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ABSTRACT

         Present difficulties of student personnel work on
college campuses are outlined as the impetus for the
reconceptualization of student needs. Drawing from the behavioral
sciences made it possible to conceptualize higher education as a
developmental community with available "power factors" for promoting
desirable changes in students. The necessary information to construct
and revitalize such a community is outlined and leads to a general
model of behavioral intervention. The central unit of the community
would be an "operational research" unit called a Center for Student
Development. Three kinds of staff would be included: (1) behavioral
scientists; (2) staff skilled in behavioral intervention; and (3)
staff concerned with interpreting the accumulating knowledge to the
college. The key to successful functioning of such a unit would be
its administrative tie to both academic and student affairs offices.
(TL)

Ashes, Ashes...[*1]

Clyde A. Parker

University of Minnesota

A familiar childish game my not-quite-two-year-old daughter frequently leads me into begins "Ring around the rosey..." and ends "ashes, ashes, we all fall down." at which time she and I fall into a heap upon the floor. W. H. Cowley (1964) several years ago, made the following observation.

> ...I'm delighted with the enormous growth of student services as epitomized by such facts as these: the numbers of men and women in these services has multiplied at least 25 times; the institutional budgets for your programs have grown from a few thousand dollars to more than a million in a number of universities and have increased proportionately in most small colleges; and the membership of this association has grown from 91 in 1934 to 3,200 last year.[*2]

> These and other advances 'pleasure' everyone who has been or is now engaged in your area of higher educational activity; but it seems to me, the debit side of the ledger very considerably out balances the credit side. For example: this association (ACPA) and the three dozen or so others devoted to student affairs in colleges and universities are currently struggling with the same problems that afflicted them 25 years ago. Here and there a bit of headway has been made, but in the main, the confused and vexatious situation of the past continues to prevail.

Those comments were made B.B. (Before Berkley). Since then this decade has been marked by a continuous series of student protestations with which you are familiar. Few events in recent history have received such nationwide attention. It is obvious to even the most casual observer that not only has this phenomena been extensively

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[*1] Based on a paper presented at the 20th Annual Institute for College Student Personnel Workers "Reformation of Higher Education," University of Minnesota, October, 1969.

[*2] (This was in 1964; the current membership in 1970 is (7,537).

analyzed, but there is little agreement as to its causes and it is difficult to find even a few persons in higher education who purport to know how to cope effectively with it. For my purposes, I should only like to point out that there is little public evidence that student personnel administrators have contributed much to either the understanding of student activism or to the means of coping with it. So far as I can tell, we have been considered irrelevant by most of higher education, including the students.

James Penny (1969) has referred to Student Personnel Work as a "profession stillborn." His thesis was that though we have a well developed philosophy (the Student Personnel Point of View) our literature does not reflect a theory nor an empirical data base from which to construct a practice to implement a well intended regard for the individual. He was anticipated by Stroup (1964) who said...

> Student activities possesses neither an adequate general theory nor adequate "intermediate" theories. To put it jocularly, its philosophy is like a pair of steer horns - a point here, a point there, and a lot of bull in between....
>
> ...Thus through a contribution of various factors.... the field of student activities at present rests upon unexamined assumptions which lack profundity, clarity and cohesiviness...
>
> Student personnel work is a hodgepodge of university-directed student services which derive their existence from the fact that in one form or another they are necessary to the efficient functioning of the university. Historically they have come into deliberative being because universities could not escape them.

It is my observation that we, with few exceptions, have been in the position of reactors to the problems of higher education rather than creators of educational programs with the students in mind. In

a word, we have "relieved the president of some unpleasant duties"
(Clark as quoted by Williamson, 1961). In such a reactive position
(some of my colleagues complain "we are always putting out fires") we
have not been able to achieve the means to anticipate the needs of stu-
dents nor to shape higher education to meet those needs.

We have not been able to develop any solid theoretical founda-
tions by which to guide us toward our goals. The profession has not
had a systematic body of knowledge nor has it had the theoretical con-
structs to guide it in the accumulation of knowledge.

Berdie (1966) and others (Kirk, 1965 and Penny, 1969) have argued
that student personnel work is the application of knowledge from or a
field of employment for professionals from a number of the behavioral
sciences. Except for the commitment to a general purpose there has
been no body of knowledge which has tied such highly diversified special-
ists together. Lloyd-Jones and Rosenau (1968) have described the diffi-
culties encountered in identifying the relevance of disciplinary studies
to professional applications even though there is wide acceptance that
it does exist. They observed in reference to their current work based
on joint conferences of guidance workers and behavioral scientists:

> ...it took a number of seminars before the social-
> cultural scientists could focus on burning interests that
> they had that seemed to the guidance-personnel workers to
> connect up closely with problems that confronted them.

Some (Williamson, 1957; Parker, 1966) have attempted to establish
counseling as a central function of all student personnel work, but
there are substantial limitations to such a formulation. Counseling
is a limited function of many administrative or service personnel

ordinarily identified as student personnel workers and certainly not broad enough to furnish an inclusive theoretical base.

I would sum our difficulties into two broad deficiencies. The first is that our practice and philosophy far outstrip our data base. The lack of a unifying theory, particularly one which is central to the business of higher education has contributed to the general perception of student personnel work as an ancillary, supportive or unnecessary interference with the central mission of the college. In fact it is most frequently defined as those functions which exist outside the classroom not concerned with the primary functions of the college. It is this inability to become linked to the <u>central academic function of the college that I see as our second major difficulty</u>.

To the faculty we have become a major rival for available financial and physical resources. We are perceived an an arm of the administration whose purpose is to control rather than liberate students or we are seen as mollycoddlers denying students their right to grow up. Rarely are we perceived by either faculty or students in a way, consonant with our own rhetoric, as aids to the development of a student's full potential.

The irony of our position is that in the current crises of higher education one thing is clear - students perceive themselves as having been shortchanged in the experience. It is as if they are asking for what we in student personnel work have been promising but are unable to deliver.

Militant student radicals have threatened to burn down institutions to bring about reform. In some instances they have wrought extensive physical damage to institutions. Their efforts have been instrumental

in removing presidents and instituting major changes in university
governance. As this is being written students at the University of
Wisconsin are threatening to bomb the state Capitol if their demands
are not met. We may yet see our major instituations in ashes.

One can excuse the faculty and administration for their lack of
foresight in developing relevant educational programs. They have been
pre-occupied with their disciplines on the one hand and the management
of the university on the other. In fact, Rudolph (1966) has shown
that significant change in structure and content of higher education
has frequently been initiated by students.

> The agents of change were the students. The particu-
> lar groups to whom law and tradition had assigned the iden-
> tity and purposes of the colleges, the presidents and boards
> of trustees and the professors, stood aside, indifferent or
> ineffectual observers, and failed to address themselves to
> the questions which should always be raised on an American
> college campus when any extracurricular development is
> stirring. For if a college cannot keep ahead of its stu-
> dents, students will surely get ahead of the college. Neg-
> lect demands response; the young do not refuse to act merely
> because they are not understood.

But from a cadre of professional personnel committed to the full
development of student potential one would have expected some antici-
pation of the current developments and some methodologies for their
constructive use. Of course some (McConnell, 1969) have been able
to utilize the extra curriculum for academic purposes and to infuse it
with intellectual content. But this has not been widespread.

It is my contention that we have failed to rise to our promise
largely because we have been too limited in our vision by confining
our practice almost exclusively to the "out of class activities" of
the institution. We have failed to make a valid impact because we

have not built a theory or practice which has become an integral part
of the "real business" of higher education. To reach the promise of
either "individualizing mass education" or "maximizing student poten-
tial" there must be a permeable membrane between class and out of class
activities that allows free access of faculty, student, and student per-
sonnel worker to each sphere.

This requires a theory of student development comprehensive enough
to include class and non-class experiences as part of the total growth
of the student. Behavioral science specialists will need to find ways
to build educational systems based on student needs and upon methods of
student development that encompass the total experience of the student
including the classroom. (This last may seem odd but is so stated to
emphasize our tendency to define our life space as being only outside
the classroom).

The thesis I wish to develop with you is that the future need not
repeat the past. I will attempt to develop the thesis under three
major divisions: First, what do we need to know from the social and
behavioral sciences? Second, what kind of person or persons are re-
quired to accomplish the task? And third, a possible structure to
insure an impact on higher education.

In his discussion of Where Colleges Fail Sanford (1967) concluded:

> ...I believe that we must develop a new profession, a
> profession in which generally educated people become spec-
> ialists in individual development and in the operation of
> institutions designed for this purpose. In the meanwhile
> we might use...the persons who are now engaged in coun-
> seling on student affairs in our best universities and
> colleges...

Berdie (1966) hinted at a similar direction and suggested that rather than an intermediary step student personnel workers might accept such a mission as their primary focus when he said:

> ...should we who are concerned with the objectives, purposes and methods of student personnel work cease considering ourselves as student personnel workers and begin to regard ourselves as educators with particular competencies in the behavioral sciences, working with college and university students and institutional programs to further the ends of higher education?

What is needed to implement such a concept is a theory or science of student development in higher education which includes the functions of specialists who are able to assist the total institution in the creation of an educational milieu which is truly developmental in character.

I have referred above to the difficulties which have been encountered in attempts to draw directly from the behavioral sciences. In the past this was due largely to a lack of relevant data. Since the publication of Jacob's (1957) review of the impact of college on student values and Sanford's (1962) compendium on The American College both interest and research in the field have grown at surprising rates. There now is a literature from which the necessary theory can be sketched, essential behaviors for such an applied behavioral scientist specified and a beginning structure proposed.

WHAT DO WE NEED TO KNOW FROM THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES?

An adequate theory of the role of an applied behavioral scientist in higher education requires substantive answers to several basic questions. I have chosen five which I consider to be major ones. I will briefly discuss each question and make reference to more extended
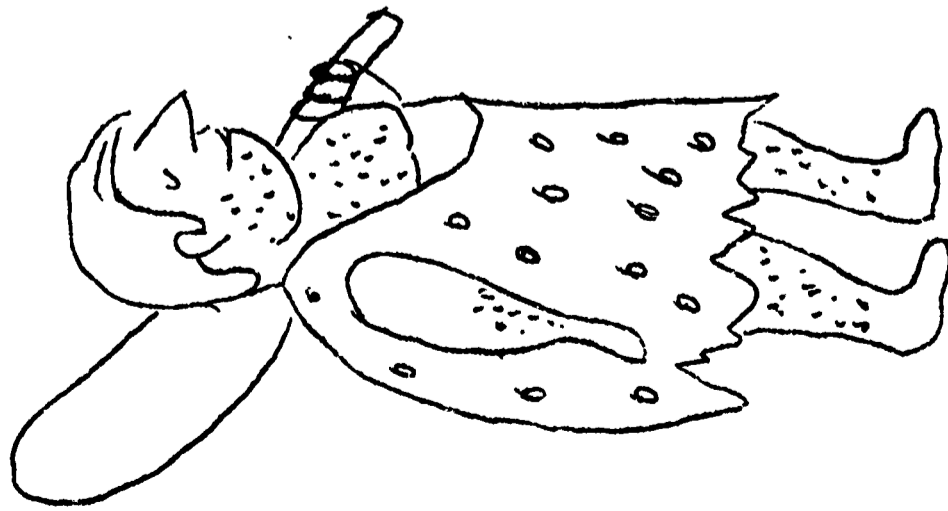
discussions which could serve as a beginning for continued theoretical development and empirical investigations.

Figure 1

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1. Who comes to college? Thus far we have paid a great deal of attention to this question in both our research and our practice. It is common place to recognize not only inter-institutional differences in students, but intra-college differences as well. We have students with given ability; we have designed special sections for honor students and for low ability students. We have nationwide assessment programs to furnish individual college norms and expectancy tables to aid in selection and admissions.

What we do not know as well is how to tailor curricula for students whose needs do not coincide with established curricula (or how to assess those needs). We do not know how to tailor individual class experiences to the heterogeneous backgrounds, learning rates and motivational levels that exist after our gross admissions and registration screening is completed. In short, we have failed to carry the paradigm of individual differences into classroom instruction. Bloom's (1968) concept of "Mastery Learning Units" offers a reasonable start but one that the typical professor would need considerable help in designing.

2. Who is the educated person? There have been many models of maturity, including the healthy personality (Jourard, 1958); the normal person (Shoben, 1959); the fully functioning person, (Rogers, 1961); and the effective person, (Blocker, 1966). None of these have related their models directly to the specific concerns of higher education. Many would
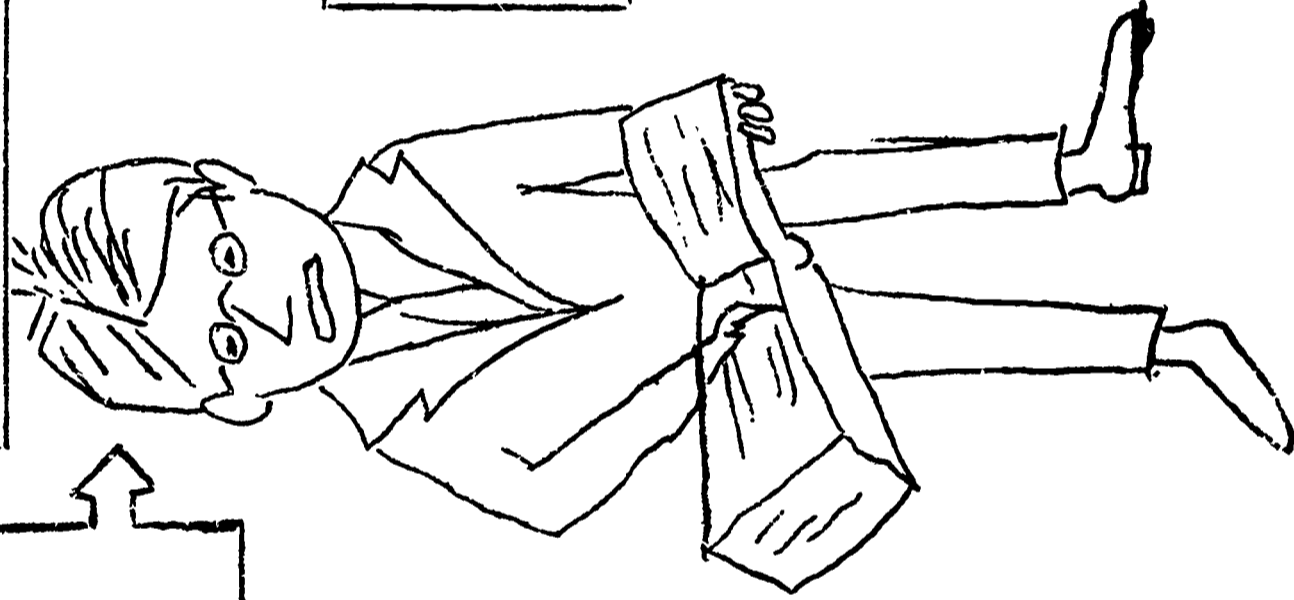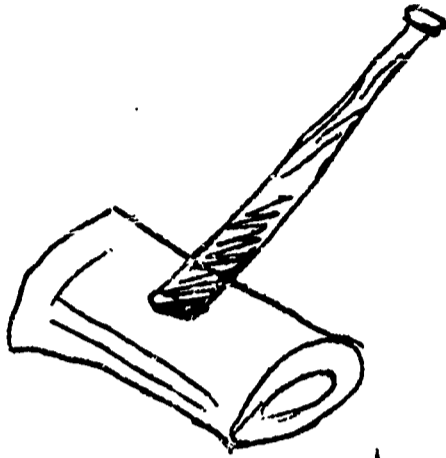
QUESTION 4
WHAT ARE THE POWER FACTORS IN HIGHER EDUCA-TION?

QUESTION #5 HOW DO YOU CHANGE THE POWER FACTOR TO GET THE DESIRED RESULTS?

QUESTION #2
WHO IS THE IDEAL EDU-CATED MAN?

QUESTION #3
WHAT CHANGES ARE POSSIBLE

a) in late adoles-cence? young adulthood?

b) in the higher-educa-tion milieu?

QUESTION #1
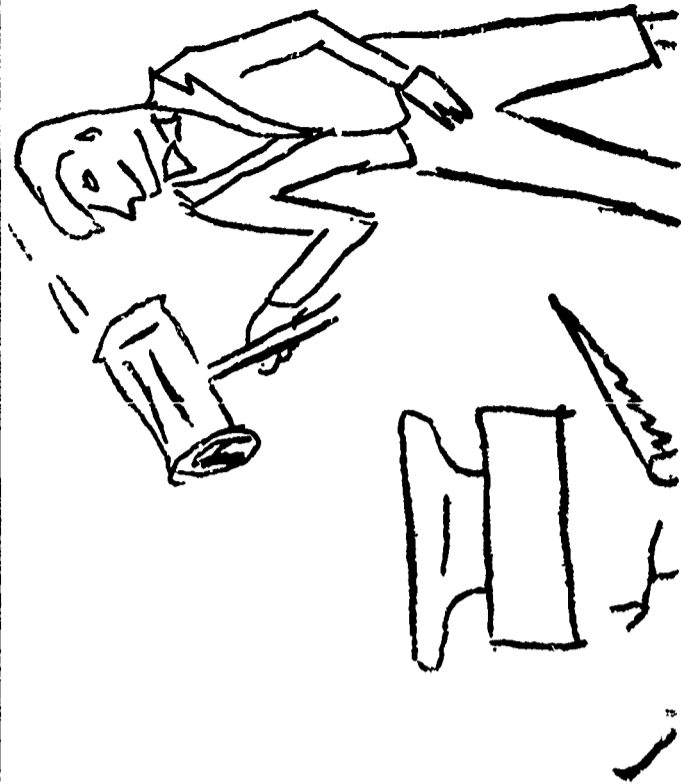WHO COMES TO COLLEGE?

Figure 1

argue that our society is too pluralistic to allow a conceptualization that would fit a substantial portion of higher education. Others would see the multiple functions of the university antithetical to an attempt to describe a model graduate.

Yet it seems that the existence of a major social institution requires a statement of purpose of that institution in terms that are observable and have reasonably wide acceptance. This, in the case of higher education, should include a concept of the educated man to which the enterprise is committed.

Heath (1968) has recently made an attempt to formulate just such a concept based upon data systematically collected over some twenty years at Haverford College. He seems to steer between the Scylla of pure intellectual development and the Charybdis of total concern for the individual. He defined the limits within which a model must fit as:

> ...We could say a liberal education should stabilize,
> integrate, symbolize and make more allocentric and autonomous
> a person's concept of himself, his cognitive-intellectual
> skills, his values, and his interpersonal relationships. But
> even this more detailed statement of goals is unrealistic. No
> institution can be expected to develop any person -- let alone
> -- hundreds -- twenty or so different ways. Now, we don't want
> to abandon the ideal of promoting maturity for it is the con-
> text of the model of maturing that is the criterion by which
> the specific effects of a liberal education can be judged to
> be maturing or not. But we must establish some realistic
> priorities that distinguish the efforts of a college from
> those of the Experiment in International Living and Epis-
> copal Church.

It is impossible here to present the logic by which he eliminates the goals of "stabilizing and making more autonomous students' self structures" and as a primary emphasis "the development of a person's self-concept and interpersonal relations." His essential argument is that the primary role of higher education is the development of the

intellect and the development of values through the intellectual pro-

cess. He says goals of stability and autonomy are tests of how well

the primary goals have been achieved. Interpersonal relations and the

development of a person's self-concept are supportive means to the

intellectual development. He summarizes his argument thus,

> ...a liberal education should help a person become more
> mature by educing those potentials that enhance his educabil-
> ity and adaptability. The most important adaptive potentials
> for a liberally enhancing institution to educe are, in temporal
> order of priority, the symbolized, the allocentric and the
> integrative development of a person's cognitive-intellectual
> skills and values. The extent to which such goals can be
> realized is contingent on the maturing of other self-structures.
> The test of becoming liberally educated is the maturing of the
> individual, not just the attainment of more reflective, allo-
> centric, or integrative intellectual skills and values.

3. What changes are possible? If we can assume that some model

of the educated person can be agreed upon we are still faced with the

empirical question of whether it is attainable. This question can be

divided into two questions. The first requires a knowledge of develop-

mental psychology to describe what might be expected in the way of

change in behavior or personality during those years of college attendance.

Bloom (1964) has carefully reviewed hundreds of research studies in an

effort to chart the normal developmental patterns of many human char-

acteristics. Before one can expect students to change in college, one

must have an understanding of which human characteristics have stabilized

by college age and which are still subject to growth and development.

If his analysis is correct then one would expect that interests, attitudes

and values would be highly susceptible to change during the college years.

Bloom's central thesis is that the most rapid changes occur when a

powerful environment is brought to bear upon a person during a time when

a characteristic is in a stage of high growth rate. Feldman and New-
comb (1969) postulate that higher education is just such an environment
and probably one of the best available to an adult in our current so-
ciety. A theory of student development would need to identify both
the powerful sub-units of higher education and the potential growth
stages.

A second corollary question, then, is what changes are possible in
the college environment? Fortunately recent years have been marked by
an increasing amount of research into this question. The new volume
by Feldman and Newcomb (1969) is an excellent review of existing re-
search and an attempt to identify significant trends in the data.

Without attempting to repeat their summary I would point to one
conclusion that illustrates how critical such data are. Assuming that
the purpose of the college is to promote desirable changes in students
they observe:

> Presently available information suggests that the more
> incongruent a student is with the overall environment of his
> college the more likely he is to withdraw from that college
> or from higher education in general. We did not find much
> support, however, for the often-voiced notion that, for stu-
> dents who remain in college, change will be greatest for
> those whose backgrounds are initially the most discontinuous
> with the college environment. Our best guess at the moment
> is that a college is most likely to have the largest impact
> on students who experience a continuing series of not-too-
> threatening discontinuities. Too great a divergence be-
> tween student and college, especially initially, may result
> in the student's marshalling of resistances. Too little
> might mean no impetus for change...

Such a conclusion would suggest that current enthusiasm for enrol-
lment of the educationally disadvantaged student needs to be sharply
tempered by a consideration of the possible retrogressive effects on
the student's development that could result from too great a variance

between the current values, intellectual preparation and attitudes of

the students and those of the college in which he is enrolled. It

is not simply a matter of providing study assistance to aid in class-

room achievement but rather a consideration of the possible defensive

student posture which might be precipitated by uncritical attempts to

provide an "educational experience" for students with dissonant back-

grounds.

4. What elements of higher education account for change? One of

the suspected but less popular conclusions of Feldman and Newcomb was:

> Though faculty members are often individually influen-
> tial, particularly in respect to career decisions, college
> faculties do not appear to be responsible for campus wide
> impact except in settings where the influence of student
> peers and of faculty complement and reinforce one another.

The awareness that the influence of the faculty is more restricted than

many would hope raises the more general question of what elements of the

institution do account for change? A more sophisticated phrasing would

be "Which elements contribute to which changes?" Some studies have at-

tacked this problem and found provocative results. Wilson (1966) iden-

tified seven types of change occurring in college. Using a self-report

technique he had students at Antioch identify which elements of the

college community contributed to changes occurring in those areas. He

found that the five most frequently mentioned were courses, work exper-

ience, self development, fellow students and faculty in that order. But

the more significant finding was that the influence was selective to the

kind of changes taking place. For example, interest in new fields was

attributed mostly to courses (35 per cent of the cases) while personality

development and career plans were affected mostly by work experiences

(16 and 30 per cent respectively).

Assuming that one does desire that certain changes take place, knowledge of where and how those changes are most likely to be precipitated is critical to controlling their occurrence.

5. How does one gain control over the influencers? As it now exists higher education is at best a conglomerate of traditional practices squeezed out of years of experience and a sprinkling of innovative efforts intended to increase our effectiveness. It is an institution not easily changed (Evans 1968). An integral part of the concept of student personnel work being explored here is that the specialist must develop the capacity to bring about planned change in the institution to increase the power of the parts of the University that contribute to development of students. I like to think of this as gaining control over the "Power Factors" in the institution.

Social psychologists have been interested in these problems for some time and a body of literature including methodologies for facilitating institutional and personal change is now available (Bennis, Benne and Chin, 1964; Shein and Bennis, 1965). While empirical evidence of the effectiveness of some methods is inconclusive in well conceived experimental designs (Dunnette and Campbell) the discipline is receiving wide acceptance including methods of operational research (Fairweather 1967, Sarason 1966).

An excellent example of institutional change agentry is described by Grinnell (1969). Four persons in the university formed an informal group which was dedicated to seeing that action was taken on a variety of university problems. Their mode of operation closely paralleled that of many community action groups. Early in their five year history

they attempted to expand into a larger more formal discussion group which

they found inoperable. Finally they stabilized with a group of nine who

became known as the HATS, a name derived from an off-hand remark by the

President that perhaps only he wore the official Hat of the university.

The name symbolized their concern for the total university. Watson

(1969) commenting on their success outlined the elements of successful

change in a community as:

       1. Do not try to go it alone
       2. Build ties with the top
       3. Remain small
       4. Diagnose before inventing
       5. Plan some action at each meeting
       6. Invent ways out of failure

These suggestions, of course, are intended for such informal com-

munity action groups. They are cited here to illustrate the developing

strategies for organizational change with the suggestion that the abil-

ity to stimulate and support such action groups will become a necessary

part of the student development specialist's tool kit.

Ashes, Ashes, - An Integrated Concept of Diversified Roles

The mythological Phoenix Bird is the embodiment of the sun-god

who according to fable lived for 500 years and then was consumed in

fire by its own act, only to rise in youthful freshness from its own

ashes.

Once student personnel workers are divorced from their in-loco-

parentis roles (as now seems inevitable) like the Phoenix we also may.

be free to become the new specialists as prescribed by Sanford. To do

so requires not only a new theory and science of student development in

higher education, but a new theory of professional intervention which

focuses in multiple ways on the creation of a social system capable of promoting student development. The term Student Personnel Work has not been well understood in higher education. At present I am unable to offer a wholly acceptable alternative. Though Student Development Specialist conveys the intended meaning, I fear it has connotations that would cause it to be rejected by our academic colleagues. So what I am proposing leaves the terminological difficulties unresolved. What I would like to describe is a conceptual framework which we have been developing that conveys the role functions necessary to utilize the rapidly developing data base of the behavioral sciences to create the necessary social system (Anderson, 1967).
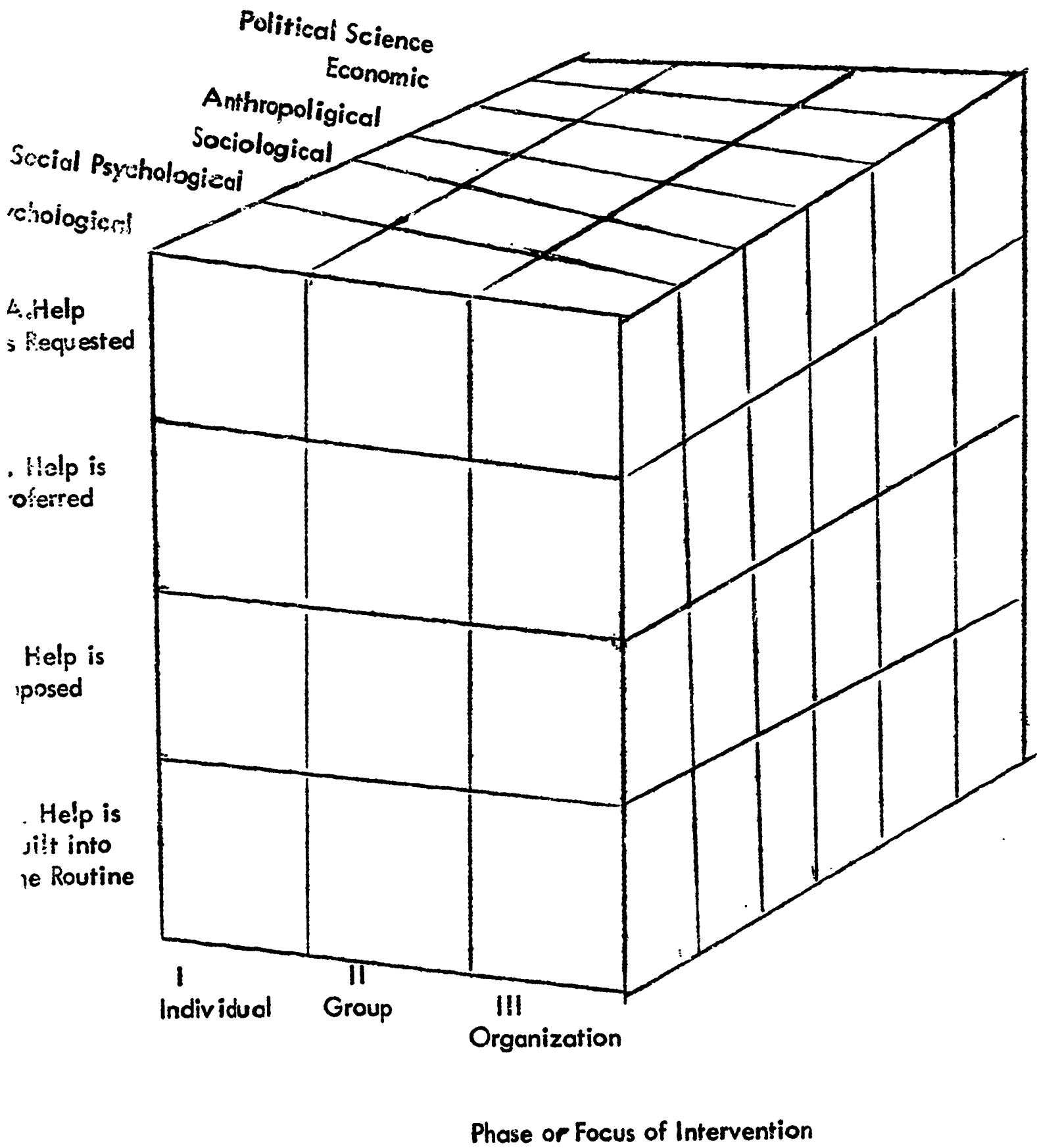

Figure 2

The model is based on the assumption that development may be facilitated under any one of four conditions.

(a) A person or unit may seek help. This is the condition with which we are most familiar and the one which has become the circumstance of most counseling. It is based on one of two assumptions either that a person will seek help when he needs it or that a person will not be able to utilize help unless he seeks it. At times it is bolstered with the proposition that a person's "rights" preclude help being given under any other circumstance. All three assumptions may be questioned but it is generally concluded that providing help under these conditions is much easier than any other.

(b) A need for help is inferred through observation or assessment and help is proferred. This frequently occurs in group advising, faculty

Figure 2. Schematic Representation of a Model for Teaching Behavioral Intervention

Political Science
Economic
Anthropoligical
Sociological
Social Psychological
rchological

4. Help
s Requested

. Help is
offerred

Help is
iposed

. Help is
iilt into
ie Routine

I
Individual

II
Group

III
Organization

Phase or Focus of Intervention

advising or in counseling relationships. Central to the concept being developed here is the assumption that a student or unit of the organization will not always be aware of his (its) needs or the resources available for development. Though we recognize resistance to such help usually runs higher, such involvement has the potential of facilitating the changes desired.

(c) An administrative official requires that an individual or group accept help and that they make some behavioral changes as a condition of continued affiliation with the organization. Discipline is the most obvious example of this type of intervention. Another example might be necessary curriculum changes which more nearly meet the goals of a college rather than the idiosyncratic needs of a faculty.

(d) Some form of intervention (generally of a consulting nature) is established as a routine function in facilitating the continuous development of individuals, groups or the organization. Such consultative relationships are common in business and are recognized as having power above and beyond that of an "in house" staff member with similar skills because of the objectivity of an outsider and his freedom to make constructive suggestions. A close parallel is the advisor to student groups.

Under each of these circumstances the key is the establishment of a "contract" for change -- more specifically a developmental contract in which mutually acceptable goals are negotiated (implicitly or explicitly). It is through this "contract" that the conditions are specified under which further interventions occur. It should be pointed out that in any particular instance all four of these conditions may exist in a complex and inter-related way as will be seen in the two illustrations provided.

The model provides that interventions may occur with individuals, small groups, organizations or sub-units of organizations. This range of interventions is necessary if the student development specialist is to be concerned with all of the possibilities for growth of college students.

Before continuing to a proposal for an organizational unit through which such a concept could be institutionalized I would like to illustrate the concept with two examples. Both examples include individual and group intervention within the academic enterprise itself to further academic goals through individual development. Korn (1966) described an example in which the staff of the counseling center at Stanford was requested to help with a course in the History of Western Civilization. This was a course taken by most freshman. The purposes stated in the catalogue were to familiarize each student with his heritage and to effect some behavioral changes -- specifically, the students' capacity to effectively discuss significant human problems with other students and with the faculty. Through such discussion the student was to learn to "think clearly and critically and express himself effectively."

The first task was to determine the extent to which students actually participated in the discussion. As might be expected 25-30 per cent of the students did not participate in the class discussion to their or the faculty's satisfaction despite the fact that they had CEEB scores which averaged over 600.

The second phase was to attempt to describe through psychometric devices the differences between participators and non-participators. The results clearly indicated that non-cognitive personality factors accounted for the differences better than did CEEB scores or High School GPA.

The third phase was to study the teaching process itself. Fortunately through modern technology fairly accurate representation of the process could be made. Class discussions were video taped. Then counselors led both the faculty and student into discussion of the teaching process as they experienced it -- what did and did not facilitate discussion? -- why were some students able to participate and why were others not? Not surprisingly, some of the students who were unable to participate directly in class were able to rather effectively enter into the critique sessions and develop the very skills the class had not been able to evoke. Others made appointments with the counselors for help on an individual basis.

The results were an increased sensitivity on the parts of both the faculty and of the students to the entire learning process and an involvement of both in extensive discussions about the process of education.

The second example is from closer to home. I mentioned that we had been working on the model of a more active counselor involved more directly in the development of students. Some of our graduate students are employed in the Student Personnel Office of the College of Education. (Sander, 1969) Through joint efforts of our department and that office the functions of the counselors there have been gradually changing.

Counselors in the Student Personnel Office had seldom become involved with the curriculum experiences of students in the college except as students initiated contact during periods of stress or as referrals were made by faculty who felt that all other efforts had failed. Most referrals were made as an outgrowth of case conferences called when a student was not successful in his student teaching experience. The

counselor was a "last resort" for changing the student's behavior or "counseling" him out of the program. This conference was often the only time counselors met with members of the student teaching staff.

Several instances of "successful" counseling in individual or group settings led to increased interaction with faculty as counselors conferred with supervisors and followed up on cases. From such discussions counselors tried to make earlier contacts with the supervisors and promoted a team within the college. Effcrts were also made to increase contacts with the advisors, lab instructors, and special staff.

One direction these efforts have taken is to join the supervisors in their seminar sessions with the students under their supervision. This year they are testing a move even closer to the scene whereby a counselor is spending one half day per week on location. Two schools in Osseo are involved and 15 student teachers. The students meet in a small group with the counselor who conducts communications exercises, human relations training, practice in giving advice, receiving feedback, etc. Their meetings are held in the morning before classes start. In addition to the student teachers, classroom teachers who are supervising and the principals of the schools have been invited to participate. The remainder of the day is spent observing the students teaching, observing the supervisor and the student as they discuss the formal rating of observation and providing feedback to both the students and the supervisor. The counselors make themselves available to any individual involved for service as requested. This quarter they are operating in an experimental way trying out the general approach and using open ended feedback from the participants to modify the approach. If results justify

continuation, they hope to move into a different setting with a more

closely defined format. There have been several by-products: invita-

tions from several faculty members to sit in on methods classes and give

the feedback on what was observed; requests from supervisors to discuss

contents of student's folders with them to interpret data and provide

suggestions on ways students can be helped early in the quarter; refer-

rals of students to counselors to work on behavior the superiors find

difficult to deal with or inappropriate within their limited contact;

several invitations to accompany other supervisors to observe particular

students or situations in which they want help; and an invitation to the

counseling staff to attend the retreat of the clinical experiences staff.

An equally important result is what has happened to the counselors in

the process. They have begun to ask such questions as "What stresses

do students undergo in the present curriculum?" "How can they be pre-

pared for the experience?" "What specific behaviors are identifiable

as likely to create problems for the students?" "Can we learn to share

our perceptions with applicants to the program and discuss the alterna-

tives (e.g., change of vocational objectives or a change in behavior)

in a helpful way?" "How realistic is our model of the good candidate

when we are using performance rather than persistence as a criterion?"

"Can we also assist the clinical experiences department in identifying

the qualities of good supervisors?"

A Proposed Organizational Model

In 1964 Cowley stated that any viable profession must have persons

who fill three different roles. He called these Logocentrists, prac-

ticentrists and democentrists. The term Logocentrists refers to those

concerned with theory building and testing. Practicentrists refer to those who practice the profession and democentrists refer to those who inform the general public about progress and problems. He documented the fact that our field has been dominated by practicentrists; that Logocentrists, if they exist at all, exist in allied disciplines, and that democentrists are almost nonexistent.

Since that time, as mentioned above, the literature of higher education, particularily studies of the impact of higher education on student development has increased substantially. There have been very few attempts to build student personnel programs on such knowledge. One very large project in which student development is the central focus of study reports:

> We see building and testing a model for more effective involvement of the study of student development into the mental health activity of college personnel staff to be vitally important to our project and to our profession...

> The consultative role of personnel staff is important for the mental health of the campus. For personnel staff in general to be viewed with creditability in this role, they must increasingly become students of students themselves and they must know how to draw on the information available in the information room and data files of the study of student development project (Kennedy 1969).

Admittedly the knowledge which could lead to a model of student personnel work as an integral part of the academic enterprise is limited compared to what we need to know. The study of higher education as a process is relatively new. With such limited foundations, it is certain that the segment of any program which accumulates and dispenses knowledge about the enterprise is at least as important as those segments which intervene directly in the life of the institution. Since

both are necessary and each depends upon the other there should be an organization which fuses them together in a systematic way and is an integral part of academia. In a large university it should be possible to create a single unit which systematically includes all three of Cowley's proposed roles. In smaller institutions consortia may be necessary to build a professional team capable of an effective program. However, it is not likely that an institution can avoid the inertia of rigidified traditional practices without building a program of self renewal that includes a means of accumulating the most current know- ledge, translating that knowledge into effective practice and informing the community of its own development. The Student Development Center described below is proposed as means of achieving these goals.

The Student Development Center

The title Student Development Center is not original. My particular construction of its function may be. To my knowledge the counseling

University

center at Colorado State ~~College~~ was the first to use the title and since then other counseling centers have changed their names and some functions. They have suffered from two factors relevant to my analysis of the problems of our field: (a) they can rarely assemble the personnel for the broad range of behavioral sciences necessary to adequately study the community, and (b) located in the area of student services they perpetuate the status quo view of an ancillary function. I would propose a broadly based center which would have the potential to facilitate the continuing evaluation of the university efforts to meet the needs of its students and simultaneously offer the necessary professional services to the various segments of the college which deal directly with students

including academic departments. By such an alignment I would hope to avoid, at the outset, the difficulties encountered by the Kansas State "Study of Student Development Project" namely the translation of their findings into student services.

Within the concept outlined above, such a center would have the following characteristics:

1. Administratively it would be under the joint responsibility of the Academic Vice President and the Vice President for Student Affairs. Such administrative alignments would communicate directly the centrality of the unit to the business of the college and would legitimize the involvement of the center in academic affairs.

2. There would be basically three kinds of staff in the center.

A. Behavioral Scientists representing those disciplines whose concern is human growth and development -- specifically psychology, social psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Other related disciplines such as physiology, economics, and political science are certainly candidates. These staff would have joint appointments with their academic department and the center. Their chief characteristic would be their interest in higher education as a focus for their disciplinary study. Their primary responsibility would be the application of their discipline to the processes of higher education. Studies of human development, organizational functioning, status, power, values and culture as they occur in the higher education community would be their scientific contribution.

On large campuses departments should be of such a size to afford one faculty member each who was interested in the application of his

discipline to higher education. A consortium of smaller institutions

may be necessary to accumulate the needed staff where the resources

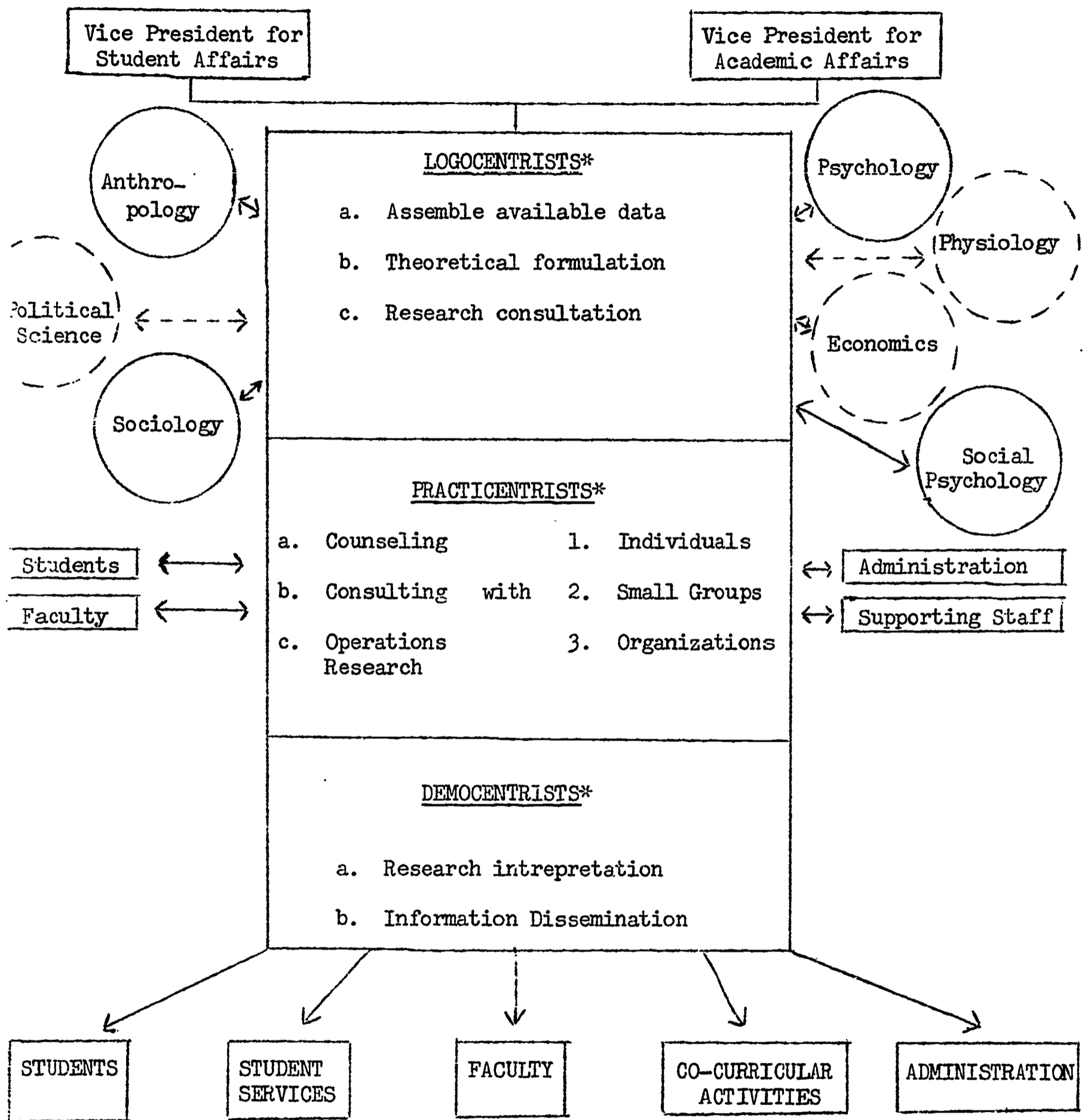of one college would not be sufficient.

B. The second type of staff would be those skilled in behavioral

intervention of the type outlined above. These practitioners would

carry the responsibility for counseling with individuals, for diagnosing

individual, group and organizational problems, for consulting with groups

(departments, social groups) to increase their effectiveness, for

analyzing learning programs and designing educational experiences.

Obviously, the current science is not able to provide intervention models

for all of the situations in which such persons need to function. The

close association of these persons to the research component of the center

would increase the likelihood of their continued growth and competence

from the growing body of knowledge and at the same time provide new

directions for research as identified through their clinical practice.

The symbiotic relationship of researcher, practitioner, and interpreter

would make possible the development of a new discipline of student devel-

opment which could become the major resource for the continued develop-

ment of the institution.

C. A third kind of staff would be concerned with interpreting the

accumulating knowledge to the college. A typical research report is too

technical to have meaning for program development.

Many factions of the college, however, would be able to make direct

application of available information once it was translated from the

disciplinary jargon into the language of the uninitiated. Such persons

might well be drawn from the communications disciplines. A journalist

who had a special interest in higher education would be a likely possibility.

Vice President for
Student Affairs

Vice President for
Academic Affairs

Anthro-
pology

Psychology

Physiology

LOGOCENTRISTS*

a. Assemble available data

b. Theoretical formulation

c. Research consultation

Political
Science

Economics

Sociology

Social
Psychology

PRACTICENTRISTS*

a. Counseling   1. Individuals

b. Consulting   with 2. Small Groups

c. Operations   3. Organizations
   Research

Students

Faculty

Administration

Supporting Staff

DEMOCENTRISTS*

a. Research intrepretation

b. Information Dissemination

| STUDENTS | STUDENT SERVICES | FACULTY | CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES | ADMINISTRATION |

*After W.H. Cowley - - (and for your amusement)

. Such a center would become the hub of student personnel activity
on the campus. To paraphrase George Miller (1969) such a unit on a
campus would enable us to "give away our knowledge of student develop-
ment." Units whose primary function was student services could look to
the center for information and appropriate consultation. Academic de-
partments would see as much value as those concerned with the "co-curri-
cular" and students could expect that attention would be given to their
developmental needs through direct service or indirectly through the
information and consultative services to other academic departments.

In Summary

I have attempted to show that because of a dearth of underlying
theory the student personnel point of view has not become an important
force on most campuses. Student services have developed which have
helped to facilitate a students' transition through college but rarely
have these been tied to the central intellectual or vocational function
of the college. At times they have been used to promote organizational
harmony rather than student development.

Because of the current student unrest and general social concern
with the whole of academic the time seems right for a reconceptualization
based upon a model of the psycho-social development of a student in the
higher education environment. A conceptualization that could serve as
a center for institutional self-renewal is needed.

By drawing from the behavioral sciences it is possible to conceptu-
alize higher education as a developmental community with available "power
factors" to promote desirable changes in students. The necessary infor-

mation to construct and revitalize such a community was outlined and led to a general model of behavioral intervention.

Because of the incompleteness of available knowledge it was proposed that the central unit of the community would be an "operational research" unit called a Center for Student Development. The key to the successful functioning of such a unit would be its administrative tie to both the academic and student affairs office. Short of such a major reconceptualization of student personnel work we may all fall down or burn -- the choice is ours.

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WHO'S MINDING THE STORE?

James F. Penney
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Parker's elaboration of the student development center concept points the way to a major re-alignment of student personnel work as it has been understood since the 1920s. If implemented, the proposal would dichoto-mize the field. There would be professionals and para-professionals. The former would be a group of highly-trained and skilled persons working in mental health-like consultative roles with clients from across the campus. Some members of the group might serve partly as therapists working directly with individual students. The professionals, while based in the student development center, would come from diverse backgrounds within the applied behavioral science range. They would be behavioral engineers whose locus of operation was the college campus.

The existence of the para-professional group must be inferred. It would include most of the people now known as student personnel workers. The impact of the professionals from the Center would serve to make para-professionals of those individuals who carry out the necessary functions that have traditionally been labelled student personnel work. Regardless of what happens to Parker's proposal, much of student personnel work will continue to need to be done. "Someone must mind the store." It may be done, however, by individuals whose functioning meets some of the speci-fications for support personnel as delineated in the APGA policy statement of 1966:

> ....The work of support personnel tends toward the particu-
> lar and is part of the larger whole only when viewed in
> conjunction with other functions and activities.

....Support personnel work is characterized by greater
dependence on intuitive judgment, little or no theoretical
background, more limited preparation, and less comprehen-
sive understanding of the total endeavor.

....Support personnel perform important and necessary re-
lated activities that are parts of the overall service.
(APGA, 1966)

It is reasonable to suspect that large numbers of student personnel workers

are actually operating at the level of support personnel as described by

APGA; Parker's projections would have the effect of enlarging that state

of affairs.

GENERALISTS AND SPECIALISTS

Student personnel workers have been viewed traditionally as generalists.

Training has been concentrated on the social sciences, supplemented by

study in administration, management, counseling, guidance, and human rela-

tions. A heavy emphasis on the philosophical position called The Personnel

Point of View has been typical. It has been possible and frequent for non-

trained individuals to appear to be qualified for the work because they

possessed an instinctive commitment to The Personnel Point of View. After

a few weeks on the job, many of them have functioned with an effectiveness

at least equal to that of persons officially trained in student personnel

work.

The value of the generalist and the point of view he can bring to

administrative and managerial tasks is an important concept in the era of

specialism. Parker implies that there may no longer be a place for the

generalist in student personnel work. Can the student personnel worker

expect to be accepted as professional when he performs tasks that appear

mundane compared to the glamorous activities of his specialty-trained

colleagues on the development center staff? Is it realistic to expect
him to deal with the variety of new tasks, goals and values represented
by the kinds of specialists Parker would place in the center?

The hope historically was that generalist preparation, plenty of
goodwill, and The Personnel Point of View would enable the personnel worker
to perform tasks for which no other expertise could be found. For long
years, the student personnel generalist was the only one available to deal
with all sorts of matters that were far removed from the interests of
academicians who were, nonetheless, ready to condemn his lack of theoret-
ical, research and teaching interests.

Now, however, the situation has changed dramatically. The campus has
become a desirable place for the practice of new and evolving specialties
that deal with many of the concerns with which the personnel worker wrestled
for years. Proposals such as Parker's are indicative of the level of in-
terest as well as the direction in which work with students on campus is
moving. Two processes are at work. The dichotomization of workers into
professional and para-professional groups means that the latter will remain
responsible for many of the traditional areas of student personnel work:
admissions, financial aid, record-keeping, dormitory management, food ser-
vice, uni·n administration and similar housekeeping functions. They will
mind the store. The proponents of the student development center see
these workers as among the major recipients of the consulting services
offered by the professionals.

THE FRACTIONATION PROCESS

The second process consists of a fractionating of the traditional
student personnel work field. The 1960s saw the growth or emergence of

numerous specialties all of which fall more or less within the province of student personnel work, while at the same time each provides a service reasonably distinct from the others. The formation of the Council of Student Personnel Associations (COSPA) symbolized this proliferation of occupational entities. Such groups as the Association of College Unions - International, the Association of College and University Housing Officers, and the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, by forming separate organizations, said that each found relatively little in the way of common cause with the others, and that whatever commonality was found would be peripheral to the main interest of each group.

Student personnel work, as exemplified by the COSPA organizations, is primarily an administrative field. One of the reasons for its lack of influence has been ambivalence on this score. Efforts have been made to hide the fact by changing the designation from student personnel administrators to student personnel workers, by de-emphasizing administration and management in training programs, while enlarging the human relations, counseling and developmental side of the enterprise. The fact remains, however, that as a group and a speciality, student personnel people are not trained to be counseling psychologists, are seen by students and employers as administrators, and hold jobs that entail heavy proportions of managing and administering. The primary goal and activity is not therapeutic intervention. It is effective control and management.

REAL DIFFERENCES

The Center for Student Development, in contrast, will provide a home for what may be called counselor-types. (Whether they are in fact counselors

or not is irrelevant.) The behavioral science consultants described by Parker will emphatically not be administrator-types. The work they do will not be housekeeping-managerial in nature. Often they will not even be working primarily with students, although many students will be influenced and involved. Such an agency, such personnel and such tasks will not offer employment for very many student personnel workers. On the contrary, quite different sorts of people who will do very different things from very different points of reference will be needed. While there may seem to be some similarities in the broadly-stated objectives of the two, they are likely to become much less significant as operations become clearer.

Most campuses need the kinds of functions and the kinds of competencies that the student development center and its specialists propose to make available. Most campuses also need effective personnel program administration. To view the former as related in kind to the latter is to limit the potential effectiveness of both. Student personnel work is not community mental health consultation, although it may contribute to mental health on campus. It is not therapeutic counseling, although some of its practitioners may be counselors.

Student Development Specialists must not be tied to student personnel administration, just as they must not be tied to deans of students or vice presidents for student affairs. Relationships between the two enterprises should be characterized by three S's: Support, Synchronization. . . and Separatism!

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The Student Development Model

and Some Unpleasant Realities

H. A. KORN

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

I believe that I am in fundamental agreement with what I take to
be Professor Parker's two main points. The Student Personnel Profession
has been ineffective in implementing the philosophy set down by the
articulate spokesmen of the field. I also agree that the Student Devel-
opment model based on a theory supported by evidence from the behavioral
sciences has the potential for re-vitalizing both higher education and
the Student Personnel Profession.

Given this much basis for understanding, I would like to focus on
several issues which Professor Parker seems to ignore. I say seems to
ignore because both the title of the paper and the concluding sentence
suggest that he is as worried about things as I am. The Phoenix is,
after all, a mythical creature. Real people are consumed by fire.

The source of my worry goes well beyond the failure of the Student
Personnel Profession. I believe that higher education in America has
never adequately come to terms with the goals it has set for itself and
the promises it holds out to the young people in our society. In other
times this kind of institutional incoherence led to student apathy or
a flight into fun. In recent years it has led to violence and contri-
butes to the general disillusionment that the students feel about our
society.

Perhaps the most penetrating criticism of the Student Personnel Profession is that it has helped higher education avoid looking at the consequences of the system that has evolved. By doing the work of the institution, in the sense of keeping students busy playing games or fighting arbitrary rules, the profession has contributed to the failure of higher education to meet its responsibilities to students.

I am aware that the word failure seems out of place when talking about an educational system that has experienced fantastic growth and productivity. The knowledge and the trained manpower it has taken to create a technological society should not be underestimated. I can be genuinely awed by the Apollo Man expedition and even by Disneyland. However, I live more constantly with observations of human frustration and the inability of large numbers of students to live more than routine and mechanical lives.

Higher education has always stated its goals in humanitarian terms and promised the student the intellectual stimulation which could enrich his daily life. There is always a committee at work within the University that is concerned with fulfilling the promises made in the College catalogue. Yet most of these efforts fail when it comes to producing significant intellectual growth and excitement in the lives of students.

For our discussion, it is important to distinguish between training and intellectual growth. I do not question at all the success we have had in training our college educated population to do a wide variety of exceedingly complex tasks. On the other hand I see little evidence of

a college educated population that is committed to critical thought, humanitarian action, or even complex pleasures.

I think there are two primary reasons for this failure in higher education to achieve its most overtly cherished goals. One is based on our failure to seriously examine the determinants of intellectual growth. The other is a more fundamental conflict about the role of higher education in our society. There is time to just briefly introduce both these perspectives. However, I want to suggest that they can both help explain past failures and provide alternative strategies for the hard work that lies ahead.

I would like to put forth as a working hypothesis, that intellectual development, as I am defining it here, involves the experiencing of anxiety. It involves giving up or temporarily shifting a familiar frame of reference for something that is new and perhaps totally unfamiliar. For reasons which we only partially understand, giving up a familiar frame of reference can lead to a profoundly disruptive experience of anxiety. Anxiety is such an unpleasant experience that nearly all of us avoid it if avoidance is at all possible.

I am suggesting that higher education fails to promote intellectual growth because it has never recognized the central role that anxiety must play in the process. The reasons for this failure of recognition are complex but must be understood in the context of the role that higher education plays in society. Although higher education has always had the philosophical committment to promote intellectual development there was

in fact little support for this in terms of the needs and standards of
the larger society.

I believe we are going through a fundamental transition in our
society and that the needs and standards of our youthful population are
dramatically different than in other times. Margret Mead in her new
book, Culture and Committment explores this perspective in some depth.
Mead argues that in stable societies the young can trust in the wisdom
and institutions of the older generation. In our present society and
in the future, the rate of social change has accelerated to the point
where the older generation and its institutions are no longer capable
of generating this trust. Rather than pat answers and reassurances the
young are looking for ways of dealing with a world of frightening com-
plexity.

Never before has a society been in greater need and never before
have large groups of students been asking for the opportunity to develop
their intellectual capacities. Higher education has in the past been
responsive to the needs of society when it involved producing more
knowledge and more trained people.

If higher education is going to be responsive to the present day
needs of society, then higher education must find ways of dealing with
the anxiety that is inherent in the task of developing students who are
intellectually prepared for the world they have inherited.

COMMENTS ON CLYDE PARKER'S PAPER
Burns B. Crookston
Colorado State University
March 16, 1970

There is no question that college student personnel work has
reached an historic point of transition, both in name and in direction.
In his paper Clyde Parker struggles valiantly to chart a course for us.
I like the direction, but I'm not sure we can negotiate the terrain.
I will react to three areas: the general problem, planned institutional
change and the behavioral intervention model.

The General Problem

Clyde Parker asserts that we as a "profession" have failed to make
it primarily because we used our energy on out-of-class activities, and
because we have not adequately built a theory or practice which has become
an integral part of the "real business" of higher education. Although I
agree we could have done more on theoretical development, in actuality
we haven't done badly at all. Whether written by practising members of
our profession or colleagues in the behavioral sciences the holistic
philosophy has, by and large, been descriptive of our purposes.

The problem is not so much in developing theory as in implementation.
We have not been in a position to carry out in practice what we professed.
Why? Because four decades ago we managed to get ourselves outside the
academic establishment. Being on the outside we have exerted minimal
influence toward shaping the direction of higher education. So being unable
to concentrate on the forest we focused our attention on individual trees.
In the application of our assertion of educating the whole student, we
settled for working with the out-of-class part of him. We sallied forth
bravely with philosophies and theories of student activities, student
government, counseling, residence hall living, placement, advising, and so
forth, even though these efforts might have been, in part, an apologia.

Only rarely were we able to utilize our skills and expertise toward making classroom and other academic experiences more relevant to the development of the student.

Those who worked within the academic establishment and developed the general education movement fared better. A number of imaginative programs emerged particularly after World War II, and flourished for a generation or so. But they too fell short because they, as academicians are wont to do, concentrated on teaching about the good life, leaving to the student the task of applying the concepts to his own developmental tasks. The student was taught to think effectively but not how to act effectively.

In addition to finding ourselves outside the academic establishment, we talked one game and played another. As noted above, we said we were concerned with student development, but we have concentrated our efforts, not on development, but principally upon remediation. While we extolled the holistic goals of learning in the university, even outside the classroom we did little significant teaching, training, counseling or intervening that was developmental or proactive. Most of our energy was expended on reacting to the student, whether he got into trouble breaking rules, got sick or got emotionally uptight.

In short, we have not been half bad in knowing how to design an educational machine. And we have proved to be very good machanics in repairing it when it breaks down. But we have been unable to develop and apply the engineering skills necessary to make the machine function effectively. We can develop these skills outside the academy, but ao apply them we must go further than becoming "linked to the central academic function of the college" as Parker suggests; we must become a part of that central function.

Planned Institutional Change

In enumerating five questions that need to be dealt with in developing
a theory for behavioral science intervention in higher education, I'm glad
Clyde Parker addressed three of them to the problem of planned institutional
change, now being labelled "organizational development" in industrial
and managerial settings. Although this concept was urged upon the student
personnel profession a decade ago,[1] only recently has the need to bring
about rapid and systematic change in higher education brought organizational
development into prominence. Not only do we need to apply and adapt business
and industrial organizational development theory and application models to
higher education, along with inventing new models, we also must build into
the student development apparatus organizational development specialists
who can, as Parker describes briefly in one instance, bring about significant
change within an institutional setting. Organizational development
specialists are also needed to retool and retrain in loco parentis oriented
staff to work effectively in a changing learning environment.

When considering the need for change we need not look far. At some
of the larger universities student personnel organizations are "Exhibit A,"
in creating their own bureaucracies with concomitant problems of depart-
mentalization, extension of Parkinson's Law, subversion of organizational
goals in order to maintain the bureaucracy, and generally resistant to any
change that might threaten existing personnel or the status quo. The
squeeze on the dollar alone in the years ahead will force us to examine our
own organizational structures and devise ways of reorganizing to get the
most efficient utilization of staff and resources - setting priorities,
placing personnel and other resources into project teams and program
teams, depending less on eliminating the bureaucratic structure, or
modifying it drastically to permit a flexible operation.

As Warren Bennis argues "nearly all of our institutions are failing today because they are living on the borrowed genius of the industrial revolution, when bureacracy came into its own." Bureacracy, Bennis continues, was an elegant invention in response to what was then a radically new age. But the passing of that age left bureacracy as a form of organization hopelessly out of joint with contemporary reality." The university is a beautiful example of how bureaucratization is preventing the flexibility and adaptibility needed to respond to the needs of our students and of society.[2] Developing the means and the skills to bring about planned systematic change in higher education must be at the head of our priority list for the 70's.

The Behavioral Intervention Model

Although the delineation of four kinds of help (requested, proferred, imposed, routine) and the differentiation among individual, group and organization, along with a convenient way of conceptualizing interactions along these three dimensions within the university environment are useful components of Clyde Parker's schematic representation of a model for teaching behavioral intervention, the model itself does not appear to emerge as dynamic as intended by the author in his description of it. I encountered immediate difficulty in trying, in fairness, to disassociate it from the earlier "building block" theory of education that forward looking educational thinkers have long discarded. Yet as I look at the model, I must confess, there it stands, a three dimensional monolith, a block of granite, rigid and unyielding with all the parts clearly identified and neatly fit into place, each with operational boundaries delineated, and no doubt, zealously guarded from intrusion and attack. It looks distressingly like that same interlocking system of bureacuracies through which individuals and groups wander aimlessly in search of the university that many of our students have railed against during the past decade.

Aside from internal interaction, it is not apparent in the model where this movement is to take place. Since Clyde Parker's main point of the schematic seems to be the establishment of a development "contract" for change, some directionality needs to be built into the model.

Two additional comments about those academic disciplines selected for the model: First, although I expect it was not Parker's intention, there is the appearance of assuming academic areas to be static, unassailable entities in themselves rather than dynamic, changing, interdependent organic components of a complex learning community. (Here Parker probably is drawing a more realistic model in describing what is, as distinguished from my desire for what ought to be.) Second, the choice of disciplines bothers me. To be sure the behavioral sciences must be the core group in providing the driving force toward the building of a learning community, but let's not exclude either deliberately or unconsciously (only behavioral sciences appear on both models presented) the rest of the University. Interdisciplinary projects involving engineering, forestry, sociology, business, psychology and other disciplines are already underway on some campuses and show increasing promise and utility, particularly as we look to a decade where the focus will be on the environment. In short, we restrict the capability of potential contributors if we allow the behavioral sciences to dominate our thinking.

Finally, I wish more could have been said about where student development fits into bridging the gap between the university and society. I expect as the students' learning experiences, whether for academic credit or not, increasingly move off campus into the larger community, we, as teachers of students on the one hand and consultants to other teachers on the other must play a major role in providing this linkage.

References

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