

BECOMING “URBAN”:
A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF A COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

LARA WILLOX: Becoming “Urban”: A Cultural Historical Examination of a College of Education
(Under the direction of Madeleine Grumet)

This dissertation presents a case study of a College of Education as it began the process of becoming an urban focused organization within an urban institution. This study explores teacher educators’ conceptions of urban education and the tensions that appear to influence the process of change. Data was drawn from historical background knowledge, on site observations, document reviews, and interviews with teacher educators engaged in the process to answer the following questions: 1) What tensions influence a College of Education going through the process of institutional change with the goal of becoming an urban focused organization within an urban institution? 2) What meanings does the term “urban” have in these programs?

Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) is used to explore the tensions within and between the specific entities involved in the process of change. CHAT was “designed to be used to understand human activity situated in a collective context” (Yamagata-Lynch, 2007, p. 453). The tensions exposed were ideological and procedural in nature. These tensions are centered on community relationships, understandings of the term

urban, differences between newer and older faculty members, and procedural expectations by outside agencies.

The findings suggest that greater attention needs to be paid to the historical and cultural elements of institutional change processes that are at work but often go unexamined. In addition teacher educators expressing a commitment to urban education should spend time analyzing their understandings of urban education and deliberating on the concept that will guide their practice.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“Urban space is a densely woven fabric: a multi-layered tapestry of intertwined threads from different people, institutions, cultures, and times.” ~ Petra Gemeinboeck (2007)

In 2007, Australian artist Petra Gemeinboeck created a locative media artwork titled “Urban Fiction” using technology and tapestry to devise a virtual map of an urban area (Gemeinboeck & Saunders, 2007). Gemeinboeck, with the support of Rob Saunders, imagined the city's social fabric to be fluidly transformed, constantly rewoven, embroidered, torn apart, and stitched together again.

It is the city's inhabitants, who continuously add threads and pull them across its multiple layers, actuating these fluid transformations. Conventional representations of the city are blind to our everyday social encounters and the resulting changing spaces and relations. Rather, they display the fixed regulations that constrain this dynamic play. This project's objective was to make the interplay between the *lived* and the *mapped* visible and tangible (Gemeinboeck & Saunders, 2007, p. 110).

Gemeinboeck and Saunders worked to expose the richness and complexities associated with urban life through their artwork. To undertake a similarly complex project that investigates a slice of urban life and to make the “lived” and “mapped” visible, I turned towards urban teacher education to expose the tensions and complexities of change in an urban institution. Through this research, I am exposing the tensions within the change

process to highlight the complexities, fluctuations, and policies that are both promoting and hindering institutional change within a teacher education program. My goal has been to “map” the process of institutional change using a theoretical and research paradigm that allows the complexity and dynamics to be highlighted without succumbing to broad generalizations and fixed answers. The questions driving this project relate both to the conceptualization of “urban” and the process of change within teacher education. Urban education is the term that many colleges of education have adopted to represent their programs in the last two decades. Urban, as a designation within teacher preparation programs, typically denotes preparation involving diversity, social justice, and multicultural education. Marilyn Cochran-Smith (2004), the Cawthorne Professor of Teacher Education for Urban Schools at the Lynch School of Education at Boston College, has written extensively about teacher preparation for race, diversity, and social justice. In her book *Walking the Road: Race, Diversity and Social Justice in Teacher Education*, she presented a framework for understanding the multiple meanings of multicultural teacher preparation; several of the programs highlighted in the text are teacher education programs labeled “urban” (Cochran-Smith, 2004). I wondered, within the constellation of meanings associated with the term “urban,” what meanings does it have in these programs? What tensions influence a College of Education going through the process of institutional change with a goal of becoming an urban focused organization within an urban institution?

To explore these questions, I completed a case study of a College of Education as it began the process of becoming an urban focused organization within an urban institution. This study explores teacher educators’ conceptions of urban education and the

circumstances that appear to influence the process of change. A qualitative case study was employed because this research examined a complex process in a specific setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). The study took place in a particular environment and concentrated on both the context and the participants' frame of reference. Data collected included observations of faculty development events, committee meetings, and general college meetings. Documentation pertaining to the process of change and meanings of urban was analyzed, and twenty-eight interviews were conducted with stakeholders involved in the change process at the College of Education. Chapter Three will provide more study specifics.

The institutional goal of the College of Education highlighted in this study is to improve the education of K-12 students in the urban school district through urban focused teacher education. The goal seems rather simple, as though change in teacher education equals an automatic change in student outcomes. There are, however, a number of mediating factors associated with this goal that include the histories of the university, the school, and the community, the connections between the university and school system, the approaches of the College of Education to urban education, and the way the term "urban" is conceptualized. Though the goal can be perceived as a relatively easy one, there are challenges for the College of Education that cannot be ignored as it works toward improving education for K-12 students by adjusting the focus of its teacher education program.

The complex meaning of urban, coupled with the goals and outreach of institutions (public schools and universities), against a backdrop of a rapidly growing urban city in the South, intrigued me. My older siblings and I attended schools in an all

white suburb of Bloomsberg¹ until my family moved downtown when I was 12. As a consequence, I attended an urban² school, and I became a minority student among the majority of my classmates who were African American, Hispanic, and Asian American. My friends, therefore, were of varying races and ethnicities. After graduating from college, I was happy to return to Bloomsberg and begin my teaching career in the same diverse urban program I left. As I established myself as a teacher, I bought a house not far from the city's center, and my 12 years as a classroom teacher were spent within five miles of downtown Bloomsberg.

It is the complexities and contradictions surrounding understandings of the term “urban” that interest me most. My story could be told as described above, ignoring the reality of my own student past which is that I was not a stereotypical “urban” youth; tracking and gentrification erased that designation and created a type of de facto segregation. While my neighbors and friends may have been of different ethnicities, they all shared a level of wealth and comfort. Only in homeroom was my minority status a reality. Honors classes left me and my white peers segregated from a traditional/stereotypical “urban” education. Today my alma mater is listed as one of the worst performing schools in the state, with only 26% percent of students passing state reading assessments (Helms, 2006). When the magnet program ceased, the white middle class population of students ceased to be a presence in the school.

¹ Bloomsberg is the pseudonym for the city in which this research took place.

² Designated as such by location and racial make-up.

Within the last eight years, schools in Bloomsberg have re-segregated. The area has become more gentrified³, and racial inequities and achievement gaps have grown. My experiences while working and living in the city in no way mirror those of the students I taught during my last five years in the classroom. Their experience was more similar to those classmates of mine who were in the lower tracks. It was during those years of teaching at an inner city school that I began to question the priorities of the city and the school system and my own personal beliefs. It was also during this time that I entered a Master's program in education at the public Bloomsberg University⁴.

At Bloomsberg University, I gained new pedagogical knowledge; however, I was not provided an opportunity or a critical lens with which to reflect on my teaching situation. The inequities present in the inner city school were glaringly apparent. Every minute of the day was scripted, and any of the teachers' or students' passion for learning was extinguished. Meanwhile, in the same school system, students in suburban schools were provided an entirely different curriculum: one rich with integration, the arts, and challenging curriculum. It was out of frustration with the inequity of the curriculum at the inner city school that I left the area to attend graduate school.

These issues of urban education intrigued me throughout my teaching career and into my graduate program. In the field of education, "urban" is a euphemism for poor and minority. Even beyond poor and minority, the term "urban" invokes ideas of chaos and fear. Movies depict urban students as violent, almost feral individuals suffering in the

³ While gentrification is typically associated with increased numbers of non-minorities within the city, in this particular city most of the housing complexes populated by minority groups were destroyed, and all of their residents were forced to relocate. The relocation of these minority groups to particular sections of town has contributed to the resegregation of schools.

⁴ Bloomsberg University is a pseudonym for the state college located in the city and the focus of this study.

shadows of the city. However, in my experience, urban students were not students to be feared; it was the structural forces at work that separated and challenged students, not their own deficiencies.

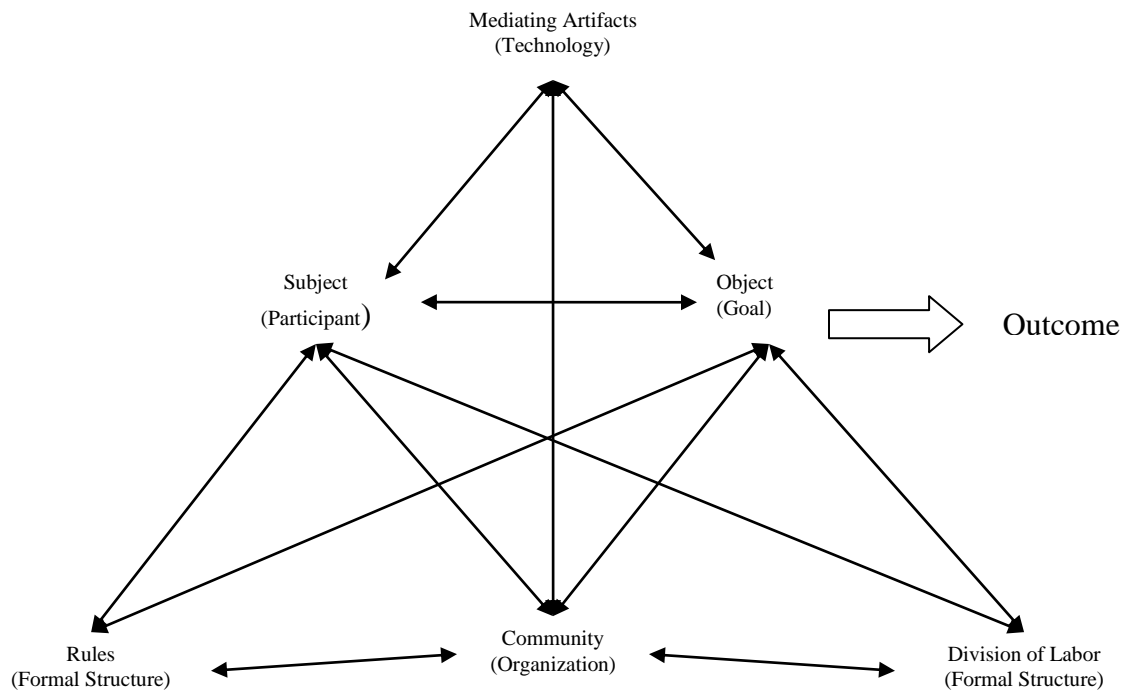
While my past is pertinent to my lens and scope as a researcher, the past of the city, the local school system, and Bloomsberg University are equally pertinent. Because the historical context is the backdrop for this story, Chapter Two will provide a brief history of the city, the local school system, and Bloomsberg University. Without this historical context, my research would be alienated from all that has shaped it.

It is also important to understand the institutional context in which the participants are operating. This research explored teacher educators' understanding of urban, while they were engaged in a process of change within an institution. While no research can analyze all of the connections across complex institutional arrangements, I chose to use Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) to explore the tensions within and between the specific entities. Tensions are not meant to imply negativity; in Activity Theory the tensions among the six parts are what propel an activity process. The tensions affect the process of change. Whether that is a negative or a positive effect is determined by how they influence the outcome of the process. Sometimes tensions that appear to hinder the process of change may actually allow for more discussion, resulting in change in a different area or direction. After all, it could be argued that all learning and change are the result of tension pushing our understandings and our thoughts.

Through the use of CHAT, this research will shed light on the perceived tensions present in the initial processes of change. CHAT was "designed to be used to understand human activity situated in a collective context" (Yamagata-Lynch, 2007, p. 453). It is a

part of the social constructivism paradigm that originated in Vygotsky's work. (Worthen, 2004). Through the examination of the six parts of the change process--subject, object, mediating artifacts, rules, community, and division of labor--tensions that influenced the outcome will be exposed (Ogawa, Crain, Loomis, & Ball, 2008). Like the complex tapestry created through digital media by the Australian artist, Gemeinboeck, CHAT allows some of the threads of activity to be exposed. Like threads woven across a tapestry, each idea is connected to the others; if one is pulled in a certain direction, it will affect the rest. The figure below is an illustration of how CHAT can be used to examine complexities without developing a simplified understanding. The theoretical foundation for this approach will be further explained in Chapter Three.

Figure 1: CHAT



Chapter Four will explore the ways the faculty and stakeholders at the College of Education at Bloomsberg University are making sense of “urban education.” Faculty members’ and stakeholders’ understandings will be compared and contrasted with the way that urban is conceptualized within current literature and research. A brief history of urban education will also be provided to help contextualize current understandings.

Chapter Five examines the arduous yet necessary process of institutional change through the exploration of the tensions within and between the city, school system, and Bloomsberg University. All of these entities are best characterized as institutions. These particular institutions are all changing and growing to prepare for current contexts and beyond. Institutional change is characterized by building, extending, maintaining, revising, and dismantling at multiple levels, including individuals, organizations, fields, communities, and associations (Scott, 2001). There is an interweaving of actions, processes, and structures that may eventually result in change. As Heinz-Dieter Meyer (2006) pointed out, “institutions change for the most part with glacier speed” (p. 217). While urban areas are rapidly experiencing growth, change, and fluctuation, institutions supporting these areas are not as quick to adapt and change.

Chapter Six considers the research as a whole and Chapter Seven offers implications and recommendations. Beyond the implications for organizations facing urban change, care has been taken to consider the methodology employed as well as the appropriateness of the theoretical framework brought to this study.

Research Questions

At the crossroads of this geographic location and complex conception, there is a College of Education, located in a developing urban area, changing its current practice.

The College of Education at Bloomsberg University is in the process of considering the urban population when educating pre-service and practicing teachers. As I engaged in this process, I explored the following questions:

- What tensions influence a College of Education going through the process of institutional change with the goal of becoming an urban focused organization within an urban institution?
- Urban education is the term that many colleges of education have adopted to represent their programs in the last two decades. Within the constellation of meanings associated with the term “urban,” what meanings does it have in these programs?

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter provides a brief history of the city of Bloomsberg⁵, Bloomsberg University, and the Bloomsberg County School System. The histories of the area and these institutions affect the development of Bloomsberg University's College of Education as it works to become "urban." In order to share the rich history of Bloomsberg, the school system, and the university, the story will be told chronologically to allow for explicit connections across time and development to be made. The inclusion of the history of the Bloomsberg County School System is important because it provides a context for the relationships between the local school system and the university today. The growth and development patterns of Bloomsberg in many ways mirror patterns found across the Southeast and the broader United States. Traditionally, urban development in the South was slower than the North because of the rural, agricultural nature of the South. While Bloomsberg's history is unique, many of the milestones are shared across the nation.

⁵ The pseudonym "Bloomsberg" will be used to discuss the area. While care is taken specifically not to name the city, university, and school system, some of the historical links and bibliographic information may allow readers to deduce the specific location. All references directly naming the city were changed to the pseudonym "Bloomsberg." The IRB associated with this research focuses specifically on protecting the identity of the participants; even if one is aware of the actual city and university, limited identifying information will be shared regarding the participants in order to protect their identity.

The Forming of Bloomsberg

Bloomsberg was incorporated as a town in 1768 at the crossroads of two trading paths (PLCC, 2002). German, Irish, and Scottish settlers came to the state from the overpopulated colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. As a result of increased taxation, town residents began to get restless and drafted their own Declaration of Independence in 1775. During the American Revolution, the town was an encampment for both British and American armies.

In 1802, a large piece of gold was discovered in the area. Until 1848, Bloomsberg led the nation in gold production, and a gold mine operated in Bloomsberg until the early 1900s. The resulting miniature gold rush was a factor that led to Bloomsberg's population explosion and the creation of new industry in the area (Blanchard, 2004).

Also during the early 1800s, churches of many different faiths were established in Bloomsberg. Early settlers to the city wanted economic and religious freedom. The majority of churches were Presbyterian, but there were also Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Catholics settling in the area. Bloomsberg was often referred to as the "City of Churches" (PLCC, 2002). Early schooling in the area began at church, with ministers teaching the area youth. In 1837, the state received money from the United States government from the sale of public land. This money was earmarked for a public school fund. In 1839, the counties in the state were divided into school districts; each six miles square (Tompkins, 1903).

Civil War and Reconstruction

During the Civil War, Bloomsberg housed a Confederate Naval Yard. Many of the 300 workers employed in the Naval Yard stayed in Bloomsberg when the war ended

(Hanchett & Sumner, 2004). Kratt (1992) argues that after the arrival of the first passenger train in 1852, Bloomsberg was no longer considered rural. This consideration was made based on contact not on population or industry. Within four years, several trains came into Bloomsberg daily, and a telegraph office was established (Kratt, 1992). After the Civil War, the population continued to grow. Population growth was attributed to Bloomsberg's housing a cotton processing center and its railroad hub (PLCC, 2002).

During the Civil War, the county school tax was donated to the soldiers; therefore, school funding was greatly reduced (Tompkins, 1903). After the war, reconstruction efforts included the expansion of public education for white students; however, this allocation was met with resistance from the local planters, and in the early 1870s, school funding was reduced again (Hanchett & Sumner, 2004). Over 100 county schools were still operating in one room school houses in 1876 (Tompkins, 1903). As the century came to an end, several of the county's one-room school houses were consolidated (CCS, 2007).

The first graded⁶ school in the state began in Bloomsberg in 1873. The school operated in a home and was supported by private funds and some public school funds as well. While enrollment grew, there were debates regarding how to continue financing the school. It was determined that a special tax needed to be enacted; however, in order for a tax to be approved, a majority of voters had to agree. Schools did not operate from 1875 to 1880 while funding decisions were up for vote. After results were secured for the special tax, a court hearing regarding the validity of the voting results was convened. This

⁶ The first graded school signified the end of the one room school house; students were separated into classes based on grade levels.

further delayed the opening of schools; thus it was not until 1882 that the graded school was reopened (Tompkins, 1903).

The Bloomsberg city school system declared its opening in 1882 with the first publicly endorsed graded school. The “South” school was segregated. It was not until later that year that a school was opened for African American students (Randolph, 1992). Schools for African American students at this time were considered charitable efforts not a public responsibility. In 1888, a new superintendent was hired, and during his twenty-five year tenure, many changes were instituted. During the time he served as leader, he developed a co-ed school, adapted the curriculum to include drawing and music, and opened another school for white residents, serving students through tenth grade. In 1907, the Bloomsberg school system expanded, and five formerly county schools became Bloomsberg schools (CCS, 2007).

Early 20th Century and the Depression

In the early 20th century, Bloomsberg began to prosper. The first suburb was established in 1891, with a trolley providing transportation from the outlying neighborhood to the center of the city. In 1908, the first sky scraper was constructed at the intersection of the original two trading paths. Due to the access to transportation that the railroad lines provided, cotton mills were built and operating throughout the area. Power companies, snack manufacturers, and banks began to thrive as a result of the mills (Hanchett & Sumner, 2004). The mills prospered until the early 1920s when textile prices began to fall and workers were beginning to demand better conditions (Hanchett & Sumner, 2004). Another factor leading to the city’s rapid growth and development was

the establishment of a camp during World War I. Over 60,000 soldiers were brought to the area, and with them came thousands of dollars for Bloomsberg.

However, while life for many was prosperous, these times proved to be more difficult for African Americans living in Bloomsberg. Heightened racial tensions began with an election at the turn of the century, with white supremacists claiming that African Americans were beginning to take over in the state. White supremacists did not like the fact that African Americans were participating in statewide leadership roles. While Bloomsberg city government did not have a single African American in a leadership position, there was a group of African Americans who were considered a “better class.” During the 1880s and 1890s, race relations in the Bloomsberg area were seemingly amicable though highly inequitable. However, with the passing of the disfranchisement amendments in 1900⁷, race relations would quickly deteriorate as Jim Crow laws went into effect (Greenwood, 1994).

Similar to cities across the US, there were gross inequities between white schools and schools for African Americans throughout the early history of schooling in the area. In the rural south, few schools were even available for African American children. Most children between the ages of 10-17 were working in agriculture; however these numbers began to decline with the great migration that was occurring in 1914. Many African American families were moving north (Anderson, 1988). Establishing schools for African Americans in the south was seen as a way to keep families in the area although the schools that were established were inferior to their white counterparts. In addition,

⁷ These amendments established a literacy test, a poll tax, and a grandfather clause. The grandfather clause allowed illiterate white men to bypass the literacy test if their grandfather had been eligible to vote before 1867. African American men could not satisfy that condition because prior to 1867, no black North Carolinians were permitted to vote (Gershenhorn, 2010).

teachers in African American schools were paid substantially less, the buildings were often subpar, and resources (books, supplies) were scarce (Greenwood, 1994).

During the early twentieth century Julius Rosenwald, a northern philanthropist, provided funding for the construction of schools for African American children in the South. In total, 813 schools were built using these funds; 26 were located in Bloomsberg and the surrounding county (Ely, Drain, & Rogers, 2001). Not only were African American schools being built, additional schools for white students were also being built. In the early 1900s, two new high schools were constructed in Bloomsberg. In 1925, the twelfth grade was added to high schools, but soon, as a result of the depression, school growth was halted; the twelfth grade was removed, and several school positions were cut (CCS, 2007).

Prior to the depression, the area cotton mills were dealing with large uprisings related to the establishment of labor unions. The cotton mills were beginning to use new business techniques designed to increase production. As the new efficiency standards put stress on mill workers, unions saw an opportunity to become a presence in local mills. There were several strikes, walk outs, and even violent uprisings related to the establishment of unions. In the end, the employers maintained their stance against unions, and to this day unions are not strongly established in the state. The union uprisings were quickly followed by Black Monday. Many banks and mills in the area shut down (PLCC, 2002). To counteract the unemployment of the Depression, President Roosevelt began pouring federal money into the South. Bloomsberg used these new funds to establish an airport, build a stadium, create a hospital, and open a military air base (Hanchett & Sumner, 2004).

After the depression, both Bloomsberg and the surrounding county schools were struggling, and the Bloomsberg Chamber of Commerce created a committee to explore consolidation. While several advantages were discussed, the most important was equal educational opportunities for all children (CCS, 2007). During consolidation, African American schools and white schools continued to operate separately within the system. In 1944, within 14 county school districts in around the all white Bloomsberg schools were consolidating; the Bloomsberg city schools however, were still debating consolidation with its county schools.

The mid-1940s also brought a return of veterans to the area. The influx of workers boosted the economy and created a need for advanced education. Bloomsberg Center, precursor to Bloomsberg University, was established in 1946. Originally housed in a local high school, Bloomsberg Center served returning veterans of World War II. At a time when the population of Bloomsberg was 100,899, Bloomsberg Center served 278 students. Three years later, the Center became Bloomsberg College, providing the first two years of a college education to the growing population. The college was funded first by student tuition payments then by local property taxes. Upon joining the newly formed state community college system, it became state-supported in 1958. While the name and funding sources changed, the college was still housed in a local high school located in downtown Bloomsberg.

Civil Rights Era

While Bloomsberg was grappling with the decision of whether to consolidate schools or not, there were bigger issues receiving attention in the national arena. In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka*,

Kansas, that “separate but equal” was unconstitutional. The court ordered that schools desegregate (Bell, 1980). Like most cities in the Southeast, Bloomsberg was segregated not only in the school system but also in housing communities, hotels, restaurants, restrooms, churches, theaters, and hospitals. As a result of such strict residential segregation, Bloomsberg was one of the most residentially segregated cities in the United States (Smith, 2004); all children attended schools in their neighborhoods, which created all white or all African American schools.

Many white southerners saw the court ruling as a disruption in a peacefully segregated world, and most communities chose to ignore the ruling (Douglas, 1995). If it were not for African Americans pushing for their rights to equal education, things may not have changed. In 1957, four African American families in Bloomsberg were granted permission to send their students to white schools. All four started in the Bloomsberg city school system, but only one of the students graduated from the school he attended. The rest switched schools or left the city because of ongoing harassment (Douglas, 1995).

Despite the harassment, Bloomsberg received national attention for desegregating schools with relative ease, even though the four students were among the first and last to enter all white schools for a while. Unlike other major cities in the South, the protests surrounding the integration did not last long and did not require additional government support such as the National Guard. The harassment of students was mostly contained within the school and did not garner city or national attention. Accomplished by what must have been a feat of marketing, Bloomsberg enjoyed a favorable reputation regarding race relations. The moderate desegregation stance was largely associated with business decisions, not moral decisions (Douglas, 1995). Looking at the economic ramifications of

other southern cities that responded harshly to the *Brown* decision, business members in the area did not want to follow similar paths. The decisions made to integrate were done either to appear to be complying or to head off negative publicity. Allowing four students to integrate schools in 1957 was symbolic only. The reality was that fewer African American children attended white schools in Bloomsberg after the *Brown* case than prior to it (Douglas, 1995).

The threat of integrating schools led many white families to consider leaving the center city of Bloomsberg and moving out to the county. “White flight” helped fuel community action in terms of equity between Bloomsberg city and county schools. At the time the quality of the county schools was dramatically worse than the Bloomsberg city schools (Gaillard, 1988). In 1959, residents voted two to one in favor of consolidating the two systems. The voters also approved levying a fifty cent school tax. In 1960, Bloomsberg city and county were merged and consolidated to form the Bloomsberg County School System (CCS, 2007). Integration efforts continued mostly in appearance in the now combined Bloomsberg County School System. Still expressing neighborhood demographics the schools remained racially separate. The system did the minimum to appear in compliance with *Brown vs. Board of Education*; middle class African Americans, who lived in predominately white neighborhoods, were allowed to attend the white schools.

In the early 1960s, the community began to feel pressure to integrate more segments of Bloomsberg. When African Americans began protesting at lunch counters, hotels, and hospitals, business leaders quickly agreed to desegregation in order to avoid economic ramifications and negative publicity. This was highly strategic and effective in

helping Bloomsberg to be seen as a moderate southern city in the “new south.”⁸ Consequently, a large number of industries moved to the area during this time (Douglas, 1995).

While integration efforts were moving along with relative ease, the African American community in the city was being dismantled by city leaders. One of Bloomsberg’s neighborhoods, known as the heart of Bloomsberg's African American community since the late 1800s, was beginning to show signs of aging. Rather than spend the money in repairs, civic leaders chose “urban renewal,” completely demolishing the neighborhood. Most of the black families, businesses, churches, and schools had to relocate to the west of the city’s center (PLCC, 2002).

In 1961, Bloomsberg College also left the city center, moving its growing student body into two new buildings on a 1,000-acre tract of land 10 miles north from downtown. The original two college buildings shared land with a barn and many acres of farmland. In 1963, Bloomsberg College became a four-year institution. It adopted its current name, Bloomsberg University, in 1965 when it became the fourth campus of the statewide university system.

Integrating Bloomsberg County Schools

Although plans for integration began in 1957, it took until 1960 for the Bloomsberg County School Board to begin accepting transfer requests from African American students wishing to attend majority white schools. Prior to 1964, 12 schools out of 100 operating across the city and county had black and white students attending

⁸ The “new south” tagline is used to distinguish the city from some of the old south traditions of problematic racial issues (Hancett, 1998).

together (Smith, 2004). At the start of the 1964-65 school year, an African American student enrolled in an integrated elementary school near his home. After he had attended just one day, his parents were notified that their son must attend an all black elementary school. After exhausting efforts to overturn the school board decision, the family, along with several other families, filed a lawsuit against Bloomsberg County School System. The lawsuit challenged the assignment of students based on race (Douglas, 1995).

The initial hearing on the case resulted in the judge ruling in favor of the school system. The judge determined that the system was making steady progress toward ending segregation. He was not swayed by the facts that out of 23,000 African American students, only 2,126 attended schools with whites and that 66 Bloomsberg schools were entirely segregated. The families filed an appeal, but the original verdict was upheld (CCS, 2007).

While this case was unfolding in Bloomsberg, the rest of the nation was also grappling with the issue of segregation. In 1968, another decision was handed down by the Supreme Court involving a Virginia case, *Green vs. New Kent County*. The Supreme Court ruled that regardless of historic patterns of segregation, the school system had an obligation to desegregate schools. As a result of this ruling, the families involved in the fight with Bloomsberg school system reopened their case in 1969 (CCS, 2007). This time the federal judge ruled that the system was not desegregated and that it needed to devise a plan to be implemented the next school year. It was this judge who suggested busing as an option. Many community meetings and discussions were held regarding the best way to integrate Bloomsberg school system. Several plans were presented and rejected. The case itself was appealed many times and was finally upheld by the Supreme Court.

After grappling with the court system in regards to integration, Bloomsberg began to debate the morality of desegregation instead of the business of it. During this time, the business community remained unusually silent and elected not to participate in debates over desegregation. However, there were strong community feelings about real desegregation versus the token integration of the past. During the court case, several protests took place, and racial tensions were high. Several key people involved with the desegregation case were targeted by bombs and other physical threats. While many courts in the South were faced with cases regarding desegregation, few went as far as the judge in the Bloomsberg case who made it clear that token integration was no longer acceptable (Douglas, 1995). Finally, in the summer of 1974, a busing plan was developed by local educators, parents, and community members. This plan was approved by the judge; in 1975 the case was closed (CCS, 2007).

Bloomsberg's 1975 court-ordered desegregation plan paired majority black and majority white elementary schools, busing a percentage of students from each to the other. Secondary schools were desegregated by drawing attendance zones that came from black and white neighborhoods. As a result of strict residential segregation, all students were bused outside their neighborhoods for some portion of their school careers. It has been found, however, that black students rode the bus for more years and for greater distances than their white counterparts (Mickelson, 2001).

Late 20th Century

In the 1960s, changes were also taking place as Bloomsberg University was slowly transitioning from a commuter college to a destination college. In 1961, African American students were among some of the 2,000 students enrolled across the university.

Throughout the 1960s student populations continued to grow, and there were greater demands for more equitable practices across the college. Between 1968 and 1971 African American students from Bloomsberg University actively participated in the civil rights protests occurring in Bloomsberg and fought for equal rights on campus. Twenty-one African American students demanded the formation of a Black Student Union on campus in the spring of 1969. After several protests and discussions with administration the Black Student Union was approved in the fall of 1969 (Lafferty, 2004).

There was also an increased demand for additional academic disciplines across campus. At this time the college began to offer Master's degrees and created new departments and colleges. With the large Bloomsberg County School System in the area, there was a demand for a dedicated teacher education program at the university. In 1968, the Department of Education at Bloomsberg University was formed; nine years later the department became the College of Human Development and Learning. At that time, the emphasis of the College of Human Development and Learning was on teaching. A participant remarked that in 1978, they were told that research was a hobby, something one did in one's spare time.

In the 1970s, Bloomsberg University also launched a mixed use community known as University City. The university was trying to attract residents to the once unfashionable northeast part of town (Hancett, 1998). Developers were more focused on developing the south side of Bloomsberg, and the university found it difficult to attract new businesses and residents to the area.

While initiatives were completed to attract residents to areas outside of the center of Bloomsberg, one of the largest impacts was felt when a mall was opened southeast of downtown in the fall of 1970. The new shopping mall greeted 92,000 visitors its first day, and downtown stores saw a 25% drop in their sales the first year of the mall's operation. Bloomsberg's retail focus had begun to shift away from its center and toward the suburbs (Hancett, 1998). Wealthy families began moving farther from the city's center. The center city residents were mainly minority and less wealthy than other residents moving to the suburbs.

After the initial protests regarding busing, Bloomsberg seemed to settle into a routine, and most citizens seemingly accepted integration. The *Wall Street Journal* reported in 1979 that "busing probably will be linked forever to this pleasant city in the South. After nine years, [Bloomsberg] has one of the most thoroughly integrated school systems in the country and the turmoil normally surrounding busing has faded into general acceptance" (Kratt, 1992, p. 224). This acceptance was apparent in the 1980s when President Ronald Reagan stopped in Bloomsberg while campaigning. In his speech, he criticized Democrats for their support of busing, saying "busing takes innocent children out of the neighborhood school and makes them pawns in a social experiment that nobody wants. And we have found out that it failed" (Reagan, 1984). Instead of the expected enthusiastic crowd, he was met with a stony and uncomfortable silence. The citizens of Bloomsberg appeared to be proud of their fully integrated school system (Gaillard, 1988).

From 1970 until the 1990s, the city's commerce continued to flourish. The banking industry became stronger, the airport became an international hub, and several

large corporations relocated to the area. Between 1980 and 1990 alone, 100,000 new jobs were added in the area (PLCC, 2002). Attracted by the low cost of living and the integrated school system, many families from the North were relocating to Bloomsberg. In 1982, Bloomsberg elected its first African American mayor, and after serving for four years, he went on to be the first African American Senate nominee from the South (Ely, et al., 2001).

The area surrounding Bloomsberg University was also changing. The University City area was established in 1970, but it took 20 years for the area surrounding Bloomsberg University to prosper. After spending time developing areas south of Bloomsberg, developers finally started to focus northward. The University City area began to flourish with new retail, residential, and commercial establishments (Kratt, 2009). By 1992, the Bloomsberg population had grown to almost 400,000 people, and Bloomsberg University began awarding doctoral degrees (City University, 2008).

Together, the large growth and desegregation orders created many transitions for the Bloomsberg County School System. Throughout this time, several superintendents came and went (CCS, 2007). The schools were integrated however, and achievement became a new focal point. Standardized test data for the state showed a significant gap between African American students' and white students' achievement. In the late 1980s, both white and African American parents and community leaders were beginning to complain about the schools. In the early 1990s, a new superintendent was brought in to help the system focus on developing "World Class Schools" (Doyle & Pimentel, 1993). Under new leadership, magnet schools were instituted. The magnet system replaced the previous busing plan by implementing voluntary integration. Magnet schools were set up

based on a quota system, and seats were allotted based on race, with a racial balance of 60% white to 40% African American (Mickelson, 2001). While magnet schools prospered, it was the race-based admissions policy that eventually led to another major court case.

Historically, Bloomsberg earned positive press regarding its handling of race relations both within Bloomsberg and the schools. In 1998, *Essence* magazine named it the best city for African Americans (Smith, 2004). Harris (1999) reported that Bloomsberg County School System was an icon because of its history in urban desegregation. The Bloomsberg County School System did not enjoy this status for long.

In 1997, a white parent sued Bloomsberg School System on the grounds that his child was denied entrance to a magnet school because of her race (CCS, 2007), arguing that the system was successfully integrated and did not need to continue race based placement. Bloomsberg County School System argued it would not remain integrated and equitable without race based efforts (White, 1999).

In 1998, the previous Supreme Court case and the new case were consolidated into one suit. It was argued that schools were fully desegregated and that the continued use of race-based policies was unconstitutional. In the spring of 1999, the trial began in federal court. After five months, the judge ruled that Bloomsberg County Schools must stop using race as a factor in student assignment. The School Board appealed the ruling. During pending appeal, a new student assignment plan was proposed that would send students to schools closer to home. The entire proposal was based on school choice, and after the public had the opportunity to weigh in, the Board approved the plan. However,

in January it was decided that the plan needed to be revised and would not be implemented until the fall of 2001(White, 1999).

While the court case was pending, the school system was showing impressive gains in student achievement. The Council of the Great Urban Schools recognized the district as one of four urban school systems making significant gains in reading and math scores and closing the achievement gap. In the state's accountability program, the district had no low performing schools. Test scores continued to rise with 82% of all fifth grade students on grade level in reading. From 1995 to 2001, the number of African American students on grade level in reading more than doubled, increasing from 35% to 70%⁹ (CCS, 2007).

The court case continued to threaten the current integrated status of Bloomsberg school system. In the spring of 2002, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case, thus the original decision stood, and the system moved forward ending raced based placements (CCS, 2007). In August 2002, the new student choice assignment plan went into effect. The assignment plan divided the county into six feeder zones. Students were allowed to choose among the schools within their feeder zones, with students guaranteed space at their “neighborhood” school and with other choices being available if space allowed: the Bloomsberg County Schools returned to neighborhood schools, undoing much of the integration efforts that had been successfully implemented over the past 30 years. The

⁹ It is important to remember that states create their own standards for proficiency, and those standards and testing measures differ from state to state. During my tenure as a 5th grade teacher from 2000-2004, students had to answer 50% of the questions correctly in order to pass the end of grade test.

system continued to grow with substantial increases in the northern and southern suburbs of Bloomsberg.

The 21st Century

In early 2001, Robert Putnam, a Harvard professor, conducted a study of 46 communities across the United States (Putnam, 2001). Putnam's overarching research interest is social capital, and he examined many different areas of community life relating to this, including interracial trust. Bloomsberg participated in the study and was surprised to learn that in terms of interracial trust, it ranked 39th of the 46 communities in the study. The low ranking concerned area business leaders who were trying to preserve Bloomsberg as a new south city (participant interview). Business leaders saw low interracial trust as reflecting negatively on the image they were trying to maintain as a "new south" city. As a result of these findings, a grant was secured creating an organization whose purpose was to improve interracial trust¹⁰ across the broader community. The Across Bloomsberg group¹¹ is comprised of over 20 local organizations, all of which participate in projects aimed at "building trust by creating access, inclusion and equity" in the area (Cross Town City, 2010, p. 2). Bloomsberg University and the school system are both participating organizations.

Currently, the Bloomsberg County School System has over 133,604 students enrolled, operates 178 schools, is the largest school district in the state, and is among the

¹⁰ Interracial trust is defined as how much one racial group trusts another racial group or even members of their own racial group. Putnam found more interracial trust in less diverse areas, compared to areas with more diversity.

¹¹ This is a pseudonym for the actual organization.

25 largest districts in the nation. The district's ethnic makeup is currently 36.2% White¹², 42.4% African American, 13.6% Hispanic, 4.3% Asian and 3.5% American Indian/multiracial (CCS, 2007). Since the adoption of the choice plan, many schools have returned to being racially segregated because of the persistent residential segregation found in Bloomsberg (Godwin, Leland, Baxter, & Southworth, 2006). While the Bloomsberg County School system is still recognized as a top performing urban system, the scores reported in 2008 show a decline in achievement from those scores reported in 2001 (see Table 1). When discussing the success of the school system, one of the participants in the study noted that the success of the system rides on the fact that it is a city-county district. Most districts recognized as urban serve only city schools. The Bloomsberg County School System serves many suburban schools as well. Several schools in the northern and southern areas of Bloomsberg boast test scores at almost 100% proficiency, in contrast to the majority minority schools in the inner city of Bloomsberg which struggle to reach over 60% proficiency (participant interview).

Table 1: Achievement Scores

	2001	2008
Percent of 5 th grade students proficient in reading	82%	58%
Overall percent of African American students on grade level	70%	52%

~2008 scores from http://www.greatschools.org/cgi-bin/nc/district-profile/133#eog_subgroup

¹² The demographics of the school system do not mirror that of the city, fifty-five percent of the citizens are white; the difference in these numbers can be attributed to students enrolled in private school settings.

As a result of the size of the bureaucracy and the tumultuous history surrounding race relations in the Bloomsberg County School System, rarely is the discrepancy between suburban and urban schools reported. The school system is known for monitoring what is released to the general public and is also known across the state as being difficult to work with. There is a tremendous interest in conducting research in the system. In order to maintain control over what knowledge is released, the school system has implemented its own Institutional Review Board (IRB). When submitting a research request to the IRB, all researchers must pay a \$100 application fee (Bloomsberg-County Schools, 2010).

In 2001, Bloomsberg University moved from a comprehensive university to a doctoral research intensive university (City University, 2008). Currently, it is the fourth largest of the sixteen institutions within the state university system and the largest institution in the region. Bloomsberg University has seven professional colleges, and the 2008 fall enrollment exceeded 24,000 students. Student demographics include 63% white, 24.6% black, 4.6% Asian, and 2.6% Hispanic (City University, 2008). Of all of the universities in the state system, Bloomsberg University has the largest potential for growth because it owns an abundance of undeveloped land. Estimates of projected growth indicate that Bloomsberg University could accommodate over 35,000 students, which would make it the largest university in the state.

While the university has grown exponentially, many residents in the greater Bloomsberg area are not cognizant of the changes taking place at the university. The university is considered “landlocked.” The 1,000 acre wooded campus is not bisected by any major highways or large city streets. Many residents drive through the University

City area and never see the campus. The university is seen by some to live in the shadow of other research universities in the state which have much longer and richer histories. One research university in the state is particularly popular, Cutler University¹³. Many of the participants in the study mentioned that the local Bloomsberg newspaper includes more stories about Cutler University, located several hours away, than their own university down the street. In order to counteract this phenomenon, Bloomsberg University began a marketing and branding campaign to increase recognition in Bloomsberg in 2009.

The College of Education has also changed dramatically since its inception in 1977. Beyond the name change to “College of Education,” several changes took place, particularly in the areas of faculty group membership and growth. In 2000, there were fewer than five minority¹⁴ faculty members in the entire College of Education; now, as a result of directed efforts and recruitment, the faculty is composed of 30% minorities. In terms of growth, in 2005, the College of Education moved into a brand new 112,431 square foot building on campus. Also in 2005, a new doctoral program was added in Curriculum and Instruction with a focus on urban education. The College of Education serves over 3,000 students in 13 programs (City University Office of Public Relations, 2009).

The College of Education is comprised of five academic departments each focused on educating and certifying students within its respective department. Departments are a common feature of most colleges at universities, each with its own

¹³ This is a pseudonym for the oldest research extensive college in this state.

¹⁴ Minority refers to non-white descent, not to women.

unique focus or niche. Typically this niche is directly related to the career with which the department is associated. However, some departments have adopted a unique focus. For example at Bloomsberg University the Counseling Department is known for a focus on multicultural counseling. Prior to the endeavor of becoming urban, the entire College of Education had not concentrated on the development of a universal focus across all departments. As the College grows and develops, the goal is to become known, across the state and beyond, for urban education.

Today the population of Bloomsberg is over 750,000, with the greater area boasting a population of over 1.5 million, making it the 20th largest urbanized area¹⁵ in the United States (Kratt, 2009). The demographics for the city of Bloomsberg include 55.5% white, 33.5% black, 4.1% Asian, and 11.2% Hispanic. Projections indicate that by 2029, the city of Bloomsberg will reach a population of over 1 million while the greater metropolitan area will reach 2.5 million.

Bloomsberg, the Bloomsberg County School System, and Bloomsberg University have all experienced tremendous growth over the last six decades. This growth is predicted to continue in the future. While growing, all three entities are changing and expanding their services as they meet new demands, challenges, and increasing populations. These entities are also predicted to overlap and connect in new and different ways. Plans for the future include connecting the university with center city Bloomsberg via light rail. A plan to connect the university and center city is significant to the issues of

¹⁵ An urbanized area is defined as an area consisting of a central place and adjacent territory with a general population density of at least 1,000 people per square mile of land area that together have a minimum residential population of at least 50,000 people (United States Census Bureau, 2000)

this study. Also, plans are under way to build a public school on the campus of the university in 2017. These future opportunities will change the landscape of the university, the community, and the school system once again. A review of the history of this city suggests that it is difficult to separate the story of its development and prosperity from the struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity running through the centuries of its growth.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative case study examining a College of Education as it began the process of becoming an urban focused organization within an urban institution. This research took place in a specific context during a specific period of time. The entities explored through this research are influenced by the histories and contexts in which they are operating. While the main focus of this study is the College of Education at Bloomsberg University, this College is operating within the broader university, community, and with the Bloomsberg County School System. This study specifically explored teacher educators' conceptions of urban education and the tensions that appeared to influence the process of change. The questions investigated were as follows:

- What tensions influence a College of Education going through the process of institutional change with a focus towards becoming an urban organization within an urban institution?
- Urban education is the term that many colleges of education have adopted to represent their programs in the last two decades. Within the constellation of meanings associated with the term "urban," what meanings does it have in these programs?

These questions were best answered using an exploratory approach (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Qualitative methodology was the best match because this research examined a complex process in a specific setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). This

research study took place in a particular setting and focused both on the context as well as the participants' frame of reference.

Case Study

A case study was used because it relies on multiple sources of evidence to add depth to data collection, as well as to bring a wealth of data together to formulate an understanding through triangulation and to contribute to the validity of the research (Yin, 2009). The unique strength of this approach is the ability to combine a variety of information sources including documentation, interviews, and observations. As I was investigating a phenomenon within a specific context, a case study design was an appropriate strategy (Yin, 2009). The case, or unit of analysis, was the beginning processes of an organization within an institution becoming urban. The process of becoming urban was considered the activity when employing Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT). This theory will be detailed below.

Site Selection

Bloomsberg University was selected as a site, because an invitation was extended from a former professor after he learned of my research interests. The dean endorsed this research, providing me access to faculty, staff, and university materials. I was invited to observe the committee that was planning the first faculty development event (see timeline below). I attended the first faculty development activity in March 2009 as an observer, and the research project was introduced to the entire faculty. I had access to meetings and email correspondence beginning with the initial faculty development activity event and continuing today.

Participants

The participants in this study included faculty, administrators, and university representatives at the College of Education at Bloomsberg University. IRB required I extend an invitation to the entire faculty to participate in the study. I created a spreadsheet with all of the faculty members indicating their department, affiliation with my project, and contact information. I sent an initial email to ninety faculty members, including my consent letter as an attachment soliciting participation. The email explained the study and my intent to follow up within a week with a phone call or email. After eight initial participants volunteered, a follow-up email was sent to all faculty members who had not responded. An additional seven participants agreed after the second email. After having fifteen participants agree, I began to target specific individuals, such as committee members, book club members, and administrators. This was done to help have a varied sample. Table 3 below identifies the research group affiliations of the 28 participants I interviewed. Appendix A provides list of each participant's pseudonym, gender, years at the university, and representative group. Of the 28 participants, 11 were female, 17 were male, and seven were racial minorities. Years at the university ranged from nine months to 33 years (See Table 4). All departments within the College of Education were represented (See Table 5), and three interviews were conducted with individuals outside the College of Education who represented leadership in the entire university administration and/or were members of the Urban Institute located on campus at BU. The last question of the interview protocol asked if the participants had any suggestions for additional individuals I should speak with. This information was used either to follow up with specific faculty members or to initiate interviews with individuals outside of the

College of Education. . The university representatives were targeted specifically after faculty members suggested I speak with them.

Table 2: Participants

Name of Role	Role Defined	# interviewed
Committee Members	Faculty members who served on the urban planning committee beginning in 2009. These are faculty members who created the proposal to focus on becoming urban, planned the initial urban education faculty development, and met several times through the two academic years.	4
Book Study Participants	This group includes faculty members who were a part of the original book club but did not elect to join the urban committee. Prior to the start of this research a book club was created by an urban education faculty member to read literature related to urban education. The participants came from many different departments and disciplines.	3
Administrators	This group includes faculty members who are currently department chairs and faculty members working in the dean's office, including the Dean.	6
Faculty Members	This group includes full time faculty members both on the tenure track and clinical faculty who did not participate in the book club or on the urban committee.	11
University Representatives	Individuals outside of the College of Education who either work in an organization that supports the urban mission or serve in a broader university administrative capacity.	3
Doctoral Student in Urban Education	To protect his/her identity, the doctoral student's responses will not be indicated as such in the finding section, and the student's comments will be included with general faculty because the student	1

	teaches courses.	
Total		28

Table 3: Participant Years of Service

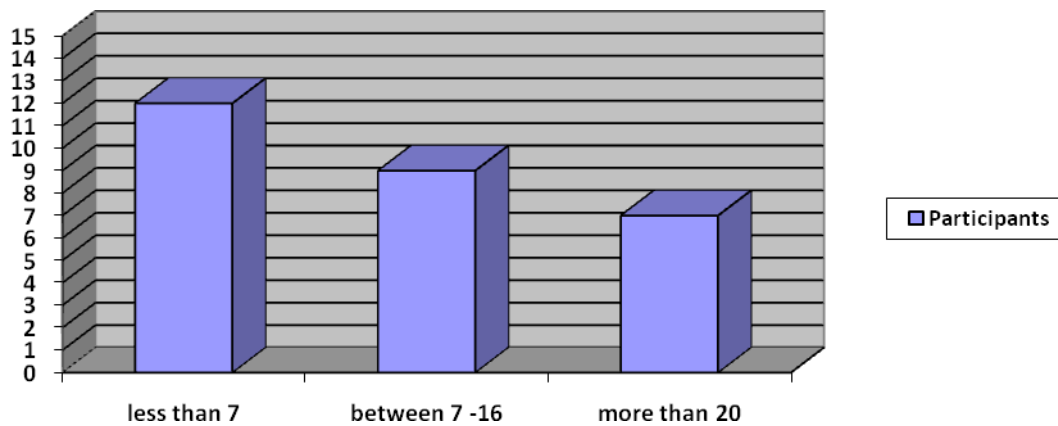


Table 4: Department Representation

Department	# of Participants
Counseling	3
Educational leadership	1
Middle and Secondary Education	5
Reading and Elementary Education ¹⁶	9
Special Education	3

Data Sources

This study used several data collection methods: documentation review, interviews, and observations. Four meetings of the urban education committee were attended; two faculty development offerings were observed in the College of Education; one week long diversity workshop offered to the entire campus was attended; and 28

¹⁶ This is the largest department in the College of Education.

interviews were conducted with faculty members, administrators, and university representatives.

In addition, publically available documents on the BU's website were reviewed. These included mission statements of both the university and the College of Education, blog entries from a faculty blog working towards writing the College of Education's Strategic Plan (2010-2015), and faculty work samples from a faculty development offering. These documents were used to examine the institution's commitment to urban education, their future goals, and how urban was conceptualized within the available documents. The Dean of the College of Education sends a weekly newsletter that is archived on the College of Education website. Reviewing this information provided insight into how faculty development opportunities were framed and publicized, as well as what other opportunities faculty were provided to engage with the process of change. Each program within the College of Education describes its program. These descriptions were examined to see how programs were promoted and if there was mention of urban education or urban populations. Participants were not asked whether these descriptions were representative of the actual programs they were implementing.

Observations of all meetings and faculty development events were conducted. Field notes were written about the proceedings, without including any identifying information about individual participants; their participation was not audio taped or videotaped. I announced my presence at each meeting, seminar, and group session to ensure that those attending and speaking at the meetings understood that I was there in a research capacity.

Since interviews are important data sources for case studies (Yin, 2009), I conducted one-hour long semi-structured individual interviews with faculty members including administrators, committee members, book club members, faculty members, a doctoral student, and other university representatives.. A semi-structured interview protocol was used with all participants, but additional questions emerged during the interviews (See Appendix B). Each interview was audio-recorded with the permission of the participant.

Data recording and management

All field notes, documents, and interview transcripts were kept on a password protected computer drive. Field notes were written for each meeting observed. All interviews were audio-recorded with a digital recording device. The recording was transferred to a computer file, and then each interview was transcribed. As the researcher, I transcribed each interview myself. This allowed for a deeper understanding of the research material. A master file was created to record what documents were reviewed, who had been interviewed, and what events were observed. Two months after data collection ended all interviews were transcribed and documents reviewed. The first lens used to analyze the data directly related to the theoretical framework I employed. Cultural Historical Activity Theory was used both as a theoretical framework and as a tool for analysis.

Cultural Historical Activity Theory

CHAT provides a way to explore tensions involved with change in institutions and organizations. This study used CHAT to form a theoretical foundation that helped to frame institutional change and enhance analytic capabilities. Context is not seen as

something that surrounds an activity but instead acts in conjunction with the activity; the context is woven throughout (Cole, 2005). CHAT provides a framework that connects change to the context provided by the institution and to the cultural-historical forces that influence the process.

CHAT is “designed to be used to understand human activity situated in a collective context” (Yamagata-Lynch, 2007, p. 453). This is a part of the social constructivism paradigm derived from the work of Vygotsky (Worthen, 2004). Through the examination of the six parts of subject, object, mediating artifacts, rules, community, and division of labor, tensions are exposed that impact the outcome (Ogawa, et al., 2008). CHAT is an appropriate tool to use because this research is situated in an institution where these factors are consistently at play. Activity theory has been used to analyze “successes, failures and contradictions in complex situations without reductionist simplifications” (Engeström, Miettinen, & Punamäki-Gitai, 1999).

The six parts of an activity system are not isolated but interact together. It is important to note that while a triangle design is used to represent the theory, there is not a hierarchal relationship among the entities; they are all dynamic and always interact. While the dynamics within an activity system are important to explore in order to understand the phenomenon being studied, most activity systems are better understood as nested activities, all of which could be considered separate activity systems. In the case of this phenomenon, BU’s College of Education’s working to “become urban,” there are several nested activity systems which influence the process and create additional tensions. These include the Bloomsberg County School System, Bloomsberg University’s

efforts to shift to a research extensive university¹⁷, and Bloomberg University's work to be recognized in the greater Bloomberg community. Each of these activity systems interacts with the College of Education as it works to "become urban." These interactions will be explored in detail in Chapter Five.

Activity theory examines how participants transform the system and how the different components mediate change. The system is understood through examining its internal contradictions (Engeström, et al., 1999; Leont'ev, 1978). These contradictions can be considered tensions between and among the six parts of the activity system. Barab, Barnett, Yamagata-Lynch, Squire & Keating (2002) discussed these tensions as a system of dualities. Dualities are defined as the tension between two opposing forces which becomes a driving force for change and creativity. It is essentially the tensions within and among activity systems that create the force for change. Below is a figure showing the complex interactions among the six components. The table (6) following the figure presents a detailed explanation of each part. The activity system highlighted is the College of Education's transformation to becoming an urban organization in an urban institution.

¹⁷ Currently Bloomberg University is considered a research intensive university and is working towards becoming research extensive as part of the Carnegie system.

Figure 2: Cultural Historical Activity Theory

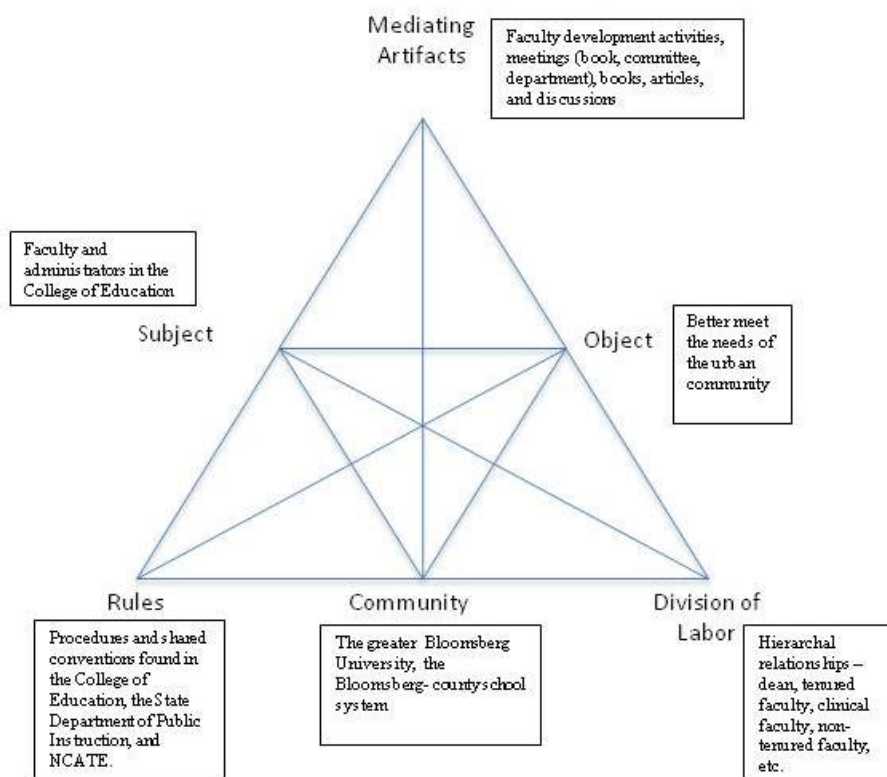


Table 5: CHAT components

Unit of	The change process that is being examined. In this case, the process of change at the College of Education at Bloomberg University is the unit
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Analysis	of analysis.
Intended Outcome	The organization's stated goal of the change effort. For the College of Education at Bloomsberg, the stated goal is better meeting the needs of the urban community, particularly K-12 students.
Object	The purpose behind the activity, which evolves during the activity. Since the College of Education at Bloomsberg is in the beginning stages of change, the object still is not fully evolved. Typically, colleges of education focusing on urban education develop a culturally critical lens or focus on diversity. Objects of activity systems are based on societally important new meanings and patterns of interaction (Engeström, et al., 1999).
Subject	A person or group of people working toward an object. The subjects in this study were administrators and faculty members. Subjects are considered to have agency, yet the form of agency is culturally and historically specific and dependent on social structure (Ogawa, et al., 2008).
Mediating Artifacts	The artifacts that mediate relationships between subjects and objects. Mediating artifacts are considered tools which connect subjects to their contexts, thus mediating social interactions, communications, action, and eventually activity (Artiles, Trent, Hoffman-Kipp, & Lopez-Torres, 2000). Material artifacts can be both physical instruments such as books and symbolic artifacts and nonmaterial tools such as language. The mediating artifacts are professional development activities, readings, developed mission statements, and group discussions. Non-material artifacts include thoughts and language associated with the change process; in this case understandings of urban would also be considered mediating artifacts.
Community	The social basis of the activity. Communities are constant over time and repeatedly reenact ideologies and histories. The communities involved in this change process are the broader Bloomsberg University, the Bloomsberg county school system, and the city of Bloomsberg.
Rules	The procedures, norms, and shared conventions found in the community. Rules influence the artifacts that are emphasized during activity. In colleges of education, there are many rules governing teacher licensure, including the state licensing agency and the national norms such as INTASC standards and NCATE.
Division of Labor	Each of the hierarchal relationships that "legitimizes certain actions of subjects as they are positioned in coordinated relationships structurally united by a common object" (Ogawa, et al., 2008, p. 87). In higher education, the division of labor is associated with tenure procedures and

	rankings.
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CHAT is focused on the elements of an activity system that promote or resist change; institutional theory is based on these ideas while providing an explanation for the stability found in institutions and organizations. Both foundations work together to explain transformation while examining activities in the context of formal organizations. The inclusion of institutional theory expands the idea of CHAT by “accounting for the mechanisms by which institutions sustain and legitimate some assumptions, values, and practices over others, and how they work across larger units of social interactions and longer timescales” (Ogawa, et al., 2008, p. 90). These theoretical understandings provide the groundwork for the examination of the tensions found with the College of Education at Bloomsberg University.

Data Analysis

The two research questions were: What tensions influence a College of Education going through the process of institutional change with a focus towards becoming an urban organization within an urban institution? And Within the constellation of meanings associated with the term “urban,” what meanings does it have in these programs? Each question required a different approach to data analysis. However for both approaches, data analysis began during data collection. Throughout the research, new pieces of information added to the knowledge base and led me to refine my questions, begin to develop hypotheses, and start to consider patterns as they developed. This form of analysis is considered interim analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and is a common practice in qualitative research. The practice is almost inevitable because the nature of

research in the field; it would be hard as a researcher not to begin to think about the data as it is collected. The process also helps to identify data that does not fit or runs counter to other already developed hypotheses.

The theoretical frame influenced the ways in which data was analyzed for the first research question which targeted tensions. The factors involved in CHAT were the initial points of analysis. Codes for each of the different factors provided the starting point for analysis. For example, data related to rules, community, hierarchy, and mediating artifacts were coded as such. Beyond the initial themes within the theoretical model, other themes and data points were also coded as they emerged. Sub codes were created to better group and combine data sets. Coding was only the first steps in analysis (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Coding is understood to be more than just piecing together the research in common chunks; it is conceptualizing the data, raising questions, considering answers and relationships to questions, and discovering the data. While the analysis began as a deductive approach, the broad codes allowed for multiple patterns and themes to develop within these codes. After using the broad codes, the analysis of interview transcripts and field notes was based on an inductive approach. “Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis” (Patton, 2002, p. 56).

The first research question relating to the tensions also required triangulation to substantiate the findings. Interview data was supported through reviews of official documents and historical information. The data for this particular question was often based on certain events and activities. The strength of this research was my attendance at

many of the events that were mentioned, so that I had a context from which to draw and to follow up with participants.

The second research question, which focused on understandings of urban, required a different approach to analysis. This approach was purely an inductive approach and required the use of the constant comparative method (Glaser, 1978). The constant comparative method required line by line, sentence by sentence, and paragraph by paragraph segments of interviews to be reviewed closely in order to create codes that fit the concepts suggested by the data. The codes were continually revised and reviewed to add or remove data points. Each code was repeatedly compared with the other codes to identify similarities, look for differences, and develop patterns. For this particular question, the interviews were the most important data point and were given more weight than were the observations and the documents. A qualitative data analysis program was used to support the process.

Atlas Ti was used to code interviews and faculty development documents. During analysis, data files and field notes within Atlas Ti were manipulated. Sections of text were coded, themes were marked, and specific sections were pulled out and placed together according to related codes. Specifically, I used Atlas Ti for assigning open codes; these open codes included participant's quotes as well as self created codes. Memos were written about each code, either defining the code in detail or expressing doubt over the strength of the code. Atlas Ti allowed codes to be labeled as relating to additional codes. This then allowed me to see a visual connection of the different codes and ideas.

The Atlas Ti “families” option and search features helped examine differences between different “family” groups. The following families were created for analysis; gender, years of service, racial make-up, and position. The family function allowed me more easily to see differences and/or similarities between different groups of participants.

Rigor and Trustworthiness

Padgett (2008) presented six strategies for enhancing the rigor of research: prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer debriefing and support, member checking, negative case analysis, and auditing. While this research did not engage all six strategies, four of them were employed. Spending sixteen months conducting research (prolonged engagement) allowed for a more developed story and in depth understanding of the phenomenon. This research would be much different had I stopped the study after the first faculty development event. Triangulation occurred throughout analysis; interview data was supported through document reviews, historical searches, and observations. Peer debriefing and support has been an ongoing element of this research; four doctoral students gathered twice monthly to review transcripts, highlight research elements, and engage in discussions. Articulating one’s research provides both an analytical tool and an opportunity for different perspectives. I chose not to do member checking because of the number of interviews being conducted and also because of the time it would have taken from my participants¹⁸. Negative case analysis was an ongoing element. Because of ongoing analysis, when a negative case was introduced, I had the opportunity to add additional questions and to probe in order to better understand the nuances. Auditing,

¹⁸ After successfully defending I intend to send my completed dissertation to my participants for reactions.

having an outsider do a comprehensive review of the research, was another element that I did not include, mainly due to time constraints.

Trustworthiness was used instead of the traditional validity and reliability, which is common in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Padgett, 2008). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) presented four factors that should be considered in establishing the trustworthiness of findings from qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility refers to the confidence one can have in the truth of the findings. Credibility was measured in this research through data triangulation and negative case analysis. Data triangulation was discussed earlier. In qualitative research, negative case analysis enhances credibility (Padgett, 2008). Beyond its use to understand cases not fitting with major patterns, negative case analysis also involved a reexamination of every case after the initial analysis was completed to see whether the characteristics or properties of the emergent themes were applicable.

Transferability is the degree to which the results can be generalized to another context. To enhance transferability, the context for the research was described in great detail, and the assumptions surrounding the research are discussed in the researcher bias section below and again in Chapter Six. Dependability refers to the stability of the findings over time (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). To account for dependability, the changing context of the research was highlighted and taken into account. Since the context was an important element in this study, this was placed in the forefront. Confirmability is the degree to which the findings would be collaborated by others. There are several ways this

can be accomplished. For this study, the data was checked and rechecked, and cases that contradicted themes or findings were sought and examined. Another element of confirmability was the inclusion of a peer review process. After this dissertation is approved by my committee, I plan to share it with the participants at the College of Education and to seek their reactions.

Researcher Bias

While care was taken to review objectively and analyze the data at hand, inevitably my personal bias influenced this research. Having been a teacher in the Bloomsberg County School System, a student in the College of Education at Bloomsberg University, and a citizen of Bloomsberg for twenty-eight years, I have particular opinions, thoughts, and ideas about all of these entities. Throughout this research, I identify places where my own understandings and thoughts were challenged. However, beyond these specific instances, I entered into this research with some preformed ideas and hopes. I entered into this research cynical about the idea of BU becoming an urban institution. Part of my cynicism related to geography; it was difficult to imagine Bloomsberg as an urban area and even more difficult to consider the suburban campus of Bloomsberg University an urban university. However, my cynicism mainly stemmed from my experiences as a student at Bloomsberg University, where I was never challenged to consider the context in which I was teaching. I was skeptical that anything had really changed. I assumed this urban designation was more a result of statewide pressure and rebranding than a true movement. However, along with cynicism I also sustained some hope that processes might develop to make the commitment to urban education real. I wanted the College of Education to engage its faculty and students in

these difficult discussions surrounding urban education. I wanted the students I left behind to have teachers in the future who thought about them as individuals, valued their creativity, and challenged the status quo.

It is difficult to be both hopeful and skeptical at the same time, but that is where I found myself. I entered into the research thinking urban education may be employed as continued stratification method, not reform effort. During graduate school I began to see how the literature on urban education focused on the deficiencies of poor and minority children. The education efforts I had seen, researched, and experienced addressing urban education further alienated individuals and largely ignored the structural inequalities still present in our society.

It is inevitable when conducting research that the researchers' own biases will be confronted and exposed during the research process. This occurred with me; yet I hope through my recognition and reflection that I was able to be open to participant responses. Care was taken to let the data speak more than my own hopes, anger, and skepticism. The limitations of this research and the influence of my assumptions will be discussed in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER FOUR: MEDIATING URBAN UNDERSTANDINGS

In the previous chapters, attention has focused on the specific institutional histories and the execution of this research. This chapter is going to review research relevant to urban understandings within university and teacher education contexts, provide a history of urban education in the United States, and explore how the meanings and understandings that faculty members bring to this process in this particular College of Education. Within activity theory, mediating artifacts are not limited to outside activities and events; understandings and theories surrounding ideas also mediate change processes. Exploring how urban education is being conceptualized by the faculty members at Bloomsberg University will provide further insight in regards to this institutional change process.

Understandings surrounding urban universities, urban education and teacher education are mediated by the institutional discourses that address these topics. Additionally faculty members bring their own idiosyncratic experience to this process of change. Since this particular College of Education is a part of a university that is focused on becoming an urban university, it is important to begin with the context in which the faculty members of the College of Education are operating. This chapter will begin with how the literature and the participants are describing urban universities. It then will move

to an exploration of the definitions of urban in terms of geography, education, and the integration of urban education in teacher education programs, both from a research perspective and from participants' perspectives.

Characteristics of Urban Universities

“We are a suburban institution with urban dreams.”

~ Eugene Hill

According to the new mission statement, Bloomsberg University is presenting itself as *the* urban research university of the state (Dubois, 2009). Examining characteristics of urban universities will help to contextualize Bloomsberg's assertion. Understanding the general history and purpose of universities will further highlight some of the inherent complexities found in those who designate themselves as urban.

In 1980, Ernest Spaights, former assistant chancellor at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, listed the characteristics of urban universities: responding to the special needs of its community, being integrated into the city, placing students in urban areas, developing research, engaging faculty within the community, recruiting and retaining untraditional students, sharing university events and spaces with the community, and considering the itself a specialized institution (Spaights, 1980).

While Spaight's definition is fairly broad, other researchers have more refined conceptualizations of urban universities. In 1983, Cafferty and Spangenberg described urban universities as fundamentally serving the needs of the immediate community. The urban universities Cafferty and Spangenberg described are typically non-residential universities, which lack prestige and serve large numbers of working adults, minorities, and academically underprepared students (Cafferty & Spangenberg, 1983). The

academic programming that they offer clearly meets the immediate needs in the communities in which they are located. Urban oriented colleges and universities are unique in that they are *in* and *of* the city. Although places like the University of Chicago are in the city and support the city, their educational programming is not shaped by the needs of the local population; thus, the university is not considered a fully urban oriented university as defined by Cafferty and Spangenberg (1983). The University of Chicago is more focused on the economic and political needs of the broader Chicago area and beyond, versus meeting the academic needs of the immediate community in which it resides. The Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities (CUMU) characterized a potential member institution as one that:

includ[es] teaching, research, and public service; contains a diverse student body-in age, ethnic and racial identity, and socioeconomic background-reflecting the demographic characteristics of the region; responds to the community and regional needs while striving for national excellence; serves as an intellectual and creative resource for the metropolitan region to contribute to the economic development, social health, and cultural vitality through education, research and professional outreach; is located in a major metropolitan region; believes in giving its students practical, real life experiences as part of their education; actively builds partnerships to achieve its goals; and provides an educated citizenry and workforce for the State (Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities, 1990, p. 1).

This definition of an urban university includes several components, diversity, service, location, and community partnerships. While the region is its priority, this definition includes practical application while also striving for national excellence. Bloomsberg University is currently a member of this coalition and has stated that it is working toward this mission.

There is no exact definition of an urban university, nor are there agreed upon characteristics that can be used to accurately categorize urban universities. However,

many agree that urban universities have a responsibility to contribute to the economic development of the area in which they are located (Initiative for a Competitive Inner City, 2001; Richardson & Bender, 1985; Zimpher & Howey, 2004). A recent study conducted by the Initiative for a Competitive Inner City and CEOs for Cities (2001) found that universities are ideal candidates for helping revitalize inner city areas. Unlike corporations that relocate, merge, or dissolve, universities are most often stable institutions in inner cities. The study found that without increased funding or major changes, universities can make large economic impacts on urban areas. The report highlights successful university and city partnerships that have resulted in improved housing conditions, an increase in local spending by the university, and job training for the immediate community. Urban universities and colleges employ 2 million workers, two-thirds of whom are non-faculty administrative and support staff (Initiative for a Competitive Inner City, 2001). Supporting the economic health of the city is often a mission of urban universities (Zimpher & Howey, 2004), however as Ira Harkavy (1998), scholar of community and university collaborations, argued missions do not always translate into actual community action.

A brief discussion of the mission of colleges and universities in general is relevant when considering the inherent complexities found in urban universities. Originally, universities were established to educate the elite and upper class. It was not until the 1860s that the public university system was developed in the United States. The Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 provided funding to states in order to establish and endow “land grant” colleges. The mission of these institutions was to focus on the teaching of agriculture, science, and engineering rather than classical studies (Bonnen, 1998). This

development began to shift the universities' purpose towards service to society. During the late 19th century universities fulfilled this role through innovations in agriculture and industry. During the mid 20th century universities were charged with supporting and reengaging veterans. After the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War, the relevance of universities was challenged, and calls for more access and equality were demanded (Brubacher & Rudy, 1997). On top of public criticism, funding for universities was in decline by the late 1970s (Thelin, 2004). In 1973 the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education published a classification system to categorize universities for research purposes. While the stated purpose was not to rank universities for prestige purposes, this was the unintended consequence (Douglas, 2005). The rankings began with Doctoral Granting Institutions, ranking as Research 1 and 2, and below that, Doctoral 1 and 2. Research 1 is the top tier designation. Below Doctoral Granting Institutions was Comprehensive Universities and Colleges 1 and 2, and lastly Liberal Arts 1 and 2 (Douglas, 2005). By the 1980s, institutions were beginning to confront scrutiny regarding a perceived liberal agenda and a move away from traditional education.

This was the beginning of the rallying call for the now thriving accountability regime. Universities were geared more towards practical majors and focused on providing individuals with greater wealth and social mobility, as evidenced through accountability structures tallying the number of graduates who were immediately employed upon graduation (Grassadonia, 2006). As this individualistic approach gained popularity, so did the creation of for-profit and corporate universities offering specialized curriculum tailored for specific employment (Altbach, 2001). Market forces in higher education have resulted in curriculum being more utilitarian and market driven. These

market forces are again closely tied to the Carnegie rankings, which have been revised several times within the last three decades (Douglas, 2005). Endowments and research money are funneled into universities formerly classified as Research 1 institutions, now labeled “research extensive.” Ironically, funding from outside sources is a factor in university rankings; this places larger, established research universities, such as Cutler University¹⁹, a large research extensive university in the same state as Bloomberg University, at an advantage over newer universities. To put this in perspective as related to this case study, Cutler University had endowments almost reaching 2 billion dollars with an additional 108 million in research funding in 2009 (Office of Sponsored Research, 2010; Office of University Development, 2009), while Bloomberg University had endowments of 150 million and 15 million in research funding (Bloomberg University, 2010).

Ira Harkavy and John Puckett (1992) from the University of Pennsylvania, arguing that specializations and the creation of departments have kept the university further away from the community, stated that “communities have problems, and universities have departments (p. 28).” They contend that faculty members are more focused on their discipline and less focused on the mission of their college. Also, as research money has flowed, mainly from federal sources, the focus has shifted to national arenas versus local and regional ones. As the competition for federal grants has increased, so has the status of research, leaving teaching and service as afterthoughts. Harkavy and Puckett argued for the need to return to the mission “of using knowledge to improve society’s condition” (Harkavy & Puckett, 1992, p. 29). This movement towards a

¹⁹ Data revealed a rivalry in obtaining funding between these two universities.

corporate-centered, competitive mission conflicts with the mission of supporting the greater public good (Kezar, Chambers, & Burkhardt, 2005).

This tension of education for public good in the face of this research focus is especially salient in universities in urban areas. Many urban universities need to attract students from broader areas and to compete for public funding while also adhering to their mission of engaging their immediate communities (Richardson, et al., 1985). Reputation is important in the face of more competitive admissions during an economic downturn. Urban universities are vying for students and research money while engaging in the urban mission. Despite the development of the public university and its commitment to public service, elitist associations with higher education are sustained, and typically urban universities are not considered as prestigious as universities without an urban mission. Urban universities often downplay their community outreach, academic support services, and non-traditional academic paths to maintain their credibility within the wider university community (Richardson, et al., 1985). On the flip side, traditional universities often highlight their community outreach even though it is often poorly funded.

Beyond the market push in education, another recent trend has focused on globalization (Odin & Manicas, 2004). Global education has become a common catch phrase in institutional missions and educational goals (Weber & Duderstadt, 2008). In many education communities, there has been a focus on the needs and goals of the “global society.” This global education focus is related to economic forecasts, technology, and the continued idea that US education is falling behind the rest of the world. As a result of manufacturing jobs moving overseas, many economic forecasters

have argued that today's children need to be globally prepared to do business across international lines. Many large universities are building campuses overseas to attract new students in the international community and build revenue (Lewin, 2008). The current technology has also allowed for a greater and rapid influx in global information. There is an inherent contradiction in striving for global interests while also striving to meet the immediate needs of the local community, which may be experiencing its own global influx with the increasing immigrant population in large cities. Urban universities are in a precarious position because the priorities of their mission for social responsibility may run counter to their priorities for economic saliency and global growth (Maurrasse, 2001).

Given the complexity of responsibilities and funding that surround urban universities, it is reasonable to ask why Bloomsberg University is choosing this identity. If urban universities lack prestige, find it difficult to maintain their mission to the urban community and stay viable, and have to balance their mission with the new global agenda, why would Bloomsberg University want to become known as an urban university?

Bloomsberg University is one of only two universities in the state-wide university system located in a large metropolitan area. The reason BU has chosen to identify as an urban university is to distinguish it from the other fourteen colleges within the state university system. In the late 20th century, when many of the state universities were beginning to grant doctoral degrees, the state legislature made it a prerequisite that in order to offer a doctoral program, a university had offer programs different from other programs already offered in the state. Because Bloomsberg University is relatively young in the university system, there were limited options for new programming, and because

Bloomsberg University is located in the largest city in the state, it was determined that becoming an urban university would provide the unique context necessary for continued growth.

This designation is not without some inherent complexities, the largest being location. Unlike other urban universities which have always been urban in location, BU left the center city 50 years ago for a spacious location 10 miles outside of the city. There is limited public transportation to the university, and the university has struggled with community awareness in the broader city. The “rebranding”²⁰ of the university as urban focused has run simultaneously with a new marketing campaign aimed at promoting recognition of the university in the greater metropolitan area. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the university’s location prevents it from being physically visible in the community, and many of the residents of Bloomsberg have not been to or even seen the campus in decades.

Faculty Conceptions of an Urban University

“We are a suburban institution with urban dreams (Eugene Hill).” Many of the faculty members, administrators, and university representatives highlighted some of the complexities associated with the urban designation. While some were reluctant even to consider Bloomsberg University as an urban institution, others felt that it was possible to redefine an urban mission within its own unique context.

Those who had difficulty with the designation argued that there are discreet characteristics that are not a part of Bloomsberg University, such as location and

²⁰ The term “rebranding” was used by several participants to describe the university’s urban mission.

transportation. When asked, Luis Schultz, an administrator, expressed doubt over the designation:

I would think public transportation going right to the campus is a distinguishing feature. That is an odd thing about us being urban; we don't have public transportation. We do have connections with the city, but I don't know that we are an urban university in the same way, in the sense of being located in the old downtown, but does that make you an urban university? I don't know.

John Davis, who has been on faculty at BU for 21 years, did not doubt his definition of an urban university; he was adamant that Bloomsberg University did not qualify as an urban university.

Well I certainly wouldn't define it in what I am sitting in right now. I taught at an urban university, and that was definitely an urban university. You didn't need to have a car because you were in the middle of the city. You were actually a part of the city, so this doesn't feel like an urban university. I would think an urban university would be one that probably caters predominately to students from that urban area or from urban areas and who have aspirations to work in urban areas and focuses on issues that are unique or at least have wrinkle to them that is different than it would be in suburban and rural areas. I don't think we meet any of those; our students come from all over the place. Even the things we have tried, I didn't find anything that we did that was uniquely urban.

Others felt that the outreach and mission were enough to designate the university as an urban institution. James Rush, who has also served the university for 20 years, said, "I think part of the goal of any university is to be responsive to the people and the community, whether it is rural or urban or whatever it is." The mission to serve, for many, was given more importance than the location. An administrator, Nancy Hall, did a good job articulating this:

I would define an urban university both in terms of place situated in or close to an urban area but that is not enough; the even more salient characteristic is a mission to serve the urban area, to contribute the intellectual capital of the university to supporting and promoting the well being of the urban community.

This mission was especially salient for many of the education faculty members who argued that because most of the teaching force in the urban school district was prepared at the College of Education at BU, they were inherently connected. As administrator Doyle Armstrong stated, an urban university “prepares people to work in an urban setting; in our case we prepare teachers to work in urban settings, specifically [Bloomsberg-county] schools.”

Roland Wright, a member of the urban committee, explained the connection in terms of the “functionality of your urbanity,” however the functionality was not without question.

It is one of those slippery things and that is something that we are still defining. This is an interesting university because we have tackled several things. We have gone from the concept of research intensive to extensive, so we are still on that road, but we also redefined ourselves in the midst of this transition into that of urban university. As an institution, we are an urban institution because of our location, and so all the proximity to the urban issues really makes it a natural fit. But then you also have to address the issue of utility. So you can designate yourself as urban by location, but you also have to think about the functionality of your urbanity, so it becomes an issue where you have to really think hard of where the rubber meets the road. Where the rubber meets the road is really where our graduates come in. For example, if you are in the School of Architecture, what does it mean to be an urban university for an architect? It is more of a simple story for the College of Education; specifically it is even more tangible because there you are dealing with a situation where our students are going directly into urban schools by proximity and almost by choice. We are part of an institution that is urban by proclamation, but we are also naturally urban by function because our students as products have to be proficient as urban practitioners.

Wright speaks to the understanding that a transition to urban in the College of Education is easier than other colleges at Bloomsberg University. What he does not address is the pedagogy involved with preparing students for urban schools. Some faculty and administrators do offer specific ways in which urban universities could enact their

mission through pedagogy. New faculty member, Mark Nicholson described an urban university as

An urban university addresses fundamental issues of systemic urban change and also deals with a real urban pedagogy not just the simplistic your black, I'm white, I have power, you don't have power. How do we create a culturally relevant and more of a responsive pedagogy?

Mark Nicholson relates a "real urban" pedagogy with the development of a culturally relevant, culturally responsive pedagogy, though his question points to the difficulty of this task.

Barry Monroe, a junior faculty member, pointed to specific characteristics of the community which led to the designation of urban. An urban university is:

situated in a city where there is some diversity, socioeconomic diversity, diversity in race. I think diversity in kinds of viewpoints and religion. I am not sure how diverse we are compared to New York City, but I would say an urban university is one that is situated in a city that has diversity surrounding it.

Urban is often used as a euphemism for diversity, typically racial and economic diversity. Diversity is a common theme and will be discussed in more detail when urban education is explored in the next section. This was also mentioned in the research related to urban universities; one of the characteristics is a diverse student population, one that represents the urban area. At Bloomsberg University diversity is an ongoing struggle in that the current population represents the racial makeup of the state, not the immediate region. This lack of diversity is difficult to overcome as Isaac Lawrence, a book club member, mentioned in his definition of an urban university:

Most urban universities struggle in the area of diversity. They usually can point to few diverse or very diverse faculty members in terms of expertise or urban expertise, even in terms of racial diversity, ethnic diversity, and international

experience. Universities have been very slow in catching up to the increasing levels of diversities at the social level in the cities however; they have been consequently trying to serve those communities. I would consider this university as an urban university, emerging urban, and in the future it will become increasingly urban. It is what I am calling emerging urban that is in what one might say is some of the early stages.

Lawrence equates the needed growth in areas of diversity as a way to classify the university as emerging urban. He also mentions the discrepancy between the growing diversity in Bloomsberg, which has been increasing in international populations such as Latino/a immigrants and the makeup of the University's students and faculty.

A part of the discussion regarding pressures related to urban universities was the inclusion of global education as a focus. The College of Education has recently included the global focus with the urban focus. When entering into the research, I saw these understandings as competing forces. However, during the research, I was reminded that urban education and global education do not have to be competing notions. This idea will be explored in detail in the following section, but Robert Rosales, urban committee member, alluded to this global connection when defining an urban university:

I would define an urban university first of all it has to have an urban mission and focus. Second of all and most importantly, it must have urban actions meaning research that look at urban issues, service that supports urban issues, and of course it also has to have a global urban mission, looking at urbanity all over the world.

Bloomsberg University is not what some would describe as a typical urban university, mainly because of its location. But to these respondents location plays a minimal role in relation to the common characteristics faculty described such as mission, outreach, and service. The majority of the descriptors focus more on the "functionality of urbanity," or how the urban mission is being enacted. To date few urban universities have

developed effective models for reaching out to the community; while attempts have been made, rarely do they employ “the board range of university resources and expertise” (Harkavy, 1998, p. 276).

BU has expressed a commitment to being an urban university; this commitment is seen in their mission statements and also in the actions of the university. The university has begun strategic outreach both through marketing campaigns and research efforts. Bloomsberg University was selected in 2008 for the Community Engagement elective classification by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.²¹ The university also has a full time faculty member who is the coordinator of the Across Bloomsberg organization; this organization sponsors research and service learning activities and coordinates community outreach (Bloomsberg News, 2009). The College of Education at BU has been an integral partner in this urban designation; its urban focused doctoral program was one of the first on campus to incorporate the term urban specifically. Additionally, the common trajectory of its teachers into the urban school system and its redefined mission to serve urban populations has contributed to BU’s urban university designation. The number one goal stated in the College of Education’s strategic plan 2010-2015 is:

The College of Education will graduate highly effective and ethical 21st century professionals - child and family development professionals, teachers, school leaders, and counselors - who will have a positive impact on children, youth, families, communities and schools and who will be successful in urban and other high need settings.

²¹ This designation is an additional voluntary classification universities can apply for. Carnegie describes community engagement as “the collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity” (The Carnegie Foundation, 2010).

In this goal we again see how the urban area is being used as a euphemism for a high needs area. The term urban as a euphemism for at risk, high needs, minority, and poor will be explored in more detail later in this chapter.

Global Connections

The strategic plan lists nine goals with specific action items and methods of assessment (See Appendix E). The eighth goal in the plan is, “The College of Education will enhance the global awareness of faculty and students and prepare graduates for our globally interconnected world.”

The focus of this research is centered on understandings of urban education. Shifting the discussion to global may seem like a tangent, but during this research, respondents seemed to blend global understandings with urban understandings. During the first year of this research the focus of the entire College of Education was urban education, culminating in a day long faculty seminar dedicated to urban education. During the research, I assumed that this college wide focus on urban education would continue; however, at the start of the next academic school year, it came to my attention that the focus on urban education had not been abandoned but expanded through the inclusion of a global infusion. Many of the original urban committee members became part of the internationalization committee. In the nine goals listed in the strategic plan, urban education was the first, diversity was the fourth, and a global connection was the eighth.

When conducting interviews, I asked participants how and if they saw a connection between the descriptors urban and global. Most of the participants saw direct

connections between urban understandings and global understandings. Many felt that the inclusion of global expanded the understanding of urban. As longtime faculty member, Lester Dean described it:

I don't see it as much as a shift as I do an add-on, an enrichment. We are embellishing the package. We have got a lot of urban oriented programs, courses and faculty who do physical work and are physically present in the city, in the schools, and now what we need to bring to our students is something larger than the big city; it is the whole earth notion. The earth is not only flat, but you can literally see all of it from your back porch or desk wherever you are. The notion is driven by the economics of [the state]; the old mills and the old manufacturing economy will never ever be here again. The new economy is an intellectual economy. It is an economy of ideas. It is an economy of cyberspace, and how are you going to deal with that effectively? You have got to have some idea of how other people share this earth, what their points of view are, and what their cultures are like. I think faculty are very different now than when I first came here. When I first came here, you could probably count on one hand people who had traveled outside of North America for any amount of time and probably maybe one or two people have lived outside the country. Now we have them by the dozens many, many people, I bet we don't have a handful of faculty who have not traveled outside of North America, and we probably have a dozen people who have lived outside of North America; it is a dozen who grew up and are non native speakers.

Lester Dean saw the faculty becoming more globally aware as a result of international experiences. He also strongly linked the global focus with economic interests. Other faculty also felt that current technology allows for great globalization. Matthew Curry mentioned that the world has been getting smaller in the sense of increased travel opportunities and technological advances. He went on to explain that the urban phenomenon is not unique to North America; urbanization is a trend across the world:

I think that what heightens urban is that as a world, we are becoming more urbanized. I think most societies and most cultures are experiencing an increase in urbanization. It's been happening for well over 100 years, people moving into more geographically defined places and sharing certain kinds of resources like transportation and schools. We probably see it more clearly in urban areas, but you can't then say it's not impacting suburban life and rural life. I think

globalization sort of cuts across that whole spectrum, but I think we do see it in urban life very clearly.

There is data showing the increased move to cities and urban areas across the world.

There were once only a few cities with over 10 million people; now there are more than 20 (Kinver, 2006).

Some faculty members thought diversity and multicultural education united the concepts of urban and global. As book club member, Stewart Bentley shared, “Urban education tends to be multicultural education, and international global education is multicultural education, so the whole issue of multicultural education pulls it all together.” Barry Monroe succinctly stated, “I believe urban education is about recognizing the diversity that is within our community; then these global things are recognizing that diversity across our world.”

Dolly Mullins, urban committee member, directly expressed skepticism of the global infusion and did not see it as a natural enhancement to the urban mission:

I am rather cynical about that. I think it is very important, but I also think in our department we have a Germany exchange. So we would have students knocking down doors, so excited about the prospect of going to Germany but would fight me when I sent them to [an inner city school] to go teach. So it always bothered me that people were willing to go to another country where you speak another language, where the money is not the same, but you wouldn't go to [an inner city school] because of where it is located in uptown [Bloomsberg]. So from the student perspective, that bothered me. If places looked a little more exotic, they are excited to go. When they hear urban, they think uptown [Bloomsberg], and I actually had a student tell me a few years back she didn't want to get shot, she didn't want to go. So I had to go pull and show her that people got shot in south [Bloomsberg] and north [Bloomsberg] not just east and uptown, but you are willing to go over to a country that you don't really even know where it is on a map. So that is my cynical view. I have students who come in for advising, and when they do their yearlong student teaching they want to make sure they can get that Title One School out of the way because they don't want to be in a Title One school for full time teaching, but they want to talk about teaching overseas. I

really wish we can make the connection with students, why are you afraid of this but are willing to go to a strange land?

Mullins' criticism is directed at the stereotypical way in which urban education is understood by students. To the pre-service teachers urban areas represent dangerous, unsettled areas, and an experience that needed to be survived. Yet these same students were willing to travel to unknown lands, perceived as exotic. Once again we see the term urban used as a euphemism for violence, instability, and danger.

The international exchanges were a point of contention from several different faculty perspectives. Currently international exchanges have been arranged with mainly European countries such as Germany and Italy. Several faculty members have believed that in order for students to have a true global experience, they should go to Asia, Mexico, or Africa. Longtime faculty member, Stewart Bentley explained the difficulties:

Our traditional exchanges have been European, and some of our African American faculty and others will say that is not exactly a full array of cultural experiences. We need to send some students to Africa and to Asia. To be frank, given our student body, this has been a struggle because we do have parochial students coming as first generation students from small towns. The majority of our students come from the area, and many of them have never traveled. I did an exchange with some students going on a trip to Italy, and two of the students out of the 12 students that went with the faculty group had never been on an airplane before. One had never been out of the state before and is going to Italy, so I mean that means we are talking about very parochial students here who think a trip to New York City is international education.

One could argue that having students with limited experiences is even more reason to offer a variety of opportunities to expand learning. However, there is irony in the fact that students would rather travel to unknown lands than to the inner city parts of Bloomsberg. This would be an interesting discussion to have with students. For the most part, the faculty at the College of Education saw a natural fit between urban and global

understandings. Many felt that global context enhanced the urban understandings. Most faculty members found it easier to describe the connections between urban and global than what urban education is and what urban means in terms of teacher education. The next section will continue the exploration of how urban is defined.

Urban Definitions

“What is urban? I don’t know.”

~Luis Schultz

“It is sort of a definition by exclusion.”

~Matthew Curry

There are many ways to define urban. This section will examine urban from two points of view: geographical and educational. Each point of view adds to our understanding of urban and influences the way urban is understood and mediated by those participating in the change process at the College of Education. Focusing on participants’ understanding of urban is important because the conceptualization of urban provides a lens through which participants engage the process of change. Within activity theory these understandings are considered mediating artifacts because they affect the ways that participants in the change process are making sense of the term urban and mediate the object and the goal of improving the education of K-12 students in the urban school district through urban focused teacher education.

Geography

“geographically it has to be near an urban core.”
Nicholson

~Mark

Urban derives from the Latin word “urbanus” which is from the root “urbs”, defined as from the city. A current definition is, relating to or characteristic of a city or town (Cresswell & Oxford University Press., 2009). In geographic terms cities are defined as moderately large and permanent settlements (Gregory, 2009). Cities typically

have systems for sanitation, utilities, land usage, housing, and transportation. Larger cities, with greater concentration, are typically labeled metropolises; this designation includes the suburbs and exurbs surrounding the inner city. A metropolis includes urban sprawl and business commuters who travel to urban centers for work. A “megacity” is a city with a population greater than 10 million; in 1950, there were two megacities, New York and Tokyo. Today there are more than 20 (Kinver, 2006).

Bloomsberg is designated as a metropolitan area; the city population in 2009 was over 750,000, with the metropolitan area having a population over 1,745,000. It is projected that in 2020, Bloomsberg’s population will reach the million mark with the metropolitan area reaching 2.4 million. Many of the participants described the city in geographic terms and associated the designation as an urban university as relating directly to Bloomsberg’s urban label. However, many participants had specific criteria which they used to define urban, from population density to public transportation. There was not a consensus that Bloomsberg was a “true” urban area or that the differences between urban and rural were significant. This is interesting to consider because the history of Bloomsberg is one of very gradual urbanization. The debate regarding the definition of a “true” urban area provides some perspective on the contradictions of thought found among the participants.

The most common response relating to urban from a geographic standpoint was based on population density and how that density resulted in a diversity of people and industry. Matthew Curry, a junior faculty member, defined urban as, “The spaces where x number live. I am not big on percentages and numbers, but where there is density of populations that is diverse.” Mark Nicholson, in his second year at BU, mentioned this

diversity in industry stating that “urban core as defined means there is high diversity; there is business and industry; it has to be near an urban core from a geographically standpoint.”

Beyond population density and diversity, delineation was made between urban and rural areas. This delineation alludes to some of the tensions mentioned previously regarding the university’s focus on urban education. Some faculty members felt this designation would alienate rural partners. Throughout this chapter, the tension between urban and rural will continue to be highlighted. Even though faculty members are concerned over the alienation of the rural area, many did attribute salient characteristics to urban areas, even contrasting them with rural areas, Matthew Curry felt Bloomsberg was urban because:

I think Bloomsberg is urban because it is sort of clearly not rural, and of course we have that here too, and then you look at a place like [BCSS] and it has got urban and suburban, and so you know it is kind of definition by exclusion; you sort of know what it is and what it isn’t.

While Curry was trying to make the case that Bloomsberg is urban because it is not rural, he went on to point out that rural areas are also near the university and that the school system serves multiple environments.

The difficulty with the urban label related to how urban was understood by the participants. Many mentioned that because the Bloomsberg area was sprawled, and it did not have the concentration of people found in other urban cities; it was not a traditional urban area. Barton Vaughn stated, “So urban really relates to the urban environment here. Even though this is just a lot of sprawl, there are a lot of people here. It is still not urban from a northeastern point of view.” John Davis mentioned the sprawl as making it

difficult to designate urban, stating, “[Bloomberg] and [Bloomberg County] is sprawled out. I think it would be very difficult to meet my definition of urban here. If anything, the area is becoming more and more exurbia and suburbia.”

The mention of sprawl and the reference to suburbia present an additional geographic element important to the understanding of urban areas. The latest trend in large urban areas in North America is this blurring of the urban center. Urban areas are decentralizing and beginning to blend with suburban areas (Kasinitz, 1995). The current census is showing that urban has begun to be less of a distinguishable characteristic. Harold L. Hodgkinson (2003) drafted a report, “Too Many Children Left Behind,” which used Census data to examine the state of the nation in regard to children birth to age five. A section in the report focused on changes in where and how we live. The census data from 2000 showed changes in how our communities were organized. In the 1990 census, “cities were home to minorities, immigrants, and poor people; inner-ring suburbs housed whites, older people, blue collar workers, with few children and little diversity; and outer rings housed the Baby Boomers and their kids” (Hodgkinson, 2003, p. 8). Although many people living in suburbia never ventured into the downtown, many acres of farmland were sold for future development hoping to create little urban villages within the suburbs. The 2000 census data showed significant changes in this arrangement. Poverty, diversity, and levels of education are spread through all areas of the metropolis, cities, and suburbs. In many metro areas, African Americans, Asian Americans, and immigrants are now living in the suburbs. Suburbs are blurring into rural areas and cities are continuing to expand and spread. Hodgkinson (2003) remarked, “As we look for very young children at the greatest risk, we can no longer look only in inner cities, we must

look everywhere, including [the once] wealthy suburbs and rural areas” (p.8). Urban sprawl is beginning to erase the line that used to demarcate “urban” areas.

What results is that the city is no longer easily described in geographic terms; it is better understood as a larger region that encompasses the urban core, the suburban doughnut, and the edges of once rural areas (McClafferty, Torres, Mitchell, & Apple, 2000). This phenomenon has begun to happen in Bloomsberg, and the University of Bloomsberg is physically situated on the edges of the city, the suburbs, and the once rural areas. This blurring of spaces and definitions further complicates a change process with a so called urban focus.

While many of the participants began with a discussion of the geographic components of urbanity, most agreed that geography is not enough to designate an urban area or urban university. Administrator, Nancy Hall commented, “In terms of place situated in or close to an urban area, but that is not enough.” As Lester Dean explained his understanding of urban:

It is a large population center like we have here in [Bloomsberg], but the second way I would define it is as a metropolis, and by metropolis I mean an intertwined variety of individuals from places, languages, and cultures. So it can't simply be population; it has got to have that metropolis element to it for me to think of it as genuinely urban. I would define [Bloomsberg] that way now, but not ten years ago.

As this faculty member alluded, it is important to remember that both the university and Bloomsberg are relatively young urban entities. The university and the city do not have the rich histories that are found in many urban areas, particularly those in the northeast.

Yet there are many other ways to explore and define urban spaces. As Matthew Curry explained:

I think it is a confluence of factors that include a space. It can be defined by its space that has a certain kind of population density but it also has variables around socioeconomics, race, and culture, and so we tend to see a diversity of things.

The focus of this research is the process of changing teacher education to better serve the educational needs of urban students. Urban education is not well defined but includes diverse understandings typically associated with race, culture, power, privilege, and economic status as Matthew Curry mentioned. The next section is going to move from participants' definitions of the term "urban" to explore specifically how urban education has been conceptualized and is understood by the faculty members who participated in this research.

Urban Education

"Makes you wonder what's urban about urban education? Maybe it's just education."

~ James Rush

Urban education incorporates perspectives from a variety of fields such as sociology, geography, urban planning, and educational policy and leadership. It is hard to find a concrete definition of urban education²². Typically, urban education refers to schools in metropolitan communities that are diverse, serve large numbers of students, and struggle with growth. Stereotypically, schools in urban communities are described as serving students who represent many ethnic minorities, speak multiple languages, and are economically deprived. Across the education landscape, urban education is typically described from a deficit point of view; urban education has become code for poor and minority. Stereotypical representations of urban schools and urban education plague

²² It is interesting that when Googling "define: urban education," no definitions are found. There is no clear and concise definition of what urban education is.

popular media. As already seen within this chapter, urban areas have been described as high need, dangerous, and including racial and economic diversity.

Gilbert (1997) conducted a study of pre-service students in teacher education programs, asking them to share their beliefs about urban teachers, students, schools, and curriculum. The data from the survey revealed that urban teachers were generally appreciated and considered extraordinary because of their bravery and commitment. On the other hand, urban students were disparaged:

Urban youth were pictured as rowdy, apathetic (toward school), rebellious, rude, and dangerous. There was a strong belief that urban students routinely "carry weapons and are violent," as one respondent put it, and another observed that they are not "as polite as students in the public school or small town like where I'm from." (Gilbert, 1997, p. 8)

Curriculum in urban schools was thought of as a means of controlling rather than empowering students, and violence was the primary association made with urban contexts. This study helps to show that stereotypical representations have become the reality in the minds of some pre-service teachers, both in urban and traditional teacher education programs.

Edmund Gordon (2003) from Teachers College conceived of urban education as something more than a focus on deficit notions. While he did not want to imply that at-risk populations were not affected by their conditions, he believed that it was a disservice to equate urban education with the problems of these populations; after all, many of those conditions were not unique to urban areas. Urban education is made up of the formal and informal systems that transmit the culture, knowledge, attitudes, and techniques that have emerged in cities (Gordon, 2003). As a result of technological advances, these systems may not be as unique to the city as they used to be. This is similar to what the faculty

members at Bloomsberg were saying in regard to rural education. This blending of urban and rural culture is not a new phenomenon; historically our nation has been modernizing since its conception. David Tyack, a historian, represented this well in his book, *The One Best System*. He explained:

As village patterns merged into urbanism as a way of life, factories and counting houses split the place of work from the home; impersonal and codified roles structured relationships in organizations, replacing diffuse and personal role relationships familiar in the village; the jack-of-all-trades of the rural community came to perform specialized tasks in the city; the older reliance on tradition and folkways as guides to belief and conduct shifted as mass media provided new sources of information and norms of behavior and as science became pervasive source of authority... (Tyack, 1974, p. 5)

Current advances in technology, transportation, and communication make it easier for people and information to travel throughout all areas: urban, suburban, exurbia, and rural. Exploring the roots of urban education will help frame the current deficit paradigm which urban education most often occupies.

History of Urban Education

The history of urban education provides some insight into this pervasive deficit perspective which is commonplace in discussions of urban education. Isaac Lawrence who is actively involved in the urban education PhD program at the College of Education shared much of this history with me during an interview. I am indebted to his wisdom.

One of the earliest attempts to study urban students came after the Civil War around 1897 when a gentleman by the name of George Stinson conducted a study to compare African American and Caucasian school performance in Washington, D.C. (Anderson, 1988). Prior to the Civil War, schools were scarcely provided to African Americans, but during Reconstruction, the Freeman's Bureau set up schools. The African

American community, particularly the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church, was especially active in the establishment of schools. The AME was the number one independent black institution producing schools in the period following the Civil War (Williams, 2005). Stinson sought to compare urban black and white students' school performance in Washington D.C. In order to evaluate educational performance, he used poetry stanzas to assess how well the students could interpret and also apply the right answer based on readings. He purposely selected African American students with the highest melanoma; he looked for the darkest skinned because he assumed, as many did during this period, that a higher melanoma count would be associated with low achievement and school performance. To his surprise he found in some of his measures that African American students actually did as well as and even better than white students, which was the antithesis of what he expected. Because the results did not coincide with the prevailing thinking of the time, critics belittled the work, and it was not widely distributed (Guthrie, 2004).

Traditionally, urban education has been the study of the communities in which schools were located and dealt with many of the social problems we commonly study in urban sociology. Professor W.E.B. DuBois was one of the pioneers of urban sociology. The first systematic study of urban America, *Philadelphia Negro* (1899), included an examination of the community, the school, and occupational attainment. In the chapter devoted to education and illiteracy, DuBois shared specific information regarding the number of students in school, broken down by gender and location. He discussed all forms of schooling available to black children: institutes, free schools, charitable schools, and pay schools. He found that out of 1000 black students entering primary schools, only

110 went on to grammar school, 10 to high school, and only one to a professional school (Du Bois & Eaton, 1899). DuBois pointed to poverty as being one of the biggest factors in poor school attendance and illiteracy rates (Rabaka, 2008).

Urban education at the turn of the century was more fraught with cultural conflicts than economic ones. Immigrant populations and religious groups were vying for recognition and input in the school curriculum (Tyack, 1974). Much was written about the success of the common school and how diverse groups of students were in school together. However, black children were not considered a part of the common school discussion; rarely were they even considered when making public education decisions (Anderson, 1988). Opening schools for black children was seen as a charitable operation, not a right. Meanwhile, black political leaders placed education as the most important issue of the time. For the most part, African Americans were glad to have the opportunity to go to school. However, the inequities were so blatant, with African American schools being housed in substandard buildings, with inferior materials, and underfunded personnel, that black political leaders were beginning to raise the issue. The 1896 Supreme Court case, *Plessy v Ferguson* stated that as long as the separate facilities were equal, segregation did not violate the 14th amendment (Rury, 2005). Segregation was the norm during the early 20th century; the issue was more focused on inequities than segregation. Many leaders argued and fought for separate but equal opportunities, however few, if any, changes were seen.

Changes within schools were occurring rapidly, with the inclusion of record numbers of immigrants, the passing of compulsory school laws, and a more centralized education system. The general consensus was that immigrant children needed education

to assimilate into the American “way of life”. This “way of life” was dictated by the mainly wealthy, white, and Anglo-Saxon school leaders. In order to facilitate education for the masses, tracking was instituted in most urban school districts. Tracks were supposedly based on ability, with the understanding that immigrant students were inherently inferior; again black students were largely ignored. Helping this movement was the introduction of intelligence testing. After a mass experiment with Army recruits, IQ testing became a promising way to ability group students (Tyack, 1974). Large promotional campaigns were launched convincing parents and community members of the value of testing.

Testing gained popularity, and few psychologists or sociologists were surprised to find that minority students routinely scored lower than their white counterparts. Most research at the time was focused on proving racial superiority, and findings from IQ tests added evidence to the deficit understandings about minority students. During this period no one turned a critical eye towards the materials; testing was considered science, and science was considered truth. Looking at these early tests now, it is easy to see the blatant racism inherent in the materials. The research on urban education throughout the 20th century all the way up to the *Brown* case followed in this paradigm, all premised on the idea of racial superiority and social/cultural deficit models.

The 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* case included several cases from around the southeast. One of the major issues in the case was whether segregation, even if all factors were equal, was harmful to black students and unconstitutional. African American psychologists, Kenneth and Mamie Clark, conducted research using dolls to examine children’s attitudes about race (Clark, 1965). Their research showed that African

American children associated their dark skin color with being bad and white skin color with being good. Both Thurgood Marshall, the lawyer for the plaintiffs, and the Supreme Court panel reviewed the research on the negative socialization and negative implications of segregating people for second class citizenship. The Clark and Clark studies were instrumental in the outcome of the case. After *Brown*, black families began trying to enroll their students in white schools, only to find continued discrimination and resistance.

The discrimination against African Americans reached beyond just schooling. As in Bloomsberg, once thriving African American communities were torn down to make room for more elegant housing. Large public housing facilities were created, ushering mainly minority citizens into compact living situations. Continuing in the 1960s and 1970s, many urban communities were gentrified. New residences and public housing projects stood within blocks of one another. As Isaac Lawrence in this study pointed out, “The affluent urban generally is not the focus of so called urban education in the literature. That population deserves a treatment too, but they are usually well served already.” William Julius Wilson, in his book *When Work Disappears* (1996) examined what happened to those displaced by gentrification and how new global economic efforts further deplete opportunities for work in the inner cities. However, research pointing to structural inequality was largely ignored, and research in line with the “cultural deficits” paradigm continued to take center stage. The Coleman report (1966) is considered a seminal text in the cultural deficits paradigm, reporting that school achievement had little to do with school resources and more to do with cultural backgrounds and socioeconomic status.

In the face of continued racial discrimination, African Americans began to demand better treatment and equal rights. Through demonstrations, marches, protests, and civic action the nation was slowly changing. Effort to equalize racial inequality was not just happening in the United States, worldwide colonialism was being challenged. Many countries were fighting colonization and becoming decolonized. Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000) began to question the traditional school relationships and to position "critical" education as a tool for freedom. The cultural deficit perspective was being challenged, and new pedagogical points of view began to surface. Multicultural education²³ and critical pedagogy²⁴ entered into urban education.

Also affecting urban education were court ordered mandates requiring students to be bused to different areas of town to maintain racial balance. What ultimately resulted was "white flight" where many families moved to the suburbs to avoid the mandates found in the cities. The backlash associated with changes in schools, busing, and communities ultimately led to the conservative political climate found in the 1980s (Rury, 2005).

During the 1980s, there were both areas of progress and of regression in urban education. The publishing of *A Nation at Risk: the Imperative for Educational Reform* in 1983 and the continued concern and ongoing competition with the Soviet Union triggered a "back to the basics" movement. Standardized testing, a focus on math and science, and a prevailing attitude that the nation was being outperformed in education characterized

²³ During this time, multicultural education was focused on adding new and diverse materials and perspectives to be more inclusive of traditionally underrepresented groups (Banks, 1993).

²⁴ Critical pedagogy is an educational movement focused on the development of a critical consciousness and the connection of pedagogy and power (Giroux, 1997).

this time period. In terms of urban school assessment, now many more studies were conducted in an effort to explain why the United States lagged behind other nations. Instead of focusing on overall student achievement, the focus became the achievement gap, the test score gap between underserved student populations and those with more access to resources. Jenks' (1998), book the *Black White Test Score Gap*, is an example of "cultural deficits" research. Jenks explained years of African American school failure as being a result of cultural deficiencies such as the prevalence of single parent homes.

Jonathan Kozol has written extensively on the disparities found between schools, curriculum, and resources in wealthy and poor communities (Kozol, 2005). Kozol argued that until there is an even playing field, the American public has no business comparing the scores of a population of students who are the most underserved to another population who generally have better access and resources. Regardless of Kozol's insight, the idea of achievement gaps has endured, and we continue to emphasize comparing the scores of students who do not get the same treatment or access to school. We continue to emphasize that minority students, poor whites, and immigrants have lower scores. As Isaac Lawrence remarked, "Well duh, they are supposed [to perform lower]. If you treat them differently, they should, but the ones who are getting so called good access couldn't outscore other nations either."

In urban education in the 1980s, another researcher was garnering national attention for his theories regarding African American school performance. John Ogbu, an African immigrant anthropologist, explained that African Americans perceive that there is a social class ceiling and see school success as being a "white" thing (Ogbu, 1978). Now, not only was there racial and achievement gap research, but also emerging

was research by someone of African descent, someone who was shifting the focus from critiquing structural forces and pointing the finger back at African American individuals. It was interesting research because it was a new perspective that helped to take the political and the policy parts out of school reform; it also was greatly popular. Other researchers began to examine this “oppositional culture,” and popular media outlets spread this research until it became almost a mainstream theory. It became another attack on the cultural characteristics of an already socially, economically, and structurally disadvantaged group. Lawrence eloquently recapped the history of this group:

Another negative perspective about this same population, a population who just came out of slavery, just been denied any schooling, just start getting schooling in the 20th century. Then segregate them in schools, then make the property tax determine how much resources they receive, then blame them for doing poorly because of their own culture. So you go from the Coleman report, your mama is poor and this and that, to you kids you all suck, you have a bad culture. What else can you do to these victims? How do you restore somebody?

What emerged after Ogbu’s research (1978) was a focus on a “new” urban education, an education shifting away from the deficit paradigm, cultural deficiency model, and oppositional culture theory towards an education that values the home culture and experiences of students. In the 1990s and early 2000s, research by Lisa Delpit (1995), Gloria Ladson Billings (2000), and Asa Hilliard (2003) focused on elucidating this myth of black students having poor school performance because of deficits. African American history and stories of African American school success were used to try and counteract the myth of cultural deficiency.

The newer urban education²⁵ of the 21st century continues to shift away from blaming the students for systematic national school failure and possessing an oppositional culture. The newer urban education somewhat recasts the work of DuBois in trying to understand the intersection of urban sociology and urban schools. And in the 21st century, it is also concerned with globalization. The newer urban education is interested in school efforts that promote high achievement in minorities and other underserved populations, often accomplished by researching successful urban school districts, schools, and teachers (Chenoweth, 2007, 2009). There is a focus on culturally responsive education²⁶ (Prater & Devereaux, 2009), how to educate for this globally interconnected, interdependent, 21st century world, and how to promote greater social justice both locally and globally.

The roots of urban education could be explained through different bodies of work and different research selections; however, the dominance of racist paradigms has been consistent throughout the history of education, particularly urban education. With so many different theories and explanations related to urban education, it is easy to see why the faculty interviewed for this study may have found it difficult to define what urban education is.

Defining Urban Education in Context

All of the participants who were interviewed for this research were asked to provide their own personal definitions of urban education. These responses varied

²⁵ The labels of new urban education and newer urban education were used by a faculty member during an interview.

²⁶ Culturally responsive education is defined as using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students; teaching to and through the strengths of these students (Gay, 2000).

greatly, but four distinct themes emerged. The first theme presented was an inability to articulate a definition. Many of the faculty members participating did not have a clear definition of urban education. Another theme was a focus on diversity and multicultural education; several participants described urban education this way. An additional theme was the focus on urban education being problem based or the need to resolve issues. The final theme was more focused on urban education as a pedagogical intervention. While the four themes are presented as separate entities, there is some overlap in many of the ideas, controversies, and definitions that follow.

Theme 1: Category Ambiguity

“I don’t know what urban education is.”

~ John Davis

Many faculty members did not have a definition of urban education. As Jonas Hess responded, “I think that there is a struggle with what exactly does urban education mean. If you read the literature, there is still some ambiguity about around the issue.” Within their responses faculty members expressed an interest in figuring out a way to define urban education. James Rush mentioned his curiosity when providing his definition:

In all honesty I don’t know what it means. I have colleagues who are at institutions that also call themselves urban, and a couple of them have centers for urban literacy. And I wonder if the issues of literacy are different for urban kids as they are for rural kids. I don’t know. So I’m curious to see what they do that makes them urban.

Again, Lori Smith mentioned the inability to differentiate between rural and urban. She described the struggle this way:

I have actually struggled with what urban education is because I have personal experience in rural schools, I grew up in a small southern town. Sometimes I think the definition is education in a big city, it is poor, and it is minority. I think other

than the big city piece; you can take the poverty and the racial balances anywhere. Sometimes I have struggled with, is this really urban we are talking about or is this poverty we are talking about? If we are talking about low economic status and racial or cultural diversity, I see so many schools with immigrant children and second language learners and those are not unique to the city. So I don't have a good definition for it. I struggle with parceling that out, if the only difference is in an urban setting and the concentration of poverty in the building and the concentration of cultural and racial minorities in the building and the only thing that makes that different than [a rural] elementary is that it is in [Bloomsberg], then is that the only difference?

Jonas Hess provided a definition, and the rural/urban dilemma remained present:

I have had debates with that with people in the urban education department. Trying to even define what an urban school is difficult. Some of those individuals disagree with me because I think it is more along a continuum even though I think that there are some salient characteristics that make something particularly urban. Those typically involve a diversity of population along ethnic characteristics which brings a whole set of cultural difference among the population, very close proximity and with that that typically means you are going to have large pockets of poverty, and I know that some of those characteristics exist in rural areas as well. That is why I sometimes argue that it is sort of difficult to define exactly what urban is, other than population density.

A younger faculty member, Catalina Dorsey expressed struggle with the definition in two areas, the blending of urban and suburban populations and the struggle/fear of using the deficit paradigm in which urban education has historically resided:

I am struggling with it because a lot of the research is that urban is much more than geographic because you have urban students going to suburban schools, but generally they are seeing students in the deficit paradigm. They don't have enough resources, the students often come from low SES backgrounds, are minority students both ethnic and language minorities.

While this new faculty member expressed a struggle with defining urban education, there is clear understanding in this response that diversity is a salient characteristic. Several faculty members pointed to diversity and multicultural education as being important defining characteristics of urban education.

Theme 2: Diversity

“It is diversity; it’s not urbanity.”

~Mark Nicholson

Several faculty members did name diversity as a key factor in urban education.

While some faculty members expressed doubts over the differences between urban and rural schools, Doyle Armstrong saw urban schools as being unique. He described urban schools this way:

Urban schools are unique: they are unique with respect to multiculturalism; they are unique with respect to diversity; and they are unique with respect to challenges. I don’t think you have these unique challenges in suburban schools or rural schools. I think that part of our goal is to prepare teachers that are able to meet the realities of the classrooms in these urban schools.

Dolly Mullins explained the uniqueness of urban education:

I think a part of it is city, how tightly things are together. I also think of it with these varied forms of diversity; I don’t know if in suburban and rural areas that you see this large number of racial, religious, and language diversity. That is something that you tend to find in more urban areas which often times are cities, but you can see it kind of on the outskirts. So that diverse piece of just having the differences that you don’t usually find in suburban and rural areas.

Other faculty members saw diversity as the universal among many of the courses offered in the College of Education. Renee Bowen presented a definition rooted in the teacher education context. Urban education is:

making sure that either pre-service teachers or our teachers in our graduate programs understand the unique needs of students who are in urban settings, through culturally responsive teaching. Thinking about the cultural aspects of different minorities that might be in schools and knowing the impact of socioeconomic levels on kids. I think a definite emphasis on diversity in all of our classes that is part of conversations in every class. Maybe in some classes it’s not called urban, but you know there is that discussion in every class.

This response furthers the theme that urban education is mainly a euphemism for a focus on the educational differences of poor and minority students.

Diversity was typically associated with urban populations; however, with current geographic changes, the suburban and rural populations are beginning to shift and change. Even though several faculty members expressed the urban experience as being unique in comparison with rural life, some of the language used did not imply a strong conviction. Many responses included “I don’t know” and “I don’t think” there is the same diversity in rural and suburban settings. Taking diversity another step forward is this understanding of urban education as a problem based/issues centered education.

Theme 3: Problem Based

“It is all the educational issues and challenges that are specific to urban settings.”

~Stewart Bentley

As a look at the history of urban education has shown, much of the field is focused on the challenges and issues present in urban schools. While a participant claims that “newer” urban education is trying to shift the focus by researching success, the issue based/challenge paradigm still presents itself in many definitions of urban education.

Several participants described urban education from this point of view:

I would think that urban education is an education that looks to problems of large metropolitan areas, educational discrepancies, educational issues that relate to large urban centers. Schooling discrepancies that occur between the suburban doughnut that surrounds the city and the inner city populations, programs, teachers and funding sources all that stuff. (Lester Dean)

I think urban education is education that helps address the needs that are peculiar to an urban setting. Needs that are unlike a traditional setting which people thought all learning environments are the same, all social environments are the same. Now we are realizing the challenges and the difficulties that people who live in urban settings encounter. So to get an urban education is to really understand that kind of dynamics. (Jerold Powers)

I think that it is looking at all of the problems and issues that are found in urban areas, no matter what they are, whether it is economic, political, sociocultural, and how they affect schools and communities and trying to address those problems.
(Kristina Page)

Stewart Bentley provided a teacher education context for urban education:

It's kind of logical, provisions of education in urban settings; it is all the educational issues and challenges that are specific to urban settings. There is a teacher education urban education element to that. It is not the same to teach in an inner city school as it is in a rural school or a suburban school. It is a different experience, and it was my experience, and you learn it through a trial by fire. Many teachers do that; it is probably not the best way. We lose way too many teachers that way, the attrition rates are bad, and I don't think we in teacher education are solely responsible for the attrition rate. If you get out and you are in a situation where you do not have sufficient administrative support or the working conditions are awful, teacher education isn't necessarily going to help you.

This response suggests a framework that includes those factors beyond traditional teacher education programs even as it is pessimistic that teacher education can support good teaching in urban schools that do not support teachers' work. Framing urban education from a differently may avoid stereotypical representations of urban schools. Why would teachers want to work in schools with so many "issues" and "challenges"? Are educational issues and challenges really different in urban areas? These are questions that continue to surface and will be considered in the discussion chapter. Beyond presenting urban education as a response to a challenge, other participants defined urban education by discussing specific strategies and interventions.

Theme 4: Pedagogical Intervention

"I don't know I can describe it as much as I can visualize it in a classroom."

~Barry Monroe

When some participants were asked to define urban education, they turned to educational interventions and descriptors. Those individuals who defined urban education

this way seemed to focus less on the issues and challenges perspective and more on being responsive and respectful. Barry Monroe, junior faculty member, described urban education:

I would say it is an education that is worldly, that diverse viewpoints are respected, and I don't know I can describe it as much as I can visualize it in a classroom. There would be books that kids would read that represent different race and viewpoints. It would be much more I guess, not so explicit like we all have to get along because we are all different colors, but it would just permeate through the stuff that they are reading, the stuff they are writing, the stuff they are viewing; it would be representative of the kids that were at that school.

While this definition sounds like the often criticized "Taco Tuesday" multicultural approach, this faculty member did go on to include examples of critical engagement with diverse text and an inclusion of student voices. The focus on students permeated many of the responses. Stewart Bentley, with 27 years of service to BU, described:

[Urban education] requires this whole issue of culturally competent instruction; being able to communicate to the kids I am on your side. I might look different than you, my skin color might be different, and my language might be different but coming in and having a relationship with them where the kids feel like you are trying to understand them. Knowing their family and outreaching to their families. Teachers in those situations have to have these skills sets.

This call for cultural competency, as well as the goal for an equitable education, was echoed in other responses. A faculty member, Roslyn McLeod and an administrator, Nancy Hall both included these understandings when they stated, "I would think that urban education is equitable education, culturally relevant education, community minded education, and social justice come to mind when I think of urban education. It is about meeting the needs of diverse groups of students," and:

I would describe urban education as a field of study that's designed to increase equitable education, opportunity for populations that may have been impacted by poverty, race, class, student mobility, language and cultural differences. So it's

globalization on a local scale, how do we meet the needs of everybody, and who are everybody, and what do we know about effective schools for everybody, and how could we populate those schools with talented teachers and school leaders and counselors to move us forward.

These responses ranged from specific classroom portraits to perspectives relating to culturally responsive and social justice oriented education. They painted a picture different from the responses focused on issues and diversity; change was the focus not challenge.

With so many diverse perspectives relating to urban education, it is clear that the connotations of urban vary greatly within the College of Education. When urban education is discussed as a college, there are multiple understanding of the term. These understandings of the term urban will inevitably influence how urban education is approached within the teacher education programs at the College of Education, because this is not merely a matter of semantics but actually remains a significant issue for the college. The next section looks specifically at how urban focused teacher education is currently considered, both in the literature and by participants in this research.

Urban Teacher Education

“There is a teacher education urban education element; it is not the same to teach in an inner city school as it is in a rural school or a suburban school.” ~Stewart Bentley

In the 1990s and 2000s, several colleges of education began to focus their efforts on urban populations. Many of these colleges of education were housed in universities located in large urban areas; examples include Boston College, UCLA, Temple University, the University of Chicago, and the City University of New York. While this list is not representative of all urban focused teacher education programs, these are some

of the most established and cited programs. This section examines characteristics of urban teacher education, including successful candidates, curriculum, and programmatic features. How urban education is approached in teacher education programs varies greatly. What will be presented here are some of the broader assumptions and characteristics often described in the literature. This information will be contextualized with insight from the College of Education at Bloomsberg University.

Urban education is often associated with educating minority students, as detailed thus far in this chapter. To prepare teachers for urban settings, some teacher education programs have added additional coursework related only to racism, diversity, and inequality in schools. While this is a common focus among urban teacher educator programs, many urban teacher educators have warned against discussing only the issues of racism, structural inequality, and oppression within their specialized urban tracks. Weiner (1993) noted that urban teacher education cannot just focus on preparing teachers to deal with racism in school and society; all future teachers need this. All teachers need “to be able to deal with students as human beings, to be able to share knowledge and experience with students, to be trustworthy, to be able to communicate, and to understand their students’ world” (Weiner, 1993, p. 110). What needs to be taken into account is the unique urban context, not just the diversity of people. Mark Nicholson also commented on this phenomenon:

I think it is very important that we don’t just talk about diversity. I see this a lot, especially in the teacher education programs, there is this talk about diversity, but diversity often just means black and white. We are not talking about urban; urbanity also means issues of sexuality, fundamental issues as de facto segregation within school system. There also needs to be an advocacy piece to it. I think that is often missing; we think urban, we think black or we think Latino, and I think that there needs to be more of an emphasis on the urban and not as much

on the skin color. Diversity and urbanity is not the same thing you know. I think that that needs to be addressed. I don't know if it is here [at the College of Education]. I think that we tell people at least in my department that diverse, diverse, diverse, and differentiating learning. I don't know if we address it specifically within the context of working in an urban environment.

One of the first researchers to explore the preparation of teachers for urban schools was Martin Haberman (1987) who detailed seven reform efforts: (a)university preparation should occur within the urban public school; (b)courses should be taught by university faculty and master teachers from the school site; (c)new teacher education faculty should develop special urban education curricula; (d)better partnerships should be fostered among parents, teacher administrators, community members, and teacher preparation faculty; (e)full year internships should be required; (f)states and school districts should provide resources for teacher preparation at school sites, redirecting state funds now given to colleges of education; and (g)conditions of practice in urban schools should be improved. Based on these ideas, colleges of education have begun moving parts of their programs into urban schools (Taylor & Frankenberg, 2009), developed partnerships with urban communities (O'Grady, 2000; Solomon, Manoukian, & Clarke, 2007), and instituted specialized urban cohorts (Leland & Harste, 2005).

In *Teacher Education and the Social Conditions of Schooling*, Liston and Zeichner (1991) argue that teacher educators need to prepare teachers to be aware of the social and historical context in which they are teaching. Context is partially understood as the broader tensions interacting in the lives of students, parents and the communities. Some have argued that this is especially important in urban schools, where reform efforts often contradict the best practices of teachers, turning them into “street level bureaucrats” (Weiner, 1993). In our current climate more and more settings are requiring teachers to

follow strict pacing guides and curricular interventions. Liston and Zeichner argue teachers who understand the social and historical context will be better equipped to challenge the status quo and help interrupt cycles of inequity. While it is important for urban teachers to be able to articulate what they are doing, why they are doing it, and what the social experiences of their students are, it is hard to imagine that this is not important for *all* teachers in *all* settings.

Many urban programs stress critical reflection about the different educational settings (Taylor & Frankenberg, 2009). The general consensus in teacher education is that in order to reflect, one has to have an experience on which to reflect. Many urban teacher education programs place students in urban schools for all of or a portion of their teacher education program.

Most colleges of education expressing an urban mission provide fieldwork for students in urban locations. Using the field experiences to help students better understand the complex communities and cultures of urban areas is important for future success (Ladson-Billings, 2000). A study done by Taylor and Frankenberg (2009) regarding graduates' inclination to teach in urban schools, found that an important factor in future retention in urban schools was long term placement in urban classrooms. However, just placing students in urban placements was not enough; students had to have the support systems in place to be able to reflect critically on what was happening in their placement. These support systems include debriefing sessions with faculty members, group discussions, and continued engagement in the same setting. Also, just observing did not impact future urban retention; it was important that students were actively engaged and teaching in urban placements throughout their program (Taylor & Frankenberg, 2009).

It is a requirement at the College of Education at BU that every student have three different types of placement: one urban, one rural, and one suburban. As discussed earlier, many students see their urban placement as something to “get over with” so that they do not have to have their full time student teaching in that setting. As Dolly Mullins describes:

I have students who come in for advising, and when they do their yearlong student teaching they want to make sure they can get that Title One School out of the way because they don't want to be in a Title One school for full time teaching. When they hear urban, they think uptown [Bloomsberg], and I actually had a student tell me a few years back she didn't want to get shot, she didn't want to go.

However, the exposure alone to urban environments sometimes helps students realize that their perceptions are not always the reality. James Rush commented on the impact of the differentiated placements:

I think we have done a good job of trying to provide that option of different settings. We have students who grew up in urban settings, and then their expectation is that they will be in nonurban settings. So they can see what that is like for part of the time. It goes both ways. Which I think is important for candidates to do because it helps them decide where they want to teach. That is a point we make, we want you to do this. Once you become a teacher you can decide where you are going to teach, but we want you to know the options. If you decide you love an urban setting that is great. If you decide I did it, glad I did it, never want to go back, that's important for you to know too.

Several colleges of education have created professional development schools to enhance commitment to urban schools. The creation of these collaborative alliances assumes greater responsibility for the preparation, induction, and retention of new teachers for urban districts when compared to traditional preparation programs (Holmes Group, 1995). Professional development schools would house clinical faculty members who would potentially teach within the school. Courses for pre-service and practicing teachers would be offered on-site. School members would also be a part of the university

decision making process (Holmes Group Inc, 1990). The College of Education at Bloomsberg had a thriving professional development school in an urban elementary school until three years ago. Lester Dean reminisced about both the success and demise of the professional development school relationship:

I had a really neat thing we were doing and we did for about seven years. What we did was we went out to a local elementary school, high minority, high poverty, high risk, and urban elementary schools, one of those. We set up a professional development school with them, trained their teachers, and used that facility as a basis to teach our child development course with all of undergraduates, so anybody who is taking our section had to actually leave campus and drive into the middle of town. For some of our students who may be here from [rural areas], the first few time down there were kind of panicking because they had never done that before. We went to one of those schools and taught our whole class there and amazing insights came to these people there. “Oh my god, these are real kids too! Just like the kids I know. You know they cry and they hurt.” All this great stuff we expected to happen, kind of happened because they had to go do that. We had to quit that when they went through about three principal turnovers in a two year period, and finally a principal came in and said a PDS, what is that? They had no idea what a professional school did and didn’t really want to bother because the idea was we got to get these test scores up and you are taking up my time I just can’t deal with this. So we stopped doing it. It was a fabulous experience for students.

The end of this particular professional development school with the College of Education and the Bloomsberg County Schools speaks to the tensions between these two entities which will be highlighted in the next chapter. However, there are current talks about creating a possible professional development region where the university would provide support to an entire cohort of schools, K-12. There are several examples of successful partnerships in the research.

Leland and Hartse (2005) found that by locating an entire cohort of elementary education students in an urban school, students were more likely to teach in urban settings and have a better understanding of urban schools upon graduation (Leland &

Harste, 2005). In Leland and Hartse's College of Education, students could choose to be on an urban track or a regular track. What consistently happened was that students would unintentionally end up on the urban track, either because of scheduling or because it was the only available track. They found that students who entered the track without an interest in urban education would often choose to teach in urban settings after being immersed in the urban environment for their entire two year program.

Beyond urban classroom placement, many programs have found that it is important to engage students in the broader urban community. These experiences are thought to help students develop a stronger awareness of the social context of their potential students. It is important for pre-service teachers to learn about community resources and to have positive interactions with community members. Incorporating the community with the traditional college of education and school site shows both the cultural capital held within the community and the potential for collaboration in the future (Solomon, et al., 2007). Immersion in diverse cultural communities and seeing urban community members as cultural experts are often facilitated through service learning opportunities (Hagiwara & Wray, 2009). Service learning is described as engaging students in community-based service learning projects which benefit both the students and the community (O'Grady, 2000). Important aspects of these projects are that they are done in unison with classroom placements; they are in the same community as the placement school; and they are not seen as charity work but as learning opportunities (Solomon, et al., 2007). Like many experiences in urban areas, these experiences need to be carefully structured, or they run the risk of reinforcing stereotypes instead of

challenging them. Again, students need to have opportunities for reflecting on these experiences.

Several faculty members at the College of Education at BU have engaged their students in alternative opportunities for contact with urban youth and service learning opportunities. Lester Dean shared thoughts about alternative course requirements:

Faculty have instituted different kinds of experiences into their courses. For example, even though we don't teach our course in one of these [urban] schools anymore, in this course we require students to do ten hours of physical work in a setting in direct contact with kids in a high minority, high poverty, and high risk setting. For 90% of our students this is a new experience, and we have discovered historically is for 80% of them, they would never had gone to a setting like this if it wasn't a requirement.

Service learning is becoming more of a presence in the College of Education at BU, especially since many of the professional development schools in urban areas have been disbanded. Several faculty members feel strongly that contact with urban students is an important component of an urban teacher education program and are using service learning to reach that goal. One particular faculty member, James Rush, is credited with bringing service learning to the campus, as a different faculty member explained:

One of the things that [a colleague] really brought is service learning which is something that is certainly you could see in a rural area too, but I think it's probably more predominately done in this area with churches and community centers. Our students are tutoring kids and partnering with community organizations. We are hosting a Freedom school this summer as well.

Both placing students in urban schools and in urban community settings require collaboration with the local urban school system and community. These collaborations can be extremely difficult to navigate and one of the more frustrating factors of institutional change. This source of frustration is evidenced in the relationship that the College of Education has with the Bloomsberg County School System.

Faculty Diversity

Another element of urban teacher education programs is the recruitment and retention of faculty of color. Researchers have argued that recruiting and retaining faculty of color supports the mission of urban colleges of education (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Shade, 1995). Faculty members from differing backgrounds broaden the perspectives of students and other faculty.

The College of Education at Bloomsberg has focused on recruiting and retaining faculty of color within the last seven years. There has been substantial growth in this area, with current rates topping 30% faculty of color. Barry Monroe commented on his work in the College of Education:

I know there has been a push to getting more diversity within our own faculty. So since I have been here we have hired two professors of Latino decent, and I know we are getting some more teachers that represent the students that are not white. I think that is kind of a big issue in education in general; it is predominately a white female teaching force while the population we are teaching is not white or female. People are starting to have these conversations with us about opening our profession up to more diverse populations of teachers, but you know I think some of that comes from us having diverse faculty members. What I have noticed is that our students who are African American really gravitate towards our African American professors and I think that is a really good thing. I think they need that mentorship, and it made me realize that we really need some more diversity within our faculty because I think that ultimately draws teachers to the program.

Recruitment of faculty of color is typically listed as one of the most important ways to improve a university's capacity for diversity (Price & Valli, 1998; Shinnar & Williams, 2008; Stiler, 2004). One standard in National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher

Education (NCATE) specifically mentions the importance of diverse faculty members²⁷. Shinnar and Williams (2008) found that the presence of racially diverse faculty improves the quality of education for all students, increases cultural awareness, and makes the campus more welcoming to other minorities.

The College of Education at BU was very successful in recruiting and retaining faculty of color. The influence of this population change was rarely discussed explicitly. However, when I asked participants who else they suggested I speak with regarding my research, every answer included at least one or two faculty of color. This has several implications. One of the arguments for the need for more faculty of color is the opportunity to introduce different viewpoints. Perhaps this argument was the reason for these referrals. On one occasion a faculty member named two other faculty members, explained they were African American, and suggested I speak to them because, “they offer interesting insight.” However, there is also a burden sometimes associated with being a faculty of color. Since diversity is often seen as their main focus, remaining faculty often no longer see themselves as concerned with issues of diversity (Melnick & Zeichner, 1997). For example, teacher educator, Jean Moule (2003) found herself in a situation in which she felt responsible for bringing up issues related to race in her education department; she felt as though it was her responsibility. Her fellow faculty members lamented that she seemed to always to “pull out the race card,” to which Moule responded, “It appears those who say that have not fully owned that they too have a race and speak naturally from that perspective (Moule & Waldschmidt, 2003, p. 131).” One of

²⁷ Of the six standards required for successful accreditation, one is entirely devoted to diversity. Standard 4 states, “experiences provided for candidates include working with diverse populations, including higher education and P–12 college faculty, candidates, and students in P–12 colleges.” (NCATE, 2007)

the faculty members of color at BU, Robert Rosales, mentioned in our interview that it felt as though he was asked to represent the university mainly because of his minority status. Rosales remarked:

The position I am in being an African American faculty member and the only one in the department during the shift wasn't as smooth as I would have hoped. As an African American faculty member, there are unspoken demands; demands that are not seen in the idea of tenure and promotion. As the only African American faculty member, I was asked if I could be on a search committee since there were no other people of color here. So I found myself on a search committee, and I had only been here for one semester. Since I was the only African American faculty member at a school that was pushing towards an urban label, I was often asked to represent all minorities.

As the College of Education moves forward, it will need not to allow the “burden” of diversity or urban education to fall only on the shoulders of minority faculty members.

Another aspect being researched is characteristics of successful urban teachers. In a study done by The Urban Network to Improve Teacher Education (UNITE) (Cullen & Sinclair, 1996), a collaborative of nine universities in the United States and Canada completed a study aimed at helping improve the preparation of teachers for working in urban schools. The study found that there were eight characteristics identified of successful urban teachers. These characteristics were empathy, respect for students, flexibility, self-care, patience, sense of humor, collegiality, and a high energy level. In reviewing the list, it becomes clear that few, if any, of these characteristics can be taught in a teacher education program. These findings support the idea of teaching as a calling, a special gift, that one either has or does not have, which again hinders the idea of urban teacher education being an appropriate intervention. The findings of this research do not necessarily support urban programs in colleges of education.

On the other hand, programmatic features do have the potential to support the urban mission of colleges of education. One feature often discussed in the teacher education literature is admission requirements²⁸. One of the biggest factors regarding retention in urban schools is a pre-service teacher's spoken commitment to urban populations. As a result of this finding, some urban education programs require an interview process to gauge urban commitment (Taylor & Frankenberg, 2009; Zeichner, et al., 1998). It is also important to examine critically admission policies to make sure that these policies are not keeping out individuals who have an interest in teaching in urban communities (Ladson-Billings, 2000). Commitment to working with urban students as an admission requirement has not been considered yet by Bloomsberg University.

Most colleges of education focus their urban work within their own college and the immediate school environments. However, continued educational inequity indicates that school reform may not be enough to impact urban communities. In *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Education Reform* (1997), Jean Anyon argued that school reform was not enough to transform urban schools; what was required was social and economic reform within the entire urban community. Hursh's (2006) review of Anyon's (2005) book *Radical Possibilities: Public Policy, Urban Education, and a New Social Movement*, carried Anyon's ideas further, demanding a new social movement, one which was built on the fact that "suitable housing, a challenging education, affordable

²⁸ While admission requirements have been shown either to limit or to encourage students with an interest in urban education, it is important to note that students from urban backgrounds often do not choose education as a major because of the perception that it does not pay well nor is it prestigious compared to other lucrative majors such as business.

health care, and a job that is rewarding and provides a living wage are not negotiable privileges but rights” (p. 24).

Conclusion

This chapter began with an examination of urban based university missions and ends with a discussion of involving the community in the mission of urban colleges of education. What happened in the middle is not a neat, clearly developed explanation of the meanings of urban education. Urban as an adjective applied to an education or a location is fraught with tensions, complexities, and contradictions. The only given is that urban comes from the Latin word meaning city. It is not surprising that understandings related to the city are filled with such tensions. The city itself is such a place. As Steinberg (2002) described in his book, *Proletarian Imagination: Self, Modernity, and the Sacred in Russia, 1910-1925*:

As the largest and most enduring creation of human imagination and hands, and as the largest and most sustained site of human association and interaction, the city has been seen as a marker of what humans are and of what they do. This signification has almost always been shaded with ambivalence. In old legends, epics, and utopias, cities (both actual and symbolic) appeared as places of exceptional but also contradictory meaning. Troy, Babel, Sodom, Babylon, and Rome were viewed, in Western cultures, as standing for human power, wisdom, creativity, and vision, but also for human presumption, perversion, and fated destruction. Images of the modern city restated this ambivalence with fresh intensity. Great modern cities like London, Paris, Berlin, and New York, have repeatedly been portrayed as sites of opportunity and peril, power and helplessness, vitality and decadence, creativity and perplexity. This contradictory face of the city has appeared so often in Western thought as to suggest an essential psychological and cultural anxiety about human civilization, an anxiety about humanity's relation to their created world and about "humanity" itself. This is especially true of the "modern" city, filled with human artifice and moral contradiction (Steinberg, 2002, p. 5).

As described by Steinberg, cities are not only places of power, wealth, and resources but are also home to disenfranchised, poor, and “urban” people. These contradictions and paradoxes are seen within the many meanings of urban education.

Urban universities are struggling within the contradictions of universities for personal economic advantage versus social good. A salient characteristic of urban universities is a mission to serve the community in which they reside, regardless of the increasing competition for students and the lack of prestige that urban often denotes. An additional layer is added with the focus of globalization. Urban universities are in a precarious position because the priorities of their mission for social responsibility may run counter to their priorities for economic saliency and global growth.

How the term urban is defined will inevitably influence the change process, therefore, this chapter is titled, mediating urban education. As this chapter has highlighted there is not a consistent definition of urban education or urban teacher education held by faculty members. In terms of mediating the change process, there are two ways that we can think of this ambiguity: one, the lack of a clear definition could serve as a roadblock to the change process because there is not a clear understanding of the goal; or two, the lack of a coherent definition may provide a space for the College of Education to develop its own definition, which could potentially positively mediate the change process by incorporating the diverse perspectives represented in these findings.

The College of Education at Bloomsberg University finds itself in a unique position of being urban in mission, suburban in location, and rural in service²⁹. This unique position has resulted in varied understandings of urban and, in some cases, an unwillingness to accept urban as a designation. The difference between urban and rural was a point of conflict throughout much of the study. There are several factors involved in this conflict, one being that the College of Education has a better working relationship with surrounding rural districts than the urban school district while the diversity that many attribute to urban areas is now found in suburban and rural schools. This left many participants wondering what was urban about urban education. If demographic trends continue, it will be more and more difficult to label areas as urban; the boundaries are blurring, and many residents that were typically considered “urban” are now found in rural and suburban areas. Bloomsberg has continued to spread throughout the region, and the current rural partnerships may find themselves more characteristic of urban than rural. What does this mean for urban education? Will the blurring of urban finally allow urban education to break free of the deficit paradigm that continues to hover over it? Chapter Six will grapple with these ideas both globally and in the context of the College of Education at Bloomsberg University.

Chapter Five is going to continue with the exploration of the specific context in which this case study is situated. We have examined urban understandings as a mediating artifact when considering the process of change at the College of Education at Bloomsberg University. Now we turn to the tensions within, among, and between the

²⁹ The majority of faculty members conduct research and do service activities in the rural areas surrounding Bloomsberg, not in the Bloomsberg County Schools.

entities engaged in this process of change: the College of Education, Bloomsberg University, the Bloomsberg County Schools, and the broader Bloomsberg community.

CHAPTER FIVE: TENSIONS EXPLORED

Throughout the last 50 years, the city, the school system, the university, and the College of Education have changed, adapted, and interacted. While each institutional entity has its own goals and activities, these activities engage and influence one another. As we saw in Chapter Four, urban education as a field has also changed and adapted. The previous chapter explored how faculty members' ideas about urban education were potentially mediating the change process at the College of Education. This chapter will continue this examination by exploring the tensions present within, between, and among the school system's, the university's, and the College of Education's activity systems, beginning with a review of research that addresses institutional theory and institutional change. An examination of institution theory will provide the context in which each of these entities is operating. The chapter will end with a focus on the tensions highlighted through this research, on the College of Education's interactions with the school system, on the broader university's work to be recognized by the community, and on the university's transition to becoming a research extensive university. Through the engagement of activity theory these tensions will be explored to examine the generative effect on the overall process of change.

There is little research examining the process of institutional change within entire colleges of education, especially those working to become urban. Trent, Kea, and Oh (2008) reviewed literature and research around preparing teachers for cultural diversity. They concluded that more research is needed to identify, at the programmatic level, the policies, procedures, and activities that have continued to contribute to the expansion or constriction of ideas within colleges of education (Trent, et al., 2008). This research will help to fill the gap through the examination of the tensions involved in the process of institutional change, specifically how a teacher education program works to incorporate urban understandings in a distinct setting.

Institutional Theory

Institutional theory explains the ways in which organizations are shaped by dominant societal values. Inherently, the process of institutional change is slow and difficult because stability and predictability, over time, are what define an institution (Scott & Meyer, 1994). Within this exploration we will examine literature related to institutional theories, CHAT and its relation to institutional theory, processes of change within institutions, and the effect of different institutional activity systems on BU's College of Education as it "becomes urban."

Leavitt (1965) defined the key elements of organizations as goals, participants, technology, and social structure. These elements tie in with the six parts of the activity system. Organizational goals are defined as descriptions of what an organization wishes to accomplish (Scott, 2001). For this research the goal of the College of Education is to better serve the urban community. Participants are the actors in organizations, "those individuals who, in return for a variety of inducements, make contributions to the

organization” (Scott, 2003, p. 21). Technology is “a location where energy is applied to the transformation of materials, as a mechanism for transforming inputs into outputs” (p. 22). Technology can also be associated with mediating artifacts within the CHAT theory. The social structure is the patterned or normative aspects of the relationships between the participants in an organization (Ogawa, et al., 2008). In institutional theory, the environment is the place where the organization is situated. Few organizations work alone; they all exist within a specific physical, technological, cultural, and social environment. The College of Education exists within the broader Bloomsberg University, which is situated in the broader state college system. The College of Education is also situated within the broader community of Bloomsberg, placing its students in surrounding schools as student teachers and supplying the majority of teachers for Bloomsberg County Schools. The work of the College of Education could not be done in isolation.

Institutional theory emphasizes that institutions are both socially and historically embedded in and have an influence on social activity and organizations (Zucker, 1988). Institutions are enacted by the government, professional organizations, and media. Institutions influence organizations through three isomorphic processes. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) described these processes as: coercive, normative, and mimetic mechanisms. Coercive influence comes from the formal rules and regulations of the state; for example, in a college of education, there are formal rules and regulations in order to license teachers³⁰. Ogawa, Crain, Loomis, and Ball (2008) defined norms as the professional codes or internalization of the formal rules and regulations. At the College of

³⁰ While state guidelines dictate teacher licensure and professional codes the role of the university is to contribute to the formation of those documents.

Education at Bloomberg University these norms are established by accrediting bodies, such as NCATE and the State Legislature. Mimicry occurs when organizations adopt best practices modeled by other organizations deemed successful in their field. There were several references in this study to the work done at Cutler University, perhaps implying mimicry. Organizations adopt social structures, technology, goals, and participants that mirror institutions in order to be seen as legitimate (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The effect of these adoptions and processes is that organizations become unified across a field, resulting in the creation of organizations that are more homogeneous, stable, and resistant to change. While this might not seem to argue well for Bloomberg's change process it is important to remember.

It is also important to remember that institutions consist of people, people who have free will, are creative, and have the ability to influence institutional structures. Institutional changes have been a result of human effort. Institutions are also operating in specific contexts, historical time periods, and particular political and social movements. Typically, there are tensions involved throughout the process of change.

Processes of Change

This section will explore the processes of change both broadly and in the context of the Bloomberg College of Education. With this exploration, we will examine literature related to processes of institutional change, the factors facilitating change, and the means by which these institutional environments affect colleges of education as they attempt to "become urban."

Locus of Change

Just as it is difficult to pinpoint where Gemeinboeck began creating her piece of art, it can be difficult to pinpoint the exact source for initiating change within an institution. Most institutional theorists begin with the “locus of institutional change” (Suchman, 1995), defined as the source from which changes in established practices originate. Change can begin from within the institution based on local conditions, a bottom-up approach, and can also be a result of outside pressures, from policy elites or the general public, a top-down approach. In the case of the College of Education at Bloomsberg University, an interest in change included both a bottom-up approach and a top-down approach.

The decision to focus on the urban area as a change initiative was made by Bloomsberg University when the institution was looking for a niche within the broader state university system³¹. The College of Education complied with this change decree by offering a doctoral program in urban education in 2005. In 2008, the State Department of Public Instruction (SDPI) demanded that all teacher preparation programs resulting in a teaching license had to be “reinvisioned,” meaning a new program of studies had to be presented to the SDPI. Both of these top down initiatives were cited by participants as reasons for a broader focus on urban education within the entire College of Education.

Simultaneously, faculty members in the College of Education recognized a need to work with colleagues to develop a better understanding of what it meant to be an urban focused College of Education. This faculty group, which eventually became the urban

³¹ Recall that the state legislature required universities to offer doctoral programming that was unique to their university, thus preventing universities within the state system from competing directly with other state universities.

committee, originated from a book club that was focusing on urban education. The book club was run by one of two full-time faculty members focusing on the urban education PhD program. The faculty member who initiated the book club was not available to interview; she was outside the country and no longer working at Bloomsberg University. I can speculate that she was interested in a broader discussion around urban education which prompted her to develop a college wide book club. The book club consisted of faculty across the entire College of Education and met several times over the course of a year. As Robert Rosales, a book club member explained it, “In the book club we had some fabulous discussions, and it was a combination, it was a passion of mine to get the faculty to realize the difference between quantity and quality of diversity³².” As a result of these discussions and the passion of the faculty, a proposal was made to the Dean to develop a series of faculty-wide sessions. As Rosales describes, “So that whole book club kind of spawned it off because I have always had the passion on the inside. Listening to others, I thought we really need to have some sessions, so that is how that came about.” The Dean agreed to the proposal, an urban committee was formed, and one of the book club members became the committee chair. The case study began here, at the formation of the urban committee.

In this case, the change process was being influenced both from the bottom-up and the top-down. While this may seem ideal in the sense of a broader buy-in for change, it can also complicate the situation because of differing goals among interested parties. However, as positioned through activity theory, tensions influence change. In this case the tension between the top down and bottom up approaches is generating a creative

³² Again urban education is used as a euphemism for diversity by a faculty member.

tension and helping push for quick programmatic changes. Here, the pressures from the outside and the inside seemed to create an environment ready for rapid programmatic changes to occur, however not without conflict.

Conflict

While conflict is often considered a hurdle for change, institutional theorists have found that conflict can also allow for strategic opportunities (Burch, 2007; Scott, 2003; Scott & Meyer, 1994). From this perspective, disagreements about ideological issues related to change make it possible for differing viewpoints to be expressed and provide an element of ambiguity to the situation. When an institution is beginning a change process, ambiguity is created when there is not an institutional norm to latch on to. This allows for individuals to express their own ideas and understandings which typically differ within a group. Through this form of disagreement and discussion, long standing institutional processes and norms can be disrupted and debated. The debate allows the security of the once established norms to be called into question. What is opened through the conflict can be described as a third space. The third space, the space for change, is the place where two opposing viewpoints, or activity sets, enter into confrontation. Leont'ev (1978) expressed this position:

If the individual in given life circumstances is forced to make a choice (of meanings) then that choice is not between meanings but between colliding social positions that are expressed and recognized through these meanings (p. 94).

Change is more likely to occur when an organization is not ideologically stable or is questioning its practice (Burch, 2007).

In the case of the Bloomsberg College of Education, one of the conflicts was centered on the inclusion of the term urban in the master's and undergraduate degree

programs. The urban designation was a requirement of the doctoral program³³ but not for master's or undergraduate degree programs. However, the state department of instruction provided a tight timeline in terms of reinvisioning programs, thus allowing the faculty interested in placing the term urban throughout the entire program an opportunity to integrate the term urban in course titles and descriptions. As Robert Rosales explained, "I am the new coordinator for the program; with that came, of course, an urban vision." When the new programs were presented to the faculty, members expressed concerns over the inclusion of the term urban throughout the master's and undergraduate degree programs. Among the arguments presented were the possible alienation of the rural areas in which the university was present, the inability to define urban education, and the fear that the term urban may become a dated term.

Matthew Curry was in the process of proposing a new course when the interview took place; he shared the struggle over the inclusion of the term urban:

I really wrestled with including that term urban in the title. We talk all the time about being the urban university andI was going through the proposal process for two other courses that I have taught a couple times and as a part of reinvisioning, and we kept talking about how much do we want our name sort of urban in our course titles 'cause we, while we are urban and we really claim that, and we feel very proud about that, we also have lots of folks that come from sort of rural places; where is that place then...

In the end, he did not include urban in the course name.

I left it out because it was too limiting in some ways because not all of the teachers we teach work in what I think could even narrowly be defined as an urban school or at the very broad definition of urban.

³³ The doctoral program was established as an urban education degree, it was a requirement that all new doctoral programs in the state have a unique focus that is not offered at any other state university. This was not true for Master's or undergraduate degree programs.

In this example, Curry chose descriptors that he felt were relevant and appropriate based on his sense of audience. The close connection with the rural community has been continually discussed and considered throughout this research.

Robert Rosales also discussed the debate regarding the inclusion of urban in the course names:

There was some good conversation over urbanizing our course titles. We need course titles that stand the test of time. The word urban and the word diversity and the words 21st century, we don't want to put in dated titles and so that's not a slight on the word urban or even urban concepts; that's a slight on the way education jargon trends in and trends out. We do have urban in a lot of those courses, of course we have urban. Let me give you names of the courses here, Current Issues in Global and Urban Elementary Schools, Human Development and Learning for the Urban Elementary Classroom, Management and Leadership for Diverse Learners, Curriculum Differentiation for the 21st Century Learner, and Teaching Inquiry and Data Analysis in the Elementary School. So in here you have two classes with urban, one with diverse, another one that is 21st century. So that was the discussion, making sure we name courses that do not become dated, yeah, outdated and antiquated.

The conflict over the naming of the courses relates to some of the larger tensions present regarding the institutional transformation into an urban focused College of Education. This conflict also highlights the influence that the participants operating within this activity system have. The conflict over the course naming is promoting dialogue among faculty members around understandings of urban education and has also stimulated individual reflection and action. These dialogues have been occurring in formal settings such as department and college faculty meetings and also in informal discussion among colleagues. Furthermore, the stipulation requiring the shaping and naming of curriculum, provoked by the reinvisioning requirement, brings a focus to conversations that might be interminable and becomes a significant mediating artifact in this process. These conversations regarding the naming of courses points both to the

social nature of decision making in institutional settings and the autonomy of faculty members.

Social Practice

Changing practice within a college of education cannot be characterized only as an institutional endeavor but also can be considered a social practice (Brown, 2001). It is important to remember that organizations and institutions are not independently operating entities but are created and maintained by people. Organizations are social spaces where individuals interact and make decisions (Reeves & Forde, 2004).

The functioning of a social space is sometimes described as an institutional culture. Institutional theorists have had a hard time accounting for the role of institutional culture in change efforts (Hage, 1999). Hoffman and Klepper (2000) argued that culture is overlooked because it is messy and difficult to measure. The culture of an institution is also difficult to change. However, Hoffman and Klepper (2000) held that there are two aspects of human relations that were important to examine in order to understand organizational culture: sociability and solidarity. Sociability refers to the relations within the organization, for example how friendly the individuals are. Solidarity refers to the shared vision of the group. They have found that high levels of sociability and solidarity promote a faster rate of change.

As a part of the case study, I asked every participant to describe the culture³⁴ within the Bloomsberg College of Education. Overwhelmingly, the response was

³⁴ I used the term culture because I was interested in what responses it may have elicited. The majority of participants responded to culture in this same institutional paradigm, only a few participants responded with demographic information.

positive. Twenty-two of the 25 participants working in the College of Education repeated a version of “The culture here is collaborative, collegial, and I love working here.”

According to my interviews, faculty and administrators are overwhelmingly positive in regards to the culture within the College of Education. Alana Castaneda, having come from another college, commented:

Having been in another college, this is like a breath of fresh air, it is one of collaboration, celebration, and team work. Team work is highly valued here; I feel like I have more of a voice here than in the other colleges where the competition was overwhelming.

Several participants commented on the absence of competition as being unique in higher education. Luis Schultz working at the college for 14 years commented,

We are really not even all that competitive with each other, which make it unique in higher education. I mean a lot of doctoral granting and research institutions, even if there isn’t petty politics and job dissatisfaction or whatever, there is at least the competitive sense because everyone is under a great deal of pressure to publish. We don’t even have that here.

I followed up by asking participants how this collaborative, collegial, and non-competitive culture was formed and maintained. Again the answers were overwhelmingly similar; most stated that the Dean had provided the leadership to facilitate and maintain a positive climate. Amanda Michael commented, “I think the Dean sets that culture by being very open, I just see a well balanced faculty here” and Robert Rosales commented “we have a very approachable Dean that creates a college culture that is conducive to collegiality and comradeship.” Luis Schultz felt that, along with leadership, the unique tenure system within the College of Education promoted the culture because of the care that was taken to value all individuals involved in the college. He explained:

I think we have always had a culture here that values the different roles to make a large college of education work. You need to have people that are very practitioner oriented and teach a lot and care about whether they are good

educators themselves. We have always valued good teaching here, really I have to emphasize that because we are a research institution and we actually value good teaching. I know it sounds unusual, but we really do and there are a lot of examples to back it up. I think we have a strong institutional commitment to helping people improve their teaching. We value equally people who are teaching the undergraduates, clinical faculty, and we value people who do a lot of research. There is a place for me at the table, we don't have a caste system, and we honestly don't have that here. As you can imagine, the tenure standards have had to rise as we went from masters comprehensive to doctoral granting to research intensive. We are not [the largest research institution in the state] yet but we are a legitimate university, we now grant doctoral degrees. Our current Dean has developed a differentiated tenure plan; it is codified specifically for the different people so they can be equally valued so researchers can have lower teaching loads and teachers can have higher loads but ways for all of them to demonstrate their accomplishments for promotion and tenure. I think we are still at a point where we expect balance, where we expect everyone to be a good teacher, do service and do research.

The three faculty members who did not mention collaborative or collegial features responded instead to the diversity found within the faculty, different styles of governance, and the differences between older faculty and newer faculty. Lester Dean, who has been at the college over 30 years responded:

I would have to describe it in two ways. I would describe it as the culture of "me first," which is the culture of the younger faculty who are on a fast track, and they know it and they have to produce, so they view the academy as what it can do for them and how it can facilitate their career development. I also see in the college the culture of the leadership where I have seen the gradual evolution of faculty governance to administration centered governance. It has been very gradual. We now have department chairs who consider their primary job to implement the Dean's vision as opposed to represent the faculty in their department. That has been a sad thing to see happen but it has been incremental, no big move that suddenly mushroomed and produced this culture. I see a little bit of a schism between older faculty who tend to think of the academy as a place where a rich variety of viewpoints met in the faculty but where there was a kind of shepherding of the department, the program, and the responsibilities were shared among the faculty to make sure the department prospered and the students were well taken care of. That value has not been adequately passed on to our junior faculty.

The tension between newer and older faculty members is a theme throughout the study; it is a particularly strong thread in the activity system related to change to a research

extensive university. There are several faculty members who have been at the Bloomsberg College of Education since almost the beginning of the program, including the Dean and seven of the participants. There is an interesting age divide present at the College of Education which James Rush, who used to be a chair of a department, described:

[A faculty member] came in ten years ago and that was my first year as the department chair and she had been the first person to be hired in ten years maybe. She was significantly younger than any of us, probably by 10 or 15 years. So now we have her at the older end of the new junior faculty... she's not a junior...she's been here a long time. We have people who are 55 and older and 45 and younger. There is a weird group in the middle where there aren't any people, and part of it was growth and people starting to retire, although we haven't seen a big retirement yet. I think we have three or four people who are planning to retire in the next couple of years. Five years from now it will be totally different. Over half of our faculty is junior faculty; they have just brought a change in dynamic, starting with those two years ago. We didn't hire much after [the faculty member from 10 years ago] came, then we hired a bunch of people and that changed us for the better, because those people brought in a new focus and some motivation. We had been here a long time just doing our thing and were just comfortable with where we were, and they came in with some new ideas, and I think it was for the better and the diversity element I was talking about. We brought in a couple African American faculty six years ago, and they've just been incredible helping us recruit more diversity.

This dichotomy is present within the sample of participants I interviewed; 16 of the participants had been at the university less than 10 years, 7 had been there more than 20 years and 5 had been there between 13 and 16 years.

The differences between newer faculty and older faculty were not apparent when considering the sociability of the faculty interviewed as a whole. However, in terms of solidarity, many factors are interacting, including the years of service dichotomy. It is important to understand that, unlike some organizations, higher education is set up to discourage high levels of solidarity for fear of becoming one-dimensional and dogmatic

(Altbach, Berdahl, & Gumpert, 2005). Most colleges would consider it a bad thing to have everyone within the college think and believe the same things. However, in terms of change towards becoming urban, having a shared vision (solidarity) around the meanings of urban could facilitate the process of change.

Research stated that high levels of sociability and solidarity promote faster change with less conflict. The faculty members expressed a great deal of sociability which one could imagine would help facilitate the engagement in difficult discussions and conversations around urban education. As Chapter Four revealed, there is currently not solidarity surrounding understandings of urban education and several faculty members were reluctant to even name the university an urban university. These tensions will influence the change process.

Resistance

When considering the process of institutional change within organizations, it is important to consider the role of resistance. Beyond sociability and solidarity, there are a variety of factors that contribute to resistance to change (Fullan, 2007). Often when we think of resistance, we assume concrete acts against an action; however in organizations, it is typically less active forms of resistance that cause the most problems with change. Factors that contribute to resistance may be found within higher education such as the lack of time and opportunity for faculty to collaborate, as well as the lack of support from the administration and other colleagues (Lester & Onore, 1990). Beyond these constraints, individuals operating in established organizations often internalize the status quo and do not see a reason for change (Lester & Onore, 1990).

Resistance noted in this study centered mainly on the notions of urban and how the move towards urban teacher education was promoted and mediated. It is important to note that I am defining resistance as a lack of engagement or passive approach to the urban education change process; this passivity is in contrast to a tension where faculty members are engaged in the process, either in support or against it.

There were three main targets of resistance noted through the interviews: urban education as a separate program, urban as code for diversity, and urban as contrasted with rural. The first form, urban education as a separate program, is best described as “urban education is done in the urban education PhD program.” As Lester Dean responded:

I didn’t even know we had something called an urban education project³⁵ I know we have an urban education PhD program that does some urban educating. I know that we hired an urban educator to do the urban part of educating our doctoral students; I can’t really tell you much beyond that because I don’t know.

When I asked Mark Nicholson, a new faculty member, about the move towards an urban focused College of Education, he also assumed I was talking about the PhD program stating:

I will be completely honest, I am junior faculty and we often don’t get the voice that the senior faculty get and I don’t really have a problem with that. I am still learning the politics, so I do not teach in the urban PhD program.

The urban PhD program, established in 2005, was one of the factors for the larger College of Education-wide focus on urban.

The second form of resistance is related to the idea of urban meaning diversity. Some faculty members expressed resistance over “urban” focusing mainly on diversity;

³⁵ The answer to this question required that I change my labeling; I had labeled what was happening the “urban education project,” so this influenced the responses. This participant was one of the first to be interviewed. For subsequent interviews, I described the activity as the urban focus instead of “urban education project.”

some of the faculty responses to this question were tied into one of the mediating events held by the urban committee. The urban committee secured a grant to bring a speaker into a faculty meeting to facilitate discussions about urban issues. The speaker focused a lot of energy on diversity, and some of the participants believed that the speaker did not understand the intellectual capabilities of the faculty present. Lester Dean noted:

The event and, unfortunately, the people that put this on had such low assumptions about faculty, and the delivery was at such a low level that a third of the faculty left after lunch time. It would have been entirely appropriate for a class of high school kids or college sophomores from a small town; that is where it was aimed. It didn't go over our heads; it just hit us in the gut. It was like, this is all so simplistic and so primitive; we were here fifteen years ago, are you just now getting here?

Amanda Michael responded similarly saying:

It seemed to focus more on, I don't think it was intended, but it really seemed to focus more on the African American diversity, and I felt we were beyond that. I may be wrong about that. I felt that if they really wanted to get faculty to get into this idea of globalization [urbanization] we need to go beyond just minority representation and to go into this idea of a more I keep saying global [instead of urban] because I have gone there but this whole idea that the world is really small and we really need to look at the entire world as we are making decisions now.

She also expressed that prior to the focus on urban education; she had a different understanding of the term urban; she felt the focus on "urban" with the College of Education was limited to diversity:

Yeah well here I didn't realize that urban meant this real emphasis on diversity. I grew up in a rural area so the diversity was there in the rural area too. It is surprising to me that people see it as different, but you see from the information I have gotten from the college that urban is that intense diverse minority populations, of course now it is more multilingual populations, but I live out in [a rural] county with the same things so I just did know, but anyway that is what our focus is supposed to be, this diversity.

The third form of resistance was the difficulty in demarcating urban and rural education. As highlighted in the quotes above, many of the faculty members have had a

difficult time understanding the differences between urban definitions and rural populations. This was highlighted in the conflicts over the naming of courses. As Kristina Page commented:

Well just like this morning in the college meeting somebody said they brought up the fact that why are we focusing on just urban schools, what about suburban schools, what about rural schools, aren't we working with students who are going to be teaching in all those different kinds of schools, and wouldn't it turn some students off from even coming to [Bloomsberg University], especially Master's students if they live in a rural area. For example, if you are in a county which is still quite rural, why would you come to [BU] if you are teaching and know you will always be teaching in a rural area? So that was something that came up this morning and I think it is a good question to answer. Nobody had a response, this was the first time it has come up, this is the first time we have been presented with our Master's program and very clearly seeing the word urban come up in about every course description, and part of that is trying to define what that means. The person I was sitting next to said, "Well why even say urban elementary schools, why don't we just say elementary schools, then it takes in everybody." But I think for, I think for many of our faculty members; they have never really walked in the shoes of a truly urban person so it's depending on how you define urban."

The College of Education is surrounded both by urban, suburban, and rural areas. Beyond differences between urban and rural, there is also the lack of clarity surrounding the term urban as seen in Chapter Four. One of the themes introduced in the previous chapter related to confusion over what the term urban means, and James Rush expressed frustration over the lack of expertise in that area:

I think the biggest challenge for me is that we don't have much expertise in urban education, and I'm not sure what it means. I talked to colleagues when we were starting the doctoral program. I talked to a colleague in a rural county and he said that even though they weren't considered urban they share a lot of the same issues that urban schools are having. Even rural schools have the same issues. Which makes you wonder what's urban about urban education? Maybe it's just education.

How urban is conceptualized was detailed in Chapter Four; however, the role of resistance and conflict are important to examine. Through these responses many of the faculty members expressed a rather apathetic view of urban education entirely. In terms

of the activity system the inability and almost unwillingness to engage with understandings of urban education highlights that the subjects in this change process may not see themselves as authors within this activity system.

Facilitating Change

Conflict, solidarity, sociability, and resistance are components found within and among groups operating in organizations; these components either facilitate or hinder change. We now turn to research about large scale institutional change to see what other factors have been researched and shown to contribute to change.

The National Science Foundation has provided funding for several universities to undertake large scale “institutional transformation” in order to increase the number of women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics³⁶ (Laursen & Rocque, 2009). As a part of the ADVANCE project, several studies examined the process of large scale institutional change. Through these studies, two themes were identified: (a) institutional change involves the entire system including policies, practices, cultural values, and norms, not just individual faculty, and (b) faculty development plays a role in and is a central strategy for institutional change (Laursen & Rocque, 2009). However, faculty development alone cannot address all aspects of institutional change. Faculty development can build capacity, allow for reflection, explore options, and improve communication, but faculty development, in most cases, cannot create the changes in policy and structures that are also needed in order to change institutions (Stanley,

³⁶ The NSF grant included a diverse array of ADVANCE projects at twenty-four universities. An example is the LEAP project at the University of Colorado at Boulder. The focus of this project was helping faculty be more productive. This particular project involved workshops, a coaching program, speakers, book groups, and mini-grants.

Watson, & Algert, 2005). In order to create sustainable change, institutional policies, practices, and cultural norms need to be enacted and supported across the institution.

Policy Changes

The first theme addresses the importance of large scale policy changes versus only individual faculty buy in. Historically, faculty members in public universities maintain some authority over curriculum decisions, personnel actions, and department decision making (Bess & Dee, 2008). Faculty cannot change all aspects of programming, but without faculty buy-in and participation, opportunities for change could be severely limited. In order for large scale institutional change to take place, there also needs to be broader university support. University support is typically presented through mission statements and resource allocation.

At Bloomsberg University (BU), the process of becoming urban is a university wide action, one that was officially recorded in 2009 with the adoption of a new mission statement. The new mission is, in part:

[BU] is [the state's] urban research university. It leverages its location in the state's largest city to offer internationally competitive programs of research and creative activity, exemplary undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs, and a focused set of community engagement initiatives. [BU] maintains a particular commitment to addressing the cultural, economic, educational, environmental, health, and social needs of the greater [Bloomsberg] region (Dubois, 2009, p. 2).

Although this mission was just recently adopted, the university has been working towards this mission for several years. The process of revising the mission involved faculty and administrators across campus. It took several years to create and had to be approved by the State University Board of Trustees before officially being adopted.

While BU continues to fulfill its urban mission, colleges and departments within the university are also developing urban missions of their own. The College of Education has recently approved its goals for 2010-2015; the first goal listed is:

the College of Education will graduate highly effective and ethical 21st century professionals - child and family development professionals, teachers, school leaders, and counselors - who will have a positive impact on children, youth, families, communities and schools and who will be successful in urban and other high need settings” (City University College of Education, 2009).

Its previous mission and goals did not include mention of urban areas.

The broader resource commitment from both BU and the College of Education has helped faculty with individual course development, student activities, and funding for the urban committee to develop the urban faculty development seminar. Dolly Mullins, an urban committee member explained:

At the college level I think in the past two years we have had a diversity challenge fund. It comes from the Chancellor’s office and you can get up to \$5,000. It is a simple application process. We thought that would be the first thing that left in the budget crisis and it has not been touched, and in addition another grant has been added, a diversity mini-grant that is a \$1,000 max that you can get on a rolling basis. People are still applying for that so for me, that spoke volumes, that you know in many cases we are buying our own printer cartridges and 40 people in a class but nobody touched that diversity fund, so that to me spoke about what this university is trying to do and our college. Our Dean said if you can get that grant, I will find the money to supplement, so again we were struggling last year too. She couldn’t match it but she gave us some things to help with food, even just the fact that she was like, if you get that grant I will do what I can to help you. I think we got the full \$5,000 for the faculty development day.

The allocation of these funds and the ability of the Dean to supplement the grant provided the additional resources needed and let faculty know that what they were trying to do was supported by the broader governance.

Faculty Development

The second theme addresses faculty development and the potential role it could play in large scale institutional transformation. Faculty development can take many forms. In this case study, there were three avenues for faculty development that focused on the change to an urban focus: belonging to the book club, serving on the urban committee, and participating in a college-wide faculty development seminar. The book club was established by an urban education professor in the PhD program. There were nineteen faculty members representing many different departments and of varying ethnicities including Asian, African American, Jamaican, African, and Caucasian. The book club members would get together each month and discuss a different book related to urban education. For several members of the urban committee, the book club sparked their interest in creating a college wide initiative, including large scale faculty development events. For others, the book club was just a learning opportunity. Stewart Bentley put it this way:

She started this book club which I call my book club with an urban ed focus and with urban readings. We were sort of a learning community with faculty across programs but I will simply admit to you I didn't know it was an urban change thing, I thought it was just a fun thing to do. Let's all get together and read a book that is urban ed oriented and talk about it.

As a result of discussion in the book club, some members decided to create a proposal for the Dean. The faculty member proposed a more systematic focus on urban education across the entire College of Education (See Appendix C). This case study began at this point, after the Dean had approved the proposal to focus on infusing urban education college-wide. During my interviews, I spoke with three members of the book club who did not join the urban committee and with four urban committee members, all of whom were in the original book club. The book club members who did not join the

urban committee explained that they joined the book club as a personal development activity not a change activity.

While the urban committee may not be officially considered faculty development, I believe it could be argued that participation in the committee resulted in professional growth and involved reflection. The urban committee met several times to discuss the faculty development event that was happening the first spring. The committee had secured funding through the Chancellor's Diversity Grant and the Dean of the College of Education. It was decided to bring in an outside speaker to lead the first full-day seminar. During the meeting, I informally asked about the reason for bringing in an outside person and was told that the faculty, many who are faculty of color, did not want to be seen as promoting their personal agenda. The committee continued to meet after the faculty development day to process the event and to decide how to proceed. It is interesting to note that the year following the faculty development event, the urban committee merged with the global/internationalization committee which continued to meet with a focus on both urban and global issues. This change was initiated by the Dean who focuses on a particular theme each academic year, which shifted the second year from urban to global.

The faculty development event occurred in the spring of 2009. It was held off campus at a local museum and began with a College of Education general faculty meeting. There are 173 faculty and staff in the College of Education at Bloomsberg University. Of that, 72 participated in the faculty development event. One entire department at the college was at a national conference, so none of their faculty or staff was present. The day involved the facilitators sharing stories, participants engaging in getting to know you activities, round table discussions, and whole group sharing. The

urban committee had provided the facilitators with some questions they wanted the group to discuss. These questions were provided to one small group at a time, which then responded to the question, created a poster, and presented it to the entire group. The seminar lasted six hours, with a lunch break. Some faculty did not return after lunch³⁷.

At the end of the day, participants were asked to evaluate the seminar. Of the 45 evaluations received, many indicated that the participants believed improvements could have been made to make the day more beneficial (See Appendix D). Some of the common remarks included going into more depth, making sure to consider one's audience, and providing better information before the seminar. Prior to the seminar, a packet of information was provided to participants about urban education (See Appendix E); however, the information did not include the objectives for the seminar.

Having attended the seminar I was struck by the difference between what I heard was going to happen and what actually did happen. Here is a portion of my field notes to provide a snapshot of the day's events:

The facilitator holds up a box wrapped in newspaper, which is obviously crumpled in areas. She asks the participants if any would want this present. Several individuals raise their hands. This was clearly not what she was expecting so she rephrased the question, "Who would prefer a shiny box with ribbon?" One faculty spoke up jokingly saying that he wouldn't take the package because it didn't have bright tape. The facilitator responds "exactly." We say we love everybody the same but we are judgmental." She goes on, "We make judgments about things we see, which isn't bad until you decide it is accurate. There is value in the package. Like people we have a wealth of knowledge inside. The person in the tatters may be wondrous, your best teacher." The facilitator launches into a story about visiting Ghana and coming across a boy only wearing a cloth who asked her, "How are you?" she answered distractedly "Fine," and he replied, "Is

³⁷ A faculty member stated in an earlier quote that one third of the participants left after lunch; in actuality only eight participants left after lunch. Some faculty members did leave the event early, which accounts for the discrepancy between the number of participants and the number of evaluations.

that so?” She explains that this boy knew she wasn’t really fine. We tell on ourselves, she explains, “We have to be open to learning from others.” She then introduces her co-facilitator and jokes about yin and yang because she is African American and he is Caucasian. She reviews the objectives for the day then says “really the objective is to be the best in the world, to set the standard for urban education. Can I get an Amen?”

This snapshot occurred at the start of the workshop; however it is illustrative of the rest of the day. The introduction was followed by an activity where everyone was given a song lyric and asked to hum and find participants humming the same song. The groups then had to perform their song. This activity was connected to group process. Throughout the rest of the day various parables were shared using metaphors of trees with shallow roots, trees with deep roots, and hungry wolves. It seemed as though the trainers were not tuned in to the audience that was present; it felt very clichéd and contrived.

After the seminar, the urban committee expressed disappointment with the overall results. Plans were discussed for continuing activities the following fall. The suggested activities were brown bag lunches, article discussion groups, alumni teacher discussions, urban student speakers, and movie nights. Follow up in the spring would be a large scale project, most likely department level workshops. The next year the committee did not meet again officially because it had merged with the global committee, the committee chair was out of the country, and nothing was officially planned.

The National Science Foundation research (2009) found that there were two important factors that facilitated large scale institutional transformation, broader policy changes and the implementation of faculty development. In the case of Bloomberg University, the college and the university were supportive and revised mission statements

to reflect a commitment to serving the urban community, and to providing funding for specific initiatives. The initial faculty development book club offering helped spark a larger college engagement with urban education, but the college-wide urban faculty development event failed. Moving forward, it will be interesting to see if an urban focus remains present in terms of faculty development offerings or if the new focus on global education becomes center stage.

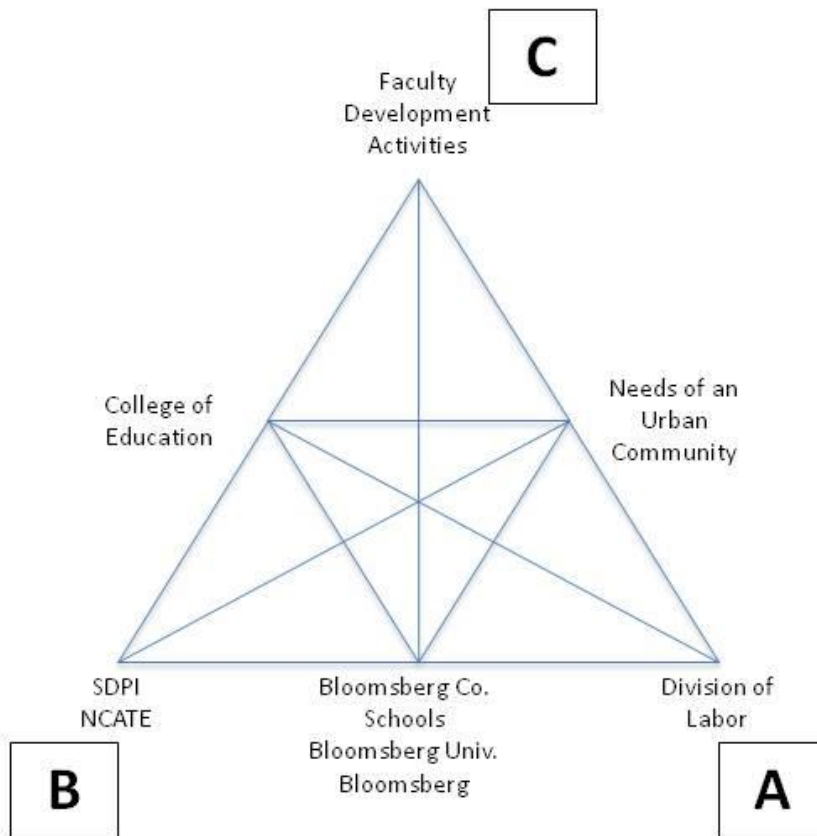
Tensions among and between Activity Systems

This chapter will continue the exploration of the tensions between and among the different activity systems associated with the College of Education at Bloomsburg University. These activity systems, introduced in Chapter Two, include the College of Education, Bloomsburg University, the Bloomsburg County School System, and the city of Bloomsburg. Previously we have explored the histories of each of these entities; the rest of this chapter will examine the relationship these entities have with the change process in the College of Education.

Tensions within the College of Education

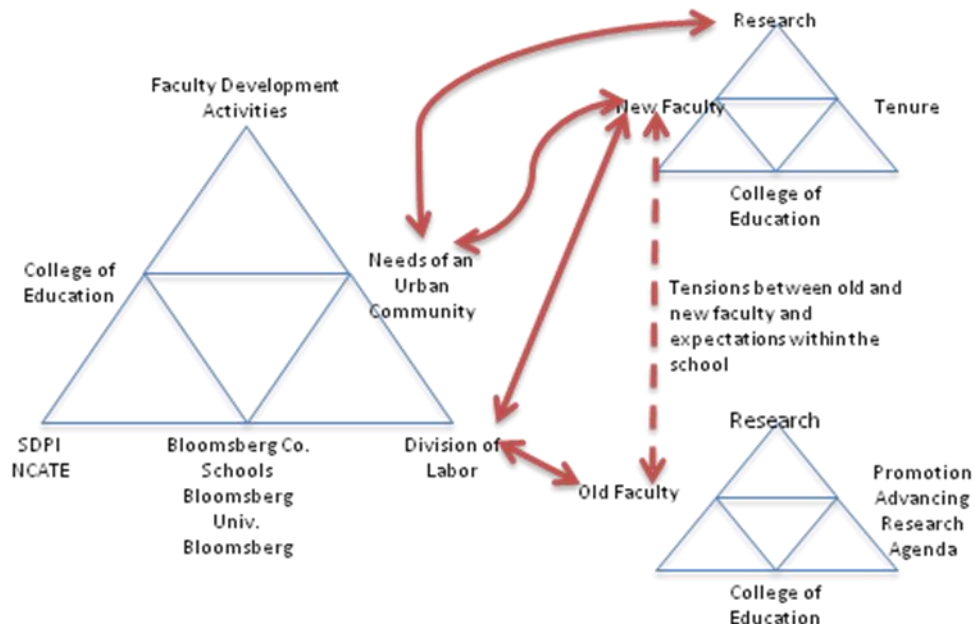
This examination begins with the tensions within the College of Education. These tensions have been highlighted previously but will be reiterated in the context of the activity system. To highlight the tensions within the activity, different actions will be reviewed. These actions are labeled using letters (see the figure 3 below).

Figure 3: College of Education Activity System



Action A focuses on the tensions within the division of labor at the College of Education and includes new faculty and older faculty. New faculty members are those labeled junior faculty; they have worked fewer than seven years at the College of Education. Older faculty members are those with more than 14 years of service to the College of Education. In this study, new faculty accounted for nine of the total participants, and there were also nine faculty members with over 14 years of service. The figure below explores these tensions.

Figure 4: Tension A



Following the diagram, we see that new faculty and old faculty have different activity systems. New faculty are working to achieve tenure while older faculty may be working towards promotion or promoting their research agenda. The mediating artifacts for both groups is research, and within these activity systems are additional divisions of labor depending on the track faculty are on, either clinical or research. The line connecting the research agenda from the newer faculty to the urban community is there because of the predisposition that most of the newer faculty have for work in urban areas. The community (College of Education) is shared, but the rules for promotion and tenure are different for each group. Faculty with less than six years of experience have more rigorous tenure expectations as a result of the college's push to become a research extensive university³⁸. As many participants pointed out, while the requirements are more

³⁸ The tension of becoming a research extensive university will be discussed in the next section.

difficult, there are more supports in place to assist junior faculty through the more tenuous process. Older faculty members were doing more teaching with fewer resources when they were going through the tenure process. Stewart Bentley describes:

I think the younger faculty feels there is a lot more pressure on them than what was on us and in some cases that is true. The Dean will say look that is not true, I did a lot of that when I was an assistant professor and I feel kind of the same way, but I do think certainly from an institutional perspective, pressure is higher but there is some things that are better. When I came we had a four course load; we are down to a two course load for most of us at this point like most research intensive institutions. Not all faculty are on two course loads; there are some who don't teach in the doctoral program, some who aren't as research oriented and have opted for a three course load.

Newer faculty members have a different perspective. For example, Catalina Dorsey remarked, "The Dean really wants you to get tenure and they are great at giving you professional development on how to do that. We have already had three professional development sessions this year for all new faculty." Few new faculty members mentioned feeling pressured; most felt that everyone was setting them up to be successful through professional development, course release, and collaboration. This tension between newer and older faculty regarding tenure processes exposes different perspectives each group holds regarding tenure and the academy. Newer faculty expressed comfort with the tenure procedures and felt there were supports in place to help them be successful. However, the increased tenure requirements were interpreted by older faculty as a source of pressure for newer faculty. Older faculty may be expressing their own anxiety over the increased rigor and placing their anxiety unwittingly on junior faculty.

Another difference between the activity systems and their connections to the College of Education's activity system is newer faculty members' experiences with urban

and critical research agendas. A requirement of the job search was for candidates applying within the last six years to discuss their urban involvement. A part of the criteria for hiring was urban teaching experiences or familiarity with urban environments. One new faculty member, Dolly Mullins, alluded to this when discussing resistance to becoming urban:

I think it comes from background. I really do. I think maybe [those resisting] have never experienced urban and many of us, almost all of our new folks, had taught in high poverty settings. Even if it was not diverse racially [our new folks] have taught in high poverty or been with ELLs regardless of the class. So we come with a different perspective.

During my interviews, I asked all of the participants about their research interests. Many of the new faculty members had research interests and agendas that were focused on diverse populations of students, critical content engagement, or activities in urban areas at the national level. On the other hand older faculty may not have had a specific urban research agenda, but they had worked tirelessly in the past within the Bloomsberg County Schools. The older faculty members were very cognizant and knowledgeable about the history of the context within which they worked, while the newer faculty were more focused on urban education at a national level.

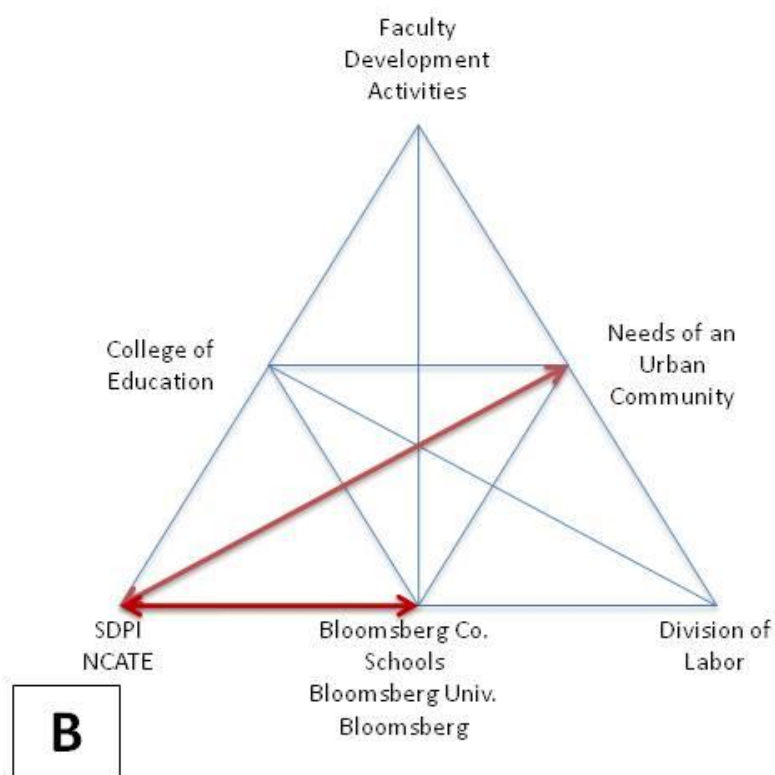
Action A (Figure 5) represents the tensions between newer and older faculty members. This particular tension is helping provide momentum for the change to urban because the newer faculty members are involved and active within this urban agenda. While older faculty shared their experiences working in schools, many expressed an interest in learning more and in continuing personal and professional growth in the area of urban education. However, a few resisted getting engaged but still remain hopeful, as John Davis pointed out:

I don't think we have defined it [urban] well yet; I think it is a process. I think there are people like [an urban education faculty member] and others who are contributing to what I hope will be a consensus around some things, but this is where being old and curmudgeonly I guess sort of comes in for me personally. I haven't gotten that engaged in it: one, I probably won't be here long enough and I think for this thing to really take some shape it needs some younger leadership and two, I don't think we have got best the party to work within the [Bloomsberg county] school system.

In terms of faculty buy-in it appears as though newer faculty members are predisposed to urban understandings while older faculty are less likely to buy in completely but not resist change. While faculty buy-in is an element of the institutional change process (Bess & Dee, 2008), the older faculty members did not appear to want actively to resist the urban designation. The urban education change process is also influencing faculty politics by inviting younger faculty to be actively involved in leadership roles and creating a space for younger faculty to be seen as having "urban education" capital. Several older faculty members explained that they went specifically to junior faculty with questions about urban education. While there is a tension between newer and older faculty, it is facilitating cross group communication.

Action B (Figure 5) focuses on the tensions within the activity system and the norms associated with the College of Education. These include NCATE and SDPI, both of which dictate what the College of Education has to do to license teachers. Both NCATE and the SDPI have influenced the College of Education as it has worked to become urban.

Figure 5: Action B



The first NCATE visit to the College of Education resulted in lowering the teaching load from four courses a semester to three. In subsequent visits, diverse faculty representation and graduates' proficiency in working with diverse populations were also seen as problematic according to NCATE. An African American committee member, Dolly Mullins, pointed to the NCATE visit as being among the reasons for the urban movement:

I think it started from politics. NCATE really hit [the college] hard, and I think there was an NCATE visit my first year. So I guess the other one had been five years before. They were hit really hard with the representation that you saw and with what they looked at.

Roland Wright who has been at the university seven years discussed NCATE:

I came to the institution when we were going through the process of accreditation, and they really had focused on the concept of diversity, so the notion of diversity was big time when I was coming in. One of the things [the university] really needed to work on was producing graduates who are proficient in working with diverse learners.

Also, student placement in urban schools is being examined because of NCATE. Stewart

Bentley stated:

NCATE is talking about a year-long student teaching [experience]. They are talking about the junior years being school based where courses are delivered in the schools. We do some of that now but not to the degree we probably need to. I think you are going to see a lot more looking at how we integrate our urban education and our professional development schools.

Preparations are already taking place for their next accreditation visit in 2013. So

NCATE has impacted the past, the present, and continues to impact the future of the College of Education.

Beyond NCATE, the State Department of Instruction (SDI) required all teacher education programs in the state to reinvision their programs within the last two years.

Barton Vaughn, a university administrator shared what that has meant for his department:

We are going through this state mandated reinvisioning for 21st century knowledge and skills. Of course there are issues in that, and as we are revising our undergraduate and our masters program of study, we are looking more intently at urban issues. So we have added a TESOL course for example as a requirement in our undergraduate program, and that really has a great deal to do with the large influx of Latinos in the entire region, so that has been one thing that we have actively done. We also have a couple of courses that focus on diversity and not just cultural or racial diversity but diversity from the learning point of view.

Another requirement of reinvisioning is communicating with stakeholders in the community. A university administrator, Barton Vaughn shared that, “one of the requirements of reinvisioning is that we need to be linking more with our stakeholders in

the community about what they would like to see as part of our program.” This was exciting to Dolly Mullins:

I think the most exciting thing about reinvisioning for me was we got to go out to our partners and you know talk about what we did well and what we didn't. A [rural system] was one of the places we went that said an issue was very broad diversity. Our general education teachers were not prepared for inclusion. They really didn't know what to do with ELL students and some of our [university] students didn't know what to do when a black parent came in. They never had interactions with these things. So we started talking, showing them some of how we were defining ourselves as urban. We never thought of the [rural county] as being involved in some of those conversations, even the schools that were not necessarily urban were dealing with some of the same urban issues. So that to me was probably the most exciting part of reinvisioning, that we actually went out to counties and [Bloomsberg-county] schools and talked to some teachers and principals and actually got to sit down with them and come to the table and talk about some of those things. So that was the biggest piece I think for us to actually get more community involvement to be able to push through some of these things. The [Bloomsberg-county] schools are so key, you know, we just cannot ignore them. I know people are frustrated. We have got to find a way to break down that bureaucracy. We met with some of the people in the diversity office and they are really open but that is just one piece.

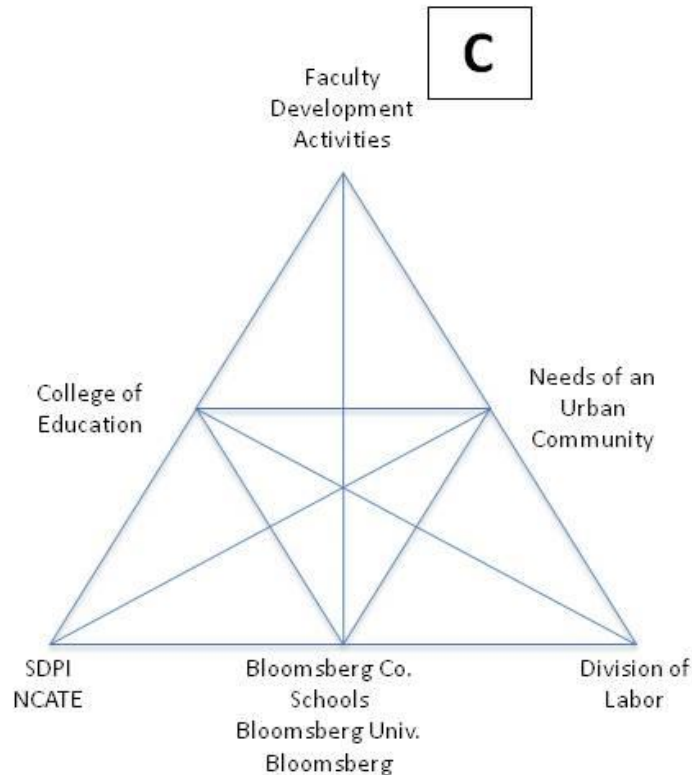
Dolly Mullins touches on many issues relevant to this research-- the tensions of defining urban education, the tensions between the rural service and the urban surroundings, and the specific tension with the Bloomsberg County Schools. She clearly enjoyed the outreach to the community and saw benefit in engaging local teachers and administrators in the reinvisioning process.

A crucial part of the reinvisioning process has been the timeline set forward; faculty members have been expected to redo their entire programs in less than two years. The expectation is that these programs will not be revised copies of previous programs but entirely new programs. As Amanda Michael commented, “I will compliment our state

department because they have moved us forward very quickly. We may not be happy...kicking and screaming along the process, but I think the process has been really good.” Typically, the change process for this type of major program overhaul is several years to a decade before change is actually implemented. In this case, the entire process was expected to be completed in less than three years. Both NCATE and the SDPI represent coercive mechanisms affecting the change process at Bloomsberg University (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). These entities constrain the possibilities within teacher education programs specifically because their requirements create/force a normative institutional environment. In terms of this tension in this particular urban education activity system, these coercive mechanisms actually were promoting an environment for quick programmatic changes. These quick changes allowed urban education to be prominent in both the undergraduate and graduate degree programs.

Action C (Figure 6) presents the tension centered on mediating artifacts. The fourth chapter dealt with understandings of urban as a mediating artifact within this change process. In this section, the focus is on the faculty development event as a facilitator of change. While this is typically a tension that the College of Education has the most control over in terms of change, the fact that there was only one faculty development activity focused on urban understandings limited its possibilities.

Figure 6: Action C



The one faculty development event held in the spring of 2009 did not turn out the way the committee or the faculty expected. Of the interviewees I spoke to, few attended the event, but those who did remember it for different reasons. James Rush included the lack of follow up, for example, “I thought it was fairly typically staff development when you do a one shot thing like that. The big question is how to sustain what you capture there, and if you don’t have individuals who take that on, it’s kind of lost.” This was not the intention of the urban committee, but this is ultimately what happened.

Other responses were not as favorable. Lester Dean explained:

It was really a poorly planned and thought through event that was trying to bring to our faculty a certain degree of racial enlightenment. Unfortunately the people that put this on had such low assumptions about faculty, and the delivery was at such a low level that a third of the faculty left after lunch time.

Another mediating artifact that has not been formally discussed is the information that was sent to the entire faculty of the College of Education prior to the faculty development activity. The chair of the urban committee thought it was important to send something to the faculty in advance and did a computer search about urban education and pasted some of the responses into a document (See Appendix D). The blurbs presented to the faculty in the document were relatively pessimistic views of urban education. Some of the information was stereotypical in nature, for example:

Classroom management in urban schools is more difficult than in rural or suburban schools because gaining students' cooperation while ensuring their learning involves addressing students' cultural, ethnic, social, identity development, language, and safety needs, as well as their academic growth. This is a considerable responsibility if not an impossibility.

The unknown author continues to disparage urban families, stating that “although many of these personal growth issues should be handled at home, the responsibilities fall on teachers when the resources and time are not forthcoming from urban youths' caretakers.” What was painted was a picture of urban education as an impossibility. Also, it could be argued that even in rural and suburban schools, teachers have to engage students through the use of cultural, ethnic, social, language, and safety needs. I do not wish to denigrate the work of the urban committee member; it was explained to me that he/she rushed to complete the packet and did not consider it as an important piece of the faculty development event. However, only half of the faculty attended the faculty development event, and the entire faculty received the information. This information had the potential

to impact faculty members' understanding of urban education. None of the participants in this study mentioned this document directly.

Action C (Figure 6), as discussed, presented the least tension of the actions within the activity system. While traditionally the mediating artifacts of an activity system have the most potential for pushing the activity towards the goal, in this case the goal of developing a better understanding of the urban community was not positively influenced by the faculty development event and the information that was formally presented. In fact, the negative experiences of many at the urban education faculty development event may impact faculty members' future engagement both with the project and with urban education in general.

These tensions centered on the tensions present within the College of Education activity system. Of the tensions noted within the College of Education, the tension between the newer and older faculty has the potential of generating interesting and mutually beneficial results. While the externally regulating groups required active responses from faculty it is not clear whether or not those were matters of compliance or expressions of strong commitments. Finally, I think we have to conclude that of the faculty development event that only the book club, which was self generated, had positive influences. Nevertheless the tensions found within the College of Education are relatively weak compared to the outside tensions present. These will be explored in the following sections.

Tensions between the College of Education and Bloomsberg University

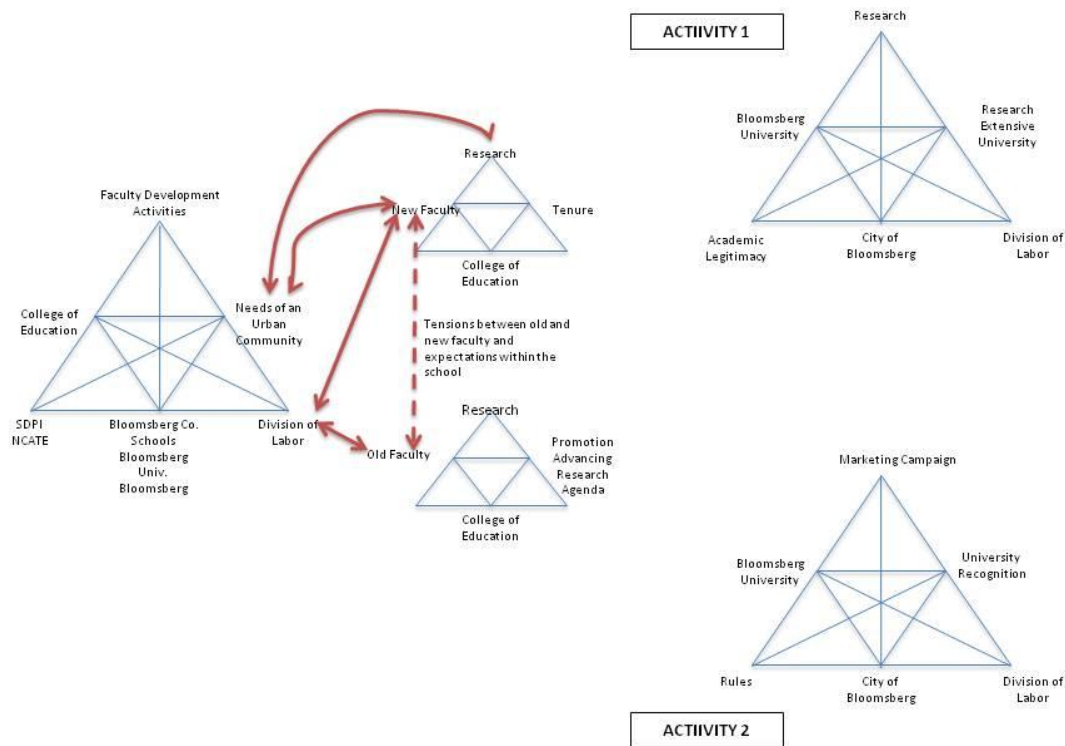
The College of Education is operating within the larger Bloomsberg University and has been well supported by the university. This is evidenced by the construction of a

new education building in 2005 and the continued financial support of many of the college's programs. In terms of the urban transformation, the College of Education is pursuing the mission that the broader Bloomsberg University has stated, becoming *the* research urban university in the state. This statement alludes to one of the tensions evident between the College of Education and Bloomsberg University. Bloomsberg University is working to become a research extensive university.³⁹ With this designation, more emphasis has been placed on research and the establishment of doctoral programs. Another characteristic of a research extensive university is that of being seen within the community as a legitimate academic organization with the potential to help solve problems in the city and region. Academic legitimacy points to an additional tension operating between Bloomsberg University and the city of Bloomsberg. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Bloomsberg University has struggled to be recognized by the city of Bloomsberg. This is partially due to the location of the university, as well as to the larger presence and popularity of Cutler University.⁴⁰ These two tensions, becoming a research extensive university and being recognized by Bloomsberg, have influenced the College of Education as it works to "become urban." The figure below is an illustration of these two additional activity systems in conjunction with the College of Education.

³⁹ The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching classifies research extensive universities as institutions that offer a wide range of baccalaureate programs and that award 50 or more doctoral degrees per year across at least 15 disciplines.

⁴⁰ Cutler was introduced in Chapter Two. It is a large research extensive university located a few hours from Bloomsberg.

Figure 7: Tensions with Bloomberg University



Activity 1: Research Extensive University Designation

Bloomsberg University is not only focused on becoming urban focused but also working towards becoming a major research institution. This has influenced the College of Education in different ways. In the past, the College of Education was considered a teaching college; now the College is shifting towards more of a research focus. Alana Castaneda, reflecting on these changes said:

I first came here when the university itself was not a research intensive university. So we have gone up to the third tier now. From my experience, I was the red haired step child when I first came here [as a research associate], and now research is a valued part of the education community.

The shift to being a research extensive university began six years ago, but there have been some challenges involved with the change process. Matthew Curry in his sixth year at the university recalled some of the tensions involved:

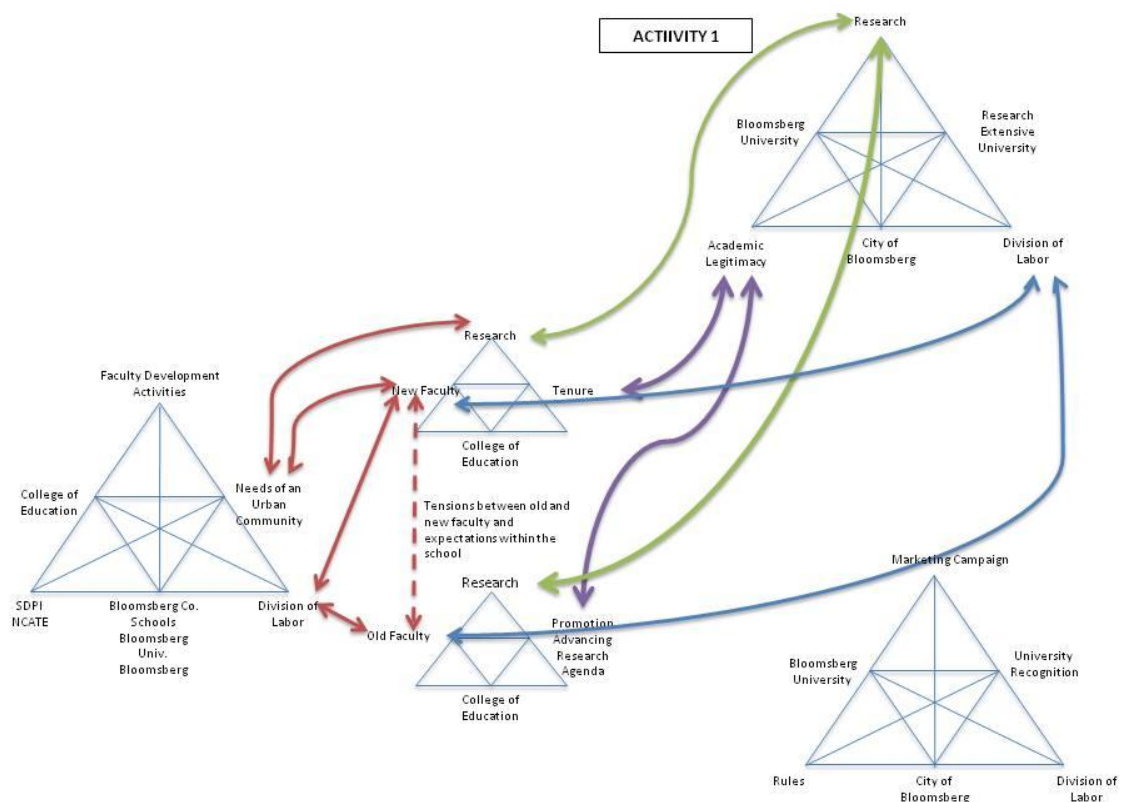
It was very clear that [Bloomsberg University] wanted to become a research extensive university; they were completely committed to that. When I was hired, the decision had been made, the die was cast, and we were adding doc programs. What we didn't have was the culture that supported that necessarily. I think it felt a little squishy at first, but it is much more planful now. We didn't and still don't have as many full time doc students as other programs; that is something we are working on. We didn't have a culture of how do you do dissertations. We had people who had done dissertations, but since doc programs were relatively new to our campus, there weren't a plethora of people around who had chaired the things.

Barry Monroe in his fourth year at the university shared that the transition has not been embraced by all faculty:

We are continuing to be much more towards a research university, at least in theory. It is talked about a lot, whether or not it is practiced, I am not sure. I think it is practiced among some people but maybe not others. I think there are probably people who are on that divide who were here when it was a teaching university and might be resistant to going to a research thing. Then I think there might be people who have been hired who wish it was a teaching university and not have the pressure of research. It will be interesting to see how that is handled when tenure comes up.

This change to a research extensive university has again highlighted differences and tensions between older and new faculty. Figure 8 below shows the connections between the change to research extensive and the activity systems of both new and older faculty. For both groups research is emphasized as evidenced by the green lines, with a push in tenure and promotion requirements to the level of an extensive research university shown with the purple lines. The newer and older faculty members represent the division of labor within the College of Education and the larger university, this connection is noted with the blue lines.

Figure 8: Activity 1



The change in policies has caused tension for faculty caught in the middle of the transition; this is especially salient for faculty members who have been at the university between six and seven years. As Jerold Powers described it:

We are told we are moving to reach research one status, so policies have changed in terms of how faculty's performance is being evaluated. When I came in, I was told that in the three areas, research, teaching, and service it was 1/3, 1/3, 1/3; the

emphasis was that across three areas. Mid stream it became 40, 40, and 20. Forty percent research, forty percent teaching and twenty percent service. Just before I went up one year or two years before I went up for tenure, which changed on me and those of us who came when I did. I didn't like that in a way because we were caught in that transition. We weren't given the resources before that. So now, post tenure, there are some new policies that have been instituted that tenured faculty can choose to go for different ways of evaluation. Like you can do 2/2 load that mean you are expected to have 2 publications a year or 3/3 load then one publication a year so tenured folks have more options.

Since the university was committed to becoming a research extensive university, the College of Education had to review its work load policy and tenure policies to accommodate this change. What resulted was the enactment of a differentiated tenure and promotion policy. Faculty members negotiate with their chairs to commit either to a research track or a teaching track. Based on this choice, the tenure requirements vary.

This is true across the broader campus as well. Leland Johnson, a university representative who has been at Bloomsberg University for 33 years commented,

Another big change is probably the research/external funding expectation. It has become far more sophisticated in terms of publications. It is not simply, I had three journal articles published, but where were they published and what were the impact factors in those journals. So that is a part of the discourse now. Certainly in all the colleges, there are pressures and expectations that people do grant writing grants and generate external funds.

External funding is currently a key factor in what is keeping the university from achieving research extensive designation; the university has enough doctoral programs in a variety of disciplines but does not have enough federally funded grants.

Another effect of having a research extensive designation is the possibility of a greater pool of faculty applicants. As Lester Dean mentioned:

What will happen is we will become a light weight Ivy League type. We will be able to compete for faculty better. When we get that designation, we will be able to compete successfully with the top echelon. Right now we get the bottom of the top echelon and all of the ones under there. We do pretty well, but we don't do as well as we could. [Cutler University] finds it easier to get their first choices.

The research extensive designation activity system has further highlighted the tensions between newer and older faculty. The designation has meant changes for all faculty members and has highlighted the need to build a culture focused on research within the College of Education. In terms of the College of Education's transformation to an urban organization, the tensions associated with the greater university's change towards becoming research extensive really pushed faculty changes, specifically more demanding research agendas and tenure policies. The change in tenure policies has helped support faculty members' research agendas, many of which incorporate research centered on urban education.

These activity systems are ongoing and constantly in flux. As Roland Wright put it:

This is an interesting university because we have tackled several things. We have gone from the concept of research intensive to extensive, so we are still on that road, but we also redefined ourselves in the midst of this transition into that of an urban university.

Throughout this research there was never a discussion regarding why Bloomsberg University was striving to become a research extensive university. However, it seems as though the constant references to Cutler University, one of the other public research extensive universities in the state, implies an interest in being recognized as being like Cutler. Again, outside entities are influencing the change process, in this case the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). There is also an interest in creating an institutional image, based on research and recognition. Change among higher education entities is often based on image and identity (Gioia & Thomas, 1996).

The broader university has supported research in the community through the Urban Institute. Trina Branch, a university representative, described a project where low-income neighborhood leaders were interviewed regarding the availability of resources in the community to support their particular neighborhoods. In this particular study what was found was the neighborhood leaders in these fragile communities had no idea the university had resources that could potentially serve their community. Several of the community leaders were not even aware there was a university in the community. This particular finding speaks to the next tension regarding community recognition.

The potential influence of this activity system, a move to a research extensive university, is not yet known; ideally research that is taking place in the community to support urban areas would be established and would further push the College of Education closer to its goal. However, the nature of many grants requires a national focus and an interest in moving findings outside of just community realms. These competing forces could end up neutralizing one another with little influence on the College of Education.

Activity 2: City of Bloomsberg Recognition

In order to be a major research institution, it is important that the community acknowledges/recognizes the university as being legitimate, which is the basis for the second activity system and was alluded to in this research designation. Bloomsberg University wants to conduct research relevant to the urban community which surrounds it; however, the community is currently not aware of the university's potential to serve it. The first step in establishing legitimacy is recognition. Currently, many citizens of Bloomsberg are not aware of Bloomsberg University. The reasons for this vary. The first

is location. Bloomsberg University is not visible from major roadways and is located eleven miles from the center of the city. The second is the inability to break free of the shadow of Cutler University. As Lester Dean reports:

We have tried for thirty years to become a partner with the city, to become a part of the city, to become a go to player in the city, and we still exist in the shadow of [Cutler University], the newspaper places [Cutler University] sports on the front page of the sporting section with only this year did we get our basketball team mentioned on the front page. We got lawyers, bankers, and politicians who are [Cutler University] alums and who think of [Cutler University] as the first order of business. When thinking about the universities, BU has very, very rarely gotten any public awareness; the public rarely comes on this campus. I see people all the time who say I hear you guys have a whole new campus out there; I will have to come and visit sometime. If they have ever been here, they won't recognize the place.

Beyond sports, Alana Castaneda commented on the local media bias to Cutler University:

I don't see that [Bloomsberg] sees us as that large urban university that we think that we are. If you read the media quotes, they don't come from the professors at [Bloomsberg University]; they come from [Cutler University]. So they just don't think as much of us as we do. We have new billboards going on. I think part of that is going on because most of the people in [Bloomsberg] are not necessarily from here. They are like me, transplants. So having a strong connection with your home university isn't nearly as strong when your home university is in Massachusetts or Michigan or someplace else.

Beginning in 2009, Bloomsberg University launched a marketing campaign to try to raise awareness in the community. The campaign has included billboards, print ads, and internet advertising. Beyond just being recognized, Bloomsberg University wants to be seen as a leader in the area, a resource for the community.

With the focus on research, Bloomsberg University already has established many of the resources and skills to be able to work with the community to develop solutions.

Leland Johnson, a university representative said it well:

The research faculty and units on campus are actually able to answer research questions for the community. We are able to provide more sophisticated services and connectedness to the community. The problem is the university's recognition within the city. I think this is where we have this inferiority complex. I really think that there are pockets of the community where there is a very strong understanding that the university is here and they have lots of services and they can do lots of things, but I think in other parts of the community there is a thinking that it is still [Bloomsberg University] of the old days, so it varies across the community. I would say in terms of our reputation and our connectedness that the new mission that was just adopted within the last year speaks to that. There was a lot of angst and a lot of how do we define ourselves, what are we all about, sort of thing and I think my sense was what they were trying to do was capture this new role that [Bloomsberg University] can play in [Bloomsberg] and in the region.

With the marketing campaign, the enhanced research capabilities, and the future plans to bring the light rail from the center city to the university community, recognition should be improved. As a few faculty members commented:

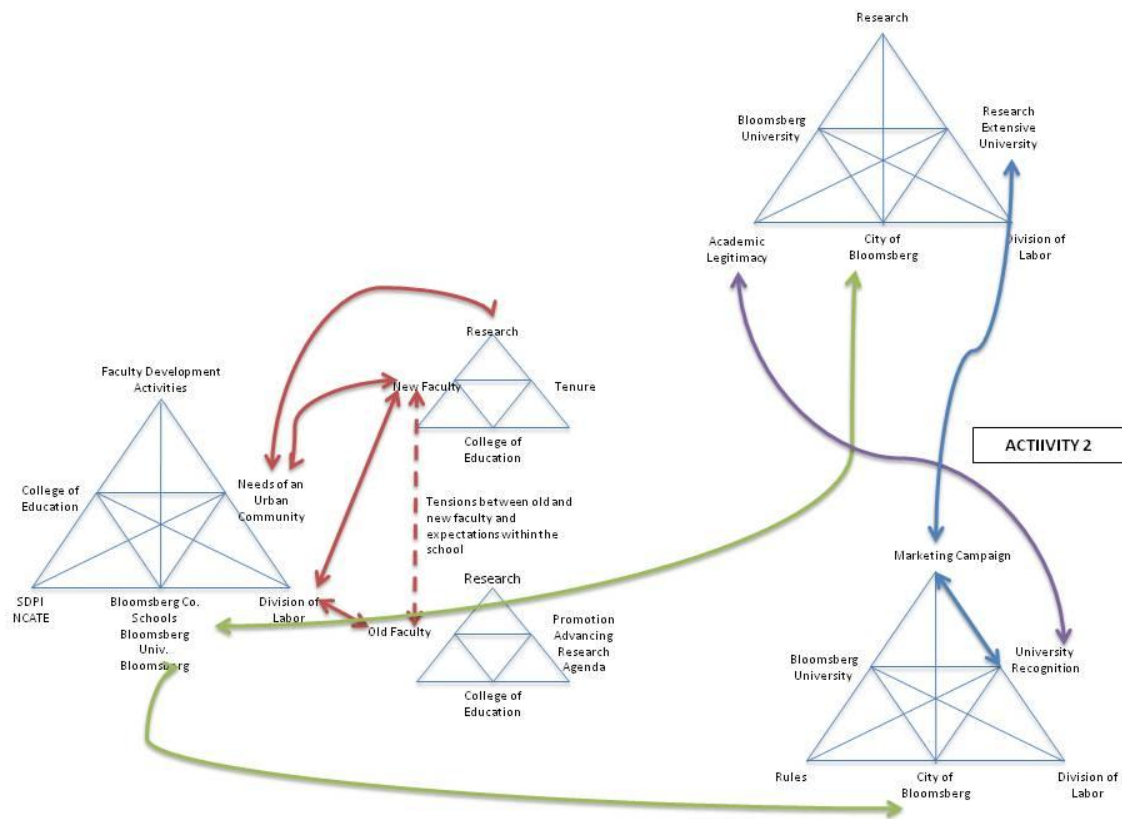
We are not a college town. We will never be a college town. We will never be the life and blood of [Bloomsberg], but when that light rail gets established here we will become an important resource to the community in a much bigger way than before, (Lester Dean)

and

Now the university is finally getting a voice. While it is still louder than a whisper but not quite a shout, in the city the moment it gets a shout it is going to move things, so its impact is becoming more visible when people in south Bloomsberg recognize there is a university in the city. (Robert Rosales)

Bloomsberg University will continue to struggle for recognition until the city can access the university. While there are plans for steps to help this happen, current budget crises may delay the completion of the light rail project. The university also just recently voted to establish a football team; Bloomsberg University is one of the few universities of its size without a football team. The hope is the team would increase university recognition both within the community and nationwide.

Figure 9: Activity 2



The figure above shows the connections between the College of Education activity system and the two activities present in the broader university. The green lines show the shared community found within all three activity systems. The purple line is connecting the goal of university recognition with academic legitimacy and the blue line represents the connection of the marketing campaign to the second activity system's goal of university recognition and becoming a research extensive university.

While this tension impacts the broader university, recognition is not as salient a tension for the College of Education except in terms of academic legitimacy. The College of Education provides the majority of teachers for Bloomsberg County Schools and surrounding areas. The school systems in the areas around BU are aware of the College

of Education, and most have worked with the College in varying capacities. One of the tensions around becoming urban is the relationships the College of Education has with the Bloomsberg County Schools, the only district designated as urban in the area. This tension will be explored in depth in the next section, but some of it relates both to recognition and academic legitimacy.

The past and current administrators in the Bloomsberg County Schools have intentionally and unintentionally alienated the College of Education at Bloomsberg University. The intentional alienation has had to do with gate keeping in regard to research. The Bloomsberg County Schools have their own institutional review board (IRB) process and charge researchers submitting an application a fee of one hundred dollars. This includes current Bloomsberg county teachers enrolled at BU. When Bloomsberg County Schools wants a particular research project conducted, they look to either Cutler University or universities outside of the state; rarely do they look to BU's College of Education. There have been a few cases where faculty approached the school system and asked them what they need, and the school system provided them a small research opportunity.

The most recent superintendent of schools has focused research and resources on researching the legitimacy of advanced degrees for teachers. In the local newspapers he has denigrated Master's degree programs and their lack of impact on student learning. These discussions have unintentionally left the College of Education, which provides many local teachers with Master's degrees, feeling disenfranchised.

If the greater Bloomsberg area could see Bloomsberg University as an institution able to research and respond to the needs of the community, then potentially the Bloomsberg County Schools could begin to see the College of Education in a new light. It will be difficult to repair the relationship between the College of Education and the Bloomsberg County Schools; the tension between both entities is formidable.

Tensions between the College of Education and Bloomsberg County School System

The tensions between the College of Education and the Bloomsberg County Schools have been touched on throughout this work. Among the 28 interviews that were conducted, there were only two responses that were repeated over and over. One related to the culture within the College of Education, and the other spoke to the tensions with the Bloomsberg County Schools. The best way to illustrate the tension is through the words of the participants. The following comments were given when I asked about the relationship the college had with the Bloomsberg County School System (BCSS).

[BCSS] has all but isolated BU and fragmented any faculty work with the schools. It has come about in two ways; it has come about by rapid quick firing and hiring of school principals, just turning them around so fast that there is no memory left in the school about working with faculty. Faculty members have gotten burned out having to start over just to maintain the relationship. The other part is that faculty at all these schools have all but left [BCSS] because of the added burdens of their research office on getting work reviewed. Even though they know it has been through our own IRB, they established their own committee that reviews work products and research initiatives. Their interests is primarily what is in it for us, not what is in it for research so most faculty end up going to other districts to do their research. It is not a single thing; it is both of these things together that have resulted in this degree of alienation. There is a third thing that is boiling right now that will probably not come to fruition for another year or two, [the superintendent's] announcement that their own internal analysis indicates that degree programs do not create excellent teachers; excellent teachers have other variables that are associated with them but getting a Master's degree in education, for example, doesn't do anything to improve students' scores. So of course that

says to places like [BU], we don't need you. (Lester Dean, Veteran faculty member⁴¹)

The three points Lester Dean mentioned were all themes that ran through many of the interviews. The quick turnover of administrators has almost eliminated all professional development schools with Bloomsberg County Schools. The separate IRB that costs researcher's money has also been a point of contention mentioned by many faculty members. The most recent development is the study commissioned by Harvard to explore the value of a Master's degree program. Preliminary findings were just being released when I was completing the interviews. Most all faculty members had personal stories to tell in regards to their interactions with Bloomsberg County Schools.

I will just talk from my own personal experience because you know I think there is a real distrust between our own institution and the major school district that we are connected to, and it has been extremely hard for me to get research projects passed now that they have their own IRB. I have gotten to the point where I am not dealing with it also, so I now work with a charter school, a public charter school, rather than go through all the rigmarole that the county makes you go through. I am very cynical about the whole thing. I personally think it is a repression of other voices, that the local school district schools don't want their teachers to hear anyone else's voices but their own, so they are trying to get rid of teachers going to masters programs and things like that because they want to control everything. (Barry Monroe, New junior faculty⁴²)

Barry Monroe's response was interesting because as a new professor he was already frustrated with trying to work with the Bloomsberg County Schools. To this point it was mainly tenured faculty who spoke most passionately about the distrust and disconnect with BBCS. The other point Monroe brought up was the school systems resistance to introducing outside voices. This is an interesting point of view that could indeed be contributing to this tension.

⁴¹ Veteran faculty members are faculty who have been at the university more than thirteen years.

⁴² New junior faculty members have been at the university less than five years.

The size of the school system was often mentioned as being a barrier to good relationships. As Luis Shultz describes:

Well the bottom line is that the former Soviet Union was less bureaucratic than [BCSS]. Now a part of that is because they are among the 20 largest school districts in the United States. They are a large urban system and everything that comes with a large urban system; they have 127,000 students and all kinds of administrators. They have more administrators than some systems have teachers. They are just a complex web of things, but what they also have is the terribly difficult culture to negotiate with. They have a lot of good leaders there, but I have never met one who could overcome the well entrenched culture of fear and protectiveness, of unwillingness to really collaborate. It is just very, very difficult as an educational researcher. What you have to be willing to do is either decide you are going to work with suburban or rural districts, where you are going to be welcomed and have access to anything you want including a real partnership. And a lot of faculty members have decided that they are just not going to work with [BCSS] because it is not worth the emotional headache and heartache or you just have to get yourself up off the mat every couple of years and say ok I am going to try again. It is very difficult, even emotionally painful, to work with [BCSS] and the culture of fear. And the protectiveness is so pervasive in that system that they don't really have partnerships with anyone and that is not an overstatement it probably is an understatement. I have seen different superintendents come and go. There have been good leaders and bad leaders, and no one makes a dent in the pervasive culture of that system. At the local level, there are outstanding programs and excellent teachers, excellent administrators in pockets, and you can attempt to really put yourself out there and make a partnership with them, but in the end, the overall culture of fear and aversion to true collaboration trumps everything you do. It doesn't matter how many resources you bring to the table, how hard you work, or anything; it is really not very easy to work with them at all. I still get myself up off the mat everyday and try to advocate for them. (Luis Schultz, Veteran faculty member)

Schultz's passionate response continued beyond what was included here. Like Monroe above Schultz speaks to this culture of fear and real resistance to quality collaboration. Unlike other faculty members Schultz has not given up and continues to work with the Bloomsberg County Schools.

Luis Schultz went on to explain that in the rural districts surrounding BCSS, they could walk into any of their system offices and ask for some particular data, and they would immediately provide it, while the process to get specific data from BCSS would

take months, even years to obtain. Many of the faculty did acknowledge the complex factors interacting within BCSS, the most salient being size. However, this culture of fear and the emotional distrust continued to be echoed throughout the interviews:

I find it pretty frustrating, and I no longer do any work with [BCSS] because of my basic distrust of the policy leaders there more than anything else because they don't sustain anything that they do, they just change principals, change superintendents and here we go again. I have been fortunate enough to work in districts like [the rural district] where I live where there really has been a remarkable degree of sustaining what they are doing. I just don't want to waste my time doing stuff that doesn't matter, so from just a personal perspective, I don't see myself being engaged with [BCSS] even though emotionally I feel really strongly about the needs of inner city kids. But I have just gotten tired of spending 13 years and over 6 million dollars worth of grants for [BCSS] that were funded, and nothing has come out of it because everything we did was changed the next time they changed. (John Davis, Veteran faculty member)

The frustrations Davis expresses have been echoed earlier but he speaks of his experience of actually working together with the school system and not having any of the work be continued because of the schools system changing programs, administrators, and school personnel. Again, he now works in the rural district because he is able to sustain projects. Even beyond not sustaining projects there is a sense that the work that has been done has not been appreciated.

With the latest report regarding Master's degree program many faculty members feel the College of Education has been poorly represented. As Amanda Michael shared:

It bothers me that the College of Education got slammed by the public schools in Bloomsberg. We weren't part of that partnership to discuss ways of improving; we should have been part of that partnership instead of being cut off and slammed. I'm really low on the totem pole, but superintendents should be coming to the university saying, we are in trouble what can we do. And that's not what is happening. (Amanda Michael, Clinical faculty member with over nine years of service)

Her point goes beyond the College of Education getting slammed but more to the status the College has within the school system. Ideally a school system would see their university as a resource to support the schools. This is not the current case. As Stewart Bentley describes:

If I have one criticism, it is that you are not a prophet in your own land. They go to Harvard or to [Cutler University]. We are not really getting the best collaboration. So they will work with us, but I don't think sometimes we are the first place they look, and you would think since we could be here and we could sustain things, that we would be the first place they would look but we are not. (Stewart Bentley, Veteran faculty member)

Bentley puts it well when he describes the university as not being a "Prophet in their own land." It would make sense for the university and the school system to partner to great sustainable change but that is not happening. Some faculty speculated as to why there was such a great tension.

I think it is because [BCSS] is afraid of looking bad. They need to stop the public relations move and recognize what the university can provide for them, opposed to going another route and sending studies over to Harvard. Why not work with [BU] you know and see how we can better serve you? I sought out to work with [BCCS]. I asked them what do you need, and they were helpful for me but notice how I asked them what do you need as opposed to saying we want to do this work with what is going on in your schools. It needs to be more reciprocal. (Mark Nicholson, Junior faculty member)

Bentley points to BCSS being afraid of bad publicity as a possible reason the system does not allow more research. Nicholson, who is only in his second year at Bloomsberg University, found he could work with the Bloomsberg County Schools as long as he was willing to do what they asked. This may not be the ideal collaborative relationship but this is an example of researcher access.

While many interviewees expressed frustration with the relationship between BU and BCSS, there were a few interviews in which faculty members, particularly Special Education faculty and administrators, said that they had a good working relationship with BCSS, though not perfect. As Barton Vaughn explained it:

As a college, we have a pretty good relationship with [BCSS]. I think it is probably more of a surface type of relationship in that our leadership team has met with their leadership team and we have discussed priorities and issues and so on.

It also seems a personal relationship has developed with the Director of Special Education at BCSS and the Department of Special Education at the College of Education. A veteran special education faculty member, Alana Castaneda spoke of this relationship:

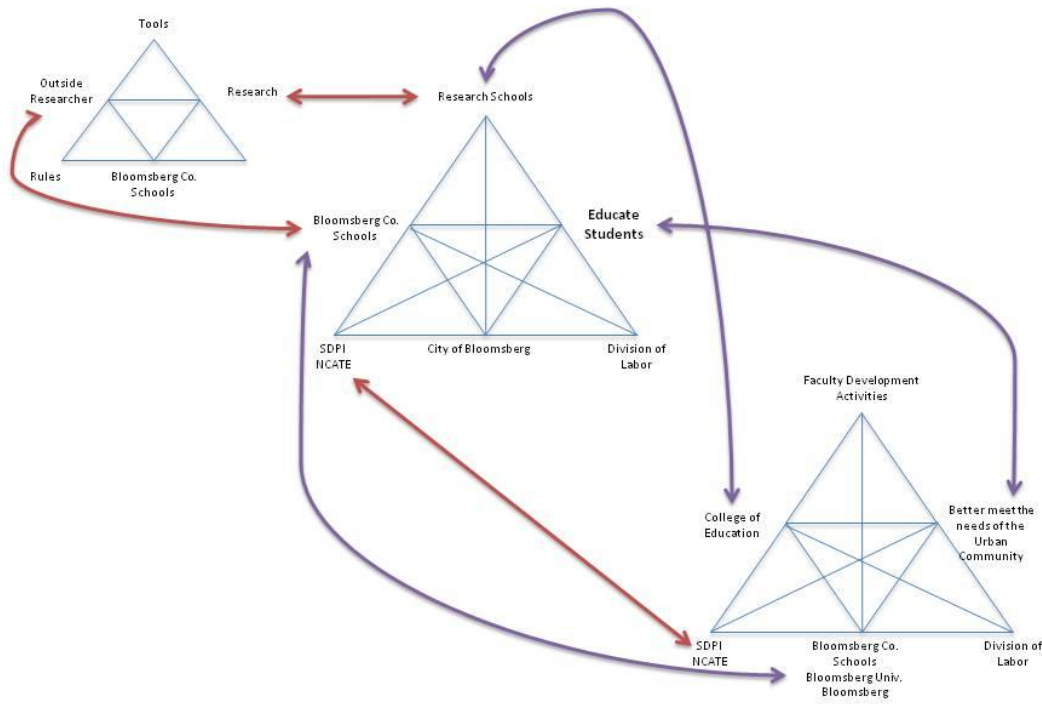
From the time that I have been here it has been a strong relationship. Part of the relationship is forged, at least from my research, at least between one of the professors, and a personal relationship with the director of special education, because I do special education research.

The field experience office at the College of Education also places countless students in BCSS for practicum experiences and student teaching. Several faculty members mentioned specific projects they worked on in schools which they had negotiated directly with principals or classroom teachers. At one time, there were strong partnerships with urban schools. The College of Education developed professional development schools, and several faculty members taught out in a local urban elementary school. This was suspended about four years ago after numerous administrative changes at the elementary school. The College of Education still maintains some professional development schools but only a few in BCSS; more are located in outlying counties. There are plans possibly to partner with an entire sector of BCSS through the creation of a professional development region. BCSS is currently divided into regions with several

elementary, middle, and high schools per region. Each region has its own administrative team. The Dean has had conversations with one of the region's administrators about possibly developing a partnership. Even within the tensions discussed by the broader faculty, there are lines of communication that have remained open.

The figure below (Figure 10) shows how the tensions described by the faculty are involved in the College of Education activity system. Each purple line indicates an area where these two systems are connected. The community the College of Education serves encompasses the Bloomsberg County School System. The College of Education provides the majority of teachers for the schools that operate in the BCS system. The College of Education's goal of serving the urban community is directly tied to the students and communities operating in the Bloomsberg County Schools. It is difficult to imagine reaching the goal of serving urban communities if there is not a solid partnership between the university and the urban school district. The third smaller activity system represents the outside research entities that are currently called upon to conduct research in the Bloomsberg County School System. These outside research entities are adding to the tensions between the school system and university.

Figure 10: Tensions with Bloomsberg County Schools



There are some initiatives on the horizon that will most likely influence the relationship between the College of Education and BCSS in the future. The most influential is the building of a local school on the university's campus. The building of a school on campus would require collaboration and further enhance potential communication. As planned, the public school is supposed to be well integrated with the College of Education. This was scheduled to happen within the next few years, but due to current budget conditions it is not set to happen until at least 2017.

It seems there are a few open lines of communication between the College of Education and Bloomsberg County Schools. The administration and the special education department are the exceptions; otherwise the general feeling among the faculty

is that it is too difficult to work with the Bloomsberg County Schools. One of the goals outlined by the strategic plan 2010-2015 is to strengthen community partnerships. The goal to which the College of Education aspires is to improve the education of K-12 students in the urban school district through urban focused teacher education. This goal will be difficult to attain without strong collaboration between the faculty of the university and the Bloomsberg County Schools.

It is the interplay of all of the nested activity systems (See Appendix G) that most influence the College of Education as it works towards “becoming urban.” It is important to note that these are the systems that were highlighted through the research I conducted; there may be additional activity systems also at play that were not mentioned directly. With all of the evidence presented, it is hard to imagine that the College of Education will soon achieve the goal of better serving urban populations. With that said, there is, of course, potential over time for the broader university to become a research presence in the area and for continued communication with the school system. The quick-paced changes in leadership in BCSS may actually become an asset to the College of Education, and they may find a way to maintain a strong engagement with the school system. As it stands now, a lot of work would have to go into repairing the relationship, work the College of Education appears to be making a priority through its mission and goal.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

When I began this study, I set out to examine how one College of Education went through the process of institutional change, paying particular attention to the tensions involved in the process. The goal of this particular College of Education at Bloomsberg University was to develop an identity as an urban focused college of education. I examined this change process from two perspectives—understandings of the term urban and tensions within the change process. The use of activity theory helped unite these ideas by allowing the faculty members' understandings of urban education to be presented as mediating the process of change. This chapter is going to consider this research as a whole, looking at how understandings of urban education, tensions involved in the process of change, and the dynamic history of the area are acting together to influence this particular College of Education at this particular time.

The tensions highlighted through this research can be sorted into ideological and procedural tensions. The ideological differences center on meanings of urban education, tensions between newer and older faculty, institutional differences between the College of Education and local school system, and recognition. The procedural tensions are rules and specific connections with the local school system.

Ideological Tensions

Ideological tensions are those tensions that are a result of differences of thought among groups of people or institutions. These differences are a result of different life experiences and histories. For this research these are tensions that are based on larger historical patterns of thought and are not tensions that can be easily resolved or fixed but need to be accounted for and considered within the change process. Tensions that are more easily addressed are being classified as procedural tensions and will be highlighted in the next section. Procedural tensions are the explicit norms of behavior. While ideology also creates a normative environment it is not as explicit; the behaviors are observed but not codified.

Meanings of Urban

Urban education is complex: on one hand it is understood as a euphemism for poor and minority students; on the other hand it represents a civil rights agenda. The tension this represents is a stereotypical representation of people versus a movement for equity and justice. These tensions of understandings highlight additional, inherent tensions present in urban universities, urban communities, and even urban as a descriptor for location. Urban universities are also struggling with the tension of education for the public good versus institutional economic growth. Urban as a geographic understanding is also not as easily understood as it once was since urban areas are sprawling, thus creating masses of pseudo-urban areas extending the complexities found within the original urban communities.

The complexities surrounding the term urban are what led me to this research topic. As I have struggled with understanding the meanings of the term urban so has our

society. In our current era we are still slowly working past the underlying assumption that urban, as a descriptor, represents deficiency. As a euphemism for people's fear of diversity, the term urban taps into some of the deep issues this country is facing—issues many people do not want to confront.

I found that within the College of Education there were several different responses to questions that elicited understandings of urban education. Several faculty members were not able to give a definition and expressed an interest in doing more work in this area. Many faculty members equated urban education with a diverse population. Other faculty members perceived urban education to be strictly related to issues, and presented urban education as an intervention to a problematic environment. A smaller group of faculty saw urban education as a specific style of teaching, one that incorporates different perspectives and is often defined as being culturally responsive. All of these understandings are steeped in the history of urban education, a history that until recently focused entirely on a deficit understanding of urban areas and “urban” people. In order for there to be true institutional change around understandings of urban education there needs to be deep conversation around these ideas. The diverse understandings of urban education provide a fertile ground for rich, deep discussions around their different meanings and what those meanings mean specifically in their current contexts as teacher educators.

With the blurring of geographic areas, several faculty members found it hard to distinguish urban education from education in rural areas. If urban education is about educating diverse students with a range of academic and social needs, those same diverse students are found in rural settings. United States census data corroborated this response;

the once suburban doughnut, made up of mainly upper middle class white American is no longer the case. The lines delineating urban areas are beginning to blur. What these blurring of lines and lack of coherent understanding means to the College of Education will be explored in more detail in the following implications chapter.

For now, the current understanding of the term urban and urban education is a mediating artifact—one that at this point is neutralized because the tensions from each groups’ understandings are pushing and pulling in opposite and conflicting directions. At this point the broader tensions outside of the College of Education are more influential to this particular change process than the College’s deliberations about the meaning of its project. However, it could be argued that it will be difficult to move towards the goal of serving the urban community through urban focused teacher education if there is not a shared understanding of urban teacher education. A shared understanding does not imply every faculty member would or should think the same way, but through the process of developing a shared understanding the rich discussion would allow for faculty members’ ideas and thoughts to be in conversation. Just the dialogue around a shared understanding could be powerful and may allow the faculty to develop ownership around this idea of “being urban.” There is the potential for this diversity of difference surrounding urban understandings to inform the ways that the faculty are working as a collective and could potentially influence the way their project is represented to the public. If the faculty is not heard or does not engage their own understandings, it is likely that the processes of marketing and compliance with external mandates will dictate what urban teacher education should be. This tension is focused mainly within the College of

Education; however the history of urban education continues to mediate the current understandings of the faculty at Bloomsberg University.

Newer & Older Faculty

An additional tension within the College of Education was the differences found between newer and older faculty members. These differences relate to differences found within the academy, in the history of the university, and around understandings of urban education.

The College of Education is not the only unit working towards an urban profile, for the entire university has been focusing on becoming a research extensive university. Several faculty members who participated in this research have been at the university over 20 years—beginning not long after the first master’s program was introduced. The nature of the academy in general has changed over the past 20 years and particularly the work at the College of Education. When older faculty members started at Bloomsberg University, teaching was the focus, with faculty teaching five courses a semester. Lester Dean, a senior faculty member, was told that research was hobby and not something with which to be concerned. Dean suggested that the change to a stronger research focus has resulted in newer faculty focusing on their work in terms of tenure and promotion instead of work that could benefit the community. Throughout this research the tensions between universities serving the common good versus larger research and economic interests has been highlighted. Within the College of Education this tension manifested itself between newer and older faculty. Adding the urban focus has further complicated this tension.

Seven years ago the College of Education began to consider urban education when hiring new professors. Potential faculty with urban teaching experience or urban

research agendas were ranked higher than those without. This has inevitably resulted in newer faculty either having experience teaching in urban schools or conducting research in urban settings. The perception by older faculty is that newer faculty members have a more extensive knowledge base that the older faculty members don't possess, never having had any direct engagement with urban education. To some degree this research supports that idea because the newer faculty did find it easier to define urban education; however, in no way did all newer faculty members define it similarly. The only main difference is that every newer faculty member gave a definition, (while some older faculty members declined) but once it was defined, their responses varied greatly. Beyond differences in understandings of urban education newer faculty entered Bloomsberg University with the understanding that it was becoming a research extensive university.

Newer faculty members operating within this research extensive paradigm know their work is expected to contribute to the larger national discourses surrounding education. For these faculty members doing work in the community is a means to an end—publishing research at the national level. This does not mean that the older faculty members are not also working under these new conditions and adding to the national discourse; however, the community engagement discussed by the older faculty speaks to their extensive academic work, both current and in the past, relating directly to the communities in which they find themselves. The passion expressed by the older faculty was not directly connected to urban education but involved their on-the-ground work during desegregation and with community movements.

John Davis, one of the older faculty members, told the story that stands out in my mind about life in Mississippi in the early 1960s. He was working with the military, was newly married and his first child was just born. He had developed a friendship with another military family and had invited them over to play cards. Half way through the evening the police arrived and all of the guests were escorted to jail for interracial fraternizing. The later work that Davis did in the Bloomsberg County Schools was all focused around issues of equity and justice. When talking about this change process towards becoming urban this particular faculty member expressed exhaustion and heartbreak from past experiences working with the Bloomsberg County Schools. His approach was to let the newer faculty have a turn. This particular faculty member currently works extensively in a low income neighborhood in a surrounding rural county.

There is also a generative tension where newer faculty are focusing their research on a national audience because of the nature of work in a research extensive university while older faculty members focus much of their work within the context of the immediate urban, rural, and suburban school systems. There is a great deal of potential in the work that could be created together, blending the national discourse with the community partnerships. The tensions between newer and older faculty members could greatly enrich a project that moves toward local context and national discourse.

Differences between newer and older faculty can be traced to various ideologies, the nature of the academy, the nature of research, and the urban bias. Even though these differences and tensions exist, there is still a great deal of communication and cooperation across groups. There was no mention of factions resulting from these ideological differences. Older faculty members understood that the nature of the work has

changed and several held themselves accountable for not being more engaged with the current urban education movement. The root of this difference is the ideological focus found in the academy now versus the focus twenty years ago. Institutions change slowly; however, each institution has a specific goal and purpose. Institutional differences between the College of Education and the Bloomsberg County Schools contribute greatly to the tensions that are present.

Institutional Differences

A tension explicitly addressed through this study was the tension between Bloomsberg County Schools and the College of Education. Through the examination of the activity systems, it was not clear why the partnership with Bloomsberg County Schools was so unproductive. The reason for the fractured relationship between the Bloomsberg County Schools and the College of Education is not clear from the data. However, there are two theories that may explain the current nature of this relationship: one relates directly to the history of the school system and the other to the nature of institutions.

For decades the Bloomsberg County Schools were under a great deal of scrutiny as a result of several ongoing court cases. These cases began in the late 1960s and continued into early 2001 and resulted in a great deal of publicity for the system. Much of the publicity was negative and outside the system's control. As a result, Bloomsberg County administrations now want to control the information that is presented to the public about the school system. All teachers sign waivers indicating that they will not talk to the press for any reason unless a public relations staff member is aware of the communication. The fact that all research is scrutinized by a separate IRB and researchers

are charged a fee also speaks to concern and control over the system's image. While many feel the school system has taken issues of control to an extreme, it is still the system's prerogative to do what is deemed best for the system. After all, the school system has a right to protect itself from attacks and negative attention.

Another theory regarding the fractured nature of this relationship is the nature of institutions themselves. Both Bloomsberg University and the Bloomsberg County Schools are large institutional entities. Institutions of this size are known for operating large bureaucracies, thus making relationships of any kind difficult to navigate. The purpose of each of these institutions is related to education; yet the institutional goals and structure vary greatly. When one is engaged within a large bureaucratic structure, it is difficult to take the time, resources, or energy to explore relationships with other institutions. The Bloomsberg County Schools are educating a tremendous number of students under a currently constrained budget situation that just this fall resulted in the closing of several area schools. While the relationship with Bloomsberg University is fractured, there are at least some avenues of collaboration, which will be explored in the next section.

There is a long history associated with the current relationship between BU and BCSS. Thus far, the story has been told from the point of view of the College of Education, but there are other perspectives to consider. The nature of academic work in public schools includes the implementation of programs, which are typically researched, then abandoned. This is due, in part, to grant funding and programming which is often limited to a distinct period of time. The schools' personnel could feel abandoned and used because they are left to pick up the pieces when services once provided are taken

away. While this is a typical pattern of university work and research projects, activities are rarely sustained over time, faculty and staff in K-12 schools are often left with negative feelings when programs and monies that were positively affecting students disappear.

The tension of working with Bloomsberg County Schools is salient; however, Mark Nicholson, a faculty member in his second year at BU, described how he managed to do work in the school system. Nicholson went to the research office and asked how he could assist the Bloomsberg County Schools. The school system did not hesitate to engage this faculty member in work it needed done. However, this is not typically how faculty operate; traditionally faculty members enter into school situations with preformed ideas of what they want to study, or what will add to their bodies of work. The College of Education may want to redefine its relationship with the Bloomsberg County Schools and continually offer to help with whatever needs the school system has. This will still provide an interesting avenue for research in this specific educational context.

The tension present between these two institutions is not entirely uncommon. These institutions have different missions and goals; while related, they are still separate entities. Many colleges of education have found it difficult to work with local schools. However, there are examples of successful community partnerships.

There are colleges of education that have managed to sustain efforts in the communities with which they work. Reed (2004) wrote that colleges of education have the potential to do more than just support urban schools, contending that colleges of education have the potential to help bridge the gap between communities and schools. He

noted the contradiction that urban families are so hopeful for a better education for their children, yet disappointed and disengaged from the school. Using the concept of “learning communities,” Reed suggested colleges of education create communities with local schools, neighborhoods, and community organizations. These learning communities provide stakeholders an opportunity to explore problems they deem important in their community. The faculty at the college of education mediates conversations with the parents, community leaders, and school officials. From these discussions specific goals are established and plans are implemented. After creating and sustaining such a learning community at Brooklyn College, Reed (2004) offered three actions that have helped build social capital in the community. First, the creation of the learning community established the university in both the community and school environment. Second, the learning community created a trusting relationship between the university, school, and community. Finally, the school benefited as a result of supporting efforts leading to social capital (Reed, 2004). This idea carries forth the mission of many urban colleges of education by including the community in the process.

Another example of a strong community and university partnership comes out of The Center for Community Partnerships of the University of Pennsylvania (Benson, Harkavy, & Puckett, 2000). The center’s work has focused on public schools as the potential catalyst for community change and innovation. Through collaboration, university-assisted community schools were designed to help educate, engage, activate, and serve all members of the community, with the hope that these schools would become avenues for building healthy urban environments. A specific example of this work comes out of Penn and the West Philadelphia Public Schools (Harkavy & Puckett, 1991).

Benson, Harkavy, and Puckett (2000) provide details and reflect on this ongoing collaboration. Classroom learning is integrated with community service projects. The Academically Based Community Service courses (ABCS) merge coursework with mandatory fieldwork in the local community. Beyond course requirements, students, faculty, and staff donate thousands of volunteer hours to public service in West Philadelphia. Activities range from tutoring and mentoring neighborhood school children to upgrading local business technology and creating wider access to vital health care. The focus is on building a collaborative and mutually respectful relationship with the community. It is important to note that the collaborations happening in West Philadelphia extend beyond the education school; most of the entire college is involved. This is also a collaboration that began in 1985 and has been refined and has grown over the last twenty-five years.

Tensions between local school systems and colleges of education are not new, but in order to make them productive the programs above may offer insight. However, the simplest approach at this point would be just to ask the school system, how can we help you? Again, turning to what is sometimes called the “newer urban education” may help develop an avenue for a research partnership with the community schools. The newer urban education is focused on the university’s and school’s efforts to promote high achievement in minorities and other underserved populations, no matter their location. This is done by researching successful school districts, schools, and teachers. There is evidence that this focus is beginning to happen, specifically in the k-12 teaching realm. There is a great deal of emphasis on the 90-90-90 schools, schools with 90% of student receiving free and reduced lunch, 90% of minority students, and 90% successful on

accountability measures (Reeves, 2003). Several leaders in Bloomsberg County Schools have attended conferences and leadership events highlighting practices of 90-90-90 schools. The faculty at the College of Education could partner with the school system to examine these school settings. This focus could potentially create another line of communication between the College of Education and the school system.

Recognition

A theme running through all of this research is recognition. A salient tension is the university's lack of recognition by the community. The broader university wants to be recognized in the community as a viable resource; this includes the College of Education wanting to be recognized by the Bloomsberg County School System. The university is in a difficult position because it is located on the outskirts of town, not visible from major roads, and not directly connected to the heart of the city. In addition, Cutler University has also garnered more attention by the local newspaper and local leaders than Bloomsberg University. The tension of recognition has both ideological and procedural elements; while these absent or poor relationships are steeped in the history between the institution and the community, there are procedural elements, which once in place, will alleviate some of the tension. For example, there is discussion of adding a light rail stop at the university which would connect the university to the center city. There are plans underway to build a k-12 school on university property that would promote recognition with the local schools system. There is also a marketing campaign that is in its first year, providing billboards, radio ads, and other marketing tools to better promote the university in the community.

Marketing is a tool that has begun to be used to address this tension, but marketing does not always result in the intended outcome. Marketing has been a theme in this change process and in the history of this area. Using marketing as a strategy to repair tensions provides both opportunities for recognition and places to hide. Sometimes marketing materials provide the allusion of change without the actual change itself.

This form of marketing was seen in the early desegregation history of Bloomsberg where token integration efforts were marketed to the world and gave the appearance of a racially tolerant city, when the reality was nothing of the sort. Of course the business community feigned surprise when a study found that the actual race relations within the broader community were dysfunctional. Based on the work done by the Across Bloomsberg group⁴³, the consequence of this form of token marketing has had a lasting effect on racial relations within the community as evidenced by the lack of racial trust found in 2001 after the city participated in Robert Putnam's Social Capital Benchmark Survey (Cross Town City, 2010).

This same trap could happen within the College of Education. They can choose to be an urban teacher education program because their marketing materials say so or they can choose to continue through this process to work towards facilitating actual change and recreating an understanding of the context in which they are operating while also contributing to the national discourse.

⁴³ Crossroads Community group is an organization in its tenth year of operation whose goal is to help the city work towards developing greater interracial trust. Forty area organizations are a part of this group including BU and BCSS.

Recognition of different understandings of urban education is also a tension. The roots of urban education are steeped in the deficit paradigm. Newer urban education which focuses on culturally responsive and culturally relevant pedagogy is not yet recognized by many faculty members or even the general education audience. Focusing on successful urban environments is helping build this recognition and could be a way for the College of Education to further develop faculty members own understandings of urban education and be places for local research with a national audience.

Recognition is an inherent piece of personal and institutional health. Everyone wants to be recognized for the work that he or she does and its contributions. With specific marketing, continued community outreach, and the development of shared understandings this desire for recognition could help push the university and the College of Education towards their goal of becoming the urban university in the state.

The strategic goals for the College of Education 2010-2015 include strengthening its relationship with the community (See Appendix F). None of the research around successful community and university partnerships makes the path look easy. All of the discussions and research point to a multitude of difficulties just like the tensions present in this change process. Understanding the ideological differences between the institutions while capitalizing on the avenues of successful communication seems to hold the most promise. There are procedural tensions that can be more easily overcome or expanded to continue to build bridges.

Procedural Tensions

Ideological tensions are those tensions that are a result of differences of thought between groups and institutions. Procedural tensions can be defined as those tensions that

are better understood as barriers that with specific targeted intervention could be overcome. While ideological tensions could also be targeted by an intervention, ideological differences are typically broader and based in significant theoretical differences as evidenced in the previous section. The procedural tensions this research highlighted were rules and specific lines of communication shared with the local school system.

Rules

A procedural tension found within the College of Education are the rules found in teacher education; for this study the focus was on NCATE and the reinvisioning process. Both of these entities were procedural tensions that required specific actions in a certain time period. In this case these actions were specific and quickly resulted in change. This tension provided the most momentum towards this goal of becoming an urban focused teacher education program. All programs that require licensure in the state were required to completely create new programs with new courses. Teacher education programs were given less than three years to complete this process. This quick turnaround allowed for less discussion and faster change. Secondly, several of the faculty members in charge of the teacher education programs were committee members on the urban committee. In their interviews a few mentioned that they kept the urban focus in mind when reinvisioning the programs. Several of the new courses included urban either in the title or in the course description. It will be interesting to see how these courses will differ from courses without the urban language.

Of course the quick nature of change did result in additional tensions when faculty members felt uncomfortable about the sudden change within the undergraduate

and graduate programs. A few faculty members felt the process happened without enough input and buy-in. This haste could impede future changes because some faculty members may be skeptical of the process and focus more on the process than the content.

Specific Connections

There were a few avenues or special connections that emerged during this research that were not discussed in detail. These connections or tensions could be expanded and built upon to further the change efforts. These included the special education connection with the Bloomsberg County Schools and the administrative perspectives regarding relationships with the school system.

The only faculty who spoke of a positive relationship with the Bloomsberg County Schools was the special education faculty. One participant, Amanda Michael, indicated that the head of special education for the local school system is a personal friend of several special education faculty members. The current Dean of the College of Education was once a special education faculty member and has been at the university for over twenty-five years. It seems this special connection with the special education department has allowed for special education faculty members to avoid some of the bureaucracies that are present in the broader school system.

Not only were the special education faculty members' view of working with the Bloomsberg County Schools different, so was the view of administrators. There are two possible explanations for the difference in administrative views versus general faculty views. One possibility is that administrators are expected to follow the party line, and it would not benefit the university or College of Education if administrators were speaking poorly about the local school system. Secondly, there is an administrative connection

with the College of Education and the administrators at BCSS. Several faculty members alluded to this as a surface form of relationship where the College's administrative team checks in with the administrative team of the county schools. During her interview the Dean indicated that she was aware that several faculty members would share a different story about working with the school system than hers. Together these administrative teams are also in the process of planning to build a public school on the campus of the university. This construction was originally going to happen in the next few years, but because of the recent budget situation, it has been pushed forward until at least 2017. This partnership has potential to build stronger connections with both entities.

Beyond examining the ideological and practical tensions it is also important to consider the research itself, turning a critical eye to how the research was designed, who participated in the research, who did not participate, the theoretical perspective employed, and the role of the researcher.

Limitations

Regardless of how well research is conducted, there are inevitably limitations that cannot be controlled. The greatest limitation was my inability to be totally immersed in the site for extended periods of time. I only observed faculty members during specific meetings related to this research. By not observing faculty members in a variety of settings, I had a limited lens through which I could analyze this phenomenon.

I also gathered the majority of my data through interviews. In interviews participants are likely to express their views. These views, however, may be their best intentions and/or what they deem appropriate. The views may or may not exactly match their actions or thoughts. This limitation is best expressed by MacDonald & Walker

(2006), “At all levels of a system what people *think* they are doing, what they *say* they are doing, what they *appear* to others to be doing , and what in fact they *are* doing, may be sources of considerable discrepancy” (p. 117).

The observer effect is another limitation to consider. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know to what extent a researcher has an effect on a given situation but participants of research often change their behavior in the presence of an observer simply because they are aware of the researcher’s agenda (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The observer effect can even occur when a researcher remains as unobtrusive as possible. There were a few instances where I could tell my presence influenced the surrounding event. For example, I attended a meeting of the international committee (the former urban education committee) and the chair kept referring to the connections between global education and urban education. He made it clear when meeting with him that he was going to make sure that urban education was still a part of the conversation. Of course I cannot be sure he did that for my benefit but I am curious if he would have gone to such efforts had I not been there.

I also only interviewed individuals who volunteered to be interviewed. While I did employ targeted recruitment methods to try and speak to a variety of individuals in different positions there were still only a portion of faculty that agreed to participate. During the interviews it was clear that the reasons for volunteering varied, however the newer faculty all expressed an interest in helping me and understood what it was like to try and recruit participants. One could imagine the older faculty members may have chosen to participate because they had a specific interest in sharing their viewpoints.

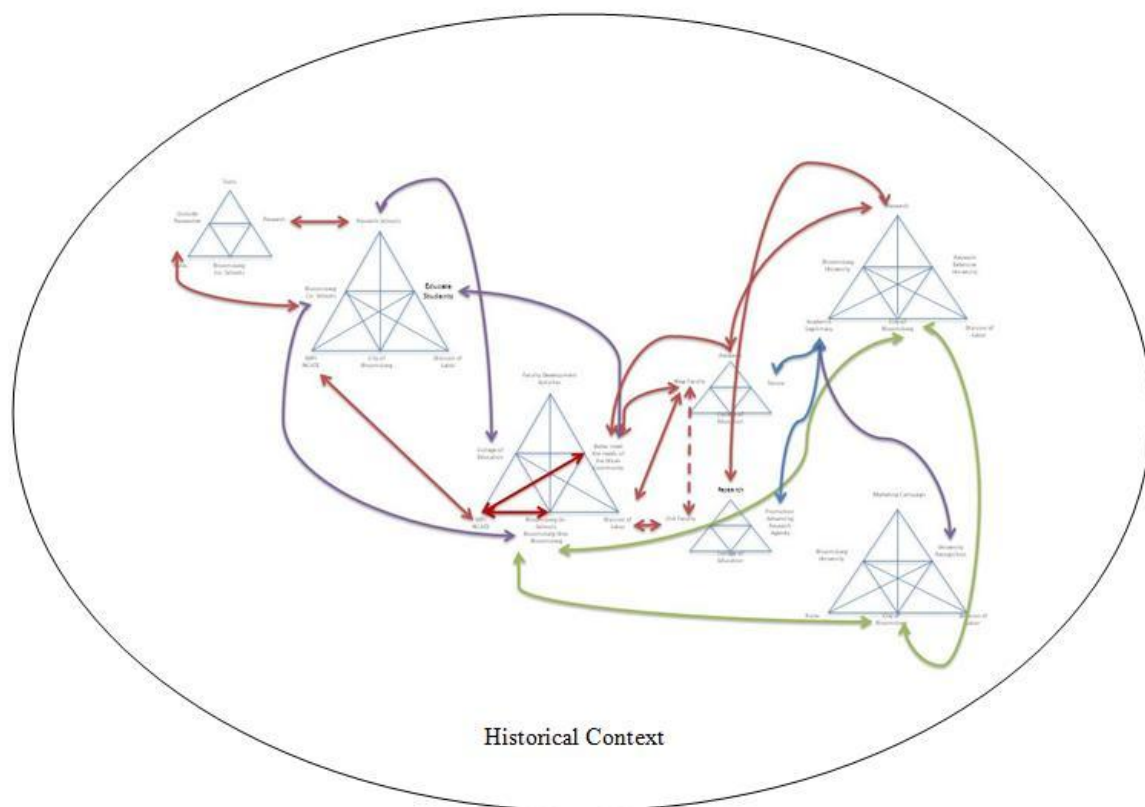
It is also important to consider the faculty members that didn't choose to participate and what their perspectives may have been. The perspectives presented in this research represent only a fourth of the entire faculty population. I caught a glimpse of their varied perspectives because I spent a great deal of time at the university during this research process, and having emailed the entire faculty those that knew me but didn't choose to participate provided me their reasons for not participating. Of course this is still only a small percentage of the entire faculty. Several faculty members expressed that they really didn't have enough knowledge of the change process going on to offer any additional insight. I heard from others that some people were not participating because they had strong opinions regarding the process but didn't want to share them for fear of being exposed. I also had several faculty members agree to participate who never found a time that was convenient to be interviewed.

Even though this research does not include the viewpoints of all faculty members, I am confident that the main tensions were exposed. This confidence comes from the fact that I was at the university during faculty meetings, committee meetings, and just casually observing. These are all opportunities for additional viewpoints to be shared, and most of the opinions shared in these casual situations were corroborated through this research. Of course those individuals who had strong opinions and were afraid to share it with for fear of exposure may also not have shared in these meetings as well. I still feel confident that the tensions presented are important tensions within this change process. This is why there is value in using a theoretical framework that considers the cultural and historical influences of a change process.

Theoretical Framework Explored

As a researcher it is also important to turn a critical eye to the theoretical framework that was employed—in this case, Cultural Historical Activity Theory. CHAT was used to explore the tensions encompassing the process of change. The inclusion of the historical research adds an additional layer of complexity but without reference to historical developments it is hard to make sense of the process of change or to understand the constraints on the capacity of the College of Education to shape the development of urban teacher education. While the CHAT model was useful, in terms of this research I wanted to find a way to represent the historical research as a contextual element not just a mediating point. Context is better understood as the material that surrounds an activity system. The figure below depicts how I think this research could be better represented.

Figure 11: CHAT including Historical Context



The figure above shows how this entire activity system, made up of different activities, is surrounded and influenced by the historical context in which it resides. The historical influence is important to consider when exploring an activity system.

There were other avenues I could have explored to examine a teacher education program working towards an “urban” change. In order to critique the effectiveness of CHAT, I examined research that used a different framework for a similar project. Marilyn Cochran-Smith (2004) reconceptualizes teacher education specifically to address the needs of diverse populations in, *Walking the Road: Race, Diversity, and Social Justice in Teacher Education*. The term most often used in the book is multicultural teacher education. The examples provided throughout the book include several teacher education programs with an urban focus. In the last chapter of the book, Cochran-Smith

presented a framework for “understanding and sorting out the multiple meanings of concepts related to multicultural issues and social justice in teacher education” (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 140).

The conceptual framework presented was posed as a series of seven questions. The answers to these questions are mediated by institutional, community, and regulatory forces which are nested within larger social and historical contexts. Cochran-Smith stated, “In order to understand the multiple meanings of multicultural teacher education, it is necessary to unpack the answers to these questions, analyze the external forces that influence them, and identify the larger contexts and political agendas to which they are attached” (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p.141). Even without details regarding the eight questions, one can easily see the surface similarities between this framework and CHAT; the most obvious is the importance of external forces and the exploration of the larger contexts.

The eight questions provided by Cochran-Smith (2004) are: (a) the diversity question, (b) the ideology question, (c) the knowledge question, (d) the teacher learning question, (e) the practice question, (f) the outcome question, (g) the selection question, and (h) the coherence question. These questions are presented in a circle, with coherence placed in the middle. The table below describes each of the questions in detail.

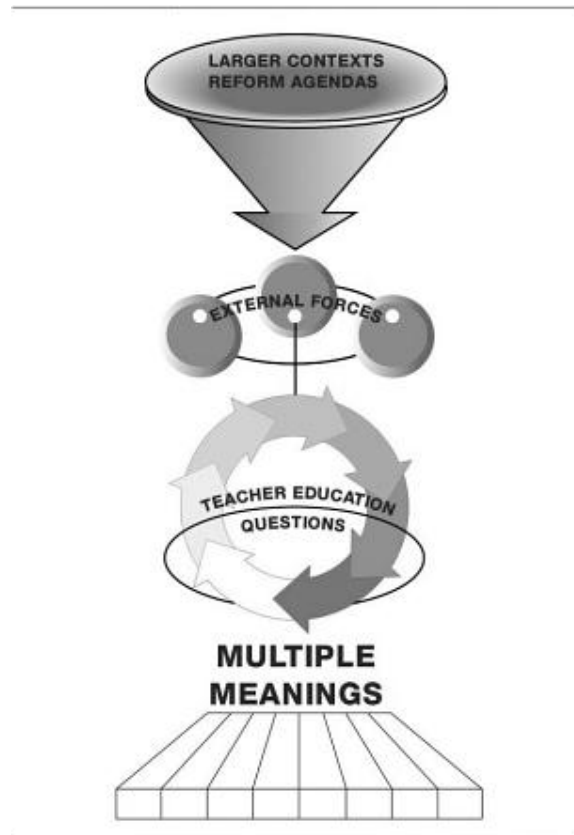
Table 6: Eight Key Questions

Question #	Detail
1 (Diversity)	How should the increasingly diverse student population in US schools be understood as a challenge or “problem” for teacher education, and what are the desirable solutions?

Question #	Detail
2 (Ideology)	What is the purpose of schooling, what is the role of public education in a democratic society, and what historically has been the role of schooling in maintaining or changing the economic and social structure of society?
3 (Knowledge)	What knowledge, interpretive frameworks, beliefs, and attitudes are necessary to teach diverse populations effectively?
4 (Teacher Learning)	How do teachers learn to teach diverse populations, and what in particular are the pedagogies of teacher preparation?
5 (Practice)	What are the competencies and pedagogical skills teachers need to teach diverse populations effectively?
6 (Outcomes)	What should the consequences or outcomes of teacher preparation be, and how, by whom, and for what purposes should these outcomes be assessed?
7 (Recruitment)	What candidates should be recruited and selected for America's teaching force?
8 (Coherence)	To what degree are the answers to the first seven questions connected to and coherent with one another, in particular policies and programs?

This framework is to be used to examine teacher preparation approaches by answering these questions and exploring the external forces. Cochran-Smith (2004) also describes the framework as being a potential tool for analyzing research centered on multicultural education. The importance of this framework is the ability to “see not simply that there are deep complexities and multiple meanings involved in understanding multicultural teacher education, but also at what critical junctures the major differences and similarities exist as well as what aspects are emphasized and ignored ” (Cochran-Smith, p. 154). The diagram below is a representation of the framework it its entirety.

Figure 12: Multiple Meanings of Multicultural Teacher Education: A Conceptual Framework (Cochran-Smith, 2004 p.140)



While this framework is similar to Cultural Historical Activity Theory in the sense that it includes the outside forces, highlights the complexities, and values the larger context, there are also major differences. Cochran-Smith's framework is specific to teacher education programs while activity theory can be applied in many different settings, activities, and contexts. There are advantages and disadvantages to both frameworks. Cochran-Smith's framework provides a relevant and specific framework to teacher education programs for exploring multicultural teacher education. A concern about the questions is the inadvertent framing of diversity as an issue or a problem. This is an avenue from which newer urban education is trying to refrain, and offering that as

the first question to explore seems to set the tone for the rest of the analysis. When considering using this framework for the current research, it seems the process is premature for the Bloomsberg University College of Education. The framework appears to be better suited for a program that has been in operation for a longer period of time. However, many of the questions provided in the framework would be great discussion starters and points to consider as the faculty members at the College of Education continue to explore the multiple meanings of urban.

The CHAT framework was better suited for this particular study because it was focused on a process and how that process was being influenced. It would be interesting to return to the College of Education in 2015, after it has spent five years working to establish an urban teacher education program, using Cochran-Smith's framework to analyze what is happening.

Researcher Role

Another consideration is the role of the researcher. While every researcher comes to projects with different amounts of prior knowledge either about the setting or the subject under study, her role is a significant part of every study (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Within this study, I have a unique position. I am familiar with both the university and the area. I lived in Bloomsberg for twenty-eight years and attended graduate school at BU. I brought the history of both of these experiences to my research. My experiences shaped my expectations. It is evident through my conclusions and the research that I am optimistic about the work being done at the College of Education at Bloomsberg University. I was excited to be a part of this project because during my studies at the College of Education, I felt a focus on the educational context had been missing. I was

hopeful that through this change process, pre-service and practicing teachers would receive what I had not. For the most, part it did seem that there was more of a focus on diversity, and in some courses a focus on structural inequality and injustice. I still remain hopeful as the College of Education continues through this process of change.

During the second year of the case study, it was brought to my attention that urban education was no longer the targeted focus of the College of Education: that global education was the “new” focus. I immediately assumed that global education was a competing force with urban education and that this signified the end of the urban education reform efforts. My skepticism lingered as I began to interview participants. It was through the interviews that I began to realize that my bias about global and urban education was interfering with the interview process. I had to reframe my own understandings in order to be receptive to the data. Even with this self reflection, all of my skepticism is not lost.

I continue to be skeptical about the Bloomsberg County School system and the approach the system has taken in regards to urban education. The differentiated curriculum for suburban and inner city schools is blatantly inequitable; the current resegregation of schools is problematic, and the continued glorification of a world class urban school system does not seem fitting.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLICATIONS

This chapter is going to explore the implications this research has for the College of Education at the University of Bloomberg, for teacher education programs facing change, for urban education broadly, and for myself as a teacher educator.

When I began this project there was a great deal of energy at BU surrounding the goal of better meeting the needs of the urban community through urban teacher education. The book club had formed an action plan, created a committee, and received financial and administrative support for their ideas. Enthusiasm was exuding from the urban committee as their ideas and planning began to come to fruition. The planning was centered on the all day faculty development event at a local history museum. As evidenced through the data this event did not go well. After this event the group enthusiasm began to wane, and the following year discussions took place, but nothing was planned or organized.

It seems the College of Education is currently in a lull when it comes to this change process, and while a lull in activity may allow for reflection and strategic planning, it can also create a space that allows the energy of a movement to escape. The change process is most likely not going to continue, at least not from the initial urban committee. While this is a typical pattern in institutional change, it is unfortunate because many people did expend energy and thought in this process. There was potential for rich faculty engagement.

The unique element of this change process was that it was categorized both as top down and bottom up. With the recognition that the university was going to be known as an urban university, interested faculty members took the opportunity to develop a grassroots or bottoms up approach to the change effort. This is what has ultimately stalled and probably will not be resurrected, while the top down mandates are still in process.

In reality the College of Education did not have a choice in regard to becoming an urban focused organization because the university had adopted and promoted this agenda. Some of the responses showing reluctance to engage with understandings of urban education may respond to the fact that the majority of faculty members were not authors of this change process. While there was energy from within the College of Education to change, there have also been mandates and pressure to comply with the agenda of the greater university. As much as faculty members tried to own the change process and give it more salience in their daily work, the work of the university continues. The university will become nominally “urban” but what actual change in practice will occur is unknown. It is difficult to wed a large institutional agenda to the processes of daily work. A top-down mandate put in place to create a point of view or adhere to a regulation is not unique to the College of Education at Bloomsberg University.

Teacher education programs are struggling as a result of current attacks from conservative groups, and many colleges of education find themselves looking for justification. This justification may be associated with the development of a unique identity. I recently took a job as an Assistant Professor at a large teacher producing university in the southeastern part of the United States. While the context and population of BU and my place of employment vary, the messages I have heard over the last eight

months are the same: we must be known for something. The Dean at my current institution has remarked:

We have the opportunity to fulfill a unique niche in teacher education by providing a relevant teacher education program for the immediate future. In order to survive the current climate surrounding teacher education, this program has to be known for something. The something that we choose must be marketed across the state and the nation. We have to focus our programs on how schools are going to be in four years. If we teach the way schools are now, we are producing teachers who are already out of date. If we produce teachers for how schools should be, we are setting them up for failure. We must create a vision and a niche to stay relevant.

In becoming urban, the College of Education at Bloomsberg University is a few steps ahead in terms of the development of its identity as an urban teacher education program. No matter where a university/program is in the process, however, the themes surrounding the ideas are similar—development of a unique identity, marketing, and the administrative shift in higher education.

This administrative shift was alluded to in the ideological tension formed between the older and newer faculty members. Older faculty members remembered the university twenty years ago and felt there was true faculty governance and that they were the authors of their own work. Currently many faculty members felt that their input would not be valued because the administrative and larger institutional bodies had more influence. This administrative focus and authoritarian rule is not only becoming more prevalent in higher education, the same is true in the K-12 education realm. I left teaching six years ago because I was no longer the authority in my classroom. I was told what to teach, how to teach, and when to teach. My experience is not uncommon in today's public schools. Current accountability regimes and a call for national standards are all pushing towards a more administratively driven environment.

There is an inherent danger in this form of a change process. Change that develops from faculty members reflecting and considering their work as teacher educators is very different from change in response to external mandates and administrative pressure. It seems that teacher education programs are acceding to these attacks by constantly changing to meet administrative demands. When the faculty members are responding to external mandates, they relinquish a sense of their own specificity and focus, thus being more vulnerable to external critique. Responsible to state legislatures and public school communities, teacher education faculties work in a dense and complex political environment, and are challenged to find opportunities where they can become the authors of their work with students and communities. This study has helped to show that change is not easy; colleges of education and universities are steeped in the cultural and historical contexts in which they reside. It is interesting to note that an examination of the cultural and historical contexts of this urban project was confined within this research. The participants in the study and the urban committee never engaged the history of the area. Conversations around their own institution's cultural and historical position might have made significant contributions to the change process.

It seems the College of Education has an opportunity to redefine the work it does to include the populations surrounding them, the ones that were traditionally described as rural areas but are becoming more closely aligned with understandings of urban education. Being situated among both rural and urban populations the College of Education might need another way of naming its interest in educating a diverse population of students. While the choice of using urban as a descriptor was influenced by

the need to distinguish itself from other campuses, the terms is so burdened with deficit notions and geographic understanding that it is too difficult for a faculty to embrace it.

This research has implications for the field of urban education, a field that has been changing and evolving since its inception. Given current trends in data and geographic understandings the focus of urban education will need to continue to shift and grow. Newer urban education focuses on using K-12 students' current cultural backgrounds as places to celebrate and extend. New urban education may be relevant for more students than just those found in traditional urban environments. A curriculum that celebrates and extends a student's cultural background seems no less relevant for students in rural areas who also have strong cultural connections, particularly to their communities.

This research has also highlighted the difficulty in defining what urban education is and what it isn't. It would be beneficial to develop a shared understanding of what urban education is, or if it is no longer as salient a category as it once was perhaps it is time to consider urban education as quality education for all students. The research centered on "90, 90, 90 schools" (Reeves, 2003)⁴⁴ seems to be focusing more on the quality of the education than the deficit nature most popularly associated with urban education.

This study has implications beyond the College of Education at BU, as well. The research conducted has potential relevance for all teacher education programs in the process of change or considering change. Establishing a clear goal and analyzing the

⁴⁴ The 90, 90, 90 schools are schools where 90% of students are minority, qualify for free and reduced lunch, and average a 90% success rate on standardized test.

influencing tensions would be a worthwhile endeavor for all programs undergoing a process of change. Understanding the underlying contexts of the institution, community, and school system was an integral part of this study. If the history of the institution, the community, and the school system were not considered, it would be more difficult to understand the context in which each institution is currently operating. Every context we operate in or research has its own unique characteristics. It would be powerful for teacher educators considering change to begin with the exploration of their universities' unique context and how it shapes the work they do.

This research also has implications for me as a teacher educator. When I began my doctoral program I also associated urban education with high concentrations of poverty and diversity. I based this on my experience teaching at an inner city school in Bloomsberg. Throughout graduate school, I expanded my understanding of urban education through reflecting critically about structural inequalities and issues of equity. After conducting this research, I began to question again whether urban was as salient a characteristic as I once thought. I was influenced both by the research and by my experience recently relocating to rural, western Georgia where I have had the experience of visiting schools, observing communities, and interacting with teachers and administrators. The challenges schools are facing here are very similar to the challenges found and discussed around urban education. Of course there are structural differences between rural and urban areas, particularly in terms of access: there are typically fewer resources and programs available in rural areas compared to urban. However, the diversity is great, poverty is present, and structural inequalities exist.

It seems to me that urban education tolerates poor instruction, because the understanding is that urban students are somehow deficient and need static curriculum: a curriculum focused on direct instruction, skill and drill activities, and distinct separate subject areas. In terms of in the Bloomsberg County School district, there are different expectations for the academic programs based on whether a school is located in the inner city or in the suburban areas. I believe that poor children are not longer served by the term urban education and that educators should focus on quality education for all students in a variety of contexts.

At this moment Bloomsberg University is not yet a research extensive university and not yet an urban institution; it does not really fit well into either category. The position of the university is represented by this tension between the ambitions of being a research extensive university with a scholarly discourse that has national reference and at the same time to be a resource for the local community. The College of Education has an opportunity to construct something new by blending a national research agenda with a real continuing relationship with the communities where its faculty members live and work which include urban, rural, and suburban areas.

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT LIST

Participant Number	Pseudonym	Gender	Years at BU	Representative Group
1	Barton Vaughn	Male	3	Administrator
2	Doyle Armstrong	Male	13	Administrator
3	Lester Dean	Male	32	Faculty
4	Luis Schultz	Male	14	Administrator
5	Alana Castaneda	Female	14	Faculty
6	James Rush	Male	20	Faculty
7	Barry Monroe	Male	4	Faculty
8	Mark Nicholson	Male	2	Faculty
9	Jerold Powers	Male	8	Faculty
10	John Davis	Male	21	Book Club
11	Renee Bowen	Female	5	Faculty
12	Matthew Curry	Male	6	Faculty
13	Amanda Michael	Female	10	Faculty
14	Stewart Bentley	Male	27	Book Club
15	Roland Wright	Male	7	Committee Member
16	Catalina Dorsey	Female	1	Faculty
17	Kristina Page	Female	22	Faculty
18	Roslyn McLeod	Female	4	Faculty
19	Nancy Hall	Female	28	Administrator
20				
	Robert Rosales	Male	6	Committee Member
21	Lori Smith	Female	16	Administrator
22				University
	Leland Johnson	Male	33	Representative
23	Eugene Hill	Male	9	Committee Member
24				
	Jonas Mattie Hess	Male	13	Administrator
25	Isaac Lawrence	Male	4	Book Club
26				University
	Trina Branch	Female	6.5	Representative
27	Dolly Mullins	Female	6	Committee Member
28				University
	Ashley Porter	Female	2	Representative

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction: I am Lara Willox, a doctoral student at UNC Chapel Hill conducting my dissertation research. [Review and sign the consent form.]

Purpose of Interview: As you may already know, I'm interested in the process of institutional change, and in addition to observations, I am also conducting interviews to learn more about how individuals involved in this process understand it, what it has been like, and what challenges and opportunities they see. Nothing that you share with me will be reported back to anyone in the College of Education. Let me start by asking you a little about your own background.

Background:

Tell me a little about yourself.

Where are you from? Where did you grow up?

Can you tell me about your professional path to BU?

Before I talk to you more about your position here at Bloomsberg University, **how would you define an urban university?**

Tell me about your position here.

How long have you been in this position?

How long have you been at BU?

What changes have you seen in the university since you have been here?

Why did you initially choose BU?

What do you teach?

What are your research interests?

Climate:

How would you describe the culture within the College of Education?

How do you think that developed?

Urban Project:

Tell me what you know about the urban education project in the College of Education and how you have been involved.

Who initiated the project?

How are you involved in the project?

What is the goal of the urban education project?

How would you personally describe urban education?

What is the faculty response?

Were people receptive or resistant / critical? How so?

What is the student response?

What changes do you expect as a result of this project?

Have you changed any of your practices as a result of the project?

Which ones? Explain.

What does it mean to you?

How are your views similar to or different from others in your department or the college?

I have noticed a global focus since the urban project was started. What connections do you see between urban and global education?

How do you feel about the shift?

Faculty Development:

Did you attend either of the faculty development seminars? (Last March related to urban education or this February related to global education.)

If no, why didn't you attend?

What did you hear about it?

If yes, what did you think about the seminar?

As a result of the seminar, will you change anything about your courses?

What specifically do you plan to incorporate?

Have you attended any other events aimed at incorporating urban perspectives in the College of Education?

If yes, tell me about it.

Community Connections

Tell me about the universities' relationship with the community?

Bloomsberg County Schools?

How has the community been involved with the urban project?

Do you think this project will benefit the urban community?

How so? Why not?

Closing:

Thank you for talking with me today. Do you have any suggestions of other faculty members who I should interview? Is there anything else you would like to tell me? Do you have any questions for me? I appreciate your willingness to meet with me. Feel free to contact me if you have additional insights or questions. (Give them my card.)

APPENDIX C: BOOK CLUB PROPOSAL

Proposal Based on Discussion by the Faculty Book Club

Context:

- 1) As we begin to celebrate the 50th anniversary of major civil rights events, schools are re-segregating.
- 2) Many teacher candidates have experienced, and can be expected to experience, segregated educations.
- 3) Such students are unprepared for teaching in urban schools.
- 4) While most teacher candidates express an interest in teaching in suburban schools, many will find themselves working in urban schools at some point in their careers.
- 5) The College of Education program (except for those in the Urban Education doctoral program) provides only brief and sporadic exposure to issues of race, ethnicity, and social class.
- 6) Our students deserve better preparation, especially from a College that claims to specialize in urban education.
- 7) Urban students deserve teachers, counselors, and administrators who are better prepared.
- 8) Non-urban students, more than ever, need to learn about issues of race, ethnicity, and social class.
- 9) Our society needs to address these issues.
- 10) As the major urban university in the state, it is incumbent on [Bloomsberg University] to create a model for urban education in the re-segregating South.
- 11) Research in multi-cultural education has shown that isolated courses or field placements are insufficient, and may actually do harm as they reinforce stereotypes.
- 12) Issues of race, ethnicity, and social class are relevant in most education courses.
- 13) While our College has several faculty members who are qualified to teach about race, ethnicity, and social class, the overall faculty requires additional educational experiences.
- 14) There are several acclaimed programs throughout the nation, including the [Bloomsberg] community, which bring people together to discuss race, ethnicity, and social class.

Proposal:

- 1) The College of Education will embark on a multi-year effort to advance our faculty's knowledge and skill in urban education.
- 2) The goal will be the infusion of urban education principles and skills throughout our panoply of programs.
- 3) The project would include reading assignments, film, and, especially, reflective discussion led by expert facilitators.

- 4) The College of Education will seek financial support to implement this program from the university's administration, from grants, and from donors.
- 5) The College will invite graduate students, local educators, counselors, and community members, particularly people of color, to participate, thus providing multiple perspectives.

Benefits:

- 1) This program will raise the stature of [Bloomsberg University] as a leader in urban education.
- 2) The implementation of this program will communicate our College's commitment to urban education to the community, prospective faculty, and, especially, prospective teachers.
- 3) Minority professors will be attracted to [Bloomsberg University].
- 4) Minority professors will stay at [Bloomsberg University].
- 5) Successful infusion of urban education principles and skills will result in better-qualified teachers, administrators, and counselors.
- 6) The teacher shortage will be partially addressed when publicity about the program begins to attract minority students to teaching careers.
- 7) The high turnover rate for professionals in urban schools will be abated with an increase in educators who are well prepared for their responsibilities.
- 8) The community will cherish the role of the university in addressing its needs.

APPENDIX D: SEMINAR SURVEY RESULTS

Survey Results **Exploring Urban Constructs as an Educational Concept**

Seminar Evaluation
March 20, 2009

45 COMPLETED SURVEYS

INSTRUCTIONS

Please circle your response to the items. Rate aspects of the workshop on a 1 to 5 scale: 1=Strongly disagree 2=Disagree 3=Neither agree nor disagree 4=Agree 5=Strongly agree N/A=Not applicable

SEMINAR CONTENT

Average Score

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1. This workshop lived up to my expectations. | 3.37 |
| 2. The content is relevant to my job. | 4.2 |

Comments: However the content was not clearly + practically presented

SEMINAR DESIGN

- | | |
|--|------|
| 3. The workshop objectives were clear to me. | 3.52 |
| 4. The workshop activities stimulated my learning. | 3.45 |

Comment: (1) I gained an interest in thinking more about the concepts, but did not gain a great deal of actual learning (2) Not enough discussion. Too much passive listening

SEMINAR INSTRUCTOR (FACILITATOR)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| 5. The instructor was well prepared. | 4.06 |
| 6. The instructor was helpful. | 3.9 |

SEMINAR RESULTS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 7. I will be able to use what I learned in this | |
|---|--|

workshop.

3.6

Comment: I hope I can follow up + learn more on my own that I will be able to use

SELF-PACED DELIVERY

8. How would you improve this workshop? (Check all that apply.)

17 Provide better information before the workshop.

1111111111111111

16 Clarify the workshop objectives.1111111111111111

13 Reduce the content covered in the workshop. 11111111111111

5 Increase the content covered in the workshop.11111

4 Update the content covered in the workshop. 1111

12 Improve the instructional methods. 111111111111

6 Make workshop activities more stimulating. 111111

11 Improve workshop organization. 11111111111

0 Make the workshop less difficult.

2 Make the workshop more difficult.11

COMMENTS:

DON'T WORRY TOO MUCH ABOUT THE TIME

AS A GROUP OF EDUCATORS, THIS PRESENTATION WAS A BIT
GENERIC. IN THE FUTURE, PLEASE RE-THINK YOUR AUDIENCE. MORE
DEPTH + LESS BREADTH IS APPROPRIATE

ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINISM WAS DISCREDITED LONG TIME
AGO. MANY OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS PRESENTED ARE TOO
GENERALIZED TO BE USEFUL TO AN AUDIENCE WHO ALREADY HAVE
BEEN ENGAGED IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION.

BE MORE CLEAR IN CONTENT PRESENTED, DEFINE AND STICK TO
OBJECTIVES. THE CONTENT PRESENTED IN TRAINING OUTLINE
LOOKS GREAT AND I WAS LOOKING FORWARD TO HEARING IT.
ALTHOUGH WE WERE HERE ALMOST 6 HRS, VERY LITTLE OF THE
SPECIFIC CONTENT WAS PRESENTED/DISCUSSED.

MORE DEPTH

THIS WORKSHOP WAS POORLY DEVELOPED IN TERMS OF THE MATCH BETWEEN AUDIENCE NEEDS AND PRESENTATION CONTENT / LEVEL. NOT A GOOD USE OF OUR TIME.

THIS WAS MORE OF A BRAINSTORMING DAY RATHER THAN PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT!

THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN. WONDERFUL SEMINAR!!

WE NEED FACILITATION NOT TEACHING

REDUCE THE SCOPE TO A VERY SPECIFIC CONCEPT / CONSTRUCT

WE ARE SMART PEOPLE – WE COULD DO THIS WITHOUT PAYING CONSULTANTS THE QUESTIONS WE DISCUSSED AT THE END SHOULD HAVE BEEN THE WORK OF THE DAY. MORE FOCUS ON THE URBAN PART, NOT AS MUCH ON DIVERSITY PERSE. MOST OF US ARE WELL-SCHOOLED IN DIVERSITY ISSUES. I WOULD HAVE LIKED TO FOCUS MORE ON WHAT URBAN MEANS TO CHARLOTTE AND UNCC AND OUR MISSION. PRETTY MUCH A WASTED DAY

MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF TIME (WORKING LUNCH OR LESS ACTIVITIES THAT DO NOT PRODUCE AN OUTCOME)

REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF SIDE, PERSONAL STORIES. PRESENTER STARTED W/TOPIC AT LEVEL THAT WAS TOO BROAD, NOT ENOUGH TIME TO WORK ON THE SPECIFIC LEVEL. REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF GROUPS THAT PRESENT MAYBE BY HAVING GROUPS WITH THE SAME TOPICS JOIN FOR 1 PRESENTATION.

DISCUSSIONS FELT RUSHED MAYBE EACH GROUP DOES NOT NEED TO SHARE

IMPROVE THE INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS -MORE ACTIVE

WE COULD HAVE WORKED THROUGH LUNCH. THANK-YOU! THERE ARE THINGS I WILL USE IN MY CLASSROOM IMMEDIATELY.

APPENDIX E: FACULTY DEVELOPMENT PRE-READING

URBAN, URBAN EDUCATION, & URBAN TEACHERS

The dictionary definition of *urban* is simply "a term pertaining to a city or town." In everyday parlance the term is used frequently to distinguish something from the terms *rural*, *small town*, *suburban*, or *ex-urban*. These objective size and density definitions, however, do not convey the range of meanings intended or received when the term is most commonly used. Perceptions of urban areas differ widely. Rooted in the early history of the United States and illustrated in the writings of Alexander Hamilton is a vision of the urban setting as one that fosters freedoms. This perception defines cities as places of refuge and opportunity, a vision widely accepted in many countries. Also rooted in America's history, as illustrated in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, is the opposing perception of urban as dysfunctional and the cause of many societal problems.

<http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2524/Urban-Education.html>

URBAN SCHOOL TEACHERS

Establishing and maintaining reasonable learning expectations and conditions are often challenging propositions in urban classrooms. Several reasons exist for the challenges of managing urban classrooms. First, as Crosby (1999) suggested, "The new wave of immigrants of the past 25 years from Hispanic countries, from the Middle East, and from Asian countries has washed over the urban schools like a tidal wave bringing with it additional challenges, this time cultural and linguistic" (p. 104). Classroom management in urban schools is more difficult than in rural or suburban schools because gaining students' cooperation while ensuring their learning involves addressing students' cultural, ethnic, social, identity development, language, and safety needs, as well as their academic growth. This is a considerable responsibility if not an impossibility. Second,

although many of these personal growth issues should be handled at home, the responsibilities fall on teachers when the resources and time are not forthcoming from urban youths' caretakers. Finally, the challenges for teachers are increased due to their inadequate knowledge of the strategies needed to connect to diverse students. As Crosby indicated, a high percentage of urban teachers will be and are inexperienced middleclass White European Americans:

"The teacher turnover rate in urban schools is much higher than in the suburban school.... The result is that urban schools, especially those in the inner cities, are often staffed largely by newly hired or uncertified teachers. These teachers, who were trained to teach students from middle-class families and who often come from middle-class families themselves, now find themselves engulfed by minority students, immigrants, and other students from low-income families—students whose values and experiences are very different from their own. (p.302)"
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0NQM/is_4_42/ai_111506823

Teaching is a difficult job at any school, in any district. However, the urban teacher's job is most difficult due to a variety of challenging circumstances, which are often beyond his or her control. In most cases, urban teachers are unprepared for their first year of teaching. Many teacher education programs focus on philosophies and theories, but rarely teach practical, day-to-day procedures needed to successfully manage an urban classroom.

The truth is that urban teachers need specialized training, particularly in the area of classroom management. First and second year urban teachers start their careers in schools where classrooms are overcrowded, supplies are insufficient, and support is lacking. As a result, many teachers become overwhelmed, find it impossible to teach, and too often resign. This situation is far too common, and has resulted in a mass teacher shortage.

<http://www.geocities.com/urbanteacher/>

URBAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

The greatest challenge to urban school leadership is the inability to focus everything and everyone on the primary purpose of the organization — to educate the children. From the school board through the superintendent, through

administrators, teachers and every employee in supporting roles, the job is to educate the children.

To instill this focus, the leader has to get followers to see, understand and work to put the children first. Forces of governance, politics, unions, historical practices and change all vie to shift the focus of the organization. No one means to relegate children to second, third, or lower on the priority chart, but it happens too frequently in school districts and especially in urban districts.

<http://www.aasa.org/publications/saarticledetailtest.cfm?ItemNumber=8842>

URBAN SCHOOL COUNSELORS

Professional school counselors working in urban schools must promote academic, career, and personal-social development against the backdrop of environmental issues that by degree are often more challenging than they are in suburban or rural educational settings. Although attention has been focused on rural school counseling in recent years (Hines, 2002; Morrisette, 1997, 2000), school counseling practice in an urban context has tended to be overlooked.

http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_mOKOC/is_3_8/ai_n10301211

Advocacy as a Critical Role for Urban School Counselors: Working toward Equity and Social Justice [Bemak, Fred](#); [Chung, Rita Chi-Ying](#)

The academic achievement gap of students of color and low-income students as compared to middle and upper socioeconomic students and White students has been clearly documented. Historically the long-standing role of the school counselor has contributed to the status quo of these inequities, inadvertently maintaining educational and social disparities. This has been reflected in school counselors' training, role or job descriptions, and actual practice. This article explores the need for a change of the school counselor's role to incorporate advocacy as a key component in decreasing the achievement gap and fostering social justice and equity for all students. Challenges in being an advocate are discussed along with recommendations for school counselors.

http://eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/custom/portlets/recordDetails/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=EJ710400&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=EJ710400

Books

Diller, J. & Moule, J. (2005) Cultural competence: A primer for educators. Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth.

Banks, J. (2004). Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass

Gay, G. (2003). Becoming multicultural educators: Personal journey toward professional agency. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass

Darling-Hammond, L. & Banksford, J. (2005). Preparing teachers for a changing world: What teachers should learn and be able to do. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Ryan, J. (2006). Inclusive leadership. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Marzano, R., Waters, T., & McNulty, B. (2005). School leadership that works: From research to results. Alexandria, VA: ASCD

Urban Universities

University of Illinois at Chicago

New York University

Temple University

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

University of Cincinnati

City University of New York

Columbia University

University of South Florida

John Hopkins University

Boston College

University of California Los Angeles

Virginia Commonwealth University

Bloomsberg University???

APPENDIX F: STRATEGIC GOALS 2010-2015

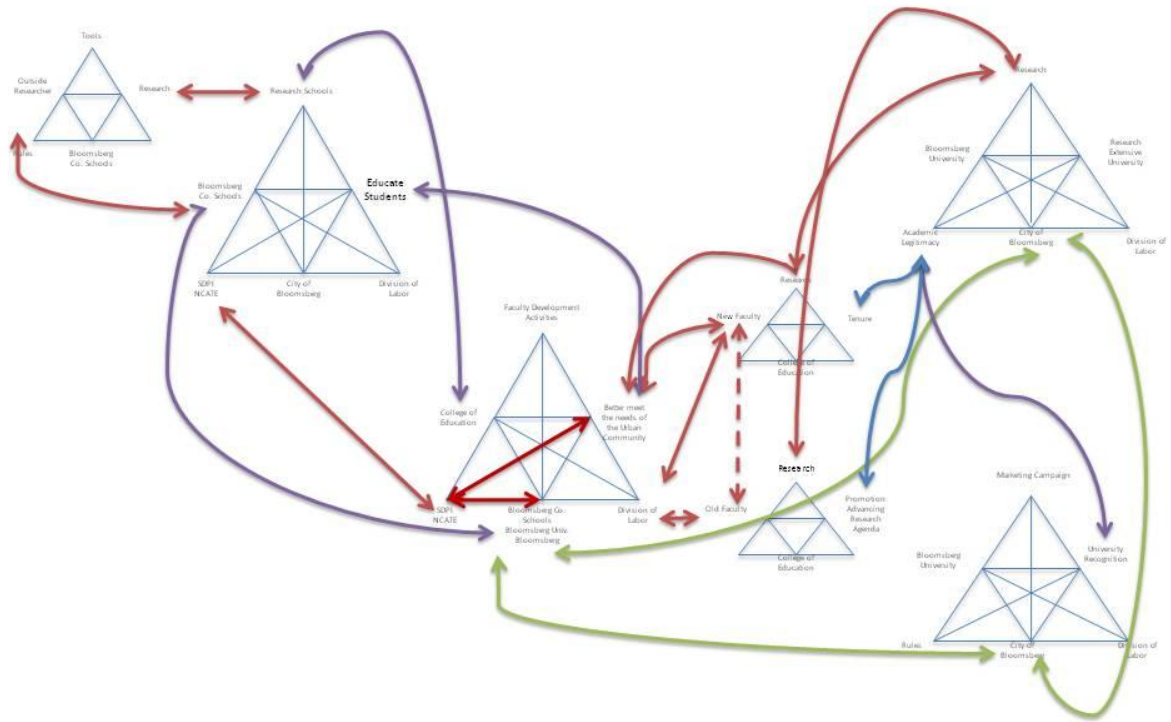
C. Summary of major goals in strategic plan:

1. The College of Education will graduate highly effective and ethical 21st century professionals - child and family development professionals, teachers, school leaders, and counselors – who will have a positive impact on children, youth, families, communities and schools and who will be successful in urban and other high need settings.
2. The College of Education will achieve a distinguished record of research that benefits children, youth, families, communities, schools and the broader education community.
3. The College of Education will strengthen effective partnerships with schools, communities and alumni.
4. The College of Education will promote appreciation of and experience with human diversity and will enumerate and measure its benefits.
5. The College of Education will support the success of candidates through innovative programming and delivery, technology integration, excellent advising and academic services, and enrichment activities.
6. The College of Education will support the success of faculty and staff through career development opportunities, mentoring, and access to supportive infrastructure.
7. The College of Education will receive external validation of its work and its impact through accreditation reviews and increased recognition of its expertise and resources.

8. The College of Education will enhance the global awareness of faculty and students and prepare graduates for our globally interconnected world.
9. The College of Education will secure the resources needed to strengthen the mission of the College and will honor the College's 40th Anniversary.

APPENDIX G: NESTED ACTIVITY SYSTEM

Figure 13: Nested Activity Systems



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