

PRAGmatics

journal of community-based research

Studying
and
Experiencing



The New Chicago

Summer 2005

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Dear Reader:

As we complete Volume 8, Issue 1 of **PRAGmatics**, we regret to say that we cannot promise Issue 2. As has been the case with too many Chicago-based organizations dependent on government and philanthropic support over the last couple of years, we find ourselves without the means to sustain the same level of activity as in the past. Unfortunately, in such a milieu, publications often bite the dust. I want to thank our Journal Committee: Clinton Stockwell, Cynthia Milsap, and Costas Spirou for their dedication to ensuring that our readers received a quality publication with a lively array of ideas to challenge and support their work in the urban vineyard. Most especially, my thanks is extended to our Managing Editor, Karen Ide, without whose insight and capable coordination, **PRAGmatics** could not have been published.

Maureen Hellwig, Editor

PRAGmatics is published by the Policy Research Action Group, a collaborative partnership between Chicago-based universities—Chicago State University, DePaul University, Loyola University Chicago, National-Louis University, University of Illinois at Chicago—and numerous community-based organizations.

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A Scholarly Collaborative of “Preschoolers” Explore a New “Chicago School”

By Costas Spirou



Over the years, the Policy Research Action Group worked to create a setting where universities and community organizations engage in activities aimed at promoting commonly held values. Facilitating collaborative relationships between universities and community-based organizations, supporting actionable research that leads to social change and leadership development in the public policy arena has been at the core of this effort. Some of these activities include the Property Tax Working Group, the Chicago Food Security Project, the Regional Manufacturing Training Collaborative, the Tax Increment Financing Project, and the Regional Equity Initiative amongst others. During that same period *PRAGmatics* disseminated research findings resulting from these projects, as well as perspectives and views on many of these social issues. It is that spirit of collaboration that brought together a number of local scholars to form the Chicago Urban Preschoolers. The group is engaged in urban scholarship and is keenly interested in pursuing research that centers on the various forces that have contributed to the development of Chicago. Utilizing data on political, social and economic trends, the members attempt to better understand the dynamics that shaped the city's past and explore the forces that are informing its present status and future direction. Additional information on the group and its activities can be found in the article by Dennis Judd on page 4.

During the Spring 2005 academic term, the Chicago Urban Preschoolers offered a course entitled *The Chicago Seminar: The Politics of a Global City*. Terry Nichols Clark (University of Chicago), Bill Grimshaw (Illinois Institute of Technology), Larry Bennett (DePaul University), Costas Spirou (National-Louis University), Bonnie Lindstrom and Wes Skogan (Northwestern University), Dick Simpson, Michael Pagano, David Perry, Robin Hambleton and Dennis Judd (University of Illinois at Chicago) all served as course instructors. Drawing from their expertise, the instructors alternated weekly depending on the topic. The assigned readings derived from the research and publications of the discussion leaders. Graduate students participating in this collaborative offering had a unique opportunity to read these works and interact firsthand with the authors.

While the topics covered during the term centered on Chicago, their variation was quite extensive. The course outline included four broad themes: 1) The New Chicago, 2) The New Politics, 3) The New Public Issues, and 4) The New Spatial Realities. Within these frameworks the faculty and students discussed and debated numerous subjects including: Is Chicago a global city? What are the elements of the old machine and is there a new political machine? In addition, attention was placed on Chicago's past as an industrial city, the emerging new political culture, issues related to race and ethnicity as well as the evolving role of neighborhood and grassroots politics. The course continued with an examination of current social policies, and an assessment of Chicago as a contested city, including the possible implications of such designation for its residents. Finally, the term concluded with analyzing the reconstruction of downtown, the new regionalism and the implications of tourism and consumption for the local economy. This initiative would not have been possible without the assistance of National-Louis University and the support of Martha Casazza, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, for providing classroom access at the downtown Chicago Campus.

The Preschoolers group looks forward to continuing this collaborative effort. Preliminary discussions have centered on offering the course again sometime in the future. Like any course, the instructors are currently reviewing feedback and are considering various ways to pedagogically strengthen this uniquely organized offering.

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Stirrings of a Chicago School II— A New Approach to Urban Scholarship?

By Dennis Judd

For about four years a group of urban scholars has quietly been meeting in various residences around Chicago. They have sponsored workshops at professional conferences. This spring the same group collaborated to offer a course entitled *The Chicago Seminar: The Politics of a Global City* that explored the old and the new Chicago. Are these the first stirrings of a Chicago School II? We are not sure ourselves, as our name “the preschoolers” clearly suggests. Unlike the L.A. school that has formed on the left coast, we have not yet defined a comprehensive theory of urban development. In this article I explain why the L.A. school’s narrative of cities in the global era is wrong for Chicago, and perhaps for most other cities, and outline an approach to urban scholarship that might be more fruitful.

Schools—Chicago, Los Angeles, New York

The Chicago school that emerged in the 1920s offered an elegant theory of the city that fit comfortably within the *gestalt* of the time. Cities were interpreted as constantly evolving organisms characterized by growth and decay, interdependence, competition and cooperation, health and disease. Ecological metaphors allowed the city to be understood as a unified whole, a regional system made up of interdependent parts. In this narrative the physical geography of urban life was orderly and constantly evolving. Ernest Burgess famously proposed that urban areas revolved around a dense core surrounded by concentric rings of progressively less densely settled zones; each performed a necessary function for the organism. Using Chicago as his model for the general urban form, he placed the “Loop” at the center, which was surrounded (from near to far) by a “factory zone,” “zone in transition,” “zone of workingmen’s homes,” “residential zone,” and “commuters zone.” He proposed that as the city grew, “the tendency of each zone to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone,” a process he defined as succession.¹

Like other members of the Chicago school, Burgess skillfully employed ecological metaphors to construct a sweeping narrative of urban change: “...as in the plant communities successions are the products of invasion, so also in the human community the formations, segregations, and associations that appear constitute the outcome of a series of invasion...The general effect...is to give to the developed community well-defined areas...”² The ecological paradigm supplied a language and a logic useful for explaining urban change, neighborhood health, and social breakdown, but in fact the logic was generally weighted against the city. The architects of the Chicago school were obsessed about documenting the allegedly deleterious effects of urban life. Robert Park commented about the baleful effects of slums thusly: “the slum areas that invariably grow

up just on the edge of the business areas of great cities, areas of deteriorated housing, vice, and crime, are areas of social junk...”³ Park was convinced that social breakdown was the norm rather than the exception in industrial cities; as a result, he and his legions of graduate students took pains to document the life of hobos, prostitutes, and the other supposed riff-raff of urban life.

Without doubt, the narrative power of the Chicago school can be traced not only to its use of evocative metaphors, but also to an underlying sense of fecundity, decay, and violence. As children’s stories teach us, people are always attracted to the tension introduced by these elements. That may also explain why many urban scholars have been attracted more recently to the L.A. school, with its hair-raising narratives of postmodern urban dystopias running amok in Los Angeles and—they promise—soon to come to the city you live in.

Michael Dear and Steve Flusty trace the L.A. school to a gathering of nine southern California urban scholars in October, 1987 at Lake Arrowhead in the San Bernardino mountains. The L.A. school quickly became identified with the idea that rather than being an exceptional place, Los Angeles was the paradigmatic city of the late 20th century, the harbinger of what cities are today or are destined to become. Ed Soja has asserted, for example, that “Los Angeles is the place where ‘it all comes together.’...One might call the sprawling urban region...a prototopos, a paradigmatic place.” He has added elsewhere that Los Angeles “insistently presents itself as one of the most informative palimpsests and paradigms of 20th century urban development and popular consciousness...”⁴ What does Los Angeles reveal about the future? That the stark inequalities of the Third World are being exported elsewhere, and that these are written on the urban landscape in a patchwork of prosperity and despair: “The luxury compound atop a matrix of impoverished misery, the self-contained secure community, and the fortified home can be found first in places such as Manila and São Paulo.”⁵ Like the Chicago school of the 1920s, the L.A. school’s narrative derives its power from its sweeping and often dramatically bleak interpretation of urban life. (“Dramatically dismal”: in Mike Davis’s writings, balls of rattlesnakes wash up on the beaches of Los Angeles; there are “pentecostal earthquakes,” “dead cities,” and the question, “who killed L.A.?”)⁶ One need only watch the films *Chinatown* and *Blade Runner* to understand the appeal of *noir*.

In a recent book, David Halle has identified a school of urban scholars of the so-called New York school. Though Halle admits that urban scholars in New York have not identified themselves as members of a scholarly group, he argues that, “their views are as distinctive as those of the Los Angeles

school” because they share “a fascination with contemporary New York City, especially with Manhattan, and a belief, in some cases passionate, in the superiority of city life over suburban life.”⁷ Halle identifies Jane Jacobs, Sharon Zukin, Kenneth Jackson, Robert Stern, William H. Whyte, and Richard Sennett as prominent members of the New York school, with unnamed other members. One suspects that all of these scholars would be surprised to find themselves lumped together on the singular basis of their supposed love of city life and disdain for the suburbs. Halle mentions no other intellectual criteria for membership in this group; unlike the L.A. school, no theoretical approach seems to act as a glue to hold it together. For this reason I believe the New York school to be a figment of Halle’s imagination.

Is a possible second Chicago school a figment of *our* imagination? I will make the case—you will have to decide. Discussions of a second Chicago school reflect, on the one hand, a reaction against the influence exerted by the L.A. school on urban scholarship; and on the other, the desire to define an intellectual approach that describes the recent developments of the Chicago region. Its entertainment value notwithstanding, the L.A. school’s interpretation of urban development in the 21st century does not fit Chicago (and, as I mention later, it may not even fit Los Angeles). It is true that some of the features of the L.A. prototype seem to describe Chicago. As noted by Joel Garreau in his best-selling book, *Edge Cities*: “every single American city is growing, is growing in the fashion of Los Angeles, with multiple urban cores.”⁸ In the Chicago region, as elsewhere, low-density development is sprawling outward, and the region is fragmented into a multitude of political jurisdictions. Like Los Angeles, the Chicago region is attracting a flood of immigrants, which has the potential to fragment the urban landscape and its politics to an unprecedented degree.

A Second Chicago School?

In the fall of 2001 a dozen urban scholars from several universities in the Chicago region met in an apartment in Bronzeville. For a couple of years we presented our work to each other, discussed literature, and argued about the theoretical approaches of the field. Sometimes it seemed that we disagreed about almost everything, but on one point a clear consensus emerged. We all thought the theories of the L.A. school were inadequate for explaining global Chicago. (Inadequate? Some of us thought, off-the-wall!) The members of the nascent Chicago school II reject the L.A. school’s *noir* interpretation of the urban present and future.

In the interpretation of the L.A. school, globalization has exerted three main effects on cities: post-Fordist, service-based economies have dispersed economic activities and people from the urban core; demographic decentralization has fragmented and weakened urban governance and strengthened privatized

responses to social problems; and massive immigration has fomented racial and ethnic animosities. The overall picture that emerges from these trends is the ungovernable metropolis, one characterized by spatial, political, and social disorder. Have these effects been felt in Chicago?

Is globalization making Chicago like other global cities?

Globalization is not a great leveler sweeping all differences among cities aside and replacing them with uniform copies of one another. As Janet Abu-Lughod has pointed out in her pathbreaking book, *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles*, the way that globalization has impacted the three cities that are the

object of her analysis reflects “the preexisting legacies of the built environment and the traditions of governance.” In addition, she notes, these cities responded in different ways to the forces of globalization.⁹ In her book she skillfully shows how the

urban past continues to reverberate in the global present.

Even before the 19th century, New York’s borough system (brought together into one city by the charter reform of 1898) and aldermanic form of government institutionalized a style of governance that brokered the differences among the many different ethnic groups that made up the city’s population. In the 20th century, business elites successfully engineered a subway system and then an integrated regional transit system, and also accomplished a remarkable degree of regional planning through the bridge and tunnel authority run for decades by Robert Moses. Strong government formed New York. It still does in the global era.

By contrast, in the first decades of the 20th century Los Angeles took on a fragmented metropolitan form. Because it lacked large blocs of ethnic and immigrant voters, it produced reform-style governments that centralized power in the hands of Anglo elites. It should occasion no surprise that in the era of globalization, its main response to rapid urban growth and massive immigration has been the balkanization and privatization of politics.

Chicago has taken still another path. The city developed as an industrial powerhouse and a key destination for waves of foreign workers. Its immigrants developed homogeneous neighborhoods, and though the groups moving to the city are different in global Chicago than in its industrial past, its neighborhoods retain a strong ethnic identity. The Black Belt in south Chicago developed in the first two decades of the 20th century, prompting whites to adopt restrictive covenants in many parts of the city. The 1919 race riots left a legacy of racial tension that festered long after, and Chicago’s racial segregation intensified when waves of southern blacks poured into the city after World War II. And yet Chicago’s political system adapted to these tensions with remarkable dexterity, incorporating blacks into the machine as early as the 1920s—earlier than any other northern city. The machine has served as Chicago’s unique version of a strong state ever since.

We all thought the theories
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Inadequate?
Some of us thought, off-the-wall!

Despite the deindustrialization of the 1970s and 1980s and despite decades of suburbanization, the city has remained the anchor for the region, mainly because of the policies of Richard J. Daley to protect the downtown and his success at bringing federal dollars to the city. Under the second Daley, Richard M., the city has fought hard to keep major businesses and corporations downtown and has invested massively in an infrastructure of culture, entertainment, and tourism. Globalization has changed Chicago, but the city has not become more like New York and Los Angeles. The three cities have retained their distinct geographies, social structures, and political styles.

Is Chicago becoming ungovernable? Are privatized enclaves replacing public governance?



Michael Dear and Steven Flusty have written about postmodern urban landscapes signified by the proliferation of edge cities, private gated communities, and fortified enclaves. As a substitute for democratic governance, these structures are “essentially a plutocratic alternative to normal politics;” in place of governments that broker among various interests, these privatized arrangements “are responsive primarily to wealth (as opposed to voters)...¹⁰ Without doubt, elements of these arrangements are ubiquitous throughout the Chicago metropolitan region, from condominium towers and townhouse developments downtown to gated communities in the suburbs. But it would betray a remarkable ignorance of Chicago’s politics to think that public governments have retreated in significance or political authority. Volumes have been written about the party machines that centralized power in the city’s past. In the post-war period, Chicago remained an oft-noted anomaly because of the resurrection of machine politics under Richard J. Daley. His son arguably wields even a firmer hand than did his father. In his book tracing the history of Chicago’s politics, Dick Simpson asserts that a “new machine” has adapted to the

impact of globalization. Whereas his father ran campaigns through aldermen and precinct captains, Daley overwhelms his opponents with direct mail and television ads crafted by consultants, a political style that has seeped down from national politics. The new style of politics has proven congenial for Daley, who has been able to maintain at least as much control over a “rubberstamp” city council as did his father.¹¹

As a result, the city remains firmly in control of all important policy matters within the city of Chicago. Importantly, Mayor Daley has proven adept at brokering among blacks, Latinos, and other ethnic groups. But have the surrounding counties gone in the direction of Los Angeles, with weak governments giving way to privatized arrangements? Hardly. Cook County remains as a bastion of Democratic machine politics. The collar counties, too, are active in guiding their own destinies. Bonnie Lindstrom’s research has demonstrated that mayors in suburban municipalities have been able to come together on important regional matters, and that they have proven adept at cooperating with Mayor Daley.¹² The impact of rapid growth has become a major concern. In response, suburban governments have taken measures to preserve open space and regulate new development (as they have, as well, throughout southern California).

Is the urban center being eclipsed? Is urbane public culture disappearing?

The construction of monumental corporate fortresses and the proliferation of defended residential enclaves constitute the most compelling images from Mike Davis’s

book on Los Angeles, *City of Quartz*. Davis’s L.A. is an urban landscape fractured into fortified, privatized cells of affluence, malls and gated communities inhabited by the affluent middle-class. Within this urban nightmare, downtown Los Angeles continues to exist only as a walled citadel, its few public spaces subject to intense surveillance and close law enforcement.

Chicago does not bear any resemblance to Davis’s version of Los Angeles, and it is doubtful that many cities do. To remake themselves into places that tourists want to visit, in the last few years cities have invested heavily in tourism facilities and the reconstruction of downtown environments. In the process, public amenities have vastly improved. The rebuilding of downtown areas to make them friendly for visitors has been so massive that it can be compared to the building of the industrial city a century ago, when cities invested in mass transit systems, paved streets, sewer and water systems, and parks. The only other period of city-building on such a scale occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, with the urban renewal clearance projects.¹³ As a result of this remarkable reconstruction, cities all over North America have become safer, more pleasant host environments for urban life and

culture. A traveler to cities in North America, Europe, and many other places can observe that cities are becoming more, not less, open. Urban texture has itself become an object of fascination and consumption: “the large city has assumed the status of exotica. Modern tourism is no longer centered on the historic monument, concert hall, or museum but on the urban scene or, more precisely, on some version of the urban scene fit for tourism”¹⁴

In Chicago, as in many cities, the leading industry is now tourism and entertainment. In a series of books and articles, Terry Nichols Clark has documented the production of amenities in Chicago, and shown that amenities are closely associated with economic growth.¹⁵ The number of tourists increased from 32 million in 1993 to 43 million in 1997, a product of indefatigable promotion and a huge investment in the infrastructure of tourism.¹⁶ Chicago has built the world’s largest convention center, an entertainment district on an old pier (Navy Pier), and has one of the world’s most beautiful park systems, which runs for miles along the Lake Michigan lakefront. The city is host to several extraordinary museums and other attractions (such as the John G. Shedd Aquarium and the Adler Planetarium), maintains elaborate floral and garden displays along Michigan Avenue and on many other streets, and hosts dozens of events each year in the parks. Grant Park, which stretches between the downtown Loop and Lake Michigan, is the most visited park in the United States, attracting more visitors than even the Grand Canyon.¹⁷ Clark’s research also shows that the demand for amenities is part of what he calls a “globalized New Political Culture.”¹⁸ The spread of such a culture goes in exactly the opposite direction than that suggested by the L.A. school.

Chicago as a Palimpsest and Harbinger of the Urban Future

The title of a forthcoming book by Larry Bennett and other scholars refers to “the New Chicago,” which is characterized by a complex ethnic politics, sweeping changes in housing, education, and other social policies; a renewed struggle between city hall and neighborhoods; an emphasis on downtown revitalization and tourism; and a concern for regional infrastructure and governance.¹⁹ (See article on page 12.) Chicago in the 21st century does not act like a city that lies prostrate before the forces of globalization. The city and the region continue to be shaped by policies enacted by powerful governments that reflect citizen preferences. And, in actuality, this profile also describes the Los Angeles region, which continues to be guided by the actions of powerful governments and public leaders.²⁰

An intellectual interpretation of Chicago must be capable of explaining not only Chicago; it must also serve as a convincing account of cities elsewhere. We preschoolers believe we are on the way to developing such an account. If we succeed, we may someday graduate to the status of a full-fledged school!

Dennis Judd is a professor of Political Science and a fellow in the Great Cities Institute at UIC. For many years he has contributed to the literature on urban economic development. Recently he has been engaged in research on urban tourism.

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Chicago Semester

living, learning & working
in a global city

By Clinton E. Stockwell

Founded in 1974 by six Midwestern colleges in the Reformed Church tradition, Chicago Semester serves a number of important purposes for its schools and students. The first Constitution for the program stated that its “educational goals were to promote [an] intellectual understanding of the metropolis, to develop students’ skills and competencies appropriate to the workplace, and to help students integrate Christian values with their learning and experience.” The founders stated that its basic purpose was “to provide an urban, experiential education from a Reformed perspective to students from Christian colleges.” This mission was to be achieved through a combination of study and work experience.

After twenty years, the newly named “Chicago Semester” has much continuity with the former “Metro Program,” but there are significant differences as well. The same basic three seminars are offered: the Metropolitan, Fine Arts and Values, and Vocation seminars; but it has added Nursing, Student Teacher and Bachelor of Social Work seminars. Indeed, the past two years have witnessed significant changes and growth in the program. For one thing, the program changed its name. *Chicago Semester: Living, Learning and Working* is its new identity. The new logo suggests rather directly that it is a Chicago-based program, and “semester” suggests that it is explicitly educational.

In 2002, Chicago Semester was named the “Experiential Education Program of the Year” by the National Society for Experiential Education (NSEE). This was the first time this program had been recognized nationally. Chicago Semester currently serves from 75-95 students a semester, fairly large for an off campus internship program.

The typical mix of students includes student teachers, social work students, nursing students, and a large group of general students that include business, mass communications, sociology, history, finance, and pre-med majors. The growth and timing of the recognition of this program coincided with our need to search for a new home. In July, 2004, Chicago Semester moved to an 8000 square foot facility just a block from the Art Institute of Chicago. It celebrated its 30th anniversary in October of 2004, and some 300 alums and former staff persons with their families from past years came to the city once again to remember their experience, and to celebrate the program’s continued growth and development.

Chicago Semester projects a new image as a “network” of people and organizations, rather than as a geographical center. Manuel Castells has said in his books that global society is really a “network society.” While Castells limits the network

society to what he calls “the space of flows” (information via new internet technology), there is much about this image that is appropriate for Chicago Semester.

The CS Network includes its students, its work placement sites (1300 organizations in our database), the places where students live for the semester, the teachers and presenters, the theaters and venues for art events, the municipal services that each student uses to navigate the city (The CTA U-Pass), and the neighborhoods where students live and work. The program can be visualized by use of a circle diagram used in orientation. The first (interior) circle includes “building community,” “housing search,” “job search,” and “program orientation.” The second circle is represented by the seminars offered. The third circle refers to other activities sponsored by the Chicago Semester program, including field trips, social events and cultural activities. This circle approximates the experiential learning theory made popular by David Kolb, author of *Experiential Learning*. Fundamentally, the Chicago Semester program combines classroom study with internships and small reflection groups. It introduces students to the realities of the city, like homelessness and public housing; and it embraces the rich culture that one finds in Chicago, including trips to the Chicago Shakespeare Theater and to the Art Institute of Chicago.

Students develop personal skills here as many pay rent and utilities for the first time; acquire professional skills in the workplace; and gain public skills via public service, service learning, and the chance to exercise their voice and their rights in a democratic society. While many students stay in Chicago if they are able to land a job, each of them leave the program knowing that they have grown personally and professionally. They all leave knowing that they can and did survive and work in a society that is increasingly more urban, more globally-connected, and more culturally diverse. Like other like-minded urban internship programs, Chicago Semester provides the experiential opportunity for students to explore their vocation, even as they discover their powers and roles in urbanized society.

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Irwin W. Steans Center

for Community-based Service Learning & Community Service Studies



By Laurie Worrall

Often structured around the particular academic expertise of faculty and students from graduate and professional programs, university-community partnerships have been well known within higher education since the mid-1990s. In the case of institutions with large undergraduate populations where the focus is primarily on teaching, it may be that service-learning integrated into courses provides a vehicle for universities to engage in meaningful, long-term partnerships with local communities. Scholars have characterized service-learning as the most widespread and meaningful manner in which higher education engages with communities, especially when it is central to the teaching and learning mission of universities and colleges (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002; Mayfield, 2000).

Such is the case at DePaul University in Chicago. DePaul was founded in 1898 by the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians), an order of priests dedicated to serving the poor, and in 1998 became the largest Catholic university in the U.S. The university defines itself as Catholic, Vincentian, and urban, and as such, has integrated into its mission the philosophy that education should meet the needs of individuals, communities, and global society (Meister & Strain, 2004). DePaul's service-learning program, supported by the Steans Center for Community-based Service-Learning, is a natural outgrowth of this mission-related philosophy.

The Steans Center's approach is to focus the community service in order to benefit both its academic constituents (students and faculty) and community organizations. The Center acts as an intermediary between faculty teaching courses, students enrolled in these courses, and community organizations that host "service-learners." Keeping the community benefit central to its academic development agenda, the Center only proposes service and project opportunities to faculty that community organizations have defined as supportive to their work.

Service-learning at the Steans Center is defined as one pedagogy among other forms of experiential education that incorporate an external experience into the learning goals and objectives of courses. Over 100 community-based organizations in the Chicago area serve as partners for more than 120 courses a year that place over 1900 students in community projects and programs that include community-based research.

An analysis of over 2100 student course evaluations indicates that students participating in these courses appreciate the opportunities to apply theories, learn about concepts first-hand, and engage with and begin to understand more about

people who are different from themselves. As one student noted, "[CbSL] allowed me to step outside of my world and step inside the lives of people who were less fortunate and who are experiencing the problems of poverty. It enabled me to realize the social and economic inequalities that exist today."

At the same time, an analysis of 40 interviews with representatives from 12 community partner organizations revealed that community agencies value the extra help that service-learners provide to their programs. They generally perceived DePaul students as bringing a set of skills with them that the average community volunteer may not have, including research and technology skills. In addition to viewing students as providing role models of successful college life that includes community service, organizations understood and valued their own role in educating the next generation of future policy-makers, donors, and board members. Most importantly, DePaul's service-learning program was perceived by agencies as an opportunity to expose college students to important issues in American society including racism, inadequate access to good education, and poverty.

The success of service learning courses at DePaul is primarily due to concentration on faculty development, student support, and community-defined service projects. And the university's support for the Steans Center represents a major institutional commitment to assuring this success. The result has been university-community partnerships that address critical societal issues in ways that allow the Vincentian mission to meet DePaul's academic purpose.

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The University as a Citizen? Chicago Universities and the New Chicago School

By Joseph Hoereth

One year ago I landed at the Great Cities Institute at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) after nearly a decade-long school and job-hopping tour of two major metropolitan areas, three universities, two consulting firms, and one non-profit. I have not lived in Chicago long enough to know a Chicago vastly different than what it is now, but my experience in Chicago at universities and other research entities has come to frame my perspective of American cities, a perspective with a particular sensitivity to the contribution of universities to urban life.

Does the urban form and structure of Chicago fit the L.A. School, the Chicago School, or a New Chicago School—as the “preschoolers” have theorized? I’m not sure I can say for certain. Being a native of the L.A. area who now lives in Chicago, I share the preschoolers’ notion that Chicago certainly does not fit the L.A. School. With regard to the “New Chicago School,” I can only say that I experience Chicago as a “new” sort of city—a city in which universities matter and are becoming an integral part of its political economy and the urban fabric of the city. In contrast, I experienced the Cal State University campus near my childhood home as little more than a series of buildings and a parking lot. Theories of the city recognize that cities are molded by a varying mix of their institutions, economies, citizens, and governing regimes. I posit that Chicago universities have transformed their role in the city from campus enclave to “institution-citizens.” In Chicago, we talk about universities as engaged and participatory—entities of research, development, and politics who wield significant influence in local policy and the redevelopment arenas. As such, universities and their full array of institutional roles should find a place in any new theory of Chicago.

Eleven years ago UIC launched its Great Cities Commitment, which is an effort to connect the university with the city in a substantive way. Today UIC has the Great Cities Institute, the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs, the Center for Urban Economic Development, and the Nathalie Voorhees Center for Neighborhood Improvement. In combination, these units make a significant contribution to the city, providing policy research, critical analysis of the city, and support to Chicago neighborhood organizations. There have also been countless other research, service-learning, and direct assistance projects under the Great Cities Commitment. In fact, a recent internal study of the university has found over 800 university-city partnerships, and we are still counting. The UIC urban commitment and this rapidly growing range of engaged projects and partnerships are a defining feature of the educational landscape of UIC and the city.

As readers of this journal are aware, UIC is not alone in this Chicago tradition of building engaged institutions of higher education. Other universities—Chicago State, DePaul, IIT, Loyola, National-Louis, Northeastern Illinois, Northwestern, North Park and the University of Chicago are all active participants in research built upon partnerships with the communities in Chicago, building a tradition of higher education and community development in and, most importantly, with its neighborhoods. While the sum total of this urban research is significant, the volume is not what is significant for Chicago; rather, it is the way that research gets carried out that is significant. To some extent, all of the research institutes at Chicago universities conduct a form of engaged research, and several centers are driven by missions that have such an approach at their cores.

One could argue that the presence of active urban research institutions is not unique to Chicago. Other major cities such as Boston, New York, Cleveland, and Los Angeles also have constellation universities with locally active urban research centers. In Chicago, what has made the difference is the context. As its university-based research centers have focused on analyzing Chicago, the universities themselves have also contributed to the physical making or remaking of the city. UIC, Loyola, DePaul, and Northwestern, each with urban research centers that to some extent study the urban redevelopment process, have all undertaken major campus expansion or development efforts in the past twenty years. Whether these efforts were appropriate neighborly activities for a university-citizen or not, the combination of the roles of university as a developer and university as an engaged citizen does set Chicago universities apart.

Nowhere in the city of Chicago is the imprint of the urban university more apparent than in the Loop and neighboring downtown areas. A scan of downtown reveals the presence of Loyola’s Water Tower Campus; the Northwestern School of Law and hospital complexes; the DePaul Law School and downtown facilities, the UIC campus on the near west side; and the U of C Business School. Each of these facilities has been expanded, relocated to its current location, or newly constructed in the past twenty years. The nature and location of these development activities reflects the active role Chicago universities have taken in the remaking of downtown and the Loop. Consider Loyola’s expansion near the tourist draw high-end retail establishments of the Michigan Avenue corridor and Water Tower Place. The Northwestern Law School and Northwestern’s hospitals occupy some of the most valuable real estate in the city. DePaul converted over 300,000 square feet of unused retail and office space in a square block in the

heart of the Loop for its expansion. UIC expanded into a significant portion of a near west side neighborhood.

Each of these developments has led or contributed a significant change in the physical and economic landscape of the surrounding area. They were also consistent with the shifting uses of space driven by the economic and global forces that the L.A. School holds as the key determinants of urban land use in the late 20th century U.S. The difference in Chicago relative to the L.A. School, however, is the notion of agency. The universities have been active contributors to the remaking of the city, rather than passive receptors of economic restructuring and globalization. In *The University as Urban Developer*, edited by David Perry and Wim Wiewel, the current and former directors of the Great Cities Institute discuss the trend for urban universities to take on the role of urban developer by highlighting cases of university-led redevelopment across the U.S. and Canada, including the University of Chicago, UIC and DePaul expansions. The cases suggest that this sort of agency may now be the norm among modern urban universities.

The role of universities as institutional developers is not unproblematic. One critique of this view of universities as engaged urban redevelopers is that such activity favors the downtown over the neighborhood campus. Others argue that such activity comes at the expense of fragile neighborhoods that are both dependent upon and vulnerable to the university presence. For example, the recent South Campus expansion at UIC was highly contested by residents and neighborhood groups of the area who viewed it as a land-grab which amounted to the erasure of culturally significant buildings and provided the impetus for more privatized development and

gentrification. The Loyola expansion impacted both neighborhoods and downtown, as its shift of some activity from its main campus in the Rogers Park neighborhood to the wealthier Near North area threatened the stability of the neighborhood even as it restructured the land economy of the Loop. These shifts are not only evidence of the impact of universities on the local, but they also suggest the ways in which university land use decisions have become part of the globalization of higher education and the competitive role universities see for themselves in such broader conditions of education and economy.

These shifts require an increased sense of obligation to the city and its neighborhoods. One high-ranking university official states that “[the university] lives in the city, is a resident of the city, and therefore has an obligation to be a good citizen.” Chicago universities may need to take their active developer roles a step further and contribute more directly to the neighborhoods in which they are rooted.

Whatever their obligations and interests may be, urban universities in major cities like Chicago are no longer just places where urban theories are developed—they have become living research subjects who blur the line between passive observers of the city and molders of the urban form. If there is a New Chicago School, its theory should include them as important players in the development of the city.

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The University
as Urban Developer:
Case Studies and Analysis

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Continuity and Change in Chicago— The Politics of Material Return

By Larry Bennett

It has been a great pleasure for me to participate in the Chicago “preskool” meetings of the last several years, and in this instance, asked to write a summing up of “where the metropolis is” politically-speaking. I want to acknowledge the insights of my colleagues in these meetings, and in particular, those of Bill Grimshaw and Dick Simpson.

Many years ago, Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield reported the comments of a Chicago Democratic Party ward committeeman, who, when asked what he looked for in a prospective member of his organization, said that it was the young man or woman seeking a “material return” from politics. That indeed, “[e]nthusiasm for causes is short-lived, but the necessity of making a living is permanent.” The Chicago described by Meyerson and Banfield in *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest* is in many respects a distant cousin of our contemporary city. It was much more a working-class metropolis in the classic sense, with a large portion of the labor force employed in huge manufacturing operations such as International Harvester and U.S. Steel’s South Works. This earlier Chicago was also more populous than the contemporary city—by several hundred thousand residents—and at the time of *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest*’s publication (1955) had yet to experience the political centralization associated with Richard J. Daley’s joint leadership of city government and the Cook County Democratic Party.

Yet in spite of the contrasts between this earlier Chicago and our own city, the association between politics and “material return” persists. In 1950s Chicago the most characteristic manifestation of this relationship was the patronage link between rank and file party activists and party leadership. Across the city a network of Democratic Party ward organizations won elections through the efforts of several thousand campaign workers, with a sizeable share of this political army having been recruited via the promise of a “city,” “county,” “park district,” or other local government job. The party leaders who brought these commandos on board had a generation or two previously been called to the political life by similar incentives, and expected of their current organizational subalterns’ hard work, loyalty, and a willingness to postpone near-term party prominence in hopes of a long career and, ultimately, advancement in the organization, maybe even to slating for elected office.

This older city of very localized electoral politics based on dense social networks linking ward organizations and neighborhood residents has not altogether vanished, but the “benevolent despot” (again, so described by one of Meyerson’s and Banfield’s sources) ward committeeman presiding over a job-rich party organization is no longer the norm, though

there are noteworthy exceptions such as Ed Burke’s 14th ward, Michael Madigan’s 13rd ward, or Dick Mell’s 33rd ward organizations. In my 17 years living in the 46th ward the only regular Democratic Party workers to have contacted me at my home were members of an expeditionary force sent from the 41st ward (I asked them if they were, in fact, Uptowners) when Mayor Daley was still trying to unseat Helen Shiller as alderman. For his part, Richard M. Daley derives a share of his vote in mayoral campaigns from the remaining, capable-



of-delivering-the-vote ward organizations. However, the keys to his electoral success are not to be found in the old ward organization network. Rather, the mayor has relied on very successful fund-raising, name recognition and a generally admired record in office, disorganized opposition (insurgent Democrats as well as Republicans), and a demobilized electorate. In 2003, Daley’s victorious primary/general election vote count was smaller than the vote won by either of his principal opponents in the 1989 primary and general elections (nearly 20,000 votes fewer than Gene Sawyer’s total; 60,000 less than the Tim Evans vote in the general election).

Quite a few of the things that distinguish ours from Meyerson's and Banfield's Chicago can be attributed to the 16-year mayoralty of Richard M. Daley. Were Mike Royko still alive, at this very moment he might be working on a column excoriating the mayor for importing still another Parisian-style street lamp or sidewalk kiosk and, as a result, driving one more stake into the heart of Chicago's authentically tawdry physical ambiance. Whereas many Chicagoans in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s feared that their city was dying, since sometime in the 1990s Chicago's national and international stock have soared. The physical rejuvenation of central Chicago—due to large-scale public works improvements as well as the construction of many thousands of units of upscale housing—has been unmistakable. Richard M. Daley has also presented himself as a committed public sector manager and reformer of local government operations. This latter element of the mayor's program has on occasion been controversial—the Chicago Public Schools makeover has generated



considerable public debate, the Chicago Housing Authority's restructuring has been a very bumpy though barely publicized ride, community policing may be a matter of pride to the mayor but has not won him many friends among police officers—and more than one of my “preskool” associates questions the mayor's motives as a reformer. The cynical take on Mayor Daley the reformer argues that his good government commitments are a guise used to deflect political criticism: “You who object to my initiatives are seeking political gain. I am above politics.”

Ironically, the expectation of “material return” and the behaviors this expectation breeds once again crop up when one examines various of Richard M. Daley's management reforms. The current city administration's commitment to minority- and women-owned business set-asides, as well as several of its efforts at cost-saving through “contracting out” (for instance, the “hired truck” initiative) have offered a multitude of opportunities for politically connected (old neighborhood friends, past business associates, occasionally even family relations of officeholders—conflict-of-interest never having been especially censured in Chicago) entrepreneurs to capture city government business, or worse, capitalize on lax city government oversight to generate disproportionate profits for City-paid work. The press' numerous exposés of Daley administration insider deals have produced one characteristic and rather revealing image recalibration by the mayor. Whereas Richard M. Daley in earlier years was apt to present himself as an aggressive, hands-on public manager, in the wake of the recent series of city government scandals he has retooled himself as the busy CEO of a sprawling metropolis who, of necessity, cannot keep tabs on the minutiae of dozens of city agencies.

This latter point is true enough, though it does not square with the sense of grand executive mastery Daley once sought to project. Moreover, Mayor Daley's exercising less control over city government than he would like us to think, still leaves us with the interesting puzzle of what sustains the pursuit of “material return” as a crucial feature of Chicago politics. Let me propose the following reinterpretation of machine and Chicago politics: that although the old ward system of electioneering, political recruitment, and rewarding of political success has retrenched, pursuit of “material return” through politics is sustained by the network of aggressive Democratic Party political *families* who retain a hold on substantial pieces of Chicago and Illinois government. The names of several of these families are iconic: Cullerton, Daley, Hynes, Madigan, Mell. And these five represent just a sampling from a larger number, most with little or no public reputation. And obviously, interpersonal relations are not always harmonious within these family groupings. Moreover, just as there are “honorary Kennedys,” membership in the more extensive of these family alliances extends to various non-blood relations. Nevertheless, expansion of family spheres of influence, within-family preferences pertaining to policy, public hiring, and “material return,” and cross-generational political resource transfer are all observable elements associated with the actions of these Democratic Party family groupings.

In some ways, these family alliances reach back to older ways of conducting Chicago politics. For example, several of the most prominent Chicago Democratic Party families continue to exercise disproportionate influence within particular city wards. However, it is *trans-ward* influence that distinguishes the most prominent of these families, just as—by the way—it is trans-ward influence that makes the non-family Hispanic Democratic Organization a force in contemporary Chicago politics. But my basic argument is the following. It is the within-group allegiances and collective expectation that one

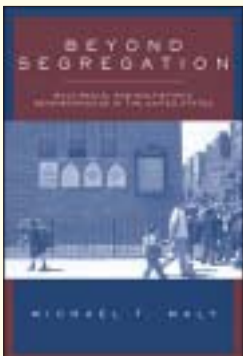
can make a living from politics that continue to motivate the rank and file politicians associated with these political families.

Let me close by making two observations about the relevance of these family alliances for our understanding of contemporary Chicago politics. First, the emergence of these largely non-geographic groups attenuates the connection between political activists and the public at large. In the heyday of the Democratic machine—irrespective of its many flaws—there was an undeniable quality of grassroots accessibility inherent in the neighborhood-connected politicking of the ward organizations. It was possible to walk into the office of your ward committeeman or alderman, and smart ward-level politicians recognized that routinely turning away either petitioners or prospective precinct captains was not the route to longevity in office. Chicago's contemporary family-based network of Democratic Party activists is more elusive, and hence, more elitist. Its very existence is not terribly consistent with popular attitudes concerning responsive, representative governance. And furthermore, members of these family alliances more or less take for granted that as the individuals constituting the local "political class," the maintenance of their careers—as elected officials, as bureaucrats, as campaign professionals, as vendors with something to sell government—represents the unspoken but nonetheless essential core of the political life. Within the confines of a presumably democratic (yes, small "d") polity, this is not a healthy notion.

Finally, I turn to one of the persistent arguments that has animated our Chicago "preskool" discussions. As articulated by Terry Clark of the University of Chicago, there is a "new political culture" at large in contemporary Chicago, a new political culture that emphasizes collective values (for example, environmental sustainability and clean, commodious public spaces) and holds public officials to a high standard of efficient

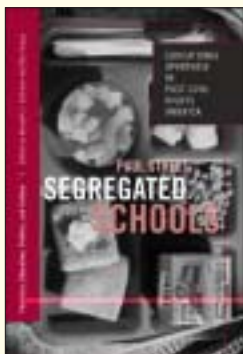
performance. As you can imagine, some participants in the "preskool" discussions simply reject this proposition, finding far too much corruption in contemporary Chicago governance and more continuity than change in local politics. In effect, these critics of the new political culture argument have tended to fall back on a "political ethos" rejoinder, that a personalistic and entrepreneurial set of values continues to drive Chicago politics. However, I have always found political ethos arguments—and this would include the new political culture proposition itself—troubling because there is seldom much specification of how particular clusters of values work their way through and deposit themselves in a polity over time. To the degree that the politics of "material return" continues to be a core force in Chicago public affairs, it is not sufficient to argue that it is due to "the machine" or even "the ward organizations," which no knowledgeable observer presumes work today as they did 50 years ago. But, what does continue to drive much of Chicago's local politicking is our network of Democratic Party political families, and within these political families the politics of "material return" continues to be all too visible. Whether Chicago's politics of "material return" will give way to a new political culture remains to be seen. For now, I am of the view that the ultimate ascendance of the latter is far from assured.

Larry Bennett has taught in the Political Science Dept. at DePaul University since 1977. He is the author of Neighborhood Politics: Chicago and Sheffield (Garfield Publishing, 1997). Professor Bennett is currently working with a team of DePaul colleagues editing The New Chicago: A Social and Cultural Analysis, which will be published by Temple University Press. E-mail: lbennett@depaul.edu



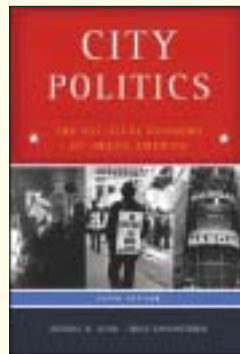
Beyond Segregation:
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Michael T. Maly
Temple University Press
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Notable New Works on Urban Issues

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The New Chicago:
A Social and Cultural Analysis

Chicago Studies— An Interdisciplinary Approach to Graduate Level Urban Studies

By Maureen Hellwig



In 1997, Loyola set out to create a program that would address three key objectives: a) offer a graduate level course of study focused on the world class city that was Loyola's home base; b) make the curriculum interdisciplinary; c) target an emerging niche population – adult students, perhaps in the 30 to 50 year old range, who might be seeking a master's for professional development, career advancement, or enrichment, or may simply want a Post-Baccalaureate Certificate.

To make this happen, the Graduate School Dean called upon Loyola's Center for Urban Research & Learning to work with an interdisciplinary faculty committee and community advisors. In the Fall of 1999, the Chicago Studies program opened.

While there are a number of “urban studies” programs offered by Chicago-based universities, Loyola's program is unique in its use of the city itself as the case study for understanding urban issues. Its humanities curriculum, including a core course entitled “Creative Genius in the Heartland,” distinguishes it from more technical programs like urban planning, while providing a context for urban professionals from many walks of life to gain insight into the milieu in which they are pursuing careers.

Program Components

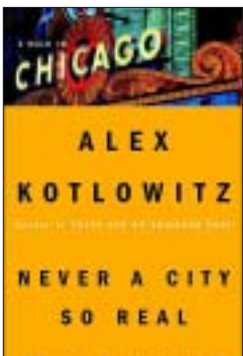
- Three core courses (4 credit hours each) that each require 4 weekend field trips (12 credit hours).
 - An evening schedule to accommodate working professionals.
 - Content that addresses urban development, community organization, race, ethnicity, economics, politics, and the arts.
- Three elective courses to be selected from Loyola's broad array of course offerings, with consideration of either continuing the theme of urban study and/or supporting career development (9 credit hours).
- The Capstone: an independent course of study that may have a variety of outcomes, from a traditional Master's thesis to a more applied internship project, or even a visual representation of an urban theme or concept (3 credit hours).
- The Chicago Fellow, a 50% scholarship awarded to a mature Chicagoan that has made a professional contribution to the city and who has the confidence and competence to serve in a teaching and mentoring capacity as well as help promote the program to others.

The Core faculty have extensive urban engagement experience as well as academic credentials. Areas of expertise include community development, community organizing, urban planning, economic development, architecture, theater, literature, music, city government, public policy. A combination of 30+ years of community development work in Chicago and degrees in urban planning and public policy make Maureen Hellwig, PhD an effective leader of this lively urban affairs program. Before coming to Loyola in 1997, Hellwig worked for Hull House at their Uptown Center, for Organization of the North East (ONE), for the Community 21 Neighborhood Planning Office of the Northwest Community Organization, the Center for Neighborhood Technology, and Erie Neighborhood House. She also worked in County government for a brief time when Lt. Governor, Patrick Quinn, was a Commissioner of the Cook County Board of Review. Currently, in addition to directing the Chicago Studies program, she coordinates projects for the Policy Research Action Group (PRAG), facilitating university/community partnerships focused on research and public policy agendas.

Chicago Studies students come from all walks of life. To date the program has graduated two aldermen, the Commissioner of the City Department of Aging, a veteran *Chicago Tribune* journalist, the executive director of the US Hispanic Leadership Institute, the Governor's Liaison for Asian Affairs, two high school teachers, 3 museum employees, two police officers, an architect, and employees of various departments of city government. Thus, a significant benefit of this program is not only what you study but who you study with, enhancing our graduates' ability to fulfill Loyola's mission of helping students **to lead extraordinary lives.**

For information contact Maureen Hellwig, 312-915-8624, mhellwi@luc.edu or see www.luc.edu/schools/grad/chicagostudies.

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Never a City So Real: A
Walk in Chicago

Alex Kotlowitz
Crown Publishing Co.
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Encyclopedia Chicago

James R. Grossman,
Janice L. Reiff, Ann Durkin
Keating, Editors
University of Chicago Press
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The Fun
of
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