal direction; for instance, "I never go west of X street and north of Y street." The distribution of streets mentioned and cardinal directions cited, however, remained incredibly imbalanced. Above all, West Diamond Street and West Susquehanna Avenue, two parallel east-west streets located immediately north of Temple's northernmost main campus facilities, emerged as the most popular for students' sole northern boundary. For reference, see Figure 6 to gain a sense of its general popularity.

Predominantly, Diamond or Susquehanna was the only street border that students mentioned, and Diamond Street as a signifier of spatial separation in particular reigned influentially supreme, influencing not only students' patterns of general engagement but choice of housing as well. As Olivia (*white, female, senior*) and her friends were looking for apartments, for instance, she reported hearing advice to "not go past Gratz and Diamond" in terms of real estate (interview with "Olivia," October 17th, 2024). Additionally, Noah *(white, male, senior)* spoke about student-circulated boundary cliches that influenced his housing decision in the excerpt below.

> Basically, the classic is like, "Oh, you're not really-- don't really want to live north of Diamond Street, and you really don't want to live north of Susquehanna." That's what everyone said, so we moved as far south as possible, but now I actually wish I hadn't moved so far south because a lot of my friends live further north, so I got to walk. (interview with "Noah," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia)

Meanwhile, North 17th, North 18th, and North Gratz Streets, parallel and adjacent streets located four blocks west of Temple's main campus, also appeared rather frequently as students' western boundary. However, the discursive demarcation of eastern boundaries and southern boundaries especially remained rather infrequent if not nonexistent, thus leaving these spaces *open* and non-bounded. In the excerpt below, Noah *(white, male, senior)* continues his explanation of housing cliches he had heard.

> No one really says east and west because generally, it's like, "Well, you don't want to walk super far east or west. You try to get something as close to Broad Street as possible." And I've walked out west and it hasn't felt like it was getting more [strange?] (interview with "Noah," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia)

This overwhelming fixation on northern and western boundaries roots itself not only in urban renewal and institutional policing coverage as explained before but also in generations of systemic anti-Black policy such as redlining, resource divestment, and white flight (Hyatt, 2010) and other spatial manipulations that have forced North Philadelphia's Black communities into very specific and regimented regions of the city, as seen on a racial segregation map of the city in Figure 8 below in which Temple's main campus is located amongst predominantly-Black communities to its north and west.
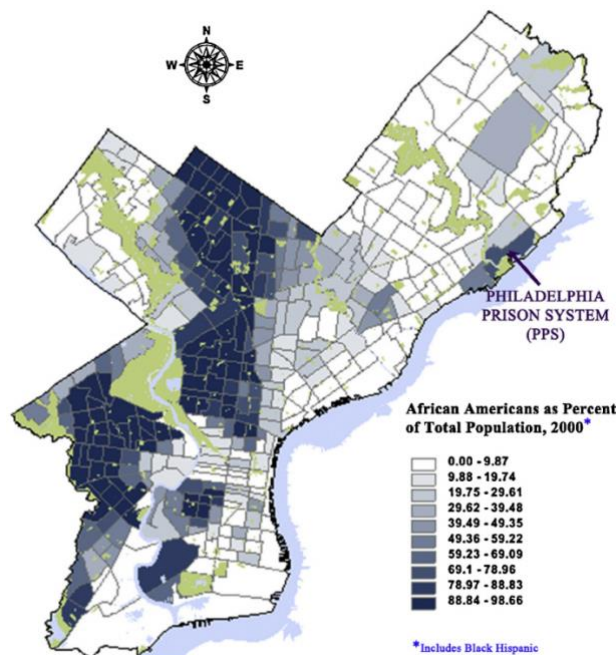

Figure 8: Racial segregation map of Philadelphia by percentage of Black-Americans (Daniel H. Ciccarone)

As seen above, North Philadelphia remains predominantly Black as one traverses northward and westward but significantly decreases toward Center City and Northeastern Philadelphia. Additionally, gentrification's rather rapid displacement northward from Center City and South Philadelphia (Bowen-Gaddy, 2018) influences the lack of southern boundary as well, as Noah discusses in the excerpt below.

> I know the area south of Temple…is a lot of gentrification, a lot of those huge apartment buildings are going up. And that…started from…the Spring Garden area, and it slowly crept up north to where it's almost hitting from the south, the Temple campus area…People wanted to develop from Center City going outward, going north. And now eventually, if this tide of capital coming into the city is going to push north, and eventually the northern boundary will get pushed further and further up. (interview with "Noah," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia)

Here, Noah makes an important point about the inconstancy of these boundaries and their easy amenability to shift over time in response to policing, ongoing rounds of capital accumulation, and violent modes of displacement.

5.5 Landmarks and Repetitive Symbols

Accompanying street boundaries, students utilized certain physical entities in the neighborhood as markers or limits of their engagement with Black urban space corresponding to both the street boundaries detailed before and the area of the patrol zone. These entities split into two separate groups: physical landmarks (Susquehanna-Dauphin Station) and what I label "repetitive symbols" (blue-light call boxes, Allied Security guards, and Temple "T" banners and flags). While landmarks like Susquehanna-Dauphin are functional, individual entities which can be moved through and experienced and demarcate the limit of one's engagement in the landscape (also includes White Hall, but time constraints inhibited me from full discussion); repetitive symbols, on the contrary, lack any functionality and come to acquire meanings of institutional surveillance as a result of their strategic placement throughout the urban fabric in the immediate vicinity of Temple's main campus. Thus, their diminution signals a gradual boundary. The distinction between these two types of symbols remains important in the greater discussion of student boundary demarcation by showing how physical symbols come to represent distinct approaches to bordering processes,

5.5.1 Susquehanna-Dauphin Station, Broad Street Line as Landmark

The Susquehanna-Dauphin Station is a stop along the Broad Street Line, an underground subway managed by SEPTA (Southeastern Pennsylvania Regional Transit Authority) that runs north to south (and vice versa) parallel to Broad Street, one of the city's largest commercial and traffic corridors. As the name suggests, the station is located on North Broad Street between Susquehanna Avenue and Dauphin Street in North Central Philadelphia, about an eight-minute walk north of Charles Library, one of Temple's main libraries located in an arguably central point of the campus (interview with "Casey," October 17th, 2024). The stop is just one north of the Cecil B. Moore Avenue Station, located immediately adjacent to a major entrance point of the campus; student interviewees use both stops frequently. Figure 9 below shows the location of the stop in relation to Diamond Street and the main campus.
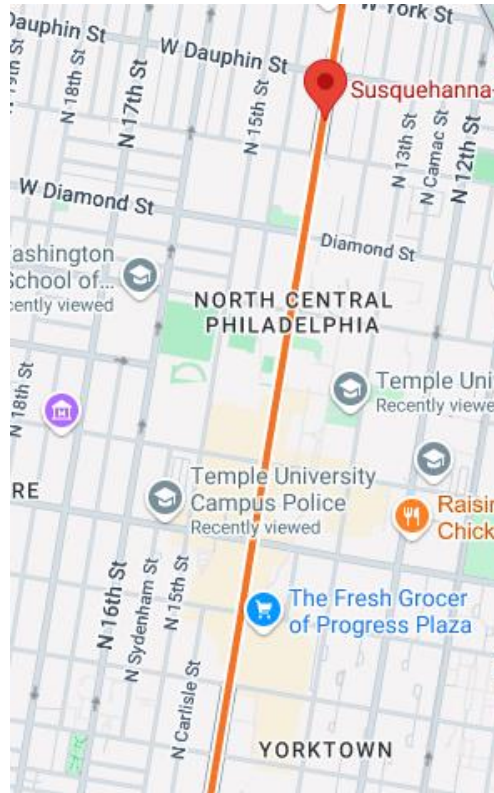
Figure 9: location of the Susquehanna-Dauphin Station in relation to the main campus (Google Maps)

Located adjacent to a commonly-cited student street boundary, the Susquehanna-Dauphin station as a "landmark" has come to represent this northern boundary in itself not only due to its proximity to Diamond and Susquehanna Street but also, I argue, as a reaction to deep-seated discomfort among white and other non-Black students regarding presence in spaces of predominantly Black-American people.

To preface this discussion, it is important first to foreground an important racial demographic shift in North Central that ridership on the Broad Street Line between the aforementioned stations demonstrates. As mentioned before, the Cecil B. Moore Avenue Station is located immediately adjacent to a major campus entrance point along with several Temple dormitories, facilities, and affiliated commercial development. Thus, riders using this station are a mix of Temple students and other university employees representing a breadth of racial/ethnic backgrounds along with Black community residents (from my personal observations using this stop). However, the demographics of North Central Philadelphia immediately north of Diamond Street and away from the scope of Temple development contain a significantly higher percentage of Black residents (2022 American Community Survey), and the ridership of the Susquehanna-Dauphin Station reflects this reality, with far fewer Temple students in the station as Jordan notes (interview with "Jordan," October 18th, 2024). Moreover, because the northern section of the Broad Street Line services a large portion of North Philadelphia's Black communities, it is often the case that a majority of riders are Black (just my personal observations, though I do not have statistics to back this up).

Important to incorporate into this discussion as well is the peculiar socio-spatial importance of SEPTA infrastructure in North Central for non-local, non-Black Temple students (stations, subway cars, busses, etc.), as I argue it remains one of the *only* confined spaces which they are required to share with large numbers of Black community residents and Black North Philadelphians more broadly for prolonged periods of time. Therefore, foregrounding the predominantly-Black demographics of Broad Street Line ridership along with its particular spatial role for Temple students helps to better contextualize the multitude of ways in which Temple students (white students in particular) internalize and perpetuate racialized, anti-Black tropes about usage of the subway itself and its stations that function to strengthen the boundary productions they employ in relation to North Central.

In general, many white student interviewees (particularly white women and other AFAB individuals) expressed racialized apprehensions regarding safety on the Broad Street Line related to drug usage, filth, and other concerns, which I argue result from profound and unaddressed disquietude of being confined to a space of predominantly-Black individuals. In her discussion of acclimation to the neighborhood as a first-year, for instance, Lauren *(white, female, junior)* recalls the jarring experience she felt taking the subway for the first time in the below excerpt.

> I always think that the campus itself is really safe. Everything is lit up and there are security guards. But definitely, the first time I took the subway by myself, I was like, "Whoa, there are a lot of people here"... it took a lot of getting used to, like living in a city because I'd never lived in a city before. (interview with "Lauren," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia).

Through a juxtaposition of her safety on Temple's campus via surveillance mechanisms with her use of a public space most likely predominantly occupied by Black people, Lauren subtly correlates her sense of security with the hyper-surveillance of Black bodies. When prompted to elaborate, she said the following in the excerpt below.

> I think it was just a new experience. And I really don't like the subway because people smoke on there all the time. Oh, it's the worst. So I think it was just an environment that I wasn't used to. And probably also a lot of people around here talk about, like, "Don't go on the Broad Street Line at night by yourself." And all the social environment around talking about the subway. But I have not had any actual issues happen to me on the subway other than people smoking.. (interview with "Lauren," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia)

In this scenario, Lauren likely employs drug use as a justification for her racialized discomfort and makes additional mention of the racialized stigma she absorbed likely via other Temple students. In a similar, more pronounced vein, Holly (*white, female, senior*) expressed general abhorrence about usage of both of SEPTA's inter-city rail lines in the excerpt below.

> I won't take the Market-Frankford [Line] after it's dark. The L, I won't. I think it's hard to take during the day. I think it's so yucky, and so many people are doing drugs in broad

daylight. So I don't want to know what goes on at night… And the BSL is pretty similar. I'm not taking after dark unless I'm with friends, but I don't mind taking it (interview with "Holly," Jared Saef, October 21st, 2024, Zoom).

Despite never indexing Blackness directly, both of the above excerpts employ postracial discursive frameworks that hinge on racialized entanglements of Blackness and criminality that characterize white Temple students' discussion of the Broad Street Line more generally and the Susquehanna-Dauphin Station in particular as a materialized symbolic boundary marker.

Jordan (*white, female, sophomore*) is perhaps the only student interviewee to make a somewhat direct to racialized apprehension in relation to the Broad Street Line in her discussion of the Susquehanna-Dauphin Station as a boundary marker despite denying her overt usage of boundaries in general, seen in the excerpt below.

> Jared: When engaging with the neighborhood, are there any sort of boundaries that you typically don't cross?
>
> Jordan: Not necessarily. I don't really like to go to [Dauphin-]Susquehanna, like the subway stop. I don't usually go there. I work at City Hall, so I make the trip to [the] Cecil [B. Moore Avenue Station] just because I feel a little bit more comfortable there sometimes. That's like my main boundaries. I don't really like to go… more north than we already are, just because it does get pretty weird (interview with "Jordan," Jared Saef, October 18th, 2024, Zoom).

Later, when I asked her to elaborate on her usage of the Cecil B. Moore Station rather than Susquehanna-Dauphin, despite the latter being closer to her residence, she said the following in the below excerpt.

> I feel safer at Cecil. I feel a little bit less safe at Susquehanna just because there's less students…there's usually just less people in general. I feel better when there's more crowds of students, so then I feel like I'm less likely to get robbed. (interview with "Jordan," Jared Saef, October 18th, 2024, Zoom).

Grasping Jordan's discussion for its full complexity requires a reincorporation of the racialized "student" social type discussed in the previous chapter. Here, Jordan employs this idea to contrast it with that of the Black resident, posing the latter in a non-Temple policed environment as an imminent and immediate threat to her safety and property ("less likely to get robbed"). In addition, her discussion of her employment of the Susquehanna-Dauphin Station as a boundary marker helps illustrate the symbolic meaning that this space has acquired in Jordan's spatial imaginary, assigning fundamental categorizations of difference to the Black urban space north of it.

Similarly, Braeden *(white, male, sophomore)* employs this station as a boundary marker, inculcating a mirror symbolic effect, displayed in the excerpt below.

…usually, the farthest north I'll go is right there at Susquehanna, like where you would get off at the subway. Because my friend lives straight down…on that street. So I don't go past that point usually. So for me, if I'm going past that point, then in my head, it's like I just kind of tell myself, and then I'm aware that I'm going past that point. And I don't exactly know what is this way. And I know that realistically, there's just more things going on up there at night all the time. Because when I meet my friends, the Citizen app is going crazy all night long (interview with "Braeden," Jared Saef, October 24th, 2024, Zoom).

In contrast to Jordan, who has very seldomly engaged with the physical space of her boundaries and merely views them from afar, Braeden does so on a frequent basis and explains the "mental switch" that he enters during these experiences, a direct result of racialized social and symbolic boundaries that, as Yu et al. (2018) write, construct fears that create a "differentiated experience between Us and Others." Thus, this mental switch proves to be a fascinating racialized spatial hyper-awareness fixated on acts of crime and emboldened by "crime watch" applications such as Citizen. The particular mentions of racialized fears of crime victimhood that the marker of this boundary in particular appears to elicit, I argue, is fundamentally intertwined with white Temple students' profound concerns with sharing space with Black North Philadelphia residents.

5.5.2 Blue-Light Call Posts as Repetitive Symbols

Scattered incessantly across the Temple main campus and patrol zone are blue-light call posts, narrow illuminated emblems of safety equipped with a small red "Press for Emergency" button for hypothetical use in the case of danger or harm, as seen in Figure 10 below.

Figure 10: Blue-light call post (photo by Phillip Rozenski)

Despite their nonexistent usage (discussed in detail below), these posts, along with Temple banners (as discussed in the previous chapter), serve as a visible and emblematic reminder of the institution's robust structures of anti-Black surveillance and policing mechanisms that inform students' conceptions of their own senses of safety. Thus, their diminishing presence at the

margins of the patrol zone function as boundary markers for many students, symbolizing these processes as inextricably entangled with policing and displacement mechanisms.

Bue-light call posts have come to acquire such strong symbolic meaning as a direct result of their role in institutional advertising. In the excerpt below, Joselyne (*white, female, first-year*) explained how campus tours' mere mention of them not only mitigated her own fears but inspired her to become a tour guide.

> [Safety] is definitely one of the first things people say when they hear you're going to Temple. But I really want to go into tours and stuff, because a lot of the tours… really emphasize the safety aspect of it, how they have, you know, the blue poles and all that (interview with "Joselyne," Jared Saef, October 15th, 2024, Philadelphia).

In a similar vein, Jordan describes how a tour of campus in her junior year of high school caused her apprehension about the school, specifically regarding crime, to transform into a strong enough enthusiasm to push her to apply.

> ...And when I was actually on campus, I was like, 'Wow, this is awesome. I feel like I'm in 'college simulator'... the actual campus of Temple feels really safe and college-y, so it's nice (interview with "Jordan," Jared Saef, October 18th, 2024, Zoom).

When I asked her to elaborate on what exactly created that sense of safety, she said the following in the excerpt below.

> The weird little blue poles everywhere. I know they probably don't really do anything, but just the fact that it's there and I can just press that button and be fine. The security everywhere is also nice (interview with "Jordan," Jared Saef, October 18th, 2024, Zoom).

As the above excerpts demonstrate, the symbolic construction of call posts as inherent representations of surveillance is both an institutional effort and occurs long before students even enroll in the institution.

When asked about campus measures that contribute to their senses of safety, blue-light call posts were often one of the first items students mentioned. In the below excerpt, for instance, Isabel *(LatinX, female, first-year)* explains that while she remained unconvinced about the university's ability to keep her safe, the call posts, among other measures, reassured her.

> Isabel: …at first, I wasn't 100% sure, but now I am because it really isn't that bad especially since I feel like Temple takes lots of precautions.
>
> Jared: What sort of precautions do you see them take?
>
> Isabel: Well, I forget what the blue thing is, the blue poles, that they have the little calls. They also have so much security on campus. They have people on bikes all the time as well, and they're very upfront. If there's crimes in the area, you'll automatically get an

email or something like that. And that's something that I do like, even though it's considered dangerous. They try to be as aware as possible (interview with "Isabel," Jared Saef, October 16th, 2024, Zoom)

Similarly, Casey named them as a representation of institutional safety as well in specific regard to confinement to the Temple Police patrol zone.

> But being in the patrol zone, I feel like is important. And they have the blue lights. And there's things that kind of at least reassure students that it's not just a free-for-all (interview with "Casey," Jared Saef, October 15th, 2024, Zoom).

However, despite their clear representations of "safety," do they actually achieve anything? Among the students with whom I spoke, the answer appeared to be negative. Even in the excerpt above in which Jordan discussed that they contributed to her drastic change of heart about the institution, she admitted that she does not even know if they are functional (interview with "Jordan," October 18th, 2024). Hannah *(white, female, first-year)* and Noah *(white, male, senior)* also expressed similar sentiments in the excerpts below, respectively.

> I feel indifferent about the blue light boxes. I've never seen someone use one… which is probably a good thing, but I don't know (interview with "Hannah," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia).
>
> I feel like the blue emergency posts are meaningless. I'm like, "Is someone really going to come help in two minutes…if I'm being actively mugged or whatever?" (interview with "Noah," Jared Saef, October 14th, 2024, Philadelphia)

Nonetheless, for many students, their function as mere *symbols* of the policing of Black bodies, even if non-operational, proved enough to render themselves influential in students' demarcation of boundaries. Jordan, for instance, when asked why she does not traverse "north of where she is" in general (see excerpt in previous subsection for reference) responded with the following in the excerpt below.

> Yeah, like the fact there's no weird blue poles. I know, like, a lot of the buttons don't work, but it's nice to know that there is something there (interview with "Jordan," Jared Saef, October 18th, 2024, Zoom).

Similarly, Heidi (*Black, female, first-year*), a commuter student from suburban Philadelphia, justified her seldom engagement with surrounding North Central Philadelphia via the employment of Temple surveillance apparatuses in the excerpt below.

> So [for] personal reasons, [to] just say, "Oh, I want to go walk around," I don't do that, because I try to stay safe and be around places where I know I'm safe instead of just walking about. Because there's like a certain point at the university where when you get

out of that, there's no security guards. You don't see any of them, not even the blue poles, none of that (interview with "Heidi," Jared Saef, October 19th, 2024, Zoom)

When I asked to elaborate on her perception of areas without institutional policing, she said the following in the below excerpt.

I don't think they're safe because you don't know who's in those areas, although mostly it's students living around there, but…there could be anyone there. It could be anybody there with anything. And it's not exactly the safest place to be. So instead of going out and just going off there, why not stay where you know you're safe? And there's security guards everywhere (interview with "Heidi," Jared Saef, October 19th, 2024, Zoom)

It is possibly in the above excerpt that demonstrates the reasoning behind this boundary production process most clearly. By juxtaposing the campus as a surveilled arsenal of safety and the surrounding Black urban fabric as inherently threatening, Heidi justifies her own retreat within Temple's invisible gates as a deterrent from racialized visions of harm.

5.5.3 Temple Flags and Banners as Repetitive Symbols

As discussed in the previous chapter, Temple "T" flags and other banners serve an influential role in ambiguating students' conceptions of "on" versus "off" campus space, and in addition, serve a boundary-making function as well, falling in line with students desires to "stay on campus" due to their inherent representation of institutional surveillance.

Most prominently, the Temple banner has become part of a circulated phrase related to engagement in surrounding North Central which serves as the basis for this very research thesis. Zoe (white, female, first-year) discussed "staying within the Ts" in the excerpt below.

…there's also the saying, "stay within the T's," which is the banners that line the streets near campus. They have the little T's on the pole, I guess…I heard from my relatives and other students… "Stay within the T's, don't go where there isn't a known Temple marker right near you"… That's what my aunt told me. And I heard another couple of students say that (interview with Zoe, October 21st, 2024, Zoom).

In this phrase, the employment of boundaries is both enforced and encoded in a way that renders itself amenable to easy circulation. However, not all students subscribe to this ideology of safety and protection. Ari *(Black, female, junior)* makes mention of this phrase in challenging dominant student narratives surrounding safety and surveillance in the excerpt below.

…I've experienced hate crimes on Temple's campus because I'm a queer person… But I know that there is not a-- "I'm completely fine and safe as long as I stay where I can see the Temple flag with the T. I'm perfectly fine as long as I stay within those boundaries," because that's not what safety is. That's not what security is. That's not what being safe on a college campus is. And my friends of Color and I have experienced things from some North Philly residents because we are queer people. And it doesn't really matter at the

end of the day. People have opinions about the queer identity that you can't really do much about. So I've never really bought into the idea that I'm completely safe as long as I stay within the guidelines because that's also like, "Safe from what?" What is the big danger that I'm supposed to be safe from? I don't know… So I just don't think that it's fair to say that I'm safe when I don't really have anything to be safe from other than People of Color (Interview with "Ari," Jared Saef, October 19th, 2024, Zoom)

By explicitly calling out students' fears of existing in Black urban space and among Black residents, Ari brings to light the explicit mechanisms of surveillance and displacement of Black bodies on which a phrase like "staying within the Ts" relies. In addition, by challenging the notion that safety is circumscribed to solely exist within set boundaries, they highlight how urban institutions such as Temple seek to construct isolated "bubbles" rested on policing mechanisms.

5.6 Conclusion

Predominant societal logics of Black a-spatiality and continuations of the plantation economy view North Philadelphia's Black communities as illegitimate and unhallowed and conceptually open to future rounds of capital accumulation necessary for the survival of the neoliberal university. Black Geographies' analysis of the capital nation-state understands destructive spatial transformations of Black urban space – its "deterritorialization" – as resultative of a newfound centralized global power of capitalist purveyors that positions Black communities to their will. Accordingly, the expansion of carceral structures to facilitate these capital accumulation strategies remains a central aspect of their execution.

Non-local students' demarcation of spatial-symbolic boundaries in North Central represents this ongoing destruction of Black urban space via university encroachment, a process allowed by a-spatial logics. It also allows us to understand how these logics underpin students' use of this language to begin with. Ramirez's plantation analytic shows us that violent sovereign spatial manipulations of Black, Brown, and racially-Othered urban space (via gentrification primarily but extended to include urban renewal) are inherent bordering practices due to the carceral logics and geographies that underpin them, a practice learned from the maintenance of the colonial border.

Understanding North Central as an "open wound" allows us to contend with the active carceral violences against Black and Brown bodies involved in the creation of these spatial manipulations and the way in which they determine spatial legitimacy and illegitimacy for existing BIPOC residents and settlers. It also allows us to conceptualize the "psychic warfare and violent uprooting of entire communities" implicated with the production of Temple student borders, and contend with the inherent bordering practices implicated by spatial manipulations that underpin these practices.

Symbolic boundary production literature teaches us that in neighborhoods in the midst of capital extraction and dispossession, settler institutions and communities are "in desperate need of legitimating their presence by establishing (dis)belonging within the contested space and solidifying racialized and classed power relations vis-a-vis access to space and resources"

(Anderson, 1990; Jalili, 2022). Thus, "the production and dissemination of clear physical (spatial) and symbolic boundaries among the gentrifying class remains a primary method of achieving the aforementioned objectives, spatializing demarcations inextricably linked with racialized geographies of surveillance, displacement, and exclusion" (Hwang, 2015).

In this way, these boundaries cannot be disentangled from the active and violent carceral geographies on which they rest, nearly coextensive with Temple Police's patrol boundaries, thus proving the notion that settlers' symbolic boundary productions in gentrifying neighborhoods are not only acts of power and exclusion but critically determine access to resources and survival, as Hwang (2015) shows us. The production of symbolic boundaries via the use of spatial markers– clear determinants of who is and isn't welcome within the area which they delineate – by a group of individuals with access to power in a neighborhood undergoing rapid capital extraction and displacement are inherent acts of violence due to the inherent powers of state white supremacy that they possess and reinforce and inextricable connections to the Prison-Industrial Complex. Furthermore, Lee and Ahn (2023) demonstrate the implicit relation between boundary production processes and surveillance technology, thus further underscoring the inseparable relationship between carceral and settler logics in the colonization of Black urban space.

6. Toward a Future Without Borders: How Do We Arrive There?

As I heavily discuss, students' demarcation of boundary productions represents and enacts active structural violences against North Central's Black communities through reinforcement of carceral geographies that actively surveil and displace them. However, the analysis suffers a critical shortfall in that it not only leaves out Temple students who do not employ language of boundaries but in doing so, paints the picture that these practices are uniform among the student body. I would like to use my final section to highlight the expansive spatial mappings of three student interviewees – Quinn, Ari, and Danielle – and what they can collectively teach us about living in worlds beyond borders.

Each of these students' marginal positionalities undoubtedly influenced the ways in which they conceive of their own safety and thus how they reimagine the space of borders as a whole. Ari, a Black genderqueer individual, spoke for much of our interview about how despite facing threats on campus for being visibly queer and in a WLW relationship, they do not subscribe to the idea that their safety is guaranteed within certain borders or in "staying within the Ts," a phrase which they referenced during their interview and spoke of the true value of safety containing its roots in community. Danielle, a Black community resident of Cecil B. Moore, expressed the exact same sentiment, reiterating that the presence of police or surveillance never makes her feel safer but conversely leads her to think that danger is imminent. Finally, Quinn, a white transmasculine individual, disavowed Temple students' conventional surveillance-oriented methods of safety, expressing a rather careless ambivalence toward the university's large investment in surveillance infrastructures by affirming that he does not conceive of his own security in that way. With these stories in mind, the spatial maps of all three

of them are displayed in the three consecutive images below in Figures 11, 12, and 13.
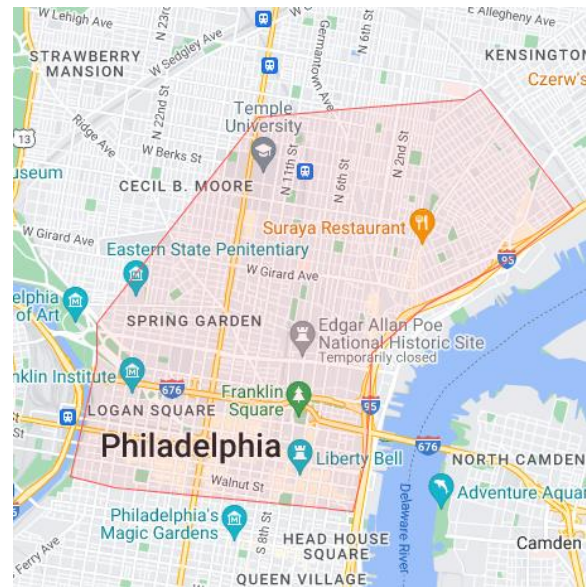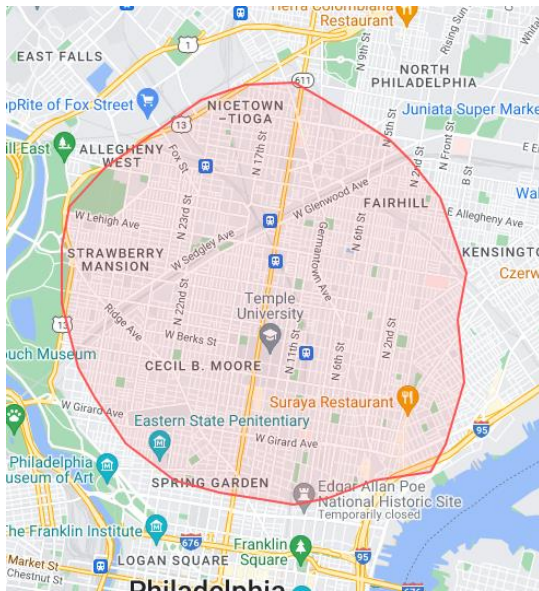

Figure 11 (top left): Danielle's map
Figure 12 (top right): Quinn's map
Figure 13 (bottom): Ari's map

With these expansive maps displayed, I now leave my final writing open-ended, as I encourage readers to think about what these maps can help us learn and unlearn about imagining our safety without borders, without police and prisons, and without sovereign entities. What does a future like this look like? What steps can we put in place to get there? And what is in our way?

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Appendices

Appendix A:
- [Instagram Link #1](#)
- [Instagram Link #2](#)
- [Instagram Link #3](#)
- [Instagram Link #4](#)

Appendix B: