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ABSTRACT
                The subject of relations between universities and
their urban communities has created considerable interest in recent
years. This report represents a compendium of results from a research
project designed to study interaction between one large urban
university, the University of Pittsburgh, and its social environment.
The first section presents an overview of the University of
Pittsburgh University-Urban Interface Program (UUIP). The second
section defines the fifth priority of the UUIP, University Governance
and Community Relations. This report reviews the complex nature of a
large urban university and its accomplishments in its efforts to
implement an urban dimension. At the same time a great deal of
attention in this document has been paid to conflict over priorities
that have accompanied the new emphasis on public service at this
university. The report records ongoing university activities and
their reception by community groups to capture perspectives on the
University of Pittsburgh and its legitimate functions. The
implications for university structure with respect to the urban
dimension and also for its official posture toward the
community-at-large are summarized at the end of the report.
(Author/PG)

UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

UNIVERSITY-URBAN INTERFACE PROGRAM

CONTRACT NO. OEG-29-480725-1027

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JUNE, 1973

UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

By

Martha Baum

June, 1973

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of the research staff of the University-Urban Interface Program.   It
draws heavily on their research on other priority areas for the program,
and is only an individual effort in the sense that the author took the
responsibility for amalgamating the findings to present this report.

UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The subject of relations between universities and their urban communities has created considerable interest in recent years. The following report represents a compendium of results from a research project designed to study interaction between one large urban university, the University of Pittsburgh, and its social environment. Before going into the research findings, a brief history of the development and objectives of the research program is presented.

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, continguous to the area's largest black ghetto.

(4) It is a university which was, and is, officially committed to and deeply engaged in a multifaceted 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.**

**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 Develop-
ment 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 commitment 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

     Relatively brief descriptions of the several priorities are presented
below to provide a general orientation concerning the activities involved.
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.

     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 govern-
ment, 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 sympa-
thetic 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.

     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 news-
paper, 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 Complex--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 Department of Chemistry, and a proposed addition to the medical complex. Each of the projects was in a different stage of planning--ranging from an established plan which was about to be implemented and therefore allowed very little latitude, to a long-range building objective in which it was still possible 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. 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.

Minority and Community Services: UUIP activity within this 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. 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.

Outreach Two: School of Social Work--Neighborhood Centers
Association (NCA): The North Side 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 North Side 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 North Side 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 North Side, 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 organi-
zation 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 SCP, and by studying available written material. UUIP researchers attended the project's staff meetings. Additional research focused on the reciprocal relationships existing between SCP and community businesses and agencies.

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.

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 develop a model for continuous University-community cooperation on urban problem-solving. The major activity 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 Government of the Metropolis". For each of the forums, background papers were prepared which examined the problems in detail and recommended ways in which the University and the community might work together to solve them. A summary of the proceedings of the forums was published and circulated to participants. A survey was also conducted among community "influentials" concerning civic changes in Pittsburgh. Research was conducted on the Goals Project by means of participant observation at the Forums, socio-metric analysis, and access to project files and meetings.

University Governance for Community Relations: The final task for the University-Urban Interface Program was to integrate the information collected in order to analyze issues in the area of governance for community relations and 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.

Conceptually, the 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.

The Fifth Priority: University Governance and Community Relations

In this report, 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 summarized at the end 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 certainly not in the case being studied here, by any
means ride on a "sea of consensus"; rather there are different and some-
times conflicting perspectives on legitimate priorities and responsi-
bilities. 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 quali-
fied 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, an institution-building framework will be used and the point of reference will be the University as a system rather than, as in other program reports, 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.

Coals (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 scholar-
ship, 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 proto-
typical 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, includ-
ing 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 transpor-
tation 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 tradi-
tional 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 refer-
ence 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 disadvan-
taged 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 quali-
fied 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 empha-
sized 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 consider-
able 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 other program reports, 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

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*See, for example, Final Report, University of Pittsburgh: University-
Urban Interface Program, June, 1973.

12.

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 identi-fied 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 adminis-trators, 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.

CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY COUNCIL ON URBAN PROGRAMS

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Education Administration
Teacher Education at all levels
Educational Media and Technology
Education for the Handicapped
Vocational Rehabilitation Prog.
Programs for Disadvantaged
Upward Bound, Head Start, Equal
Opportunity, Negro Teacher Re-
cruitment
Consultant Services to Schools,
Colleges, & Universities
Research and Evaluation on Ur-
ban Educatiunal Problems
Service Programs with Community
Agencies
Tri-State Area School Study
Council

SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING

Air Pollution Engineering
Water Resources Engineering
Highway Systems Development
Urban Systems Analysis
Electric Power Systems Dev
Materials for Urban Construction
Construction Management
Industrial Engineering

GRADUATE CENTER-PUBLIC WORKS ENGINEERING & ADMINISTRATION

Urban Public Works Admin
Urban Transportation & Traffic
Water Resources Eng. and Admin.
Environmental Health Eng&Planning
Management of Construct.& Oper.

GRAD.SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Environmental Health,Air and
Water Pollution, Housing
Health Services Plan.& Admin.
Industrial Hygiene & Medicine
Health Law
Community & Occupational
Health Statistics
Urban Infectious Disease Control
Population Research (Cooperative
program with School of Medicine,
GSPIA, and Economics)

GRAD.SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Program in Community Work
Social Welfare Administration
Social Case Work
Social Group Work
Social Welfare Research
Special DemonstrationPrograms

SCHOOL OF LAW

Preparation of Urban Law Officers
Health Law Center (with GSPH)
Neighborhood Legal Services
Public Defender Program
Legal Aid Society Program

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY & INFORMATION SCIENCES

Library Planning & Administration
In-Service Training of Library
Administration
Advisory Services to Urban Libraries
Institute for Research in Metro-
pulitan Public Library Problems*

*in process

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEPT. OF URBAN AFFAIRS

Urban & Regional Planning
Urban Planning-Environmental
Health Planning(with GSPH)
Urban Development & Renewal
Urban Community Development
Administration (with GSSW)
Urban Executive Administration
Metropolitan Studies

DEPT. OF PUBLIC ADMIN.

Courses in Administration
serve Urban Departments
and Schools

INSTITUTE OF LOCAL GOVT.

In-Service Training for
Urban officials
Secretarial for Allegheny
Seminar
Consulting Services
and Research

CENTER FOR URBAN INTERGROUP RELATIONS ⊕

(in cooperation with GSSW and
other schools, departments,
and agencies.)

CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT ⊕

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

Medical Service Planning
Health Training Programs
Regional Medical Program for
Western Pennsylvania

WESTERN PSYCHIATRIC
INSTITUTE & CLINIC

SCHOOL OF DENTISTRY

Out-Patient Services
Technical Assistance to Health
Agencies
Surveys of Area Oral Health
Problems

SCHOOL OF NURSING

Nursing Service Administration
Health Planning for the Region
Research & Consulting Services

SCHOOL OF PHARMACY

Preparation of Pharmacists,Pharma-
cologists, and Pharmaceutical
Economists for Community Needs

GRAD. SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

Urban Industrial Development
Transport Economics, Policy &
Management
Management Research Center
Center for Research in Business
Logistics*

ARTS AND SCIENCES

DEPT. OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Urban Government, Politics,
Public Policy, Citizenship

DEPT. OF GEOGRAPHY

Urban Geography and Structures
Regional Systems &Transportation

DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY

Urban Sociology & Social
Institutions

DEPT. OF HISTORY

History of Industrial Society
Social Welfare, Urban Planning
& Political Structures

DEPT. OF ECONOMICS

Urban and Regional Economics
Public Finance, Demographic
Economics

CENTER FOR REGIONAL ECONOMIC STUDIES

Research, Surveys, & Advisory
Studies

SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION CENTER ⊕

DEPT. OF PSYCHOLOGY

Social Psychology Studies
Research in Urban Institutions

DEPT. OF BIOLOGY

Ecological Studies on Man's
Control of His Environment

RESEARCH AND SERVICE CENTERS

LEARNING RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT CENTER

KNOWLEDGE AVAILABILITY SYSTEMS CENTER

COMPUTER CENTER

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

14.

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

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*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.

CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY SECRETARY

Research Programs
(University-Urban Interface)

VICE CHANCELLOR PLANNING AND BUDGETING

PROVOST

Faculty of Arts and Science
College of Arts and Science
School of Education
School of Engineering
School of General Studies
School of Law
School of Social Work
Grad. School of Business
Grad. School of Education
Grad. Schl. Lib. Info Sc.-GSLIS
Grad. Schl. Pub. & Intl. Af.-GSPIA
Regional Campuses
    Bradford
    Greensburg
    Johnstown
    Titusville

VICE CHANCELLOR HEALTH PROFESSIONS PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY HEALTH CENTER

School of Dental Medicine

School of Health Rel. Professions

School of Medicine

School of Nursing

School of Pharmacy

Grad. Schl. of Pub. Health-GSPH

West. Psych. Inst. & Clinic-WPIC

VICE CHANCELLOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Development and Alumni Affairs
Governmental Relations
News and Publications
Special Programs
University Press
Urban Community Services

VICE CHANCELLOR OPERATIONS

Administrative Systems
Auxiliary Services
    Book Centers
    Housing and Food Service
Comptroller
Labor Relations and Insurance
Physical Plant
Personnel
Purchases and Central Services
Registrar
Treasurer

STUDENT AFFAIRS

Chaplains
Student Activities
Student Counseling Center
Student Health
Student International Service
Student Programs
Student Publications
Student Placement Service

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 con-
fined 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 enroll-
ment, the multi-group nature of the urban Pittsburgh scene, and the
allocation of budgetary resources were dominant themes. Campus develop-
ment 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 contribu-
ted 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 simple 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 univer-
sities' "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 respon- sibilities 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 demon- strate 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

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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

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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.***

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*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 inevit-
> able. 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 pro-
ductivity, 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 aug-
menting the budget when the social climate is favorable, but can cause
severe strains when significant sources withdraw 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

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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 demon-
strate complete consensus on what should be the University's major priorities.

To the four groups surveyed by Carroll*--students, faculty, adminis-
trators, 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 gover-
nance, 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 tradi-
tional 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
administrators--only 40 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 respon-
sible 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 "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 incom-
pletely 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 univ ersi-
ties 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 some-what 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 of 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
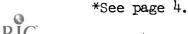to work to maintain its prestige with this group in the future.

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, particu-
larly 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. Never-
theless, in view of the findings that the urban dimension does not have
top priority with University people, it is understandable that recruit-
ment has mostly been carried out in accordance with the accepted norms
of qualification. In spite of some new guidelines for faculty recruit-
ment 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.

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*See page 4.

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 uni-
versities across the nation, although supposedly the economy is booming.***
At Pitt, it has been reiterated that the urban dimension would be imple-
mented 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 accomplish-
ments 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 educa-
tion, 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 per-
spectives and desires of many external groups. Increasingly, univer-
sities 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 con-
temporary universities, has a complex economic base. In part, it relies
on student tuition and on private sources such as alumni, other indi-
viduals, 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 develop-
ments, 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

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*The General State Authority has the responsibility for determining
land use and appropriations for new facilities in state-supported institutions.

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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 federal government, in the recent past, has been the most powerful voice emphasizing 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 uni-
versities 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 signi-
ficant 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 wide-
spread 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 univer-
sities. 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 some-
thing 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 person-
nel of various types. Rising tuition costs and direct grants to students
will make it increasingly difficult to predict the size of student popu-
lations, and the University may find itself in a more competitive posi-
tion 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 place-
ments. Recruiting administrators to head disorganized and unruly depart-
ments, 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 compe-
tition 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 responsi-
bility 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

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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 consider-
able 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 (Sugg, 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 substi-
tuted 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 empha-
sis 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 "prac-
ticed 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 environ-
ment 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) resi-
dents, 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 poli-
cies 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 insti-
tution. 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.

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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 infla-
tion 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 jeopar-
dized. 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 report, 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 undue emphasis has been placed 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 wor-
sening 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 curri-
culum, admissions policies, and involvement in urban problems. Throughout
the nation, too, universities have experienced the same budgetary con-
strictions, 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 report, 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, dis-
crimination, and health--among others. But the
broadly phrased enunciations have opened the door
to various interpretations and aroused expecta-
tions 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 commit-
tee, 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 under-
taken 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 few pages will be useful to the task forces
in their work, and will find some resonance in other universities as well.*

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*These last pages have been taken from: "General Summary," Final
Report, University of Pittsburgh: University-Urban Interface Program,
June, 1973. The summary was written in collaboration with the research
staff of UUIP.

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 situa-
tion 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 ser-
    vice" 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 re-
    cognition of human rights and needs. An interdisciplin-
    ary 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 transporta-
    tion, among others, are already under way.

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* 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 con-
> cern 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 a 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 misunder-
standing 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 articu-
late the ways in which urban involvement is necessarily inseparable

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     *See, for example, Lee F. Schnore, "Community", in Neil Smelser (ed.),
Sociology: An Introduction, New York: John Wiley, 1967, Chapter 2,
especially pp. 82-102.

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.

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 insti-
tution, 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.

The current models of systems analysis are under-elaborated to
produce a useful accounting device for universities with their many
semi-autonomous divisions and diverse goals, relating to educational
and research subspecialties. 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 yardsticks.

Internal Organization

3. The internal organization of the University is so complex that,it
requires special techniques to supply information to encourage more coopera-
tion 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 of 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 decentraliza-
> tion, and it needs more and better coordination. (Harris, 1967)

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

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*See Peter Caws on "The Goals and Governance of Universities Regarded as
Institutions of Learning," Prometheus, Vol. 1, No. 3 (February, 1972).

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 consi-
deration 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. (Ashby, 1973)

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 com-
munity 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. To be a good
neighbor and a responsible citizen is not merely an option but a mandate
in this era of increased accountability. Accordingly, ties with tradi-
tional support bases of alumni, the professionals, the educated must be
supplemented with forward-looking programs of active and formal community
relations.

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 prototypical 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 reinforced 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. (Peterson, 1972)

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*See: "Council Bars Reporter from Executive Session," p. 1; and
"Senate Council Meeting Minutes," p. 7, University Times, May 24, 1973.

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