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ABSTRACT
                This monograph presents the findings of a study of
planning and change at 80 colleges and universities, private and
public, located in four separate states--California, Florida,
Illinois and New York. In Chapter I, different substantive crises now
facing higher education are presented and discussed. The next chapter
(II), analyzes planning styles as they relate to the crises in higher
education. The majority of institutional planning speaks to problems
of growth and efficiency of management, but little time is spent in
planning on the more substantive problems in direction, structure,
and programs. Chapter III concerns the mapping of conditions or
correlates of different styles of planning. In essence, the chapter
points up why some institutions, for example, small, homogeneous,
liberal arts colleges, are better able to deal with educational
matters in their planning. Chapter IV presents six brief
institutional vignettes of different styles of planning. The
objective of Chapter V is to "reach beyond planning," i.e., to
determine what steps and conditions are needed for plans to become a
reality. A fundamental problem in education is that far too often
planning activities result in "a plan" but little implementation of
plans. Finally, the last chapter draws together the various
impressions and insights gained via the study in order to suggest how
institutions can better prepare themselves for continuous
self-renewal. (CU)

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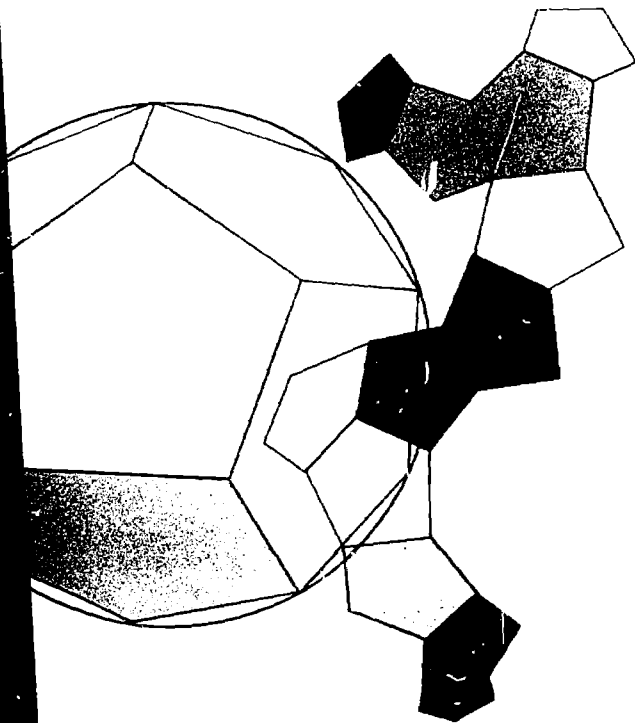
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Report Series

Planning for Self-Renewal

*A New Approach to Planned
Organizational Change*

ERNEST G. PALOLA
WILLIAM PADGETT

DEDICATION

To Thor

A trusting friend

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Acknowledgements

Contents

Overview

This book does not attempt to propose specific designs for higher education, instead it discusses the ways institutions in the past have charted their particular courses of action, and suggests new ways for the future.

The reader may wish to skim over certain chapters. Some sections are very general while others are quite technical. Different chapters will interest the layman, the practitioner, and the purely academic reader.

Chapter I outlines the major problems that have confronted colleges and universities since the Second World War. It explores the dimensions of the most recent crisis—one which mandates a new form of planning. The second and third chapters describe various types of planning and the characteristics of institutions that employ them. The goal in Chapter III was to discover conditions that either facilitate or hinder good planning.

Chapter IV may be of most general interest. Here, in self-contained case studies, examples of successful and relatively unsuccessful planning are presented. We also attempted at the same time to locate the critical circumstances that enhanced or retarded self-renewal in various types of institutions.

The survey findings of Chapter III and the insights from the case studies of Chapter IV are merged with previous literature within Chapter V in order to generate a theory of organizational self-renewal. This chapter lists five key conditions for self-renewal. And, finally, Chapter VI summarizes the book and gives some specific suggestions for accomplishing self-renewal through planning in institutions and statewide systems of higher education.

I.

Pressures and Crises

INTRODUCTION

A host of unprecedented challenges face higher education as it enters the decade of the 1970s. The forces challenging higher education become most visible when articulated by students demonstrating about such social issues as war, poverty, race, and representation in academic government. Less visible forces such as faculty unionism, fiscal shortages, the rights and responsibilities of civil versus campus authorities and increasing legislature concern over campus disturbances, all contribute to an atmosphere of strain and urgency on nearly every campus across the nation. Traditional principles of authority and modes of institutional leadership are being challenged from various quarters creating uncertainty, alarm, and confusion for many educators and policymakers. An aggregate result is that many colleges and universities find themselves in situations where, in order to cope with continuing crises, change is not only inevitable but mandatory.

If in a state of crisis the very existence of a college or university is at stake, it then becomes of paramount importance for that institution to develop a capacity for self-renewal. It must be responsive to changing circumstances and ready to formulate new goals and perform new functions. Thus, planning must be an active and ongoing process if constant renewal is to be realized. It must be understood however, that a simple plan is less important than the entire *planning process*. The planning process is comprised of three essential components: 1) the development of the plan, 2) the plan itself, and 3) the implementation of the plan. A plan in itself may not be able to react to change, but an appropriate and flexible

planning process does have the ability to adapt to changing situations. This chapter describes some of the crises that are presenting challenges to higher education and which call for flexible planning processes that will enable institutions to become self-renewing.

THREE CRISES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Examination of certain events from World War II to the present suggests three substantively different but major overlapping crises that have confronted higher education. After World War II and during the Post Sputnik decade the primary challenge was a new commitment to universal higher education (Anderson and Bowman, 1967). No longer was access to education beyond high school restricted to a narrow and rather well defined stratum of the populace; instead, an "open door" policy was adopted to allow all students finishing high school access to higher education. New institutions were constructed and existing ones were forced to expand their capacities to accommodate the great increase in enrollments. Many educators were uneasy about the rate and scope of this expansion since it did not allow for serious consideration of its long-range impact on the quality of existing programs and instruction. Nevertheless, the expansion occurred, multiversities emerged, and the junior college movement came to life. In fact, the growth of new junior colleges was recently reported as 50 new campuses per year (Wattenburger, 1967). This period, then, of rapid enrollment increase and facilities expansion which took place in the late 1950s and early 1960s can be referred to as the *quantitative crisis* in higher education.

A *fiscal crisis* occurred in the early 1960s when it became evident that local and state monies would have to be significantly increased to meet the new demands associated with rapid expansion. Then, in 1963, the federal government's financial support to higher education was considerably increased to provide assistance for facilities construction. Similarly, the 1965 State Technical Services

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Act, and the Higher Education Act further extended the Federal government's support of higher education. New organizational units were needed at the state level to administer these programs, and consequently, during the 1960s, forty two percent (18 of 43) of the present statewide coordinating agencies were created. In most cases these agencies are responsible for the administration of federally sponsored programs in higher education.

Although we have not yet seen full federal involvement in higher education, the increases observed thus far, together with the emergence of statewide coordinating agencies, have alarmed many observers. Fundamental questions about the possible dangers inherent in these movements have been raised. Logan Wilson (1966), for one, asks:

> Will the states' increasing use of statewide governing or coordinating bodies result in a more rational approach to our growing problems of support and control? In what undesirable ways does it weaken the autonomy of individual institutions? Does it tend to politicize what ought to be professional decisions?
>
> Is the Federal government itself organized in such a way as to perceive and come to grips with the problems of higher education? To what extent does the Federal government's enlarged role in supporting higher education inevitably entail its greater participation in planning, directing, and conducting the total enterprise?
>
> And finally, within a state, a region, or the nation, what kinds of decisions are best made by centralized authority and what kinds by localized authority?

The problem of obtaining adequate financing in higher education is further exacerbated by outbursts of campus violence and the destruction of campus facilities. Direct measures have been taken by state officials in some major states to seriously reduce previous funding levels or to dramatically retard the growth of public higher education budgets. Many people think higher education is already in the midst of a "fiscal crisis." However, their image is based on seeing only the top of the proverbial iceberg—nine-tenths of which is still submerged. In reality state appropriations for higher education continue to grow at considerable rates. This creates

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additional agitation within higher education and state capitol hallways. Questions are increasingly raised about the priority for support to higher education in comparison to other state services and programs which are also expanding at a phenomenal rate. Governors and legislators are demanding more information and justification for higher education budgets. It seems that the full extent of the fiscal crisis was not foreseen when the commitment to universal higher education was made after World War II. However, the implications of this commitment now stand squarely before all of us in higher education as well as local, state, and national governments.

Faculty advances have added to the financial strain, particularly at certain types of institutions. The overall economic and professional welfare of faculty has spiraled upward during the last decade. Opportunities for job mobility greatly increased within higher education along with parallel opportunities for many faculty in industry, business and government. Moreover, even if the recent return to a buyer's market continues, we can expect faculty to maintain the battle for better salaries and working conditions. Beyond the traditional competition for students, public and private institutions also compete for top-quality faculty. And even though enrollments in the public sector are expanding more rapidly, there is less competition for programs, equipment and facilities than for faculty.

The third crisis in higher education reflects a substantively different class of pressures impinging on colleges and universities. These pressures may result in more fundamental changes in higher education than any of the other forces mentioned. We refer here to a growing concern about the basic aims and purposes of higher education presently espoused in junior colleges, state colleges, and universities. Part of this issue is the question of organizational forms and teaching-learning processes appropriate to institutions with different objectives. This crisis might be labeled the *qualitative crisis* in higher education.

Social and technological change will substantially modify the entire function of higher education in society. Recent literature predicts fascinating possibilities for education in the year 2,000. There will be more commuter institutions, an emphasis on problem solving in teaching rather than the development of competence with specific bodies of information, individualized instruction, chemical transfer of learning, "university cities" characterized by a high degree of interrelatedness and interdependence between university and urban institutions, increased mobility of faculty and students between institutions of higher education, and programs of lifelong learning. Developments such as these would necessarily signal sharp reorientations in the accustomed ways of thinking about the process and organization of education.

Intense student and faculty concerns about the aims and purposes of higher education are, however, the immediate source of the qualitative crisis. Students are increasingly concerned with such questions as: Will the college or university take an activist position and play a leadership role in the analysis, interpretation, and resolution of contemporary social problems, e.g., war, poverty, equal opportunity, racial integration? Will it be possible for students to play a more fundamental role in the determination of those aspects of college life that touch their central concerns most directly, e.g., curriculum, teaching, and due process under the law? Faculty, on the other hand, are raising different types of questions. Many faculty members share with students a concern about the relevance of teaching techniques and of subject matter content to the new interest of students in the sociopolitical and technological issues of contemporary society.

Other issues press on the faculty today as well, but the rise of interest in faculty unions partly reflects the competitive economic market alluded to above. Finally, faculty desire more control over the general welfare of their profession and the working conditions on local campuses.

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DIMENSIONS OF THE QUALITATIVE CRISIS

The qualitative crisis in contemporary higher education takes several forms. Variations result from the actions of groups intimately involved with developments in higher education. The qualitative crisis is discussed in terms of the following dimensions: The politicalization of higher education, quantitative growth and the closing of alternatives, goal evasion and reluctant planning, the bifurcation of power, and the activist student in planning. The outcome of issues falling within these topics can reshape the *quality of campus life and learning*. They call for serious examination, and, as is later argued, a particular kind of institutional planning.

THE POLITICALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The planning, coordination and development of higher education has never been totally exempt from the influences of political pressures. And yet the term, politicalization of higher education, is currently in vogue and takes several forms. In its most familiar sense, the politicalization of higher education refers to the general increase in state government intervention into the affairs of colleges and universities. The term is also used to refer to those instances where higher education has become involved in partisan politics and to those cases where community interest groups utilize political channels to influence educational policy matters. Few today deny the fact that higher education has entered the political arena.

Yet when one examines the history of the relationships between higher education and state government, one finds a pendulum like swing in politicalization. For one hundred years prior to World War II, higher education had few ties to state government. There has always been a strong cultural norm that the conduct of higher education should be divorced from state politics and most state officials accepted this ideology. During the 1950s, however, institutional competition for programs and finances became so great in legislative halls that many state governments responded by

establishing coordinating-planning agencies. Although designed to consolidate higher education's requests to state government into a single voice, the establishment of coordinating agencies by no means eliminated politics entirely from decisions concerning higher education.

For several years this new organizational arrangement seemed to work well, but, in the late 1960s higher education again became embroiled in state politics, and on a larger scale than ever before. This trend toward increased politicalization of higher education is likely to continue for a number of reasons.

First, and certainly one of the most fundamental reasons, is the sheer magnitude of the higher education enterprise and its mammoth costs to state governments. Various state agencies have increased their staffs of specialists so that the gigantic expansion of the higher education network can be better monitored. In addition, the sacred image of public higher education as an elite service provided by the state to privileged segments of the population has faded. In its place has come a new conception of public higher education as an integral part of society subject to the same pressures and procedures as any other state service.

Second, the traditional view that colleges and universities constitute a community sharing a more or less unified view of the institution has broken down. What has become much more visible to state officials and to the general public are the various groups within the institution all struggling to promote their own interests, often at an expense to the citizens of the state.

Because the community of scholars ideology no longer protects the integrity of educational institutions, we see growing differences among competing groups willing to carry their special programs to the legislature or other state agencies. One indicator of a decreasing sense of community and of an increasing politicalization is the fact that various faculty associations as well as the large college and university systems have established public

relations offices in the state capitol to insure that "proper communication" occurs.

Third, student unrest and campus turmoil across the nation have caused state government officials to support various stop-gap repressive measures to restore law and order to the campuses. State, county, and local law enforcement agencies and the courts have been drawn into the mainstream of these struggles. In addition to student activities, faculties have formed unions and in some cases engaged in strikes to promote by political means their own interests. Dissatisfaction among students has resulted in a number of new programs such as Black Studies, Third World, and Experimental Colleges. These advances have often come at great financial, social and programmatic expense because the crises bringing about these changes frequently involve state political leaders and political influence.

Fourth, legislators have realized at long last that the establishment of new campuses means a great deal to the economic health of their communities. Not only is the spread of new campuses vital to the vested interests of certain politicians and communities, but it also reflects the growing awareness of education as an investment in future economic health. Educationally, the spread of new institutions throughout a state means that opportunities are more equalized since proximity is such an important factor in who attends college.

Fifth, higher education is undertaking a more direct and active role in searching for solutions to contemporary problems. The most recent concentration of effort is upon the problems of the urban environment. By moving into this area, colleges and universities become deeply involved in local and state—and to some extent the federal—governments. As a consequence government officials may often take advantage of educational research and public services for political purposes. Other areas where colleges and universities may clash with political interests concern race relations, war research, ROTC, poverty programs, crime, unemployment, and mental health.

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Thus the traditional boundaries between campus and state have almost evaporated. Colleges and universities are increasingly forced into the mainstream of the political process. The signs of mounting political pressures on higher education and the increasing exploitation of higher education problems in political campaigns are evident. Higher education has become so interlocked with state governmental activities that it is difficult to clearly distinguish between political and educational policy formations.

The increased politicalization of higher education has several consequences for autonomy in educational planning. In the past twenty years, higher education insitutuions have adapted rather easily to new educational needs by providing programs and services for many different clientele. At the same time, because this period has been one of great growth and educational affluence, educators have been willing to accept certain local and state controls regarding budget approval and program formulation. In most cases, colleges and universities accepted these new procedures, showed great flexibility in their operations, and developed in directions most appropriate to their own objectives. These efforts resulted in substantial improvements in academic autonomy even though legally and formally institutions have lost some of their traditional independence.

Furthermore, the work of various coordinating-planning agencies has required institutions to more clearly define their objectives and more carefully justify their program proposals. One important reason for this action by coordinating agencies was to prevent direct political intervention by having higher education "clean its own house." This planning by decree has maintained or even enhanced the quality of the entire educational enterprise and has concentrated resources in those programs which have been considered the most effective for the institution involved. Colleges and universities have gained a more secure foundation for their educational autonomy in this process of eliminating duplicative programs. Compared to the past when colleges and universities tended to proliferate programs and to fight each other for priorities and funds, the work of the coordinating agencies has provided a

more reasonable division of labor and a more acceptable system of priorities for allocating resources.

Quantitative Growth and the Closing of Alternatives

American higher education has been consumed by problems of growth. While this vast quantitative expansion has not led to any obvious curtailment of educational autonomy, the future may not, however, be as munificent. As growth rates decline and institutions reach their maximum sizes difficult decisions will confront planners and campus officials regarding future courses of development.

What is significant about the nature of this expansion is the way in which the higher education network has adjusted organizationally to accommodate the influx of students. And these organizational changes have led to what we have called the closing of alternatives.

One of the major ways by which the system has responded to student numbers has been the adoption and incorporation of more standardized procedures, formulas and other bureaucratic techniques. Maximum and optimum institutional sizes, costs of instruction, space utilization standards, average class sizes, and student-faculty ratios became central concerns as higher education expanded. Although these procedures were necessary for the smooth expansion of the network and for the efficient utilization of resources, they soon became rigidly entrenched in the administrative operations of the network. Inflexible procedures had, in turn, important consequences for educational innovation.

Our study revealed an important fact. We found *no case* where the existing statewide framework (especially the budgeting procedures and formulas) was changed in such a way that proposed educational innovations could be facilitated over the traditional methods of doing things. For example, new programs at the Santa Cruz, San Diego and Irvine campuses of the University of California

were approved only on the grounds that they would cost no more than those at the older and more traditional campuses. The risk capital in higher education is very limited and, when available, cautiously applied. Reliance upon existing definitions and standard procedures in budgeting means that frequently alternative lines of development are prematurely closed off. In recent years some federal planning monies have been available to states mainly for the development of facilities. The amounts of money have been, however, quite modest and their impact on innovative programs quite limited.

A second way in which alternatives have been closed off is the dominance of relatively few models for institutional development. This has traditionally been the case in higher education, reinforced by existing budgeting and programming concepts. The multiversity model has achieved a position of preeminence in higher education which most other institutions have emulated. (Gardner, 1961; Jencks and Riesman, 1968; Kerr, 1963; McConnell, 1962). The blind adoption of such a monolithic model makes planning for diversity very difficult.

A third limit on the number of alternatives which might be under consideration is imposed by coordinating agencies. In many states, the staffs of such agencies are small and limited in resources. They are often deliberately designed not to conflict with powerful colleges and universities or the technical agencies of the state government. One consequence of this type of arrangement is that such agencies only have the manpower necessary to deal with the vast ongoing operations and rarely have the ability to conduct studies or to pioneer efforts which could provide new directions for higher education.

A fourth way by which alternatives are being closed off is reflected in the "managerial revolution" and the introduction of planning-programming-budgeting systems into higher education. Although these new developments in information processing and budgeting procedures have the potential to open up alternatives and to more rationally question past assumptions and values, the present

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use of such tools has only reinforced past ways of doing things and represents another obstacle in the path of educational change (Livesey and Palola, 1970, pp. 37-40). Because the means-oriented features of organizations are easier to handle, administrators of the higher education network often "retreat to technology" and abandon serious efforts to define the more complex, the more qualitative, and the more subjective aspects of higher education.

Organizational theorists discuss the closing of alternatives and the adherence to bureaucratic certainty as a "closed-system model" of analyzing organizational life. In the last decade or so, some organizational theorists have noted a dramatic change in the nature of organizational life. As the degree of interdependence among organizations increased and the rate of social change accelerated, organizations were forced to become sensitive to, and learn how to deal with, their environment in order to protect their autonomy and in some cases to guarantee their very existence. As a result, the key factor in organizational success has become the capacity to develop an adaptable and flexible structure. A rigid formal hierarchy and stable rule system are now often dysfunctional features of complex organizations. Thus a new approach, called the "open-systems strategy" has developed to meet the problems posed by rapid social change and environmental influences.

The "open-systems strategy" seems to have great applicability to higher education. Central to this strategy is the assumption that a higher education network contains more variables than we can comprehend at one time and that some of the change occurring cannot be controlled or predicted (Thompson, 1967, pp. 6-13). Also basic to the "open-systems" approach is the idea that uncertainty and change are prevalent and predominant. In his notes on the post-industrial society, Daniel Bell discussed the past American penchant for specific problem delineations and clear-cut conclusions. "The presumption is usually made that every problem has a solution, and one can march towards it in a direct line. Indirection irritates" (Bell, 1967, p. 24). No longer is this approach a meaningful way to arrive at solutions for the problems of higher education.

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The "open-systems" model has much to contribute towards planning the future development of higher education. Although Bc.. discusses the role of planning in the broad context of th. post-industrial society, his observations hold as well for the higher education arena:

> The irony is that the more planning there is in a society, the more there are open conflicts. Planning sets up a specific focus of decision, which becomes a visible point at which pressures can be applied. Communical coordination—the effort to create a social choice out of a discordance of individual personal preferences—necessarily sharpens value conflicts (Bell 1967, p. 103).

Much remains to be done if planning in higher education is going to follow the "open-systems strategy" and develop better alternatives for the future.

What the above discussion suggests is that quantitative expansion has not resulted in a direct loss of educational autonomy, but that the bureaucracy which arose simultaneously to manage growth has significantly narrowed options and alternatives for the future. This may foretell continued growth for higher education but along rather narrowly defined paths.

Goal Evasion and Reluctant Planning

In Chapter II we discuss some of the difficulties of defining goals for higher education. There we highlight the intangible nature, the unmeasurable character, and the non-operational form of higher education goals. All of these factors contribute to what we have called goal evasion. Educators long have seemed content to offer the standard ideology of teaching, research, and public service as the aims of colleges and universities. Yet this is about as far as institutions have gone toward specifically defining their tasks, and statewide planners have been too preoccupied with problems of growth and expansion to make serious efforts at defining goals. We are thus concerned with goal evasion in higher education—that is,

the inability and unwillingness of educators to precisely define educational objectives and aims.

It is often difficult to probe into the goal structure of an organization. Vested interests become easily aroused as questions are raised about the fundamental premises of their organizations. Etzioni argues that:

> . . . decisionmaking elites . . . tend to prefer the production of "stable" to transforming knowledge and seek closure on basic knowledge assumptions. One reason for this preference is that basic assumptions cannot be selected and reviewed on wholly empirical grounds . . . it is expensive politically, economically, and psychologically for the elites to allow these assumptions to be questioned which is necessary if they are to be transformed (Etzioni, 1967, p. 176).

In colleges and universities, various groups have good reasons for avoiding intensive self-examination. Goal evasion is then one of the central planning problems facing higher education policymakers. In our interviews many faculty, administrators, and statewide coordinators expressed the concern that planning had failed to consider educational policy questions adequately and effectively. This is not to suggest that the area has been completely neglected, but only that quantitative and fiscal considerations become priority items due to pressures of the moment. Some examples where educational innovation and experimentation were key considerations in the planning are such institutions as the University of West Florida, State University College at Old Westbury, York College of City University at New York, San Bernardino State College, and the three relatively new campuses of the University of California—Irvine, San Diego, and Santa Cruz. However, inflexible budgeting procedures, faculty recruitment and promotion policies, and student admissions standards have dampened the innovative and experimental character of many of these plans.

There are, to be sure, some positive functions to be served by purposely leaving goals vaguely defined; the most obvious is to provide the institution maximum flexibility to pursue individual interests. Another benefit of ambiguous goals is to prevent invidious

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comparisons among institutions in terms of their "educational effectiveness." If such a procedure were operational, whether valid or not, it might be used by legislators and other persons with statewide authority for the "wise and prudent" allocation of scarce financial resources. Moreover, a less precise, more open statement on educational goals provides greater opportunity for institutions to respond readily to the unrelenting challenges of change in society.

Very recently major efforts have been undertaken to overcome the problem of goal evasion. In 1967 the American Council of Education selected the topic "Whose Goals for American Higher Education?" as the theme for its annual meeting (ACE, 1967). Several years before, Gross and Grambsch launched a vast study of the nature of goals as seen by administrators and faculty at 68 major universities. About 10,000 people were surveyed and a preliminary report of the findings has been made (Gross and Grambsch, 1968). Since 1969 researchers at the Educational Testing Service have been developing instruments by which colleges and universities can assess opinions on and off the campus regarding what the goals of higher education are and should be. These instruments are being designed to assess how goals are related to the crisis of authority within the institution and the crisis of confidence by the public and legislatures outside the campus (Peterson, 1969).

These research efforts mark the beginning of a new era of conscientious effort to probe the goals problem. Substantial specifications beyond traditional ideologies are being completed. No longer is the definition of goals being evaded as in the past.

Closely related to the phenomenon of goal evasion has been reluctant planning by the faculty. Contributing to this reluctance are faculty members' orientation to their disciplines, the lack of rewards for participation in planning as compared to, say, research, and a disinterest in narrow planning that emphasizes formulas, ratios, and other quantitative data. At the bottom of all this is the pervasive attitude of faculty that "planning is not considered a legitimate part of the faculty role" (Palola, Blishke, and Lehmann, 1970, p. 16). This reluctance by faculty significantly reinforces the current pattern

of goal evasion since the faculty, more than any other single group, is responsible for the conduct of academic affairs and the formulation of educational policies.

The Bifurcation of Power

Galbraith, in analyzing the distribution of power in industry, observes significant shifts of power. Whereas the possession of capital and the position of owner once identified the central locus of power within industry, changes are underway that will result in a more diffuse pattern of control:

> Power has passed to what anyone in search of novelty might be forgiven for characterizing as a new factor of production. It is not . . . merely management. Rather it is the whole structure of organization—the whole range of technical knowledge, talent and experience the modern industrial enterprise requires. . . . The new locus of power . . . is not with individuals; it is collegial or corporate (Galbraith, 1967, p. 13). . . .

Moreover, the educator himself is gaining more respect and a broader basis of power as business and industry become more dependent on his special skills and competencies (Galbraith, 1967). This adds importantly to the major redistribution of power currently underway in institutions of higher learning.

Power is becoming concentrated at particular levels within the educational hierarchy. Top level administrators and boards of trustees are becoming less powerful in higher education while persons and agencies at other organizational levels are gaining control and power over many important areas. At the institutional level, faculty and students continue to be drawn into the center of institutional activities and to exert greater influence in the decisionmaking process. And at the statewide and national levels, planning activities and funding practices are constantly expanding and, in turn, shaping and directing a broader range of institutional processes and programs. The current picture in higher education is highly volatile and thus difficult to assess accurately and concepts of control at the local

campus vis-a-vis statewide and national control is a continuously widening schism. As the schism widens, many key institutional officers and staff members of central offices for segments of institutions are complaining about the declining importance of their offices within the overall control structure of higher education.

Jencks and Riesman use the redistribution of power phenomenon as the central theme of their recent book. They point up the long progressive movement by faculty to gain control over the shape of the curriculum, the content of particular courses, the use of particular books, the choice of their colleagues, the selection of students, and the choice of top administrators. These authors state that gains in faculty power, much of which are attributable to the dramatic increase in federal support for academic research, have been accompanied by important changes in the role of trustees. They state:

> . . . the overall trend seems to us toward moderation and an increasingly ceremonial role for trustees (Jencks and Riesman, 1968, p. 16).

Observations drawn from the present study show the growing importance of faculty as statewide and campus senates are created. These bodies frequently have, in addition to committees covering a wide range of specific educational topics, an academic affairs or educational policies committee that concentrates its energies on matters related to planning. Other professional associations like AAUP have also gained strength recently. The failings of such traditional faculty bodies and associations to cope with "bread and butter" issues have contributed to the growth of unionism on the campus, opening another avenue to growing faculty power.

One could easily envision a continuing concentration of power among faculty and at the state and national levels. Various trends support this type of development. Faculty are making significant inroads into various institutional decision-making processes Also, the mobility opportunities for nationally recognized faculty members continues to increase. Added to these familiar

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trends are the more recent demands by students which have significantly politicalized and polarized the relations between campuses and the state and national governments. The outcome of these forces could be open conflict between governmental bodies and public colleges and universities. The central issue would be, as it has been at times over the years, the control of the campus and the behavior of its constituent groups, and the roles of higher learning institutions vis-a-vis societal problems. In other words, the educational autonomy of institutions could suffer in an atmosphere of open conflict with supra-institutional agencies.

The Activist Student in Planning

Examination of the ways students have been treated in educational planning reveals an intriguing paradox. On the one hand statewide planning in higher education has been an exclusively student-oriented activity. On the other hand students are rebelling precisely because they have not been considered in statewide planning.

The basic problem for statewide planning has been primarily quantitative, and under the quantitative orientation to statewide planning, students have been considered mainly in a statistical sense. According to some contemporary critics, past planning efforts reflect an ugly, faceless, and impersonal way of thinking about students; it is much akin to counting and sorting cattle or sheep. Can student concerns be captured in enrollment counts and projections, costs of instruction, student-faculty ratios, space utilization and square footage per student, and student credit-hour productivity?

Students, instead, could be thought of in plans as people—people with values and interests, people with opinions and perspectives, people who care about what kind of education they receive and about how colleges and universities attempt to "shape and mold" them according to predefined notions of what is "good," "appropriate," "expected," or "necessary." The activist student is a rebel with a cause; he wishes, among other things, to participate

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in his education and the planning that guides it.

These students, along with some faculty and administrators, express a growing concern about the basic aims and purposes of higher education. A glimpse of this new perspective was apparent in a searing student appraisal of campus facilities planning at the University of California at Berkeley:

> In practice these guidelines *(Master Plan* maximum population figures and *Re-Study* space standards) fundamentally distort the nature of the university. First, they impose what might be called a 'growth rate theory of University governance' more appropriate to budget planning than to educational policy. Second, they rationalize and quantify the criteria for spatial planning so completely that the qualitative concerns and desires for innovating and informal facilities become inadmissible as planning justifications *(The Daily Californian,* 1967, p. 6).

Even though students are what statewide planning is all about, they generally have no participatory role in planning. Mario Savio's essay on the University of California contains the following observation:

> Faculty members and students are consistently excluded from those groups of legislators, bureaucrats, and businessmen which made the most far reaching decisions concerning the development and reform of the University. Those of us whose lives are directly involved are denied any effective voice in these decisions which structure and pervert our immediate daily environment *(Harper's Magazine,* 1965, p. 94).

Hopefully, this situation may be changing. Increasingly, students are being appointed to faculty and administrative committees. Only recently, a meeting of student body presidents of the California State Colleges drafted a "bill of rights" in which they establish the principle that the participation of students in the development of collegewide policies and procedures is necessary and expected. On many campuses across the nation the view is emerging that faculty, students, administrators, and trustees should all share in institutional governance and planning. Each group is considered

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to have a unique perspective, type of expertise, and particular contribution to make.

Generally, there are few avenues for student expression on most campuses. Planning is potentially one of the best avenues available for the productive channeling of protests into more meaningful forms of institutional development. Participation in planning could be viewed as an integral part of university life and the learning process.

One need not extend his imagination very far to see a relationship between the past quantitative approach to students in planning and the contemporary crisis in the educational enterprise. At present, demonstrations and other protest activities dissipate the energies of students, faculty, and administrators. These acts place the autonomy of colleges and universities in jeopardy. Both state legislators and national congressmen have sought statutory measures and judicial actions to quell or prevent campus uprisings. One of the benefits that could accrue from greater and more significant involvement of students in planning is the restoration of a sense of integrity to the campus whereby the needs of various groups are accommodated.

THE PRESENT STUDY

We have investigated the forms and functions of the institutional planning practiced by a variety of colleges and universities across the United States. For planning to be fully effective in confronting the qualitative crisis, greater understanding of the process itself and how it relates to change in academic institutions is required. More specifically, we have tried to answer the following questions:

> What kind of institutional planning is being done by various types of colleges and universities?

> What are the characteristics of institutions practicing different types of institutional planning?

What can be said about the conditions that are necessary for planning to result in substantive improvements to academic institutions?

What are the steps that can be taken by different types of educational institutions to meet the challenges of the qualitative crisis?

The next five chapters report our findings and suggest a strategy for planning for self-renewal.

II.

Responses to the Crises: Contrasting Types of Planning

A STUDY OF PLANNING IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Center for Research and Development in Higher Education has recently conducted a study of statewide planning and its institutional effects in four states with long experience: California, Florida, Illinois, and New York. The major thrust of this study was to identify how critical decisions made outside the institution affects its mission and role (Palola, Lehmann, ar.d Blischke, 1970). At the same time considerable data were collected through interviews and by examining documents concerning institutional planning within the sample of colleges and universities. These data constitute the basis of the present study. The institutions studied included public and private universities, state colleges, and junior or community colleges. At each institution, about five interviews were conducted with the faculty members and administrators who played key roles in the planning process. The interviewees were: presidents, academic vice presidents, vice presidents for financial affairs, deans of schools or colleges, chairmen of the faculty, and chairmen and members of committees responsible for planning. In se.ni-structured interviews, respondents were asked about: present and past planning activities, the rationale for planning, the arrangements by which plans were being implemented, the basic questions or issues around which planning is organized, and the attitudes held by faculty and administrators about planning. Approximately 400 interviews were conducted at these institutions. The major planning and organizational documents were also collected at each campus. Since, in addition to other purposes, the documents often served a public relations function, we tended to relie more heavily on the interview data. Thus we encountered a

complex, and to some extent, subjective task of reducing the data to a generalized portrait of tne planning engaged in at each institution.

DIMENSIONS OF PLANNING

Eight dimensions were used to characterize the type of planning in the past at the 80 institutions. These dimensions were ends-oriented/means-oriented, integrated/piecemeal, priorities/no priorities, periodic/continuous, research based/limited data, special/existing structure, joint/separate structure, and light/heavy faculty participation.

We have defined these eight dimensions as follows:

Scope (ends/means)—Ends-oriented planning involves as its primary task the consideration of educational objectives and purposes; whereas means-oriented planning simply projects enrollments and existing programs to determine budgetary, staff and facilities needs.

Integration (integrated/piecemeal)--Integrated planning, in contrast to a piecemeal approach, recognizes the interrelatedness of decisions regarding academic, facilities, and budgetary issues.

Priority (priorities/no priorities)—A plan has no priorities when it simply consists of a list of the multiple goals of the institution. A plan with priorities specifically ranks the importance of its goals.

Style (periodic/continuous)—Periodic planning occurs sporadically and is generally a reaction to crisis situations or demands from foundations, accrediting agencies, etc. Continuous planning, on the other hand, recognizes that the process is a never-ending adaptation to new conditions and commitments.

Research (research based/limited data)—This dimension attempts to assess the degree to which planning decisions are based on accurate

data regarding the relevant aspects of the institution and its environment.

Participants (joint/separate structure)—The organizational structure for planning also varies depending on whether faculty and administrators serve together on a single planning committee (joint structure) or work on independent committees (separate structure).

Participation (light/heavy faculty participation)—The level of participation in planning is light when it involves only a limited number of faculty, and involves them primarily on a reactive basis.

Structure (special/existing structure)—This feature refers to the organizational mechanism for planning. Some institutions use an existing structure such as a curriculum or educational policy committee; while other institutions make special arrangements such as a long-range planning committee solely devoted to this concern. The planning at each institution was rated by the research team in regard to each of the eight dimensions.

Table 1 shows the percentage of the 80 institutions given a positive rating on each of the eight dimensions. Over 50 percent of the institutions were rated in a positive manner on only three of the dimensions. A majority of institutions were classified as having planning in which priorities were set, institutional research was used, and a joint faculty-administration committee was employed. However, the priorities that were set dealt mainly with expansions of staff and facilities, and not with educational programs and services. Similarly, the research that was used was generally piecemeal, unsystematic, and restricted to routine matters. And the joint committee for planning was most frequently a standing administrative or faculty senate committee which, in the main, was devoted to some other function.

The five remaining dimensions were characteristic of planning at less than one half of the institutions. Only 28 percent of the institutions were judged as having ends-oriented planning, and planning was done on a continuous basis at only 28 percent of the

TABLE 1

Percentage of Institutions Receiving Positive Ratings On Eight Planning Dimensions

		EO	I	PS	C	RB	JCU	HEP	SC	No. of Inst.
STATE	California	32%	32	52	16	48	68	44	40	25
	Florida	18	73	45	9	55	64	27	36	11
	Illinois	39	39	67	0	67	78	39	39	18
	New York	19	35	42	65	77	50	38	35	26
TYPE	University	29	10	21	7	24	25	11	16	34
	College	45	10	12	10	12	14	10	8	22
	Junior College	13	12	8	5	14	12	10	6	24
CHARACTER	New or Changing	38	56	62	26	62	59	47	47	34
	Old and Traditional	20	28	44	28	63	67	33	30	46
CONTROL	Public	19	38	40	28	57	60	36	36	58
	Private	50	45	82	27	77	73	45	41	22
SIZE	Small	52	56	68	36	56	60	56	40	26
	Medium	21	47	37	32	58	47	42	26	22
	Large	16	22	47	22	69	75	22	41	32
	TOTAL	28%	40	51	28	62	64	39	38	80

Chi Squares

	EO	I	PS	C	RB	JCU	HEP	SC
STATE	2.67	5.58	2.68	29.16	5.01	4.18	0.94	0.17
TYPE	6.21*	2.88	6.62*	4.78	1.78	3.46	1.08	2.90
CHARACTER	2.45	4.74	1.94	0.00	0.00	3.28	1.12	1.58
CONTROL	6.14*	0.11	9.61	0.06	1.97	0.48	0.24	0.00
SIZE	9.96*	7.43*	4.86	1.49	1.15	4.08	7.15*	1.19

EO = Ends-Oriented
I = Integrated
PS = Priorities Set
C = Continuous

RB = Research Based
JCU = Joint Committee Used
HFP = Heavy Faculty Participation
SC = Special Committee

* Significant at .05

campuses. Faculty generally played a reactive role; providing comments and criticisms to draft plans initially conceived and prepared by administrative personnel. And, finally, it was rare for policies and plans about academic matters to be carefully linked with programs for the modification of facilities, or with the various allocations shown in operating budgets.

In order to learn more about these eight dimensions, we examined how five key variables affected their distribution. The variables used were the *state* in which the institution was located, their *functional type* (i.e. universities, colleges, or junior colleges), the basis of institutional *control* (i.e., private or public), the *character* of the institution (i.e., new or changing or old and traditional), and institutional *size* (i.e., small=less than 5,000; medium=5,000-9,999; large=10,000 or more).

The data in Table 1 show that most dimensions of planning are related to at least one of these five variables. Only two dimensions of planning—joint/separate and special/existing structures—were not significantly affected by a control variable. Joint structures are used by most institutions, regardless of institutional *size, control, type, character,* or *state*. This reflects the fact that any committee used for deciding an institutionwide policy usually consists of both faculty and administrators. Consistent with this is the finding that a special committee was established for planning at a minority of institutions (30%). This dimension of planning was unrelated to any of the control variables. Thus, existing committees, consisting of faculty and administrators, are most often used by the majority of institutions for planning.

The other six planning dimensions were, in some way, related to the five control variables. For example, planning was judged as ends-oriented more often at small and private colleges. Similarly, priorities among various institutional objectives were more often set at private institutions, and planning was more integrated at new or changing or small institutions. Also, faculty participation was greater at small institutions. These findings identify important organizational features that support several crucial features of planning.

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Two other dimensions of planning were related to the control variables. As would be expected, planning was more often done on a continuous basis in New York, where a law exists that mandates quadriennial planning. And finally, planning was supported by research mainly at public universities where one would expect more resources for research and a strong commitment to it.

THREE TYPES OF PLANNING

These eight dimensions were combined and used to define three different types of institutional planning. First, each institution was given a score on each of the dimensions. For purposes of this analysis, an institution was assigned one point each when planning was judged by certain features, namely: it was integrated, continuous, and research-based, and it had established priorities, a special or joint structure, and great faculty participation. In addition, three points were given when the research team's overall assessment of an institution's planning was ends-oriented rather than means-oriented, because this one dimension represented the content of planning rather than the way planning was done. A total score was then obtained for each institution by summing the ratings given on each of the dimensions. Thus, schools received total scores from 0 to 10 points. A distribution of total scores permitted three separate groupings of institutions, namely, a group of 30 institutions with the highest total scores (5 or more points), another set of 29 institutions with the lowest total scores, (0-2 points) and a middle group of 21 institutions (3-4 points). The cutting points between these three groups were chosen to form groups of institutions of relatively comparable size. Each of these categories of institutions was designated as having a distinct form of planning—Substantive, Mixed, and Expedient.

Expedient planning has been stimulated in higher education by the development of statewide coordinating agencies. From the late 1700s to the early 1950s only 18 states developed statewide agencies. However, the period from 1951 to 1968 saw the creation of an additional 25 such agencies. A major function of these agencies

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is the development of statewide plans for the orderly growth and development of state's system of higher education institutions. Such planning is germane to the issues and problems which the fiscal and quantitative crises have generated and, concerns issues such as: number and types of new institutions, campus size, new programs, costs of instruction, space utilization, average class size, student-faculty ratios, and the like. Contemporary planning is preoccupied with such problems of logistics almost to the point of excluding serious consideration of qualitative issues. And, although Expedient planning may not easily capture the faculty's attention, faculty does share an important stake n such planning since decisions about logistics often have important implications for educational policy.

A very different response to these crises is seen in a few colleges and universities across the nation. In these cases, particular attention is given to the qualitative crisis through substantive planning. This type of planning includes the examination and determination of all major long-range policies concerning institutional functions and activities. The definition of institutional mission and role can identify the special competencies and inadequacies of a school as well as chart new directions. The first, and most basic task of planning, involves specifying priorities among the multiple aims of educational institutions, as well as establishing priorities regarding such items as: programs and curricula; methods and forms of instruction; the recruitment, selection, promotion, and the general welfare of the faculty; admissions criteria, academic standards, and student affairs; and finances and facilities.

The faculty role in Substantive planning is crucial, since this type of planning places special emphasis on educational policy issues. Here, the faculty should be involved, for within their province of expertise are matters such as: the existing strengths and weaknesses in institutional curricula and programs; subject matter developments and new approaches to teaching in the various disciplines; and the educational soundness and feasibility of proposed modifications to curricula, programs, and methods of instruction. But, as discussed in Chapter I, faculty tend to be "reluctant planners," and in some

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cases totally disinterested in the overall educational objectives and effectiveness of their institution. It is questionable whether the president and other key administrators can provide this type of expertise since they are becoming increasingly preoccupied with external pressures and issues and are thus tending to lose contact with the academic process in their own institutions (Clark, p. 175).

The characteristics of Substantive and Expedient planning are compared in the accompanying chart. The Mixed type of planning is simply a third form of planning midway between these polar types. In the next chapter we examine the environmental and institutional correlates of each of these types of planning. Also, concrete illustrations of the polar types are discussed in Chapter IV, where vignettes of planning are given for various institutions.

Types of Planning

DIMENSIONS	SUBSTANTIVE	EXPEDIENT
1. SCOPE	All major policies are examined and determined concerning institutional functions and activities (i.e., institutional mission and role, programs, curricula, methods and forms of instruction; recruitment, selection, promotion, and general welfare of the faculty; admissions criteria, academic standards, and student affairs; finances and facilities). This process frequently occurs in a series of phases rather than a single effort to simultaneously examine all areas.	Primary concern is the projection of student enrollments to determine budgetary, staff, and facilities needs.
2. INTEGRATION	Long-range plans for education and related programs, facilities, and finances are closely interrelated and mutually supportive.	Planning is focused on the allocation and management of fiscal and physical resources. Only minimal attention is given to the interrelatedness of decisions about programs, facilities, and budgetary issues.
3. PRIORITY	Institutional mission and role is defined so that the special competencies and inadequacies are identified and priorities are established among the goals of the institution. Sometimes a systematic effort is made to map out major programs of cooperation with other institutions so as to minimize unnecessary dilution of resources.	Priorities are usually set for expansions of staff and facilities only. Often definitions, standards, and formulas established by external agencies significantly shape institutional priorities.
4. STYLE	Continuous planning and adaptation to new conditions and commitments. Planning is seen as a key process for institutional self-analysis and improvement.	Periodic and usually reactive to crises situations or external demands. Without these extra-institutional pressures or requirements, planning would not be done since it is perceived as a routine administrative task rather than as a means for continual self-improvement.
5. RESEARCH	A continuous process of research occurs which focuses on the key issues facing the institution and which goes beyond the routine service of institutional research offices. Various efforts are made not only to better describe student, faculty, and the teaching-learning process, but also, to assess the overall effectiveness of the institution.	Data are utilized but in a limited, piecemeal, and unsystematic way. Information that is collected and reported usually feeds routine administrative processes.
6. STRUCTURE	Faculty and administrators are on joint committees, or at least joint steering committees, which facilitate communication and coordination, and equitably distribute authority.	Faculty and administrators sit on separate and independent committees for planning. Coordination is difficult and conflicts are likely to emerge.
7. PARTICIPATION	Faculty, student, administrators, and trustees all have responsibility for planning. Each group has a unique perspective, type of expertise, and particular contribution to make toward planning. Planning involves both initiator and reactor roles played by the various groups. Special incentives—released time, staff funds—increase the quality of such participation.	Participation is usually restricted to administrators who make decision with limited consultation of others. Faculty show little interest in planning since it deals mainly with fiscal and financial matters. When faculty are involved, they simply react to plans written by administrators. No special incentives are provided for faculty participation.
8. PROCESS	Planning requires a special and ongoing structure to provide an institutional perspective and to focus on generic issues facing the institution.	The existing organizational machinery is used and it is geared to routine, day-to-day issues that focus on limited sectors of the total institution. For example, a curriculum committee may have much of the responsibility for planning.

III.

Correlates of Planning

In the previous chapter we discussed new sources of tension in higher education which are demanding attention. College faculties and administrators are being encouraged to spend significant amounts of time on the purposes, integrity and character of their institutions. While the planning processes found on most college campuses have been used by faculty and administration as one way to cope with the qualitative crises, much more attention has been given to physical and fiscal problems associated with quantitative growth and expansion. Given this range of approaches, Chapter II offered a typology of planning as the result of rating each institution on eight separate dimensions. Casual observations of those institutions sharing a common type of planning suggested that other patterns of related characteristics might also exist.

Eventually, one would hope to identify in rather specific terms what it takes on the part of institutions and their personnel to undertake planning that faces fundamental issues about institutional missions and roles and also defines the processes by which continuous improvement in institutional effectiveness can be achieved. As a first step in this direction, our attention is now directed to the question: What characteristics are shared by institutions performing a particular type of planning?

DATA AND THEIR SOURCES

Several types of data were examined for the 80 institutions. Numerous documents such as catalogs, information brochures, faculty, student, and administrative handbooks, senate constitutions and bylaws, academic and campus plans were accumulated during

on-campus visits. In addition, interviews were conducted with faculty and administrators knowledgeable about planning on their campus. And finally, numerous public documents (directories, fact books, statistical digests, and research monographs) were pursued for additional data about each of these institutions.

In the present study, student data includes information on academic performance, socio economic background, graduate school attendance, geographic origin, and on-campus residency.

Quite a range of data on faculty and administrators was examined. The following types of information were used: type and source of highest degree, age, average compensation, distribution by academic rank, proportion that was full time, and a survey of attitudes toward planning done at each institution. In addition. a separate analysis was conducted for presidents utilizing similar kinds of data.

Information about the total institution was also analyzed. For example, the statewide structure of higher education was studied to see if statewide planning for higher education might shape local institutional planning. Also, several of the commonly used institutional indices were collected and examined, namely: faculty-student ratios, campus size, library books per student, and income per student. These data were supplemented with other information about an institution's type of programs, level of offerings, major changes in mission and role, and type of control.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DATA

An effort was made to organize the various data on the correlates of planning, and one scheme, devised by Barton (1961), seemed particularly suited to the task. The scheme is comprised of six major categories for describing educational institutions: inputs, outputs, environment, social structure, attitudes, and activities. The first three categories distinguish three external characteristics of organizations. *Inputs* refers to the kinds of personnel recruited, the

economic resources available, and the physical facilities used. *Outputs* consists of physical production, changes in people, or other services, and the consequences—both short- and long-term—of organizational activity. By *Environment* is meant the characteristics of the community or organizational network in which the institution exists.

⁕   The three other categories identify the major internal characteristics of organizations. *Social structure* includes a variety of features such as formal and informal authority, power, influence, and communication. The division of labor, departmentalization, and size of the units also belongs here. *Attitudes* encompass a variety of perceptions suggested in such terms as values, norms, and satisfaction. In organizations, the measurement of attitudes often focuses on such things as organizational goals, values, and roles, perceptions of organizational characteristics, and satisfaction with one's role or with the entire organization. Lastly, *Activities* reflect the actual behavior of individuals or groups within the organization.

Although Barton's scheme is more elaborate, in the sense that he spells out several sub-types for each major category, the six general types of information are sufficient for the present study. Information about administrators, faculty, and students are treated as input items, whereas degree productivity and proportions of students continuing on to graduate school are classified as output data. Such data as the structural characteristics of a state's higher education system, the type of institutional control, and rural-urban locale are placed under environmental variables. Internal characteristics, including such items as institutional size, faculty-student ratios, distribution of faculty by rank, and type of planning committee are discussed under social structure. Attitudes, a second internal dimension, concentrate mainly on faculty and administrator feelings toward planning at their institution. And lastly, under a category labeled activities, the nature and level of programs and distribution of students by program are discussed.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Tables 2, 3, and 4 present the institutional data organized according to the above scheme within our three types of planning. Where appropriate, a chi-square test was calculated to see if a particular characteristic was significantly related to a form of planning. Given the exploratory nature of the study, several findings are also discussed that did not reach statistical significance. Also, relevant data was often only available for about one-half of the institutions. Again, in an exploratory vein, we included such data.

Inputs

Overall, those institutions practicing Substantive and Mixed types of planning differ from those doing Expedient planning (see Chapter II for a detailed discussion of these planning types) in terms of selected characteristics of their presidents, faculty, students, and general resources; and, in a few instances, a further separation can be made between the features of institutions having Substantive or Mixed types of planning. To be more specific, we find that Substantive and Mixed institutions have more presidents with the PhD degree. Their highest degree also tends to be in a professional field and from a prestigious school.

Further analysis of the Mixed institutions shows that most of them are multiversities. That their presidents hold more PhDs and more often are from prestigious schools may simply represent the fact that presidents of large universities are more often figureheads that must be respectable above all else. One might further hypothesize that presidents of these institutions would more often be recruited from outside the institution rather than working their way up within it, since they may be selected on the basis of academic reputation rather than proven leadership ability. Large public institutions whose presidents have strong academic backgrounds probably foster a type of planning that accommodates both the means-oriented interests of legislative bodies and state agencies and the educational concerns of faculty.

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Although the percentages of faculty with PhDs show no marked differences, their average compensation is lower at Expedient institutions. Substantive institutions also differ in terms of their student characteristics. They have a more balanced sex ratio and a higher percentage of their students come from the top of their high school graduating class. And finally, with regard to institutional resources, Substantive institutions have a more favorable ratio of income per student and library books per student. While the quality of presidents, faculty, and students, and total income might permit better planning, it is doubtful that the ratio of library books per student or the percentage of male students have an effect on planning; they would only be dependent variables. The relative balance in the number of males and females at Substantive schools may reflect a greater emphasis on the liberal arts in which females are more likely to enroll; the ability of private schools to purposely determine an ideal sex ratio; and the greater attraction of females to smaller, more sociable institutions, rather than larger, more impersonal, and more vocationally-oriented schools.

Outputs

Unfortunately, good data on outputs in higher education are generally non-existent or, at best, fragmentary. The two indices shown in Table 2 indicate Substantive planning is related to having a slightly higher percentage of entering students graduating in four years and a higher percentage of graduates continuing on to graduate school. Both of these findings are features of small, single purpose institutions, with high quality students. There is still a lack of measures of such things as creativity, social commitment, intellectualism, and similar qualities that are perhaps the ultimate criteria of good educational planning.

Environment

Three pieces of data are shown in Table 2 to describe how environmental characteristics are related to the three types of planning. Although no statistically significant findings were found, it does appear that some relationships exist between state and type

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TABLE 2

Input, Output, and Environmental Correlates of Three
Types of Institutional Planning

	Types of Planning					
	Substantive (N=30)		Mixed (N=21)		Expedient (N=29)	
Input	(Percent)		(Percent)		(Percent)	
Presidents						
with PhD	58	(19)	71	(14)	52	(21)
from prestigious[1] school	56	(16)	64	(14)	35	(20)
with professional[2] degree	50	(18)	46	(13)	38	(21)
Average age	54	(17)	56	(14)	53	(20)
Faculty						
with PhD	62	(15)	57	(7)	63	(12)
Average compensation[3]	$13,000	(22)	$13,300	(17)	$12,100	(22)
Students						
male	54	(28)	63	(20)	62	(23)
in top 1/5th of high school class[4]	62	(13)	50	(10)	51	(12)
Other						
Income per student[5]						
Median	$ 2,870	(21)	$ 2,700	(15)	$ 1,680	(17)
Mean	$ 4,570	(21)	$ 3,180	(15)	$ 2,310	(17)
Library books per student	58	(15)	26	(15)	21	(16)
Output						
going to graduate school	50	(14)	47	(10)	41	(14)
graduating in 4 years	50	(18)	43	(15)	49	(13)
Environment						
State: Ca. (N=25)	40		16		44	
Ill. (N=18)	44		28		28	
N.Y. (N=26)	31		38		31	
Fla. (N=11)	36		18		46	
Total. (N=80)	38		26		36	
Rural	37	(30)	29	(21)	41	(29)
Private	40	(30)	21	(21)	24	(29)

[1] We defined a prestigious graduate school as one of the 13 listed by Allan Carter in An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education having a distinguished rating in any one of five general areas of study. These schools were: Harvard, Berkeley, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, Stanford, Rockefeller Institute, California Institute of Technology, Illinois, and MIT.

[2] Professional degrees included: education, medicine, law, journalism, food technology, city planning, engineering, public administration, and business administration.

[3] AAUP figures on average faculty compensation were used which include salary plus specified benefits. Data on junior colleges are included.

[4] Students' high school standing was in terms of grade-point average.

[5] Income per student was calculated by dividing an institution's total endowment by its total fall enrollment.

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of planning. These relationships, however, mainly seem to be the result of features peculiar to the subsamples drawn in the various states. For example, a bimodal pattern of planning, Substantive and Expedient, is found among California institutions due, it seems, to the relatively large number of four-year colleges in the subsample. Planning among colleges was observed to conform to this same bimodal pattern. Similarly, Expedient planning was concentrated in Florida, where the subsample contained many large institutions, which typically have quantitative planning. In Illinois, Substantive planning was common and explainable by the fact that fifty percent of the institutions rated as Substantive were privately controlled. In comparison, the frequency of Mixed planning in New York is apparently the result of legislatively mandated planning. The significance of the planning law in New York also seems to be shown in the data on attitudes toward the faculty role in planning. For example, one item, "external system encourages planning," is highly related to Mixed planning; moreover, this relationship was strongest in New York.

Although these data reveal no strong relationship between the type of planning and state, it was the opinion of the research staff who actually made the field observations, that one type of planning—Expedient—was dominant at all levels in all states, but especially within the public sector (Palola, Lehmann, and Blischke, 1968). This finding would not be shown in the above tables since approximately one-third of the institutions were purposely assigned to each type of planning. The research team's observation that statewide, segmental, and institutional planning was typically quantitative, routine, means-oriented, and concerned with logistics has very important long-range implications for higher education. If the mode of planning mentioned above becomes institutionalized, then the major task of defining the goals and objectives of education will be permanently evaded. Thus, a very serious dilemma exists in higher education planning—the great emphasis placed thus far on quantitative planning juxtaposed with the qualitative crisis and its mandate to reassess the forms and functions of higher education.

Two other features of the environment were examined, rural/urban location, and private/public control. Being a rural institution does not seem to preclude Substantive planning. The higher percent of rural institutions for the Expedient type planning cell is simply due to a heavy concentration in this category of junior colleges—institutions which tend to be in rural areas. JB Hefferlin, in comparison, found that his "dynamic" institutions were likely to be located in urban settings where the pressures for change are strong and varied. One might suspect that Substantive institutions approximate Hefferlin's "dynamic" institutions. But the fact that rural or ·rban location was not related to type of planning might suggest .at the characteristics of the people and the nature of community issues are not particularly important to institutional planning. Or, in other words, rural institutions are just as interested in being up-to-date as are the urban.

Finally, being a private school is not significantly related, *statistically*, to the type of planning practiced. Nevertheless, a Substantive institution is twice as likely to be private as are the Mixed or Expedient. This is important and may result from some of the following reasons. First, private schools have more money per student which allows them to change in various directions. Second, private institutions are free from public and legislative demands and pressures (e.g., they do not have to accept all qualified entrants, do not have to provide vocational manpower, and do not have to have as many people approve their plans). And third, private institutions, since they cost more to attend, are forced to attempt to provide quality education and appealing programs to attract students away from state schools. Many statements given during interviews at private colleges and universities support these three reasons for their superior planning.

Social Structure

Table 3 contains the data on social structure and activities of institutions categorized by type of planning. Several pieces of data under social structure are suggestive about differences related to planning. In comparision to Mixed and Expedient institutions,

TABLE 3

Social Structure and Activity Correlates of Three Types
of Institutional Planning

	Types of Planning					
	Substantive (N=30)		Mixed (N=21)		Expedient (N=29)	
Social Structure						
Average Size[1]	6,100	(28)	14,800	(20)	12,500	(28)
Student-faculty ratio (percentile)	69	(14)	54	(13)	46	(15)
	(Percent)		(Percent)		(Percent)	
Full-time faculty	79	(21)	75	(15)	80	(17)
Full professors[1]	26	(18)	25	(16)	23	(17)
New or changed[2, 3] in last 10 years	52	(23)	40	(15)	6	(18)
Students in dormitories	58	(17)	40	(15)	24	(16)
Out-of-state students	23	(21)	17	(15)	9	(15)
Type of Institution[3]						
Universities (N=34)	38		35		27	
Colleges (N=22)	45		14		41	
Junior Colleges (N=24)	29		25		46	
Total (N=80)						
Activities						
Granting PhD	30	(23)	73	(15)	39	(18)
Average percent of graduate students	22	(23)	23	(15)	26	(17)
Average percent in liberal arts	71	(16)	63	(15)	46	(17)

[1] Data on junior colleges included.

[2] Institutions classified as "changed" had significantly altered their mission, role. or facilities, e.g., adding or deleting a graduate school, or moving to a new campus.

[3] Significant by Chi-square test at .05 level or less.

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Substantive institutions are smaller, have a richer student-faculty ratio, house a greater share of their student body on campus, and recruit more out-of-state students. Also, statistically significant differences were found in three areas. First, Substantive institutions were more likely to be new or to have undergone a major shift in mission and role. Second, type of institution—university, college, or junior college—is related to type of planning. Junior colleges tend to have Expedient planning, four year colleges tend to have either Substantive or Expedient, and universities were slightly more likely to have Substantive or Mixed planning. And the third statistically significant finding was the high percentage of Mixed institutions offering PhD programs compared with Substantive and Expedient institutions. This finding is consistent with the observation that most Mixed institutions are multiversities.

A few interpretive comments about these findings on social structure can help to clarify what appear to be some rather important correlates of institutional planning. Size is clearly related to type of planning, with more of the smaller schools doing Substantive planning. Small size probably increases the potential impact of the president and other key administrators who can stay abreast of various departments and programs. Together they can effectively inspire or disenchant faculty members with regard to the institution as a whole. Second, small size facilitates organizational change since there exists less bureaucracy to overcome. This provides an important incentive for planning. Third, small size permits change through growth—the possibility of selectively adding to various departments, and the like. And fourth, the units or personal identification and concern would be broader in small institutions. For example, if there were only two psychologists, they would be more likely to think of themselves as social scientists, or as part of the liberal arts faculty, instead of simply "the department of psychology." This more diffuse concern would enhance integrated efforts at planning and tend to make faculty members "locals," concerned about their institution and its students, rather than "cosmopolitans," concerned about national advancement in their discipline.

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Although the student-faculty ratio is more favorable at Substantive institutions, the percentage of full-time faculty and of full professors does not vary by type of planning. Since the percentage of PhDs and faculty salaries are also not particularly favorable to Substantive schools, it seems that they do not hire better faculty (at least in terms of research ability), but that they hire more faculty. This seems to reflect the opinions noted in Hodgkinson's recent study where it was found that faculty and administrators placed much greater emphasis on class size and teaching load than on teaching ability as important educational qualities of institutions (Hodgkinson, 1968, p. 5).

Many more new schools have Substantive planning. Newness and growth both permit planning (much can be planned), and force planning (something must be planned) to take place. And yet, while newness in itself might lead to some kind of planning, the fact that it is also Substantive planning may be due to factors such as the increased morale and optimism at new institutions; the feeling of freedom to create something unique and distinctive.

The findings discussed thus far highlight key conditions associated with Substantive planning. Three major variables seem to facilitate planning—small size, being private, and newness.

The fact that schools doing qualitative planning have more out-of-state students may simply reflect their greater national prestige and attractiveness to students, or the ability of wealthier private college students to move around. But this diversity of students may also function as a source of new ideas and help combat parochial traditionalism.

The much higher percentage of students in dormitories at Substantive institutions fits with being small, private, and liberal arts. Having students on campus not only gives greater responsibilities to qualitative schools, but may also provide an opportunity to plan a "total" educational environment.

Attitudes

Data presented in Table 4 represent the attitudes of administrators and faculty toward the faculty's role in planning. Overall, the findings suggest that at Substantive institutions, planning is less likely to be defined as an administrative task, faculty are less exclusively oriented to their discipline; there is less faculty conflict, and the external system is less likely to be seen as a hindrance to planning. In sum, positive attitudes concerning planning and its participants dominate in Substantive institutions.

In comparison, negative stereotypes of planning and the faculty role in it seem more pervasive at schools with Expedient planning. This shows in the attitudes that: 1) planning is an administrative task, 2) faculty are too impractical, 3) planning is ineffective. These reasons for lack of participation by faculty in planning seem due to a lack of leadership in promoting an understanding and appreciation of the planning process. That the administration does a better job of explaining what is involved, and what are the potentialities of planning, emerges as one recommendation based on these data.

TABLE 4

Attitudinal Correlates of Three Types of Institutional Planning

| | Types of Planning | | |
	Substantive (N=30)	Mixed (N=21)	Expedient (N=29)
Attitudes Toward the Faculty Role	(Percent)	(Percent)	(Percent)
Administration encourages planning	67	52	66
Planning is administrative task	50	62	76
Faculty oriented to discipline	40	52	52
Faculty too impractical'	20	48	55
Faculty conflicts	27	48	55
External system encouragement	3?	43	14
External system hindrance	20	38	38
Internal pressures for planning	20	24	38
No rewards	27	24	24
Planning is ineffective	30	24	38

' Significant by Chi-square test at .05 level or less.

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It is somewhat surprising to find that although "administration encourages planning" was the single most important reason given for faculty being involved, this reason was not related to type of planning being conducted.

Finally, at about a fourth of all three types of institutions, the faculty felt there were "no rewards" for participating in planning. While it is not one of the most often mentioned deterrents to planning, it seems obvious that some sort of reward should be available to stimulate the most able faculty members.

Disregarding the specific type of planning at institutions, faculty were more actively involved in planning when they receive administrative encouragement, when a new campus was being developed, or when the mission and role of an institution was undergoing a fundamental change. Reluctance to become involved in planning was found at older, more traditional campuses which have no special rewards or external pressures to promote and encourage planning, where internal conflicts were frequent, where faculty were perceived as not qualified to contribute to planning, and where a commitment by faculty and administrators to the specialized disciplinary orientation predominated.

The findings suggest that faculty reluctance to participate in planning may continue until: 1) the character of planning is changed toward a more qualitative, goal-oriented activity, 2) organizational and professional recognition and encouragement are given for participation in planning, 3) planning becomes perceived as a central and an effective instrument for change within higher education. For a more detailed discussion of the faculty's role in institutional planning, the interested reader is referred to Palola, Lehmann, and Blischke (1970).

Conclusions

The key findings about the organizational correlates of educational planning by colleges and universities are: 1) On the

whole, the Substantive institutions appear to be smaller and newer and in some ways more homogeneous communities with the following characteristics: private, small, low student-faculty ratio, many students in dorms, many students in liberal arts, fewer faculty conflicts, few PhDs given, and fewer faculty oriented to their discipline. Taken together these factors probably help develop morale and commitment to the institution, and help simplify the definition of a single mission or set of priorities. These features also facilitate communication and interaction, and diminish the negative impact of bureaucracy and vested interested. 2) The institutions with Mixed planning seem to have the resources (or "Inputs") of Substantive schools but are hampered by their large size and age. 3) The Expedient institutions share the problem of Mixed schools and have the additional problem of a lack of money (i.e., about one-half the income per student).

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IV.

Planning Illustrated

In the following pages separate cases of planning are briefly described in order, first, to offer concrete illustrations of Substantive planning by different institutions, and, second, to further examine the conditions that facilitate or impede Substantive planning and its implementation. The examples include public as well as private institutions, state colleges, and junior colleges. For each institution we have attempted to describe its background, the predisposing and limiting conditions for planning, the process of planning, and the actual and expected changes. The last part of this chapter summarizes some of the major conclusions emerging from these case studies.

I

The first example is a private nondenominational liberal arts university located in one of the most populous states of the nation. Its enrollment is approximately 12,000 students, with a low 11:1 student-faculty ratio. Admissions standards are high (85 percent of its entering freshmen are in the top one-fifth of their high school graduating class), and almost one-half of the student body is from out of state. The institution is affluent with a three million volume library, an endowment of some $240 millions, an income per student of $11,000, and an "A" rating by the AAUP of compensation per full-time faculty member

Four graduate schools—law, medicine, business, and education—together with various specialized institutions provide a professional setting for the university. The university offers academic programs leading to the baccalaureate degree in 35 major departments, including the humanities, social sciences, sciences, and

engineering. Eighty-eight percent of the students are enrolled in undergraduate liberal arts programs. Fifty-three percent are in graduate school. In addition the institution maintains several overseas campuses in such countries as Germany, Italy, France, Austria, and England.

Three closely related and expanding pressures were significant underlying reasons for a major self-study launched in 1967. The major problem was a growing dissatisfaction with the General Studies program which, initiated 10 years earlier, was the major recommendation of a previous self-study. Student criticism about the relevance of this program and the overall rigidity of undergraduate education, coupled with the faculty's inability to defend the validity of these programs within the context of broad technological and social change, were obvious signs that a significant reassessment was due.

Other important forces operated as well. A major conflict erupted over sex discrimination in campus residence facilities and over drinking policies for university operated buildings. These particular problems were resolved only after important changes occurred in residence policies and key personnel appointments. Nevertheless, these problems constituted a second basic impetus for the comprehensive self-study. A third set of factors involved fundamental issues regarding the role of the student body and the image of the university. Many students felt that they had to be more directly involved in shaping the form and function of the institution. Thus, students increasingly sought a larger role on faculty and administrative committees. And finally, there was continuing concern about maintaining the national image and prestige of the university.

These conditions led the president to appoint a temporary Planning Committee which, in turn, recommended that a comprehensive institutional self-study of possibly two years duration be initiated as soon as possible. Shortly thereafter a joint Steering Committee of ten—five faculty, three students, and two administrators—was appointed for the study. Membership was not

intended to be representative, but was based on individual qualifications to contribute to the study. This group was to develop recommendations but not to make policy.

The Steering Committee followed no rigid agenda, conducted its work in open sessions, and met at least once, and sometimes three times a week, to discuss issues and problems of institutionwide importance; planning, in other words, had scope. They examined, for example, the nature and basic characteristics of the university, the academic programs, and the institutionalizing of self-study and innovation. They also coordinated the work of ten specially appointed Topic Committees. Over 200 faculty, staff, and students served on the Steering Committee, Topic Committees, subcommittees, and work groups; there were thus special committees with intense participation.

A comprehensive agenda of issues, problems, and questions was prepared early and used as a guide for specific activities and studies during the self-analysis. Ten items were distilled from this agenda as the substantive foci of the Steering and Topic Committees. The topics included: international education, admissions and financial aid, advising and counseling, residence programs and policies, the extracurricular programs, undergraduate education, graduate education, the institutionalizing of innovation, and governance of the university, and the teaching and research of the faculty.

In addition to the use of outside consultants, visits by faculty to other institutions, and public hearings on various issues, information and new ideas were collected through a program of on-campus study and research by a special staff (three professionals and seven students) appointed for the self- study. Questionnaires were distributed among students, faculty, departments, and other groups to obtain evaluations of undergraduate education, faculty perceptions of reward structure, expectations and preparation for overseas programs, advising and counseling, residence preferences, and summer activities. Interviews were also used to solicit in-depth information on some of the above topics. And secondary analyses

were conducted on available institutional data about budgets, teaching load, class size, grade distribution, admissions trends, and curricular requirements.

A ten-volume series constituted the final report of the comprehensive institutional self-study. These individual reports presented the findings, and recommendations of the Steering and Topic Committees. Over 150 separate recommendations were made in the 10 volumes, calling for a vast number of changes in regard to a very broad span of topics.

A process of implementation, started even before the reports were finished, continues under the general coordination of the president's office. Recommendations were assigned to various administrative and academic units of the university for possible implementation, and a variety of important changes have already occurred although most of the recommendations resulting from the study are yet to be implemented.

A sense of the magnitude and importance of these changes can be obtained from the following brief sketches.

Admissions requirements and procedures are being reviewed in order to broaden the selection criteria and to involve faculty and students more directly in the proce .

The program of freshmen seminars is being expanded with a maximum of twelve students per seminar.

Graduation requirements no longer include proficiency in a foreign language and mathematics, or completion of a general studies program. The only remaining universitywide requirements are two quarters of written composition; three quarters of work in each of three subject areas, i.e., humanities and fine arts, social sciences and mathematics, and natural science and technology; and a major concentration in some designated area of study.

Membership on the board of trustees was expanded from 23 to 32 by adding eight "young" and "old" alumni and the president of the university. Two faculty members from other institutions filled vacancies on the board, and steps were also taken to add students to many administrative and faculty senate committees.

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Concomitantly, four fellows of the university were appointed. These faculty members spend one-half of their time for three academic years studying, analyzing, and counseling the university on key substantive problems.

An Academic Planning Office was established as one step toward institutionalizing reappraisal and innovation at the university.

Changes in the areas of admissions standards, undergraduate programs, and governa..ce patterns will probably be the most significant, for they confront important current issues in higher eduration. To the extent that this university is able to resolve these issues, it will serve as a model for other colleges and universities.

II

A good example of a small private college that engaged in substantive planning, and changed itself on the basis of these plans, was found in Illinois. This college has an enrollment of about 1,000—half male and half female students. It is located in a small community of 25,000 and dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a church related, but not a church dominated, school. Cars are banned and there are no fraternities or sororities. The institution seeks students from other areas, and about one half of the students are from out of state. It is a residential college with about 98 percent of the students living in dormitories. One of the most unique features of the school is that it offers coordinate education; male and female students share faculties and facilities, but they have separate newspapers and student governments. This is thought to provide gre: or opportunity " . . . to develop leadership qualities and to gain a greater sense of individual responsibility." The student body has been described as " . . . composed of quiet, clean-cut, well mannered, conservative young men and women."

The institution began as an academy for women, later became a womens college, and remained so until 1957 when men were admitted. After the second World War graduate programs were added in several fields, but it was not until 1960 that the school

seriously engaged in self-examination and assessment. In this year a new president was appointed who recognized that something must be done to meet growing financial pressures. With his encouragement, the faculty completely redefined the mission of the institution and implemented corresponding structural changes. It was decided that the school should become a quality, liberal arts, undergraduate college offering only the B.A. degree. Realizing that it lacked the library resources and specialized facilities necessary to compete with other graduate schools, the college completely phased out its graduate programs. Thus degree offerings were reduced from six to one. The school also attempted to eliminate the supermarket approach to education by cutting in half the total number of courses offered on the undergraduate level.

Some of the most significant effects of this move, according to one of the college's publications, were: "reduction in number of preparations for teachers; elimination of fragmentation of students' programs; increased utilization of facilities and more efficient scheduling; rethinking and redrafting courses, plus further catalog revision; elimination of extremely small classes, enabling fewer faculty to teach more students." In particular, it was reasoned that, "academically, the fewer areas of responsibility a college assumes, the higher likelihood prevails of superior teaching and superior student results." Financially, the fewer the courses, the fewer faculty is needed; the fewer the faculty, higher salaries are possible; the higher salaries possible, the more competitive the College can be in the open teacher market. And, academically, the better the faculty, the better the student body which can be cultivated." In sum, " . . . it was anticipated that the results would be seen in better faculty salaries, better quality of faculty, and higher ability students."

There is some good evidence that the college's plans have been successful. In the five years from 1962 to 1967, average faculty compensation has risen from $7,900 to $11,800; from an AAUP rating of "E" to one of "C". In the same five years the percentage of faculty with the doctorate has risen from 37 percent to 47 percent. In addition, the school is attracting better students; average

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CEEB scores have risen almost 100 points.

It appears that a complex set of factors contributed to this institution undertaking planning and change. First, the school was under financial pressure to increase tuition income by attracting more students. The low enrollments, in turn, seemed due to growing competition from nearby public universities. It seemed wise for the college to cut back programs that were not competitive and to focus its efforts on developing a more attractive liberal arts offering. The leadership of the new president and the dean of the faculty were crucial in this regard. An accrediting team has described them as " . . . competent, energetic, and imaginative leaders widely admired throughout the college." Also, the president was able to encourage the faculty to trim courses by promising reduced teaching loads and increased salaries. Being small and private undoubtedly facilitated the institution's change; the small size allowed widespread participation and coordination of efforts, and being private avoided the necessity of statewide or legislative approval of the plans.

III

A third institution that has done a superior job of planning, but in quite a different setting, and within serious constraints, was found in California. Here a large state college has been engaged in substantive planning on a continuous basis for a number of years, and had produced three five-year plans by the time of our visit to the campus.

It is a commuter college in an urban area. The school was founded about the turn of the century and was primarily devoted to teacher education until around 1950 when it began to increasingly emphasize the liberal arts. It now has a full-time enrollment of about 15,000 students and offers masters degrees in more than 50 fields. Like other California state colleges it accepts applicants from the top third of the graduating high school classes. It has a balanced sex ratio, many transfer students, and a growing proportion of the enrollment is comprised of upper division and graduate students. Although its income per student is considerably below that of the

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average Substantive school in our sample, the faculty salaries are about at the national average and over 70 percent of the faculty hold a doctorate.

Being part of a statewide public system, this college is, of course, limited in significant ways in its planning process. The institution has no choice but to plan on a continuous basis. Following the adoption of the 1960 Master Plan for Higher Education in California, each state college was asked to independently develop its own five-year Academic Master Plan which would include proposals for degrees to be established during the period. Each plan was then to be reviewed by the Chancellor's Office and approved by the Trustees. The benefits of such plans are conceived as follows:

> Academic master plans are tentative projections of additional degree programs, arranged by years according to their earliest anticipated introduction, on the basis of consultation between faculty and administration on the respective campus and further consultation and review with the Academic Planning staff in the Chancellor's Office. The chief gains of academic master planning are that each college examines its curricular future comprehensively and determines a reasoned order of curricular development, and that the Trustees—satisfied that both the planning and the implementation of degrees are adequately safeguarded—can free themselves from the task of seeking to analyze and justify the details of separate degree proposals. Additional benefits which may be expected to result from an approved academic master plan include that facilities planning can be more closely correlated with curricular planning; that students can be more realistically counseled with regard to the availability of undergraduate and graduate degree programs; that the recruitment of faculty can be aided by and geared to projected degree programs; and that library development can be planned with reference to anticipated instructional needs (Office of the Chancellor, 1966, p. 4).

This concept of planning tends to allow each college maximum freedom to initiate and develop programs, but it may also result in excessive, unnecessary or duplicative efforts within the state college segment as a unit. (Thus in 1968 the Academic Senate of the California State Colleges recommended to the Trustees that

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the Chancellor investigate those areas where such proliferation or unnecessary duplication exists.) And yet, while free to propose programs and curricula, the individual state colleges must plan within the following goals and functions designated for them by the Master Plan.

> The primary function of the State Colleges is the provision of instruction for undergraduate students and graduate students, through the master's degree, in the liberal arts and sciences, in applied fields and in the professions, including the teaching profession. . . The doctoral degree may be awarded jointly with the University of California . . . Faculty research is authorized to the extent that is consistent with the primary function of the State colleges and the facilities provided for that [p. 42].

This statement has made it impossible for even the more advanced and prestigious state college campuses, such as the one that is being described, to develop into PhD granting universities. Similarly, admission standards have been set at the same level for all state colleges. While the University of California selects from the top one-eighth of the graduates from public schools, the state colleges must accept students from the top one-third. The Master Plan also specified the desired percentage of lower division students to be 40 percent.

These limitations, together with statewide "givens" such as faculty salaries and teaching loads, serve to greatly limit the sphere and directions of institutional planning on individual campuses. These constraints, together with the fact that this college is approaching its enrollment ceiling of 15,000 FTE, means, as the academic plan states, that " . . . curricular developments will be more evolutionary than revolutionary in nature." Thus much of the planning activity consists of determining appropriate future sizes of the various departments. The proposed growth, however, is not simply based upon extrapolations of past enrollments at this college. In the last plan desirable figures were arrived at by also considering state and national trends in enrollments and trends in employment opportunities in various fields. Department proposals were then evaluated and negotiated in open hearings before the ultimate pattern was decided upon.

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New programs must work their way up through a complex academic hierarchy. This process is undoubtedly more time consuming than it would be at a small undifferentiated college, but it also probably insures careful consideration of the value and implications of new programs. First, an individual staff member submits a suggestion in written form to his department's curriculum committee or faculty as a whole. Approved proposals then must be accepted, in order, by the school's dean, the Office of Academic Planning, the Curriculum Committee, the Academic Senate, the president of the college, and perhaps the Chancellor's Office and the Trustees.

The 1965 Academic Master Plan recommended discontinuing about 25 baccalaureate and masters degrees and adding about 35 others within the next five years. However, since many of the discontinued degrees only reflected consolidation of programs or name changes, these figures represented further diversification of the college rather than a basic change of character. The plan also recommended lump sum allocations by school rather than department, that admissions be based on school quotas to insure the orderly growth of programs as advanced by the Academic Master Plan, and that interdisciplinary programs continue to be developed.

In addition to these proposals, some very innovative programs have been initiated, largely due to the efforts of students. Among these programs are an experimental college, and a black studies program. The experimental college has been highly successful, with about 650 students enrolled in a recent semester. A local newspaper has described it as "a smorgasbord of course offerings established by students bent on reforming the existing structure of American higher education." A few of the courses offered have been: "The Dimensions of Movement," "Effecting Social Change," and "Utopian Metaphysics of the Three-Fold Forces." In the fall of 1967, the black studies curriculum began with eleven courses covering various fields in the social sciences and humanities. It has rapidly expanded into one of the largest departments of its kind in the country.

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The fact that programs such as these have been implemented testifies to the commitment and capability of the students and to the responsiveness of the planning process to new ideas. The accomplishments are also due to a philosophy of widespread participation and involvement of all elements of the academic community at the college. With regard to students this attitude is evidenced in a recent statement in the college catalog:

A recent development in the life of the campus is the provision for student representation on a number of official committees of the Academic Senate. Students are now serving as voting members on such committees as Student Affairs, Instructional Materials, Teacher Education, Undergraduate Curriculum, Instructional Policies, and Graduate Council. In addition, the student body president is a regular member of the President's Council and the President's Administrative Committee. A student also serves as a voting member of the Academic Senate itself. These arrangements have implemented the conviction of both faculty and students that in an academic community the active participation of students in the formulation of college goals and policies is valuable and essential.

IV

Community colleges probably confront more obstacles to Substantive planning than any other type of institution. These schools are largely shaped by the desires of their clientele and the needs of the surrounding community. The junior college as an "open door" institution is not completely free to define a specific mission or role. Instead, it must provide courses for all types of students and offer vocational programs geared to the needs of the local economy. The problem of multiple functions has been stressed by Samuel Gould:

The width of the spectrum of educational goals that the individual junior college insists upon for itself encompasses far more than any single institution could ever hope to achieve. In the process of providing greater equality of educational opportunity, the junior college attempts to offer lower-division work for students who expect to go on to four-year institutons, terminal programs (usually of a vocational type) for those who do not, adult education, special community services, remedial ٭ ork, guidance, and general education. And even if we were to settle upon the two most important purposes of the junior college (namely, to train semiprofessional and skilled

technicians for employment and to screen students who are capable of higher study for the colleges and universities), there is serious question that even these two can be carried on successfully in a single institution (1960).

It is almost impossible for a two-year college even to consciously determine its relative emphasis on vocational or academic programs. Burton Clark, in his case study of one community college, found that a planned emphasis on technical and industrial instruction was completely negated by a large majority of students enrolling in academic courses. This trend in enrollment actually necessitated a change in the administrative structure of the college. In summary, Clark (1960) stated:

In its lack of autonomy, the open-door college has the definition of character taken away from planning and professional control and diffused to external sources. Thus we find a type of formal organization determined to a large degree by context [p. 175].

Besides problems derived from multiple functions, lack of selectivity, and community control, the junior college plays a passive role with regard to the four-year institutions to which it sends transfer students. The prestige of a particular junior college rests, to a great extent, upon the number of transfer students it produces and their success after transferring. Consequently, it is extremely important that its courses are accepted for credit and that they prepare students for the demands that will be placed on them by the four-year institution. Thus few courses are created to fulfill academic ideals or to capitalize on special competencies of the faculty, rather they are often initiated in response to previous changes at four-year institutions. At least one California junior college has two biology courses; one for state college transfers and one for students hoping to attend the University with its differing mode of teaching biology. In general, junior colleges are most free to select among vocational programs, but even those may be forced upon a school by local interests.

Historically, many two-year colleges have been under the jurisdiction of local high school districts. And nationally about 64

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percent of junior college teachers have had secondary school experience. Thus it is not surprising that their staffs often take a narrow and not particularly innovative view of education.

V

In the previous pages we have examined some of the conditions that foster good planning as well as some of the conditions that seem to limit it. Finally, it might also prove useful to examine a few instances in which Substantive planning was done, but was not carried to completion.

The events at a new state college illustrate some important problems to be encountered in executing a comprehensive plan. This college began to accept students only a few years before our investigation was conducted. Although it was part of a large statewide system, it was encouraged to develop in a unique and experimental manner. The institution was legally bound to accept students in the top one-third of high school graduates but it had relative freedom to shape the character of their education. The college decided to stress a general liberal arts program with several unique features, including large lecture courses combined with many very small discussion sections, emphasis on independent study, senior comprehensive exams, and a general reading program centered on one book each quarter.

According to our criteria, the college's planning was Substantive. Three years before the institution began operations a five-man group was organized to develop its general philosophy as well as more concrete plans. The planning was comprehensive and well-integrated, and yet its implementation has encountered difficulties.

The key obstacle to the plans appears to be the lack of widespread commitment and participation on the part of both faculty and students. Since the plans were largely formulated before faculty were recruited, participation was not possible on this level. The administration has recognized the importance of faculty

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commitment to the goals of the college and has attempted to select faculty that appear to be in sympathy with these goals. And yet, the president of the college feels that one of the key issues confronting the college is " . . . getting the faculty to understand and accept the general education philosophy."

Several administrators complained that the growing specialization and research orientation of the faculty worked against the goals of the college. Lack of student participation is probably even more significant. The rigorous academic program has not been popular among many of the students who are qualified to attend, and the school's enrollment has been less than its projections. Also, many of the area's best high school students choose to attend a nearby university with its greater prestige. Most of the students who have enrolled are vocationally oriented and do not fit into the academic programs. As a faculty member stated " . . . many of the students . . . are asking why they have to take a foreign language, a reading course, and senior comprehensives when they could go to any other state college and be spared this kind of experience."

In the light of this lack of participation or commitment on the part of faculty and students, it is doubtful that the college's original plans will succeed. Some of the programs are already being reexamined, and it seems evident that if the college is to grow much larger significant changes must occur. Widespread involvement seems a necessary ingredient in executing Substantive planning.

VI

Another excellent example of Substantive planning that largely failed to be implemented was found in New York State at one of its arts and sciences colleges. This institution, almost 100 years old, grew from ten faculty members, a handful of students, and a single building on a five-acre lot, to more than 250 faculty, 3,300 students, and 22 major buildings on a 140-acre campus. During this time the mission and role of the institution underwent marked changes from normal school to teachers college, to college of education, to college of arts and sciences. The institution is

predominantly undergraduate, primarily residential, and is a member of a larger public university system. The college has attracted an increasing number, and a steadily improving quality, of applicants for admission. The programs of instruction are organized into three divisions: the Division of Arts and Sciences, the Division of Education, and the Division of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. The divisions are further divided into some 3G different departments.

From this overview we see the essential outlines of a fairly typical "state college;" nevertheless, the projected future for this institution, as established through intensive long-range planning, commits it to a liberal arts model, one which places particular emphasis on self-directed study.

Several important conditions set the stage for Substantive planning on this campus. First, the central office of the larger statewide university system required that comprehensive planning be done by all of its campuses on a regular basis. The specification of institutional mission and role was assigned top priority in this process. Second, each of the teachers colleges in the total university received a mandate to become an arts and sciences college by systemwide planning. This meant, in contrast to the past, that the disciplines of the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences would dominate, but without forsaking a commitment to the professional education of teachers.

Still a third factor was central to the planning and development effort. A new president was appointed who introduced three basic ideas to the institution: a commitment to long-range planning as a means to achieve fundamental change, the significance of liberal learning (as a foundation for undergraduate education and professional training), and the appropriateness and usefulness of self-directed study as the central feature of the teaching-learning process. This conception of instruction meant that an increasing responsibility would be placed on students for their own education.

One year after taking office and appointing a Director of Institutional Planning, the president established a ten-man joint committee (five faculty, five administrators, and chaired by a faculty member) whose responsibility it was to work with the director to develop a long-range plan for the college. The work of this committee, although starting at a sluggish pace, picked up momentum during its second year and proceeded rapidly thereafter. An overall work agenda was established, data were collected via questionnaires and interviews, special ad hoc study committees were established, the advice of outside consultants was solicited, position papers were collected, and public hearings were held to discuss major proposals and early drafts of the total plan. From its beginning, this committee became the arena for intense debates over a variety of substantive issues, namely: admissions standards, a program of basic studies, the cultural climate of the campus, the curricular structure of professional education, the contribution of residential living to the educational program, and the responsibility of students for their education. The hours given to debate, and the intensity of discussion, clearly revealed the importance of the issues to the institution.

The published long-range plan proposed a vast number of changes under such topics as undergraduate admissions, students and instruction, the campus and the students, the faculty, undergraduate education, graduate education, cooperative programs, international programs, continuing education, summer session, and community services. Some of the more critical recommendations of the plan were found in the chapter on students and instruction. Specifically, proposals were made to initiate self-directed study and a four-course, four-credit system, and to significantly modify the existing basic studies and professional education program.

Self-directed study was based on the premise that, while there is always a core of students who are capable of assuming primary responsibility for their education if given the opportunity, most students can eventually do so only if the program of instruction is designed to teach them how. This approach to learning was intended to provide a more flexible approach to teaching and greater

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attention to the educational needs, interests, and abilities of individual students.

The basic studies proposal recommended a common core of courses for all undergraduate students, the bulk of which would be taken within the first two years. It was hoped that such a program would give all students an early exposure to the basic areas of mathematics and the sciences, history and the social sciences, and literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. In support of self-directed study, and its aim to deal more directly with individual students, was the proposal of four courses per semester as the normal load. This would be a change from an existing five-course, three-credit-hour system. Such a shift, it was suggested, would give students more time to undertake their work with the care and commitment it demands.

A fourth proposal for basic change—restructuring of the professional education program--was intended to satisfy three general objectives for the education of teachers. First, it was asserted that those who teach should be liberally educated. Second, they should receive professional training from persons who are masters of the profession. And third, professional training should be received from persons in the academic disciplines.

It is impossible to cover the content and breadth of the 75 individual recommendations in this brief resume. The four key recommendations only highlight the most central changes proposed for this institution.

Shifting now to the topic of implementation, we see how the weight of tradition in combination with emergent crises significantly shaped this process and its outcomes. Almost immediately after the plan was completed, a new seven-man committee (including one student representative) was appointed by the president to coordinate and facilitate implementation of the plan. This committee, chaired by one of the more docile and politically acceptable members of the original planning committee, bogged down in its work due to at least two basic problems. First,

it took the committee some time to agree on which part of the plan to attempt to implement first. As it turned out, self-directed study was selected as the key idea to tackle first. In making this choice, however, much valuable time was lost and attitudes of skepticism grew about the potential for radical change. Priorities should have been set within the plan itself. Second, the committee members found that they were unable to identify or to build a sufficiently powerful political constituency for self-directed study, for the new basic studies program, or even for the four-course proposal. Thus the only change to occur during the year was the initiation of a pass-fail grading option on an experimental basis.

Further work toward implementing the plan essentially came to a halt due to a major faculty tenure fight that splintered the institution into several antagonistic factions. Key personnel changes followed, which included the president. The changes in leadership and the lack of consensus probably mean that the effort of Substantive planning will not result in a major, lasting change of this institution's character.

An interesting thing has subsequently happened to this plan; it is being implemented, quite successfully, at another state college. A new president, formerly a faculty member of the New York institution, is implementing many important features of this plan at a state college in Pennsylvania.

A CONCLUDING NOTE

The illustrations presented in this chapter demonstrate the diverse forms that Substantive planning may take; from the comprehensive planning of a new institution to the careful and constant reassessment of the development of an old and traditional college. While the end product of Substantive planning may take many forms, we have attempted to identify some of the conditions that serve to promote or impede the process of planning.

Although Substantive planning is by definition a continuous process, it is often (or at least produces its most dramatic results) in response to significant organizational crises. Several sets of forces were frequently observed in this respect. First, increasing financial pressures led some institutions, particularly private schools, to recognize that they must carefully define and develop their primary function in order to remain competitive and attract desired enrollments. Second, students are becoming more vocal and adamant in their demands upon higher education. Concern about problems of war, race, poverty, and the environment has led to demands for more relevant curricula. And students are becoming eager to participate in the governance of colleges and universities in order to effect educational reforms. At a few institutions we have seen that students have been a major stimulus to serious planning. Also, statewide planning has forced individual public institutions to plan. Some of these institutions perceived this situation as an opportunity, rather than as an obstacle, and have produced plans concerned with qualitative issues.

While financial pressures, student activism, and statewide planning all serve to set the stage for Substantive planning, additional conditions seem especially important for its successful execution. A new and dynamic president was very often found at schools that were doing good planning. New leadership, rather than new ideas, seemed to be the important ingredient. In particular it was crucial that he have the ability to develop widespread and active participation in the planning process. This not only made use of faculty expertise, but also increased the general morale of the campus and created a willingness to support change. With growing specialization and commitment to individual disciplines, the president is also placed in the position of maintaining faculty identification with the institution as a whole and with its central goals and purposes. Establishing representative committees, delegating authority effectively, opening channels of communication, and facing the task of defining goals are important functions for the top administrator who is trying to foster Substantive planning. And obviously, the faculty must be made reasonably content with

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such personal concerns as pay and teaching load before they can be expected to become involved with institutionwide concerns.

Finally, colleges and universities must, in their planning, develop a set of priorities based on accurate knowledge and realistic aspirations. We saw, for example, how a new college's plan collapsed because it failed to consider the quality and interests of its students. Another institution failed to effect change largely because it could not decide upon priorities to accomplish its tasks. Planning involves more than the exploration of intriguing possibilities; it involves making hard decisions among concrete, and often mutually exclusive, alternatives. Planning is at least as much the domain of politicians as it is of visionaries. And widespread advocacy, expertise, and consensus are more valuable to the process than the existence of a few novel ideas.

V.

The Conditions of
Organizational Self-Renewal

Chapters 1 - 111 have presented the major crises challenging higher education, the ways in which institutions have responded to these crises utilizing different techniques of institutional self-study and long-range planning, and the features which characterize institutions whose style of self-analysis and planning is more appropriate to the qualitative crisis in higher education. And in Chapter IV, several cases were provided of institutions where Substantive planning was practiced. A very important problem arose from these analyses and empirical findings: How to successfully achieve educational improvements in colleges and universities based on long-range plans? So often plans for change are never implemented; instead their fate is often the president's bookshelf or the college archives. This is not to deny the importance of the *process* and the many positive outcomes that are reported.

Nonetheless, a criterion often used to judge the success of planning is whether the recommendations are, in fact, implemented. It was not possible prior to the studies just completed and reported in previous chapters to say much about the conditions necessary for the successful implementation of plans. We are now in the position to identify some of these factors and to suggest how they fit together into a framework for organizational self-renewal.

With constantly mounting pressures arising from the rapid changes in social, political, and economic conditions in today's society, all complex organizations are confronted by pervasive uncertainty. No problem is more critical to the vitality, effectiveness,

and even the survival, of organizations than their capacity for self-analysis and self-renewal in the midst of this uncertainty. In the following pages we outline several natures of a theory of organizational self-renewal. Although educational institutions are our primary interest, the theory also has wider application to other types of complex organizations.

In general, business and industry are more experienced in self-analysis and self-renewal because market competition, greater use of computer systems, and increasingly sophisticated management techniques. Nevertheless, tax-supported organizations -such as hospitals. the military, and educational institutions—are becoming more aware of advanced management practices. Much remains to be done to assess accumulated experience and empirical research in all types of organizations before attempts at self-analysis and self-renewal can become maximally effective. Many businesses and corporations with a considerable backlog of experience in planning are still stymied by the complexities of self-renewal. Thus, the following discussion takes an eclectic approach and built on the writings of scholars from various disciplines and with different views of organizations.

TOWARD A THEORY OF ORGANIZATIONAL SELF-RENEWAL

The idea of self-renewal is certainly not new to organizational theory and analysis. But much of the previous work in this area only concerns the application of techniques to resolve concrete problems of one or more subunits of an organization. What the present chapter contributes is a framework for analyzing self-renewal where the unit of analysis is an entire organization; an organization which must continually plan in the face of pervasive transformations.

In addition to studying entire organizations, the present discussion differs from most previous work by giving special attention to the problem of self-renewal in educational institutions. In comparison to other complex organizations, colleges and

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universities have somewhat unique problems due to their heavy concentration of professional staff. And yet, since many other kinds of organizations are also rapidly developing sizeable professional staffs and having to cope with many of the problem of "professional organizations" (Etzioni, 1964; Miller, 1968; Kornhauser, 1⁰ ,6), the framework to be presented has growing gnificance for all organizations.

ON THE CONCEPT OF SELF-RENEWAL

A major contemporary social theorist has noted some general problems related to survival and self-re ewal of any organization or society. Parsons (1962) identified four basic problems of all social systems as: pattern-maintenance, goal-attainment, integration. and adaptation. Pattern-maintenance, in an educational institution, would involve defining and transmitting the college's traditions and goals. Goal-attainment would consist of meeting the goals and functions to some degree—graduating educated students, furthering research, and so on. Integration is the problem of maintaining working relationships within the institution, for example, between administrators and faculty, or between different departments. Adaptation refers to meeting pressures and forces external to the institution; an institution has to adapt to state budgets, public criticisms, manpower trends, etc. While these four problems are very abstract, they do serve to delimit the range of our concern. In terms of Parsons' scheme, self-renewal especially must confront sources of strain generated by problems of integration and adaptation, problems involving the degree to which systems and parts of systems "fit" together.

Many theorists have criticized Parsons, arguing that he over-emphasizes the stability of values and goals, as well as the degree to which they are shared. Walter Buckley (1967), for example, opts for what is labeled as the "complex adaptive systems" model. He stresses the great variety of alternatives in society. the tensions existing at all times, and the continuing processes of selection and

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transmission. He views society and its subunits as being more complex, open-ended, and more ridden with tension and conflict than does Parsons. In examining self-renewal in higher education we must remain alert to the basic, enduring problems to be confronted, as well as the constantly shifting tensions and numerous ways of adapting to them.

Other important contributors to the growing literature on self-inquiry and analysis in organizations are Warren Bennis and Phillip Slater (1968). In *The Temporary Society*, they identify five human problems confronting contemporary organizations: integration, the problem of how to integrate individual needs and management goals; social influence, the problem of the distribution of power and sources of power and authority; collaboration, the problem of managing and resolving conflicts; adaptation, the problem of responding appropriately to changes induced by the environment of the firm; and finally, revitalization, the problem of growth and decay. They expand on the problem of revitalization in the following manner:

> Organizations, as well as societies, must be concerned with those social conditions that engender buoyancy, resilience, and a fearlessness of revision. Growth and decay emerge as the penultimate problem in contemporary society where the environment is turbulent and uncertain [p. 57].

Revitalization, is, of course, very similar to self-renewal and the Bennis-Slater summary of its essential elements are thus well worth our attention. They consider these to be:

> An ability to learn from experience and to codify, store, and retrieve the relevant knowledge.
>
> An ability to learn how to learn, that is, to develop methods for improving the learning process.
>
> An ability to acquire and use feedback mechanisms on performance, in short, to be self-analytical.
>
> An ability to direct one's own destiny [p. 71].

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The significance of self-renewal or revitalization for organizations has been stressed. Some of the general problems it confronts have been noted. Next it seems useful to focus on educational institutions and ask what they must constantly examine and renew. JB Hefferlin (1969), in his study of vitality in colleges and universities, approaches an answer in defining academic reform as follows:

> [It] . . . means the modification and improvement of the program of an educational institution. It refers to such alterations as shifts in institutional services, revision of policies, reorganization of curricula, development of new methods of teaching, and increases in learning. It does not include other structural changes—important as they are—such as the expansion of enrollments, increases in financial resources, changes in the sources of support, turnover in the faculty, or the introduction of new budgeting procedures [p. XIX].

This definition seems adequate for present purposes given the infancy of our efforts to construct a theory of organizational self-renewal. Obviously, different language is needed to describe renewal in other types of organizations such as hospitals and welfare bureaus, or business and industrial organizations.

JB Hefferlin's definition captures a major concern of the present study, that is, the distinction between "substantive" and "procedural" change (Glenny, 1959). Hefferlin (1969) emphasizes *programs* and their *improvement*, not expansion, growth and other structural alterations. It is changes in quality, not quantity, that matters for self-renewal. On three critical counts, however, we wish to extend and, hopefully, clarify his definition of academic reform. This should lead to a clearer sense of organizational self-renewal in the context of education. We suggest:

1. *The necessity to distinguish between "macro" and "micro" improvements in academic programs.* Most change in organizations simply alters procedures, generates new standards, or modifies formal organization charts. These are examples of *micro* change. In contrast, *macro* change involves a basic shift in the mission and role of an organization. In

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other words, the basic identity or character of the organization is transformed. Most of what Hefferlin describes as "academic reform" would be classified here as *micro* improvements, that is, changes in the courses offered to students, the requirements that students must meet to earn a degree, the requirements for majoring in a program, or the regulations regarding attendance, tardiness, and conduct.

2. *The necessity to recognize planning as an increasingly central process for organizational self-renewal.* Institutional planning occurs in most colleges and universities today. However, there are wide variations in the type of planning being performed. Most planning in higher education today is concerned with *micro* changes of various sorts. But, in Substantive planning, one is concerned both with content *and* with techniques for change. In other words, self-renewal is as much a problem of developing the "right" environment for change as it is of studying the "right" topics.

3. *The necessity to consider the process and achievements of organizational self-renewal within a larger network of organizations.* Higher education institutions are interlocking members of various organizational networks. As such, an institution's sense of direction and specific mission and role must, in part, be the result of meeting extra-institutional needs. Thus networks of colleges and universities, whether voluntary educational consortia, statewide educational complexes or subsystems of larger groupings of institutions, are based on some rationale about educational needs to be met and an appropriate division of labor among institutions. Irdividual campuses cannot, therefore, make *macro* educational improvements in a vacuum.

The present discussion of self-renewal includes all of the points about academic reform mentioned by Hefferlin plus the three amendments. With these additions, however, organizational self-renewal more accurately reflects the *interorganizational* complexities of an *ongoing* process, and more directly calls attention

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to the *macro* issues of identity being raised in colleges and universities.

CONDITIONS FOR SELF-RENEWAL

The primary goal of the present chapter is to delimit the conditions of organizational self-renewal in educational institutions; conditions of a level of abstraction that could apply to other organizations. In constructing our list of prerequisites we considered previous theorizing as well as the findings of our own investigation. The ideas of John Gardner, Amitai Etzioni, and JB Hefferlin are especially relevant.

Gardner (1963) lists eight rules for the continuous renewal of societies:

> 1. The ever-renewing society will respect the individual.
>
> 2. The society capable of renewal will develop to the full potentialities of its members.
>
> 3. The ever-renewing society will treasure its pluralism.
>
> 4. The society designed for renewal will develop organizational forms that permit renewal.
>
> 5. The ever-renewing society must find a way to combat rigidifying that stems from excessive attention to precedent, and imprisonment of men by their practices.
>
> 6. A society that hopes to renew itself must have some means of cutting through the encircling web of vested interests that chokes off new growth in every field of endeavor.
>
> 7. A vital society is made up of highly motivated individuals.
>
> 8. The ever-renewing society will have a measure of consensus as to the things that it values, though the consensus will provide plenty of room for pluralism and dissent [pp. 375-368].

Gardner says that these rules can apply essentially unaltered to the organizations within society. Hence he uses them to assess

a university's successes and failures at self-renewal. To summarize his findings, he rates universities as "pass" on rules 1, 2, 7, and 8, "fail" on rules 3 and 6, and gives a mixed rating on rule 4. On the one hand, the continuous flow of students and the mobility of competent and motivated faculty contribute to renewal, while, on the other hand, the exceptional rigidity of departmental structure, coupled with faculty conservatism about any major innovation, impedes renewal.

For use in this chapter, Gardner's eight rules of renewal may be reduced to four central themes. One theme is the importance of individuals and their contributions to organizational self-renewal. A second theme emphasizes the need to "debureaucratize" the existing system and to elevate perspectives above vested interests. A third theme draws attention to the role of active supporters for programs of change. And fourth, he recommends a consensus on value commitments that also permits spontaneity and creativity.

The first and fourth themes—individual contributions and value consensus—closely relate to a recent work on "societal guidance" by Amitai Etzioni. In *The Active Society* (1968), the author attempted to outline the basis for a macrosociological theory of social change. In doing so he developed a typology which differentiated those societies (or societal units) in which change is guided by their members from those which are unguided, that is, basically subject to historical forces and beyond the conscious control of their members. The typology is based on two central variables: the extent of societal control, and consensus. Control, as he defines it, consists of the ability to make knowledgeable decisions and exercise power, while consensus refers to the congruence of preferences among the members of a society or social group. Control focuses on the impact of a controlling agent on those groups or individuals who are controlled. Consequently, it views the guidance of change from a top-down perspective. Consensus, on the other hand, is concerned with the upward flow of political influence which results from shared values being held by societal participants. The greater the homogeneity of values among a society's members the more likely change or stability will be determined in a decentralized

and spontaneous manner; through popular revolution or evolutionary grassroots efforts, for example.

By cross-tabulating these two dimensions Etzioni was able to identify four basic types of societies in terms of their patterns of societal guidance, i.e., "active", "passive". "overmanaged", and "drifting". For purposes of the present discussion we are interested only in those conditions—a high degree of control and consensus—leading to the "active" society since this pattern closely approximates the self-renewing organization.

The active organization would attain control over its destiny by improving its capacity to collect, process, and use knowledge. It would be alert to "transforming" as well as "stable" knowledge. That is, it would collect and examine information that questions the basic assumptions or goals of the system. Decisionmaking would be relatively democratic and active support would be mobilized. Decisionmakers would encourage widespread consensus as to values but would not try to form and channel it by means such as propaganda. In Etzioni's words:

> Without consciousness, the collective actor is unaware of his identity, his being acted upon, his ability to act, and his power; he is passive, like a sleeping giant. Without commitment to a purpose, action lacks direction and merely drifts. Without power, the most incisive and sharply focused awareness or the firmest commitment will not yield more action than a derailed train. To be active is to be aware, committed, and potent (1968, p.5).

Hefferlin noted that:

> . . . The evidence to date from historians, observers of academic life, and the reformers themselves points to three dominant sources of change in higher education: (1) the resources available for it, (2) the advocates interested in it, and (3) the openness of the system to them (1969, p. 49).

His investigation then attempted to find the relative importance of more specific factors and concluded that ten characteristics were crucial. These included the presence of a market,

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new models, circulation of ideas, marginal members, new members, "the right people," decentralization of initiative, avoidance of patriarchy, avoidance of consensus, and having an "avuncular" organization. Obviously, most of these factors fall under the more general heading of "openness."

To this point we have reviewed the conditions of self-renewal suggested by Gardner, Etzioni, and Hefferlin. Now it comes time to list those that we consider most important. Of course, some overlapping exists. It is not our intention to discard previous theories, but instead we wish to clarify and extend them in light of our own investigation. Based on our studies of planning and the implementation of plans, we suggest that organizational self-renewal is highly dependent on the presence of five basic conditions.

Participation

The basic dilemma regarding authority in colleges and universities is that there are two bases of legitimacy frequently in conflict. Organizational theorists have traditionally referred to these as bureaucratic and professional authority. The former type of authority is based on sheer incumbency in a given office. For example, the office of president of a college has certain powers associated with it regardless of the personal characteristics of the individual occupying the position. However, authority may also be justified on the basis of a professional's technical expertise or knowledge. In professional organizations both bases of authority are present and tensions almost inevitably result. This is preeminently true of colleges and universities. While administrators are delegated a wide range of responsibilities by the trustees, the faculty in most colleges have garnered considerable power over curriculum and research matters. However, decisions in these areas are always subject to budgetary and procedural limitations. Decisionmaking in colleges and universities is best viewed, therefore, as a process of bargaining and negotiation between those with administrative authority and the faculty with its professional expertise (for a provocative discussion of such "negotiated order," see Strauss, 1963). In consequence,

decisionmaking is, and should be, more diffuse than in nonprofessional organizations and must be approached in terms of the type of participation of various parties.

In recent years students have emerged as a third major group demanding a voice in university affairs. Students have not invoked either of the traditional claims of legitimacy to support their involvement. In general, the student movement has justified its demands on the basis of new conceptions of the function of education in contemporary society. To the extent that student demands are met in the future, participation in university decisionmaking will become even more complex and diffuse. It will involve a tripartite interaction among administrators, faculty, and students.

One of the best statements regarding the role of the faculty in planning appears in the winter 1966 issue of the *AAUP Bulletin*. In the "Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities," issued jointly by the American Association of University Professors, American Council on Education, and Assembly on University Goals and Governance, there are several significant themes. First, the authors assert that an effective and workable relationship between institutions on the one hand, and legislative and executive governmental authorit'es on the other, requires that the academic institution has a *unified view of itself*. Second, the multiplicity of tasks performed by institutions necessitates the *full opportunity* for joint planning among governing boards, administrators, faculty, students, and others. Third, certain issues require, at one time or another, the initiating capacity and decisionmaking responsibility of *all* institutional components, and differences in the weight of each voice should be set by reference to the responsibility each party has for the issue or matter at hand. Fourth, long-range planning, which is one of the most important parts of institutional responsibility, should be a *central and continuing concern in the academic community*. Fifth, the president should be the chief planning officer of an institution and has a special obligation to innovate and initiate. And finally, the *faculty has primary responsibility* for curriculum, methods of instruction, research,

faculty status, and those portions of student life which relate directly
to the educational process.

Several studies have explored the consequences of heavy
faculty participation. One survey of a number of colleges and
universities noted that the most conservative and unchanging
institutions were those in which the faculty had a large share in
governance, and added that these institutions failed to check the
degeneration of weak departments although their strong departments
grew stronger (Sullivan, 1956, 308 ff). Another study of 27 colleges
found that those of highest quality were generally those whose
faculties played the largest role in governance while the weakest
institutions were those with the least faculty participation. The
author concluded that professorial authority helps to attract able
faculty, maintain morale, and harmonize institutional and
professorial loyalties (Clark, 1961, 293 ff). On the basis of our own
investigation, we must agree that the faculty can play a very positive
role.

Consensus

For Etzioni this concept referred to the congruence of
preferences among societal members. In an organizational context
it is more useful to talk about goals rather than preferences. As
Selznick (1960) emphasized in his discussion of critical decisions,
the primary task faced by all formal organizations, or networks of
organizations, is the definition of their goals and purposes—their
reasons for being. To set goals is to make certain value commitments
which define the desired future relationship between an organization
and its environment. Once defined, goals provide guidelines for
making the day-to-day decisions which ultimately determine the
survival and success of the organization.

There is no paucity of research and analytical work on the
topic of organizational goals. Several of these articles are directly
relevant to higher education, including discussions of intangible goals
(Corson, 1960, p. 9), multi-goal organizations (Warner and Haven,

1968; Lee, 1967), difficulties in assessing achievement of organizations with poorly defined goals (Thompson, 1967, pp. 860-90), vulnerability to external pressures of organizations with vague goals (Selznick, 1960, p. 308), and the importance of wide participation in the goal-defining process (Clark, 1956, p. 328; Etzioni, 1964, p. 17). We have dealt with most of these issues in previous chapters, but several others do call for elaboration.

Several key features of goals should be noted. First, goal definition is a continuous process. Changes in the organization, or in the environmental forces impinging on it, require constant review and perhaps adjustment of goals (Thompson and McEwen, 1958, pp. 23-31). Second, an important distinction exists between "official" and "operative" goals. Perrow (1961, p. 855) states that the former are seen in formal publications written for public consumption; the latter show the actual operating policies of the organization, or " . . . they tell us what the organization actually is trying to do, regardless of what the official goals say are the aims." This distinction is important to the present study because planning documents frequently address a variety of audiences which hold different, and sometimes conflicting views of higher education institutions. Thus, somewhat abstract and rhetorical statements about organizational goals are often formulated by colleges to avert possible tensions and conflicts, and to allow the institution maximum maneuverability. Consensus as to goals such as these means little. Instead, there must be agreement on a more concrete level.

A recurring theme in the literature of goals in education is that too little attention is paid to defining the aims of the educational process beyond coining global abstractions. Henry Dyer (1967) summarized the situation this way:

> As you watch the educational enterprise going through its interminable routines, it is hard to avoid the impression that the whole affair is mostly a complicated ritual in which the vast majority of participants . . . have never given thought to the question why, in any fundamental sense, they are going through the motions they think of as education [p. 2].

Despite the rapid change in American society and the increasing importance of education in this process, educational policymakers have been content, by and large, to allow tradition and inertia to determine educational processes. The term we used before, *goal evasion*, can again be used to describe the laxity with which organizations specify their objectives and purposes and make statements which provide no useful basis for the transformation of existing programs and activities. Gross (1968) finds the same situation in his recent national study of goals, power structure, and other characteristics of universities:

> What is most striking about the list of top goals is that practically all of them are what we have called support goals and only one of them in any way involves students [p. 530].

The self-renewing institution contains widespread participation in decisionmaking, which is oriented toward implementing, as well as constantly reassessing, a set of priorities embodied in a long-range plan. This pattern of development thus differs from that in "drifting" schools in that participation is more orderly and focused, and differs from that in "over-managed" schools by being more democratic and utilizing faculty expertise. In the self-renewing institution, the plans allow flexibility while focusing on concrete goals; goals which represent achievable ideals rather than simply projections of the past on the one hand, or vague philosophical rhetoric on the other.

Openness

Gardner draws attention to the need to rise above traditional structures and current perspectives. He calls for concerted effort to "loosen up" the existing system and its vested interests. In a similar vein, Hefferlin (1969) concludes that "openness" is a central condition for academic reform, and he discusses two factors that contribute significantly to the openness of an institution. Basing his argument on the premise that most academic reform comes from extra-institutional sources, he states that the most common

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mechanism of academic change is personnel turnover. Unlike other organizations, he feels educational institutions are "almost completely dependent on turnover of personnel to accomplish major reform" [p. 45]. The second dimension of openness is the tolerance of change by organizations:

> . . . it is evident that colleges and universities differ among themselves not only in their rate of growth but in their tolerance for outsiders and new blood.... In short, some are more open and responsive to the possibility of reform than others [pp. 48-49].

Advocacy

Gardner also argues that programs of change need active supporters for their implementation. On the one hand, this requires some institutional arrangements that make orderly change a possibility. The point made earlier about the necessity of a special, rather than an existing committee for Substantive planning, and the need for a professionally staffed institutional planning office, are suggestive of institutional arrangements needed for self-renewal. Another way to obtain support for change, in Gardner's view, is by developing over time a tradition and a set of attitudes that fully recognizes the central importance of renewal to organizational vitality.

Hefferlin also feels that advocates are essential for academic reform (1969, p. 44). First, advocates must have access to resources and this depends upon a group of supporters who can be convinced of the benefits of a new program of service. He also states, "Behind every such advocate necessarily stands a patron or a group of supporters" [p. 41]. Second, advocates often are "marginal" men, persons drawn from outside rather than from within institutions, and who have become commited to new or different ways of doing things. Obviously, excessive personnel turnover is pathological, but a combination of selective recruitment and outside consultants greatly facilitates organizational self-renewal.

Resource Allocation

A fifth condition of organizational self-renewal is the availability and the effective allocation of resources. Obviously, a minimal level of funding is necessary, but its distribution is also critical. Once a set of goals has been defined by and for an institution, important decisions must be made about the distribution of resources for the accomplishment of these goals. To put it in a slightly different way, the allocation of resources is the process by which means—students, faculty, administrators, facilities, equipment, etc.—are deployed in order to achieve organizational ends.

This emphasis on the goal-directedness of resource allocation is consistent with most descriptions of budgetary decisionmaking. For example, Wildavsky (1964), thinks of the budget as "a . . . link between financial resources and human behavior to accomplish policy objectives." Similarly, Anshen (1965) defines the budget process as " . . . the essence of decisionmaking," since it forces one " . . . to choose among alternative ends and to ration scarce means to their accomplishment." These definitions, however, are idealistic statements of what a budget actually is. Wildavsky (1965) has pointed out that budget-making can be many other things, such as:

> . . . a political act, a plan of work, a prediction, a source of enlightenment, a means of obfuscation, a mechanism of control, an escape from restrictions, a means to action, a brake on progress, even a prayer that the powers that be deal gently with the best aspirations of fallible men [p. v].

Planning should be basically a goal-oriented activity, either implicitly or explicitly. Since implementing goals involves using resources consistent with these value commitments, it is crucial to analyze budgetary decisions in this light. But more often than not the means-ends linkage breaks down in actual fact. Consequently, the participants in the budget process, the considerations they use in making decisions, and the variety of influences on their decisions must be considered.

The relationship between academic planning per se and fiscal planning deserves careful consideration. Academic planning is increasingly adopting a long-range perspective; projections of academic programs are being made for five to ten years, and on a more general level, educational issues of relevance to the 21st century are being debated. In contrast to this long-range view point which currently characterizes planning in academic areas, budgets are generally made up annually or biannually. As a result, budgeting is a short-range, pragmatic, political process that often fails to take into account the long-range educational master plans. To the extent that this is true, planning in higher education becomes an exercise in futility and master plans become little more than "paper tigers."

Hefferlin has summarized the importance of resources to academic reform:

> In short, the first key to academic reform is that of resources: an existing program will continue to exist as long as it can find support. A new program will be tolerated if it costs no money or it brings its own support. It will be resisted if the new funds it requires could be used for the expansion of existing programs. And it will be actively opposed and accepted only under duress if existing resources must be divided to include it. This tendency is the fundamental reason why the source of academic change has always been and continues to be predominately outside of the educational system, for the resources that support the system overwhelmingly come from outside the institutions themselves (1969, pp. 39-40).

The merits of our ideas await further examination in a variety of empirical settings. Corroboration of these ideas was found in the case studies presented in Chapter IV. Likewise, the concepts and relationships discussed in Chapters II and III are consistent with the above discussion. Beyond this, however, is the need for research specifically designed to test our theory.

NEEDED RESEARCH

Most colleges and universities, private or public, are engaged in one form or another of institutional planning, prompted

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sometimes by internal crises but often by events external to the campus. However, self-studies and long-range plans, although frequently calling for important changes on campus do not always lead to change. Change, when it comes, is more often unplanned and precipitated by crises on campus or demands originating with state offices and legislative bodies. The linkage between planning and change in most colleges and universities is, at best, weak. Only a relatively small number of institutions are successful at planned change. A central objective of future study should be to determine the conditions that allow such institutions to effect important change through planning.

In more specific terms, we propose that the theoretical framework presented earlier be evaluated. This framework posits that five conditions are particularly critical if planning is to lead to change, or organizational self-renewal. First, participation in the process of planning by various groups—administrators, faculty, students, trustees—must occur in order that varied ideas and perspectives be tapped and a sense of involvement be fostered. Second, planning must deal directly with the Substantive goals of the institution and set explicit priorities among them. Third, implementation of important change in organizations requires advocates, or a cadre of persons who will rally support for the needed change. Fourth, of fundamental importance to organizational self-renewal is the extent to which new ideas are brought into the organization from outside and the tolerance of key personnel to change. And fifth, the availability of human and financial resources is most often the crucial factor that determines the success of any program for change.

VI.

Major Findings and Implications: Imperatives for the 70s

In the 1970 issue of *Daedalus*, "The Embattled University," Peter Caws argues that the "wicked problems" presently facing higher education are collective, and, in turn, their resolution requires a *common* purpose and an *agreed* strategy. Simply put, he bases his approach on two principles:

> They are, first, that the curriculum of the university ought to be interesting, and second, that the government of the university ought to be fair. It will at once be pointed out that there may be disagreement about what is fair or interesting. I therefore add two qualifications designed to resolve such disagreement: The curriculum must be interesting, *as judged by the students who are compelled to follow it;* and the government must be fair, *as judged by the faculty and students who are ruled by it.* If a president makes an arbitrary ruling against a faculty member, and the faculty thinks it unfair, then it *is* unfair. And if a teacher gives a lecture that students think is boring, then it *is* boring [p. 86].

These two principles—interest and fairness—are linked with the core issues of the qualitative crisis in higher education. Several dimensions of this crisis were cited, namely the politicalization of higher education, quantitative growth and the closing of alternatives, goal evasion and reluctant planning, the bifurcation of power, and the activist student in planning. Whereas Caws' analysis draws our attention mainly to the internal problems of universities, these problems are generic to the total higher education enterprise and extend well beyond the boundaries of the local campus. Furthermore, the *collective* response called for by these conditions highlights the necessity of purposive processes for design in higher education.

If these central problems of the 70s are to be resolved then a systematic and holistic approach is required. Evidence from the present study suggests that long-range planning in higher education is, in the main, neither systematic, holistic, or focused on the Substantive issues listed above. Instead, Expedient planning was prevalent within the sample of institutions studied. Expedient planning is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of accommodating increasing numbers of students; only minimal attention is addressed to the forms of education best able to meet different student needs.

The study shows that colleges and universities practicing the same type of planning share many organizational characteristics. For example, the institutions practicing a Mixed form of planning have the resources (quality of administrators, faculty, and students plus an adequate level of funding) for planning but are hampered by their large size (an average of 14,800 students) and their age. Institutions with Expedient planning have an additional problem of lack of money (about one-half the income per student of the other institutions).

SUBSTANTIVE PLANNING

A third type of planning was found at a significant number of institutions. In contrast to other types, Substantive planning deals directly with problems of curriculum, patterns of governance, and most of the other problems of the qualitative crisis. And, as might be expected, the institutions practicing this form of planning are similar to each other and differ from institutions with Expedient planning. To illustrate, Substantive planning was practiced mainly at smaller, newer, and in several ways, more homogeneous institutions—they were more often private liberal arts colleges for undergraduates, with a low student-faculty ratio, many students living on campus, and with few faculty conflicts.

Beyond the organizational features associated with Mixed and Expedient planning, the case studies revealed some additional

factors that preclude Substantive planning, let alone the important institutional changes that might follow it. Conditions found to inhibit Substantive planning included the following: heavy external controls that discourage reassessments and modifications of institutional mission and role; excessive traditionalism due to age, stability of function, lack of growth or insulation from current social conditions; lack of commitment to the institution by faculty and students because of excessive size, impersonality, and a heavy research bias; and preoccupation of administrators, faculty, and students with other issues, such as pay, teaching loads, dormitory regulations, tenure, budgets, and the like. Thus, achieving Substantive planning requires considerable effort and commitment by all institutional personnel coupled with special resources for planning and minimal external control.

EFFECTING INSTITUTIONAL SELF-RENEWAL

Our findings, together with the ideas of previous authors, led us to conclude that certain conditions are especially conducive to organizational self-renewal. While the relationships between these conditions are not yet clear, they nevertheless constitute a framework around which further investigations might be structured.

We have discussed two imperatives for the 70s. First, more Substantive planning is needed in higher education in order to examine and recommend alternative ways of coping with the qualitative crisis in its several dimensions. Second, strategies must be designed to implement the recommendations of Substantive plans in order to effect major improvements in colleges and universities. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with developing a model for organizational self-renewal appropriate to higher education institutions, and with discussing certain problems in the application of this model to various types of institutions. Thus, we place in more concrete terms the conceptual ideas about organizational self-renewal presented in the previous chapter.

The central goal of the present study was to assess how some 80 public and private institutions performed long-range planning. On a more limited basis, an effort was also made to determine what improvements occurred in the effectiveness of various institutions as a result of planning. It is necessary, however, to go beyond the empirical setting and to provide a framework within which certain problems of self-analysis and self-renewal can be resolved. Most writing on this subject has been concerned with the technical methods of planning and the design of institutional data systems. Of more critical importance is the substance of planning and its role as an agent of change within colleges and universities. These topics have not been adequately discussed in the existing literature. Thus, this section will attempt to provide more detailed advice on how an educational institution can be planned, and how significant changes can be achieved to meet the challenges of the qualitative crisis.

Previous efforts to lay out recommendations and principles for institutional planning (Bagley, 1966; Bereday et al, 1967; Ellam and Swanson, 1968; Fox, 1968; Judy and Levine, 1965; Knorr, 1965; Kraft, 1968; McGrath, 1964; Morphet and Ryan, 1962; Tichton, 1961; Williams, 1966; and UNESCO/HEP, 1965) have given almost exclusive attention to the methods of planning and the design of data systems; discussions of content are usually limited to facilities and budgets. A common weakness of these earlier publications on planning is the insufficient attention given to educational matters and the conditions necessary to implement needed academic reforms.

A MODEL FOR THE SELF-RENEWAL OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

As the following model for self-renewal is designed particularly for educational institutions, it is important at the outset to mention two general requirements of the model. These requirements emerge because planning is the responsibility of persons at several different levels, within and outside institutions, and

because educational institutions are staffed by a variety of professional experts. The two requirements concern the appropriate roles for persons at each level.

First, the planning functions performed at one level (e.g., department, division or college) within the network should supplement the functions undertaken at other levels. This avoids, or at least minimizes, duplication of effort and facilitates the work at each level. Furthermore, the resolution of conflicts between levels can result in more precise agreements and more satisfactory bases for cooperation.

Second, the technical competence or expertise of the members at different levels within an institution or network of institutions should be utilized effectively. Persons at each level possess a certain fund of experience, understanding, and information which makes them the most competent individuals to work on certain types of planning problems. Expertness includes not only sufficient training, exposure to a variety of key experiences, and the possession of basic information, but also a special perspective or sensitivity to problems and circumstances critical to the planning function at a given level.

It is important to realize that the model being proposed is an ideal one. No institution's system of educational planning and self-renewal fits all features of the model, nor is it expected that the model could be fully implemented as designed.

Underlying Assumptions

Two classes of assumptions are important to any discussion of the planning model—status quo and change assumptions. Status quo assumptions are based on the conclusion reached by numerous studies that colleges and universities are conservative institutions and that hence no major changes will occur in them. More specifically, it is assumed: 1) that no basic changes will occur in the formal structure and pattern of governance in higher education, and that

higher education will continue to be organized on a state-by-state basis; 2) that statewide coordinating agencies will continue in their roles of guiding the future patterns of higher education; 3) that subsystems of institutions serving similar educational roles and missions, with their own boards and central staff, will persist; 4) that individual institutions will continue to be the focus of most planning and budgeting in statewide higher education networks; 5) that although the use of institutional consortia may increase to save costs, budgets will still be constructed for individual campuses, and planning will continue to foster the identity of individual campuses; and 6) that while instruction by television and programmed instruction will very likely increase and lead to more off-campus study, the dominant pattern will continue to be on-campus instruction.

We can also assume that significant features of higher education are changing and will continue to do so in the future, including the following: 1) current tensions make it difficult to specify how formal and informal authority will be distributed among students, faculty, and administrators, and what relations between on- and off-campus groups will be, although the general trends suggest that students will have a greater role in academic decisionmaking; 2) budget-making will be increasingly explicit and systematic, and the federal government will be more involved in the financing of higher education; 3) future planning in education will need to be more comprehensive, continuous, better grounded in systematic research, and concerned with changing priorities among multiple goals; 4) much greater attention will be given to ways of effectively interlocking and readjusting planning activities at all levels; 5) in the future, politics and the interests of key elected officials and groups of citizens will play an even greater role in shaping higher education. As Ryan (1969) has noted:

> The more valuable the university becomes to both the conservators and changers of society, the more each will bring pressure, including political pressure, to bear on university decisionmaking [p. 9].

The following four principles further explicate a model for educational planning:

Principle One—Program Development and Renewal

> *Program development and renewal is the single most important task for planners. Decisions about finances, facilities, and personnel are of secondary importance, although they must be consistent with program priorities. Once these fundamental decisions are made and supported by powerful advocates, then change consistent with priorities is possible.*

Program development and renewal require clarification. They include proposals for new academic programs, proposals to change or reshape existing programs, and even suggestions to phase out or totally eliminate existing programs. Continuous review of current programs and examination of new program needs are fundamental to program development and renewal.

Program definition is one important means of identifying the mission and the role of an institution. Institutional mission and role must be made operational in terms of the instruction offered by a college or universtty. But the institutional mission and role include more than programs of instruction; they also include activities such as research and public service programs, as well as such states of mind as feelings of community, enthusiasm and commitment. The important factors are the relative emphases given each program on a given campus and the way in which these programs are, in fact, implemented. It is the way in which the conception and implementation of programs are integrated that ultimately determines the educational mission and role of a given institution. The relative importance assigned to various academic disciplines and areas identifies "what the institution is all about." It is a reflection, presumably, of an institution's value commitments.

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The second major element of the first principle concerns the level of agreement and sources of support within institutions needed to implement significant changes. To state goals, set priorities and accomplish those changes that are consistent with these commitments within a business enterprise or a military organization is one thing; but to achieve similar results in "professional organizations," like colleges and universities, is something else again. Corson has described the difference in governance arrangements for colleges and universities in comparison with other types of complex organizations. In brief, educational institutions differ from other forms of enterprise on three bases: colleges and, to a still greater degree, universities exist to serve a multiplicity of purposes; the college, and to a lesser extent the university, is more dispersed as an enterprise than the typical corporation or governmental agency; and, the responsibility for making decisions is more widely diffused (1960, pp. 8-10).

Further details about the workings of academic governance were revealed in a recently completed study of the faculty senate committees at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Two points are especially worth noting. First, the system of appointments to committees was consistent with the "iron law of oligarchy." That is, the Committee on Committees was the only elected committee; the membership of all other committees was appointed by this "master" committee. The process of appointment rested heavily on the "personal judgment" made by committee members. This was especially true as regards appointments to such key committees as Budget, Educational Policy, Senate Policies, and Courses of Instruction (Mortimer, 1970, p. 76). These findings suggest that in forming planning committees it would be important to minimize such personal judgments and emphasize appointments based on expertise and competency.

A second important observation concerns the particular way that faculty and administrators participate in academic governance. We suggest the need for close interaction between these groups as programs are formulated and priorities are established. In

comparision to this ideal, Mortimer's finding is instructive:

> Academic senates operate closer to a model of *separate* faculty
> administration jurisdictions than to a model of *shared*
> faculty-administrative authority [p. 153].

It should be remembered that the present study discovered the same
findings with regard to planning committees. This contrast between
the requirements of the model and present patterns of interaction
points up, at least in the case of the large multiversity, special
problems needing further examination.

Thus far, educational planning in most institutions has
emphasized quantitative expansion and growth rather than the
substantive educational concerns suggested above. We, then, propose
a radical shift in the basic strategy of educational planning; programs
would receive first priority, while finances, facilities, and personnel
would be examined as to the way in which they best support and
implement program objectives.

Principle Two—Planning as Process

> Decisionmaking about program development and renewal is
> a process that involves a close interplay of the tasks of
> initiation, decision, and implementation, and considerable
> negotiation must occur between personnel at various levels
> within and outside institutions and should be facilitated
> through appropriate organizational arrangements.

The second principle contains two points. First, program
development and renewal is viewed as an ongoing activity,
continuously practiced, rather than one engaged in only once ever
five or ten years.

Also, the several facets of program decision, initiation, and
program implementation are highly interdependent activities. It is
not fruitful to think about these as distinct steps or stages in a

clearly rationalized process. The distinctions between who decides, who initiates, and who implements are clouded by many contingencies. The constraints on the process of program development and renewal are mainly those of demonstrable need, availability of resources and competencies to nourish programs, maintenance of balance among political forces within a given higher education network, desirability of experimentation, and the short- and long-range implications of various program decisions for the program itself, and for the institution. These kinds of considerations depict how the decisionmaking process actually works. For an institution or one of its subunits to propose a program that cannot be justified on the basis of demonstrable need is tantamount to soliciting a negative decision, and it is unrealistic planning to seek a program that requires resources which are currently unavailable. A major exception to this point is that of experimental programs. The need for new approaches and innovative strategies may be quite apparent, but predictions of the outcomes of an experiment are very likely to be vague. This situation calls for some risk-taking and the availability of venture capital.

And lastly, efforts by an institution to add a medical school, a school of engineering, or even a satellite campus, may be blocked by statewide plans and controls in order to preserve a balance of political forces within the network. For instance, if statewide plans permitted the dominant institution in a state to incorporate or establish new campuses or major programs as it desired, then this institution would likely develop so much political muscle that any statewide plan not consistent with its desires would be ignored.

Principle Three—Responsibilities

> *Supra-institutional agencies, the institutions themselves, and units within institutions should divide the labor of program formulation: the institution's major task is to define program needs; units within institutions (e.g., colleges and departments) define the program needs within their area and modes of instruction; supra-institutional agencies (subsystem*

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*and statewide boards) define broadly the mission and role
of its subsystem and institutions so that statewide needs
(public interest) are adequately met and qualified students
can gain access to some college.*

Nowhere in the literature on planning or administrative
theory does one find a careful explication of the basic concepts
contained in the third principle--the public interest, institutional
mission and role, and program needs. The following discussion is
an attempt to fill this void.

References to "the public interest" are frequent in the fields
of education and political science. However, there is clearly no
agreement on what constitutes the public interest. We could define
"the public interest" in important matters in higher education as
the product of two forces—of the perceptions and efforts of the
professional staff of statewide planning agencies, and of political
factions.

The second factor's importance in defining the public interest
was clearly identified by one state senator in an interview:

> It must always be remembered that no planning scheme removes the
> political implications of decisionmaking. It's always better to have
> a *valid political solution* to a problem than something that looks
> "rational" according to some planning studies. Without valid political
> solutions, we'd end up with chaos!

Although most provisions of plans arouse no particular
concern in elected state officials or their constituencies, the few
items that do must reflect a careful assessment of the political
dimension. Several types of items may constitute issues of public
policy. One major issue for all states and institutions is how best
to achieve universal higher education. A related question is the
emphasis given the development of special programs for the
disadvantaged.

On the subsystem level of a state's higher education network,
it is the major responsibility of the staff to broadly define the

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missions and roles of institutions within its subsystem. This definition should include some mixture of three major tasks: instruction, research, and public service. The relative emphasis given each of these areas and the ways in which each is implemented can be taken to define the basic value commitments of an institution. Planners should make "broad" recommendations at the subsystem level about: 1) how much emphasis should be put on programs of teaching, research, or public interest; 2) the breadth of undergraduate and graduate programs and curricula; 3) undergraduate versus graduate and professional education; 4) maximum campus size; and 5) cooperative arrangement with other campuses.

A significant restriction on the role of subsystem planners is that they do not deal with institutions' internal programs and curricular structure. An institution, for example, authorized to develop a school of nursing or a college of environmental design, should be allowed to have the widest possible latitude in determining courses.

The major responsibility for determining program needs lies at the institutional level. An academic program is defined here as an undergraduate or graduate curriculum that can result in the awarding of a degree, diploma, or certificate. Research programs are usually defined by the existence of a special organizational unit, such as a center or institute. And public service programs cover a wide range of activities, including agricultural extension, adult education, teaching and research hospitals, child care units, community health centers, fine arts, performing arts, and the like. Thus, establishing and implementing new programs, or evaluating and reorienting existing ones requires careful examination of almost all an institution's basic policies. This would include institutional mission and role, programs, curricula, methods and forms of instruction; recruitment, selection, promotion, and the general welfare of faculty; admissions criteria, academic standards, and student affairs; and finances and facilities. There is no question that a comprehensive study of program needs calls for a full-scale and continuous process of institutional planning.

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And finally, within institutions, planning tasks and responsibilities can be further divided. If program development and renewal is the primary task of planners, the smallest unit within institutions for planning and self-renewal would be a single program; ideally, this is the budgetary unit also. This means that one very important condition for self-renewal—control over the allocation of resources—is met by those units which have responsibility for their own budget. There are issues, however, about the most effective ways of involving departments, faculties, colleges and other sub-institutional units in planning. These issues are discussed at the end of this chapter.

That the task of program formulation should be distributed between various levels in education is in accordance with a principle of administration, which states: Each level in an organization hierarchy should be concerned with the policy matters that pertain to those units immediately below it. For example, a dispute between two subsystems (one composed of universities and the other of state colleges) over the offering of the doctoral degree should result in a joint decision between the statewide agency and the subsystems which defines each subsystem's particular responsibility. These agreements may also create overlapping functions. Similarly, the primary responsibility of institutional planners is to serve as a forum for disputes between competing subunits under its jurisdiction. For example, a planning office in an institution might, in conjunction with its colleges or divisions, develop a plan for deciding which of those units should be permitted to start a doctoral program.

The process outlined here would be significantly more time consuming than existing arrangements in many institutions. Much more time would be given to the exploration of alternatives, the solicitation of expert advice and consultation, and the deliberation of short- and long-term consequences. Given the current qualitative crises in higher education, it is difficult to see how present arrangements will suffice. Currently, the principles of bureaucracy, including the clear assignment of authority and responsibility to maximize efficient operation, are dominant. In contrast to this, more

flexible and fluid arrangements, based on open participation and full utilization of professionals, seem necessary.

An extremely important assumption underlying the third principle is that the freedom of institutions, and their subunits, is exercised through their primary role of program definition; various opportunities for discussion and mediation during planning also help maintain local autonomy. Obviously, however, this process occurs within the context of possibilities and constraints of a larger statewide network.

Principle Four—Contingencies

> *Various exceptions or contingencies occur in the process of program formulation: a) high cost and joint programs necessitate institutionwide review; b) program gaps are identified by the disputes between units within an institution; c) responsibility is assumed by the next higher level when a unit does not perform its task in program formulation; and d) special steps are taken by higher levels within the institution to respect the independence of all units, but especially those with experimental and innovative programs.*

Of the contingencies, the two that are most central are those that focus on programs. They identify changes in conventional definitions of higher education and bring into focus new ~reas of development. In a recent paper, Glenny (1969) discussed several problems requiring changes in the units of measurement for high cost programs, such as medicine, dentistry, nursing, certain areas of engineering, and doctoral training in the sciences. These will generally continue to be identified as high cost programs and thus be given special attention in long-range planning and program development. However, the existing units of measurement upon which complex management information systems are being developed do not fully reflect those new conceptions of higher

education, such as various forms of individualized instruction and off-campus education. As a consequence, areas of ambiguity are arising, and this problem demands considerable attention.

It is worth pausing for a moment to make some additional comments about the politics of planning. Under the earlier discussion of assumptions, it was claimed that politics will play an even greater role in shaping higher education. Beyond this, there are important political phenomena within institutions among its professional staff, administrative corps, and student body. All of these forces contribute to the growing politicization of the American college campus. Thus, it may be that a political model of academic governance will be increasingly useful to researchers and administrators in this field (Foster, 1968).

We feel that a system of extensive participation in planning may actually diminish political confrontations, since divergent ideas are accommodated and basic understandings are reached. In addition, the activity of selecting programs and of establishing priorities among them decreases the vulnerability of an organization to political pressures and special interests. Thus, the model encourages variety, the clash of contrasting views, the opportunity to learn through debate, and the possibility of developing a broad base of commitment to basic proposals for academic reform.

STRUCTURAL REQUIREMENTS

It is possible to outline the type of organizational arrangements that could make maximum use of the four principles. According to our framework, organizational self-renewal is most consistently encouraged when substantive plans, developed through a continuous process and involving a wide variety of experts, are implemented with needed resources and with the support of advocates.

Within these general features, more detail can be given about an ideal structure for planning. Many of these basic ideas, presented

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in an ear'ier paper (Palola, 1968), capture the essence of the proposed structure. First, an office of Institutional Planning is needed wh se primary responsibility is the coordination of planning. As envisioned, the powers and duties of the office would include: 1) responsibility for preparing short-, intermediate- and long-range institutional plans based on ongoing research, and for serving as a catalyst for the development of plans by subunits; 2) responsibility for recommending the level of financial support for all segments of the institution, insuring that operating and capital budgets are based upon the programs approved in the academic plan; and 3) responsibility for developing and maintaining close relationships with key community leaders, officials, legislators, and state agencies.

The selection of a director for the office is one of the most critical decisions to be made. The central importance of this appointment is reinforced by two recent trends in the statewide coordination and planning of higher education. First, state agencies are increasingly gaining power over educational policy and its administrative implementation because of the financial support controlled by state legislative and executive offices and the rapid expansion of federal monies for higher education. Statewide planning and coordinating agencies are increasingly used to allocate these monies to public and private institutions. Thus, it is imperative that the director understands the constraints this imposes on local planning and recognizes the significance of well-conceived and documented plans to obtain adequate financial support from governmental agencies and other external sources. Second, the central issues of higher education, although now concerned mainly with accommodating increasing numbers of students, are moving quickly and dramatically toward more fundamental concerns, such as those related to the function of higher learning institutions with respect to contemporary societal problems—poverty, racism, pollution, war, and inflation.

What is required is an educational leader who knows the values that undergird academic life; one who understands and accepts basic differences in perspective between academics, places qualitative

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matters ahead of quantitative imperativ_s, and fosters creative tension and continuous self-renewal throughout a state's higher education network.

To facilitate the work of the office, a relatively small staff of professional, technical, and clerical personnel is needed. This staff could be organized into three major divisions—Academic and Program Planning, Budgets and Fiscal Resources, and Facilities and Capital Construction. The Academic and Program Planning division would serve as the operating unit to coordinate the preparation and review of long-range plans. The division of Budgets and Fiscal Resources would translate educational plans into budgetary terms, provide cost benefit estimates for alternative proposals, and prepare the combined budget requests of all institutional subunits. The Facilities and Capital Construction division would focus on the renovation and expansion of existing facilities and the determination, on a institutional basis, of the need for new facilities. This staff could be quite small, supplemented by a cadre of task forces drawn from faculty, administrators, and citizens from inside and outside the institution. These task forces would be disbanded once their assigned tasks were completed. Thus, experts would be convened to provide counsel only in their area of competence and experience.

The design of the third major feature of the planning structure—the establishment of an arrangement for continuous institutional planning and self-renewal—should allow for wide participation, and be sufficiently flexible, so that it can be reconstituted wholly or in part during the process of planning or when moving from one plan to another. In general, the working structure should involve a steering committee implementing the plan. Three tactical requirements greatly facilitate implementation. First, a schedule of steps for implementation should be an integral part of a published plan. This should show the sequence of necessary steps and the overall time perspective for change. Second, an assignment for the implementation of each recommendation in the plan should be made by the director to some individual, office, or committee. This insures that someone is responsible and accountable for various proposals. And third, implementation should begin

immediately after a plan has received all necessary authorizations. A major time delay could be fatal to the effectiveness of the plan. Immediate implementation preserves the momentum for change generated during planning and fulfills the basic commitments made by all constituent parties. Finally, followup on the implementation of the plan and evaluation of its impact would be closely monitored by the director, with the advice and counsel of his staff. A new cycle of planning would be initiated by the office in consultation with the steering committee.

THE MODEL FOR SELF-RENEWAL SUMMARIZED

If any single theme emerges from the foregoing discussion, it is that planning and self-renewal are complex processes of increasing importance to the welfare of higher education and require an open, flexible, and fluid approach which makes use of the expertise and special competencies of a wide variety of persons. Our model contains the following basic features:

Assumptions

No basic changes will occur in the formal structure and pattern of governance in higher education.

The distribution of authority among students, faculty, administrators, and various outside groups and agencies will continue to be problematic.

Educational planning in the future will be more comprehensive, continuous, and better grounded in research.

Higher education and the planning process will become increasingly politicalized.

Principles

Program development and renewal is the single most important task for planners. Decisions about finances, facilities, and personnel are of secondary importance, although they must be consistent with program priorities. Once these fundamental decisions are made and supported by powerful advocates, then change consistent with priorities is possible. Decisionmaking about program development and renewal is a process that involves a close interplay among the tasks of initiation, decision, and implementation. Much negotiation must occur in this process between personnel at various levels within and outside institutions and should be facilitated through appropriate organizational arrangements.

Supra-institutional agencies, the institutions themselves, and units within institutions should divide the labor of program formulation: the institution's major task is to define program needs; units within institutions (e.g., colleges and departments) should define program needs within their area and modes of instruction; supra-institutional agencies (subsystem and statewide boards) should define broadly the mission and role of its subsystems and institutions so that statewide needs (public interest) are adequately met and qualified students can gain access to some college.

Various exceptions or contingencies occur in the process of program formulation: a) high cost and joint programs necessitate institutionwide review; b) program gaps are identified by the disputes between units within an institution; c) responsibility is assumed by the next higher level when a unit does not perform its task in program formulation; and d) special steps are taken by higher levels within the institution to respect the independence of all units, but, especially those with experimental and innovative programs.

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One Form of Planning Structure

OFFICE FOR INSTITUTIONAL PLANNING:

Staff: Relatively small; full-time professional director; associates supplemented by experts convened into temporary task forces.

Organization: Divisions of Academic and Program Planning, Budgets and Fiscal Resources, and Facilities and Capital Construction.

Responsibilities: Prepare institutional plans, help generate college and departmental planning, recommend level of financial support.

Working Structure: Steering committee and study committees.

There are unquestionably feasible alternative structures for planning and organizational renewal, but whatever the structure, its success or failure rests on the individuals and personalities who occupy key positions of authority. Any design for continuous long-range planning and renewal should concentrate on finding the best possible combination of structure, process, and personalities; a compatible and smoothly functioning combination is prerequisite to planning and renewal of the highest quality.

The model outlined in this study provides a distinct alternative to the current perspectives on planning and policy formulation in higher education. In the past, quantitative growth and fiscal formulas have been stressed; in the future, planning will be forced to emphasize qualitative development and flexible governance configurations. Strong educational leadership, increasingly wide participation in planning, and heavy reliance on the special competencies of a wide variety of experts should result in innovative solutions to what is the ultimate challenge to higher education—the certainty of change. Substantive planning for self-renewal is the best hope for our colleges and universities.

VII.

Appendix

METHODOLOGY

Selection of the States

In the original design of the study, two states in each of three stages in the development of statewide planning were to be selected—two states in the process of developing their initial statewide plan, two with statewide plans in the process of being implemented, reformulated, and expanded, and two which had a relatively long history and considerable experience in statewide planning.

To determine which states fell into the above three categories, relevant published information about comprehensive planning across the nation was examined and letters sent to almost all of the fifty states, requesting a "thumbnail" sketch of the current status of planning.

On the basis of these documents, correspondence, and some conversations with experts on statewide planning, a chart was developed of nine criteria for evaluating each of the states. These included: 1) size and comprehensiveness of the state higher educational system, 2) existence of a statewide plan, 3) age of the coordinating mechanism, 4) history of work on statewide problems and issues in higher education, 5) type of coordinating mechanism, 6) accessibility of the state for intensive study, 7) sophistication employed in statewide planning and coordination, 8) geographical distribution, and 9) extent to which a state represents a "pure type" for each of the statewide planning phases. Information on these criteria for some states was incomplete.

An initial sample of six states and a set of alternative states was chosen, and a national advisory committee for the project was convened to examine the overall characteristics of the proposed

study. Although the committee strongly recommended that ten or eleven states be included in the study for a more complete picture of statewide planning, it was eventually determined that only four states, each with a relatively long history of statewide planning, would be studied. These were California, Florida, Illinois, and New York.

The critical decision to limit the sample to four states that were all in the same stage of planning was based on several considerations. Of primary importance were staff and budgetary limitations; since the decision had been made to do more intensive case studies in each state than had originally been planned, assessment of the impact of statewide planning at the institutional level would take considerable time and resources.

The sample was limited to states in which planning was at the same stage of development because the long-range impact of statewide planning can best be analyzed in those states which had been engaged in planning for at least five years.

Preparation of State Reports

A series of letters were written to various key persons in each of the states, seeking their cooperation. Numerous published and unpublished documents were collected and analyzed, and the research staff met in seminars to discuss various aspects of the higher education system and the statewide planning agency in each state. On the basis of this preliminary work, an extensive report was written on each state, giving a general description of higher education in the state, a historical sketch of its planning and coordination, the formal powers and duties of its coordinating agency, an analysis of key planning documents, the current issues involved in its statewide planning and higher education, and the major voluntary organizations related to its higher education and planning.

These reports provided a readily available compendium of information and data which was used for study purposes prior to

and during the field work; identified important gaps in information prior to the state visits; facilitated many field interviews by demonstrating the interviewer's familiarity with the state's problems; and served as an important basis for the subsequent writing of the state chapters.

Selection of the Institutions

Several criteria were used to select a sample of institutions within each state. Since statewide planning presumably includes all facets of higher education, it was necessary for the sample to include public and private junior colleges, state colleges, and universities; new and experimental campuses; large and small institutions; and urban and rural campuses. Published data on size, age, ownership, location, and curriculum were collected for each institution in each state, and nominations of institutions from a panel of six to ten informed persons in each state were solicited. Responses from these persons supplied important information about institutions that would generally not be known to persons familiar with the state.

Based on the institutional data and the nominations, the following sample of institutions was chosen for each state:

California (26)

University of California at Berkeley
University of California at Los Angeles
University of California at Davis
University of California at Irvine
University of California at San Diego
California State College at San Francisco
California State College at San Bernardino
California State College at San Jose
California State College at Los Angeles
California State College at Humboldt
California State College at Fullerton
California State College at Fresno
California State College at San Diego
Bakersfield College

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Los Angeles Harbor Colleges
College of San Mateo
Foothill College
Cabrillo College
Grossmont College
Santa Rosa College
College of the Redwoods
Stanford University
Claremont Colleges
University of Southern California
Mills College
University of San Francisco

Florida (11)

University of Florida at Gainesville
University of South Florida at Tampa
Florida State University at Tallahassee
Florida A & M University at Tallahassee
Miami-Dade Junior College at Miami
St. Petersburg Junior College
Tallahassee Junior College
University of Miami
Florida Presbyterian College
Stetson University

Illinois (20)

University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Illinois State University at Normal
Chicago State College
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
Northern Illinois University at DeKalb
Northeastern Illinois State College at Chicago
Chicago City College—Wilson Campus
Chicago City College—Wright Campus
Rock Valley College at Rockford
Black Hawk College at Moline
Triton College at Northlake
Rend Lake College at Mt. Vernon
Bradley University
DePaul University

Knox College
MacMurray College
Roosevelt University
Shimer College
University of Chicago

New York (28)

State University of New York at Albany
State University of New York at Binghamton
State University of New York at Buffalo
State University of New York at Stonybrook
State University College at Brockport
State University College at Oswego
State University College at Cortland
State University College of Forestry
        at Syracuse University
State University Agricultural and Technical
        College at Farmingdale
Broome Technical Community College
        at Binghampton
Hudson Valley Community College at Troy
Monroe Community College at Rochester
Nassau Community College at Garden City
Brooklyn College, City University of New York
Queens College, City University of New York
York College, City University of New York
New York City Community College of Applied
        Arts and Sciences
Sarah Lawrence College
St. John's University
Fordham University
New York University
Hofstra University
Bard College
Syracuse University
University of Rochester
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Voorhees Technical Institute
Cazenovia College

Knox College
MacMurray College
Roosevelt University
Shimer College
University of Chicago

New York (28)

State University of New York at Albany
State University of New York at Binghamton
State University of New York at Buffalo
State University of New York at Stonybrook
State University College at Brockport
State University College at Oswego
State University College at Cortland
State University College of Forestry
        at Syracuse University
State University Agricultural and Technical
        College at Farmingdale
Broome Technical Community College
        at Binghampton
Hudson Valley Community College at Troy
Monroe Community College at Rochester
Nassau Community College at Garden City
Brooklyn College, City University of New York
Queens College, City University of New York
York College, City University of New York
New York City Community College of Applied
        Arts and Sciences
Sarah Lawrence College
St. John's University
Fordham University
New York University
Hofstra University
Bard College
Syracuse University
University of Rochester
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Voorhees Technical Institute
Cazenovia College

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recordings were made; notes were taken and the full record of each interview was written up as soon as possible.

Data Analysis

Interview statements were sorted into four major categories. These categories—goals for higher education, patterns of inter-institutional cooperation, resource allocations, and planning—flowed from the conceptual framework. Each interview statement was given an identification code prior to sorting. Following the first sort, another was done to develop subtopics within each general category. Thus, when writing about a given topic, the appropriate set of interviewee statements could be selected, studied, and organized.

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