
The role of Chicago foundations in school reform from 1987 to 1990 is examined in this paper, with a focus on the paradoxical relationship between the city's philanthropic community and the Chicago Reform Act of 1988. Data were derived from three surveys conducted since 1987 on the levels and targets of educational grantmaking by Chicago foundations; a summary of grantmaking by 10 Chicago foundations during 1987-90; and personal notes of foundations' interests and allocations of staff time. Following an explanation of the paper's personal and analytical qualifiers, the second section highlights recent commentary on the reform act's historical significance. The third section summarizes donors' grantmaking and nongrantmaking activities before and after the act's passage. A finding is that community foundations were not involved with the act's development and passage, but with implementation. The last section presents lessons that point to: (1) the convergence of forces that brought school reform; (2) the need for diverse policy advocates; (3) the theoretical dilemma posed by decentralization; and (4) the consequences of public policy as a change lever. Two figures and three graphs are included. Appendices include a history of the Reform Act and a list of Chicago grant recipients from 1987 to 1990. (28 references) (LMI)
PHILANTHROPY'S PARADOX: CHICAGO SCHOOL REFORM
(The Role of Chicago Foundations in Reform, 1987 to 1990)

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March 30, 1992

This paper was written for presentation at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, California.

(PLEASE NOTE THAT THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS THIS PAPER A WORKING DOCUMENT.)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An earlier draft of this paper was circulated among my colleagues in the foundation community--both locally and nationally. It also was reviewed by a few leading participants in the Chicago School Reform Movement.

I would like to thank the following individuals for their thoughtful critiques. While their comments helped to improve this draft, I bear full responsibility for any errors in my interpretations of foundation behavior regarding Chicago school reform.

Linda May Fitzgerald, The Spencer Foundation
G. Alfred Hess, Jr., Chicago Panel on Public School Policy and Finance
Iris Krieg, Iris Krieg & Associates
Richard Magat, Foundation News
Mary O'Connell, The Neighborhood Works
INTRODUCTION

In 1987, then Secretary of Education William Bennett labelled the Chicago public schools "the worst in the nation." Less than two years later, some 17,000 Chicago residents ran for elected positions on over 600 local school councils charged with the task of overhauling the nation's third largest school system.

The intervening event was the passage of the Chicago School Reform Act of 1988. One of the most aggressive school reform laws of the century, it mandated fundamental changes in the governance of Chicago's public schools. The guiding theory was that schools democratically controlled by local stakeholders would effectively educate the city's children.

Nearly two years into the mandated reform process, many questions loom. What forces shaped the Act? Are they playing a role in its implementation? Given that parents hold a "controlling share" of the local school councils, how are the schools changing? Are principals and teachers functioning differently? Are children learning more? What role are community organizations, corporations and foundations playing in the rethinking and rebuilding of public education in Chicago?

The Topic and Its Merit

The proposed paper explores one aspect of the last question in the above passage: the role of Chicago's foundations in school reform. Why, one may wonder, is the foundation role in the Chicago school reform process worth examining? Regardless of its merits, the Chicago School Reform Act represents uncommon public policy. Many scholars and commentators have described it as the most radical state legislative act of the century regarding urban education. As a result, it deserves careful analysis as a case study in the development, passage and implementation of educational policy. While many individuals and institutions are undertaking such analyses, the role of foundations has gone largely

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1This passage, written by Bill McKersie and Susan Klonsky, is from the official announcement for a special session at the Council on Foundations' 1991 Annual Meeting on Chicago school reform (Chicago, IL, April 24-25, 1991).

unexamined.

It is a fair summary of informed opinion that Chicago's foundations played an important part in the evolution of the 1988 Reform Act. The first two books on its history convey this point of view. Nonetheless, I believe the foundation role was far more complex than commonly recognized. In short, while foundations invested relatively little in the Act's development and passage, they quickly became vital to its implementation.

Chicago's foundations, I contend, largely "reacted" to the Act; they were not leaders in its development. A close examination of foundation behavior between 1985 and 1990 reveals that they generally did not focus on the specific type of educational changes entailed in the Reform Act until it became law. As with many in the city, funders' energy and priorities relative to school reform were dramatically altered after the Act's passage.

Nevertheless, history will hold Chicago's foundations partially responsible for the successes and failures of the Reform Act and movement. Before playing a major role in the Law's implementation, Chicago's foundations were irrevocably tied to the Reform Movement by the interests of a small group of funders. Prior to 1988, echoing the growing interest across the nation in restructuring, a few of Chicago's most active educational foundations generally advocated structural change. Some of these foundations also had a long history of supporting Chicago's rich array of community-based organizations, many of which adhere to the aggressive organizing style of Saul Alinsky. These separate interests

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4According to journalist Andrew Patner, Saul Alinsky invented the concept of community organizing as it is known today. Alinsky organized from 1938 until his death in 1972. Starting in 1940, he worked under the banner of the
in educational restructuring and community empowerment intersected within the Reform Movement, helping to set the stage for the Act's development and passage.

All in all, the relationship between Chicago's philanthropic community and the Reform Act and Movement is paradoxical. The city's foundations invested little in the Act's development, but their funds left a mark. Moreover, their private resources are now vital to the implementation of a public law which they played only a small part in creating. This complex scenario makes the foundation role in Chicago school reform worth examining and the source of many valuable lessons on school change.

Data Source and Paper Organization

This paper attempts to analyze the behavior of foundations, the best indicators of which are summaries of how they allocated their funds and staff time. While objective source material for foundations is limited, a data base was developed through the following steps. First, three surveys conducted since 1987 on the levels and targets of educational grantmaking by Chicago's foundations were analyzed. Second, a detailed summary was constructed of the grantmaking of ten of Chicago's most active educational foundations between 1987-1990. Finally, foundation interests and allocation of staff time were

Industrial Areas Foundation, through which he established or heavily influenced a variety of organizations, including the Back-of-the-Yards Council, The Woodlawn Organization and United Farm Workers. Alinsky also wrote two noted books: Reveille for Radicals (1946) and Rules for Radicals (1971).

This paper focuses on institutions which have grantmaking as their primary mission. Corporations which do not have a formal foundation or professional donation staff are not examined. One reason for making this distinction is reality-based: through much of the Reform Movement, Chicago's foundation and corporate communities have operated largely independent of each other. Nevertheless, readers should understand that the Chicago business community was a leading force in the movement that brought the Reform Act, and has played a major role during its implementation.
determined based on personal notes. The result is a data base which allows a comprehensive comparison of foundation behavior before and after the passage of the Reform Act.

Organized into four sections, this paper opens with a set of qualifiers about my background and analysis. The second section highlights two recent sets of objective commentary on the Act's historical significance. The heart of the paper is the third section, in which donors' grantmaking and non-grantmaking activities before and after the Act's passage are summarized. The paper closes with a series of learning points these activities have generated about foundations and the development and implementation of educational policy. These lessons speak to the convergence of forces that are necessary to activate school reform, the need for diverse policy advocates, the theoretical dilemma posed by decentralization and the consequences of public policy as a change lever.

(Appendix I presents a summary of the key events leading up to the passage of the Reform Act.)

PERSONAL AND ANALYTICAL QUALIFIERS

There are five personal and analytical issues which influence the history, observations and learning points featured in this paper. Most generally, the findings and conclusions offered here are preliminary. They are an early product in the process of developing several case studies on the role of philanthropic foundations in school reform during the mid- to late-1980's.

I write this paper as a participant-observer. My interpretations of the recent history
of Chicago school reform are shaped by having been on the field, not in the stands. For the past six years, I have been affiliated with a foundation that has been active in the city's Reform Movement. The obvious advantage of this perspective is that I have insights others do not; the equally obvious disadvantage is that my views may be biased. In a related vein, I write as only one former philanthropist. Foundations and their staffs are individualistic and idiosyncratic. It is difficult to draw generalizations about them. There also is a certain amount of isolation among foundation personnel. While they communicate regularly, rarely do they study the internal processes or priorities of their colleagues' organizations. As a result, my interpretations could be different than those other foundation staff might offer. I have attempted to draw on objective source material to mitigate this problem. When using the phrase “Chicago school reform” or “school reform,” I do so in reference to the 1988 Reform Act. While I contend that in no previous period has the city been so widely energized about improving its schools, I recognize that school reform did not begin with the passage of the Reform Act. There have been many attempts over the past century to change the Chicago public schools. As a result, in deference to the work of past reformers, and current reformers not in agreement with the Act, I attempt as much as possible to refer specifically to the “Reform Act.” Finally, I should highlight two of this paper's intentional limits. It examines only one part of the Reform Act's story. Important efforts of many individuals and institutions are not discussed unless they have related directly to the foundation role. Moreover, as a preliminary piece, this paper leaves out a few aspects of the philanthropic role in the Act's
passage and initial implementation. Most notably, the following discussion is disembodied: it does not delve into the characteristics of foundation personnel or their relationships with leading reformers.

THE REFORM ACT'S HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE: VIEWS FROM OUTSIDE

Over the past year, several national scholars have offered commentary on the Reform Act. While not necessarily agreeing with its full intent, or yet calling it a success, each scholar has underscored the significance of the Act to the organization and control of American public education. Their statements help provide some context to this analysis. They also provide one explanation for the sudden change this paper sketches in foundation behavior following the Act's passage: it was too big and radical to ignore.

Most succinctly, Michael Kirst of Stanford University commented that "Chicago is attempting the biggest change in local control of education since the 1900-1920 era that centralized policy." In the same document, Chester Finn of Vanderbilt University stated, "What Chicago is attempting in school reform is bolder and more ambitious than changes being attempted anywhere else in this country. It is also significantly different."  

Michael Katz, Michelle Fine and Elaine Simon, from the University of Pennsylvania, also have been studying Chicago school reform. Two of their comments stand out for historical value. "What you're doing [Chicago] is historic. For more than a century most


7Chester E. Finn, Jr., Chicago School Reform: Five Concerns, IN: Ibid., p. 45.
urban school reform has been about moving the furniture around in a room without redesigning its walls. That's one reason reform hasn't worked very well. You're the first to start with the walls."

The second comment, "...Chicago school reform is one of the great adult education movements in American history. At what other times have so many people had to master the complex combination of legislative, financial, administrative, educational and parliamentary issues that confront each LSC?"

Richard Elmore of Harvard University, in the Forward to G. Alfred Hess's book (1991) on the Reform Act, offers a thorough set of insights on the significance of the Law. He cites three reasons for his belief that Chicago reform is novel relative to all other school reforms of the last decade.

First, it originated from a grass roots political movement, formed around a nucleus of business, philanthropic and community organizers...Most other reforms have originated from the action of policymakers, legislators and governors at the state level; and, at the local level, coalitions of superintendents, union leaders and board members.

Second, the Chicago reform is, more than any other, based mainly on the theory that schools can be improved by strengthening democratic control at the school-community level. Most other reforms have been based either on theories of regulatory control--increased standards for teachers and students--or professional control--investments in the improvement of teachers' competence and increased decision making authority at the school site. While the Chicago reform has elements of both regulatory and professional control, it is mainly based on a theory of democratic control.

Third, the Chicago reform is probably more ambitious--some would say radical--than any other current reform in its departure from the established structure of school organization. The creation of 542 Local School Councils with significant decision making authority for schools is, by itself, an enormous departure from established patterns of school organization. The departure is even greater when democratic control is coupled with the other elements of the reform--commitments to reduce

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central administration, reallocation of resources to the school level, changes in school principals' roles and responsibilities, and the like.

(Readers not familiar with the history of the Reform Act should review Appendix I at this point.)

THE FOUNDATION ROLE IN CHICAGO SCHOOL REFORM: THE ENABLERS

The behavior of Chicago's foundations relative to the Reform Act is best brought to life by data on two aspects of their activity: grantmaking and staff-time allocation. This section first reviews trends in the amount and targets of foundation contributions between 1985 and 1990, concentrating on the years 1987-1990. The activities of foundation staff during this same period are then summarized. The result is a relatively clear picture of foundation grantmaking and non-grantmaking reform activity. The discussion is divided chronologically: pre- and post-December 1988; that is, before and after passage of the Reform Act.

The discussion in this section is based on two data sources. The primary source is a detailed summary of the giving records between 1987-1990 for ten of Chicago's most active educational foundations. In any of the years examined, these ten foundations represent over seventy-five percent of all philanthropic support for Chicago school reform. The

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10The ten foundations, in alphabetical order: Chicago Community Trust, Chicago Tribune Charities, Field Corporation Fund, Lloyd N. Fry Foundation, Harris Bank Foundation, Joyce Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Spencer Foundation, Wieboldt Foundation, and Woods Charitable Fund. The most notable omission in terms of grantmaking amount is the Amoco Foundation. It will be included in the next iteration, but it should not produce any new findings or conclusions.
summary was constructed by reviewing annual reports and Internal Revenue Service 990 Forms for each foundation.

While the full data base contains three separate surveys of foundation support for Chicago public education, two are drawn on for this paper. The most comprehensive of the two was conducted in 1987 by G. Alfred Hess; it examined funding levels and targets as of 1985. Since then, only one survey which is accessible to the public has been conducted. Commissioned by a group of foundations, Iris Krieg & Associates surveyed and interviewed foundations during Fall 1991 as to their recent and future funding priorities. Krieg's survey provides a good picture of post-December 1988 funding levels and targets.

Funding Levels and Targets

Funding Levels: Comparing Hess and Krieg's findings it is clear that between 1985 and 1990 there was a marked increase in the level of grantmaking to public education in Chicago. Foundation donations to public education grew from $6.9 million in 1985 to $9.7 million in 1990, an increase of over 30 percent. In actuality, the 1990 total likely approaches $12 million. This discrepancy was caused by a major educational foundation not providing information for Krieg's study.

Hess and Krieg's studies also indicate that the number of foundations supporting Chicago public education increased between 1985 and 1990. For example, in Hess's

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13 This is obvious despite the fact that both the Hess and Krieg studies are based on response rates of 35 percent.
study, only twelve donors contributed more than $100,000 to Chicago public education; whereas, in Krieg's survey the $100,000 level was surpassed by twenty-one donors. In addition, the proportion of total funding for public education contributed by the largest donors decreased between 1985 and 1990: in 1985, the five largest donors accounted for seventy-one percent of education giving; in 1990, the comparable figure was fifty-nine percent.

The summary of the ten most active Chicago foundations provides a more focused picture of the trend documented by Hess and Krieg. Graph I, presented below, reveals the dramatic changes in the donations of Chicago's foundations from 1987 to 1990.\[14\]

What specifically does this graph tell us? It documents large growth in support for Chicago school reform after the passage of the Reform Act in late-1988. Grant payouts for reform related initiatives rose from over $1.6 million in 1988 to over $4.1 million in 1989, a 149 percent increase. The graph also reveals that Chicago school reform consumes a

\[14\] TWO METHODOLOGICAL NOTES: 1) The 1990 figures for Hess and Krieg's study are not perfectly comparable with the "Sample of Ten Foundations." The data reported here from Hess's and Krieg's studies count all support for Chicago public education. In Graph I, the data for the sample of foundations is divided into two categories: grants directly related to Chicago school reform; and, grants for any aspect of primary and secondary education. The second category includes Chicago school reform grants, non-reform grants for Chicago public education, and grants for K-12 education initiatives beyond Chicago.

2) Grants were determined to be directly related to Chicago school reform based on information in foundations' annual reports or IRS 990 Forms. Community organizing grants were the most difficult to categorize, as they frequently supported work on multiple issues. These grants were categorized based on a three-part decision rule, which was developed after consultation with Anne Hallett of the Wieboldt Foundation and Ken Rolling of the Woods Charitable Fund--the two leading funders of community organizing in Chicago. Community organizing grants were fully counted as school reform oriented when a foundation listed them as such (e.g. project specific grants). If grants targeted multiple issues, they were counted as "fifty percent school reform related." The rationale was that school reform comprised about one-half of the energies of the community groups involved with education between 1987 and 1990. Finally, if a grant to a community organization made no mention of school reform, it was not counted as school reform related (even if the entity was known to be working on reform.)
small, albeit growing, share of these ten foundations' total giving to primary and secondary education. For example, Chicago reform comprised approximately fourteen percent of total K-12 donations in 1988, while by 1990 the proportion had risen to nearly thirty percent.

Nevertheless, beyond validating that funders "reacted" to the Act, Graph I demonstrates that school reform was supported by foundations before the Law's passage. Moreover, the level of support increased by nearly $600,000 from 1987 to 1988, the period when the Reform Movement was heating up in the wake of the Fall 1987 teachers' strike.

All in all, Graph I concurs with this paper's thesis: while Chicago's funders largely "reacted" to the Act, relatively small investments on their part prior to December 1988 appear to have helped set the stage for far-reaching public policy. We now turn to a discussion of funding targets and themes, which should shed more light on the paradoxical relationship between Chicago's foundations and school reform.
The focus of educational philanthropy [in Chicago] seems to be upon direct assistance in the learning process for students either in basic skills or enrichment, particularly through ancillary educational services. There has been little focus upon structural reform of the school system itself.\(^{15}\)

**Funding Targets as of 1985:** With the above passage, Fred Hess summed up his analysis of the dominant educational targets of foundations in 1985. In short, the emphasis of foundation giving was on individual enrichment rather than structural change. Hess's numbers validate his narrative. More than two-thirds of all grants targeted student basic skills or educational enrichment. Specific school support was the other large category of interest, comprising nearly twenty percent of all education grantmaking. Advocacy and research accounted for only seven and four percent of the total, respectively.

The thoroughness of Hess's study allows solid analysis of which entities received grants in 1985. He found that non-profit agencies and universities garnered the bulk of funding (forty-eight and thirty-seven percent, respectively), while independent and public schools brought up the rear, receiving only eleven and three percent. (However, public schools were the dominant focus of the grants given to the universities and non-profits.) Hess reveals that only eleven entities received fifty-four percent of the total given. Of these eleven, six were institutions of higher education (University of Chicago, National College of Education, Erikson Institute, Northwestern University, IIT and U of I at Urbana), two were non-profit agencies (Chicago Panel on Public School Policy and Finance and Designs for Change), one was an independent school (Providence St. Mel), one was a private operating foundation (Ounce of Prevention Fund), and one was a public school program (Newberry Library's Metro History Fair).

Several themes emerge in Hess's analysis that in retrospect can be considered critical to the nature of the Reform Act. First, relatively large grants were made to the major citywide research and advocacy groups, the Chicago Panel on Public School Policy and Finance (Chicago Panel) and Designs for Change (Designs). In fact, it appears that these grants comprised the only research and advocacy funding provided in 1985. Second, while universities were a major recipient of funds work on public education issues, they did not have much impact on public policy--for example, they were not a factor in the citywide education discussions started by the Mayors Summit in 1986. Third, although parent initiatives were sparsely supported, they emphasized organizing and training that now appears to have helped prime the pump for the aggressive parent role in the 1988 Reform Movement.

Funding Targets 1987-1988 Versus 1989-1990: The summary of the ten Chicago foundations offers the clearest picture of the comparative targets of Chicago's grantmakers immediately before and after passage of the Reform Act. Graphs II and III, presented on the next page, provide two perspectives on the selected foundations' grantmaking between 1987 and 1990. Both graphs categorize the foundations' donations for Chicago school reform by types of grant recipients; Graph II depicts grant totals in dollars, while Graph III depicts the number of grants per category.

16 Several university presidents participated in the Summit, representing Chicago State University, Loyola, Northwestern, and (only sporadically) the University of Chicago. However, the faculty members and researchers at these institutions who were being funded to work with public schools were not involved in the Summit.

17 The categories are defined as follows. CITYWIDE: non-profit research and/or advocacy organizations with a citywide focus; COMMUNITY: non-profit, multi-agenda advocacy organizations focused on specific neighborhoods; UNIVERSITY: universities or colleges; SCHL SYSTEM: the Chicago Public Schools;
GRAPH II: Chicago School Reform Grant Recipients
Total Grants By Recipient Category, 1987–1990

Grants are from the "Sample of Ten Chicago Foundations."

GRAPH III: Chicago School Reform Grant Recipients
Number of Grants By Recipient Category, 1987–1990

Grants are from the "Sample of Ten Chicago Foundations."

SCHOOLS: individual units of the Chicago Public Schools; EDUCATIONAL: non-profit agencies which have educational reform or improvement as their primary mission. MISC: miscellaneous non-profit agencies. The individual grants are listed in Appendix II.
These graphs tell a great deal about the foundation relationship with school reform. Reform grants during 1987 almost entirely targeted citywide research and advocacy agencies, and community organizations. The citywide organizations were funded for a variety of initiatives that related to structural change, with grants going most frequently to the Chicago Panel, Designs and United Neighborhood Organization of Chicago. The community organizations, on the other hand, were funded largely to organize and train parents and community members. The remaining categories--UNIVERSITY, SCHL SYSTEM, SCHOOLS, EDUCATIONAL and MISC--received little funding related to the Reform Movement.

While support for CITYWIDE and COMMUNITY grew slightly in 1988, the largest change was the rise in funding for UNIVERSITY, SCHOOLS and MISC. The growth in these three categories appears to account for much of the increase in overall support for reform between 1987 and 1988 which Graph I documented. Focusing on the UNIVERSITY category, we see that grant dollars exceeded COMMUNITY, but that only six grants were made, far fewer than the number of grants made to either COMMUNITY or CITYWIDE. Four of the six UNIVERSITY grants emphasized researching the Reform Movement; they did not entail short-term policy development. The main exception was an exploration of the politics of decentralization by Dan Lewis of Northwestern (in conjunction with D. Garth Taylor of the Chicago Urban League) during 1987 and 1988. Funded by the Spencer Foundation, this research fueled a citywide conference in June 1987 on Urban School Reform. The conference served to validate some version of school-based management as
a worthy structural reform for Chicago.\textsuperscript{18}

The SCHOOLS category in 1988 captures the work of a single foundation. These grants were part of the Joyce Foundation’s Educational Ventures Fund, a special initiative to promote shared decision making among principals, teachers, parents and community members. The MISC category in 1988 includes a $100,000 grant by the Chicago Community Trust to support Mayors Education Summit II (see Appendix I), as well as several small grants to a citywide conference on educational reform, which the Donors Forum sponsored.

Recalling Graph I, we know that approximately $2.6 million was donated to school reform initiatives across 1987 and 1988 by the sample of ten foundations. We now see that these funds, although a small portion of total foundation support for K-12 education, were setting the stage for the Reform Act. They targeted what many commentators have noted as fundamental elements of the Reform Movement and Act: citywide organizations representing activists, business leaders and educators; and, community organizations representing parents and community residents. Moreover, we see that while universities had healthy support for reform, they were outnumbered by community and citywide organizations pushing a fast-moving change agenda.

Shifting our attention to 1989 and 1990 on Graphs II and III, a striking change is

\textsuperscript{18} The only other university voices in the reform movement before 1989 were Michael Bakalis, then Dean of the School of Education at Loyola University, and Herbert J. Walberg, Professor of Education at the University of Illinois-Chicago. They were lead authors of one of the first comprehensive plans for restructuring the Chicago public schools. SEE: Herbert J. Walberg, Michael J. Bakalis, Joseph L. Bast and Steven Baer, \textit{We Can Rescue Our Children: The Cure for Chicago’s Public School Crisis}, (Chicago: URF Education Foundation and The Heartland Institute, 1988). Few reformers indicate this document had much influence, however. Bakalis also convened the initial meetings of the coalition which evolved into Chicagoans United to Reform Education (CURE), a leading force in the development and passage of the Reform Act.
apparent in the grantmaking priorities of these ten foundations. Support for citywide research and advocacy agencies explodes in both grant dollars and number. Building on the pre-December 1988 grants to these entities, funding in 1989 and 1990 supported a variety of initiatives to promote effective implementation of the Act and alter its deficiencies. Support for the Chicago Panel and Designs rose significantly and new citywide voices were funded, including (in descending order of grant frequency) the Lawyers School Reform Support Project, Latino Institute, People's Coalition for Educational Reform, Community Renewal Society (for Catalyst), Parents United to Reform Education, Citizens Schools Committee, Citywide Coalition for School Reform, Voices for Illinois Children, Leadership for Quality Education, the Chicago Urban League and Parent Community Council.

In the two years following the Act's passage, community groups received substantial increases in both funding levels and number of grants. Most of this support was provided for organizing and training parents and community residents as candidates for and members of the local school councils. Indeed, thirty of the 100 grants made in 1989 to community groups were for a special citywide initiative to recruit local school candidates and provide them general campaign assistance. As revealed by Graph III, community organizations were the mechanism foundations turned to most frequently for supporting the Act's implementation in 1989 and 1990.

Graphs II and III also document an increase in support for reform initiatives on the part of universities, the school system, and educational improvement agencies. These categories contain significant evidence of the Act's striking effect on grantmaking behavior. For example, the SCHL SYSTEM and EDUCATIONAL categories include several one-time
grants intended to assist the school board with the Act's initial implementation. The MacArthur Foundation directly awarded the interim school board $63,356 during the summer of 1989 for its transition task forces and the search for a new superintendent. During early 1990, the Joyce Foundation funded and helped staff the School Board Nominating Commission via grants to a consultant team from the Institute for Educational Leadership. Contrary to a foundation norm, these funders were willing to fund central board activities. In addition, the MISC. category includes grants for the Fund for Educational Reform. Created in 1989 by twenty funders under the leadership of the Wieboldt Foundation, it is a pooled fund designed to provide small, quickly accessed grants to schools and community groups.

On the other hand, the SCHOOLS category grew only slightly across 1989 and 1990. Furthermore, as in 1988, the category in 1989 is comprised solely of the Joyce Foundation's Educational Ventures Fund. During 1990, a couple more foundations began to award reform grants directly to individual schools. Still, despite a reform law designed to empower local schools, Graphs II and III indicate that Chicago foundations were reluctant in these two years to award much money to individual schools.

This expansion of reform funding beyond the CITYWIDE and COMMUNITY categories reflects two interrelated factors, apparent to many observers of the Reform Act

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19 Two other entities, not examined in this paper, also started special grant programs following the Act's passage. Early in 1989, the Whitman Corporation began a Principal's Award Program that provides winners a $5,000 grant. In 1990, Illinois Bell inaugurated its Local School Council Awards Program, which provides selected schools one-time grants of $10,000.

20 A complex issue, foundation support for individual schools will be explored in detail in the next iteration of this case.
and Movement. First, the Act represented such a major shift in the organization and control of Chicago's schools that it sparked the interest of a wide array of previously uninvolved entities. Second, as the implementation of the Act proceeded, foundations began to recognize that their support for governance change must be matched, if not exceeded, by support for school site changes in curriculum, pedagogy, school organization and culture. As a result, in 1989 and especially 1990, major grants began to surface for the Coalition of Essential Schools, Paideia Institute, Teachers Task Force of the Citywide Coalition, Chicago Teachers Union and Academic Development Institute. In the rhetoric of the Reform Movement, these grants exemplify the city's attempts to move the governance reforms into the classroom.

Put differently, the Chicago foundations with a long standing interest in education found a way to link their priorities with the Reform Movement following the Act's passage. Prior to December 1988, there was little opportunity to make traditional education grants that related to Chicago school reform—the game was with citywide agencies advocating structural change, or with community organizations calling for parent and community empowerment. Once the Act mandated governance changes, the Reform Movement broadened its scope to target more traditional issues such as curriculum and pedagogy. This gave a host of educational foundations and agencies a way to work on Chicago reform while remaining true to their longstanding missions.

**Setting the Educational Foundations' Agenda:** Graphs I through III allow at least one additional conclusion about Chicago foundations' funding of school reform. Graph I reveals a major gap in the grantmaking of the ten foundations between Chicago school
reform and K-12 education. Representing aggregate data, however, the Graph masks the fact that two of these foundations had only a small gap between their reform and total K-12 grants. Both of these foundations--Wieboldt and Woods Charitable Fund--place a heavy emphasis on community organizing. Indeed, their educational grants in each of the four years are largely comprised of support for community organizing and citywide advocacy. As we know from Graphs II and III, these were the major reform grant categories before December 1988.

Considering this, another aspect of philanthropy's paradoxical relationship with Chicago school reform is unveiled. Chicago's educational foundations had little to do with the development and passage of the Act; their funds were focused on more traditional arenas. A few did support several citywide agencies for research and advocacy on structural change, as well as a few community organizations, but only as a small part of their overall K-12 grantmaking. In a sense, while betting some on the growing Reform Movement, they were hedging their bet. At the same time, Wieboldt and Woods--with longstanding interests in community organizing--were devoting nearly all their educational resources to the Reform Movement. In the process, they bolstered the Movement's orientation to community and parent empowerment and helped establish the school governance structure in which the larger, educational foundations would later invest much more substantially. Paradoxically, two foundations with small educational programs shaped the agenda for much larger educational funders via their work on community organizing.

The Activities of Foundation Staff

Foundation staff do more than help give away money. They also donate their
professional time to the advancement of particular causes and issues. This might entail
assisting with the development and implementation of policies or programs, or the creation
and oversight of particular organizations. Many foundation staff spend a good deal of time
educating themselves about issues and developing priorities, targets and strategies to guide
their foundation's giving. In other words, to understand fully the behavior of foundations
in any issue area, the non-grantmaking activity of their staff must be examined.

In this paper, the main focus is on the collective initiatives of foundation staff. This
appears to be the most notable area of staff activity relative to Chicago public education.
Indeed, several national funders have commented that the most uncommon aspect of the
Chicago funders' role in school reform has been the degree of cooperative activity.

The Donors Forum Education Group: Central to most donor collective activity
between 1986 and 1990 was the Donors Forum Education Group. An affinity group of the
Donors Forum of Chicago, the Education Group emerged as a formal committee in 1986
from a series of seminars funders had sponsored since 1984 on various educational issues.
It currently has forty members, a steering committee, elected chair, staff support and an
agenda of monthly activities.

A brief review of the Group's history is informative. During the 1986-87 academic
year, largely in response to the growing national concern with school reform, the Group
began to meet frequently to discuss the plight of Chicago's public schools. The overarching
concern was with what funders could do collectively and individually to improve the
education of Chicago's children. One of the first steps was to commission Fred Hess to
study the recent giving patterns of Chicago foundations; the result was the comprehensive
Based on Hess's findings, the Group attempted to undertake "action" in early-1987 by developing a set of recommendations for educational reform and foundation priorities which would be broadly publicized. Many participants in these discussions, however, did not feel it was appropriate for a relatively small group of funders to set a reform agenda for the public schools, or to advocate a particular foundation role. Instead, the majority reasoned, funders should educate themselves broadly and be prepared to respond thoughtfully to agendas established by educators, community leaders, educational advocates, researchers or the broader public. As a result, by late-fall 1987, the "action" approach was dead.

In early-1988, the Education Group settled on a mission which was more broadly accepted in the donor community: "to serve as an information exchange and networking forum on Chicago public education." In meeting this mission, the Group's primary activities were monthly meetings designed to address a particular topic central to the improvement of public education in Chicago and then allow time for grantmakers to exchange information. In addition, the Group attempted to sponsor at least one meeting per year that would bring donors and donees together to examine a particular aspect of educational reform. As the following points should indicate, the Education Group became an incubator of sorts for collective grantmaker activity.

A sharp cleavage is apparent in the Education Group's activities before and after the passage of the Reform Act. Prior to December 1988, the Group was interested in general educational improvement, with an emerging interest in promoting systemic change and restructuring. However, there was no clear policy or programmatic focus. Besides its
monthly meetings, the Education Group sponsored two citywide gatherings in 1987 and 1988. The 1987 gathering examined reform initiatives in Baltimore, Boston and Pittsburgh. Representatives from these cities spent a day in Chicago presenting to over 150 civic leaders, foundation executives and community and school leaders. The 1988 gathering offered Chicagoans a similar opportunity to learn about reforms in Miami-Dade County and St. Louis. Both gatherings purposefully presented ideas and approaches that covered the spectrum of educational reform.

After 1988, the Group's activities were dominated by the Reform Act. All monthly sessions related in some fashion to the Act: some were designed to educate donors about the Law, while others were devoted to questioning its content. Several Group members led by Wieboldt staff helped establish, and generate funds for, two citywide reform retreats in 1989 and 1990. These were designed to bring together a wide array of Chicagoans to plan for the implementation of the Reform Act; they spawned the Citywide Coalition for School Reform, which now has two donors on its board. In 1989, the Donors Forum established the "School Reform Support Project," which published a monthly newsletter designed to enhance communication about donor activity regarding reform and provided a part-time staff person for the Education Group. Also in 1989, the Fund for Educational Reform, mentioned earlier, emerged from the Group.

Subsets of Foundations: The Education Group helped foster significant collaborations among small groups of funders regarding the Reform Act. There are two

21 I mention the involvement of funders in creating and overseeing the Citywide Coalition for school Reform without any assessment. There is evidence, however, that some reformers did not see this as a positive development. The next iteration of this paper will explore in detail the strengths and weaknesses of "activist" foundation staff.
notable examples of Chicago funders working in unison to conceive and fund a project. The first is Catalyst, a monthly journal/newsletter devoted solely to Chicago school reform. This publication was the result of four foundations--AT&T, the Chicago Community Trust, Joyce Foundation and MacArthur Foundation--coming together around the common desire to create a medium for Chicagoans to speak to each other and a national audience about the successes and failures of the city's reform approach. When these funders linked up with the Community Renewal Society, a successful non-profit publisher with similar interests, the project came to fruition.

The second example is a citywide meeting which was sponsored in November 1989 by Joyce and MacArthur to activate the creation of a sound and widely accepted process for gauging the success of Chicago school reform. Atypically, this meeting was completely the product of the sponsoring foundations; it was not the result of grants provided to another entity.

Individual Staff Activity: Individual grantmaker activity intersected in several meaningful ways with the collective foundation initiatives prior to 1988. First, as the Education Group attempted to develop an action agenda in 1986-87, and began to talk seriously about systemic change and restructuring, several Group members were simultaneously altering their foundations' grantmaking priorities to address corresponding issues. The direction of influence flowed more from the individual foundation staff to the Group than vice versa. That is, as several Chicago foundations implemented grantmaking programs more oriented to fundamental school change, their staff shared this agenda with their colleagues via the Education Group and thereby altered the Group's agenda.
The second influential set of individual activities was that several funders participated in the Mayor's Education Summit. Most notably, one of the Summit co-chairs was at that time president of the MacArthur Foundation. In addition, staff from Joyce, Wieboldt and Woods served on task forces of the Summit. The latter fact linked the Education Group to the Mayor's Summit and the educational reforms being debated in that process.

The third notable influence came immediately before the Act's passage from leaders of the foundations with a strong interest in community organizing. Specifically, Wieboldt and Woods kept the Education Group members attuned to the parent and community organizing which heated up in the wake of the 1987 teachers' strike. During the final legislative debates which forged the Act, staff from Wieboldt and Woods—joined by staff from the Harris Bank Foundation—advocated that the Education Group publicly support the reform legislation. For a host of political and legal reasons, the Group voted not to do so. Independent of the Group, however, seventeen funders sent a joint letter to the Governor and legislature urging adoption of the principles advocated by reform proponents. Interestingly, none of the city's largest foundations signed this letter.

In sum, the collective activities of foundation staff appear to divide rather neatly along the December 1988 demarcation drawn throughout this paper. Prior to the Reform Act, funders evidenced a growing concern with the plight of public education and an interest in radical reforms. However, no clear agenda or reform approach ever surfaced. Nevertheless, funders as a group were connected through several individual grantmakers to the national wave of interest in restructuring and the increasingly aggressive reform proposals surfacing locally through the Summit and in the wake of the 1987 teachers' strike.
Put differently, although few funders were directly involved in the events that led to the Reform Act, they were informed observers and were uniquely prepared to respond after the Act was passed and it became clear that private funds would be critical to its success. Following the Act's passage, the vast majority of their collective and individual energy was devoted to understanding, advancing and critiquing Chicago's unique reform approach.

**EARLY LESSONS**

In conclusion, I share a series of lessons that I have drawn from the role of Chicago foundations in the evolution of the 1988 Chicago Reform Act. These early lessons speak to the convergence of forces that brought reform, the need for diverse policy advocates, the theoretical dilemma posed by the Reform Act, and the consequences of public policy as a change lever.

1. **Chicago School Reform: An Example of Historical Convergence**

   Most generally, this paper should make it clear that the foundation role in the passage of the Reform Act is an example of historical convergence. Arthur Mann states that the why and how of many American social movements are often explained by the convergence of certain forces without plan or intent. In his view, the influence of any event, group, institution or individual on a movement is dependent on its chance convergence with other events, groups, institutions or individuals.\(^{22}\) Such appears to have been the case with the evolution of the Reform Act.

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\(^{22}\)Arthur Mann is Professor of History at The University of Chicago. This reference is based on his lectures and my discussions with him during Spring 1991.
A cursory review of the years 1985 - 1988 reveals an array of forces gathering around education in Chicago that now can be seen as adding up to the Reform Act. (See Appendix I.) These developments—including, funders growing interest in school restructuring, their support of the citywide research and advocacy organizations, the 1987 teachers' strike, the two Summits, the death of Mayor Washington, and a relatively empty Spring legislative docket in 1988—combined to compose the Reform Act. It is doubtful that any of these forces individually, or in a different constellation, would have produced the Reform Act as we know it today.

This concept also helps explain the influence of foundation behavior on the creation of the Reform Act. As has been outlined here, a growing number of funders were interested before 1988 in fundamentally changing public education. Although a very limited interest in terms of grant dollars, it resulted in critical support for citywide research and advocacy groups and community organizations that later played lead roles in forging the Reform Act. In addition, the funders' desire to support broad discussions on reform alternatives helped expose a wide range of Chicagoans to new educational approaches. These donations of money and time to a purposefully varied set of reform approaches became two of the many forces which converged in 1988 to generate the Reform Act.

2. The Need for Multiple and Diverse Voices

The most compelling challenge to the first lesson of this case is the fact that before December 1988 only a small number of research and advocacy organizations received funding for promoting systemic change. Specifically, as discussed earlier, Hess's study revealed that in 1985 the Chicago Panel and Designs ranked among the top eleven
educational organizations in funding from Chicago foundations. They received approximately seven percent of funding related to public education. Moreover, the sample of ten Chicago foundations reveals that these two were the most frequently funded citywide research and advocacy organizations in 1987 and 1988.

This support enabled the Chicago Panel and Designs to become the major independent sources of data analysis and policy recommendations during the Reform Movement and development of the Act. Universities as a group received substantial funding, but they were a small voice regarding systemic change and policy development prior to December 1988. As discussed earlier, only six grants were made to universities for reform related work in 1988, and four of these grants emphasized long-term research. In contrast, thirty and thirty-nine grants were made to citywide and community organizations, respectively.

Without questioning the merits of the Chicago Panel or Designs, the question needs to be asked, if similar entities had been comparably supported by foundations, would the Reform Movement and resultant Act have been different? Obviously, this question potentially places the foundation role relative to the Reform Act in a different light: foundations could be seen as having "bought reform" via these two organizations.

In response to this issue, I fall back on two major points of this paper: historical convergence and the contrast of foundation behavior before and after the Act's passage. I place great stock in historical convergence as an explanation of the influence of the Chicago Panel and Designs on the reform movement and Act. Even a cursory review of the events that preceded the Act's passage indicates that no matter how well funded these two
organizations might have been, the Act's final content and passage reflects the influence of a much larger set of actors and events.\(^{23}\) The Chicago Panel and Designs were leading participants, but they frequently were forced to compromise and alter their objectives in response to the demands of other leading participants and unexpected events.

With the possible exception of Wieboldt and Woods, the behavior of Chicago's foundations in 1987 and 1988 does not indicate that they "bought reform". First, as has been discussed, the foundations were interested in moving a variety of ideas and approaches on system change into policy and practice; they were not wedded to any one design or model. Second, although foundations establish guidelines and priorities which groups need to fit to receive funds, most funders respond to who approaches them; they rarely have time to pursue potential grantees. This appears to be the dominant mode of operation for Chicago's funders. Linking these two points, it becomes clear that the actualization of foundations' interest in advancing systemic change depended on organizations having an interest in such work and coming to the foundations to request support for it.

The Chicago Panel and Designs were the only organizations prior to 1988 approaching foundations with plans for systemic change or the capacity to undertake efficient analysis of the public schools. Community groups--largely Latino, some white and a few black--were funded for educational advocacy, but their orientation was toward local battles, not system-wide plan building. The university community, a possible source of

\(^{23}\) While the Chicago Panel and Designs were funded more than other citywide organizations before 1988, this does not mean their funding was adequate, nor necessarily increasing. For example, the Chicago Panel's funding leveled-off between 1986 and December 1988. In fact, as Graph II and III document, the increase in support for citywide organizations between 1987 and 1988 was quite small. The big increase occurred in 1989, after the Act's passage.
analysis and policy development, was far more oriented to isolated research projects, curriculum development, or direct-service of teachers and schools.

Following the passage of the Act, the citywide voices supported by foundations widened markedly. The Chicago Panel and Designs were still the most funded citywide research and advocacy organizations in 1989 and 1990, but the number of citywide entities active in reform was bolstered by new or different grants to the groups mentioned earlier, such as the Citywide Coalition for School Reform, Chicago Urban League, Citizen Schools Committee, Community Renewal Society, Latino Institute and Parent-Community Council. The range of community groups supported to work on reform also broadened after the Act's passage, providing a diverse mix of parents and community residents with platforms for voicing their educational concerns. Moreover, as documented by Graphs II and III, the growth in support after 1988 for reform initiatives sponsored by universities and education improvement agencies greatly expanded the number and range of Chicagoans directly assisting local schools.

Nonetheless, a lesson for this former grantmaker is that foundations playing in the public policy arena must make sure multiple and diverse voices are supported. The power of public policy as a change lever demands that widely representative groups are empowered to help shape social policy. Chicago school reform, like many social movements, began with a few groups in the lead. While these leading entities are vital to the future of the Reform Act, they must be supplemented with like organizations that represent public education's broad constituency. Chicago's foundations are slowly addressing this need. In the process, they are discovering that it requires a shift from a reactive mode to one of outreach and
cultivation, which involves altering staff size and practices.

3. A Theoretical Dilemma: Will Student Learning Improve?

A fundamental question facing all Chicagoans concerned with public education is whether the Reform Act will help improve the educational performance of the city's children. The Act is based on a set of theories about school governance and organization which proponents argue will enable local leaders to create better schools and thereby improve student learning. The dilemma is not knowing whether these theories can transfer to practice and, if so, how long they will take to have a positive effect.

The marked shifts in foundation grantmaking and staff activity summarized in this paper indicate that many Chicago foundations are gambling that the theory is correct. Diagram I on the next page depicts the post-1988 behavior of foundations. The diagram is composed of circles, each representing a key local element of the school governance process as conceived by the Reform Act: the school; the professional personnel advisory council (PPAC); the local school council (LSC); parents; and, community (represented by the surrounding box). In Figure A, the circles are only partially overlapping to depict my sense of the current relationship between these elements. Most importantly, the LSC is not yet having a large effect on the classroom. Figure B presents the ideal relationship among these elements; here, the school is fully influenced by the LSC in terms of student learning.

24 In making this statement, I should stress that I am not expecting to see classroom changes only two and one-half years into the Act's implementation. This statement is documented by recent reports from several of the organizations monitoring the progress of Chicago school reform. SEE: John Q. Easton, Editor, Decision Making and School Improvement: LSCs in the First Two Years of Reform, (Chicago: Chicago Panel on Public Policy and Finance, December 1991); and, Charting Reform: The Teachers' Turn (Report No. 1 on a Survey of CPS Elementary School Teachers), (Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research, Fall 1991).
The role of foundations is represented in both figures by the solid and hollow arrows. The solid arrows indicate the primary foundation emphasis; the hollow arrows indicate a secondary emphasis.

**Diagram I: The Local Level Reform Structures and Foundation Targets**

**Figure A--The Current Scene**

![Diagram A](image)

**Figure B--An Ideal Scene**

![Diagram B](image)
The point of this diagram is to explain how the theoretical dilemma created by the Act relates to the role of foundations. It appears to raise at least two critical issues regarding funder behavior. First, the Act's theoretical basis could be wrong: LSCs might never have much impact on student learning. For foundations, as indicated by Figure A, this would mean that they largely have missed the real target.

The second issue is that the theory could be correct, but that change will move too slowly for the standard foundation time horizon. The result could be that funders would abandon their current pattern of investments and shift back to grants oriented predominantly to individual enrichment. As depicted by the hollow arrows in Figure A, some funders have already begun this type of shift. The unfortunate outcome of such behavior would be that a rare opportunity to address the organizational roots of public education's failings would be threatened.

How should foundations respond to this dilemma? First, they should recognize that they have a history of making relatively quick, dramatic changes in their funding targets and allocation of staff time. Arguably, the foundations' reaction to the Reform Act's passage is an example of a sudden change in direction and orientation. Second, they should bolster their staff's working knowledge of educational theory and practice. Foundations should ensure that their staff have adequate time to observe and study first-hand what is and is not working well relative to school reform. Third, if they decide to change their educational

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25 Evidence for these arrows is provided by Krieg's study, which uncovered a strong interest among funders in individual enrichment programs. More telling, Krieg interviewed several funders who conceptually view the local school council and school as separate entities. While they would never consider making separate grants to a non-profit agency's board and operations, they have been quoted as advocating the need for local school councils and schools to be considered as separate grant recipients.
priorities, they should be sure that the move is rooted in tangible failings of the present approach. Finally, in adopting new strategies, thought should be given to how systemic change can still be a target. In other words, the Reform Act represents only one of several theoretical approaches to the systemic change of educational organization and delivery.

4. Public Policy: A Powerful Lever's Intended and Unintended Consequences

School reform in Chicago was initially driven by a legislative act, a form of public policy. While that legislation was essentially the creation of a group of Chicagoans, many of the individuals and organizations involved in reforming the schools look at the legislation as "the state law." The benefit of this perception is that it has prompted major changes in behavior. For example, 17,000 people ran in the 1989 local school council elections, the majority of 6,000 local school council members have worked hard to improve their schools, and the school board has made substantial cuts in central administration. Clearly, public policy can be a far reaching lever for change. For those few funders supporting policy development and advocacy prior to December 1988, in the lexicon of grantmaking, they got a "big bang for their buck."

Nonetheless, Chicago school reform also has demonstrated that public policy is rarely a complete lever for change, and may come to depend on private money for success. In this regard, the reform process has played out several of the insights of two leading educational analysts. Milbrey McLaughlin states that "change continues to be a problem of the smallest unit." She emphasizes that the most critical factors in the successful implementation of
policies are local capacity and will.\textsuperscript{26} Therefore, to paraphrase Susan Moore Johnson, public policy must be recognized as creating an opportunity for meaningful change, not guaranteeing it.\textsuperscript{27} To foster such change, McLaughlin stresses that policies attempting to improve education through organizational change must assist individuals in developing the expertise and skills necessary for assuming new roles and responsibilities.

In this regard, the Reform Act was deficient, mandating only $1,500 in Board funded training for each local school council. The reformers believed that a new, reform oriented Board would devote more funding to staff development, thereby addressing the capacity building needs of principals, teachers and parents. Driving their belief was the principle that the Reform Act should leave ample freedom for local discretion in implementation. The reformers reasoned that the Act mandated enough funding for capacity building, but expected the new Board would decide to provide more. This did not occur, however.\textsuperscript{28}

Fortunately, the foundation community recognized this gap. Much of the dramatic increase in educational funding and activity by funders after the Act's passage was an intentional move to help fill the capacity building void. In the words of one funder, "Without public dollars to accompany school reform legislation, a gaping hole has been created...We cannot wait for tax or legislative solutions. More dollars, and carefully directed

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{26} Milbrey McLaughlin, The RAND Change Agent Study Revisited: Macro Perspectives and Micro Realities, Educational Researcher, Volume 19, Number 9, 1990, p. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Susan Moore Johnson, Teachers at Work, (New York: Basic Books, 1990), p. 338.
\item \textsuperscript{28} These points are taken from correspondence with Fred Hess, August 27, 1991.
\end{itemize}
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dollars, are needed."29 Chicago now has a burgeoning non-profit infrastructure--substantially supported by foundations--of nearly 100 organizations working on citywide and local level education issues.

Assuming that local level capacity building is vital to the type of role changes mandated by the Act, it is clear that the success of reform currently depends to a large degree on private funds. This situation is problematic for at least three reasons. First, there is not enough private money to ensure equitable capacity building across Chicago. Second, private funds will need to play this role for many years, but donors do not tend to have a long-range time horizon, especially regarding publicly financed services. Closely related to the issues of financial resources and time commitment is a third problem: the freedom and flexibility which characterize private funding could be diminished if it becomes locked-up in the implementation of the Reform Act. The question looms, will the quick and early commitment foundations made to the Reform Act, and the resulting dependency on their funds, force long term changes in their behavior?

In this light, the power of public policy as a lever for change takes on new meaning. Not only has it forced behavior changes in its primary target, the public schools, but it may have set off a chain of events which could have intended and unintended consequences for the host of organizations concerned with public education in Chicago, including foundations.

29 Iris Krieg and Associates, op.cit., p. 23.
SOURCES


Mann, Arthur. Professor of History, University of Chicago.


Walberg, Herbert J., Bakalis, Michael J., Bast, Joseph L., and Baer, Steven. *We Can Rescue Our Children: The Cure for Chicago's Public Schools Crisis.* (Chicago: URF Education Foundation and The Heartland Institute, 1988.)


APPENDIX I

HISTORY OF THE REFORM ACT: THE REVOLUTION

This appendix summarizes key events and factors that led up to the Reform Act's passage. Although many readers may be familiar with the Law and its history, this section is important because it reveals the history I am using as the basis for analyzing the foundation role in the development and passage of the Reform Act.

For the sake of efficiency, the summary is presented via a series of roughly chronological bullet points. Much of what I present is drawn from two recent books on the Reform Act by G. Alfred Hess (1991) and Mary O'Connell (1991). Readers are urged to see these sources for more detail on the Act's history.

Pre-1986

1. Chicago has a strong history of community organizing on a host of issues which stretches back several decades. It should be remembered that Chicago was the home of Saul Alinsky, an influential "flash-point" organizer. As early as 1980, Chicago foundations were willing to support community groups to organize parents and advocate for improved public education.

2. From approximately 1983 on, Chicago had relatively well funded citywide research and advocacy groups providing analysis of the schools and advocating alternative organizational structures and educational approaches. The most notable of these were the Chicago Panel on Public School Policy and Finance and Designs for Change. The bulk of their funding came from Chicago foundations, with each receiving notable increases after approximately 1986.

3. Chicago has had a long history of school strife. One persistent example is the poor relations between the teachers union and school board: there have been nine teacher strikes between 1969 and 1987. Another example is the financial collapse of the school system in 1979, which resulted in the temporary shutdown of the entire system and a bailout by the state via the sale of bonds.

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2 It should be noted that funding for these two organizations leveled-off during 1987 & 1988, before increasing substantially in 1989 & 1990 (following the Act's passage in 1988).
4. Across the 1980's, Chicago's corporate community increasingly was concerning itself with the public schools, both as a partner through adopt-a-school programs and an aggressive critic. For example, in 1981 Chicago United—a leading business organization—released an analysis of the management and operations of the public schools, replete with 253 recommendations. In 1987, they released a follow-up study which was even more critical of the public schools.3

5. The national educational context from 1983 onward was dominated by successive waves of school reforms. Within Illinois, this helped bring about the Illinois School Reform Act of 1985, which addressed some aspects of school governance, but mostly focused on issues of increased standards and accountability. In addition, the national concern with school reform helped fuel the increased interest of Chicago corporations in the schools.

6. In 1985, Chicago's foundations contributed approximately $7.5 million to primary and secondary education issues in the city. The vast majority of these funds supported programs providing enrichment and development opportunities for individual students and teachers. Very little money went to policy development, advocacy, or programs designed to advance systemic change in the public schools.

1986 Onward

7. In 1986, Mayor Washington created an unprecedented forum in Chicago for high level discussions about how to improve the performance of public schools students. Called the "Mayors Education Summit", it brought together business, educational and civic leaders to develop an improvement program modeled on the Boston Compact. The goal was to create a "learn-earn" partnership between business and the schools. The Summit was co-chaired by the president of the MacArthur Foundation, and several foundation staff worked on its various task forces. Although it created an important setting for city leaders to begin talking about education, Summit I (as I call it) did not produce any agreements due to resistance from the central administration and impatient corporate leaders. It essentially came to an end in the summer of 1987.

8. Early in 1987, the Chicago foundations sponsored a one-day, citywide conference which examined school reform initiatives in Baltimore, Boston and Pittsburgh. Presentations were made in three successive sessions to Summit participants, foundation leaders and over 100 community, corporate, educational and civic leaders.

9. In June 1987, the Chicago Urban League and Chicago Teachers Union sponsored a conference on urban education with funding from the Spencer Foundation. Focusing on school-based management and collaborative union-board decision making, the conference featured superintendents and union presidents from Hammond, Indiana; Miami-Dade

County; Rochester, New York; and, Cincinnati. Hess and O'Connell credit this meeting with validating school-based management as a reform option for Chicago. Moreover, the evidence of effective union-management relations in other cities made the soon to follow Chicago teachers' strike especially frustrating for reform leaders and concerned citizens.

10. The opening of school in the fall of 1987 was delayed 19 days by a teachers' strike. This is widely believed to be the single most important event in energizing the movement that eventually would result in the Reform Act. The strike brought the long simmering concerns of parents, community leaders and corporate leaders to a rolling boil. Many of the parent groups and coalitions of educational advocates, community leaders and corporate executives that would be central to the development and passage of the Reform Act came into existence as a result of the strike. The strike prompted an uncommon unification of parent, community and corporate leaders with citywide educational research and advocacy organizations that had been developing school reform strategies and policies for a couple of years.

11. In response to the public furor sparked by the strike, Mayor Washington in October 1987 established "Mayors Education Summit II" by adding the 54-member Parent Community Council to the Summit process. Although formally a continuation of the first year of the Summit, the second year's dynamics and intent were altered to such a degree that I have labelled it as Summit II. Mayor Washington charged the Parent Community Council with representing the desires of parents and community members as the Summit developed plans for overhauling the school system, not just creating a "learn-earn" partnership.

12. In November 1987, Mayor Washington died suddenly from a massive heart attack. A leadership vacuum resulted at the top of the city, as well as in the black community. Nonetheless, Washington's interim replacement, Eugene Sawyer, continued Summit II. After months of fact finding, public hearings and meetings with Summit participants, a reform plan was produced, which contained many of the elements which would comprise the Reform Act. However, without Mayor Washington's political and personal guidance, the Summit largely splintered and its reform plan became one of several competing for legislative attention in Springfield in Spring 1988.

13. The reform movement's energies shifted to Springfield in the Spring of 1988 for the Legislative Session. In the face of several competing reform plans, Michael Madigan--Speaker of the House--advised the leading legislators and various constituent groups to forge a single plan, which had to be revenue neutral and have the support of the Black Caucus and unions. A series of meetings led by several legislators ensued and a compromise bill was produced. The first attempt at passage failed, with votes along party lines--there were not enough Democratic votes on the floor. Following two days of negotiation, the bill was reintroduced with no changes and it passed along party lines--this time the Democratic leadership had enough votes.
14. Mary O'Connell highlights the fact that the Spring 1988 legislative session was relatively free of controversial issues. As a result, legislators had time and energy to devote to the creation and passage of a major piece of educational policy.

15. During the Summer of 1988, the Governor used his amendatory veto power to alter the bill; he added a choice component and altered the composition of the School Finance Authority. He then sent the bill back to the legislature for consideration in its Fall 1988 session.

16. During the Fall of 1988, Chicago foundations sponsored a second citywide conference to examine school reform initiatives in St. Louis and Miami. Nearly 100 community, corporate, parent and civic leaders attended.

17. After further negotiation in the Fall 1988 Legislative Session, the bill was adopted by the Illinois General Assembly on December 2, 1988 and signed into law by Governor Thompson ten days later. Its enactment date was set for July 1989.
APPENDIX II

CHICAGO SCHOOL REFORM GRANT RECIPIENTS, 1987-1990

This appendix presents the majority of the data that comprise Graphs I, II and III. It lists the organizations which received grants for Chicago School Reform from the sample of ten Chicago foundations. Elementary and secondary education grants unrelated to the Reform Movement and Act are not listed.

The grants are organized by foundation and listed by the categories which are the basis of Graphs II and III: CITYWIDE, COMMUNITY, UNIVERSITY, SCHL SYSTEM, SCHOOLS, EDUCATIONAL and MISC. The names of each organization are abbreviated and the grant amount is listed in parentheses. The categories and organizations are described at the end of the appendix.

Readers will note that the specific focus of each grant is not presented. While such information has been central to my research and analysis, it is too voluminous for inclusion in an appendix to this paper.
## CHICAGO SCHOOL REFORM GRANT RECIPIENTS BY ORGANIZATION CATEGORIES, 1987–90

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### Notes:
- Designs ($120 K)
- Panel ($40 K)
- UNO ($50 K)
- LQE ($250 K)
- NIU ($208,334)
- RU ($90 K)
- UC ($50 K)
- CRS ($100 K)
- CSC ($60 K)
- Designs ($120 K)
- Panel ($40 K)
- UNO ($50 K)
- LQE ($250 K) (30 Community Grants)
- NIU ($208,334)
- RU ($90 K)
- UC ($50 K)
- CRS ($100 K)
- Designs ($110 K)
- Lawyers ($25 K)
- Panel ($40 K)
- Panel ($45 K)
- Lathrop ($98 K)
- Cycle ($76 K)
- Yth Gd ($30,570)
### CHICAGO SCHOOL REFORM GRANT RECIPIENTS BY ORGANIZATION CATEGORIES, 1987–90

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<th>CITYWIDE</th>
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<th>SCHL SYSTEM</th>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
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| 1987     | Panel ($5 K) | UNO ($2 K) | DCP ($8 K) | NCO ($6 K) | NNDC ($3.5 K) | UNO-SE ($6 K) | Donors ($450) |
| 1988     | CSC ($5 K) | C. United ($7.5 K) | Designs ($6 K) | Panel ($6 K) | PURE ($5 K) | DCP ($6 K) | NCO ($6 K) | NNDC ($3.5 K) | UNO-SE ($6 K) | IRI ($3 K) | FER ($3.5 K) |
| 1989     | Designs ($7.5 K) | Lawyers ($5 K) | Panel ($7.5 K) | PCER ($5 K) | PURE ($5 K) | UNO ($1.5 K) | Designs ($2K) | Lawyers ($2K) | Panel ($3K) | Latino ($2K) | CYCLE ($20 K) | CNT ($13 K) |
| 1990     | Latino ($2K) | Panel ($3K) | WTTW-11 ($1.25K) | DePaul ($62K) | National ($50K) | RU ($50 K) | ADI ($25 K) | CYCLE ($25 K) | ED. FND ($10 K) | S & Guld. ($25 K) | ESC ($30 K) |

| 1987     | Designs ($1 K) | ONE ($2.5 K) | Designs ($2.5 K) | NNDC ($1.5 K) | NRC ($750) |
| 1988     | Designs ($1 K) | ONE ($2.5 K) | Designs ($2.5 K) | NNDC ($1.5 K) | NRC ($750) |
## Chicago School Reform Grant Recipients by Organization Categories, 1987-90

### Harris Bank Foundation

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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Panel</th>
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<th>CSU</th>
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### Joyce Foundation

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### CHICAGO SCHOOL REFORM GRANT RECIPIENTS BY ORGANIZATION CATEGORIES, 1987–90

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KEY FOR CATEGORIES & ORGANIZATIONS

--- CATEGORIES ---

CITYWIDE: nonprofit research and/or advocacy organizations with a citywide focus.
COMMUNITY: nonprofit, multi-agenda advocacy organizations based in specific neighborhoods.
UNIVERSITY: universities or colleges.
SCHL SYSTEM: the Chicago Public Schools.
SCHOOLS: individual units of the Chicago Public Schools.
EDUCATIONAL: nonprofit agencies which have educational reform or improvement as their primary mission.
MISC: miscellaneous nonprofit agencies.

--- ORGANIZATIONS ---

(Alphabetical Order)

ACORN: Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now
ADI: Academic Development Institute (Alliance for Achievement), Chicago, IL
Black Ed.: Chicago Area Alliance of Black School Educators, Chicago, IL
Bridges: Bridges for Humanity, Chicago, IL
CCL: Center for Community and Leadership Development, Chicago, IL
Centro C.: Centro Cristiano Monsenor Romero, Chicago, IL
Centro P.: Centro Para Desarrollo Comunitario Y Liderato, Chicago, IL
Centro U.: Centro Unidad Latina, Chicago, IL
Chinese Am.: Chinese American Service League, Inc., Chicago, IL
Citywide: Citywide Coalition for School Reform, Chicago, IL
Civ. Fed.: Civic Federation of Chicago, Chicago, IL
CNH: Center for New Horizons, Chicago, IL
CNOP: Chicago Neighborhood Organizing Project
CNTNW: Center for Neighborhood Technology, "The Neighborhood Works," Chicago, IL
CNT: Center for Neighborhood Technology, Chicago, IL
Comite: Comite Latino, Chicago, IL
CPA: Chicago Principals' Association, Chicago, IL
CRS: Community Renewal Society, Chicago, IL
CSC: Citizens Schools Committee, Chicago, IL
CSU: Chicago State University, Chicago, IL
CTU: Chicago Teachers Union
CUL: Chicago Urban League, Chicago, IL
CYCLE: Community Youth Creative Learning Experience, Chicago, IL
C. United: Chicago United, Inc., Chicago, IL
DCP: Developing Communities Project, Chicago, IL
DePaul: DePaul University, Chicago, IL
Designs: Designs for Change, Chicago, IL
Donors: Donors Forum of Chicago, Inc., Chicago, IL
ED. FND: Chicago Educational Foundation, Chicago, IL
ESC: Executive Service Corps., Chicago, IL
EVF: Educational Ventures Fund, Joyce Foundation, Chicago, IL
FER: Fund for Educational Reform, Chicago, IL
GGCOC: Greater Grand Crossing Organizing Committee, Chicago, IL
GREAT: G.R.E.A.T. Community Coalition, Chicago, IL
Howard: Howard Area Community Center, Chicago, IL
ICA: Institute of Cultural Affairs, Chicago, IL
IEL: Institute for Educational Leadership, Washington, D.C.
IFC: Illinois Fair Schools Coalition, Chicago, IL
Interfaith: Interfaith Organizing Project of Greater Chicago, Chicago, IL
Inter. Bd.: Interim Board of Education, Chicago Public Schools
IPE: Institute of Positive Education, Chicago, IL
IPR: Institute for Philosophical Research, Chicago, IL
IRI: Illinois Renewal Institute, Chicago, IL
ISBE: Illinois State Board of Education
KOKO: Kenwood/Oakland Community Organization, Chicago, IL
LADS: Latin American Development Services, Chicago, IL
Latino: Latino Institute, Chicago, IL
Lawndale: Lawndale Peoples Planning and Action Conference, Chicago, IL
Lawyers: Lawyers' School Reform Advisory Project, Chicago Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Chicago, IL
Logan: Logan Square Neighborhood Association, Chicago, IL
LQE: Leadership for Quality Education, Chicago, IL
LSC Assoc.: Local School Council Chairpersons Association, Chicago, IL
Midwest: Midwest Community Council, Chicago, IL
MT Sem.: McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, IL
National: National–Louis University, Evanston, IL
NCO: Northwest Community Organization, Chicago, IL
NEAC: Northeast Austin Organization, Chicago, IL
Neighb. Instit: The Neighborhood Institute, Coalition for Improved Education in South Shore, Chicago, IL
New Dir.: New Directions, Chicago, IL
NIU: Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, IL
NNDC: Near North Development Corporation, Chicago, IL
NNF: Northwest Neighborhood Federation, Chicago, IL
NNNN: Near North Neighborhood Network, Chicago, IL
NRC: North River Commission, Chicago, IL
NU: Northwestern University, Evanston, IL
NWAC: Northwest Austin Council, Chicago, IL
NYS: Network for Youth Services, Chicago, IL
ONE: Organization of the Northeast, Chicago, IL
Orr C.A.: Orr Community Academy High School, Chicago, IL
Paideia: Paideia Institute of Hyde Park, Chicago, IL
Panel: Chicago Panel on Public School Policy and Finance, Chicago, IL
PCC: Parent Community Council, Chicago, IL
PCER: People’s Coalition for Educational Reform, Chicago, IL
Penn: University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
Pilsen: Pilsen Neighbors Community Council, Chicago, IL
PURE: Parents United to Reform Education, Chicago, IL
Rest. Net.: Chicago Public Schools Network for School Restructuring
Rogers Pk.: Rogers Park Tenants Committee, Chicago, IL
RU: Roosevelt University, Chicago, IL
S & Guid.: Scholarship and Guidance Association, Chicago, IL
SACCC: South Austin Coalition Community Council, Chicago, IL
SEAC: South–East Asia Center, Chicago, IL
SPNF: Southwest Parish and Neighborhood Federation, Chicago, IL
STS: School Tech Services, Chicago, IL
Summit: Mayors’ Summit II (See Appendix I)
Teach. T.F.: Teacher Task Force, (Fiscal Agent: Roosevelt University, Chicago, IL)
TWO: The Woodlawn Organization, Chicago, IL
UC: Center for School Improvement, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL
UCCCSR: Consortium on Chicago School Research, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL
UNO-BOY: United Neighborhood Organization of Back of the Yards, Chicago, IL
UNO-LV: United Neighborhood Organization of Little Village, Chicago, IL
UNO-SE: United Neighborhood Organization of Southeast Chicago, Chicago, IL
UNO: United Neighborhood Organization of Chicago, Chicago, IL
Vand.: Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN
VIC: Voices for Illinois Children, Chicago, IL
West Side: West Side Consortium Organization, Chicago, IL
West Town: West Town Center for Education and Community Leadership, Chicago, IL
WTTW-11: WTTW Channel 11, Chicago, IL
Yth Guid: Youth Guidance, Chicago, IL