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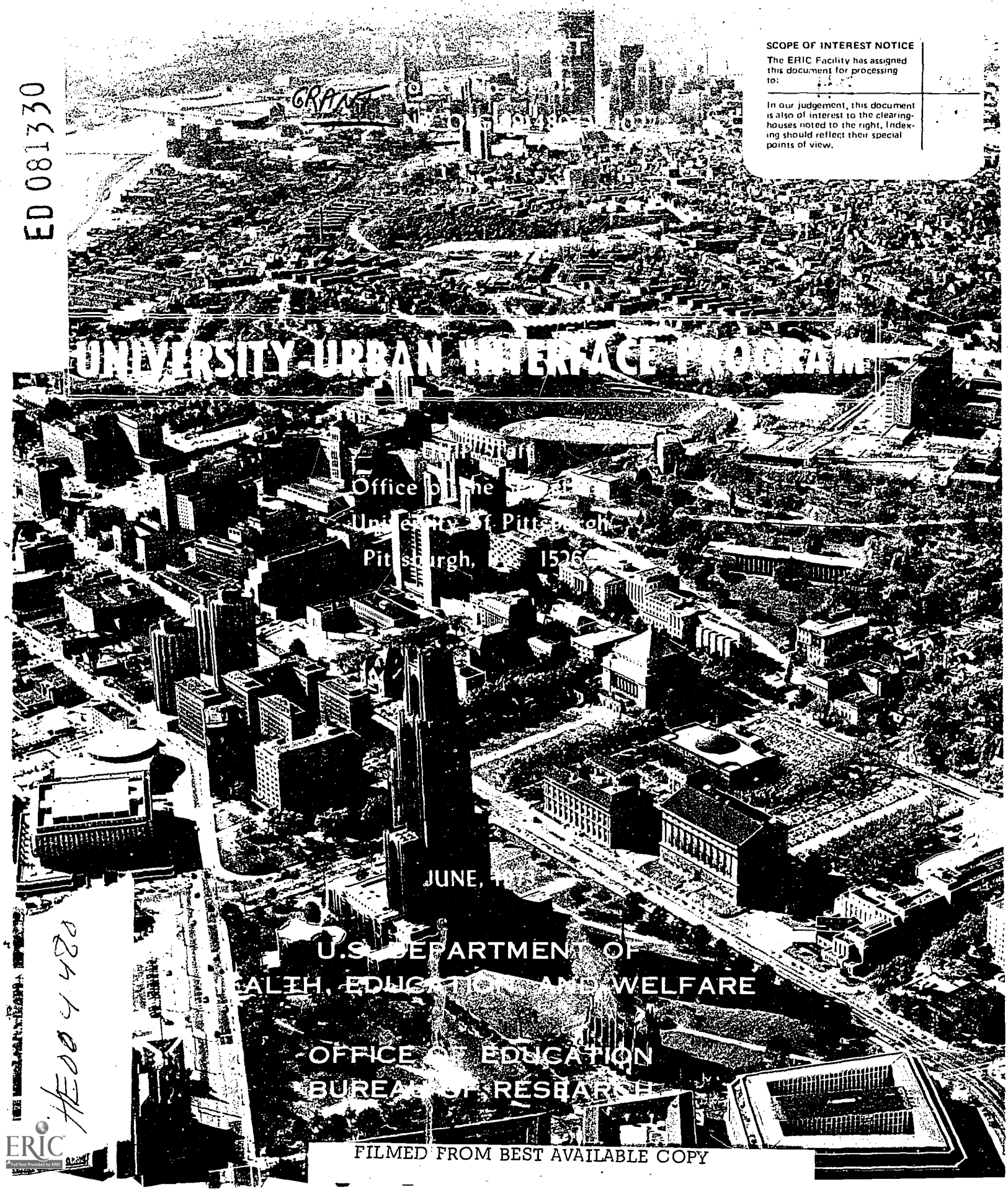
ABSTRACT

The major thrust of the University-Urban Interface Program (UUIP) was to study the interface between Pittsburgh University and its urban community. Ultimate goals were to design ways in which relations between universities and their communities may be enriched. UUIP studied activities in five representative areas: Communications, Minority and Community Services, Campus Development, Long-Range Community Goals, and University Governance for Community Relations. The goal of Communications was to explore the perceptions of the University held by its various publics and to suggest ways to communicate a more realistic impression. In Minority and Community Services, four projects were chosen and each project was to publish analyses of the interactions among the university, the community, and the target group. In Campus Development, UUIP researchers attempted to identify the consequences of campus expansion. The aim of Long-Range Community Goals was to establish a reliable system for identifying the community's long-range goals, and the University's relation to these goals. In University Governance for Community Relations, data from the other four efforts were integrated to make recommendations on ways of improving the University's community relations. Major conclusions cover six basic issues: (1) the service dimension; (2) models of institutions; (3) internal organization; (4) open access and mass education; (5) collaboration and community/constituencies; and (6) academic excellence and the urban dimension. (Author/PG)



UNIVERSITY-URBAN INTERFACE PROGRAMS

Office of the
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, [illegible] 15260

JUNE, [illegible]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

OFFICE OF EDUCATION
BUREAU OF RESEARCH

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 80725
Contract No. OEG-29-480725-1027

University-Urban Interface Program

Office of the Secretary
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15260

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

University-Urban Interface Program

The major thrust of UUIP was to study, chronicle and concurrently evaluate the interface between Pitt and its urban community. This research on action programs was sponsored by a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. Ultimate goals are to design ways in which these relations may be enriched, and to provide insights or guidelines for other institutions.

Early in the Program, five representative projects were selected for study; Communications, Minority and Community Services, Campus Development, Long-Range Community Goals, and University Governance for Community Relations. UUIP did not operate or finance University activities in these areas; it studied their impact and chronicled the progress of development. Some thirty-five reports have been published on the Program, including studies of Pittsburgh goals, community-University forums, campus development, economic impact, and images of Pitt among groups such as alumni or neighbors. Presentations at national meetings evoked inquiries and led to recognition that included hosting conferences of experts called by the Carnegie Commission of Higher Education.

The goal of Communications was to explore the perceptions of the University held by its various publics, to measure changes in perception and to ascertain their causes, to analyze any discrepancies between these perceptions and reality, and to suggest ways of communicating a more realistic and accurate impression. An alumni opinion study, a readership survey and an analysis of the economic impact of Pitt have been completed. The last won a top award as a program management case study.

In Minority and Community Services, four projects were chosen and labeled "Operation Outreach." They represent only a few of the special programs undertaken by the University. A research aim in each project is to publish analyses of the interactions among the three entities involved - the University, the community, and the target agency or group. First, Project Right Start is a center for early detection or prevention of psychological problems in young children in Pittsburgh's Hill District. A second cooperative effort between the School of Social Work and a neighborhood organization focuses on problems in the City's North Side. A third is a management consulting service run by Pitt businesses in black communities. The fourth is an innovative learning laboratory introduced into two elementary schools by a Pitt learning theorist.

In Campus Development, UUIP researchers attempted to identify the consequences of campus expansion, and to map the interaction within and among University, community, and government groups. Results may enable the University to involve its neighbors more intimately and effectively in planning for their mutual neighborhood.

The aim of Long-Range Community Goals was to establish a reliable system for identifying the community's long-range goals, and the ways in which the University can relate to those goals most meaningfully. To this end, UUIP completed a Pittsburgh Goals Study, in which community leaders were asked their views on salient social issues and possible civic changes. Four UUIP sponsored forums, bringing together community leaders and faculty members to discuss critical urban priorities, also have been analyzed.

In University Governance for Community Relations, data from the other four efforts were integrated to make recommendations on ways of improving the University's community relations through alternative policies and organizational configurations. The final report also discussed an inventory of University activities in the urban field.

Major conclusions cover six basic issues:

1) The Service Dimension
2) Models of Institutions
3) Internal Organization
4) Open Access and Mass Education
5) Collaboration with Communities/Constituencies
6) Academic Excellence and the Urban Dimension

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Final Report of the University of Pittsburgh's Urban Interface Program emerges as a result of cooperation, contribution, candor and advice of many. Associates in community, government, private and University organizations provided information and guidance.

In the University, appreciation is due to administrative staff, faculty, and in particular the UUIP Research Advisory Council. Helpful and facilitating suggestions were made during a time of change by Program Directors and Project Officers both in the Office of Education and the National Institute of Education.

Originally, a five-year longitudinal effort was planned. Because of changing priorities and budget considerations, the Program was shortened by a year, resources reduced by 25 per cent and emphases changed. However, much of the original plan was retained and the overall opportunity to work in this area of important challenge and opportunity was stimulating. Hopefully the results will be of help to the University, provide insights to community groups and offer guidance to other organizations and institutions interested in interface--an area of common boundary or concern.

Specifically, the work was completed by the University-Urban Interface staff at Pittsburgh under the Secretary of the University, Dr. Albert C. Van Dusen, who acted as Principal Investigator. Dr. Robert C. Erickson served as Director of Research Programs; Dr. Martha Baum was Research Manager; Drs. Barbara Jameson and Paul Shaw were Project Research Directors; Liva Jacoby and Christina Jarema were Research Assistants; Ramsey Kleff and Michael Sugg served important roles among a larger group of Graduate Research Assistants and other support staff who served in more short-term capacities. Special mention should be made of Linda Wykoff who provided invaluable aid as secretary throughout the life of the project. All contributed to a collected effort.

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INTRODUCTION

"The interaction between major city-based universities and their communities has become a matter of great national significance. On the one hand, the increasing intensity of our urban problems and the growing public awareness of and concern about these problems have given them the highest national domestic priority. Almost simultaneously the major universities of the country have come to be viewed, more than ever before, as powerful resources for solving all sorts of national problems and for achieving national priorities. These two developments converge in what can be called the university-urban interface..."

In 1969, the University of Pittsburgh prepared a proposal which thus summarized the problem and which, incidently, gave the program which is the subject of this report its name.

The University-Urban Interface Program (UUIP) was officially launched in March, 1970.* As a logical site for the study of an archetypical interface between an urban university and its surrounding community, the University of Pittsburgh had several major advantages:

(1) The University of Pittsburgh is located in a metropolitan area that is typically complex in its social-economic character, its racial-ethnic diversity, and its governmental and institutional variety.

(2) The University of Pittsburgh is clearly the comprehensive university to which its community looks. It is supported by local and private, as well as state funds. Most of its graduates not only come from, but remain in, the city area.

(3) It is located in the heart of the city, contiguous to the area's largest black ghetto.

(4) It is a university which was, and is, officially committed to and deeply engaged in a multi-faceted effort to improve "social justice." Consequently it was, and is, experiencing virtually all the internal and external pressures that the urban crisis has spawned.

(5) It was, and is, in the process of major physical expansion which has intensified the impingement of university and urban community.

Finally, and what made the opportunity unique, is that the University of Pittsburgh had already prepared itself to impose a research and evaluation design upon those of its operations which were especially relevant to the interface of a university and its surrounding community. **

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*U.S. Office of Education Grant, Contract No. OEG-2-9-480725-1027, Project No. 80725

**See especially Albert C. Van Dusen, Program Development and Public Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, July, 1972.

"Immediately following his appointment in 1967, Chancellor Wesley W. Posvar had requested an inventory of existing University programs relating to urban development, and, in subsequent statements, policy directives and budget committments, has given substance to the University's pledge to better the welfare of the urban community in general and, in particular, to advance the cause of social justice.

Early in the effort, a University Council on Urban Programs (UCUP) had been established under the chairmanship of the Vice Chancellor for Program Development and Public Affairs. Additionally, the Chancellor requested faculty to examine how they could better help meet critical urban problems and to propose new programs. In response, over one hundred detailed proposals requiring new funding were submitted.

The offices of the Provost, the Vice Chancellor for Program Development and Public Affairs, and the Director of Planning evaluated the proposals and prepared a list of the ones they felt merited funding. Presentations were made to potential donors, and funds were secured which enabled some divisions of the University to move beyond mere volunteer efforts.

Despite these accomplishments, by early 1969, the University was still seeking ways to make its committment more explicit, to determine what role the University should play in the community and to mobilize its resources to perform that role." (University-Urban Interface Program Brochure, 1972:1-2)

It was in this atmosphere of continuing concern with the appropriate role for the University and the mobilization of resources to meet what has been termed "the urban challenge", that the University-Urban Interface Program came into being at Pitt. "Interface" potentially covers a very broad spectrum of contacts between the University and the community, and this is certainly the case at Pitt. The University of Pittsburgh is an extremely large institution. In 1972, the student enrollment was over 31,000, and faculty numbered more than 1600. The complexity of the University is demonstrated in part by the number of semi-autonomous divisions within the institutional structure. Besides the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and the College of Arts and Sciences, there are schools of medicine, law, nursing, public health, social work, business, dental medicine, education, engineering, public affairs, library sciences, health-related professions, pharmacy, and general studies. Because of this diversity the governance structure of the institution is necessarily highly complex, involving many levels and channels of authority and influence.

Since it would be impossible to study all forms of interaction between this complex organization and the many groups in its urban environment, the developers of the proposal for the University-Urban Interface Program had to select specific areas for research out of the vast array of potential opportunities. After careful consideration, five priorities were selected as a "sampling" of types of engagement between the University and the community. These priorities were defined as:

1. Minority and Community Services
2. Campus Development
3. Communications

4. Long Range Community Goals
5. University Governance for Community Relations

Only the first area actually represents an alteration from the plans set out in the proposal for the program. Originally it had been decided to chronicle the development of the Office of Urban and Community Services, created in 1969 to provide a liaison between the University and the disadvantaged and minority groups in the community. OUCS would establish an arm into the appropriate areas in the community to learn about community needs and attempt to match them with University resources. However, the director of OUCS wished to mobolize funds for action in the community rather than research, while the Office of Education grant was for research on University activities. This dilemma was solved when the Pitt agreed to put this office on "hard" money, that is, as part of the University regular budget, and the director was freed from research responsibilities.

A substitution (Minority and Community Services) was, therefore, made by UUIP, and the remaining priorities were carried out as planned. Relatively brief descriptions of the several priorities are presented below to provide a general orientation for the more detailed data analysis chapters which follow. An important distinction to be kept in mind is that there are two elements involved in the descriptions. On the one hand, there are the ongoing activities in the particular project or program, and, on the other, there are the methods by which research is being carried out on these activities. UUIP did not operate or finance the projects; its function, rather, was to study their impact and to chronicle the process of development. The descriptions of the priorities are an adaptation from the UUIP Brochure referred to earlier.

COMMUNICATIONS

The goal of this research project was to explore the perceptions of the University held by its various publics, to measure changes in perception and ascertain the causes of those changes, to analyze the discrepancies between these perceptions and the reality of the University, and then to suggest ways of communicating to each of the University's publics a more realistic and accurate impression. The University's publics are many and diverse; they include businessmen, labor unions, professionals, religious groups, minorities, nationality groups, foundations, local government, alumni, parents of students, and four groups within the University itself (students, faculty, administrators, and staff).

As the University begins to take a more active part in helping to solve societal problems, it requires, perhaps more than ever before, the sympathetic understanding of those who provide its moral and financial support. And as the community becomes a more active participant in University affairs, it becomes increasingly necessary for the University to understand its assumptions

and priorities. The University's formal communications program is intended to assist in building this two-way understanding. The program includes:

a. providing information about the University to local and national mass media;
b. publication of a bi-weekly campus newspaper, a quarterly alumni newspaper, a quarterly alumni feature magazine, and intermittent newsletters for certain professional schools;
c. arranging for faculty members and administrators to appear on television and radio shows and to speak at meetings of professional societies, community agencies, etc.
d. providing special communications--bulletins, brochures, posters, etc.--designed to promote University programs and events, to recruit students, etc.

UUIP analyzed these channels of communication, assessed the information flowing through them, and defined the publics they are reaching or failing to reach. Staff members have systematically analyzed the content of a variety of publications--the student paper, the bi-weekly University newspaper, the quarterly alumni paper, the newsletter for parents of students, the commuter student paper, news releases issued by the Office of News and Publications, and articles about the University appearing in the city's two daily papers--in an attempt to determine the kinds of messages about the University seen by its various publics. They also have conducted several surveys among students, residents, and alumni in an attempt to ascertain the instruments of communication upon which they depend for information about the University and to define their image of the University and its mission.

CAMPUS DEVELOPMENT

The necessity for universities to expand their physical facilities has made for often explosive relations with their neighbors, not only at the University of Pittsburgh, but at Columbia, Duke, and around the country. Erection of new university buildings has a major impact on the surrounding community's aesthetic character, its commercial enterprises, its citizens, its public transportation, and its cultural activities.

At the time UUIP began operations, The Forbes Field Comple --a major physical expansion of the campus into an area which previously housed a stadium for the city's professional athletic teams--was already scheduled and largely funded. This project was naturally chosen as a target for UUIP research; others were a proposed dormitory, a building to house the Depa[illegible]nt of Chemistry, and a proposed addition to the medical complex. Each [illegible]he projects was in a different stage of planning--ranging from an e[illegible]ished plan which was about to be implemented and therefore allowed very [illegible]le latitude, to a long-range building objective in which it was still [illegible]ssible for the community to collaborate.

UUIP researchers attempted to identify the consequences of campus expansion and to map the complex interaction within and among University, community, and government groups.

Questions derived by comparing experiences with other urban schools have been used as a framework for analyzing the University of Pittsburgh's situation. They include: (1) Is campus development necessary? (2) Did the University make long-range plans and/or were the plans revealed to the public? (3) Is the University sensitive to problems of resident relocation? (4) Has the University planned for multi-use buildings? (5) Has the University made an effort to reconcile differences with the community? (6) How will the exemption or taxation of new development be handled? (7) What forms of collaborative planning work best?

Research has been conducted by observation of negotiating groups, attendance at public meetings, and interviews with key personnel. The staff also exchanged information with researchers who are studying campus expansion at other universities. Social area analysis of the Oakland area also was done.

It is hoped that the findings of these various research projects will enable the University to involve its neighbors more intimately and effectively in planning for their mutual neighborhood.

MINORITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

UUIP activity within this first priority concentrated on four projects which have been labeled Operation Outreach. These projects represent only a few of the numerous special programs undertaken by the University. Other major efforts--not specifically targets of UUIP research--include an Office of Urban and Community Services designed primarily to serve minority community needs; the University-Community Education Program, whose mission is to provide academic programs for disadvantaged minorities and for paraprofessionals; and the Affirmative Action Program, which seeks to assure equitable hiring, remuneration, and personnel practices. One of the research aims in each of the four Outreach projects is to view the interactions among the three entities involved--the University, the community, and the target agency or group. The projects are:

Outreach One: Project Right Start

This project was stimulated through the directive from the University administration to academic departments to submit research proposals dealing with social or racial injustice. Acceptance of a Psychology Department proposal led to plans for a program of early detection and prevention of psychological problems in young children within the Hill District, a predominantly black community. Operations have begun on a small scale--a director has been hired, community support has been built, and Right Start paraprofessionals are working with a still limited number of children--and expansion is planned.

The UUIP staff documented the process of building Project Right Start, largely through examination of available written materials, field observations, and extensive interviewing of project personnel.

Finally, a study was made of Right Start's community-based organization--Taking Care of Business (TCB)--and its attempt to institutionalize working relations with the University. (TCB is now using its experiences with Right Start to explore with other University departments the possibilities of working jointly on additional problems of community concern.)

Outreach Two: School of Social Work--Neighborhood Centers Association (NCA)

The Northside of Pittsburgh has been the center of considerable turmoil over the past few years. Enormous sums of money have been invested in the area--in a new sports stadium, public housing, schools, a community college, a large shopping center, high-rise apartments, highways, etc.--but many of these resources, for all their benefits, have aggravated social and economic problems for Northside residents. Conflicts among races, between and among income groups, and between government and citizens flair up continually.

Neighborhood Centers Association (NCA), a community organization funded by the Community Chest, helps to deal with neighborhood problems such as housing and racial conflict.

The University's School of Social Work agreed in 1970 to work cooperatively with NCA on Northside problems because the area represented a unique opportunity for the education of young urban professionals in a crucible containing critical needs, agency collaboration, and supervised field placement. The School is attempting to develop and test models of intervention in community development projects, gather in-depth information about the special characteristics of the Northside, learn the expectations and priorities of community residents, and, finally, use all of this information to help NCA develop policy and programs that use the School's expertise.

UUIP researchers participated with NCA for a full year, gathering data for subsequent analysis. The results of this analysis include: an interpretive history of NCA as a social service agency, description of community problems, evaluation of the successes and failures of a few representative community projects, analysis of the process of placing community workers in the field, and suggestions as to ways in which the University can best assist the agency and the community in the resolution of their problems.

Outreach Three: Student Consultant Project (SCP)

SCP was founded in the fall of 1969 by a group of students in the Graduate School of Business for the purpose of providing free management consulting services to small businessmen and industrial entrepreneurs in the City's economically depressed black neighborhoods. The student consultants are both black and white; their clients are almost exclusively black. The goals of the organization range from the general--opening another channel of communication and cooperation between blacks and whites and between the University and the community--to the specific--the development of a black economic base in Pittsburgh.

In addition to providing free consulting services, SCP sponsors special programs and courses on managerial techniques and problems; refers its clients to other agencies when specialized professional competence seems to be called for; disseminates information to clients on ways of obtaining goods and services through governmental agencies and other sources; has completed a pilot study of the black business community in the city's Hill District; and is in the process of establishing a credit union.

UUIP has collaborated in research on the Student Consultant Project by supporting analyses of operations, periodically interviewing key personnel from the business school and from [illegible], and by studying available written material. UUIP researchers attended the project's staff meetings.

UUIP has published a monograph by SCP members which includes a description of SCP's history, a manual of procedures designed to facilitate the training of new student consultants, and a discussion of communication control and record analysis within SCP intended to help improve operations.

Other research focuses on the reciprocal relationships existing between SCP and community businesses and agencies. (A number of individuals on SCP's Board of Directors are involved in other agencies and community enterprises, and this interwebbing of interests has been crucial to the project's existence from several standpoints, including financial assistance, the referral of clients, and moral support.)

Outreach Four: Clarifying Environments Program (CEP)

The Clarifying Environments Program (CEP) is an innovative attempt to introduce theory and practice developed in the University's learning research laboratories into a ghetto school. The program focuses on the improvement of the educational environment of the urban poor and minority groups and the training of indigenous paraprofessional staff as administrators, and aims at a long-range goal of developing a theory of human problem-solving and social interaction. Implementation of the program depends upon community support at both the grassroots level and within the upper-echelon.

Three Clarifying Environments Laboratories--one on the Pitt campus, one in a black ghetto elementary school and one in a low-income white elementary school--have been operating. The program was created by a learning theorist in the University's Learning Research and Development Center who is also a professor of sociology. CEP attempts to help children "discover" for themselves important things about the way they learn. Their learning activities include such things as having their fingernails color-coded to match the keyboard of a "talking typewriter", identifying letters of the alphabet on a "wheel of furtune", watching themselves on closed-circuit Picturephone, and publishing their own newspaper. CEP has been funded in part by several private foundations and in part by a Model Cities grant administered by the Pittsburgh Board of Education.

UUIP examined the linkage patterns among the University, the Pittsburgh Board of Education, the Model Cities Program, foundations, and contacts among other community organizations, groups, and citizens ranging from local neighborhoods to prominent leaders.

A mapping of CEP's community relations and the general impact of its innovative theory and technique on the community and its institutions also are explored. Data on the project was collected through reports from participant observers, visits to the project, and interviews with key persons in concerned organizations.

COMMUNITY LONG-RANGE GOALS

The aim of this project was to establish a reliable system for identifying the community's long-range goals and ways in which the University can relate to those goals most meaningfully. Several steps have been taken toward the development of such a system.

In the spring of 1971, under UUIP sponsorship, a Pittsburgh Goals Study was conducted in which 106 prominent community leaders were asked to express their views on 28 civic changes which might occur through 1975. The main purpose of the study was to discern any consensus as to possible changes in the city and to determine what changes might contribute to conflict. Results of the study were fed back to the leaders themselves as to how other community leaders view the city's future and enabled them to gauge the extent to which their sentiments were shared by their associates.

Another phase of this project has been the sponsorship of a series of forums bringing together community leaders and faculty members to discuss topics of common concern. The four forums focused on "Conflict Management", "The Administration of Justice," "Health Services," and "Community Goals and the Government of Metropolis." For each of the forums, background papers were prepared which examined the problems in detail and recommended ways in which the university and community might work together to solve them. A summary of the proceedings of the forums was published and circulated to participants.

The ultimate goal was to explore ways of bridging the gap between the University's and the community's perspectives on common problems. An outgrowth may be the establishment of mechanisms to more effectively cope with urgent urban problems. Hopefully, the results will help to articulate better the roles of the University, government, community organizations, leaders, and institutions and will leave a legacy of useful methods for dealing with community issues.

UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS

It is hoped that the data which are being collected in connection with the four research projects just described will make it possible, finally, to determine the degree of complexity with which the institution is dealing, to assess the effectiveness of its current response, and to identify ways of improving that response. Consequently, UUIP's final task was to analyze issues in the area of governance for community relations and to

make suggestions on organizational configurations so that the University's community relations as well its overall mission may be enhanced.

Conceptually, the UUIP program utilized an institution-building perspective that provides a framework for studying variables such as objectives, resource allocation, personnel, leadership, and organizational structure and linkages within different contexts. Methods used include survey research, content analysis, regular focused interviews with key persons, analysis of comparative programs in other institutions, social area analysis, and concurrent evaluation. Different methods were used in specific projects.

Use of interim or final research results by policy makers within administrative and academic departments of the University may provide information on their value in practice. Incorporation of such recommendations into policy-making streams is a vital topic related to governance, and one which may shed light on the process of how reform and innovation occur.

One important offshoot of the governance phase of UUIP research has been a special study of the University's economic impact upon its community. This study was a joint undertaking of UUIP and the Educational Systems Research Group of Washington, DC., and Toronto, Canada. It is modeled on a pioneering study published by the American Council on Education, Estimating the Impact of a College or University on the Local Economy, in which methods are proposed for developing a balance sheet which would measure a university's real net contributions against its hypothetical cost to the community. The study, a prototype application which took several months, spells out for the first time in dollars and cents some of the ways in which the University pays its way in the community.

Methodology

Under the mandate from the Office of Education the major thrust of the program was to monitor, chronicle, and concurrently evaluate on-going operations of the University. The University-Urban Interface grant was to be used strictly for research and not for organizing new programs or services.

The first necessity for any research program is access to the appropriate offices, programs, and personnel. The appointment of the Vice Chancellor for Program Development and Public Affairs as principal investigator for the research program demonstrated the University's willingness to be studied. This high-level office constituted the organizing unit for most of the University's formal responsibilities with respect to community relations. Originally, it had been planned to have research personnel lodged in the several key offices, e.g., a researcher in News and Publications, or the Office of Development and Alumni Affairs. However, physical shortage of space and changing activities have made a centralized research office more practical. In the ongoing research, individual assignments to cover certain project areas have been allocated, but the research team has been able to keep in touch with all aspects of the program because its members have had their permanent base in the same office.

The regular research staff has been quite small. Besides the Principal Investigator, who continued to spend most of his time in his administrative duties as formally arranged, there were a Director of Research Programs, three Research-Project Directors, and two full-time research assistants. In addition, it was possible to enlist the help of one or two part-time graduate students at any given time. Undergraduate students in the Work-Study program turned out to be very useful in doing coding or other routine tasks when these were required. Nevertheless, the number of permanent research personnel did not allow for consistent close monitoring of all the offices, programs, and projects under study. For the outreach projects, under Minority and Community Services, an alternative research strategy was developed which was consistent with the research thrust of the grant. Some personnel directly involved in providing services on the four projects functioned as participant observers for UUIP. Portions of their salaries were paid by grant funds in exchange for information according to the specifications of the research program and under the supervision of members of the research team.

The research also benefitted from regular access to interviews, reports, and other data from key University administrators. From these contacts vital information was acquired, particularly with respect to the priority areas of communication and campus development. Similarly, leaders in the outreach and community long-range goals projects have been accessible and helpful, not only in providing information but also in enhancing awareness of particular facets of operations which might otherwise have been overlooked.

There is no doubt in the minds of the researchers that there was some resistance to the research, particularly as it conveyed an evaluatory component. The research team has been aware of certain "closed areas". Conflicts have also been apparent between the desire to have the story told and loyalties to certain projects, offices, or even the complete University per se. Sometimes such evident stumbling blocks have actually worked to advantage in getting a wider perspective. Realizing that obstacles were being raised from one source, the researcher looked elsewhere to fill out the data. On the whole, however, those involved in implementing the priorities under study were highly cooperative.

Specific techniques of data collection had to be derived for each of the four priority areas and then integrated for the last priority area: University Governance for Community Relations. The first four priority areas were different enough from one another to call for specific research techniques which would have been inappropriate if applied to all. At the one extreme, the research on communication was fairly readily approachable by standardized techniques such as questionnaire surveys and content analysis of media. Monitoring the Outreach Projects, on the other hand, required a more innovative approach. Reports from participant observers working in the field have been combined with visits on the part of the researchers, interviews with other project members, unobtrusive measures such as memos, proposals, and correspondence in the project files, and so on. With the use of several techniques, cross-checks on the reports

of participant ob[illegible]vers could be made and apparent gaps in the data filled. The area of camp[illegible]development presented special problems in "tracking", for crises came and [illegible], points of view developed and then altered. Regular discussions with [illegible]versity officials and involved community members were helpful. But th[illegible]ast of characters" was constantly changing, special meetings were [illegible] to occur without much notice, and new issues appeared unheralded. It [illegible]ired a constant vigil on the mass media and the building of a wide in[illegible]al network of informants to keep abreast of developments.

Among the p[illegible]ities chosen for study, the long-range community goals project constitu[illegible] a special case. Unlike the other research areas, the goals project wa[illegible]plemented as part of the Office of Education grant. The project was [illegible]eived of as a piece of research in itself since it aimed at surveyi[illegible]ommunity goals and probing the potential for multi-group cooperatio[illegible] urban problems. For that reason, it was funded by UUIP with the he[illegible]f University matching funds. Operationalizing and implementing the [illegible]ject, however, consumed all of the available time of the project [illegible]rs. The research team, therefore, also attached monitoring devic[illegible]o this project to provide some additional insights on the process. [illegible]hniques for the goals project, in addition to more conventional meth[illegible], required a rather broad-based observational and sociometric appr[illegible] to the major project activity--four community goals forums.

Because of t[illegible] variety of activities under study and the need to adopt special te[illegible]ques appropriate to each, the researchers very early realized that th[illegible]ould have to develop ways of making data collection and analysis com[illegible]ple from area to area. This was especially crucial since each of th[illegible]nior researchers was made responsible for and spent most of his/her ti[illegible] on one specific priority. The most formal device which was adopte[illegible]as the Institution-Building model which defined major variables for sys[illegible]tic attention. The way in which this model was used in this research [illegible]l be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

More inform[illegible]eans of ensuring that research directions, problems, and findings were[illegible]ared were brought about by regular research staff meetings and the [illegible]culation of interview protocols and draft reports from particular [illegible]. The staff meetings provided an arena in which research events [illegible]preliminary findings could be shared. By making it a practice to ho[illegible]taff meetings weekly, at least some measure was introduced to pr[illegible]t individual staff members from becoming so immersed in their own re[illegible]h area that they "lost sight of the whole".

Another very [illegible]lpful means of keeping research staff up-to-date with one another's ac[illegible]ties and also furnishing fresh ideas and insights to the program was [illegible] came to be called the Internal Consultant Seminars. The University-Un[illegible] Interface Program had, from its inception, a Research Advisory Council [illegible]niversity faculty members with particularly relevant research intere[illegible]nd competencies. Members of the council participated

in the planning phase of the program, and also met as a body several times during the life of the program to discuss its progress and offer advice for further activities. During the Fall of 1971, a series of seminars were instituted with members of the Research Advisory Council and other experts in the University. This series continued until the end of the program.

In the course of the seminars, it was possible to have prolonged and extremely useful work sessions on research problems with Professors Burkhart Holzner, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Jiri Nehnevajsa, all of the Department of Sociology, and Professor Joseph Eaton of the School of Social Work. Professor Lazarsfeld particularly contributed his very valuable time on a regular bi-weekly basis for many months. He has aided the research staff in many areas such as exploring special problems in access to data, comparability of data collected by different techniques, the identification of broad integrating themes, and the particular issues involved in concurrent evaluation. With others who attended the Internal Consultant Seminars, it has been possible to further the understanding of the institution-building framework in terms of its uses, limitations, and potential, as well as its application to the research at hand. Both Professor Nehnevajsa and Professor Lazarsfeld also participated in an all-day seminar with personnel from the four outreach projects who were submitting reports to UUIP as part of the data collection. In this way, outreach contributors were also made familiar with the principal variables of the institution-building model.

Besides contributions to the Internal Consultant Seminars, members of the Research Advisory Council made contributions to the program in a number of other ways. Dr. Allen Pond of the School of Public Health made a special contribution to the Urban Inventory which will be discussed in Chapter V. Dean Steele Cow, Jr., of the School of General Studies served as Project Director of the Community Long-Range Goals Effort. He also authored several documents for the program and was a contributor to the original proposal. Professor Nehnevajsa also authored a number of documents in connection with the goals project.

The instruments used in the course of the research and the types of data which were collected are catalogued in Appendix D of this report.

The Institution-Building Model

Early in the development of the University-Urban Interface Program, it was decided that this model could serve as an organizing and synthesizing focus for the research. How UUIP used the model for its purposes will be described in this section. For a more theoretical discussion of the model, with references to major sources, see Appendix A.

Although the model had so far been used mainly in developing countries, it provided a framework for studying the emergence of a new organization or the re-organization of an existing one which seemed suited to program needs. The research was undertaken to monitor the efforts of the University of Pittsburgh to implement a community service or urban dimension on the part

of the University. The emphasis in the institution-building model on process and change seemed to fit in with this objective. Also, some of the projects and programs studied were new efforts which were attempting to move to an established position. The model stressed regular samplings and comparisons of goals and programs at different points in time.

A second feature of the model is the identification of important internal variables which influence the success or failure of any attempt to establish a new or alter an existing framework. This set of variables is applicable not only to the University as a total system, but also to each of the projects, programs, and offices chosen as areas for intensive research. The use of a consistent set of variables was particularly important for integrating data collection and analysis over the wide variety of activities included in the study. Each priority area has unique characteristics in comparison with the others, yet each is consistent with the program aims of gathering information which would lead to proposals for a more effective approach to University-Community interaction. Within each priority, independent leaders pursue their own goals which vary according to the perceived needs of the particular target group or groups. Systematic attention to the variables specified in the model also provided a basis for assimilating findings in connection with the fifth priority, University Governance for Community Relations.

The third element in the model which has been helpful for the research design is the identification of external linkages. The assumption is that all organizations are interdependent and must rely on other organizations, external groups and individuals both as sources of support and as recipients of goods and services. The nature of the program research required focusing on three types of collectivities: The University, the particular project or program under study, and the community target group or groups. The institution-building model offered continuous reenforcement for paying attention to these three foci. It also served to specify the nature of the ties which exist between them. Like the internal variables of the model, attention to particular types of external linkages provided continuity across the priority areas.

It should be noted that none of the action programs which were studied by UUIP had specifically set out to use the institution-building model as a guide for establishing an organization. Rather the model was part of the research framework, and the concepts were applied to the analysis of the programs and not to their implementation.

The Variables of the Model: The model delineates seven basic issues in the development (or restructuring) of an institution. These central variables are listed in the chart below on the vertical axis. Before discussing the mappings on the horizontal axis of the chart, a brief description of the seven variables and the data used to document them is presented.

Institution-Building Variables

	Normative Mapping	Operating Mapping	Image Mapping
Goals and Doctrine			
Programs			
Leadership			
Personnel			
Resources			
Organization or Internal Structure			
Linkages			

Goals and doctrine refer to the specified objectives of the program or organization, as well as the ideologial justification for setting the goals. The information for this variable was usually found in written documents such as proposals or grant contracts, brochures, or other official papers having to do with goal specifications. Programs have to do with the mechanisms by which it is attempted to put the goals into action. Data on program implementation was collected by monitoring resource allocation, interviewing staff about their activities, and observation on the scene of the activities.

Assessing leadership requires attention to continuity, qualifications, and organizational skills of program leaders. These data were gathered in various ways. Often there were formal job descriptions or other means of determining what was considered "accepted leadership style". Other information came from interviews, observation, media coverage, and collecting opinions from those both internal and external to the program with whom top leadership had to relate. Personnel refers to the staff of an organization or program beyond leadership. Since some of the programs under study included a very "mixed" staff in terms of qualifications and considerable overlap in duties, staff interaction was given considerable attention. In addition to observation and informal clues picked up in casual contacts, the relations between staff members and their orientations toward both the program and its leadership were mostly garnered through interviews with leaders and other personnel.

Organization or internal structure refers to the distribution of responsibilities and authority. Very often, there were formal charters or other documents which describes the roles to be played and the ways in which these roles related to one another. Very often, too, for one reason or another, the structure was altered in actual practice. The more formal documents, however, provided a guide against which information from other research tools could be placed. It was then possible to monitor changes in role specifications and organizational relations and probe into the conditions which led to alterations in the organizational design. Under resources, the necessary inputs for organizational implementation and stability are covered. For these programs, funding--the basis from which it would be possible to hire appropriate staff, acquire needed facilities, and so on--was a major focus. Data in this area included measuring the actual time

spent on raising funds as compared to other efforts, and ascertaining the targets of proposals and more informal requests. The success or failure of such efforts was also documented, and it was possible to talk to people in target agencies as to their receptivity or lack of it and the reasons for which they either accepted or turned down any given funding request.

The linkages were, of course, already implied when funding was discussed above. They have to do with external social environment in which programs exist. There are several types of linkages. Enabling linkages have control over a program in the form of allocation of resources and decision-making authority. For most of the projects and programs monitored by UUIP, the University played an enabling role. But the programs also had to go to other agencies, public and private, for sufficient resources to implement and establish their activities. A second linkage, normative, has to do with the value climate in which particular efforts are received. Public legitimation provides an essential support base for the implementation of programs. Functional linkages, a third type, include those other organizations or groups which perform complementary activities or competing ones. To the extent that cooperative reciprocal relations can be established with functional linkages, an organization will be facilitated in receiving needed inputs and finding a market for its own goods and/or services. Finally, there are diffuse linkages which have to do with the various population aggregates which may at any time be mobilized to support or reject an organizational effort. In times of crisis, the support which can be mobilized from previously unorganized sources may make the difference in keeping an effort going.

To study linkage relationships of the four types outlined above, data was collected through content analysis of the mass media, through surveys, and through analyzing memos and correspondence between any given program and outside groups or individuals. The extent to which funding or other requests for assistance were honored and the conditions under which resources were granted was also documented. Finally, numerous interviews and more informal discussions were held with both internal staff and members of relevant outside groups about such relationships.

To return to the horizontal axis of the chart presented on page 21, this axis signifies that each of the seven variables are viewed from three different perspectives or "mappings". The first, or blueprint, mapping pertains to the plans developed in relation to each of the seven variables as stated in organization charts, budgets, program specifications, and other formal documents developed initially, or along the way, which tell how things are "supposed to be". The second mapping, operations, requires data which show what is actually happening as attempts are made to carry out the blueprint in the seven areas. The third perspective, image mapping, takes into account the perceptions that relevant constituencies have about each of the seven issues or variables. The three mappings have been very useful for UUIP research because the purpose of the study was to find out how people perceived university actions, in addition to chronicling what was actually being done and how the activities measured up to the original plans.

To use the institution building model, the research staff developed a work sheet based on the chart which shows the seven variables and the three mappings, or perspectives. These work sheets were filled in regularly with the appropriate data. By this method, a time perspective could be employed on the process of implementation. It also ensured that all gaps in data collection could be identified and filled without any appreciable lapse in time.

In the following chapters, analysis and interpretation of the data collected in the course of the study will be presented. The first chapter will be devoted to communications. This seems appropriate since the process of communication is an important part of each of the other priority areas chosen for the University-Urban Interface Program.

CHAPTER I

COMMUNICATIONS

Barbara Jameson

with Ramsey Kleff and Liva Jacoby

Communication Between the University and Its Publics

Probably the most critical dilemma for the contemporary university in the United States has come to be that of defining its particular responsibilities and obligations, both toward its internal constituencies (students, faculty, administration) and its external publics at the local and national level. For some years, considerable attention has been paid to internal issues, particularly with respect to obligations to students, but it is only very recently that the university has been pressed to articulate its responsibilities vis-a-vis non-membership groups. Traditionally, the university's "business" was to provide higher education for an elite, and its resources were utilized pursuant to such goals as providing adequate curricula and knowledgeable faculties so that a "liberal education" could be acquired by those few who would be responsible for maintaining the cultural standards of the society. Since World War II, however, the university has been asked to accommodate an influx of a far greater proportion of the population, both to enlarge the spectrum of informed citizenry and also to orient itself to the occupational-technological needs of an industrial society in an advanced stage. During this same period, the university has been increasingly assigned the task of conducting basic, empirical research into the long-range and immediate problems encountered in the new social conditions. In effect, the university professor was being pressed to forsake his more isolated scholarly stance and adopt the rather diffuse role of both researcher and teacher, the rationale being that expert faculty should be engaged in the production as well as the dissemination of knowledge.

In the past decade, the university has been increasingly pressed to put its accumulated knowledge and resources to work on the immediate solution of proliferating social problems, particularly urban problems. With respect to its teaching responsibilities, the university is called upon to keep more abreast with developments in the "real" world, and prepare its students to understand it and serve its practical needs. The university, as the chief reservoir of knowledge and expertise in society, is expected to provide the talents and the programs which will produce the personnel to solve acute social problems. This is one aspect of a new service role for the university, an aspect which can generally be handled by an expansion within university walls.

A second service aspect, however, requires a more active "involvement" in the community directly, and this aspect is more closely related to research activities. Rather than simply storing up basic knowledge, the university is being asked to start implementing research findings through direct intervention programs in problem areas. Many groups are pressuring faculty and students to make themselves directly responsive to community needs through community action or betterment activities. Such activities require close interaction between university personnel and community groups so that their shared knowledge can be brought to bear, rather than university personnel giving "advice".

The reciprocal relationship between the university and the community has become strikingly evident in recent times. The university needs strong support, morally and financially, in order to fulfill its institutionalized roles of teaching and research. In turn, the university is being called upon to augment its more latent service ideology and exercise its great potential by responding through active involvement in times of urban crises.

For a community-university partnership to emerge and function well, knowledge and understanding of the existing problems on both sides is necessary. This can be attained only through good and open communications between the two. For its part, the university must attempt not only to listen to its major constituencies but to articulate its own goals and implementation problems. Community groups, in turn, must try to understand the variety of demands on the university as well as making clear its own needs. Only when a continuous two-way flow of communication has been established, can it be expected that the university and the community can develop an understanding which will allow them to work together to forward their common interests.

The University of Pittsburgh meets the criteria necessary to serve as a research situation for university-community communication analysis and action plans. The University has made a commitment to excellence in teaching and research as well as a commitment to involvement with the community. The most recent Annual Reports of the Chancellor stress the role of public service (Report of the Chancellor, 1970; 1971; 1972). The University has a well-developed system of formal communication which is vitally concerned with the effects of its operation and has expressed willingness to cooperate with research staffs. The City of Pittsburgh displays the characteristics of other urban areas in terms both of its problems and its interested citizen groups in solving these problems. These conditions are important as one works toward an understanding of the University-community communication process not only as it effects the University of Pittsburgh but with findings that will be generalizable to other universities in the country as they strive to meet the new challenges.

Although only one of the five priority areas chosen for University-Urban Interface Program (UUIP) research is designated as "Communications", it rapidly became apparent that, in fact, each of these priorities required an understanding of the problem of communications between the University and one or more of its major constituencies. For example:

Minority and Community Services depends heavily on the establishment of productive communications with the black community: with both individuals within that community and with social agencies and organizations such as Model Cities, PACE, and the United Black Front.

Campus Development depends on the establishment of productive communications between the University and those who are affected by its campus expansion plans: community residents and business people; ethnic groups, blacks; the community planning organizations; and displaced or inconvenienced property owners.

Community Long-Range Goals cautions us that communication needs, like a community's needs and goals, are constantly shifting and new configurations are emerging. Thus lines of communications must be able to reach not only present influentials and decision-makers within the community, but extend to reach future influentials as well.

Governance presents the problem of communications as an internal as well as an external problem. There is a need for internal communication among personnel of the University as well as external communication between the University as a corporate entity and its publics.

Communications demands not only that we reach the traditional "major" constituencies of a university; i.e., alumni, government bodies, students, faculty, corporations, but also that we monitor and interpret correctly the incoming messages from these constituencies. Communications is always a two-way street. Failure of the flow in either direction can seriously jeopardize the success of any interface.

Communications, moreover, may take many forms. Communication takes place not only through formal media, such as the printed word, radio, television, and formal speeches, but also informally through casual conversation, grapevine, rumor, and simply keeping one's eyes and ears open.

In addition, there is more to communication than the sending and receiving of "messages". It is a matter not only of information given and received, but also of the perceptions that form as this information is interpreted.

With a subject matter so broad and complex, the research problem quickly became one of focus; how to study and understand communications and their impact in some sort of manageable way.

A general plan and many specific ideas were suggested in the original proposal to the Office of Education (Proposal for Continuation of a University-Urban Interface Program, December, 1969). That document suggested that the research should concentrate on three kinds of problems:

1. To ascertain whether specific communications which were intended to convey information did in fact convey that information accurately.

2. To discover whether specific communications which are intended to change or to reinforce a particular attitude did or did not do so.

3. To systematically collect information about the channels through which communications are sent and received in order to begin to map the structures which do and which do not facilitate the flow of effective communications. Since from the point of view of University operations it is as important for communications to flow from the community into the University as it is for communications to be transmitted to the community, these three problems will be investigated by giving systematic attention to movement in both directi

In addition to looking at the accuracy, attitude reinforcement, and channels of communication, it was also deemed important to explore the expectations people have of the University. By uncovering and evaluating the present perceptions various publics have toward the role of a university, recommendations could be made to university administrations in terms of discrepant expectations between publics and misunderstandings of present policies. Such information could also be useful in determining the areas in which the allocation of communication resources might be applied to clarify university positions or interpret university activity.

Data has been collected for study of communication between the University and the community within the framework of the institution-building model. Organization charts of the Office of News and Publications and the Office of Development and Alumni Affairs were used as a basis for a blueprint mapping of the formal media structure between the University and the community. Interviews with administrators of these offices and other relevant personnel aided in the mapping of the "actual operations" of their offices. Questions were included in surveys to ascertain which channels of communication various groups were using to both receive and send news between the University and the community.

The major emphasis, however, has been placed on "image mapping". Communication is a key factor in the formation of perceptions that people have of the University. The research sought to discover not only how people assess the communication process per se (ex.: informativeness and accuracy of University papers), but also how they interpret activities of the University (ex.: campus expansion, minorities programs, student events). Therefore, communications is viewed as a process which is complementary to the structural development of all of the interfacing programs.

The "Publics" of the University

A first task in the development of a research design for the study of communications was to clarify the concept of "publics" and to identify which specific publics are most relevant to a study of the University-community communication process.

"Publics" of the University are groups of people who can be identified by certain social characteristics as having a special relationship to the University. One way to categorize these publics is in terms of a functional relationship with the University.* The most salient categories for the University would be:

1. University decision-makers (high level administrators, Trustees)

2. Program implementors (faculty and staff)

3. "Clients" (those whom the University directly serves, such as students, community project recipients, medical clinic patients)

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*The categories are suggested by a working paper of Jiri Nehnevajsa, "Methodological Issues in Institution-Building Research," Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh, March 29, 1964.

4. Effectors (those who are external to the organization structure but have some authority, such as financial donors, alumni, legislators, union leaders, and city government officials)

5. Community influentials (politicians, business leaders, minority group spokesmen, newsmen)

6. The general public (ranging from those who are directly affected by University actions, such as local residents and businessmen to less directly affected, such as taxpayers, parents, and voters)

These categories of publics point up the roles different groupings perform vis-a-vis the University, ranging from those who formulate policy and carry out the programs; those who have veto power, either directly or through influence; and those who are directly served by the University.

These publics' relationship with the University vary over time in intensity and significance. Their degree of contact with University activities also varies, some having formal, ongoing relations and others having most contact through exposure of the public media. The nature of the relationship is such that the expectations and images which these different publics have of the University will vary according to the needs of each role: administrators will want policy implementation to run smoothly, but effectors will protest if their special interests are not met; faculty want to maintain high academic standards, but traditionally disadvantaged groups demand access to higher education; scholars wish to pursue special research, but legislators want the teacher in the classroom; and there are calls for lowered tuition, increase of students and special programs, higher salaries, and a balanced budget.

These conflicting needs and expectations point up the importance of reaching a better understanding of the views of these publics on present policies of the University and the impact of the media on these views.

In addition to viewing the publics in terms of their functional relationship to the University, the publics can also be seen in terms of their position in the structure of the University. Some of these publics specified in the above schema are part of the internal structure of the University, others are external, and a third group we have labeled "criss-cross". This third group designates roles which have major organizational ties both within and outside of the University and serve as a bridge between the internal and external publics. Publics would fit into these three categories as follows:

Internal Publics	Criss-Cross Publics	External Publics
Students	Trustees	Legislators
Faculty	Alumni	Community Leaders
Administrators		General Public
Staff		

One public from each of the three broad categories was selected for in depth study. Students and alumni were surveyed by mailed questionnaires as follows:*

	Sample	Return	
Student I	900	51%	October 1, 1970
Student II	293 panel 135 dorm	68.9% 56.3%	March 1, 1971 March 1, 1971
Alumni I	Printed in Alumni Times	452	October, 1970
Alumni II	3,000	32%	May, 1972

The views of segments of the general public were surveyed during the Summer of 1972 through sixty hour-long interviews, using both an open-ended and forced-choice format. Five different groups of Pittsburgh residents, were identified by their relationship to Pitt and their geographic and racial affiliations. Those groups were Oakland Businessmen, Oakland Residents, Hill District Blacks, Blue-collar Non-Oakland Residents, and White Suburbanites.

One major criterion for the identification of those groups was the degree of their involvement with the University. The Oakland Businessmen, the Oakland Residents, and the Hill District Black Residents were more involved with Pitt, due to the proximity of their residence to the campus or the location of their place of business in Oakland. In other words, those three groups of the general publics were close neighbors to Pitt.

The other two groups represented those who have the least daily physical contact with the University. The Non-Oakland Blue-Collar ethnic residents were chosen to match as closely as possible the Oakland residents sample, thus keeping as the major difference their proximity to Pitt. The White Suburbanites were to represent those of the middle class, who may work in the city yet center most of their social and cultural interests in their own suburban neighborhoods.

Data to assess the images of other publics were gathered in staff-conducted interviews, the daily monitoring of news articles, and the use of a variety of secondary data. Another source of data was provided by questionnaires sent to community agency decision-makers as part of the Community Goals area of the UUIP program. This program also conducted a series of forums in which community and University people exchanged ideas about community needs and what role the University might play in relation to these needs. UUIP observers gathered systematic data from these forums, and a follow-up questionnaire further assessed the viability of this approach to problem-solving and communication between publics. A study of University governance (Carroll, 1972) provided information on faculty and administration views, and a survey of trustees gave substance to other material on this policy-making public.

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*See page 59 for references to published results of these surveys and other studies noted in this section.

A Model of the Communication Process

One of the tasks the research staff undertook early in Phase II was the development of a model of the communication process. This model serves both as a clarifier of the process and as a means to systematize the research data and set boundaries for the scope of research. The process was first conceptualized as taking place in three sectors: (1) the University; (2) media organizations; and (3) in the community.

The University provides the subject matter for the messages with which we are concerned. Although not all messages originate within the University, they are about the University or reaction to the University.

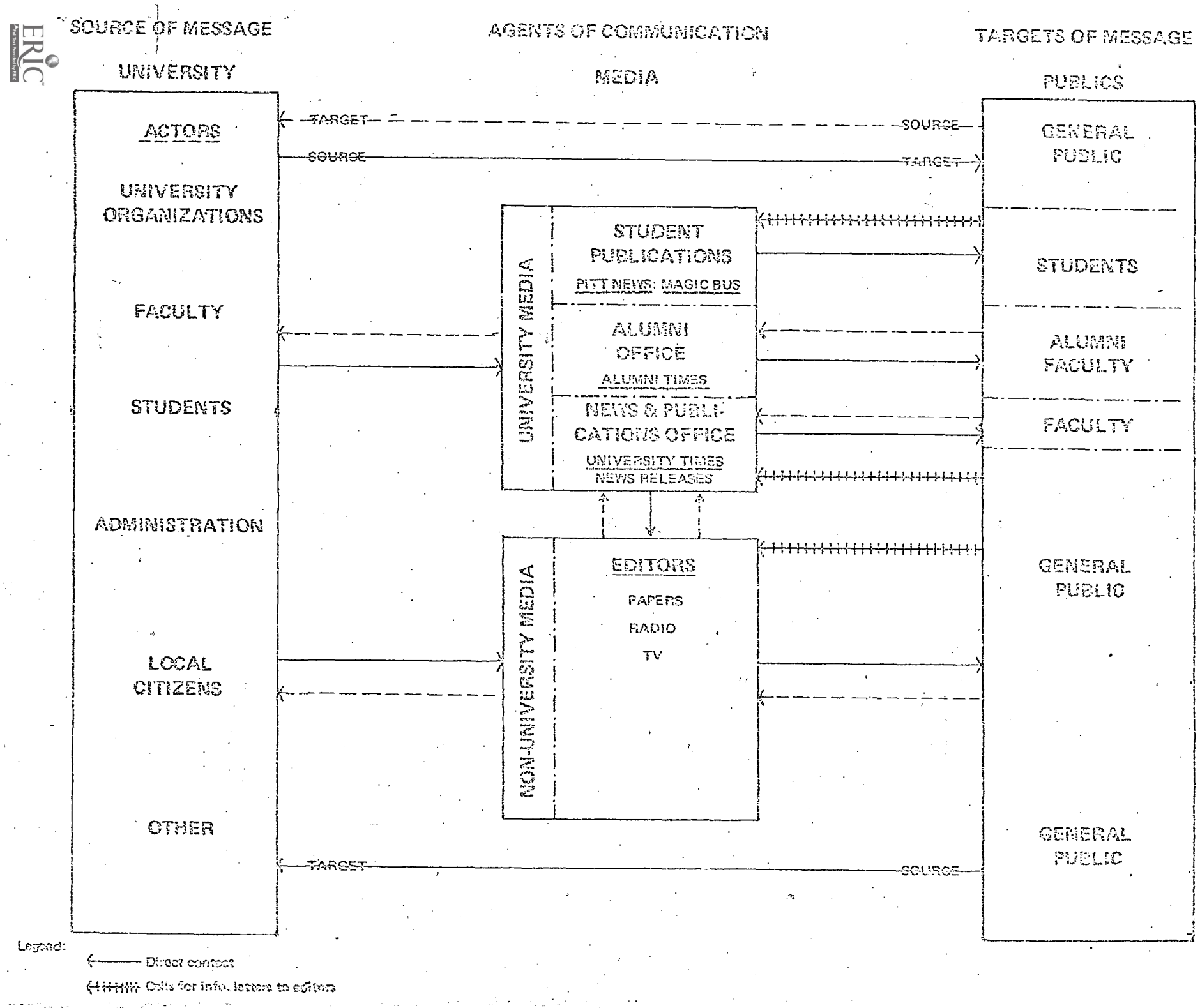
The communication that flows between the University and the community is both facilitated and modified by various agents of communication such as the University Office of News and Publications or the desk of a city editor. Messages have some explicit or implicit targets among the many publics to which they might be directed. These publics might be internal to the University, such as students or faculty, or external to the University in the form of occupational, political interest, ethnic, or geographical groupings which can form a special interest group or public.

This original simple conceptualization was developed to include the actors about which the messages are primarily concerned and the activity reported in the message. This content information was then supplemented by the notions of image projection. A message not only has information content, but it projects some sort of image, whether intended by the sender or not. This image will not be perceived by all publics in the same way, either in the sense of interpretation of the message or evaluation as a positive or negative image.

Besides the content and image projection of messages, the model also includes the concept of "flow of the message" or "channels of communication". This aspect is also relevant to problems of University-urban interface.

On the next page, a chart is presented which represents our conceptualization of the communications process, followed by a brief explanation to facilitate interpretation of the chart.

Table 1


SOURCE OF MESSAGE
AGENTS OF COMMUNICATION
TARGETS OF MESSAGE
UNIVERSITY
MEDIA
PUBLICS
ACTORS
UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATIONS
FACULTY
STUDENTS
ADMINISTRATION
LOCAL CITIZENS
OTHER
TARGET
SOURCE
SOURCE
TARGET
UNIVERSITY MEDIA
STUDENT PUBLICATIONS
PITT NEWS; MAGIC BUS
ALUMNI OFFICE
ALUMNI TIMES
NEWS & PUBLICATIONS OFFICE
UNIVERSITY TIMES
NEWS RELEASES
NON-UNIVERSITY MEDIA
EDITORS
PAPERS
RADIO
TV
GENERAL PUBLIC
STUDENTS
ALUMNI
FACULTY
FACULTY
GENERAL PUBLIC
GENERAL PUBLIC
TARGET
SOURCE
Legend:
Direct contact
Calls for info, letters to editors

Explanation of Chart

The University and the publics are positioned at opposite ends of the chart to depict the idea that a message about the University moves to reach publics. The lines contain arrows designating the flow of a message. Certain of these lines depict a direct connection between the University and publics, while others show messages going through various "agents of communication", such as University publications and the public press.

Many messages originate in the University sector and move out to the public directly. Other messages concerning the University actually originate within the public sector and move toward the University. A circular flow of communication is shown by the continuous direction of the outer solid arrows connecting source and target. The broken lines designate feedback from target to source. The inner solid lines and broken lines depict the various possible channels a message might flow through within the various agents of communication.

A message which originates in some department of the University might be picked up by a News and Publications' reporter, be written in the form of a news release, sent to the press, picked up by a reporter, go through an editor's desk, and reach the public in a news article. Public reaction might take the form of information input and image impression or could take more overt form and move back to the source via a phone call to the University, a "letter to the editor" in the public press, or the formation of some public action group which then collectively gives feedback to the University.

The Data

This model of the communication process served as a guideline for the design of the communication project's study of the actual process as related to the University of Pittsburgh and its publics. The chart on the following page shows how specific sources of data relate to various areas of the Model of the Communication Process.

A comprehensive content analysis was done on all articles dealing with Pitt which were published in the newspapers, both University-affiliated and local (during 1970-1971). The responses to the Goals Questionnaire, which was administered to some community leaders, were also content analyzed as were the results of the participations in the Goals Forums. This content analysis gave us information about the "message", such as channels of communication used, their content, accuracy, etc.

Interviews with University personnel, two student questionnaires and an alumni survey, a study tapping the opinions about the University held by community influentials, and interviews with five categories of the general Pittsburgh public (see page 26) were undertaken. No attempt was made to directly interview faculty or staff, but certain findings in the Carroll report dealing with this specific area were used in order to complement the general overall communication study.

Table 2

Source of Data for Communication Project

Source for Information About Recipient of Message (ex.: attitudes, expectations, etc.)	The Message and the Receiver Recipient of Message	Source for Information About Message (ex.: channels, content, accuracy, etc.) Content Analysis
	Internal Publics	
Student Questionnaire I and II	Students	N & P News Releases Pitt News Magic Bus University Times Special "inch" analysis Student Questionnaire
Governance Study (Carroll)	Faculty	
News articles and in-house newsletter	Staff	
Interviews with University personnel	Administrators	
	Criss-Cross Publics	
Alumni Questionnaire I and II	Alumni	Alumni Questionnaire I and II Alumni Times (Content Analysis)
Trustee Questionnaire (Nelson)	Trustees	
	External Publics	
Goals Questionnaire Forums	Community Leaders Community Leaders	Content Analysis of Press and Post-Gazette, Pitt Parent Goals Questionnaire Participation in Goals Forums
News Articles	Legislators	
Survey of General Publics	General Publics	Survey of General Publics

Those surveys, questionnaires, and other observation techniques gave information about the recipient of the "message", their attitudes, expectations, hopes and complaints, as well as suggestions both to general and specific topics the University might be involved with.

Channels of Communication

Certain portions of the above-mentioned surveys and questionnaires dealt specifically with the channels of communication. Table 3 shows how students, alumni, and segments of the general public rated the importance of specific media in learning about news of the University.

Table 3

Ranking of Different News Media
By Order of Importance in Relaying
Information About the University to Different Publics

Publics	University Publications	Local Papers	T.V.	Radio	Friends
Alumni	1	2	3	5	4
Students	1	3	4	5	2
General Pittsburgh Public					
Oakland Businessmen	3	2	4	5	1
Oakland Residents	2	1	3	5	4
Hill District Blacks	1	4	5	2	3
Non-Oakland Blue-collar	4	1	2	5	3
White Suburbanites	5	3	2	4	1

These results show that in our sample the publics who are most closely associated with the University, i.e., alumni and students, relied on the University publications to get their information about Pitt. Local papers, television, radio, and friends were also indicated as being used for news about the University, although to a different degree between the two groups.

However, in contrast to the alumni and students, the results of the general public survey were significantly different. Each sub-group of the general Pittsburgh public ranked differently the different media in terms of its importance to them in communicating news about Pitt. An interesting finding in this area was that most Hill District black residents indicated that University publications were their most important source of news about Pitt, and made little use of city newspapers. In the survey report, it was suggested that this may be due to the availability of those free publications in the University recreation facility used by the neighboring Hill District children and the lack of public press newsboys in the ghetto area.

Another area that was studied in the general public survey and alumni questionnaire was the feedback channels seen open and usable to the respondents. Table 4 below shows the percentage of the sample which chose one of five options suggested to the alumni.

Table 4

Question: One of the responsibilities of the Alumni Trustees is to represent the views of alumni to University officials. These trustees are most anxious to learn more about alumni opinion. Of the ways to communicate listed below, which one would you be most apt to make use of to communicate your views?

Open Meetings(%)	Association Meetings(%)	Alumni Survey(%)	Letter to Trustees(%)	Telephone Alumni Ofc(%)
6.8	5.9	72.5	10.8	4.0

Although the question does not deal with formal media, the responses point out that the alumni favored a formal process such as a questionnaire over more personal contact means such as attending meetings or telephoning University officials.

The general public survey, on the other hand, asked about preferred means of communicating to the University in an open-ended question. The responses were coded as shown in Table 5. The variety of usage of both University and non-University media can be grouped into three general categories: direct face-to-face, formal use of the media, and contact through organized groups.

The Oakland residents predominantly indicated they favor the direct method of feedback--either phoning, writing, or talking face-to-face with somebody who is identified with the University hierarchy. The Hill District blacks, on the other hand, indicated they would make use of the different formal media, both University and non-University; and only a few favored direct contact as a method to relay their ideas to the University. The blue-collar residents resembled the Oakland residents in that they favored direct contact, yet they indicated a narrow range of potential contacts at the University and indicated some measure of making use of community leaders as one alternative in the direct approach. The white suburbanites also indicated their choice of direct feedback, while some answers mentioned specific non-University media, i.e., television and newspapers. The Oakland businessmen's answers offered one interesting facet. Most indicated their choice of direct contact with the Chancellor, but an equally large number of answers were either of the "do not know" or "what's the use, nobody will listen" category. This may reflect actual experiences in communication with the University or a real lack of knowledge as to how to make their opinions and needs known to the University.

Table 5

Ways to Communicate with the University: Frequency of Response by 5 Segments of the General Public

Question: What ways would you use to get your ideas (suggestions, complaints or praise) to people at the University of Pittsburgh?	Oakland Residents	Oakland Businessmen	Hill District Blacks	Blue-Collar Residents	Univ. Students
Chancellor--call or write	**	*****	**	*****	**
Talk to University administrators	***** **	*	*	***	***
Go in person and talk to University public relations or complaint department	**			**	
Talk to professors' spokesman	*	*			
Talk to people at Student Union	*	*			*
Send letter to University (general)	****		*	*	
Call up and tell (general)	****				
Talk to students who would present it to administrators as a petition	*				
This survey--publish it publically and in University news		*	*		
Contact television and radio (editors or newsmen)		**	**		*
Talk on television (60-second messages)		**	*		*
Write to city papers (Pittsburgh Press and Post-Gazette)			**		*
Write to University publications and Oakland News	*		**	*	
Action work with citizens (meetings, etc.)				*	
Write to Mayor or legislators				*	
Initiate seminars and meetings with University staff and national and state figures			*		
Initiate meetings with University staff and community leaders		*	*	*	
Raise the issue in the Chamber of Commerce		***			
No use--nobody will listen		*			*
Do not know		*****			

In summary, it was found that the basic chart of the communication flow between the University and its publics did indeed provide an adequate model that fits the actual experiences of the daily interaction. However, certain points should be stressed so as to represent the actual perception of the situation from the point of view of the publics, mainly in the perceived feedback abilities of those publics and their dependence on different types of media to get information about the University. The alumni, whom we have conceptualized as in a "criss-cross" relationship between the University and the community, are a potential resource for both expanding University information input to the community and forming a bridge between the University and its external publics. As Table 6 shows, the Pitt alumni do read University publications, do participate in University activity, and over six per cent write to their legislators. Such an involved alumni can be an invaluable resource for increasing the level of information the community has about the University and for making community expectations known to the University.

Table 6

Question: Which of the following University of Pittsburgh-related activities do you do fairly regularly?

	% Yes Responses
Read University publications	55.6
See Pitt alumni friends	30.6
Attend athletic events	23.5
Talk with students, faculty, or staff members	21.6
Attend professional organization meetings held at Pitt	13.8
Attend University educational/cultural events	12.6
Help in fund-raising	9.7
Communicate with legislators	6.6
Attend alumni social events	5.5
None of the above	28.1

One last point that the initial chart does not adequately cover is the number of University publications that do, in fact, carry the information to the different publics. In addition to the ones mentioned, i.e., University Times, Pitt News, Magic Bus, and Alumni Times, some new papers have made the campus scene during the past two years. The Nite Times and the Graduate and Professional Students Association News are published by student organizations, and both the Office of News and Publications and some individual departments issue their own. Following are a list of the newsletters that were published by the Office of News and Publications during the 1972-1973 fiscal year:

On News and Publications' Budget

Guidance Counselor Newsletter (Office of Admissions and Student Aid)
Business Newsletter
Education Newsletter
GSPIA Newsletter
UPJ Newsletter
International Newsletter (University Center for International Studies)
Commonwealth Newsletter (Governmental Relations)

On Budget of School or Department

Dental Medicine Newsletter
Pathology Notes
MPE Newsletter (Graduate School of Business)
Center Communicator (Desegretation and Conflict Center, School of Education)
Chemistry Alumni Newsletter
English Newsletter
History Newsletter
Institute of Urban Policy and Administration Newsletter (GSPIA)
Pitt Parents Association Newsletter (Development and Alumni Affairs)
Career Planning Newsletter (Counseling Center)

* * * *

In addition to newsletters which flow through student associations and the formal University media channels (News and Publications and the Alumni Office), many departments distribute regular newsletters to their internal members (e.g., Sociology's For Your Information). Such newsletters can insure better internal communication and serve as a forum for expression of views.

The Formal University News System

The Office of News and Publications is responsible for public relations advice to the administration of the University, the handling of news-related activity for academic departments, professional schools and special programs, and the publication process of material designed for both internal and external audiences. The News and Publications' staff also serves as a liaison between the University and the public media.

In a discussion with the staff, the Director of the Office of News and Publications pointed out that one cannot build an image of a university as one would of a corporation or a political candidate because a university is made up of many diverse sectors which pride themselves on a large degree of autonomy. The very nature of a university stresses seeking of the truth and any controlled attempt to manipulate either the content of messages or projection of images would be antithetical to the over-riding character and function of a university. He further pointed out that a large portion of News and Publications' staff time is spent in establishing credibility with University officials, representatives of the news media, and with the general public.

Content Analysis

Early research effort focused on three questions related to formal channels of communication: (1) what kind of information is being communicated; (2) what image of the University is being projected through this information; and (3) to whom do the communications seem to be directed. Besides learning something about the messages and their targets, the mapping was begun of the channels of communication as messages flow between the University and the public.

One starting point for an analysis of the more visible communication processes was to look at the actual news articles about the University in both public and University-printed media. The information learned from a content analysis of such articles was necessary as a basis for further research and was also an unobtrusive method which was useful in guiding the staff in further development of the project.

One of the first areas of analysis was of official formal communication that is channeled through the Office of News and Publications. This office prepares news releases which are sent to the public media. After interviewing the director of that office, the UUIP research team began reading all news releases to get a general idea of the content of these formal messages and possible images they might project about the University. The readers were given minimal instruction to allow their subjective reactions free reign to include any idea which might come to their mind when reading these releases. After a joint staff examination of the results of these readings, some preliminary categories were chosen which seemed most relevant to the research needs and some sample content analyses made. This process led to the basic categories of content analysis used in the analysis of the press: (1) information content in terms of activity and the actors; (2) images of the University projected by the message; (3) the target of the message or the public toward which the message seems to be directed; and (4) the type of media used to convey the message. The content coders read a set of articles using the categories and their intercoder reliability was checked. When a particular category proved to be creating discrepancies in coding among the staff, a group session was held to discuss the category and ascertain the reason for the discrepancy and determine further criteria for including or excluding a news article in a category. Table 7 lists all of the content and image categories derived for the analysis.

Three aspects of the information content of the message were coded: (1) the primary actor, (2) the primary activity reported in the message, and (3) whether the message primarily concerns the internal functionings of the University or has impact outside of the University.

The actor refers to the instigators of an action and falls into three main categories:

(a) All sectors of the University: faculty, students, administration, and University organization. The latter refers to student organizations, staff groups, and groups of people formed into an organization.

(b) Actors are also outside the University: local citizens and organizations. With Pitt becoming more involved with the local community concerning expansion, different community programs, etc., it was to be expected that the newspapers would report on actions taken by local citizens and organizations.

(c) "Other" refers to any actor other than the above-mentioned ones. Many actions reported on can be undertaken by others than Pitt or local groups, even if the activities have to do with the University. Examples are: federal, state or local government; national student, black, or feminist groups; higher educational organizations, etc.

The activity refers to the major event described in an article. Nineteen classifications were used to code this category.

Internal-External expresses whether the activity reported in the message is of primary concern only to the internal functioning or interest of the University or has some major impact outside of the University (external). For example, faculty appointments, a student dance, or a change in registration date is primarily of internal concern. On the other hand, a community conference, a musical program, or a plan for a new building has major impact outside of the University.

In addition to the above classifications, each article was analyzed in terms of its image projection, according to the following: (1) cosmopolitan-local; (2) college stereotypes (Clark and Trow); and (3) activity images.

The cosmopolitan-local dichotomy has been used extensively in studies of community influentials and corporation decision-making as well as in a variety of other areas of research. A cosmopolitan image is one that gives the idea of significant involvement with the world outside. A local image, on the other hand, is associated with a confining of interests to matters regarding the community, be it town or state. For example, Pitt's participation in international or national conferences, invitation of faculty or students from or to other universities and matters dealing with the federal or foreign governments would be considered cosmopolitan. Internal administrative matters, class schedules, or fraternity parties project a local image.

Four specific categories were coded using categories derived by Clark and Trow (1962). This categorization emerges analytically from the combination of two factors: the degree to which students are involved with ideas and issues other than those minimally required for their attaining their degree, and the extent to which students identify with their college. The translation of the framework for UUIP research needs defines the original Clark and Trow categories as follows:

(a) The Academic sub-group included all those items that dealt with purely academic topics; e.g., faculty promotions and changes, academic programs, research, awards--in short, curriculum affairs.

(b) Collegiate includes items dealing with student and University-sponsored extracurricular activities, confined within the boundaries of accepted University-student relationships; e.g., sports, fraternities, sororities, cultural meetings, student body social activities.

(c) Vocational includes those items concerned with programs sponsored or initiated by the University and aimed to give special training to certain groups in the public who could not be considered as full-time students; e.g., training teachers for ghetto areas, paraprofessional courses for vocations, evening courses for adults.

(d) Non-Conformists include news about demonstrations, spontaneous and programmed activism, campus unrest, women's lib and anti-war movements, black action.

(e) Non-Fit is all news that does not fit in the above categories.

The activity reported in news articles not only describe an event at the University, but also reflect an image of what kind of things happen at the University. To code this activity image aspect, seven categories were found to be most relevant.

(a) Social Welfare shows the University's involvement in welfare activities and programs in the community.

(b) The University as a Cultural Center depicts activities such as art shows, films, theatre, etc.

(c) Physical Science and (d) Social Science picture the University as one of test tubes, white rats, and other basic involvement in the seeking and dissemination of knowledge.

(e) Technological emphasizes the "hardware" of education--computers, mechanical drawing boards, etc.

(f) Service to Business shows another outward orientation on the part of the University as an advisor and instructional ally of business.

(g) The University as a Complex Organization deals with large scale policies and plans of all kinds of an administrative nature.

Information and Image Projection of University Messages

As the UUIP research was getting underway in the Fall of 1970, a dialogue was already taking place between University officials about the way that the University was being presented in the media, especially in the University's own newspaper, the University Times. Some officials were upset at what they considered "airing of dirty linen in public" and felt the University should use its communications' resources to develop better public relations. This view was strongly held by those officials responsible for seeking private donations and those in regular contact with the state government, which now had great control over the adequacy of the budget. The University

Times at this time was sent to state legislators, and some University officials were apprehensive about the picture these legislators got of University events and policy.

Other University officials argued that a university is especially committed to the ideals of fact-seeking and presentation of both sides of issues. They felt that use of the University paper as a "public relations" instrument would only damage the credibility of the paper to an audience (faculty, administrators, etc.) that was sophisticated in its opinion formation. They argued that this audience would turn to other sources for information, which might be less apt to give the University side of the case, or become frustrated by a lack of good information.

An outside consultant group was hired to study the University publications and did report that in their opinion, some of the articles of the Times were potentially damaging to the University image. However, the policy of giving the Times' staff the freedom to build its own image of credibility was continued rather than focusing on University image building. (The results of content analysis, Table 7, show that about 70 per cent of Times' articles were positive toward the University and 7 per cent negative.)

In 1971, another outside consultant group looked at the image of the University in connection with a fund-raising feasibility study. This study found the University's public relations better from the point of view of the "leading citizens" interviewed, than in the previous era. This study also noted that there is still a strong tendency to personalize an institution by its head, and that though the Chancellor had a favorable image, the image was somewhat indistinct.

In addition to cross pressures within the high level University and community groups, the University was also being accused of withholding complete information (i.e., campus expansion plans, the financial situation) and of being "irrelevant" to many segments of society.

With this dialogue as a background, the UUIP staff began the systematic analysis of the messages about the University flowing through the formal media process.

Table 7 shows the results of the content analysis of the two major city newspapers and five University publications.*

The largest single group coded as major actors in articles about the University appearing in the public press was faculty. These articles usually present a positive image, presenting the faculty as making a breakthrough in some research, instigating a new community project, or being given some honor by a professional society. The University Times and the Alumni Times also devote considerable time to faculty news, but the student paper (Pitt News) was coded as having only ten per cent of its articles focused on faculty as major actors. The public press devoted little space to University administrators, whereas the University Times devoted the most news focusing on administrators as the primary actors.

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*See Research Report of Communications, Phase II, June, 1971, for more detailed descriptions, including inch analysis and examples of statements in the articles.

Table 7

Information Content and Image Projection of News Articles About the University

1970 - 1971

	Public Press		Pitt News		University Times		Alumni Times		Magic Bus		Pitt Parent	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cosmopolitan	94	53.71	38	32.48	27	36.00	90	43.27	5	5.05	4	10.81
Local	81	46.29	79	67.52	48	64.00	118	56.73	94	94.95	33	89.19
Internal	29	15.43	55	47.01	49	65.33	142	68.27	84	84.85	30	81.08
External	148	84.57	62	52.99	26	34.67	66	31.73	15	15.15	7	18.92
Clark & Trow												
Vocational	16	9.14	3	2.56	6	8.00	54	25.96	2	2.02	4	10.81
Collegiate	25	14.29	38	32.48	4	5.33	75	36.06	52	52.53	26	70.27
Academic	67	38.29	32	27.35	29	38.67	63	30.29	3	3.03	5	13.51
Non-Conformist	29	16.57	31	26.50	3	4.00	1	0.48	15	15.15	0	0.00
Non-Pit	38	21.71	13	11.11	33	44.00	15	7.21	27	27.27	2	5.41
Activity Images												
Technological	9	5.14	0	0.00	6	8.00	17	8.17	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pure Natural Sciences	6	3.43	1	0.85	7	9.33	21	10.10	1	1.01	0	0.00
Social Welfare	30	17.14	29	24.79	9	12.00	28	13.46	6	6.06	2	5.41
Cultural Center	30	17.14	27	23.08	10	13.33	15	7.21	6	6.06	5	13.51
Service to Business	5	2.86	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.48	0	0.00	0	0.00
Pure Social Science	12	6.86	2	1.71	8	10.67	6	2.88	0	0.00	0	0.00
Complex Organization	31	17.71	9	7.69	36	48.00	58	27.88	1	1.01	13	8.11
Actors												
University Groups	23	14.14	63	53.85	19	25.33	13	6.25	33	33.33	21	56.76
Pitt Faculty	45	25.71	12	10.26	16	21.33	43	20.67	2	2.02	0	0.00
Pitt Students	20	11.43	15	12.82	4	5.33	19	9.13	44	44.44	7	18.92
Pitt Administrators	20	11.43	12	10.26	27	36.00	30	14.42	7	7.07	4	10.81
Local Citizens	32	18.29	1	0.85	2	2.67	11	5.29	8	8.08	1	2.70
Others	33	18.86	14	11.97	6	8.00	12	5.77	4	4.04	1	2.70
Pitt Alumnus or Alumni	2	1.14	0	0.00	1	1.33	80	38.46	1	1.01	3	8.11
Activity												
Cultural Events	22	12.57	13	11.11	2	2.67	13	6.25	4	4.04	8	21.62
Faculty/Administrative Appt.	15	8.57	0	0.00	4	5.33	18	8.65	2	2.02	1	2.70
Discovery	5	2.86	6	5.13	3	4.00	3	1.44	13	13.13	8	21.62
Innovations	6	3.43	22	18.81	10	13.33	11	5.29	13	13.13	--	
Research Grants	1	0.57	0	0.00	3	4.00	4	1.92	0	0.00	0	0.00
Action Grants	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	2.88	0	0.00	0	0.00
Publications	1	0.57	0	0.00	2	2.67	6	2.88	2	2.02	0	0.00
Activity with International Overtone	5	2.86	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	2.88	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sports	4	2.29	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	7.21	6	6.06	2	5.41
University Cooperation with Community	12	6.86	2	1.71	3	4.00	4	1.92	3	3.03	2	5.41
Conflict between University and Community	10	5.71	7	5.98	2	2.67	0	0.00	7	7.07	0	0.00
Conflict Resolution	3	1.71	2	1.71	1	1.33	2	0.96	10	10.10	2	5.41
Description or Explanation of Policy or Action	7	4.00	6	5.13	3	4.00	3	1.44	1	1.01	0	0.00

	Public Press		Pitt News		University Times		Alumni Times		Magic Bus		Pitt Parent	
Activity Continued	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Extra Curricular Activity, Related to Profession	5	2.86	1	0.85	4	5.33	35	16.83	2	2.02	1	2.70
Finance	10	5.71	5	4.27	8	10.67	11	5.29	1	1.01	1	2.70
Other	22	12.57	9	7.69	9	12.00	54	25.96	10	10.10	6	16.22
Description or Analysis (No Action)	11	6.29	3	2.56	7	9.33	4	1.92	7	7.07	1	2.70
Conferences, Lectures, Meetings, Forums	32	18.29	28	23.93	9	12.00	7	3.37	8	8.08	4	10.81
Conflict within the University	4	2.29	12	10.26	5	6.67	1	0.48	23	23.23	1	2.70
Targets												
General Public	169	96.57	0	0.00	2	2.67	21	10.10	6	6.06	0	0.00
Students	78	44.57	113	96.58	37	49.33	49	23.56	98	98.99	26	70.27
University Administration	56	32.00	36	30.77	43	57.33	30	14.42	23	23.23	6	16.22
Staff	3	1.71	4	3.33	20	26.66	2	0.96	21	21.21	1	2.70
Academia	32	18.29	1	0.85	49	65.33	8	3.85	0	0.00	0	0.00
Professionals	28	16.00	0	0.00	8	10.67	7	3.37	1	1.01	0	0.00
Educators	28	16.00	1	0.85	8	10.67	24	11.54	1	1.01	1	2.70
Researchers	14	8.00	0	0.00	15	20.00	4	1.92	0	0.00	0	0.00
Medical Personnel	14	8.00	1	0.85	5	6.67	25	12.02	1	1.01	0	0.00
Businessmen	11	6.29	0	0.00	1	1.33	7	3.37	0	0.00	0	0.00
Government												
Present, but not defined	14	8.00	0	0.00	1	1.33	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	2.70
Absent	132	75.42					196	94.23			35	94.59
Federal	12	6.86					6	2.88			0	0.00
State	13	7.43					4	1.92			1	2.70
City	4	2.29					2	0.96			0	0.00
County	0	0.00					0	0.00				
More than one level	0	0.00					0	0.00				
Social Service Agencies	25	14.29	1	0.85	4	5.33	5	2.40	0	0.00	0	0.00
Oakland Residents	23	13.14	1	0.85	4	5.33	8	3.85	4	4.04	0	0.00
Church or Religious Group	4	2.29	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	2.40	0	0.00	0	0.00
Blacks	18	10.29	6	5.13	6	8.00	5	2.40	1	1.01	2	5.41
Ethnics	4	2.29	0	0.00	1	1.33	3	1.44	0	0.00	0	0.00
International Groups	12	6.86	1	0.85	1	1.33	1	0.48	0	0.00	1	2.70
Women	21	12.00	6	5.13	6	8.00	2	0.96	2	2.02	1	2.70
Artists, Musicians, Writers	22	12.57	0	0.00	7	9.33	9	4.33	0	0.00	5	13.51
Laborers	2	1.14	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.96	0	0.00	0	0.00
Non-Urban Population	2	1.14	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.48	0	0.00	0	0.00
Parents	22	12.57	0	0.00	2	2.67	13	6.25	1	1.01	37	100.00
Police	13	7.43	1	0.85	0	0.00	1	0.48	3	3.03	0	0.00
Direction												
Implicit Positive	6	3.43	6	5.13	5	6.67	7	3.37	0	0.00	1	2.70
Implicit Positive	94	53.71	59	50.43	47	62.67	147	70.67	11	11.11	30	81.08
Neutral	34	19.43	17	14.53	11	14.67	44	21.15	30	30.30	4	10.81
Implicit Negative	29	14.86	17	14.53	7	9.33	7	3.37	30	30.30	2	5.41
Explicit Negative	7	4.00	4	3.42	4	5.33	0	0.00	3	3.03	0	0.00
Unclassified	8	4.57	14	11.97	1	1.33	3	1.44	25	25.25	0	0.00

Note: Three articles from the Forum during 1971 were content analyzed. All three dealt with Pitt examination and were coded as being "implicit negative" of Pitt.

It should be pointed out that although local citizens or organizations appear as actors more in the public press than in University publications, the amount of community actors in University news rose in both University and non-University media after the period of this content analysis due to the rising community pressure concerning campus expansion. The student paper seems to have shown little concern with local issues during this period, focusing its attention, rather, to student issues, both as to Pitt's campus and on the national scene. The large number of articles in the student paper, as well as the others, which portray "University groups" as principle actors, points up the "collectivist" approach to much of the initiation of action in large institutions.

In terms of activity, the University events most often reported in the public press refer to conferences (usually dealing with local community or business issues or national political issues) and cultural events. These articles present the University as outward oriented, concerned about the Pittsburgh community and national issues, and inviting the public to attend many of the events. However, the daily papers also devoted considerable space to the University's conflicts with the community, spending more time describing action and policy than suggestions for solutions. Pitt's financial problems were also in the forefront of the news during the Fall of 1970. Since the national elections took place during the period of our content analysis, many articles on the financial issues dealt with the gubernatorial candidates' views on money allocation for higher education and not with a specific crisis situation at Pitt.

Although the student papers also deal with many of these same issues, the emphasis is far more on innovative programs such as new curriculum, student representation, course evaluation. Both the regular student paper (Pitt News) and the commuter student paper (Magic Bus) focus on internal conflicts of the University.

Both the University Times and the Alumni Times devote many articles to a description of University action or policies. Because the content analysis was based on number of articles rather than length of articles, an inch analysis was also performed on the three major University publications (see results shown in Table 8, page 23). This analysis brought out that the University Times often devoted as much space to issues of general interest to higher education as to problems about Pitt per se.

The result of the analysis of the third content of information category, internal/external, reflects the major functions of the particular newspaper. The University Times focuses on "internal" issues of interest to the faculty and staff, the Pitt News informs students of both campus news and student-relevant national news, and the public press stresses University news which has some special interest to or impact on the community. The emphasis on externally-oriented stories in the public press is not only a reflection of their function, but also a reflection of the formal channeling process through News and Publications. That office sends out about 60 news releases a month to city news media (including television and radio), plus special releases to other cities or small papers. The news releases center on: (1) news that has a certain probability of being published; (2) news that is thought to be of interest to the general public; and (3) news that is intended to be brought to the wider and general public's attention. This does somewhat bias the public

Table 8

MEASUREMENT MARGINALS

Alumni Times

	April, 1971		August, 1971		December, 1971		TOTALS	
	%	# Inches	%	# Inches	%	# Inches	%	# Inches
Pitt Activity	85.95	822.6	99.78	957.70	92.56	444.75	92.71	2225.05
General University Activity	10.02	97.6	0.22	2.25	5.31	25.75	5.23	125.60
Non-University Activity	4.03	38.8	0.00	0.00	2.13	9.50	2.01	48.35
TOTALS		960		960		480		2400

University Times

Issue	Total No. of Inches	Pitt University Activity		General University Activity		Non-University Activity	
		%	# Inches	%	# Inches	%	# Inches
Oct. 1	888	43.0	378	40.0	357	17.0	153
Oct. 15	460	62.0	283	20.0	91	18.0	86
Nov. 16	911	31.0	281	69.0	630		
Dec. 10	883	68.0	600			32.0	283
Dec. 22	961	79.0	760	21.0	201		
TOTALS:	4103	56.0	2302	31.0	1279	13.0	522

press's easy access to news stories, but it was found that reporters usually were able to get information for stories they wanted which were not part of news releases. This is one reason for keeping the relations between public press reporters and University reporters on a basis of mutual professional respect. Some potentially damaging stories were averted by giving full information to the public press wherever possible rather than have reporters depend on rumor or "someone with an axe to grind".

Looking at information content of the messages about the University tells only one part of the story. It is also important to assess the image of the University these messages project. Although one article by itself may have little impact, a pattern of emphasis running through many news articles can reinforce attitudes or change attitudes. To learn more about the image projection of the formal sources of news about the University, all articles were coded by the three image projection categories.

Whether the overall picture of the University that emerged from the news articles was one of a cosmpolitan university or one emphasizing a local orientation was of special interest to the UUIP research. As George Nash points out in The University and the City (1970), universities which tend to receive the greatest allocation of research funds are nationally and internationally oriented. This cosmopolitan perspective has traditionally been a sign of prestige or a path to gaining academic prestige. Those universities which concentrate on educating local students and involving themselves in local problems have usually been a bit looked down on by the academic world. And yet, if universities are to relate to the community most closely around them, they must become involved in local problems and regard this concern as a legitimate interest of any institution of higher education. The University of Pittsburgh has a particularly interesting history to serve as background for this dilemma. For many years it served basically a local population and was considered a "streetcar university". However, during Litchfield's administration, the University of Pittsburgh entered the arena of the more cosmopolitan institutions and vied for national and international prominence.

The content analysis showed the University publications displaying more of a local image than a cosmopolitan image. The commuter student newspaper (Magic Bus) articles reflected a 95 per cent local image, whereas the Alumni Times, going out to many people beyond the Pittsburgh area, reflected a 57 per cent local image. Looking at the public newspaper, we see the balance tip to a cosmopolitan image (54 per cent). A picture emerges, then, of the public press presenting Pitt in a more cosmopolitan image than the University papers portray Pitt.

Moving to the four college-stereotype categories, we note that the public press and the University Times are almost identical in their emphasis of the academic aspects of the University. However, 44 per cent of the Times' articles were unclassifiable by the Clark and Trow categories. This is due to the heavy emphasis in the Times on matters related to the administrative aspects of the University (43 per cent of activity images). The other University papers project a more collegiate image, reporting heavily on extracurricular activity. The student paper also carried much more material that was coded as "non-conformist" (a category of little significance in the 1950 work of Clark and Trow, but obviously more so

today). The only paper which gave much attention to more vocationally-oriented University activity was the Alumni Times.

The public press gave almost equal time to the social welfare involvement, cultural contributions, and organization aspects of the University. Although the University papers also project these activity images, the University Times and the alumni paper stress administrative affairs. The Pitt News and Magic Bus reflect the student concerns for such issues as day care centers, minorities problems, abortion, and student participation in political campaigns.

One portion of the survey of segments of the general public was used as a kind of "validity check" on the staffs' categorization of news articles. One part of these interviews consisted of presenting to the respondent three sets of news clippings from the public press, which had been coded by UUIP staff. Set I was a single article concerned with the campus expansion issue, reporting a financial agreement between the city and the University. Set II consisted of three different newspaper articles reporting fairly extensively on three different activities carried on by Pitt or people affiliated with Pitt. Set III consisted of eleven very short newspaper articles reporting about Pitt on a wide range of activities.

Although the articles were used to stimulate general discussion, the interviewer also recorded the respondents' reactions in relation to the content analysis categories.

In the campus expansion article, the staff coded the Pitt administration as the primary actor. As can be seen from Table 9, more than half of the general public viewed some other actor as primary.

Table 9

Main Actor Distribution By Segments of the General Public
- Campus Expansion Article -

Actors	Oak Bus	Oak Res	Hill Blacks	Non-Oak Res	White Suburbs	TOTAL
University Group	0	0	2	0	0	2
Faculty	0	0	1	0	1	2
Administrators	1	5	1	7	1	17
Local Citizens	2	0	1	0	0	3
Other	12	10	4	3	6	35
No Response	0	0	0	0	1	1

Content Analysis Coding: Primary Actor--Pitt Administration

Within the public segments, more of the Non-Oakland blue-collar residents indicated the administration as being the main actor than any other segment, and in this they were the closest to match the content analysis coding on this specific item.

As shown in Table 10, conflict with the community was seen as the main activity by the general publics interviewed.

Table 10

Main Activity Distribution By Segments of the General Public - Campus Expansion Article -

Actors	Oak Bus	Oak Res	Hill Blacks	Non-Oak Res	White Suburbs	TOTAL
Innovation	0	0	2	0	2	4
Cooperation w/Community	2	5	1	2	0	10
Conflict w/Community	4	10	7	3	2	26
Conflict Resolution	1	0	0	1	2	4
Explanation of Policy	0	0	0	1	0	1
Finances	5	0	0	0	1	6
Other	3	0	0	3	2	8
No Response	0	0	0	0	1	1

Content Analysis Coding: Main Activity--Finance

In the content analysis, however, finance was seen as the main activity, while only a very small number of the respondents in the public segment coded it as such. All of the Oakland residents saw the main activity as being either conflict between the University and the community or cooperation between the University and the community. This finding seems to indicate the involvement of the close neighbors of Pitt with a matter that immediately concerned them and seeing it in terms of their interaction with Pitt.

In the content analysis, the main targets of this specific article on campus expansion were the general public, students, administration, and the Oakland residents. The general public respondents also indicated the same targets but gave much more weight to the Oakland residents as being the main target than any other alternative. This tends to bolster the argument that the activity was seen in terms of interaction between Pitt and its immediate surroundings (see Table 11).

Table 11

Main Target Distribution by the General Public and Content Analysis - Campus Expansion Article -

	Targets					
	Gen Public	Students	Admin	Staff	Busmn	Oak Res
General Public	25	10	11	4	4	40
Content Analysis	*	*	*			*

(*) coded as such in content analysis.

In the area of image projection, there was complete agreement between the publics and the content analysis coding in that this specific activity was of a local nature. A high correlation was also found in the College Stereotype classification, as can be seen in Table 12, and in the activity image projection where 56 respondents saw it as a Complex Organization.

Table 12

College Stereotype Distribution by the General Public and Content Analysis - Campus Expansion Article -

	Non Fit	Non Conform	Academic	Vocational	NR
General Public	33	13	7	6	1
Content Analysis	*				

Content Analysis Coding: College Stereotype--Non-Fit

As seen in Table 10 there was no consensus among the general public as to which specific activity is the main one; therefore, their ratings on a positive-negative dimension could only be interpreted in reference to each single activity. However, most of the Oakland residents who judged the main activity to be that of a conflict between them and Pitt rated it as positive, and the eventual outcome was deemed a positive one from the point of view of the community since it was felt that they had got the upper hand. In other words, they saw the conflict as positive since its outcome was beneficial to them and they felt it "taught the University a much needed lesson".

An implication of this activity perception was that the University appeared as an adversary in a negative sense. This implied negative image of Pitt is correlated by the staff's content analysis, where the direction of the expansion article was judged to be portraying an implicitly negative image of the University. On the other hand, all other respondents who saw the activity as a conflict rated it as negative, thus implying some degree of support for Pitt.

In general, there seems to be certain similarities between the content analysis and the actual field responses, especially in the areas of the image projection, targets, and direction. However, in the information content, the similarity is not apparent and, in fact, in the main activity area the dissimilarity is great. This could be an indication that the actual day-to-day experiences determine what information is gleaned from an article, besides determining the image that is projected and the attitude towards that activity and towards the University when involved in such an activity.

The same analysis was done on a second article (from Set II) reporting on an address by the Chancellor on the theme of "Moderation in Weaponry" (see page 45). Table 13 represents the actual answers received from 20 respondents of the general public survey who chose to read this specific article.

The results here show more agreement between the content analysis coding and the general public survey than appeared in the former article. The major discrepancy was in the area of the College Stereotypes, where in discussing this aspect of the article, more than half of the respondents were so vague that the interviewers could not fit it in any of the more explicit categories.

The nature of the information this article contained was not immediately relevant to most of the respondents; nor did they have any personal involvement with the activities mentioned in it, as did the respondents in the campus expansion article. However, notwithstanding which activity was seen as primary, the overall reaction to the Chancellor's article was positive--a finding that correlates with the content analysis. Considering that this portion of the general public overwhelmingly saw the Chancellor as the main actor, this positive evaluation of the article reflects on him also, and this article would be one step in building a more distinct image (re consultants' findings, see page 35).

PG June 3, 1972

Mayor Is Pleased

Pitt Agrees to Pay City for Services

The University of Pittsburgh has agreed to pay for municipal services to cover tax losses from property cleared for the construction of two new buildings in the area of old Forbes Field.

Mayor Peter Flaherty told the City Planning Commission yesterday that he was "happy to see this breakthrough in agreements with non-profit institutions in the city."

BERNARD J. KOBOSKY
"Catch-up projects."

KIM FELLNER
"Insensitive monuments."

The mayor, who has opposed expansions that take more taxes off city tax rolls, told the commission that the agreement was reached last week with university officials.

IN A PLEA for approval of a conditional application for the project, Pitt Vice Chancellor for Public Affairs Bernard J. Kobosky emphasized that the school considered no similar land expansion in the future.

The university has been advised by the state not to expect an enrollment increase, Kobosky said, noting that the construction was needed as "catch-up projects" since enrollment has jumped 50 per cent from 1965.

He claimed that the university has faced serious overcrowding with costs for renting space in the area reaching about $300,000 a year.

IF THE UNIVERSITY does not build adequate facilities for its Law School, he warned that the school's accreditation could be in jeopardy.

While Kobosky noted the university's desire for community involvement in the planning, Kim Fellner of People's Oakland claimed that area residents "were forced to become amateur politicians and lobbyists" to defend their interests.

Dr. Ralph Coppola of the same organization added that the university's plans represent "a substantial threat to the community." Construction of the buildings, he said, "would create the domination of Oakland by the university."

CITY PLANNING Commission Chairman John Bitzer indicated that he hoped for a decision on the application for the buildings' construction by the commission's June 16 meeting.

Pitt wants to build a two-story addition to the rear of Lawrence Hall, a six-story School of Law building, and a six-story building for the School of Education and School of Social Science.

Bitzer said that the commission decided to hold a special hearing on Pitt's plans for underground parking and traffic relocations because of the complexity of the issues.

45.

Posvar Asks Moderation In Weaponry

Pitt Chancellor Addresses Science Forum Here

A middle-of-the-road approach to control of nuclear weaponry was advocated by Wesley W. Posvar, University of Pittsburgh chancellor, last night.

Dr. Posvar, who specialized in arms control and disarmament when a professor of political science at the Air Force Academy, spoke to the Pittsburgh chapter of the Federation of American Scientists at Mellon Institute in Oakland.

Posvar said that he opposes neither the moralistic view, that war is wrong and that disarmament should proceed regardless of the actions of other nations, nor the rationalistic strategy, generally considered to postulate that the U.S. should maintain a destructive capacity greater than other nations.

Rather, Posvar said, he opposes the extreme of either philosophy. He said that he would not advise either extreme pacifism or a totally rationalistic, almost mathematical approach to megatons and potential deaths.

"I advocate the middle view," Dr. Posvar said. "It is one which is politically realistic and accepts the fact that deterrences can fail and also acknowledges that we must strive for a new system of international politics.

"This system," he added," cannot simply be wished into being on a poorly defined or abstract premise of international law or peace but rather must be a slow process of improving international communications.

"The shape of the future international system that will prevent nuclear war is invisible," Dr. Posvar said. "That is its only characteristic of which we can be sure at present."

Table 13

Distribution of General Public Respondents and Content Analysis Data on Information Content, Image Projection and Main Targets in the Chancellor Article

Information Content	Public	Content Analysis
Primary Actors:		
Pitt Administration	19	*
Local Citizens	1	
Primary Activity:		
Innovations	1	
International Overtones	9	
Other	2	
Conferences, etc.	8	*
Targets:		
General Public	15	*
Image Projection		
Cosmopolitan	16	*
Local	2	
No Response	2	
College Stereotypes:		
Vocational	1	
Academic	2	*
Non-Conformist	4	
Non-Fit	10	
No Response	3	
Activity Image:		
Technological	12	*
Pure Natural Science	2	
Social Welfare	4	
Complex Organization	14	

(*) Coded as such in Content Analysis.

It had been originally planned that two other formal media, television and radio, could also be included in the systematic analysis of messages about the University. Such an undertaking proved unfeasible for the research resources available. Therefore, a sample of University programs on radio and television, as listed in Pitt in the News, was used to compare the information and images of television and radio with printed media.

Only three radio programs were listed for the period between January and March of 1973. This is consistent with findings from the survey of the general public, which showed little use of radio to receive news about the University. However, two segments of the general publics, the Hill District residents and the suburbanites, reported heavy dependence on radio for news in general and perhaps might be more extensively used by the University to at least communicate information of special relevance to these segments. The use of radio for general news was also evident in the large alumni survey.

Table 14 shows the activity images projected by the subject matter of television and radio programs. (These programs themselves were not coded, but assessment made by the description of the listing.)

Table 14

Activity Image of Pitt as Portrayed By University Actors on Radio and TV

Actors	Tech	Nat Sci	Soc Wel	Cul Cen	Servc Bus	Soc Sci	Com Org	TOTAL
University Group	0	0	3	1	0	1	1	6
Faculty	9 (2)	2	7 (1)	9	1	8	0	36 (3)
Students	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Administration	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
Other	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	5

( ): Radio shows

To add to the perspective of the impact of the communication process on the views people form of the University, several questions were included in the student, alumni, and general publics surveys to elicit an evaluation of news from the publics themselves (as opposed to the research staff's evaluation). Both groups were asked if they perceived the news media

A periodic display of selected University of Pittsburgh news clippings and radio and television bookings: Pitt in the News, University of Pittsburgh: Office of News and Publications, Vol. 4 (January-April, 1973), used for this report and Table 14.

(print, radio, and television) as presenting the University as being mainly "oriented to the local community" or "oriented to the larger world". Table 15 shows that both of these publics perceived the news about the University as "locally oriented" rather than cosmopolitan.

Table 15

Cosmopolitan/Local Image of Media

	Content Analysis (Printed Only)	Students	Alumni
Cosmopolitan	53.71	31.9	39.8
Local	46.29	63.4	59.7

The other content analysis category repeated in survey questions was that related to the Clark and Trow College Stereotypes. Table 16 shows the comparison between the content analysis and the students' and alumni's perceptions.

Table 16

College Stereotypes Reflected in the Media

	Content Analysis	Students	Alumni
Geared to scholars and liberal arts education	38.29	14.0	15.8
Geared to skilled technicians and professionals	9.14	5.4	11.5
Representing interesting social life	14.29	2.3	1.3
Presenting social change and/or innovation	16.57	14.4	8.4
Other	21.71	20.6	31.4

The student and alumni questionnaires included another image item under the College Stereotype category. This was "concerned with expansion, investments, etc.", which in the content analysis corresponded to the "complex organization" category of activity images. 31.6 per cent of the alumni and 37.4 per cent of the students felt this to be the main image of the University as portrayed in the public media. The content analysis indicates that 17.71 per cent of the coded news articles present the "complex organization" image.

One aspect of University life to which we have not yet made reference is the athletic program. A decision was made early in the implementation of the UUIP communication research to exclude articles about sports events in the original content analysis because these stories are not handled through News and Publications. No systematic analysis was made of stories about sports in later phases of the research, but two questions in the alumni survey give us some idea as to the importance of the athletic program. Over 23 per cent of the alumni surveyed said they attended athletic events. When the alumni were asked if they were interested in reading about sports in the Alumni Times, 20 per cent said they were very interested, 42 per cent said they were interested, and 37 per cent said they were not at all interested. There were few comments added by the alumni either positive or negative toward the sports team. There was no question directed to the students concerning athletics, but when asked "what's the first thing you think of when you think of Pitt?", only a few students mentioned a sports team. (39.2 per cent responded to this question in terms of the educational process, and 22.6 per cent mentioned the buildings and other physical aspects.) However, the inch analysis (page 33) showed that over 17 per cent of the student paper covered sports, so many students must be interested in this aspect of college life.

Another set of questions from the alumni survey illustrate both a generally positive image on the part of this "bridging" public toward the internal publics of the University and some gaps in information (as indicated by the number of "no opinion" answers) felt by the alumni.

Table 17

Alumni Attitude Toward Internal Publics

	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion
On the whole, I feel the administration at Pitt is doing a fine job.	45.5	15.2	39.3
On the whole, Pitt faculty are well qualified and responsible.	55.6	12.2	32.2
University of Pittsburgh students are not as wild as those shown on the news media.	46.6	7.8	45.6
On the whole, the University of Pittsburgh students seem to appreciate a college education.	49.5	6.8	43.7

Although these alumni sampled felt the University presently does a good job in conveying information, they expressed interest in learning more about what is happening now at the University both in terms of educational activities for the alumni and policy decisions now in force or being formulated. During the period of the content analysis, it was evident that only a few of the messages about the University concerned an explanation of policy. Part of this lack may well be an effect of unclear goals and unclearly perceived University roles, on the part of both internal and external publics of the University.

Roles of the University

An issue of primary importance in the study of the University's interface with the community is what roles the public feels the University should undertake. The views among the publics naturally bear on the kind of relationship and support which emerges between Pitt and these publics. The media plays an important role of transmitting information about Pitt activities and serves as one basis for opinion formation, as well as a channel where the public can express their views.

As part of our communication study, we have surveyed the alumni and five segments of the general public as to how they would rank Pitt's general tasks and missions. In a study on University governance, Carroll (1972) surveyed students, faculty, administrators, and trustees concerning the same issue. These surveys thus comprise an interesting cross-section of internal as well as external publics of the University with the alumni and trustees representing "criss-cross" publics.

Examining the rankings made by these publics (see Table 19), we find a general consensus that the most important tasks or priorities of the University are the traditional ones of providing a good four-year college education and to furnish graduate training for professionals.

The consensus within the general public was not as strong as between the internal and "criss-cross" publics, with especially the white suburbanites putting less stress on the traditional roles of education (ranked as third in importance) and the Hill Blacks choosing upgrading programs for those deprived of adequate educational opportunities as first priority before college and graduate training. The group of Oakland residents emphasized career training in addition to the other education roles.

We found an interesting split between the views of the external and internal publics. The students, faculty, and administrators chose research as the third priority for the University, and only then focused on "newer" directions, such as "conduct programs to alleviate ills in urban areas" and ". . . remedial and upgrading programs for those deprived of adequate educational opportunities." The ranking by the trustees was consistent with that of the internal publics. The external publics, however, selected an "open door" policy and community-oriented tasks as priorities ranking higher than research. The alumni stressed another traditional educational priority--that of providing undergraduate technical and professional training programs--to be more important than research.

Table 18

PITT NEWS - MEASUREMENT MARGINALS

Issue	Total No. of Inches	Pitt Uni. Activity		Non-Pitt Uni. Activity		Entertainment		Advertisement		Sports	
		%	# Inches	%	# Inches	%	# Inches	%	# Inches	%	# Inches
Sept. 16	952	21.0%	200.0	9.7%	92.0	6.8%	64.5	45.3%	432.0	17.1%	163.5
Sept. 30	950	27.6%	263.0	0.0%	00.0	4.3%	41.0	55.1%	524.0	12.8%	122.0
Oct. 9	630	19.3%	121.5	19.7%	124.5	2.4%	15.0	34.0%	214.5	24.0%	154.5
Oct. 16	966	17.8%	173.5	11.2%	109.0	15.7%	152.5	36.0%	350.0	17.7%	181.0
Oct. 23	950	17.5%	166.5	18.1%	172.5	6.8%	65.0	37.5%	356.5	19.9%	189.5
Oct. 26	950	24.0%	228.0	8.7%	83.0	16.8%	160.5	29.0%	276.5	21.2%	202.0
Oct. 29	1270	20.8%	265.0	26.8%	342.0	5.2%	66.0	32.2%	399.5	15.5%	197.5
Nov. 4	960	23.2%	222.5	12.9%	124.0	12.3%	188.5	32.1%	308.0	19.4%	187.0
Nov. 9	610	22.9%	140.0	11.1%	68.0	19.4%	118.5	26.8%	164.0	19.5%	119.5
Dec. 7	1602	22.7%	363.5	11.5%	184.5	9.6%	153.0	44.5%	713.0	11.7%	188.0
TOTALS:	9840	21.8%	2143.5	13.2%	1299.5	9.7%	954.5	38.1%	3738.0	17.3%	1704.5

Ranking of University Roles

A set of statements about University priorities used in the Carroll governance questionnaire (1970) was used in the UUIP alumni study and the survey of the general public. It appeared in the form below in alumni questionnaire II.

> Below are some of the possible goals the University of Pittsburgh might pursue. Supposing you were in a position to make vital administrative decisions at the University of Pittsburgh; how would you rank the following suggested goals? Please assign the number (1) to the one you feel is most important, the number (2) to the one you feel is next most important, all the way to number (9) for the least important. Please assign a different number to each goal even though you might feel some goals are very close in relative importance.

		Rank
A	Provide a high-quality four-year undergraduate education.	____
B	Provide a graduate professional and technical training (doctors, Ph.D.'s, administrators, public health specialists).	____
C	Extend human knowledge through research.	____
D	Provide for part-time adult evening degree work and study.	____
E	Conduct programs to alleviate social ills in urban areas.	____
F	Conduct remedial and upgrading programs for those deprived of adequate educational opportunities.	____
G	Provide undergraduate technical and professional training programs (undergraduate business, social work, etc.).	____
H*	Conduct training programs in other countries in such fields as education, engineering, and health.	____
I*	Provide consulting and training services for governments, business, social agencies.	____

Table 19

University Priorities as Ranked By Ten Publics of the University

	Students	Faculty	Admin	Trustees	Alumni	Oak Res	Oak Bus	Hill Blacks	Blue Collar	White Suburb
A	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	3
B	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	3
C	3	3	3		4	5	4	7	7	7
D	4	4	4		5	6	6	7	5	5
E	5	6	6		7	7	1	2	6	4
F	7	5	5		6	4	3	1	3	2
G	6	7	7		3	2	7	4	2	1
H	8	8	9		9	-	-	-	-	-
I	9	9	8	9	8	-	-	-	-	-

*Items H and I were included in the Alumni Survey and in the Carroll study, but the Readership Survey.

As an extension of their emphasis on the traditional teaching and research goals, the internal groups felt that part-time adult evening programs were important. The general public groups ranked this priority lower, consistent with their emphasis on the University's service role as secondary to teaching. This is perhaps an interesting finding as there appears to be a growing interest today in continuing education among adults. However, pressing social and urban problems and education for the young and disadvantaged seem still more important to them.

Looking at the overall results, it seems that the University has a great deal of information to extend to its publics--both internal and external--as to its functions and new directions in terms of what it can contribute to the community other than providing college and graduate education.

Here the role of the media becomes vital in that it is the University's only link with many of the external publics. As there is often skepticism to changes and fear that the traditional functions will suffer at the expense of new roles, all publics are in need of much information and data to support their receptivity to the changes.

The UUIP alumni and student surveys covered four items relating specifically to the issues of changing admissions policies and increasing urban involvement. The reactions to the specific statements are shown in the following table.

Table 20

Alumni and Students Attitude to an Increase of Pitt's Urban Involvement

	Alumni			Students		
	Agree	Disagree	NoOpin	Agree	Disagree	NoOpin
There should be a special admissions policy for students from disadvantaged backgrounds.	29.7	58.4	12.0	44.1	47.1	8.8
Extra effort should be made to hire more minority faculty.	26.7	48.8	24.5	35.7	44.7	14.6
There is a need for more courses reflecting concern with urban problems.	49.9	19.2	30.9	60.8	20.4	18.8
The University should play a larger role in alleviating social ills in urban areas.	40.5	37.7	21.8	54.2	29.7	16.1

In summary, the results thus indicate that the views of both criss-cross publics--the alumni and the trustees--are closer to those of the University's internal publics than to the views of the general public. Especially the trustees, who through their position, are officially connected with the University, saw its priorities the same way as the students, faculty and administrators.

The dichotomy which is manifested in the above-mentioned results points to what appears to be an unfamiliarity among the external publics with the role of research in a university. The interviewed members of the general public seem to think about the University's prime education role in terms of teaching detached from furthering knowledge through research. This finding points to the fact that these "outside" groups do not have knowledge about University activities and functions in the realm of research, or do not find it to be an essential role to fulfill. The point is further supported by our content analysis finding that only six per cent of public press news articles carry news about research.

Research has always occupied an important role of universities in their quest for knowledge and development of science. Although the State encourages the University to be more inclusive in its enrollment practices, research is still stressed as a necessary University function. At the same time, however, the Secretary of Education in a recent report expressed his skepticism about the kind and quality of research that is being undertaken in universities. His view was that "very little of it has to do with the urgency of questions posed by society". This view is reflected in the responses of the general public which ranked research low as a University priority. A reason for this might be that they question the value of research that is being undertaken.

The Secretary of Education in his report stressed the importance of "first-rate teaching" as the prime university role. This emphasis on the university's teaching role has been backed up by many state legislators, who in an attempt to assess how Pitt faculty allocate time on their various functions, asked all faculty members to fill out time estimates. This assessment was to serve as a basis for judging whether their demand that faculty spend 15 hours a week in class was realistic or not. Thus, there is a clear "push" from the state that the university concentrate on its teaching role. With respect to research functions, it appears that there is a need for the university to meet the expectations both in terms of engaging in what is deemed to be worthwhile research and to disseminate more information to the general public about these aspects of its overall mission.

The way the "inside" groups ranked the function of research as a University priority, indicates that they are more aware of it in terms of importance. It is obvious that they are also more familiar with it through their direct relation with an academic community. The alumni are aware, too, although somewhat less so; but this one area in which the alumni can provide a link between the University and the community, whereby information about important research work can be channeled to the various publics and their need for more information can be assessed.

The figures show that while students were somewhat more favorable to "newer" policies and programs, the difference was distinctly relative, and both samples were split in their opinions. More alumni and slightly more students would disagree than agree on the first two items having to do with a special admissions policy for the disadvantaged and hiring more minority faculty. On the other hand, both more students and more alumni favored than were opposed to increasing urban efforts both in terms of more courses on urban concerns and playing a larger role in alleviating social ills. On all items, the alumni showed a greater tendency to have no opinion, thus indicating that more alumni had not made up their minds on these issues. More information might lead these alumni to lean in either direction in the future.

Specifically concerning the alumni's response to policy changes in admissions, 63.2 per cent approve of Pitt's having increased its enrollment to those who have been traditionally denied university education. However, over half of this group also expressed reservations about increased enrollment, the majority being concerned that it might lead to a decline in academic standards. This concern most likely accounts for the fact that 58.4 per cent of the alumni respondents disagreed to the normative question about having a special admissions policy for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, and 12 per cent voiced no opinion.

As part of UUIP's Long-Range Community Goals Project, a survey was undertaken of a sample of the public we term "community influentials" (Nehnevajsa, 1973). It included items on perspectives on the role of the University and its position in relation to Pittsburgh goals. Additional data on these issues were gathered at the four UUIP-sponsored Forums, where UUIP staff members acted as participant observers and took notes on discussions of the meetings.

Generally, the survey results revealed that regardless of their varying group affiliations, the community influentials viewed the University with great respect and whose voice can be easily received by the community. This view is corroborated by the general positive feelings toward the University among the alumni, students, and the general public.

Our data from the community influential public also indicates that the traditional teaching and research functions of the University are ranked highest as priorities. University intervension in the community was also emphasized as an important task, although by a minority of the Forum participants. This view was especially held among members of the black community who were part of the survey sample. It is further supported by the segment of residents of the Hill who were interviewed from the general public. There were various suggestions as to what Pitt's urban involvement should comprise. Most respondents saw it in terms of urban research and teaching students and the public how to deal with urban problems. Others, however, felt that the University should take the role of direct action agent by, for example, providing services playing a political advocacy role.

Summarizing the information we have gathered, from eleven of the University's publics--three internal, two criss-cross, and six external--on how they perceive the role and tasks of the University, the most salient result is their stress on the academic function of providing an education as the top University priority. In public policy, the importance of the University's teaching mission is being further stressed by the legislative and executive branches of the state government.

The role of research as an academic function is deemed more important by the internal and the criss-cross publics than by those "outside" the University. This may partly be due to their unfamiliarity with research's role in an academic community and partly that they question its value.

The "newer" dimension of the University's increased urban involvement was generally seen as more essential among the external publics, especially among the members of the black community. This was so also among the community "influentials".

On this complex issue of the roles of the University, the media has the important function of not only disseminating two-way information, but also serving as a "sounding-board" for opinions, questions, ideas and concerns.

Summary

The goal of the communications project is "to explore systematically the perceptions of the University held by a variety of relevant publics, to analyze the discrepancies between each of those perceptions and what a university really is and can do, and then to communicate to each of those publics a more realistic and accurate impression."*

One of the major differences between the internal publics of the University (faculty, students, administrators, and staff) and those "outside" of the University's daily life is the latter's perception of the University as a single entity--the University. Those outside tend to think of a University as an integrated body which can move under one directive, whose movement in one part is known and agreed upon by its other parts. Most of the internal publics think of the University in terms of their particular offices, academic departments, dormitories, and so forth. Many within the University carry out actions in an almost autonomous manner, only recognizing the other parts of the system when their actions are called into question or when the system impinges on their actions. Students design their course of study within rather general rules, faculty design their courses limited only by the course topic, and administrators attempt to keep their offices running smoothly. Such a system must rely heavily on internal communications to carry out its mission, and must rely heavily on external communication if it wants its mission understood and supported.

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*Office of the Vice Chancellor for Program Development and Public Affairs, "Proposal for Continuation of a University-Urban Interface Program, December, 1969," Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh, December, 1969, page 6.

The very nature of the University also works against any planned attempt to build an image. Universities do have images that develop over time, but planned attempts seem to leave the internal publics in disagreement over the image to be projected and the external publics skeptical about the reality of the image.*

Added to this problem is the growing disagreement as to the central missions of the University. Although our study found near unanimity on "teaching" as the major role of a university, there was little consensus as to what other functions a university should perform, and no really clear definition of what "teaching" really means.

The results of our study point up the lack of understanding of the University's declared mission of "public service". Public service is interpreted in many ways, ranging from "serving the public through teaching, to advising community groups in areas of University expertise, to taking a leadership role in the actions needed to bring about change in the urban environment. The University has been feeling its way and initiating programs at all levels of urban involvement. Those in the community have conflicting views of the University mission, and whatever policy decisions the University leaders make as to the most feasible role for the University should evolve from thorough dialogue with a broad range of community groups.

Our surveys of the students and alumni of the University have given evidence of pride these groups have in Pitt and their optimism in the University's future.

We asked the students whether they would attend another college if they had the opportunity. A majority (54.2 per cent) answered this negatively. This positive feeling was expressed by the alumni as well, although in a different fashion. Slightly more than half of those who were asked "Do you feel proud to tell friends and acquaintances that you attended Pitt", answered they always do so. 30.5 per cent indicated they are proud about Pitt most of the time.

Good feelings about Pitt were further manifested in questions regarding Pitt's prospects for the future. The students and alumni were asked to use a ten-point scale to rate how they thought the University stood or would stand at three points in time--past, present, and future. Table 20 (next page) shows the medians (the midpoints of all sample ratings) assigned by the respondent.

The figures show that the questioned students and alumni generally see the University as being closer to its greatest hopes now than it was five years ago, and expect it to be even closer to this optimal position five years from now. The outcomes tell us that despite much recent

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*In a preliminary survey of the trustees conducted by Dr. Otto Nelson, the trustees were divided as to the role they felt trustees should play in "building a University image" or in community relations. The trustees are presently (1973) involved in a more thorough study of the roles of the University and the role of the trustees in carrying out the University's missions.

discussion about functions and priorities of the University in a time when universities have gone through turmoil and change, and despite manifested uncertainty among publics as to University roles and potential functions, those who are and have been closely related to Pitt not only feel positive about it but are also optimistic.

Table 20

Question: Looking at the ladder below, suppose the top of the ladder (10) represents your greatest hopes for the University of Pittsburgh, and the bottom (0) represents your worst fears. Fill in the number beside each of the following three questions with the number on the ladder which most represents your judgment.

	Medians	
	Alumni	Students
Where did the University of Pittsburgh stand five years ago?	5.7	5.2
Where would you put the University of Pittsburgh at the present time?	6.8	5.6
Where do you think the University of Pittsburgh will be on the ladder five years from now?	7.3	6.7

These findings add a very positive dimension to our focus on communications between the University and the community. We see the alumni as a bridge between the two and the students will occupy this position as they complete their education and enter fully into community activity.

With the reservoir of good will toward the University that is evident not only among alumni and students but is shown by other publics observed in this study; and with the declared willingness of spokesmen of the University to remain sensitive to the needs of the community, it appears that a vital and positive interfacing should continue as a part of University-community relations. Some of the problems that can potentially obstruct these good relations are described in reports of the other priority areas of the UUIP research--Minority and Community relations, Campus Development, Community Goals, and University Governance. Studies of each of these areas have revealed disagreements among segments of the community vis-a-vis the University. Events in each of these areas have damaged University credibility and highlighted the aspects of University functioning that presently need strengthening. Keeping open channels of communication for an exchange of views between dissident groups and developing new channels for exchange with those groups not now reached will be especially important in the next few years. Both the University and the community are complex systems which demand patient understanding to develop positive communication.

UUIP COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Research Project	Date Administered	Size of Sample
Student Questionnaire I: 900 questionnaires, 9 pages, mailed to students	October, 1970	367
Student Questionnaire II: 367 to Time I students and 135 dormitory students	March, 1971	Panel = 187 Dorm. = 76
Alumni Survey I: Printed in Alumni Times and answers mailed in. Study reported in Communications Report, June 1971 and articles appeared in Alumni Times and Pittsburgh Press.	October, 1970	452
Alumni Survey II: 12-page questionnaire mailed to 3,000 alumni.	May, 1972	935
Content Analysis: Pittsburgh Press and Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (September-December, 1970); Pitt News; University Times; Pitt Parent; Magic Bus; Alumni Times; news releases	1971	
Inch Analysis: Pitt News; University Times; and Alumni Times (two kinds)	1971	
Content Analysis: All collected articles on Pitt campus expansion.	1972	
Readership Survey: Interviews of Oakland residents and businessmen, Hill District residents, blue-collar workers, and white suburbanites.	August, 1972	60
Interviews: With University communication personnel With other relevant University personnel	Throughout project Throughout project	
Clippings: Collection of all articles about Pitt appearing in public press	Throughout project	Two scrapbooks

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CHAPTER II

CAMPUS DEVELOPMENT

Paul C. Shaw

TRUTH, LOVE AND CAMPUS DEVELOPMENT

The University of Pittsburgh Experience*

In the past decade, many universities have come under the careful scrutiny of their several constituencies. It is now common for students, along with some faculty, to question and sometimes challenge university educational programs, purposes, and goals. This student (and faculty) evaluative process has often served to unsettle and, in general, aggravate university administrators, faculty, alumni, trustees, and parents.

Similar demands and evaluations have also often come from a number of external groups--groups usually outside the realm of traditionally considered constituencies. Thus, from within and without, the university is being barraged by a variety of unsettling demands and influences.**

In part, these demands are a consequence of changes in a national political ethos--an ethos that has honed expectations and, in general, politicized the public, especially those traditionally outside the nation's influence structure. In addition, "new" demands are being made of universities because of their rapid growth in the last twenty-five years. The growth in university enrollment and, accordingly, in their physical plant has come during a period in which the public has seen higher education as a necessary part of young people's preparation for life and also when the metropolitan areas were experiencing great

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*This is abridged and slightly revised version of a much larger report entitled Truth, Love and Campus Expansion. (University of Pittsburgh, UUIP, June, 1973)

The title of this report, "Truth, Love and Campus Development requires a note of explanation. The title was suggested to me by Roland Warren's provocative collection of essays, Truth, Love and Social Change (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971). In his preface, Warren writes: "The truth referred to here is the conviction of each contesting group that it has the truth, that it is right, and that the other side is simply wrong, out of either malice or ignorance. And the love referred to here is the feeling, held more or less strongly by most individuals, that no matter what the substantive disagreement, people should relate to each other as brothers." This seems especially apropos the University of Pittsburgh expansion contoversy.

**Paul C. Shaw and Louis A. Tronzo, "Community Constraints on Academic Planning: Myths and Realities," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Society for College and University Planning, Atlanta, Ga., August 7,

increases in population. Thus as urban universities grew, they found themselves increasingly having to compete with other urban residents for space. Consequently, in this new context, many "universities have been forced to consider their relations within their districts, their immediate neighbors, the municipal governments of which they are constituents, and the major forces of the metropolitan region from which they expect support". *

The purpose of this paper is to provide a descriptive analysis of the University of Pittsburgh's experiences with campus expansion during a two and one-half year period from the Fall of 1970 through the Spring of 1973. Although a case study of only one university's experiences, this is, nevertheless, an attempt at a systematic descriptive analysis aimed at showing the forces with which the University has had to contend, as well as a description of the University campus expansion planning-decision-making processes and finally, an assessment of those policies with accompanying recommendations. Where feasible, appropriate comparative data are used to illustrate the universality of experiences; comparison, however, is limited because the literature is often incomplete and anecdotal.

Part I of this report contains a section presenting the background and overview of expansion at Pitt, followed by a discussion of the Hillside Dorm controversy. Subsequent sections address the commonality of issues, myths and realities, and the July 28th agreement.

Part II is comprised of a discussion of the conduct of campus expansion since the July 28 agreement, and the origins of Oakland Development, Incorporated (ODI).

Part III focuses on campus expansion from the perspective of: a community member, a city representative, and a University staff person. Part III also includes a review of UUIP conducted interviews with ODI representatives.

Part IV is a discussion of Caveats, Recommendations, and Lessons Learned.

Chronologies of selective events follow Parts I and II.

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* Kermit C. Parsons and Georgia K. Davis, "The Urban University and Its Urban Environment", Minerva, Vol. IX (July, 1971), p. 361.

PART I

Expansion at Pitt: Background and Overview

The University of Pittsburgh is a non-sectarian co-educational institution. Along with Penn State and Temple, it makes up the larger portion of the public university sector of the Pennsylvania System of Higher Education. Since 1966, the bulk of the University's educational programs and additions to its physical plant have been state-funded; it is a de facto state university.

The University's main campus is located in Oakland, a viable working and middle class, multi-ethnic community about three miles east of the center city. Oakland has been referred to by some as the "second city" because of its role as the City's cultural center.

In the 1971-72 academic year, on a campus of one hundred twenty-five acres and forty-five buildings, the University had about 17,000 full-time students, with an additional 11,000 part-time students. Of the 17,000 full-time students, some 5,000 were graduate students. The enrollment is expected to grow moderately for the rest of the decade. In addition, there are 2,500 faculty and 3,000 staff members on the Oakland Campus. These figures represent the culmination of a sharp rise in enrollment during the last decade, which was accelerated by the 1966 change in the University's status from private to state-relatedness; a change which, in turn, resulted in an obligation to increase enrollment.

In 1959, when it became clear that a new civic stadium eventually would be built, the old Forbes Field site (home of the Pirates and the Steelers and located adjacent to the University) became an important and logical area for University expansion. It was subsequently purchased by the General State Authority for the University.

Although former Chancellor Litchfield and his staff had conceived elaborate plans for increasing the University's presence in Oakland and thus making this section of the city even more of an educational and cultural center, shortly after the start of the administration of the present Chancellor, in 1967 new comprehensive plans for the campus were drafted and steps taken to implement the plans. It was felt, in part, the University needed a new overall master plan which would establish more clearly-defined campus boundaries.

In the Forbes Field area, the University proposed a five-phase project, with the first phase embracing parts of the Forbes Field site, and subsequent phases to cover a two-block area contiguous to Forbes Field. Two structures were to be developed on the initial site--one a quadrangle building to house the University's School of Education and the departments of the Social Sciences, and the other a separate building the University's School of Law. (See Map Plan 1)

Before 1971 for two or three years, these plans were discussed in detail with the then relevant community organizations, such as Model Cities, the Oakland Chamber of Commerce, and the City Planning Department. With the exception, perhaps, of Model Cities, the groups contacted by the University had traditional or established institutional bases. Apparently no attempt was made to hold more public sessions that would potentially involve non-institutional interests, that is, to communicate at the "grassroots" level. However, no objections were raised to the project at that time; and the University subsequently made formal application to the General State Authority for funding.

Initial funding for Forbes Phase I was provided in 1968. The cost of the project at that time was estimated to be about $30 million. Construction was scheduled to begin in early 1970, with completion about two years later. In the Spring and Summer of 1969, the General State Authority began acquiring residential properties contiguous to Forbes Field.

But in 1970, the implementation of these plans suffered the first of what turned out to be a two-year series of delays. Forbes Field did not become available to the University until mid-year because of delays in completion of the new Three Rivers Stadium, housing professional football and baseball. In addition, in late 1970 and early 1971, several ad hoc community groups which had not existed at the time of the initial planning arose to express their concern over certain aspects of the plan.

As a result, the construction of two additional projects, physically unrelated (a hillside dormitory and the Learning Research and Development Center) were postponed. Original plans for the dormitory have subsequently been cancelled, but may re-emerge later in a different form. The demolition of Forbes Field was completed during the Summer of 1972. In addition, the involvement of these ad hoc groups resulted in the July, 1971 abandonment of the master plan at a cost of about $5 million in, e.g., architects' redesign costs, escalated materials cost, etc. In late Fall of 1972, construction started on the Law Building and the Social Sciences-Education Quadrangle. (See Map Plan 2, Area B)*

The Hillside Dorms and the Solidification of Opposition**

Although University expansion to the north had resulted in generalized rumblings of dissatisfaction from residents in that area in the recent past,

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* The maps are not officially sanctioned by the University, nor are the crosshatched areas drawn to scale.

** Liva Jacoby, during the first year of our research, assisted in terviewing selective participants and prepared summaries of meetings lled to discuss campus expansion.

the critical event which solidified residents and other interested individuals into formalized opposition to University expansion was the University's plan for appropriating parts of the Falk School (a University laboratory school) playground for use in constructing a hillside dorm. Just before the opening of classes in September, 1970, the Director of Falk School expressed concern over the impending modification of the School's playground; his concern subsequently led to the involvement of the School's PTA as well as residents of the adjoining neighborhood (especially those on Allequippa and Brackenridge Streets) who would potentially be directly affected by dorm construction. A series of public meetings called by concerned residents began in September and out of this came the organization of People's Oakland two months later--a coalition of concerned community members and neighborhood groups. Then in January, 1971 at the Planning Commission's hearing on the University's conditional use application, People's Oakland filed, through their attorney, an eleven-page objection. The frequently expressed reasons for community dissent included: lack of consultation by University (this is perhaps the foremost reason); loss of open space and a "blocking view" caused by dorm construction; potential increases in traffic and parking congestion; general mistrust of the University; fear of implied further expansion; inappropriate dorm scale; and some even questioned whether dormitories were outmoded in concept.

The lines were now drawn; for the first time University plans were seriously challenged. And the University, as one administrator put it, "was stunned . . . and somewhat outraged" because, in the University's view, "its good intentions toward the community in choosing this (the hillside) site were not recognized". He went on to say, "as a result, the University was not as prepared as it might have been to the original dissidents". Certainly, the University did appear stunned and unresponsive even though there was considerable evidence to suggest the University could no longer unilaterally design and implement policies that have a direct community impact. For example, neighborhood residents in 1969 had openly expressed their discontent over plans for the construction of the Chemistry Building resulting in the University's decision to resite the building about sixty feet back from the street. Nevertheless, the University was unprepared to deal with the opposition it now faced. The University proceeded without effective organization and planning, thus compiling a record of what now is seen as inconsistencies and contradictions which made the University appear intransigent and uncooperative and may have assisted the organizational efforts of the adversaries to campus expansion.*

The Commonality of Issues

What probably contributed to the University's uncertain response to the community challenge is its administrators' apparent inability to

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* This conclusion is based on interviews with several University administrators, observations of University-community interaction at the tripartite meetings, and from a perusal of Board of Trustee Minutes.

learn from the experiences of other univerisities. There is a commonality of issues involved in citizen opposition to university expansion. Had University administrators heeded the experiences of other universities a community plan, incorporating sensitivity to the issues discussed below, may have been developed. For example, there were a number of instructive experiences including Temple University, the Minnesota Community University Development Corporation, and the University of Chicago's involvement with the Woodlawn Community.* Especially pertinent, however, is the Cox Commission Report, on the Columbia University experience, which delineates the issues common to the Pittsburgh and Columbia controversies.**

(1) Is Campus Expansion Necessary? -- The University did not attempt to communicate its plans at the grassroots level, and when challenged by the community was hesitant to enter into a dialogue with concerned residents. Furthermore, there were a number of incidents that suggested a discrepancy between University words and deeds, and thereby diminished the credibility of University statements.

(2) Did the University Make Long-Range Plans and Were the Plans Revealed to the Community? -- By 1970, Pitt had a well-developed master plan complete with a scale model. However, it has been the practice of the University to inform the community of its plans only after the plans were finalized. Yet, those concerned members of the local community expected participation in the planning process.

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*And at Pitt, Richard Voelker and Brian Vargus prepared a "Preliminary Report on the South Oakland Expansion Area", University of Pittsburgh, Department of Sociology, (April, 1970), in which they forecast the coming controversy and made a number of salient recommendations. Their recommendations were: (A) add indigenous community members to the University Planning Commission; (B) inform responsible community representatives of University plans for community areas; (C) arrange a community meeting to inform them of the University's concern and to exchange views, and (D) provide all feasible assistance for those who are to be relocated. However, none of the ideas were apparently heeded even though UUIP placed their report in the appropriate University channels. And cited in Campus Community Relations: Annotated Bibliography by I. S. Fink and Joan Cook (University of California, April, 1972)

**Crisis at Columbia, New York: Random House, 1968. There may, of course, be other issues and some of these may be unique to the experience of each university. However, the five issues discussed here were critical to both controversies. We caution the reader not to be misled by the differences in the populations surrounding Pitt and Columbia. What is important to an understanding of the comparability of the two experiences is that the issues raised by the community adversaries were identical, and furthermore, in both controversies students and faculty played prominent roles in mobilizing community opposition. Also in June of 1970, two Pittsburgh representatives attended a Cornell University week-long seminar on University and College Planning and Urban Change. Many suggestions on campus development stemming from this course were offerred to the administration.

(3) Is the University Sensitive to Problems of Resident Relocation? -- Because of the University's Summer of 1971 agreement with the community to modify its expansion plans, very few residents were relocated. But even when the University anticipated the implementation of its master plan which would have caused the removal of several hundred residents, it had no plan for relocation assistance beyond the payment of nominal moving costs.*

(4) Has the University Planned for Multi-Use Buildings? -- This continues to be an issue between Pitt and the community and is complicated by financial and legal questions.

(5) Has the University Made an Effort to Reconcile Differences With the Community? -- During the first phase of the controversy, Pitt appeared to be on the defensive and reluctant to enter into a dialogue with its community critics. However, within the context of ODI, a regular dialogue was established. Perhaps the major obstacle to improving University-community relations has been the University's adherence to a traditional planning perspective in which communication with the community was limited to a few select groups.

In sum, much and perhaps most of the University's difficulty in coping with the community's challenge to campus expansion rests with the University's adherence to a traditional planning - administrative perspective. That is, the University was unable and/or unwilling to change its traditional mode of operation--at least the part that was concerned with community relations. In part, this is because several of the assumptions that guided the internal policy process were no longer viable.

Myths and Realities **

The University's controversy with the community has permitted us to delineate four myths. ***

One myth is that universities, in launching campus expansion plans, need only respond to their traditional constituencies. The reality, as shown by the Pittsburgh experience, is that universities must take into account the comprehensive range of public, private, and political interests which may singularly or cooperatively work against an institution's plans for expansion.

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*However, Louis A. Tronzo, Office of Governmental Relations, did draft a memo suggesting the need for a fully operable relocation assistance office.

**Shaw and Tronzo, op. cit.

***Meaning mistaken assumptions or notions of reality that no longer
ly.

A second myth is that the local institution is unique; that is, its experiences are unrelated to that of others. However, there were similar experiences which were applicable, and these are suggested by the Cox Commission Report.

A third myth is that the national political culture does not apply to the local scene; and that is, in part, what makes the experiences of other universities comparable. Participation by affected citizens in the drafting of plans is an increasingly common practice and expectation.

A fourth myth suggests that those who object most strenuously to expansion are those most directly affected, that is, those who are to be displaced. At Pitt, the most determined opposition came from persons whose interests were geographically on the periphery of the expansion area.

The July 28 Agreement: A Turning Point

On the afternoon of July 28, 1971, representatives of Pitt, People's Oakland, the South Oakland Citizens Council, and the City of Pittsburgh reached an agreement which was publicly presented at a tripartite meeting that evening. Vice Chancellor for Finance, Edison Montgomery, made the presentation before the group and in his announcement reviewed a number of points of agreement, including the abandonment of extant plans, the adoption of joint planning in principle, and incorporating mixed usage of space.

The three key points are:

(a) "The University will no longer seek to undertake development in the Forbes Field area in accordance with its existing plans";

(b) Joint planning should "commence immediately with the University, the city, the community, and the state for the use" of the Forbes Field area and adjacent properties owned or used by the University;

(c) "In the joint planning effort, provision will be made for the development of new commercial space and 'people-oriented' space somewhere in the above-described area as well as space for University needs."

Chronology of Selective Events Leading Up To The July 28 Agreement

January, 1963

-- University planners meet at Chancellor Litchfield's farm to "brainstorm the new Oakland". The result was a vision of Oakland as a socially and economically variegated community but one populated by greater numbers of professionals (mostly University people) and related activities and services.

-- Oakland Chamber of Commerce recommends Forbes Field be returned to the community, with provision for use for Pitt athletic events, and the razing of Pitt Stadium for University expansion.

July, 1965

-- Pitt expansion plans cause formation of Schenley Farms Protective Association and Citizens Opposed to the Dangers of Redevelopment in Oakland.

February, 1966

-- Pitt announces planned additions to Scaife Hall and the Natural Science Building, and the construction of a 12-story Engineering Building.

November, 1966

-- Acting Chancellor Kurtzman announces planned second campus on hillside above Pitt Stadium, including Lutheran Cemetary, for construction of dorms and off-street parking.

October, 1968

-- Chancellor Posvar speaks before Pittsburgh Rotary Club about the University master plan. He speaks of a ten-fifteen year construction program with $60 million to be spent in the Forbes Field area and $40 million for the health complex. Posvar did not foresee "any large scale opposition" to expansion; however, the Oakland Chamber of Commerce did express opposition to the closing of streets as would be required by Pitt's master plan.

-- The response to Pitt's announced plans included the suggestion for public hearings so that citizens and district planners can comment.

March, 1970

-- University architects resite Chemistry-Natural Sciences Building in response to community opposition to the building's planned proximity to the street.

September, 1970

-- "Canter's Restaurant" meeting, jointly sponsored by SOCC, Oakland Chamber of Commerce, Model Cities, and Pitt. The agenda included discussion of Forbes Field demolition, University real estate acquisition in Oakland, proposed University relocation activities, and cross-town expressway.

December, 1970

-- Mayor Peter Flaherty, in a budget message to City Council, announces his interst in a "moratorium on the growth and expansion of tax-exempt institutions".

January, 1971

-- People's Oakland issues The Wrecking Ball, #1. University expansion is compared with an octopus's tentacles reaching into Oakland. A call is made for expressions of community opposition to Pitt expansion.

PART II

Campus Expansion Phase II (August, 1971 to Present)

Following the July 28 agreement, the Chancellor reorganized his senior administrative staff and assigned to the newly reorganized Office of Public Affairs the primary responsibility for communications development with regard to campus expansion. In so doing, the University was attempting to improve internal coordination of campus expansion activities and to attempt to speak to the public with a single voice.

When Public Affairs assumed its new role, there occurred a major change in the University's expansion planning. For the first time, University planning included the consideration of strategies, tactics, priorities, alternatives, and contingencies. Thus, as a result of the leadership of Public Affairs, the University moved from its defensive position regarding expansion and began to take the initiative.

Relations with the community also began to improve. This change came about, we believe, because (a) the community had won some significant victories, and (b) communications between the University and community became more regularized with the participants functioning less as adversaries and more as negotiators and collaborators.

The University's decision to communicate with the community and therefore to move away from their reliance upon a hard-sell approach to public relations significantly contributed to the improvement of relations with the community.

January 1972 WQED Meeting

At a meeting between representatives of the University, city and community held at WQED, People's Oakland presented their proposal for the formation of a joint planning and development organization. In this

draft proposal it was suggested that an Oakland Development, Inc., as an umbrella organization with representatives of all Oakland interests (community, city, institutional), be formed. It was proposed that ODI take the form of a non-profit corporation in order to maintain what was seen by People's Oakland as a "fragile balance" or mix of institutions, students, and long-term residents. Although eighteen months later ODI has not been incorporated, or even had its by-laws formally adopted by its membership, it immediately became operable. Its ultimate effectiveness is, of course, yet to be seen, but it has the formal sanction of the Oakland community (May 1972) and is the major reason for the regularization of institutional-citizen relations. And through regular (formal and informal) contact, mutual confidence and recognition of mutual interests is developing--that is, the basis exists for making a concerted attack on the larger range of problems facing Oakland.

Payments for Municipal Services

In June of 1972, after six months of negotiations, the University and the city reached an agreement in which Pitt agreed to pay the city $60,000 a year for various city services. The agreement was carefully worded to indicate that Pitt was not making a payment in lieu of taxes, which might be illegal since Pitt is a state-related institution. The $60,000 figure is for the first year only; the amount the University will pay will be adjusted yearly in proportion to changes in the city's operating budget.

It should be noted, however, that the $60,000 payment by Pitt to the city did not reduce the Mayor's interest in extracting additional payments from Pitt. The University has requested the closing of Pennant Place (a short one-block street running between Forbes and Sennott Streets and separating Hillman Library from the Common Facilities Building) because once the Law and Social Sciences Buildings are completed, the University would like to turn Pennant Place into a mall-park area; if not closed the increased concentration of students would make vehicular traffic difficult and dangerous to pedestrians. The Mayor has given his tentative approval to the closing of Pennant Place, but is requesting that the city be reimbursed $98,774 in exchange for vacating the street. The $98,000 is probably a bargaining point rather than a seriously hoped for payment because early in the negotiations over in lieu payments the city had asked for $400,000 from Pitt, and then settled for about $60,000 per year. And more recently, the city has requested payment by the University for the University's appropriation of Girts Way, a short, dead-end alleyway running into the area now excavated for the Law School foundation.

PART III

Perspectives of Campus Expansion: Three Views

During the Summer of 1972, three observers of the campus expansion controversy agreed to our suggestion that they prepare individual papers offering their perspectives on the controversy. Each of the three--one community member, one city representative, and one University employee--have experience as "first-hand" participants in the dispute. The community member is a founder of People's Oakland, the city representative has been an active participant in the tripartite meetings and continues to be involved, but to a lesser extent, in ODI. The University staff member, although not involved as a negotiator at the tripartite or joint-planning sessions, has nevertheless served as a University spokesman and has frequently been involved in a staff support capacity. Thus, each has significant experience with and involvement in the campus expansion dispute.

Their papers offer their personal or individual interpretations. The authors were provided by the researcher with a suggested but flexible outline to maximize comparability; it was understood, however, that each could deviate from the format to the extent necessary to present their own interpretation and analysis of the issue. The proposed format suggested that each author consider: goals and objectives of the involved groups, extant issues and perceptions of and prognosis for Oakland and the expansion controversy.

The resultant papers generally conform to the topic format, but included additional perspectives or insights. Each was approximately twenty pages in length.

Conclusions of the Community, University and City Authors:

-- The University's main concern was with the development of its own physical plant; community development was a peripheral concern. However, both the community member and the city representative show that the community was concerned with the interrelationships and consequences of residential, commercial and institutional development.

-- The University usually takes a pragmatic approach to expansion, viewing its constituency as regional and national, and thus is less concerned about expansion's negative impact on Oakland. In contrast, the community and the city are very much concerned with the University's impact on Oakland, and moreover, the community expects the University to adhere to a higher standard of citizenship and service than is usually expected of institutions.

-- The three writers agree that the University was not responsive to changes in societal values which would have required citizen input to institutional planning.

Perceptions of Oakland: The ODI Interviews*

During July and August of 1972, University-Urban Interface Program staff completed interviews with seventeen of the then twenty-one representatives to ODI. Our intent was to interview those representatives, or alternates, who have consistently been in attendance at the ODI meetings; vacations and related circumstances occasionally interfered, thus we were unable to interview all representatives. However, all those contacted agreed to be interviewed. The interviewees were especially cooperative; as a result, the interviews lasted from one to one and a half hours each. A structured interview schedule was used, but interviewees were permitted to fully elaborate their responses and were encouraged to make additional comments at the interview's conclusion. The schedule was designed to elicit perceptions of: Oakland as a place to live and work, ODI, and campus expansion.

Overview of Responses**

Many respondents expressed concern over what the future holds for Oakland; there was a general apprehension (perhaps even pessimism) over the spread of urban blight and related problems. It was felt that should this trend continue, Oakland might not be able to maintain a viable residential population.

While there was general concern and even anger on the part of some over the physical expansion of Oakland institutions, it was felt by many that it was not necessarily physical expansion per se that threatens the integrity of residential areas, but the failure of the institutions to become involved in efforts to find solutions to the spread of urban decay and related problems. Even if urban decay is merely thought to exist--as some contend--the consequences can be the same as if it were real. The institutions are seen as concerned with the implementation of what are often short-run goals with only minimal concern for long-run effects.

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*Carl Van Horn capably assisted in the interviewing of respondents.

**A complimentary study discussing the general public's expectations of the University, how they get information about Pitt, and how they perceive the channels of communication between the University and the community is available. See Barbara Jameson, Ramsey Kleff, and Liva Jacoby, The General Public Views the University: A Report of Community Interviews (University of Pittsburgh, UUIP, March, 1973)

What these interviews have, however, made clear is that there is a basis for mutual understanding and cooperation between the diverse Oakland interests, although this may not yet be recognized or understood by either the institutions or the community.

The focal concern of Oakland residents is that viable residential neighborhoods be maintained. And for this to come about, we suggest there must: (a) exist a supply of structurally sound housing available for rent or purchase at prices within reach of middle and working class persons; (b) residents must have a diversity of commercial services available at competitive prices; (c) the physical integrity of Oakland must be maintained, e.g., streets kept in good repair and well-lighted, and the hazards and annoyances of vehicular traffic minimized; and (d) residents must feel the area is safe--that crime will be controlled. In other words, a residential neighborhood must be free (or relatively free) of urban problems. The crux issue is the City's responsibility to the Oakland community.

We suggest that these are the same conditions sought (or should be sought) by institutions for their employees. Faculty, for example, are attracted to a university if it can offer them safe streets, good schools, conveniently located and competitively priced housing, and diverse and competitively priced commercial services. In other words, whatever makes for an attractive residential area also probably makes for a desirable university context/environment.

Conclusion: The interviews make clear that although there is considerable distrust of the University, there are nevertheless larger issues whose successful resolution would be of benefit to residents, businessmen, and institutions. The respondents want to maintain Oakland's residential areas, improve city and commercial services, and structure institutional growth so that it is in harmony with the residential population.*

Chronology of Selective Events
Phase II

August, 1971

-- Tripartite meetings now include, and are chaired by, the Deputy Director of the General State Authority. GSA is concerned with

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*The feasibility of University-community collaboration regarding urban problem-solving is discussed in: Martha Baum, Inter-Group Cooperation and Urban Problem-Solving (University of Pittsburgh, UUIP, May, 1973)

the slowness at which decisions are reached in the tripartite process, the delay in University construction, and escalated costs caused by delays.

-- Oakland Chamber of Commerce holds meeting to obtain clarification of the University's expansion plans. The Chamber was concerned about rumors that Pitt will include commercial space in its new buildings and the Chamber was opposed to possible construction of multi-use structures.

September, 1971

-- Memo to Senior Administrators from Chancellor Posvar advising that the University needs to develop a "clearly articulated program to guide our official relationships with the various neighborhoods and communities that are adjacent to the campus". The memo states also that community misunderstanding of University intentions "has been compounded by the fact that no one individual or office has been designated to staff, coordinate, develop a policy, and direct negotiations with the various neighborhood groups or the public officials that are involved". The memo points, further, to the need to avoid crisis management, to develop a long-range program, and to speak with a single voice. To accomplish these ends, the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Public Affairs is assigned "the leadership role" in communications development.

November, 1971

-- People's Oakland submits their proposed program for the joint use of the Forbes Quadrangle ground floor. They suggest the allocation of approximately 2,220 square feet to be used for a number of "centers", including legal services, pre-school, teenage, and urban studies/community design. In an addition, more general suggestions were made concerning access and egress routes, landscaping, public space, and building facades. The proposal outlined also rather specific activities and activity space for each of the centers.

-- Chancellor Posvar announces University acceptance of "Plan D" for siting of buildings in the Forbes Field area and urges GSA to accept this design as agreed upon in discussions between Pitt, the city, the community, and GSA representatives. Pitt's Board of Trustees has also accepted the site plan.

-- GSA Board subsequently approves Plan D.

December, 1971

-- Formation of the Comprehensive Oakland Planning Group, a precursor to Oakland Development, Inc. and an evolved form of the "tripartite

meetings".

January, 1972

-- WQED meeting--People's Oakland formally proposes formation of Oakland Development, Incorporated.

February, 1972

-- Chancellor Posvar's David Lawrence Hall address to the Oakland community. The purpose of the meeting was to report to the community the present status of Pitt's physical development and how the tripartite/joint sessions have affected both the University's plans and thinking about the community. Dr. Posvar reviewed the current history of Pitt expansion, explaining the construction now planned would be for catching up with previously established needs and that with a leveling off of enrollment and a tightening of money, construction beyond that now planned is problematical.

March, 1972

-- Increasingly clear that the Forbes project cannot proceed without resolution of tax issue.

-- City Planning continues to support concept of joint University-community facility as well as re-establishment of some commercial use in "two-blocks" area.

-- City Planning pushes for joint planning--believes process just as important as product.

April, 1972

-- April 5 Harrisburg Meeting. This meeting was called by the Director of the General State Authority to discuss problems and issues relating to the disposition of the property (two-blocks area) acquired for the University by the GSA originally for Forbes Phas I.

Members of the GSA Board in attendance included the Majority Leaders of both the State Senate and the State House of Reprentatives.

PART IV

Caveats, Recommendations, and Lessons Learned

The following comments fall into two categories: the first suggests reasons for the Community's success in challenging the University, and the second prerequisites for an effective University response to that challenge.

As a result of the Confrontation: the University has cancelled plans for a $13 million high-rise dorm; Pitt delayed construction of and then altered plans for the Law and Education-Social Sciences complex (at an additional cost of $5 million); the community is now organized (as manifested in or through ODI), and a joint-planning process has been established (through ODI).

The University: The University found itself out-maneuvered and on the defensive because the senior administration does not seem to have been cognizant of or responsive to changes in social values (political culture). Growing out of and manifested in the student revolt of the sixties was the ideal of participatory democracy; that is, those who are affected by institutional decisions should have some input into the making of these decisions/policies. Or put another way, it is a spreading of participation-democracy to the grassroots and therefore is anti-elitist in concept.

Many of the problems the University suffers in connection with its expansion program are directly associated with the University's adherence to traditional planning procedures and processes.

For many months, the University pursued a "wait and see" attitude, and when it was necessary to respond to community questions, demands, or threats, the University could not (or did not) get beyond a financial or engineering perspective to the larger issues of educational philosophy and neighborhood viability that the community introduced. Ironically, the University did have staff members who understood the political dynamics and ramifications of the controversy. But these staff members--who forecast the direction of the controversy was moving and therefore understood and anticipated the response the University should and would eventually take--were located on the Public Affairs side of the University, and the expansion planning/decision-making was being directed by Finance and Physical Plant.

The ill feeling and distrust that characterized institution-community relations was exacerbated also by the University's tendency to use a "P.R." response. In other words, the use of essentially a "hard sell" or media-oriented approach that emphasizes "what's good for Pitt is good for the community". What now should be painfully apparent is that communications is a two-way process and the establishment of a process is the effective course of action and not the "hard sell".

The Community: What made the community especially effective in its adversary role is that its organizing force (People's Oakland) was composed of middle- and upper-middle class intellectuals who knew where the political pressure points were. The students, faculty, professionals, and middle-class residents who make up the nucleus of the community's opposition forces understood how the political system operates and had the political, social and business connections necessary to taking the initiative away from Pitt. Moreover, a "critical event occurred which facilitated the establishment of a social movement. That event was the University's plan for a high-rise dorm that was to alter the playground of a school, increase people and traffic congestion in the vicinity of the school as well as the middle and upper-middle class neighborhood adjacent to the school.

The City: The City Planning Department no longer had a traditional urban renewal philosophy; instead, the new Director, who had held a senior position in the Philadelphia Planning Department, during the height of Temple's problems with their neighboring community, added a community planning unit and hired eight community planning specialists who shared his citizen advocacy philosophy.

The changes in the Planning Department came with the election of Peter Flaherty, an independent Democrat with an anti-establishment, new politics style. Thus, the community had, at the very least, the moral support of the city administration. In addition, the city could and did help the organization of community opposition to Pitt's expansion by City Planning's insistence on the establishment of a University-community dialogue, and for example, in the city's control over zoning and construction permits.

The remainder of this section is devoted to a discussion of what we believe to be the prerequisites for an effective university response to the community challenge. *

Locus of Power Within University Hierarchy: Our research suggests that the Chancellor should take a greater role in policy planning. He should establish broad policy guidelines but have little or no immediate/direct involvement with policy implementation. We say this because the scope of the Chancellor's duties are such that he must parsimoniously guard his time and therefore can ill afford to become personally involved in policy implementation where lower staff (at the Vice Chancellor level or below) are hired specifically for that purpose. The Chancellor and other senior level administrators cannot be expected to have the specialized expertise necessary for policy-program design and implementation. Again, their role is to establish the goals and assign to experts lower in the hierarchy the discretionary authority and responsibility for goal implementation.

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* Effective as used here is meant to convey a term of some considerable relativity, rather than an absolute measurement: in other words, has/are the University's relations with the community improved and are University goals being accomplished?

Planning: Many of the problems which beset the conduct of community relations prior to the Summer of 1971 result from the failure of the University to establish policy positions and long-range plans (goals), including the consideration of contingencies and the establishment of priorities. Community relations planning should be under the direction of the Office of Public Affairs (or comparable office in other universities)

Communications: The Chancellor's memo of September 20, 1971* is a good example of how a coordinated internal effort is undertaken. It is clear that activities undertaken in the areas of Finance and Operations can influence community relations. For example, purchases of property for investment purposes can and do affect the University's community relations efforts. Moreover, we believe that the opening of regularized communication with the community (the process) is of equal or perhaps greater importance than the substance of the communication. Although planning requires some closed door sessions, Universities should understand that, for the most part, secret decision-making can never be effective, if for no other reason than the University is too decentralized and diffuse to keep secrets. If rumors need correction, then serious harm has been done to the institution's credibility. It is far better to have an open decision structure that inhibits the creation and spread of rumors and misinformation.

In conclusion, we suggest that there is a solution that will benefit both the University and the community. The community's fundamental concern is for the maintenance and development of the residential areas--the creation and maintenance of areas that can attract and keep families. This means, that the area be kept free of urban blight and be able to offer appropriate family-oriented commercial services.

These are the same conditions that are, or should be, sought by universities. Faculty, for example, are attracted to a university if it can offer them safe streets, good schools, conveniently located and competitively priced housing and diverse and competitively priced commercial services. Notwithstanding the town-gown problems that frequently accompany student-resident contacts, an attractive residential area also makes for a desirable university environment. This, then, is the basis for working out solutions to mutual concerns.

Finally, all indicators suggest that it is in the best interest of both the community and the University (as well as other institutions) that an umbrella type of organization such as Oakland Development, Inc., be kept viable. A workable arrangement, however, will probably come only as the consequence of a willingness on the part of the community and the University to compromise on their individual goals and preferences in

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*Wesley W. Posvar, "Memo to Senior Administrators, University Policy Regarding Community and Governmental Relations," September 20, 1971.

in order to accomplish goals with a community-wide impact.* The University (also other institutions and businesses) must recognize and consider the potential community-wide impact of its policies and programs, and the community must understand that there are certain categories of University program and activity in which they can have little or no input. Each interest will have certain areas of autonomy on which compromise will be rare, but generally each must understand the wider impact of their activities and subsequently conduct their affairs in a cooperative and empathetic fashion.

A consensus, however, may be less essential to the attainment of goals through ODI if only the participants would (a) move away from the all too frequent zero-sum game situation in which one interest gains at the expense of the other, and (b) emphasis be placed on coalition building (temporary collaborative relationships) around specific goals, in preference to alliances which are more permanent collaborative relationships focusing on a wide-range of goals.** Thus, ODI is an embryonic form that may develop into an organization that can guide and direct Oakland's growth and development.

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*For a discussion of the difficulties in determining the public or community good, see: John Friedman, "The Public Interest and Community Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 39 (January, 1973), pp. 2, 4-7. A "Commentary" by Herbert J. Gans in the same issue, pp. 3, 10-12, suggests that a determinization of what constitutes the public interest comes only with the understanding that personal goals are really political goals and goal consensus is best achieved through a political process.

**Roland Warren, Truth, Love, and Social Change, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971, p. 293.

Conclusions

Most of the problems the University has experienced in attempting to implement its campus development plans are related to its adherence to a traditional planning perspective. This means that the University has done little in the way of trying to obtain grassroots support for its plans. Additional complications result from the University's tradition of bringing its plans to the public arena only after they have been drafted or formalized. Yet, the prevailing political culture requires some degree of joint or collaborative planning with those segments of the population who are or who believe themselves affected by institutional plans.

The record of University-community relations following the Summer of 1971 reorganization of the University suggests (A) improved relations with the community are related to the opening and maintenance of communications with (not hard sell public relations) the community; (B) the appropriate office for conducting, directing, and coordinating the University's community relations-campus expansion program is the Office of Public Affairs (or comparable office in other universities); (C) it is essential that the University use its internal expertise to formulate long-range and contingency plans regarding campus expansion-community relations, and (D) the Chancellor should, in general, assume a low profile, concentrating on the design of plans and planning guidelines, leaving plan implementation to his lower level staff experts.

Finally, the University, community, and other Oakland interests should avoid adversary or zero-sum game positions in which one group gains at the expense of the others. The ultimate goal should be the maintenance of Oakland as a diverse area with a balance of institutions, businesses, and residents. Thus, the crux issue or concern is the City's role in keeping Oakland from suffering the consequences of urban decay and/or land use of predominately one type. An umbrella organization such as ODI may be the organizational form that can-through collaborative planning-successfully guide and direct Oakland's growth and development.

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CHAPTER III

MINORITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

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with Liva Jo[illegible]by
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Operation Outreach:

A Study of Minority and Community Services

One of the strongest and most persistent challenges to the University in recent years has been to explore ways to make the facilities of higher education more accessible to minority and educationally disadvantaged groups and to involve University resources in the solution of urban problems.

The original University-Urban Interface Program proposal to the U. S. Office of Education stated as the goal for the minority and community services priority of the program "that of inventing an organizational means for optimally relating an urban university and its minority community, principally central-city blacks, and then of developing an operational model and demonstrating it in action".* An Office of Urban and Community Services (OUCS) had already been established in 1969 when the proposal was submitted to the Office of Education, and it was envisioned that OUCS, in its attempt to develop optimal organizational modes, would be the focus of UUIP research in this priority area. However, the newly-appointed director of OUCS felt it was important to establish OUCS as a part of the regular University budget in order to insure continuity and maximum flexibility in maintaining an action orientation.

The UUIP minority and community services research was thus shifted to another focal point. Although there were many University-wide activities which could have been chosen to chronicle and evaluate, such as Affirmative Action, the University Community Educational Programs, the Black Studies Program, UUIP decided to focus its major resources on projects which represent a university's response to specific community problems. In cooperation with OUCS, a number of candidate projects were considered as possible targets of research. Four projects, each an interface between the University and the urban community, were chosen to investigate.

Each of the projects used in the case studies represents an attempt to conceptualize an urban problem and offers concrete solutions in the form of an innovative program. Each worked with both established and newly-formed community bodies, such as the Board of Education, Model Cities, United Black Front, Neighborhood Centers, Taking Care of Business, and Community Action Pittsburgh in developing the project.

Labeled "Operation Outreach", the four cases are:

Outreach One - Project Right Start
Works with children from conception to age 3 to prevent and detect social and emotional problems.

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*Office of the Vice Chancellor for Program Development and Public Affairs, Proposal for Continuation of a University-Urban Interface Program, University of Pittsburgh: December, 1969, page 13.

Outreach Two - School of Social Work-Neighborhood Centers Association
A collaborative effort of a University school and a community organization to deal with problems such as housing and racial conflicts.

Outreach Three - Student Consultant Project
Business School students work with small businessmen in a black ghetto.

Outreach Four - Clarifying Environments Program
New educational theories and technologies are used with children in public schools in poverty areas.

A research component was attached to each of the four Outreach projects, with a special liaison person to gather data for a chronicle and analysis. Within the general context of studying the development of relations between the University and the community, more particularly the black, low-income community, UUIP focused on several areas of particular research interest. These interests were related to (1) assessment of community needs; (2) how resources are matched to community needs; (3) the continuity of program support after implementation; (4) the participation of neighborhood people in the projects; (5) linkages with other institutions, such as the Board of Education, Model Cities, and city government; and (6) problems which emanate from within the University system.

Each of the four case studies presented as Operation Outreach have used a framework of the interactions between three entities--the University, the community, and the target agency (the Outreach project). Each of the selected Outreach projects contain both common elements and unique characteristics in relation to this three-point interaction. Although each target agency serves as an interface between the University and community to jointly solve an urban problem, each had its impetus from a different segment of the University or community structure.

Project Right Start was stimulated through a directive from high-level University administrators to academic departments to submit research proposals dealing with the area of racial injustice. A Psychology Department proposal was subsequently accepted, which led to the hiring of a new faculty member who was given special responsibility to work with the community. At the same time, community-based people working with a mental health team were focusing on the need for services to prevent social, psychological, and educational failures in low income black children. The merging of the University and the community around this interest formed the basis for Outreach One.

Outreach Two worked through the community-based Neighborhood Centers Association (NCA). NCA is a long-established community organization which has moved from a traditional ethnic settlement program to a community participation program dealing with neighborhood problems such as housing and racial conflicts. Through the efforts of faculty of the University's School of Social Work, who were serving on the Board of NCA, a proposal was worked out to share in the efforts to redevelop this community through the services of graduate students from the school.

Outreach Three, the Student Consultant Project, was conceived by a group of concerned students in the Graduate School of Business who wanted to share their expertise and energy with black businessmen. SCP not only organized small businessmen workshops and gave direct consulting to businesses, but also helped black businessmen make better use of services already available in the community.

The fourth Outreach project represents a program developed within a University laboratory setting, then moving into an inner-city black school. Both the theoretical foundation and the technology of the Clarifying Environments Laboratory were the products of a member of the faculty who was anxious to apply his educational innovations to the children in public schools in poverty areas. Such an undertaking meant building support within both the neighborhood to be served and in the school system.

Thus, the four outreach projects represent programs encouraged or implemented by four sectors of the University: the University administration, from graduate students, and from the faculty in both its academic and civic involvement roles. From the community side, the needs expressed were often very general--"our children get in trouble", "our schools don't teach", "our businesses can't compete", and "our neighborhoods are crumbling".

The four cases presented here provide a rich spectrum of the variety of ways a university and community can interact, both in terms of the content of their programs and their modes of relationships. The analysis of these projects has been aided by the institution-building model, as described in the Introduction of this report.

The brief description of each Operation Outreach project which follows is a greatly condensed version of longer reports. Readers should examine the full reports for greater detail. In this report, the four cases have been compared in order to gain insights into the problems of institutionalizing new modes of relationships between the University and the urban community and the viability of University based projects as an approach to the solution of urban problems.

Project Right Start*

During the last decade, there has been a great deal of discussion as to how to close the gap between middle-class America and the economically and educationally deprived. Such programs as Head Start seek means to acquaint children from poverty areas with the tools that help children when they enter the public schools. It has been well-established, however, that many problems are well developed during the first year of life or are

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*Barbara B. Jameson, Project Right Start, University of Pittsburgh: University-Urban Interface Program, June, 1973.

even present at birth. For example,* "the self-esteem of children is shaped importantly during the first year of life; an infant's response to stress is influenced by the nature of his relationship to his parents or other caretakers; the development of deductive logic in the 18-20 month old infant depends on his prior relationships with these caretakers; self-determination and self-direction begin to develop as early as six months; suspicion and distrust begin to take shape during the first year; initiative and achievement orientation begin during the second year; and moral judgment takes an important developmental turn during the second and third years."

Not only has it been established that these first three years are extremely formative, but there also exists the understanding and technical means to detect signs which predict a wide range of behavioral problems.** Added to this are the present advances in detection and alleviation of forms of functional retardation. Not only has research developed observational signs of socially or physically induced behavioral problems, but also remedial approaches for the treatment of these problems.***

The goals of Project Right Start deal with the "development of prevention approaches and early detection systems that focus on three clusters of child-family behavior".**** The first two clusters concern cognitive learning development and the emotional-personality growth of the child. The third cluster involves interactional structures, such as parent-child, extended family-child, or community-child. The short range goal of Project Right Start was to find the physical space and the personnel to work directly with the child and the family, with the knowledge now available. The overall goals of the target agency (PRS) never changed from its official birth as the Primary Prevention Center (April, 1970) to its formal institutionalization as a county program. However, the specific goals of focusing on prevention and in very young children developed out of more generalized goals of becoming involved in the problems of low income black neighborhoods.

Even after the goals became more specified, the leadership saw Project Right Start as even more than an organization to develop and practice psychological treatment for children. At various times explicit references were made to such goals as professional training, building University-community reciprocal relations, and developing community leadership. The goals of Project Right Start, then, coincide with all

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*This material is quoted or paraphrased from "A Proposal to United Family Services, Inc.", Jerome Taylor, July 15, 1971.

**Jerome Taylor, Memo to Mellon Foundation, University of Pittsburgh: Psychology Department, May 29, 1970.

***Bibliography, May 25, 1971--includes basic and applied articles concerned with component variables and appropriate change strategies.

****Jerome Taylor, from taped "UUIP Outreach Seminar", November 5, 1971.

three stated University goals of teaching, research, and service. The emphasis in these three general areas varied with the needs of the project and with situational strategies.

The specified goals of Project Right Start emerged out of abstract, general goals discussed in the University and the community. The Chancellor of the University had gone on record in 1967 as committing the University to involvement in urban problems. The assassination of Dr. King in 1968 focused the involvement on the problems of low-income black ghettos. The University Psychology Department formed a Racial Justice Committee early in 1969 with the specific purpose of formulating a policy to recruit more black faculty and students who might be better able to reach into the black community. Concomitant with the recruiting of more black personnel within the University was the Psychology Department's notion of an extension of clinical psychology facilities into the ghetto. Such a facility was seen as both a means to train clinicians in ghetto problems and as a way of providing services to the black population of Pittsburgh's Hill District.

During this same period, people in the community, particularly the Community Mental Health Hill Team and the participants in Project Self-Esteem, were gaining experience in community problems and knowledge about current resources which generated new goals for needed community services.

In July of 1969, many goals of the University and the community were brought together by the appointment of Dr. Taylor as a professor in the Department of Psychology with special responsibility to develop a clinical extension center and to work with the Community Health Center program.

With Dr. Taylor's arrival on the scene, the goals began to take more concrete form. In a report of May, 1970,* Dr. Taylor referred to the Department of Psychology's effort to intensify the development of programs "which are relevant to and directly benefit the black inner-city population". In the report, he goes on to discuss an original plan to develop an emergency service for children, which had to be reappraised because of lack of sufficient budget to allow for renting space. The available funds were used to explore the existing resources and to develop the goals and program for some form of University-community interface within the basic area of psychology. The May, 1970 report first discusses the many meetings with human services agencies and with parents in the Hill District and with the eventual focus on the problems of very young children. A quotation from the report illustrates both the evolving emphasis on "prevention" and the envisioned relationship with the Psychology Department.

> In summary, there exists the need for a center that concerns itself with clarifying, utilizing, and even developing those "signs" or configural aspects of behavior which lead towards the establishment of primary and secondary

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*From J. Taylor to the Mellon Foundation. This report was erroneously directed to Mellon, which was only one of several foundations which had donated a black grant focused on urban problems. These same ideas were also sent to members of the Psychology Department, Racial Justice Committee, February 11 and February 25, 1970.

> prevention systems and correlated techniques of effective intervention. Service, training, and research would be organized around these ends. Training would prepare paraprofessionals in psychology, who would do much of the testing and assist in all phases of the research, and University students, who would render service through direct involvement and who would contribute to substantive and methodological problems through independent study, masters and doctoral theses. Further, it is hoped that a formal career-ladder subdoctoral program, comprised of selected clinical experience complemented with meaningful course work developed within the Department of Psychology, can be developed. A sub-committee of the Racial Justice Committee within the Department of Psychology has already been appointed to investigate this latter possibility.

The report concludes by setting out the possible collaboration of the proposed extension center with programs within the Department of Psychology, with the University as a whole, and with universities outside of the Pittsburgh area.

By the Fall of 1970, the goals and the perceived way of implementing these goals had been concretely spelled out in a proposal to Model Cities. This proposal expanded the geographic area to be serviced, because the Model Cities area included Oakland. This expanded territory also implied the inclusion of white children in the serviced population, and made no reference to special problems of the black child. In a letter to the director of Model Cities, Dr. Taylor especially emphasized the benefit of the project to the communities as a whole in addition to individual children served. The proposal also focused upon the training of paraprofessionals and the use of University expertise, but makes no mention of training experience for professionals. In other words, all three aspects of University goals are included--teaching, research, and service--but the teaching aspect is directed toward indigenous workers rather than University students.

Another example of how the emphasis on the scope of the goals of Project Right Start changed in relation to the source of funds (enabling linkages) being requested was at the point at which the name "Project Right Start" came into use (July, 1971). The Model Cities grant was to be matched three to one with some other monies. A proposal was made for state Title IV funding through Family Services. Title IV grantees were not interested in mental health projects, so the name "Hill District Psychology Center for Primary Prevention" appeared to be a liability in seeking funds from the Title IV source. The new name was not only a "catchier" title, it made the goal easier to translate to the people being served ("get babies off to a good start in life"). The new title also served to keep the planned implementation of the goals ambiguous enough that the needs of particular funding agencies could be taken into account.

The goals of Project Right Start were in response to an ideological commitment of the University to become involved in urban problems and especially in the problems of the low-income black neighborhoods. Several other ideologies also underlay the policy and program implementation of Project Right Start. One such ideology is that the staff working with the people in the neighborhoods should be, as much as possible, from these neighborhoods.

The training of indigenous workers became a major activity of the project and will be discussed in the Personnel section of this analysis. It should be pointed out now, however, that this "indigenous" ideology creates a potential conflict with one of the original goals, that of providing field experience for graduate students in clinical psychology. A second ideological stance of importance here was that financial control of the project should be based in the community being served. This aspect will be discussed under Resources.

A third ideological position relates to the way in which the community and especially its leaders learn to make use of the University resources. The project began as a joint enterprise of University and community-based people. The community organization evolving from the group of parents who attended the 1969 discussions with the Hill Team became the focal point for community involvement in Project Right Start. The group took the name "Taking Care of Business" (TCB) (March, 1970), expanded the membership, and in 1971 submitted a proposal for modest funding. This proposal states that "TCB sees itself as an organization that is action-oriented and has determined to not merely promote community awareness to existing problems, but to become actively involved in providing solutions to these problems."* Part of the requested funding was to cover leadership training sessions. The proposal states:

> In the organization's effort to become effective has come the realization that the members need technical leadership training to acquire general administrative skills in order to facilitate their objectives.

The leadership of Project Right Start recognized that it was not enough simply to express the doctrine that community groups should have input into or control of programs that effect their lives. If such input or control is to be translated into effective action, certain skills and an understanding of how to make use of available resources has to be acquired. Although the goals of the University and the community may have common elements, the way in which such an interface attempt might be jointly carried out may appear to be quite different depending on whether one is standing on the University end of the interfacing path or the community end. An often noted characteristic of low-income groups, both black and white, is the absence of participation in formal organization or an inability to relate to large institutions. In recent years,

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*Proposal for the Developmental Phase for the Community Organization of Taking Care of Business, October, 1971.

there has been much activity to attempt to formally organize parts of this population, such as the Welfare Rights Organization, citizen participation on the Model Cities' Commissions, and in the lower salaried labor force movements. However, most of these attempts have experienced great difficulty in maintaining widespread participation. An added problem has been the lack of trust within the black community towards projects organized by white institutions.

A major concern of Taylor and the Right Start staff was how to support the process of a community group, such as TCB, in working out arrangements with a large institution such as the University, without taking over leadership roles. Taylor stayed away from early TCB meetings in order not to interfere with the development of leadership from within the group. There was also a concerted effort to include TCB members at all stages of Right Start development, such as the choosing of the paraprofessional staff, the meetings with Model Cities, and discussions about program needs. TCB members were also encouraged to broaden the scope of their organization to include more than an interest in Right Start. The TCB members met with University personnel involved in other projects and also concerned themselves with non-University resources. TCB also made arrangements to be incorporated under state laws, which would further assure its autonomy from the University relationships. In the Fall of 1972, a series of workshops were carried out to provide TCB with some special leadership and organization skills.

But in general, one would have to evaluate the attempts to institutionalize the community group's ways of working with the University as less than successful. Most of the TCB active members were especially busy in that they held full-time jobs and carried extracurricular civic responsibilities. Some furthered their formal education during this period and most of the active members benefitted from the experience of working in TCB. However, in terms of the organization itself, there were problems in developing consistent and ongoing leadership which could stimulate growth and coordinate the new group. After about two years of sporadic activity by TCB (which was particularly intense during the Model Cities' hearings), Taylor reached the opinion that such groups really need a full-time person that can devote the time to community training that he had devoted to paraprofessional training. Although the ideology of Project Right Start still supports the community involvement, the status of such involvement falls short of earlier expectations. When Project Right Start became an agency of the county, the nature of the community involvement with Right Start changed from the once envisioned control to little more than participation and support. TCB remained as a potential nucleus for leadership in other projects. However, the eventual realization of this leadership potential is an unknown factor.

A major ideological stance that community people play a role in the development and implementation of the project met with only partial success. Although several active members of TCB contributed a great deal to the project, the community-based organization has not grown beyond a couple of dozen persons and the input into Right Start has not been consistently evident. On the other hand, community-based people are carrying out much of the major program of Right Start, that of the prevention or early detection of potential problems for children.

The blueprint for the Right Start program was specified in great detail in the 1970 proposal to Model Cities. This proposal calls for the services of two types of paraprofessional services (referred to as "generalists" and "specialists") who would be recruited from the neighborhoods being served and specially trained to work with the psychological problems of the young child. Such training became a major part of the program implementation. The training per se became part of the innovative aspects of the project, in that not only did teaching techniques need to be developed, but the content and format of the curriculum was (and is) being developed as the project proceeded.

It had been planned that a center with an ever-growing case load of children would be an actuality during the early training period, so that the new professionals could gain experience with actual cases, under the guidance of trained clinicians. However, slowness in developing the financial base for a physical facility or ongoing staff maintenance reduced the training and greatly restricted the field experience. In fact, the staff in training had to participate in the development of financial support and development of case load. This led to a certain amount of confusion about the roles of the trainees or the division of function among the staff, the director, and TCB members. However, by 1972, as the financial base became stabilized, five of the original trainees were able to take on supervisory roles (Team Leaders) in relation to a new group of trainees.

Viewing the program in relation to three categories of goals--teaching, research and service--it appears that all three aspects have been implemented by Project Right Start. Although the teaching aspect has focused on the training of the new professionals, many students from the Psychology Department have also been involved in the project. Some of the originally-hired staff have enrolled in regular University courses. Several graduate students in the Department have developed special projects related to Right Start cases with the Right Start staff.

Besides the research-oriented special projects of the graduate students, the development of the curriculum represents a major piece of academic research. It is hoped that this material will be ready in the near future for national distribution. Plans have also been discussed for an institute to train personnel in child development using the experience gained in the development of the system.

Opposition or confusion related to Right Start often stemmed more from program specific rather than overall goals. Although most people might agree that "helping little children" was a good thing to do, the way one defines "helping" can create a fertile ground for battle. This researcher, for example, found herself challenging the director at one point as to how "sex appropriate behavior", which was listed in a brochure as one area of concern, might be defined. Such questions illustrate the problem a director must face in deciding how program-specific to be when communicating about the services of a program. On one hand, being too specific opens the door to constant conflicts which can expend energy needed to carry out the service. However, if not enough is known about the service, the perspective consumer will not understand the service, some people will grow suspicious of the unknown, and the program image will be so blurred that needed support could be impaired. This last

point is illustrated by a conversation with a Model Cities' Commissioner who confused Right Start with another child-oriented project. The specifics of the projects were so unclear to this person that the weaknesses of the other project were attributed to Right Start.

The most successful aspects of Project Right Start, from a University point of view, would appear to be those which evolved naturally from the types of activity that academicians are trained to carry out--teaching and research. Implementing the other goals has been more difficult from a University base. Most academicians have had less experience in organizing community support, in working with political bodies, or even in defining new roles for academic departments. Even though University spokesmen may voice their commitment for University public service, the allocation of funds, the priorities of faculty and students, and even their own expertise often work against the establishment of public service activity.

There was sometimes confusion about the leadership of Project Right Start because of the joint role the University and the community were to play in the project. Although the University had hired Dr. Taylor as a professor with special responsibilities to work in the community, there was no comparable community position, a community organizer with special responsibility to work with the University. Although Taylor and the other University staff were committed to the ideology of community leadership in the project, the realities of the situation constantly tipped the balance toward University-based leadership. In the first place, although the community people could talk about the problems, it was usually University people who were trained to offer the solutions. Also, the earliest tasks needed academic skills such as program conceptualization and the writing of formal proposals to funding agencies. Another crucial task in developing the project was training a staff to carry out clinical activity. Again, this called for highly-trained University personnel. The community leadership not only served on a voluntary basis, outside of regular occupations, but most had had little experience in dealing with large institutions. Many TCB members were part of or related to the Mental Health Hill Team, and there was both overlapping and confusion as to their Team role, their TCB role, and their relationship to Project Right Start. The TCB members were also getting advice from such organizations as United Family Service, and from some other University-based consultants which probably added to the confusion as to leadership roles in Project Right Start.

For the first two years of the project, the major base of operations was located in a University building, which encouraged emphasis on the University-based leadership. As the program implementation, and eventually the physical location of the offices moved out to the community, this emphasis changed. However, it would appear that as the project becomes established as an ongoing county agency, focused on the clinical aspects of the program, the role of community people will be more as supporters and clientelle builders rather than organizing and policy leaders.

The lack of adequate resources probably served to strengthen Dr. Taylor's leadership role. Although Taylor at times expressed his frustrations at having to spend so much of his time in developing funding resources and in activity which can be classified as political, in the

long run these activities gave him a much more thorough knowledge of the larger community of Pittsburgh and of the local area the project was to directly serve. A more affluent and orderly situation might have limited his perspective to the training and practice aspects which would have restricted his first-hand knowledge of the community. However, making this a planned strategy can be risky, unless the designated leader has fairly special attributes. The director of Right Start also carried normal faculty responsibilities, such as course work, student guidance and endless committee meetings. Taylor appears to be blessed with not only an inordinate amount of academic knowledge but also patience, little need for rest, and a special sensitivity for listening to community people. Without this kind of leadership potential, if a University program fails to allocate adequate funds and make special faculty provisions to support the innovation to at least a stage of reasonable assessment, it is probably doomed to early extinction.

Five kinds of personnel can be distinguished in Project Right Start: the paraprofessionals or trainees, the University students, the faculty, secretaries, and TCB members. If an outsider walked into an office when all five categories of the personnel were together, it would be difficult to label which category was which. Indeed, there has been a certain blurring of roles in all except the faculty, moreover, probably some in the other four categories will eventually perform in that role. Part of the blurring of roles is due to the fact that several people were actually involved in more than one of the roles--secretaries and TCB members were students, some original trainees enrolled in regular classes, and graduate students were involved in many of the project activities. Faculty and TCB members worked together to screen trainee applicants, and everyone worked to gain community support during the Model Cities' hearings and discuss to other potential funding. Probably, the most evident conflict among the personnel was in the division between research and service activity. When the program was focused on more academic activity, there were complaints of no real service action; when the emphasis moved in the other direction, there were concerns about action without knowledge.

Private foundations supplied the seed money for Project Right Start, $30,000, half of it to go toward the director's salary. A memo to University officials from the Psychology Department says "No funds have, therefore, been expended" is to be interpreted as "the University has not had to use its regular budget monies for the project". This tells a great deal about the problems facing a public service-oriented project based in the University. Many such enterprises undertaken during this period were financed by governmental agencies or private foundations. This not only has complicated the relationships between projects and the University, but has added financial insecurity to the other woes. Of course, funding on University budget allocations, "hard" money is not an assurance of financial security, but it does add more assurance that the merits of continuation will be judged on how a project contributes to the missions of higher education.

The director has said that he would not have accepted the offer if he had known he would be paid solely by "soft" money. Subsequently, he has been put on the regular payroll. Major problems from a faculty point of view in using outside money for professional-level personnel is the tenuous position of an appointee if the funds are withdrawn, the appointees' relationships to the tenure stream, and an often unspoken inference that such a person is not "really a part of the faculty".

The University was supportive of Project Right Start by increasing space allotments and making loans to the project. The director found, though, that an inordinate amount of his and the staff and TCB's time was taken in finding money for the project. The conceptualization of a fairly grandiose undertaking early in the project's history grew out of the encouragement of many people to seek Model Cities' funds. At one point, the director was advised that the Pittsburgh Model Cities had large amounts of money to "get rid of" rather quickly and Right Start submitted a proposal for $600,000 to include facilities, equipment, and personnel. No such grant was ever made, and after surviving on small grants from several sources, our target agency, Right Start, found a home as an agency of the County Mental Health and Mental Retardation Programs, housed in a new services center of the Hill District.

Until 1972, when the Right Start was moving toward governmental status, the director had supported keeping control of funding in the hands of the community being served. The plans called for a "holding" company, which would be outside of the formal University structure and outside of the structure of Project Right Start, to act as paymaster and accountant. The rationale for such an arrangement is that, too often, low resource groups have been made to feel like guinea pigs in an experiment, or receivers of charity from kindly benefactors. Thus, control of funds within some neighborhood agency might help to foster a sense of personal involvement in local community projects.

The community "holding company" concept brings up some interesting problems for a University. For example, if the funds cover academic research, how will research directors and the University accounting staff react to the prospect of having financial control of research funds placed in the community rather than in the University. The University (as a whole and department by department) has not only used such grants as a status symbol, but has used the funds as a University resource. Although Taylor got support for the plan from his Department Chairman and University administrators, it was never put into effect and these questions cannot be answered without experience with an actual situation.

The resource problem in university-community projects is not only the inadequacy of the resources but a kind of "identity crisis" as to whole project it is. Project Right Start was initially housed in University space, used University furniture and equipment, and maintained its operation with funds channeled through the University. Yet, Right Start was trying to develop as a community facility--for and by the community. The brochures that went to agencies and the neighborhoods stress the community control. The University is mentioned as one of several funding sources and the stated address is not identified as a University building.

This strategy has many assets. Many lower-income blacks appear hesitant to "invade" University facilities. Other groups, such as Model Cities, have been suspicious of or outrightly hostile to University-sponsored activities. An official of a university in another city said his university took the position that people do not want to be reminded how much they own the university. "We don't rub their noses in their debt. And besides, universities create problems, too, not just solve them."

This ambiguity in identity also creates problems for staff people who move between a world of the community and of the University and are not really a complete part of either.

The blueprint for the internal structure for Project Right Start calls for a director of the services, consultants, staff to carry out clinical activity, and clerical personnel. In fact, as was pointed out in the Personnel section of this report, all persons involved found themselves in many overlapping functions throughout the development of the agency. The organizational structure became primarily identified with the director, who was the focal point for tying together academic aspects of the project with community application. Much of the structure evolved from needs introduced through relationships with many external organizations.

The planning phase of Right Start was funded by a block grant from several private foundations. The block grant concept itself added confusion in the early phases of the project in terms of accountability. The director of Right Start submitted a progress report to the Mellon Foundation, which he had understood had provided the funds. Mellon claimed no special responsibility for the project and referred accountability to University officials who had accepted the seed money from several foundations. Therefore, a linkage which Right Start thought it might establish failed to materialize. The original plans for the establishment of the Right Start program financially called for major federal funding, either through the locally-channeled Model Cities' funds or another federal agency. When the Model Cities proposal became bogged down in bureaucratic and political problems, it was decided to request interim funds from local sources rather than submit a proposal to a federal agency. This decision was partly based on the need to apply some of the director's and staff's time to building the program, rather than in meeting the complicated guidelines for federal proposals.

Money from several local community sources (PACE, FANN, UFS) and UUIP allowed the director to proceed in the hiring and training of paraprofessionals. Other University funds were made as loans to carry the project until major funding was forthcoming and Psychology Department resources also provided an enabling linkage. The Title IV funds from the state opened the door for a firm relation with United Family Service and the eventual establishment of Right Start as a county MHMR program.

The Right Start plan called for both direct practice and referral to other community agencies. Right start has worked closely with mental health agencies, public welfare, hospitals and Family Service. A pamphlet that was sent to several agencies describes the services in rather general ways. An emphasis is put on the need to begin thinking about a

child's future at the time of conception and that a whole community should be involved in and benefit from programs to develop mentally healthy children. Under a section of the pamphlet entitled "Who Runs It?", focus is directed toward the community control of the service. The University of Pittsburgh is given credit, but in the middle of the paragraph. The linkages are given in such a way as to assure community input and support but to also give the assurance that well-established institutions, such as the University and the state and federal government, also support Right Start.

The pamphlet that was distributed to the target neighborhoods (which are a source of "input" in the form of potential clients) focuses on the need for a place to come for help with babies and makes no mention of any other organization. The address, Langley Hall, is not named as a University building. The strategy would appear to be based on the idea that the general public is basically concerned with what an agency can offer them, but that other agencies need to be assured of the legitimacy and territorial boundaires of a service. This strategy appears to work well in that clients have come to Right Start directly from the neighborhoods and through agency referral. However, the main avenue used to establish good linkage relationships was personal contact nurturance and the information pamphlets were only used as an additional piece of communication.

Right Start's functional linkages with the University were maintained not only because the director carried out a service mission for the University, but also because teaching and research functions were incorporated as a vital part of Right Start. These latter functions were performed not only within the boundaries of the project but in graduate courses, Psychology Department committees, and in child development research publications.

The normative linkages basically operlap in the case of Right Start, with the enabling and functional linkages in that it is with the organizations that supply the funds and perform related functions in the community. TCB was especially important in the building of an image of concordance between community and Right Start values. Another organization which added an important linkage at this point was the United Black Front. A federation of local organizations established after the 1968 riots to coordinate the rehabilitation of the Hill District. UBF became an important source of community support and made efforts to facilitate Right Start's search for physical space and financing.

Project Right Start remained fairly invisible outside of the target communities. There were very few articles in the public press and there was little use of other public media to gain support. The establishing of linkages was concentrated on direct personal contact with relevant funding agencies and with those organizations relevant to the target neighborhoods. In the language of the institution-building model, very few diffuse linkages were established. This relative lack of visibility carried over into the University itself, where, with few exceptions (UUIP, OUCS, the Psychology Department, and a few in related services), the purpose, or even the name, Right Start, was unknown.

Summary and Conclusions

Institutionalization of Project Right Start can be viewed on two levels. The first focuses on the specific goal of setting up a Center to develop preventative approaches and early detection devices in the area of child development. Right Start did bring together and train a staff which is now working directly with families in the Hill District. The project is currently (1973) an established county agency, with the potential to expand its services beyond the originally focused upon Hill District. A major part of the financial base will be supplied by or channeled through Allegheny County. This will allow the Right Start staff to concentrate on program building rather than program financial survival. Every indication is that Right Start is institutionalized as an ongoing service.

The second institutionalization aspect focuses on the modes of relationship between the University and the minority community. At this level, Project Right Start initiated or encouraged many activities to build an interaction pattern between these two entities which would develop better communication. The Director of Right Start was sensitive to the differences in forms of interaction which are characteristic of these two bodies. The University has traditionally offered the services of experts who not only knew the substantive content of a problem area, but were adept at organization and making use of available resources. Minority community leaders, on the other hand, were aware of vital needs and anxious to solve problems, but usually lacked skills to conceptualize the solutions or administer complex organizations. Therefore, the University would find itself in a situation where its personnel was virtually running new programs.

Project Right Start did not completely break from this pattern. The necessity for submitting technical research proposals and for training new professionals focused leadership activity on the Director. Even though community people were willing to give their time, there were many aspects of the program building which they were unable to carry out without further training. The workshops conducted for TCB board members was initiated to help fill the gap in administrative skills, but these were conducted after Right Start was substantially organized. For the TCB members, Right Start served as a valuable experience in dealing first hand with complex organizational problems, but not in taking major responsibility for building a financial base or an administrative structure to carry out the functions of the agency. To reiterate the opinion of Dr. Taylor, in order to insure real minority community control of its services, intensive training would need to be conducted in financial and organization management.

The successful training of indigenous workers in gaining the skills of the clinical practice aspect of Right Start adds evidence that such training can bring positive results. Most of the original trainees now carry supervisory responsibility over new personnel and are capable of making sound decisions in the context of their

occupation. If the project had had another person at Taylor's level of expertise to concommittantly give management training to the TCB members, Right Start may have been institutionalized as a private, local agency (although the financially chaotic welfare scence might have worked against this under any circumstances). However, TCB members now stand as a nucleus of minority community members who have experience and some administrative skill training to serve as a catalyst for future community organization.

Not all forms of interaction need to be symmetrical. Community people should not have to accept the burden of learning "University ways" in order to communicate and form viable working relations. Some traditional interaction patters of low economic communities, (such as face-to-face communication systems and loosely-knit organization forms) may complement the relationships between the university and minority neighborhoods and should not be discouraged when community leaders are trained to make use of available resources.

The continuity of Right Start has been assured for at least the near future by the linkage established with the county government. The location of the program headquarters in a centrally located service facility in the Hill District should assure access to clients, both directly and through other agency referrals. The University will undoubtedly need to be a part of the program for some time to come as a valuable resource for the development of theory and practice techniques in helping disadvantaged children become emotionally healthy adults.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS ASSOCIATION (NCA) - SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK PROJECT (SSW)*

In late 1970 two professors of the School of Social Work, proposed that UUIP chronicle SSW's attempt "to undertake a longitudinal urban development effort" on Pittsburgh's North Side. With the emphasis on the "involvement of neighborhood people", especially youth, the plan was to apply "extra resources" of the University in a situation where the Neighborhood Centers Association's (Community) Chest and OEO resources are insufficient. "The goal would be for a community, organization and a university, jointly and innovatively, to discover how an important urban community now in turmoil can be advanced toward comprehensive and equitable renewal." 1

The following is a report of attempts at implementing that plan during the year 1971.

NCA: History and Socio-Demographic Context: 2

In the 1890's, what is now the Neighborhood Centers Association (NCA), was established as the Woods Run Settlement House with a program emphasis on the Americanization of newly arrived immigrants. As could be expected, the program emphasis shifted over the years because of changing urban developments and resident patterns. NCA is now the primary United Fund-Community Chest Neighborhood Development Agency on Pittsburgh's Northside. Since the early 1960's, its focus has been on the development of mechanisms which could redirect services to community residents from institutions such as schools, hospitals, and traditional social welfare agencies. The Northside is now considered by some to be an area of change and chaos but with enormous opportunity. Currently and during recent years, this area of about 84,000 population has been in turmoil from large scale urban renewal projects, population movements, racial conflict, and the springing up of new institutions. Public and private investments in a new sports stadium, public housing, schools, industrial development, a community college, a shopping center, high-rise apartments, and highway construction may exceed three hundred million dollars. These investments have done much to improve life for the people of the Northside and Pittsburgh, generally, but there also have been severe hardships created for many residents and businessmen. The vast new resources placed in the Northside have not benefitted all citizens and thus can be considered a mixed blessing. For example, social and economic problems for many have been aggravated; large development gaps exist; conflicts among races, between and among income groups, and between government and citizens flair up continually.

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* By Paul C. Shaw and Beverly Lovelace.

Organizational Objectives [3]

The proposal Blueprint mapping or intended performance envisioned the joint undertaking of a longitudinal urban development effort on Pittsburgh's Northside by the Neighborhood Centers Association in conjunction with the University of Pittsburgh's School of Social Work. The plan was to supplement NCA's Community Chest and OEO resources with University resources. Through the joint cooperation of the University and NCA, the School of Social Work hoped to accomplish: "a new community analysis, inlcuding chronicling, recording, and evaluation; a reassessment of needs; a testing of new projects and services; and a persistent attempt to innovate." The proposed steps to complete this goal include: "(1) Involve Northside residents in the joint effort, with emphasis on youth; (2) Document and analyze the social forces at work on the Northside; (3) Choose and launch priority areas for demonstration action projects; (4) Simultaneously develop a comprehensive social development plan for the Northside; (5) Chronicle, record, evaluate."

The proposal, in effect, did not specify the projects to be developed (or attempted) nor the operational plan for implementation. It did suggest some general topics for program development, but presented these as tentative; i.e., the proposal stated: "These programs might concern such matters as housing, police-community relations, neighborhood government, education, communications, civic education, and the like."

Still the proposal, even though it was nonspecific regarding prgrams and implementation, was an attractive candidate for UUIP monitoring. The Northside is an interesting area for research because of its diverse population, both in terms of SES and ethnicity, and because it harbors those ubiquitous urban pathologies which seem to abound in cities today. In other words, the Northside is potentially an excellent demonstration area. It is small enough to be a manageable research and social program service area and large enough to have immense diversity. Some examples of its diversity: although NCA is located in the Manchester section which is predominantly black and low income, the Northside also includes the Central Northside which is a racially mixed, low and middle income section; the East Northside is predominantly white and blue collar; and the Allegheny Center area consists of upper income apartments and townhouses.

Further, because funding was being sought for the full implementation of a joint University-NCA development effort it is natural that the proposal details were not elaborated. In addition, the proposal program goals held promise of close congruence with the University's evolving sense of an urban mission. For example, the Chancellor's Report for 1970, stated that the University's priority objectives "includes humanizing and making more habitable the urban environment." Moreover, "the University is also concerned with how to make University resources available to the community in such a way that the community's needs are met and the institution's primary functions of teaching and research are severed.

The Plan In Action (Operations Mapping: Performance and Output):

During the first half of 1971, four SSW students were assigned field placements at NCA. Each selected a project that was designed to be compatible with the Proposal. One student worked on a plan for a grocery cooperative to service residents of a high-rise for the elderly; a second attempted to organizate a compensatory education project for children attending a local elementary school; a third tried to initiate a program of venereal disease prevention and education for Northside teenagers; and a fourth worked in the general area of community development on the East Northside.

Although generally compatible with the Proposal in actuality the projects were only very loosely tied to the University. The grocery coop, for example, used the Oakland Co-op as a model, but the Oakland Co-op is a venture started and maintained by a small core of faculty and students; the compensatory education project was loosely modeled after O. K. Moore's Clarifying Environments design;* and the venereal disease project attempted to organize and apply some staff and resources from the Graduate School of Public Health.

Although the students did not succeed in marshalling University resources to meet particular community needs they did identify community needs and potential resources for addressing those needs. Thus, the projects were instructive re the students' learning and that is perhaps all that can be expected of pilot projects during the early or "shakedown" months of proposal implementation. The students were asked to analyze the agency-community setting and then to devise projects that would relate University resources to community needs. The students collected a number of perspectives which: delineated needs, suggested what needed to be done regarding problem resolution and the feasibility of the projects. The next stage--the planning of projects--was completed by only one of the students, but she did not reach the final stage of organizing the project's implementation.

However, the field instructor did not view the efforts as successful, even though the students were working under a number of handicaps For one, NCA was without an executive director during the first two-thirds of the field placement session, therefore, staff were preoccupied with the selection of the director and with maintaining existing programs with little or no interest in ititiating new projects. Thus, the student efforts had only minimal direction and staff support; there was, simply, no one to "take charge". In other words, there was a leadership void at NCA. And perhaps an analogous void at SSW, where a search was being made for a new Dean. The lesson suggested by this experience seems to be: a successful student effort must have staff/agency support, and the agency must have sufficient and necessary leadership that would permit it to incorporate and support the student projects; that is, the agency's staff activities must be congruent with planned student activities.

*A program in which new educational theories and technologies are used with inner city school children. For a full discussion of CEL see

In addition, the first student group, in attempting to carry out the proposal's intent, was comprised of first year graduate students on their first placement experience.

The second group of students made no attempt at proposal implementation but were quickly integrated into NCA's staff. Student projects were devised which were consistent with NCA program goals and closely related to, and compatible with, the activities of the permanent staff. Even though the general proposal goal of community development was consistent with NCA's program goals, the new Executive Director was not interested in drawing upon University resources other than in the form of student placements.

Where the first group of students received guarded praise from NCA staff, the second were accorded laudatory comments. This suggests that for a student field placement to be viewed as successful by the agency (and presumably the students) there should be a close congruence between agency and student activities or projects, thereby resulting in the students being integrated into the staff.

That the students function as staff is the preference of the executive director of NCA. He believes that for students to be useful to the agency they must be utilized as regular staff, and accordingly, they are treated as such. The executive Director believes he must have a "free hand" in assigning students to projects; the determination of how they are to be used must be his. To have full discretion in using extra staff is, of course, the preference of administrators everywhere.

If, however, students are treated as and function as staff members, then they may be placed in a dissonant situation, i.e., a position of conflicting loyalties. The students that we interviewed felt more like staff members rather than part-time apprentices.

The School of Social Work's acceptance of and satisfaction with the field placement experience--in the light of agency treatment and student acceptance of an agency staff role--is probably due to SSW's thorough/comprehensive placement procedure. For example, the Community Organization, Planning and Administration (COPA) section of SSW has prepared a compreshensive "Manual of Field Instruction". Once an agency has accepted a student, the COPA director of field instruction draws up a "letter of agreement" setting out the "Professional-level responsibility to be assigned to the student by the organization". The COPA director of field instruction is also responsible for monitoring each field placement. And the field instructor assigned to each student, while usually an agency employee, is also a quasi-faculty member in that the instructor grades and evaluates the student's performance and receives some University fringe benefits (e.g., reduced tuition should they wish to enroll in University courses).

However, in 1971 (the year of proposal inception) SSW was in the process of re-evaluating field placement procedures and further it was

not until late in the year that SSW developed the position of Field Placement Director. Thus, during most of the proposal year, there existed a very loose arrangement between SSW and NCA. In particular, there was no letter of agreement between NCA and SSW regarding use of students; the practice was to give agencies, etc., wide discretion in their use of students.

Thus, NCA is satisfied with field placement students because the students provide needed and reasonably competent staff support. The executive director of NCA reported that he could use additional students but could only afford to pay for one. Professionally-trained students provide an important resource for NCA because at this writing, only four of thirty-three NCA staffers have college degrees. The use of indigenous non-degree personnel is the preference of the executive director, but nevertheless highlight the potential demand for social work professions--a resource provided by field placement students.

Performance Variables (Axes of Mapping)

While the goals of NCA are identical with the SSW proposal, that is, the social redevelopment of the North Side area served by NCA, there was no programmatic commitment on the part of NCA to apply or use University resources--other than in the form of field placement students--in agency redevelopment efforts. Of course, the University has no expressed goal of community development and change. At the time the first group of students were assigned to NCA, the agency was in the process of recruiting an executive director. After the director assumed the agency's leadership position in March of 1971, his concern was with agency programs primarily, and only incidentally with using students to develop plans for applying University resources to community needs. The students were, however, valuable to the director and were quickly integrated into the NCA staff.

The implementation of the proposal was hampered by a lack of NCA leadership, first because of the absence of a permanent executive director, and secondly because the uses of students as suggested by the proposal did not conform to the new director's program plans. At the time the proposal was accepted by NCA there were several members of the NCA Board's Executive Committee who were indifferent to the proposal and one who was opposed to it. Primarily because of these feelings on the part of the Executive Committee members, the general Board was unaware of the proposal, and when the present Executive Director was hired, the Executive Committee did not encourage him to implement the proposal. In other words, the Social Work plan for collaboration with the University was diluted because no one felt the need to push.

The field placement instructor, the students' supervisor and liaison with the University, was partly responsible for the failure of NCA to use the students in ways suggested by the proposal. Yet, the field instructor is relatively powerless vis-a-vis the director and therefore should not be held responsible for the lack of proposal implementation.

She should be credited with making the best of a difficult situation because all placements were concluded. It is difficult to visualize the field instructor making assignments to students that were contrary to the director's wishes. Further, at the beginning of the proposal year (1971) the field instructor was the only professionally trained staff member at NCA. All other staff were indigenous, non-degreed, several had been recently fired and others were job-hunting. Thus, NCA staff were primarily concerned with the recruitment of an Executive Director and their own future. The other major personnel involved in the project were the field placement students. Primary University resource contribution, on a continuing basis, is the field placement student.* During the year 1971, however, UUIP provided funds for the field placement instructor and four students as a means of researching the implementation of the proposal. NCA resources also are used for payment of field placement students and thus determines the number of students accepted by NCA in the absence of outside support. Moreover, a basic question remains as to whether the University is really a resource to the community except in context of classroom teaching. There is an absence of University incentive to promote faculty assistance to the community, (although, Social Work faculty do receive, in lieu of publishing, consideration for community service)thus, the University is a resource to the community only to the extent they (the community) can pay for University-faculty services.

Linkages

NCA might be able to fulfill its goals and objectives without the addition of University resources. However, in terms of the field placement process the University is really not giving anything to NCA because SSW must have placements for its students, in other words there is a mutual benefit or reciprocal need. At best, it is a mutually beneficial arrangement. Some believe, however, that students might be "turned back" on the University to change it so that it would relate better to community needs. NCA's role is to identify community needs, find the appropriate resource and try to arrange a merger of the two. But, if a potential resource is not willing to respond, NCA does not have the power to force a response. Thus, the onus rests with the resource (institution) to change if it is to aid or provide services to the community.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quotations are from: Jim Cunningham and John Conley, "Proposal for Joint Urban Development effort by Neighborhood Centers Association and the School of Social Work of the University of Pittsburgh, to be carried out on the Northside of Pittsburgh."

2. This section draws heavily upon a memo "A Brief History of Neighborhood Centers Association" prepared by Beverly Lovelace, and Jim Cunningham's and John Conley's "Proposal for Joint Urban Development Effort by Neighborhood Centers Association and the School of Social Work of the University of Pittsburgh, to be Carried Out on the Northside of Pittsburgh."

3. This section is a selective summary of the Proposal cited in footnote 1.

*Also see Michael Sugg, Explorations In Experiential Learning Part II (U. of Pgh.,UUIP,May 1973),p.p.40-43 for the results of survey of experiential learning at Pitt.

SCP known to the community and recruiting clients to receive consultant services. The project also received assists in several ways from University offices, particularly the newly established University Office of Urban and Community Services. From the outset the project was well-received in the community, and during its first year, even before the formal organizational structure was finalized, thirty-three students went into the community to provide technical assistance to minority businessmen.

The first year also entailed appointing students to fulfill the special organizational tasks for the project which had been specified in the charter. In May, 1970, a Board of Directors met formally for the first time. The members of the board were recruited from both the University and the community. They served as advisors on both internal and external matters, and also helped to widen community support and bring in new clients. The Board has continued to fulfill these functions in subsequent years. SCP has also continued to recruit successfully from the student population. Yearly recruitment is necessary since most graduate students on the project are in the M.A. program in the business school, and this program only lasts for one year. The yearly turnover causes understandable problems in continuity which are mitigated mainly by the presence of Tita who is in the much longer doctoral program.

The School of Business, and especially the Dean, has demonstrated support by providing the project with an office and a part-time secretary. However, SCP has never become an established part of the school budget, in part because the school has its own budgetary constraints. For this reason, SCP has had to seek outside funding on its activities, including monies to remunerate student consultants for transportation and other expenses. Outside funding has been obtained principally from Community Action Pittsburgh and the Small Businessmen's Association. Although these funds have been sufficient to keep the project going, they have never reached the level of providing for a permanent, paid full-time director for the project. The creation of such a post seems to project members highly desirable in view of both the turn-over in the graduate student population and the academic demands on student time which limit the number of hours they can spend on activity considered "extra curricular" by the school.

During its operations, the Student Consultant Project has been involved, primarily with client-centered activities. Thousands of hours have been spent in individual consulting services to black businessmen. Activities have also included representing businessmen in securing loans, holding bookkeeping and marketing seminars, helping with a research survey of local businessmen, aiding other colleges to set up their own student consultant projects, and trying to form credit unions.

Because of the recognition that the ghetto economy is dependent on other parts of the larger economy, SCP has held a series of annual Small Businessmen's Nights to bring various sements of the community

together and put ghetto clients into contact with others who might be helpful to them. The Small Businessmen's Nights were attended by representatives of local banks, the Pittsburgh police, the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, the University of Pittsburgh, a number of small businesses, and various governmental and social agencies. The meetings seem to have accomplished their purpose since they provided an arena for an exchange of views and also some useful outcomes for participants.

The project has managed its many efforts with what must be considered rather marginal organizational and monetary resources. In 1973, after more than four years, the Student Consultant Project, in spite of praise from clients, the mass media, and other sources, still cannot be said to have a permanent base. The accomplishments and difficulties experienced throughout the project's history will be integrated in a descriptive analysis derived from University-Urban Interface Program Research.

Descriptive Analysis of the Student Consultant Project

The research on the Student Consultant Project was based on regular interviews with the chairman/director and with other students involved in the project. Interviews were also conducted with faculty and administrators in the business school (particularly Professors Robert Perloff and Michael Koleda who have been the most involved faculty members). Interview data has been supplemented by participant observation at project meetings, formal documents emanating from the project and from the business school, access to project records, media accounts of project activities, and other sources. The project has been monitored since 1970, the second year of its operations. The analysis below relies on the major institution-building variables to bring together aspects of the process of implementing the project.

The Student Consultant Project has been most successful in establishing normative linkages with the community which provided clients and warm support; in recruiting student personnel to fulfill consulting and administrative roles; and in having dedicated, sustained leadership from its chairman/director. Tita and his co-workers chose to work through established agencies and offices in the community and the university. The project never attempted to recruit its own clients. In this manner, project leaders avoided any conflict, for they carefully explained project goals to others concerned with the ghetto areas, gained acceptance for providing consulting services, and relied on existing agencies to refer clients to them. Since from very early in the project's history, there were always more than a sufficient number of clients desiring available services, community support for the project seems evident. The mass media, too, have provided a most favorable press. What problems have arisen with individual clients have had to do more with organizational difficulties which will be recounted later.

Since student involvement has been vital to the implementation and continuation of the project and since students attend the M.A. program for one year only, the ability to provide continuity in project activities has been impressive. Every year, at least twenty-five percent of the graduate students in the business school have become involved in the project. But students are under a very heavy load. They carry a full-time academic program and often must work part-time on the side. In the first year of the project students even paid their own expenses incurred in SCP activity, although in subsequent years some remuneration was made available. The demands on the student consultants caused internal organizational problems which have not yet been resolved. Some of the students have been asked not only to fulfill consultant roles but to be responsible for defining and coordinating activities. Given the demands on student time and the high turnover in the student population, it has been difficult to fill these roles adequately. This deficiency has led to gaps in the recording and reporting area. In turn, there has been some duplication of services to clients and an occasional time lapse in the provision of services which was not simply due to the demands on personnel. A more overriding problem has been that it is very difficult to provide an accurate record of services rendered which would be good for project image and continuity under these conditions.

The organizational problems are directly related to a deficiency in resources which has made it impossible to retain paid administrative personnel. Student consultants provided the manpower to donate consulting services in the community but very little else. The chairman/director has filled some of the administrative gaps, and has also spent much of his time looking for additional resources. The University was able to provide little in the way of direct funds, but did help in pointing the way to possible outside sources. Community agencies were willing to offer some monies, but, in spite of the general enthusiasm for the project, suffered their own budgetary constraints which meant that these monies were insufficient for project needs. The Board of Directors was not chosen for fund-raising abilities. Given all the other responsibilities of SCP, there was little time or talent to undertake the elaborate proposal efforts needed to acquire large grants. From this point of view, the enabling linkages for the project were not effectively mobilized.

While faculty personnel had some inputs in terms of information and advice in this area, they too had their own time allocations and interests which prevented more intensive involvement. Originally, it was hoped that faculty would make contributions in terms of designing and carrying out research in the black economy area. But although the goals and program of SCP carried an ideological appeal, the faculty believed that there were not sufficient rewards for research in this area. Nor does the business school offer motivation for becoming in-

volved in offering services to minorities. Faculty members are not freed from other duties or offered remuneration for any inputs they might make into such activities. Also the school had no historical involvement with "experiential learning" or community placement programs for students. No acceptable way was found for faculty to award course credit for student consultant activities, and, as mentioned before, some faculty were even against such activities because they might interfere with academic responsibilities.

Although the business school was able to provide some facilities, even here project leaders often had to appeal to outside sources for space and equipment for their seminars and other meetings. In a sense, this was a functional exchange, for the agencies appealed to desired the services offered and were willing to supply the requisite facilities. However, the necessity to move to space outside of the University and to coordinate activities in a different area, with different people, produced further organizational strains on project personnel.

The Student Consultant Project, then, was organized and implemented at a time when the University was favoring the goals of community service which were articulated in the SCP charter. University support was helpful in a number of ways but totally inadequate to underwrite project programs. Excellent relations were established between project personnel and the population targeted for services. Working through established agencies protected the project from accusations of "moving in on someone else's territory". This approach also quickly provided the project with a more-than adequate client market for services. Using graduate students to provide technical aid to minority businessmen, however, is not simply a matter of enlisting students and finding clients to whom they can provide services. Rather a complex system of record keeping, reporting, and matching is involved. Given the circumstances of the students, this is not readily available without trained paid personnel. Although project leadership was remarkably good, too many duties fell to a few individuals. This was particularly true for Tita, the chairman/director. Adequate project funding, organizational strength, and continuity remain problems for SCP. It has not been absorbed into the business school on any firm basis--either in terms of funding or curriculum acceptance. The future appears to hold a continued round of searching for funding and pressing for more recognition in the business school. At this point, it is very difficult to imagine that the project will continue to survive at anything like its present level should Tita, on completing his doctorate, leave Pitt.

Yet, as has been documented before, the accomplishments of those working on the project are considerable and well-received. That they had not brought forth monetary and other resources at the level required and on a permanent basis seems in large part due to the increasing budgetary constraints felt both in the University and on social agencies in the community. At the same time, had the project been able

to avail itself of just one trained person to handle the fiscal problem, many of the other insufficiencies in project organization and personnel might well have been solved simply because it was possible to find more money. The dedication of Tita and the other involved graduate students and the help of agencies in the community and some administrators and faculty in the University has produced an effort which quite evidently meets a real community need. However, governmental support for both university and social agency programs for minorities seems to be significantly declining. Unless new sources of funding can be found, projects like SCP, regardless of worth, may have to be abandoned.

The Clarifying Environments Program*

One of the major problems encountered in an urban area is the inability of the public school system to provide the kind of training in basic learning skills which meet the special needs of children from economically deprived neighborhoods. The children from these neighborhoods often leave school ill-equipped to participate in a complex society. "The road ahead may lead to adult dependency, chronic unemployment or at best a series of jobs with low wages, and another replication of the cycle of poverty."**

The Clarifying Environments Program is an innovative program focusing on learning processes and educational environments. CEP was introduced in Pittsburgh when its developer, Dr. Moore, came to the University in 1965. While at Yale University, Dr. Moore had begun work on a 20-year research and development plan and had set up and directed four "Clarifying Environments Laboratories" which included his specially designed equipment. The innovative learning tools and laboratories developed by Dr. Moore have been put to use particularly for the improvement of education for members of disadvantaged groups.

Dr. Moore defines a Clarifying Environment as an educational environment "aimed to make the student clear about what he is doing, and more generally, what is going on".*** It is so structured as to allow the learner to work at his own pace, provide immediate feedback about the results of his efforts and increase the likelihood of achieving success in whatever task is undertaken.****

A typical Clarifying Environments Laboratory (CEL) contains several small booths where the children learn individually or with the help of a trained person and two or three larger rooms which are used for special group activity. The CEL is equipped with typewriters, tape recorders, a filmstrip machine, a desk-top computer, and a "talking typewriter". The latter was designed by Dr. Moore and is

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*Liva Jacoby, The Clarifying Environments Program: A Case Study of a University "Outreach" Project. University of Pittsburgh: University-Urban Interface Program, June, 1973 (full report).

**Walter Hudson, Project Breakthrough, Chicago: Cook County Department of Public Aid, August, 1969, page 5.

***O. K. Moore and A. Anderson, Some Principles for the Design of Clarifying Educational Environments, Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, D. Goslin, (ed.), Chicago: Rand McNally Co., 1969.

****For sources on the theoretical background of CEP, see "References" in full report.

being used in various educational settings throughout the world. Children ranging from pre-school to third grade are taught reading, spelling, typing and math. A component of black history called "Black Excellence" has been added to labs operating in ghetto schools. Each student attends the lab for half an hour daily. Dr. Moore has developed new supervisory and evaluative techniques to use for measuring the effects of the program on the children. For example, the Bell Picturephone is being used innovatively as a supervisory tool. It is Dr. Moore's belief that exposure to a Clarifying Environment for the first five years of a child's education will provide him with a solid background of basic skills and thus enhance his academic achievement and self-esteem. This, in turn, according to Dr. Moore, will make him better prepared to confront intellectual challenges and to improve his life in a complex society.

Dr. Moore joined the Pitt faculty of the Philosophy of Science Center and the Psychology Department. He also became a research associate in the University's Learning Research and Development Center (LRDC). The implementation of a laboratory was being planned within the framework of LRDC through which funds from USOE and the Responsive Environments Foundation Inc. (REF)* were transmitted. In planning for the laboratory, Dr. Moore was in contact with the Acting Superintendent of Schools, whose orientation included a focus on new pre-school programs and who had expressed interest in CEP. Through an agreement between Dr. Moore and the Board's Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction, the decision was made to select nursery school children from a black elementary school to attend a CEL. A lab was opened in 1968 in the University's Social Science Building for children attending Letsche School. This school was selected because its children come from the most economically-deprived homes in the city. It is located in Pittsburgh's black ghetto area--"the Hill"--and is attended by approximately 170 children. Parents of the children who were to attend the lab were invited to information meetings.

Plans to introduce the program in the community materialized when in January, 1972, a CEL was set up in Letsche School itself. Nursery school, kindergarten and first grade children, who were attending the lab at the University, were transferred to the new lab and joined by a new nursery school group in the Fall of 1972. Major funding for the Letsche Lab was through the Pittsburgh Model Cities Program and two private foundations (Hillman and Mellon) with the Board of Education acting as contracting agency. It was Dr. Moore's aim to train indigenous people to work in his labs. Until the opening of the Letsche Lab, CEP staff had consisted of three paraprofessionals (black), two of whom were trained to be lab supervisors, two University graduate students (white), one administrative assistant (black), Dr. Moore, and his wife, who was the assistant director. Model Cities funds were used for expanding the program by hiring seven community residents to

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*Responsive Environments Foundation Inc. was established in 1962 "to apply knowledge gained in the social sciences and in the mathematical disciplines to the improvement of education". Dr. Moore is a founder and Board member.

be trained as paraprofessionals. Model Cities also funded the construction of a second CEL in Letsche School, to provide for pupils from two neighboring schools, who were to be bussed to that Lab. It had been Dr. Moore's plan to train high school students to assist in a CEL as part of their Family and Personal Development class. A program was started with the high school students from the same district as Letsche School, but the program had to be discontinued due to lack of cooperation from the high school's administration.

In the Summer of 1971, an evaluation of CEP was completed by the Research Office of the Board of Education. The results failed to show any significant differences in academic achievement between the experimental and the control group. CEP staff and their consultants who studied the methods and results of the evaluation, found several basic inadequacies and termed the study invalid. A controversy arose around the issue of the evaluation and affected the relationship between Dr. Moore and Board officials. Later, the Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction declared the study invalid.

In February, 1972, funds to all Pittsburgh Model Cities-supported programs, including CEP were suspended, due to a delay in HUD appropriations. The Letsche Lab closed for six weeks. Negotiations held with Dr. Moore, Board and Model Cities officials revealed an unwillingness on the part of Model Cities to continue financial support of CEP. The Lab reopened when Dr. Moore assured the Board that the Lab could operate without the seven paraprofessionals paid by Model Cities. The construction of the second lab at Letsche had to be terminated, however.

Concurrently, construction started of a CEL in a white elementary school--Schiller School--located in an area economically comparable to that of Letsche School. The Mellon contract stipulated the setting up of this lab. Dr. Moore arranged information meetings with parents of all children who were to attend the planned laboratories and the School prinicpals. In the Fall of 1972, the Schiller Lab opened to include children from pre-school and kindergarten grades. They have been instructed by primarily two assistants from the Letsche Lab. During the past school year, children up through third grade have attended the Letsche Lab on a regular basis.

The validity of a second evaluation of CEP, undertaken by the Board's Research Office between February and June, 1972, was also questioned since the exposure time for the children was only one and a half months, due to the closing of the lab for six weeks during that period.

As the 1972-73 school year represented the close of the five-year period of CEP operations with Letsche children, and not much reliable data on the program existed, an evaluation committee was set up under the auspices of the Board's Office of Curriculum and Instruction to review all available data on CEP. The recommendation called for the continuation of CEP at Letsche for one year during which time "careful research" should be done on the program. Before the Board Superintendent had reacted to the recommendation, Dr. Moore notified the Board of the

withdrawal of CEP from Schiller and Letsche Schools. CEP operations will continue within the University at the Lab in the Social Science Building, where much of the work will be centered around research.

Descriptive Analysis of the Clarifying Environments Program

UUIP's research on the Clarifying Environments Program have extended over a period of two years (1971-72). Data has been gathered through numerous interviews with Dr. Moore and other project members, as well as with individuals and representatives of organizations connected with CEP. One CEP staff member submitted periodic reports about CEP activities and a more comprehensive report on the program was furnished by another staff member. Participant observation, project memos, proposals, published articles, and correspondence provided additional information. Most of the collected information refers to CEP's development at Letsche School. The research focus has been on the transition of CEP from the University setting to the less controlled environment of the community. Within this research focus, we have studied the relationship that emerged between CEP, the University, and the community (for example, the Board of Education, the Model Cities Agency, private foundations, community organizations, and citizens). The analysis below will focus on the more salient factors which have facilitated or impeded the program's implementation process in Pittsburgh. The factual basis is complex and an emphasis is placed on the "image-mapping" as part of the general institution-building framework.

In Dr. Moore's words, the long-range goal of the Clarifying Environments Program "is to create an experimentally grounded theory of human problem-solving and social interaction."* The focus is on research and is compatible with the University's commitment to research and development, as exemplified by LRDC specifically within the area of education.

To reach the above-mentioned goal, Dr. Moore works on the "design of equipment and procedures in accordance with the emerging principles of theory, both to facilitate the testing of our theoretical constructions and for the sake of making educational application for pressing social problems."**

In Pittsburgh, Dr. Moore has focused his work on the improvement of educational environments for members of disadvantaged backgrounds by first setting up a Clarifying Environments Laboratory at the University and then by transferring the program to two schools in economically-deprived areas of the city. Thus, the program became a University resource channeled directly into the community to serve clients. In this service-oriented respect, the program was also compatible with

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*O. K. Moore, "The Clarifying Environments Program," Educational Technology, 1971.

**Ibid.

Pitt's commitment to "a higher order of public responsibility."* The goals and values of CEP and the University thus corresponded in such a way that a normative linkage was established. The University provided space and LRDC supplied part of the funds for the lab in the Social Science Building.

Another normative linkage developed with the Board of Education whose Acting Superintendent encouraged experimental innovation programs. The Board's objectives to improve education generally and for children from disadvantaged backgrounds specifically cooresponded to CEP goals and those of the local Model Cities Program, which entered into a contract to financially support CEP operations. Thus, a three-way enabling linkage was established between Model Cities, the Board of Education and CEP.

Implicit in Dr. Moore's goals was the involvement of parents in their children's learning process in order to activate and encourage their interest in learning--both for themselves and their children. Before the opening of each lab, parents of the children who were to attend, were invited to information meetings, together with the school principals. In the attempt to elicit grassroots support, efforts were made by Dr. Moore to meet the parents "on their own ground": Various social events took place in the community, some organized by CEP staff, some in which they only participated. Parents' support of CEP was manifested through their concrete actions during the crisis period in 1972 when the lab closed. The normative support of a group of black leaders was also established at the program's inception.

Dr. Moore underscored the importance for the operation of his program of the positive relations with this grassroot segment of the community, as he perceived some influential black leaders produce a hostile environment. Dr. Moore and other CEP staff members reported on frequent telephone and physical threats, which they believe emanated from "far leftist" black group leaders, some of whom were based in the University. Moore perceived this partly as a conflict of goals. He felt the "leftist" leaders were opposed to improving an old system they considered unjust, preferring instead to create a new system. He also connected the opposition to conflicts of power and problems of a racial nature. Dr. Moore, as CEP developer and director, executed strong and visible leadership in all areas of program operation. He has trained staff, supervised lab operations, and been the prime developer of theories and design. In a role of academic entrepreneur, he personally has mobilized almost the entire amount of resources for the program. Characteristic of Dr. Moore's entrepreneurial role has been his efforts to bring grassroot leaders and upper echelon groups closer together. In this way, he has built up an extensive network of diffuse linkages with the business community, the media and private foundations, much of which has provided the program with different kinds of resources. As has been mentioned large grants for CEP were received, for example, from the Hillman, Mellon, and Jack and Jill of American Foundations. Dr. Moore believed the opposing black leaders were against his connection with what they considered the "establishment" and also resented his direct action in a ghetto community. Dr. Moore speculated that the opposing groups influenced representatives of the Board of

*"Report of the Chancellor, 1970," Pitt Magazine, No. 4 (Winter, 1970).

Education and Model Cities in a negative direction. Facts and perceptions became somewhat blended in the linkage network that developed around CEP. Undoubtedly, friction with linkage organizations, developed due to a combination of various factors, Dr. Moore's independent leadership style being only one.

The enabling linkages between CEP, LRDC, the Board, and Model Cities made possible the translation of CEP goals into program. Each year, another class of Letsche pupils entered the "Clarifying Environment" in the basement of their school to participate in the program. In 1971, the construction was started on a second Lab at Letsche and another at Schiller, located in a primarily white community. The lab located in the Social Science Building was being used for programs for gifted and deaf children and for the preparation of a testing and evaluation center. Concurrent with these program developments, certain changes and problems occurred within each of the major enabling linkage organizations, the combination of which was a further detriment to the programs operations and future with the Pittsburgh school system.

A shift of focus within LRDC's research activities led to an organization change whereby project activities became more integrated and management more centralized. Dr. Moore found it impractical to be part of this integration, whereas LRDC representatives perceived Dr. Moore's attitude as an unwillingness to cooperate and felt he was "using" LRDC as a funding agency. These conflicting perceptions led to a deterioration in working relations between Dr. Moore and LRDC scholars, with the result that funds and bookkeeping services were withdrawn in 1971. He then had to engage in further fund-raising. The program was aligned with the Sociology Department, in which Dr. Moore had held a position since 1966, and which he saw as more compatible with his goals and working style. This shift in alignment pointed to the relative flexibility within the University in general and in the Sociology Department in particular, which allowed Dr. Moore freedom with respect to program operations and faculty responsibilities.

In 1967, there was a change in Board administration, with the new Superintendent emphasizing different priorities than the former and giving less articulated support to Dr. Moore's program. Over time, program support became restricted to the administrative area and divorced from that of curriculum and program philosophy per se. Many facts contributed to a weakening of the linkage between CEP and the Board. The school system's Office of Curriculum and Instruction viewed CEP as divorced from curriculum and classroom. A Board administrator attributed some of the difficulties to interactional problems between Dr. Moore and certain Board officials. However, the most salient factor in this context was most likely the controversy surrounding the Board's first evaluation of CEP in 1971. It was eventually invalidated by Board officials, but only after it had been published. Dr. Moore felt the study results served as a basis for attitude formation against his program, and influenced others negatively. It appeared that the relevant Board administrators had little understanding of research, especially with regard to innovative and change-oriented programs. Dr. Moore thought that the Board revealed racist policies by supporting CEP in the white school, while keeping the Letsche Lab closed for six weeks in the Winter of 1972. Further problems and causes for complaints on the part of Board officials can be related to the Board's bureaucratic structure.

CEP received funds from a variety of sources. This made Dr. Moore accountable to a number of entities and confusion arose as to the furnishing of the various progress reports that were required. The rigid internal structure of the Board further complicated CEP's funding structure and led to many misunderstandings and suspicions as to use of funds.

Lack of interaction between Dr. Moore and Board area supervisors, who acted as liaisons between the Board and the schools, added to an already existing gap between CEP and Letsche School staff. In view of the Board officials, Dr. Moore did not comply to the regulations about which communication channels to use, implying the problem of his independent work style. Dr. Moore had intended to bring his staff and the school teachers together for meetings in order to bridge his program with classroom activities. This effort was, however, frustrated by lack of support from the school staff, including the principal. Two of the school teachers viewed the program as "non-public school" and therefore as having no potential. Above all, they did not believe the program had any particular benefits to the children. Active Board support and flexibility to integrate activities necessary when dealing with an innovation program seem to have been insufficient to maintain a smooth relationship.

CEP's linkage with Model Cities became fragile as the agency underwent severe internal and financial problems. Controversy surrounded its leadership which changed three times and brought about a shift in priorities. The agency was also criticized by an outside evaluation team for poor monitoring and communications systems. Lack of communication between the relevant Model Cities' officials and Dr. Moore led to the fact that the former were long unaware of what aspects of CEP their agency was funding, and Dr. Moore received insufficient information about required progress reports and other contract stipulations. Model Cities final decision to terminate financial support to CEP further revealed a lack of inconsistency in planning. In the case of Model Cities, CEP had been hurt by the instability of a major linkage organization and the controversy that occurred as a result of the closing of the lab.

Model Cities' funds had provided the program with seven new staff members, who were a valuable addition to the program personnel. Although the task of training the relatively large number of paraprofessionals was demanding and produced some internal organization problems, the complete staff of 15 people of varying backgrounds grew into a cohesive group, whose loyalty and commitment to Dr. Moore and CEP goals were strong. As such, Dr. Moore's staff came to constitute a vital resource to the organization and add to its viability.

The indigenous people, whom Dr. Moore hired consistent with his objectives to upgrade his staff's education, helped establish normative support at the neighborhood level, and thus provided links between the program and the community.

However, regardless of having a good and loyal staff, this brief analysis has revealed that Dr. Moore's role in the development and implementation of CEP in Pittsburgh has unquestionably been the dominant one. The development of the program can almost be seen in terms of the leader vis-a-vis the linkages. Dr. Moore's responsibilities and activities have covered all areas of management both within the organization and with the external environment. In addition, he has the roles of researcher, theoretician, and faculty member, which he feels have suffered under the burden of administrative tasks.

This is one reason why he has now chosen to concentrate most of his work within the University. The transition into the community involved dependency on bureaucracies and dealing with unstable organizations, which he felt were too demanding and thus jeopardized the further development of the program.

For the innovator and "institution-builder", the skill to manage both the internal and external relationships are necessary. Dr. Moore was successful in building his organization, not least in terms of tapping resources and generating moral support.

A factor pertaining specifically to CEP, as compared to the other three Outreach projects, is that its theoretical development had occurred outside of Pittsburgh, with the result that there was no input on the planning level by either University or community groups. This might have given the program a certain amount of "fragility" in its operations here.

It is possible to point to ways in which Dr. Moore could have facilitated the implementation of his program, however considerable support would have been needed. The Board, acting as CEP's institutionalizing agency, was bound by its established rules and was unable to mobilize the sufficient means to integrate the program with the two schools. The University in its relations to CEP, on the other hand, demonstrated relatively great flexibility. Its policies call for experimentation, research and community involvement. As part of protecting its investment in community-oriented programs such as CEP, and of rewarding the innovators, the establishment of the necessary internal mechanisms to handle such programs would be required. If University programs are to succeed in being implemented in less controlled and more complex environment of the community, the University has to invest more resources than the program itself.

Summary of Operation Outreach

"Institutionalization" in this report has focused on two processes: (1) We have viewed the innovative programs themselves to study the process of building new organizations for the purpose of solving some specific urban problem (early emotional and educational needs of disadvantaged children, the plight of Black businessmen in low income areas, the mobilization of resources in a community in turmoil); (2) The UUIP research was also interested in new patterns of university-community interaction which might become "institutionalized" as the modus operandi for matching needs with resources.

The University had officially declared through the Chancellor that University resources would be used to meet the urban crisis. The overall goals of the four Outreach projects thus coincided with the stated missions of the University.

However, other goals of the Outreach projects and the University were not always so compatible. Both CEP and Project Right Start made use of indigenous neighborhood people as staff to help carry out their programs. It was felt that people who best understood the target populations would be valuable assets once they received the substantive training needed to perform their duties. Such training would have the extra payoff of helping to break the cycle of low income, low status positions that most of the newly trained people had been trapped in before coming to the projects. The use of paraprofessional workers does, however, pose problems to an institution of higher education whose traditional goals have been to train professionals and to provide experiential learning situations for students training for professional occupations. Both CEP and Right Start also included college students in aspects of the programs, and the redefinition of roles between paraprofessionals, college students and faculty training both was not always clear.

The NCA-Social Work and Student Consultant Project were more in the nature of experiential learning placements for graduate students. These projects thus avoided the problem of the extra academic burden of training paraprofessionals and the inter-program conflict between roles. However, the graduate students in SCP and NCA projects did experience difficulty in working out relationships between the project and their academic department. The NCA director wanted the Social Work students to take roles as regular staff members with little direction from the School of Social Work. The School of Business sometime viewed the SCP activity as extra curricular activity, interfering with the students' academic responsibilities.

Each of the four cases developed in quite different ways and much of this can be accounted for by the differences in leadership of each project. As discussed on the report of the NCA-SSW project, there was no one person designated as responsible for carrying out the proposals which UUIP supported. The two Social Work faculty who were

most committed to the proposal program not only had many other faculty responsibilities, but their relationship to NCA changed over time. The new director of NCA provided strong leadership for that agency, but he was not committed to the NCA-SSW proposal or sympathetic to some of the arrangements.

The other three Outreach projects had strong leaders, fully committed to carrying out the program. Although the style of leadership had an effect on the internal structure of each organization, and on the relationships with external organizations, in the long run the crucial factor was the willingness of the leadership to devote time and energy to building the program. The leaders of these latter projects had to play several roles--the teacher, the director of program, and the research entrepreneur. The combining of these roles has become prevalent in recent years as institutions of higher education have encouraged their faculties to become involved in more research and social policy activities. Because a large portion of the funds for such activity have come from sources outside of the regular University budget, the research professor has had to learn to seek and manage monies in the way of a private entrepreneur. And because so many of the social action programs in which universities become involved are also external to the regular organizational structure of the University, the faculty has had to acquire management skills not heretofore demanded by classroom-focused activities. The leaders of the three Outreach projects with University-based leadership illustrate that it is possible to combine these roles in one person. But the history of the three cases also suggest that if the University is going to encourage this kind of activity, more resources will have to be included in a project budget for leadership backup. The most obvious need is for the addition of full-time administrative assistants who can handle paper work such as budget management, appointment arrangements, progress report expediting, and so forth. The Student Consultant Project was the most glaring case in our studies of lack of real administrative resources, and the project suffered from poor record-keeping and incidents of confusion as to a client's need or a consultant's assignment.

Although Right Start and CEP had personnel to assist the directors in these management activities, these personnel were also carrying out several roles, such as secretary, student, and program implementor, and were learning management skills on-the-job.

No attempt was made by the University-Urban Interface staff to evaluate the program per se of these four projects. The aim was rather to see if the program became established as an ongoing organization to meet some specific urban need. The NCA-SSW proposal was never actually carried out as an integrated program. When UUIP chose this project as one for Outr ch research, it had all the ingredients deemed important for m ching community needs with University resources. The acting of the School of Social Work was highly supportive of the prop . Another involved faculty member was on the NCA Board and a er active in NCA was a leader

in the school and in city politics. NCA was undergoing change as an agency; the School of Social Work was undergoing a change of leadership and curriculum focus; the North Side of Pittsburgh was in transition. These factors which made the project particularly attractive for study eventually contributed to the lack of real cohesion needed for successful implementation of the proposal. The community needs were simply too great and the problem area too general for real program focus. And the University resources lacked coordination, mostly due to the major reorganization taking place in the School.

Only the Student Consultant Project will continue next year as a University-based project in the community. Its success will depend on the ability of the present leadership to transfer its responsibilities to other people to carry on the work and on the continued and increasing support of the School of Business.

The CEP has withdrawn from its public school locations and will continue to operate in a University setting. The problems this project suffered in terms of relationships with some black leaders and with the Board of Education became such that if the director's priority for developing new learning techniques was to remain viable, the program activity had to return to the University laboratory, at least for the forseeable future.

The Right Start program appears to be established in the target community. Having developed some financial security as a county agency, the program has the opportunity to develop the original plans. The relationship this project will maintain with the University is presently an unknown factor.

The institution-building model calls for looking at several categories of linkages between a target agency and external organizations. Generally speaking, linkages can be defined as "the interdependencies which exist between an institution and other relevant parts of the society". (Esman, 1966) In the case of small budgets, newly developing projects such as the Operation Outreach ones, are almost completely dependent on resources outside of its internal organization.

The first category of linkages suggested by the institution-building model are "enabling". These enabling linkages refer to the bodies of power who control the allocation of authority or resources needed by an agency to perform its functions. Each of the four cases studied was linked to the University through an authorization to carry out the program within the structure of an academic department or through administrative support. However, the programs were dependent on funds from sources external to the University. The NCA-SSW project was dependent on NCA for program implementation, the School of Social Work supplying some extra manpower. The other three projects had to spend much of their time in the building phases in seeking out funds from private foundations and governmental agencies. The funding history of these projects provides an example of the need to have not only strong enabling linkages in terms of University authority (which certainly encouraged the project), but also financial

support. This is a crucial problem which universities must face. Every indication points to the shrinkage of University financial resources and great care must be taken to not encourage interface activities without some real effort toward assuring a firm financial foundation. Right Start overcame these problems through careful cultivation of financial resources and community support. CEP, as a more controversial project and one with weaker ties to some black leaders (both within and outside of the University), was less successful in establishing its program in the community.

Functional linkages are those with "organizations performing functions and services which are complementary in a production sense, which supply the inputs and which use the outputs of the institution". (Esman, 1966:24) It is with this type of linkage that territorial disputes with other organizations can develop. In the case of Right Start, other agencies serving young children had to be reassured that this new service was an addition to and not in competition with existing services. CEP had the problem of convincing public school teachers that their program was complementary to the existing curriculum rather than "an alien force" that worked with the children a small part of the day. The SCP filled a need that was almost completely unmet in the community, but their leaders had to convince the School of Business that the involvement of the graduate students was complementary to their academic training. The School of Social Work students were caught between convincing NCA that they could make a valuable contribution to the agency program and at the same time convincing the School that the "real world" experience contributed to their professional training.

All of these projects, then, were faced with blending the University functions of teaching and research with the needs and resources of the population their program was serving.

The normative linkages are"with institutions which incorporate norms and values (positive or negative) which are relevant to the doctrine and program of the institution". (Esman, 1966:8) In the case of Right Start, this type of linkage basically overlaps the organizations that supplied the funds and performed related functions in the community. TCB (Taking Care of Business) was especially important in the building of an image of accord between the community and Project Right Start. The CEP also worked in building normative support in the Letsche School neighborhood, but on a more informal level than TCB. Grassroots support was evident in the crisis period when parents came to Letsche School and to the Board of Education to protest the closing of the Letsche Lab. However, the normative linkages were weaker with local teachers, some black leaders, and eventually with Model Cities and the Board of Education.

The normative linkages between SCP and their small businessmen clients presented special problems. The student consultants felt that cooperation among various segments of the black community was essential to the upgrading of the ghetto economy.
The attempt to form a credit union was one example of SCP's carrying out this philosophy. However, if the consultations are successful in improving the management skills of the small businessman and if

his profit thereby increases, the consultants have actually reinforced the values of individualism. This outcome can dampen the desire of the businessmen for cooperative ventures with other ghetto enterprises.

The normative linkages of the NCA-SSW proposal were weak in terms of what role the students would play in the agency. This problem is typical of field placement arrangements in general and will probably not be resolved until some policy decisions can be reached which are satsifactory to both the needs of academic training and agency program implementation.

Other kinds of linkages are more diffuse, such as the general kind of public support that can be developed through the media. CEP was made especially visible to the general public through news articles and television interviews. CEP also had good exposure in the established business community. SCP, too, had visibility in the public press and also was singled out for focus in the 1971 Chancellor's Annual Report. Right Start concentrated on the development of target community support and had minimal outside publicity. The NCA-SSW proposal was never really implemented; the linkage systems broke down at the other linkage levels and diffuse linkages were never developed.

Thus, the failures as well as the successes of the Outreach projects studied provide insights which can serve as guidance for future innovative programs. The institution-building model has also proved to be a useful tool in the systematic analysis of the development of such programs.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNITY LONG RANGE GOALS PROJECT

Martha Baum

THE COMMUNITY LONG-RANGE GOALS PROJECT*

A Study of Inter-Group Cooperation and Urban Problem Solving

Introduction

The Community Long-Range Goals Project was unique among the four areas selected for intensive study by the Urban Interface Program. Unlike the other priorities, the Goals Project was regarded in large part as a piece of research in itself, supplying information on community priorities and needs, as well as a test of the feasibility of cooperative interaction among diverse community groups. The project was organized in a social and political climate which seemed to call for more action at the community level and also for more cooperation between organizations and groups. In the University of Pittsburgh, planners for the Interface Program recognized the extent of the demands being placed upon the University and other urban institutions. They felt that the demands for urban problem solving could not be met unless institutions could learn to work together.

In the light of these considerations, the Goals Project organizers hoped to initiate and establish the means upon which cooperative action could be undertaken, using the University as the source for the mobilization of interests. To this end, they began a series of activities designed to form a basis for future continuous action on urban problems. How the project was organized and implemented is described in some detail in the next section.

Research on the Goals Project: The project offered an opportunity to explore the feasibility of inter-group cooperation on two levels. On the first, or "action" level, individuals representing various segments of the Pittsburgh community were identified and then brought together to discuss problem priorities and possible solutions. At the second, or "research" level, it was also possible to monitor the project and collect additional data on the process. This report is derived

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*This chapter is a condensation of a more detailed report: Martha Baum, Inter-Group Cooperation and Urban Problem-Solving, Observation on a Community Long-Range Goals Project, University Interface Program: University of Pittsburgh, May, 1973.

from the research perspective and provides complementary information to reports issued by those who carried out the activities.*

Project organizers were involved in working out the general format and then the details for implementation, in marshalling resources, and in organizing the many parts which had to be pulled together. They had to resolve problems, make choices, and pay attention to many small but necessary details. Relieved of these constraints, researchers planned ways of gathering additional information from a more detached perspective. Research on the project focused primarily on three questions:

(1) What is involved in setting up such a project, and on what basis are choices made among alternatives in the process of of goal attainment?

(2) How is the project received both in terms of amount and quality of participation and also in terms of perceptions of utility on the part of participants?

(3) What is the feasibility of such an enterprise, and what can be learned from the experience for the future of this or any similar approach to cooperative social action?

The desired information was gained with the full cooperation of the Goals Project organizers. Besides access to proposals, progress reports, minutes of meetings, recorders' notes, papers written for the project, data from a project-conducted survey, memoranda, and letters on project matters, researchers collected additional data by attendance at project meetings, interviews with those implementing the project, participant observation, and a questionnaire constructed in the research office. As the different sections of this report are presented, the pertinent sources of information will be identified.

National and Local Climate: The great federal programs which were launched in the recent past to cure America's urban ills are now being partially withdrawn. During the late 1960's, trust in solutions "from the top" appears to have largely evaporated. In spite of all the resources expended, things did not seem to be getting substantially better. Not only were the old problems still unsolved, but new ones were emerging. The sweeping programs which were planned were impeded for a number of reasons, among them the opposition of a host of vested interests and the growth of new claims to the right to participate in decision-making at the grassroots level. In the present political climate, the burden for problem-solving seems to be shifting toward local communities and local organizations.

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*A major summary report was written by the project organizers as feedback for participants: Steele Gow and Leslie Salmon-Cox, A University and Its Community Confront Problems and Goals, University of Pittsburgh: University-Urban Interface Program, June, 1972.

However, recent developments at the local level have also not been conducive to optimism. Controversy and protest seemed to permeate the local scene in 1970 when the Goals Project had its inception. However, Pittsburgh is one city which has had a long history of joint efforts at community improvement, the latest of which was the Allegheny Conference on Community Development. Formed by a corporate elite in 1943, this body utilized professional expertise in planning and worked toward including all relevant agencies in a consensual approach for the implementation of plans. The Conference had remarkable success in renovating the downtown business section of Pittsburgh and in smoke and flood control. Its most significant failure was in the area of Pittsburgh's perrenial headache--housing. Largely because of this failure, protest against further activities on the part of the Conference developed during the 1960's and consolidated around the issues of slum housing and neighborhood power. By the end of the sixties, the most successful agent for cooperative action in local history had become quiescent due to community criticism. Nevertheless, some hopeful precedents could be found in Pittsburgh.*

Project Goals and Implementation: The Early Phase of the Goals Project

In analyzing the inception and early phase of implementation of the project, the researchers had recourse to the project files, attendance at Steering Committee meetings, and interviews with project organizers. For collection and presentation of the material, the same organizing device has been used as in the other priorities of the Interface Program.** The Institution-Building model points to six focal internal variables which have to be taken into account in the development of any institution, organization, agency, or, in this case, project. These variables are: doctrine (goals), themes (programs), leadership, personnel, resources, and organization. The model also defines certain types of external linkages to other collectivities which may enhance or impede growth. These concepts will be used to trace early project history. A time perspective is also incorporated, but only with respect to very early changes in this part of the report, in which the discussion moves only to that point where the major activity of the project, a series of community forums, is actually under way.

Doctrine: Under this heading is included both the goals which have been set for the project and the justification for these goals. At the outset, the Goals Project aimed at establishing an ongoing system for collecting, processing, and translating into policy recommendations, the goals of the various segments of the Pittsburgh community. The concept "long-range goals" is a cue to an emphasis on goal-setting as a slow and changing phenomenon. Thus, project goals at the highest level were

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*This brief resume of the impact of the Allegheny Conference has been drawn from: Roy Lubove, Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business, and Environmental Change, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969.

**See Appendix B

oriented far into the future, and the initial phase of the project could be conceived of as only a step in this direction. Project justification, according to the original proposal, was based on the belief that universities and other key institutions were handicapped in providing community service by a lack of knowledge of community long-range goals, particularly as such goals applied to all the various segments of the population.

Themes: In the long-range perspective for the project, two programs or mechanisms for implementing the goals had been envisioned. Firstly, there would be a community assembly, convened every two or three years, where community goals would be identified and brought into some priority ordering. Secondly, some form of policy research organization would be established to supply information to the assemblies and also to translate the deliberations in the assemblies into policy recommendations.

Before these major permanent programs could be put into effect, however, a more modest beginning had to be made. Originally, the plan was to hold one community assembly, including as participants representatives of all groups in the Pittsburgh area. On this occasion, there would be a general review of urban problems. The discussion would be augmented by background papers prepared for this purpose. However, as the Project Director met with the Steering Committee for the project during the 1970 early planning phase, it was decided that this format should be altered. Holding one large assembly for all groups, the planners believed, would have the effect of excluding the voices of precisely those groups whose needs had been neglected in the past--the minorities and the disadvantaged. It came to seem more feasible to move toward a series of smaller assemblies, organized around more specific problems, where those who attended could be involved directly in disucssion rather than, essentially, constituting an audience.

From the above, it can be seen that in the process of setting the project in motion, one key mechanism was considerably altered. The assembly, originally conceived of as including all segments of the community in a fairly comprehensive discussion on urban problems, has been transformed into several smaller, more discussion-oriented sessions on specific issues. Although there are obvious advantages in this decision, it also seems apparent that the kind of broad-ranged and broad-based discussion and reaction originally planned could not be attained in this newer format. Using the smaller assembly model seemed to imply a more exploratory approach than had been considered under the original plan for one community-wide assembly. The policy center plan was held in reserve for post-assembly reconsideration. The Project Director felt that it would be more appropriate to wait until input was received from community groups, since they might well have other ideas on how to institutionalize community-university interaction.

Leadership: The project had very effective leadership. The director had held several very responsible positions at the University of Pittsburgh, as a faculty member and as an administrator. He was also very active in local and state affairs in connection with education,

social welfare, and government, and was well-known and respected in the community. He was, thus, in an excellent position to mobilize both internal and external support for the activities of the project. The director was not directly funded through the project although his time was counted as a University contribution to matching funds. Midway through the project he was called upon to serve in one of the highest administrative posts in the University. This event gave the director even less time for the project, although, in fact, most of the planning had been done and was being translated into action by the time the new appointment went into effect.

After the new appointment, most of the responsibility for carrying out the planned activities fell to the project research assistant. She had been involved in the entire development after the very initial phase and during this time had always worked closely with the Project Director. The research assistant was fully capable of absorbing many of the on-going project responsibilities, and she became the primary coordinator for the stage immediately preceding the assemblies. By this point, the latter had been renamed "forums", a designation which seemed to better reflect the new discussion-oriented format. To the research assistant, also, fell the major responsibility for making the final arrangements for the Forums.

Personnel: As will be seen in later sections of this report, the Forums series represented a complex enterprise. Although the leadership was of the best, energies were often severely taxed. Without considerable volunteer assistance, the project could not, in fact, have come to fruition. Early in 1970, a Steering Committee was formed which aided in the early planning, in the selection of Forum topics, and in drawing up lists of public and private community groups. The Steering Committee also undertook to appoint Advisory Committees for each of the four Forums. The Advisory Committees were composed of half university and half community members. Community members were carefully chosen to represent not only involvement in the particular Forum topic, but also minority and disadvantaged groups. In this way, they were able to provide a broader base of community knowledge to the project. Advisory Committees augmented the lists of the Steering Committee and submitted names for the invitation lists. They also reviewed background papers, and some members served as discussion leaders at the Forums while others acted as knowledgeable participants, ready to intercede if "dialogue" flagged. Overall, it took 64 persons to man the Steering Committee and the four Advisory Committees. In this case, on the whole, voluntarism worked well. The Steering Committee, in particular, worked regularly and with commitment over many months, even though they had given up the consultation fees originally planned for them in order to allow for compensation to authors of background papers.

Resources: The economic base for the Goals Project was supplied mainly by the Office of Education (to be discussed under linkages because of its external nature) with supplementary help from the Buhl Foundation and the University of Pittsburgh. The support from any of the sources was limited to the initial phase of the project, i.e., through the completion of the Forums.

The University provided other resources. From its ranks were recruited most of the people who served on the voluntary committees, as well as the authors of the background papers. The University-Urban Interface Program also had a Research Advisory Council, composed of faculty members, and a member of this Council undertook to conduct a survey of local "influentials" on goals for the Pittsburgh area.* The results of the survey were placed at the disposal of project leaders and were used in all four Forums to provide additional information inputs for the discussions.

Organization: Organization required moving from the planning stage to the paper-writing and survey phase to the invitation-issuing phase to the arrangements for the Forums, while simultaneously keeping track of a large number of moving parts. There must be topics, authors, Advisory Committees, completed papers, participants, agendas, and physical accommodations. The heavy load placed on the two key people on the project led to minor problems and even temporary crises. However, everything eventually came together and the Forums were conducted as planned.

After lengthy deliberation in the Steering Committee and later in the Advisory Committees, a general consensus seemed to evolve on the format for the Forums which appeared to be an amalgam of the original assembly and later Forum ideas. There would be formal presentations at the beginning of the sessions, but the largest blocks of time would be devoted to small group discussions. To provide sufficient time for presentations, discussions, feedback, and some relaxed mingling, the Forums were planned as all-day affairs, beginning at nine in the morning and continuing through the dinner hour. For each Forum, participation would be limited to 50-70 members with discussion sections of not more than 20 members. Planning went smoothly with one exception. The question of closure for the Forums was never resolved and was raised repeatedly in Advisory Committee meetings. Many Committee members felt that it would be most unwise to end the Forums without offering some "next steps" to be taken in the process. However, the project had no resources to support subsequent activities and, in any case, the Director believed that future recommendations should arise during the interaction of participants in the Forums.

Linkages: Of the many possible linkages to external groups, two seem to be paramount for this particular project. Firstly, the project depended veryheavily on the federal government for funding. This funding was essential in implementing the Forums, but it was stipulated from the outset that it would terminate after this activity was completed. Secondly, the project could not proceed with any success unless there was cooperation from members of the Pittsburgh community outside the universities. The extent of community participation forms the next section of this report.

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*The results of this survey are reported in: Jiri Nehnevajsa, in collaboration with Alan Coleman, Pittsburgh: Goals and Futures, University of Pittsburgh: University-Urban Interface Program, January, 1973.

Participation at the Forums: Invitations and Attendance

Invitation lists were drawn up for each Forum by Steering and Advisory Committees. The lists were deliberately inflated relative to what was considered the optimal size of the Forums, since Committee members were well aware that not all of the busy people who were invited would be able or willing to come. Invitations were extended mainly to individuals representing groups which could be identified with the particular problem on the agenda. Those who accepted the invitations were subsequently sent a more detailed letter along with an agenda for the day and the background paper.

The following table* shows the distribution by number of those who were invited to attend each Forum, and by number and percentage of invited, those who accepted, those who registered, and those who stayed all day. The last column contains the ratio between those who registered and those who stayed all day. The data in the tables are limited to individuals outside the university.

Community Participants By Forum

	Invited	Accepted	Registered	All Day	Ratio of All Day to Registration
Forum I: Conflict Utilization	73	35 (48%)	27 (37%)	17 (23%)	17/27= 63%
Forum II: Administration of Justice	78	43 (55%)	37 (47%)	20 (26%)	20/37= 54%
Forum III: The Domain of Health	71	44 (62%)	43 (61%)	34 (52%)	37/43= 86%
Forum IV: Goals and Government of Metropolis	88	38 (43%)	25 (28%)	13 (15%)	13/25= 52%

*Barbara Jameson of the University-Urban Interface Program collected and classified the information for the tables on participation.

As can be seen, there was somewhat uneven success among the four Forums in terms of attracting participants, with the Health Forum being the most and the Administration of Justice Forum the next most successful. Both of these topics, according to the project community survey, were of high priority for local citizens. In addition, the University of Pittsburgh is heavily involved in health services which may have led participants to anticipate that this Forum would lead to some concrete outcomes. On the other hand, conflict utilization, as a topic, was perhaps too abstract to arouse the same interest as issues like health and justice. Attendance at the Goals and Government Forum declined sharply when the Governor of Pennsylvania belatedly accounced an appearance at another conference in Pittsburgh held on the same day, thus draining off potential Forum participants.

The data on attendance seem to indicate that involved and concerned people in the community will donate their time and energies to efforts of this sort, provided that care is taken to provide sufficiently vital agenda. Breakdown of the data by community group showed that Forum organizers were also reasonably successful in getting representatives of different "sides" on a particular issue to participate. In addition, minority and disadvantaged groups were well represented. Within the universities, the response to invitations was excellent. The fourth Forum, in particular, was somewhat disappointing in terms of participation; but on the whole, there was reason to feel that community response was satisfactory, both in terms of numbers and "mix" of participants.

At the Forums: From the Notes of Participant Observers

The Forums for the Community Long-Range Goals Project were held in the Fall of 1971 and early Winter of 1972 on the four topics cited in the preceding section. The procedures followed for each Forum were very similar. Each day began at 9 a.m. with registration, group assignments, and coffee. After about a half hour, the entire group moved to a large hall for the formal presentations. The day officially began with welcoming remarks by the Chancellor, followed by brief remarks by the Chief Investigator of the University-Urban Interface Program and by the Director of the Goals Project. After the opening speeches, some of the data from the Pittsburgh Goals Survey were presented. Then the author or authors of the background paper for the topic of the day spoke about their papers, summarizing the content and highlighting some of the problems raised. The group then divided for small group discussion sessions which occupied a large part of the day, broken only by a lunch period. At four o'clock, all participants reconvened for feedback reports from each of the discussion groups. The day ended with a social hour, dinner, and a plenary session.

The University-Urban Interface Program sent members of the research staff as participant observers who stayed all day at each of the Forums. All observers were briefed on the kinds of observations which would be most useful. They kept notes during the day and then wrote detailed

recommendations if only it chose. Although the project leaders stressed early and increasingly that they would be unable to provide resources for further action, participants at the Forums never quite accepted these statements. This, then, raised another dilemma as to the appropriate role the University should take and how much leadership the Goals Project should have assumed since, inevitably, the project would be linked to the University. It should be mentioned that at no point did any participants suggest that other resources, outside the university, could be called upon to continue the process. Thus, the Forums, for all the successful interaction that occurred, ended for many with a sense of uncertainty and for some even with a sense of frustration.

The Social Climate at the Forums

The generally cooperative multi-group behavior which was observed at the Forums was interlaced with statements about social institutions which sometimes indicated a high level of mistrust, disillusion, and sense of injustice, particularly in the area of resource distribution. At the Forums, recorders took notes of all the small group discussions, and these notes were content analyzed for a closer look at underlying themes which might help to give a more sensitive impression of the spirit in which participants approached the call for multi-group cooperation on urban problems. The documents supplied by the small group recorders provided a large "sample" of individual comments, most of which had been ascribed to any given speaker in such a way that he/she could be identified as representing some particular group. When all comments which were fragmentary or where it was not possible to make group identification were eliminated, there remained 380 usable "bits" of information (each constituting one speech by one speaker) of an average of 24 words each. These bits were allocated by group affiliation, and seven general categories of participants emerged for which there were sufficient contributions to warrant comparative analysis: university, health, law and law enforcement, politics, welfare and social action, media, and business.

For content analysis of the bits, a return was made to the institution-building framework which was used to discuss the organization of the project. The six major variables are used but in a somewhat different way than was employed for internal organization and activities. Since the whole thrust of the Goals Project was toward the possibility of implementing cooperative action between different organizations and groups in the community, it is mainly the inter-group climate which is the focus of attention here. The six variables consequently have been reformulated to focus mainly on inter-group exchange. The linkage concept is discarded because its utility lies in identifying input-output relationships between one particular institution, organization, or group, and the relevant units in its environment. In contrast in this analysis the attention is on multi-group interaction bases without concern for any functions one group might be serving for another.

The recorded pieces contain substantive material--attitudes, opinions,

reports on the day's experiences. In all, thirteen reports were submitted, and the material from these reports has been drawn upon to present the following brief composite picture of what happened at the Forums.

Observers agreed that the Forums were lively affairs in which participants engaged in serious discussion and listened to one another's viewpoints. "Keeping the discussion going" turned out to be no problem at all for group leaders, and the occasional attempt by an individual or small group to monopolize a discussion was soon broken up, often by participants themselves. Given the diversity of the population attending, the discussion was surprisingly amiable. There were some heated exchanges and one mini-confrontation but all were resolved without disruption. It seemed evident that people with different interests could work together, providing the problems were of importance to them all. The participants themselves expressed pleasure that the discussions were rewarding and went so well.

Two major problems, however, persisted through the four events. One centered on the extent to which community members had actually been involved. Many felt that the University had been too central in planning the Forums and the program, particularly the formal presentations. The University was accused of dominating the planning and only allowing community input after the agenda was set. It seemed evident from the comments that any institution which played host in this sort of effort would have to be prepared to "take it" in a number of ways. A degree of mistrust for many social institutions was expressed in the Forums which suggested that, while individuals might cooperate in working on problems together, no organization could mount the first step without coming under suspicion. Not only did participants say that the University was remiss in not involving other community groups from the start on the Goals Project, but some felt that the University was using the events for some hidden purposes of its own. At the same time, it turned out that many of the people who attended the Forums expected that the University would continue the process, and were disappointed and even angry when they found that no follow-up activities were planned. In some way, then, it seemed that the University was to bear the expense and responsibility for all that was undertaken, yet not make any moves without consulting others.

The second problem that was evident in all four Forums was a sense of incompleteness. People came to the Forums, listened to the presentations, worked together on the problems set out, and finally put together lists of recommendations. Yet, not everyone was satisfied that anything had really been accomplished. At the Health Forum, the insistence on more concrete results was at its height, very likely because, as mentioned before, the University of Pittsburgh is very much involved in health services. Many of the calls in the Forums for the University to take some action [illegible] recommendations came from representatives of disadvantaged and minority groups. But it was evident that not only these groups but other participants as well perceived the University as a monolithic and [illegible] institution which could move to implement

information--which were scrutinized for their significance in terms of the potential for cooperative action. Six dimensions for coding were operationalized, and these are described below. It must be noted that the dimensions are not mutually exclusive. Any given recorded bit could include reference to none of the dimensions or to all six. Some of the bits were complicated, some were quite simple. Each was taken as recorded as a contribution of one speaker in one speech.

Doctrine: The most significant dimension in view of project goals is cooperation-conflict. Any statement which implied a cooperative model, which gave examples of how groups do work together or should work together was coded "1". Any statement which implied a conflict model, which gave examples of inter-group tension or lack of cooperation or cited conflict as the mechanism for change was coded "2". Individual or intra-group strains or cohesiveness are not coded here but under Personnel. Mention of conflict simply as a phenomenon without specific referents or no mention of either conflict or cooperation was coded "0".

Theme: An important ingredient for determining whether or not people will work together to solve social problems would seem to be a degree of optimism or belief that "something can be done". The dimension here then is optimism-pessimism. Statements which indicated that something can/is being done to remedy some situation or that change for the better is in process even in small ways were coded "1". Statements which indicated a feeling of stalemate or regression or hopelessness about accomplishing anything because certain conditions exist were coded "2". Statements about what should be done which contained no indications of positive expectations or statements which made no reference to optimism-pessimism in any way were coded "0".

Leadership: The dimension chosen here was egalitarian-elitist, and had to do with sentiments about the appropriate distribution of power. Statements which pressed for broader distribution or maintained that leadership must be in the hands of the people or that those affected must have participation in decisions were coded "1". Statements which affirmed that leadership must or should come from the top or that one has to go to the top for effective action were coded "2". Insofar as no leaning either way was indicated, or no mention was made of this dimension, statements were coded "0".

Personnel: This was one dimension which referred explicitly to intra-organizational or intra-group or individual issues. Statements which suggested that lower-status members within groups were included in decision-making or had special membership rights or privileges were coded as "1".

References to individuals as being included in decision-making without any particular categorical status being mentioned were also coded "1". References to exclusion of lower-status members from decision-making or that they are not treated as full members were coded as "2". Similarly, mention of exclusion of individuals without categorical reference were coded as "2". No mention of this dimension of inclusiveness-exclusiveness at the intra-group or individual level were coded as "0".

Resources: The dimension used here is attitudes toward the distribution of resources. Statements which indicate that there is a fair or satisfactory distribution of money, facilities, services, etc. were coded "1". Statements which indicate an unfair or unsatisfactory distribution of resources were coded "2". No mention of resources or mention without implications of fairness-unfairness, satisfactory-unsatisfactory were coded "0".

Organization: Since it appeared that trust between organizations (and their members) would be fundamental for cooperative action, the dimension trust-mistrust was coded here. Statements which indicated that organizations could or should be entrusted with particular missions or that they do perform particular missions in a reliable manner were coded "1". Statements which indicated mistrust of an organization's activities or motives or suggested that there has been a betrayal of trust by a particular organization were coded "2". When a particular figure or role incumbent was used to stand for an organization, e.g., chancellor for the university, in relation to trust-mistrust, it was coded as for an organization. No mention of this dimension, or mention of trust-mistrust in a general way without specific application was coded "0".

When the content analysis of the 380 bits was completed, a chart* (see overleaf) was prepared to show the results. For each category involved, the percentage of "1", "2", and "0" was calculated and plotted across the horizontal for each of the six variables or dimensions. For each variable a fourth box was included which indicated the balance between, for example, cooperation, which was rated a plus, and conflict, which was rated as a minus. For each category, then, the fourth box on the horizontal on each dimension represents the difference between "1" and "2". If the "1" choices predominate, the balance is scored as a plus. If the "2" choices predominate, the balance is scored as a minus. A scan of the table shows, that in four of the seven groups with sufficient numbers of bits, cooperation scores predominated. Pessimism predominated

*The chart shows two additional groups at the bottom for the sake of interest. However, the number of bits in each was too small to include them in the analysis.

SOCIAL CLIMATE AT THE FORUMS (%)

	Doctrine				Theme				Leadership				Personnel				Resources				Organization			
	Cooperation	Conflict	No Mention	Balance	Optimism	Pessimism	No Mention	Balance	Egalitarianism	Elitism	No Mention	Balance	Included	Excluded	No Mention	Balance	Satisfied-Fair	Dissatisfied-Unfair	No Mention	Balance	Trust	Mistrust	No Mention	Balance
	+	-	0	+-	+	-	0	+-	+	-	0	+-	+	-	0	+-	+	-	0	+-	+	-	0	+-
University (N=82)	32	17	51	+15	27	17	56	+10	23	13	64	+10	06	12	82	+06	05	18	77	-13	20	23	57	-03
Health (N=99)	22	25	53	-03	24	37	39	-13	26	07	67	+19	04	12	84	-08	00	33	67	-33	07	36	57	-29
Government-Law (N=65)	20	26	54	-06	25	28	47	-03	25	18	57	+07	14	11	75	+03	04	26	70	-22	15	31	54	-16
Government-Pols (N=29)	36	24	40	+12	24	28	48	-04	28	10	62	+18	00	07	93	-07	03	38	59	-35	17	28	55	-11
Welfare/Social (N=42)	33	19	48	+14	21	33	46	-12	38	02	60	+36	05	14	81	-09	00	26	74	-26	14	48	38	-34
Media (N=27)	26	37	37	-11	26	22	52	+04	33	04	63	+29	00	15	89	-11	04	37	59	-33	19	44	37	-25
Business (N=18)	22	17	61	+04	33	22	45	+11	11	17	72	-06	11	06	83	+05	05	12	83	-07	17	11	72	+06
Education (N=10)	20	30	50	-10	20	50	30	-30	20	10	70	+10	30	10	60	+20	10	20	70	-10	10	20	70	-10
Religion (N=08)	37	37	26	00	37	50	13	-13	75	00	25	+75	00	13	87	-13	00	62	38	-62	12	50	38	-38

Total N=380

in four of seven groups. Egalitarianism predominated in six of seven groups. Exclusionary statements predominated in five of seven groups. Dissatisfaction with resource distribution predominated in all seven groups. Mistrust predominated in six out of seven groups.

Viewing no mention scores, it can be seen that the fewest bits were recorded under Personnel which had to do with inclusion/exclusion on an intra-group or individual basis. There was great variety between groups in the extent to which they seemed to be preoccupied with particular dimensions within those chosen. The range of "no mentions" extends from 37 percent to 61 percent under Doctrine, from 39 percent to 56 percent under Theme, from 56 percent to 72 percent under Leadership, from 81 percent to 93 percent under Personnel, from 59 percent to 83 percent under Resources, and from 37 percent to 72 percent under Organization.

Looking at the last section, Organization, of the table first, it can be seen that the social climate at the Forums included a fairly strong current of inter-group mistrust. Remarks indicating mistrust predominated over remarks indicating trust in six of the seven groups. This sentiment was particularly high among participants who had Health and Welfare/Social affiliations. Moving to the next section, Resources, dissatisfaction with distribution prevailed in all groups and was particularly strong in the same two groups which had high levels of mistrust statements. Participants from Health and Welfare/Social areas were quite likely to be community workers serving disadvantaged areas. They often felt that "their people" were short-changed and mistreated under present social arrangements. They also thought that those in charge of the distribution of resources had little concern for the impoverished generally and/or the blacks particularly. Media people were also high on both mistrust and dissatisfaction. Newspersons must know their community and what is going on in it. In the nature of things, they cannot be insulated from social problems, and they expressed many of the same sentiments as did those from Health and Welfare/Social areas. Other groups were somewhat more sanguine, but the general climate at the Forums reflects that discussed nationally in the last presidential campaign. It might be argued, however, that the Forums were especially geared toward the "negative" or problem aspect of the Pittsburgh situation and that a rosy picture could hardly have been anticipated. This reasoning applies better to the resource distribution area than it does to the dimension of trust-mistrust. In the latter, the implication is that certain institutions or groups are unwilling to change the situation. It is not just that the present situation is bad, it is perhaps hopeless, since groups cannot be trusted to move toward amelioration. This feeling of hopelessness is also reflected, though imperfectly, under Theme where pessimism outweighs optimism in four of the seven groups. Yet the balance toward pessimism is not very strong, and it could be suggested that only a small minority of the participants really think that "nothing can be done".

On the more positive side, four of the seven groups favored a cooperative model of group interaction. Although the margins of cooperation

over conflict were not very high, in the three groups where a conflict model predominated, the margins in two of the three were even lower. Six of the seven groups expressed sentiments which on balance favored egalitarianism. Participants espoused "opening up" the system so that more people would participate in decision-making. Although it can be seen under Personnel, that five out of seven groups felt that there was more exclusiveness than inclusiveness on the intra-group or individual level, there were too few remarks about this dimension overall to indicate that it was a central concern in the Forums.

The data collected in the recorders' reports, then, showed rather clearly that inter-group cooperation, while valued by many, has to evolve in a situation where mistrust and dissatisfaction are high, and where one group is likely to blame another for the problems that exist. Nevertheless, there was sufficient expression of good will and openness toward multi-group participation to indicate that the possibility of working together remains viable.

Perspectives on the University: One of the issues connected with the Goals Project was whether the University would be perceived as an appropriate institution to play a host or mediating role for multi-group exchanges on urban problems. Accordingly, the bits from the recorders' reports were also scanned for perspectives on the legitimate responsibilities or actions for universities to take. Ninety-six bits (25% of the total of 380) were found to contain explicit references to the university, and about half of these contained references to this area of concern. About two-thirds of the comments referred to the university as an information disseminator and gatherer which seemed consistent both with the traditional teaching-research model of the university and also with a mediating function. The other third, however, felt that the university ought to take direct action in the community, that is, organize social programs, get students and faculty "out there" providing services, play a political advocacy role. These calls for action came predominantly from the same sources which have been previously cited as being resentful of university dominance and suspicious of university motives according to the Forum observers' reports. It would seem that mistrust and dissatisfaction expressed so intensively by representatives of minority and disadvantaged groups are also connected to the ways in which they think social institutions should perform. In their eyes, the university is not neutral ground but an institution which, like any other, pursues its own interests and is remiss in not using its resources to move out and help those in need. This view of the situation is somewhat corroborated by a content analysis* of a question on the Pittsburgh Goals Survey which asked respondents what measures the universities in the area should take with respect to urban problems.

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*Undertaken for this report by Christina Jarema of the University-Urban Interface Program.

The majority of the respondents saw university personnel as doing research on urban problems and teaching students and the public (officials, planners, and general citizenry) how to deal with them. For most respondents, then, the university was perceived as a "knowledge pool" which could be shared more effectively with other segments of the community. Nevertheless, a minority of survey respondents felt that the university should become an action agent along the lines suggested in the Forums. Again, the respondents who took this point of view could most often be identified as those working most directly with blacks and the poor. Thus, the legitimacy base for the university as the meeting ground for community groups to work on urban problems seems to be questioned by those groups whose sense of urgency is greatest and who are correspondingly unimpressed by the university as an information bank.

Questionnaire Follow-Up on the Goals Forums

A week after a feedback report on all the Forums was sent by the Goals Project organizers to all participants, a follow-up questionnaire, prepared by the research staff, was sent out to all persons who had attended any of the four Forums (excluding the project organizers and the University-Urban Interface Program researchers). One hundred ninety-eight (198) questionnaires were mailed out and 75 (38%) were returned completed. The questionnaire was a very brief document containing six structured or forced choice items and six open-end questions, including a request for additional comments on the final, otherwise empty, page of the three-page instrument. A summary of the major results is presented below.

Reactions to the Forums, according to the respondents' answers, were mixed, although, on the whole, toward the positive side. The first Forum, which had the least specific focus (Conflict Utilization), also received the most criticism.* The other Forums were better received. Quite a few participants who answered the questionnaire felt that the intellectual discourse and diverse group interaction provided a valuable end in itself. Others, however, clearly thought that the Forum meeting was just a beginning and would be of lasting value only if continued interaction in some form took place. A minority of these people felt that the next step should be much more concrete and lead to some specific action. Others were more concerned in altering the organization and foci as a precondition for any additional efforts in this area. The general climate of opinion, then, was that joint communication among

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*The problem here included the fact that the paper was late in arriving and that the content was abstract for the most part but ended with a proposal for a course in conflict management to be taught by the University. Some participants interpreted this as an attempt by the University to get additional funding. The proposal was rejected by all the small groups at that Forum in the Feedback Session.

diverse groups over urban problems was a worthwhile enterprise, but there was disagreement over purpose and organization, as well as which problems should receive priority for attention. There were also a small minority who found the Forums a complete waste of time, either because they mistrusted the motives behind them or because they were weary of talk and frustrated by inaction. Much of the mistrust expressed on the questionnaire was directed specifically at the University of Pittsburgh and/or the Interface Program. This was not surprising given the origins of the Forums, yet it does demonstrate again that an initiating institution must be prepared for criticism and suspicion.

The respondents were also asked about "spin-off" from the Forums in the form of passing on information to others or in additional meetings, conferences, or other subsequent gatherings which resulted from these events. Most of the participants had passed on information about the Forums either formally in their places of work or informally to neighbors and friends. A sizeable minority also reported valuable contacts with whom to relate in connection with their own interests in urban problems. However, spin-off in the form of additional meetings or conferences on Forum topics was, according to the responses, virtually non-existent. Again, although many respondents represented themselves as disappointed and even angry, that no further events were planned to carry on the discourse initiated, no one suggested that some other group or agency should take on or even help to support further efforts. As was reported by the participant observers at the Forum, respondents to the questionnaire also thought that the activities initiated should be continued, but they evidently left it entirely to the university to manage this.

Conclusions

Originally, Goals Project leadership had set a long-range goal of institutionalizing regular university-community interaction on urban problem-solving. This goal, and the mechanisms by which it was to be achieved, received the support of those in the university who were most concerned with relations between the University and the community and who strongly felt that no institution or organization by itself could accomplish much in the way of improving the urban scene. The initial steps in the direction of cooperative interaction by various segments of the Pittsburgh community undertaken under the auspices of the Goals Project could be counted as successful in many ways. One accomplishment, useful in itself, was mapping out the various groups operating in a complex urban environment, as well as identifying representatives within these groups. Another was setting up a model, drawing heavily on university skill resources, by which projects of this nature could be organized and launched on limited resources. University personnel did serve as an "information bank", and they also provided contacts in the community to serve on the several Advisory Committees. Furthermore, the project was able to mobilize sufficient community interest to bring the desired number and mix of community participants together. Once

together, the discussion group format worked vey well, at least in the domain of producing serious debate and an exchange of diverse viewpoints. Many respondents on the follow-up questionnaire found exposure to different points of view valuable in itself. That people with very varied backgrounds and perspectives could reason together without serious ruptures would suggest a more optimistic approach to cooperative action than most community studies have offered in the past.

In spite of these successes, however, the project ended without any tangible evidence that it would have an aftermath. The reasons that continuance was made infeasible seem to be several-fold and interconnected. For one thing, no plan for further action was put forward during the Forums. Politically, it seemed to be sound to wait for suggestions from the community at the Forums. However, only fragmentary ideas were forthcoming from community sources, and participants--in spite of the protests about university domination--did seem to expect that the leadership would come from the project leaders and spokesmen, all of whom were identified with the University of Pittsburgh. Although most participants did seem to feel that some further activity should be undertaken, many felt that they had been provided with an interesting experience. Since, as has been mentioned, the recorders' notes and the survey data seem to indicate that most community people do not see the University as an action agency, such participants seemed relatively content to have the process terminate. No effort was made to solicit overtly the support of other organizations and agencies to make further efforts possible. On the other hand, those participants who were very frustrated by the lack of continuity, viewed the University as a monolithic and wealthy institution which could use its vast resources at will. Since these participants, predominantly workers in disadvantaged areas, also saw the university as an institution which should become involved in social action, and since by definition the groups they represented had few resources, they expected the university to act upon Forum recommendations and maintain the Forums-initiated interaction. But the Goals Project had no prospects of continuing without outside financial support. The university might have been willing to make some contribution, but only if other groups took over the major share of further funding. Thus, when no offers of funds were forthcoming, the effort of necessity came to an end. This does not mean that the knowledge gained through the experience will not be used in the future for other projects of this nature. Both within and without the University some of the activities and ideas are still being considered for renewed efforts. However, at this juncture, explicit plans for continuing the project as originally formulated do not exist.

From the research on the project, a few recommendations may be culled:

(1) Joint community interaction for urban problem-solving seems feasible as well as desirable. (Of course, this may hold true only for cities which, like Pittsburgh, have had some experience with cooperative action);

(2) Efforts in this direction would more profitably begin with working groups representing all constituencies in the community planning together to establish initial priorities and procedures for further action. The university or universities involved could be highly useful in supplying all of the relevant information at its command for workshop use;*

(3) The effort might originate by university suggestion but should be put into practice only with joint support and either joint funding or funding from some interested but more detached source (e.g., a state government or a private foundation).

The reasons for this last recommendation are several:

(a) The Health Forum experience demonstrated that a university cannot expect to be accepted as a neutral source or mediator in areas in which it itself is a major supplier of services.

(b) Even were a university to constrain itself to conducting community-university interaction on problem-solving to areas in which it is not or is at least only marginally involved (in the other Forums both criticism and recommendations were more generally applied to other institutions as well as the universities), it will be accused of trying to dominate, that is, of planning without consultation.

(c) Any "one-shot" attempt will be ill-received, and it will need joint commitment to have a sustained effort. If the University initiates alone, the Goals Project experience suggests that it will be expected to go on footing the bill and contributing new initiatives.

(d) Even though a university may be in a fairly good position to identify groups that should be included, it must also be aware of inequalities among groups in capacities to provide resources. Although representatives of the disadvantaged have by definition less resources to contribute to any effort, it would be a mistake to think that it will be possible either to leave them out or include them on an unequal basis. "Grassroots" community groups have been able to

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*In their own feedback report, written independently of this one, the project organizers also came to the conclusion that much more preliminary joint communication and planning would be necessary before any effort to institutionalize community-university interaction would succeed. See: Gow and Salmon-Cox, op. cit., p. 74.

frustrate powerfully-backed efforts in recent years. Substantial monies may be needed for a sustained effort, and although putting in money sometimes ensures commitment, under these circumstances it may be highly advisable to seek major help from a more "disinterested backer" so that all representatives may approach the conference table on an equal footing.

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CHAPTER V

UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Martha Baum

University Governance and Community Relations

In this chapter, the focus is on the fifth and last priority for the University-Urban Interface Program. In this chapter the findings from communications, campus development, minority and community services, and the goals project will be drawn upon to make more general observations on University-community relations. Additional data which have been collected not only at Pitt but also at other institutions will also be used to give as broad a picture as possible. The implications for University structure with respect to the urban dimension and also for its official posture toward the community-at-large will be the subject of the next and final chapter of this report.

For research purposes, we wanted not only to record ongoing University activities and their reception by community groups, but also to catch perspectives on the University of Pittsburgh and its legitimate functions. The reasons for this latter emphasis were severalfold. There are a number of groups and individuals who at least feel that they have a claim to influence decision-making in the University. They may be internal groups who claim membership in the University community, or they may be external to it. There are different grounds on which pressure may be exerted by these sources. The pressures also have varying weights depending on how much Pittsburgh--or any university--must draw on that particular source for support. Perhaps the most complicating factor is that the University does not, at least certain[illegible] not in the case being studied here, by any means ride on a "sea of consensus"; rather there are different and sometimes conflicting perspectives on legitimate priorities and responsibilities. In the chapter on communications, this issue has been covered in a discussion of the various University publics and their needs.

Beyond the existence of multiple pressures or demands from many sources, it is also important to emphasize that this study took place at a time when universities, particularly urban universities, were being subjected to strong pressures for change. They were being asked to reform their curricula and to have better teaching and more "relevant" courses. They were being told that they should be more responsive to the needs and concerns of their immediate neighbors, particularly with reference to the use of physical space. More fundamentally, however, two general demands have been voiced which stemmed from growing concern over the "urban crisis": the problems being experienced in the nation's cities. In connection with discrimination, institutions for higher education were called upon to be more inclusive in their admissions policies so that members of groups who had in the past seldom been enabled to attend universities and colleges would be increased proportionately. The federally-initiated Affirmative Action Program developed guidelines for this effort. Not only were institutions of higher education being pressured to recruit from formerly excluded groups; but they were also asked to develop special programs to help sustain those not fully qualified through the educational process. At the same time, employment practices were to be altered to ensure increased opportunities for those groups who were underrepresented among faculty and other personnel.

In addition to reforming curricula and being more inclusive in admissions and employment policies, universities were pressured to become involved in the solution of urban problems. Universities were to use their resources and accumulated knowledge to help improve the social and physical environment by active intervention in the community, carrying out service and applied research activities. In this connection, the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools visited the University of Pittsburgh in February and March of 1971 to help the institution evaluate its progress on the urban dimension.

The University of Pittsburgh has tried to rise to the challenge,* although it has not been able to manage the coordinated, confident approach which some of its official policy statements might suggest. The reasons for this are many and probably impossible to document. However, the data collected by the University-Urban Interface Program shed some light on the difficulties encountered, both from within and without the University, when an attempt was made to introduce new goals on top of established ones. In this chapter, the institution-building framework will be used again, but the point of reference will be the University as a system rather than, as in preceding chapters, particular projects or programs studied in the course of the research. More specifically, the focus is on efforts by members of the University to change the institution in the direction of becoming more responsive to the community in which it resides. An important point to remember is that these efforts were generated through criticism by particular groups both within and without the University. Not all of this criticism was viewed as justified, but it was loud and forceful. Resistance and reservations to some of the demanded changes were muted. Not only at Pitt, but across the nation university spokesmen voiced a commitment to end racism and sexism, to make curricula more relevant, and to devote themselves to service to the urban population. Moving through the variables in the institution-building model, the following pages will illustrate some of the internal and external exigencies in implementing the "urban dimension" at the University of Pittsburgh.

Goals (or Doctrine)

Beginning in the fifties, but with greatly increased momentum by the late sixties, University of Pittsburgh spokesmen have expressed a commitment to help find solutions to urban problems. In 1968, Chancellor Posvar spoke of a "new era of public involvement of the University" and of a University-wide commitment to this new goal. The recently-issued Report of the Chancellor, 1972, reaffirms the urban mission of the University:

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*There is no implication intended that Pitt was alone in its efforts to respond to these pressures. Whole volumes have been devoted to the ways universities in the United States have reacted. See, for example, Joseph G. Coleman and Barbara A. Wheeler, (eds.), Human Uses of the University, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970; and Dwight R. Ladd, Change in Educational Policy, Berkeley: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1970.

> In assessing the unique academic strengths of the University of Pittsburgh, the needs of world society that are shaping modern scholarship, and the University's own constituencies for teaching, research, public service, and institutional support, one fact begins to emerge with startling clarity.
>
> Pitt has the potential to become the prototypical American university concerned with the problems of urbanization.
>
> Urbanization--the increasing congestion of people in relatively confined areas of space--may well serve as the unifying theme for the most significant dilemmas confronting educated men and women today. It embraces, for example, the entire spectrum of activities that society undertakes to control the human environment, from housing design through city planning to pollution abatement. It embodies the major systems of modern life, including the production of goods, the administration of justice, and the delivery of health care. It includes the satisfaction of society's esthetic and social needs, in the concert hall and museum, or on the playing fields.
>
> Within its range fall most of the major problems of society: deficiencies in employment and job distribution, failures of the transportation system, the need for industrial development, housing decay, the problems of the aged and the infirm, mental health services, and poverty. (Report of the Chancellor, 1972:3)

In his introductory remarks, the Chancellor states that the traditional emphasis of the University remains unchanged:

> There is no intent here to shift the emphasis of the University from fundamental scholarship to more applied, "service-oriented" activities. Rather, we are talking about adding an urban dimension to the intellectually rigorous, high-quality approaches of traditional scholarship, with the same standards that have made such scholarship the wellspring of human achievement in the past. Whatever service benefits result from this activity will be in a sense, "incidental". But experience has shown that such service, emanating from basic scholarship, is in the long run most productive for human needs, and it is the kind of service that is the unique product of the University's mission. (Report of the Chancellor, 1972:5)

Yet the report throughout emphasizes the urban dimension with reference to program development and curriculum change. Toward the end of his introductory remarks, the Chancellor adds:

> But adding to the subject matter of traditional scholarship is not enough. Advanced urban society also requires that we make an assault on the traditional forms of learning. New ways must be found for "packaging" education. (Report of the Chancellor, 1972:8)

A part of the new era, too, were the University-Community Educational Programs, established to provide educational opportunities for disadvantaged students. Pitt had committed itself in the sixties to opening up its admissions policies for minorities and the poor and has also provided some special tutoring programs for aspiring students who were not qualified to immediately enter regular undergraduate programs. The Chancellor mentions U-CEP in his introduction, as well as the Office of Urban and Community Services which was established to provide an arm into the community with particular attention to the needs of minorities and the poor. In the body of the report, references were also made to new women's studies programs and to the expansion of continuing education programs for adults.

In general, the dominant themes in the report reflect those emphasized during the three years the University-Urban Interface Program has been in operation at the University. Curricula are becoming more flexible, new courses relevant to the urban scene have been introduced, and professors are adopting innovative teaching methods. Professional schools and University centers and institutes are increasing their efforts on the urban scene, developing new programs and/or expanding older ones. There is a new University Center for Urban Research. Programs in education and fair employment for special groups are not mentioned quite as prominently as in the past several years. For example, the Affirmative Action Program, designed to aid minorities and women in the University, is not mentioned at all in the report, although it has received considerable attention in previous years.

All in all, however, the goals stressed in this latest report reflect a preoccupation with the urban scene as the focal University priority.

Programs

The University-Urban Interface Program had to set limits to the scope of its research into the relations between the community and the University. It involved only a small research team operating on a rather modest budget. In the preceding data chapters, some of the more recent efforts of the University have been chronicled in detail for the areas selected. With reference to Campus Development, the University has been seen to struggle with the problem of if and how much to involve its immediate neighbors in planning the use of physical space, and finally, if haltingly, to arrive at what could be a permanent basis for conferring regularly with Oakland

community groups. The four outreach projects reflected several different attempts by University personnel to move out into the community to offer direct services with rather different degrees of success. Secondary goals for these projects were to provide useful educational experiences for students and to conduct applied research. The Community Goals Project brought community and university representatives together to discuss pressing local problems, but failed in its long-range objective of establishing a permanent basis for multi-group cooperative action on urban problem-solving. In connection with communications, it was found that, while some individuals were satisfied with the information they received through the Office of Alumni Affairs and through University-published media, others were still urging that more information be made available and that new ways be found to give the public access to the University.

The areas focused on for the research, however, are only a few of the many in which University-community interaction takes place. The Interface Program, therefore, also tried to cast its net somewhat more broadly with respect to inquiring about urban-oriented curricula and service-research activities. The program carried out a study (Sugg, 1973) of internships or "experiential learning" programs at the University of Pittsburgh. Such programs are designed to give students a community placement in addition to classroom experiences. Community placements are intended to enrich student curricula by giving them a first-hand knowledge of the area in which they will be working upon graduation. Although few such placement programs exist as yet at the undergraduate level, the study showed that Pitt professional schools were continually working to expand old programs and implement new ones. These efforts represented both an updating in curricula in terms of relevance to the urban scene and an increase in the use of professional school students in service capacities. The University-Urban Interface Program also collected various materials from earlier inventories and other sources to organize a preliminary University-Urban Inventory as a possible model for regular updating of information on research and services being carried out in the community on a University-wide basis.* Even though this inventory, as it stands, is far from complete, the number and variety of activities related to the urban dimension is quite astonishing. In fact, it is interesting to note that the University Council on Urban Programs identified a sizeable number of efforts related to urban problems in its own inventory which was compiled as early as 1968. (See chart overleaf)

The evidence from UUIP research, then, tends to support the belief that urban goals are reflected in the activities of the University. At the same time, however, it should be noted that urban efforts are not so much University-wide as concentrated in certain areas of specialization. Many of the efforts, too, have run into trouble of various kinds. Some continue to exist but precariously, others may have to be cut back, while still others have failed altogether to reach stated goals. The urban dimension has taken root in the University but does not seem to be as firmly established as some might wish. Some of the reasons for this become apparent in connection with illustrations from the data collected during the course of the research.

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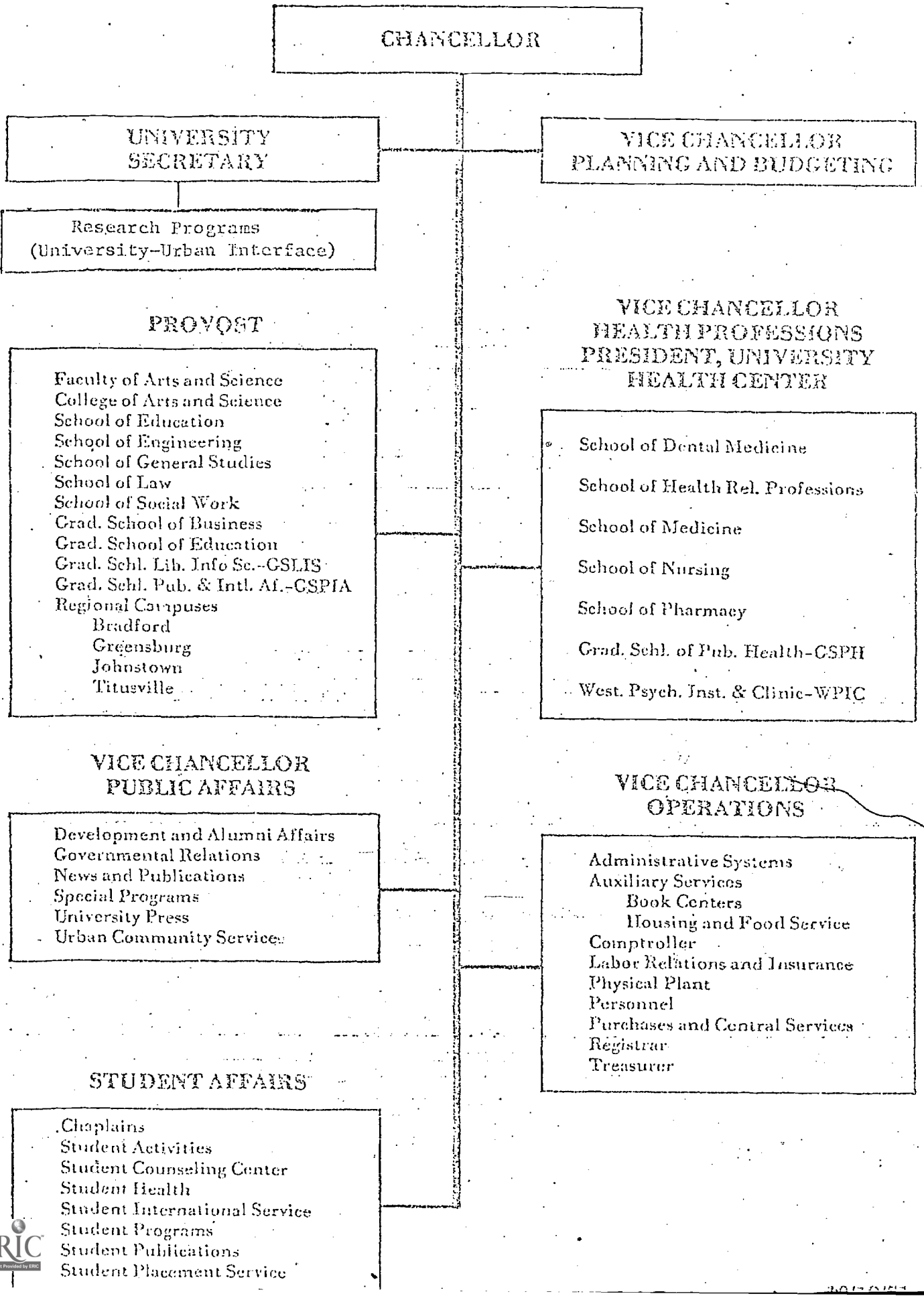
*This inventory has been circulated to a number of interested administrators, deans, and faculty for comment and recommendations. When all of these reactions have been collected, they will be turned over, along with the inventory, to the University for consideration for future use.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH



Leadership

A large contemporary urban university presents a complex management situation not easily understood by outsiders, or, for that matter, insiders. To quote from a recent report on governance at the University of Pittsburgh:

> The confusion of the "well-informed" may result from exaggerated expectations for order and smooth processes derived from images associating universities with knowledge, wisdom and logic. In fact, it may be that universities are "deliberately not organized". They may be examples of "non-organization" produced by the diversity of academic interests they embrace and the acceptance--at least internally--of the legitimacy of their questioning function.
>
> To be sure, some internal management and service functions are presumably "organized" and centrally administered--business operations, physical plant maintenance, payroll, auditing, security, and the like. "Deliberate non-organization" refers to the processes in the educational areas. If valid, the non-organization characteristic provides a major clue to explain the distress and misperceptions by diverse critics of "the University of Pittsburgh", or any particular University target of the moment. What they see as conspiracy, lack of ideological or service commitment, or inefficiency is simply the way a heterogeneous university conducts its learning missions. In a sense, "the University" is the sum of its diversity. (Carroll, 1972)

In the same report an extensive exploration of the governance process at Pitt is included which need not be repeated here.* A chart is presented overleaf in this chapter to give at least some impression of the complexity of the administrative structure. When the Chancellor, who is after all the spokesman for the University, speaks of a University-wide commitment to certain goals such as a "new era of public involvement", he presumably does not intend to convey that all personnel in the University are strongly committed to this goal--or for that matter, even committed at all. Yet, this is often the way such statements are interpreted by the public. As the quotation above stresses, the University does not and cannot speak with one voice. There are too many specialized interests and objectives involved. Too, the very values of the University affirm the right to dissent and encourage open expression of differences of opinion. Dissent

*See especially pp. 26-65 in Holbert N. Carroll, A Study of the Governance of the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh, 1972.

is considered appropriate in a university context--a normative orientation which can work to institutional disadvantage when conflict reaches the level at which it attracts the attention of the public media.*

Disagreement over University goals, at least at Pitt, is not confined to obstreperous students and a handful of radical faculty. The University-Urban Interface staff conducted regular interviews with some of the key administrators responsible for facets of University-community relations and found, even among the rather small group available for periodic interviews, a variety of opinions on how relations should be conducted. One of the factors here, undoubtedly, was that probably never before had university administrators all over the country been subjected to so many different claims. Each of the key administrators in our study, depending on his/her particular position, was likely to have a different perspective on which claims needed most attention, given the seeming impossibility of honoring all. With perhaps one exception, all of the key administrators seemed to feel that the Chancellor's lead toward more community involvement should be followed, but some were distinctly more cautious in this respect than others. In the interviews, campus expansion, the use of University facilities by community groups, communications and public relations, expanding and more inclusive enrollment, the multi-group nature of the urban Pittsburgh scene, and the allocation of budgetary resources were dominant themes. Campus development was a particularly sore spot during the course of Interface Program research, and some of the points of difference on this subject may be illuminating. Administrators were generally sensitive to the argument that the University had to be more responsive to community needs in terms of physical space use. However, they disagreed among themselves about the extent to which community groups should be involved in planning and also about which groups should be considered to legitimately represent the Oakland community where the new facilities were to be erected. When People's Oakland--the original group which arose to protest Pitt's plans--was organized, some favored entering an immediate dialogue with this group, while others hesitated because they questioned this group's claim to representation for the total Oakland community.** A related issue was how to weight inputs from various sources: community groups, the City, and the General State Authority. Lack of consensus contributed to uncertain and sometimes contradictory moves by the University with a resultant loss in time and money. Eventually, a compromise was found, but the problem of pleasing multiple groups defies simply solution, and although expansion is now going forward under an amended plan, there are still ripples of conflict around this area.

To use another example central to the concerns of the research, the criticism of the University also evoked an internal disagreement over the University media. Some administrators felt that the University at this

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*In his address as retiring president at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems in New Orleans in August, 1972, Albert K. Cohen cogently related the decline of public support to universities' "airing their problems and grievances in public" rather than confining the discussion and solution to internal groups.

**In fact, a small group of Oakland residents did organize briefly which espoused carrying out the University expansion as originally planned. The intent of this group was the direct opposite of that of People's Oakland.

point in its history needed all the favorable publicity it could possibly get, and that University publications should devote themselves exclusively to the public relations function of promoting a positive image of the University. Others, however, argued that both the University and the general public would be served best by hearing different perspectives on any given situation, and that, in any case, a University audience was too sophisticated to place credibility in strictly public relations items. Although this argument developed briefly into a minor crisis, the Office of News and Publications continues to follow a policy of objective exposition by general consent.

The problem of the multi-group nature of the urban scene intruded in every decision made by administrators in the course of the research. Whatever the University did, it was likely to tread on sombody's toes and come under critical fire. Some administrators argued that this was inevitable, and that it was better to take some action than none at all. Others felt that the "territory" should be carefully mapped and the appropriate groups consulted before any moves were taken. But who were the appropriate groups? Again viewpoints and perspectives of the various office-holders varied and appeared to depend in large part on the responsibilities of the particular office. The administrators interviewed certainly agreed in one area, and that was that the University could not do everything which was asked of it. A fundamental concern with the need to share responsibilities with other organizations and agencies led to the planning and implementation of the Goals Project.

Not surprisingly, many administrative disagreements had to do with budget allocation which necessarily involved differences in priority ranking for University activities, depending on where the administrator "sat". It is to be expected--perhaps indeed to be preferred--that the holder of a given office will tend to see the duties of that office as crucial to the welfare of the University. Nevertheless, under these conditions, budget allocation is a source of discord.

In the years during which this research took place, the loudest--and in some instances, very powerful--pressures on the University centered around the need for "involvement in community and urban problems" and for "social justice". The latter rubric included altering admissions and employment practices with special attention to upgrading minorities, the disadvantaged, and somewhat later in time, women. The official policy of the University has emphasized changes in these directions. But official policy needs support of varying types and levels if the goals are to be carried out. In the interviews with key administrators, University-Urban Interface Program researchers saw no evidence that the administrative leadership of the University in the sector of community relations was not basically in accord with the new directives. Discussion of the interview content has focused on disagreements simply to demonstrate that even among this group it was difficult to find consensus on how and by what means and in what areas to move to become more community oriented and socially involved according to prescription. If consensus is difficult to mobilize even among a relatively small leadership cadre, the problem becomes both more acute and far more complex as one moves out to examine the views of others in the University membership groups, let alone the wider community and society.

Facets of this complex picture will be examined below as first the internal structure and then the external linkages of the University are considered. It may be useful to note here, however, that a 1972 survey of faculty members and administrators showed a decidedly mixed level of satisfaction by both groups with the overall structure and operation of governance at the University.* The sources of satisfaction or dissatisfaction about overall University governance are probably many. It is

Table 1

1. Are you satisfied with the overall structure and operation of governance at the University?	Faculty (%) (N=103)	Administration (%) (N=99)
Yes	39.8	49.5
No	31.1	33.3
Not sure	25.2	13.1
No response	3.9	4.0

interesting to note in this connection that the great majority of faculty do not attend Senate meetings (Carroll, 1972:42), and that the reason most frequently given for this lack of attendance is that nothing very important is discussed or decided there.** Some faculty may be satisfied to have the top administration "run the show" while they attend to their own concerns, while others may feel that their voices should have more impact. Both faculty and administration may agree or disagree with the directions that the University seems to be taking. Budgetary considerations are certainly a primary focus which will now be taken up in connection with University resources.

Resources

Reading the Chancellor's Report of 1972 and scanning other documents and inventories of University programs and activities, it is sometimes difficult to believe that the University does not have practically unlimited monies to put to use at will. In fact, however, funding for the institutions of higher education in the nation has become increasingly problematic, and Pittsburgh is no exception as subject to demands to economize.***

*These results are from random samples of the faculty and of the administration at Pitt. See Holbert N. Carroll, op. cit., p. 33.

**In 1972, a motion was made and passed in the Senate to appoint a committee to find ways of making this body more central to the decision-making process.

***In fact, newspaper clippings for content analysis in connection with this research show that there has been a yearly financial crisis since the inception of UUIP.

In 1973, a crisis has developed as both federal and state governments have decreased support significantly. These developments should not have come as much of a surprise, however, particularly with respect to the state government. As early as 1971, a task force of the University Senate was already looking into the matter of faculty productivity because it was obvious that the University was facing a decline in public support, reflected in the comments of state legislators, which could eat into its resources:

> This effort reflected the uneasy feeling that an era of modest affluence for higher education has ended and that more precise measures of faculty productivity are inevitable. The experiences of recent years of public colleges and universities in some states, where standards of productivity have been developed, should confirm the necessity for faculty members to anticipate more precise standards at Pitt and to press for a strong, positive voice in their development. (Carroll, 1972:70)

Sentiments concerning inequity may in part reflect reactions to periodic prodding about the need for economy, the need to increase faculty productivity, and so on, in the face on the expansive and optimistic nature of the reports on the development of the University's urban dimension.

University membership groups may well wonder whether the University is not siphoning off monies for new programs at the expense of old ones. In point of fact, however, most of the University budget is pre-allocated and cannot be shifted around even by order of the Chancellor. In launching the urban dimension, Pitt had little budgetary leeway to promote new efforts. Many of the centers, institutes, and programs, established and new, depend in large part if not entirely on outside funding. This dependence on "soft money" is extremely helpful in augmenting the budget when the social climate is favorable, but can cause severe strains when significant sources withdrew support. Dependence on soft money, which might reassure some interested persons as to the use of University funds, is not stressed in the Chancellor's Report and its importance would hardly be apparent to the average reader. Beyond the use of soft monies, the University has had to spread itself thin, and has had recourse, in some instances known to the research team, to the use of limited funding or "seed money" to start new urban programs which were unable to procure immediate adequate outside funding. The new University Center for Urban Research is a case in point. The University has agreed to provide some financial support for the first three years, but anticipates that the Center will then be able to manage its own support (Report of the Chancellor, 1972:23). The present funding from Pitt is quite limited, and the Center must seek additional outside funding to carry out its present goals.

The seed money policy may be useful in initiating worthwhile efforts, but it also frequently involves a "sink or swim" approach: either project or program leaders establish outside support within a limited period or the activity must cease. Two of the projects chronicled by UUIP may serve to illustrate this point. One of the outreach projects, Project Right Start, swam. As described earlier in this report, however, one of the costs was that the director, a clinical psychologist, became during most of the early phase of the project a fund-raiser and proposal-writer. Because he was constrained to concentrate on the problem of funding, his professional skills could not be fully utilized for primary project objectives. On the other hand, the Community Goals Project, after an initial successful effort to implement the first stage of its plans, sank, at least in terms of being able to move on to its original explicit long-range objectives. No alternative backers for the project were found after the Forums, although many participants felt that the activity should be continued. The research staff for UUIP do not have data showing how many programs have been launched on a temporary University-support basis and, of these, how many were eventually discontinued. It seems clear, however, that investing seed money involves risk-taking, and that the University will share the blame for failures. Insofar as it depends on soft money and limited funding, then, the urban dimension of the University is not securely established, a fact which may be obscured from possible supporters both inside and outside the University.

The budgetary constraints on the University at this time are also reflected in cutbacks which occurred for the Office of Development and Alumni Affairs and for the Office of News and Publications during 1972. Indeed, given the need for increased financial and moral support, it seems most ironic that a university, pressed hard for resources to fulfill a new role, should feel obliged to reduce monies to precisely those areas traditionally so useful to the University along the dimension of support mobilization. It would seem that there could be no better illustration of the "tight money" situation. Ironically, too, the Alumni Office was given the responsibility for managing an additional large fund-raising drive despite the fact that its staff had been reduced by one-third. Both offices, of course, had to reduce their activities which are directly relevant for University-Community relations.

Both inside and outside the University, there have been many who have urged that the University had other resources, besides money, which could be brought to bear on urban problems. Faculty and students could use their knowledge and expertise in voluntary engagement in community service activities. Indeed there are those in both groups who do so engage, and at first glance, it seems reasonable to assume that if more could be mobilized to do the same, increased services could be provided at no extra cost. Further reflection, however, suggests, that under present circumstances, this possibility is not realistic. To take the faculty situation first, a recent study, ordered by the Pennsylvania state legislature, showed that Pitt faculty were averaging over 57 hours a week fulfilling their professional responsibilities. This heavy work load must be combined with responsibilities in the faculty's private lives. At present, the University offers few incentives for voluntary activities. Were the University to give "time off" for interested faculty, it would only be faced with the need for additional personnel which would again cost more money. Other incentives, such as the

recognition of voluntary contributions in considering promotions and raises, are also not built into the system. What a faculty member does for the community on his own incentive is regarded as a personal rather than a professional contribution.

The student population also faces problems in connection with time and educational advancement. Most Pitt students are full-time, and very many also work part-time to defray their own expenses. In many of the professional schools, internships or other experiential learning programs do get students into community activities which are part of the curriculum. For the most part, however, "community service" on the part of students has to be on their own initiative and earns neither credits nor dollars. Most students simply do not feel they can afford voluntary activities on top of their other responsibilities, even when they have an interest in this direction. The pressures exerted by interested students for introduction of such activities into the curriculum have not been widely successful. The Student Consultant Project, reviewed in detail earlier, is a good example. Project leaders have not yet been able to have the voluntary activities of the students integrated into curriculum credit even though the utility of the project seems to have been demonstrated by the response of the community members it was designed to serve. Without course credit, students have found it very difficult to invest their energies into the project activities at the level required. After the initial phase, it was decided that money had to be found to pay student consultants a stipend for time expended, since most of those interested could not get along without some regular income. It was impossible for the business students to manage a full academic load, a part-time paying job, and a time-consuming volunteer effort. The University was able to offer the project a small amount of space and other resources, but money for student support had to be found outside the University.

In its expansionary drive to implement an urban dimension, the University has also been greatly handicapped by a lack of space. The enormous growth of the student population following state-relatedness, which also required a marked increase in other personnel, has put great stress on physical facility use. The events accompanying campus expansion greatly retarded efforts to provide sufficient space for University activities. In cases where cramping was particularly acute, recourse was taken to rental space. This not only increased budgeting problems but also meant that University faculties were scattered, and coordination efforts to alter and improve curricula were impeded. In the case of new programs or additions to old ones sponsored from the outside, the use of rental space meant a loss of overhead for the University and sometimes, awkward administrative arrangements. The University-Urban Interface Program, for example, has been lodged in two offices, separated by several city blocks, causing communication and administrative problems. Even were the use of rental space an optimal solution, there is simply not enough money in the budget for the University to continue its building plans, maintain its present facilities, and provide adequate funding for rental. As a result, space is overutilized: faculty often have to share already tight quarters, and there is seldom any place for students, even those working as teaching assistants. The University warned the faculty that it would be unable to provide additional research

space in 1971, yet it is difficult to imagine how the urban dimension can be implemented further without research and research operations need space.

All things considered, then, the University's moves have taken place under adverse conditions which do not seem to be well understood by those who contribute to its support. But besides the inadequacy in resources, there are other problems in the support system which have to do with the University's legitimate responsibilities which make it difficult both to mobilize adequate resources and organize and implement basic changes. In this connection, some of the views of internal constituencies of the University will be considered next.

Personnel: In recent years, many books and articles have been written about the University and its internal problems. Most of the writers have taken the position that the conflicts have occurred largely because "the University" was resistant to change. Although the University of Pittsburgh has been relatively peaceful compared to some universities, there has certainly been considerable, albeit low-keyed, argument over the directions which the University was taking or should take. Program research, however, did show that internal constituencies nevertheless could demonstrate complete consensus on what should be the University's major priorities.

To the four groups surveyed by Carroll*--students, faculty, administrators, and trustees--the responses of the alumni from the survey conducted by UUIP have been added for the table on the following page. The alumni are considered a "boundary" group, still having some stake in the University's future, and making both direct and indirect inputs into University governance, and therefore will be considered both here and under Linkages. The table shows that the five groups, and actually it was a very large majority of all five groups, agreed that the first two goals of the University were to provide a high quality four-year undergraduate education and to provide graduate and professional and technical training. A clear majority of all groups, except the alumni, chose research as the third priority for the University. For all groups, two of the new goals, so strongly emphasized in recent official policy, conducting programs to alleviate ills in urban areas and conducting remedial and upgrading programs for those deprived of adequate educational opportunities, were plainly secondary to more traditional goals. This does not at all mean that some members within these groups are not very much committed to newer goals, but it does indicate what, in the minds of the great majority surveyed, must be protected above all else.

The Faculty: The University particularly needs the support of its membership groups if it is to operate successfully. We have no direct data on the morale of administrators and faculty at Pitt. The Carroll findings reported under "Leadership", however, show that only about half of the administrators surveyed are satisfied with the overall governance of the University. This suggests some reservations in this group about policy direction. Among the faculty, satisfaction is far lower than among adminstrators--only 31 per cent of those sampled are satisfied with the overall governance of the University.

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*These data were collected in 1970 and taken from: Carroll, op. cit., Appendixes, Section V.

Question: Below are some of the possible goals the University of Pittsburgh might pursue. Suppose you were in a position to make vital administrative decisions at Pitt, how would you rank the following suggested goals? Please assign the number (1) to the one you feel is most important, the number (2) to the one you feel is next most important, all the way to the number (9) for the least important. Please assign a different number to each goal even though you may feel some goals are very close in relative importance.

	Ranks Assigned By:				
	Alumni	Students	Faculty	Administrators	Trustees
Provide a high quality four year undergraduate education	1	1	1	1	1
Provide graduate and professional and technical training (doctors, Ph.D.'s, administrators, public health specialists)	2	2	2	2	2
Extend human knowledge through research	4	3	3	3	3
Provide for parttime adult evening degree work and study	5	4	4	4	4
Conduct programs to alleviate ills in urban areas	7	5	6	6	6
Conduct remedial and upgrading programs for those deprived of adequate educational opportunities	6	7	5	5	5
Provide undergraduate technical and professional training programs (under graduate business, social work, etc.)	3	6	7	7	7
Conduct training programs in other countries in such fields as education, engineering, health	9	8	8	9	8
Provide consulting and training services for governments, business, social agencies, etc.	8	9	9	8	9

Yet the faculty, who exercise the teaching and research functions, are obviously the most crucial members in carrying out the goals emphasized by the publics sampled. It would not be at all surprising if faculty morale was not very high. The faculty have been the targets of many of the complaints and exhortations to change, without much help in the way of new resources and incentives. On the contrary, recent years have seen pressures to increase teaching loads, threats to autonomy in hiring and firing practices, increasing strictures for small but multiplying economies and comparatively low pay increases. In a recent issue of the New York Sunday Times (May, 1973), it was reported that academic faculties in the nation received only about half the rate of pay raise of the average worker in the United States. At this writing, faculty at Pitt have been warned by the administration that the new budget does not even permit cost-of-living increases as it now stands. In times of high inflation, this necessarily means a reduced standard of living for faculty members and their families.

Nevertheless, our data show that faculty have been very much involved in developing new courses and indeed revising entire curricula. Long hours in committee meetings have produced more flexibility for students and a decrease in required courses. All of these efforts have been fostered by the encouragement of the administration on the one hand and the demands of the students on the other. However, many of the faculty have had serious reservations about the changes and whether they are actually benefitting students.

Of particular concern has been the increased heterogeneity of the student population in terms of prior education and background.* As has been seen, most faculty put top priority on undergraduate teaching. Yet the conditions under more inclusive enrollments can be frustrating. Pitt does have some remedial programs for students who require special tutoring, but the programs are only sufficient for the more extreme cases. In informal talks, faculty member after faculty member has cited the problems of handling undergraduate courses when the students taking the same course are very varied in terms of motivation, interests, and qualifications. What may be "repetitive" for some students is too "advanced and technical" for others in the same classroom. Often the faculty member feels obliged to simplify his approach, thereby alienating more sophisticated students who share his interests and decreasing the rewards in teaching for himself.

Student evaluations are another recent device to measure faculty effectiveness, but they have in many cases only added to the confusion about student expectations. The Psychology Department at Pitt provides opportunities for students in the College of Arts and Sciences to rate the courses they take and the faculty who teach them and publishes the results. The professor so evaluated is quite often confronted with a "normal curve" type of response distribution. Students in the same

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*Many universities are addressing this problem. See, for example, Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, The Impact of College on Students, Volume I, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969; and Burton R. Clark, Educating the Expert Society, Chicago: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962.

course with the same professor are divided into those who think the course is excellent, those who think it is poor, and those who rate it somewhere in the middle. Bringing a wider segment of society into the student population fosters a demand for diversity which is not compatible with economizing in teaching loads, indeed quite the reverse.

The push toward increased urban involvement has brought more students into community activities, particularly in the graduate schools, although a few undergraduate departments are moving in this direction as well. The University-Urban Interface Program conducted a survey of undergraduate departments and interviewed faculty and administrators in some of the professional schools concerning such programs.* All of the personnel interviewed were generally favorable to trends which showed a decidedly higher urban emphasis and an increased use of inner city placement sites as the foci of internship and other "experiential learning" programs. But they also stressed the resource problems which made the programs difficult to implement, at least in the perceived most desirable manner. Uppermost was a need for more faculty to supervise students and coordinate efforts. How to evaluate student performance in altered or new programs effectively was also an area which was deemed to need more time and thought than was currently available. "Moving out into the community" on a larger scale, then, is accomplished when faculty are in short supply with the attendant strain of potentially "losing control" of student activities and progress. There are other problems in this area vis-a-vis the community which will be reviewed under Linkages.

The preliminary urban inventory collected by UUIP showed that many faculty are responding to community needs with activities ranging from seminars and consultations, through applied research which provides information to community groups, to the actual carrying out of service programs in the community. Probably the last named activity is the most difficult to accomplish because of its multi-purpose nature which combines learning and research with service. We have seen that for Project Right Start, the Student Consultant Project, and the Clarifying Environments Laboratories, the directors have had to devote large amounts of time to fiscal and administrative activities since there was "no one else" available to take care of such matters. This diversification creates an overload on key persons and a drain on the implementation of the desired professional services. Such an overload necessarily heightens the possibility of difficulties or even failure since some of the many intricate tasks involved in getting established may be neglected.

On the whole, it appears that many faculty have accepted the administrative policy which stresses the urban dimension, at least to the point of curriculum overhaul and innovation. Some, indeed, have gone considerably further and the multiplicity of activities is impressive. At the same time, there is reason to think that faculty morale is being lowered

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*A summary of the findings from these interviews can be found in: Michael Sugg, Explorations in Experiential Learning, University of Pittsburgh: University-Urban Interface Program, May, 1973, Part II, pp. 62-73.

in the face of criticism and the threat of restrictions on the one hand, and the lack of adequate resources and rewards on the other. Some responsible faculty members openly worry that what looks like "more" in official reports about Pitt must, under the circumstances, have been accomplished at costs as yet uncalculated.

The Students: In recent years, much of the pressure on the University to become more "relevant" and egalitarian has been coming from students. "Students" have often been conceived of in the media and by student spokesmen as being of one mind in their conceptions of what would be desirable for the University. Our survey of a random sample of Pitt students (N=459) did indeed show considerable support for the new trends emphasized in University official policy. There was no complete consensus, but about three-fifths of the students in the sample felt that there should be more courses reflecting urban problems, that the faculty should become more involved in local affairs, and that students should become more involved in local affairs. However, the survey did show some cleavages on important dimensions in the community relations area. While 54 per cent of the students thought the University should become involved in alleviating social ills in urban areas, 30 per cent were against this trend. A sharper cleavage evolved in relation to whether there should be a special admissions policy for disadvantaged students. Here only 44 per cent supported such a policy, while 47 per cent were against it.

This latter point of disagreement within the student body probably also reflects the growing heterogeneity of the student body mentioned above in connection with faculty. Pitt has become more inclusive in its admissions policy. By 1971, half of the incoming freshmen were the children of working-class, non-college educated parents. The University of Pittsburgh--once a virtually a "lily-white" institution--now has a significant black population. Disadvantaged students have been recruited and placed in special tutoring programs with uneven, and as yet incompletely documented, success. Some of these students have gone forward into regular programs, others have dropped out, and still others have remained in their special status long beyond the anticipated period needed for "upgrading" their academic skills.

But the problems in integrating the "new" and the "old" student body are discernible. Student drop-out rates are high at Pitt as in universities across the nation. Some students at the University of Pittsburgh feel that the standards, and therefore the prestige, of the University are declining, and with them the value of a diploma from Pitt. Others complain that courses are too difficult and that professors and other students do not have the exposure to the life circumstances of newer types of students to enable them to relate to their needs. One problem is that the mass media have very much emphasized the advantages of a higher education for economic life chances. Consequently, many students are motivated to attend a university for a "ticket to success" (Burton, 1962:237-43). Although this is understandable, at the same time a partial result is that some students are coming to colleges and universities with little prior preparation for what four years of higher education entails

and, consequently, having a painful time of it. For many reasons, students come to Pitt wanting different things and having different expectations which put them into conflict not only with faculty but with one another. Thus, in spite of the apparent support for some of the changes in the University, there are obviously significant proportions of students who are alienated, discouraged, or both.

The student population declined slightly at Pitt during the last academic year and also tipped slightly again toward middle-class students, rather than the even split between working-class and middle-class students in freshman enrollments in 1971. Enrollment is expected to decline somewhat more sharply for the next academic year. Part of the reason is the withdrawal of tuition grants at the federal level. Another reason may be the realization that achieving a B.A. is not a guarantee of a high-status job. The extent to which increasing numbers of college graduates can be absorbed into the economic system has not been carefully thought out, and new graduates have found themselves driving trucks, working in factories, pounding typewriters, and so on.* What decreasing enrollments combined with a high dropout rate will mean to the future of universities like Pitt which, after all, do receive a significant proportion of their monies from tuition is problematic. It does appear that universities face a more competitive future in appealing to a declining market. This is in sharp contrast to the expansionary situation in the recent past.

Alumni: The University-Urban Interface Program's survey of alumni** showed support for Pitt in the sense that members expressed pride in the University and belief in its future. But the alumni also had reservations about the administration of the University. Only 45.5% thought that the administration at Pitt was doing a fine job, while a very high 39.3% said that they had no opinion on this statement. Other findings showed that alumni were particularly worried about the University's efforts to increase enrollments in order to include those formerly excluded. The great majority approved of this policy, but only if it could be implemented without impairing academic standards.

Many of the alumni felt that they had insufficient information about University policies and programs. Concern with standards was strongly related to reservations about the University's urban dimension when cross-tabulations were made from the data with the relevant questions. Like the students, the alumni were split in their opinions on items in the questionnaire which were related to the urban dimension. Only 30 per cent favored a special admissions policy for disadvantaged students, while

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*To quote Wendell V. Harris in an article in the Chronicle of Higher Education on January 15, 1973: "Both the immediate economic value and the social prestige of a college degree are diminishing. These may have been morally false values, but they have nevertheless been demonstrable values, and they have been compelling values for a great number of students."

**The survey consisted of a stratified random sample of 3,000 alumni. 939 (32 per cent) returned completed questionnaires. The full results of the survey may be found in Martha Baum and Barbara Jameson, A Survey of the Alumni of the University of Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, January, 1973.

58 per cent were against this practice. Forty-one per cent of the alumni sampled felt that the University should play a larger role in alleviating social ills, but 38 per cent were against this. There was, however, stronger support for more courses reflecting concern with urban problems, for 50 per cent of the alumni favored such courses and only 20 per cent were against this trend. Alumni support for the faculty was higher than for the administration. Fifty-six per cent of the sample thought that Pitt faculty were well-qualified and responsible. Again, a fairly high percentage, 32 per cent, had no opinion in this area.

In informal talks, members of the Alumni Association Council expressed surprise that the survey results showed the most support for faculty among the youngest group of alumni--those who had most recently been students in the University. Alumni Council members thought that this group would be the least favorable to the faculty because the many mass media reports on student dissatisfaction in recent years. This dissatisfaction apparently has not been as widespread as has been indicated, but a satisfied majority of students has received little publicity. It may be added, however, that the youngest group of alumni were the least supportive of the administration, indicating less trust in University governance among the recent graduates.

University alumni can be very helpful for the institution's image when they are supportive of the alma mater. UUIP survey results seem to indicate that Pitt alumni are supportive but with some reservations. Alumni share a University's prestige or lack of it, and a concern with academic standards particularly is a potential trouble spot—if it cannot be alleviated. The youngest group of alumni which is the least positive toward the administration was also found to be the lowest in active involvement in the Alumni Association. This decline in support and involvement among younger alumni could be a signal that Pitt will need to work to maintain its prestige with this group in the future.

Organization

The preceding pages have demonstrated that the urban dimension of the University is not fully "institutionalized" in the sense that it receives the complete support of membership groups. Although official policy has stressed involvement in urban problems as a challenge the University must meet, leadership in the University is more a matter of influence than authority. The degree to which the various departments and schools can be constrained to follow directives is limited, particularly in the case of innovations which may be seen as conflicting with established priorities. In the interviews with key administrators in University-community relations, the scope and authority of any given administrator with respect to action on an issue was a recurring theme. There is evidently considerable ambiguity over the degree to which others must be consulted before any implementation is attempted, the appropriate people to include in decision-making, and the overlap between one office or position with others. Schools and departments cherish a certain autonomy and reserve the right to evoke their own specialized subgoals. Administrators were aware of--although not always completely sympathetic to--this "sensitivity" among the internal membership of the University.

There is a very high rate of turnover among both administrators and faculty at Pitt which may produce a climate where it is difficult to evolve consensus and establish a "University-wide" commitment to new goals. For example, Carroll reports that only 49 per cent of the faculty present in 1965-66 remained in 1970-71 (Carroll, 1972:131). The turnover was lower for this period among tenured faculty, but still 34 per cent of this group left the University.

At the same time, the turnover rate makes for opportunities to recruit new members who are already committed to an urban dimension and who represent the disadvantaged. Indeed, new offices have been created to facilitate certain urban goals. The Office of Urban and Community Services, created in 1969 and soon placed on a "hard money" basis as a permanent arm of the University, has a mission of reaching out into disadvantaged sectors of the community to attempt to relate community needs to available services in the University. The Office of Affirmative Action was also established to promote the recruitment of blacks and women and to guarantee them equal opportunity in the University system. Both of these offices are under black leadership. Many individual schools and departments have also recruited with a particular view to the urban dimension. For example, Dr. Taylor, director of Project Right Start, was especially chosen for his interest in and qualifications for providing urban services. Nevertheless, in view of the findings that the urban dimension does not have top priority with University people, it is understandable that recruitment has mostly been carried out in accordance with the accepted norms of qualification. In spite of some new guidelines for faculty recruitment with some "teeth" in them, it is still the individual school or department rather than the University administrative leadership which makes the decisions on hiring and firing, salary raises and promotions. A University is simply not organized in a fashion which permits the authorization of radical change from the top. To alter this structure would dramatically effect the traditional values centering on professional autonomy and freedom to disagree.

We do not have data which would tell us directly about the chief loci of support for the urban dimension within the complicated University structure, but in terms of activities certain professional schools are definitely in the vanguard. Many of them are precisely those which have a tradition of community involvement and service. This tradition is simply being interpreted somewhat differently in the light of contemporary urban developments. The survey of alumni reflected the commitment of certain schools when the responses were divided up by school of highest degree. Large majorities from the School of Social Work, the School of Public Health, and the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs favored the University playing a larger role in alleviating social ills, and alumni from these same schools were also the most favorable toward a special admissions policy for the disadvantaged. Only a minority--although sometimes a significant one--of alumni from other schools and from the College of Arts and Sciences supported either one of these two facets of urban involvement.

The sentiments of the alumni seemed to be reflected in the three schools cited above in terms of recruitment, student programs, and research and service efforts. Yet all three are suffering at the present time from serious cutbacks due to recent curtailments in "soft money" and tuition grants.* This paradox is evidently due to a lack of sufficient support in the linkage network and accentuates the dangers inherent in relying heavily on soft money, as the University apparently has done with respect to the urban dimension.

Pitt, like many other universities, is facing a more austere budget picture for the years ahead. Although the general public still seems to hold favorable attitudes toward institutions of higher education,** there is concern about "waste", and strong resistance to putting any additional monies into university budgets. Somehow the messages being sent out from universities have failed to articulate sufficiently the need for additional resources to build stability into the "new directions". The University of Pittsburgh has proclaimed the pursuit of new goals and changes in program and composition of personnel. The responses of internal groups suggest widespread disbelief that the University can implement new priorities, while at the same time maintaining traditional ones for high teaching standards and basic research when it is facing increasing pressures to economize.

Yet official University spokesmen have given the continuing impression that this is exactly what is happening (Report of the Chancellor, 1970; 1971; 1972). What is happening at Pitt is also occurring in other universities across the nation, although supposedly the economy is booming.*** At Pitt, it has been reiterated that the urban dimension would be implemented without affecting excellence in teaching and research. But without a reordering of priorities, the new directions have been developed by spreading University resources very thinly and relying on soft money which can be rather abruptly withdrawn. Hopefully the real accomplishments can be retained, but at least some of the new efforts seem uncertain of survival. Perhaps the situation would not have been altered, but more open discussion of the strains placed on the University in recent years in the course of reacting to demands for change would have placed it at least in a more sympathetic position.

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*The School of Public Health has probably been the hardest hit, as far as can be determined at present. Special training grants are to be phased out over the next two or three years which means a loss of 30 per cent of available student assistance and a severe cut in the budget for faculty. General research funding for the Graduate School of Public Health has dwindled from $200,000 in 1971 to $17,000 this academic year. See: "Council Hears Chancellor on Funding," University Times, February 15, 1973.

**For a summary on recent surveys of attitudes toward higher education, see: Roger W. Heyns, "Renewal, Financing, and Cooperation: Tasks for Today," 55th Annual Meeting, American Council on Education, October 5, 1972.

***This point is underscored in: Daniel S. Greenberg, "Science and Richard Nixon," New York Times Magazine, June 17, 1973.

The survey results reported in connection with this study indicate uncertainty about University governance and administration. This lack of full confidence is probably in part due to the "tight money" situation. Somewhere in the past, the time was ripe for a firm assertion that Pitt could not make dramatic new efforts without a more secure support base. Instead, however, a public image of an ever-expanding institution has been promoted. The University also is facing disturbances in some of the multiple linkage groups necessary to its development. A review of the external social network of the University occupies the next section of this chapter.

Linkages

It has been observed that university administrators have to be "Janus-faced" (Baldridge, 1971). Not only do they have to respond to internal membership groups, but they must also be aware of the perspectives and desires of many external groups. Increasingly, universities are supported by public rather than private sources and this change serves to multiply the number of sources to which administrators have to be responsive.

The institution-building framework specifies four different types of linkages which must be taken into account in the external support system. To begin with enabling linkages, Pitt, like many large contemporary universities, has a complex economic base. In part, it relies on student tuition and on private sources such as alumni, other individuals, and foundations. However, central fiscal roles are played by the State of Pennsylvania and the federal government. UUIP relied chiefly on content analysis of media for reflections of governmental bodies' attitudes toward Pitt. The State began to play a major role in direct funding after Pitt became state-related, and in 1968 a master plan for expansion was formulated by the University and the General State Authority.* As the enrollment rapidly almost doubled, the plans for physical plant expansion ran into trouble. The Oakland community and the city government eventually forced alterations in the plans in 1971 which seem to be generally acceptable, but the modification and delay costs were high. Local citizens may have been gratified by the developments, but the average state taxpayer was incensed by the waste involved. In any case, the expansionary atmosphere for institutions of higher education was beginning to undergo a decided reversal. The State determines its budget yearly, and the University never knows from one year to the next exactly how much it can count on. Up until 1971, Pitt had been accustomed to yearly budget increments from the State, but in that year State legislators announced that there would be a three million dollar cut in appropriations to the University of Pittsburgh. The cut was evidently related directly to complaints from taxpayers already suffering from inflationary inroads into their incomes. Politicians in the State of Pennsylvania pointed out that: "Sixty per cent of the present budget ($3.2 billion) is being spent for education and that the State

*The General State Authority has the responsibility for determining land use and appropriations for new facilities in state-supported institutions.

Secretary of Education has projected a $5 billion budget in the next five years. There is a strong feeling in the legislature that we are going to have to cut back somewhere."* A separate significant reduction was imposed on the state's medical schools. In 1972 the new State Education Secretary (a "non-educator") ordered a task force to study the University and recommend budget cuts. The task force thought there should be a $1.8 million curtailment, but the University was able to retain most of that money by citing hardships from the 1971 cuts. This year state legislators announced that universities must be held more accountable for their teaching and research tasks, and ordered a survey to be undertaken and completed by March of 1973 to determine the way in which faculty time was being spent. Although survey results indicated a very heavy faculty work load, in the same month the University of Pittsburgh was forced to announce that all salaries and hirings were frozen due to new state budgetary restrictions.

It is interesting to note in all this that the state was highly instrumental in encouraging the University to become more inclusive in its enrollment practices, particularly for state residents. The state strongly emphasizes teaching over other University goals. As the Secretary of Education recently announced: "Requirements for tenure, promotion, and other forms of recognition should reflect the importance we attach to first-rate teaching in contrast to the traditional focus on research, publishing, and length of service. I am very skeptical of the kind and quality of research that goes on in academic life. Very little of it has to do with the urgency of questions posed by society. Research is necessary, but I have very serious qualms that the amount of funding being allocated to research in some of our institutions could be justified by any rational form."** But what seems to be meant by "first-rate" teaching is a heavier teaching load. The state does not take into account that integrating some of the new types of students into University life calls for smaller not larger classes; more hours in the classroom with larger classes are precisely what the state is calling for. This raises an unresolved problem about assessing quality as opposed to quantity. The state is also attempting to exercise its own philosophy on University goals, an input which will be discussed under normative linkages.

Very recently, both the state and the federal government have proposed direct grants to students which would take away the traditional University control over tuition and research scholarships. The rationale is that "by directly subsidizing the student, rather than the institution, the voucher allows the student more flexibility in choosing his own school. In effect, the student becomes a consumer seeking the best return for his dollar."*** This plan would adversely affect the ability of universities to organize their futures and recruit and maintain adequate personnel, but such problems do not seem to be getting the requisite airing.

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*This quotation was taken from an article entitled: "Politicians Scan State Aid," Pittsburgh Press, November 12, 1971.

** Quotation from John C. Pittinger, "Harrisburg Report," University Times, February 15, 1973.

***From: "Politicians Scan State Aid," Pittsburgh Press, November 12, 1971.

With the increased reliance on public support, universities seem to be losing control over their own destinies.

The fc l government, in the recent past, has been the most powerful voice c sizing the urban dimension. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, through the Affirmative Action Program, has threatened to withdraw all monetary support to universities which do not follow explicit plans to increase the proportions of minorities and women in their student, faculty, administrative, and other personnel populations. The federal government has also supplied much of the soft money for applied research and other urban programs. Monies to universities from the federal government increased during the UUIP study, and in the year 1970-1971, Pitt received a total $26 million from the federal government. But the present administration in Washington has been openly skeptical about what universities are doing and highly critical of academics and student bodies.* From the universities, after all, has come much of the war protest and much of the opposition for the current federal administration. In 1972, funds to universities were drastically curtailed. Cutbacks in the health professions and in Social Work and Education were especially significant and crucial, but the effect of the change in policy has reverberated in all parts of the University of Pittsburgh. The present federal administration claims it has, overall, actually proposed to increase federal expenditures for education, a position which has not entirely been clarified. In any case, there have been shifts in funding and the reduction or elimination of particular programs which directly reverse the federal thrust of earlier years. Those schools at Pitt most heavily involved in urban services and research and providing health care are the hardest hit by the federal government. The policy of "revenue-sharing" may improve the situation, but as yet, how these monies are to be used has not been determined.

In addition to the plan to provide direct grants to students mentioned above, shifts in student aid programs primarily involve cuts in both Supplemental Education Grants and direct, low interest federal loans. These two programs will be replaced with federally-guaranteed private loans, which bear a higher interest rate and with a new program called Basic Opportunity Grants. Increased costs of education for students are signaled in other ways. For example, Pitt has also declared a raise in tuition fees to compensate in part for the cuts in other funding. Educators have complained that the increased costs of a university education will particularly affect the children of low income families. This probability is already reflected in the slight tipover toward middle-class students in Pitt's most recent enrollment. The urban dimension, with encouragement from both state and federal governments, has emphasized the inclusion of the disadvantaged. The current lack of adequate support may well diminish the gains which have been made in recent years in achieving this new mix.

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*Examples of this are given in: Daniel S. Greenberg, "Science and Richard Nixon," New York Times Magazine, June 17, 1973.

Besides raising tuition, the University of Pittsburgh will also have to take other measures to attempt to compensate for the loss of revenues, although, like other universities, it will probably have to decrease its activities in the long run as it has in the short run. Even the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, whose reports have continued to emphasize all the new things that universities could and should do, has begun to take a more pessimistic point of view: "The nation's colleges and universities must reduce the present rate of spending by $10 billion annually by year 1980 or face a critical money problem."* In the current situation, Pitt has turned again toward the private sector from whence it received most of its direct funding prior to 1967. In January, 1972, the Chancellor announced that "over the next eight years, the University of Pittsburgh will seek to raise $35 million in private monies to provide a 'margin of excellence' to make the University a more than average university."**

Aside from the annual giving fund promoted by the Alumni Association, this is the first special effort to seek private funds in 25 years. If Pitt is successful in acquiring funds from the private sector in significant amounts, it may well reduce some of the financial strain, but it also may alter the University's thrust. Although the private sector does not only mean alumni, the Alumni Survey, at least, pointed to widespread reservations about the urban dimension and an intense concern over a possible decline in academic standards. There may be little support among those in a position to provide monies from their private incomes for policies aimed at helping disadvantaged students and offering services to the urban poor, particularly when the federal government has abandoned its leadership role in this direction.

Under normative linkages, the concern is with moral support of an institution, expressed in affirmation (or lack of it) of its values as reflected in goals and program. The general citizenry, concerned over rising taxes and inflation, has had a strong impact on the political decisions at the state and federal level. But it is not only money matters which have caused a decline in support for education in universities. The media in recent years have accentuated unrest and turmoil in the universities, and a questioning of the effectiveness of educational practices and the competence of faculty and administrators. It may well be that statements by University spokesmen about the profound changes being made have only served to convince the general public that something was indeed radically wrong. Or it may be that the announced changes are not perceived as desirable by some sectors of the population. In any case, public support for giving additional resources to education has undeniably been declining at the same time that universities have been pressed to take on a larger share of the burden for solving urban problems. In the Goals Forums and on the Goals Survey described in the previous chapter, the perspectives of the community representatives and "influentials" mirrored a more traditional view of the University as an information gatherer and disseminator rather than an urban activist. Only those

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*A quotation from a member of the Carnegie Commission in: "Universities Advised to Cut Spending," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, July 4, 1972.

**The Chancellor's speech was reported in: "Pitt to Seek Private Funds for Excellence," Pittsburgh Press, January 12, 1972.

representing minority and disadvantaged groups espoused this latter view. The emphasis on urban involvement has evidently had less public support than the "liberal climate" of the sixties indicated on the surface.

Universities also need normative support to recruit adequate personnel of various types. Rising tuition costs and direct grants to students will make it increasingly difficult to predict the size of student populations, and the University may find itself in a more competitive position vis-a-vis other institutions of higher education. This outcome would be unfortunate, since, given the present climate, it would seem that "standing together" would be a better approach for colleges and universities. From the student survey at Pitt, it would seem that the majority of students favored the institution and at least parts of the urban dimension. But the survey was conducted in 1970 and 1971, and students all over the country have been more quiescent since then. There are also indications that students are now more concerned with acquiring more traditional academic skills and less with innovations. Perhaps the new trends have gone "far enough" for them. In any case, the higher costs of education and direct grants will encourage both students and their parents to "shop around" more carefully, and the University image will have to be responsive to changes in the public climate.

Under the changes in the University's circumstances, it is certainly going to be more difficult to recruit able persons to play administrative and faculty roles. The lower pay scales in universities relative to other sectors of society have been acceptable in the past to many types of personnel because of rewards for the free pursuit of intellectual interests and because of the congenial social climate. The ability of universities to recruit was already eroded during the student confrontations when able faculty from top academic institutions sought other organizational placements. Recruiting administrators to head disorganized and unruly departments, schools, and whole institutions became increasingly difficult. Now the inroads on rewards of both money and freedom will contribute to a further disillusion with university employment, and the calibre of personnel may well decline. It is paradoxical that in this society, so much emphasis is placed on academic qualification for major social roles--including those in business--yet the people responsible for certification are those who are the first to be pinched in any kind of economic squeeze.

The state, and most particularly, the federal government have used their power and resources in the recent past to encourage normative changes in the universities. This input is now reversed: education is "too costly" under the expanded conditions and social programs "don't work". The new normative thrust from the state is for economy, essentially meaning higher teacher-student ratios and deemphasizing research. There is still some demand for research, however. Both state and federal levels want to evaluate existing social programs so that they may be improved or, if ineffective, abandoned. Some schools and departments at Pitt are adapting to this trend, and seeking and receiving contracts for evaluative research. This may be helpful for the short run, but it seems plausible that, after an interim period, governments will be running their own evaluations on the basis of what has been learned, although they will probably still turn to the universities for new techniques. In any case,

the demand for evaluative research will certainly affect the foci of research in the universities and more basic research may be relatively neglected.

Functional linkages involve groups in which there is an exchange of inputs and outputs. Other colleges and universities in the Pittsburgh area represent one category of such linkages for Pitt. These institutions do cooperate with one another in providing for students to have access to courses across institutions and in other ways. The Pennsylvania Council on Higher Education functions to facilitate such linkages. The state is now setting up mechanisms for those colleges and universities in its own network to find more adequate ways of both sharing curriculum access and decreasing duplication of offerings in the various institutions. These efforts are bound to run into difficulties, particularly in the present climate which encourages competition for students rather than sharing. Representatives of the institutions of higher education will fear that by giving up a school, a department, or even a single course because it exists elsewhere may lose them some portion of the student body. However, getting together representatives from the state-related or state-supported institutions may have a more positive outcome. At least, problems and headaches commonly shared may be aired, and solidarity rather than competition among educators could be enhanced.

The City of Pittsburgh could also be viewed as a functional linkage since it both provides inputs to the University and receives outputs. The City, however, worried about a declining tax base, joined community groups in protest against Pitt expansion. It demanded from the University some payment for its increased land use: "Unless the University is able to offer some means of relief for the burden that it is placing on the City's tax base,"* the city would oppose the University expanding beyond Forbes Field (an abandoned baseball stadium adjacent to University buildings) proper. UUIP was instrumental in bringing in an outside systems research group which studied the economic impact of the University on the local economy (Caffrey and Mowbray, 1972). This study demonstrated the positive effect on the area by the presence of the University as employer and consumer of local goods and services. The results of the research may have been one influence on the City's eventual sizeable reduction in its demand for reimbursement from the University for City services. The negotiations between the City and Pitt extended over eighteen months and eventually the University agreed to pay the $60,000 a year for city services. The City government responded by removing a threat to oppose rezoning requests for University expansion. The yearly payment is subject to renegotiation, however, and may increase in later years. At the moment, there seems to be peace between the University and the city on this issue, and the cost to the University has been relatively small. Many issues remain unresolved and elements of controversy persist, although construction is underway. From the view of officials in federal, state and local government, University administrators, community leaders and citizens' accord is desirable so that both business as usual and progress can occur. Yet, no consensus exists on the role and responsibility of educational institutions as tax-exempt organizations, purveyors of social services, or advisors to government and business. Nevertheless, it is an additional drain on University funds.

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*Quoted from a newspaper article: "Forbes Expansion: Towards a Joint Venture," University Times, September 9, 1971.

Other functional linkages are represented by non-University agencies and organizations in the social environment. A cooperative relationship with such groups is essential in developing the University's public service functions. The contemporary urban scene, however, is crowded with service agencies, and there may well arise real or perceived conflicts of interest between established organizations and the efforts of universities. Other universities besides Pitt have been made aware of the delicate nature of attempting to provide additional services to the community or doing research on the adequacy of existing services. A quotation from a report from Harvard University illustrates the dilemmas inherent in implementing community action.

> Further, and perhaps most important, deciding what to do cannot be done by Harvard, or some part of Harvard, acting unilaterally. In every area to which this committee has turned its attention, there are already programs underway, organizations formed, spokesmen selected, conflicts apparent. Just as "the" university does not exist, so "the" community does not exist. We impinge on many communities and some of them--perhaps most--are deeply suspicious of Harvard's intentions and capacities. No master plan for community action can or should be devised by Harvard alone, because any action requires Harvard first to work out, carefully and over time, a subtle and complex set of relationships with existing organizations and existing programs. (Wilson, et. al., 1968)

This complexity has to be considered but does not by any means imply that good cooperative relationships cannot be established under appropriate circumstances. When University operations are undertaken with community understanding and support, the situation becomes one of mutual facilitation. In Chapter III of this report, it was seen that the relevant community agencies were generally receptive to the Student Consultant Project and Project Right Start from the outset and remained so throughout the term of the research. Careful consultation in the initial phases of implementation with agencies and organized community groups established the need for particular services. In turn, a situation was produced in which community groups provided various inputs--facilities, clients, funds, publicity--in exchange for services rendered.

On the other hand, the Neighborhood Centers Association, during the early phase of study by UUIP, was receiving a good deal of community criticism and a concommitant decline in monetary support. By the end of the research period, however, the association had undergone internal reorganization and increased provisions for community inputs. The result has been a more favorable community climate and a reasonably secure position in the form of renewed funding guarantees. The Clarifying Environments Program has had a rather complex problem in terms of a divided community, as well as conflict with the more traditionally-oriented personnel in the public schools. The result has been disruption in parts of the community

activities and a continually "disturbed" social environment in which it has been difficult, at times, to proceed with implementation of the planned services.

Some of the experiences in the outreach projects, as well as the community goals project, seem to provide encouraging evidence that different organizations and groups can work together or, at least, would like to work together. At the same time, the process is one which requires considerable patience, and sensitive probing to establish the grounds under which cooperation rather than competition will appear more rewarding for all groups concerned with any given problem area.

Another situation which calls for functional linkages with community agencies is in experiential learning or internship programs. In the study of these programs carried out by UUIP (Sagg, 1973), those administrators and faculty who were involved in placement were concerned with the attitudes of social agencies in the community. Because such agencies were also experiencing funding problems, they were exerting pressures for the University to reimburse students for the placement period. If the agencies were willing to pay at all, they wanted to reserve the right to use students for their own needs. Thus, the schools and departments, at a time when they were attempting to increase student involvement in the community, were faced both with the loss of financial resources and supervisory control over the student's learning experience.

Another source of loss for student placement occurs in connection with demands by community groups that personnel in programs operating in the community be staffed, at least in part, by indigenous residents. Both Project Right Start and the Clarifying Environments Program substituted community persons, whom they trained as "paraprofessionals", for posts originally planned for students. The Neighborhood Centers Association also, since the appointment of a new director in 1971, has put more emphasis on staffing their activities with people who reside in the immediate neighborhood. Again, some resistance has developed to the use of students in connection particularly with medical, dental, and nursing services. Some community groups have rebelled at being "used as guinea pigs" in the student learning process. They insist that rather than being "practiced on" they should receive the attention of fully trained professionals.

From the point of view of the general health of the University's internship and experiential learning programs, then, there also seems to be a need for finding ways in which placement agencies and University schools can find bases for cooperation which are more acceptable than they seem to be on either side at the present time.

Diffuse linkages pertain to the more amorphous social climate in which the University exists, that is, to those individuals who do not belong to the more established groups with which the University has direct relationships. From among these individuals may arise temporarily--or even permanently--organized groups which have an effect upon the institution. A case in point would be People's Oakland which was formed

in opposition to plans for campus expansion. This group, later expanded to become Oakland Development, Inc., may indeed become a group with which the University continues formally to interact over a long period of time. Ordinarily, however, diffuse linkages refer to the whole social environment from which at any time opposition or support in an organized form may but need not arise.

UUIP conducted a readership survey by means of interviewing small samples of five different community segments: Oakland (Pitt area) residents, Oakland businessmen, ghetto blacks, blue-collar workers, and white suburban residents. The great majority of those interviewed expressed at least relatively favorable attitudes when queried about the way educational functions were being fulfilled at the University. This applied even to Oakland residents, who, at the time, were upset about Pitt's plans for expansion into their neighborhoods. Like the internal groups referred to earlier, a majority of the respondents gave top priority to the University functions of providing a high quality undergraduate education and to graduate and professional training. However, these choices were not as clear-cut among the five external segments, and there was more differential ranking between groups. Most significant was a high emphasis on alleviating urban problems on the part of Oakland businessmen and on providing special courses for the disadvantaged among blacks. Most of these groups, then, seemed to hold a fairly favorable image of Pitt, but there were different emphases on priorities.

The interviews showed that many community residents have very little basic understanding of the goals of the University or its structure. For example, when asked how they would communicate with the University if they felt a need, many respondents could only think of reaching the Chancellor. Many respondents also articulated a desire for more accessible channels to the University and more information about policies and plans. In general, readership respondents, then, expressed approval of the University. Those in the Oakland area, particularly, could not imagine what they would do if the University should move away. Yet, there is also at least a hint of a "fortress" institution, only dimly perceived and rather inaccessible to outside groups.

This latter, somewhat "aloof" image of the University was also entertained by some participants at the Goals Forums, particularly those who represented minority and disadvantaged groups. The University did not listen to or understand the needs of such groups, it was said, and they could not find effective ways of reaching those at Pitt who could help them. Like those in the readership survey who could only think of the Chancellor in connection with University structure, representatives of minorities and the disadvantaged had a monolithic view of the institution. Furthermore, not only these representatives, but at least a minority of others at the Forums felt that the University had sufficient monetary resources to embark on any efforts which it chose to embrace and that top University administrators had the capacity to reorder priorities at will.

Pulling the data that exist on linkages together, then, it appears that there are problematic disturbances in the external system which effect Pitt's ability to maintain its rather recently developed urban dimension. The withdrawal of federal leadership in this area and the increasing pressures of the state--after encouraging Pitt to expand enormously--for economy undoubtedly reflect public concern with inflation and rising taxes. The city, too, is progressively unwilling to allow the use of public lands on a tax-free basis. The use of the Pittsburgh area for what the Chancellor continues to call an "urban laboratory" (Report of the Chancellor, 1972) also seems to be jeopardized. Community groups, on the one hand, are protesting being used as "guinea pigs" for either student practice experiences or for research, and, on the other hand, are asking to have members of their own ranks trained for staff places in community programs which would have ordinarily fallen to students or other University personnel. Community agencies are also subject to budgetary restrictions which lead them either to preclude student placements not financed by Pitt or to assert that if they accept students, the students must serve their needs and not University requirements for "a good learning experience".

Insofar as it was possible to tap general opinion in the community, Pitt seems to have a favorable but indistinct and somewhat inaccessible image.

Summary

In this chapter, the accomplishments of the University of Pittsburgh in its efforts to implement an urban dimension have been reviewed, drawing on information from the University-Urban Interface Program research. At the same time a great deal of attention has been paid to conflict and confusion over priorities which have accompanied the new emphasis on public service. Perhaps the chapter has placed undue emphasis on problems. However, in the few short years in which the research has been carried out, the position of the University seems to have been worsening in terms of both economic support and autonomy. The University's accomplishments seem to be resting on a rather fragile base given new trends in governmental policy at federal, state, and local levels.

It should be emphasized, and corroborative evidence has been cited where possible, that Pitt is by no means alone in its position. Throughout the nation, universities have responded to demands for changes in curriculum, admissions policies, and involvement in urban problems. Throughout the nation, too, universities have experienced the same budgetary constrictions, evidently supported by the general public, at the same time that they were working to put the indicated changes into effect.

This research program, however, has been conducted at Pitt and it is this University about which the study has the most intimate knowledge. Consequently, Pitt is the focus of attention.

In this chapter, the complex nature of a large urban university has been reviewed. In part, the nature of the values of universities, and, in part, the existence of many semi-autonomous divisions, prevents the imposition of policy directives from the top. This is one of the reasons that urban involvement has found more fertile ground in some areas of the University than in others. Program data also show that internal membership groups (including alumni) still stress the traditional functions of the University. There is widespread concern that a more inclusive admissions policy and involvement with urban problems will affect academic standards and decrease faculty input into teaching and research. To the extent that budgetary constraints have increased, these concerns must be exacerbated rather than appeased. These concerns were evidently focal in a recent executive session of a Senate Council Meeting. Among the topics discussed were:*

> The current and projected conception and self-image of the University of Pittsburgh as an urban university. The meaning, scope and implications of the phrase "urban thrust" as used in reference to the missions of the University of Pittsburgh. The question of in which schools a heightened awareness of the University's location within a center of increasing population density in Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and Northeastern West Virginia would be manifested through the evolution of programmatic changes. The question of whether to aspire to excellence as the prototypical University serving a growing urban constituency detracts or distracts from an aspiration to excellence as measured by national rankings. The question of whether an urban self-image is saleable to the Legislature of the Commonwealth.

Rising costs for student tuitions, due to a decline in grants and increasing interest rates and University fees, make the University's future enrollment size uncertain. At the same time, low increments in salaries compared to other groups, a restriction of the traditional rewards accompanying academic freedom, and the insecurity of University posts due to freezes and cutbacks may both decrease faculty morale and make it more difficult to recruit able persons for such positions. The same situation applies to University administrators.

Much of the difficulty can be traced to shifts in the political systems, which initially played a large role in encouraging the universities to incorporate the urban dimension. Universities have become

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*The minutes of this meeting were reproduced in one of the University newspapers. See "Senate Council Meeting Minutes," University Times, May 24, 1973.

increasingly dependent on public support and, in consequence, increasingly vulnerable to alterations in political philosophies. Since the same political shifts have also adversely affected other institutions in the social network of the University, there is increased competition for support. There also seems to be more attention by the various organizations to salvaging what can be retained by each than to cooperative efforts on the urban scene.

In part, it seems that the universities in the nation, like Pitt, have tried to preserve a brave front and to emphasize expanding programs, curriculum change, and new directions in spite of the gradual erosion of support. Problems have been soft pedalled. Thus charges of waste in the University acquire credibility, for does it not seem always to be doing more and more on less and less? At the present time, many universities are engaged in a thorough review of their present status and prospects. The President of the American Council on Education has suggested that, in the future, universities would do well to move more slowly, in discrete steps, rather than reach for a "university-wide" response:

> The first of these is a need for developing within our institutions the mechanisms and the attitudes that nourish continuous self-renewal. Here again, I happily acknowledge a debt to John Gardner, since it was he who provided an excellent series of essays on this subject. My reading of the past decade suggests we lacked sensitivity to the early manifestations of discontent and that we tended to look for large, even total, institutional responses. The slowness of response led to the compounding of problems. The orientation to large-scale solutions also slowed the speed of reaction by requiring the involvement and participation of people who didn't feel the need for change. My hunch is that improvements in our performance and in the satisfactions we provide are more likely to come from small incremental gains than from quantum leaps. We habitually think that we satisfy the need for change by discrete events. What I am proposing is a constant posture of self-assessment and review. (Heyns, 1972:6)

The University-Urban Interface Program research indicates that this problem of pressing for "large-scale" solutions in a climate where consensus on goals was lacking also applies to Pitt. A cautionary note along these lines was introduced by an evaluation team after a site visit to the University of Pittsburgh in 1971:*

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*These remarks are taken from: Report to the Faculty, Administration, Trustees of the University of Pittsburgh, Evaluation Team representing the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association, 1971.

> The University has enunciated an intent to bring its resources to bear through teaching, research, and some intervention--to solve (or help solve) specific social ills in its immediate environment: Housing, education, poverty, discrimination, and health--among others. But the broadly phrased enunciations have opened the door to various interpretations and aroused expectations which the University may not have intended, and may be unable to fulfill.

At this writing, the University of Pittsburgh is engaged in its own systematic review, initiated by the Chancellor in July, 1972. Three task forces have been formed with participants from the Board of Trustees, University administration, faculty, students, and alumni. There will be a three-year planning process which will lead to a five-year operational plan (1975-1980) and a more general plan for the following five years (1980-1985). During Phase I of the planning period (October, 1972 through December, 1973), the University administration, a steering committee, and the task forces will concentrate on the definition of the University of Pittsburgh's missions and goals, and the forecasting of future societal needs and the parameters associated with these needs. In Phase II (January, 1974 through December, 1974) the same groups will develop an inventory of the existing programmatic activities and operations of the University, identify alternative programmatic strategies needed to accomplish the stated mission and objectives of the University, and submit a master plan to the Pennsylvania Department of Education. Phase III, the final phase (January, 1975 through June, 1975) will be dedicated to establishing priorities of activities that should be undertaken based upon the University's mission, goals, existing programs, and alternatives.

Such a broad-based University involvement, combined with a long-range planning perspective, should result in clarification of the University role and a firmer path for the future. Hopefully, some of the implications and recommendations stemming from this research which will be put forth in the next, and final, chapter will be useful to the task forces in their work.

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CHAPTER VI

GENERAL SUMMARY

GENERAL SUMMARY

During the course of the study, some more general issues evolved out of the more specific research foci which have been discussed in earlier chapters. Although these issues will not be unfamiliar to decision-makers in the University, perhaps some aspects of the situation can at least be sharpened. The University of Pittsburgh has much in common with other urban institutions of higher education though Pitt is larger and more complex than most. Hopefully the remarks and suggestions made below will be useful in this University, as well as in others, at a time when universities are feeling compelled to review their circumstances in the light of recent developments.

The Service Dimension

1. Like many universities, in recent years Pitt has made much of adding a "third priority" -- a service or urban dimension. This priority has not been clearly articulated either in and of itself or in relation to the traditional priorities of teaching and research. This problem of inadequate definition has created disturbances and misunderstandings both with publics outside the University and membership groups within. In a report to the Middle States Association from the University in 1971, the definitions offered for "public service" and "community service" imply not so much a new priority but rather shifts in the emphases of research and education:*

   ### Public Service

   The University is on the verge of a new era of public involvement, an unprecedented qualitative change resulting from a fundamental revolution in the recognition of human rights and needs. An interdisciplinary approach can integrate and direct efforts from all segments of the University community to the solution of societal problems. Studies related to population control, the effects of pollution, and mass transportation, among others, are already under way.

* These are listed among the Objectives of the University of Pittsburgh in: The Response of An Urban University to Change, Volume I, Overview, A Report to the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and SEcondary Schools, University of Pittsburgh, March, 1971.

Community Service

> An urban university must also serve the community in which it is located. It must concern itself with the education of adults and the disadvantaged. Programs in the School of General Studies, the continuing education activities of the University's other fifteen schools, the efforts of the Office of Continuing Education for Women, and recently developed programs for the economically deprived have been given high priority. The University Health Center, a consortium of six hospitals and the University, has provided health services to the tri-state area for many years.

What these paragraphs are saying is that research efforts should be more directly related to visible urban problems and that higher education should be accessible to more social groups than in the past. However, because of the emphasis on the service dimension as a new priority area, many people think of service as a community-worker or even volunteer-worker role, rather remote from educational and research objectives. Study data show a decided ambivalence about service activities as a University function. Most publics clearly allocate them to much lower priorities than research and teaching. As presently articulated, there is no solid support for the service or urban dimension. It is a controversial area exciting controversy and conflict.

Another consequence of emphasizing an ill-defined service role is that the University is accused of "using the community as guinea pigs" in connection with research and "practicing on community residents" when students are used in community placements.* Given the misunderstanding of the service role as a separate role for the University, rather than one fused with education and research, citizens become frustrated and angry when they cannot get University personnel to act immediately on what community residents perceive as their immediate needs.

It is to be hoped that universities will more carefully articulate the ways in which urban involvement is necessarily inseparable with needs for education and research, so that unrealistic expectations are not fostered. The University of Pittsburgh does not have extra resources which permit it to grant faculty and student time for community activities which do not also play an integral part in the learning process. Even if such resources were made available, it is certainly arguable whether it is a legitimate part of the mission of universities to engage in such activities. Such questions need firm resolution, and the general public should have a much clearer picture of where universities stand and what they propose to do.

While many authorities on higher education insist that urban involvement is a given, they also cite the need for clarification of the term:

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* See, for example, Lee F. Schnore, "Community", in Neil Smelser (ed), Sociology: An Introduction, New York: Wiley, 1967, Chapter 2, especially pp. 82-102.

> There really is no debate about whether institutions of higher education should be involved in the urban crisis--all the prominent people who have discussed the subject agree that they should be. The debate revolves around the manner and style of involvement and the criteria for deciding whether a given university should attempt a given project. (Nash, 1973,143-44)

Models of Institutions:

2. Study data show that a "corporate model" of the University is being fostered which is inappropriate. Many people view the university as a monolithic, hierarchically ordered system, in which priorities and resources can be reordered at will. The State, particularly, attempts to treat the University as if it were a profit-making institution, measuring its efficiency by the number of students produced per number of faculty employed. But the University's "business" is the production of knowledge, and quality rather than quantity is the key to successful attainment. As Hofstadter puts the matter:

> (The university) is suspended between its position in the external world, with all its corruption and evils and cruelties, and the splendid world of our imagination. The university does in fact perform certain mundane services of instruction and information to society--and there are those who think it should aspire to nothing more. It does in fact constitute a kind of free forum--and there are those who want to convert it primarily into a center of political action. But above these aspects of its existence stands its essential character as a center of free inquiry--a thing not to be sacrificed for anything else. A university is not a service station. Neither is it a political society, nor a meeting place for political societies. With all its limitations and failures, and they invariably are many, it is the best and most benign side of our society insofar as that society aims to cherish the human mind. (Hofstadter, 1968)

The current models of systems analysis are under-elaborated to produce a useful accounting device for universities with their many semi-autonymous divisions and diverse goals, relating to educational and research sub-specialties. An incentive could be provided to develop special models which would take these factors into consideration so that university accounting could be made on a meaningful basis. A central part of this effort would have to include developing new measures which would apply to the quality of education. Neither the traditional examinations nor the newer student evaluations have led to any satisfactory way of estimating the worth of what is being learned.

Again, it would seem that these complex matters should be aired much more thoroughly publicly. There is evidently a high degree of respect for institutions of higher education in the nation, inspite of recent disturbances and controversy. But the public does not seem well aware of the new pressures, particularly of a political nature, which are brought to bear on universities along with a shift to public support. These pressures may lead to fundamental changes in valued institutions. It seems quite possible that a frank airing of what these pressures entail would mobilize citizen support for retaining more independence for universities. The political winds of recent years have pushed universities to respond rapidly--perhaps too rapidly--to embrace new goals. Now there has been a change in the political climate, and universities are being asked to "economize" and provide proof of efficient operations with inappropriate yeardsticks.

Internal Organization

3. The internal organization of the University is so complex that it requires special techniques to supply information to encourage more cooperation and less duplication among its various parts:

> No university....is a single organization; each is rather, a collection of organizations that are separately led, separately funded, and separately inspired. The departments facilities, students, schools, institutes, centers, museums, houses, administrators and groundskeepers that together make up "the" university are quasi-independent entities that seem, as someone has observed, to be "linked today only by the steam tunnels." And within many of those entities, professors jealously guard the right to determine, without interference from above or outside, the subjects to be offered, the degrees to be conferred, and the appointments to be made. "The" university can rarely have a single purpose, or act with a single will, because "the" university does not exist. (Wilson, et al, 1971)

In connection with the Task Forces mentioned in the last chapter, Pitt is planning a new and extensive inventory of existing programs. Hopefully, this inventory will not be on a "one-shot" basis but will be regularly updated at least on a bi-yearly basis.* While providing regular, up-to-date information on what is going on in the university does not ensure cooperative action, it at least provides the essential base for such efforts.

In the last chapter, it was also suggested that some divisions in the University are more traditionally and logically involved in public service and community service. Given the lack of consensus, it might be better

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* The University-Urban Interface has submitted for examination a model for this sort of endeavor. Whether or not this particular model is accepted as appropriate, regular inventorying seems to be a must for large, complex universities.

administrative policy to encourage urban involvement where it has roots and normative support, rather than promoting a "University-wide" involvement. But there is a vital issue to be considered here in terms of whether there is currently sufficient governmental or public support for service activities as an important part of the university mission. Unless revenue-sharing changes the picture dramatically, it appears that the very schools and divisions which are the most involved are also the most vulnerable to cutbacks in funds.

An important part of the internal organization is the division of functions and allocation of responsibilities. Any model or organizational structure must change with time and conditions to remain viable. Basically this entails a deliberate system response geared to planning and action. Many forms of planning--with a sufficient degree of flexibility--can be adopted, once objectives have been established, priorities selected, responsibilities assigned, and personnel as well as other resources allocated. The central problem for the University, however, given its peculiar organizational structure, is how to manage appropriate degrees of autonomy in goal-setting and decision-making generally and still provide a communication network which unifies the whole. Former chancellor Franklin Murphy made this analogy for the University of California at Los Angeles:

> It takes a sophisticated nervous system to deal with complexity to carry the messages between differentiated organs. The university needs more and better decentralization, and it needs more and better coordination.

Universities need to work on their communication systems so that the various parts are in touch with one another without feeling threatened or coerced, and also so that external events which effect the university are transmitted to the total internal membership.

Open Access and Mass Education

4. The whole issue of who should be educated and how has to be reexamined. If "mass" education is still a desirable goal for the nation, it should not be promoted on the basis that it will necessarily lead to higher occupational status. Already, more degrees have been awarded than there are appropriate positions for in the economy. If mass education is to be encouraged for cultural goals, then it is in this light that it should be brought before the general public. Individuals can then make up their own minds whether higher education is sufficiently worthwhile in and of itself, regardless of any possible economic rewards.

A related issue is education for the disadvantaged. Many youngsters have been allowed to enter the university mainstream underprepared because insufficient resources have been allocated to special tutoring or remedial

programs to bring them up to regular university requirements. The result is that many of these students have been "flunked out", only increasing the frustration of disadvantaged groups. Others have been given special consideration which potentially cheapens the value of diplomas for all. It must be recognized that it will not be helpful to award diplomas to persons whose skills have not been measurably enhanced. If some of our high schools are not doing their job, then presumably the universities must pitch in to help make up the difference. But no student who is clearly not fully qualified should be accepted unless there are resources which provide the means to give special help needed to acquire the skills to enter regular courses if the potential is there.

In this study, it has been noted that regular qualified students are upset by more inclusive admissions policies, for it often means that courses are simplified to be generally comprehensible. Ashby has suggested that it is possible to devise means to preserve excellence while extending opportunities to the many who desire entry:

> It is the very success of universities which endangers their cohesion internally and their integrity from the outside. It does not matter much if the external structure of universities changes, or if new subjects appear in the curriculum, or if universities open their doors to a greater proportion of the age group, provided always that the thin stream of excellence on which the intellectual health of the nation ultimately depends is not contaminated. I do not believe that in our present social climate excellence can be safeguarded....by keeping mediocrity out of higher education. This is simply unrealistic. I believe that it must be safeguarded, as America is trying to do, by the peaceful coexistence of mediocrity and excellence.

So far it does not seem that this peaceful coexistence has been achieved. The dilemma is that if mediocrity is to be improved by association with excellence, then the two must be in the same classroom. And the results to date seem to indicate tension between them. It can only be suggested that some need very special attention beyond the classrooms of the regular curriculum--and some are getting it. But there is not sufficient faculty time or incentive to give this attention to all who need it at the present time.

Collaboration with Communities/Constituencies

5. Throughout the report both implicit and explicit concern for the mission of the university and the testing of its motives by external publics is apparent. This inquiring mood links with prevailing trends of social change in the late sixties including emphases on participatory

democracy and expectations of social responsibility on the part of both public and private organizations. Increased accountability on the side of institutions, including universities, seems to be demanded. But it is important that accountability should not be a one-way street, with the university on the defensive. Rather, it seems that the University should make efforts to increase its active and formal relations with other organizations and agencies in the community beyond the traditional support bases of alumni, the professions, and the well-educated. The multiplicity of actors, both corporate and individual, on the urban scene all too easily leads to conflicts of interest, suspicions, and recriminations. Other social agencies besides the universities are suffering the same funding constraints on the provision of services, for example. This is one reason that the University graduate schools are running into problems in community placements for students. The University of Pittsburgh should consider whether it cannot work with other agencies in the community more closely so that cooperation will be rewarding for all. Again, this seems to require a more careful delineation of the University's role in the community and the activities it plans to engage in. Above all, it calls for an establishment of mutual responsibility so that all partners in any given endeavor are held accountable for their share.

Academic Excellence and the Urban Dimension

6. Questions as to whether academic excellence is compatible with quality programs in an urban thrust emerge from many institutions of higher education in different forms. At Pittsburgh, direct queries have probed on whether a service emphasis is inimical to academic excellence, if declining resources mean compromises with mediocrity, and "whether to aspire to excellence as the proto-typical university serving a growing urban constituency detracts or distracts from an aspiration to excellence as measured by national rankings." In that same context, the Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh stated in response that "the quality of the institution will be reenforced by the degrees to which it is involved in social change."* Some authorities on higher education agree, but the issue remains a highly debatable one, a fact which must be recognized and frankly dealt with.

* See: "Council Bars Reporter from Executive Session," p. 1, and "Senate Council Meeting Minutes," p.7, University Times, May 24, 1973.

CHAPTER VII

UUIP: LEGACIES, LINKAGES, FUTURES

Robert Brictson

UUIP: LEGACIES, LINKAGES, FUTURES

Urbanization has been called "our challenge for the 70's" at the University of Pittsburgh. In his Annual Report for 1972 Chancellor Posvar suggests "Pitt has the potential to become the prototypical American university concerned with the problems of urbanization." This discussion will briefly outline some of the legacies of the University-Urban Interface Program, its linkages to other activities internal to the University and outside the University and, finally, suggest a tie-in to studies of education futures.

Each of the major UUIP projects is summarized as well as described in detail in individual reports. Collectively, they represent a chronology of the last few years in selective areas which should be instructive as case studies. These studies can be used within the University for classes, planning or as background data for proposals to foundations and government. In addition, they have been distributed widely through external organizations such as the Educational Research Information Center (ERIC), the Society for College and University Planning (SCUP), the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (CCHE), the American Council on Education (ACE), the American College Public Relations Association (ACPRA) and several researchers in the field. These include members of selected universities with whom we have exchanged information as well as such foundations as Richard King Mellon, Buhl and Ford. In such places the reports are parts of libraries, files and case studies available to institutions, organizations and groups seeking guidance or examples.

The ultimate legacy will be the use of reports, the introspection generated by the Program, the encouragement of further research, faculty and student involvement on a personal and professional level and secondary analysis of data. Replication of studies such as the Economic Impact of the University of Pittsburgh on the Local Economy, national recognition at professional meetings through journal publications, awards, and development of methodology which may be useful elsewhere are other benefits. Summaries, reports, presentations and information on Pittsburgh's pioneering effort will enable the University to have opportunities for further funding, particularly if such efforts are organized and coordinated. Finally, a complete set of publications will be housed in the Hillman Library Archives. Survey data will be located in the Social Science Information Center. The UUIP collection of basic references, materials and program publications will be available in the University Center for Urban Research and administrative files will be retained by the Office of the Secretary of the University.

Because of exigencies and expectations, concerns within universities are more often focused on immediate problems than on planning of a longer-range nature. Fortunately important work does occur such as that of the University Long-Range Planning Task Forces on 1) Undergraduate Extension Education, 2) Graduate Education, Research and Public Service, and 3) Organizational Structure, Budgeting and Governmental Relations. Professional organizations and foundations also regularly sponsor meetings and research.

Some institutions also share important perspectives with their sister schools such as Harvard's The University and the City or Oklahoma's The Future of the University. The utility of UUIP conclusions and recommendations will emerge over time rather than be evident immediately. Moreover, as has often been noted, case studies of this sort may be more useful elsewhere for planning and organization than in the actual institution where they are conducted. Researchers in the applied social sciences and related studies are often prophets without honor in their own land.

Some time is essential before information can be diffused. The latency of a report can be described as the time required for it to come into general use by those interested in the activities. In education, in the past, this has been said to be up to fifty years. More recently, the cycle has been cut in half. However, in the experience of government contractors and research organizations it is frequently suggested that the time from a study's completion until utilization of results is often a minimum of two to three years. The establishment and activation of adoption-diffusion networks is a complex process treated elsewhere. (e.g. Michigan's Institute for Social Research, Research for Better Schools and Iowa State University. Also, Havelock, 1969 and Maguire, 1971). As an operational definition it is likely that the process will take too long from the viewpoint of the authors. There will be resistance to suggestions for change, reform and innovation. Some traditionalists no doubt feel the process is not long enough. And others will suggest caution, urging deliberate (if any) pace, non-meddling and in effect, "Don't just do something, sit there." (Nisbet, 1972).

The salience of university activities in the field of urban problems is not uniformaly accepted. Lewis Mayhew has called the policy statement in the Carnegie Commission's The Campus and the City: Maximizing Assets and Reducing Liabilities, "conjectural." Although he describes the attempt to define the concept of an urban university one which provides recommendations

> ...among the more imaginative suggested by the Commission and, if followed, could produce a distinctly different collegiate institution. But before they are likely to gain widespread acceptance in urban-based institutions, the whole nature of the professoriat and the system of aspirations that motivate it will have to change. It is possible, of course, that the time is ripe. Still, the initial reaction to The Campus and The City does not appear to have been nearly as pronounced as ... reaction to Less Time - More Options: Education Beyond the High School. (Mayhew, 1973).

Such commentary, in a context of financial austerity, increasing accountability and concern for the selectivity required to assure excellence in higher education, gives many administrations and certainly most faculty pause in their espousal of new dimensions of service to the community. Discrepancies between the pronouncements of top administrators and the support of the senior professoriat and academic departments have been cited elsewhere. (Organization for Social and Technical Innovation, 1970). At Pittsburgh the uncertainty also is reflected in the 1972 A Study of Governance of the University of Pittsburgh by Holbert N. Carroll as well as

in studies of students, Board of Trustees, alumni, community leaders, and citizens of the surrounding community. Some of these were performed under UUIP.

A system of incentives may be necessary to encourage faculty-student involvement for community service. More concerned awareness of the importance of experiential learning in the urban environment also should be reflected in the organizational structure of the University. Elsewhere we have suggested that this structure probably should separate responsibilities among a number of functions such as sensors (e.g. ombudsman services) an operational office and planning at the immediate and longer-range levels. These in turn should be differentiated from purely academic concerns, and from research concerns which are of a coordinated nature rather than work primarily of individual professors, or that of schools moving in a developmental or proprietary fashion. This is not meant to exclude linkages and coordination which also are important, particularly in the sharing of information and focus. Inventories, which we have discussed elsewhere, also may facilitate efforts. A senior advisory board on urban relations might be established, composed of various representatives who meet periodically with the Chancellor for planning and review functions.

Both internal and external linkages are important. Some examples of internal contacts at Pittsburgh are the University Center for Urban Research; Institute for Urban and Public Affairs and Urban Affairs (Professor J. F. Robin) both in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs; the Long Range Planning Task Forces; the Accreditation Preparation Committee for Middle States Review; the University Center for International Studies; the School of General Studies; and the Institutional Research unit in the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Planning and Budgeting.

External or mixed relationships occur with the Society for College and University Planning (SCUP), the American Council on Education, the Association of Governing Boards, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, the Association of Urban Universities, membership on Federal, State, regional, local and professional society committees or groups (the Chancellor's Directorship of the Urban Affairs Committee) the Secretary of the University's liaison with Pittsburgh's Board of Trustees, educational associations and other colleges and universities. UUIP's contacts with Richard King Mellon Urban Grant Institutions, (George Washington University, MIT and the University of Southern California), the Pittsburgh regional Consortium on Higher Education (PCHE), the National League of Cities and Urban Observatory Programs, the National Institute of Education, the Foundation for Development of Post-Secondary Education, and ties with organizations such as the Allegheny Conference on Community Development through studies in Economic Impact and the Goals Project topics. (The Chancellor currently serves as Director of the Urban Affairs Committee of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, Chairman of the Pittsburgh regional Consortium on Higher Education (PCHE), is a member of the Allegheny Conference's Executive Committee and Past-President of the Pennsylvania Association for State Colleges and Universities. These offices assure us of close contact with many channels of communication.)

Many articles on educational futures have been written recently, including commentary by American Council on Education sponsored groups, the

Carnegie Commission for Higher Education and the Futurist. Opportunities exist to assume state leadership and to contribute nationally for progressive well-planned programs, such as Pitt's planning task forces which are studying future conditions as an essential determinator of goals and priorities. The National Institute of Education and other federal funding organizations also have suggested strong interest in consortia arrangements. This exists despite the rather bleak funding picture which has been referred to as "malign neglect" by the New York Times' education reporter Fred M. Hechinger in an editorial of January 1, 1973.

A study of prospective changes over the immediate future and longer term for higher education is being conducted that will spell out future societal needs, their associated parameters and implications for the University of Pittsburgh's mission. This is part of a three-phase three-year study designed to chart the course of the institution both strategically and technically for a ten-year period with built-in provisions for up-dating. Planning the ultimate role of the University of Pittsburgh in keeping with its talents and the goals of the governing bodies, Board of Trustees, the Chancellor, the Provost, the academic Senate and the students mounts a more purposeful and selective pursuit of excellence based on planning.

Another aspect of futures is follow-on contract work. The Office of Education might consider sponsoring a research study of implementation and development in the program. The National Institute of Education, as mentioned earlier, revealed a concern with the utilization of resources in higher education as well as in elementary and secondary areas. The University as a raw resource, unharnessed, and not as efficiently focused on urban problems, is a case in point. Basic research in this area would fall under their area of concern as well as that of the National Science Foundation (NSF) - Research About National Needs (RANN). Funding of a person as a change agent or catalyst who would move in "Johnny Appleseed" fashion from university to college across the country working with developmental offices and planners for urban interface activities also is possible. A cross-sectional methodology could be established and a "follow-through" program implemented. This would give a longitudinal study in process, attending to dimensions which were outgrowths of, or additions to the original interface priorities.

Another facet which might harness the develop resources is experiential learning. The expectations, utility and costs of experiential learning efforts and faculty service touch upon incentive structures for professional employees, curriculum credit standing and certificates of practice or experience. The methodology established at Pitt in surveying our own experiential learning field would be a beginning. (Sugg, 1973). It could be refined and adapted here and suggested elsewhere. Not only does this raise the social service dimension within the community but also possible local government internships on the county, regional and national level under a coordinated program with common properties offered both during regular sessions and in general studies.

Finally, each of the areas studied under the Goals Project, the Communications Project, and Minority and Community Services could be continued. For example, the process of applying University expertise

to areas such as administration of justice, health, community conflict and metropolitics are clearly pertinent and ongoing issues. Similarly, constituencies have expectations of the University, not only in its embedding environment - the community where it is located - but also in the State House, the Legislature and among alumni, graduates and professional groups within the area served by the institution. As an outgrowth of one project, the Student Consultant Study, ways in which the effort might be improved and incorporated with a school could be analyzed. Such services to the community are part of an experiential learning mosaic which touches on many departments in varied fields.

Funded by the State Legislature, Hawaii's Governor John Burns convened a 1970 Conference on the Year 2000 in conjunction with citizen planning groups at the University's East West Center. Prominent scientists from around the world and some from the states met to delineate issues, formulate plans and stimulate public, professional and institutional interest in preparing imaginatively for the future. Ten statewide task forces with broad community representation prepared reports that were evaluated during the Hawaii 2000 Conference. Results will be published in a book edited by Chairman George Chaplain and Advisor James Dator. (Dator, 1970). Work on the States future continued after the meeting through a nine-member commission named by the Governor. The results were widely published and led to many accolades. Pitt might consider such an undertaking sponsored by foundations that would actively encourage involvement by leaders concerned, such as those we have queried in our Goals Project. Tapping the energies of organizations such as the Allegheny Conference and others in collectively seeking a "social renaissance" in the region might forge bonds of cooperation among universities, government, business, labor and the citizenry. Hence, master planning and implementation might be a function of a true assembly of citizen talent focusing on a period and problem of urgent concern without much immediate threat. Other local leaders and particularly experts in substantive fields such as urban renewal, government, justice or transportation could hold inaugural planning meetings and simultaneously schedule subsequent workshops which might lead to legislative proposals. Nehnevajsa's Pittsburgh Goals and Futures documents the salience of social issues among Pittsburgh leaders as well as their views of importance, likelihood and desirability of change in the next five years. The Forum's discussions also provide provocative fare for proposal topics.

The success of UUIP's Economic Impact Study in the program management category of the American College Public Relation Association's 1973 National Honors Competition offers an instructive example of what cooperation and support can do. The case study was honored by being selected for the highest award - a Certificate of Exceptional Achievement accompanied by an Unrestricted Incentive Grant from the Ford Motor Company Fund. The entry was one of five in this top category and was selected from a field of approximately 1,500 applications. Case studies are michrofiched and available to other colleges and institutions throughout the country. They represent another way of disseminating information. Yet even before the award hundreds of inquiries had been received, one workshop for fifteen major universities was held and the reports were widely distributed. The University Office of Public Affairs sponsored an extensive distribution and The Chancellor's Annual Report - 1971 summarizes the principal analyses and findings.

One way of measuring, evaluating and ultimately planning social responsibility of institutions is to analyze systematically areas which have been relatively unexplored. Economic impact of urban universities provides such an issue. As part of the University Urban Interface Program at Pittsburgh we sought to define images of the University and in this case to convey one important facet of the public affairs mosaic of a major urban University-Economic Impact.

Our primary aim was to articulate the case of the University of Pittsburgh using prototype methods that could be repeated for ultimate trend analysis. Related goals were to disseminate results for use by other institutions, to leave a legacy at Pittsburgh by incorporating the process into ongoing administration and to test and refine the methods used.

In an era of increasing accountability of public institutions and more austere budgets, higher education as well as other organizations must anticipate and welcome scrutiny of records. Whatever the motives, enlightened self-interest, social concern, or good management, the need for more searching analysis is not in doubt.

In some sense if institutions do not do it for themselves, others will do it to them. The implications for improved record keeping, further development of social indicators of the quality of life and the delineation of intangible benefits represent a compelling challenge. Services must certainly be compatible with traditional University objectives of teaching and research. The opportunity to be a model citizen, neighbor, and corporate member of the community also is implicit. In a small way such a study provides university policy makers and many constituencies with information for planning and encourages more flexible responses in a changing society. The chronology below presents the Project's highlights.

The Chancellor of the University encouraged, supported and participated strongly in the effort. This was true from inception through suggestions and revision of content to briefings for the press and top administrators. Internal and external advisory groups also facilitated collection and analysis of data. Moreover, they provided valuable suggestions on the Project's parameters.

Responsibility for periodic updating and improvement of the effort was assigned to the Vice Chancellor for Planning and Budget. When the University's prototype study is scheduled and work is completed, trend analysis will be possible. They should provide information for improved planning and greater efficiency in addition to better guidelines for other institutions.

Finally, on the basis of the Pittsburgh experience the Systems Research Group consultants have undertaken an Economic Impact Study of Boston Area Universities which is scheduled for completion in October of 1973. Member institutions are Boston College, Boston University, Brandeis, Harvard, M.I.T., Northeastern, Tufts and University of Massachusetts at Boston. More work also is being done on the topic in the Pittsburgh Council of Higher Education, a six-school consortium. Graduate Students in the Economics, Public Affairs and Higher Education at the University of Pittsburgh are working on refinements.

Any such pioneering accomplishment leaves room for improvement in format, coverage and methodology. Hopefully, the University will remain a leader in this field, but it is eager for improved techniques and gratified by emulation and inquiry.

CHRONOLOGY

April, 1970	University-Urban Interface Program Phase I
August, 1970	Delineation of Economic Impact Study as Possible Project
February, 1971	Information received on forthcoming publication of American Council on Education report on Estimating the Impact of a College or University on the Local Economy, by John Caffrey and Herbert H. Isaacs.
April, 1971	Discussion with John Caffrey, co-author and President of Educational Systems Research Group for joint possible prototype venture.
June, 1971	Contract negotiations and approval.
June, 1972	Production of Methodological Appendix.
June - December, 1972	Response to inquiry, continued distribution.
August, 1972	Preparation of Paper Urban University Economic Impact: A Prototype Case Study in Pittsburgh.
July, 1971	Formation of Advisory Committees - External and Internal.
Fall, 1971	Data Collection - Planned delay to acquire latest fiscal year data.
Winter, 1972	Data Collection and Analysis
January, 1972	Workshop on Measuring the Impacts of a College or University on the Local Economy - 15 Institutions Participate.
February, 1972	Review of Draft of report.
March, 1972	Publication of Report of the Chancellor 1971 featuring summary of report.
April 21, 1972	Formal release of Study. (1) Chancellor's Press Conference. (2) Chancellor's Briefing for Board of Trustees, Faculty, and Administration (Vice Chancellors, Deans, Directors, Department Heads). (3) Confidential discussion with Senior University Administrators and Chancellor's Staff on study implications for internal management. (4) Meeting with Vice Chancellors for Planning and Budgeting and Operations. Directors of Study share insights to assure effective replication in future.
Spring, 1972	Distribution of Report
May, 1972	Organization of Files.

Last, but not least, the UUIP collection of materials, data and references may well serve as a basic resource and offer new insights from secondary analysis for the Planning Task Forces of the University as well as use in classes in urban affairs, management, institution building and other fields. The staff and associates of the Program will continue to publish documents and to serve as consultants. The University of Pittsburgh, cognizant of its opportunity for introspection, analysis and planning, has offered some of its experiences to others and should enhance its own purposefulness and efficiency as one result of these efforts.

Energizing Incentive - One Example

In order to encourage some of the proclivities of faculty, students and administrators to become involved in urban issues, a systematic scheduling of incentives, or means of recognition, appears warranted. In some small measure, such incentives may provide a facilitative environment, serving as catalysts that involve persons and groups in urban issues. For a relatively modest budget a well-articulated inaugural program can be structured and expanded as appropriate in succeeding years. Progress and accomplishments would be regularly covered in the yearly reports of the Chancellor.

Some possible other benefits are: It would foster innovation, apply energies, freely circulate ideas, attract external support, sharpen and improve existing programs. Through evaluation using established criteria superior efforts could be recognized. Both design and evaluation of programs would improve and priorities for support of quality programs might be further refined and systematized. Some breakthrough technology or pioneering ideas might possibly develop that would enhance curriculum, research or service within the University.

Some estimate that one million dollars is required to permanently endow a special University chair, such as a Professor of Urban Studies. For approximately ten thousand dollars annually from discretionary funds of the Chancellor's office or Provost, a constellation of activities could be initiated that give strong evidence of our avowed urban thrust, provide a bridge to interested community groups, inspire the energies of concerned faculty and students, encourage multi-community participation from citizens, government and high school or elementary school students, yet be compatible with the basic institutional mission of teaching, research and service or with any new objectives that may evolve.

For this modest $10,000 budget an array of activities could be sponsored that might include: (1) The Chancellor's Annual Lecture on Urban Issues (stipend - $1,000), (2) Provost's Awards to faculty for Curriculum Innovation in Urban Studies, (Five awards of $200 annually for plan or practice - $1,000), (3) Student Government or media (e.g. Pitt News) sponsored Essay or Project Awards for the best high school efforts on urban issues in Pittsburgh ($500 - Grand Prize, five runner-up prizes of $100 each). Similar awards for urban art or essays by elementary school students could be arranged, (4) University Awards for essays by Pitt students on urban issues (16 - $200 awards to each of the sixteen schools of the University, i.e. Arts and Sciences, the Health Professions, School of General Studies; ($200 x 16 = $3,200 plus $1,000 grand prize and $500 runner-up = $4,700).

The Mayor or City Council might be persuaded to offer a prize on city problems. The Chancellor also might consider sponsoring an annual forum on urban issues. Ultimately, the Harrisburg Legislature, the Governor, alumni, local foundations, other philanthropic donors, or the Federal government might be persuaded to sponsor such incentive programs. They would begin modestly, and expand thereafter to some manageable number. The topics could be categorized and evaluated according to social, technological, government, economic categories or follow special priorities with appropriate themes selected annually based on such studies as those of UUIP's Pittsburgh Goals and Futures. For example, the four themes of the Urban University Center for Urban Research, i.e. social integration of the urban environment, allocation of individuals and resources within the urban area, power and conflict relations in an urban environment, and an assessment of the performance of various urban institutions are possible issues.

Such a program would have a pump-priming character, involve multiple sources of support, encourage students, faculty, to become involved. It would transcend proprietary departmental prerogatives and provide a healthy competition leading to increased University pride and recognition either through specific cash honoraria, or possible scholarships in lieu of money.

All constituencies, including the community, could be included in a review board that might be formed from those involved in the current University-Urban Interface Research Advisory Council. Perhaps, a group could be formed of the Policy Board or UCUR or a special group appointed to specifically adjudge entries as assisted by members of the University Times, technical liaison experts in various schools and the Pitt News or, possible, the media of the city.

Proprietary feelings hopefully would be supplanted by an air of goodwill and commonality of purpose. Organizations such as the Southwest Regional Planning Commission, the Allegheny Conference and the Regional Commission of Pennsylvania might be encouraged to sponsor certain items or be involved in the appraisal process. Similarly, the state-related universities could embark, through the Governor's Office of Education, on comparable enterprises. This would leave a positive legacy, elicit helpful suggestions and provide recognition for those whose energies have been applied to the important urban thrust of the University of Pittsburgh. Local foundations ultimately might seek to endow certain aspects on a protracted basis. The relationship of such activities to development fund work and recruiting also is apparent. In general, the energizing of incentive and direction of talent is conceptually more important than the subjects or format per se.

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CHAPTER VIII

SOME GOVERNANCE GUIDELINES FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Robert Brictson

Some Governance Guidelines for Community Relations

Basic Issues and Guidelines

The Character of American higher educational institutions stems from the origins of universities generally. The English university was seen as a transmitter of culture, the German university as a producer of knowledge and through its land-grant heritage the American university provided service to the state. In the American multiversity these three functions coalesce. (Kerr, 1973)

On this same theme, George Nash suggests four areas as possible university involvement in urban community and minority affairs. First, the university can be involved as an educator through special admissions, a more relevant urban-centered curriculum, education for public officials and technicians, continuing or extension education and education of para-professionals and hard-core unemployed. Second, the university may serve roles as a neighbor and citizen. Third, a more traditional service role is doing research on the urban crises. Fourth, the institution can provide an example or model for other groups or institutions through its urban activities. (Nash,1972)

A list of twenty possible types of institutional activity directed at the urban crisis has been gleaned from a survey of approximately 400 urban universities and colleges. The items most high correlated with other types of involvement were (1) the presence of an urban administrator, (2) an urban center, (3) a goal of increasing minority members of faculty and administration and (4) developing an inventory of ongoing activities on the urban scene. Moreover, large public institutions were likely to be more involved than small, private institutions.*

In any categorization of possible university involvement in community public service authorities are likely to suggest dilemmas, contradictions, paradoxes, caveats or reasons for hindrance. Nash is no exception in his outline of fifteen dilemmas and contradictions which entail: (1) problems related to the nature of the social sciences; (2) problems related to black and white relations, (e.g. (a) urban and black don't necessarily encompass each other, (b) selection of a single black to head a program is not a solution of all black problems at the institution, (c) establishment of a few new programs for black students and the community does not assure the environment will be a good place for blacks because institutional racism may still exist.); (3) problems of funding; and (4) other types of dilemmas and contradictions. (Nash,1973)

*See Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, The Campus and The City: Maximizing Assets and Reducing Liabilities, McGraw-Hill, December, 1972. Appendix F pp. 177-88.

Among other things there probably must be involvement of administrative, academic, and public service units of the university as well as students and external relations operations. One cannot be prescriptive about specific forms of organization. However, some division of function or labor is essential to make the tasks manageable. This decentralization should not preclude centralized policy making. Certainly, the city, regional and state government and planning groups as well as leaders must be involved in some manner. A program in academia could include curriculum, special education activities and research priorities. Perhaps, this might be done through UCUR. A service organiation such as OUCS should certainly be linked to some kind of ombudsman function which has been established at other universities such as Michigan State, Wayne State, California, etc. Obviously, a program multifaceted enough to allow differentiation and to avoid problems implicit in lumping all functions within one structure is warranted.

The guidelines and caveats offered by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in The Campus and the City are instructive. The guidelines they suggest are: No institution can do everything everybody wants. Service should be related only to teaching and research. Institutional integrity and essential independence must be preserved. Do what the school does best, not what other institutions can do better. Avaoid protecting from dominance by political/economic/social groups. Accompanying caveats are: Knowledge alone is not enough. The University is not always the best qualified organization or institution. The university is better a birthplace for ideas than a battlefield.

In addition, they suggest that other constraints may cause hesitance. The university-urban interface is a difficult meld of polaristic, anarchic, autonomous organizational units focusing on varied activities. There are countervailing trends in this time of urban crises. One stricture that higher educational institutions must specialize in functions and simplify is balanced by a comcomitant siren call for greater aggregation of function, system-wide applications, aggrandizement and increasing complexity. The university also can be made a hostage to social peace. Increasing resource requirements for time and money in an era of austerity and intensive consolidation seem paradoxical.* Additional costs incur greater risks and inspire more stringent accountability. Demands for instant social action and results from universities seems inappropriate. To date they have been a marginal resource for the urban crises with traditional and more protracted concerns. Involvement may engender conflict on campus. Little insulation from political/economic interests is likely. Encroachment on legislative or community leader's prerogatives without responsibility or authority allocated to the institution can be dangerous. Yet, as in the standard admonition offered to brainstormers, the first concern should focus on what innovations might be possible. Only later should the limitations or dangers of new approaches be spelled out.

*See Earl F. Cheit, "Coming of Middle Age in Higher Education", speech before a joint session of National Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and the Association of State Colleges and Universities, Washington, D.C., November 13, 1972, and The New Depression in Higher Education: A Study of Financial Conditions at forty-one colleges and universities. McGraw-Hill, 1971.

An American Council on Education pamphlet on guidelines includes a summary check list of eight items for planning and objectives in institutional self-study which considers: (1) executive leadership, (2) a favorable campus climate, (3) inventory of urban programs, (4) initiation of study by the chief executive's formal call to action, (5) provision for a participation of faculty, administration, students, city government and community, (6) adequate organization with provision for effective leadership, committees, task forces and budget; (7) reasonable and definite target dates for completion, (8) delimitation of study scope within reasonable bounds. In addition, suggestions are offered on objectives, organization and administration, curriculum and instruction, community involvement, the institution as a corporation, research, facilities, costs and other variables. (Jenkins, 1971 p.p. 16-20).

John Harris has described "Sixteen Paradoxes in Federal Urban Programs" based on his experience in regional seminars related to social planning for Model Cities programs. Some of these concerns germane to urban interface are the lack of jurisdiction, uncertainty of boundaries, competing priorities, urgency, types of planning options, kinds of personnel and other institution-building variables. Briefly, these paradoxes, whose provocative titles are somewhat self-explanatory, are (1) "Politicians" versus Responsible Elected Officials; (2) No Data versus "Studied to Death"; (3) State-of-the-Art versus Legislative Lag; (4) The Mandatory versus the Optional; (5) Wait, Wait versus Hurry Up; (6) Think Big versus Fund Little; (7) Service versus Advocacy; (8) The Urgency of Climate versus the Pedestrian Cycle of Grants; (9) The Indigenes versus the Professionals; (10) Urban Ecology versus Agency Parochialism; (11) Budget Cycles versus Spending Cycles; (12) Management Capability versus Numbers of Programs; (13) Short-versus Long-Range Planning; (14) Employment versus Leisure; (15) Expertise for Planners versus Expertise for Citizens; (16)The "Nitty-Gritty" versus the "Willy-Nilly".*

The institution-building perspective itself offers an implicit process model of establishing an interface. This implicit model is made explicit in Nehnevajsa's discussion of the design and evaluative cycles (Nehnevajsa,1972) ** However, succinctly put, it entails the variables; specified goals,based on ideological doctrine (i.e. objectives), programs, leadership, personnel, resources, organization or internal structure, and linkages (i.e. enabling, functional, normative, diffuse). Notice the sharp similarity between this list and the process-oriented guidelines offered by Jenkins. In essence, some statement of objectives must be established. It must be articulated well enough to provide a structure, identify a process, establish some content, elicit support from one or more sources, have an implementation plan which incorporates feedback to allow revision, updating, evaluation and improvement.

*John K. Harris "Report to Regional Seminars on Integrating Health and Related Social Planning into Model Cities Planning". System Development of Falls Church, Virginia ca. 1969 pp. 47-49.

**Jiri Nehnevajsa "Methodological Issues In Institution Building Research", in J. W. Eaton, Institution Building and Development; From Concepts to Application. Sage Publications, 1972 pp.73-76.

The Carnegie Commission attacks a "task of highest priority", suggesting how to improve both higher education in the nation's urban areas and the capabilities of urban colleges and universities to serve urban needs. The Campus and the City is a brief but stimulating discussion of a formidable array of issues which highlights the interdependence of American higher education and the crisis of American cities. The need is urgent, but unlike the land-grant colleges' contributions to rural areas, no comparable technological breakthroughs exist to improve quality of life on the urban scene.

The report aims:

> to examine the various roles of American colleges and universities, to suggest those ways in which they might positively affect the urban situation and to caution against those actions that are likely to exacerbate the situation.

Sections are devoted to types of institutions, a number of spaces, open admission, remedial work, curriculum and program innovations, urban studies, research, public service, impact on city life, governance for urban affairs, postsecondary education organization, role of federal, state and local governments and sources of support. Nine appendices provide somewhat dated data derived from surveys or analyses of enrollment in metropolitan areas, estimated needs, activities of almost 400 urban schools, city/state government perspectives of higher education, financing of two-year public colleges and a bibliography.

A framework for planning and speculation is presented. Selectivity is urged because

> each institution must define and examine its own urban activities in the context of the combined activities of colleges and universities in the metropolitan area, the special needs of the area, and its own general institutional mission.

Such roles as educator, creator of knowledge, provider of public service, and corporate member of the community are identified. In addition, primary mission and responsibilities are delineated for two-year community colleges, comprehensive colleges, universities as well as city, county, state and federal government.

Such an agenda is ambitious. It occurs in a context of rising expectations of many constituencies, increasing accountability, and even a "new depression in higher education" which projects at best a fragile stability. Attempts to maximize assets and minimize liabilities raise the paradox that a public service dimension may require proliferation of activities whereas the budget demands consolidation. However, the study does offer provocative options, itemizes many constraints or caveats and cites brief examples that should lead to more intensive analyses. Although anecdotal cases are sketchy, some original sources are listed and a sponsored research volume will follow.

With declining enrollment and competition for scarce resources, numerical assumptions should be reviewed about the need for 80-125 new community colleges, 60-70 four-year colleges and the ratios of 2.5 per 100 population and one-third of total spaces for open access. The underlying premise is that all students should have the option of post-secondary education. Concepts such as community learning pavilions, urban advisory councils in government and institutions, a vice chancellor for urban affairs, affirmative action hiring and substantial ten-year, experimental grants to ten selected schools have special merit.

On balance, the report should key good general discussion of issues, strategies and obstacles. To slalom successfully through a course of divided internal interests, proprietary inter-institutional goals, a welter of governmental restrictions and politicization -- not to speak of citizen expectations -- will require explicit objectives and flexible tactics tailored to particular conditions.

At Pittsburgh, Marcia Landy, President of the Senate, has said:

> I see a Senate activity begun this year, as examining the problems of governance, taking a look at itself to evaluate and strengthen its decision-making capacities, undertaking a careful scrutiny of University planning in relation to priorities which will help to clarify the role of a major university in the coming decade. The President of the Senate can act in a very significant way to keep the university infomed in educational and governance matters, to insure that the Senate members feel that they have an active voice in the decisions taken by the University.*

Reference to participation of many constituencies in university decision making occurs not only in the Carroll report on Governance, in ouw own studies and other references, but also in the Carnegie Commission's governance study on six selected issues of immediate urgency: (1) adequate provision for institutional independence, (2) the role of the board of trustees and of the president, (3) collective bargaining by faculty members, (4) rules and practices governing tenure, (5) student influence on the campus, and (6) the handling of emergencies.

Increasing attention on accountability, also is seen in the Pennsylvania Snyder Amendment, a request for productivity measures of faculty performance. Some reporting categories and productivity measurements have been explored at Pittsburgh using National Science Foundation

*On a Senate meeting on June 1, 1973, new By-Laws for the University and governance were discussed. No consensus was reached and the topic will be raised again at the next meeting.

criteria.* They include: teaching, research, teaching-research, creative activity in art and scholarship, teaching through creative activity in art and scholarship, public service, administration, formal personal education, intra-university activities, other outside activities (excluding public service). A proposed accounting structure for the ouputs of higher education also is provided but the measurement of productivity and credit for service remains controversial.

One might also cite a convergence between the intended aim of the Paul Kellogg -- Russell Sage Foundation Pittsburgh Survey of 1909 and the current Urban Observatory Program, as well as other urban activity programs. Inspired by Charles Booth's studies in London, the Pittsburgh Survey was a systematic, consistent application to a large city. Unlike other studies, it was not reportorial or polemic. The city was seen as a clinical laboratory; it was viewed as an ongoing process, changing, transforming within a basic geographic unit. Kellog used a structure borrowed from a casework method, graphic portrayal and a narrative form. His five basic objectives were: (1) Bring experts together with locals to determine the city's social needs; (2) Discern needs in relation to one another for the city as a whole; then extrapolate to societal and civic responsibility; (3) Consider industrial and civic conditions concurrently, seeing an interplay between them; (4) Reduce conditions to household and individual experiences; (5) Devise graphic methodologies to make findings clear and unmistakable.

Similar concerns in the three objectives of Urban Observatory approach are described:

1. It seeks to develop a reservoir of comparable, reliable data of general application to the nation's cities in their efforts to resolve the ills that now beset urban America.

2. It endeavors to address the research needs of city executives and administrators.

3. It attempts to build a set of institutional relationships between local public officials and local universities and colleges to help develop and improve public policy and governmental action on urban problems. (Williams, 1972)

Point one of the Pittsburgh Survey and the third Urban Observatory objective are clearly reflected in the UUIP Community-University Goals Forums specifically and in the Long Range Goals Project generally.

*(Cited in Alex Ducanis' memo of October 4, 1971).

(Kerr, 1973) - Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University, Harvard University Press, 1963.

(Jenkins, 1971) - Martin Jenkins "Guidelines for Institutional Self-Study of Involvement in Urban Affairs.

(Nash, 1972) - George Nash - The "Dimensions and the Dilemmas of University Involvement in Urban Affairs", March, 1972,unpublished manuscript presented to American Educational Research Association Symposium - Chicago, Ill.

(Nash, 1973) - George Nash, The University and the City: Eight Cases of Involvement. McGraw-Hill, 1973.

(Williams,1972) - Lawrence A. Williams, University Urban Research Centers 1972 - The Urban Institute - "The Urban Observatory Network"-pp. XIX

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

1. History.

Although the University of Pittsburgh claims 1787 as its founding date it was only in recent years that it presumed to be anything more than a local and somewhat parochial commuter college. In 1955, however, the placid pace and untroubled stance at Pitt began to give way before a spirit of dramatic and far-reaching change. This was at a time when the "Pittsburgh Renaissance" was determinedly reshaping and upgrading the downtown business area. Now the University's Board of Trustees (which included some of the nation's wealthiest men who were the main backers of the "renaissance) announced new goals which, when realized, would "place the University of Pittsburgh among the leaders of the world's great universities."

The man selected by the trustees to provide over this transformation was Edward H. Litchfield, then dean of Cornell University's School of Business and Public Administration, active on the boards of several large corporations, president of the Governmental Affairs Institute in Washington, and executive director of the American Political Science Association. With Litchfield's appointment as Chancellor there began a decade of change, expansion and innovation at the University which is now referred to, in retrospect, as the "Litchfield Era."

This era ended rather abruptly in 1965. It was an era that had not exactly created another "leader among the world's great universities"out of a commuter college. It had, however, elevated the university's admission standards, doubled its faculty and tripled its physical plant. The university had become "good" in many departments, at least "very good" in others, and had attracted both prestigeous faculty and promising graduate students. It had also accumulated nearly $20 million in deficits and had been, at least temporarily, disowned by the power structure that had both declared and endorsed its aspirations.*

The financial crisis of 1965 forced the University to seek aid from the state legislature. In 1966 Pitt became one of Pennsylvania's three large state related private universities. A state-related status means that although the University remains under private control it must give the State minority representation on its Board of Trustees. In return, the State subsidizes a low tuition for Pennsylvania residents and underwrites a portion of the overhead expenses of the University. In 1972 state support accounted for approximately 30% of the University's income.

State-related status has placed several other responsibilities --both explicit and implied--upon the University of Pittsburgh. One explicit

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* For a more complete account, see D.S. Greenberg, "Pittsburgh: The Rocky Road to Academic Excellence," Science, Vol. 151, February, 1966.

responsibility is that of increasing the proportion of students enrolled in its upperclass undergraduate, graduate and professional programs. An implicit added responsibility is to serve not only those who enroll in these programs but also the community and the people of the Commonwealth. Thus, while Chancellor Wesley W. Posvar, in his Report of the Chancellor for 1972, pledges that there will be no shift in emphasis from fundamental scholarship to more applied "service-oriented" activities, he calls for the addition of an "urban dimension to the intellectually rigorous, high-quality approaches of traditional scholarship."

The body of this report is a description, analysis and evaluation of some of the University's efforts in this dimension.

2. Enrollment

The University's enrollment in Fall 1971-72 was 31,708, of which approximately half (15,263) represented full-time undergraduates. Of the balance, 6,876 were part-time undergraduates, 5,044 were full-time post-baccalaureate students, and 4,525 were part-time post-baccalaureates. Student's at Pitt's regional campuses accounted for 2,931 of the full-time undergraduate total and 1,249 of the part-time undergraduate total. All graduate students were registered at the main (Oakland) campus.

These figures compare with a total enrollment of approximately 17,500 in 1965-66, the year before Pitt became a state-related institution. The estimated enrollment for 1972-73 is down slightly from the 1971-72 peak, reflecting a national trend.

Degrees conferred in the year ending June 30,1972 totaled 6,879, of which slightly better than half (3,608) were bachelor degrees. There were 2,526 Masters degrees conferred, 372 First Professional degrees (Dental Medicine, Law, Medicine) and 373 Doctorates.

3. Administration

The thirty-six-member Board of Trustees is composed of twelve Commonwealth appointees and twenty-four elected members. Four ex-officio members include the Chancellor of the University, the Governor of the Commonwealth, the Secretary of Education of the Commonwealth, and the Mayor of the City of Pittsburgh.

The Chancellor is assisted by the Provost, the chief academic officer of the University, and by four Vice Chancellors responsible for the Health Professions, Finance, Student Affairs, and Program Development and Public Affairs.

The major academic units of the University, with the exception of those in the Health Professions, fall within the purview of the office of the Provost. These include the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and its undergraduate College; the schools of Engineering, Education, Law, Social Work and General Studies; the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Business, and Library and Information Sciences; the University's

Regional Campuses at Johnstown, Greensburg, Titusville, and Bradford; and a number of University Centers and Divisions, including the University Center for International Studies, the Learning Research and Development Center, the University Center for Urban Research, University-Community Educational Programs, and the Inter-disciplinary Program in Information Science.

University libraries, the Computer Center, and the Knowledge Availabilities Systems Center, which also report to the Provost, are under the supervision of the Director of Communications Programs. The University Press is under the administrative direction of the Vice Chancellor for Public Affairs.

The Director of Athletics and the Dean of Student Affairs report directly to the Chancellor.

The Office of the Vice Chancellor for the Health Professions is responsible for the University's six Schools of the Health Professions--Dental Medicine, Medicine, Nursing, Pharmacy, Health-Related Professions, and the Graduate School of Public Health.

The Office also coordinates the educational programs of the University with the delivery of health care services in the University Health Center of Pittsburgh. The University Health Center is a separate corporation composed of Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh, Magee-Women's Hospital, Montefiore Hospital, Presbyterian-University Hospital, and the University of Pittsburgh. The faculties of the Schools of the Health Professions constitute the professional staffs of these hospitals. The Vice Chancellor serves as president and chief administrative officer of the University Health Center and the Associate Vice Chancellor serves as its secretary.

In addition, the University has affiliation agreements for clinical teaching in the Veterans Administration Hospital, Mercy Hospital, West Penn Hospital, and Allegheny General Hospital. Western Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, a comprehensive psychiatric facility, functions as an integral part of the University and is also administered through the office of the Vice Chancellor for the Health Professions.

APPENDIX B

The Use of the Institution-Building Model for University-Urban Interface Research

An overall research framework was deemed necessary for the UUIP research in order to compare findings across program areas and to pull the many pieces of separate research projects into an integrated whole.

The UUIP research staff's decision to use the institution-building framework was based on three major assets of the model. (]) The assumptions and theorems underlying the model are compatible with the philosophy of the University-Urban Interface Program. (2) The variables focused upon in the model are of a universal nature and can be applied to the varied projects which UUIP was assessing. And (3), several of the original developers of the institution-building model are associated with the University of Pittsburgh and were available for consultation.

The Assumptions of the Institution-Building Model

An institution, such as the University of Pittsburgh, is established to fulfill needs of a society. When an institution no longer fulfills the needs adequately or is challenged to fulfill additional needs not heretofore undertaken, new ways or innovations are developed to meet those needs. How the University can respond to the demands for more involvement in the plight of the city was the subject of UUIP research. Although there were many demands for leadership roles for University involvement, the majority seemed to feel the University should work with the community not for the community. This is the explicit philosophy behind the I-B model.

> This concept of development assis. represents a clear-cut break with the concept of charity which involves a quite different approach to help-giving.Charity was a strong element in the precursors of modern development administration - the missionaries. Many of them went abroad primarily to do good deeds, while meeting their need to save the souls of persons whom they regarded as less fortunate... ...in return for acceptance of their creed, missionaries were willing to give gifts in resources, skills, ...Mpdern aid ...is given to a social system.....by development of new organizations which can perform innovative functions affect- many people. (Eaton,1972:]39)

In UUIP research efforts, the University is viewed as a resource rather than a charitable organization.

Innovative efforts can be developed within the existing institution or planned outside of the institution. These innovative activities may become passing fads or may be "institutionized", either in the form of some new organization or as a routine way of operating within the parent institution. The institution-building (I-B) model focuses on the elements of organizational process that must be considered when introducing a planned change into a system.

> While I-B is not a universal model of social change, it does apply to innumerable situations in contemporary societies in which (]) change agents, usually enjoying some measure of offical sponsorship...impress their goals .....on society; (2) ....the proposed innovation must be induced ...not coerced; (3) formal organizations are employed as the media or vehicles through which change agents develop the technical capacities and the normative commitment needed to guide, sustain, and protect the intended innovations. (Esman in Eaton, 1972:25)

The model has been largely applied to change in underdeveloped countries. However, the generic nature of the major variables of the model make it a useful model for the guidarce or study of more established institutions. This use of the model has, to the present, been largely untapped. The model also has been considered more for guidance of social planners and practitioners of change rather than those standing apart to monitor an attempted change. The UUIP research staff decided, however, that the utility of the model in , at the least, aiding the systematizing of copious data being amassed in its project could outweigh the lack of experience in using the model to analyze induced change in an established American institution and for purely research purposes.

> A principle theorem of institution building is that new service programs are most likely to become adopted .... when they are a part of an organized or patterned way of doing things ....(Eaton, 1972:]39)

This institutionalization aspect of planned innovations was of particular interest to the UUIP research focus, and led to application of the I-B model as a framework for the project. Some of the research questions were (]) what kind of innovative programs introduced within the University became a part o$_{f}$ accepted University patterns of activity; (2) what appears to make the difference in the success or failure of a project; (3) and what is the relationship between a university-based project and the community with which it interacts?

Nehnevajsa gives the following tests of institutionality: (Eaton, 1972:14)

> (1) An organization's ability to survive.
>
> (2) Extent to which an innovative organization comes to be viewed by its environment to have intrinsic value, to be measured operationally be such indices as its degree of autonomy and its influence on other institutions.
>
> (3) The extent to which an innovative pattern in the new organization becomes normative for other social units in the larger social system.

None of the innovative programs which were studied by UUIP had specifically set out to use the I-B model as a guide for organization building. The use of the I-B model for UUIP research, then, becomes one of applying the concepts for an analysis of the programs, apart from any role in the implementation of those programs.

The Variables of the Model

The model focuses on seven basic issues in the development of an institution: the goals and doctrines; the programs; leadership; personnel; resources; organization or internal structure; and linkages with the external environment.* Each of these issues is viewed from three perspectives or mappings. The "blueprint" mapping focuses on the plans as stated in organization charts, budgets, program specifications, or stated goals. The second mapping, operations, calls for data concerning what is actually happening as the attempt is made to carry out the blueprints. The third focus is "image" mapping, which looks at the perceptions that relevant constituencies have about the seven issues. The emphasis on the three mappings make the I-B model especially useful for UUIP research because the purpose was to find out not only what the University is doing in terms of university-community relations, but how people perceive that university action.

*There are several variations of the institution-building model and most of the recent discussions subsume "personnel" under resources or internal structure. However, UUIP research found it more useful to consider personnel as a separate issue.

Institution-Building Variables

	Blueprint or Normative Mapping	Actual Operating Mapping	Image Mapping
Goals and Doctrine			
Programs			
Leadership			
Personnel			
Resources			
Organization or Internal Structure			
Linkages			

The first six variables call for data concerning the properties of the program which is the target of the investigation. Each of these six variables call for three types of mapping. The UUIP staff formulated work sheets which facilitated keeping track of data relevant to each cell of the variable matrix and the time period of a particular state of any of these variables. (see next page)

The first row deals with data about the goals and doctrine of the innovative programs. This data for the blueprint mapping was usually available through the goal specifications stated in a funding proposal or in a brochure or other official hand-out paper which gave the purpose of the organization. These same documents also usually yielded staements which gave clues as to the ideology supporting the program. The cell calling for "actual goal" was used for information about aspects of the goal being implemented as indicated by resource allocation, statements by program implementors, or in progress reports. The images of the goal were assessed by interviews of persons both within and outside of the program.

The leadership of a program has been shown to be crucial in many studies of development. The blueprint mapping used by UUIP was often taken from job descriptions or by interviews of those with the authority to hire a new director. The research staff's assessment of the personality characteristics of a leader was included as part of the operations mapping; this information was gathered through direct observation or through interpretation of events. Other people's view of the particular leader was considered image mapping.

Although the I-B model often includes "personnel" as part of the "resources", for the university setting the analysis of personnel was more useful as a separate category. For example, several of the projects studied trained paraprofessionals and graduate students. The relations between these two types of personnel was often central to program problems needing solution. Also, the divisions in perceptions of university roles between administrators, faculty, students, alumni, trustees, and other publics was more than a resource related situation.

The program itself was described in proposals of offical memoranda, but often upon participant observation was different than the blueprint. Most of the image mapping for these program variables consisted of state-

INSTITUTION BUILDING WORK SHEET

Area of Description: _____ Name: _____

Time of Description: _____ Date Written: _____

		Blueprint or Normative Mapping	Actual Operating Mapping	Image Mapping
1	Specified Goals			
	Ideological Doctrine			
2	Programs			
3	Leadership			
4	Personnel			
5	Resources			
6	Organization or Internal Structure			

ments from "outsiders" as to what they thought the program was doing.

The resource categories were heavily laden with funding data, as this became the crucial problem in most of the UUIP observed programs. However, the apparent priority given a program by the University was also assessed through the kind and amount of space and materials allotted to a program.

The internal structure of a project proved to be particularly complex to follow because formal organization charts were not only out of date, but rarely reflected actual practice or informal networks. Because all of the UUIP projects were interacting with many University departments and community groups, the organization was complex, often experimental and ever-changing. Much of the decision-making and implementation was done through informal processes which were very difficult to trace.

The linkages are a major thrust of the I-B model and of UUIP research.

> Change agents must both (a) build technically viable and socially effective organizations which can be vehicles for innovation, and (b) manage relationships (linkages) with other groups on whom they depend for complementaries and support and whose behavior they are attempting to influence. Building viable organizations and managing their linkages are closely interrelated aspects of a single institution-building process. (Esman in Eaton, 1972:25)

In order to begin to understand the effect of these community relations on the institutionalization of any program, the nature and history of the linkages between program and the larger University and those outside of the University became of parmount concern.

The I-B model distinguishes between four types of linkages. Each of the types describes a kind of relationship between the target program and external organizations or groups.

Enabling linkages refer to those bodies which have control over the program in the form of allocation of resources and decision-making authority which directly relate to the facilitation of the program. In UUIP research this type of linkage includes funding agencies, the Chancellor's office. and often, in a less direct way, state and federal policy makers.

The functional linkages include those which constrain or support project activity, such as departmental faculty, neighborhood organizations, and competing programs. Katz describes this type of linkages as "encompassing the flows of resources and products necessary for carrying on the systems activities ...". (Eaton, 1972:157)

The normative linkages deal with values, such as what do certain constituencies expect of the University and the specific programs; what roles are compatible with accepted customs; what constrainst are placed upon the institution by laws? Some of this type of data was gathered through surveys of University groups, alumni, and the general public. Other material was gathered through image mapping data which implied accepted norms and values.

The diffuse linkages include the many other sources of support of opposition which may not be directly linked to the program but nevertheless have an impact. This category would include the local news media and public opinion information. Diffuse linkages often served as the miscellaneous category when an item did not seem to really fit in one of the other definitions.

The research task requires identification of specific patterns of interdependence. With the identification of linkages, consideration must then be given to the actual and possible impacts which change in the linkage relationships might make upon the institution building process. A final task is to determine the impact which intra-organizational adaptations might have upon the nature of the linkages. (Nehnevajsa, a)

Discussion with I-B Developers

Joseph Eaton and Jiri Nehnevajsa, two of the original developers of the I-B model, conducted a seminar with the UUIP staff. An all day session was also held with the directors and liason personnel of the Outreach projects to discuss particular issuses involved in the use of the model.

All sessions were taped. A re-ordered transcript of one of these sessions with the I-B consultants is presented here to illustrate the nature of the discussions and some of the methodological problems that the staff had to resolve.

DISCUSSION ABOUT INSTITUTION-BUILDING

taken from UUIP Consultant Seminar

of October 22, 1971

The following pieces of discussion are paraphrases and reordering of material taken from a taped seminar with Jiri Nehnevajsa.

Goals:

Q: You may have a nice neat set of goals originally, but when you look again many things have changed. You have to find out what went on between two mappings.

A: (PS) That varies, too. Some projects start with very inexplicit plans.

JN: That's a very important opportunity for analysis--to see what happens under varying degrees of specificity, of definitions of roles. (Refers to paper by Fred Bruhns which examines changing goals under varying conditions of leadership and where some categories are developed for this purpose. Study was part of institution-building program. Focused on evolution of goals.)

Q: How do we classify the Master Plan for campus expansion? Is it at the blueprint or operations level?

A: (JN) The plan is the goal at the normative level. The evolution of the plan ceases to be interesting except to the extent to which at the level of the operations it may enter in when people complain about not having been in on the making of the Master Plan--the politics of its history. The cutting points are when you decide to enter the process, this is necessarily somewhat arbitrary.

Q: Moore's project represents two sets of goals, i.e., basic research objectives and alleviating social problems, which may be difficult to fulfill in the same program. How to treat this?

A: (JN) This happens quite often. Organizations pursue incompatible objectives. For example, universities in many countries want simultaneously to pursue the advancement of knowledge and the promotion of citizenship, i.e., the feeling "my country, right or wrong." Something may have to give, perhaps depending on leadership. Sometimes allocation of resources will tell you which priorities are actually being pursued. The actual program permits you to make inferences about the goals and whatever discrepancies exist.

Leadership:

Q: Leadership seems to cross-cut several levels--

A: (JN) You have to look at leadership as you move out into individual projects as it is constituted at that level--the people responsible for making decisions for that project. Then people at general UUIP level become links (or linkages) to that project. Leadership is identified in the formal structure--at the blueprint level at least--although there may be influentials behind the formal structure, and this goes into what is actually happening.

Q: Talks of newly-appointed provost and how she has to more or less carve out her own role so that in that process emphasis on categories shifts as she develops her niche.

A: (JN) Yes, and if she should leave, one would expect shifts again in terms of a new interaction set. It's very tricky to decide just exactly how often to monitor the process.

Linkages:

JN: Enabling most clear--collectivities or entities, very frequently in government, who by their actions, at the blueprint level, found or undo programs and projects. At some levels, there are no such linkages. Top government, for example, has none except for sporadic outbursts of voting.

Functional linkages are all the things you need to do your job. Not only physical resources but such things as information, directives, recommendations, questions.

Q: These inputs--related to decision-making--are very difficult to get.

JN: At any point, you can use only what information is available. Some of this will be loose, not clearly defined. Memoranda do not reflect what goes on because they are public documents whereas what goes on is reality.

Normative linkages involve organizations which may be indirectly involved but whose norms and values have some influence on the functioning of an organization. Almost always there are general taboos or mores of a culture which through their organizational embodiments such as churches may be supporting or contradicting.

Diffuse linkages--no direct authority of any kind but who exist in environment and whose views may effect organizational functioning by display of support or withdrawal, e.g., mass media or public opinion. No direct authority at all but may at times have some bearing.

Q: I was thinking that normative linkages are manifested through diffuse linkages, but one kind may be manifested through traditions of University?

A: (JN) Yes, that is one kind.

Q: What about People's Oakland, which exerts influence only through a value of citizens' rights? No real power except a few votes. There may be many normative linkages of this type, and it seems as if together they constitute a whole sea which is the diffuse linkages.

JN: The important thing is it isn't necessary to place a given organization into only one of these boxes because it may in its different activities have several bearings of different kinds. For example, commonwealth government is enabling but also is providing various resources and services, so it is also functional. Rather than worrying about how to label linkages, we take the black box in which there are the leadership, programs, and so on, but notice that there are some things which go in at the input level, and certain products which go out of it. What goes in are messages and people and resources. Messages include: (1) directives from those in higher positions with which compliance is expected; (2) recommendations which might or might not be followed, e.g., Research Advisory Council; (3) questions which must be paid attention to; and (4) data, information about things in which you are interested, people flowing in who are personnel and leaders and in some organizations like the University, people are also processed, that is, something is being done to them. Resources plant, equipment, materials, money coming in from different sources. What happens when these inputs are not available in the right amount, at the right time, etc.? Impact on the project differs with type of inputs as well as sheer amounts. Every organization also produces something--at the goal level it has certain things it wants to do. Products also are messages, people and sometimes resources, e.g., consumer goods. These kinds of data are what is needed. The most important products of your work are reports. Many researchers had problems with these linkages. Unless a taxonomy facilitates something it should not be used so if these are difficult, if one worries too much, "where should I put this," it is not helpful. Some work has to be done to clarify linkage concepts. The main thing is to be aware of linkages, collect all the relevant data, and not worry at this point about precise classifications.

Q: There seem to be both external and internal types of linkages. Besides those with other organizations, there must be those between, say, leadership and personnel in the same organization.

JN: That's right, it depends on the point of reference. If we are standing outside this box which represents a project, we think of inputs and outputs. But internally, of course, there is also a process of communication, a pattern through which information flows, and is somehow diffused through internal structure. That is correct, but it may not be useful to use the term linkages for that also.

Q: All Outreach Projects represent some kind of interface between the University and some group out in the community, which is as important a box as what is coming out for University.

JN: Of course, there is no reason why after you have looked at this box and identified these boxes around it in terms of input and output, you cannot make another box and make it the center of a new diagram, because the things you are doing to some community organization are only one of the things that happen to it. There are other inputs that flow into it, and it produces certain things. This is the way of really defining a social system if you have the time and energy. The meaning of the system concept is the interdependence of parts.

Q: Where do we stop? This process of diagramming linkage boxes could go on indefinitely.

JN: If I were you, I would stop at the first level, that is to say, the organization you are studying. The boundary of your observations would be set by the box representing UUIP and its internal composition and inputs and outputs and the same constellation for the Outreach project. It would be ideal with enough money to keep moving outward, but time and resources limit you.

General Problems of Use of Institution-Building

JN: Do not at this stage confound data collection with analysis, that is, do not decide at this stage that this (i.e., leadership role) is the problem. First collect the data. Generating these mappings (work sheets) is like a photograph of an operation at a certain point in time. Life is moving but it is like running a series of photographs at a certain rate of speed. Maybe you have to look at the situation every three months or every six months depending on the dynamics of the particular project.

Q: We will try to fill in data about every month and pull it together every three months. There are problems about outreach data and we probably need some of our own staff to observe and collect additional data.

JN: We tried to convince AID of importance of attaching an observer to each project only to act as continuous reporter, a recorder of facts, the social history of the project, without worrying about what it means. This is a matter for analysis, but just the fact of reporting--this is the only way we are going to learn about how organizations evolve and change and function.

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APPENDIX C

The Research Advisory Council of The University-Urban Interface Program

William Garrison, Professor, School of Engineering

Steele Gow, Dean, Division of Instructional Experimentation and Dean, School of General Studies

Donald Henderson, Associate Provost

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Allen Pond, Associate Dean, Graduate School of Public Health

John Yeager, Director of University-Wide Planning

APPENDIX D

Reports Published by the University-Urban Interface Program

I. Official Reports:

Proposal to Develop a Program of University-Urban Interface, Phase I, November, 1969.

Proposal for Continuation of a University-Urban Interface Program, December, 1969.

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Progress Report IV, January 1, 1971, to March 31, 1971, March, 1971.

Proposal Addendum, Scope of Work for Phases III and IV, May, 1971.

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Phase III, Progress Report 1 (July-September, 1971), October, 1971.

Phase III, Progress Report 2 (October-December, 1971), January, 1972.

Phase III, Progress Report 3 (January-March, 1972), April, 1972.

Phase III, Progress Report 4 (April-June, 1972), July, 1972.

Phase IV, Progress Report 1 (July-September, 1972), September, 1972.

Phase IV, Progress Report 2 (Octobe mber, 1972, December, 1972.

Phase IV, Progress Report 3 (January-March, 1973), March, 1973.

Final Report, (June 30, 1973).

II. Special Reports:

Research Report of Communications, Phase II, Barbara Jameson, et al, June, 1971.

The Student Consultant Project (SCP): A Case Study of Student Involvement in Social Action, Michael S. Koleda, et al, September, 1971.

The Pittsburgh Goals Study--A Summary, Jiri Nehnevajsa and Alan Coleman, October, 1971.

II. Special Reports (cont)

Pittsburgh Goals: Some Issues, Jiri Nehnevajsa, October, 1971.

Is Conflict Utilization Underestimated? (University Forum Background Paper), M. Coleman, et al, October, 1971.

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The University and the Community in the Domain of Health, (University Forum Background Paper), Waldo L. Treuting, et al, December, 1971.

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Pittsburgh Goals: Notes on Metropolitanism, Jiri Nehnevajsa, February, 1972.

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A University and Its Community Confront Problems and Goals, J. Steele Gow and Leslie Salmon-Cox, June, 1972.

Methodological Appendix--The Impact of the University of Pittsburgh on the Local Economy, Educational Systems Research Group, August, 1972.

Pittsburgh: Goals and Futures, Jiri Nehnevajsa, September, 1972.

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The General Public Views the University: A Report of Community Interviews, Barbara Jameson, Ramsey Kleff, and Liva Jacoby, March, 1973.

Inter-Group Cooperation and Urban Problem-Solving: Observation on a Community Long-Range Goals Project, Martha Baum, May, 1973.

Explorations in Experiential Learning, Michael Sugg, May, 1973.

Trush, Love, and Campus Development, Paul Shaw, June, 1973.

III. Reports in the Process of Publication

The Student Consultant Project, Christina Jarema.

Campus Development--Observers' Reports, edited by Paul Shaw.

The Clarifying Environments Program, Liva Jacoby.

Project Right Start, Barbara Jameson.

Program Development and Public Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, A. C. Van Dusen

IV. Papers and Presentations

The University and the City, Presented as part of the Round Table on "the Organization as a 'Transmittal Belt' between the Individual and Society." Seventh World Congress of Sociology, Varna, Bulgaria, Robert C. Brictson, September, 1970.

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