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By-Niebuhr, Herman, Jr.

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The basic issue of the university's role as a pluralistic enterprise with responsibilities to the academic and outside communities has been settled; only the terms of the social contract continue to be refined. A balance must be found among conflicting sets of pressures generated by the pace of change and the growing tendency to regard all events and phenomena as interrelated. These 2 central forces have stimulated other pressures to plan for public services and manpower needs and to devise means to handle increased individual participation in social affairs. The promise and threat within these trends provide the context for evolving dimensions of the urban university. So far, academia's response to urban needs has been meagre: pertinent research is lacking, faculty is unconcerned, the curriculum is fragmented and unrelated to city problems, adequate adult education is unavailable, and little support is given to experimental programs. To end this neglect, the university must view itself as a social institution whose role has always been that of a manpower development agency. Present organizational structure would have to be modified to coordinate and utilize knowledge generated by different disciplines. Problems will arise in revising the recruiting and reward systems, integrating academic programs and assuming political risks. A new constituency demanding attention and providing an area for cooperative ventures is the residential community surrounding urban universities. Through involvement with the city, the university can help create better urban citizens and more vital educational institutions. (JS)

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THE UNIVERSITY IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Herman Niebuhr, Jr.  
Associate Vice President for Urban Affairs  
Temple University  
of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE  
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Let me first say how privileged I feel to be part of these proceedings. In what is, in many ways, an informal and off-hand age, the ceremonial of celebration and renewal is a most necessary pause to establish benchmarks. In what is also a rather noisy age, where McLuhan's many media give entirely too many larger than life messages, in an age where crisis, revolution, and catastrophe have less impact than the subsequent commercial, this Seminar has sought the wise and insightful. We have been groping for the essential questions and contexts of our time.

I am certain that any future historian of our decade will agree that the theme of the Wayne State Centennial Symposia reflected two central concerns of the period. He will, of course, note that we were here concerned, as we have been throughout the Sixties, with the fact that we are increasingly an urban society. But I hope that he will also note that this marvelous insight comes at least forty years after the demographic fact. Perhaps he will conclude that demographic facts become important after they become part of the contemporary politics. If he does, I trust he will soft pedal the further conclusion that such delayed perceptiveness is even known to afflict the academic man.

Our historian will also take note that our second concern, the relatedness of an institution of higher education to this urban age, has become routine rhetorical.

boiler plate for urban university presidents during this period. I am certain that he will see this developing theme as another round in the struggle for definition of a university. He will also note the continuing reference to the land grant idea of a public service university as a relevant analogue. Although less spectacular in their birth, the Wayne States, the Temples, the City Colleges and other nineteenth century urban universities were also characteristic American responses to the dual pressures of an increasingly complex urban economy and the upwardly mobile pressures of the immigrant poor.

Lawrence Veysey in a fascinating study on the emergence of the American university describes the struggle for definition around the turn of the century. We hear again the old debate between liberal and vocational education, between basic research and social relevance. It sounds awfully familiar, and one wonders whether we are going through it all over again. But Veysey makes the central point that academia has never quite accepted. All of these functions are part of the American university; we are a very pluralistic enterprise. The basic issues are settled although the terms of the social contract continue to be refined.

If the issues are settled what then is the meaning of the continuing ambivalence over our manpower development

role, of the fear that we are becoming a consumer-oriented shopping center, or the opposite fear that our scholarship is mere scholasticism? In my view these concerns represent the search for balance. But the search for balance hardly proceeds on a rational and scientific basis. We often invoke shibboleth where there should be openness. We resort to polemics where critical analysis is called for. We substitute illusion where we ought to be describing reality with the laboratory rigor we show elsewhere. I agree with Veysey: The American university is committed to a variety of functions. But I believe that we have been grudging and unscientific to the point of being anti-intellectual in accepting that fact. In my view, the pressures of our urban age are finally forcing us to put aside the shibboleths, the polemics, and the illusions and get on with the job.

#### TWO BASIC PRESSURES

Let me talk a little about these pressures. I won't burden you with the statistics because you all know them. Similarly, I don't want to catalog the array of problems confronting us because they are all too familiar.

##### 1. The Facts of Change

The central and overriding pressure stems from both the pace and recognition of the change-process.

Although every one of our institutions has been evolving throughout their history, the pace of change was such that they could be and were organized for static delivery of product and service. Each one of them is now painfully organizing for planful and on-going change. Some institutional sectors are obviously far ahead of others in this respect, generating imbalances, lags and tensions of their own.

## 2. The Wholeness Revolution

A second pressure stems from our growing proclivity to see the inter-relatedness of events, factors and forces as they affect man-in-society. The planning and implementation of comprehensive community development programs during the present decade constitutes a political expression of this very fundamental social and intellectual phenomenon. Below the level of the glamour programs, every institution is groping for a new definition of its interface with other institutions. The old comfort of institutional isolation is gone forever. At the level of the professional, each of us feels insecure in the tunnel vision of our discipline. I look back at my doctoral training in psychology as a cruel hoax which denied me the ecological perspective so basic to begin to understand man in a changing world. I find it an unhappy paradox that the intellectual community is still "hung up" at differentiating knowledge and further fragmenting reality, when a major

theme of our time is that there is a wholeness which must be respected at the level of concept, institution and individual human being.

DERIVATIVE PRESSURES: THREE ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Problems to Prevention

From these two central imperatives a host of derivative pressures flow. After a half century of developing problem-centered person-oriented services, that is, waiting for human problems to develop before we did anything about them, we are beginning to acknowledge environmental defects and are becoming concerned with human development in a positive sense. (i.e., by manipulating environments) Project Headstart, the Children and Youth, and the Maternal Infant Care Programs and ESEA are only the top of the iceberg. These are still the products of our tunnel vision, except that our tunnel vision has expanded. Suppose we start the other way by sketching out a hypothetical human development sequence invoking all that we know in an aggregate way. Might we not come out with new and revised tasks for the pre-natal visit that would have something to do with increasing parental competence, and wouldn't the well-baby clinic begin to do something about early cognitive development. The community mental health people might have to go beyond case finding and consultation to develop with the educators an integrative approach to human development

within the schools. Clearly, we are only in the early stages of responding to the imperative of prevention.

## 2. Planned Manpower Development

Although we have been tinkering with the economy for some time, it is only in the present decade that we are beginning to become serious about manpower development. Like Topsy, our labor force just "grewed" in the past. The 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act, and subsequent legislation has begun to approach this task, but typically at the crisis end of the problem. Our educators have barely begun to put aside their aristocratic prejudices against preparation for the work role, but there is a beginning. Again, by looking at the problem whole, we must begin to behave as though preparation for the work role is a function of a whole range of developmental experiences, not just the skill training in a high school shop or its functional equivalent at the graduate or professional school level.

## 3. The Challenge of Participation

A persistent and somewhat nostalgic theme in American life is the "sense of community" in rural and smalltown America. Bigness, alientation and isolation are defined as urban problems. Yet in an expanding manner that probably correlates with increased education, opportunity and leisure time, Americans are increasingly participating in the world around them. Culture and recreation,



as well as education are major growth sectors in our national life. The growth and vitality of block, neighborhood and other civic associations are adding a new dimension of participation to the day-to-day functioning of representative government. Indeed, a crisis is brewing here. No longer is the authority that comes from election or delegated appointment adequate to insure consent of the governed. They wish to be involved in the day-to-day. Assertive minorities in the universities, the unions and the ghettos are democratizing that ancient principle of maximum feasible participation of the rich. As an administrator who is more than impressed with the energy and tactics of such vocal minorities, I am less concerned with the sharing of power than I am with the search for community that these activities represent and the need for some better administrative tactics than I presently have available.

These three trends are by no means exhaustive of the two central imperatives. Increasingly, I believe that they will integrate in more total community development schemes. The promise and threat within these trends provide the context for the evolving dimensions of the urban university.

Earlier I presented Veysey's conclusion that we have at least a half century of consensus on the functional pluralism of the American university. This is typically presented through the analogy of the three-legged stool with one leg generating knowledge, one leg transmitting

knowledge, and the third leg applying knowledge. The analogy of the milking stool seems as dated as the stool itself. Each of the social disciplines has expanded our understanding of every other social institution. Viewed the lens of the psychologist, the sociologist, the political scientist, the anthropologist and the economist, our perceptions of institutional reality go beyond the superficial or the traditional. Let's try just one of these approaches. The university, as any other social institution draws its justification from one or more constituencies. The next generation is of course the primary constituency of the university. In a change-oriented age, continuing education is a requisite lubricant for the present generation to adapt to its changing world, so increasingly, the adult population becomes a second constituency. What relevant education for these two groups is, we will discuss in a moment.

A Third Constituency: In a change-oriented society every institution requires an expanding fund of knowledge, analysis, criticism, new and revised technology. In addition to each institution's developing change-mechanism, be it a planning shop, in-house research and development, or the omnipresent consultant, it looks to the university as a key input. The basic research mind-set so well defended by academia is not nearly so much in jeopardy as we think.

Not only are we fairly well supported in this activity, but society-at-large increasingly thinks of it as a deferred service in Rashi Fein's phrase. Even though many or most of us do not wish as individuals to participate in the application process, a change-oriented society has every right to devise a more functional system of relating knowledge generation to problem-solving. The university is no weak partner in this process, it has more power than it has ever had to participate in the defining of its role. However, if the university appears defensive or irrelevant to the imperatives of its time, society has every right to make other arrangements.

Because of the urban imperatives I described earlier and the paucity of adequate reason or science in the framing of our response, we are in some difficulty with each of these constituencies. Let me elaborate.

#### THE NEXT GENERATION

Our student constituency is confronted by a teaching-learning process still set in its ancient mold of lecturer and class with knowledge or skill acquisition as the objective. In an increasingly open and secular society, young people are concerned with their own identity, the nature and quality of their society and their relatedness to men everywhere. They come to a curriculum which is more and more fragmented, lacking in value considerations, and

dominated by scholar researchers whose status and success is almost negatively correlated with their interest and competence in the educational task. Is it any wonder that many students are restless?

Suppose that we decided to forget about modifying the present format through that most heinous of human inventions, the committee, and set about the task through a more rational and even scientific method. We might think about the impact of the change-process and intergenerational differences, McLuhan and the United States in the year 2000, a technological and systems-oriented economy, the role of direct experience, on-the-task training, role models, and lots of other things. Would we come up with the same institution, the same programs, the same people? I doubt it. Would we not begin to monitor the character, the needs and the capabilities of the incoming student generation far better than we now do? Would we not try to insure a development (education) process geared to the individual and utilize technology beyond the word and the mouth to do it? Might we not even begin to program in experiences with problems, people and settings that cannot fit into a classroom? Just as Wisconsin said that the state was its campus in another era, is not the city the campus for our urban students?

Believe me, I do not presume to have the answers. But I do believe that we will not be true to our heritage

until we begin to apply science to ourselves, in this instance recognizing the human development context of higher education and adapting our technology to further that development. You may have begun to wonder what this has to do with urban development. I would argue that a city is its people and the fundamental urban development task of an urban university is preparing the next generations.

### The Present Generation

Take our second constituency; the present adult generation. We have all now said ad nauseum that they live in a changing world and need to make major adjustments during their lives. Who among us will deny that we have failed to organize for continuity of education. Ask anyone responsible for university adult education, continuing education or extension about status, staff or budget support and you will find a second-class citizen. But here it is not only academia which has failed. Look at any piece of social legislation over the past thirty-five years and ask whether the Federal government has understood the need to systematize the process of manpower development to be adequate to the new program. Hardly. Most of our social legislation assumes a free market. Beginning with the public employment service in the early thirties Congress has made some magical assumptions about the nation's capacity to produce people to implement new and different programs. Although the dollar value of training supports has risen in recent years, its

scope is grossly inadequate and its pattern is considerably more chaotic than Grandmother's crazy quilt. Moreover, I would challenge you to produce a single study that looks at the problem whole.

Perhaps we will continue to avoid Thornton Wilder's glacier by the skin of our teeth, but the human and fiscal waste that derives from our failure to come to grips with the problem of continuing education or continuing human development is just more than a scientific age ought to bear.

#### A Third Constituency: Urban Society

The Problem. I turn now to our third constituency, and here I will focus more specifically upon our urban society. Almost every government administrator who has ever had anything to do with frontier programs nourishes a grudge against the university. Pressed as he is to launch something new with inadequate personnel and under severe time limits, he looks to the university for allies. He wants relevant knowledge, best guesses on program technique and technology and some help on the strategy and tactics of implementation. My private and non-scientific survey of these harried men suggests that they find few of us who are interested to begin with. Then there is a chronic complaint that those who take the grants or contracts too often corrupt them to their own career interests losing sight of the basic objectives of the grantor.

Is this an overstatement? Probably. There are many fields in which excellent rapport and relevant contributions are being made. However, I focused on frontier fields: manpower development, poverty, urban education, community health and the umbrella field of community development. It is in these fields that we lag behind.

#### DIAGNOSIS

Why is this? Again as in the case of our other constituencies, I believe that we have failed to monitor the whole of reality with the same rigor that we monitor our sub-sectors of scientific interest. It is high time that we transcend our professional and scientific myopia and ask "what's happening" to our society as a whole. It is no surprise to me that colleges of education were caught napping on the question of education of the slum child. Unless the education professors looked out beyond their immediate institutional concerns to ask what was happening in the economy, the meaning of the Negro revolution, the impact of middle-class television in every lower-class home, or the subtle shift from problem-oriented welfare services to a preventive and developmental approach, they could hardly have predicted what was going to happen to the field of education. Given the decentralized fragmentation of the university, and given the absence of a societal monitoring mechanism, is it any wonder that there has been a minimal higher education response to the emergence of

a systematic manpower development system. Indeed, we failed to respond to the needs of the public employment service for over thirty-five years. I am only slightly less incredulous at the failure of the U.S. Department of Labor to complain about this state of affairs.

THE TREATMENT:

1. Update the Model

What to do? First, it seems to me that university administrators and faculty must begin to conceive of the university as a total social institution which is different from the aggregate collection of departments and colleges. Ought we not exercise our considerable powers of analysis and invention to reconceptualize the university? In many ways this is a planning task which ought to go far beyond the usual parameters of institutional research. We should for a time put all of our dearest beliefs up for examination.

2. An Aspect of the Model: A Manpower Mechanism

Where might we come out? I think we would have to acknowledge that part of our mission has always been that of a manpower development agency with respect to our society. We might even recall that the 1850 manpower role of Oxford and Cambridge was to produce a leisure class much needed in British society of that day. We would have to conclude that a fast evolving urban society requires a dynamic manpower mechanism to stay current with present and future need.



There are labor economists, occupational sociologists, and industrial psychologists here at Wayne State and at every other urban university who have the competence to set up the necessary monitoring and response system. Wouldn't it be interesting to go through the exercise and compare it with what we are presently doing. If we got started on such a system, it would be immediately necessary to develop relationships with that other part of the manpower development system the elementary and secondary school systems to include them. It would also be necessary to tie in with all of the manpower consuming institutions to insure adequate information and feedback. We might even become serious in inventing differentiated manpower systems to manage the service delivery systems we are all so fond of talking about today. To be sure we might have to modify the professional-guild model of most of our human services education, but that would be part of the excitement of generating new and most relevant knowledge.

### 3. Another Aspect: Urban Problem-Solving

If we went this far in rationalizing our manpower role, we would also have the base for expanding our role in the problem-solving or change process itself. To me the essence of the land grant contribution lies in the invention of a micro system that goes from knowledge generation to adaptation for problem-solving to diffusion and dissemination.

Information in the system went both ways. To some extent we have rudiments of such a system in the health sciences, in the hard sciences and engineering. We do not have it in the human and community sciences and services and here it is desperately needed.

What I am talking about here is an urban extension attitude and mechanism which would link the several schools and colleges of a university with their practice sectors. I am not talking about a new Center or Institute. What I am suggesting must be part of a College of Education, a School of Medicine, and yes even the College of Liberal Arts. To have people with professorial rank who are linking members between university and the institutional community would enhance the manpower function, begin to build a problem-solving mechanism, and begin to feed in another reality input which may even affect the research priorities of an institution.

There would be other benefits to an institution as well. Having basic researchers and problem-solvers in the same department or college might get a little more vitality into the discussion. It might even produce a little creative tension and sparking. It would also provide the students with a greater range of role models with whom to interact as they grope for their souls.

Given this attitude we might even begin to feel comfortable about having part-time personnel from outside institutions and agencies shuttling in and out of the university, and university people doing the same without feeling that they are jeopardizing careers.

4. Some Problems:
- a. The Reward System
  - b. Coordination and Academic Decentralization
  - c. Political Risks

There are of course many problems in pursuing such a course. Let me point to two administrative ones. First, my view of the urban university requires a differentiated recruitment and reward system. The PHD and a long string of publications may be negatively correlated with problem-solving capability. There must be equal status if this model is to succeed. Secondly, by locating these activities within the schools and colleges, there must be a central, university-wide administrative device for planning, coordination, and program integration where necessary. In today's academic climate these changes and constraints will not go down easily, but if they had the intellectual justification of serious study and an expanded commitment to our mission, I believe we could achieve consensus.

I am certain that all of us recognize that what I am proposing has enormous political implications with considerable risk. But I would also remind you that not to play the urban game also has enormous political implications.

and risks. If one is going to play the game a tactical sense is important. One might publicly criticize a bureaucrat and seek to effect change but this has certain consequences. One can also develop a relationship with the same bureaucrat and make him look good by helping him to change. Both are useful tactics under certain conditions.

#### A NEW CONSTITUENCY: THE RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITY

Before I conclude I would like to speak about another constituency which is relatively new on the scene. This is the residential community living around our urban universities. In my own situation, Temple University is located in the heart of the North Philadelphia ghetto. Living side by side for decades we have drawn relatively few students from the immediate area. Almost none of our faculty live there, and we have tended to take little more than a Lady Bountiful attitude to the problems of our neighbors. The defects of the urban renewal process as manifest in our campus expansion, combined with the long standing frustrations brought to the surface in recent years have begun to produce a serious town-gown problem. The residents are now saying, "Mr. Temple, we want you as a neighbor, but we think you should be more neighborly. If you have to expand, we think you should talk to us about it, and indeed take responsibility for all of the immediate problems. Moreover, we think you ought to take an interest in all of our problems: education, jobs, housing, health, whatever

touches us." Not so surprisingly, most of our students think we also ought to become a better neighbor.

In my view this challenge is every bit as serious as those stemming from our other publics, and has every bit as much opportunity. It is in ghettos that surround the Temples and the Wayne States that the challenge of urban America lies. Can we prepare our students to face that challenge better if we make working in it part of their education, maybe even for credit? Can we go beyond the research and problem-solving with our middle-class colleagues in the community of institutions, and relate ourselves to our ghetto neighbors to improve their schools, improve their health services, increase their employability, and as a trade-off for our own expansion use our good offices and intellect to improve their environmental condition? Can we even go beyond the poorly developed programs and technologies of today and develop new visions of neighborhood life to which both residential and university communities contribute. Is it possible that the urban university becomes a more vital place in all of its missions by making this attempt? Obviously, I think so.

#### A FINAL COMMENT

A year ago today I was in India working with Indian universities on the problem of increasing their participation in the national development process. I had also looked at some European systems of higher education from the same perspective

on the way over. I felt then as I feel now that American universities, despite all that I have said are more relevant to students and to the larger society than any others I visited. The fact remains, however, that we fall far short of the need, and far short of our own intellectual and scientific capabilities. I for one am grateful for the criticism that students, the larger society and our neighbors heap upon us. It is clearly a sign of need and a signal to put aside complacency. For those of us in the urban universities both need and criticism will grow, but so will opportunity. For the city is where the action is.