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ABSTRACT

For five years graduate students in the Oakland Project of the University of California at Berkeley have been working at jobs in the city of Oakland while continuing their studies. This paper describes the Oakland Project and seeks to extract from it considerations important to the design of any university-city relationship. In the Oakland Project, job-holding students were candidates for the Ph.D. degree in political science and contemplated teaching careers. City jobs provided useful vantage points for student study; at the same time, students rendered modest assistance to the city. The project provided a valuable learning experience that the students are using in their scholarship and teaching. A critical point affecting the utility of the city job experience, both for the student and the city, appeared to be the provision by the city of trained employees to whom the students could have ready access, and who had time to provide guidance and to help channel and absorb student output. (Author/HS)

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AN IMPRESSION OF "THE OAKLAND PROJECT"
Considerations Important to the design of Projects Linking Universities and City Government

Francis D. Fisher

107-26 February, 1972

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THE URBAN INSTITUTE
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ABSTRACT

For five years graduate students in the Oakland Project of the University of California at Berkeley have been working at jobs in the City of Oakland while continuing their studies. This paper describes the Oakland Project and seeks to extract from it considerations important to the design of any university--city relationship.

Such projects will vary in the emphasis given to three different objectives: *scholarly research, social service to the city, and the education of the participating students.* According to the different weight given those objectives, there will be variances in project design in such factors as the selection of students, the characteristics of the city jobs, the subject matter of research and the assignment of administrative responsibility.

In the Oakland Project, job-holding students were candidates for the Ph.D. degree in political science and contemplated teaching careers; their dissertations were directed in the first instance to a scholarly audience. City jobs provided useful vantage points for student study; at the same time, students rendered modest assistance to the city. The project provided a valuable learning experience which the students are already using in their scholarship and teaching.

This pattern suggests the differences which would characterize arrangements with other emphases: for instance, one employing students with public administrative career plans and where research on the job was of a more applied nature.

A critical point affecting the utility of the city job experience, both for the student and the city, appeared to be the provision by the city of city employees to whom the students could have ready access, and who had time to provide guidance and to help channel and absorb student output.

FOREWORD

In recent years, the federal government, notably the Department of Housing and Urban Development, has been interested in improving the use of academic research resources in solving the problems of the cities. City governments and citizens need new and better knowledge to help them use their other available resources to the greatest effect in remedying their problems. The federal government wishes to promote that end.

In addition, the federal government and its advisors need to know more about the workings of cities if new federal policies are to have their desired effects. This means, in particular, understanding local processes used to implement national policies.

As major pools of intellectual resources often located in or near cities, universities could make significant contributions to these needs. So far, however, effectiveness in this role has not been great.

From its inception The Urban Institute has shared these interests with the federal government. The Institute has tried to discover ways of improving the interaction of the university research community with city problems and operations.

Analysis of the problem shows that both policy makers and university researchers are acting logically within the framework of their respective reward systems:

> *Local political leaders and administrators are rewarded for visible results in a political context on a relatively short time scale. The results must be either physically*

> *visible, or made palpable in simple terms, and valued by a wide cross section of the public.*
>
> *Academic researchers are rewarded--in terms of peer recognition, promotion and tenure--on the basis of a very different sort of visible results: publication at an acceptable rate in selected discipline-oriented journals, read by few, sometimes only by their peers. Their time scale is long, their language technical and often esoteric.*
>
> *Accordingly, action and policy people and researchers have: 1) different time scales, 2) different value structures and 3) no common vocabulary.*

As a consequence, while many policy makers know they need more and better knowledge, they are deeply skeptical of those whose business it is to find or create it. And, there is not a large body of research to point to that has been valuable to policy makers.

At the same time, the work that researchers would have to do to address the concerns of action and policy people would not, in general, result in good research papers in the accepted sense. Therefore, there continues to be little tactical field knowledge, particularly, of implementation processes, in the research community. Only changing the reward systems of scholars and practitioners can alter this situation.

As it stands, only those problems that are sufficiently defined as discrete jobs that can be "taken away" and worked on can be tackled with real hope of satisfaction to either policy maker or researcher. These must nearly always be of a "how to" nature, assuming it has been decided what is to be done. They are nearly always technological because that is where limited common vocabularies most often tend to exist. But the more important underlying economic and social questions, many of which still need definition, can seldom usefully be addressed by this batch process. There is too much requirement for continuing interaction between policy makers and researchers, and no common language for it.

To promote more effective coupling, it is necessary to find, or invent, mechanisms capable of making long-term association of researchers and operators acceptable; and to develop some common language capable of accommodating the other's opposing time scales and value structures. The Institute therefore looked for linkage models that might perform that function. The Oakland Project is the most promising one found.

The Oakland Project has been in operation since 1967. The first complete cycle under its design concept was essentially completed during 1971 with the publication, or manuscript availability, of seven books by professors or graduate students in the first group to be incorporated in the project. It is therefore timely to evaluate the performance of the project as a linkage model. The Department of Housing and Urban Development is considering questions of how it should pursue its objectives with respect to university urban research in the future. An evaluation of this model can provide important inputs to this consideration.

This assessment by Francis D. Fisher not only provides information about the Oakland Project itself, how it functioned, who benefitted, but also fits those observations into a broader model for understanding university-city arrangements. It identifies those key elements in such arrangements that are required for viability; and also those that can be maneuvered to produce one form of output or immediate benefit rather than another.

Joseph H. Lewis, Director
Urban Governance Program
The Urban Institute

Washington, D. C.
February 1972

INTRODUCTION

How can universities simultaneously help cities solve their problems, gain new knowledge, and contribute to the education of students? Across the country, various programs of "applied research" or "clinical education" are being explored to answer this question -- bringing members of the university together with municipal leaders. The Oakland Project is one such program.

The Oakland Project, under the direction of Dean Aaron Wildavsky, is a work-study program in Oakland, California. Twenty-five political science graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley have participated in it since 1966. Ten doctoral candidates held part-time jobs with the city, generally as special assistants to key city officials such as the mayor and chief of police, for periods of up to two years while continuing their education. Their dissertations have been based directly on their study of Oakland. At the same time, the other twelve to fifteen students studied the budget-resource allocation processes of various municipal departments. Seminars were held every week or two for all the Project student and faculty participants; information resulting from the Project was used in teaching at the university; and Project activities eased access to the city for other students and faculty.

At the center of the Oakland Project is Dean Wildavsky himself, who has devoted a large part of his seemingly limitless energy to counselling, criticism and encouragement of the participants.

Since 1966, the program has received about $300,000 in outside financing from The Urban Institute and NASA mainly to fund student stipends and maintain the Project office. (The evolution of the Oakland Project from the NASA financed Technology and Urban Management Project is discussed in the appendix.) However, funding reductions in the last two years have decreased the Project's activity and aborted plans to place one or more full-time policy analysts in the city government. In addition to improving policy analysis in the Oakland government, this unit would have helped city government use the working students and the suggestions of the budget-resource allocation

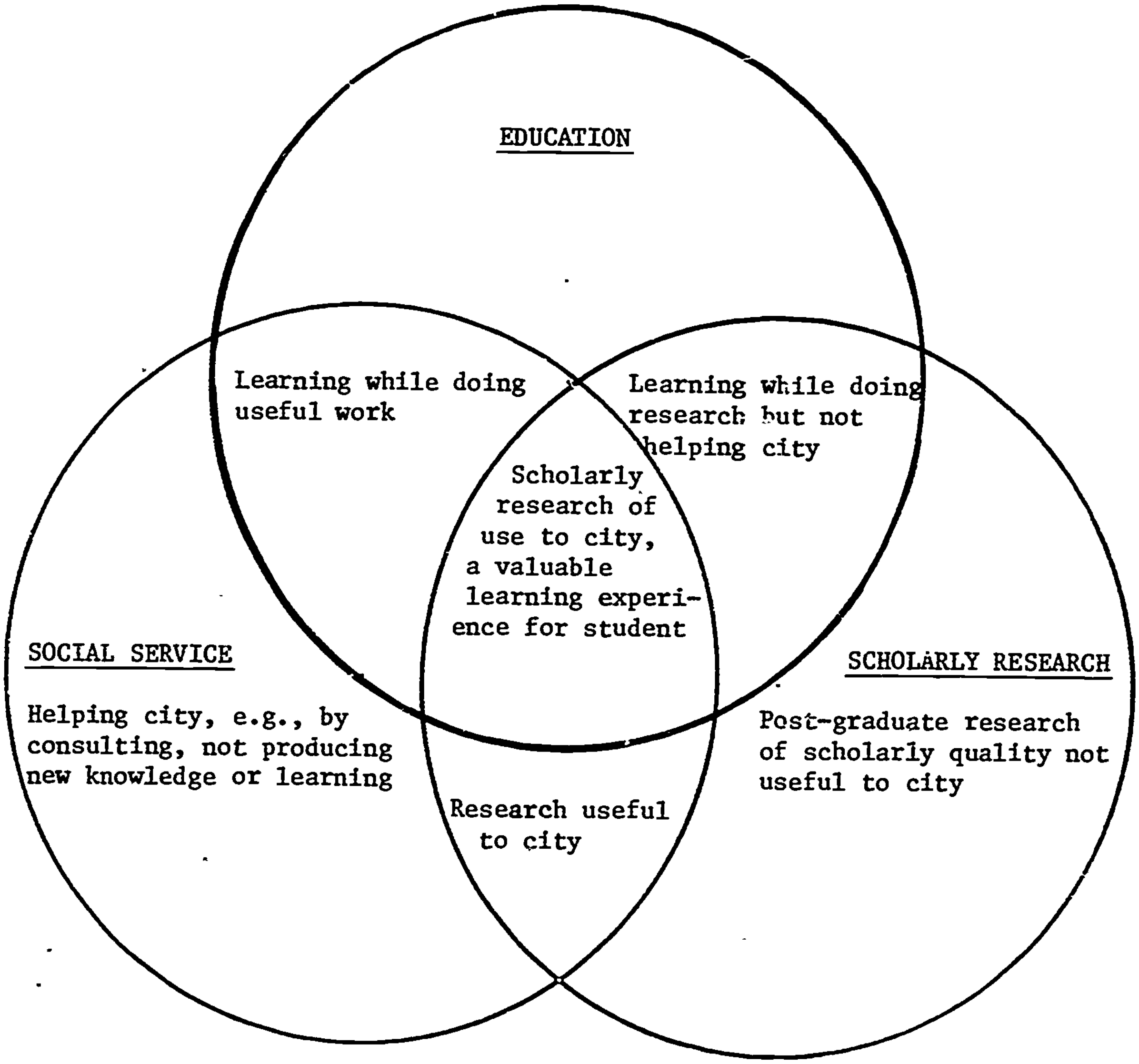
A university-city effort like the Oakland Project has three principal foci of activity:

Scholarly Research: the production of new knowledge

Social Service: direct help to the city

Education: the training of university students

University-city efforts will vary according to which objective is emphasized. There is certainly no "correct" model. The main problem in designing such a program is estimating the various outcomes resulting from the different activity combinations. This is illustrated schematically in the following diagram:


EDUCATION
Learning while doing useful work
Learning while doing research but not helping city
Scholarly research of use to city, a valuable learning experience for student
SOCIAL SERVICE
Helping city, e.g., by consulting, not producing new knowledge or learning
SCHOLARLY RESEARCH
Post-graduate research of scholarly quality not useful to city
Research useful to city

Ideally, a joint university-city effort attempts to achieve the benefits of overlapping objectives. Designing such a program, however, inevitably involves emphasizing one of the objectives over the others. Consider some of the results of various emphases. If research is designed for immediate city utility, it may not contribute new knowledge to the scholarly community. Research designed for the scholarly community, on the other hand, may not be useful to the city. Education may emphasize training academicians or future problem solvers. Social service to the city may come from day-to-day student job activity or the student's research.

The interrelationships of social service, education, and scholarly research in the Oakland Project are examined here to show one way of organizing a joint university-city effort. The aim of this discussion is to suggest useful considerations for any city, university, or funding source interested in structuring similar efforts.

No attempt is made to measure the success of the Oakland Project, or compare it in any thorough manner to alternative ways of assisting the city. What is presented here is an impressionistic view of the Oakland Project by a hopefully unbiased observer. This view is based on three weeks of interviews with participating students, faculty familiar with the Project, and city officials. A scholar might decline to comment from such a weak base; a bureaucrat is emboldened by knowledge that most multimillion dollar judgments are based on less.

SOCIAL SERVICE--HELP TO THE CITY

It would be possible to design a project in which there was no day-to-day work other than research. This is the pattern of activity established by those Oakland Project students who conducted the budget and resource allocation studies. Or students could hold city jobs that consisted of nothing but research activity. In either case the utility of student efforts to the city would flow exclusively from the scholarly writing.

In distinction, the job-holding students in the Oakland Project generally held jobs which were useful in and of themselves. While not consisting of research, the jobs provided a learning experience and the opportunity to collect material valuable for later scholarly writing.

In weighing the job experience, therefore, it is important to remember that immediate utility to the city is just one of the purposes of a job. In fact, in the Oakland Project, jobs were primarily designed to provide opportunities for learning and scholarship.

The value of the scholarly writings to the city, to academia, and to others is discussed in a later section on scholarly research and the learning experience is discussed in the education section. In the following, the student jobs are briefly described and considered only from the limited point of view of their immediate utility to the city.

The Jobs

Nine students and one professor held jobs in the city. Three held, in succession, a job as special assistant to the mayor. One assisted the city manager and his finance director in the role of a general financial counselor. Others served as special assistants to the chief of police, the director of personnel, the assistant city manager, the superintendent of schools, and the school budget officer. One student assisted the black community of West Oakland.

Position(s): City Manager/Finance Director
Student(s) assisting: Arnold Meltsner

Meltsner served as a general finance advisor to top city leadership. One large project undertaken in this capacity was the preparation of a Financial Capability Study, a projection of Oakland's expenditures and revenues for 5 years which proposed additional taxes to help bridge the gap. The preparation of the study injected some realistic thinking into city departments, causing them to look at finance from a city-wide perspective. One of the several proposed taxes, the Utilities Consumption Tax, was adopted and now produces over three million dollars annually. Meltsner advised on accounting procedures and helped persuade the city to hire a statistical services officer. He also promoted some standard improvements in program priority budgeting and fiscal reform which have not yet gotten off the ground.

It is the view of the city manager and the finance director that Arnold Meltsner's financial counselling was helpful. He exerted a constant pressure on the city to take longer views and not to accept as unalterable some of the apparent limitations on the possible. He was a "mature devil's advocate," "a good needler," "a catalyst," and "a strong member of the team who made a hell of a contribution ... forcing us to do things more rapidly than we might have."

Position(s): The Mayor
Student(s) assisting: Jeffrey Pressman, Jay Starling
William Lunch

In the strong city manager government of Oakland the part-time mayor has a small office with one assistant and several secretaries. The addition of an Oakland Project student to help the mayor's assistant with the day-to-day tasks was felt to be an important addition, provided someone to talk over issues with, prepare the mayor for council meetings, draft speeches and letters.

While the main job of running the city lay outside the mayor's province (an assistant to the mayor dealt with the Administration of the city only by diplomatic intercourse with the city manager) the Charter gave the mayor special responsibilities for intergovernmental relationships. These included the programs of federal assistance to poverty and labor training. Reaching out for authority in these areas and negotiating with federal agencies were important activities of the mayor and his Oakland Project helpers. A recent unsuccessful effort at Charter revision to provide for a full-time mayor actively involved Lunch, the current student assistant.

Pressman's single largest task was the preparation of a list of all federal programs aiding Oakland, a formidable task in the days before any federal listing, and one in which the mayor took much pride. (Federal financial support of an integration project in the schools resulted under a program discovered in this process.)

The mayor's own involvement in his office was greatest at the outset of his career, about the time the Oakland Project started. Since then his private business and a sense of resignation over not gaining a larger mayoral role has led to a reduction of his civic activity and less involvement with the students.

Position(s): Chief of Police
Director of Personnel
Assistant City Manager

Student(s) assisting: Win Crowther,[1] David Wentworth
Frank Thompson

In contrast to the mayor's office, the personnel and police departments are large organizations. The busy chief executives of these offices tended to use the Oakland Project students for preparing special studies rather than integrating them into daily operations. Wentworth did studies on the police personnel section, the need for a third police radio channel, and aided a computer analysis of police beat and crime location patterns. Thompson conducted two surveys of city agency executive attitudes towards civil service procedures and administration. For the city manager, he studied overtime practices and the use of private automobiles for official business, canvassing the whole city government. The collection of the data about different city practices provided a useful base for future action. Though the city manager and his assistant expressed gratitude, it was impossible to trace the recommendations of these students into adopted practice. Reports seemed to have slipped below the surface without causing ripples. In each case the student never received a reaction to his efforts and was unconscious of any follow-up. The city-assigned tasks did not consume all the time these students made available for their jobs, which was spent largely on the student's own research.

Position(s): Superintendent of Schools

Student(s) assisting: Jesse McCorry

During his first period of work in schools, while awaiting the appointment of a new superintendent, McCorry received little direction. During his last year, a new superintendent was appointed who was previously acquainted with McCorry, and who recognized in him an experienced fellow black with easy rapport in the community. McCorry became an active personal assistant to the superintendent who regards his help as valuable. McCorry participates in the innermost councils of the school system, including those dealing with delicate personnel issues; trouble shoots for the superintendent; and is a source of general knowledge about what is going on in the city. By extremely hard work and long hours he also pursues his studies on resource allocation in the school system.

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[1] Little is known about Crowther's job as neither the former chief of police nor Crowther were available for interview.

Position(s): School Budget Office
Oakland Project Member assisting: Prof. Frank Levy

Professor Levy, while not funded by the Oakland Project, is for all practical purposes a Project participant. He worked 2 days a week in the Oakland schools as a teacher's aide and 2 days a week in the school Budget Office, projecting expenditures and income, and helping apply state aid distribution formulae. His own view of his usefulness in the budget office is that he provided free manpower and did worthwhile work. The job was what he intended, a good vantage point for his own observations on school finance.

Position(s): Community Leadership in West Oakland
Black Community

Student(s) assisting: Judith May

While not a "job" in the same sense as those held by other students, Judith May's involvement in the West Oakland black community had the important qualities of long term helpfulness. While she was not working for the formal city government, she was assisting partially institutionalized structures dealing with city social problems. An important segment of the city felt that her work helped them by translating perceptions of city government and issues into useable tactical material to gain recognition for themselves and their problems.

Paul Cobb, the leader of the Black Caucus, valued May's work highly. Cobb was persuaded to join the Oakland Project as a graduate student for several terms and points to it as one of the factors in his decision to run for the City Council of Oakland in the spring of 1971. (He was not elected.)

Judith May also arranged for Professor Levy to provide, through his economics students, direct consulting to the West Oakland Planning Committee.

Of all the students in their job roles, Meltsner probably had the most positive effect on the city. The students in the mayor's office were helpful in the mayor's early efforts to build up his role in the city government. One wonders how significant that effort was; it has not succeeded. Of course, a job in the mayor's office may provide a valuable perspective on city politics and may be a good spot to place students, even though it does not provide the best opportunity for attacking city problems. Wentworth and Thompson never seem to have become involved in their city departments enough to make a significant contribution. McCorry, through special circumstances, is valuable to his old acquaintance, the superintendent of schools; Judith May, in her quasi-job with community groups, may have had the greatest helpful output of all, though measuring it is impossible.

All in all, the contribution of the job-holding students to helping Oakland solve its problems was a modest one. Clearly if immediate utility to the city had been the central purpose of the Project, such long-term, high quality manpower might be expected to accomplish more. To be sure, this is a rough judgment which does not consider higher and lower individual contributions. It fails to take into account subtle, long-run beneficial influences on city leadership. It emphasizes that the value of the Oakland Project is to be found predominantly in the training it provided, and the scholarly writings based on the job experiences--important results which are discussed separately.

While it is difficult to estimate student contribution to effective work on city problems, a review of Oakland Project jobs does suggest some of the factors that seem to affect a student's usefulness in his job.

Skill and Experience

City jobs for students can be designed for skilled persons, returning to graduate school after years of experience, or for intelligent, inexperienced students. In the Oakland Project, skill and experience accounted for much of Meltsner's and McCorry's helpfulness to their city "bosses." Meltsner, older than most graduate students, was an experienced policy analyst who had worked for years at the RAND Corporation. McCorry had worked for several years both for the Washington, D. C. CAP agency and for Upward Bound.

The superintendent of schools holds strong views on the need for experience in students working in the school system. He wanted experienced people would could immediately make a contribution. He told the University of California School of Education that students who work in the schools from now on must fit in with the school system objectives. Experience is particularly important, he said in "the high risk areas of administration near the top, where you need someone who can take hold and contribute; and whom you do not have to wet nurse." [2]

When questioned on their feelings about student capability in general, city officials did not so much note lack of skill, as lack of basic knowledge of city government. The city manager said, "You should not have to explain to them how a council manager form of government works." The city planner commented that the old, practical courses must have been dropped in favor of more abstract subjects. "They don't seem to know much about cities."

It is not clear that the Oakland Project students in fact lacked this general orientation to city government, but if so, it would seem to be something that could be picked up rather quickly on the job.

The absence of professional skills is something that one expects in graduate students. But graduate students in political science are an extremely intelligent and able group. On the whole, and even though direct utility was not the Project's main goal, it is surprising that the students' talents were not used more fully by the city.

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[2] It is interesting that one of the successful untrained student assistants in the Police Department of Oakland is the son of the school superintendent. The police chief holds views exactly opposite to the superintendent's, believing that bright unskilled students can be useful. Even if not immediately useful, he feels it is important for the city to provide the learning experience of a city job.

Personality and Interest

Though not requiring special skills, the students' jobs did require broad intelligence and ability in interpersonal relations (the stock in trade of what is coming to be termed "the generalist"). The student's job success seems to have been significantly influenced by his personality and personal interests. This was clearly in Dean Wildavsky's mind as he recruited for the Project.

In the tricky job of establishing rapport with the mayor, Pressman's personality and his interest in politics helped account for success. Judith May, although white, was able to become accepted by the leadership of the black community. In the Police Department, with its hierarchy and social distance, Wentworth was identified understandably as a representative of the chief. He is not a bluff, hail-fellow-well-met type, and experienced some difficulty in gaining acceptance down the line as "one of the boys."

Luck

It was chance that Meltsner arrived at the same time as a new city manager who had just lost his finance director. It was chance that McCorry and Superintendent Foster had known each other from Upward Bound. The new mayor, although a Republican, was prepared to use an activist Democrat as a special assistant; May established rapport in West Oakland before Black Power attitudes became commonplace. But if there had not been these chances, there would have been others, and what seems valuable in the design of the Oakland Project was that it was flexible enough to take advantage of opportunity.

Thesis versus Job

The preparation of a good dissertation is such a dominant preoccupation of Ph.D. candidates that it was surprising not to discover more of a time conflict for job-holding students. It appears that those students not fully occupied by "the job" used their time for working on courses and the dissertation. This was more in default of city chores than by stealing time from the job.

The Importance of the Jobs Themselves

Some suggest that the principal problem of Oakland is overthrowing the status quo. Subscribers to this view feel the Oakland Project, which predominantly deals with "the system," cannot make a significant contribution. Short of agreeing with this, it might be noted that some major problems of Oakland were hardly touched by the Project: the economy of the city, its port activity, and the related problems of unemployment and tax base. But the work of the small number of Oakland Project students, of course, could not be directed at all the major problems of the city. Students were located in important offices and were not restricted to oiling present procedures. They struggled with issues of institutionalized change: program budgeting, mayoral power, redistribution of public goods to the disadvantaged, property taxation. For the most part the students' jobs were sufficiently fertile for potential significance.

A question might be raised about the importance of the mayor's office in which three students worked. Those who worked there tended to feel it should be the hub of the city. But it is not, and the voters, in turning down full-time status for the mayor, seem to continue to feel it should not be. Recently the mayor obtained the right through federal law and state action to control the labor training and poverty programs. It was clear that the mayor could not direct them, but that they would have to be run as part of the city government by the city manager. Mayoral operation, says the mayor's former assistant, was "all a big dream."

Receiving Capability of City

The most important factor affecting the students' work appeared to be the capacity of the city to use them, rather than their potential usefulness. A busy city official can efficiently use a skilled person on a part-time basis. He can use an intelligent special assistant on a long-term full-time basis. But it is harder to use a bright part-time person because the busy officer cannot afford to reorganize his own time to mesh with the occasional availability of a part-time helper. Hence, all too often the part-time helper is given "a project" and forgotten. He does not routinely come to the attention of the officer, receives little supervision and belonging to no one tends to be somewhat lost in the organization.

When there is someone in the job situation for the student to "plug into" he may be much more effective. The full-time assistant to the mayor was such a person for the three students who worked there.

The assistant was accessible, provided guidance to the students, assigned and reviewed work, and served as a link between the students and the mayor.

The Oakland Project recognized how useful it would be to have a full-time city official concerned with policy analysis and proposed that at least one such person be hired and paid for out of Project funds. In addition to demonstrating to the city the value of professional policy analysts, he would provide guidance to student analytical studies and increase the prospects for their useful implementation by the city. One potential analyst was interviewed for such a job, but funding restrictions unfortunately prevented fulfillment of what appears to be a promising idea.

A striking demonstration of the value such a person can have was found in the Police Department of Oakland in a program in no way related to the Oakland Project. For 2 1/2 years, funded through the University of California at Davis (presumably with a federal or Ford Foundation grant), a lawyer, Linda Moody, has been working as special assistant to Chief Charles R. Gain. During the last year nine students of the University of California at Berkeley were working under her direction in the Police Department each averaging over two days a week.

The students were recruited from Moody's suggestion that Professor Muir announce to his class that the Police Department could use some workers. From those who responded, others learned of the opportunity. These students and their jobs for the year 1970-71 are as follows:

Student	Job
Senior undergraduate going to law school in fall 1971	Work on landlord-tenant activity of police, investigating facts and preparing letters for chief.
Undergraduate	Cautioning landlords of possible illegal coercion of tenants.
2 undergraduates	Work on misdemeanor citation program, using traffic ticket procedures instead of arrestc for certain misdemeanors. Their "top notch" study has led the department to pay them.
Undergraduate going to graduate School of Criminology in fall 71	Work in violence prevention. Now paid out of an NIH grant.
Law school student	Work on citation procedures, preparing a law review article on subject.
2 undergraduates	Preparing a rough draft pamphlet for violence prevention unit.
Undergraduate	A willing worker to whose personality policemen did not take.

In addition, during summer 1971, a third-year law student at the University of Wisconsin, financed by the Ford Foundation, researched several legal questions of concern to the chief: parade permit ordinance constitutionality, "exclusionary rule" and police conduct, and hand-gun control law possibilities.

That these students, mostly undergraduates and initially unpaid, appeared to be more productive to the city in their day-to-day jobs than most Oakland Project members seems largely due to Moody.

She spends about 2 hours a day supervising the students, and provides a link between them and the Police Department, an especially delicate role in view of initial suspicions on both sides. For the most part, the students associated with Moody seem remarkably excited about their work and have a sense of learning by doing. Several of the students received university credit for their work. Chief Gain hopes shortly to be able to add Moody to his permanent staff.

Alternative Ways of Assisting The City

The city manager, perhaps because of the NASA origins of the Oakland Project, feels its primary purpose should be to aid the city. He felt he could have gotten more help than the Project provided if he had had the money used to finance the program.

This ignores the other objectives the Project sought to achieve. It also obscures the substantial manpower, perhaps the equivalent of four man-years, made available to the city on the part of the job-holding graduate students.

Without debating whether the city got a manpower bargain in the Project students, it would be interesting to investigate alternative forms of comparable assistance without regard to education or research objectives.

Full-time staff

The students who worked in the mayor's office did work similar to the mayor's regular full-time assistant. But the mayor does not feel a second full-time city-paid assistant is warranted; the mayor's assistant himself described his Oakland Project help as a "Christmas present, something you very much enjoy but would not buy yourself." The superintendent of schools said that, much as he valued McCorry, he could not afford to have a generalist special assistant.

The city manager felt that the only place there were analytical skills resembling those of the students was in the Finance Office. He said he and the deputy city manager had no management analysis capability because their two assistants were totally involved with daily urban operations. A sergeant in the Research and Development Division of the Police Department does studies similar to those assigned to Wentworth. Thompson's studies could have been done by the Finance Office analysts, but the personnel director commented that he simply had "no money for in-house analytical skills; everyone was taken up with the day-to-day stuff."

Dean Wildavsky believes that if the plans to place full-time analysts in city jobs had been realized, the city might have eventually recognized their value and paid for them. This coincides with the view of the directors of the Urban Government Assistance Program of the State University of New York at Buffalo. The SUNY-Buffalo program plans to place full-time technical and management personnel, initially supported by outside funds, in the City of Buffalo. It is hoped that eventually the city will value this assistance and assume the cost.

Outside Consultants

Several of the city officials recognized the advantages of the students' outside point of view; particularly when dealing with a subject where a permanent employee might feel that honest criticism would jeopardize his future Yet the financial stringency of the city is generally felt to preclude hiring professional consultants. The city manager said, "We can't afford them. Moreover, they lack the necessary knowledge of the community." In the past, various federally funded consultancy contracts for Oakland appear to confirm the city manager's view that their expense outweighs their benefits.

The Police Department gets considerable consulting help, largely from university professors paid for by various grants. To keep up with technological developments, the Fire Department relies on ideas from the National Board of Underwriters and the National Fire Protection Association.

For simple financial reasons, full-time employment of consultants is not an alternative to the kind of graduate student assistance provided by the Oakland Project. Graduate students can be made available for much less than their worth because they are sacrificing for their own education. When full-time workers and consultants learn on the job, society calls it "experience" for which they are expected to be paid. In the case of graduate students, on the other hand, the learning is termed "education" for which the students are expected to pay. As long as this distinction prevails, cities and others who offer a learning situation can, if they are imaginative enough, get social service from students at a bargain.

SCHOLARLY RESEARCH

Written Output of Scholarly Research

A most important product of the Oakland Project is scholarly writings. A list of 75 papers by participants is attached as an appendix to this study. These include material which will be incorporated into dissertations as well as the budget-resource allocation studies. Most of the writing is not in final form, however, and judgment on it must be reserved. Judgments on the scholarly quality of the papers, moreover, should be made by scholars. The discussion here is therefore limited and premature. Eight doctoral dissertations are expected from the job-holding students based on their Oakland experience. One dissertation, that of Arnold Meltsner, has already been published as a book: The Politics of City Revenue, the University of California Press, 1971.

The budget and resource allocation studies, undertaken by students who did not hold jobs in Oakland, also represent a substantial effort. The studies involved numerous interviews, review of correspondence and documents, and explanations of the Oakland city government allocation process.

Studies have been done on the following subjects:

Department of Human Resources
Department of Streets and Engineering
City Planning Department
Library
Finance Department
Auditor Controller (on procurement of EDP)
Bond Election Success*

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*Not supported by Oakland Project funds.

EDA in Oakland
Statistical Study of Overtime Budget Items
Poll of Citizen Attitudes Toward Oakland
County Hospital - A Study of Customer Satisfaction

The University of California Press will soon publish material from the student papers as part of a second volume of a series of books on Oakland. The book's proposed table of contents is in the appendix.

Scholarly Evaluation of Written Output

Perhaps the most authoritative independent judgment of the dissertations in preparation is that of Professor Robert P. Biller. While not a participant in the Oakland Project, he served on the dissertation committees of six of the Project students, and is familiar with the work of the other doctoral candidates. Professor Biller found scholarship "first rate," commenting that most dissertations are "too objective, the students do not risk anything. The Oakland Project papers are better; they show more original thinking."

On the other hand, Professor Todd LaPorte, also a close observer of the Oakland Project, comments on the difficulty of "participant observation" as a basis of research unless a student enters the situation with an hypothesis worthy of testing. Propositions which are developed later from the mass of observations, he feels, often have little theoretical value.

Some of the students also worried about whether their work was theoretical enough. Descriptive material seems to dominate papers treating such subjects as how a mayor behaves, what a deputy police chief does when he presents a division commander's budget recommendations to the chief, and how school principals are selected. However, Professor Wildavsky feels that careful description of what really happens is necessary, both for sound abstraction and wise policy guidance, since so much of the Oakland Project scholarship concerns decision theory.

The scholastic qualities of the Project papers can really only be judged when the papers are completed. But there is so little political science literature and so little scholarly research done on the working of city governments, that the Oakland Project materials can make an important contribution to filling the void.

The Value of Scholarly Output to City Officials

The research for dissertations and the resource allocation studies were not specifically directed to the city but to a scholarly audience. Yet most students, concerned about real city problems, wanted their papers also to reach and affect city officials.

But the audiences are different. Busy government officials rarely read long books or long articles. Careful description of what goes on in city governments may lay necessary foundations for academic conclusions, but the men in city government probably already know a lot of what is described. A scholar does not have to propose answers to the problems that he analyzes. When he does, the answers will not be expressed with regard for the urgency felt by the daily decision-maker whose longest projection is until the next election and who is more often concerned with "what do we do next Tuesday?" Furthermore, an academic audience is accustomed to special language, which at best is necessary to convey ideas not yet well known and at worst is jargon, foreign to the public official.

One student planned to put his math and quantified material in footnotes; another tried to keep in mind "what my grandmother can understand." Viewing his book as potential reading for both his peers and city officials, Professor Meltsner said, "I think I bridged it, but I wonder when I catch the vocabulary changing." And the vocabulary does change. "Environment, search, decision actors, salience, subsystem, disjunction" are not words which communicate with a general readership.

Although written for an academic audience, some of the dissertation material has been read by Oakland officials. The city manager "skimmed" Meltsner's thesis. It emphasized the fiscal constraints under which Oakland budgeting took place and suggested that municipal leaders might be underestimating potential public support for raising the property tax. The manager did not agree with the latter point.

The mayor read Pressman's discussion of mayoral power and said, "It was a good analysis of the relationship between mayor and council."

The chief of police found Wentworth's paper on the budget process in the Police Department helpful in understanding different criteria subordinate officers use in preparing budget suggestions. He said it also alerted him to the danger of letting his own attitudes about personalities bias budget decisions.

Though, in their early drafts, the dissertations and budget and resource studies were aimed at an academic audience, it was expected that in a second phase of the Oakland Project these scholarly analyses of past and present procedures would be the basis for specific suggestions to improve city practices. Due to funding difficulty the second phase has not been fully realized. Some of this "translation" into city terms may take place when the revised studies are published as part of the second Oakland book. Material to be published will include information on who benefits from school expenditures, street construction and repair, and library services. The studies may well arouse considerable interest among the citizenry of Oakland.

The evolution of practical suggestions may prove difficult when undertaken years after the initial data were collected and where there was not city participation in the study and no present city job-holder with a specific interest in supporting such suggestions.

The Problems of Overgeneralizing from One City

It is hazardous to make generalizations about cities based on experience in a single city. Oakland Project students suggested that there were common features, unlike New York or Chicago, in "California cities with city-manager, nonpartisan, Chamber of Commerce-flavored governments." The superintendent of schools believes that knowledge of any central city school system today is highly transferable.

Though Project students believed that they were balancing their Oakland experiences with such phrases as "with what I see and hear," "with my activist friends in other cities," and "other Oakland-like cities," it is likely that there is substantial overgeneralization. An example of this is that students who worked in the mayor's office tended to ascribe characteristics of Oakland government to the strong city manager form of government when they had little knowledge of other strong city manager cities.

In general, however, scholarly output on city government has been too abstract, with inadequate basis in carefully collected observations. Where specific information has been collected, it tends to be documentary, or the results of counting in elections or census. Careful descriptions of what happens and how people actually perform are badly needed.

The faculty of the Oakland Project feel that any over-generalizations will be subject to rapid correction from scholars with knowledge of other communities.

The Problem of Confidentiality

A lesser problem is involved in the decision to disclose or protect confidential information. Students often felt compromised, in discussions with each other or in preparing a paper, when in order to protect a source or a city agency they withheld information that would have been important to other students, or to the development of an idea. This problem is common to much academic field work, but is especially prominent where the subject matter includes hot political issues.

On the whole, the Oakland Project students seem to have handled this difficulty well, balancing revelation with loyalty to the job. Examining the large accumulation of material from the Project, and talking with city officials, it is impressive that so much scholarly work was done on inside information, without making candid officials feel their trust had been misplaced.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE

Besides providing social service and scholarly research, the Oakland Project educated its participants. This seems to be the most valuable result of the Project, a judgment confirmed by the students themselves.

"It is foremost a learning experience, the value is to the students."

"The training output is the big pay off. A lot more graduate students should get this kind of experience. It modifies the artificiality of the classroom, introduces reality."

"I learned an immense amount from working in Oakland, how decisions actually get made."

"I learned plenty. The reality input was good. It gave me a capacity to look at other scholarly propositions and say 'wait a minute, that's just not going to work'."

"A great teaching and educational experience."

"My view that the city was being screwed gave way to the truth of general muddle."

"I've learned how people get things out of people."

"I did not quite believe that city officials spurned power, but they do."

(Two students, however, felt that written academic output was the most important result.)

It is difficult to discover the precise dimension and character of what was learned on the job, but the strong impression is that students gained an increased understanding of the limitations and workings of a real city government. Outsiders tend to believe the government can solve all problems, falling short only because the men who run it are incompetent or evil-minded. Simple faith in government is expressed in the phrase "why doesn't the government do something about it?", disdain in the phrases "the system," and "bureaucracy."

As a result of their work experience, the Oakland Project students gained a truer view. They discovered that the majority of bureaucrats are capable people; that many social problems remain unsolved, not through malevolence or incompetence, but simply because the solutions are not known.

Most importantly they began to sense the relations between the people who work in government and the results of government. It seems that only from working alongside city employees is it possible to understand their attitudes, prejudices, incentives--those determinants of individual behavior which in turn so often explains government behavior.

The importance of personal experience in understanding how government works is not always recognized by those who have not experienced it. One professor of political science, when asked if he had ever worked in government, replied, "No, but I come from a very political family."

Use of Oakland Project Materials and Participants in Teaching

The educational impact of the Project is not restricted to its participants. Students quickly passed on their Project experience by teaching in regular faculty courses, or by giving courses of their own based on Oakland experiences. Arnold Meltsner and Jeffrey Pressman were assistants to Dean Wildavsky who has three times taught a year-long course on Oakland's policy problems. This course featured guest appearances by political and government leaders in Oakland. Each student in the course was required to write a major research paper based on field work in Oakland often profiting from the advice of Oakland Project participants. Professor Muir, a political science professor not part of the Project, based an introductory course in American Politics on Project student interviews of residents of particular city blocks in Oakland.

Judith May, while at Berkeley, taught a course on "Politics and Urban Poverty." Jeffrey Pressman with Professor Biller taught a course on "City Politics and Public Administration." Pressman also taught courses on "Urban Politics" and "Politics of Urban Leadership," a field study of Martinez, California, which borrowed heavily from the Oakland Project for design and comparative examples. David Wentworth taught a course on "Public Bureaucracy and Democratic Society," focusing on the Police Department of Oakland. Frank Thompson taught in the introductory political science course.

Some 50 student papers are on file in the Project office having to do with Oakland and written by undergraduates, mostly for courses in which Oakland Project students assisted in one way or another. A list of these papers appears in the appendix.

Political Science Versus Public Administration

A city-university project can be designed to educate future teachers, or future government operators. If it is training teachers, is it assumed that their teaching will in turn produce manpower for government?

All of the job-holding graduate students in the Oakland Project anticipated university teaching careers.

Arnold Meltsner became an associate professor at the University of California at Berkeley teaching in the School of Public Policy; Judith May an assistant professor of political science at the University of California at Davis; the fall of 1971 Jeffrey Pressman started teaching political science at Dartmouth College and directing student field work in Boston.

Less is known about the plans of the students who worked on the budget and resource allocation studies. Most of them are teaching, or want to teach; one wants to work in government.

Most of the job-holding participants would like to combine their teaching with direct government work or consulting. But no adequate model for such careers is perceived. Professor Biller feels that the students' future participation in government will be greater than they expect, and largely as a result of their Oakland experience.

Certainly the Oakland experience is valuable for a would-be scholar, but it could also provide professional training possibilities. The mayor of Oakland and others wondered why no one was included who was planning to pursue a career in government.

There is an increasing demand for professional competence in government; at the same time, there is a reduction in the demand for teaching Ph.D.'s. These trends, along with student demands for more relevance between study and action, suggest that the Oakland Project pattern of using teaching-oriented job-holders will not be widely copied. It is likely that even in the Oakland Project there will be greater emphasis in the future on using the city experience for educating students whose career goals are professional rather than academic.

ALTERNATIVE UNIVERSITY-CITY STRUCTURES

Applied Research Emphasis: The Urban Observatory Program

Problems in designing a university-city project that emphasizes the production of useful urban research is illustrated by comparing the Oakland Project with the Urban Observatory program. (A limited view of the latter program was obtained on a visit to Milwaukee, and in discussion with Dr. Laurence Williams, Staff Director of the Urban Observatory Program at the National League of Cities.) With less of an educational objective than the Oakland Project, the Observatory program is designed to conduct research in the narrow area where there is both a scholarly interest and a potentially useful application to city problems.

The principal difficulty in the program is to find areas where university-city interests coincide. The director in Milwaukee spends considerable time explaining to faculty why their proposed projects will not have much value to the city. At the same time, most city officials do not think in research terms; they "just got problems."

Like the Oakland Project, the Observatory program also lacks a place for the university to plug into the city. A full-time project director helps bridge some of this gap, but interest and city capacity for using research is not always available. The problem of city interest and participation is especially acute when the idea for an investigation does not originate with the city as is the case when all ten Observatories undertake "network" research to obtain comparable data on a particular problem.

The Urban Observatory program is being evaluated which will provide additional information to those considering university-city arrangements.

Professional Training Emphasis: School of Public Policy (Berkeley)
SUNY -- Buffalo, New York

At Berkeley there seems a surprising amount of faith that training scholars will eventually produce better government. Yet it is not clear that the things a student learns while gaining his Ph.D., are the same things he must teach an undergraduate to help him become a good government operator. At the University of California at Berkeley, a School of Public Policy (nee Public Affairs) is now being established which emphasizes "actual policy problems and the processes associated with defining policy issues, analyzing policy alternatives, gaining policy adoption, implementing new policy effects."

The School's professional master's degree program is designed to prepare people to "assume roles as producers of analytical studies in public policy" and for "roles in which systematic analysis will be applied in policy planning and implementation."

With more professional training emphasis, the Oakland Project would be a natural laboratory for such a school. The City of Oakland might gain a great deal from such an arrangement while providing important opportunities for the school's students.

Another joint project is the Urban Government Assistance Program of the State University of New York at Buffalo. The SUNY-Buffalo relationship emphasizes the use of city jobs to train professionals.

In the 1970-71 school year, the School of Social Policy at SUNY-Buffalo placed several students in departments of the city of Buffalo to assist in preparing new budget information. This operation is expected to expand to nine students who would work in the city full time for one year unlike the generally longer but part-time jobs held by participants in the Oakland Project.

The program design strongly emphasizes the professional training aspects of the experience. A professional career for the students is assumed both by the students and the cooperating faculty. Research and dissertation writing will not be part of the job experience. The Oakland Project's Dean Wildavsky feels that without the self-interest of a dissertation, it may be difficult for a student to maintain interest in such a long-term project. Perhaps for a professional student though, there is sufficient gain in the project design without the research.

It is noteworthy that "policy analysis" rather than public administration is emphasized in both the proposed Buffalo project and a possible Oakland Project experience for students of the University of California School of Public Policy. Both seek to develop "hard" analytical skills. It is not clear, however, whether student participants are anticipating staff jobs, such as work in a budget office, or jobs in a policy programming and evaluation unit. Hopefully, the appeal of such training, including job experiences like those of the Oakland Project, will reach the student who wants live responsibility. Such students should be sold the value of policy analysis as a useful skill for the general government executive; just as students are attracted to the study of law, not because they want to be lawyers, but because legal skills are regarded as useful to social problem solvers.

PROJECT DESIGN ISSUES

Certain characteristics of a university-city relationship like the Oakland Project are issues of project design. Such a discussion follows and covers these issues:

Advantages of a Group Activity
- interaction of participants
- interdisciplinary possibilities

- the project office as a center

University-City Relations

Administration Problems of University Contracts

Advantages of Group Activity

Interaction of participants. The group effort of the Oakland Project is an important aspect to the Project participants. Incentive is immediate when you know that you are observing, noting and writing something that will be received and reacted to, not only by the distant, unknown reader of a dissertation, but in the next few days and weeks by your friends. As one student said, it gives "more meaning to the grime."

More important, the reactions of fellow students are valuable. Oakland is a divided city. The mayor is divided from the manager and from the operating departments, the school system is separate from city government, and all these establishment entities are divided in turn from a large group of disadvantaged citizenry. The Oakland Project participants, whether job-holders or other, are spread out among these different parts of the city. This provides a wide net for collecting relevant information far beyond any individual's capacity.

Besides this enhanced perception of what is happening, the students provide each other differing perspectives correcting viewpoints of how it looks "from the other side." It would not be quite the same if the students were studying different cities simultaneously; a special value emerges because the individual impressions illuminate one city's "ecology."

The role of Judith May was especially important to this cross-fertilization process. She knew what was happening in the black community and was able to interpret city government actions from that viewpoint. Students placed with city officials gained enormously from May's perceptions and questions about the underlying purposes of official policies. This role was not originally planned in the Oakland Project design, but the importance it assumed shows that in any city-university relationship, city problems are not the concern only of officialdom.

Giving every student his own turf made cooperation valuable and jealousy unnecessary.

Interdisciplinary possibilities. Despite the value to the Oakland Project of different perspectives of job-holding students, it is somewhat surprising that students from outside Political Science departments have not been recruited. Their information and perceptions would add considerably to the value of exchanges within the group. Although Professor Levy provides valuable economic insights, and a few planning school students have helped in resource studies, all of the job-holding students are doctoral candidates in political science. As Professor Webber commented, "We could have mixed things up more."

Students, faculty and the city feel that there should be wider participation. McCorry commented that the school system needs business administration, public administration, and social welfare points of view. Meltsner pointed out that in policy analysis work, you need specialists from various departments.

But the difficulties of crossing departmental lines in a university are formidable. It is particularly difficult when more than one department is involved in administrative decisions and scholarly interests. A project like this gains from being in one department, even under one man.

But perhaps there are possibilities of getting the best one-department leadership combined with student participation from different disciplines. This would require a larger network for recruiting. The Oakland Project participants were recruited almost exclusively by Dean Wildavsky from among his own students.

Where there is a university administrative entity with multi-discipline participation, this problem is largely solved. This should be the case at the new School of Public Policy at Berkeley which includes faculty and students from different disciplines. The Policy Sciences Program at Buffalo is also interdisciplinary and offers an administrative arrangement for broad participation.

Students from other departments have an interest in Oakland problems. A large number of them are already working there, under arrangements in no way connected with the Oakland Project. Already mentioned are the nine students in the Police Department under the direction of Linda Moody.

The City Planning Department in recent years has had four student workers from the University planning school. Two of these are provided for in the city budget and work as part-time workers during the school year; full time during the summer when each works on an individual work project. [3] A full-time job in the office of the superintendent of schools is presently held by a student from the City and Regional Planning Department. Paid for by the School District, this student is assisting the Master Plan Citizens Committee.

The University of California School of Education has a number of students working at McClymonds High School in a program for disadvantaged youth. The county hospital has several volunteer pre-medical students. The Business School has a program of assistance to minority entrepreneurs.

Some time ago Professor Churchman suggested that a Chancellor's Council be formed to keep track of what is happening in the 100 or so projects (his estimate) various members of the University are carrying on in Oakland. The idea was to expand exchange of information, not to provide any coordinated direction.

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[3] The total extent of student work in governmental jobs is impressive. Under the HEW financed Work-Study program of financial assistance to needy students, for instance, some 1800 students at the University of California at Berkeley were assisted for the 1970-71 school year. Of these, the Financial Aids Office estimates that perhaps a third or 600 held jobs in state, county or municipal government, although the bulk of these jobs, of course, were probably unrelated to the students' fields of study. The State College of Buffalo insists that its work-study student jobs be related to the student's academic field. SUNY N.Y. is not prepared to assume such an administrative burden. The Safe Streets Act supports several hundred student city job-holders in Buffalo.

The Project office as a center. The concentration on Oakland studies by a group of faculty and students justifies the important Project office which provides a physical and social center, and logistical support.

The Oakland Project secretarial staff renders rare support to which graduate students are not accustomed. All written material growing out of the Project, except final dissertations, was typed by the staff. This included the periodic, sometimes weekly, reports by students of what they were up to in Oakland. For the first several years of the Project, two secretaries were almost fully occupied transcribing tapes of these reports, interviews and minutes of meetings. Most were duplicated and distributed to Oakland Project participants.

A library of all this student writing and other material dealing with Oakland is maintained. Occasionally, the office staff is asked to assist research in simple ways such as collecting books or checking newspaper files.

All of this takes place in the Oakland Project office, housed in an attractive old building provided by the University. Here students have desks and the weekly seminar of the Oakland Project takes place.

The office is an important informal center for the exchange of perceptions by students. Some student participants maintain desks at the office and do part of their work there. Dean Wildavsky spends a good part of each morning in the office and is readily available to students. Others come for a brown-bag lunch. Many stop by daily.

One student termed the office a "pub without beer." The office serves the whole university community as a center for information on Oakland and there is a steady flow of "drop-ins" who wish to consult the library, or some participant about an aspect of Oakland, or find out the right name of the person to see there in arranging some other activity.

Because of the loose structure of the Oakland Project and its strong center of activity, it has been possible for non-Project students to engage in some Project activities and to gain from this experience. This spin-off effect of the Project has obviously been great, although difficult to discover. Here, however, are some examples:

> Michael Preston is a graduate student of political science with Dean Wildavsky his advisor. He has used the Oakland Project office as a base and is considering writing his dissertation on manpower training programs in Oakland.
>
> Harriet Ziskin, a graduate student in education, is studying the Oakland Board of Education and the issue of community control. She finds the Oakland Project gives her the advantage of a city-wide view that she could not possibly afford to acquire on her own.
>
> William Cavala, a graduate student in political science, a resident of Oakland and since high school active in local elections, finds the Oakland Project a unique source of information on the city. Through Pressman it was arranged for him to help the mayor and the City Council in the successful 1968 campaign for Charter revision which permitted consolidation of separate city agencies under the city manager.
>
> Gerry Newfarmer, a former graduate student in public administration took Wildavsky's undergraduate honors course in the Political Economy which led him to work with the city manager, where he worked for about 10 hours a week for 5 months, considering how the functions of the Civil Service Commission

integrated under the manager as permitted by the new Charter amendment. The city manager later offered him a job which he accepted as administrative assistant, to the director of public works, where he has been for two years. Recently when the city assumed control of the OEO poverty program, Newfarmer was one of three-man task force named to run it.

Paul Cobb has been mentioned. While his campaign for City Council was not successful, he continues to be active in local affairs and publishes the leading black newspaper of the Bay Area.

Professor Muir has undertaken research in the recruitment testing of policemen, an opportunity he learned of through the Project.

One undergraduate student initiated a series of informal box lunches at which Oakland judges and policemen came together.

Length of Assignment

Part-time versus full-time

What were the reactions to the Oakland Project model of part-time long-term city jobs?

Some students felt that a full-time job would have been better in providing opportunities to gain more information of value. If you are on the job throughout the whole week you catch the passing rumor, a bit of unwritten information, and administrative secrets which are important in understanding how the office works.

A government officer has more control over a full-time employee, which may restrict the student's freedom, but which may make it more likely that there is a close, satisfactory working relationship.

Part-time work on top of academic requirements is sometimes a crushing workload. Maybe a student can do both better, and perhaps gain economically by sandwiching full-time job experience in between full-time academic effort.

Professors Levy and Biller tend to support part-time jobs. The important thing, they believe, is to be thinking about what you are doing. This is hard to do on a full-time job with unrelenting pressures of work, and without professional and peer questioning. If you are busy, you cannot be creative.

It might be possible to design on-the-job substitutes for academic questioning, time to reflect and discuss what one is learning, a chance to exchange views with other student job-holders. But this is rarely done. Government executives as a rule have no time, incentive, or skill to discharge such a teaching role. Nor has the possible provision of academic questioning and guidance to full-time working students been explored. Until a "teaching government" is developed which, like a teaching hospital, provides full time on-the-job education, teaching will alternate with time on the job, whether that alternation is on a daily, weekly or yearly basis.

Length of term: Continuity

Most of the job participants believed the long tour of duty is desirable. With few exceptions, they felt they were still getting valuable experience at the end of two years; but longer periods would not continue to be worthwhile. Students were accepted in the office setting partly because they were going to be around for a long while. Although not often stated, it also appeared that first impressions changed: the true complexity of problems came to light and the civil service personnel proved more able than appeared initially.

Continuity of student participation existed only in the mayor's office. Here the replacement student took advantage of his predecessor's reports and papers. It provided him with a chance to surface those truths which appear only over a longer time frame than two years.

If there has been follow-on students in some of the other agencies and departments where Oakland Project students had worked they might also have taken advantage of the relationships established and the accumulated information.

Implications for scholarship

A special problem exists where doctoral candidates are involved in such projects. They may feel that a particular job will not provide them with a sufficient opportunity for original research if another student has just spent two years skimming off the cream. Says Thompson, "Probably personnel has been pretty well dried up as a doctoral subject." And Pressman, "Without new circumstances such as Lunch is getting with the potential role for the mayor in the poverty and job-training programs, you cannot justify a scholarly replowing of the same old ground in the mayor's office."

This attitude may be only one manifestation of the newness of city government as a proper doctoral study. Because the richness of the field is not yet revealed, a second study on Oakland's mayor may sound unoriginal, although a thousandth study of the Congressional Committee system is accepted. Certainly for professional and undergraduate students, more concerned with learning than a doctoral dissertation, following someone in a meaningful job would be an advantage.

University-City Relations

Since cities and universities work at very different objectives, it is not surprising to discover a certain tension when they seek to work together. The city manager, looking for help, says, "The university is so busy they do not have what you want at the time you want it." The Vice-Chancellor for Research says, "Directly assisting others by consulting services should be only a thin level of university activity." This relationship between scholarship and education on the one hand, and social service on the other has already been discussed.

Another point of tension between city and university is political activism. As the university, through its students, becomes involved in observing city officials and others concerned with important city issues and actually participates in public action, it may find itself the target of some who feel the university is hurting their interests. Important social and political issues in a city must be the subject of study and involvement of students: a university cannot afford to rule out of bounds the great issues of the day. Yet universities, especially public ones, are delicate institutions with truth-pursuing functions which should not be restricted by the natural reaction to what may appear as university partisanship.

The Oakland Project is a happy example of rather deep involvement of students with contending forces without damage to the university. In part, this seems to have been achievable because of the lack of formal relationships between the university and city over the Project.

The city might like a tighter arrangement, hoping to steer university resources more to its needs. Yet formal joint administration would turn a lot of individual student decisions into project issues on which both the university and the city would have to take positions, inevitably narrowing the activities over which students can range and contribute.

By making the relationship one between the individual student and a particular city department, both the city and the university were freed from assuming responsibility when research led into sensitive areas.

A university can probably maintain a formal distance from a city in which its students work more easily when the university is not itself located there. In its home city, a university is unavoidably involved in many local issues. While conceivably offering special opportunities, the home city more likely would therefore present a restricted environment for student work, although for many universities it may be the only practical possibility for field work.

One problem which has emerged from the looseness of the arrangements is an uncertainty in the city as to the purposes of the Oakland Project with a tendency to expect more measurable assistance than is realistic. Some way to avoid false expectations without incurring institutional involvement ought to be discoverable.

Both the Urban Observatory program and the SUNY-Buffalo project have much closer formal relations between the university and city than is the case in the Oakland Project. This may assure community of interest, it will also surely somewhat narrow the areas of public issues with which the university participants become involved.

Administration of University Research Contract

The Oakland Project experience has some lessons for administering a research contract with a university.

A great deal of the best aspects of the Oakland Project were due to the exceptionally broad purposes of the NASA contract, and the flexibility with which that contract was administered. It was the flexible administration of that contract that permitted Dean Wildavsky to develop the budget studies, and to expand the Project into job-participation of doctoral candidates.

More recently there has been a "tightening up" of the administration of the contract. Unfortunately, general support for a program like the Oakland Project seems harder to obtain than funds with more specific research objectives. Most fund sources, moreover, are less likely to be interested in service to structural aspects of city government like budgeting, personnel and mayoral power, and more interested in subject-oriented research, like educational finance and health services. These subjects have natural potential customers to which the research can be "sold."

It therefore seemed worthwhile, in an effort to keep the Project funded, to guide student research toward the research needs of

The Urban Institute customers.

Tighter project emphasis and decreasing financial support, however, have made it almost impossible to take advantage of targets of opportunity to the same degree as Wildavsky formerly could. Recently, when the city asked about possible Oakland Project involvement in the design of the new city-administered OEO poverty program, Project participation was impossible.

A good feature of the NASA contract was its long-term funding, designed for three years and actually covering four. This certainty made it worthwhile to move the cumbersome machinery of city government and university to establish the relationship. Uncertainty, changes in fund assurances, and small lead times which more recently characterize the administration of the Project have made it much more difficult to mount worthwhile university effort. To get good summertime activity, and summer is the time in which much university research is concentrated, assurances must be given participating faculty and students in the preceding fall, which means that the difficult and usually time-consuming arrangements between the university and the funding source must have been completed by then. Late decisions, even if accompanied by adequate funds, will have substantially less satisfactory results.

Because institutional arrangements such as are involved in the Oakland Project take so long to establish, a good deal of effort and money are in effect invested in their creation. The investment in Oakland taken together with the large amount of material on that city now accumulated, means that a continuation of the University of

California relationship with Oakland offers present bargains in research possibilities.

While a university-city project may best utilize flexible funding, such activity might not be undertaken at all if research funds were given a university as general unrestricted financial support. The balance between outside support for specific projects and general underwriting of university research is a tricky matter. While a large amount of general support is essential to the academic freedom of a university, a margin of project funding for various specific purposes plays an important part in keeping the university responsive to changes in the social emphasis of the community. With exclusive generalized support there would be an almost irresistible tendency for the inertia of existing university activity to perpetuate itself with no change in emphasis. The Oakland Project, particularly in its early years, seems to have been a happy balance between flexibility and control of project funding.

It is surprising how both faculty and students depart from their principles in administering a research contract. For the most part advocates in participatory democracy and believers that budgets importantly affect outcomes, the student participants in the Oakland Project appeared totally uninformed and disinterested in the administration and finance of the Project. They seemed content to receive their stipends, leaving the money and Project policy issues to Big Brother.

The administering faculty, scholars all, filed semi-annual reports that are extraordinary documents, filled with unrealistic assertions of what would be accomplished and how quickly. One professor suggested the reports were designed for "surface legitimacy ... to make the Project look good." Fortunately the Project looks good in spite of the reports.

APPENDIX:

A. Summary Check List of Characteristics of a City-University Arrangement

B. Persons interviewed by Francis D. Fisher

C. Oakland Project Writings by Participants

D. Oakland Project--Student Papers

E. NASA Technology and Urban Management Project

F. Publications of the Urban and Regional Development

G. Proposed Table of Contents for URBAN PUBLIC POLICY

APPENDIX A

Summary Check List of Characteristics of a City-University Arrangement

The foregoing description of the Oakland Project has suggested considerations which are important to the design of any university-city relationship where students work on city jobs as part of their education. It is clear that there is no single "right" way for such relationships to be constructed, and that the character of the jobs and the students should vary depending on the purposes of the arrangement. There follows a listing of the variables which have been identified, and a short summation of points that appear in greater detail elsewhere in this report.

University

Character of Student Participants

Ph.D. candidates
Professional school students
Undergraduates
Skilled vs. Unskilled
Personality

Scholarly output will not be as great where students have a public administration-professional orientation and where research on the job emphasizes immediate application.

Professionally oriented students, and especially those with skills, will probably be of greater direct, or early, utility to cities than those with their own independent scholarly research agenda.

It is possible, but difficult, to design a project which produced significant amounts of work of value to the city as well as contributing material for scholarly research.

To the extent that aiding the city is the only reason to participate, able university personnel, as usually defined by university peers, may not be interested. This is more apt to be true of scholars than those professionally oriented.

Subjects for research which will be both of scholarly value and useful for practical application probably represent only a small portion of the research interests of either the scholars or the city administrators.

Shifting between non-scholarly and scholarly effort is possible (using the non-scholarly job as a vantage point for research as well as learning city "reality"), but without special efforts of the city may provide only modest utility to it.

Students can gain valuable understanding of the reality of city government by working on city jobs. This seems a particularly valuable supplement to academic education of those students with prospective teaching careers.

A personality which can bridge the cultural differences between Town and Gown is useful in being of effective utility to the city.

Group Participation

Advantages which seem to accrue where university participation is on a group or network basis are: providing different perceptions of city problems, mutual stimulation and reinforcement, efficiency of providing counselling and instruction by faculty, justification of supportive services (e.g., project center). Arranging and directing group or network participation involves a substantial resource commitment.

Interdisciplinary Basis

As city problems are unlikely to be divided along university department lines, an interdisciplinary effort would seem appropriate both in terms of utility to the city and, in principle at least, from the point of view of scholarly research.

Yet there are difficulties in bridging departmental differences in language and concept and an interdisciplinary effort can greatly compound the difficulties of administration.

It is sometimes possible to combine interdisciplinary advantage with centralized responsibility, e.g., through existing centers of urban studies and the like.

University Leadership

Success in attracting student talent to the project will reflect the quality and strength of university leadership. Deep involvement of important scholars not only provides necessary quality of counsel and direction, but makes clear the unity of university incentives with project success. Such attention also implies a high quality of recruiting effort. Such quality of university leadership may be more difficult to obtain where practical utility to the city is the emphasized objective.

City

Character of Jobs

A student job can be designed principally for immediate utility to the city, or as a contribution to a learning experience which will, in the long run, increase knowledge about cities and produce useful manpower.

City satisfaction and the specific design of jobs are related to a clear understanding of objectives.

Cities may experience difficulty in assigning jobs which utilize young persons with high intelligence, broad background, but with few specific skills, although these persons can be useful if carefully placed and "plugged in."

Supervision--"Plugging In"

It appears particularly important that the city provide city-based personnel to whom students have access and to whom they can relate in their work. This is especially so:

where a student's work will require dealing with others in the city structure to whom he needs orientation and who will require that someone vouch for him.

where the student lacks skill but his general intelligence makes him most useful to a senior city official who does not have time for an adequate direct relationship to the student.

Full-Time vs. Part-Time

Full-time employment facilitates the working effectiveness in the city, but denies the supportive counsel and reality reassessment which on-going university education makes possible. Long-term, full-time employment would make recruiting from Ph.D. candidates impossible.

Long-Term vs. Short-Term

Long-term commitment to a job justifies city interest and arrangements and provides a chance for students to get below the surface and correct first impressions. Insufficient evidence exists to determine what would be too long a time. Two years at half time may be on the border.

Replacement-Continuity

One student may replace another in a particular job and gain advantages of developed relationships and the background information the former student can provide. On the other hand, for Ph.D. students, a position which a similar student has previously held may not always provide adequate additional opportunity for original research.

Administrative Arrangements

Formality of Arrangements Between City and University

Formal arrangements may assure city commitment and provide a means for clarifying project objectives. Joint agreement on detail may avoid misunderstandings, although it may be time-consuming to achieve. But such formality may decrease the opportunity for flexibility and change of plans. The ability of students to pursue "hot" issues will be reduced if either university or city feels embarrassment through being strictly accountable as sponsor.

Flexibility

Flexible funding with broad objectives may permit timely adjustments to take advantage of opportunities which suddenly develop. It is unlikely that such happy opportunism can be obtained if detailed agreement of many cooperating parties is necessary or required at each point of potential movement.

Timeliness and Advance Commitment

Under the best of circumstances arrangements between cities, university and funding source take time to effect. Since all move slowly, lead time is highly desirable, but if details are agreed to and frozen far in advance, the project, when realized, may be based on assumptions which time has overtaken.

APPENDIX B

Persons interviewed by Francis D. Fisher
June-July, 1971

City Officials

Mayor John H. Reading

Cecil S. Riley
Assistant City Manager

James H. Price
Area Director
HUD Area Office
(formerly Assistant to Mayor)

Chief Sweeney
Fire Department

Donald Bierman
Budget Officer

Fred D. Weaver
Assistant Personnel Director

William H. Brett
Library Director

Dr. Marcus A. Foster
Superintendent of Schools

Jerome Keithley
City Manager, City of Oakland

David P. Johnson
Administrative Assistant
to the Mayor

Charles R. Gain
Chief of Police

Robert M. Odell, Jr.
Finance Director - Treasurer

James M. Newman
Personnel Director

Norman J. Lind
Director of City Planning

Gerald E. Newfarmer
Manager - Administration
Community Resources

Linda Moody
Assistant to Chief of Police

Faculty and University Administration Officers

Directly Concerned with Project:

Aaron Wildavsky, Dean
Graduate School of Public Policy

John Kramer
Associate Professor
Political Science

Arnold J. Meltsner
Associate Professor
Public Affairs
Graduate School of Public
Policy

Frank S. Levy
Acting Assistant
Professor Economics

Melvin M. Webber
Professor, City and Regional Planning
Director, Institute of Urban and Regional Development

Eugene Lee
Professor, Political Science

Michael B. Teitz
Chairman, Department of City and Regional Planning

Indirectly Connected with Project vis-a-vis Graduate Students:

Robert P. Biller
Assistant Professor of Public Affairs

Todd R. LaPorte
Assistant Professor, Political Science

Loy Sammet
Vice Chancellor for Research

Malcolm M. Davisson
Professor of Economics and Business Administration

William K. Muir
Associate Professor, Political Science

Fred Balderston
Professor

Students

William Lunch
Jesse McCorry
Jeffrey Pressman
Jay Starling
David Wentworth
Robert Biller
Mari Malvey
William Cavala
John Kramer

Judith May
Arnold Meltsner
Michael Preston
Frank Thompson
Eugene Lee
Michael Bledsoe
Harriet Ziskin
Suzanne Haas

Others

Richard Spies
Kaiser Industries

Paul Cobb
Managing Editor
California Voice

Mary Ellen Anderson
Office Manager,
Oakland Project Office

APPENDIX C

OAKLAND PROJECT WRITINGS BY PARTICIPANTS
(Many are drafts, not for public distribution)

ANDERSON, Mary Ellen, Interviews, (December 1966 through March 17, 1967)
(Interviewees listed at front of binder)

ARVIN, Marcy, (Ellcind) "An Analysis of the Budgeting of the Oakland City Government"

ARVIN, Marcy "Oakland City Government -- Expenditure Graphs" May 1969 55p.

ARVIN, Marcy (student program) "Because of the Actual and Perceivable Incidence of User's Tax, Its Passage Was the Most Politically Feasible Means of Solving the Revenue Problem of Oakland." PS 190A June 22, 1969.

BLEDSOE, Michael L. Interviews, (May 8 1968 to May 20, 1968)
Also in this binder: Report on EDP and the Auditor-Controller, City of Oakland" -- April 1968.

BLEDSOE, Michael L., "EDP in the Auditor-Controller's Office: A Casy Study," July 196E.

CAVALA, William, "Inside Oakland: The Story of the Campaign for Proposition J," Fall 1968, PS292.

CROWTHER, Win, "Budgeting in the Oakland Police Department," November 23, 1966.

CROWTHER, Win, "Report on the Parks and City Planning Departments of the City of Oakland" or "Is Budgeting Possible in Developing Cities?" January 1968.

DAHL, Peter, "The Budgetary Process in the Oakland Parks and Recreation Departments," Summer 1969.

DEYO, Fred, Interviews, Feb. 29, 1968 to Aug. 12, 1968.

DEYO, Fred, (Miscellaneous) Library Reports to wit:
"Progress Report Libraries," March 1968
"Libraries," June 1968.

DEYO, Fred, "Report on the Oakland Library," August 1968.

GORDON, Gale, "The Oakland Survey: A Study of Community Opinion," August 1969.

HAAS, Sue, Health Interviews, Nov. 1970

HAAS, Suzanne B. and Arnold J. Meltsner, "The Politics of Streets," draft 1971. 86 pp.

LEVY, Frank, Budgeting and Resource Allocation in the Oakland Public Schools, July 1970.

LEVY, Frank, and Edwin M. Truman, "Toward a Rational Theory of Decentralization: A Reply," 1970.

LUNCH, Bill, City Hall Reports, January 1, 1970.

LUNCH, William M., "OAKLAND REVISITED: Stability and Change in an American City," April 1970. (Revision of "Carpentier's the one")

MALVEY, Mari and Aaron Wildavsky, Untitled paper analyzing opinion survey. Draft June 1971. To appear in THE OAKLAND EXPERIENCE.

MAY, Judy, Interviews on the Department of Streets and Engineering, July 8, 1966 -- June 28, 1967.
Plus two short, loose pieces: "Budgeting in the Street and Engineering Department," July 28, 1968.

MAY, Judy, Interviews. Vols. I - IV, July 6, 1966 - 12/10/68
Vol I: Department of Human Resources
Vol II: DHR plus others
Vol III: DHR plus others
Vol IV: Miscellaneous interviews (labeled DHR et al.)

MAY, Judith V., "Background paper prepared for HUD/NYU Conference on Citizen Involvement in Urban Affairs," August, 1968. 80 pp + 12 bibliog. Ditto.

MAY, Judith V., "Citizen Participation: A Review of the Literature," September 1970. called "Participation Paper"
(Prepared for the symposium on Decision-Making and Control in Health Care, sponsored by National Center for Health Service Research and Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.)
To be published both by a library association and by U.C.-Davis' Institute of Government Affairs. Spring 1971.

MAY, Judith V., "Progressives and the Poor: An Analytic History of Oakland," April 1970.

MAY, Judith V., "(The) Politics of Growth Versus the Politics of Redistribution: Negotiations over the Model Cities Program in Oakland," March 24, 1970.
(Delivered at a meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. San Francisco, California)

MAY, Judith V., "The Relationship Between Professionals and Clients: A Constitutional Struggle," draft April 1971.

MAY, Judith V., "Two Model Cities: Political Development on the Local Level," September 1969.
(Prepared for a meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York City, September 2-6, 1969.)

MELTSNER, Arnold and David WENTWORTH, "Budgeting in the Oakland Police Department: The Triumph of a Chain-of Command," October 1970. (Edited by MS) 61 pp.

MELTSNER, Arnold and Sue HAAS, "The Politics of Streets"
----see Haas.

MELTSNER, Arnold, The Politics of Local Revenue, 1969
(dissertation)
As U.C. Press Book: THE POLITICS OF CITY REVENUE
June 1971.

MELTSNER, Arnold, Interviews, Vol. I and II
(Table of Contents at front of each binder)
Vol. I: July 13, 1966 - July 27, 1967
Vol. II: Feb. 5, 1968 - Sept. 22, 1969

MELTSNER, Arnold, "Budgeting Without Money: The Executive Chopping Process in Oakland," June 1968.

(MELTSNER, Arnold) Financial Capability Study, Part One. (Spring 1968) and others 15 pp.

McCORRY, Jesse: Work on the Oakland Public Schools is filled with Oakland Project C Things.

McCORRY, Jesse: "Oakland School Board Meeting,"
15 July 1969 and 19 August 1969
(short reports on meeting)

McSHANE, Owen, "A Comparison of the Paradigm of the Planners with that of the Policy Analysts," November 1969.

MC SHANE, Owen, "Toward a Transitional Economics: A Reappraisal of Urban Development Economics based on the experience of the Economic Development Administration in Oakland, California," April 1970 (became Master's thesis in revised form, June 1970)

MC SHANE, Robert Owen, "Urban Developments and Budgeting for Federal Programs," for P.S. 278A March 1969.

ORTEGA, Milton E., "A Critical Analysis of the Spanish Surname Population of Oakland, California," April 23, 1968 (Prepared for the Spanish Speaking Information Center)

ORTEGA, Milton E., "The Mexican-American Political Association, Oakland Chapter: An Interest Group in Action," May 1969.

PLATT, Ken, "A Case Study of the Oakland Budget Process: The Role of the Finance Department," April 2 and 3, 1968.

PRESSMAN, Jeffrey: Dissertation chapters, in staff drawer, 041.10
Introduction: March 1971, 23 pp.
Chapter I:

Chapter II: "The Receptacle: Oakland's Political System (With a Brief Overview of the Pattern of Federal Funding)." March 1971. 82 pp.
Chapter "The Federal Impact: Administrative and Political Consequences," April 1971. 54 pp.

PRESSMAN, Jeffrey, "The EDA in Oakland." Draft, December 1970

PRESSMAN, Jeff, "The Non-Politics of Non-Leadership in Oakland," October 1969
on Pressman's 041.10 file - latter revised into "Preconditions"

PRESSMAN, Jeff, Preconditions of Mayoral Leadership, August 1970.

PRESSMAN, Jeff, REPORT FROM THE MAYOR'S OFFICE, August 25, 1967 to July 1, 1969.

APPENDIX D

OAKLAND PROJECT - STUDENT PAPERS
(not including papers by Oakland Project participants)

AHART, Alan M., "An Economic and Demographic Study of Oakland California, 1960-1966, with Comparisons to Other Cities," June 4, 1970, 65 pps.	P.S. HI190
ALLEN, Jeff, "An Analysis of Police Innovation"	P.S. 190
ALLEN, Jeffrey and Smetana, Ronald The Police and the Courts, May 1969 re: Oakland and Berkeley	P.S. 191D
BANE, William T., "The Oakland City Planning Department: Its Role and Effectiveness," June 1, 1970	P.S. H190C
BAZETT, Sydney, OAIC Center Redevelopment	P.S. 190
BEZEMEK, Robert, "Criminal Justice in Oakland: A case study," June 11, 1970.	P.S. H190
BOLTON, Charles R. E., "Factors and Limitations Affecting the Construction of Public Housing Units Under the Turnkey Program in Oakland," 22pp.	
BONELLI, Maria (Margarida), "A Study of Oakland Business Elites," Summer 1970. Xeroxed copy.	
CHOY, Ronald Kwai Hing, "The Production and Cost of a Free Urban Public Service: Resource Allocation in the Oakland Public Library Branch System," Ph.D. Dissertation Department of City and Regional Planning, U.C. Berkeley, no date, 181 pp.	
CROOK, Peter, "Attitudes Toward Local 535," June 5, 1970 40 pages typed.	P.S. HI190C Mr. Wildavsky
DAVIS, Loren Jay, "Effecting Change in the Contemporary American Policy Bureaucracy: Recommendations to the Oakland Police Department," February 28, 1969.	P.S. 190
DEPPE, Joan Minot, "Problems of Attempted Citizen Reform of the Oakland Board of Education: A Case Study of the Oakland Education Coalition," March 10, 1969.	P.S. 190
DICIUCCIO, Joseph, "Theory and Practice of Probation in Alameda County," Spring 1970.	P.H. 190
DOUGHERTY, Michael, R., "Oakland Surveys," (Winter 1970?)	PS.H. 190

EGGERS, Carl L., "The Citizens Advisory Committee on Housing, City of Oakland," May 1, 1969. P.S. 292

FANTE, John, "Street, Sidewalk, and Lighting Conditions in West Oakland," June 7, 1968. 18 + pp. Done for Econ 185.

GORDON, Gale, "The Oakland Survey: A Study of Community Opinion," prepared for Oakland Project, Space Sciences Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, August 19, 1969, 10 pp.

GRIFFIN, Jill, "View from the Inside: An assessment of the New Turnkey Program in Oakland as Seen by Turnkey Residents," (School of Social Welfare), September 1969.

GRODIN, Anne, Chapter on Oakland Schools with interviews and questionnaire, No date. Student paper.

GRISANTI, Joy M., "Public Education in Oakland: De Facto Segregation," June 9, 1969. Educ. 332D

GRODIN, Anne, A Study of the Politics of the Oakland School Board with Respect to the Opening of Skyline High School 50 + pp. Xerox. P.S. 191G

GRODIN, Anne, "A Study of the Oakland Board of Education," Summer 1969. P.S. 199

HAYLER, Barbara, "The Oakland Community Action Program; A Study in Evaluation," March 4, 1967. P.S. 190B

HINSHAW, Helen, "West Oakland: Education and Politics," Winter/Spring PS191E-F

HUDDLESON, Mary, "Some Aspects of Relocation Problems Related to Acron Urban Renewal Project," February 1968 C.P. 209

JOHNSON, Maya, Research Paper (East Oakland-Fruitvale Community Planning Center) re: OAKLAND P.S. 190

JOHNSON, Kristen, "Elections and Representation in Oakland," March 7, 1969. P.S. 190

KAEL, Andrea, "The Behavior of Oakland Secondary Teachers," June 11, 1970. P.S. 190ABC

KAITZ, Spencer R., "The Proposition 'J' Campaign" Fall/Winter 1969. P.S. 190

KAITZ, Spencer R., Research Paper, "Public Employee Organizations in Oakland: A Framework for Understanding."

KELLY, Wilbur, "Health Services for the Poor," June 1970 Master's Essay, Public Administration Program, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, 117 pps.

LEISTER, Leslie R., "A New Careers Evaluation" Fall/Winter 1968/69. P.S. 190

LEVINE, David and HAUSMAN, Kenneth, "The Wizard of O -- The Political History of Oakland from 1850 to 1958," March 10, 1969

MARANS, Michael D., "Relocation in Acorn: A Focal Point for the Study of the Transition in Urban Renewal Policy and Politics in Oakland," March 17, 1969. P.S. 190

MATSUURA, Marsha S., "The Tassafaronga Tot Lot: 'Love is Labor Lost'," February 28, 1969. P.S. 190

MC CUTCHEON, Geraldine, "Partisan Loyalty in Selected Oakland Precincts," paper for P.S. 191G

Prof. MUIR'S class, "Student Papers on Local Politics," Winter 1970. P.S. 1

NAKAHARA, Vernon, "Analysis of Oakland's Municipal Bond Election of April 18, 1961." P.S. 190

NEWFARMER, G., Research Paper "Oakland: A Personnel Ordinance," Spring 1969, Parts I and II in separate folders. P.S. 292

ORTEGA, Milton, The Mexican-American Political Association, Oakland Chapter, "An Interest Group in Action," May 1969, ditto, 10 pp.

PAXTON, Kathleen, "American Indians in Oakland." P.S. 190

PICKUS, Mark, "A Study and Analysis of the Campaign for Proposition 'M' (November 5, 1968 in Oakland)," Fall/Winter 1969 P.S. 190

POHLE, Victoria, "Planning, Clients, and Control: The Case of the Housing Authority versus the City Planners and Citizens of Oakland, 1966-1969," June 1969.

----- "A Preliminary Analysis of the Residential Mortage Market in the Flatlands of Oakland, 1968: Demand, Supply and Desirable Changes," March 5, 1969.

RANSON, Eleanor, "Project Head Start," March 3, 1969 P.S. 191H

ROESCH, Frank, "Problems and Complaints About Oakland," December 5, 1969. P.S. 190

ROESCH, Frank, "The 1947 Oakland Municipal Elections," March 1970 P.S.H190

SILVA, Wayne, "A Study of the Depth and Adequacy of the Oakland Tribune," Thesis, 108 pp., 1969. Xeroxed — Dept. Journalism

SILVA, Wayne, "Is the Oakland Tribune a Politically Responsible Newspaper?" Thesis done for the Department of Journalism.

STERASHER, Harriet, "The Oakland-Alameda County Coliseum Complex" March 4, 1967. — P.S. 190B

TABUCCI, Celinda, "A Study of Voter Reaction to Tax Rates in Oakland," June 8, 1969.

TAMAKI, Donald, "Oakland Politics and the Powerless Pressure Group," Summer/1969
Revised version: "Oakland and a Low Resource Organization: The Associated Students of Oakland as a Powerless Pressure Group, 1968-1970." May 1971. — P.S. 1

ZATKIN, Steven R., "The Mayor's Crime Prevention Committee," March 3, 1969.

ZEMLIAK, Ellen, "The Effectiveness of the OHA's Leadership" June 7, 1970, 12 pages, typed.

ZEMLIAK, Ellen, "Oakland's Turnkey Program: 1970," March 19, 1970. — P.S. H190

ZEMLIAK, Ellen, "Is the Housing Authority Bankrupt?" May 1970, 3 pages, typed.

APPENDIX E

The NASA Technology and Urban Management Project

The Oakland Project grew out of the NASA Technology and Urban Management Project and while the Oakland Project should be judged on its own merits, this note will explain the relationship between the projects.

In 1963 under the leadership of James Webb of NASA, Dr. Clark Kerr of the University of California, Wayne Thompson, then city manager of Oakland, Dr. Paul Ylvisaker of the Ford Foundation, a conference was held in Oakland at Dunsmuir House to explore ways of taking advantage of new technology in the solution of urban problems. Out of this grew a grant from NASA to the University of California Space Sciences Laboratory and the Center for Planning and Development Research in the Institute of Urban and Regional Development under which the University would conduct research of three kinds:

(1) The development of theory and procedures for technological transfer from one field of knowledge to a different problem area.

(2) Special studies of the Oakland Fire and Police Departments "in an effort to identify latent benefits that space R&D might provide."

(3) A later expansion of "search and match procedures" to a whole range of urban problems.

Besides research, the University was to conduct "education programs, seminars, and conferences designed to bring about increased knowledge of science and technology and their uses among urban managers and their staffs, as well as increased awareness of urban problems among the University faculty." The University was also to increase the availability of its faculty as advisers on critical problems of urban industrial development, education, health, traffic, etc., and "increase the awareness within urban management of the intellectual resources that are available." The principal investigators were Melvin M. Webber and C. West Churchman. The grant document was executed in July 1965 for an amount of $499,541.

The first phase of the NASA project, the Technological Transfer studies, proceeded over the years and resulted in several theoretical writings by Horst W.J. Rittel.

In the first report of the NASA project, August 1966, two activities were described which, although not clearly foreseen in the original contract, were mushrooming well in the fertile soil of decayed hope: "Oakland Budget Studies" directed by Professor Aaron Wildavsky and "the Economics of Social Services Supply" directed by Professor Michael Teitz.

The latter was an extensive survey by Prof. Teitz and students of the Oakland library system, with particular reference to its branch structure. Extensive information was collected, but through various circumstances, including Prof. Teitz's temporary move to New York, the material has never been pulled together, although Dean Wildavsky is now working on a draft report on the library which will include suggestions for changes in operations.

Over time the Oakland Studies, evolved into the Oakland Project extending well beyond budget studies to include the job-holding field work for graduate students reported on in this paper. The small funds granted for the ambitious NASA program, some of which for the purpose of this review are allocated to the Oakland Project, were exhausted around the beginning of 1969 and NASA granted a small extension. The non-research functions of the University promoting academic consciousness of urban problems and city awareness of available intellectual resources originally contemplated never got off the ground. Neither Churchman nor Webber personally worked in the project.

A list of publications of the Institute of Urban and Regional Development which Professor Webber attributes, at least in part, to the NASA project appears as another appendix. Among these is one doctoral dissertation based on the study of the Oakland Library, that of Ronald K. H. Choy. Two other dissertations in preparation are indirectly related to the NASA project, those of R.W. Archibald and D.W. Lyon. Jeffrey Pressman's dissertation is repeated here as WP-129.

APPENDIX F

Publications of Institute of
Urban and Regional Development
identified by Professor Melvin
M. Webber as Outcome from NASA
project on Technology and Urban
Management*

Working Paper Series

WP-38 IMPLEMENTING INFORMATION AND COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY TO THE URBAN POLICE FUNCITIONS THROUGH SYSTEMS ANALYSIS: A PRELIMINARY STUDY
Richard B. Hoffman, June 1966, 23 pp. (Available in the Reprint Series, No. RP 35.)

WP-49 MODELS FOR RISKY INVESTMENT
Richard B. Hoffman, August 1966. (Rev. WP-52; Reprint Series, No. RP-33.)

WP-51 THE NEW SCIENCE, THE NEW TECHNOLOGY, AND THE NEW CITY
Melvin M. Webber, October 1966, 13 pp.

WP-52 MODELS FOR PUBLIC INVESTMENT UNDER RISK
Richard B. Hoffman, January 1967, 23 pp. (Available in the Reprint Series, No. RP-33.)

WP-54 A PROBABILISTIC EVALUATION OF THE QUALITY OF EVIDENCE
Richard B. Hoffman, February 1967, 14 pp. (Available in the Reprint Series, No. RP-28.)

WP-57 CRIME STATISTICS--FACT OR FEAR?
John A. Webster, December 1966, 9 pp.

WP-59 A PRIORI DECISION FUNCTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION
Charles Schotta, Jr., and Richard B. Hoffman, June 1967, 21 pp.

WP-60 ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
Richard B. Hoffman, July 1967, 20 pp.

WP-61 ASSUMPTIONS IN ECONOMICS: AN OPERATIONS RESEARCH APPROACH
Richard B. Hoffman and Charles Schotta, Jr., June 1967, 15 pp.

WP-63 HEURISTIC METHODS FOR ESTIMATING THE GENERALIZED VERTEX MEDIAN OF A WEIGHTED GRAPH
Michael B. Teiz and Polly Bart, July 1967, 13 pp. (Avaialble in the Reprint Series, No. RP-40.)

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*certain items appear more than once when published in different form.

WP-67 TOWARD A THEORY OF URBAN PUBLIC FACILITY LOCATION
Michael B. Teitz, November 1967, 22 pp. (Available
in the Reprint Series, N. RP-47.)

WP-68 A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO ANALYSIS OF URBAN SERVICES
Michael B. Teitz, November, 1967, 26 pp. (Available in
the Reprint Series, No. RP-39.)

WP-73 POLICE RESOURCE ALLOCATION
Gordon Misner and Richard B. Hoffman, December 1967, 22 pp.

WP-83 SOME STATISTICAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION
Charles Schotta, Jr., and Richard B. Hoffman, August 1968,
13 pp.

WP-88 SYSTEMS ANALYSIS AS A TECHNIQUE FOR SOLVING SOCIAL PROBLEMS--
A REALISTIC OVERVIEW
Ida R. Hoos, October 1968, 11 pp.

WP-95 SAN FRANCISCO'S MISSION POLICE DISTRICT: A STUDY OF RESOURCE
ALLOCATION
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the Oakland Fire Department, October 1968, 111 pp.

APPENDIX G

URBAN PUBLIC POLICY: THE OAKLAND EXPERIENCE

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Arnold Meltsner and David Wentworth, "Budgeting in the Oakland Police Department: The Triumph of the Chain-of-Command"

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