Paige E. Mulhollan Dissertation Award:

Warming Up to the Schools? Connecting Universities with Teaching Practice in Chicago

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Abstract

This article describes changes in the relationship between four colleges of education (DePaul, Roosevelt, and Chicago State Universities, and the University of Illinois at Chicago) and the Chicago Public Schools during the years 1972-1997. In all cases, colleges of education addressed changes in the schools with programs of study and research. Private foundation funding and strong leadership assisted their efforts. Constraining their efforts were certain institutional characteristics and an ever-increasing pressure to produce traditional research.

The relationship between K-12 schools and universities in the United States is a complicated one. On the surface, it seems that schools and universities have much in common. Both kinds of institutions are expected to pass on knowledge; thus, they both house learners and those who teach them. Because of this like-minded mission, both institutions play important roles in sustaining culture and community. Schools and universities share the physical attributes of libraries, classrooms, and laboratories. Despite these common interests and physical properties, universities and schools have additional functions which differ by institution and which lead to their very different characters.

K-12 schools can be characterized as "hot" institutions, meaning that they focus on immediate, concrete issues. Universities are "cool" institutions, meaning that they deal with long-term and abstract concerns. Research universities in particular are organized around the needs of the faculty for producing and disseminating knowledge, and the incentive system rewards faculty for their research. The work done in such universities is long term, retrospective work, grounded in reflection rather than action (Schon 1987; Watson and Fullan 1992). By contrast, K-12 teachers' workplaces are organized to handle large numbers of children. Teachers have very little freedom within their rigid schedules. The pace of day-to-day activities in K-12 schools is quite brisk (Johnson 1990; Rosenholtz 1989). Faculty in K-12 schools work to do things, while faculty in universities strive to understand things (see Figure 1).

Faculty in Universities and Schools

	Universities	Schools
Organized for	Producing research, offering education to willing clients	Educating, feeding, caring for large numbers of children
Students	Elite (young) adults	All children
Pace	Slow, reflective	Fast, reactive
Time use	Autonomy	Rigid Schedules
Rewards	Individual (tenure system)	Collective (unions)
Status	High (male)	Low (female)
Climate	**COOL**	**HOT**

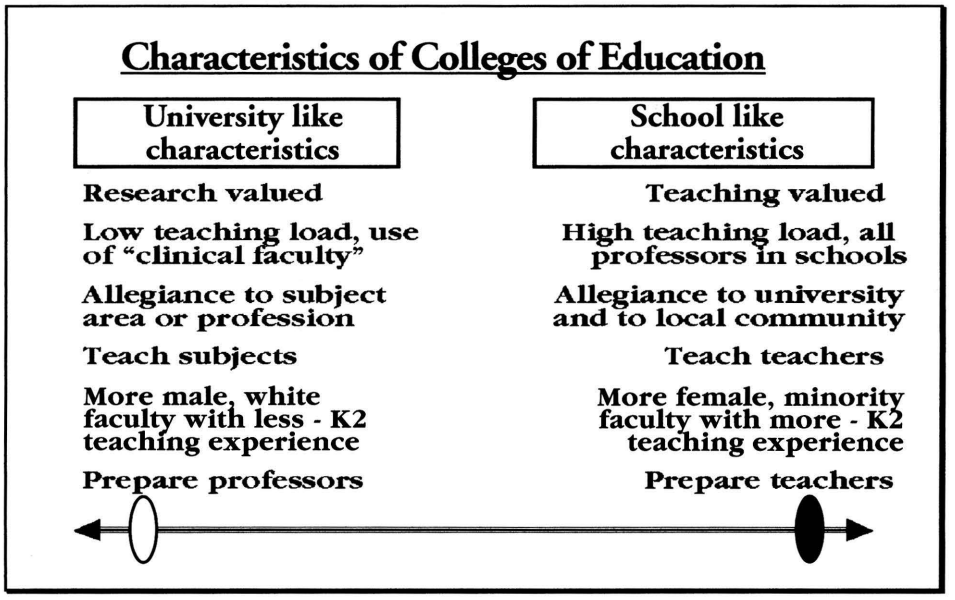
Figure 1. Faculty in Universities and Schools

Despite these differences, universities and schools must work together to prepare teachers. Teacher education programs constitute a large portion of university enrollment, yet there is a general perception that universities do not perform this function well. Professors in the college of education are often held in low regard by others in the larger university (Clark 1985; Clifford and Guthrie 1988). K-12 teachers themselves often speak negatively about their education coursework; many find it irrelevant to the daily work they do in classrooms (Lortie 1975; Johnson 1990).

The structure and function of colleges of education explains much about this less-than-positive view of teacher education. If schools are "hot" places, and universities are "cool" places, then colleges of education, in their attempts to mediate between these environments, can be considered "lukewarm." Professors in colleges of education, because they straddle the roles of university faculty and trainers of practitioners, embody many problematic features of the school-university divide. The faculty of colleges of education usually began their careers as teachers in K-12 schools, but their advanced degrees are a passport out of the schools. The time they spend outside of the university that is not directly related to the production of research often goes unrewarded and unrecognized (Clifford and Guthrie 1988; Goodlad 1990; Wisniewski and Ducharme 1989). It is not surprising in these circumstances that education faculty members are ambivalent about their work with teachers in K-12 schools.

Not all colleges of education can be grouped into a single category, however. Just as schools and universities can be arrayed along the hot and cool spectrum, so too can colleges of education. On the "cool" end of the continuum are colleges of education with university-like characteristics: places where research is the most valued activity; where the teaching load is relatively light and clinical faculty or adjuncts are employed to supervise fieldwork; where professors' allegiance is to their subject area and profession, rather than their local community or the university; where professors think of themselves as teachers of sociology or research methods, rather than teachers of teachers; where there are mostly male and white faculty with little or no K-12 teaching experience; where preparing professors and researchers is the top priority. On the "hot" end of the continuum are those colleges of education with school-like characteristics: where teaching is the most valued activity; where professors have high teaching loads and all of them spend time in schools with pre-service and in-service teachers; where the allegiance of the faculty is to the university and to the local community rather than the "profession;" where faculty think of themselves as teachers of teachers, not teachers of subjects; where there are more female and minority faculty with extensive K-12 teaching experience; where the primary activity is preparing teachers (see Figure 2).

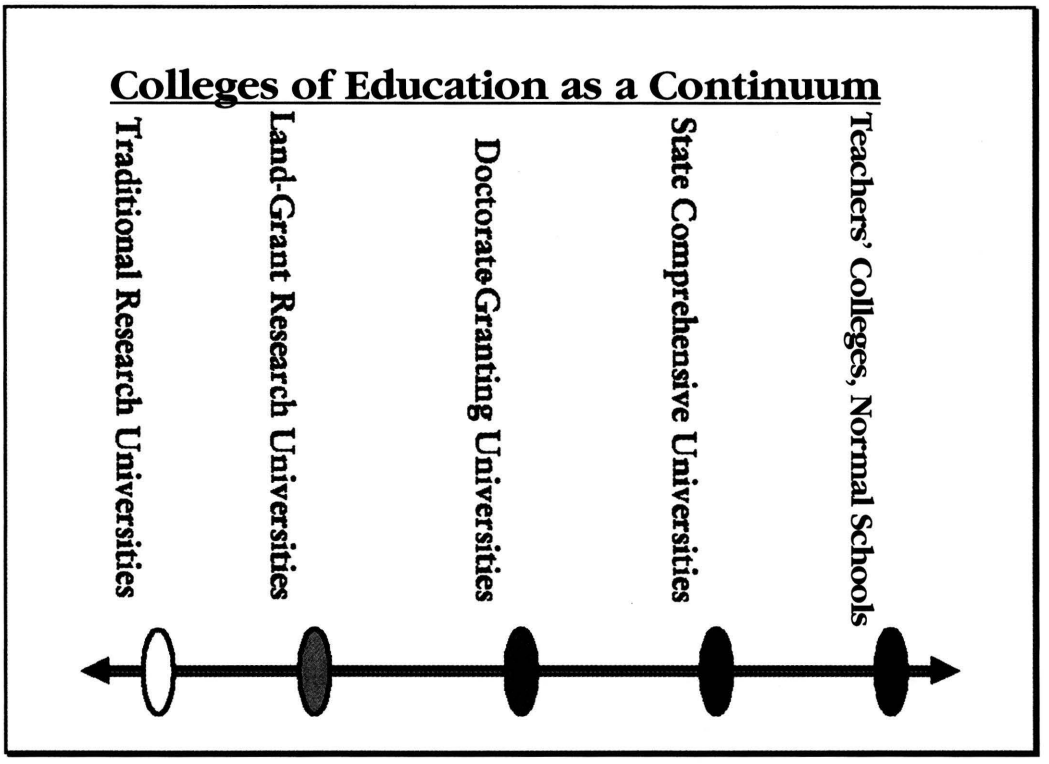
Figure 2. Characteristics of Colleges of Education



Most colleges of education fall somewhere between these two extremes. Closer to the "cool" end of the continuum are the research universities, both private and public institutions where research is expected and valued, and where teacher preparation is not the highest priority. On the "hot" end of the spectrum are the state comprehensive universities that often began as regional normal colleges exclusively for training

teachers. Those that still exist have been able to do so by adding programs in fields other than education; these institutions still prepare most of the teachers for public schools in the U.S. In the middle of the continuum are other institutions, often private or religious, which prepare both teachers and administrators for public and non-public schools. Many of these "middle" institutions offer Ed.D. programs for aspiring administrators (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Colleges of Education as a Continuum



Reforming Colleges of Education

Sporadic efforts to bridge the gap between K-12 schools and colleges of education developed into a coherent reform movement in the 1980s. The Holmes Group issued *Tomorrow's Teachers* (Holmes Group 1986), and the Carnegie Forum released *A Nation Prepared* (Carnegie Forum 1986). Both reports emphasized fundamental reforms for the education and professional development of K-12 teachers: more subject-matter preparation; formal recognition of different levels of teaching competency; and a workplace more conducive to ongoing professional development. All of the recommendations require greater cooperation and understanding between the school and the university.

There is a growing body of literature that points to K-12 schools as the best setting for meaningful teacher learning (Fullan and Hargreaves 1992; Lieberman 1992; Sarason 1990; Smylie 1995; Wideen 1992). Altering the culture of universities and K-12 schools described above to allow for partnerships in teacher learning, however, is likely to be difficult. The following study explored this change process: What constrains universities and their colleges of education from connecting to teaching practice in K-12 schools? What enables or encourages universities and their colleges of education in connecting to teaching practice in K-12 schools? In addition to the national thrust for reform of teacher education, the local context is an important factor in how and why change occurs. This study examined these fundamental questions during a particular period (1972-1997) in a single city, Chicago.

Chicago's Universities and the Chicago Public Schools

The general reluctance of university faculty to become directly involved in K-12 public schools was reinforced in Chicago by the image, and in many cases, the reality, of the Chicago Public Schools (CPS). Throughout the 1960s and 70s, as middle-class families moved out of the city, the school system's tax base eroded and along with it, public confidence. The CPS had devolved into a patronage system with little sense of accountability to students, parents, or the public. A long series of crises characterized the school system for a more than a decade. In 1979, a fiscal crisis led to the creation of the School Finance Authority to oversee the Board of Education's fiscal operations. Reports issued by watchdog groups revealed deep problems within the schools, including dropout rates as high as 75 percent in some high schools, and widespread fiscal mismanagement. Recommendations for improving operations were ignored (Hess 1990; Moore 1990; O'Connell 1991).

During a 1987 visit to Chicago, U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett declared the Chicago Public Schools the "worst in the nation." *The Chicago Tribune* quickly followed up with an extended series chronicling indifference, complicity, and outright fraud by the adults who were supposed to educate Chicago's children (Chicago Tribune 1988). By the mid-1980s, just as the Holmes and Carnegie groups were encouraging closer collaboration between schools and universities, the CPS were sinking into a greater state of disarray. As one university professor put it: "Chicago Public Schools were tough schools where no one wanted to be, not students, not teachers, not parents, and *certainly not university people*."

After a bitter and divisive nineteen-day teachers' strike in 1987, the ninth in eighteen years, Mayor Harold Washington called an education summit to address the problems in the public schools. Mayor Washington died shortly after the summit, but the reformers, parents, and business people he had gathered continued to work to forge a reform law for Chicago.

At no point during any of these crises of the 1970s and 1980s did Chicago's universities or colleges of education have serious, sustained, institutional responses to the problems of the CPS (Cross et. al 1995; Katz 1992; McKersie 1993). The universities as institutions operated at the margins of the school system, trying to prepare teachers and principals and offering a few special programs. In Chicago, the hot-cold dichotomy that describes school-university relations appeared to be extreme; the Chicago Public Schools were on fire and Chicago's universities were on ice.

Chicago School Reform and the Universities

When PA 85-1418, the Chicago School Reform Act of 1988 (CSRA), was passed by the Illinois State legislature, universities had no voice in crafting the law. The 1988 CSRA reorganized the governance of the CPS, creating elected Local School Councils (LSCs) at each school, made up primarily of parents and community members. LSCs had the power to select a principal for their school and to allocate an average of $500,000 in state anti-poverty funds for purposes that best served their own school.

Although universities were not present for the negotiations nor named in the main provisions of the law, aspects of the organization of K-12 schools under the 1988 CSRA had direct consequences for universities and their colleges of education. Decentralization to the school level meant that schools could—had to—operate without help from the central office, and forced Local School Councils and principals to seek assistance wherever they could find it. The 1988 CSRA allocated supplemental funds directly to schools. As a result of the individual schools' new independence from the notoriously mismanaged central administration, additional money started to flow from foundations and businesses to help individual schools with their reform efforts (McKersie, 1993). Many schools and reform groups chose to use their new resources and autonomy to buy the expertise of university faculty members. Spurred by the barrage of requests from the schools, the Deans of ten area colleges of education gathered in 1989 to organize their responses to school reform. They called their new group the Council of Chicago Area Deans of Education (CCADE).

The subsequent 1995 Chicago School Reform Act, PA-89-0015, was a recentralization of some aspects of school management. The 1995 CSRA put the Mayor of the city of Chicago in charge of the school system; he was able to hand-pick both the school board and a corporate-style management team with new budgeting and accountability powers. For the universities, the important thing about the 1995 CSRA was that it actually named the Dean of the College of Education at the University of Illinois at Chicago, with the cooperation of the Council of Chicago Area Deans of Education, a group that came together only in response to the 1988 CSRA, as providers of newly mandated Local School Council Training. The level of university involvement in the CPS had clearly changed in the seven years between the passage of the two reform acts.

There was university activity related to both Chicago School Reforms around many issues, including the planning of governance strategies, the conduct of research, and the

training of Local School Councils. However, these unusual activities, for the most part, were funded with "soft money" and existed on the periphery of the university, as special projects or "centers," or as the pet projects of individual professors, typical of "episodic" relationships between schools and universities (AASCU 1995; Carnegie 1973; Gross 1988). Many were not intended to have any direct effect on the students in CPS classrooms.

Teacher Education in Chicago

What of the universities' core interaction with the schools, the one that is most likely to have an effect on student learning: the preparation and ongoing professional development of their teachers? What might cause changes in this university function? These questions are not peripheral; over fifty percent of teachers currently practicing in the CPS were trained in universities within Chicago and most CPS teachers attend the city's universities for continuing education. Given this tremendous potential for influencing the schools, is there any evidence that Chicago's colleges of education have made moves toward the goals recommended by the teacher education reform movement? Has something about the 1988 CSRA, or other changes in the schools or in the universities, enabled or encouraged the colleges of education to connect to practice in the Chicago Public Schools?

Anecdotal evidence suggested that universities *had* worked to change the way they prepared teachers for the CPS. Teachers and principals, school reform leaders, and deans declared that Chicago's colleges of education were connecting more closely to teacher practice in the CPS through a wide range of programs. But were they? In what ways? Why?

Research Methodology

To answer these questions for Chicago, it is necessary to place its universities and their colleges of education in operational context. Universities face many types of constraints and incentives in working with K-12 schools, and they come from different levels. Changes in any type of influence at one of the levels can affect all of the others. At the national level, there are federal programs, such as the Federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), and professional groups, such as the American Educational Research Association (AERA). The legislature and the Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE) shape individual state policies. In Chicago, the mayor has influence at the city level, and the schools board's central office shapes conditions for schools. There are active foundations, a powerful teachers union, and an array of reform groups that can influence schools and thus teacher development programs. Within universities, the central administration and faculty governing bodies have influence on programs throughout the university. Within the college of education, a dean or department chair can sway the direction of a program. Changes can occur not only at the various levels of influence, but also in the types of influence, which include fiscal incentives, legal and regulatory influences, professional standards, and leadership and advocacy (see Table 1).

Table 1. Levels and Types of Influence on Teacher Education

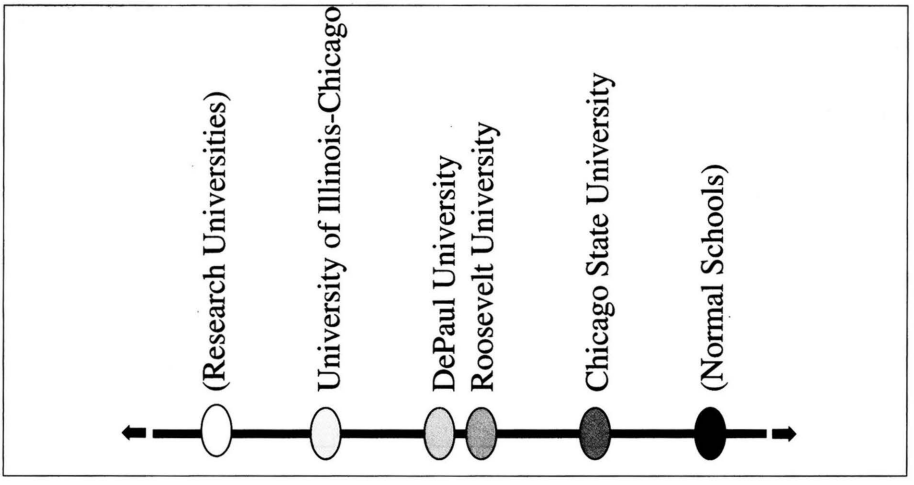
Actors by Level	Types of Influence			
	Fiscal	**Legal and Regulatory**	**Professional Standards**	**Advocacy and Leadership**
National				
>Federal Programs	>Federal Chapter 1 $	>Federal Mandates >IDEA >Affirmative Action		>Secretary of Education
>Accreditation Agencies			>NCATE	
>Professional Associations			>Holmes Group >NBPTS >AERA >Subject area Professional Orgs.	>National Reform Groups
State				
>Legislature	>School Funding >State University funding	>1988 Reform >1995 Reform		>Legislative Leaders
>ISBE		>Certification Rules		>State Superintendent of Schools
City				
>City Government				>Mayor
>School District/Board	>School Board Contracting	>1988 Reform >1995 Reform >Central Office Directives		>Schools CEO
>University Collaborations			>Council of Chicago Deans of Education >Teachers for Chicago	
>Foundations	> Grants			> Program Officers
>Teachers Union	>Union Contract	>Union work rules		>CTU President
>Reform Groups				>Policy Advocates
University				
>Central Administration	>Suburban Campuses >Tuition			**>University Mission** **>University President**
>Faculty Governing Bodies		>Degree Requirements	>Tenure Review	
College of Education				
>Administration	>Tuition >Courseload			**>Dean**
>Departments	>Appointments /hiring	>Program requirements	>Program Design >Faculty interests	**>Department Chairs**
>Students	>Demand for programs			
>Individual Faculty	>Consulting		>Tenure Review >Seniority	

This framework is not intended simply to describe the levels and types of influence on the work of university faculty with teachers in schools, but also to discover *how* they work. What mix of university mission, district deregulation, foundation grant-making, state policy, and national movements will move universities and their colleges of education toward closer connections with K-12 schools?

To understand these changes over time, I chose four Chicago colleges of education and studied their relationships with the Chicago Public Schools from 1972-1997. This period encompasses a sufficient amount of time to establish baseline conditions for each case, before the national movements of teacher education reform espoused by the Holmes Group and the Carnegie Forum in the mid 1980's might have spurred some of these changes. The period from 1972-1997 is also a time of tremendous upheaval and crisis in the CPS, conditions that are constant across the cases.

I focused on the universities and their colleges of education as the units of analysis, in order to describe the change process within the colleges of education. The four universities represent a variety of institutional types arrayed along the continuum of colleges of education described above (see Figure 4). Chicago State University was founded as Cook County Normal School in 1867. DePaul University is a Vincentian Catholic university, and Roosevelt University is a private comprehensive university; both have an explicit mission of urban service. The University of Illinois at Chicago is a land-grant Research I institution. Between them, these universities and their colleges of education have prepared over one-third of all the teachers currently practicing in the CPS. Using documentary and interview data, I studied each university within its own multi-level context and described the changes in teacher education that have occurred from 1972-1997.

Figure 4. Chicago Colleges of Education as a Continuum



I conducted a brief pilot study at Roosevelt University in 1997 to determine the availability of documentary data. Then, after reading some basic information about each institution, I contacted the dean of the college of education at each university to request permission to conduct my study, and to ask for a designee to be assigned to assist with my data collection.

The designee, usually an associate dean or dean emeritus, helped me to compile a list of faculty who are or were directly involved with teacher education. I sampled faculty from different cohorts (those with less than ten years, between ten and twenty years, and more than twenty years experience at the university) and different departments or specialty areas (reading, elementary education, special education, bilingual education, etc.). I initially interviewed about ten faculty members at each institution, and at the end of each interview, I asked them to identify colleagues who would be important sources of information for my study. From this list, I selected five to ten more faculty members to interview. The total number of faculty interviews conducted at all four institutions was fifty-nine. All faculty interviews were recorded and transcribed.

I read these transcripts and from them compiled a list of deans, former deans, and other administrators who were important to the evolution of each university's teacher education program. I constructed a separate interview protocol for these administrators, including special questions unique to each university. I interviewed a total of eighteen administrators, and these interviews were also recorded and transcribed. (See Table 2, for interview subjects).

Table 2. Interview Subjects

Interviews N = 77	**Chicago State**	**DePaul**	**Roosevelt**	**UIC**
Professors	18	13	13	15
Administrators	3	8	4	3
Total	21	21	17	18

Transcribed interviews were analyzed using Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software. Interviews were coded for content corresponding to the analytical framework represented by Table 1 (page 123) and also with open coding, allowing for themes to emerge from the data. I obtained documents that contain comparable descriptive data across all four cases. These include accreditation reports from the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) and from the Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE). In addition, I reviewed published histories of these institutions, media accounts of their efforts, and articles that were written by faculty and administrators about teacher education, school reform, and other relevant topics.

I constructed initial case accounts from documents and faculty interviews, which I described to the administrators during their interviews. They had the opportunity to refute or amend my preliminary findings, although none did. Drafts of each case study were distributed to administrators and professors for member-checking. Where comments from several readers converged, I re-examined the data and sometimes made adjustments to the case.

All of the case studies follow a basic format which includes a brief description of the university, its college of education, and their ties to the CPS; historical background on each institution; evidence of new connections to the CPS; a list of influences on the

college's efforts, keyed to the analytical table (Table 1) on page 123; and a description of challenges each college has faced in its attempts to connect to the Chicago Public Schools.

Chicago State University: A Renaissance Based in Reality

Chicago State University (CSU) was founded in 1867, and is the oldest of all the teacher education institutions in the city. From 1897 to 1965, it was actually part of the Chicago Public School system, educating most of the teachers hired by the Chicago Board of Education. On the continuum of colleges of education, Chicago State University falls firmly on the "hot" side of the scale, with many school-like characteristics and strong connections to the Chicago Public Schools (see figure 4). Most CSU students are graduates of the Chicago Public Schools, and most eventually teach in the CPS. CSU is not so much connected as wedded—for better or for worse—to the Chicago Public Schools, their students, and their teachers.

Despite the close historical and ongoing ties between the Chicago Public Schools and Chicago State University, in recent years CSU professors have noted an open hostility toward CSU and its graduates on the part of several top administrators in the CPS. Chicago State University professors express frustration about this; they know they will draw many students who want to teach in the CPS, and feel that the two institutions should work together in support of these teachers. "I don't get the sense that CPS thinks we're in an ivory tower, my sense is that they think we turn out rotten teachers." (CSU Administrator) How did a college that was once a part of the CPS, and that still educates so many teachers for the system, come to have such a poor reputation and what could be done to improve it?

Chicago State University's past and its connections to the Chicago Public Schools
Chicago State University was founded in 1867 by the Cook County Board of Supervisors as an experimental teacher training school. By 1897, the Chicago Board of Education assumed governance and renamed it Chicago Normal School. For the next sixty-eight years, the Chicago Normal School changed names and added locations, offered new degree programs and grew in enrollment. In 1965, the state of Illinois assumed governance over the college, folding it into the state university system and settling on the name Chicago State University in 1971.

In 1972, as the period of this study begins, Chicago State University had just moved from the near south side Englewood neighborhood to its current location on Chicago's far south side. The change in location led to a tremendous change in student demographics. Between 1969 and 1992 the CSU student body transformed from a population evenly distributed between African-American and white students, to a population over 90 percent African-American. This change was to have long-lasting consequences for CSU, as this administrator describes:

When I came in 1972. . .we had begun to transition from an all white or predominately white to a predominately African-American population. I saw some changes at that time, but frankly they were not for the better. . . I saw a population of students who needed support, and weren't always getting it, and I saw a lowering of the standards. I saw a lot of dumbing down, and a patronizing attitude toward the students. The faculty at the time was still predominately majority [white], and as we came over to [this campus] a lot of the faculty was still intact. So you had this sort of cultural mismatch between students and faculty. (CSU Administrator)

By 1984, this path of underprepared African-American students entering Chicago State University via the Chicago Public Schools had been identified by researchers (Orfield et al, 1984). Their report described a pattern of limited educational access on the city's south side that involved CSU and was based on the residential segregation of the city. South side African-American students from historically segregated and under-resourced Chicago public high schools were "funneled" into segregated and under-resourced city and state colleges including Chicago State University. Those who made it as far as CSU often became teachers in the same public schools where they were educated. This cycle created a cadre of teachers who had limited experience with high quality education due to patterns of discrimination in the schools. These teachers, because of their limited experiences, were likely to perpetuate patterns of poor quality schooling for African-Americans that persisted from the days of legal segregation.

By 1993, within twenty-eight years after the Chicago Board of Education had relinquished control of the Chicago Teachers' College, it had been transformed into a comprehensive state university on a modern campus in a south side neighborhood. Its student body was about 90% African-American. In that year, Genevieve Lopardo, a twenty-year veteran professor of Chicago State University, became Dean of the College of Education. Her knowledge of CSU and its students, and her own ties to the CPS, guided her efforts to institute programs to strengthen connections to the Chicago Public Schools in two fundamental ways.

Evidence of Chicago State University's closer connections to the Chicago Public Schools Field-based programs. Chicago State University's new link to the CPS is through field-based teacher preparation programs. Field-based programs are offered in school settings. CSU students can study elementary, bilingual elementary, secondary, and special education programs in CPS schools, with CPS students and teachers.

Students need to be in schools, it doesn't do any good for them to take courses here, in this sterile environment. They need to be in schools where they can actually get a sense of what the environment is like, what the real workings of the schools are. We're trying to prepare teachers to be successful in urban schools, and unless they're in urban schools and have an opportunity to see what happens there, they would be overwhelmed when they go in there as student teachers. (CSU Professor)

The presence of Chicago State University programs in Chicago public schools has obvious benefits for CSU students, but they also provide extra assistance for CPS teachers and students, as well as offering CSU professors opportunities to be in schools on a daily basis and maintain links to teaching practice.

Student Support Programs. Chicago State University's second major change was putting in place programs to improve student academic performance. Given the high percentage of CSU graduates in the Chicago Public Schools, raising standards and offering support in meeting those standards is a way of strengthening the existing connection to the CPS by offering better-prepared teachers. Under Dean Lopardo's leadership, a number of key changes were made to simultaneously raise standards for students and offer support programs so they could meet the new higher standards.

There are four main categories of support programs that have been instituted since 1993: preparation for state certification exams, support for professional writing requirements, informal instruction in oral language usage, and screening and support prior to student-teaching. A CSU professor explained the necessity of these programs:

> *I think we're very responsive. . . . Many students come unprepared because they're coming from CPS. So, I don't think that you should be relegated to eternal damnation because your parents had to send you to CPS. I think that we do have to give the students some type of help, it's not that they're stupid, it's just simply they have not been taught. They need somebody to teach them. I'm not sure that that should be the mission of a four year institution . . . but students have been admitted so now what do you do with them? (CSU Professor)*

Together, the field-based programs and the student support programs are an impressive program of reform for an institution which already had strong ties to the CPS.

What influenced Chicago State University to make these connections?

Fiscal Influences. Several of CSU's field-based programs have been funded by the MacArthur and Joyce Foundations. This "seed money" has been very important, and the success of these programs has led the state to assume funding in some cases.

Legal and Regulatory Influences. The Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE) regulations that affect teacher education include teacher testing as well as mandated "clinical hours" for pre-service teachers to spend in schools. For Chicago State University, ISBE rules for "clinical hours" and testing support both the field-based programs and the student support programs based on standards. ISBE regulation serves as reinforcement for reforms CSU wanted and needed to make.

Professional Standards Influences. For a "lower tier" school like CSU, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) accreditation is crucial. NCATE addresses the issue of CSU's reputation, offering a sort of "quality approval." It also forces the self-reflection and intellectual engagement necessary for a strong program that can maintain and raise standards for its own students and adapt to the needs of the schools. Although not specifically requiring either field-based or remedial programs, NCATE's accreditation process assured that the College of Education would ground these reforms in professional standards, and that NCATE would reinforce and reward these standards-based reforms.

Advocacy and Leadership Influences. The strongest influence on the changes within the College of Education during the period of this study was most certainly the immediate past dean, Genevieve Lopardo. Part of her strength is the advantage of having come up through the ranks; as a professor hired in 1972, to chair of the reading department from 1976-1993, to the deanship, which she assumed in 1993. Her strong will and determination were also important factors in her success with implementing these reforms.

> *I think we all had the idea or at least enough of us had the idea that we needed to get out there [into schools] and I think [Dr. Lopardo] was strong enough to convince chair people, and in some cases even dictate that this was the way it was going to be; she has a strong personality. (CSU Professor)*

Challenges to creating closer connections between Chicago State University and the Chicago Public Schools

Faculty teaching load. Chicago State University's required teaching load is the heaviest of the four case-study institutions. Officially, this means teaching five courses one semester and four the next, but most faculty teach an overload of courses due to faculty shortages, especially in certain fields like special education. This heavy load constrains faculty efforts to work in schools, although the field-based teacher preparation programs help to mitigate this issue by putting professors in schools to teach some of their courseload.

New Research Emphasis. Chicago State University installed a new president in 1997, and she has encouraged faculty to pursue and publish research, despite CSU's high teaching loads. This new agenda will require new funds to release faculty from teaching, or will be an additional item competing with school-based programs for faculty time.

DePaul University: Maintaining the Mission and Encouraging the Entrepreneur

DePaul University was founded in 1898 by priests of the order of St. Vincent DePaul. Vincentian priests have an explicit mission to serve the poor, and DePaul's role in the city of Chicago and especially in the city's schools is tied to this mission. DePaul's

School of Education falls in the center of the continuum described above. DePaul values teaching and expects professors to teach seven courses per year, but professors are also encouraged to pursue and publish research. DePaul prepares many teachers, and offers extensive graduate programs to prepare counselors and principals, including a brand new Ed.D. program. DePaul's connections to the Chicago Public Schools are multi-dimensional. Only a small number of DePaul students are CPS graduates, but many choose to teach in the CPS. DePaul faculty are also involved in direct service to CPS schools in a variety of ways.

DePaul University's mission to serve the poor exists in delicate balance with the need to generate tuition revenue. Cycles of growth and decline have marked DePaul's financial fortunes over the century, and education has also been captive to these market forces. In the past decade, DePaul's School of Education has experienced explosive growth, with both students and faculty doubling in number, substantial additions to its graduate offerings, and a very public extension of its presence in the CPS. This increase in DePaul's involvement in the CPS was not inevitable; deliberate, conscious decisions, linked explicitly to the university's Vincentian mission, and tied to market forces, made it happen. How can DePaul, a Catholic institution with a mission to serve the poor, maintain its integrity and its ties to the CPS while responding to the education marketplace?

DePaul University's past and connections to the Chicago Public Schools

DePaul University began in 1898 as a seminary and high school for boys in the Lincoln Park neighborhood. After a shaky start, DePaul grew steadily, adding a Law School in the downtown Loop in 1911, and Schools of Commerce and Music in 1913. In 1911, DePaul served its first female students, when Catholic women, mostly nuns, sought teacher certification during summer education courses. Teacher training programs continued to grow in the teens and 20's, and continued to be populated mainly by teachers from the city's Catholic schools, although DePaul has always been ecumenical and open to non-Catholic students and faculty alike.

Throughout DePaul's history, but especially during the Depression and the war years, DePaul was plagued by financial difficulties. Enrollment, and revenue, fluctuated with the financial fortunes of the students. DePaul's financial problems abated after WWII, when returning soldiers taking advantage of educational benefits in the G.I. Bill swelled DePaul's ranks and coffers. By 1948, on its fiftieth anniversary, this influx of soldiers had doubled DePaul's enrollment from 4,817 to 9,485 in one year, making it for a time the largest Catholic university in the world. Unfortunately, academic quality suffered even as the financial situation stabilized. After several years of unchecked growth, in 1950 DePaul nearly lost its accreditation.

DePaul weathered this storm by requiring higher credentials from faculty and encouraging research, a pattern that would continue until the present day. Education continued to be an important part of DePaul's offerings, and a separate School of Education was

established in 1962. In the late 1970s "Catholic, Vincentian, and Urban" became the watchwords of a new commitment to DePaul's mission, a mission that the School of Education served with increasing forays into the Chicago Public Schools.

During the same period, demographic fluctuations took their toll on the School of Education. As the population of baby boom children dwindled, teacher demand fell and fewer students chose to enroll in teacher education. Enrollment sank in the early 1980's and although demographics dictated a steady rise in enrollment, in 1988 the School of Education was subsumed into the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Although initially a blow, this hiatus provided some unexpected benefits to the cause of teacher education at DePaul.

> *We were a part of the liberal arts college. . .We were a program, department if you will, in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and there were blessings. We actually got more access to funds, to resources. Prior to that, the School of Education never had access to grant assistance. (DePaul Professor)*

By the late 1980's the Board of Trustees had adopted a plan for DePaul to expand and improve over the coming decade. The "quality through growth" philosophy was a perfect match with the plans for education at DePaul. During their time as a unit in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, education faculty designed several new programs in teacher education. Due to new students in these programs, the School of Education increased in enrollment (and revenues) from 558 students in 1987 to 1,237 students in 1993. Education was made into a separate school again in 1992. Recently, the university has placed even more emphasis on the urban mission, and has aggressively pursued partnerships, grants, and contracts with outside entities, a strategy which perfectly coincides with the School of Education's strengths.

Evidence of DePaul's Closer Connections to the Chicago Public Schools

Direct services to schools, teachers, and students. DePaul's involvement in the CPS over the past decade is usually associated with "the two Barbaras," Dean emerita Barbara Sizemore and Director of the Center for Urban Education (CUE) Barbara Radner. Radner, a faculty member since 1980, has developed a network of CPS schools and teachers. CUE, which is funded entirely by grants, works under contract with CPS schools that are on probation for low test scores, offers professional development programs for teachers, and trains returned Peace Corps volunteers to teach in the CPS.

> *Barbara Radner has been a tremendous influence for many, many years. She pre-dates Barbara Sizemore; she had all of these wonderful programs going in economic education, and she is always writing grants, a tremendous grant writer, and working with teachers. So Barbara Radner has been doing this for some twenty something odd years, but I think Barbara Sizemore took the next step. (DePaul Administrator)*

Barbara Sizemore, who was dean from 1992-1998, used her long experience working in the Chicago Public Schools and her close relationship to the CPS administration to hire several key administrators from the CPS central office to oversee fieldwork and student teaching placements in Chicago public schools. She also created and sustained a program called the School Achievement Structure (SAS). SAS schools, which are among the most academically troubled in the city, follow "ten routines" outlined in the SAS program to improve achievement by creating a more orderly and purposeful school climate (Sizemore 1998).

The School of Education's involvement with the federally funded *America Reads* program benefits DePaul students as well as CPS students. DePaul students are paid to take chartered buses to CPS elementary schools, where they spend about ten hours a week tutoring students in reading. "We're saying, come work with us, work with the kids in the profession that you're interested. We have a lot of liberal arts people that have explored this, and from that they want to go into teaching" *(DePaul Administrator).* The pursuit and administration of this grant is a perfect example of how DePaul faculty and staff have learned to grow programs that directly benefit their own bottom line while also assisting the Chicago Public Schools.

Expanded Teacher Education. Since 1987, DePaul has added three new teacher preparation programs at the graduate level with direct contacts to the CPS. The largest of these is the Teaching and Learning Program, which prepares college graduates to become teachers with a two-year sequence of coursework for certification and induction, leading to a Master's degree. Teaching and Learning Program students are often placed in CPS schools for student teaching, and many Teaching and Learning Program graduates go on to teach in the CPS. The Urban Teacher Corps (run by Barbara Radner out of the Center for Urban Education) and Teachers for Chicago are both programs for students who want an alternative route into teaching. Teachers for Chicago is a program sponsored jointly by the CPS, the Chicago Teachers Union, and eight universities (including all four in this sample), and it is described later in this article. The Urban Teacher Corps is designed primarily for returned Peace Corps volunteers and prepares Corps members with a year-long internship and concurrent coursework in CUE-affiliated schools. All three of these programs provide a "pipeline" into CPS teaching for DePaul students.

What influenced DePaul University to make these connections?

Fiscal Influences. Because DePaul's mission is to serve the poor and remain accessible to a wide range of students, there has never been a lot of money to work with. Mission and market play off of each other in an interesting way, in what can best be described as an entrepreneurial spirit.

> *We're going to grow and if you want more faculty, you have to generate more tuition revenue, and if you generate more you will get another faculty*

member, and therefore it's incumbent on us to admit as many students in this Teaching and Learning Program, for example, as we can admit. (DePaul Professor)

In addition to growing programs to generate tuition, some DePaul faculty actively pursue foundation grants. Grants at DePaul have been primarily for outreach programs and centers, not for teacher education. Centers and projects in the School of Education have been awarded grants from the Spencer Foundation, McCormick Tribune Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, the Chicago Annenberg Challenge, and McDonald's Corporation. America Reads is sponsored in part by a federal grant.

Legal and Regulatory Influences. The Chicago School Reform Acts of 1988 and 1995 were catalysts for some DePaul professors to become involved in the CPS. The 1988 School Reform Act was primarily a change of governance from a centralized to a decentralized system. The energy and promise surrounding that reform led to some limited kinds of faculty involvement, as members of Local School Councils or as consultants to individual schools.

Barbara Radner, as head of the Center for Urban Education, was well-positioned to take advantage of the schools' new autonomy. She offered curriculum and professional development services to schools through CUE, a practice that she continued under the 1995 reform regime.

The 1995 Chicago School Reform opened a door for Barbara Sizemore to involve DePaul in the CPS. She shared some core beliefs about education with Chicago Public Schools CEO Paul Vallas and became an important advisor to him.

Paul Vallas and Barbara Sizemore are buddies, and I mean in a professional way, but have great respect for each other. She was down there with him all the time. He counted on her advice, I'm sure, at multiple events. Through her, faculty were asked to join in on various sub-committees and be available to school principals and teachers in a variety of capacities. (DePaul Professor)

Leadership and Advocacy Influences. Leadership for education at DePaul is found on many levels. The starting point for leadership is the mission; nearly every person interviewed talked about DePaul as "Catholic, Vincentian, and Urban." The mission is not merely lip service at DePaul; faculty choose and are chosen by DePaul because of their personal convictions regarding service and school-based connections.

Leadership at DePaul has a "fluid" quality. Many professors have held leadership roles for periods of time, and stay on as professors after their administrative term is completed. Some of these faculty members and administrators were considered by their colleagues to be instrumental to developing and implementing positive changes in the School of Education. Peter Pereira, on the faculty since 1970, is one whose influence has been especially strong and steady. He was named by many faculty and administrators as the "godfather" of the Teaching and Learning Program. Barbara Sizemore and

Barbara Radner, mentioned above, used personal ties and entrepreneurial opportunities at DePaul to strengthen connections with CPS schools. Barbara Sizemore's arrival in particular signaled a new era in relations between DePaul and the CPS. "She was a former principal in the CPS and she had a lot of contacts with people who she worked with in the CPS, and those relationships and associations and so on, led to a very strong link or bonding really with the CPS." (DePaul Professor)

Also important to the growth of the School of Education were Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs Richard Meister, and former Provost Gladys Johnston. Johnston pushed for education to become an autonomous school again in 1992 and recruited and hired Sizemore to be the dean. Richard Meister's insistence on the "quality through growth" strategy helped to inspire the programs and centers that connected DePaul to the CPS while maintaining budget solvency.

Challenges to creating closer connections between DePaul and the Chicago Public Schools

Teaching Load and Simultaneous Pressure for Research. DePaul professors teach seven courses per year, which leaves very little time for formal research and writing during the school year. DePaul has recently attained Carnegie Research II status and faculty are expected to do much more formal research than they did in the past. This demand for research, coupled with the renewed emphasis on connections to schools, causes a great burden.

> *Our time is limited. I know some faculty members who may not get tenure because they are so busy, and so dedicated to working with their own DePaul students, or working with schools, or working with teachers that they basically have hung themselves by not doing the necessary scholarship. . . Unless people are extremely resistant in saying no they get pushed into things that they should not be doing right now, because the university is structured to squeeze blood from stone. (DePaul Professor)*

Seeking New Markets. DePaul has been very successful in the past decade in creating new programs that are also tied to the CPS. However, DePaul has also created new programs with ties to suburban districts.

> *Many of our faculty meetings are head count reports. We are right now currently dropping in many of our programs. Teacher education was really on a rise for several years, and it's now in some cases reached a plateau. We have a graduate program, career change program, for people that have undergrad degrees, but want to now become teachers, and that was huge three years ago. We are now plateauing and reaching a decline in our campus courses. So, you know what we're doing? We're starting it out in Naperville, and Oak Forest, and we're trying to see if it will survive out there. (DePaul Professor)*

Most recently, DePaul has merged with north suburban Barat College, giving it a home base and facility in one of the most affluent areas in the state of Illinois. Although these new markets are entirely consistent with the entrepreneurial spirit of DePaul, they may be difficult to reconcile with the mission of serving the city and its underprivileged populations.

Roosevelt University: An Urban University adds a Suburban Site

Roosevelt University began in 1946 as a walkout of half the faculty of Chicago's Central YMCA College. The "rebels" were protesting enrollment quotas at the college that excluded racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. The breakaway faculty named their new college for Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, and ever since, the university has strived to uphold the standards of equity and justice that were its founding premise. On the continuum of colleges of education, Roosevelt is located in the center. Roosevelt professors have many ties to the Chicago Public Schools and teach a heavy courseload; the College of Education has M. Ed. and Ed.D. programs that prepare graduates for administrative posts and occasionally, for university faculty positions. Many Roosevelt students are CPS graduates, and many return to the CPS as teachers and administrators (the President is fond of boasting that one CPS employee out of seven is a Roosevelt graduate). Roosevelt professors are the only ones in my sample who regularly supervise student teachers in the CPS rather than leaving this task to adjunct or clinical professors.

Roosevelt's College of Education sees its ties to the CPS as the embodiment of the university's founding mission: "We've always been educating first generation college students or those who would not otherwise go to college. Teachers from here are a lot closer to their [CPS] students' reality" (Roosevelt Professor). Recently Roosevelt University has expanded beyond its traditional base in the city to embrace a "metropolitan mission." This metropolitan approach is physically represented by a new campus in the northwest suburb of Schaumburg. Roosevelt had established a suburban satellite campus in the 1970's, that served a small portion of the total university population. The newly-built Robin Campus opened its doors in 1996 and now serves roughly half of Roosevelt's 7,000 students. How does a college with growing ties to a physically and culturally distant suburban population maintain a commitment to its founding mission and its ties to the Chicago Public Schools?

Roosevelt University's past and connections with the Chicago Public Schools

When Roosevelt College set up its headquarters in a south Loop office building in 1945, it was perfectly placed in time and space to serve returning WWII soldiers clamoring for education under the G.I. Bill. With its open admissions policy, Roosevelt was able to accept students from underserved populations, especially Jewish and African-American students who were excluded from other institutions in the city. In 1947 Roosevelt College moved into the landmark Auditorium Building on south

Michigan Avenue, cementing itself both physically and symbolically in the center of Chicago. Roosevelt College became Roosevelt University in 1954, when it merged with the Chicago Musical College. In subsequent years, colleges of business and adult education were added, and in 1972, education became an autonomous college.

Roosevelt's beginning as a "radical" institution based on equality and social justice helped it to acquire a distinguished faculty with progressive and innovative approaches to higher education. A classic example is Roosevelt's course offerings in Labor Education. These approaches did not exactly endear Roosevelt to potential corporate donors, and Roosevelt's modest alumni base of first-generation and minority college graduates meant that there was a constant scramble for money to support on-going programs.

Roosevelt was tied closely to the fortunes of the city of Chicago and its public schools, for most of Roosevelt's students came from the CPS. But the education faculty at Roosevelt also had a long progressive tradition and in the 1950's and 60's they were allied with progressive private and suburban schools as often as Chicago public schools. Later faculty were more inclined to work in the CPS, and sought support for their projects through a grant-sponsored Research and Development Center established along with the College of Education in 1972.

When enrollments in traditional teacher education programs dipped in the late 1970's and early 80's, Roosevelt faculty tried other programs, including training for Peace Corps volunteers, courses for corporate educators, and training for community college instructors. At the same time, the College of Education worked to increase enrollment in the University's small satellite campus in the northwest suburbs, established in 1978.

The 1970's also saw the beginning of a long series of innovation and programming tied to the Chicago Public Schools. Roosevelt's College of Education has employed many CPS teachers and administrators as adjunct faculty over the years.

> *The students loved having a classroom teacher teach, particularly a methods class. There is no doubt in their mind that they are getting the real stuff from this classroom teacher, and what they are hearing from us is just not as meaningful to them, or perceived to be as useful to them as that sense that this is someone who really knows. This is someone who can show me what they are doing in the classroom. They can bring in materials, they can demonstrate a lesson with authority. (Roosevelt Professor)*

When the 1988 Chicago School Reform Act was passed, Roosevelt responded in a predictably innovative fashion, with myriad programs, both large and small. Individual professors provided Local School Council training. A Teachers Task Force was housed at Roosevelt. Theodore Gross, installed as President in 1988, brought ideas about school-university partnerships that he had established in New York State (Gross 1988) to create an Education Alliance for Chicago. He also worked to bring the Chicago Area Writing Project to Roosevelt. Roosevelt was an early innovator and enthusiastic participant in cooperative programs with other universities. Teachers for Chicago (described

below) and a joint program with Loyola University for training CPS principals were two of the major cooperative projects in which Roosevelt faculty and administrators engaged. Roosevelt also created links to current CPS students through a Future Teachers club established in several CPS high schools.

Evidence of Roosevelt's closer connections to the Chicago Public Schools

Grant Funded Projects. Roosevelt's long history of grant support continued into the 1990's. Roosevelt faculty became external partners for two networks of CPS schools sponsored by the Chicago Annenberg Challenge. Other grants supported innovative teacher development projects in CPS schools, releasing professors from teaching at Roosevelt to spend time with practicing teachers. Professors felt that these grant-sponsored programs were beneficial for the schools, but that they also helped professors to improve their knowledge of current teaching conditions, which made them better equipped to teach their pre-service students.

Methods Courses Based in Chicago Public Schools. In the early 1990's Roosevelt faculty decided to move their methods courses into school settings. Building on their earlier relationships with CPS schools and teachers, faculty arranged for courses to be taught in CPS schools and fieldwork to occur in those same schools. This arrangement allowed for closer connections between Roosevelt students and CPS students and teachers, and gave Roosevelt faculty more opportunities to connect with Chicago public schools while maintaining their required courseload.

What Influenced Roosevelt University to make these Connections?

Fiscal Influences. Foundation grants have always been important to Roosevelt. Grants have often been the seed for funding innovation and reform, especially in leaner years when teacher surpluses meant reduced tuition dollars. In the 1990's Roosevelt has relied on foundation grants to free up faculty to work with teachers in a variety of ongoing professional development endeavors.

Professional Standards Influences. New faculty hired since 1995 with many ties to urban schools have renewed the sense of mission and innovation in the College of Education. "The status quo is never okay here," said one recently appointed professor.

Leadership and Advocacy Influences. As noted above, Roosevelt's mission of justice and equity is still very important in the College of Education. "The urban mission is taken seriously. A lot of people are very committed. They came to Roosevelt because they wanted to work in the city and they accept it and they want to do it" (Roosevelt Professor).

Leadership and support for this kind of work has come from both the president and dean. "[President] Ted Gross has been good for this place, he came with a lot of energy and that energy level never waned. He was very supportive of the College of Education when he came on board, because he had a partnership going with schools [at SUNY Purchase] when he came in" (Roosevelt Administrator).

Faculty have deep respect for George Olson, who was dean of the College of Education from 1984-1997. His leadership made the cooperative programs possible.

> *George Olson did tremendous outreach and made connections not only with Chicago Public Schools but with other institutions of higher learning that were trying to not fall over each other trying to provide services, but to coordinate our services to Chicago Schools, so I think George as a leader did a great deal in cementing those connections. (Roosevelt Professor)*

Olson was variously described as a "facilitator" and an "enabler;" he "cleared the way" and made it possible for faculty to pursue projects and grants to assist CPS schools.

Challenges to creating closer connections between Roosevelt and the Chicago Public Schools

Teaching load and simultaneous pressure for research. Roosevelt faculty are contracted to teach seven courses per year but almost everyone teaches an overload. When I interviewed faculty in 1998, some faculty were teaching seven courses in a single semester. "I have never been told I couldn't do something because of money, but at the same time I think the university gets a lot of bang for its buck, in terms of people who teach these huge overloads" (Roosevelt Professor).

Faculty also act as advisors to students; several professors cited advising rosters of more than fifty students. Most faculty said that this heavy advising and courseload made it challenging to spend time in schools on other endeavors.

> *If you were to talk to the President about it he would be right out there saying how important it is for us to be involved with schools, and how our teacher education program should be intimately linked to the Chicago Public Schools, so I think there is certainly support at that level, but I do not know how much that actually translates into the action of why I am teaching seven courses. Does that mean I get to drop a course so I can go out and do this work or not? (Roosevelt Professor)*

The pressures for teaching and service often butt up against research requirements.

> *But I think Roosevelt has a particular kind of image and really it's more of a service, you know, it isn't a publish or perish [place]. I think we run the risk of trying to be someone we aren't [if we pursue research too strongly], I think tarnishing that image and then having a tough time getting it back. (Roosevelt Administrator)*

Most faculty indicated that research and writing are the last items on their full agendas. But in recent years, several faculty members were denied tenure because of the lack of research production. These events have put faculty on notice and junior faculty struggle mightily to balance research with a very heavy teaching and service commitment.

The Suburban Campus and the Metropolitan Mission. Roosevelt's new Robin campus in northwest suburban Schaumburg has more than surpassed its goal of stabilizing Roosevelt's finances. The campus has also been successful in attracting a completely new and different student population.

All faculty are expected to teach at both campuses, and students are encouraged to take courses at both campuses as well (a shuttle van connects the two campuses throughout the day and evening). The College of Education has developed an innovative program called the Metropolitan Elementary Teacher Academy (META) that requires coursework and fieldwork in both the city and suburbs. META is one way of trying to use the two campuses as resources, to make teaching and learning at Roosevelt a positive, diverse experience, but the logistics of the commute make this difficult. "It's a nightmare to drive out there, almost now anytime. It's just horrible. So, if you're a faculty member and you're teaching at both campuses, and that's quite common, this commute becomes unbearable, we hate that" (Roosevelt Administrator).

When I conducted interviews in 1998 and 1999, faculty were beginning to admit that they identify with one campus or the other, that the metropolitan idea was a good one in theory, but the reality of the travel made it nearly impossible to maintain in any but the most superficial way. In addition to the distance, the culture of the students on the two campuses is very different. It is not clear if this will lead to different styles of teaching or different expectations of students, but despite the metropolitan rhetoric, it seems that Roosevelt may be on its way to becoming two different universities.

The University of Illinois at Chicago: Research and Revitalization

The University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) began in 1946 as a branch campus of the University of Illinois, but today's UIC can more rightly date its birth to 1978, when a "white paper" declared the university's intention to seek Carnegie Research I status. On the continuum of colleges of education described above, UIC falls firmly on the "cool" side of the scale, with a research focus, lighter teaching load, Ph.D. program, and full-time clinical faculty to conduct methods courses and supervise fieldwork in the CPS. At the same time, UIC is very conscious of its status as a land-grant institution and its accompanying charge to serve the people of Illinois. The College of Education draws students from the city and suburbs. There are some minority students, but "still the majority of our students are white females in the elementary education program. . . . They're coming from the suburbs and that's where they want to end up teaching." (UIC Professor) Most UIC education students did not attend Chicago Public Schools, although in recent years an impressively large group have taken their first teaching positions in Chicago, a direct result of the College of Education's efforts to strengthen its ties to the CPS.

UIC is continuing its quest for status by pursuing membership in the elite American Association of Universities (AAU) and courting academic stars to join the UIC faculty.

Concurrently, there is more emphasis on service to the city, with grant funds available to facilitate projects that carry out the land-grant mission. This ambitious and ambiguous agenda creates a tension between research and service that is especially evident in teacher education. How does UIC's College of Education remain dedicated to a quality teacher education program while managing these often conflicting goals of world-class research and local service?

The University of Illinois at Chicago's Past and its Connections to the CPS

The University of Illinois at Chicago began humbly on Chicago's Navy Pier in 1946. As a branch campus of the University of Illinois, it helped meet the great demand for education by returning WWII soldiers taking advantage of the G.I. Bill. The Navy Pier campus offered the first two years of undergraduate study and was intended to be temporary. The demand for higher education in Chicago never waned, and by 1954, the University of Illinois Board of Trustees approved the establishment of a permanent campus in Chicago. In 1965 the University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) opened its doors at its current location, just west of the downtown Loop. Degree programs were added, enrollment grew (from just over 8,000 students in 1965 to nearly 20,000 students in 1972) and the new UICC campus was fulfilling its mission to serve the educational needs of the metropolitan Chicago area.

The UICC College of Education perfectly reflected this mission during most of the 1970's. Teacher education was the backbone of the college at that time, but with the new research emphasis, that would soon change. In 1977, "undergraduate teacher education curricula were to be de-emphasized" in favor of an autonomous graduate program (UIC 1988). In 1978-79, an interdisciplinary Ph.D. program was developed. Inevitably, teacher education suffered.

> *When I first came here it was largely an undergraduate institution with some graduate programs that were supervised and approved by Urbana-Champaign campus. It was more like a small extension, and it's grown tremendously since then. So, there was a period, I suppose it might be in the late 70's early 80's, that we moved to try to serve graduate student populations more fully, and began to develop doctoral programs as well. So, that I think had an effect on the amount of emphasis that we could put on teacher education at the pre-service and bachelors degree level. (UIC Professor)*

By the early 1980's, the stage had been set for a conflict of priorities. In 1982, UICC and the research-oriented University of Illinois Medical Center one mile west merged to become the University of Illinois at Chicago. In 1987, UIC attained the coveted Research I designation. The university was emphasizing research as its primary goal, and that goal, for most professors on the tenure track, was at odds with the messy and time-consuming business of teacher education.

> *UIC was really trying to make a name as a research institution, and when you are trying to make a name as a research institution, doing the practical*

labor intensive non-research work of teacher education, which is how it was viewed, is not just going to be important. (UIC Professor)

Tenured faculty learned to stay away from undergraduate teacher education, and this complicated enterprise became the province of newly hired, untenured faculty. "We have a joke in the college, which is our program changes with the hiring of each new assistant professor and it's because there's been too much of a tendency to give over, particularly the undergraduate elementary program, to new hires and it's a mistake." (UIC Professor)

The emphasis on status drove faculty away from the city's troubled school system to the more prestigious suburban school systems.

Some of the faculty members live in the suburbs and they knew the teachers out there. . . They did research out there, it was status, it was better students, it was part of the university's drive to become a research university, therefore you go with the high achievers. (UIC Administrator)

By the late 1980's, undergraduate teacher education had become the college pariah, the program no one wanted to run or staff at the expense of their own tenure or promotion. UIC had become the first-rate research institution it had set out to be, leaving undergraduate teacher education to be reinvented with each successive change of personnel.

Evidence of UIC's Closer Connections to the Chicago Public Schools

Service Projects in Chicago Public Schools. In the mid 1980s, UIC began the Nation of Tomorrow project, a service initiative in four Chicago public schools involving several UIC colleges in delivering health, education, and social services to the schools' students and their families. "The Nation of Tomorrow project is heavily into this explicit urban commitment. We were always talking about urban mission, since I came. But that made it explicit and it put us in the kinds of communities where we weren't before in teacher education" (UIC Administrator).

Due in part to the success of Nation of Tomorrow, in 1993, UIC established the Great Cities program, an effort to combine service projects with research on urban problems.

The biggest change that occurred in the late '80s, early '90s was the shift back toward becoming re-integrated with Chicago. We had, during the '80s moved out of Chicago. Not completely, but it became quite difficult for a lot of reasons. But, with school reform and with the Great Cities business; our college moved into the city before the campus did. (UIC Professor)

The LSC training provisions in the 1995 Chicago School Reform Act (described above) originated at UIC. Dean Larry Braskamp and Professor Emeritus Bruce McPherson sat at the table with legislators and helped to craft the law. They were able to convince

lawmakers that UIC would be able to carry out this responsibility because of the earlier successes with grant-funded projects.

Placing Student Teachers in Chicago Public Schools. In 1990, the College of Education, spurred by successful experiences in the Nation of Tomorrow schools, voted to place student teachers in the undergraduate elementary education program exclusively in Chicago public schools. Some maverick professors had already been doing this on their own, but when it became policy it "changed the climate around here" (UIC Professor). As a result of this policy, by 1997, UIC had become the number one source for new teachers in the CPS, surpassing both Chicago State and Northeastern Illinois Universities, the two other state-funded campuses in the city.

> *That was a fairly political decision, but I think that it's good. You know, it's funny because you get the kids from the suburbs, and we are getting more and more people from the suburbs as our college is better and better. More people want to take advantage of this place here. They are in panic because the press shows Chicago schools to be so bad. So when they go into the schools what we are basically doing is making people like Chicago and stay there. So there is a lot of influence in our program. (UIC Professor)*

Clinical Faculty. Full time clinical faculty were added to the UIC faculty starting in 1996. These faculty are able to pay more attention to the teacher education programs and their field-based components, time-consuming activities that are difficult for tenure-track faculty to manage while pursuing a research program.

> *With outreach and just kind of really being present in schools beyond field instruction, it became too much for faculty. I think we could see that we needed to have people who really sustained relationships, try to have longer-term relationships sustained with teachers, schools, principals in communities where there is more turnover than some school districts, where there is more trouble-shooting needed. We needed to have people who knew a school, as opposed to hiring people on a per-student teacher basis. So that's where we went to clinical faculty. (UIC Administrator)*

What influenced UIC to make these connections?

Fiscal Influences. The Nation of Tomorrow and Great Cities projects were both funded by large grants from foundations.

Legal and Regulatory Influences. Both the 1988 and 1995 Chicago School Reform Acts had influence at UIC. The 1988 School Reform had a direct influence on the decision to place student teachers in the CPS. The individual schools had more autonomy, which made it easier to establish relationships with principals and mentor teachers. This autonomy made it easier to establish research relationships, too, as these were now made with individual schools and not through the central office. School

reform coincided with UIC's new service emphasis and freed up additional foundation funds for smaller projects in the schools. The 1995 reform brought Local School Council training to UIC.

Professional Standards Influences. With the new emphasis on service, the College of Education was able to attract scholars who had interests and expertise in urban education.

> *I think also that we've hired a group of faculty over the last ten to fifteen years, that however strategic or romantic they may be in thinking about this, really have their focus on the city's system and are strongly committed to preparing teachers to serve it well. . . that believes that it's highly important for us to serve the system in ways that we might not have ten years ago. (UIC Professor)*

Advocacy and Leadership Influences. UIC's re-emphasis on its urban land-grant mission was the justification for the early grant-funded forays into the CPS.

Leaders throughout the university, from the Chancellor and provost to the various deans have emphasized and supported service to the CPS. Larry Braskamp, dean from 1990-1996, emphasized the service programs, and Victoria Chou, dean since 1996 (and associate dean since 1990), has emphasized teacher education reforms. Chou's experience as a professor of reading predisposes her to be interested in teacher education; her long tenure at UIC (since 1978) has earned her the respect of the faculty.

> *[Teacher education] will be different with Vicki [Chou]. For one thing, Vicki is somebody who, I think all the faculty could say, "Alright Vicki, you design the program, we'll do it." You have enough regard for what she knows. She knows virtually every kind of orientation that any of this would take. . . So, yeah it will different under Vicki because Vicki is tired of this. (UIC Professor)*

Challenges to Creating Closer Connections Between UIC and the Chicago Public Schools

Research I Status, Requirements for Tenure, and Faculty Interests. The Nation of Tomorrow and the Great Cities initiatives encouraged faculty to move their research and service into CPS schools, but faculty still feel torn between these projects, their teaching in teacher preparation programs, and their need to conduct research that is tenure-worthy.

> *Even though UIC talks a lot about Great Cities Initiatives, and being urban and so on at the same time it talks about attaining AAU status, and we have not figured out how the two can happen on the same campus. (UIC Administrator)*

[Research is] clearly the major exercise; people will tell you otherwise, but that's a lie, which is part of that problem of mixed messages. The deans will say, we want you to be out in schools, and then they know those folks don't get tenure. It depends on the kind of research that you do. Some folks, the research and the teacher preparation really converge, so you are out supervising students, collecting data. If you are a qualitative researcher and you are doing a study in one classroom for a year they feed each other, for other folks the two are completely disconnected. (UIC Professor)

The presence of clinical faculty presents a different kind of challenge for a college that wants to stay connected to the CPS.

We are now moving in the direction of having teacher education developed and run by non-tenure track faculty. There are strengths in that, but the weakness in it, and I cannot overemphasize this, is that in this university you get clout and power from publication of research. In terms of resources and rewards, it delegates teacher education as second class, and I think that is a mistake. It lets research faculty off the hook. (UIC Professor)

Clinical faculty have less power, and they do the work that is most closely connected to teaching. Tenure track faculty are thus able to withdraw from work in schools if they choose to do so, and the pressure for research makes their choice an easy one.

Shared Connections Between the Universities and the Chicago Public Schools

All four of the colleges of education profiled above are unique, and they have all made connections to the Chicago Public Schools in ways that are consistent with their own histories and resources. But the really remarkable aspect of this research is the amount of inter-institutional cooperation that has occurred in Chicago since 1988. These universities are all potential competitors, in some cases for the same students, and in all cases for the same pool of grant dollars. Despite these obvious reasons for competition, the four universities developed some remarkable and unexpected partnerships that have benefited the colleges of education and the Chicago Public Schools.

Evidence of Closer Connections Between All Four Universities and the Chicago Public Schools

The Council of Deans. The Council of Chicago Area Deans of Education (CCADE) was formed in 1990. Deans had been communicating in pairs and small groups about their responses to the 1988 Chicago School Reform. They discovered that despite their institutional differences, they were all facing common problems in dealing with the CPS. To address these, a formal meeting was called in the office of the dean at UIC. These meetings became monthly gatherings that continue to this day.

All of the deans and former deans that I interviewed spoke frequently and strongly about the value of CCADE to their institution, and to their own personal professional development. "It was a very valuable experience for me to know how the other deans were solving these problems. I was a first time dean, and if I had not had that group, I really would have had only my superiors to go to, or my fellow deans on campus who have different situations" (Former Chicago Dean).

CCADE meetings led to collaboration on scales large and small. They sponsored conferences and speakers and lobbied for policy changes; they wrote grants and partnered with non-academic institutions around school improvement projects. One major development was the LSC training provisions that were written in the 1995 School Reform Act. The deans in my sample were emphatic that the LSC training would not have been assigned to universities without the structure of CCADE in place. Although LSC training was an unfunded mandate and was eventually subsumed by the CPS central office, the influence of collective action by the deans in 1995 was in sharp contrast to the development of the 1988 School Reform Act, which left out universities entirely.

Teachers For Chicago. Another major program developed by CCADE, in cooperation with the Chicago Public Schools and the Chicago Teachers Union was Teachers for Chicago. Teachers for Chicago was designed especially for adults who were interested in changing careers. After a lengthy application and screening process, Teachers for Chicago interns took summer coursework at one of eight cooperating universities, including all four in this study. The following fall, they were placed in Chicago public schools in clusters of three or more. Each TFC intern was assigned a regular CPS classroom and a mentor, a veteran CPS teacher who was freed up to work with all Teachers for Chicago interns at a single site. Teachers for Chicago interns worked in schools for two years at a reduced level of pay. Their excess salaries were used to pay the mentors and for tuition for their concurrent university coursework. Several hundred new CPS teachers were prepared through the Teachers for Chicago program, and the universities learned to collaborate with the system and the union to do it.

What Influenced All Four Universities to make these Connections to the Chicago Public Schools?

Fiscal Influences. Foundation grants were important for the individual institutions for creating programs, but grants assisted the planning process for the inter-institutional programs as well. After the Chicago-based foundations made initial grants following the 1988 school reform, other outside grants have followed. The Chicago Annenberg Challenge, Federal GEAR-UP grants, and a new Chicago Public Education Fund all stem from the early grant-funded programs in the universities and the CPS, and have provided funds for universities to continue partnerships in the CPS.

Legal and Regulatory Influences. The 1988 School Reform acted as the catalyst for forming CCADE and was a necessary precondition for getting foundation money flowing to places where it had not gone before.

Professional Standards Influences. The faculty hired since 1988 at all four institutions were attuned to the spirit of reform and service in the city and have provided much of CTU and CPS were all involved in collaborations with the universities; within the universities, leaders at the institutional, college, and department levels cooperated to encourage service to schools.

Common Challenges to Creating Closer Connections to the Chicago Public Schools

Suburb Creep. The two private institutions, DePaul and Roosevelt, have faced similar challenges in generating tuition dollars while maintaining commitments to the city. The pursuit of the former has led both institutions to establish programs in the suburbs. In the fall of 2000, DePaul University merged with Barat College, a small liberal arts college in the northern suburbs of Chicago. Roosevelt and National-Louis Universities are negotiating a merger that would expand the suburban offerings of both institutions. National-Louis has ties to the CPS, but it also has four of its own suburban satellite campuses. Innovation and adaptation that have been the watchwords for these two tuition-driven institutions have taken both DePaul and Roosevelt universities to new growth areas in higher education that are far outside of the city where they both began.

Increasing Pressure to do Research. Faculty at all four institutions felt pressure to conduct traditional research, a goal they felt was often at odds with the service and teaching they did in the CPS. Some faculty are expressing doubts about the value of this work: "I'm not even sure that some of this is worth doing, the research. The majority of what ends up in journals at this point, I can't use it [for teacher education]. I don't see the application. Of course, they are intellectually interesting" (UIC Administrator).

Common Lessons about Connecting to the Chicago Public Schools

At all of these universities, institutional norms are very powerful. The reward system within universities has to reward the sort of change that is desired. At the "hot" end of the continuum, this means facilitating time for professors to be in schools by reducing courseloads or moving courses into schools. At the "cool" end of the continuum, it means allowing for new and different kinds of research and greater attention to teacher education.

> *The first thing I would do to improve teacher education is to change the reward structure at UIC so that the nature of the work that's involved in teacher education is better recognized and rewarded, to bring it out of the shadows which is where it tends to live in a Research I type university. (UIC Administrator)*

Focused leadership both within and outside of the colleges of education can overcome the institutional norms to provide stronger connections to urban schools. At each institution, individual leaders came forward to champion work in the schools. Leaders

from outside the institutions, at the foundations, in the CPS, and the teachers union made many outreach and cooperative programs possible. And the Dean's Council brought leaders from all of the colleges of education together for collective action.

> *We [the Dean's Council] were truly just soulmates struggling together in learning some of this urban stuff, it was very important personally, professionally, they got support from their university presidents. The leadership of CPS would meet with us—we were one place to go instead of a dozen. (Former Chicago Dean)*

It is clear that in a city at large as Chicago, with a school system that needs so much assistance, there's a place for all. Universities and other community resources are best utilized for the good of the schools when they collaborate rather than compete.

> *Each of us is isolated from the other by structures like the Board of Education. We all recognize we're different. We bring different strengths, different knowledge to the table. In terms of affecting policy, I don't know if we're there yet, [but we're on the path]. (Former Chicago Dean)*

These four institutions have changed many practices to allow them to make greater connections to teaching practice in Chicago, "warming up" to the CPS through their efforts. These efforts involved a constant struggle with factors both inside and outside the universities of which they are a part. It is unclear whether these institutions will be able to sustain changes that were spurred by generous outside grants or a charismatic internal leader. Challenges to these closer connections are very real, and they come from as many levels and types of influences as the supports that originally spurred these closer connections. Chicago's colleges of education will need to be vigilant in their efforts to stay warm and remain connected with the Chicago Public Schools.

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