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Town and gown, analysis of relationships: Black Hills State University and Spearfish, South Dakota, 1883 to 1991

Suzanne Wrightfield White
Iowa State University

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Town and gown, analysis of relationships: Black Hills State
University and Spearfish, South Dakota, 1883 to 1991

White, Suzanne Wrightfield, Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1991

Town and gown, analysis of relationships:

Black Hills State University and Spearfish, South Dakota

1883 to 1991

by

Suzanne Wrightfield White

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature of the relationship between an institution of higher education and the community in which it is situated. Specifically, this investigation is (a) the development of a system of analysis to examine the nature of the relationship between institutions of higher education and the communities in which they are situated, and (b) a demonstration of the utility of the system by conducting a case study of the relationship between a college, now university, and the town in which it is located.

A community and a university may be in proximity but each is different in orientation, structure, and function. They may share geographic boundaries and their populations may overlap but they may be conceptualized as functionally separate entities with different purposes for their existence. When do they interact? Why do they interact? How do they interact? Do the two different entities exist together for mutual advantage in a symbiotic manner? "Indeed, the symbiotic relationship between the university and its community is one of the most interesting and least studied aspects of higher education" (Riesman & Jencks, 1962, p. 106).

As the relationship of a "town and gown" is studied as it evolves through the years, it may be assumed that a pattern of interaction may be observed. Do the individuals in leadership

positions behave in the same manner on similar projects? Do the groups become active on some issues and not on others? Are certain types of interaction likely to occur on specific issues and not on others? Is the town-gown relationship on one campus a microcosm of the national picture or is it unique, reflecting the diversity of both higher education and community? What is the nature of a town-gown relationship?

The relationship between a community (town) and its college or university (gown) may be a topic frequently mentioned but after that, there is apparent ambiguity in use of the terminology. The concept of town and gown relationship seems to mean different things to different people. One evidence of the ambiguity is to be found in the inconsistency in terminology used to define or entitle the subject which in turn makes it difficult to establish adequate parameters of definition for the location of written material. Once located, the references describe a wide range of relationships, from conflict on one hand to cooperation on the other, based on an even wider range of events, episodes, or projects. It appears that everyone knows what it is and no one knows what it is. Defining the town-gown literature is a value of this study.

Town and gown is the journalistic phrase in general use when reporting on the interaction of a college and a community and often appears in the press when there is conflict between the two entities. The social sciences have long since adopted

the terminology and higher education literature is often
prefaced with town and gown anecdotes about medieval conflicts
of the townsmen and gownsmen with descriptions and studies of
student unrest spilling over into the town (Duryea, 1973). In
a different mode, "campus and the city" (Carnegie Commission
on Higher Education, 1972), "campus/community" (Fink & Cooke,
1971, 1972), or "university and the city" (Nash, 1973) are
examples of terms used in titles of reports indicative of the
involvement of a university and community in urban renewal or
development or planning projects. The relationship may also
be found to be characterized by economic impact studies
(Caffrey & Isaacs, 1971), housing and transportation studies
(Fink & Cooke, 1971), and many miscellaneous reports of
episodes of the town and gown relationship (Nash, 1973).

Often these reports are reflections on the town-gown
interaction consisting of opinions or testimonials about the
relationship during specific events. There appears to be more
conjecture about the relationship than research-based theory
(Fink & Cooke, 1971) and any reference to a long term
relationship of a town and gown is an uncommon find.

A perusal of the literature reveals that there is a wide
range of opinion of the relationship between the town and the
gown and the following are examples of recurrent themes
concerning the relationship which bear this out: (a) colleges
and universities exist to serve the community and society; (b)
college and community have a cooperative or symbiotic

relationship; (c) colleges and universities are separate entities and act removed from the community existing as oases or ivory towers; and (d) colleges and communities have a relationship characterized by controversy and conflict. Which of the themes or opinions is valid, or are they all valid? Definitely there is diversity in the beliefs about the relationship. And since diversity is a characteristic of the nature of American higher education (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976) as well as a characteristic of the nature of the community (Hillery, 1968), it is not surprising to find that there are as many interpretations of the nature of the relationship as there are towns and gowns.

The Nature of the Study

This study has two purposes: (a) the development of a system of analysis for examination of a town-gown relationship and (b) the demonstration of the utility of the system with a case study of a town-gown relationship. The system of analysis is composed of: (a) five elements of interaction; (b) five questions, each corresponding to an element; (c) a constructed type of categories of events and issues developed from the literature for analytic use in element one; (d) a constructed type of purposes developed from the literature for analytic use in element two; (e) analysis by categorization; and (f) supplemental analyses between the elements where appropriate.

This study takes as its foundation the town-gown and related topic literature (i.e., campus/community, college and community, city and university) and selected higher education and community literature. The blending of these bodies of literature has, in turn, led to this study, the results of which may provide a view of a town-gown relationship from a different perspective. Although this study will focus on one town-gown relationship the design of this investigation is such that it may be generalized to the study of other town-gown relationships.

The sections that follow will provide the imagery for the study, define and discuss the elements of interaction, and delineate the five questions that correspond to the elements.

Imagery

An institution of higher education is usually associated in some manner with a community. Most institutions have been affiliated with the same town since their founding day. The town and the gown, each a separate entity, interactional arena or field (Kaufman, 1977), are involved in their own particular activities in order to fulfill the primary reasons for their being. Yet, one is very much a part of the other. Is there a pattern for their interaction? What is its basis?

The topic of town-gown relationships was discussed during a telephone conversation with Professor Bert Swanson, author and community theorist, University of Florida, Gainesville.

In the course of the conversation he characterized the town
and gown relationship as, "two ships passing in the night"
(personal communication, January 7, 1989). This is an imagery
which advances separatism, the ivory tower or oasis view of
the relationship. When the above conversation was related to
another community theorist, the response given was that the
relationship was more like, "two ships passing in the night,
bumping occasionally" (L. M. Landis, personal communication,
January 7, 1989).

The latter imagery coupled with Arensberg and Kimball's
(1965) event analysis approach to community study and
Kaufman's (1977) conceptualization of community as an
interactional field led to the development of this
investigation. Arensberg and Kimball (1965) proposed that a
community be viewed as a composite of systems containing
interactional regularities and that the study of interaction
during events was a viable way to discover what was going on
between the systems. Parts of the systems interweave and
intermingle. The participants exhibit this intermingling with
their "power structures, and their interlaced roles, their
overlapping group memberships and their real and latent
institutional interfunctionings" (p. xi). This method was
used to study the interaction of individuals and groups in a
community as they conducted a community self-survey of health
conditions and needs in order to ascertain the nature of the
relationship of systems. Similar imageries may be understood

as the basis behind the work of Hunter's (1953) *Community Power Structure* and Dahl's (1961) *Who Governs.*

Some years later Kaufman (1977) proposed treating community as an interactional field that possesses both internal action and external action with other fields. He used the analogy of theater to illustrate the action: The stage becomes the interactional field, the ethos of local society determines the plays and players, the democratic process is demonstrated by others writing the scripts and acting, and (in a very small community) there are relatively few spectators. In situations of larger populations the same persons are likely to appear on stage over and over while there are more spectators and a number of other stages with other plays going on at the same time.

In addition to the interaction of the community as fields or systems (Bates & Bacon, 1972; Bonjean, 1971; Freilich, 1963), Roland Warren's (1963) concept of vertical and horizontal patterns of community needs to be considered. He utilized a vertical pattern to represent the hierarchical levels within the community and also to represent the relationship of the community's units or systems with systems external to the community, while a horizontal pattern represented the community's systems and units to each other since they tend to be on the same hierarchical level.

Elements of interaction

The elements of interaction, for purposes of this study, are: event, purpose, participants, outcome, and interaction type. There are parallels to be found in these elements of interaction in the community field as well as the realm of higher education. Their respective bodies of literature may describe them differently and they may be separate fields of study, but it can be argued that each possess the same elements. There are similarities and differences within the elements along with some potential for intermingling or overlapping. Identification, definition, and theoretical perspectives of these elements, which follow, are integral to this study because it is the elements that become the factors for the analysis.

Element one: Events The episode, or activity of town-gown interaction is the primary unit of analysis. For the purposes of this study an event has as factors; purpose(s) for the event, participants from both institution and community, and an outcome. The review of literature indicates that events may be simple or complex, be initiated by town or gown via a planning process or a natural occurrence, unfold in a few hours or take years, and hold the potential for one type or a combination of types of interaction.

The review of literature provides a basis for comparison of the events of the case study with events from the

literature review serving as a constructed type or typology. A constructed type is a: "planned selection ... of a set of criteria with empirical referents that serve as a basis for comparison of empirical cases" (McKinney, 1966, p. 3).

Each study and episode reported in the related literature helps to identify issues and trends in the events, purposes, participants, outcomes, and interaction types represented in the larger population of town and gown relationships. A constructed type of town-gown events reported in the related literature will help to explain phenomena in the case study.

When common elements are isolated and the traits or themes abstracted they provide a set of characteristics. The common elements or uniformities isolated may be useful as a measuring device for comparison (Sjoberg, 1960); and "insofar as the constructed type is derived from, or can be related to, a generalized scheme, it can perform the functions of orienting empirical research to systematic theory and, conversely, grounding systematic theory in empirical research" (McKinney, 1966, p. 7). Similarly Glaser and Strauss (1967) in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, describe the "discovery of theory" from data systematically obtained from research suitable to its implied usage.

Element two: Purpose(s)/Goal(s) The purpose or goal of the event is that which brings the town and gown together, other than natural occurrences, or disasters, or the town and gown's geographic proximity. There may be more than one

purpose or goal for the event, indeed, each may have a goal or goals that may or may not reflect those of the other. These goal(s) and/or purpose(s) of the event may relate to the college and/or community attending to their respective duties, performing or achieving those *functions* which are either *primary* or *secondary* to their existence.

Primary duties/functions, as delineated by a mission statement or articles of incorporation, define the universities' and the communities' reasons for existence and their ability to perform or achieve in this area may directly affect their survival. The town and the gown have secondary functions which may not directly affect their survival, but which are important enough to affect the quality of their existence. The important catalyst for interaction may be the obligation of each to fulfill its functions in the most effective manner. They may each have prioritized needs projected into goals or purposes for action, and the type of interaction may be reflected by the priority placed on the event by each entity. These primary and secondary functions which are critical to this study will be delineated later in this chapter.

The possible interactions, according to town-gown primary and secondary functions, can be diagramed with four cells as illustrated in Figure 1.

Cell one, representing an interaction involving primary functions of both entities, is where the majority of the

interactions might be located. Cooperation might be found

under certain circumstances, but conflict, competition, or

coercion might be the case. For example: If the town and

gown each has one or more primary functions or goals to

attain, and if an event would satisfy the primary functions of

both, one might expect cooperation. However, if an event

could satisfy only one entity's goal or goals or if their

respective goals appear as polar opposites, the resulting

interaction might be competition, or conflict, or even a

combination of interaction types.

TOWN

	P^a	S^b
P	1 PP	2 PS
S	3 SP	4 SS

G

O

W

N

P^a = Primary Function.

S^b = Secondary Function.

**Figure 1. Town-Gown interactions according to primary and
secondary functions**

Cells 2 and 3 represent university primary function(s) or

goal(s) coupled with secondary function(s) or goal(s) of the

community and vice versa. Most likely these cells would

represent the exchange interaction, where one entity acts and expects something in return from the other entity for the action. However, almost any type of interaction (i.e., conflict, cooperation, exchange, competition, or coercion), might occur.

The fourth cell represents university and community interaction for purposes relating to their secondary functions. It is possible that neither town nor gown would have as much incentive for these interactions as they would have for interactions relating to primary functions as in the other three cells. Incentive for interaction in an event located in cell four might be generated by one or more special interest groups or participants and could be the key to the type of interaction for events in this cell.

This typology of interaction according to the primary and secondary functions of town and gown will prove useful in the exploration of the events of the relationship. Since it is constructed from events or episodes isolated from the town and gown literature it is suited to the study. The literature is fairly specific in the identification of the primary and secondary functions of the community and college (Harrison, 1948; Meyerson, 1969; Bok, 1982; CERI, 1982; Townsend, 1988). The following text will define the town and gown for purposes of this research and identify their primary and secondary functions.

What is a town? Definitions of community may be found in abundance, but certainly not all are in agreement. Hillery (1968) and Willis (1977), are two social scientists who analyzed definitions of community and isolated the most often referenced components. Both studies found that "people" was the factor most often included in the majority of definitions analyzed. Less frequently mentioned than people were three additional areas of agreement: (a) limited geographic area or boundary; (b) social interaction; and (c) common tie or ties, usually the possession of common ends, norms, and means. For the purposes of this study, the town will be defined as a collection of people located within a limited geographical boundary, who share one or more common ties, and are socially interactive as they structure and carry on functions or activities they consider essential to their existence. For the purposes of this study, the town has the additional characteristic of having a four-year institution of higher education located within its boundaries. The above communities will be referred to as college communities as opposed to non-college communities when there is a need to distinguish between the two for the balance of the study.

Although there are similarities among communities (Jonassen, 1961; Sutton, 1960), as defined above, each community is as unique as the institution of higher education situated within its boundaries (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976; Chaffee & Tierney, 1988). Each college community may differ

from other college communities in various ways, for example,
it may: (a) be large or small, (b) have urban or rural
orientation, (b) be industrialized, agrarian or neither, or
(c) have a large or small institution of higher education, and
(d) have different proportions of the population as college
students. These unique characteristics of communities further
the possibility that reports of similar town-gown activities
(student action, partnership activities) from different places
may divulge different types of interaction and outcome. But
it may be that the manner in which the interaction is played
out may be much the same.

Those who live in the community have expectations for
certain critical services from the community, such as water
and paved streets. In addition, many community residents
desire bonus luxuries such as libraries and parks, that add to
the quality of life and to the uniqueness of that community.
Critical or essential services needed for community existence
will be considered the primary functions of the community.
The special functions or bonus luxuries which contribute less
to the essential existence but enhance the quality of life for
the community dwellers will be considered secondary functions.
The following view of community delineates primary and
secondary functions:

> As a group of individuals who have organized
> themselves for protection, we are concerned only
> with such matters as policing, fire prevention and

control, water supply, sewage disposal, medical

care, disease prevention, food and commodity

distribution, communication and transportation. But

common community interests are not limited to

protection. A community is, of course, concerned

also with opportunity and facilities for work,

recreation, and amusement, for religious

organization, cultural advantage, and educational

development. (Harrison, 1948, p. 1)

In a similar mode, but in a journalistic vein appears an

editorial that asks, "What does a 'community' need?"

(Townsend, 1988). Townsend states that no one questions the

need for those primary items (Harrison's list), and adds

public works and finance to the "core services provided by any

sound local government" (p. 4). It is the extras; the parks,

recreation programs, library, other bonus luxuries, he

posited, that help to make a community unique and effects the

perception of the quality of that community. The expectations

for the essential and bonus services, the primary and

secondary functions of a community evolve from the common ties

of the people living in that community and are symbolized by

the activities they carry out. Having a college or university

situated within its boundaries might be considered a bonus or

a burden for that community: The decision may well depend on

the relationship (Bok, 1982).

What is a gown? The gown, a college or university, is a highly structured formal organization with relatively specific mission and goals. The individuals who are a part of the institution usually subscribe to its mission and mold their behavior toward fulfilling the goals (Etzioni, 1961). In addition, for the purposes of this study, the gown will be defined in terms of a public residential institution of higher education, not a community college, professional, independent, private, or vocational school, located in or near a town with which it has varied episodes of interaction.

The "work" of a gown is directly related to the institutional mission and is goal based. Teaching, a primary function, has been the preeminent function of the institution from the beginning; the other functions, research and service have evolved.

In colonial times the usual mission for a college such as Harvard or William and Mary, was to perpetuate the fund of knowledge, ensure a supply of clergy, and prepare educated citizens to serve as public officials. Each founding community had its own agenda for its college but teaching was generally the primary function of the institution. As the country expanded there was need for the development of new knowledge to help with the challenges that accompanied that growth. Research became the second area of work for the institutions. The land-grant or Morrill Act of 1862 provided for states to have land to establish agriculture and

mechanical engineering programs. This provided impetus for
applied research to problems in those areas and service became
the third dimension of work for higher education (Brubacher &
Rudy, 1976; Vesey, 1965; Rudolph, 1968; Hofstadter, 1952).

Harrison (1948) asserted that colleges or universities
have responsibilities which are broad and complicated as well
as duties and privileges which touch upon almost every aspect
of community life. The educational institution is assigned
the following essential tasks:

> Finding and disseminating knowledge. Whatever the
> ramifications of other activity and responsibility,
> this central obligation governs or should govern
> everything they try to do. Before a college or
> university can assume any real leadership in the
> community--before it has any right to assume such
> status--it has the responsibility of making its own
> staff a good one and the duty of developing a
> program of teaching and investigation (no matter how
> small the amount of research for which it is able to
> provide). (p. 4)

Harrison (1948) maintained that the primary
responsibilities of the gown are teaching and research;
service is secondary. Though Harrison posited these ideas in
1948, the same general attitude on service is prevalent
throughout the higher education literature. For example,
Meyerson (1969) suggested that, "a university doing its job

well--effectively pursuing educational goals--will provide the knowledge and talent available to help the community imaginatively and well rather than just to serve it" (p. 13). Indeed, there appears to be a debate on the meaning of service and this is a consideration for this study.

When is "service" service? When it is actually part of the teaching or research function (service[1]) or when it is a project designed especially for the local community (service[2])? A town-gown relationship may revolve around that which is called service. Bok (1982) postulated that a way to ease community tension with higher education institutions is for that institution to render more service to the community. Universities generally bring more than they take by adding cultural and sporting events, attracting commercial activity, or supplying public services (i.e., adult education, medical or legal clinics). Most of the services to the community are delivered at little or no cost to the institution and may create good will, which in turn may soften any discontent. Many neighborhood service projects, for example, can serve the interests of the university along with giving the community some benefit.

In the sixties many urban universities attempted to come to the rescue of their communities. These efforts appeared to be a success, but few have survived and they did little to improve relations with cities.

Community services are a high risk venture. They
clearly work best when they impose little burden on
the university and help some local group without
antagonizing others. When either of these
characteristics is missing, the program must be
scrutinized with considerable care. (Bok, 1982, p.
239)

Much of the relationship literature relative to community
service emerges from reports of that service which the
university decides the community needs. This service
generally furthers a teaching or research function important
to the institution. The Center for Educational Research and
Innovation (CERI) (1982), Paris, France, in an international
study of university community service, proposed that most of
that which is called service by the universities is, in
actuality, not. "Real" service, they report, is that rendered
by a university to a local community as they work in concert
on problems which the local community wants solved. The
university then extends its resources toward resolution of the
community's perceived problem.

Both town and gown want to meet the needs of those they
serve. In many ways they serve different populations and
their ways and means are as different as are their primary and
secondary functions. For the purposes of this study the
primary and secondary functions summarized from the text,
delineated in Table 1, will represent the purposes for

interaction. The expectation is that the town and the gown
will each strive to fulfill its primary functions in a manner
that satisfies its constituents and if that necessitates
inclusion of the other it may become a town-gown event.

Table 1. Town-Gown primary and secondary functions

Town	Gown
Primary Functions	
Protection	Teaching
Water, Sewer	Research
Garbage disposal & other public works	Service[1a]
Education	
Finance (Tax)	
Secondary Functions	
Culture	Service[2b]
Library	Maintain
Recreation	physical
Entertainment	plant

Note. Summarized from: Harrison (1948), Meyerson (1969),
    Bok (1982), CERI (1982), and Townsend (1988).

Service[1a] = a by-product of teaching or research.

Service[2b] = extended by university to meet community's needs.

     Element three: Participants   The participants, those
individuals and groups involved in the events from the
university and the community, have commonalties and also
differences. Also there may be participant overlap between
the two. For example, there may be families in which one

person is in a position of leadership for the college while the other is in a similar position for the community; or one person may be involved with both. The following text will delineate some differences, similarities, and possible concerns in this participant element.

The town The leading participants for the community are the city officials, the mayor or city manager and city council. These public officials are elected through the voter or democratic process to represent and act for the people. Thus the management of the community appears to be placed in the hands of a few. However, the smaller the town the more likely it is for more of the community to be involved directly with decisions (Swanson, Cohen, & Swanson, 1979).

Decision-making is an important component of local government and the local officials have the power to make necessary decisions for the community. Power in this sense means having the potential ability "to select, to change, and to attain goals of a social system" (Clark, 1973, p. 27). Another important component of decision-making is influence, a persuasive "exercise of power that brings about change in a social system" (Clark, 1973, p. 27). Community power and decision-making studies provide the information that public officials may often be influenced. Influentials may be individuals or interest groups. These groups are often composed of community people with authority vested in them due

to: (a) their position in education, business, or industry; (b) family or personal wealth; or (c) social prominence.

Studies also indicate that the social, economic, and political life of the American community is oft-times dominated by a relatively small group of wealthy or socially prestigious individuals whose values may or may not be representative of the community's, and who may not be accountable to the citizenry. These influential people may be the voices behind the government and they may exercise this power for the community or common good or for their own good (Hunter, 1953; Dahl, 1961; Gamson, 1968; Wirth, 1939).

Groups and associations are often important in the decision-making process and comprise the second part of the participant element. Special interest groups, associations, and specific organizations may be quite active in affairs of the community and may be very influential though they may or may not be highly visible. Organizations and special interest groups may have as members some of the same influentials as aforementioned, some may be from the university, and these individuals may be involved in one or more groups. These groups participate by performing as decision-making centers, synthesizing concerns and preferences of those involved. The groups are organized and bring their campaign to the attention of the leaders and public in an attempt at influencing policy and are found to be highly successful in their endeavors (Hawley & Svara, 1972; Miller, 1963).

The gown A major participant group for the gown
is the university administration which typically resembles a
power hierarchy (Etzioni, 1964). The action leaders take will
likely be in accord with the institutional mission approved by
the governing body. The president or chancellor is generally
the primary participant for the gown and is usually the campus
individual with the most power. The president may act alone
or in accord with one or more selected university officials
depending upon the purpose of the action (Auburn, 1953; Chase,
1967; Brown & Mayhew, 1965; Bok, 1982). According to an
outspoken professor of economics: The institutional president
is the bureaucratic public relations person. The one able to
associate with the public because of the delegation of the
work of the university to assistants who run the university
until forced by the president to also take on public work.
Then the assistants become delegators (Veblen, 1948b).

Other participants for the gown are faculty and students.
Ideally, faculty members help shape academic policies, control
the curriculum, and help to create a climate for learning on
campus. Faculty should help lead the way in community service
if a student community volunteer service program has become a
part of the educational experience (Boyer, 1987).

We commend the faculty who participate, for example, in

the public life of the neighborhood or city where they

live--who serve on school boards, who serve as

consultants to health agencies, or who work with youth

groups in the inner city. (p. 218)

If students would be positively influenced by faculty to

volunteer their services to the community, the community would

have an opportunity to view the students in a more favorable

manner than in the period of student unrest in the 1960s and

early 1970s.

Faculty represent the research and instruction functions

of the university through contact with individuals and

organizations of the community. This contact may provide a

stimulus to relate research and instruction to "real" societal

problems (Millett, 1980).

Following his analysis of the generalizations about

academics that have appeared in over thirty-five years of

study, Martin Finkelstein (1984) found that the pattern of the

faculty's external role has changed over the years. In the

early - to mid - 1800s faculty appeared to be active

participants in the community. It was reported that over 75%

of the college faculty provided clerical and civic service and

political and civic association leadership in areas of their

expertise as well as taking part in cultural, educational, and

intellectual societies often unrelated to their field of

study. After 1859 a dramatic decline was noted in the pattern

of faculty community service and activity and that decline has

continued into the 1980s. The findings of the last study

update of 1983 indicated that 10% or fewer faculty participate

in community service and those who do mainly confine their activity to consulting and contributions in areas of their expertise (Finkelstein, 1984). This cosmopolitan attitude may give rise to some reports of community persons saying, "Faculty sit in an ivory tower and just want more money. They don't exist in the real world" (Chaffee & Tierney, 1988, p. 36).

The student is a participant in the learning process and as a result of student protests--some protests for university related concerns some not--in the 1960s and 1970s, many universities responded by structuring a formal role for students in the governance of the institution. Within that same time period (1960s and 1970s), college authority structure for students was shifting from faculty to student affairs councils. This change encouraged the development of codes for student rights and responsibilities, student services, and standards for student organization membership. Due to the change in governance and the addition of student affairs, the student had greater opportunity than before to have a voice or to take an active participatory role in campus life (Millett, 1980).

Ernest Boyer (1987) recommended in *College* that:
Student government receive strong backing on the campus and that undergraduates be more fully consulted in the full range of campus life. They should be on all

standing campus committees that affect the educational

and social aspects of the institution. (p. 248)

Many students of the 1980s were criticized by some faculty and

administrators for their apathy. This criticism was a

contrast from the criticism of students in the 1960s and 1970s

when various student protests involved the community (Boyer,

1987).

Governance refers to the processes and structures through

which faculty, students, administrators, and other individuals

and groups in higher education, participate and influence the

decision-making process. The governance of the gown might be

described as being of the bureaucratic, collegial, or

political models, the style of leadership and the manner in

which the decisions are made being the indicators of the type.

There is typically variance from institution to institution

(Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1977).

The internal governance of the institution "implies the

ability and the competence of the institution to make

important decisions without external restraint" (Millett,

1984, p. xiv), indicating institutional autonomy and giving

power, although it may be limited, to the gown leaders. Cohen

and March (1986) suggest that the decision-making process in

higher education may not always be the rational, goal oriented

process one might expect. The leaders of the institution are,

as are the leaders of the community, often subject to pressure

by influentials, departments, organized groups and
associations both internal and external.

The faculty role in governance is generally through the
senate. The faculty has primary responsibility, for example,
of the curriculum, methods of instruction, faculty status, and
some aspects of student life.

> College presidents reported that although the academic
> senate had a high level of influence over curriculum and
> degree requirements and some influence in long-range
> planning, in all other areas of institutional policy the
> influence of the senate was rated low. (Carnegie
> Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching [CFAT], 1982,
> p. 201).

A unique characteristic of higher education is the "tug-
of-war" type conflict faculty may feel when professional or
disciplinary pressures differ from the administrative
pressures (Etzioni, 1964). Internally faculty and staff may
strive to influence administrative action through these
professional or disciplinary organizations or other groups.
Local parent and alumnae community groups may also try to
influence the campus administration.

In public institutions the state government has the power
to influence the gown to the point of mandating change.
Although this work is designed to study the relationship of
the local town and gown interactional fields, it cannot ignore
the possibility that the state government, that powerful

controlling body of the state higher education institutions, may enter the picture.

Participation considerations   The element of participation is an important one in the attempt to discover what is going on in a town-gown relationship. There are several specific points of concern or consideration: "Why people behave as they do," or personal agendas; "conflict of interest" in faculty role; and the character of influentials.

Besides having a communal or organizational concern for carrying out the primary and secondary functions for the town or gown, participants may also have personal agendas that help to determine their behavior. Calhoun (1953) writes in *A Disquisition on Government*, "while humans are social beings and capable of feeling what affects others as well as personal affects, he is so constituted that his direct or individual affections are stronger than his sympathetic or social feelings" (p. 4). Calhoun continues, "But that constitution of our nature which makes us feel more intensely what affects us directly than what affects us indirectly through others necessarily leads to conflict between individuals" (p. 5). This kind of attitude may further complicate participation in an event.

Edward Banfield (1958) theorized on behavior from his study of an Italian village. The inhabitants exhibited a type of behavior he (Banfield) called "Amoral Familism:" Acting to maximize the short-run material gains of the immediate or

nuclear family, and assuming that everyone else does the same.
Will participants of the town or gown sacrifice a long-run
gain to maximize a short-run gain?

Economic conditions, are likely to be a factor in
determining behavior, posited Thorsten Veblen (1948a): Humans
do "good things" that lead toward filling their pockets. Most
people do not do something for nothing.

The possibility of conflict of interest or overlap may be
envisioned as another concern within the participation
element. The conflict may occur because the administration
and faculty are most likely members of the community. Miller
(1963) reports on the results of his town-gown power study
that educators do have some influence in the community. Two
administrators from the university were found to be among the
most influential in the community he studied, while the
remainder of the faculty was found to be more cosmopolitan and
less interested in the community concerns than in more worldly
problems.

In another vein, Robert Merton (1949, 1957) identified
two types of community influentials: "locals" and
"cosmopolitans." The locals are usually born and/or raised in
the community or nearby, are usually content to live and work
in the community, and are mainly concerned with local affairs.
They have strong feelings of identity with the community and
belong to many civic and social organizations which in turn

provide numerous contacts and help maintain a large network of interpersonal relationships.

On the other hand, the cosmopolitans are usually relative newcomers to the community but age is not a factor. These individuals know they can live and advance their careers in any number of communities and are usually mobile. Their interest in local affairs is usually minimal but maintaining contact with the greater society (national and international) is important to them. They are recognized and respected for their credentials and tend to limit their contacts and memberships to associations and organizations of professionals having interests and abilities close to their own.

Both of these types may be found as members of the community and/or university. Each type is considered influential, the locals for their ability to understand the community ways and their many contacts, and the cosmopolitans for what they know. Often the university faculty has a cosmopolitan nature since they tend to be a mobile group.

It might be expected that a college community having a high percentage of the adult population belonging to the faculty would be greatly influenced by the faculty and their families. Surprisingly not, Miller (1963) asserted, there is the problem of representation:

> The role of faculty as community citizens may be considered to be unsatisfactory. This opens a problem area with many facets. In the first place, faculty

members and wives are never considered solely as

citizens. They are always identified with their

university employment. This identity of a citizen with

his role in employment is, perhaps, a sad but undeniable

fact. (p. 440)

Pinner (1962) posited that there was a considerable

difference in the community's acceptance and treatment of

those university faculty who were native to, or long time

members of, the community from that of those who were

imported. The community accepts and usually trusts the former

while keeping the latter at the fringe.

Element four: Outcome(s) Outcome is the element that

will indicate what happened and report the final result(s) of

the event. The outcome will be viewed as goal achievement or

failure for purposes of this study. Did the town and/or the

gown achieve their goals for the event? The effect may be one

anticipated due to a planning process or may be unanticipated

due to extenuating circumstances. The outcome, when viewed in

perspective with the other elements, may offer suggestions for

the handling of future similar events.

Element five: Interaction type Interactions can be

typed or classified by definition. The types can be arrayed

and that which characterizes the majority of events may then

typify the relationship. For its clarity and

representativeness Popenoe's (1977) typology of interaction

will be used to classify the activity in the town-gown events. The six types of interaction with their definitions are:

1. Cooperation: Working together for mutual interests, benefits, or goals. In a broad sense: acting or banding together when wanting to achieve something that cannot be achieved alone.

2. Conflict: Two or more engaged in a struggle against the other to achieve a common end or gain a prized or valued objective. It is opposite of cooperation and defeat of an opponent is essential. Conflict may have positive aspects of integrating or bonding people into a group or leading to needed social change.

3. Exchange: The giving or acting toward one in order to receive something in return. This employee-employer type of relationship or a gratitude exchange is significant since the expectation is that the other will feel grateful and return in some kind.

4. Competition: A struggle of two or more to achieve the same goal but not directed against another. It is a kind of cooperation/conflict, but goal oriented for competition usually has rules.

5. Coercion: Forcing another to do something against their will without concern. All forms rest on threat of the ultimate use of force or violence, usually subtle and negative. It may underlie the teaching of social rules.

6. Altruism: The unselfish, self-sacrificing on part of one for another.

Five questions

In order to study the nature of a town-gown relationship five questions were formulated, one question to correspond to each of the five elements of interaction:

1. What were the critical events or episodes involving the town and gown, and when did they occur?

2. What was/were the purpose(s) or goal(s) of these events?

3. Who were the participants?

4. What was/were the outcome(s)?

5. What type(s) of interaction typifies(y) the event?

The composite answer to these questions should provide the basis to gain insight and develop a general understanding of the relationships between colleges/universities and towns/cities and gain insight into the specific nature of the relationship between a community and a college or university.

Summary

The town and the gown may be in geographic proximity but are generally different in orientation, structure, and function. A system of analysis to study a town and gown's episodic relationship that includes particular attention to

the above elements of interaction should, indeed, make a
contribution to knowledge.

Practical Importance of the Study

Some practical aspects to this study are: (a) definition
of, contribution to, and clarification of the town and gown
literature; (b) a brief history of the town-gown relationship
from the review of literature; (c) development of a system of
analysis to examine the relationship between a town and gown;
(d) an alternate perspective of the town-gown relationship;
and (e) suggestions for further study.

Statement of Objectives

The primary objective of this study is to develop a
system of analysis, based on the literature, to examine the
nature of town-gown relationships. A secondary objective is
to demonstrate the utility of the system of analysis with an
episodic case study of the relationship between the community
of Spearfish, South Dakota (town) and Black Hills State
University (gown).

CHAPTER II.   REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Town and gown literature, that literature pertaining to the relationship of a college and community, was located from a comprehensive search of higher education literature and sociology of community literature utilizing indexes and computerized data bases (i.e., Educational Resources Informational Center [ERIC], *Dissertation Abstracts International,* and *American Sociological Review*). As previously stated, the topic is frequently mentioned but there is much inconsistency in the terminology used in regard to the concept. Descriptions of the town-gown relationships are found based on personal encounters, observation, reports of interactions, and research. Perceptions of the relationship range from conflict to cooperation and appear to vary with: (a) each different college-community relationship; (b) different events, episodes, or activity; (c) particular topic (i.e., economic impact, or student activity); and (d) whether the writer represents the college or the community side of the relationship.

In an attempt to better understand the complexity of the relationship, to identify trends and issues affecting town-gown relationships over the years, and to bring some organization, the relevant literature is arrayed as chronologically as possible. This arrangement reveals a rough evolution of the town-gown relationship and the issues and

trends affecting it. Every effort was made to be exhaustive in the literature search, however, there may be gaps, some due perhaps to a scarcity of information written about certain periods.

Town and Gown: Past to Present

Medieval

The expression town and gown may produce visions of the medieval period, the time of the birth of the university. One might visualize the students and professors dressed in their flowing academic gowns engaged in animated conversation as they walked through the narrow streets of the town, pausing from time to time to make an important point, or clustered for discussion in the town square. Anecdotes from the medieval days are popular and often used in introductions by authors who enjoy setting the stage for their articles or books in higher education with a historical perspective from those distant and turbulent days (Duryea, 1973).

Reports of the medieval period add interest and color and they also reveal that there is little that goes on in the 20th century that is "new." Many concerns that influenced contemporary institutions of higher education and their relationships with the community, had their roots in this period, for example: (a) student unrest, (b) issues of student food and housing, (c) jurisdiction in legal matters, (d)

university planning, (e) economic development, (f) economic
impact, (g) institutional desirability, (h) separateness of
town and gown, and (i) the tradition of town and gown in
conflict.

The term "university," medieval documents revealed, first
was meant to designate a plurality or an aggregate of persons;
a corporation; or the equivalent of collegium in Roman law
(Rashdall, 1936). By the end of the twelfth and beginning of
the thirteenth century the term university applied to
corporations of either masters or students and notably to the
newly formed guilds. When applied to the scholastic guilds,
the term university was sometimes used interchangeably with
the words community or college and meant a scholastic body of
teachers or scholars--not a place.

Town and Gown was coined because gowned students and
their professors often roamed in bands throughout the streets
of a town, stopping here and there to exchange their thoughts
over a drink or to take a meal at a local pub. The gownsmen,
so named for their garb of ragged black cloaks, developed the
system of degrees called guilds to maintain quality of
membership and to show a united front. This enabled them to
protect themselves against power manipulations when dealing
with the town (Auburn, 1953; Stewart, 1962). "Quarrels
between the two [gown and town] have most often arisen over
rents and equal prices of victuals and drinks" (Brubacher,
1966, p. 434). United in the guilds, the students could bring

the town to terms over the rapidly rising costs of housing and other consumer goods (Haskins, 1971).

Eruptions of student rebellion against established authority began in the middle ages as soon as students began living together apart from the larger society. Student activism, a social phenomenon that has a global as well as an historical perspective, has become a tradition since the earliest hostility between academic community and townspeople (DeConde, 1971).

The academic guilds became adroit at playing both ends against the middle--church, secular political power, and townspeople--to fulfill their needs. Since there were no permanent structures the university held the whiphand. If the town got out of hand, the gown threatened to move and hold classes elsewhere and sometimes did. The students of Bologna controlled the town with threats of departure. Secession was easy to accomplish and there are many historic examples of migrations (Haskins, 1971). A cessatio [sic] took place in 1210 when Paris' scholars left the city and stayed away for six years due to problems and conflicts with the townsmen. Later the city of Paris decided that, if the city were to prosper, it needed the reputation of a university, despite the arrogance, violence, and excesses of the students. Paris made concessions and granted liberties to the university and it returned (Stewart, 1962).

Competition was intense for universities in medieval Italian towns. The towns offered bribes consisting of salaries to subsidize outstanding masters if the university would locate there. The towns had discovered that the students were good for local business (Rashdall, 1936). Institutionalization began in the 16th and 17th centuries, the universities obtained land and built permanent buildings making it more difficult for the university to leave.

Violence appeared to be an accepted part of the medieval relationship between the university and the community. Conflicts between civil and academic authority were among the earliest records of all college disorders (DeConde, 1971). In many medieval universities, students were subject to the law of the place where they were sons and citizens and not to the law of the municipality in which their university was located. *Town and Gown: The 700 Years war in Cambridge*, by Roland Parker (1983), the single reference found relating the lifelong relationship of a town and gown, illustrates the difficulty caused by two different authorities with close proximity. It is an account of the turbulent, manipulative, and often violent relationship between Cambridge and Cambridge University. Roland advanced the point that the chances for the integration of that city and university were rare: The tradition of "seven centuries of strife must take some time to forget; but both city and university are thriving now. Leave well alone" (p. 171).

History has been said to repeat itself, perhaps not exactly, but contemporary tales of town and gown reflect much of that which has gone before. The tales depict a manipulative type of group activity and accounts tend to be more favorable to students than the townspeople--although problems originated from both sides--because they were written from the standpoint of the academic community (Rait, 1971).

Early American: Colonial - 19th Century

American colleges were often founded by their communities as the people sought the means to educate new clergy and transfer the local culture and knowledge to the citizens. Many an American institution has been associated with the same town since its founding day (Hofstadter & Smith, 1970). The changing relationship between the American colleges and their communities from the founding of the earliest colleges to the 19th century is an interesting evolution. Rudiments of the medieval relationships plus rudiments of European ancestry are found mingled with American adaptations.

The creation of colleges in the Colonies before 1770 was no accident. Their importance to the community was reported by the London published newspaper, *First Fruits of the Colonies* in 1643 as follows:

> After erecting shelter, a house of worship and the
> framework of government, ... one of the next things we

longed for, and looked after, was to advance _Learning_ to

perpetuate it to Posterity. (Rudolph, 1968, pp. 3-4)

The first active supporters for higher education were a

group of Cambridge and Oxford-trained gentlemen whose purpose

was to re-create a bit of England in America.

Questions must be raised about the relationship between

the agencies of education and the general quality of life

in the colonies. One gets the sense that colonial life

was generally quite similar to that of the outlying

regions of England ... they remained so ... owing largely

to education. (Cremin, 1970, p. 244)

When Harvard was established in 1636 the community barely

numbered 10,000. The community wanted to ensure a supply of

learned ministers to replace present ones when they died

(Hofstadter & Smith, 1970). Historians of American higher

education relate that the colonial colleges were founded

primarily for the production of college-trained clergy and

educated civic leaders, the preservation of the culture and

transmission of the fund of knowledge (Cremin, 1970). It was

necessary to establish colleges to assure the future of the

colonies---"the difference between civilization and

barbarianism" (Rudolph, 1968, pp. 5-6).

"High-spirited" was posited by McCarthy (1970) as one

reason for student unrest in early America. The high spirits

exhibited themselves at Yale and Harvard in mass protests over

poor food situations, displeasure over rigid curriculum, harsh

disciplinary measures, the rigidity of discipline, and the failure of the institutions to keep pace with rapid social change. These mass protests which spilled over into the town caused difficult early relationship situations between town and gown.

The jurisdiction problem--students were governed by the law of their former municipality and not the municipality where they attended the university--a carry-over from the medieval period, promoted conflict between colleges and communities in the early founding period and was observed at Harvard. According to Thwing (1906), students tended to regard themselves as subjects of the university or college and immune from civil authority. Within twenty years of the establishment of Harvard, differences broke out between the students and the townspeople which caused ill feelings and strained the relationship between the town and the campus.

In spite of problems caused by its presence, evidence that a college was deemed necessary by a community was found in the appearance of large numbers of colleges that mushroomed up across the country. Groups of settlers collected in an area formed a community and founded a college.

The diverse nature of American institutions of higher education was said to have been brought about because many were founded by dissimilar groups of people in different communities who had particular expectations for their institution of higher education and each college founded was

as unique as the community that founded it (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). These colleges were founded: to provide a closer more affordable college, to protect a particular religious denomination from outside influence, or to serve the town in other needed capacities. They notably multiplied the opportunity for higher education (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). The town usually would provide funds, land, buildings, and prospective students for the college, and expect in exchange: ministers, teachers, and other public servants needed by the town. The college was considered an investment committed to provide for the town's societal needs. Although colleges were important to the communities well-being, it remained that often the orientation of the early colleges was religious and "relations between community and colleges were often characterized by diversity" (Rudolph, 1968 p. 18).

The interdependent relationship of the early towns and gowns began to change. Francis Wayland suggested in his report to the Brown Corporation in 1850, that the benevolence of the community that the university relied upon would be increased if the university extended itself to every class of the community. The effort would increase the number of students and the increase would help the university to pay for itself and become more self-supporting. Wayland also justified a change in curriculum by explaining it would better meet the needs of the community (Hofstadter & Smith, 1970).

Changes in the relationship also came about as a result of improved communication and transportation. Prospective students could have several institutions from nearby towns from which to choose and colleges began to compete for students by rising to meet their expectations (Rudolph, 1968; Brubacher, 1966). This market-driven response of higher education was encouraged by the Dartmouth College victory which seemed to give license for individual college initiatives. The colleges' and universities' behavior came to resemble the behavior of living organisms--competitive for students and other resources and willingness to enter into symbiotic or parasitic relationships with others to survive (Trow, 1988).

Close ties of towns and gowns continued to loosen as the concept of higher education as conservator and transmitter of existing knowledge expanded into the realm of acquisitor and transmitter of new knowledge. Those who were in control began to perceive that the college, in the latter role, could function more easily as an entity separate from the founding community. In addition, the American collegiate way of life, a concept of residential living transplanted from Oxford and Cambridge adapted to meet American needs, provided housing; centers of population were not needed for that purpose (Hofstadter, 1952; Rudolph, 1968; Brubacher & Rudy, 1976).

Reflections on the isolation began to emerge as the gowns developed into autonomous institutions dedicated to producing

and transmitting knowledge, and not desirous of interference
from the outside.

> We find ... that a large number of the colleges of our
> country are planted in retired and quiet portion of the
> interior; and secondly, that instead of being spaced in
> the midst of any community, even that of a small country
> village, they are situated at some modest distance from
> such a spot ... the design is to avoid temptations that
> are presumed to be in wait whenever human beings are
> gathered together in society. (Hofstadter & Smith, 1970,
> p. 513)

While other authors concurred with Hofstadter and Smith's
observation, it was also noted that isolation would also
promote students' literary pursuits without interference from
the outside world and would help in safeguarding the students
from demoralizing influences (Rudolph, 1968; Vesey, 1965;
Hofstadter, 1952).

Before 1890, academic efforts of the American university
movement progressed largely in spite of the public: Johns
Hopkins University developed the capacity to establish a
demand and then supplied it. Academic and general populace
seemed rarely to meet. Higher education's position on social
service did not seem attuned to the public's perceived need
(Vesey, 1965). Noah Porter (1870), addressed relations of the
college and the community and summed them up with the
following comment:

Though, in one sense, the managers of colleges need not
ask the advice of the public, because they know and
understand better than the public can, the duties with
which they are intrusted; yet, in another sense, they
ought niver [sic] to forget that, if they do not retain
the confidence of the public, it will be impossible for
them to be of service to the public. If the community
does not value the training and the instructions which
they give, they cannot benefit from it, and they might as
well not exist. And yet, as we have observed, the public
are not competent to judge directly of many, not to say
of most, of the questions which are to be decided. (p.
243)

The metamorphosis of the relationship continued. The
land grant or Morrill Act of 1862 provided for institutions to
provide service via agriculture research and technology to the
locality. Many state colleges, often called land grant
colleges, were founded as a result. Perceptions or
interpretations of the role of higher education for meeting
the needs of the community or society had evolved to the point
that service became defined as a function of education and
research. This emphasis on service is the American
contribution to higher education (Rudolph, 1968, p. 356) and
the attitude of service, so much a part of the American
university, fluctuates according to the whims of society
(Vesey, 1968).

This early formation period of American higher education witnessed the founding of many colleges by their communities and then by the states.

At first the colleges exhibited a high degree of interdependence: Their relationship with the community appeared closely bonded. This relationship weakened, the colleges became more and more independent and moved away from the local mission toward one more national in scope. Cyril Houle (1948) describes the separation thus:

> In 1890, the typical college (occasionally called a university) was a small institution which laid great stress on its separation from the community....The colleges placed comparable importance on the development of intellectual discipline. The colleges taught their students about science and history and their importance in describing the operation of the world....The college was intended to be a vantage point from which to look at man and society and to acquire a perspective that could never be gained from immediate contact with the world itself. (p. 6)

Twentieth Century

1900 - 1949 Colleges and universities were well established by the late 1890s and since 1900 there has been little altering of the form of university organization or its function (Duryea, 1973). The 20th century is viewed as the

era of growth and expansion. Due to the American commitment to democracy in education, ever increasing numbers of students were experiencing or desiring to experience higher education.

The increasing magnitude of the student population was both boon and bane for higher education. Rapid growth of the student population in higher education encouraged development of new institutions, the expansion of current institutions, and a similar expansion of functions (Duryea, 1973; Vesey, 1965). There were "growing pains" associated with the rapid growth which became issues or concerns that affected town-gown relationships. The early part of the century found the institutions attempting to manage the growth and development as they worked to define their responsibilities (Hofstader, 1952).

The rights and duties or responsibilities of colleges were a topic for debate as institutions struggled to determine their nature. The terminology college or university may indicate a certain structure but there was a striking difference of opinion subdividing the academic population as to the nature of the institutions attributable to the great diversity of mind among the academic community (Vesey, 1965). The two following opinions on institutional responsibilities illustrate Vesey's statement.

The ideals of a university according to Ernest D. Burton (1927) should: (a) add to a full rich life; (b) promote scholarship, attitude, achievement; (c) promote a well

balanced life; (d) create interest in and concern for

individuals; (e) create community consciousness; and (f)

promote high moral character and religion. He states that the

"business" of a university "number one is service" (p. 49),

and delineates and prioritizes service as it is imparted by:

(a) first serving the students; (b) adding to research; (c)

teaching students to think; (d) developing character or

personalities that are equipped to participate fully in life;

(e) fulfilling the obligation to the city in which it is

located and from whose citizens it receives its support.

Burton also suggested that service could be imparted through

that distinguishing characteristic of higher education:

discovery and dissemination of knowledge.

Responsibilities of the university were carefully

delineated by Harrison (1948) in his essay "The Community

Responsibilities of Institutions of Higher Learning." He

prioritized the responsibilities of the university as follows:

> Educational institutions--and they are both *of* and *for*
>
> the community--have responsibilities which are as broad
>
> and as complicated as the community itself ... duties and
>
> privileges which extend into or touch upon almost every
>
> aspect of community life. But to them [universities] is
>
> primarily assigned the essential job of finding and
>
> disseminating knowledge. Whatever the ramifications of
>
> other activity and responsibilities this central

obligation governs or should govern everything they try

to do. (p. 4)

Harrison agreed that American higher education should include

education for all. Certainly one responsibility of a

university was to the community, however:

> Before a college or university can assume any real
>
> leadership in the community--before it has any right to
>
> assume such status--it has the responsibility of making
>
> its own staff a good one and the duty of developing a
>
> program of teaching and investigation....To lead, it must
>
> make its own students--and faculty--something more than a
>
> colony of parrots, most of the members of which learn to
>
> repeat what they have been taught....The first
>
> responsibility to the community is to do its own work
>
> well, to do more than a public utility which distributes
>
> a measured amount of gas. (p. 4)

Secondary responsibilities of a college or university, he

posited, were the adult education programs and some classes

off campus. In taking classes off campus, Harrison suggested,

"interest will probably be generated in what is presented on

the campus" (p. 4). He added this final note: "The college

never completely discharges its total community

responsibility, but it should be constantly alert to the

possibilities of contributions and must be forever doing what

it can" (p. 4).

Both authors concurred that the responsibilities of the colleges and/or universities were teaching and research and that service may be recognized as a function of teaching and research. Some colleges appeared to be aware of the possibility of strained relations with the local community and were looking to ameliorate any problems with off campus and adult programs for the community.

1950 - 1959 This period may be characterized as one of continued growth and expansion of institutions of higher education aided by the G.I. Bill of Rights, aid for Korean War veterans, and the emphasis on democratization of higher education (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). Two contrasting views on higher education--one rural and one urban--and its relationship with the community represent this period.

Baker Brownell (1969) philosopher at Northwestern University posited: "Higher education is an extractive industry for small communities" (p. 18); it takes the students and markets them elsewhere. The college is destructive of community life because it emphasizes the cosmopolitan aspects of life by "providing contact with all cultures but belonging to none" (p. 24). He also suggests that higher education may have two sets of values, one intellectual and another for the community. "The college is aware in some cases of the communities which feed it. It recognizes a new responsibility. It seeks to compensate for what it takes from them" (p. 136). This compensation may take place by: (a)

extending the expertise of the college beyond the campus and student, (b) taking the college to the community, (c) enriching and stabilizing the community by training community leaders and organizing study groups, (d) initiating action projects, and (e) coming down from the ivory tower.

The survival of many small colleges is attributed to the reluctance of the local community to give it up (Hofstadter, 1952). These small colleges get "poor men" (p. 118) who might otherwise not go away to college, educate them in a plain but dignified form, and provide an opportunity to find a more intellectual way of life.

On a different note, a president of Akron University, Norman Auburn (1953), reported the following on the town-gown rapport of that university and city:

> It has been said that a city cannot attain greatness
> unless it has a great university. But great universities
> do not just happen. In America most universities ...
> began as the vision of a small group of men; ... they
> often struggled through difficult times; they emerged
> slowly or rapidly, depending upon the extent of community
> support. If there was close cooperation between town and
> gown, both institution and community prospered. (p. 2)

Examples given of Akron university's contribution to the city were: delivery of higher education to the citizens in the form of evening classes, aiding in the development of an industrial center, and development of a rubber research center. In

return the city floated bond issues to fund buildings and research efforts. "The degree of cooperation, of course, depends on how successfully each serves the other" (p. 13).

1960 - 1969   The sixties were a tumultuous time for higher education. Several major issues were to affect higher education that in turn influenced many campus community relationships. First, many campuses needed to expand to keep up with the burgeoning student enrollments. Second many universities, especially the urban or metropolitan universities, were called upon to respond to the plight of the cities, and third, late in the sixties, student action on social issues became an influential factor in the relationship. Did the universities exhibit the character of helpfulness or oases?

> The relation between the university and American
> society....This relation would seem to be a highly
> puzzling one, marked by the deepest contradictions. The
> university has been a phenomenal success. Some people
> have even speculated that, in our present age of enormous
> emphasis on skill, the university may soon become as
> characteristic an institution in America as the church
> was three hundred years ago. On the other hand, ever
> since the late nineteenth century the better university
> campuses have maintained the character of oases, sharply
> set off from the surrounding society in many of their
> fundamental qualities and frequently the objects of deep-

seated suspicion....The American university developed in such a way that it could inspire with equal accuracy, both these opposing definitions of its role. (Vesey, 1965, p. ix)

Higher education was booming, many campuses were bulging--they needed room for more classrooms and housing. Interest in the small town or rural campuses increasingly gave way to urban campuses (Gusfield, Kronus, & Mark, 1970). Some parents were troubled by thoughts of professorial influence on their children during the collegiate experience. The song "Mister Professor" sung by LeRoy Van Dyke expressed their fears so well.

> Mr. Professor you're well educated I know, but some things you quote to our youngsters has troubled me so
>
> They're under your influence so hear my cry in the night And if you go changing the good kids we sent you be sure that you're right
>
> On the subject of God, if you have any doubts don't discuss 'em, for a teacher should teach and a preacher should preach not betrayin' the people who trust 'em
>
> We send you a good Christian boy and he knows right from wrong beware of the danger, don't send us a stranger back home.
>
> Now if you look down with a cynical frown on us poor working slobs, then all I can say is the taxes we pay created your jobs
>
> Don't turn our kids loose on the world with a messed up mind just help 'em with learnin', not marchin' and burnin', and we'll like it fine
>
> I've heard that you tell kids to run from the draft if they can, well, his dad didn't run, and if he's daddy's son, he'll handle his fate like a man

So don't build a wall between them and the people
outside, for life's what it is, make them men, not
cowards that run and hide

Beware of the danger, don't send us a stranger back home.
(Unknown, 1970)

Location of any sizable institution of higher education in a

city may disrupt typical patterns of land use, housing, local

businesses, and taxation. These competitive strains and

disruptions can be a source of political attacks and economic

complaints on the colleges and universities (Riseman & Jencks,

1962). The terminology urban renewal and urban revitalization

surfaced. A large university located in a city where

obtaining the necessary land for expansion was difficult,

often became cause for town-gown conflict. It was partially

the desire to expand into the neighborhood along with the

methods used in the attempt that led to Columbia University's

explosive situation in 1968 (Price, 1973).

Levi (1964) suggested that the cities should be tolerant of

university expansion and the difficulties thereof and realize

that the student-faculty relationship would be disrupted by

the unattractiveness of the community around the university

(Levi, 1964).

In an attempt to mitigate problems associated with expansion,

departments for planning and development were created in some

universities. Studies and reports from these departments

during the 1960s although entitled town and gown or campus-

community relationships, contained little commentary about the

relationship and, in actuality, are planning documents for the growth of the college or university (i.e., architectural plans, ten year expansion plans, planning studies). A number of these can be found in bibliographies but many of the entries are not in circulation and very difficult for individuals who are not university planners to obtain (Parsons & Lang, 1968; Fink & Cooke, 1971).

In the effort of a college or university to succeed, it attempts to become like the leading universities of the nation and in doing so, it may become increasingly alienated from its local publics. Intellectuality may appear outside the bounds of community but the town should not be forsaken. The institution is bound by its origins, even though it is difficult to be both provincial and universal (Pinner, 1962).

Along with the universities' need in the 1960s to solve their own problems, some universities found that the cities had troubles (some exacerbated by the presence of the institution) they were expected to help solve: poverty, racial ghettos, crime and vice, human injustice and hopelessness, traffic problems, smoke problems, and health hazards (Reinert, 1964).

> More and more it is becoming evident that this one force,
> this power to unite and move forward for the common good,
> is the urban university--that institution which enjoys
> the necessary intellectual resources in all the
> disciplines attendant to our urban crisis and which holds

(or should hold) the confidence of all those concerned.
(p. 196)

Chase (1967) remarked that the chief hope for helping
cities was with education because the university was a source
of knowledge and social direction and the needs for its
contributions were great. As a center for research, higher
education must meet the challenge to contribute to knowledge
so entire populations can be raised to the level of
functioning needed for the effective participation in modern
society.

The city university was in a position to render service
to its community and it responded in part by creating
departments of urban studies. "The notion that a college
should serve its community is, for the most part, an American
concept which was given form in the land grant college
movement in the late nineteenth century" (Brown & Mayhew,
1965, p. 2). There was little doubt that the service concept
of the role of the American university as begun by the land
grant colleges, could and should be extended to a new field,
urban problems, to aid the cities of which they are a part.
However, disagreement appeared on how this service should be
extended to the urban areas (Carnegie Commission on Higher
Education [CCHE], 1972).

On one hand is the view that higher education should come
down out of its ivory tower and get closer to its local
community. Goodall (1970) posited that if universities wanted

to be "urban universities" they must take action to pursue education, research, and public service (becoming particularly committed to public service) and effectively relate education and research to the local environment. The universities' role should have been lobbying for the improvement of education in general, training specialists to help solve urban problems, stimulating research that attempted to solve urban problems (Clark, 1964), providing housing for specialists and professionals who deal with urban problems, and rehabilitating its own community (Klotsche, 1960).

On the other hand, others expressed opinion that the university should only engage in that service as related to its central purposes of teaching and research. That would preserve its institutional integrity and essential independence, and protect itself from domination by any political or economic or social interest group (CCHE, 1972).

Martin Meyerson (1969) stated that the campus is a better birthplace for ideas than a battlefield for contending social forces:

> The university's unique contribution is the combination of teaching and research....No matter how much effort a university devotes to public service, it cannot alone solve complex societal tasks....Indeed, the most practical way in which a university can help a community is to become as excellent a university as possible. (p. 13)

Meyerson's view of the best way for a university to help its community reflected Burton's in 1927 and Harrison's in 1948.

The aforementioned events of the sixties were taxing on some university-community relationships but there was yet another significant relationship influence to resurface in the late 1960s. Students and student related issues were often reported as a major influencing factor in college community relationships and often perceived as *the* town-gown issue (DeConde, 1971). This should not be surprising because the students, the principal reason for colleges' and universities' existence, constitute the largest part of the institutional population. Focus on students as a relationship issue had its beginning, as previously discussed, in the medieval days and has continued to be a factor in college-community relationships. The following references highlight the effect of student action on the campus and community relationship.

DeConde (1971) viewed student culture as a social phenomenon with historical and global perspectives. Student problems were not confined to American higher education. He stated that eruptions involving students and townspeople have occurred in practically every country with significant university communities. Student activism, although often about campus or societal concerns, is rarely confined to the campus and therein lies the problem. Since medieval times, hostility between the academic community and the townspeople has been traditional.

Heilbron (1970) claimed that student campus disturbances have contributed to the deterioration of town-gown relations. His prescription to minimize the problem involved a change in higher education for accommodation of perceived student need for more relevance in the classroom, and promotion of an exchange of dialogue between town and gown.

Contemporary student protests did not differ sharply from those in the medieval period posited McCarthy (1970). He suggested that rebellions began when use of legitimate channels for expression of dissatisfaction brought no result.

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (CCHE) (1971) produced a responsive document dealing with campus unrest and student involvement. The following excerpts from *Dissent and Disruption* helped clarify the extent of the problem.

There are many campuses in the United States--over 2,500 total--which differ from each other in such characteristics as size, location, selectivity in admissions policies, educational style, and types of degrees offered. About one-half of these institutions have experienced some organized dissent, but only about 5 percent have experienced any violence or terrorism in any recent year. (pp. 20-21)

Next an excerpt that extended thoughts on disruptive personnel and campuses used as sanctuaries.

Increasingly, also, nonstudents, who are not subject to campus discipline, have been deeply involved; the rise of

contiguous youth communities of "nonstudents" or "street people" blurs the old and clear distinction between "town and gown"; a campus is no longer so much an "ivory tower" on the periphery of society. Thus the mini-santuary status of many campuses no longer has an adequate basis in student and faculty conduct, or in the confinement of actions on campus to members of the institution. Nor can the mini-santuary status of a campus be accepted as extending to the youth community that has come to surround many campuses. (pp. 78-79)

In modern times neither *in loco parentis* nor the sanctuary are viable. Students and staff, in escaping from *in loco parentis*, enter the larger society with different restraints but still with restraints. Nor can a campus, or members of it, undertake excursions of an illegal nature into the surrounding community and then retreat back into the campus free of pursuit. There are no one-way streets in a situation of this sort.
(p. 81)

If blame or fault for poor town-gown relations be levied at other than resentful students: Where might it fall? Paul Woodring (1969) asserted that the seemingly impotence of college administrators to deal with the situation of campus unrest and to "tolerate behavior that would be considered criminal elsewhere" (p. 82), was costly in the loss of public confidence in higher education. If there is to be better

understanding between town and gown the campus must develop
ways to deal with its problems and keep from interfering with
the rights of others outside the campus.

The more violent student uprisings were confined to a
small portion of the campuses. Other campuses had quiet
protests and some campuses had none at all. The student issue
faded slowly into the background and other issues surfaced.

1970 - 1979 Several influences on the relationship of
town and gown from the 1960s--student dissent and disruption,
issues dealing with university expansion, and urban problems--
would continue to affect the relationship in the seventies.
In addition, economic impact and economic development became
important factors affecting the relationship during this
decade.

Events that embrace financial aspects have considerable
potential to influence a town and campus relationship. The
presence of a college or university has definite economic
impact on the city where it resides. John Caffrey and Herbert
Isaacs (1971) developed a guide for determining whether having
a college or university in a community costs the community
more or less than it gains economically. The health of the
community economy was very important to the local government,
for much of the towns' ability to provide services and
amenities to the inhabitants comes from taxes.

An institution is a large consumer of basic services
provided by the community (i.e., sanitary, fire, police).

Pressure is being placed on institutions to make some form of restitution in the form of payment for the community services or provide some of their own service. The information gained by an economic impact study, declare Caffrey and Isaacs, would be helpful to the academic community because:

> Data concerning the economic character of a college would be useful in the occasional struggles that occur between institution and those persons concerned with taxes or other economic factors in the local economy, in development of plans for the expansion of a college or university, in land-use studies, and in appeals to local business and industry to support higher education. (p. xi)

Often the financial impact on the city by the university is critical because the university may be one of the largest employers as well as a large consumer of goods and services. Leonard Rissman (1974) classified a city or town as a university town if the college enrollment is 25 percent or more of its permanent population. The impact on a community from the institution is greater the higher the percentage.

Joseph F. Volker (1971), University of Alabama, made the following observation: "The destinies of cities and their universities are inseparable. One cannot flourish unless the other prospers" (p. 2). And according to Meyerson (1969) the university aided the economics of the city when it was:

Full of the life and vitality of the mind and the senses,

it acts like a powerful people-magnent, drawing to its

general community and to its neighborhood, in addition to

able faculty and students, those engineers, scientists,

managers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and other

professionals who seek to be close to the cultural

atmosphere of the university. When a certain critical

density of these kinds of people with unconventional

tastes occurs, new economic enterprises are generated.

(p. 13)

The 1960s, the decade where there was considerable

pressure placed on urban colleges and universities to find

ways to halt the acute problems of the cities, have passed.

The problems of the 60s linger and much of the literature

published in the 1970s deals with urban-university

relationships. Stone (1974) in *The University in Society*

stated:

Every institution partly reflects the social, economic,

or political system, but partly it lives a life of its

own, independent of the interests and beliefs of the

community. (p. v)

Some authors thought there were difficulties between

campus and community because differences exist between them in

interests, structures, and ideologies. Ross (1973) explained

that his examination of:

Goals, strategies, actors, and resources of colleges and
local governments indicates that cooperative activities
would probably be the exception rather than the rule. As
its goal, the university seeks to create a learning
environment....Local governments see as their goal the
provision of a necessary quantity and quality of public
services to their residents. (p. 3)

And it also appears that:

The relationship between the "city and the campus"
is not a single relationship between two clearly
identified entities but rather a whole series of
relationships with the identity of the
participants shifting somewhat from one
relationship to another, and from time to time.
(CCHE, 1972, p. 17)

The relationship appears to be complex.

In a different vein, Sawyer (1974) believed that
involvement of the institutions of higher education with their
community should not be optional because involvement is basic
to their traditional functions of instruction, research, and
service. Higher education, as a leading citizen of urban
society, must continue to deal with the urban problems
(McInnes, 1974).

Seyffert (1975) asserted that the haphazard adjustment of
town-gown relations in urban settings was a function of
delayed development of cities and universities. University

and community relations would be much simpler were it not for the fact that both university and city experience pressure to develop new relevance.

There is also some apparent fear and suspicion about the purposes of some university projects from nearby neighbors who feared losing their homes as well as the neighborhood to the university. "The first step to successful community relations is mutual understanding" (p. 143).

Urban universities should take an interest in their environment, not only out of compassion and conscience, but out of self-interest to make the areas nearby safe and attractive for students and faculty. The "practical compulsion of organizational maintenance suggest that the gown is more disposed than it once was to join with the town in dealing with urban crises" (Wood & Zucherman, 1970, p. 6).

Community change and university development should be part of a reciprocal relationship because the university's historical expertise is in the area of social maintenance not social change (Swanson & Lindly, 1970). The university can provide theory and skill to try to cause social change (community development) but needs to build on the community relationship in order to intervene. "No university can expect to seek change within the community and remain immune to change from the community" (p. 46). "Universities are becoming aware that their well-being is dependent on the health of society" (Williams, 1970, p. 28) and the corporation

finds it important to cooperate with the town and gown projects. Destinies of cities and urban campuses should be integrated since they intertwine (Mirsky, 1977).

Urban involvement should be a major or a minor function of higher education, reported Jenkins and Ross (1975) from the results of their nationwide survey to analyze selected trends and issues in higher education urban involvement. The survey found that activities engaged in by the institutions as community service programs included: instructional programs, services to minority students, and research projects.

Programs fared better as a result of strong presidential leadership, adequate funding, a designated officer to coordinate programs, and a department or center of urban affairs in the university. Several examples of opinion on where the responsibility lies in town-gown relations and on ways of integrating the two follow.

Generally the university initiated community service programs or projects and the literature favors community involvement reports Sumner (1970). "As long as university responsibility for community relations and coordination is centralized in one identifiable office, no confusion need ensue" (Seyffert, 1975, p. 145). Universities should be committed from the president's office to implement responsibilities of citizenship (McInnes, 1974).

The university should "set up special projects aimed at direct and tangible amelioration of certain urban

problems....But in doing so, we must choose these carefully,
in keeping with our greatest institutional strengths--our
primary research and teaching mission" (Bennis, 1976, p. 223)
and broaden citizen participation in city problems and
planning.

Urban study centers found the secret of effective
interaction with city government was the creation of
professional associations to help overcome obstacles of mutual
distrust and disdain inherent in the stereotype. It was
helpful to find a mechanism such as the association to connect
the right academic people with the right government people and
helpful to reward academics who contributed to the solution of
city government problems in some way (Pendleton, 1975). There
should be joint planning by incorporated community-university
organizations (Meyers & Fink, 1974), and "an urban-grant
approach" is needed to help the relationship (Wachman, 1974).

Wood and Zucherman (1970) postulate that relationships of
town and gown are better now than in the classic "town and
gown conflict" (p. 6), and have also improved since World War
II when many colleges and communities joined in cooperative
efforts. The "gown is more disposed than it once was to join
with the town in dealing with urban crises" (p. 6).

A large proportion of the research on campus-community
involvement appeared in the form of case studies of various
projects. *The University and the City*, a report for the
Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (George Nash, 1973)

contained eight case studies of universities involved in various activities with their cities. He surmised, "universities have not been the panacea for urban problems, nor has it been easy to draw conclusions about the roles they should play" (p. 1).

As a result of the concern about city problems, several urban organizations were launched, which in turn commissioned several studies to point the way. However, none of the organizations has lived up to its expectations and none of the studies has resulted in major publications. Nash posits that colleges can and should be involved with urban, community, and minority-group problems in four fundamental areas: (a) as educator; (b) in rebuilding and revitalization in the role as neighbor and citizen; (c) to provide service in the traditional form of research; and (d) to serve as a model or example for society. He goes on to state:

> Many institutions of higher education think that getting involved with their communities will help to improve their public relations. This is not necessarily the case. Involvement can be extremely controversial. All of the city's political chickens can come home to roost on the college campus. An involved university may have more public relations problems than an uninvolved one. (p. 5)

The primary beneficiary of the involvement with the city may be the institution, asserts Jacques Barzun (1968) former

president of Columbia University. Strong leadership and good
communications enhanced by a committee of university and
community individuals are the keys to a more successful
involvement. Barzun sums up the question of involvement for a
university as a matter of style that reflects what the
university thinks it is: an ivory tower, a service station, or
something in between. Columbia had a long tradition of
problems with the community, exacerbated by the leadership and
an apparent inability to properly communicate and cooperate
with the community (Barzun, 1968; Price, 1973).

On a more positive note was *Eastown* (Easley, Edison, &
Williams, 1978), a report of Aquinas College's assistance to
the local community to reverse neighborhood transition and
deterioration. The authors suggested that although the
institution provided the community with benefits of education,
health, religious, and recreational services, it also produced
problems. To alleviate some of those problems, Aquinas
College created a neighborhood from the area surrounding the
institution, involved the residents with the institution to
work on the development together, and helped the neighborhood
help itself.

The following citations lend an international view of
student activity and university responsibility to the
community. John Cartledge (1975) London, posited that the
only way for students to gain knowledge about society and the
problems thereof was to experience them as student-community

volunteers. In this manner the social application of knowledge became a normal part of the learning experience. He wanted universities and colleges' passive notions of academic freedom replaced by new principles of academic responsibility. Institutions should be viewed as resource centers for the community to draw upon.

Investigation of a university's influence on the morality of a community was a research topic for Gallop (1973), University College of Wales. He found, as a result of his research, a highly significant difference in the number and frequency of "X" category films shown in the cinema in the university town over the non-university towns when the university was in session. He also found a difference in the number and frequency of the X category films shown in the town when the university was in session over when it was not. He contended that "student presence ... attracts a disproportionate number of such films to the detriment of the cinema in general and the interests of the resident families in particular" (p. 164).

Gallop continued that a university was best placed to achieve its objectives from a position of dominance in the town. Since the university created certain problems for the town in which it resides, it had a duty to provide social compensation. This compensation could take many forms: shared facilities, cultural offerings, or solution of problems.

On the other hand, Durham (1982) asserted that the primary commitments of a university, with respect to the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge, must be to the world and not just to the community which gave it birth and support.

The seventies were portrayed, by the literature reviewed in this section, as a busy decade for the institutions. In summary, town-gown involvements went from meeting challenges of student activism and continued challenges of urban problems to the increased challenge of economic development. The universities had their own problems as they tried to do what they did well to maintain their institutional teaching and research mission, and in addition meet the needs of their communities. Some institutions desired to remain as ivory towers, lending expertise and research assistance when it suited their needs, while others acted as service stations. It was not easy for communities and universities to associate and work together because of structural and behavioral differences, but the universities and communities with strong leadership who developed adequate communications appeared able to work together fairly well.

1980 - 1989   The campus-community relationship theme for the eighties appeared to revolve around financial problems, partnerships and cooperatives, and service related to economic development. David Teather (1982) suggested the key question for colleges and universities was, how to better employ their resources for the public good or how to serve the

community. He indicated that there should be community service of a less traditional form than that from research and teaching. The actual form of the service would vary from institution to institution dependent upon the strengths of each university in accord with the needs of the community. Teather suggested that the nature of the university governance and attitudes and orientations of the university faculty coupled with the size of the university were important aspects that had a direct bearing on the success of the service. Teather illustrated his point with case studies of universities helping communities. In all cases the primary reasons given for the university's involvement were economic: The programs funded at that time were those designed to aid society.

Derek Bok (1982) suggested that city governments resented the higher education institution's tax exempt status when, at the same time, they utilized city services. However, Bok posited, it was likely the institutions brought in, economically speaking, more than they took and often provided some of their own services. They also made cultural and other events available and attracted new commercial activity which positively affected the tax base. He recommended that the university, in order to maintain a good relationship with the community, keep basically to its intended mission, doing only those things for the community that serve a valid academic

purpose (i.e., museums, libraries, athletic and recreation facilities) and not arouse community opposition.

He also recommended the universities employ locals, offer low cost extension programs, help with urban renewal planning, use students in practicum situations to provide service to the poor, and avoid controversial areas of involvement. Bok recommended that the university not advise the city government on their job--academics and city officials think completely differently. He posited that universities had a growing ability to help prepare local officials to cope with their most difficult problems. Perhaps this was the best way to further a stronger and more enduring relationship with the communities and not jeopardize their autonomy in academic affairs.

> Education and research may not be the most visible or
> heroic means of striking at the evils of society, but ...
> if universities pursue this course with enough energy and
> determination, even their angriest critics may eventually
> come to appreciate the full impact of their social
> contributions. (p. 309)

Bok indicated his concern with the ivory tower image. He envisioned universities making a positive contribution to communities and to society without compromising the standards of the institution, thus mirroring the ideas of Burton, Harrison, and Meyerson in the decades before.

One of Ernest L. Boyer's (1987) concerns for higher education was expressed in *College* as the:

Disturbing gap between the college and the larger world ... an intellectual and social isolation, that reduces the effectiveness of the college and limits the vision of the student....How can the undergraduate college help students gain perspective and prepare them to meet their civic and social obligations in the neighborhood, the nation, and the world? (p. 6)

Boyer asserted that all parts of campus life must lead to a sense of wholeness, a campus-community, before a balance between the individual and society can be accomplished. Volunteer service was the major component of the undergraduate experience advocated by Boyer to encourage students to become responsible and involved community members. He also suggested that faculty involvement in the community, both professionally and nonprofessionally, would be encouragement for students to volunteer. "In the end, the goal of the undergraduate experience is not *only* to prepare the undergraduates *for* careers, but to enable them to live lives of dignity and purpose; not *only* to give knowledge to the student, but to channel knowledge to humane ends" (p. 219).

Much of the town-gown literature of the eighties was in the form of reports of events, some indicated concerns or issues troubling the relationships, others recounted actions taken to smooth difficulties or alleviation of future

problems. Finances were mentioned as a major problem for many
institutions and for the communities. Often the universities'
large tax exempt property holdings became a point of
irritation for many communities.

> There is one characteristic that universities share with
> only a limited number of institutions ... not legally
> obligated to pay the property tax that provides the
> principal revenue source for most cities and towns.
> Their favored status has often strained relations between
> town and gown as city fathers and local residents look
> askance at the universities for reaping the benefits of
> their urban setting without helping to pay the cost.
> (Bok, 1982, p. 217)

The tax status situation appeared ripe for controversy as
evidenced by two recent articles.

In "Town-Gown Battles Escalate as Beleaguered Cities
Assail College Tax Exemptions," Blumenstyk (1988b) reported
that colleges and universities were finding out that they may
not be as important to the community as they thought. In many
cases they were perceived to be straining public services and
not contributing enough for them. Their tax exempt status was
not favorably viewed and rifts over tax exemptions grew,
especially in already heavily taxed communities. She
continued: "Town-Gown battles have always been a problem for
higher education, and tax disputes are a common source of
discord" (p. 19).

Secondly Blumenstyk (1988d) reported on Yale's $50 -
million investment pledge to New Haven. The community was
divided on the Yale pledge to the city of New Haven. The
mayor thought that the pledge would be better for the New
Haven economy than tax payments from Yale, but there was
opposition from members of the community who felt the
university should pay taxes. A university spokesperson was
reported as saying, the university will look "to ways to
enhance the perimeter of the campus" (p. 20) and invest in
deals in Yale's self interest.

In a letter to the editor, Richard Priesmeyer (1988),
initially offered a "model solution" to the town-gown problems
of community gripes over the tax exempt status of colleges and
universities, in the form of the Caffrey-Isaacs model economic
impact study. and then he adds: "The city-university
relationship is more complex than weighing two cash flows
against each other....The benefits of expanded business volume
and the increased personal income and number of jobs to the
local economy" (p. 3) cannot be ignored. Economic impact
studies were undertaken and used in negotiations when needed
to convince the community that they were better off with the
institution even as tax exempt.

In another vein, some universities, in an attempt to
improve their financial situation, had increased the number of
products and services they sell at a profit and had also
increased joint commercial ventures with selected private

companies (Weisbrod, 1988). This produced a whole new set of problems as the institutions went into competition with tax-paying local businesses.

> With the possible exception of the joint ventures mentioned above, the expansion of campus commercial activity is apparently bad for much of the private business sector ... commercialism is bad for universities. Their educational and research missions, which are subsidized by public money are already excessively entangled with their pursuit of profit. (p. 32.)

There were numerous reports of university competition:

1. The University of Illinois changed its computer sales practices after a local merchant whose nearby computer store went out of business, sued. The local merchants established a town-gown panel to discuss campus retail business. The merchants reported that the university hurt their businesses, but university officials denied it (Fuchsberg, 1988b).

2. Fuchsberg (1988a) reported that many campuses generated revenue in ventures from dairy farms to catering; they run hotels and travel agencies, manage shopping malls, operate golf courses, offer credit cards, rent videotapes; and sell computers, food, clothing, housing, books, and school supplies. Colleges and universities did not admit profit as the primary motive for their activity as they explained that the "activities are outgrowths of educational functions or as

fulfilling services not conveniently available to students, faculty members, and staff" (p. 26). However, opposition from the business sector included lawsuits and injunctions against some of the activity, but the universities felt justified offering for sale, anything the student might need. This report also related that colleges and universities took steps to avoid conflict by conducting reviews of their activity to determine how the activity related to "the 'traditional' functions of teaching, research, and service to the community" (p. 27).

3. It was reported that state legislative activity to tax or curtail institutions' business endeavors increased after national action stalled. Universities tried to improve relations with local businesses in an attempt to prevent the legislation but with little success. The new laws in general, ban state agencies, including state universities, from competition with private enterprise in sales, except for those directly mission related. Damage to campus-community relations caused by campus businesses was one problem university officials tried to deal with through college-community committees in the hope that the committee "will make a difference in town-gown relations" (Jaschik, 1988, p. 18).

Different problems arose for one community in a report on the plight of a community whose primary employer, a university, had moved. In fact Carthage, IL had double jeopardy--Carthage College moved to Keosha, WI in 1964. This

community of 3,000 was awaiting its fate because of the loss

of one of its biggest employers along with millions of dollars

a year in business when the Robert Morris College closed. The

community planned to buy the campus and find another college

to occupy the space in order to salvage the jobs that kept

this town going, but their bid was rejected. For the second

time in the community's history it had an empty campus and an

uncertain fate (Fuchsberg, 1988a).

Chaffee and Tierney (1988) reported on the uniqueness of

each higher education institution and the different types of

college-community relationships encountered in their research

and some excerpts ensue.

1. One case described a rural college in transformation

to university status, in a state where the legislature was

indifferent to higher education. The college felt it was

growing toward national stature and the community people felt

it had become an ivory tower housing faculty with "country

club mentality" (p. 36).

2. Another case was just the opposite. Differences

between college and community were minimal because their

actions and desires were synonymous. Community leaders felt

that the college belonged to them because the college had an

open door for the citizens and a gym available to everyone.

Students lived with elderly townspeople and were generally

helpful to the town, the president responded to the community

by listening, and faculty and staff were active in the

community. When this institution started bringing in new
faculty with new ideas there was little concern that the
feelings of the community would change toward the college.

4. 3. At yet another institution a professor explained that
the best relationship a "family" state college had with the
community was to remain what it was designed to be from the
beginning--a normal school and comprehensive college, always
there for the people.

4. 4. Quite a different case told of a specialized
university located within the boundaries of a community from
which it could not draw students. The university offered
adult and continuing education classes, but discontinued them
when they were not supported. The university worked well with
the business part of the community but felt no closeness to
the rest of the town.

Chaffee and Tierney posited that community support waned
when colleges or universities changed from their original
mission. They also suggested that the leadership of the
institution sets the tone of the college community
relationship: When changes occurred institutions were
perceived to be concerned only for themselves.

Urban studies apparently were on the upsurge in interest
again, following the perceived failure of urban scholars to
eradicate the problems of the 1960s (Raymond, 1989). A report
of a conference of urban scholars meeting at Northwestern
University indicated: Although the field had been quiet for

some time, dozens of universities and colleges had established urban affairs centers and the Urban Affairs Association estimated 350-400 programs in existence. Emphasis had changed to policy oriented programs from the theoretical approach which gave rise to research relating to the demographic shift to the suburbs: homelessness, programs to aid the poor, and interracial problems.

"Partnership," a term implying communication, mutual rights and responsibilities, and returns was used to name the involvement between the college or department(s) and the community or a part thereof. Successful partnerships:

Have at least three essential characteristics: (1) a degree of dissimilarity between or among the partners; (2) the mutual satisfaction of self-interests; a measure of selflessness on the part of each sufficient to assure this satisfaction of self-interests by all involved by contrast....A successful partnership is in large measure symbiotic ... a union of unlike organisms (or institutions) involving a rather intimate being together in mutually beneficial relationships. (Goodlad, 1989, p. 1)

This term has been used in education to describe alliances between higher education and businesses or local school districts. There is a great body of information available on partnerships, some examples of titles are: (a) "Partnership in Education: Preparation of the Family Nurse-

Practitioner for Primary Care in Rural Health Settings"

(Fullerton, 1986), (b) "Partners in Growth: Business-Higher

Education Development Strategies" (Doyle & Brisson, 1985), and

(c) "The Center for Academic Excellence: Collaboration

Between a University and Public Schools" (Hundley & Kennedy,

1986). Following are representative examples of partnerships

and the affect they had on some college-community

relationships.

The first example was of Brigham Young University's (BYU)

partnerships with five public school districts in 1984.

Historically the relationships had been "typical of most

schools and universities in the United States--almost mutually

exclusive" (Williams, 1970, p. 3) with the schools used as

teacher training sites by BYU. There was no other serious

cooperation between the schools and BYU in research or other

mutually beneficial projects. Pressure from the national

level to improve schools and teaching practices brought forth

a charge from the central administration to the BYU Education

College to serve public schools interests through research and

teacher preparation and after much dialogue a partnership was

formed.

The accomplishments of the partnership were beginning to

show, but achievement of common interests was not yet apparent

because of the lack of collegiality among the members.

Consensus among the partners was difficult to achieve, the

reason given; the differences between the academic world and the world of the public school teacher (Watkins, 1989b).

Sidney Trubowitz (1984) asserted that the leadership of a partnership or a collaboration was critical. The relationship between the public schools and colleges were usually full of conflict and hostility--ivory tower versus practicality. The community was wary of college professors' first experimenting and then vanishing to publish the findings. Colleges may desire collaboration as a function of declining enrollment in the teacher education department and work was needed for the faculty. It was possible to obtain grants for the collaboration, providing the project was to improve teaching and prospective teachers through practice. On the positive side, as a result of the collaboration the community and college are no longer working in isolation, segments of each were working together.

A different type of partnership was noted as Boston University's Education School attempted to take on the reformation and management of a public school district (Watkins, 1989a; Rothman, 1988). There were positive reactions from one part of the community and negative from another. The project was important to the education faculty "in terms of urban education and research" (Watkins, 1989a, p. 17), and was generating an upsurge in the student enrollment in the school of education. This project marked fulfillment of an ambition for the president of the university, who wanted

to create a national urban model for educational improvement. The local teachers union raised objections and filed a lawsuit to halt the project, fearing the school district's total dependence on the university.

In addition to partnerships formed with local schools, some universities have formed partnerships with the community or segments thereof for a variety of projects and/or programs designed to meet community needs while at the same time fulfilling their own missions. Examples of a university providing service through a partnership or collaborative with the community through their primary functions of teaching and research follow: (a) partnership formed for college preparation of family nurse-practitioners for care in rural health settings (Fullerton, 1986); (b) college-community linkages were developed for gerontological training and institutional expansion (Bass, 1987); (c) Tulane University students provided emergency medical and other services at New Orleans Mardi Gras celebrations and gained desired practical medical experience by helping the community (Greene, 1987); (d) town-gown cooperated in programs for public safety (Nichols, 1981); (e) the role of the university library in the community was investigated (Savage, 1988); (f) partnership with community business people for the critique and evaluation of college student resumes and cover letters was developed (Roderick, 1988); (g) a collaborative was formed for involvement in conservation and management of marine life

(Kaza, 1988); and (h) a partnership was created for baccalaureate nursing extension courses to be provided to a community by a university (McGrath, 1988).

Popular ways for colleges to serve their communities with little cost or problem to the institution were to allow the public access to: college libraries, cultural and athletic programs, and recreation facilities (Bok, 1982; Chaffee & Tierney, 1988). The following two examples feature two universities, one urban and one rural, with facilities built primarily for educational purposes but with community use intended. Each institution depended upon financial and/or other community involvement before construction began. Both universities and communities gained insight about their relationship during the various aspects of the construction and use of the facility.

Syracuse University officials, facing declining enrollment and a difficult financial situation, decided that building a new facility for their prominent football team would stimulate enrollment (Kirby, 1988). About the same time officials from the city and surrounding area discussed building a major sports facility and auditorium to stimulate the community's slumping economy. The university and city decided to cooperate and build one facility together.

After a considerable length of time and several unsuccessful attempts to find a suitable location in the community the university, acting on its own, opted to build

the facility on an already crowded campus. The land was already zoned for use and there was no further waiting, but the possible affect the building (Dome) would have on the neighborhood and hospital area was not considered.

The funding arrangement also complicated the issue. Syracuse, a private university, received $15 million from the state of New York, $2.75 million from Carrier Corporation, and $9.75 million from other sources. More than half the cost came from the taxpayers. This arrangement, a state official explained, reflected a cooperative effort between government, business, and education in an attempt to make a community and a university more viable. Since the facility was to be primarily used for educational purposes, it was originally agreed that it would not be taxed. The city would provide police service for traffic control for the athletic events, the money from the spin-off revenues would cover the cost.

Problems erupted when Syracuse University used the Dome for other than educational events and had generated more than $8 million in revenues. Although the spin-off for the community estimated at over $23 million and more events scheduled to come, the city wanted to reassess the tax situation. The city thought the original agreement had been violated and sued the university for back payment for traffic control. University officials retaliated by cancelling coming events which conformed to the original agreement, which in turn diminished community revenues.

The disagreement became bitter and eventually went to trial. The basic issue: should the dome be exempt from property tax, and if so, for what amount? While the court case dragged on, university and city officials, in a desire to settle out of court, became less combative and more cooperative by negotiating a settlement. Critical issues of taxation and private institutions were raised and were still to be resolved, but the city and university began to communicate and that helped establish a better relationship.

The second example, was the involvement of the community of Aberdeen, South Dakota and Northern State College in the construction of a facility (Mercer, 1987a; Uken, 1987). This university facility was proposed as a teaching complex and arena for athletic events. The governor opposed construction unless the city put up part of the funding.

The community needed to make a decision on expansion of the existing Civic Center. When it was considered to be beyond expanding, community promoters proposed to take the governor up on his challenge.

Early reports indicated that the building would be something everyone could use (Gast, 1986). A $2 million bond issue was passed by the community to prove their commitment and the facility, the Barnett Center, became a reality. So did controversy: Perceptions of public usage of the facility and the intended use of community funds differed between university and community officials along with perceptions of

parking, janitorial costs, and maintenance. To further
complicate matters, only one of the three officials involved
in the original agreement remained by the time the facility
was completed. The only written agreement was a "loosely
worded, three-page memorandum of understanding" (Mercer,
1987b, p. 1) that did not address issues "in part sidestepped
by early promoters for fear of endangering the project" (p.
1). A final report featured a new college-community committee
working toward positive resolution of various Barnett Center
issues (Uken, 1987).

Town-Gown relationships have been studied from an
international perspective. From the Paris Centre for
Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) came a report on
college community relationships and problems linked with the
service dimension of institutions (1982). CERI reported that
relationships appeared to involve issues of the independence
of the university versus its perceived role responsibilities
in the cultural, social, and economic arenas. CERI posited
that the strategy for development of better relations between
the town and gown was dependent on the type of service the
university offered the community.

For improvement of a university-community relationship
the report recommended reciprocity--community use of the
university's human resources, teaching and research, and
students; and university use of the community's resources
involving representatives of the community in university

administration and professional people as teachers. The reciprocal use of facilities is also recommended.

Also affecting the relationship, asserted CERI, was the conflict within the university itself as it viewed itself only as a producer of graduates and knowledge. The university appeared to find its autonomy through the research function while the service function represented social dependence.

"Traditional relations between the university and the community were invariably formulated in terms of the university's subordination to the community, not in terms of interaction and co-operation" (p. 11). In the author's view, the only way to achieve the right balance in the relationship was to reorganize the types of interaction the university had with the community. It was recommended that the university change from the extension of teaching and research to a collaborative effort of determining community needs, thus helping the community in its efforts to deal with the issue(s).

While other reports (i.e., Kirby, 1988; Bok, 1982) emphasized the importance of town-gown committees to university-community relationships, this report cautioned that too many committees would bureaucratize the relationship.

In a recent study involving a town-gown issue, Jon Purmont (1988) using the case study method, researched student protest over the years at Yale College. He described student protest, if left to proceed without intervention, as a process

with four stages: (a) development of adversarial positions on an issue between students and administration, (b) growing mistrust and split in students and college authorities, (c) escalation of overt activities over issue, and (d) violence with complete breakdown. *In loco Parentis* was described as the principal element of contention between students and college authorities. He concluded that student protest is a recurring component of higher education.

Thomas Selland (1981) investigated the consequences that the quality of college-community relations had on certain aspects of the social functioning of the town and its public physical environment. He reported that when college and community relations deteriorated in quality and a perception of controversy exists: cohesiveness of the community declined, the perceived effectiveness of the city government decreased, and the dissatisfaction with community leadership grew. This researcher concluded that maintaining a good town-gown relationship was important to the town's ability to function in establishment and support of community goals and policies.

Town-Gown relations promoted ideas and frustration reported Blumenstyk (1988c). This article followed, by one week, her earlier one (Blumenstyk, 1988a) that stated that college towns were "generally happy with institutions" (p. 19). Both reports were based on the National League of

Cities' (NLC) most recent survey of member college towns and a recent NLC meeting.

The NLC represented, most importantly, a view of the town-gown relationship from the "other" or community side, a rare find in the town-gown literature. A brief background of the League and report on highlights of the surveys follows.

NLC was established in 1924 and represents 49 municipal leagues (more than 1,300 cities directly and more than 16,000 indirectly) (Kane, 1989; Minter, 1984). Its purposes are reported to: (a) serve as an advocate for its members in Washington for legislative, administrative, and judicial processes; (b) develop and pursue a national urban policy intended to meet present and future needs of the nation's cities; (c) offer training, technical assistance, and information to municipal officials to help them improve the quality of local government; and (d) undertake research and analysis on topics and issues of importance to the nation's cities.

The NLC's University Communities Caucus founded in 1979 was organized to give officials from college and university communities a forum to share common concerns. It was the opinion of NLC that cities with institutions of higher education face many common issues and opportunities. Among them, the influence that the presence an institution has on local housing markets, educational opportunities, neighborhood lifestyles, economic development outlooks, law enforcement

concerns and many other matters. The smaller cities feel the impact of the institutions throughout the community, while in larger cities only select neighborhoods, usually those in proximity may be affected. In cities of any size the universities and colleges were found to exert a strong influence on local circumstances (Kane, 1989).

The NLC has conducted three surveys of university communities to ascertain their reaction to the presence of an institution. The results of the three surveys, done over a ten year period, were compared by NLC, but since the surveys were not identical the comparisons should be viewed with some caution (Kane, 1989).

The first survey was conducted in 1979 and at that time only one respondent indicated engagement in joint town-gown economic development. The second survey in 1984 reported 32 cities involved in joint efforts, and the third survey in 1989 reported 71 cities engaged in joint economic development. This change in the number of cities engaged in joint economic development efforts was attributed to combined effects of recession in municipal finances and cutbacks in federal funding for university budgets (Kane, 1989; Minter, 1984).

The most recent survey report was compiled from responses of 82 communities ranging in size from 5,367 - 785,000. It attempted to identify areas communities felt were possible for cooperation as well as "sore spots," areas that appeared ripe for possible conflict.

The following were the major points reported by NLC: (a) survey cities overwhelmingly rated their relationships with local universities and colleges as favorable; (b) cities reported that the presence of an institution of higher education favorably influenced the city's ability to provide economic development, educational, library, social, transit, and park and recreational services (e. g., research parks and laboratories, sports arenas, utilization of university research data for programs, coordination of small business recruitment, and sharing of university students and facilities); (c) most cities reported cooperation between cities and universities on matters of police and security, economic development, city planning, environmental issues, mass transit, adult education, technology use, and vocational education; (d) municipal services cited as usually being provided to the institutions are fire, sewer, water, and police--cities usually were reimbursed for sewer and water but not for police and fire; (e) negative affects of universities and students were usually felt from city provision of police and fire services and streets, the most common university related problems concerned traffic and parking issues. Other problems reported in decreasing order of magnitude included housing, provision of city services to tax-exempt universities, and student behavior (Kane, 1989).

The survey also indicated that town-gown cooperation in developing effective mechanisms for solving problems and

expanding common opportunities was gaining momentum. Formal groups were being organized in many cities to address issues and opportunities. These town-gown organizations provided a forum for issues of concern to both the town and gown, many involved participants from the private sector and other levels of government as well as top officials from both city and university or college. Data do not show conclusively that the organizations were having positive affects on the relationship. However, of the 33 communities having such an organization, 91% reported good to very good relationships while 79% of those not having organizations reported good to very good relationships (Kane, 1989).

NLC University Communities Caucus will be looking at the aspect of whether town-gown committees can improve relations between the college/university and the community. The Caucus also reported "that college and civic leaders can expect to hear a lot more about town-gown relations" (Blumenstyk, 1988c, p. 18 & 1988a).

1990s - present There was some evidence in the early months of the 1990s that the University Communities Caucus of the National League of Cities' prediction of hearing more about town-gown relations was accurate. Perhaps the apparent interest in college-community relationships was a continuation, as suggested by Kane (1989), of the effects of the economy on both community and university. An overview of reports from the early 1990s follows:

Town-Gown was used to report the action when two California campuses signed agreements with their cities to "head off Town-Gown disputes" ("Agreements," 1989-90, p. 2.). The University of California at Davis and Santa Cruze agreed to limit enrollments, provide more student housing, and pay for street and other transportation improvements and air-quality studies. They "may have found a way to ease some of the strain" (p. 2) in the relationship caused by campus expansion.

Two reports in the *Administrator*, a management newsletter for higher education, stated that while the university and local community each benefit from the other there may be problems that can be circumvented by town-gown programs or partnerships. Some examples of town-gown cooperation reported to improve the relationship were: (a) effective communication by the university to affected neighborhoods on development plans, and shared long range development plans with the community; (b) partnerships with local school districts; (c) a community project in citizenship arranged by students; (d) faculty involvement with homelessness ("Schools Build," 1990); and (e) planned monthly forums by the university for sharing information and discussing issues with the local neighborhood organizations ("Another Reader," 1990).

John A. Curry (1990), president of Northeastern University, communicated his thoughts on the responsibility of higher education to public schools when he stated:

To teach students to discover and use these resources of the human intellect is, of course, the primary purpose of the university....The obligations of the university extend beyond the borders of its campus....It is not only fair but essential that colleges and universities actively participate in rebuilding those schools as a condition of federal funding....Let us meet it [obligation] by forming a partnership with specific elementary schools ... requiring our students, supported by our resources, to go into the community and volunteer ... or by providing graduate stipends to students who commit themselves to working in the inner-city schools. (p. 6)

Another current town-gown topic was the plan to invest money in communities by several colleges.

An increasing number of colleges and universities are investing in community-development projects and low-interest loan funds ... for stronger town-gown relations....Colleges view the investments as a vehicle for creating good will in their communities and for dealing with local problems....Officials agree that their colleges' investments do not make up the institutions' total commitments to their communities. The University of Pennsylvania, like other institutions, can't exist unless it remains "partners with the community." ...Officials of all the institutions say they open

facilities to the community, sponsor volunteer programs, and provide innumerable services--all efforts to build a mutual bond. (Nicklin, 1990, pp. 29, 32)

The student issue took a different turn as the United States Senate, in an attempt to encourage college students to volunteer in the community, was acting on a bill to alter existing aid programs to: (a) provide incentives in the form of grants; (b) provide 100 percent of salary payment for college work-study jobs related to community service; or (c) partially forgive repayment of student loans for borrowers who engage in community service (DeLoughry, 1990).

In back to back reports, the *Iowa Stater* reported of recent community involvement by the university through research contributions. The first reported the help Microelectronics Research Center gave two local companies in order that they receive federal funding for microelectronics research as part of a small business program. This was an attempt "to provide a bridge between basic research in the university community and the research needs of American industry" (Anderson, 1990, p. 7). Dennis Flood of the national Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) added "It is absolutely clear that a small business benefits by close affiliation with the university" (p. 7).

The second article was an example of Iowa State University fulfilling its primary role of teaching and research and in doing so providing service to the local

community. A graduate student picked a topic for study that provided information to help the designers of the community water pollution control plant. The city council provided funding for the two-year study which in turn saved the city of Ames, Iowa $400,000 in construction costs and brought in another half million dollars in federal funding for the project ("City of Ames," 1990).

Town-Gown relations apparently were in the forefront among the issues in higher education in the 1990s. The relationship between a college and the community has a history to build upon and the relationship apparently is continuing to evolve.

Discussion

The literature review represents many citations that relate to this study. As earlier mentioned, the references are a mixture of opinion, reports, and research but each pertains to the relationship between a college or university and community where it resides. This review of literature presents a brief history of the town-gown relationship.

Events of all types are depicted and a variety of purposes mentioned for the interactions. There were an abundance of participant types ascribed to the communities with fewer types noted for the institutions. Events were reported that demonstrated outcomes desirable to both

institution and community as well as undesirable outcomes with

corresponding interaction types ranging from cooperation to

Table 2. Categories of events from the literature reviewed
that influenced town-gown relationships

Categories/Events

Teaching
Students
Town-Gown agreement
Founding/keeping
Economic impact
Community programs
Research
Extension courses
Separation/isolation
Growth/expansion
Technical assistance programs
Economic development
Planning/development offices
Urban studies
Urban renewal/revitalization
Partnerships: university/business
Share facilities
Town-Gown committees
Partnerships: university/schools
Gowns invest money in community
Commercialism

---

bitter conflict. The review of literature suggests that an episodic case study of a relationship between a college and the community of its location may indeed be interesting.

Some topics appeared to be repetitive from one time period to another and the recurrent themes of events were categorized. When these categorized events from the related literature were arrayed and viewed as classes of events in time and space, a rough evolution of the factors affecting the relationship was revealed and is displayed in Table 3. This arrangement of events and/or categories constructed from the literature portrays many of the types of events that had an effect upon the relationships of many institutions and communities of their residence. This constructed type becomes a standard of measure for comparison to aid interpretation of data from one case to many cases.

Summary

The traditional town and gown relationship, established in medieval times, that was imbued with conflict at the onset of the university may be different today but many early vestiges of the relationship remain. Townspeople found out very early that the presence of a university in the community was prestigious. Although there were some problems associated with it, a university usually had a positive influence on the town's economy. From that time onward it appears that the

economic impact from the presence of a university on a town became a major factor influencing the relationship.

Early missions of the colonial colleges included the preservation and transmission of knowledge and culture and preparation of clergy and other civil officers. The institution's relationship with the founding community was mainly one of interdependence: The townspeople provided the land, food, buildings, and supply of students: The college carried out its mission. Colleges were sought after and prized by communities even though there were occasional problems.

In the early - to - mid 1800s the separation of many colleges from the confines of their original mission as well as a relative isolation from the community gained momentum. The discovery of new knowledge in the form of basic and applied research and the development of the land grant institutions led to the concept of college and university service to local and national levels.

Growth and expansion of the colleges and universities had an affect, not always positive, on campus-community relationships in the early 1900s. The impact of growth and expansion continued as one of the major factors influencing the relationship.

Extension courses to provide many different types of programs, including technological with classes on and off the campus. They were started by some universities as they began

to investigate their responsibility to the community beyond cultural and athletic programs.

In the 1950s growth and expansion of the college or university was a more important issue for college and community than before, especially in the urban areas. More community programs were begun, many provided technical assistance to the community by educating and/or training adults in the community for technical work.

Urbanization of the country caused some community people to blame the cosmopolitanism of the colleges and universities for the migration of the young people from their small towns. In addition, university-business partnerships had their beginnings and economic development was beginning to be topic of discussion by university and community officials.

The decade reported as the most turbulent in the relationship is that of the 1960s. Rapid growth and expansion of many institutions continued and to facilitate expansion some universities bought nearby property and often made changes that alienated many college neighborhoods and local communities. In an attempt to mitigate the problems caused by expansion, many universities created planning and development offices for institutional long term planning.

Urban renewal and neighborhood revitalization efforts of some universities had a profound effect on the campus community relationship; not all were positive. Some of these efforts gave rise to research, mainly in the form of case

studies, on various projects of the institutions and the effect these projects had on the community.

In addition to continuation of the urban problems mentioned above, the turbulent times of the medieval period seem to revive in the late 1960s as some students and faculty demonstrated their frustration with social problems of the times. Often the dissenters and the demonstrations spilled from the campus into the community. The gap between many towns and gowns may have widened as a result of the activities of the 1960s.

The 1970s might be characterized as the decade of the urban campus and the city. The cities turned to the university for help with their many social problems. Although the university agreed to help, the university officials and the local government officials had great difficulty working together due to organizational and priority differences. The struggle between the universities' need to provide a teaching and research environment and the cities' desire to have practical solutions to their problems did little to bring town and gown closer together. Other reported efforts of the town and gown to work together were: facility sharing, partnerships with businesses, technical assistance programs associated with economic development, and partnerships with local school districts. Case studies on the various projects entered into by the university and the city and studies on the economic impact of a university on a city's economy are

representative of the research efforts pertaining to the relationship from this period.

In the light of reduced funding for higher education, higher costs, and a smaller pool of traditional students, economic impact studies remained popular in the eighties. These studies were used to aid the university when communities, more acutely aware of the loss of property tax from land holdings of the institutions than ever before, investigated ways to have the institutions pay or pay more for basic services of protection and sanitation provided by the community. Cooperative programs for economic development appeared increasingly popular and reportedly addressed both university and community needs.

Communication between the two entities was enhanced by the formation of college-community committees and open forums. There were several examples of attempts to share building costs which brought about new opportunities for the relationship. Problems with student conduct continued to occur, but more often student problems tended to be centered on traffic, transportation, and parking. Conflicts between town and gown were still evident but some major issues such as student activism and expansion had given way to parking problems, taxes, and other financially related issues. The late eighties found the relationship reported as good, on the whole, with a favorable prediction for continued cooperation

in the 1990s by the National League Cities (Kane, 1989),
especially in the area of economic development.

The relationship is in the news early in the 1990s as
predicted by the NLC, as more towns and gowns are talking
before acting (e.g., making agreements for parking and
transportation, working together on economic development,
revitalizing urban programs). Economic development programs
for the community appear to be at the top of the list for
cooperative interaction. Occasional conflicts were reported
as numerous university commercial business ventures were
perceived by some to be in direct competition with community
businesses.

Student issues made news in the early 1990s as some
students demonstrated their "high spirits" on several
California campuses this spring and communities again find
themselves involved, but students are also in the news as
community volunteers.

Relationships between towns and gowns have had many
facets as demonstrated by this review of the literature. The
collection of this body of literature was integral to this
research as it suggested the framework for the development of
the design which will unfold in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III. STUDY DESIGN, METHODS, AND PROCEDURES

The purpose of this chapter is to present the study
design and methodology developed for the study of town-gown
relationships. Other purposes are: to describe in detail the
components of the case study, Black Hills State University and
the community of Spearfish; and to narrate the investigative
procedures.

Study Design

The study design was shaped in part by the problem
selected and the related literature. The purpose of this
study was to develop a method to examine the nature of the
relationship between an institution of higher education and
the community in which it is situated; then to demonstrate the
utility of the method by applying it to a case study of the
episodic relationship of a town and gown. To this end, a
system of analysis was developed which contained the five
elements of interaction defined in Chapter I. In addition,
the system of analysis contains five questions formulated to
correspond to the elements, two constructed types delineated
from the related literature, and supplemental element and
category analyses. The 108 year relationship of Spearfish,
South Dakota and Black Hills State University was selected for
the case study.

Methodology

System of analysis

The first step was the selection of the five elements of
interaction: (a) event(s), (b) purposes(s), (c) participants,
(d) outcome(s), and (e) interaction type. Selection of the
five elements came about in part from Arensberg and Kimball's
(1965) and Kaufman's (1977) concepts of factors or elements of
event analysis and from examination of the factors or elements
present in reports of town-gown interaction from the
literature review. The elements were defined, most of them in
terms of existing theory, a synthesis from higher education
literature and sociology of community literature (see Chapter
I). A system with a theoretical foundation has greater
potential to produce consistent findings.

Second, five questions, each one corresponding to an
element, were formulated and are as follows.

1. What were the critical events or episodes involving
the town and gown, and when did they occur?

2. What was/were the purpose(s) or goal(s) of these
events?

3. Who were the participants?

4. What was/were the outcome(s)?

5. What type(s) of interaction typifies(y) the event?

Third, the related literature was ordered and analyzed.
Two constructed types were developed from the recurrent

patterns found in the events comprising the town-gown related literature. The two constructed types are:

1. Categories of events and issues from the literature review that impact town-gown relationships, (Table 2) is the constructed type that will be used for analysis in Element One: Events.

2. Town-Gown interactions according to primary and secondary functions (Figure 1) is the constructed type that will be used for analysis in Element Two: Purposes.

There are several advantages to using constructed types for analysis. One advantage is systematization, where data arrayed in an orderly fashion depict a plan or form which aids interpretation or explanation of the phenomena being studied.

Secondly, the constructed types, when developed from relevant data, may provide a standard of measure for comparison (i.e., compare the type of events from one specific case study to the constructed type of many events from many cases) (Sjoberg, 1960; McKinney, 1966). Such comparisons help to place a particular case in perspective. In this instance, the constructed types reveal categories of events, issues, trends, and interaction characteristics of town-gown relationships.

Somewhat similar methodology was utilized by Sjoberg (1960) in his study of the preindustrial city. He constructed a type from data selected from events in the history of international industrial cities and used this as a standard of

international industrial cities and used this as a standard of measure. He stated: "Without a yardstick for measuring this change, such efforts are doomed to failure" (p. 6). His typology, developed from various events from different points in time, represented classes of events and thus became his model for comparison. In a similar mode, the types, developed from the analysis of the town-gown literature, shall serve as the tools or models, the point of reference used for comparison to the events of the case study.

In addition to constructed types serving as points of reference or bases for comparison, they also have potential predictive value when related to a generalized scheme. The types may function to orient empirical research to systematic theory, that theory developed from an orderly arrangement of data, and conversely may ground systematic theory in empirical research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; McKinney, 1966). "Theory grounded in the data also contains elements of control and prediction, both of which can be interpreted in terms of the applied nature" (Merriam, 1983, p. 146) of the study.

The remaining elements: participants, outcomes, and interaction types will be analyzed by grouping and categorizing the data. Supplemental analyses between the elements will be performed where appropriate to maximize the potential for patterns to emerge.

Selection of the case

Following the creation of the system of analysis was the selection of a case to use to demonstrate the utility of the constructed types. The case study method was a logical choice, for case studies have been accepted as a "legitimate methodological option for researchers to consider when designing a study" (Merriam, 1983, p. xi), and they have been utilized successfully in many fields of study over the years. They are helpful in understanding social situations, and have received support and recognition for research in education since the late 1960s. Most of the research related to campus and community relationships was found in case study format (Fink & Cooke, 1971; Nash, 1973; Price, 1973; Parker, 1983; Easley et al. 1978; Chaffee & Tierney, 1988).

Although some doubt exists, "that the study of cases should even be called a method" (McKinney, 1966, p. 65), the use of cases is a way of ordering, selecting, or bounding defined social data so it can be treated as a whole (Borg & Gall, 1983; Merriam, 1983; McKinney, 1966; Stake, 1979; Walcott, 1979). That which is abstracted is usually descriptive, bounded by time and/or space, has a particular historical development, and composed of any number of facts, obtained by diverse methods and sources, which describe the case (Merriam, 1983; McKinney, 1966). A case study then preserves the unity of the abstraction while isolating the elements for study.

The case selected for study was that of Black Hills State University (BHSU) and the community of Spearfish, South Dakota, where it is located. Although the selection was in part due to constraints of cost and location convenience, it was also selected because the development of Black Hills State University parallels that of many other state institutions which evolved from a normal school (Birnbaum, 1985). In addition, Black Hills State University has 108 years of association with Spearfish, a length of time which should provide a rich source of data, and the relatively small size of BHSU would aid manageability of this project.

Event selection

The following procedure was used to identify the events for inclusion in the case study. First, a letter was drafted and sent to 25 community leaders requesting their aid in the identification of persons knowledgeable of community affairs, both past and present (Appendix A). The letter briefly explained the study and asked each recipient to nominate persons from the community and/or campus to serve on a panel to assist in determining the critical events used in the study. The nominations were tallied and the names ranked in order and those with the most nominations were invited to be on the selection panel until six to eight had accepted. The panel would meet at the investigators' home to make their choices.

A list of events of the relationship prepared by the investigator and reviewed for comprehensiveness by Black Hills State University professor, Dr. Paul Haivala, was given to each panel member for review prior to the meeting. These persons met with the investigator to assist in selection of events.

Data collection

Following event selection by the panel, data were collected for those events selected using multiple methods which are noted below. The use of multiple methods for data collection is considered a strength of case study research because a case study can accommodate a variety of evidence (Merriam, 1983).

The first method involved historical methods of investigation including the examination of documents (i.e., archival records, historical material, personal papers, newspapers, photographs, public documents) which may be the only source of evidence for some very early events. For more recent events, data were collected using additional methods such as interviewing, when possible, in order to obtain a comprehensive description for each event.

Another method of data collection involves unobtrusive or nonreactive measures such as document examination. These provide an additional source of stable or objective data in that they are unaffected by the researcher. There may be

limitations or questions that arise to the accuracy or completeness of the documents and these limitations will be stated when identified. However, when several types of documentary evidence are used and combined with evidence from field research (i.e., observation, participant observation, interviews), the unobtrusive measures will serve to strengthen the internal validity by providing material for the process of triangulation, the use of a combination of dissimilar methods to study the same unit (Merriam, 1983).

Field research provides yet another method and involves data collected by observation, participant observation, and interview. The involvement of the investigator allows for considerable depth of understanding. A small tape recorder was the only special equipment used and those interviewed were advised of its use. There may be limitations of the trustworthiness of some evidence, but again, the use of triangulation when possible should help to put data into perspective. Data collected while the researcher was on the scene shed valuable insight into the event which otherwise was unobtainable (Babbie, 1982).

Organization and analysis of data

The data were organized during collection, event by event according to the five elements of interaction: event, purpose(s), participants, outcome(s), type of interaction(s). A brief narrative of the events was written and analysis of

the elements performed. The total list of events was
categorized, the categories arrayed in chronological order and
compared to the constructed type of categories in Table 2.
The purposes or goals of element two was analyzed using the
four cell diagram (Figure 1), the constructed type for
interactions according to primary and secondary functions,
explained in Chapter I.

The data for each remaining element of interaction were
grouped as it existed and supplemental analyses between the
elements was performed where appropriate. The various methods
of analysis maximized the potential for patterns to emerge.

The results obtained from the system of analyses were
examined and the findings reported in Chapter IV. The array
of findings from the analysis of the elements of the case
study events led toward an understanding of the nature of this
town-gown relationship. This system may provide a means to
understand the nature of other town-gown relationships when
the same measures are applied.

Description of the Components of the Case Study

The following is a detailed description of each component
of the case study: the gown, Black Hills State University,
and the town, Spearfish, South Dakota.

Gown

Background   The school provided for in 1881 by the Dakota Territorial Legislature, that would later become Black Hills State University, was first intended to be the normal school for the town of Spearfish, Dakota. The people of the small rural community took no immediate action to provide the required forty acres of land and the school provision expired. They soon realized their mistake, persuaded the legislature to revive the provision in 1883, raised $800 to buy the required 40 acres of land, and raised a building. Dakota Territorial Normal School opened April 14, 1884.

Forty students made up the first student body under the guidance of Principal Van Buren Baker. However when Baker turned out to be a dishonest character and gambler and fled the country the school was closed the following December due to lack of funds. In the fall of 1885 the school, now Spearfish Normal, was opened for the second time and the school began training teachers.

In 1889, when South Dakota became a state, Spearfish Normal became a state normal school offering a two year degree program. Many years later, in 1922, it became a four year institution, offered a more comprehensive program, but the primary emphasis continued to be the education of teachers. The name was changed to Black Hills Teachers College in 1941 and accredited by the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AACT).

After World War II enrollment grew rapidly, largely due to the G.I. Bill of Rights. Teacher education was still a priority but there was strong interest in business and other divisions. In 1964 it was named Black Hills State College to reflect a more comprehensive nature (Haivala, 1983).

The college offers professional education, not only in teacher education, but also in a variety of other areas such as business, communication, human services, and public affairs, and graduate work at the masters degree level in tourism. Current status discloses a recent reorganization of the institution, from nine divisions to four colleges, and another name change, July 1, 1989, from college to university.

Black Hills State University's history parallels the history of many state and regional colleges springing from normal school roots. Many state colleges have less than 150 years of history and during that time they have had many mission and role changes. From the normal school beginning many grew into liberal arts colleges with technical emphasis in teaching and industrial arts. Then they developed into comprehensive colleges providing professional education in business and graduate work at the M.A. level, with many becoming regional universities.

Robert Birnbaum (1985) summarized the growth and development of small colleges in his essay "State Colleges: An Unsettled Quality." He related:

Having largely completed the transformations in mission,

program, enrollment, and governance ... the state

colleges are still relatively invisible, understudied,

and not always fully understood or appreciated by

legislatures, potential students, and other internal and

external constituencies. State colleges have just

completed a turbulent era characterized by rapid growth,

social and political unrest, significant alterations in

program and structure, and insecure funding, and are now

entering a period in which a demographically induced

enrollment decline promises continued disruption and

discontinuity. (p. 25)

Black Hills State University fits the pattern of the

state college development from the normal school. BHSU has

faced the enrollment problems mentioned by Birnbaum, has been

restructured, but now rather than declining, is experiencing

strong enrollment growth.

At present, BHSU encompasses a student population of

about 2,500, a faculty of 101, with a support staff of

approximately 200. It is both a diploma and a degree granting

institution.

Governance

Statewide   In 1973, a cabinet department of

education and cultural affairs for all public education was

established. It was headed by a secretary of education and

cultural affairs who was appointed by and served at the

pleasure of the governor. Higher Education was one of the
departments included in the three education divisions. The
secretary was responsible for planning, coordination, and
budget review and recommendation to the governor for all
education divisions (McGuinness, Jr., 1987).

The governing board   The Board of Regents of
Higher Education (BOR) is a constitutionally created body with
powers established and delineated by the legislature. It
governs the nine state institutions of which six are public
senior colleges. There is no public system of junior or
community colleges in South Dakota. The nine voting regent
members are appointed by the governor, confirmed by the
senate, and serve a six-year term of office. The central
board office of the administration is located in Pierre, South
Dakota and has an executive director who was appointed by the
board. A non-voting student regent, with a two year
governor's appointment, sits with the board which meets nine
or ten times a year, usually on one of the institution's
campuses (BHSC, 1982; McGuinness, Jr., 1987).

Board of Regent powers include:

1. Authority, limited by legislature, to govern campuses
in a statewide system by: (a) designing and enforcing the
mission of the institutions by initiation or discontinuation
of programs, (b) fixing admission standards, (c) establishing
the internal organizational structure of each campus, and (d)
allocating state appropriations (These powers were removed

from the BOR in 1981 to express legislative disapproval with previous allocations of income.).

2. Authority to select and appoint, reward or sanction, the institutions' chief executive officer and cabinet.

3. Authority to establish the operating budget and the capital improvement budget for each campus (Millett, 1984).

Institutional governance At Black Hills State University there is relatively new leadership. The president was appointed in 1985. He was followed by other members of his cabinet; vice president for academic affairs in 1986, the senior finance officer in 1986, and the dean of student affairs and the director of development in 1987.

Faculty involvement in the governance is initiated (a) through the faculty senate which exists as an advisory body to the president for university academic program matters; or (b) through the Council of Higher Education (COHE), the collective bargaining agent, an affiliate of the South Dakota Education Association and National Education Association.

Faculty profile The 1989-90 full time faculty numbers 82: Forty-seven percent have doctors degrees and 49% masters degrees. "Local" and "tenured in" is descriptive of this faculty (L. M. Landis, personal communication, June 8, 1990). However, some recent additions to the faculty ranks have been from the "outside."

Student profile The student population contains individuals from regional and local small towns and rural

areas: Sixty-one percent are female, 46% are at least 23 years old, and 33% are commuters. They have an average ACT score of 17.4, take an average of 13 credit hours a semester, and stop-out and re-enroll on a regular basis (D. Bercier Koch, personal communication, June 7, 1990).

Mission The primary objective of Black Hills State University is to further, in a quality manner, the comprehensive college role while continuing to maintain a strong commitment to the preparation of qualified elementary and secondary teachers. This is accomplished by offering undergraduate curricula for liberal arts, and a graduate program through the masters level. A secondary purpose is to offer pre-professional, one-and two-year terminal, and junior college programs.

Town

Background Spearfish was actually settled in 1876 according to historical accounts, although there are earlier stories of others living in the area. One account of particular interest was the discovery of the Thoen Stone in 1932 on Lookout Mountain just east of Spearfish. While his group was being attacked and subsequently killed by Indians, Ezra Kind scratched their story on a stone that was later named the Thoen Stone for its discoverers. The Kind party first discovered gold in the Black Hills in 1834, 15 years before the California Gold rush (Haivala, 1983).

Before the normal school was established in 1883:

Spearfish had several stores, a post office, hotel, a sawmill,

blacksmith shop, livery stable, church, flour mill, drug

store, bank, and dry goods store (Haivala, 1983). The

community of Spearfish was incorporated several years before

South Dakota became the 40th state in November of 1889, and

the *Articles of Incorporation* (1885) delineated the town's

role. City officials were charged with: (a) protecting

citizens from fire and problems caused by humans, (b) building

and maintaining streets and sidewalks and other public works,

(c) levying and collecting taxes, and (d) providing water and

the construction of waterworks.

Community data The Black Hills, an area rich in

forest and mineral resources, grew steadily in population and

reflected the rural to urban movement. Accordingly, there is

a strong agricultural background found among the people of

Spearfish. There are 6,966 people reported residing in the

urban/rural community of Spearfish according to the 1990

census, a 32.66% increase over the last count in 1980 ("Census

Bureau," 1991). The report on population and housing (U.S.

Bureau of the Census, 1980) describes the population of

Spearfish including the area within a three mile radius as

mainly white householders, with a mean income of $13,000 for

one income families and $20,000 for two incomes. About 20% of

the residents are over 60 years of age and more than 60% of

those are female. Leonard Rissman (1974) would have

classified Spearfish as a university town since the university enrollment is more than 20% to 25% of its permanent population.

There are two newspapers, *Lawrence County Centennial*, a weekly, and the *Queen City Mail*, a daily; and three radio stations--one from the university. Financial institutions number five: three banks, one credit union, and one savings and loan association (Chamber, 1988).

The water supply and sewage treatment services are locally provided, but electrical, telephone, and natural gas services are supplied by outside sources. There is one small airfield adjacent to Spearfish with the nearest commercial airport in Rapid City, 60 miles east. To find rail and bus service, individuals must go to the nearby communities of Lead and Deadwood (Chamber, 1988).

Government The Spearfish city government is the mayor-council type. There is some personnel overlap between BHSU and Spearfish in this area: A former mayor was employed by the university during his terms of office, the current mayor's wife was employed by the university as faculty, and the chairperson of the city council is placement director for the university.

The city government employees number 55. The police department consists of 15 full-time officers, 2 part-time, 9 reserves, and 8 cadets; and the fire department is a volunteer

service, with 60 community persons serving as fire department
personnel (Chamber, 1988).

Business and economics   The economic base of Spearfish
is built upon the following five major sources of income and
employment: tourism, education, health care, mining, and
forest products. The seven pillars of Spearfish economy
according to the Spearfish Economic Development Corporation's
1987 Annual Employment and Salary Study are: (a) Dorsett Home
(health care), 349 employees and $4,700,000 in salaries; (b)
Black Hills State University, 300 employees and slightly over
$5 million in salaries; (c) Pope and Talbot Incorporated
(lumber mill), 270 and slightly over $7 million; (d) mining
companies, 217 and $7.5 million; (d) agriculture, 200 families
and $3 million; and (e) tourism, 200 families and $2 million
(Chamber, 1988).

Other community facilities   One hospital and four
medical clinics are available with approximately 10 doctors
and 30 nurses. There are 21 churches; three elementary
schools, one junior and one senior high school; and Black
Hills State University (Chamber, 1988).

There are five libraries, an opera house, and Black Hills
State University providing cultural offerings for the
community. The following recreational facilities are
available: bowling alleys, ball fields, soccer fields,
campgrounds, tennis courts, golf course, parks, and four
indoor theaters (Chamber, 1988).

General description   Spearfish Chamber of Commerce
describes the community as "relaxed and friendly" while it
also contains stimulating elements for the residents social
and cultural life. The *Chamber Fact Sheet* (1988) summarized:

The blue sky, forested hills and vast prairies offer an

appreciation of nature and beauty not often seen in

today's world. Spearfish, with its natural beauty, has

long functioned as an educational, recreational and

tourism center for the state of South Dakota. (p. 1)

Procedures

The following procedures section is a narrative of the
implementation of the study design. It will describe event
selection, addition to the system, and data collection.

Event selection

A chronological list of events, interactions between
Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish
throughout their relationship, was delineated by a
comprehensive search of: local history books, various
community newspapers, student newspapers and year books,
scrapbooks, and minutes of the boards of trustees and regents.
The list was then sent to Dr. Paul Haivala for his review, as
arranged. He returned the list several weeks later and
reported that it was "quite inclusive" (Paul Haivala, personal
communication, July 9, 1990).

While the list of events was being reviewed, 25 community leaders were located from a current (1990) Spearfish Chamber of Commerce roster of Spearfish organizations from whom nominations for the event selection panel were solicited. The roster provided names and addresses of 22 community organization leaders (i.e., presidents, chairpersons), and the addition of the mayor, city council chairperson, and university president completed the list of community leaders.

The community leaders were, for the most part, locals or long-time members of the community. College representation appeared limited to the president of the university and his wife, an association president. It appeared that the selections made by this group would be biased in favor of the community. However, many of the community leaders had attended Black Hills State themselves or had family members who attended and it could be argued that there were reasons for bias for both college and community.

On June 5, 1990 each of the community leaders was sent a letter that explained the study and requested two nominations for the event selection panel (Appendix A). Two weeks later, the return deadline, 20 of the 25 or 80% had replied with nominations.

All nominees were listed by name in the order received and each time a nomination was repeated, it was recorded. Forty persons in all were nominated. Several respondents nominated many individuals, some one or two.

Following is a brief description of the eight individuals who subsequently comprised the event selection panel:

1. Donald E. Young graduated as a teacher from Black Hills State College and subsequently coached and taught and directed extension at the institution until his retirement. Now he is the volunteer college liaison to the alumni association. In addition to his work with the college he served the community as mayor of Spearfish from 1967 to 1979. The new college-community facility bears his name.

2. Dr. Barny S. Clark, long a member of the Spearfish community, was hired as a mine doctor following his internship and residency in Colorado. He later served the community of Spearfish as a doctor and served the college health unit until his retirement.

3. Linfred Schuttler is a main street businessman and a 43 year resident of Spearfish. His avocation is researching the early years of Spearfish. He has made presentations to several campus groups on the early history of Spearfish.

4. Don Howe was employed in the neighboring community of Lead for many years before he moved to Spearfish 20 years ago and became an active member of the Spearfish community.

5. Dr. Art Prosper is a Black Hills State emeritus professor, and although not raised and educated locally, is a long term resident of the community. He has local historical interests.

6. Lee Ervin, theater and local culture enthusiast, moved to the community with her retired husband during the 1970s and has been involved with community cultural activities.

7. & 8. Betty and Jerry Junek completed the list. They were raised and educated in the community--public schools through college--own and operate a multi-generation family business. They have been involved in many affairs of the community of Spearfish over the years and in addition, both are vigorous supporters of the university.

The panel's composition of six community and two university representatives would suggest that the panel might be biased in favor of the community. Of those six community representatives, four have or have had very close ties with the university. The two university representatives have or have had close ties with the community through city government and civic organizations. Most of the panel could be biased for either university or community.

The eight nominees for the event selection panel were contacted by phone. They expressed interest in the project and agreed to meet to select events for the study. A list of 64 events and a cover letter containing instructions (Appendix B) for review prior to the meeting was delivered to each member of the panel.

A week later the panel convened at the investigator's residence. Dr. Prosper was absent but had thoughtfully returned his list with recommendations. The panel reported no additions to the list and worked their way through the list remembering and discussing. After the first round, most of the 64 events were still intact.

The second time the list was reviewed it was evident that the panel agreed that most of the listed events were important to the relationship. They noticed that several types of events reoccurred time to time throughout the relationship. The decision was made to select six categories and the events that comprised them.

It was the consensus of the panel that the nature of the town-gown relationship between Black Hills State University and Spearfish, South Dakota might best be examined by the study of the following six categories: (a) Campus Growth and Expansion, (b) Institutional Survival, (c) Education & Culture (d) University and Public School Interaction, (e) Water, and (f) Economic Impact. The results of their selection can be found in Table 3. The event selection committee had accomplished the task and as they adjourned each one extended an offer of further assistance.

Addition to system of analysis

The study design was slightly modified by the panel's selection of the events by category. An additional component

Table 3. Categories, including events, selected for study
from the relationship between Black Hills State
University and Spearfish, South Dakota

Categories (N = 6) Events (N = 35)	Dates
Institutional Survival (5)	
Founded	1883
Save Normal	1889
Fire	1925
Gibb Master Plan	1970
Review	1972
University and Public School Interaction (4)	
Take Over	1886
Lab/Model School	1896 - 1965
Accreditation	1940
Partners	1949
Growth and Expansion (9)	
Addition Appropriation	1884
Dorm Rejection	1887
Boarding House	1894
New Dorm	1899
New Buildings	1902 - 1907
Cook Gymnasium	1917
Four Year College	1922
Appropriation for Land	1968
Young Center	1983
Education and Culture for the Community (7)	
Lecture Series	1889
First Summer Session	1915
First Major Play	1949
Extension Programs	1952
Graduate Program	1953
Stagecoach Theater	1966
Sr. Citizen Activity Ticket	1971
Water (5)	
Money for Main	1889
Money for Wells	1900
Free Water Forever?	1902
No More Free Water!	1967
New Well--Gusher	1988
Economic Impact (5)	
Cook's Assertion	1919
Flo-Dollar #1	1965
Flo-Dollar #2	1970
Hause Study	1980
BOR Study	1983

was added by the selection panel to the system of analysis.
Since the original design had included grouping events
categorically if possible, this addition served to strengthen
the system of analysis by predetermining the categories.

Data collection

The documentary data for the earliest events were
collected mainly from the archives of the university. Its
holdings consist of many of the documents needed for the
investigation of the events, including the board of trustees
and board of regents minutes through 1969. The remaining
board of regents' minutes were searched at the board's office
in Pierre, SD.

The *Queen City Mail* newspaper morgue was convenient.
Many hours were spent going through their holdings which
contained many of the newspapers prior to the Mail.

Access to the Spearfish City Council minutes was
requested and granted and the city council chambers were made
available. The handwritten minutes were sometimes difficult
to read, but very interesting.

The minutes of the chamber of commerce were also
requested but before they could be reviewed the board of
directors had to be consulted. The board decided that the
minutes were "private and access is denied" (D. Sommer,
personal communication, October 6, 1990). That problem was
overcome. Since the identity of chamber members involved

in events was known, they could be contacted at a later time for comments or interviews.

Before the informants were contacted, the previously acquired documentary information was entered into the data base by element of interaction for each event. The investigator then had background knowledge of the events for interviewing purposes.

Informants names were delineated from the information in hand. Several informants from the community and several from the university were contacted for each event and appointments made for interviews when possible. They were informed of the type of study being performed and of the event(s) upon which their interview would focus. Most informants appeared genuinely interested and gave generously of their time. Often they suggested names of others to interview which aided the investigation.

Data from the interviews were combined with that from the documents. The most recent events had the most informants, but at least two, one from the campus and one from the community, were interviewed for each event with available informants.

In addition to the documentary and informant data, the investigator had been accumulating data from personal observation and participation. The investigator often attended university functions, many in conjunction with the college-community center, but also regents meetings,

legislative hearings on higher education, college information
nights, faculty wives meetings, chamber of commerce college-
community events, and many others. Individuals from both
community and campus were generally very willing to converse
on the topics of study. The investigator's presence in the
community for over two years was exceptionally helpful for
data collection.

Data from the participant observations were added to the
data base. When the data began to be repetitive, collection
was suspended, organization completed, and the analysis was
performed according to the system detailed earlier in this
chapter. The findings will be reported in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV. RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to report the research findings from the case study of the relationship between Black Hills State University, the gown, and Spearfish, the town, from 1883 to 1990. This report will take several different forms. First, the findings are arrayed chronologically by event and appear in brief narrative form similar to the format used in the review of the literature. Second, the findings are summarized relevant to the five questions that correspond with the five elements of interaction followed by a series of supplemental analyses. Third the findings are summarized for each of the six selected categories due to the panel's selection of events by category.

Brief Narrative of Selected Events:
Black Hills State University and Spearfish, South Dakota

The findings become a narrative of the events of interaction between Black Hills State University and Spearfish throughout the years and provide an historical perspective of the relationship event by event.

1880 - 1899

Founding The first attempt to establish Spearfish Normal was not successful. The Dakota Territorial Legislature passed an act to locate a Territorial Normal School at

Spearfish--primary purpose--the instruction in the art of
teaching, but also in mechanical arts, husbandry, agricultural
chemistry, the basic laws of the nation, and the rights and
duties of citizens (Dakota Territory, 1881). The Territorial
Legislature failed to make appropriations for the School and,
because Dakota was not yet a state, land could not be set
aside for the buildings. In addition, the citizens of
Spearfish failed to secure the land for the school in the six
months required by the act and the act expired (Haivala,
1983). The Dakota Register of June 18, 1881 (Young, 1988a),
reported:

> It is only with sorrow that we are compelled to state
> that in a most unfortunate hour for the future prosperity
> and good name of Spearfish ... the 40 acres of land lying
> in the south part of town and which for 2 years has been
> regarded as set apart for educational purposes, was on
> Monday last, June 13, taken possession of by individuals
> for private purposes. (p. 6)

In 1882 Spearfish Normal School Boosters secured a
promise from several candidates of the Territorial Legislature
to support a law re-enacting and revising the earlier act.
The promise was kept and an appropriation bill of $7,000 for
the Territorial Normal School was introduced in the
legislature, passed, and then signed by the Governor.
Spearfish community provided the land, largely due to the
efforts of Joseph Ramsdell, a prominent citizen later named to

the Board of Education: Spearfish Normal School was founded.
The Dakota Register of May 26, 1883 (Young, 1988a) made the
following announcement:

> Every citizen should make it a sense of duty to attend
>
> the meeting at Newland's hall this evening at 7:30
>
> o'clock to hear a report of the committee on a site for
>
> the normal school....It is the most important public
>
> enterprise ever inaugurated in the history of this town,
>
> and in the future no other enterprise can be inaugurated
>
> that will have a greater influence and promotion to our
>
> material, commercial, intellectual and moral growth and
>
> advancement. It comes to us "without money or price,"
>
> and hence we should cherish and value its inestimable
>
> worth and advantage. (p. 7)

The Spearfish Booster Club worked to ensure the normal
school's development and the first stone was laid on October
8, 1883. The first opening was in April of 1883, but the
school was not to remain open because Principal Baker, the
educator put in charge of the school, was a gambler and soon
vanished. The school closed in December 1884 (Haivala, 1983).

The school was wanted and needed by the community, so
with the help of the Honorable H. M. Gregg, Spearfish
Legislator and M. Washabaugh, Lawrence County Council Member,
a new appropriation of $5000 was obtained from the
legislature. Fayette L. Cook was hired to head the school for
$1,500 a year and the school reopened in April of 1885. In

his reminiscences, Cook (1919a) wrote that most citizens were apathetic and appeared worried that he would follow in Baker's footsteps. Cook indicated his concern about some influential citizens by remarking often about a small number of Spearfish residents who were naysayers: organized, outspoken, and powerful. He believed that with the help of the citizenry the school would prosper, but if it were closed or turned into a prison or reform school, only the town would be responsible (Cook, 1919a; Haivala, 1983).

Cook was so intent that the normal school prosper, he often had little regard for the thoughts or wishes of others. He was often in trouble with the townspeople for some of his actions to promote the school and from time to time a group woulddemand his dismissal. Cook was, however, always able to gain enough support to prevent this as many of the charges against him were untrue (Woodburn, 1957).

Take over President Cook did not hesitate to get the community and public school involved with the normal school . He negotiated a practice teaching arrangement with Spearfish Public Schools in 1886 in order to provide the normal students with practical teaching experience. The Spearfish Weekly Register of January 5, 1889 (Young, 1988b) reported that Spearfish Normal was an excellent teacher training school and its fast growth was due to the fact that it was conducted to secure the respect of students and patrons alike. One of the reasons mentioned was the fine school for practice teaching.

The primary and intermediate departments of the Spearfish public schools are the model and practice schools for the normal. By an arrangement with the public school board, the district pays the salaries of the teachers and all other expenses of running the schools named, and permits their use, as stated. The practice or model schools are unquestionably the best public schools in the territory. (p. 7)

Spearfish citizens and the school board gave permission for Cook to choose all the teachers, the course of study, and hire a superintendent for the primary department. This alliance drew some criticism from "business and political troubles and jealousies originating outside of the school matters" (p. 9).

The public school system was actually taken over and managed as Spearfish Normal's training facility. Cook was criticized by some for the take over. He pled guilty and explained that it was absolutely necessary to have a good practice school under one manager for the best results. He would not interfere with the rights of anyone in the schools. The arrangement continued very successfully until 1896 when the practice school was moved to campus and became the Normal Model School, also known as the training or laboratory (lab) school (Cook, 1902; Haivala, 1983). This interaction with the public schools of Spearfish was the beginning of a series of events that continues to the present.

High prices   There was a great demand for the services
of the normal school and it exhibited rapid growth throughout
its early years which was good for area businesses. Minor
conflicts occurred from time to time when prices of certain
goods were very high in Spearfish. For example, a local
merchant charged students $0.75 for a box of crayons, a
circumstance which angered President Cook who found another
supply and mail ordered them for $0.06 a box. This in turn
angered the local dealer (Haivala, 1983).

Appropriation   The student population soon outgrew the
small building that housed Spearfish Normal's office,
classroom, and library; some prospective students had to be
turned away. One of Cook's goals as president was to obtain
more buildings for the campus. With the help of Mr. John
Wolzmuth, Spearfish Council Member, other area legislators,
and the Board of Trustees, a request was made for funds. The
Territorial Legislature appropriated $25,000 for an addition
to the original building. In order to make the best use of
the money President Cook traveled to visit new buildings to
get modern ideas and returned with an ideal floor plan. Local
firms completed the construction (Cook, 1919a; Haivala,
1983).

Rejection   The normal school student population
continued to grow and attracted many students from Spearfish
as well as the region. These students, mainly female, needed
to be housed. Due to the shortage of space on campus many

townspeople rented rooms and boarded students for a fee. Cook, in July of 1887, requested money from the legislature to build a dormitory to house the students on campus. Some Spearfish citizens feared the loss of revenue gained by renting and boarding the students and formed a club to fight the dormitory plan. They lobbied and influenced the legislature to defeat the appropriation bill. Normal was prevented from getting the dormitory for 13 years and in the meantime the townsfolk boarded the students for the high price of $18.00 a month, and reaped the benefit. According to Cook (1919a), the normal school's growth was greatly hampered by the opposition of the community to the building of the dormitory (Cook, 1919a; Johnson, 1885; Papik, 1957; Haivala, 1983).

Save Normal. One of the early attempts to close the school occurred in 1889. With the advent of statehood financial problems developed which gave rise to rumors of the school being closed. These rumors were widely circulated by *East River* people. The possibility of the school being closed created alarm in the community and numerous groups and individuals organized a letter writing campaign to save it.

The regents sent an investigating board composed of: S. A. Flower, Rapid City; E. W. Martin, Deadwood; H. O. Anderson, Sturgis; J. A. Stanley, Hermosa; and J. Wolzmuth, Spearfish. The board found the management, reputation, and curriculum of

the school favorable and convinced the legislature to let the school remain open (Carlson, 1958; Havaila, 1983).

Education and culture Education and culture for the community began when President Cook, in an effort to raise money for Spearfish Normal's library and the public schools, sponsored a lecture series for the students and the public during 1889. The series featured noted lecturers, singing groups, humorists, and orators, and was intended as a contribution to the community. The series was excellent but some citizens refused to buy tickets--it was also rumored that Cook was getting rich running the school--if the money was to subsidize Normal. President Cook lost $75 of his own money due to individuals reneging on tickets they had pledged to buy. The series raised only $155.50. Cook gave half to Spearfish Public Schools and invested the other half in books for the library (Cook, 1919a; Haivala, 1983).

Water main The college community interaction concerning water began in 1889. In July of 1889 the city council approved a new water system to provide a good supply of water to the city. There were not enough bonds voted to provide for the west side of town, which included the normal school. President Cook and the trustees wanted a supply of water for the school and volunteered to fund the water main to supply the west side. July 13, 1889 City Council Minutes told of the contract:

The city entered into a contract with the trustees of
Territorial Normal School at Spearfish Dakota to permit
said trustees to connect a water main with the Spearfish
city water system and to lay mains through the streets of
said city to the Normal School for lawns, domestic, and
fire purposes in the same manner and under the same
restrictions as to other consumers of city water. In
consideration the trustees of the school will furnish
material and perform the work in laying said mains to the
amount of $3,500 and that the city council will
appropriate money to complete the line to the Normal
School. (Spearfish Common Council [SCC], 1889)

Following the completion of the main, the construction of
which was supervised by a joint committee from normal's
trustees and the city council, the whole main w ouldbecome
city property. The City of Spearfish granted "free
irrigation and water rights to the school forever" (SCC, 1889;
Cook, 1919b, p. 1).

Boarding house   In 1894 Cook started a boarding house
to provide for students when there was not enough room due to
increased enrollment and lack of space, and/or the expense of
private boarding was beyond their means. He also began
raising fruits and vegetables and started a dairy herd to
provide food for the campus (Carlson, 1958; Haivala, 1983).
His petition to sell the produce to raise money for the school
was denied by the regents (Cook, 1919b).

Lab School   The lab school for teacher training, also called training school or model school, was moved from the public schools to the main building of Spearfish Normal in 1896. The lab school continued to provide practical experience for students for many years and in addition, it provided a site for teachers' institutes. This move both caused problems and alleviated then. Some citizens claimed that there was no compensation paid to the public schools by the normal school for use as a teacher training facility. Others charged that the state had supported the Spearfish Public Schools for the preceding 10 years (Carlson, 1966).

On the positive side, the new lab school provided schooling on campus for students in the first eight grades and later through the 12th grade. Teachers were hired by the normal school for the lab school and all the senior normal students practice taught there. Close rural or outlying districts arranged to send their students to the lab school-- several closed their schools altogether and bussed the children to town. Spearfish community and faculty children could attend the school if selected, and competition was lively for available seats due to the excellent quality of the program (J. Junek, personal communication, October 15, 1990; A. Prosper, personal communication, October 24, 1990).

If selected, the town students could attend the lab school but their families had to continue to pay public school taxes. This led to charges of unfair tax relief for the rural

participants by the town participants, which in turn gave rise to rural versus town activities between the schools. One healthy activity was the athletic competition. The lab school's team was called the "Mop Rags" and the Public School's team, the "Puppy Dogs" and the competition between them was spirited (Carlson, 1966).

The fire of 1925 displaced the lab school for a time as the administration had to move to that building. The public schools offered use of an old school building until the Lab school could return to campus.

Following America Association Of College Teachers (AACT) accreditation in 1940, secondary education was moved off campus and back to the local high school. The ninth grade was discontinued in 1942. The remainder of the lab school continued until Lawrence County reorganized the county school districts in 1963. The territory served by the lab school came under the jurisdiction of the county: That spelled the end of the lab school (Carlson, 1966).

When the lab school was closed in 1963, state land south of the campus was given to the public school board for a new elementary school. The lab school building housed students while the new school, West Elementary, was being constructed. All student practice teaching, many of the lab school teachers, and the children moved off campus for the first time since 1895. In 1965, the present system of student teaching in the public schools with college supervision was created

(Carlson, 1966). As the result of the donated nine acres,
West Elementary granted the education department "practice
teaching privileges forever" (C. Shad, personal communication,
October 18, 1990).

Some of the teachers stayed with the young students
entering the public schools, some left, and others stayed with
the college. Dr. Charles Schad, a former seventh and eighth
grade lab school teacher and presently a faculty member at the
college, felt the closing of the lab school marked the loss of
a great teacher training program (personal communication,
October 18, 1990). Continued cooperation with the Spearfish
Schools maintained the "strong spirit of co-operation"
(Haivala, 1983, p. 35) between the Spearfish Public Schools
and the college.

New dormitory The dormitory needed, requested, but
denied 13 years ago was eventually funded in 1899. The
$25,000 appropriated by the legislature for a women's
dormitory passed with no opposition from the community this
time. Mr. E. H. Warren, editor of the Spearfish paper and
representative to the state legislature was instrumental in
passage of this appropriation (Carlson, 1966; South Dakota
Board of Regents [SDBOR], 1899). However, that amount was
inadequate to finish or furnish the building so the citizens
of Spearfish put up enough money to finish the third floor.
The 1901 legislative session voted sufficient funds and the
citizens were paid back (Carlson, 1966; Haivala, 1983).

1900 - 1949

Artesian wells   Due to several years of drought,
sources of water became less than adequate for the city.
Normal, through President Cook and the Trustees, donated money
to the city to help in the development of artesian wells
(Haivala, 1983). Cook (1919b) asserted that even though the
school could have free water, it had donated money to the city
from time to time when the water supply was short. The
expectation was to return to using all the water it needed
when the city had enough.

Travel funds   Normal School football team was
beginning to compete with teams from other towns in the early
1900s. At that time the students were coaches as well as
players and were expected to fund their own travel and
uniforms. Some of the town business people helped the team
fund the travel. This effort was greatly appreciated by the
team (Haivala, 1983).

Free water   In 1902 the city tried to renege on the
"free water forever" contract with Spearfish Normal because
the school's water usage exceeded the city's expectations. A
motion by Alderman Cook--no relation to President Cook--during
the council meeting of June 2, asked that the ordinance
pertaining to the use of water be enforced on the normal
school buildings (SCC, 1902). The Attorney General ruled on
the contract, validated it, and the free water continued.
Although the college had contributed a great deal to the

establishment of a city water system and donated money from time to time, there were numerous attempts to try to break the water agreement. In order to alleviate some of the pressure, the school drilled two wells on campus to supplement the supply from the city (Papik, 1957; Cook, 1919b; Haivala, 1983).

Jurisdiction President Cook was concerned about all students at normal and took extraordinary effort to insist the students conduct themselves by his strict moral code. One anecdote tells of his admonishment to a young woman student. He advised her not to attend a dance when she visited her home town. She arrived home quite unhappy, but her parents assured her that she could go to the dance (D. Young, personal communication, October 15, 1990).

Others relate that Cook went so far as to insist students stay away from certain *establishments* in town. This angered some townspeople enough to complain to the regents in 1902 about Cook's behavior. The regents told Cook that he was not in charge of students when they were off campus (Haivala, 1983).

One of several attempts to have Cook removed from the presidency was reported in 1902. Fifty-three Spearfish citizens, including Mayor H. Dotson, signed a petition for his removal and sent it to the regents. The regents had a hearing on the matter. Cook was supported by many students, faculty,

and other Spearfish citizens and the movement was thwarted (SDBOR, 1902a, 1902b; Haivala, 1983).

New buildings The enrollment continued to grow rapidly in the early 1900s and the campus expanded with several new buildings. In 1903 cottages were built on campus to house female students. The students desperately needed housing due to high prices in private homes and the scarcity of housing on campus (Cook, 1919b; Haivala, 1983). No problems were forthcoming this time to forestall the building.

Additional classroom space was needed and in the following year, 1904, $25,000 was appropriated to build Science Hall (SDBOR, 1904; Haivala, 1983). Several years later, in 1907, the legislature appropriated $50,000 for another addition to the main building (Carlson, 1958).

First summer school The first summer school at Spearfish Normal began in 1915 to provide additional service through education to the immediate area teachers and also the region. President Cook felt that those already in the field of teaching should return for further training. The lab school was incorporated into the plan and the summer sessions were highly successful and continued for many years. The business people enjoyed the additional business (State Normal School, 1916; Papik, 1957; Haivala, 1983).

New gymnasium President Cook continued to obtain buildings for the campus, satisfying one of his earliest ambitions for his presidency. The next building addressed a

weak point in the school; the lack of adequate provision for physical training. A request for a gymnasium appropriation of $67,500 was approved by the legislature in 1917. The new building would also house the natural and physical sciences; household, industrial, and manual arts.

The new gymnasium was built complete with one of the first swimming pools of the territory--also suggested as one of the first swimming pools built on any college campus--and was the pride of the town. The opening was a big celebration for the school with the local builders and many community representatives present (Cook, 1919c; Haivala, 1983).

Economic impact. The terminology economic impact was a part of President Cook's remarks upon his retirement in 1919. Cook felt that the community underestimated the value of the normal school to its economic welfare: That it was worth great amounts of money to the town. If the community would promote the school, business would benefit (Haivala, 1983).

If Spearfish would drop all antagonisms to the Normal School, refrain from criticism, even if it sometimes seems deserved, and work together as one person for a great school. Nothing that could possibly happen would give me more happiness than this. (Cook, 1919a, p. 2).

Cook retired and E. C. Woodburn became president in 1919. Woodburn would have a difficult tenure with worries about enrollment, becoming a four year institution, a major fire, rebuilding, and accreditation.

Homecoming   One happy celebration had its beginning in 1920. The first homecoming celebration was held in the fall with a parade, football game, and other campus activities. There was much interaction, as a result, of the campus with the downtown business people (Haivala, 1983).

Four year college   One of President Woodburn's first efforts was to support the move for the normal to become a four year institution. In 1922 it became so authorized by the regents (SDBOR, 1922). This was done to help establish a four year program that would lead to a Bachelor of Science in Education degree. Thus began a long statewide fight, East River versus West River, which lasted until 1939.

This statewide fight had a seesaw effect on the institution. For several years normal school became a teachers college with a four year program; following a law suit against the regents brought by Regent Ed Perchal in 1928, the school became a normal school again. However it retained the four year program while returning to normal school status.

In July of 1939, the final bill passed and the normal school was again allowed to become a four year teachers college. It officially became Black Hills Teachers College in 1941 (Spearfish Normal School, 1932-33; Papik, 1957; Carlson, 1958).

During the years of the battle to become a four year institution there was much community support for the college. Doctor Lyle Hare was instrumental in garnering support.

Spearfish citizens wanted the school to have the status of a four year degree program to attract more students to the school and subsequently to the Spearfish community (J. Junek & B. Junek, personal communications, October 15, 1990).

The community acquired support from Senator Simmons from Belle Fourche and Lawrence County Representative Mayo. Other supporters were (a) former students waiting to come back to finish their fourth year and receive their degree (D. Young, personal communication, October 15, 1990), and (b) the earlier two and three year certified teachers who were waiting to enter the degree program to finish their fourth year (C. Schad, personal communication, October 18, 1990).

Fire Normal Hall, the main building, burned to the ground January 13, 1925. Following the fire came some discussion of moving the college to Rapid City and combining it with the School of Mines. Immediately following the fire, Dr. Woodburn and the college were recipients of: (a) donations of money and books from the community and also from faculty and students to replace those which burned with the library; (b) the donation of an old school building for spring term use and use of the new one for summer classes from the Spearfish Board of Education; (c) help with the relocation of books for classes and the lab school by townspeople, many from the business sector; (d) donations of money and books from alumni; and (e) a show of support and lobbying efforts for funds to rebuild (Carlson, 1966; Papik 1957; Haivala, 1983).

The lobbying was directed toward the regents and members of the legislature by the Spearfish residents. Their efforts were rewarded when an appropriation of $350,000 for rebuilding was made in February of 1925. Area support kept the school alive (SDBOR, 1925; Papik, 1957; Carlson, 1958).

Professor Mark Richmond remarked that rebuilding would be easy due to the cooperation of the community (Haivala, 1983) and President Woodburn (1925) said to the community, faculty, and students alike:

> The terrific material loss is partly compensated for by the character gain as we put aside that which is petty and little and all join in putting across the big enterprise thus thrust upon us. At such times there is always a welding together of diverse elements. Unity springs up where suspicion may have reigned, and we are brought to a realization of our common interests and the necessity of complete co-operation. (p. 1)

Swarm Day The first Swarm Day, homecoming, formerly called by different names such as: Paha Sapa Day, Gypsy Day, or Pioneer Day, was celebrated in the fall of 1928. Main street Spearfish business people and the chamber helped in the planning of the festivities and awarded prizes for best floats and window displays (Haivala, 1983).

Accreditation National accreditation of the teacher training department was considered a necessity for the college's viability. The AATC had been invited to come on

campus and make recommendations for the school's preparation for application for accreditation. The first attempt failed to President Woodburn's dismay--they were turned down. Later that year when M. O. Skarsten, principal of the lab school, went to convention in San Francisco, President Woodburn asked him to present a second case for accreditation. Skarsten prepared his materials as he traveled and then successfully persuaded the AATC to grant accreditation. Due to his success in obtaining national accreditation, Skarsten was warmly received and escorted into town from the airport by an appreciative delegation of Spearfish citizens made up of college, chamber of commerce, public school representatives, and other loyal community friends of the college. The feeling that Spearfish, as it was known, would fail if the school failed (Papik, 1957; Carlson, 1966; Haivala, 1983).

Woodburn retired in 1942. He was succeeded by Dr. Russell Jonas, whose first task was to face a seriously declining enrollment due to the war. Fear of the school's closing due to decreased enrollment was met by his announcement that a complete teaching program would be offered. In addition, the college had been selected to provide a program for air corp cadets. In March of 1943 the first 200 air corps students arrived and were situated into Wenona Cook Hall. The women students were moved into private homes and tourist cottages which the community had helped to ready (Jonas, 1944).

Partnership   President Jonas wanted a kindergarten
program for the student practice teaching and in 1949 a
partnership was formed with the public schools to provide one.
It was to be housed on campus until a new public grade school
could be constructed and then moved to the public schools
(Carlson, 1966). It was a "tremendous cooperative effort
between the school district and college for the much needed
kindergarten" (B. Junek, personal communication, October 15,
1990). Two local parent teacher organizations, one from
Laboratory School and the other from the Spearfish public
schools, raised money to help provide supplies for it (A.
Prosper, personal communication, October, 18, 1990). A
"community project" (Haivala, 1983, p. 95) and "another good
example of the schools and college working together" (C.
Schad, personal communication, October 18, 1990).

Major play   The first major play was offered by Black
Hills Teachers College to the public in 1949, but music
concerts had been presented for the college and the community
from 1918. One act plays and other dramatizations were
presented from the early 1920s on by the "Props and Liners"
drama club (Papik, 1957).

After the fire of 1925, O'Neill's Princess Theater, now
Matthew's Opera House, was donated for the productions. These
productions were to provide, "first, educational experiences
for the students as they pursued a teaching career in the
field" (C. Forsberg, personal communication, October 15,

1990), an outlet for student talent, and in addition, cultural opportunities for the community.

A favorite play of the community was "Eager Heart," a gift to the community from the college. It was produced around the Christmas season for many years by Ms. Humbert, drama teacher (C. Forsberg, personal communication, October 15, 1990).

The plays were well received early on, but later plays with foul language were criticized loudly by the community. "We used to attend the plays when they were literary drama and cultural but stopped when the attitude changed and the morality standards loosened" (L. Schuttler, personal communication, October 24, 1990). Many community people attend the plays, and some will voice their opinion if the presentation offends them (R. Boyd, personal communication, October 19, 1990). The "college is an excellent source of enrichment at low cost and the cultural programs provided are important to the community and the region" (B. Junek, personal communication, October 15, 1990).

1950 - 1959

Extension   The early 1950s showed rapid growth in enrollment and Black Hills Teachers College was approved and accredited by North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. As a new service to the teachers in the community and region and to relieve overcrowding, extension courses and

programs were begun in 1952 with Forest Jones as director
(Carlson, 1958; Haivala, 1983). According to Don Young,
second director of extension, "there was an immediate and
excellent response to the new program, which was mainly
delivered off campus because area teachers were hungry for
courses to update their skills and had little time to come to
the campus because they were busy with teaching duties"
(Personal communication, October 15, 1990). "A need was
recognized and it became a function of teacher education to
deliver the program to those who had Black Hills roots as well
as to others who wanted updating" (C. Schad, personal
communication, October, 15, 1990). "Extension courses for
senior citizens and the Elderhostel program were begun later
[early 1980s] and were and still are much appreciated by those
involved and by the downtown merchants who welcome the
additional business" (L. Schuttler, personal communication,
October 24, 1990).

First graduate program   The extension courses were
followed in 1953 by the first graduate courses and degree
program offered to those teachers who wanted to increase their
skills. The summer courses were popular and there was record
summer enrollment (D. Young, personal communication, October
15, 1990). Black Hills State Teachers College was the only
institution delivering the program in the vicinity and the
courses were "important to teacher education and important to

enrollment" (C. Schad, personal communication, October 24, 1990).

1960 - 1969

Ellsworth extension   In 1961, extension courses and programs were begun at Ellsworth Air Force Base, located near Rapid City about 60 miles from the campus, to extend the campus and serve the Air Force Base and Rapid City teachers. The area was a large one with a large population base to tap and the program was designed to provide degrees and continuing education units (CEU's) to a large group of non-traditional students. The base had asked that classes in teacher education along with other programs be brought to the base and the college viewed the arrangement as program expansion (C. Schad, personal communication, October 24, 1990).

Black Hills State Teachers College was renamed Black Hills State College in 1964 and the 1965-66 academic year found enrollment at a new high.

First Flo Dollar   Professor Ron Phillips' journalism classes, in concert with the 1965-66 Anemone student newspaper staff, designed and implemented an economic impact study. The "Flo Dollar Survey" was the class project designed to determine the impact of the dollar flow from the students to the Spearfish community (Students, 1966). This was the first attempt to assess the economic impact that involved the business people of the community.

The results of this study were compared with an earlier effort in 1962 that took place when Tom Hills, president of the student senate, surveyed the students in an effort termed the Estimated Expenditure Record Survey (EER). The EER estimated the impact of the students at 1.2 million dollars with roughly half of the 1965 college enrollment. The Spearfish Chamber of Commerce appeared uninterested when he presented them with the findings (T. Hills, personal communication, October 23, 1990).

This time the Flo Dollar Study directly involved the Spearfish business people, helped to enlighten them on the amount of student spending, and also provided an estimate of student college expenses.

Fifty-six of the 93 Spearfish businesses contributed $5.00 each to participate. They were given coupons to issue to the students for each $0.50 a student spent in their business and the student would then turn the coupons in to be counted. The results estimated that $2.6 million was spent in an academic year by the students ("Results," 1966). According to Sever Eubanks, Chamber President and BHSC faculty person at the time of the study: "This was a good study and well done by the students. It demonstrated student impact and also showed that the students did indeed shop in the community" (personal communication, October, 10, 1990).

Stagecoach Theater The Stagecoach Theater began in the summer of 1966 under the direction of BHSC theater

instructor, D. Woolwine. It was to provide an outlet for summer teacher education students in music, drama, and art, and to promote theater productions involving both college and community. It also helped clear expenses for theater renovation. The theater was a "good time for the faculty and students to work in the theater in many different ways, from restoration to acting" (C. Forsberg, personal communication, October 15, 1990). This was an "outlet for students and faculty alike: A few community people were involved too, but mainly the community was the audience" (A. Prosper, personal communication, October 24, 1990). The summer theater was "enrichment for the community and also a tourist attraction" (B. Junek, personal communication, October, 15, 1990). Generally there was a packed house, the productions were favorably received, and the summer theater continued until interest waned and the summer school at the college was eliminated (Haivala, 1983).

The Jonas era ended in 1967 and Dr. M. N. Freeman became president. His formal inauguration, the first in the college's history, was termed the social event of the season. The new president predicted expansion, anticipating a large enrollment, and asked for an appropriation to buy land adjacent to campus. Traffic and parking problems near the campus were paramount due to high enrollment (Haivala, 1983).

In 1967 Don Young, a faculty member, became mayor of Spearfish. He defeated another Black Hills State College

Professor (D. Young, personal communication, October 15, 1990).

Renegotiation   The college had been receiving water free from the city since 1889, although from time to time money was given to the city by the college to aid in the development or repair of water mains, irrigation systems, or new wells. The college had grown from fewer than 50 students and one small building when the "free water" agreement was made to around 2000 students. In addition there were several buildings, including one with a swimming pool and student housing; water usage was enormous. Don Young, Mayor of Spearfish and Director of Extension for the college in accord with the city council, decided the old water agreement needed to be evaluated in terms of modern usage. Young presented the case of the outdated water contract to the state engineer. In 1967 the water contract was renegotiated by mutual consent with President Freeman, Business Manager Jasdorff, and Black Hills State began paying water bills (D. Young, personal communication, October 15, 1990; Haivala, 1983). Spearfish Financial Officer, B. Benning admitted, "The College now pays big money for their water" (personal communication, October 15, 1990).

More land   Continued increasing enrollment created an apparent need for the college to acquire additional land for building and parking purposes. The regents approved and the 1968 legislature appropriated monies to purchase 10.8 acres of

land to expand the campus to the north of the campus (Haivala, 1983). Interestingly enough, the new land acquisition was about the same amount as the land donated to the Spearfish Public School District south of campus in 1964. Both regents and legislature questioned the gift of the earlier *extra land* (SDBOR, 1968). The purchase was routine, with one exception: One property owner was quite unhappy about a very long delay in securing payment from the state for the land. The matter was finally settled without too much of a problem (L. Schuttler, personal communication, October 23, 1990).

1970 - 1979

The era of the late 1960s and early 1970s was a tumultuous time for some colleges and universities in the United States and around the world, but Black Hills State College students were apparently not affected by the same forces. The only unrest reported was a few student complaints about food service in 1970, and this did not spill over into the community (Haivala, 1983).

Second Flo Dollar The second Flo Dollar study took place in January of 1970 ("Flo Returns," 1969). Again Phillips' journalism classes and the Anemone staff took part. This study was a repeat of the 1965 study of the economic impact of the students on the business community along with the estimate of college student expenses ("College Students," 1970). There were two differences: the student body had

doubled, and 67 of the 98 of the businesses participated this time (Students, 1970). The Queen City Mail announced, "College Students spend $3.8 million in Spearfish" (1970, p. 1). Dr. Charles Schad added: "the study really brought to light the economic impact of the college on the community and possibly helped to get the community behind the college to fight the Gibb Master Plan for Higher Education" (personal communication, October 25, 1990).

Gibb Plan   Shock and anger were the immediate response from college and community when Gibb's "Master Plan for Higher Education in South Dakota" was unveiled. Dr. Richard Gibb, South Dakota Commissioner of Higher Education, designed a plan to eliminate program duplication in South Dakota institutions of higher education. He recommended that Black Hills State College either be downgraded into a junior college or become a branch of another college (J. Junek, personal communication, October 15, 1990). "Gibb was a self-advancer, with East River leanings."

The Spearfish community reacted strongly and organized to prevent the plan's adoption. College and community persons along with many students banded together to fight for the school" (D. Young, personal communication, October 15, 1990).

The following were deeply involved: (a) Jerry Junek, president of the Spearfish Chamber of Commerce who helped to organize community involvement; (b) Spearfish legislative representative James Jelbert who took a firm stand against the

plan; (c) Spearfish dentist Dr. Charles Lenander; (d) Former President Jonas; (e) L. Hill, alumnae president; (f) Webster Two Hawks, United Sioux Tribe spokesperson; and (g) many unnamed citizens who spoke out and wrote letters to the regents and legislators in support of Black Hills State College's preservation.

Dr. Sever Eubank, a faculty member, was a member of Committee D, a group responsible for determining an alternative plan for the college. He testified before the regents that "Gibb lied about what would happen to the college--Gibb had promised that no institution would be closed and no jobs lost--if the plan was followed." Following Eubank's testimony and that of others from the college and the community, the regents voted to retain the undergraduate programming and adopt the statement prepared by Committee D (personal communication, October 19, 1990). The statement: The primary role of Black Hills State College would be to prepare teachers, both secondary and elementary, and in addition offer pre-professional and one and two year terminal and junior college programs, would become the mission statement (SDBOR, 1971; Haivala, 1983).

The successful defense was evident in 1971. The Gibb Plan protest was one of the "most important events to bring the community and college closer together" (A. Prosper, personal communication, October 24, 1990). "The community realized the impact that the college had on the town and went

to battle to retain it as it was" (C. Schad, personal communication, October, 18, 1990). The fate of the Graduate Program and the Industrial Arts program was still hanging, but the fate of the school was settled again. "It appears that the community had to fight for the survival of the college about every ten years" (J. Junek, personal communication, October, 15, 1990).

Senior activity ticket. Perhaps not surprising after the Gibb plan incident, enrollment began to decline. This decline may have sparked the concept of the "Golden Age Activity Ticket" by the 1971 student senate. They suggested that an activity ticket be sold to senior citizens for $2.00 a year that would admit them to all college events and activities. The activity ticket was reported given in recognition of the senior citizens' many former contributions to society. Former president Jonas thought it was a first among colleges ("Senate Notes," 1971).

Although the activity ticket was a *gift* and there were no strings attached, this was done at a time when the enrollment was declining and perhaps one ploy to get a new population on campus (J. Larson & S. Eubank, personal communications, October 19, 1990). It was also recognized that many of the senior citizens might wish to donate money to the college or take courses if they were more familiar with the surroundings (C. Schad, personal communication, October 18, 1990).

For any reason, the idea of the ticket was a good one, there are more senior citizens in the audiences and attending classes. It's a "good deal" and should cost more than it does (D. Young & J. Junek, personal communications, October 15, 1990).

Review   "Community Asks Regents Review of BH Program" ("Community Asks," 1972, p. 1), the Queen City Mail headline proclaimed in August of 1972. President Freeman had asked the regents in June for a review of the decision to eliminate the graduate program. Some Spearfish business persons, concerned about what the loss of a graduate degree in secondary education would do to the enrollment at the college and subsequently their businesses, had taken the initiative and promoted a letter writing campaign to members of the regents, requesting the review of the decision to eliminate the masters degree in secondary education at the college (SDBOR, 1972a).

The decision to eliminate the program was a continuation of the Gibb Master Plan. In June the regents had voted to drop the program despite the objections of the community and despite the considerable amount of supporting evidence that a graduate program was needed in the region. The petition for review was turned down (SDBOR, 1972b).

The loss of the graduate program, the fastest growing program of the campus at that time hurt the summer school enrollment and may, in fact, have spelled the end to the summer program as it was" (S. Eubank, personal communication,

October 19, 1990). The summer program brought many teachers into the area and that was good for business (L. Schuttler, personal communication, October 24, 1990). In addition, the graduate program was important to the teachers of the region and the demise of the program spelled the end of the large summer school program. When loss of the graduate program was coupled with the decline of enrollment due to the Gibb Master Plan, the combination "almost defeated the school" (C. Schad, personal communication, October 18, 1990).

Enrollment continued to decline in the 1970s and in 1976, President Freeman resigned to take a position as President of Concord College in West Virginia. In the summer of 1977 Dr. J. Gilbert Hause became the sixth president (Haivala, 1983).

Breakfast. President Hause wanted to become acquainted with the community and indicated that he would spend a lot of time downtown letting people know about the opportunities that were offered at the college (Kovacevich, 1982). He hosted breakfasts, inviting community people onto the campus, but "this practice was finished when he ran out of money" (D. Young, personal communication, October, 15, 1990).

1980 - 1989

Hause's study President Hause requested an economic impact study, for the purpose of estimating the college's impact upon the Spearfish community. This study was requested at a time when the regents were considering more

budgetary cuts for the college. Dr. Hause wanted to know the economic impact of Black Hills State upon the local businesses, the local government, and individuals. It was not an attempt to measure the considerable cultural and social benefits the Spearfish community received due to the presence of the college. The study would employ the Caffrey-Isaacs model and be executed by Dr. Robert Kruse of the BHSC Business Department (Kruse, 1980).

The initial impact of the college was estimated at $2.8 million annually, the total impact $30 million, making the college, by formula, the largest economic factor in Spearfish (Kruse, 1980). Mayor Fred Romkema, stated: "This study came at a scary time for the community: The lumber mill had burned down and 300 people were without jobs, there were several long mine strikes, and there was another rumor of a regents' attempt to make changes in the college. Knowledge of the size of the impact coupled with the other losses made it difficult to handle for many" (personal communication, October, 23, 1990). This study "almost or perhaps did frighten the community that it might be so dependent on the college. The community was experiencing some difficult times and there was a push to buy in Spearfish" (C. Schad, personal communication, October 18, 1990).

This excerpt from *Plan for the Future* (BHSC, 1983) revealed the following recommendations for university employees for promotion of good community relations:

Continued efforts must be made to involve the area-wide community in the College Affairs.

1. Personnel: College employees should whenever possible, deal on a personal level with residents of the area. This involvement would include having coffee and visiting downtown and in the neighboring towns; extending personal invitations to attend college functions, and support community functions, and serving in community positions.

2. Physical: Area residents should be made to feel welcome at college activities and should be encouraged to attend functions throughout the campus. The Golden Age Activity Ticket and the Annual Shrine Game are examples of good community relations. It is incumbent of the college and the various units and groups within the college to provide entertaining as well as educational functions which will attract area residents and create a desire in them to return often to the campus. (p. 48)

Plan for the Future (BHSC, 1983) continued with the following suggestion for programming in the section on academics:

9.[sic] Introduce programs to attract older area people such as dance, contemporary histories, antiques, etc. The introduction of a broad program geared for the senior citizen creates excellent community relations and could increase the enrollment. (p. 49)

The timing of the aforementioned recommendations was excellent. The promotion for the college-community center would soon be underway.

Young Center In 1983 the concept of a college community facility for Black Hills State College was approved by the legislature. This concept was conceived when "time after time appropriations were not forthcoming" (C. Schad, personal communication, October 18, 1990). The approval also brought reality to the 20 year dream of Dr. William Jordan and the Physical Education Division for a new college gymnasium and gave new significance to the college-community relationship.

The informational pamphlet (Black Hills State College [BHSC], 1985) promoting the facility stated that it would be: "A facility to enhance the quality of life for students, citizens of the community, and those of the surrounding region" (p. 1) The plan was to maximize "multiple and simultaneous use" (p. 2) by the students and the community. The college would provide the administration with the help of an advisory committee with college and community representation.

The plan was vetoed by Governor Janklow, who then appeared in town to address angry college and community people. He stated that he would never approve the plan unless the community gave financial support (Harlan, 1983). The college and community took immediate action: President Hause

appointed the Citizens Committee to Promote the Facility. It was composed of local legislators: Jorgensen, Hood, Krautchen, and Dunn; the Superintendent of Public Schools, McMichael; and other local influentials (Hause, 1983a). A letter writing campaign by citizens, faculty, and students helped to influenced the legislature to override the veto (Bradbury, 1983).

A different committee, the College-Community Planning Committee composed of G. Anderson, businessman; K. Corbett, student; M. Custis, Arts Council; G. Schlekeway, BHSC; H. Krautchen, Alumni; B. Jordan, BHSC; with M. Kennedy, Norwest Bank president and F. Romkema, city council member serving as co-chairs, went into action. Committee representatives worked to convince the community to approve a one percent sales tax to provide $1 million in financial support (Hause, 1983b).

The committee, aided by the Black Hills Council of Local Governments (BHCLG), also surveyed the "residents of the Spearfish area in order to measure support for the project and to determine priorities for facilities and programs to be contained within the proposed complex" (BHCLG, 1984). The survey indicated support, 54%, from the community, to share some of the financial responsibility, preferring to do so with an additional 1% sales tax. The demographic breakdown of the survey indicated that senior citizens comprised more than 25% of the respondents in favor of the facility.

There was some feeling that the committee had used the survey to sway the vote. It was purported as being overwhelmingly in favor of the use of taxes but in actuality was slightly more than 50% ("Mixed Reaction," 1985). "There was some opposition to the use of local tax funds to build a state college building, but it was not organized" (L. Schuttler, personal communication, October 24, 1990).

February 6, 1984, the city council of Spearfish passed Resolution 1984-8 "in support of the Black Hills State College/Spearfish Community Facility" (SCC, 1984).

> WHEREAS, Black Hills State College is an integral part of the Spearfish Community; and
>
> WHEREAS, Black Hills State College is in dire need of an expanded and modern physical education facility;
>
> WHEREAS, the City of Spearfish and the surrounding community would benefit greatly from the use and existence of such a facility for the betterment of both the college and the community; and
>
> NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Common Council of the City of Spearfish that the concept of a college/community facility would be of a significant benefit to both the college and the community and that the City of Spearfish would consider the implementation of an additional municipal sales tax to aid in financing the facility, and wholeheartedly endorses and supports the development of such a facility. (p. 1)

In the summer of 1985, Dr. Clifford Trump replaced J. G. Hause as President of Black Hills State College and took up the campaign for the building. The veto of the plan had been overridden but before the Governor would approve any appropriations for the building the college had to obtain the financial backing of the community. On August 5th, Ordinance 576, the provision for an additional one percent sales tax to raise $1 million for the building came before the council and passed its first reading (SCC, 1985a).

Mayor Trethaway was in favor of the ordinance, the council members were divided: "Some were skeptical that the college and community could get together on such a project" (J. Larson, personal communication, October 19, 1990). At the August 15th council meeting, residents presented petitions with the required number of signatures requesting a referendum on the issue and an election was scheduled for October 15, 1985 (SCC, 1985b).

For two months preceding the election President Trump and the College Community Facility Planning Committee worked hard to secure the vote. Aid of influentials was solicited to capture the senior citizen ballot (S. Eubank, personal communication, October 14, 1990). The ROTC was mobilized to distribute pamphlets about the building and the upcoming vote to Spearfish residences (C. Trump, personal communication, October 25, 1990). Committee members spoke to many groups:

The message suggested that the community support the building because:

1. The community has need for certain parts of the proposed facility such as a swimming pool and a large site for events such as the annual Corvette Classic. The swimming pool could be used by the community while being kept up by the college. "The local pool had been a constant problem and had been closed" (J. Larson, personal communication, October 19, 1990). In addition, "The facility was the chance for the community to have use of a modern recreational facility" (F. Romkema, personal communication, October 23, 1990).

2. The future of the college is tied to the future of Spearfish and increased enrollment means increased money in the community given the great impact of the college (Kennedy, 1983).

It was "a very positive election" (B. Benning, personal communication, November 30, 1990), the ordinance to use the tax for financial support overwhelmingly passed with 72% by a record number of voters. The committee was successful. Now the planning could begin in earnest; it was back to the drawing board, to the regents, and then to the legislature for the appropriation.

The community was supportive and even excited about the prospect of the building, but there also was opposition from several members of the board of regents and some legislators who were politically involved with other campuses. Northern

State College in Aberdeen was scheduled to build a similar
complex and at one time there was a plan to build both
buildings from the same design ("Trump Discusses," 1986).
There was some insistence that the Black Hills State building
was not to exceed the size of the Northern building in any
way. The committee continued to work hard to persuade the
regents differently, but "for a long time the facility was not
to be designed to exceed the size of Northern's" (W. Jordan,
personal communication, October 23, 1990).
Northern's building was appropriated and constructed first,
due to the death of Barnett, local legislator from Aberdeen.
Sometime later, the building committee was given the charge by
the regents' executive director, Dr. Roger Schinness to
"design a building to meet Black Hills State's needs," and the
present building was designed. It was much different and much
larger than Northern's" (W. Jordan, personal communication,
October 23, 1990).

There were still some problems: (a) all the details of
the financing were not complete, (b) several million more
dollars had to be appropriated, and (c) some of the regents
were not convinced that Black Hills State should have as large
a facility. It took the combined effort of the college and
the community to convince Governor Janklow they could work
together and it took the same combined effort to obtain
finalized plans for financing and building. The roadways and
airways to Pierre, SD became very familiar to the involved

college personnel and community supporters alike, as they gave testimony after testimony in support of the building (F. Romkema, personal communication, October 23, 1990).

Finally agreement was reached and an appropriation of $7.9 million was forthcoming. Ground was broken September 22, 1988. This event was described by Mayor Fred Romkema as the, "dawn of a new era in college community cooperation." The building was named, the Donald E. Young Sports and Fitness Center, to honor a man who has long and meritoriously served the college and the community.

July 1, 1989 Black Hills State College was renamed Black Hills State University. The college had been recently reorganized from a nine division academic structure to a four college structure with three centers and enrollment was on the upswing. The anticipated completion of the Young Sports and Fitness Center was being considered an additional recruiting tool.

As was often the case in building, there would not be enough money to completely finish and furnish the Young Center. A capital campaign was launched by President Trump in August of 1989 and many of the community were asked to respond again. As the building neared completion, rumors about the proposed user fee structure circulated. The original agreement had not included the assessment of user fees, but the current econonic status dictated the necessity for a fee structure. Some members of the community expressed concern that the fees would

be prohibitive and community use would be limited. These

rumors were allayed as Loren Ferre', newly hired director,

announced a nominal and flexible membership fee structure (L.

Ferre', personal communication, September 29, 1990).

Dedication of the facility took place September 30, 1990 and

was well attended by Spearfish and Black Hills State

communities alike. The platform party lauded the

accomplishment: Governor Mickelson spoke of the building

being a monument to the cooperation of the town and the gown;

Mayor Romkema reminded the audience that they had risen to the

challenge of the former governor Janklow with commitment and

cooperation; and Max Gruenwald, president of the South Dakota

Board of Regents acclaimed the facility as the "heart of the

future" for the university, community, and region (personal

observation, September 30, 1990).

The center opened October 1, 1990: Memberships went on sale

and in the first two months of operation the response was

positive. More than 300 community memberships have been

purchased thus far with promise of many more when the walking

track and tennis courts are complete and the winter cold

drives exercisers indoors (P. Nagle, personal communication,

December 5, 1990).

Gusher Another joint venture was undertaken by the

city and college when the new well on the campus, drilled for

irrigation water purposes, proved to be a gusher. Spearfish

has a dry climate, its water needs are met with water from

Spearfish Creek and several artesian wells and water supplies are closely monitored. Due to drought conditions in the Black Hills over the last several years, a water shortage existed that was a hazard to the health and safety of Spearfish residents. A new source of water was being sought by the city but the most recent drilling had been disappointing (F. Romkema, personal communication, October 23, 1990).

The college well was drilled with the intention of providing a cost effective supply of untreated water for campus irrigation. This would in turn alleviate the burden the university placed on the city water supply. The new college well was more than adequate to meet the need intended and the director of the physical plant suggested sharing the surplus with the city. The regents scrutinized the agreement carefully and eventually authorized the university to enter into it (C. Trump, personal communication, October 25, 1990).

The city declared an "emergency" in order to gain funds for expansion of the well for city use in connection with a joint-use proposal. City officials proposed that the surplus flow be added to the city water system to supplement chronic shortages on the city's west side and authorized the joint use agreement. The venture saved the community thousands of dollars and forstalled the need to build a new storage tank ("New Well," 1988). It was a real windfall for the city and "it is a pleasure to work with the university and a wonderful

thing to have happen" (F. Romkema, personal communication, October 23, 1990).

"The well was a timely event for the community and for the university's relationship with the city which was being asked to be more supportive and donate even more money for the new facility" (D. Young, personal communication, October 15, 1990).

Regents' study The South Dakota Board of Regents asked the Business and Education Institute at Dakota State to conduct economic impact studies to determine the possible impact of South Dakota's colleges and universities on the local communities. Results of the Black Hills State Spearfish Study reported in December of 1988, estimated the college impact on the community at $20 million annually (Business & Education Institute [BEI], 1988; Cissell, 1988). President Trump indicated that the business community had long recognized the value of the college and in spelling out the facts and figures, the study demonstrated just how much impact it did have. "It helps to gain support for the university and gives it some clout--one [economic impact study] needs to be done every so often as a reminder" (C. Trump, personal communication, October 25, 1990).

1990 - present

Chamber University-Community Committee   In August of 1990 an announcement of the newly formed University-Community Committee of the Spearfish Chamber of Commerce appeared in the Campus Currents, a Black Hills State University weekly bulletin.   The purpose of the new committee was to encourage and enhance the relationship and communication between the community and the university.   "The Spearfish Chamber has not been using the university resources enough" (D. Sommer, personal communication, October 25, 1990).   "Up to this time the Spearfish chamber has not been a particularly big promoter of the university" (C. Trump, personal communication, October 25, 1990).

The university has been an institutional member since the 1960s.   Previously there have been faculty on the chamber board of directors and currently President Trump is serving. David Sommer, Spearfish Chamber Director, revealed that the idea for the new committee resulted from the fall chamber retreat when possible uses of the Young Center were discussed. "The Donald E. Young Center will be ideal to use to promote the city, to enhance the possibility of conventions and bring other attractions to the city" (personal communication, October 25, 1990).

Update

Since this narrative was written, the interaction between Black Hills State University and Spearfish continues: (a) There have been no recent threats to the survival of the institution; (b) Superintendent Jim Anderson of the Spearfish Public Schools reports continuation of the "excellent relationship with only a few brush fires to put out from time to time" (personal communication, October 25, 1990); (c) The Young Center has 500 community memberships (C. Trump, personal communication, January 17, 1991); (d) Enrollment is again on an upsurge and a preliminary agreement to consider a concept for additional student housing in conjunction with community entrepreneurs has been given the president by the regents (C. Trump, personal communication, January 17, 1991); (e) The spring play practice is underway and a senior citizen aquatic fitness class is being offered in the new Young Center pool as part of the senior citizen extension program; (f) The winter has been dry, but the campus-city well is furnishing plenty of water; and (g) The president is wondering if it is time for a new economic impact study (C. Trump, personal communication, October 25, 1990) when the 1991 update of the 1988 economic impact study arrives, revealing the estimated base impact at $23 million, an increase of $3 million, and the total impact estimated at $44 million (BEI, 1991).

This update on events indicates a continuation of the pattern of events related in the preceding narrative.

Elements of Interaction

In this section the research findings are summarized and reported for each of the five elements of interaction. Each element is represented by a corresponding research question:

1. What were the critical events or episodes involving the town and gown, and when did they occur?

2. What was/were the purpose(s) or goal(s) of these events?

3. Who were the participants?

4. What was/were the outcome(s)?

5. What type(s) of interaction typifies(y) the event?

In addition, findings resulting from supplemental analyses are reported near the end of this section.

Element one: Events

The events, episodes, or activities of the Black Hills State University-Spearfish relationship were the primary unit of analysis. Some events were simple others complex, most were initiated by the university a few by the town, were planned or naturally occurred, took a few hours or several years, and had one or more types of interaction. The events reviewed by the panel and listed chronologically in Table 4, were the critical events or episodes involving Black Hills State and Spearfish during their relationship.

Table 4.   Events during the relationship between Black Hills
           State University and Spearfish

Year	Events
1883	Founding
1884	Appropriation for addition
1886	Take over of public schools
1886	Lab school moved to campus
1886	High prices and mail order
1887	Dormitory rejected
1889	Education and culture lecture series for the community
1889	Money for water main
1889	Statehood--Save Normal
1894	Boarding students--Commercialism efforts denied
1899	New dorm
1900	Money for artesian wells
1902	Town assists football team with travel funds
1902	Free water?
1902	Jurisdiction
1907	New buildings
1915	First summer session
1917	New gymnasium
1919	Statement of economic impact, Cook
1922	Four year college
1925	Fire
1928	First Swarm Day
1942	Celebration of accreditation
1949	Partnership with public schools
1949	First major play
1952	Extension program began
1953	First graduate program
1961	Extension program at Ellsworth
1965	First "Flo Dollar" economic impact study
1966	Stagecoach Theater
1967	Renegotiation of "free" water contract
1968	More land
1970	Second "Flo Dollar" study
1970	Gibb Master Plan protest
1971	Senior activity ticket
1972	Review of program denied
1977	Breakfast with the community
1980	Hause economic impact study
1983	Legislative approval of College-Community facility
1985	Education Committee of the Chamber
1988	New well, a gusher
1988	BOR economic impact study
1990	Chamber College-Community Committee

Comparison of Events   The constructed type of event categories from the literature (Table 2) was the instrument used for comparison of events from the case study of the relationship of Black Hills State and Spearfish. In Table 5 the categories from the literature are listed in the left-hand column while the right-hand column represents events from the case study. A *yes* in the right hand column indicates at least one corresponding event from the case study was located in that category, *a no* indicates none located.

Table 5. Findings from the comparison of categories of events
from case study to those from the constructed type

Constructed type Categories/Events	Case study Events
Teaching	yes
Students	yes
Economic impact	yes
Founding/keeping	yes
Community programs	yes
Research	yes
Extension courses	yes
Separation/isolation	yes
Growth/expansion	yes
Technical assistance	yes
Economic development	no
Planning/development offices	no
Urban Studies	no
Partnerships: university/business	no
Urban renewal/revitalization	no
Share facilities	yes
Invest money in community	yes
Partnerships: university/p.schools	yes
Commercialism	yes
Town/Gown committees	yes
Town/Gown agreements	yes

The summary of findings from the comparison of the events of Black Hills State and Spearfish in Table 5 demonstrates that most events found in the case study are similar in type to those represented by the literature. Types of events not located in the case study are: (a) economic development, (b) planning and development, (c) urban development, (d) urban renewal, and (e) university partnerships with businesses.

Element two: Purpose(s)/Goal(s)

The findings for the second research question pertaining to Black Hills State and Spearfish's purposes and/or goals for the events are summarized relative to the primary and secondary functions of the University and Spearfish.

Town[a] = Spearfish.

P[b] = Purpose related to primary function.

S[c] = Purpose related to secondary function.

Gown[d] = Black Hills State University.

Figure 2. Summary: Black Hills State University and Spearfish purposes for interaction according to primary and secondary functions

According to the design, the second constructed type was the instrument used to examine the purposes, first as the purposes of the town and gown match for the events and second with the corresponding interaction types.

The findings are summarized and displayed utilizing the four cell diagram, Figure 2. The majority, or 24 of the 35 selected events between Black Hills State University and Spearfish, took place for reasons related to primary functions of each. In all, 30 of the 35 purposes were primary in nature for the university while 29 were primary for the community.

Purpose and interaction type Findings relating to the purposes and corresponding interaction type are as follows:

1. For the 24 interactions contained in cell one representing purposes related to primary functions for the university and the community: 13 events are cooperation, 8 exchange, 1 conflict, and 2 conflict and cooperation.

2. In cell two the six events represent interactions with purposes related to primary functions of the university and secondary functions of the community. The corresponding interaction types are: two cooperation, three exchange, and one conflict.

3. Cell three represents interactions with purposes related to secondary functions of the gown and primary functions of the town and contains five events. The corresponding interaction types include four exchange and one conflict.

Element three: Participants

The findings for element three are represented by the question: Who was/were the participants? The results from the 35 events are summarized for Spearfish and Black Hills State and presented in Table 6.

The president and the board were involved in the majority of selected events for the university. Faculty and student involvement was very limited (Table 6).

The community participant involvement appears more evenly divided than the university's. Influentials are the most

Table 6. Participants active in events between Black Hills State University and Spearfish

Participants	Number of Events
Black Hills State (34)	
President	30
Board	26
Faculty	14
Students	8
Spearfish (35)	
Mayor/Council	11
Public Schools	11
Chamber/Business	15
Influentials	21
Citizens	13

Note. (N) represents the total number of events.

prominent participants in number but the other groups, led by

chamber/business follow closely.

Element four: Outcome(s)

Outcomes, summarized and shown in Table 7, are reported

as purpose or goal achievement or failure by Black

Hills State University and Spearfish. They represent the

findings of the question: What was/were the outcome(s)?

As depicted in Table 7, the university and the community

were able to accomplish or achieve the majority of the goals

or purposes. The outcome for most events was apparently

Table 7. Outcomes of events between Black Hills State
University and Spearfish expressed as purpose/goal
achievement or failure

Outcomes	Events
Black Hills State University (34)	
Achieved goals or purposes	30
Failed	4
Spearfish (35)	
Achieved goals or purposes	32
Failed	3

Note. (N) represents the total number of events.

satisfactory for each of them. Three of the four university

failures were--in the same event--achievements for the

community and one failure was shared by both.

<u>**Element five: Interaction type**</u>

Interaction types are summarized and shown in Table 8 for the events between Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish. The types were assigned, using Popenoe's (1977) definitions (see Chapter I). The findings represent the response to the question: What type(s) of interaction typifies(y) the event?

There are equal numbers of cooperation and exchange interaction types shown in Table 8 and two events exhibited more than one interaction type.

Table 8. Interaction types in events between Black Hills State University and Spearfish

Interaction Types	Events (N = 35)
Cooperation	15
Exchange	15
Conflict	3
Conflict and cooperation	2

<u>**Supplemental analyses**</u>   Although the findings reported in this section may appear secondary, they provide a view of the relationship that might otherwise go unnoticed. Several of the elements of interaction were viewed in conjunction with other elements. The findings presented in text and often tabular form are from the following supplemental analyses: (a) Purpose by category (Table 9); (b) Purpose by category by

interaction type (Table 9); (c) Participants by category (Table 10); (d) Participants by outcome (Table 11); (e) Participants by interaction type (Table 12); (f) Interaction type by category (Table 13); (g) Interaction by outcome; and (h) outcome by category.

Purpose by category   Findings depicted in Table 9 reveal that the categories: Institutional Survival, University Interaction with the Public Schools, and Economic Impact, had purposes for events relating to primary functions; Growth and Expansion closely followed except for one event.

Table 9. Purposes of events by category between Black Hills State University and Spearfish

Categories	Primary G^a Primary T^b	Primary G Secondary T	Secondary G Primary T
Institutional Survival (5)	5		
University/Public Schools(4)	4		
Growth & Expansion (9)	8	1	
Education/Culture (7)	2	5	
Water (5)			5
Economic Impact (5)	5		

Note. (N) is the total number of events in the category.

G^a = Black Hills State University.

T^b = Spearfish.

The category Education and Culture was comprised of events with purposes relating to primary functions for Black

Hills State and secondary for the town while, Water, revealed the opposite.

Purpose by category and interaction type   The findings pertaining to corresponding interactions for purposes of the events between Black Hills State and Spearfish in the three cells of Figure 2 are presented by category.

Cell one represents the interactions of 24 events with purposes relating to primary functions for both Black Hills State and Spearfish. The breakdown of findings for the contributors to the cell by category is:

1. The five Institutional Survival events exhibited cooperation.

2. The interaction types for the four events of University Interaction with Public School events were evenly divided: Two were a combination of conflict and cooperation, the other two cooperation.

3. All five Economic Impact events demonstrate cooperation for the interaction type.

4. Eight of the nine Growth and Expansion, events are contained in cell one and the interaction types represented were: six exchange, one cooperation, and one conflict.

5. Education and Culture for the Community contributed two events to cell one. The corresponding interactions are one each of conflict and cooperation.

Cell two contains events with purposes related to primary functions of Black Hills State and secondary functions for

Spearfish. Two categories contributed events to this cell and the findings are:

1. One Growth and Expansion event exhibits an interaction of cooperation.

2. The five events of Education and Culture comprise the remainder of cell two and exhibited the interactions: (a) three exchange, (b) one cooperation, and (c) one conflict.

Cell three contains five events with purposes relating to primary functions of the community and secondary functions of the university. The category, Water, supplied all five events and the corresponding interaction types are: one conflict and four cooperation.

Participants by category A summary of the findings of participant involvement by category of events between Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish is depicted in Table 10 and reveals:

1. The president and board of the university were involved in all categories of events. Students and faculty had limited participation in the categories.

2. Influentials appeared most active in the categories of Institutional Survival, Interaction with the Public Schools, and Growth and Expansion, but were also represented in the remaining categories with Economic Impact an exception.

3. The Mayor/Council group appeared most active in the category, Water, and also revealed limited involvement in the

other categories except for Interaction with the Public
Schools.

Table 10. Participants by category in events between
          Black Hills State University and Spearfish

Participants		Categories					
		IS^a	PS^b	$G\&E^c$	$E\&C^d$	W^e	EI^f
Black Hills State	**(34)**						
President (30)		5	4	9	5	5	3
Board (26)		4	3	9	5	5	1
Faculty (14)		2	3	2	4	0	3
Students (8)		2	0	1	3	0	2
Spearfish	**(35)**						
Mayor/Council (11)		2	0	2	2	5	2
Public Schools (11)		3	4	1	3	0	0
Chamber/Business (15)		4	1	3	2	0	5
Influentials (21)		5	4	7	3	1	0
Citizens (13)		4	1	4	4	0	0

Note. (N) represents total participations for each group.

IS^a = Institutional Survival.

PS^b = Interaction with Public Schools.

$G\&E^c$ = Growth and Expansion.

$E\&C^d$ = Education and Culture for the Community.

W^e = Water.

EI^f = Economic Impact.

    4. Chamber/Business appeared most active in
Institutional Survival and Economic Impact.

5. General citizens appeared most active in events of Institution Survival, Education and Culture for the Community, and Growth and Expansion.

6. Each type of participant was represented in the categories: Growth and Expansion, Institutional Survival, and Education and Culture for the Community.

Participants by outcome   Findings of the involvement of the participants by outcome displayed in Table 11 reveal:

Table 11. Participants by outcome in events between Black Hills State University and Spearfish

Participants		Outcomes			
		BHSU		Spearfish	
		Achieve	Fail	Achieve	Fail
Black Hills State	(34)	30	4		
President (30)		26	4	27	3
Board (26)		22	4	23	3
Faculty (14)		14	0	13	1
Students (8)		8	0	8	0
Spearfish	(35)			32	3
Mayor/Council (11)		10	1	10	1
Public Schools (11)		10	1	9	2
Chamber/Business (15)		14	1	14	1
Influentials (21)		16	4	17	3
Citizens	(13)	11	2	13	0

Note. (N) represents the total events for each group.

1. Faculty and students appeared in events where the purposes or goals were achieved for the university.

2. The president and the board were present in three of the four BHSU outcome failures and all three of the Spearfish failures. They were also involved in the majority of institution and community purpose/goal achievements.

3. The citizens were involved in half of the events with outcome failures for the university and all events they were involved in were purpose or goal achievement for the community. The influentials were involved with every goal failure for university and for the community, but they were also the prevalent group involved in the achievements of each.

Participants by interaction type   Highlights of the findings of participants by interaction type shown in Table 12 are:

1. The president and the board were involved in events including the interaction types: (a) cooperation, (b) exchange, (c) conflict, and (d) conflict and cooperation.

2. The president and the board of the university along with the community influentials were the groups involved in every event where the interaction was conflict.

3. Influentials appeared in events that contained all represented interaction types.

4. Mayor/Council and chamber/business divided participation almost equally between events with interaction types of exchange and cooperation.

Table 12. Participants by interaction type in events between
Black Hills State University and Spearfish

Participants	Interaction			
	Cp^a	Ex^b	Cf^c	Cf/Cp^d
Black Hills State (34)	14	15	3	2
President (30)	12	13	3	2
Board (26)	11	10	3	2
Faculty (14)	9	4	0	1
Students (8)	5	3	0	0
Spearfish (35)	15	15	3	2
Mayor/Council (11)	5	5	1	0
Public Schools (11)	6	3	0	2
Chamber/Business (15)	8	7	0	0
Influentials (21)	11	5	3	2
Citizens (13)	8	3	2	0

Note. (N) indicates total interactions for each group.

Cp^a = Cooperation.

Ex^b = Exchange.

Cf^c = Conflict.

Cf/Cp^d = Conflict/Cooperation.

Interaction type by category The findings of
interaction types by category are displayed in Table 13 and
reveal:

1. Cooperation was the only apparent interaction type in
two categories: Institutional Survival and Economic Impact.

2. Interaction with the Public Schools had an equal
division between events with cooperation and conflict and
cooperation.

Table 13. Interaction types by category in events between Black Hills State University and Spearfish

Categories	Interaction Type			
	Cp^a	Ex^b	Cf^c	Cf/Cp^d
Institutional Survival (5)	5			
University/Public Schools (4)	2			2
Growth & Expansion (9)	2	6	1	
Education/Culture (7)	1	5	1	
Water (5)		4	1	
Economic Impact (5)	5			

Note. (N) indicates total events in each category.

Cp^a = Cooperation.

Ex^b = Exchange.

Cf^c = Conflict.

Cf/Cp^d = Conflict/Cooperation.

3. The exchange interaction was prevalent in the three categories: Growth and Expansion, Education and Culture for the Community, and Water.

Interaction by outcome   Findings reveal that conflict was the interaction type when either Black Hills State or Spearfish failed to achieve a purpose. The interaction was cooperative when they shared the failure for an event with a mutual purpose.

Outcome by category   There is an even distribution of failures among the categories, with Economic Impact the one category without a failure.

Categorical Summaries

In this section the research findings are summarized for each of the six categories chosen by the event selection panel. The panel's choice of six categories of events for study affords the opportunity to view the elements of interaction categorically as well as totally. The data summaries for the six categories of events between Black Hills State University and Spearfish are in Appendix C.

Institutional Survival

The events of this category include the founding and subsequent events relevant to the viability of Black Hills State University and span almost 90 years of their relationship. Purposes in all five events related to primary functions for both; teaching for Black Hills State and finance and education for Spearfish.

In all events except the founding, the participants from the institution, the president and board of trustees, worked with influential citizens, often from the business sector, along with representatives from the public schools and other interested Spearfish citizens. The mayor and council participated in two events.

All events exhibited cooperation and both entities achieved their purposes except for one event, program review, where the combined efforts of the college and the community failed to save the graduate program.

University and Public School Interaction

The category of events involving Black Hills State and Spearfish Public Schools had its beginning very soon after the founding of the institution and the relationship continues to be active. The lab school event that spanned 69 years of the relationship, was one of the longest reported events.

Purposes for the college and the community appear to be related to the primary functions of teaching for the college and education for the town.

The major participants for the university were the president and the board: Representing the town were the representatives of the public schools and influentials.

Although Black Hills State achieved its purposes in the events of this category, two of the early events: (a) take over of the public schools and (b) separation of the lab school from the public schools, had periods of conflict. Influential citizens organized and opposed the normal school's purposes and found fault with the president. The town failed to achieve its goals in one event, that of the lab school, but eventually that event, along with the others of this category, ended cooperatively.

Growth and Expansion

The Growth and Expansion category demonstrated interaction by the community of Spearfish and the university in terms of the growth and development of the institution

through the years of their relationship. Purposes for the university in all events were related to the primary function of teaching. Community purposes were also related to primary functions of education and finance except for one event, the Young Center, which related to the secondary function, recreation.

The president and board were the major participants for the university, and for Spearfish, influentials were participants in every event. The business sector and the mayor and council were also involved in the two sports building events and the change from normal school to four year institution. The citizens had an effect in the major building events where they, in concert with some influentials, managed to stall the appropriation for a dormitory for 13 years, the one event of nine with conflict.

Spearfish was successful in achieving its purposes and/or goals in all instances and Black Hills State in all but one; the dormitory appropriation mentioned above. One early event demonstrated conflict and two cooperation, the remaining six interactions were exchange.

Education and Culture for the Community

The category, Education and Culture for the Community, is composed of events involving a broad segment of the Spearfish community engaged in educational and cultural events.

Although some university purposes might have been purported to be service oriented, each was related to a primary function of the institution and therefore considered primary functions. All but two events, first summer session and first masters degree, were related to secondary functions of culture, entertainment, or recreation of Spearfish.

The president and board were involved in all but the theatrical events which featured faculty and students. Representatives of the public schools and the business sector were involved in the two educational, financial events mentioned above. They, along with the general citizenry of Spearfish were the major participants.

The earliest event, lecture series, was met with distrust by the community and became a goal failure for the institution. In five of the six remaining events the goals or purposes were achieved for both town and gown and the interactions are characterized as exchange. The sixth, involving the theater, was cooperative.

Water

The category, Water, represents the involvement of the Black Hills State University with the Spearfish city government over a 99 year span. Purposes for the city for all events are related to the primary function, water. University purposes are related to secondary functions of the physical plant. The president and board were the major participants

for Black Hills State while the mayor and council were the major town participants.

An influential was responsible for raising the issue of free water for the university, the one event where the town did not achieve its purpose. The institution maintained its privilege of free water about sixty years and relinquished it without conflict in a later event. With one conflict the exception, exchange was the characteristic interaction.

Economic Impact

The category, Economic Impact, was included by the panel because of the importance of the university's economic impact on the community from the time of President Cook's assertion in 1919 to the present. Events in this category were related to the community's primary function of finance and related to the institution's primary function of teaching and research.

The president was an active participant in three of the events and the board in one. The faculty and students were the primary participants in the two "Flo Dollar" events. The chamber and business sector of the community were involved in all events, their greatest involvement was the cooperation with the two student research projects. The mayor and council were involved in the two most recent events along with the business sector. Both town and gown achieved their purposes in each event and all interactions were cooperative.

Summary

Viewing the findings in the different ways in the three sections above maximizes the opportunity for the emergence of patterns. The brief narrative permits a view of the relationship as it evolved historically event by event. The summary of the findings for each of the five elements of interaction depicts the general interaction while the summary of the findings by category provides a view of each of the six categories. Together the three sections of findings bring the essence of the relationship to the forefront. The implications and conclusions resulting from these findings will be presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the nature of the relationship between an institution of higher education and the community in which it is situated. The primary purpose was to develop a method, a system of analysis, that would accomplish that end. A second purpose was to demonstrate the utility of the system of analysis by applying it to a case study of the relationship between Black Hills State University and Spearfish, South Dakota. This chapter will summarize and discuss this project, its design and methodology, major findings, implications and conclusions, and advance suggestions for further study.

Summary of the Study

Design and methodology

The study design was shaped in part by the problem and the review of literature. At first, town and gown seemed to be a relatively small, undefined body of literature. It appeared that there had been little research done in the area entitled town-gown and other terminology must be used. The search was then extended from town and gown to encompass other references pertaining to interactions between institutions of higher education and the community of their location. This procedure resulted in the collection of the extensive body of literature essential to this project. A review of this

literature can be found in Chapter II and the complete
bibliographic entries found in the reference section.

This collection of related research and other reports of
college/university and community interaction was arrayed
chronologically in Chapter II. The literature reviewed became
a brief history of the town-gown relationship as it evolved
through the episodes or events in which both institution and
the community were involved. In addition the review of
literature was the source of two constructed types, integral
parts of the system of analysis.

The problem of finding a method to examine the
relationship between a college and community led to the
development of a system of analysis. Five elements of
interaction were selected and defined with a theoretical base;
a synthesis of higher education and community sociology
literature (see Chapter I). Five questions, each
corresponding to one element, were formulated.

The system of analysis consists of:

1. Five elements of interaction: event, purpose(s),
participants, outcome(s), and interaction type(s).

2. Five questions each one corresponding to an element
of interaction.

3. A constructed type of categories of events and issues
developed from the literature for analytic use in element one.

4. A constructed type of purposes developed from the
literature for analytic use in element two.

5. Analysis of the remaining elements: participants, outcome, and interaction type.

6. Supplemental analyses; element by element where appropriate.

7. Categorical analysis.

Item seven, categorical analysis, was added after the event selection committee selected six categories and grouped events for study rather than select separate events. The analysis of each category added a significant dimension to the findings.

Following the selection of the categories of events; data collection proceeded as planned and reported in Chapter III. Access to documents, newspapers, city council minutes was easily accomplished and often computer work space was made available. The major informants appeared genuinely interested in the investigation and gave generous amounts of their time for interviews. They gave permission for taped conversations, discussed events frankly, and suggested names to contact for further information. The people from Black Hills State University and Spearfish made this experience an interesting and pleasant one.

The one difficulty encountered was the attempt to gain access to the minutes of the Spearfish Chamber of Commerce. The board would not permit a review of the minutes. Participant members of the chamber, although somewhat puzzled when informed of the action, did not appear hesitant to

discuss events in which they were involved as members. The effect of the board action was diminished.

Organization of the data began during collection. As the events were examined, the data were organized and tabulated by element of interaction and category. The brief chronological narrative of events in the relationship between Black Hills State and Spearfish was written, element and categorical analyses were performed, and the results reported in Chapter IV.

Major findings

The major findings for each of the five elements of interaction and each category are reported in this section.

Elements of interaction The findings from the elements suggest a general pattern of interaction in the relationship between Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish.

Element one: Events The type of events in which Spearfish and Black Hills State participate were very similar to those of other institutions and communities. Urban type events were not present and neither were economic development nor partnerships with businesses.

Element two: Purpose(s) The purposes that brought Spearfish and Black Hills State together were generally for reasons related to their primary functions (i.e., teaching, research, and service[1] for Black Hills State;

and protection, public works, education, or finance for
Spearfish). Often different goals for each would be satisfied
by the same event which was, in many instances, a planned
event.

Although there were occasions when the purposes for their
interaction were other than primary, 24 of the 35, or 69%, of
the selected interactions took place for reasons related to
the primary functions of each. The eleven remaining events
were almost evenly split between interactions when primary
purpose functions of the university were matched with
secondary purpose functions of the community (i.e., six
events), or the secondary functions of the university matched
with primary functions for the town (i.e., five events).

Element three: **Participants** The president and
board represented Black Hills State in most interactions,
faculty appeared in less than half of the events and students
in less than a fourth. The participant groups for Spearfish
appeared to vary their involvement according to the type or
category of event. The five major participant groups for
Spearfish included: (a) mayor/council, (b) public school
representatives, (c) chamber/business, (d) influential
citizens, and (e) general citizens. The influentials were
involved in more events for the community than any other type
of participant and involved in all but one category of events.
The limited faculty and student involvement also appeared to
vary with event type or category.

Element four: **Outcomes** When Black Hills State and Spearfish worked together they usually each achieved their purposes, even if the purposes were different. Of the 35 selected events 28, or 80%, represented goal achievement for each. There was one event where the combined forces of college and community cooperated to save the graduate program failed. Five events occurred when the institution or the community achieved a desired goal when the other did not.

Element five: **Interaction type** The interaction types of the selected events were usually either cooperation or exchange: An equal number of each was found (i.e., 15 of each interaction type). There were 3 events of the 35, less than 10%, where conflict was the prevalent type of interaction and a combination of conflict and cooperation was noticeable in the two remaining events.

Composite Overall, the findings indicated that Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish have had a very good relationship. The tendency has been to cooperate for mutual benefit, or exchange one benefit for another. They usually become involved in events or interact for a purpose related to the primary functions of each.

The president and the board of trustees, now regents, were the major participants for the university in most events. Faculty and student involvement with the community was usually limited to events of teaching and performing.

Community participants displayed greater variance in participation. Four of the five major groups: mayor/council, chamber/business, public school representatives, and the general citizenry, had nearly equal representation and each exhibited a tendency toward selectivity in event types. The remaining group, influentials, displayed the most frequent involvement for the community, ostensibly unrestricted from any particular type of event.

Categories　　In addition to the general pattern of the relationship delineated above, the analysis of findings from each category provided a more detailed view. Each category appeared to exhibit a characteristic pattern and the fields of interaction are illustrated. A summary of the findings for the six categories follows:

Institutional Survival　　Events that threatened the existence of the institution comprised this category. All participant groups for the community of Spearfish responded, combined efforts, and cooperated with Black Hills State's administration, and together they were able to retain the institution in Spearfish. Survival of the institution was related to primary purposes for both.

Interaction with the Public Schools　　This category was characterized by the participation of president, board, and faculty from Black Hills State in events involving public school representatives and influentials from the community. Each of the entities had purposes or goals

relating to primary functions for the interaction. These purposes were not often directed toward the same end and when the purposes did not compliment, conflict occurred. However, in each event with conflict the interaction changed to cooperation as the participants resolved their disagreements before the event was finished.

Growth and Expansion   This category contained events which usually demonstrated the exchange type of interaction. The events were related to the primary functions of Black Hills State and Spearfish. The growth and expansion of the institution had great potential to effect each entity. Generally expansion involved the institution's president and board, and influentials from the community, but two exceptional events in this large category merit examination.

The first occasion was early in the relationship. The institution had grown and was attracting students from the region and felt the need for a new dormitory. The community perceived that the building of a dormitory would jeopardize their financial welfare. Purposes for Normal and Spearfish in this event were opposite. Many citizens, including influentials, organized, lobbied the legislators, and defeated the plan: Bitter conflict prevailed.

In contrast, another event in this category demonstrated the opposite interaction. When Spearfish and Black Hills State supported the concept of the college-community center all groups of community participants cooperated with all

groups of university participants. They worked to obtain
financing for the building from the state legislature, which
included a plan of self-taxation (city). Purposes for the
university in this event were related to primary functions and
for the community, secondary. Their efforts were successful--
the Young Center for Sports and Fitness is now a reality.

Education and Culture for the Community This
category contained events where purposes were related to
primary functions for Black Hills State and, for most events,
secondary for Spearfish. The university faculty with
administrative and occasional student assistance provided many
educational and cultural programs and the public was invited
to participate by taking courses or viewing performances.
Community residents of all types participated and the
characteristic interaction type was exchange.

Water This category demonstrated the interaction
of the president and the board with the Spearfish city
government. The provision of water was a primary function for
the city but secondary for the university. Generally events
had an exchange type interaction and purposes of each were
accomplished. Influentials were a conspicuous addition to the
participant types in the one event of conflict.

Economic Impact Events that provided estimates
of the dollar amount of impact Black Hills State had on
Spearfish were contained in this category. The purposes were
related to primary functions for each. Either the faculty and

students or the president and board were participants for
Black Hills State and members of the Spearfish Chamber and
business sector participated for the community. The events
were cooperative.

Strengths and limitations

The limitations of this project were those inherent in
most research but especially relating to qualitative.
Although every effort was made to reduce the chance of error,
documents may have escaped detection or an informant might
have been overlooked.

The structure of the system of analysis that strengthened
the study also might work against it if the design excluded
potentially valuable data.

Bias of the investigator might be evident since
observations and interpretations are often made in accordance
with an investigator's background and experience. Every
effort was made to be objective and multiple methods of data
collection were employed in the attempt to ensure objectivity.

In addition there was one case study performed to
demonstrate the utility of the method. A series of case
studies would offer a more reliable demonstration of the
utility of the system, however that was beyond the scope of
the study design.

The strength of this study is located in the creation of
the system of analysis. The use of the system of analysis

developed for this project provided a structure to order and
direct data collection and data analysis. Creation of
constructed types from the literature for analytic purposes
allowed the data from events of one case to be compared with
data from events of many cases.

The theoretical foundation gave credibility to the
elements of interaction. The findings then demonstrated
consistency with the underlying theory.

The combination of the three aforementioned strengths
supports the potential of the system (a) to produce
theoretically consistent findings, as in the examination of
the relationship between Black Hills State University and the
community of Spearfish, and (b) to explore other college-
community relationships.

Implications and Conclusions

The implications and conclusions for this study are dual
and pertain to the system developed to examine the
relationship, and the findings from the case study used to
demonstrate the utility of the system. First the system will
be discussed.

System

The patterns of interaction represented by the major
findings from the case study may not at first appear
extraordinary. However, they were demonstratively consistent

with the theoretical foundations of the elements of
interaction. The imagery provided by the categories of events
appeared similar to the fields or arenas of interaction
posited by Arensberg and Kimball (1965) and Kaufman (1977),
and Warrens' (1963) concept of vertical and horizontal
interactions was readily visualized as the formal participants
for Black Hills State, the president and board described by
Etzioni (1961, 1964) interacted with one or more interest or
special groups (Miller, 1963) and often, as posited by Dahl
(1961), Hunter (1953), Gamson (1968), and Wirth (1939) with
Spearfish influentials. There were also instances where
glimpses of the localism and cosmopolitanism described by
Merton (1957) emerged.

Purposes for university involvement in events were
consistent with Harrison (1948), Meyerson (1969) and Bok's
(1982) positions on the *work* of the university and with
Harrison (1948) and Townsend's (1988) for the community's. A
few hints of personal and hidden agendas as described by Dahl
(1961) and Gamson (1968) were apparent.

The interaction types were described aptly by Popenoe
(1970) and the relationship would be judged good or excellent
by the National League of Cities (Kane, 1989).

Application of the system of analysis to the data allowed
the investigator to systematically organize the data in an
orderly fashion which in turn facilitated the emergence of
patterns. These patterns of interaction, consistent with the

theoretical foundations of the system, aided interpretation of the findings. This, in turn, allowed the investigator to accomplish the secondary purpose of this study--the examination of a town-gown relationship.

The findings revealed the patterns of interaction between Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish. Since the system of analysis produced findings consistent with the theoretical foundations of the elements, the suggestion can be made that the system of analysis may have the potential to examine additional relationships between other colleges and communities. Insights concerning the relationship provided by the system may be of future value to a college or community when contemplating events together. The system of analysis apparently, for this project, did do what it was designed to do and was consistent with the theory.

Findings

The findings themselves have implications. This study has examined the relationship between Black Hills State and the community of Spearfish and general patterns and categorically specific patterns of interaction have been revealed. The study of the findings may prove advantageous as the two entities look toward future interaction. They each have had very successful efforts and also a few failures in the past and by considering the findings of this investigation

may find greater success when working together. Consider these scenarios:

1. The college is in a period of growth. Its student population has outgrown the residences provided and the community does not have enough rental housing available. Findings from the Growth and Expansion category indicate that the college and community have faced this situation several times before, both positively and negatively, and suggests the difference in the outcomes may be found within the participant element.

2. The city feels restricted due to an agreement containing a "forever clause," made many years ago. The categories Water and University Interaction with the Public Schools contain events with forever contracts. One contract has lasted and one was renegotiated. Study of both events may suggest possible approaches for resolution.

3. The university desires to combine forces with the community for a large project. The findings suggest: (a) influentials appear in all events of conflict and all events of cooperation, (b) the results of a major economic impact study were reported by the university prior to two major events which involved excellent cooperation from Spearfish participants, and (c) Spearfish and Black Hills State have often worked together for mutual benefit.

The institution, now known as Black Hills State University has apparently been considered necessary to

Spearfish community's continued well-being. The community
participants have rallied in support each time its survival
was threatened. An examination of the findings for the
element of purpose suggests that the purposes or goals for
most events might portray Black Hills State and Spearfish as
self-serving entities since most of the purposes relate to
their respective primary functions, but usually each is
apparently able to accomplish their particular goal in the
same event. If either the university or the community can
involve the other as it is performing its primary work,
additional opportunities for events exist.

Some supplementary findings deserve attention. Although
not a part of the selected categories, the following emergent
developments surfaced in the course of the study that appear
to have implications for future events between Black Hills
State University and the community of Spearfish.

Emergent developments The findings from the
comparison of the events of the case study with those of the
constructed type indicated several representative event types
missing from the case study that appeared in other
relationships: urban events, economic development, and
partnerships with business. It was not surprising that event
types including urban renewal and other urban events were not
present due to the rural nature of Black Hills State and
Spearfish. Emerging to take their place are several programs
designed to address some specific problems rural communities

face (i.e., a workshop for rural schools and a cooperative program to help alleviate the nursing shortage).

The omission of economic development and business partnership events was surprising due to the emphasis on economic development by the state of South Dakota. A query was directed to the dean of the college which includes the Center for Business and Entrepreneurship, Tom Hills. Dr. Hills admitted that up to this time there had been marginal cooperative activity, but he had recently been appointed a member of the board of the Spearfish Economic Development organization. This represented a significant departure from the pattern of the past (personal communication, October 23, 1990).

The lack of university-business partnerships may be in part due to the rural nature of the community as well as to the tourist orientation of many of the businesses. The recently created Center for the Advancement and Study of Tourism at Black Hills State University has begun to encourage interaction between the tourism industry and the university: Student internships and the need for research have provided the impetus. This has awakened the awareness of the need for similar investigations on the part of the chamber of commerce.

Black Hills State University and Spearfish are different entities, and as the findings demonstrate, seem to exist together for mutual advantage. The relationship between Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish does

appear to be a symbiotic one and interesting, as Riesman and Jencks (1962) suggested that a college and community relationship might be in their essay, "The Viability of the American College".

The purpose of this study was twofold: (a) to develop a system with which to examine the nature of the relationship of a college and the community in which it is situated, and (b) to demonstrate the utility of that system with a case study of Black Hills State University and the community of Spearfish. The findings demonstrate that each of these purposes was accomplished.   In addition, the brief history of the town-gown relationship that developed from the literature reviewed and the accompanying town-gown bibliography were significant achievements of this project.

Recommendations for Additional Study

The topic of town-gown relationships will be in the forefront in the 1990s if the National League of Cities College-Community Committee's prediction holds true.   This section will advance a few recommendations for additional town-gown study.

The difficulty of locating related research and literature on the topic of town and gown suggests that a comprehensive town-gown bibliography, an extension of the effort for this study, would be a contribution to knowledge in this area of inquiry.

Much of the town and gown literature was in the form of case studies on various single events of interaction of institutions and their communities; little has been done to study the many facets of the relationship. Additional investigation with this system of analysis, but applying it to case studies of other institutions and communities of various sizes, types, and locations, would increase the body of literature of town-gown relationships.

Community colleges were not included in this study. An additional body of literature on the relationships of the community college and the community where it resides would be another focus for study. How might the relationships of the community colleges and the community be like or different from the relationships of a four year state institution and the community where it is located?

Private institutions would be another potential area for study. Does a private college and the community where it is situated have a relationship similar in type to that of a public institution and the community of its location? Numerous other questions can be similarly formulated.

One goal the investigator had for this study was that it would stimulate numerous other questions about town-gown relationships. One investigation is not meant to be an end in itself, it is but a segment of an ongoing process in the search for knowledge and ways of knowing. This project should in turn stimulate additional questions and continued study to

stimulate even more questions to perpetuate the cycle. The writer hopes that this investigative effort will be useful to others in academe and useful too, to those who are participants in town-gown activities.

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**You give but little when you give of
your possessions.
It is when you give of yourself that
you truly give.**

Kahlil Gibran

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<div align="right">S. W. W.
1991</div>

APPENDIX A.   COMMUNITY LEADER NOMINATION LETTER

Sue W. White
960 Country Club Drive
Spearfish, South Dakota   57783
(605) 642-5358

June 5, 1989

Leader Name
Street Adress
Spearfish, SD   57783

Dear Mr., Mrs., or Ms. Leader Name:

The purpose of this letter is to enlist your aid in the identification of individuals who are knowledgeable of the history of the community of Spearfish.

I am a doctoral candidate in Higher Education at Iowa State University and for my dissertation have developed a research method to aid in the understanding of college-community relationships. The method utilizes selected events or episodes of interaction between a college and community that have taken place over the duration of their relationship. Spearfish and Black Hills State University's 107 year relationship will be the case study used to demonstrate the utility of the method.

In order to determine the critical events for the study, I need nominations of persons, who are knowledgeable of the history and the activities of the community, from community leaders such as yourself. From those nominated, a panel of six to eight individuals will be invited to meet with me to select the events for the study. It is preferred that the persons nominated be from the community and they may be employed by the college. It is possible to nominate yourself.

A form for your nominations and a self-addressed envelop are enclosed for your convenience. I must receive your nominations by June 15, 1990 in order to proceed with my research.

Thank you for your help.

Cordially,

Sue W. White

My nominations for event selection panel are:

(Please include the phone number and/or address of your

nominees.)

Thank you!

NAME	PHONE	ADDRESS

1.

2.

APPENDIX B.   TOWN AND GOWN EVENT SELECTION COMMITTEE

Sue W. White
960 Country Club Drive
Spearfish, South Dakota   57783-1302
(605) 642-5358

July 18, 1990

TO: Town and Gown Event Selection Committee Members

Thank you for agreeing to assist me with my research.
The attached is a chronological listing of events involving
interaction between Black Hills State University (BHSU) and
the community of Spearfish. Please review the events prior to
the meeting and, as you do so, choose 15 that you believe are
indicative of the long term relationship between BHSU and
Spearfish.
As previously mentioned by phone, the event selection
committee will convene at my home at 960 Country Club Drive
(townhouses across the highway from the golf club) on Friday,
July 27th, 9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. Your prior review of the
events will expedite the meeting. Please bring your copy of
the events with you for reference.
I look forward to meeting with you. You are a very
important part of my research design for exploring the nature
of a university-community relationship.   Your time and effort
are greatly appreciated.
If you are unable to attend the meeting, please call me
at 642-5358.

Cordially,

Sue W. White

EVENTS DURING THE RELATIONSHIP
SPEARFISH AND BLACK HILLS STATE UNIVERSITY
1881 - 1990

1. __1881__ First attempt to establish Spearfish Normal

2. __1882__ Territorial appropriations for Normal School

3. __1883__ Spearfish appropriations for Normal School

4. __1883__ First opening/closing

5. __1885__ Second opening

6. __1886__ Practice teaching arrangement

7. __1886__ Model school

8. __1886__ High prices and mail order

9. __1887__ Appropriation for addition to original building

10. __1887__ New dormitory needed

11. __1889__ Attempt to close school

12. __1889__ Education and culture series for community

13. __1889__ Irrigation and water system

14. __1894__ Student boarding house

15. __1895__ Alumni Association started

16. __1895__ Model school goes on campus

17. __1899__ Dormitory appropriated

18. __1900__ Money for water

19. __1900-02__ Town assists team for travel

20. __1902__ Free water forever?

21. __1902__ Jurisdiction

22. __1902__ Unhappy with President

23. __1903__ Cottages built on campus to house students

24. <u>1904</u> Science Hall built ($25,000)

25. <u>1906</u> First commercial courses

26. <u>1907</u> Another addition to main building ($50,000)

27. <u>1915</u> First summer school at Normal

28. <u>1917</u> Appropriation for Cook Gymnasium

29. <u>1917-18</u> World War I effort

30. <u>1919</u> Economic impact and Town-Gown rapport speech

31. <u>1922</u> Became 4 year institution

32. <u>1925</u> The Fire (January 13)

33. <u>1926</u> Name changed to Black Hills Teacher College: Not official until 1941.

34. <u>1928</u> First Swarm Day

35. <u>1942</u> Celebration of accreditation

36. <u>1943</u> WWII effort

37. <u>1948</u> Share facilities

40. <u>1949</u> Partnership with schools (Kindergarten)

41. <u>1949</u> First major play offered by University to public

42. <u>1952</u> Extension courses

43. <u>1953</u> First graduate classes/degree

44. <u>1955</u> School spirit

45. <u>1956</u> Jurisdiction

46. <u>1961</u> Extension courses at Ellsworth

47. <u>1965</u> Student economic impact study

48. <u>1966</u> Renegotiation of water contract

49. <u>1966</u> Stage Coach Theater

50. <u>1967</u> Campus expansion

51. <u>1967</u> College faculty member becomes mayor of Spearfish

52. <u>1968</u> Campus expansion

53. <u>1969</u> Merger

54. <u>1970</u> Students complain about food service

55. <u>1970</u> Student economic impact study

56. <u>1970</u> Citizens and College unite to protest Gibb Plan

57. <u>1971</u> Senior Citizen Activity Ticket

58. <u>1972</u> Concerned citizens for the college

59. <u>1977</u> Breakfast with the community

60. <u>1980</u> Economic Impact Study

61. <u>1983</u> The College-Community Facility

62. <u>1988</u> New Well

63. <u>1988</u> Economic Impact Study

64. <u>1990</u> Chamber College-Community committee

APPENDIX C.   DATA SUMMARY TABLES FOR THE SIX CATEGORIES

Table C-1.   Data summary for the interactions of Black Hills
            State University and Spearfish during events of
            Institutional Survival

Elements	Data

Event: Founding of Normal   1883
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, citizens, influential/general,
                        mayor/council
    Outcome: town, achieved goal
    Interaction: cooperation
Event: Save the Normal   1889
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, chamber/business, citizens,
                        influential/general; gown, president,
                        board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: cooperation
Event: Fire   1925
    Purposes: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, public schools, chamber/
                        business, general citizens; gown,
                        president, board, faculty, students
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: cooperation
Event: Gibb Master Plan   1970
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, mayor/council, chamber/
                        business, public schools, citizens,
                        influential/general; gown, president,
                        board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: cooperation
Event: Review of programs   1972
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, chamber/business, public
                        schools, influentials; gown,
                        president, board
    Outcome: town, failed; gown, failed
    Interaction: cooperation

Table C-2. Data summary for the interactions of Black Hills
State University and Spearfish during events of
University Interaction with the Public Schools

Elements	Data

Event: Take Over Public Schools   1886
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, mayor/council, public schools,
                            citizens, influential/general; gown,
                            president, board
    Outcome: town, achieved/fail; gown, achieved
    Interaction: conflict, cooperation
Event: Lab/Model School   1896
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, public schools, influentials;
                            gown; president, board, faculty
    Outcome: town, achieve/fail; gown, achieved
    Interaction: conflict, cooperation
Event: Accreditation   1942
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, public school administration,
                            citizens, influential/general; gown,
                            president, board, faculty
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: cooperation
Event: Partners   1949
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, public school personal,
                            citizens,influential/general; gown,
                            president, board, faculty
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: cooperation

Table C-3. Data summary for the interactions of Black Hills
          State University and Spearfish during events of
          Growth and Expansion

Elements	Data

Event: Addition Appropriation   1884
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, influentials; gown, president,
                          board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: cooperation
Event: Dorm Rejection
1887
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, citizens, influential/general;
                          gown, president, board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown: failed
    Interaction: conflict
Event: Boarding House   1894
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, general citizens; gown,
                          president, board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange
Event: New Dorm   1899
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, influentials; gown, president,
                          board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange
Event: New Buildings   1907
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, influentials; gown, president,
                          board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange
Event: Cook Gymnasium   1917
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, mayor/council, chamber/
                          business,citizens, influential/
                          general; gown, president, board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange

(Table C-3 continued)

```
Event: Four Year College                                    1922
       Purpose:           town, primary; gown, primary
       Participants:      town, chamber/business, citizens,
                          influential/general; gown, president,
                          board, faculty
       Outcome:           town achieved; gown, achieved
       Interaction:       cooperation
Event: Appropriation for Land                               1968
       Purpose:           town, primary; gown, primary
       Participants:      town, citizens, general; gown,
                          president, board
       Outcome:           town, achieved; gown, achieved
       Interaction:       exchange
Event: Young Center                                         1983
       Purpose:           town, secondary; gown, primary
       Participants:      town, mayor/council, public schools,
                          chamber/business, citizens,
                          influential/general; gown, president,
                          board, faculty, students
       Outcome:           town, achieved; gown, achieved
       Interaction:       cooperation
```

Table C-4.   Data summary for the interactions of Black Hills
            State University and Spearfish during events of
            Education and Culture for the Community

Elements	Data

Event: Lecture Series   1889
    Purpose: town, secondary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, citizens, influential/general;
                        gown, president, board
    Outcome: town achieved; gown, failed
    Interaction: conflict
Event: First Summer Session   1915
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, public schools, chamber
                        business; gown, president, board
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange.
Event: First Major Play   1949
    Purpose: town, secondary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, citizens, influentials/general;
                        gown, faculty, students
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange
Event: Extension Programs   1952
    Purpose: town, secondary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, public school personnel,
                        general citizens; gown, president,
                        board, faculty
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange.
Event: Graduate Program   1953
    Purpose: town, primary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, chamber/business, public school
                        gown, president, board, faculty
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange
Event: Stagecoach Theater   1966
    Purpose: town, secondary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, citizens, influential/general
                        gown, faculty, students
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown achieved
    Interaction: cooperation
Event: Senior Citizen Activity Ticket   `   1971
    Purpose: town, secondary; gown, primary
    Participants: town, citizens; gown, president,
                        students
    Outcome: town, achieved; gown, achieved
    Interaction: exchange

Table C-5. Data summary for the interactions of Black Hills
           State University and Spearfish during events of
           Water

Elements	Data

Event: Money for Water Main   1889
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, secondary
Participants:	town, mayor/council; gown, president, board
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved
Interaction:	exchange

Event: Money for Wells   1900
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, secondary
Participants:	town, mayor/council; gown, president, board
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved
Interaction:	exchange

Event: Free Water Forever?   1902
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, secondary
Participants:	town, mayor/council, influentials; gown, president, board
Outcome:	town, failed; gown achieved
Interaction:	conflict

Event: No More Free Water   1967
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, secondary
Participants:	town, mayor/council; gown, president, board
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, failed
Interaction:	exchange

Event: New Well, Gusher   1988
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, secondary
Participants:	town, mayor/council, gown, president, board
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved
Interaction:	exchange

Table C-6. Data summary for the interactions of Black Hills
State University and Spearfish during events of
Economic Impact

Elements	Data	
Event: Cook's Economic Impact Assertion		1919
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, primary	
Participants:	town, chamber/business, gown, president	
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved	
Interaction:	cooperation	
Event: Flo-Dollar #1		1965
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, primary	
Participants:	town, chamber/business; gown, faculty, students	
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved	
Interaction:	cooperation	
Event: Flo-Dollar #2		1970
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, primary	
Participants:	town, chamber/business; gown, faculty, students	
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved	
Interaction:	cooperation	
Event: Hause Study		1980
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, primary	
Participants:	town, mayor/council, chamber/business; gown, president, faculty	
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved	
Interaction:	cooperation	
Event: BOR Study		1983
Purpose:	town, primary; gown, primary	
Participants:	town, mayor/council, chamber/business; gown, president, board	
Outcome:	town, achieved; gown, achieved	
Interaction:	cooperation	