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URBAN ORIENTATIONS

A publication of the Center for Urban Affairs at the University of Nebraska at Omaha for the University of Nebraska

policy & advisory committee, center for urban affairs

D. Craig Affleck, Ph.D., Assoc. Dean, *College of Medicine*

Rena E. Boyle, Ph.D., Dean, School of Nursing, College of Medicine

Richard G. Guilford, Ph.D., Director, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Paul M. Kennedy, Ed.D., Dean, College of Education, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Robert B. Kugel, M.D., Dean, College of Medicine

Arlen E. Lutz, Ed.D., State Leader of Programs & Representative for Agricultural Extension Service

Homer L. Puderbaugh, M.S., Architecture, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Elroy J. Steele, Ph.D., Economics, University of Nebraska at Omaha

William T. Utley, M.A., Dean, College of Continuing Studies, University of Nebraska at Omaha (Political Science)

The Center for Urban Affairs is a joint undertaking of the College of Medicine of the University of Nebraska, Omaha, the Lincoln Campuses of the University of Nebraska, and the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Advisory Editors

Harl A. Dalstrom, Ph.D., Department of History, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Willis P. Rokes, LL.B., Ph.D., C.L.U., C.P.C.U., Department of Insurance, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Doreen Cronkite Simpson, B.S., Department of Journalism, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Editorial Staff

Editor: Wayne Wheeler
Managing Editor: Robert McGregor
Assistant Editor: Terry D. Humphrey
Layout/Design: David B. MacCallum
Artist: Tod Everingham

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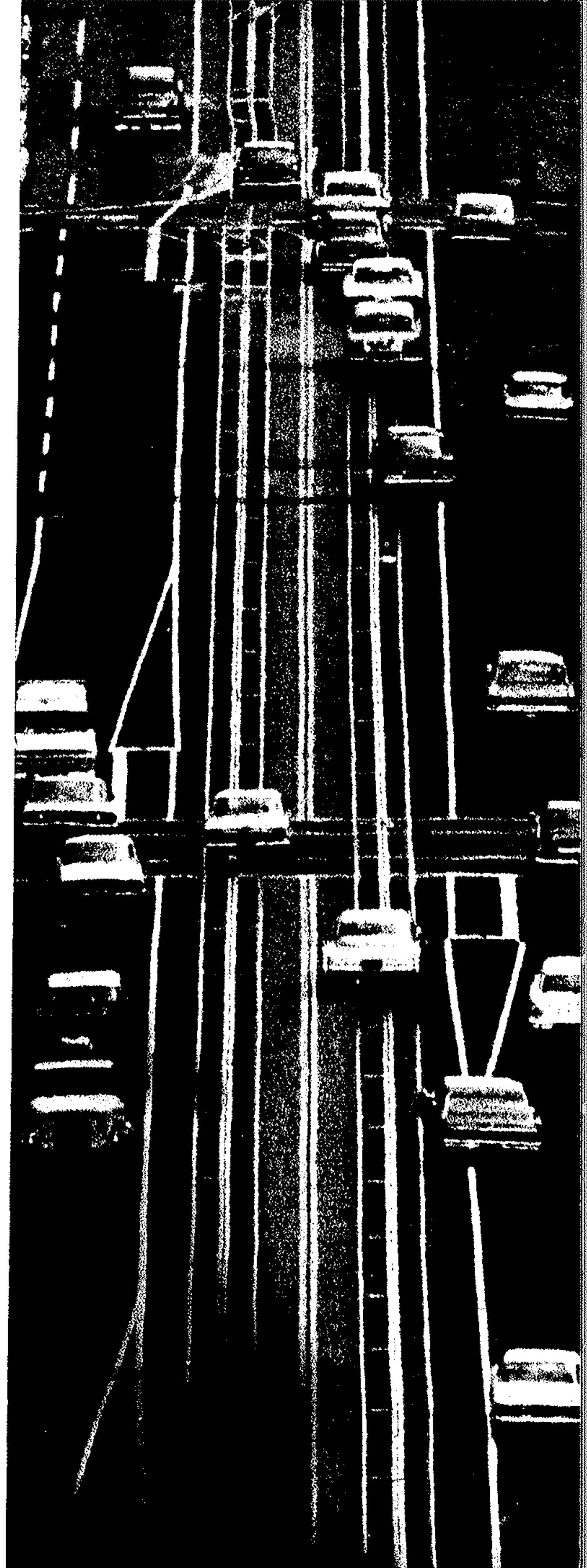


why: an urban coalition

John W. Gardner

All of us grew up in a simpler world than we face today. It was not a safer or saner or cleaner or better world – whatever it may appear to have been in the golden light of memory. I can cite social statistics for 20, 30, and 40 years ago and prove that the world then was in almost every respect more dangerous and difficult. But it was, in important respects, a simpler world.

In those less complicated days, each of us could stick to his special field without disastrous consequences for the society. Most of us even thought that was the only sensible thing to do. The businessman stuck to his business, the professional man to his profession, and the government official to administering the limited functions of government. The society was more loosely organized. Change proceeded at a slower rate. And in that slower, easier time, virtually no one paid attention to what was happening to the society as a whole, or to communities as a whole, or to our natural resources, or to any other over-arching question of the nation's future. Through our neglect, we were piling up serious future trouble for ourselves, but most of us were unaware of it.

Today our situation is radically different. The changes are coming with ever-increasing swiftness. The problems resulting from those changes are both baffling and dangerous. And the evils we neglected for so many years are catching up with us. No longer can each of us go our special way ignoring the whole community and the whole nation. If we are to gain command of the problems that threaten to overwhelm us, we are going to need all the talent, all the leadership this nation can provide. That talent is still not fully available today. Each man crawls into the well-upholstered foxhole of his professional specialty and assumes that someone else will tackle the devastating larger problems of the community. But no one will. No one wants to think about the bigger tasks. So the bigger tasks go untended.

We have all experienced at first hand the gravity of the problems facing our cities. We have seen the decay of the city's physical plant, we have breathed the polluted air, we have been caught in the snarled traffic, we have read the crime and narcotics statistics, we know of the breakdown in the schools, in the supply of housing, in the delivery of health services, in the city's fiscal affairs. Any one of those problems can be understood as the product of special circumstances. But taken together they reflect one powerful reality: most of our cities have lost command of themselves and their futures. They cannot appraise their problems. They cannot act to solve their problems. They stand helpless as their future is determined by multiple, uncoordinated Federal programs, by patterns of migration, by the uncontained hostilities of warring groups within the community or by empty circumstance.

To solve the problems of the cities, to reverse the trend toward chaos, to recreate livable and governable communities will be a gigantic task. There is no possibility that our cities can solve their problems unless the major leadership segments work together. City Hall cannot do it alone. Business, labor, and minority group leadership must find means of joining hands in coming to the aid of the city. The universities, the churches, the schools, the professions – all have their roles to play. To bring about such collaboration among all leadership segments is the purpose of the Urban Coalition.

Some people think of the Coalition as just another organization tackling the tough urban problems of the day. But it is unique. Our distinction is that we bring together segments of American life that do not normally collaborate in the solution of public problems.

Local coalitions have been organized in 48 cities. As in the case of the national, each local organization includes representatives from a variety of leadership segments in the community. The coalition principle requires that minority groups be represented in the effort to solve community problems. And such representation is itself a step toward solving the toughest problem of all – effective dialogue between minority communities and the dominant elements in the city. Communication is difficult. It requires hard work and patience and imagination on the part of every person involved. But there is no alternative, unless we are willing to see our cities torn apart. Communication *is* possible. We have proven that over and over again.

When a crisis strikes it is too late to begin the long arduous process of building effective channels of communication. If there is to be fruitful collaboration

This article is adapted from a recent address by Mr. Gardner

between black and white communities it must begin and be tested in a non-crisis atmosphere. Then when trouble strikes, if it does, men who have learned to work together and trust one another can go into action together. Once the significant elements in the community begin to work together, once they begin to think as a community and act as a community, all kinds of things are possible. Then they can give city government the kind of intelligent support it needs; they can make the needs of their city felt at the state and Federal level; they can see how all the various Federal, state, and local programs fit together; they can provide strong citizen support for Federal programs that are working and strong citizen criticism of those that are not working. And most important of all, perhaps, they can look ahead.

No top executive of a large corporation would consider himself a responsible man if he failed to have an effective forward planning operation that charted the future of his company. But as a citizen, it never occurs to him that the community he lives in is utterly lacking in any such forward planning. The only part of the typical American city that is charged with any responsibility whatever for the common future is local government. And it is underfinanced, understaffed, hemmed in by archaic administrative arrangements, and, as a consequence, often relatively impotent. The mayor or city manager is not given the money or the manpower or the authority to do the job. Most influential citizens do not understand what he is up against and do not particularly want to learn. The process of coalition is possible only if the most influential citizens in the community lend their strength and their presence, if all concerned are unsparingly honest in facing the toughest issues.

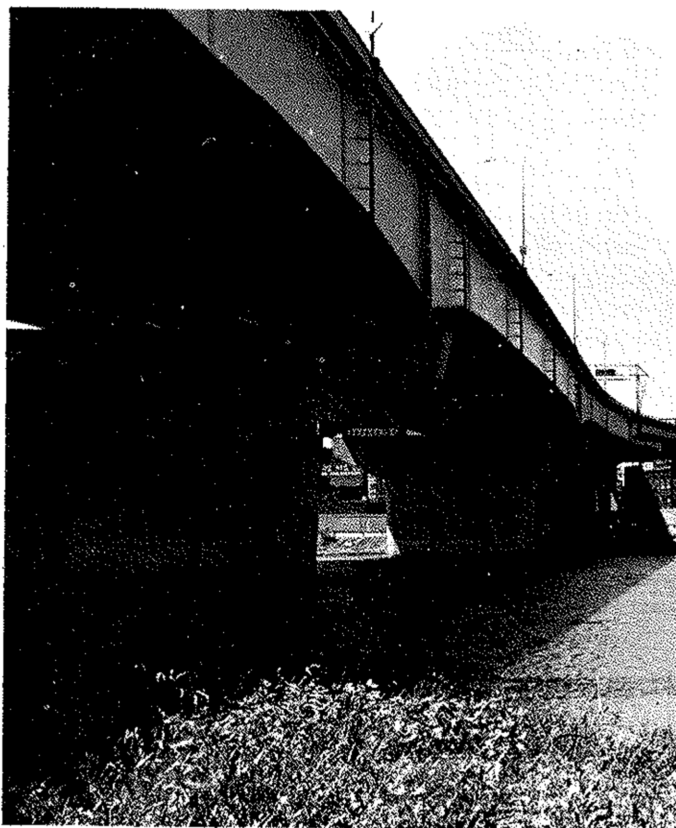
It is characteristic of our system that a great deal of the significant leadership in our society lies outside of government. But today that nongovernmental leadership is rarely an effective voice in the larger issues facing our society. That can and must be remedied. We need, outside of government, an effective body of leaders, local as well as national, who are committed to preserve the vitality and stability of the community despite the ups and downs or partisan conflict. We are going to have to drop the long-established habit of taking our system for granted. We have a wonderfully complacent notion that if each of us minds his own business well, the system will take care of itself. But it is not taking care of itself.

We are going to have to do something we have not done since the late 18th century when a planter named Washington, a printer named Franklin, a lawyer named Jefferson, a banker named Morris, and others of varied occupations made themselves experts in statecraft to found a new nation. So must a lot of us today think hard about how our nation can be made to work. We are badly out of practice. But we had better start.

The Center for Urban Affairs at the University of Nebraska at Omaha is an integral part of the three-campus University of Nebraska – the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, the University of Nebraska College of Medicine, and the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Established in 1963 at the Municipal University of Omaha, the Center's main purpose is to serve in any way possible the urban areas of Nebraska. Its goal is community service as well as advanced research, educational, and teaching projects.

The Center hopes to make available to the public the large pool of talent associated with the University of Nebraska system through its sponsorship of short-term workshops, conferences, and seminars in fields like education, planning, health, urban law, and religion. It is also designed to communicate its findings through its use of experimental projects and by its development of a diverse group of urban experts to serve the community.



In the area of education and teaching, the Center provides both research opportunities for graduate students (for personal research as well as employment) and field work experience and internships for undergraduates. It hopes to interest the faculty of the University as a whole in urban affairs and to continue and expand the number of interdisciplinary urban orientated seminars and undergraduate majors.

In research, the Center faces its greatest challenge. The Omaha metropolitan area is weak in "hard data" and very little is really known about the city – even such a basic statistical tool as a cost of living index is lacking, although the Center is in the process of developing one. But it will probably take the Center at least 5 more years before it can make a meaningful dent in this problem, although it has published numerous monographs on the Omaha area already.

In the area of basic research, the Center contributed to the knowledge and theory of urban affairs and in the more traditional disciplines upon which urban studies are based. In applied research, perhaps CUA's most important contribution to the community, the Center seeks to answer those requests for information from the public dealing with transportation, pollution, housing, health, business mergers, and trade and service area definitions.

The Center also organizes and sponsors projects designed to aid the community or special organizations within it in the determination and alleviation of specific problem situations, and in gathering further data to help in the evaluation of various on-going programs within the community. It also seeks to assess and objectively evaluate strategies put forward for effecting change in the urban areas of Nebraska.

Created as a clearinghouse and inventory of urban information, CUA is readily available to personnel in the University of Nebraska system. It is headed by Professor Wayne Wheeler of the University of Nebraska at Omaha Sociology Department. Administratively responsible to the president of the Omaha campus, Wheeler also teaches at the Omaha branch of the University, although the bulk of his time is spent as Director of the Center. He is responsible for the Center's policy and programs, and is in charge of its staffing.

The Director of the Center is aided by the Urban Affairs Policy and Advisory Committee, which is made up of 9 members, 3 from each of the University's campuses, who serve 3 year terms. The Committee meets regularly with the Director of CUA and, in addition to acting as an advisory body, can recommend Center policy. Several members of the Committee serve on their own campus' Urban Affairs Committee, and they channel relevant information and concerns to the Center.

Nebraska, Urbanism, and the Two Party System

Bernard Kolasa

The phenomenon of urbanism has had an impact on almost every phase of human activity in the twentieth century. Urbanism's effects on the political process are wide-ranging and the "crisis of the cities" is only one aspect of the urban impact.

One political dimension of urbanism that is perhaps less well known concerns the apparent correlation between urbanism and two-party competition. As the degree of urbanization and industrialization rises in a particular community, there is, generally, a corresponding rise in the degree of competition between the two political parties. This development is by no means consistent from one locale to another, but increased competition in the political realm does tend to accompany a growing urbanization process.

This connection between the economic system and the political system can be explained on the basis of the effects of urban development. Urbanization usually brings economic and social conditions that are conducive to, although by no means guarantors of, a more highly contested political process. Simply stated, urbanism brings heterogeneity — a diversity in the wide range of social and economic variables — and increased heterogeneity provides a base of support for all shades of opinion along the broad political spectrum, a base that both parties can tap.

Heterogeneity also requires a political organization which can unify this diversity to a level sufficient for meaningful political activity. Political parties are well suited to this task, particularly in the American context, because of their willingness to bring a conglomerate of diverse interests under their banner.

Although Nebraska is generally considered a rural, agriculturally-oriented state, it has not been immune to twentieth-century urbanization trends. All the various indicators of urbanism, when applied to the state, make it indisputable that Nebraska is slowly becoming urbanized. For example, the 1960 census found Nebraska classed as an urban state because more than half of the population lived in urban areas (as defined by the Bureau of the Census). This is a continuation of a trend evident since 1940, and the 1970 census should show a further movement of the population toward urban areas.

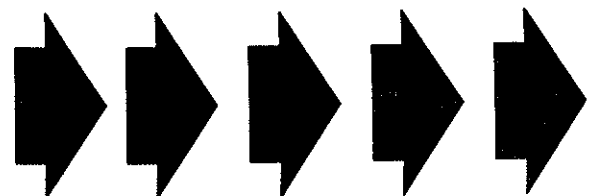
The census figures also show a steady growth of Nebraska's largest metropolitan areas — Omaha and Lincoln — and a stability of growth or decrease in the smaller cities of less than 5,000 inhabitants; and a limited growth trend can be seen in the smallest cities, those with a population of less than 2,500 inhabitants. The latter is tied to the population distribution between rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban. The thirty year period 1930-1960 saw a sharp decline in the rural-farm category, a rise in the urban, and a small increase in the rural-nonfarm. Thus, while there has been a great exodus from farm to city, there has also been a substantial movement to the small towns.

Another indicator of urbanism is industrialization. Nebraska was founded as, and continues to be, an agricultural state. Nevertheless, a growing diversity of the state's economic system is now evident. About 12 percent of the work force is now employed in manufacturing, compared to 21 percent in agriculture. Of the total work force in manufacturing, however, nearly half are employed in "food and kindred products." Thus, industry in Nebraska is perhaps more precisely termed agro-industry, since a large percentage of it is in food processing.

Nebraska industry is also rather localized (largely in the Omaha-Lincoln area) and small — only 7 percent of the total industrial establishments in the state employ more than 100 persons, and 70 percent employ fewer than 20 people.

This brief survey of the population base and economic structure of the state indicates that, although urbanism is a distinct characteristic of Nebraska, it is of a rather recent nature and, in some respects, has had only minimal impact.

It is not surprising to find that urbanism in Nebraska has not had a substantial impact on the political process. Measuring the level of "party competition" is no easy matter, largely because of the absence of a universally accepted measure. Nevertheless, whatever yardstick one might wish to use, the increase of two-party competition in the state is, at best, only minimal. The table, in fact, shows an actual decrease in competition between the period 1910-1936 and 1938-1966.



REPUBLICAN-DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH SUMMARIZED: 1910-1966

	1910-1936		1938-1966	
	Republican	Democratic	Republican	Democratic
Average vote for Governor (% all elections)	48.39	47.87	57.06	41.54
Average vote for Governor (% non-presidential)	48.19	49.31	56.91	41.16
Minor officials (% all elections)	51.26	44.95	60.43	39.43
Minor officials (% non-presidential)	50.95	45.13	60.91	38.81
National officials seats won (number)	49	47	64	9
State officials seats won (number)	50	34	66	9
Legislative seats won (number)	963	763	....	....
Legislative seats won (percentage)	55.69	44.13	58.90[a]	30.00[a]

[a]Though the members are elected on a nonpartisan ballot, these figures of party affiliation were gathered from biographical data, past partisan activity, or previous partisan offices sought and/or held. Determination of political affiliation was accepted only upon firm evidence and in cases of doubt was held as "unknown" (10.4 percent of the total individuals who have served in the Unicameral fell into this category).

A comparison of two smaller, random recent periods would show a smaller Republican dominance and a greater Democratic share of the voter's allegiance. Nevertheless, the level of competition is at best only slowly rising, and it is far from the level that one would expect in glancing at the state's registration figures. These show a statewide edge for the Republicans of 52-46; but recent Democratic performance falls far below this level.

Another factor which must be considered in examining party competition is the electoral system itself. One of the most important ingredients in political competition is the presence of offices over which the parties can vie. The electoral system of Nebraska is such that a large number of these offices have been withdrawn from partisan struggles, more so than elsewhere, by the device of nonpartisan elections. On the state level, only executive offices are partisanly contested; judicial and legislative offices are contested without party labels.

While the impact of nonpartisan elections is variable from one political context to another, and there is by no means a consensus as to its effect on party strength, there seems to be little question that in Nebraska party competition has suffered from nonpartisan elections. Both parties find it difficult to construct viable organizational mechanisms, denied the "raw materials" of political offices to use as the meaningful incentives and rewards so necessary in the recruitment process. As the minority party, the Democrats appear to be more hurt by this than the Republicans, since Republicans can count on winning most of the few partisanly contested offices available.

It would seem that the contributions which urbanism can make toward increasing the competitiveness of the political party system are retarded in Nebraska by the nonpartisan electoral system. As urbanization becomes more pronounced in the state, increasing competitiveness in the political realm should follow, but the handicaps placed upon the parties in the form of the paucity of elective offices at the state level tend to neutralize to some extent the political effects of urbanization. Increased competitiveness in the political process will probably be a very gradual development in Nebraska.

The reader has, no doubt, discerned the acceptance of the assumption that competitiveness in the political process is a goal to be desired, and it would seem to be proper to justify this viewpoint. Simply stated, the American democratic political process is better organized and operated in the context of a competitive two-party system than any of the other possible alternatives. As Frank Sorauf put it in his *Party Politics in America:*

> Two competitive parties provide the alternatives in candidates and issues on which a meaningful democratic choice depends. Parties contending for public office may indeed provide the only set of clear, dramatic political alternatives which the less sophisticated voter can grasp and on the basis of which he can act. Similarly, the party-organized alternatives in Congress and the state legislatures provide the chief institutional sources of opposition, dissent, and policy alternatives. Furthermore, the presence of one competitive party imposes limits on the other; each must then so tailor its candidates and its programs to minimize the defections of its workers and its voters to the other party. The presence of the real alternative is as sharp a limitation, as sure a guarantor of responsibility, in the political system as it is in the economic marketplace. The party that does not have to reckon with the responsiveness of the other is less compelled to consider the reactions of its democratic "customers." Briefly put, the *quality* of the competition in the American party system depends upon its *quantity.*

The conclusion emerges that if increasing urbanism in Nebraska is to have the political impact generally associated with this development, it would be beneficial to have state legislative offices partisanly contested. This would be beneficial to the entire Nebraska political system, not only because it would aid the political parties, which it certainly would, but because it also would contribute to the increase of competitiveness in the political process. And increased competitiveness is firmly linked to a more effective and responsible democracy, and few would dispute the desirability of this goal.

KUCHEL: on crime & punishment

Gaylon L. ("Pete") Kuchel, 45, is the head of the University of Nebraska at Omaha's Department of Law Enforcement and Correction. He is a native of Iowa, and holds his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Iowa. He is now a doctoral candidate in sociology at the University's Lincoln campus.

Kuchel has had a varied career in law enforcement, and has chaired his department since its creation in 1963. He serves on a host of governmental and civic committees: he is a Police Training Consultant to the City of Omaha, and sits on its Personnel Board as well. Kuchel is a member of the Omaha Region Police-Community Relations Advisory Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and Consultant and Director of the Omaha Police-Youth Community Relations Summer Camp.

On the state level, Mr. Kuchel serves on the Nebraska State Parole Board and on the Governor's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. Nationally, he is a member of the National Advisory Committee on Law Enforcement Education and a member of the Grant Review Panel of the Law Enforcement Education Program.

At the University, Kuchel teaches courses on juvenile delinquency and criminology, and his program currently has about 130 students as majors; the Law Enforcement and Corrections Department graduates approximately 65 students each semester.

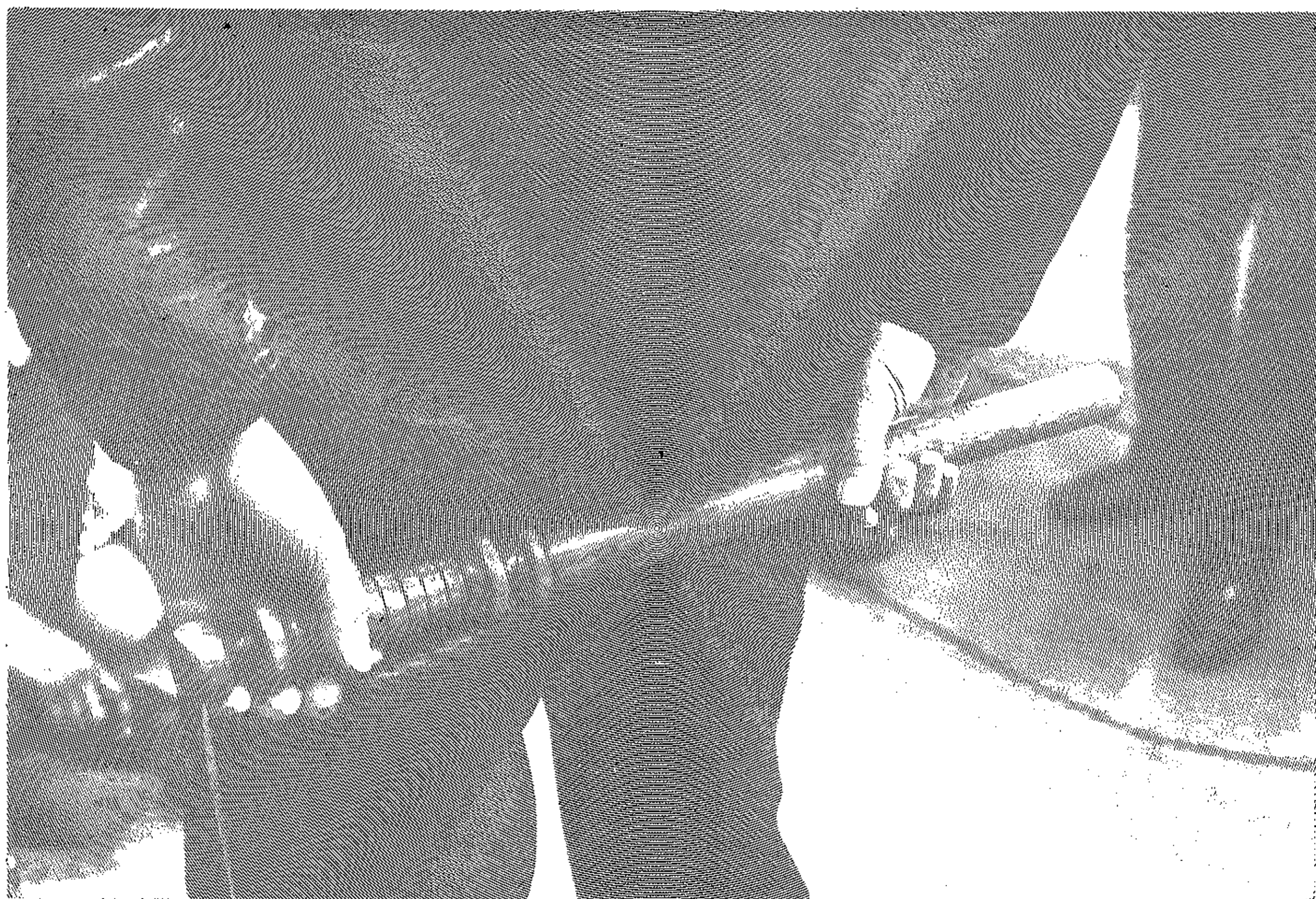
At the time that the Supreme Court's "Miranda Decision" was drawing grim warnings from local and national police representatives, you said that the decision would not impair efficient law enforcement. Do you still feel that way today?

Yes, I do, and the primary reason is that the Supreme Court decisions have forced the law enforcement organizations to professionalize. And the other reason I say this, and I have watched it fairly carefully over the years, is the fact that the number of convictions have not gone down . . . We're still convicting as many people in our courts as we were previously, so apparently the police are performing their job more effectively in keeping with the requirements of the law.

Do you think our crime rate is increasing faster than our population?

I suppose it is. It is very difficult to tell because we don't have any accurate statistics about how much crime is committed. We don't have mandatory reporting any place on the national level and that which we do have at state levels has only been in effect a relatively short period of time. The reason I say that crime is increasing is because generally, when you force people to live in close proximity to one another, there's just a greater probability of conflict between individuals. This, plus the fact that we're now a very affluent society and there are just more things to steal. So we see home burglaries, for example, increasing more rapidly than any other kind of crime because people have more things in their homes to steal and they spend less time at home, hence it becomes a nice place for a thief to work.

Is this country spending enough to maintain an adequate law enforcement program? Attorney General Mitchell's predecessor once said that we as a nation only spend a total



of 4.2 billion dollars a year on all aspects of law enforcement and correction, as compared to more than 8.5 billion on cigarettes and over 12 billion on liquor.

In all probability we aren't spending enough, but I'm torn a little bit here. I'm probably traditionally orientated to the idea that you can do a better job with more. I'm kind of backing away from that point because I've seen several communities where they actually reduced the size of their police force, and incorporated modern techniques in the whole operation and have done a more efficient and more effective job. Of course this wouldn't necessarily mean that you would reduce costs. You could probably reduce the number of people and yet increase costs by paying good salaries and hiring competent, qualified professional people.

The Nixon Administration has asked congress for some new legislation to combat crime; the Attorney General, John Mitchell, wants legislation which will authorize preventive detention of up to 60 days without bond or bail, and a "no knock" rule for police armed with a search warrant. Will this sort of legislation help law enforcement agencies?

I don't know whether or not it will help the law enforcement agency per se. I think that one of the things we would obviously see is fewer commissions of offenses by individuals who are on bail awaiting trial. We have noticed a trend, particularly in our major cities, where an individual has been arrested and charged with a serious offense, and subsequently is released awaiting trial on a sizable bail bond that he will commit a series of crimes for which he is not held accountable. He knows full well that if he commits subsequent offenses, in all probability he won't be charged with them. The reason for this is that our courts are so overloaded and our prosecutors are so overworked that they can't file a charge for every single offense that every person actually commits. If they attempt to do this, they just run out of time, they just can't get the job done. So the person commits a series of offenses, we lock him up again, and then finally bring him to trial and try him only on the original charge, so that the crimes he committed between the time he was originally released on bail and is finally brought to trial are just forgotten. Under the proposed legislation the person who has a record of repetitive offenses already might not be allowed to post bond or if he does commit another offense after he is allowed to post bail-bond, his bond will then be cancelled and he will automatically be incarcerated until such time as he can be brought to trial. Of course I don't see anything tremendously wrong with this, there is some protection for the offender involved, provided of course, that we have expediency of trial. Of course its constitutionality is yet to be tested but it does protect society. Now so far as the

no-knock rule: Fine, this has been around for some time. It's been substantiated by the court in a couple of places. However, policemen aren't very prone to use it. Because there is an inherent, deadly danger in kicking-in somebody's door and coming through unannounced. And most of them won't use it for this reason.

Do our law enforcement officials correctly understand the nature of political protest today? Many men, like Prof. Jerome H. Skolnick of the University of California, Berkeley, and Ramsay Clark, don't think so. How do you feel?

No, I don't think they really do. And I think part of it is because of this traditional orientation that I mentioned previously. The police have not yet accustomed themselves to the idea that protest is a legitimate way of bringing attention to an undesirable situation or an undesirable condition that a large number of people feel should be corrected in some way. Since protestors generally feel that they are voiceless in so far as the normal or regular political processes are concerned, these people gain considerable attention to their cause, whatever it might be, by getting out in the open, and getting a lot of publicity, which they most assuredly will in this day of almost instant communication.

Political protest serves the purpose of informing the public about many things that they may not otherwise find out about. And I think the law enforcement organizations generally look upon this as disorderly forms of conduct, where in fact, if it is legally done, it is a very legitimate form of conduct that is provided in our constitution.

Why do you think that the FBI and most police officials support a "conspiracy" interpretation in regards to disorders whether on the campus or in the ghetto?

For two reasons, I think. Number one is that this is a good technique to use to actually legitimize a position of being opposed to any kind of conduct you care to define as aberrent. Secondly, because there has been some involvement on the part of individuals who have had certain undesirable political connections with some of the protest movements. That doesn't mean that it's a communist conspiracy. But in some instances, you do find that funds from communist-front organizations have been used to support some of these activities. And most assuredly there probably have been a variety of individuals who have been affiliated with so-called communist-front organizations that also get in protest movements of this particular nature. But I don't think in general that the majority of these are, in truth, solidly oriented to an attempt on the part of the Communist party to overthrow the constituted form of government that we have. Generally, these are protests, which may develop into riots, that have a cause that is traceable to injustices within society that is relatively inflexible to change.

Do our law enforcement officers reflect the views of the society that employs them?

Total society, no, but when you look at the way in which law is made, by representatives elected by the people, and since most of the people who do the voting are middle class or upper class people, the laws then that are passed tend to reflect the class bias of the individuals who are making the law. And our law then tends to be slanted against the people in the lower socio-economic groups.

Of course, another thing that you have to look at is that we draw our police officers primarily from working class as opposed to middle class and lower class society. These are the individuals who are, shall we say, on the way up, so far as the socio-economic hierarchy is concerned. In their attempt to move up, they're attempting to identify more with middle-class; or at least away from lower class, and currently attempting to identify as a profession and as such they have not learned the necessary degree of objectivity that is required of the professional. And until they reach this particular point, you see, they haven't even begun to become professionalized.

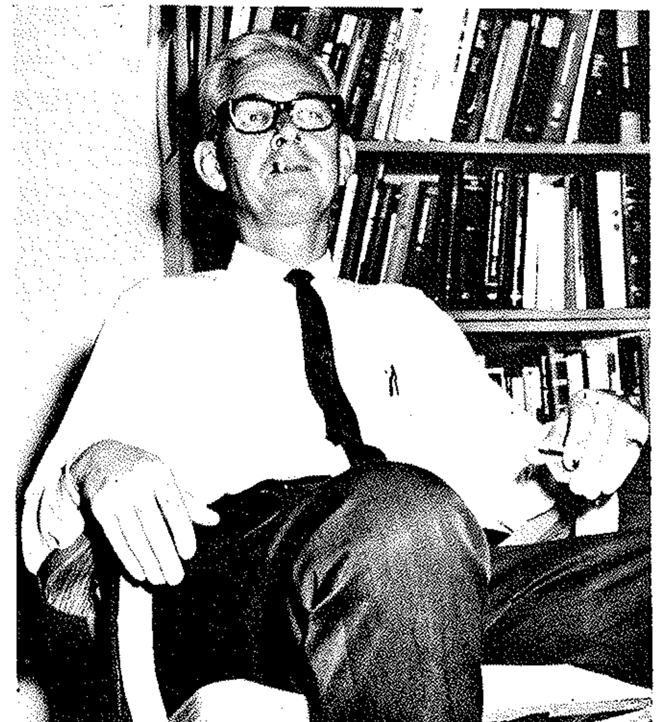
Another interesting thing about law enforcement is the fact that this is the only so-called profession, and it hasn't reached professional status but many people refer to it as such, it's the only "profession" in which an individual comes to the job with nothing at all. He must meet some minimal educational and physical requirements, generally it's a high school education and being a sound physical specimen, he doesn't have to know a single thing about the job he is going to perform. We teach him everything after he gets on the job, and now he prefers to call himself a professional. If you take a look at the other professions, an individual must go through a rather long period of rigorous academic training, pass a series of rigorous examinations, and prove that, in fact, he has professional knowledge, then go through a rather extensive internship, then we say he is ready to perform under rather close supervision. Law enforcement has a long way to go before it reaches true, professional status.

What do you think of the increased political activism of police?

I'm opposed to it primarily because the police from a political perspective are in a very sensitive position. They are supposed to be the objective enforcers of the law, the objective protectors of all citizens. When they assume a political orientation it seems to me that they're becoming involved in policy-making decisions and they have too much of a vested interest in the results. You see, law enforcement is a little bit different from most kinds of jobs in that we have to have the people on duty 24 hours a day. It must be run as a semi-military organization. We don't have time to sit down and arbitrate with each individual policeman before we send him on to the job because generally the job has to be done immediately. As they become more politically active, it seems to me that they are reaching into policy-making areas and we just can't allow this sort of thing in the whole field of law enforcement. It is necessary for the job to be done, the orders to be carried out regardless of how this individual officer feels about it. When we get too much political activity involved in police work, it tends to center itself on certain groups in society so that the law has a tendency to be applied in a non-uniform manner and when this occurs, we are going to abridge, seriously abridge the rights of large groups of people and in all probability these are again going to be the individuals I refer to as the voiceless people in society.

Is our society asking too much of its policeman? Aren't many of the problems that they are now confronted with really more "social" than they are "legal"?

Oh yes, this is true, because in a sense, we have a propensity to always look to the police to handle any new kind of problem that arises in society. The police are still oriented toward "law enforcement" rather than toward the newer idea of being with these new problems, primarily because they don't want to assume them, they don't know how to assume them, and most of the people who are in law enforcement work aren't properly trained to handle some of the new requirements that are being pushed upon them. Also, as our cities have become larger, problems tend to multiply more rapidly than population grows. The law



enforcement agencies are asked to perform more and more services with a force that hasn't been allowed to grow rapidly enough to handle the voluminous amount of activity they are supposed to do. I would think that something in the vein of the recommendations that were presented in the President's Crime Commission report, the use of what they call sub-professionals, can do a great deal to aid law enforcement agencies. They're going to have to turn, and we see in many, many cities where they are, to using civilians. We need non-sworn personnel to perform a lot of functions that were formerly performed by the sworn officer.

If you have a professionally trained policeman, he should be out doing police work; not working in an office; answering the phone, filing, working on records. This sort of work can be handled by clerical personnel. It boils down to the idea of an adequate use of professional manpower, which ties back in to your police administrator just not being quite as capable as he should be.

Would you give us a profile of the ideal policeman in regard to his education, training, personality, etc.?

I would say that minimally, for the policeman, I'm thinking of the uniformed policeman, as an entrance requirement, we should have an individual who has completed four years of college, preferably with a degree in law enforcement, police science, or whatever you care to call it. In my way of thinking a degree of this nature incorporates a large amount of work in the behavioral sciences. Of course, I'm assuming that he's past 21 and a good physical specimen. He should be very carefully examined from a psychiatric point of view. He should go into intensive pre-service training that would last a minimum of 400 hours of in-service training. He should have a probationary period of not less than one year, preferably two. Following the completion of probationary training during which period he should be carefully watched and carefully evaluated not only on his performance, but also re-evaluated by a psychiatrist and any questionable cases should always be resolved in favor of the department, in other words we don't take chances. This means we are going to get very stable, well-educated individuals who have a thorough or as thorough an understanding as we can possibly give them into all of the ramifications of human behavior at all levels of the socio-economic strata.

What is the biggest problem confronting law enforcement agencies today?

More than anything else, I think it's tradition. They are traditionally entrenched and because of this entrenchment, and because of the kind of rules that surround men in police work; once you get a man and he's past that probationary period, for all practical purposes you're saddled with him until he retires. We're going to have to live through a generation to get rid of some of the people who have this strong, traditional orientation that says a policeman's sole function is to "enforce the law" as he interprets it. I think this probably causes more difficulty than any other single thing. One of the other big problems which ties right back into what I just said is the fact that we are not well-equipped at the command levels to perform professional law enforcement in the United States. And because we do tend to promote from within the department, based to a great extent upon time in service, we promote individuals who are not as well qualified as they should be. We haven't been running law enforcement on a business-like basis in many, many places in the United States and because of this there's a tremendous amount of wasted manpower and money and as a result we're performing not nearly as good a service as we could be.

Do you think that it is possible to de-esculate the weapons build-up between the police on one hand, and criminals on the other? Would it be possible for our policemen to go unarmed, as most do in Great Britain?

I don't really think that would be possible yet, because both the law enforcement officer and the criminal have traditionally gone unarmed in England; primarily because weapons were difficult to come by. Now, here, weapons are very easy to get. We also have a general attitude in this country of an "old frontier tradition", where individuals are more prone to violence than the English are. By the same token, since World War II, and even more so since the conclusion of the Korean Conflict, police in Great Britain are having more difficulty with the armed offender than they ever had previously.

We must remember, I think, that the weapon is a policeman's tool. It is just one of the tools of his trade, just as the scalpel is a tool of the surgeon's trade, and it should be used in a certain way, at a certain time, under certain conditions. It's not to be used indiscriminately.

Would you comment on the state of prisons in the United States today?

Generally speaking, if you were to rate them on a scale where the ideal prison would rate 100, you would find very few that would rate above 70 and a majority that would rate below 50. Our prisons, generally, are places of "cold storage" where we send individuals to get them out of our hair. During the period of time that they are incarcerated, the only thing we really do is to teach the man to be a good inmate. Prison is a separate society, totally different from the society in which any individual has been socialized. We

send him to prison; we make him live by very rigid rules; he is carefully disciplined.

It's not too difficult to live in prison and keep out of trouble, because somebody's telling you what to do all the time. Rules are laid out for everything that is to be done. A man learns to live while in prison by learning exactly those things which are opposed to what we believe should be attitudes and behavioral traits of a good citizen. We believe that he should be ambitious. We believe that he should exercise imagination and ingenuity and work hard. Prison does everything just the opposite. There's really no such thing as hard work. He is not allowed to exercise imagination or ingenuity and yet we will keep him there for three to five years and turn him out in most of the cases with no supervision at all and expect him to come back, as a law abiding person, into the very environment and situation in which he got into difficulty in the first place. And we don't want him. We don't want him to come back from prison. We'd like to send him some place and forget about him. When he comes back, there is no one here to meet him or to help him.

One of the first things I learned in the study of sociology is that man is a gregarious animal. He must associate with those individuals who are willing to receive him. Man cannot live alone, and the man coming back from a penal institution is going to drift into association with the people who are not going to question his background, or who have similar kinds of backgrounds. Since we are not willing to help we're not willing to receive the individual back; generally within a relatively short period of time, he'll be back in trouble with the law.

the W st. CLINIC

Furnishing "one stop" medical and mental health service in a disadvantaged Omaha neighborhood now provides University of Nebraska medical students with experience in the developing specialty of Family Practice.

The W Street Clinic, at 3018 W Street in South Omaha, is the brainchild of Robert W. Kugel, Dean of the College of Medicine. In operation for little more than a year, the clinic is becoming a successful part of the University's medical program.

Started on what Dean Kugel calls "a shoestring," the primary function of the clinic is to serve the College of Medicine as a teaching facility. But, in addition, the clinic provides much needed low-cost medical attention to the disadvantaged of South Omaha.

Medical facilities traditionally available to the poor have been discontinuous, available only in emergencies or in over-crowded out-patient clinics. Kugel hopes that the W Street Clinic will enable the College of Medicine to better understand what the community is and enable it to work with the disadvantaged in a more effective manner.

The clinic is located within a block of a large, low-rent housing project in an area where, according to the 1960 Census, roughly forty percent of the population have an income of less than $4,000 and the average house is valued at less than $11,000. The economic future of the area is grim. The meatpacking industry, once South Omaha's chief employer, has or is withdrawing, and nothing has yet replaced it.

The W Street Clinic is administered by Will Johnson, the assistant administrator of University Hospital, and is operated in cooperation with the State Comprehensive Planning Agency, United Community Services, Greater Omaha Community Action, and the Creighton University College of Medicine. The clinic is located in a former house and its 1,300 square feet of space contains a reception room, three examination and treatment rooms, a nurse's station, a work area for doctors, a small laboratory, and a special room upstairs for psychological consultation. Six physicians now work at W Street, two in pediatrics and four in psychology and mental health.

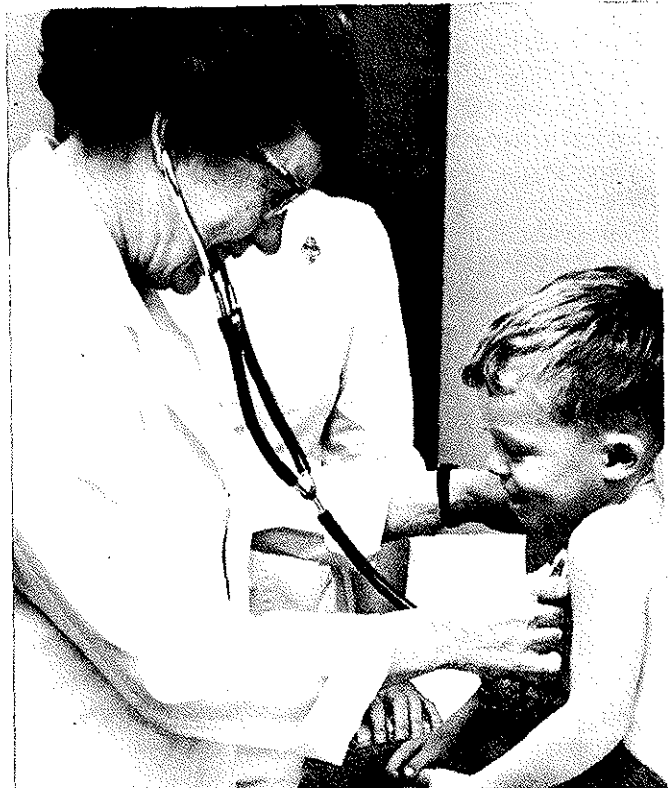
According to K. Patrick Okura of the Nebraska Psychiatric Institute, who is in charge of the mental health programs undertaken by the clinic, W Street deals primarily with children who are having difficulty adjusting to school and serves as an outpatient facility for former mental patients. The clinic also has psychiatric and psychological teams working with local school and church groups and is in the process of working with the area's teachers on a psychological sensitivity program designed to acquaint the teachers with the emotional problems of their students.

At the present time the W Street Clinic offers clinics in obstetrics and gynecology on Fridays from 1 to 4 p.m., pediatrics daily from 9:30 a.m. until noon, and mental health Monday to Thursday from 1 to 5 p.m. Mental health consultations are available every Friday afternoon.

Unfortunately, according to Dr. Milton O. Kepler, one of the pediatricians assigned to the clinic, W Street is still crisis oriented in that most of the forty patients who come each week are walk-ins. They tend to arrive frightened, and only when their ailment has failed to correct itself. This makes the task of the clinic far more difficult, and one of its main problems is in patient education, convincing neighborhood people of the value of constant, comprehensive medical care.

But the W Street Clinic does not exist, at least in principle, just for the poor. It is for all Omahans, especially in the area of comprehensive family care.

In this new aspect of medicine, the University of Nebraska College of Medicine is one of the nation's first medical schools to establish a Division of Family Practice, the first specialty to be approved by the AMA in 20 years. The program, which is headed by Dr. Francis L. Land, the former administrator of Medicaid, is closely linked to the activities of the W Street Clinic. *Continued on page 33*



Some Awkward Questions

William Rea Keast

It seemed to me that we could sort out the problems of this conference by addressing questions about urban studies to the faculty, to the university administration, to the government – whether municipal, state, or federal – to the society at large, and, of course, to directors of urban studies centers.

First, to the faculty. The question is, "Why did you wait so long?" Why has it been necessary for members of university faculties, for such an extended period, to be so insensitive to the urban problems that presented themselves not last year, not two years ago, not five years ago, but decades ago? and why has it taken so long for faculties to see the necessity for some kind of distinct organization and disciplinary address to problems of an urban society?

And, having waited so long, why are faculties so tentative about what they are going to do about urban problems? In the traditional organization of the university we have committed ourselves deeply to an array of subject matter which has, in many ways, far less claim upon our interests, our concerns, or, indeed, upon any rational appraisal of the nature of man and his functioning in the modern world. We cling to schemes of organization which are traditional – they may or they may not be outmoded – but they are not, at any rate, very inventive. The schemes of organization in the university are almost all related to the development of individual skills and the preparation for individual accomplishment in our society.

Look at the organization of our professional schools. One is struck by the fact that they are all organized around the performance of particular professional roles which have already been authenticated by the reward and social structures of our society. We have Schools of Engineering, Pharmacy, Law, Medicine, and Theology – indeed, Law, Medicine, and Theology provided the original medieval basis for organizational structure of our universities. We have almost no schools or colleges which are organized not around the prospective individual roles of persons who may function this, that, or the other way in society, but around subjects or topics of great importance whatever the role may be that one undertakes to perform.

When our young colleagues say to us that our universities and colleges are but semi-detached adjuncts of the current establishment, they are obviously correct. Not that we have designed things this way, but this is the way universities have grown up. If, in fact, we wish to modify the character of our society, then clearly we have to re-think the organizational structure of the university. We must ask our faculties (with respect to urban studies and with respect to other studies of broad reach – not necessarily focused upon the professional preparation of individuals for a particular role already identified in society), "Why did you wait so long?"

My second question is addressed to university administrators. The question is, "Do you mean it?" "Are you, are we, am I" – you can re-phrase the question in any way you like – "Are we just engaged in a public relations stunt or in a means of assuring maximum leverage on applications for federal grants?" The question to every university administrator about urban studies is, "Are you serious? Do you mean it?" Now, I know how to ask that question but I don't really know how to answer it. The only way that I can think of that really involves answering it in serious fashion is by adopting some kind of measuring rod of seriousness. University administrators have, on the whole, only one kind of measuring rod. It isn't an intellectual one, it isn't moral, it isn't physical. It is, of course, monetary. The only measuring rod that we actually have to work with that seems to make any difference is how much money out of the budget we are prepared to put up.

So when one says, as I do to administrators like myself, "Do you mean it?" I mean, do you have any money to put behind your intentions about urban studies? I have a strong suspicion that a great many of us in university administrations are playing a game about urban affairs. We really don't mean it if the test of meaning is how many of the dollars the university has are we willing to put into urban studies. I suspect that this conference ought, among other things, to concern itself with that question. I do not believe that any university program can have the freedom, the flexibility, the autonomy, or the capacity for criticism that a university program must have if it is not funded from the university's own resources, and is not dependent upon the casual or *ad hoc* availability of money from this, that, or the other source. If the university puts its own money into a program we take on a chastening obligation. We have to take the responsibility for what happens. If it is someone else's money – "soft dollars," as we can always say – then we are simply adhering to the ground rules of the program, whatever they may be. *We* didn't think it up – *they* thought it up in Washington, or in Lansing, or wherever it may be. But if the university puts its own money into the program, then the university is responsible for the guidelines, the method, the supervision, the results. And that, of course, is what the university ought to be doing. If we are not prepared to do that, we might as well forget about the whole thing.

Now, a question to government – municipal, state, national. Since government is so diversified, I don't know quite how to pose the question. So I have chosen a metaphoric way of putting it, and the question is: "After

This article is adapted from a recent address by President Keast

crop price supports, what?" I mean by this question to emphasize the fact that while we ought to ask faculties why they have waited so long, and university administrators whether they really mean it, we ought to ask governmental officers and representatives when, if ever, these problems are going to emerge in a significant way as a priority of governmental concern. "After crop price supports, what?" is just a shorthand way of asking "When will we establish in the order of national priorities a place for the urgent concerns of today's urban society?" There are thousands of examples like crop price supports, and you can all name them for yourselves. It is one thing to write legislation on these subjects and to provide authorizations for a wide variety of projects, and an entirely different one to keep the governmental machine going in the same old way while giving serious, new thought to the support for urgent priorities that we are concerned with in this conference.

My next question is addressed to society as a whole. It can be put this way: "Are you really ready to be urban?" One of the reasons for our late discovery of urban studies and one of our great difficulties about persuading legislators and, indeed, ourselves about the importance of urban studies is that the overwhelming bulk of the American population does not view itself, and is not prepared to view itself, as an urban society. We have been hypnotized, or victimized, by a set of myths about American society – and I suspect that is true not merely about American society but about most societies – that place emphasis upon non-urban characteristics and non-urban modes of organization. There is no way to account for the behavior of most Americans except on the basis of the fact that they do not wish to be city dwellers. And since they obviously do not wish to be city dwellers, but must be city dwellers, the great question for society is, "Are we ready to be an urban society as everyone says we are going to be?"

We are, today, an urban society which is not functioning as such. Unless we transform many of our basic attitudes and habits, it is perfectly obvious that we will not be an urban society. We will be a non-society collected in massively concentrated population areas. But we won't be an urban society until people learn to live in an urban environment. We won't be an urban society until we acquire the habits that are needed to take the maximum advantage of living in an urban society, and to make the maximum contribution to living in those environments. If we don't do this, we will continue to be fundamentally rural-oriented, or non-society oriented, conglomerated in "urban settings." How are we going to find out whether we are really ready to be urban? To my mind, this is a more difficult and more serious subject than any other we have to deal with. It goes to the question, among others, of what urban studies centers in universities and schools might do about educating us. The basic education of all of us has been and continues to be essentially non-urban. It does not reflect any significant component of urban life as a basic constituent.

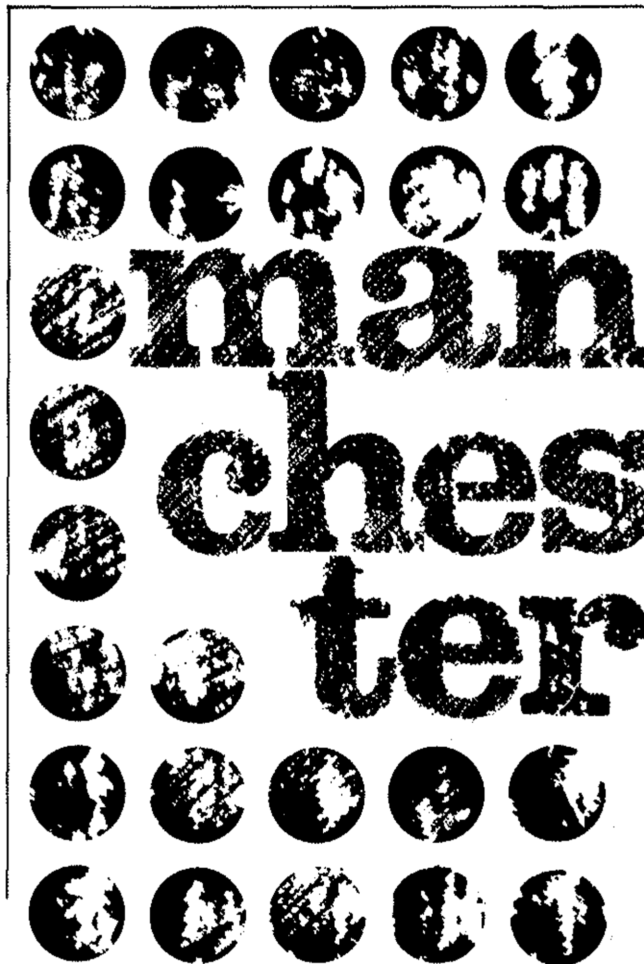
Having asked the faculty why they waited so long, the administrators whether they really mean it, governmental officials whether there is anything left over after the support of agricultural prices, and society if we are ready to be urban, I turn for my last question to the directors of urban studies centers. My question to them is, "Do you have a subject? Is there anything that urban studies centers can or should teach, undertake research in, propagate in the community at large, which is distinctive enough to justify the organization of an urban studies center?" I think one can build a reasonably good case that there is no such subject. There isn't anything at all that urban studies centers study that should not have been or is not being studied, not as centers, but in presently organized departments. And I don't mean urban sociology or urban economics. I mean the true subjects of urban life, which are justice, humane conduct, equity, civility – all the attributes which should characterize the behavior of educated men in any society.

In a certain sense, the invention of urban studies centers is an admission of the terrible inadequacy of our university educational system. But the question of whether there is a true urban studies subject, to my mind, is a profoundly interesting one.

I would have said that rural studies might well be a topic of almost equal importance of an urban university as urban studies. If we really knew why rural communities did not work in this country, we might know more about why cities do not work. The question of urban education has to be answered in large part by looking at rural education, especially in small towns in the south. The subject matter for an urban studies center ought not to be thought of as restricted to the obvious phenomena which present themselves to our eyes as we go down the freeway, or as we walk – or decide not to walk – down the street in Detroit. The basic questions which present themselves, I think, for an urban studies center may be the questions which have been studied or which should have been studied all along, and which have to do with the basic conditions of education, of equity, of sensitization to the character of one's environment, of responsibility for oneself and for one's neighbors. These, I think, are the true urban problems. It is just conceivable that if we narrow them down by our attempt to identify them as urban problems with a specific reference to urban studies centers, we may suggest to ourselves and perhaps to our students that these are not topics of transcendent interest and of general responsibility for all departments of the university.

I don't know whether these questions are embarrassing or not, but they are intended, at least, to be reasonably broad spread. I say once again to our faculties, and I view these questions as interrelated, "Why did you wait so long?" To administrators, "Do you really mean it?" To our governmental friends, "After crop price supports, what?" To society as a whole, "Are you really ready to be urban?" And to you, ladies and gentlemen, "Do you, in fact, have a subject?"

THE ARMS OF MANCHESTER.



Manchester is big, sprawling, old and ugly. At Gorton, which was annexed by the city in 1890, the long multi-tiered rows of houses squat, drab and blackened, nearly absorbed by the low-lying soot and smog. Greenheys, a once lovely inner suburb, now slowly rots, a slummy, almost forgotten place. The Cathedral and the ugly Grecian Town Hall, when visible, are begrimed and black-faced from the murk. In Salford, to the east of Manchester but scarcely distinguishable from it, the lovely classical spire of St. Phillip's Church has been burned black by the air, and the sun seldom shines on it.

People either love or hate Manchester. Disraeli's Coningsby saw the place as "the most wonderful city of modern times", and thought that "the philosopher alone" could comprehend its "grandeur" and the "immensity of its future." Carlyle had mixed emotions about Manchester, but he looked upon it with something akin to awe; *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* saw it as the "incarnation of progress."

On the other hand, de Tocqueville, like Jane Jacobs today, was not impressed with the place, and thought Birmingham much better in all respects. The famous General Napier, who was stationed in Manchester in 1839, called the town "the chimney of the world," and claimed that it was the personification of the "entrance to hell." J. B. Priestley saw the place nearly a hundred years later, and it impressed him as a "vast, greedy, slovenly" town, an immense "Amazonian jungle of blackened bricks" where the ugliness was so complete that it was "almost exhilarating."

Manchester is also well known for its weather. Priestley, whose poetic soul was revolted by the constant drizzle, asserted that the city's weather was "a popular joke," and that the eternal cold and damp, the "turgid sooty gloom" coupled with the warehouse atmosphere of the town, made it appear even worse. A shower, he wrote, would rapidly turn into an "apparent" downpour, "thickening and yellowing and blackening mere patches of mist into blankets of fog." And no other modern European city has been defended from its weather in the pages of *Encounter,* as Manchester has by the noted Mancunian and historian, Marcus Cunliffe.

The Romans built a fort on the site that was destroyed by the Danes in 870; the town was rebuilt by Edward the Elder in 920.

The Normans found the place poor and sparsely populated, but Manchester prospered enough for Henry III to grant it an annual fair in 1229.

Manchester began its expansion in the sixteenth century, and its prosperity was founded upon vegetable cotton. It rapidly became the center of the midlands textile trade, and John Leland, the antiquarian, could inform Henry VIII that Manchester was "the fairest, best builded, quikkest and most populous towne in all Lancashire."

The introduction of the art of calico printing in 1690 marked the beginnings of Manchester's real economic importance, and the cotton industry was booming by the end of the eighteenth century. With the advent of the industrial revolution and readily available, practical steam power, Manchester's economic future was assured. Coal could already be cheaply brought to the city, and in 1789 the first steam engine for the spinning of cotton was erected in the city.

Samuel Crompton, in his famous census of 1811, reported that the town now employed more than 25% of the cotton workers in the kingdom, and the area of and around the town contained more than 300,000 people.

By 1851 what is now known as the Lancashire Conurbation (south-east Lancashire) had a population of more than one million, and ten percent of Manchester's population was Irish. More than 80,000 Mancunians were employed in the cotton industry alone, and the city was one of the most important industrial centers of Britain. Manchester's rail network was largely completed by this time, and it had efficient rail links with London, Liverpool, the Black Country to the east, and with Newcastle.

Unfortunately, this tremendous prosperity and growth had its seamy side and all the social and economic problems of modern industrialism existed in "Cottonopolis." A Canon Parkinson noted that "There is no town in the world where the distance between the rich and the poor is so great, or the barrier between them so difficult to be crossed." As the historian Asa Briggs has pointed out, there was "no sympathy between the upper and lower classes" in early nineteenth century Manchester. As a contemporary issue of *The Times* noted, the workers' wretchedness "maddened them against the rich."

De Tocqueville, like Engels, was horrified at the inequities that existed within the city, and he felt that Manchester turned its working men almost into savages. The city was also an exceedingly unhealthy place in which to live. In the *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842) Parliament learned that the average age of death for mechanics and laborers and their families in Manchester was 17; in rural Rutlandshire the average age of death for the same groups of people was 38.

When Queen Victoria visited the city in 1851 she was appalled by what she called the "painfully unhealthy-looking population." By the end of the century conditions had improved, but the life expectancy for men in the city was now only 29. For the rest of England and Wales the average age of death was 44.

Manchester is still essentially as the Victorians built it. The famous Manchester Ship Canal was constructed to eliminate the Liverpool brokers and shippers and to cut the cost of imported cotton. While it never served its original aims, the Ship Canal has increased the economic diversity of the Manchester area, and served to enlarge its industrial base. This is especially true because, in 1896, two years after the Canal was completed, construction on Trafford Park, Britain's first and largest industrial estate, was begun.

Manchester is now Britain's third largest city. But the decline of the textile industry is the city's main industrial problem.

Manchester covers more than 27,000 acres of Lancashire, and in 1961 it had a population of just over 661,000, down about 42,000 from the 1951 figure, and more than 100,000 below the 1931 figure. The Greater Manchester area declined over 17 percent from 1931 to 1961.

The city is, however, really even bigger than Greater Manchester. The area in and around Manchester is now officially known as the South East Lancashire Conurbation but, as T. W. Freeman has pointed out, this is a misnomer because the area increasingly includes the northern portions of Cheshire as well. The proper name for the conurbation ought to be the Manchester Conurbation.

The Manchester Conurbation includes the towns of Manchester, Stretford, Salford, Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, Oldham, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stockport, and Altrincham, and is gigantic. In 1961 it covered 379 square miles of Lancashire and Cheshire and was inhabited by nearly 2,500,000 people. It employs roughly three-quarters of a million people, and is divided into 52 separate

administrative entities. In 1951 it exported (at 1951 values) over 300 million in goods.

The Conurbation may be even larger than its official boundaries. 2.25 million people live within ten miles of the city, and 4.5 million within twenty miles; the industrial vastness of Liverpool/Merseyside is less than forty miles away. As long ago as 1915 Patrick Geddes, in his *Cities in Evolution,* pointed out that the entire area of south Lancashire was one great industrial-urban area, and found it very much like Greater London in its sprawling complexity. He saw Liverpool, in spite of the Manchester Ship Canal, as the conurbation's port, Manchester as the market, and the factory towns "the workshops" of the area. Accepting Geddes' contention today would link the two official conurbations of Manchester and Merseyside (Liverpool and its environs) into one vast megapolis with a total population of over three million.

The Manchester Conurbation is divided into two parts by industrial reality: cotton in the north and east, and newer industries in the south and west, especially in Trafford Park, which now employs over 60,000 workers. In the east and central portions the coal and textile towns have been steadily losing population for the last thirty years, and the total amount of work available for their increasingly elderly populations is steadily declining.

The Manchester Conurbation is a depressed area, but with a difference: it has been able to attract some new industry, although it has not been able to significantly increase its employment.

The area's main economic problem is the textile industry, which has collapsed. Mill employment is down nearly 75 percent since 1918. The coal industry is in equally poor condition because of the exhaustion of its reserves and the rapidly increasing costs of production.

Even the newer industries that have located in the area are lagging when compared to their counterparts elsewhere in Britain. They have provided the area with an uneven boom at best, since they tend to be located in the southern portion of the conurbation.

Yet all of this does not mean that Manchester has not been able to adjust to the collapse of its textile industry. It is now an area of commercial stability rather than expansion, but the town is prosperous: the activity of the Port of Manchester more than doubled between 1948 and 1958, as did exports and imports.

The economic structure of Manchester is a result of its nineteenth century development. It is the commercial and administrative center for the northwest region of England and Wales, particularly so even today for textiles. It is the cultural, entertainment, and university center for south Lancashire and northern Cheshire, a main center for heavy industry, an important port, a regional and national transportation center, and a regional governmental departments center.

The largest single employer in the conurbation is service industry, which employs well over 50 percent of the area's work force. The metal manufacturing industries employ more than 20 percent of the area's workers, and the mining/quarrying and mining/processing industry employs about 6 percent of the work force.

There are over 5,000 employers in the conurbation, and unemployment is no longer a serious problem. Well over 300,000 men are employed in Greater Manchester alone, and 47 percent of the women in the conurbation over the age of 15 are employed within the area. Most of the men find employment as operatives, especially in the metal and engineering trades. Transport, commerce and finance, and unskilled occupations make up the rest of the employed occupations. But the Manchester Conurbation does have a labor shortage: it is critically lacking, at least in comparison with England and Wales, in professional people.

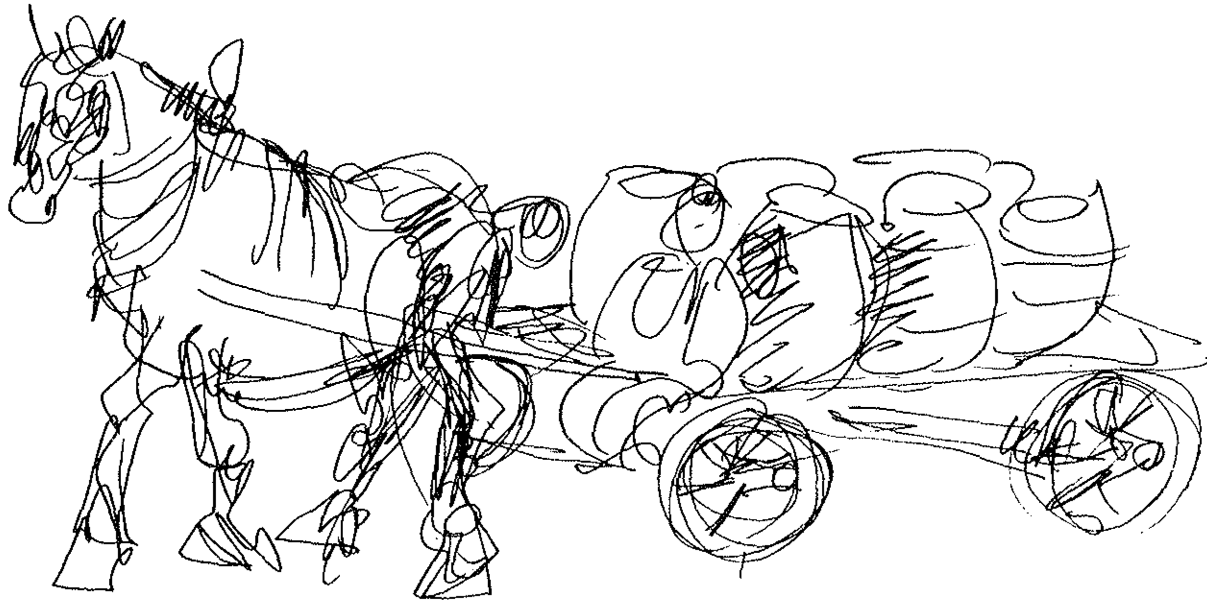
Manchester, like all great cities, has a host of social and environmental problems that demand immediate solution. The Greater Manchester Area desperately needs new and remodeled hospitals, more and better roads, more schools, and new housing.

Housing is Greater Manchester's major socio-economic problem. Housing conditions are horrible. In 1944 Manchester discovered to its horror that some 90,000 of its houses were without any sort of bathtub, and in 1961 the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, in its *Housing in England and Wales* (Cmnd. 1290) estimated that 68,000 occupied houses in Manchester were unfit for human habitation. Today about 250,000 people – roughly one-third of the city's population – are living in houses that were declared unfit for human habitation well before the turn of the century. At least 83,000 new dwellings are needed to replace existing sub-standard housing and to eliminate shortages.

One of the prime causes of the housing situation in Manchester is the mixed or conglomerate development that exists within the town, especially at its center. Mixed development – housing, factories, and warehouses side by side – was erected in the city in the absence of any effective zoning laws, and most of it was built before 1840. Places like Cheetham Hill, Hulme, Rusholme, and Charlton-on-the-Medlock are congested with houses, factories, warehouses, and shops.

One of the most curious aspects of the housing situation in Manchester is that while the population of the city fell over the period 1931-1951, the number of dwellings increased by more than 20 percent, from 600,000 to 738,000.

One of the main reasons for the loss of population in the area is the continually low rate of life expectancy in the conurbation. Today the mortality rate of the district is about 20 percent higher than it is for the rest of England and Wales. According to Dr. Charles Metcalfe Brown, Medical Officer for Health for Manchester, one of the main causes for the high mortality rate within the city is the rate



of infant mortality caused by the lack of adaquate housing and an equally persistent shortage of hospital beds.

Manchester is attempting to deal with its housing crisis. The City Development Plan envisions a twenty-year push against the slums and mixed areas within the city. The plan, which is very flexible and is subject to review every five years, was approved by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in 1961.

The city's goals and priorities are to rehouse "a great portion of its people, to rezone many areas in order to eliminate the mixed industrial-commercial-residential areas, to redevelop much of the city, especially central Manchester, and to improve the appearance of the city, primarily through the construction of new buildings.

Between 1955 and 1960 it removed over 7,700 sub-standard houses, but at this rate of clearance, it will take the city until 2005 to free the town of the slums that existed in 1955. Manchester is also developing new housing within the city and constructing new blocks of modern apartments at St. George's, Hulme, and Callyhurst.

Manchester is attempting to purchase land outside the city to house its people, but it has run into some problems. However, several housing estates have been acquired that will eventually house more than 70,000 people, and some construction is under way.

Salford hopes to use rezoning as its main weapon against the horrors of mixed development; it plans to remove 20,000 slum dwellings in a twenty-year period.

Between 1955 and 1960 the city demolished over 3,000 slum dwellings, but in the next two years only managed to add 408 demolitions to that total. But Salford has eliminated the Trinity slums, which were the worst in the city, and is building blocks of apartments like those at Kersol, within the town. They are also opting for high-rise developments and overspill housing, chiefly at Little Hulton, which is in the County, where more than 3,000 units have already been constructed.

Manchester was built around cotton, and cotton is not profitable anymore. "Cottonopolis" grew rapidly in the nineteenth century, and in a fifty year period it grew by more than 600 percent. And most of the city is still like the Victorians built it.

Because Manchester had little effective local government until 1838, when it became an incorporated town, much of its development was not even remotely planned, except for immediate profit. And the horrors of unrestricted *laissez-faire* development are still there today to see and to live in.

It may be too late for Manchester. Its stable economy, its declining population, its bad roads and hospitals and schools, and its almost hopeless housing situation may be enough to kill what is left of the city. The costs of reconstruction continue to rise, and the total bill for the revitalization of Manchester may make it impossible for the city to save itself from obsolescence.

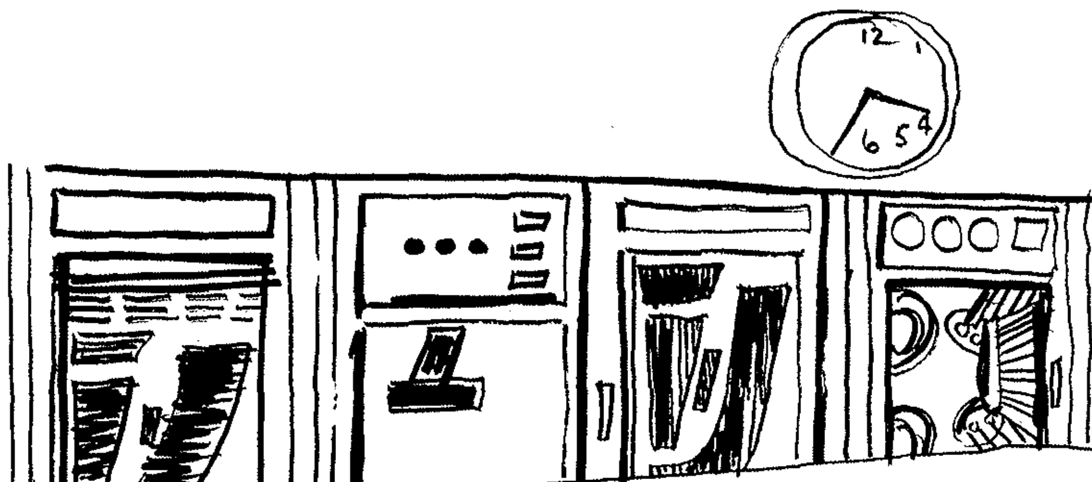
If Manchester's experience and present predicament can mean anything to us today, it is as a plea for effective, comprehensive planning. No city can afford, as so many have done and are doing, to ignore its pattern of growth. The city must plan how it develops or it will become obsolete and die. To refuse to pay the relatively small costs of planning *now* will cost far more than the increased tax burden for urban renewal and redevelopment. As prices and costs rise, so do the chances of the city's stagnation, obsolescence, and death; the city can easily commit suicide.

Reflections on the Development of an Urban Data Bank

John Nye

When reference is made to a "data bank," some people apparently have a vague image of a technician sitting at a computer console punching buttons, with up-to-the-minute, accurate facts pouring from the machine. The complexities of gathering, storing, and retrieving information are often poorly understood.

While it is obviously true that a computer's output will be poor if the input is poor (or"GIGO": garbage in-garbage out), it is not necessarily true that its output will be good if the input is good. Whether or not an information system incorporates a computer, the quality of information output is dependent upon many things other than input.



The process of developing an urban data bank-information center for the Center for Urban Affairs at the University of Nebraska at Omaha shows some of the complexities and problems involved in the development of an information system.

While some people see a data bank as a way of magically producing "instant" data, others see it as merely a specialized reference library. At a workshop on the management of data and program libraries, a traditional "book" librarian asked how the functions of our "data bank-information center" (the term we use) differed from those of her library. Her question is a fair one, as the term "data bank" is sometimes used to mean "many things and nothing." There is in fact an important difference between the functions of what might be called specialized reference libraries such as, say, census data archives and data banks which can perform the function of liaison between the user-client and data files. Where a reference librarian indexes, files, and retrieves specialized materials, the personnel of our data bank-information center are called upon to do not only those things but to do other things as well, such as: (1) secondary analysis of data, (2) interpretation of data, (3) evaluation of the relative merits of related and perhaps contradictory sets of data, (4) report compilation, and (5) social science consultation. Nevertheless, a good set of data files is prerequisite to the adequate performance of these other tasks.

In building the files of the data bank-information center, it was not necessary to start gathering data from scratch; a number of relevant studies and reports were extant, though they were scattered throughout the Omaha metropolitan area. When people heard of our endeavor, we received rumors of many studies done – rumors of great and marvelous studies that we just could not be without. So, one of our first steps was to follow the leads offered by the rumors and obtain copies of available reports and sets of data. Most of them were outdated, some were sketchy, and many were of questionable validity, but careful selection gave us a basic set of files upon which we might build.

At this stage, a new problem became salient: what things do we include in our files and what things do we exclude. One of the continuing challenges in building files is to incorporate a broad-enough scope of materials to be useful and yet not incorporate the superfluous.

At this juncture, the unasked-for advice we received was to "put it all on computer tape" — and then, it was apparently assumed, magical things could be done. But, files alone do not an information system make, even if the files are in the memory of a computer. The capability to efficiently and effectively make information available to client-users needed to be developed. A fully documented indexing and retrieval system was needed,and a "people" system had to be carefully built. It is only after these things are done that computers can meaningfully come into the picture.

Several "false starts" were made to develop an effective indexing and retrieval system for the data bank-information center. We settled for a time on what was basically a system of colored tabs and index cards. But, inadvertently, the system had built into it the necessity of consulting an individual intimately familiar with the files. When a file folder was wanted, we went to Mary (we'll call her that) and asked her for it. She usually retrieved it by remembering its location or by visual cues such as color or size, by-and-large ignoring the formal retrieval system. This approach worked as long as the files contained only a few documents and as long as Mary was present. (And a person very familiar with the files is always an asset.) But to effectively handle a potentially much larger set of files, and to guard against the possibility of a breakdown of the system due to personnel turnover (if Mary should quit), the system needed to be changed.

One of the critical aspects of any information retrieval system (which is often ignored) is documentation. Two basic types of documentation are needed: (1) documentation of the files and (2) documentation of the indexing and retrieval system. The file documentation should carefully specify the scope of the file contents as well as describing the contents of individual items in the file; it might be based upon key words or a propositional inventory of materials in the file. The documentation of the indexing-retrieval system should specify clearly just how documents are to be indexed, stored, and retrieved. In the operation of an information system, one cannot assume either that a given person's skills will be available at all times or that a given person's knowledge of the files will remain constant — people forget.

Our documentation of the files and the indexing-retrieval system was written during the development of the new system, and it was revised several times in the process.

The new indexing-retrieval system which we developed has three very important characteristics built into it: (1) the set of variables it can hold is expansible; (2) it facilitates browsing for variables; and (3) it enables the user to efficiently locate file materials dealing with combinations of variables.

With reference to the characteristic of expansibility, many indexing systems utilize closed sets of categories, and once the categories or variables have been agreed upon, it is difficult or impossible to change them without doing violence to the system. An earlier system which had been tried in our data bank-information center utilized a closed set of categories. For this we have now substituted an open-ended set — one that is infinitely expansible.

Regarding the second-named characteristic, browsing, our new system permits several kinds of browsing. One serious drawback of many retrieval systems — especially computer-based systems — is that one must know exactly for what he is looking in order to enter the system and, furthermore, he must have the exact "entry word" to retrieve data from the files. For example, in many computer-based systems, if one is interested in "industries" but searches using the word "manufacturing," he will not receive a reply from the computer — nor will he if he uses the word "industrial" rather than "industries." But at least as important as the capacity to use related words is the capacity which enables the user to readily find related topics.

Another drawback of many (most!) retrieval systems is that they do not facilitate sorting for file materials on two or three variables simultaneously. (When two or more computer tapes are used, this is a very time-consuming, expensive operation.) We have built-in the capability into our new system to take any set of variables — say "manufacturing," "unemployment," "1950-1959," "Omaha SMSA" — and readily retrieve all file materials dealing with that set of variables or with any sub-set of them.

In the development of our data bank-information center, we have found that the indexing-retrieval system must not be dependent upon specific individuals. Although personnel systems have not been treated at length in this article, they are at least as important as the "mechanical" aspects of indexing, storage, and retrieval.

The Eppley Foundation and OMAHA

Harl Dalstrom

In recent years when Omaha has demonstrated a great need for private capital, the Eugene C. Eppley Foundation has often eased this problem by providing major financial assistance for public institutions that have demonstrated worth or potential to Omaha and the surrounding area.

The Eppley Foundation, incorporated in 1949, was the outgrowth of the hotel empire of Eugene Chase Eppley. Born in Akron, Ohio, in 1884 to inn-keeping parents, Eppley entered the hotel business at the age of 19, and quickly proved his business talent in a series of managerial positions.

In 1917, after seven years in partnership with another hotel man, Eppley created the Eppley Hotels Company with headquarters in Sioux City, Iowa. Four years later, after acquiring the properties of the bankrupt Nebraska Hotel Company, he moved to Omaha.

Prospering through the 1920's, Eppley was almost destroyed by the Great Depression, but he quickly recovered during the boom years of World War II.

Even more successful in the post-war period, Eppley turned his attention to the question of what he would do with his great fortune, as he was a bachelor and had no close relatives. He created the Eugene C. Eppley Foundation, a corporation devoted to philanthropic purposes.

Eppley, who died in 1958 at the age of 74, had demonstrated a regard for people in less fortunate circumstances long before he established the foundation bearing his name. In the spring of 1944 he contributed the money for the Salvation Army to purchase a tract of land on the Platte River south of Omaha for use as a summer camp for underprivileged mothers and children. His personal interest in the Salvation Army continued, and in later years the Foundation carried on this concern. In all, over $1,700,000 in Eppley Funds have gone to the various functions of the Army's work in the Omaha area.

The Airport

Among the most timely philanthropic efforts of the Eppley Foundation was the assistance it rendered in the development of airport facilities. Between 1948 and 1958 the number of commercial passengers departing from Omaha had almost tripled, but the local electorate had persistently declined to approve the bond issues neccesary for updating the airport.

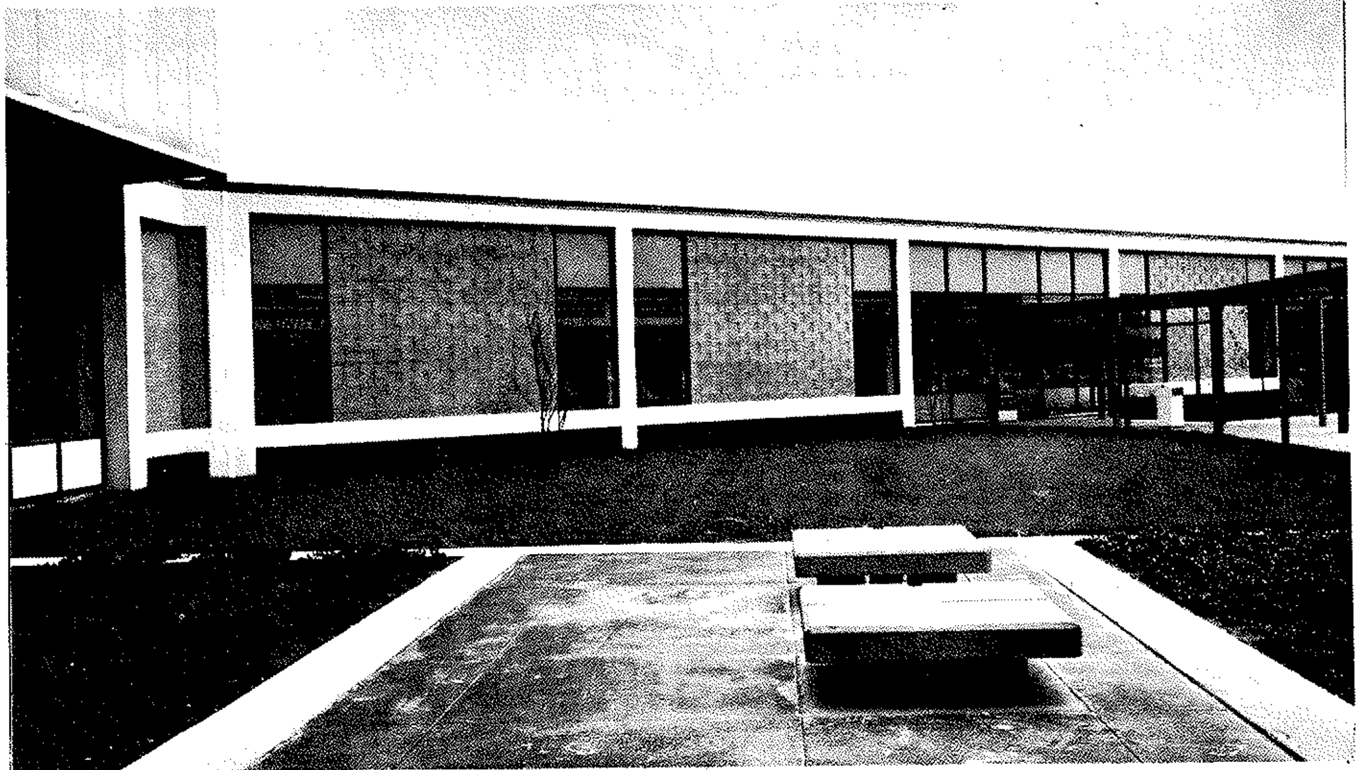
In late 1959 the Omaha Airport Authority asked the Eppley Foundation to make a major grant for the development of airport facilities to serve the long-term needs of the community. When the Foundation Trustees learned that the Air port Authority would lose over $885,000 in Federal funds unless matching local money was on hand by early 1960, they immediately voted a $1,000,000 contribution.

Following the completion of a new terminal building and the modernization of runways and related facilities in September, 1961, air traffic burgeoned. The fact that approximately one million persons either ended or began commercial flights in Omaha in 1965 attests to the fact that the Eppley Foundation broke a crucial bottleneck in the city's development.

Goodwill

By the 1950's it became increasingly evident that if Nebraska Goodwill industries were to continue to provide the type of rehabilitation services for the handicapped needed in the Omaha area, the agency would have to obtain a large new facility to replace the antiquated former pickle factory then in use.

In 1957 the Douglas County Board of Commissioners donated land adjacent to the county hospital for this undertaking. Goodwill then asked Eppley for his support;



though he was interested in this effort, he died during its planning stage. But, in December, 1959, the Trustees of the Foundation made a major grant for the construction of a rehabilitation center on the site provided by the county. In the fall of 1961 the Eugene C. Eppley Rehabilitation Center began serving the handicapped of Nebraska and surrounding states.

Boys Clubs

One of the most vital contributions the Eppley Foundation has made toward social stability and progress in Omaha has been in the role it played in bringing the Boys Clubs of America to the city.

In 1954 a retired teacher noted that the youth of his inner city neighborhood had no organized recreation opportunities, and he organized a small club for these youngsters. Other men, including A. V. Sorensen, then President of the City Council and later Mayor, joined him in the work. With Sorensen taking the initiative, the group was incorporated as the Boys Club of Omaha.

In 1961 Sorensen sought the assistance of the Eppley Foundation. The Foundation responded with a small pilot grant for the short-term work of the club. The Eppley directors were, however, favorably disposed toward major assistance to the organization, particularly in view of the possible impact which the Boys Club might have in alleviating the critical social and economic problems on the Near North Side, Omaha's ghetto area.

Following a University of Omaha study of juvenile delinquency in the city, the Foundation Trustees in the summer of 1961 agreed to a major donation for the construction of a Boys Club on the Near North Side. In the wake of the Eppley commitment the city donated a vacant field in the heart of the area to the club.

In the spring of 1963 the Gene Eppley Boys Club, with an experienced professional director and supporting staff, began serving this most disadvantaged part of the community. From the onset the club had a significant impact upon the youth of the area, for it did far more than simply provide organized recreation. The physical examinations required of all boys enrolling as members revealed a host of serious medical problems typical of children from families of the lower socio-economic strata. Later, the club cooperated with local health authorities in a major program of immunizing Near North Side residents against a variety of communicable diseases.

It became evident to Sorensen and the other participants in this project that organized youth activities were also needed in South Omaha, and this point was demonstrated in a study by Creighton University. In June, 1964 Sorensen asked the Foundation for a grant to establish a Boys Club in that part of the city. The Foundation responded with a large donation, at the same time requiring the Boys Clubs to have available enough money to meet equipment and initial operating costs. The City of Omaha donated the site for the new structure.

In all, the contributions from the Eppley Foundation to the Boys Clubs of Omaha exceeded $1,500,000. Although the Foundation provided the largest portion of the funds necessary in developing the two clubs, its donations were supplemented by numerous individual contributions and gifts of land from the City of Omaha.

Housing

The interest of the Eppley Foundation in securing a better way of life for the people of the Near North Side did not end with its assistance in founding of a Boys Club in that area. In 1965 Sorensen, who had just taken office as

Mayor, determined that Omaha would have to undertake a major program of housing improvement for its less affluent citizens.

One way this could be accomplished was through Title 221 (d) 3 of the National Housing Act, which enabled the Federal Housing Administration to provide 100 percent financing for housing projects sponsored by charitable organizations. These projects were intended for use by persons whose income was too low to secure dwellings through normal methods and too high to obtain public low-rent housing. And FHA underwriting could only be obtained if local development capital was initially on hand.

Mayor Sorensen asked the Eppley Foundation to make a large grant to a special agency to be created for the purpose of lending "seed money" to local charitable bodies hoping to meet Title 221 (d) requirements. These developers would then repay the loans which could be reloaned to other organizations involved in this form of housing.

In making this request the Mayor conveyed a sense of urgency in calling for "a massive attack on community blight." In January 1966 the Foundation approved a grant of $250,000 for the work of non-profit corporation which would make the loans.

The Omaha Redevelopment Corporation was created for the purpose of administering this revolving fund. In 1967 the Eppley grant was augumented by a donation of $100,000 from the Northern Natural Gas Company and a gift of $50,000 from the Omaha Chamber of Commerce.

Although the ORC has encountered a number of problems in its work, it has brought several major housing projects to the city. And, while it is much too early to assess the impact of ORC in meeting the serious housing problems on the Near North Side, it is evident that the Eppley grant was one of the most imaginative and potentially significant efforts in the history of the Foundation.

Higher Education

The Eppley Foundation has also provided vital assistance to higher education in Omaha. In November of 1955, as the University of Omaha completed construction of a new library, Eppley, who had been interested in the school since 1948, suddenly volunteered to pay the entire cost of the building, and gave the University $850,000. This grant, which was the largest in the school's history, enabled the University of Omaha to undertake two other building projects at a much earlier date than had been previously anticipated. The Foundation donated an additional $290,000 to the University in 1962, for the expansion of the Eppley Library.

A year later the Trustees donated $50,000 to the University of Omaha for the creation of a Milo Bail endowed professorship, named in honor of the school's retiring president. Had it not been for the Foundation's contributions of some $1,200,000, the growing pains of the University of Nebraska at Omaha might have been almost insurmountable.

The Eppley Foundation has also proved sympathetic to the development of Creighton University. In 1959 Father Carl M. Reinert, S.J., Creighton's president, requested a major gift for the construction of a new building to house the University's College of Business Administration. The existing building was not only unsuited to the requirements of the College, but was a fire hazard as well.

The Foundation responded with a grant of $1,000,000 for the construction of the Eugene C. Eppley School of Business Administration. When it became obvious that this sum would not fully cover building costs, the Eppley Board granted Creighton an additional $250,000.

The University was now confronted with the problem of providing the faculty and expanded academic services necessary in creating a sound MBA program. The school asked the Foundation for $375,000 to underwrite the MBA program for five years, a request granted in the spring of 1963.

Creighton has also begun a drive to modernize the facilities of its College of Medicine. Part of this program calls for the construction of a 500-bed teaching hospital adjacent to the University's campus. The Eppley Foundation granted Creighton $1,000,000 for the hospital in July of 1969, bringing its total contributions to the University to over $2,600,000.

Cancer Research

Not long before his death, Eppley had stated that he would like the Foundation to make a large contribution to promote research in the causes and treatment of cancer, the disease from which his mother had died. Realizing that the University of Nebraska College of Medicine might be an appropriate institution for such research, the Eppley Trustees studied the question.

They first discussed a possible cancer research grant with leading officials of the University. Then the 3 Foundation directors conducting the survey visited cancer research institutes in Washington, D.C., New York, and Boston in order to learn if more such centers were needed and whether such facilities should be established in Omaha.

In late 1959 the Foundation brought a four-member team of cancer research specialists to Omaha to investigate the matter at close range. The group declared that a research program in Omaha would be of great value both in terms of the advancement of medical science and in the immediate, practical treatment of cancer patients in the Omaha area.

In December 1959 the Eppley Board granted the University $2,500,000. The Foundation stipulated that the University of Nebraska must make every effort to obtain appropriate financing for construction and operating costs from its own revenue and from outside sources. This was consistent with the Foundation's policy of not being the sole contributor to any project and of not underwriting the

overall, long-range operational expenses of recipients.

Inspired by the Eugene C. Eppley Institute for Research in Cancer and Allied Disease's achievements, between 1966 and 1968 the Foundation made several additional grants to the University of Nebraska's College of Medicine. These included a contribution for a Eugene C. Eppley Center for Radiation Research, and funds for the partial support of 3 professorships in cancer study.

The Eppley Foundation also made it possible for the University's Medical Center to construct a six-story Eppley Hall of Science to serve the research needs of the Institute and the post-graduate programs of the College of Medicine.

The Foundation has also made several large gifts to Omaha's hospitals. In 1960 the Trustees agreed to assist Childrens Memorial Hospital in an expansion program, and the Eppley Foundation has given the hospital more than $660,000 to date. Six years later the Trustees granted Nebraska Methodist Hospital $450,000 for the development of a care center for the elderly, and they have also helped to subsidize the program.

In its first 20 years the Eppley Foundation also made a one million-dollar grant to the YMCA, a large contribution for the Omaha Zoo, a $2,299,500 gift for the construction of a City-County building and the remodeling of the existing County Courthouse into a Hall of Justice, and numerous other philanthropies. There can be no doubt that the Eppley Trustees have compiled a record of more than timely assistance to the Omaha area, a record that will be witnessed for years to come.

Most of the material in this article is from Harl Adams Dalstrom, EUGENE C. EPPLEY: HIS LIFE AND LEGACY (Lincoln: Johnsen Publishing Company, 1969). The author wishes to express his appreciation to the Johnsen Publishing Company for its permission in allowing the use of this information

NOTES on Contributors

Harl Dalstrom was born in Omaha in 1936. He received his Ph.D. in 1965 from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, and is now an associate professor of history at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

John W. Gardner, a native of California, received his Ph.D. from the University of California in 1938. After teaching for several years and serving in the Marine Corps during World War II, Gardner became associated with the Carnegie Corporation, and became its president in 1955. Appointed Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in 1965, he is now chairman of the Urban Coalition. Mr. Gardner is the author of two books, *Excellence,* and *Self-Renewal,* and has edited a third, *To Turn the Tide.*

William Rea Keast is the President of Wayne State University in Detroit. A native of Illinois, Keast received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1947. He later headed the English Department at Cornell University, where he became the dean of Arts and Sciences and then vice president for Academic Affairs. President of Wayne since 1965, Keast has authored several books.

Bernard Kolasa was born in Erie, Pennsylvania in 1938. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln campus, in 1969. He has numerous articles published in professional journals, and is currently an assistant professor of political science at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

John Nye, who grew up in Iowa, is the supervisor of the Urban Data Bank-Information Center of the Center for Urban Affairs at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. A political sociologist, he received his Ph.D. from Iowa State University, and he has worked both as a consultant and researcher for government agencies on all levels. He also teaches urban sociology and sociological research methods at UNO.

one liners

Helsinki, Finland: Is a city with a different kind of problem. Instead of worrying about how to ease the urban crush, Helsinki is trying to encourage an increase in population by building a second central area to provide additional jobs and housing.

New York: Beginning July 1, city residents sixty-five years old and over became eligible to ride subways and buses for ½ fare during the non-rush hours. All they need is a special ID card which they receive at any of the city's commercial and savings banks or day care centers. Medicare cards are presented to prove residence and age.

Detroit: Museums throughout the country are taking it upon themselves to respond to the needs of urban minority groups. The Detroit Institute of Arts sponsors free jazz concerts in its Kresge Court which attract young blacks (and whites) from the city's streets.

The Smithsonian Institution opened a storefront museum in a ghetto area, and others across the nation are making similar efforts.

Athens: Says Dr. Constantinos Doxiadis, the internationally known urban planner who hosts the annual Delos Symposium, "Everyone who wants to save a city over night is wrong. You can start a process to save a city – that's all . . . We must think of planning as a long-term process. What we decide must be for the future. And the decisions must be based on scientific data."

Philadelphia; About 60 cities now have slick-paper local magazines and their popularity has been cited as one reason for *This Week's* announcement that it would discontinue publication after November 2. Some of the locals such as *Philadelphia* and the *Washingtonian* are hitting hard at local problems and advocating reform measures.

New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University is joining the trend toward educating leaders from the inner cities who can grapple with problems familiar to them. The Urban University Department recruits qualified students from underprivileged urban families who would not otherwise be able to attend college. Cost of the program has been estimated at $1.7 million.

Thirteen percent of the nation's population was recently classified as "poor." Thirty-three percent of the country's Negroes fell into this category. The poverty level is $3553 for a non-farm family of four. Median family income is at $8600 (whites $8937, Negroes $5360.)

White Plains, New York: Garbage is piling up in cities across the nation. Griswold Moeller, New York City's Sanitation Commissioner, "The most innovative thing we've done in waste disposal was to substitute an engine for the mule that used to pull the old trash wagon." Both hauling trash away by train to sparsely populated areas and erecting high-temperature incinerators which could dispose of 95% of the rubbish have been suggested.

Nassau County: In late August Nassau County became the first county in New York outside of New York City to pass an open housing law. Unanimously passed by the Nassau Board of Supervisors, the law provides jail sentences and fines for those convicted of discrimination in housing. It prohibits all residents of the county from discrimination in either the renting or sale of homes and apartments.

Phoenix: Dr. Herman Bouwer of the United States Water Conservation Laboratory and director of Phoenix's Flushing Meadows/Salt River Project, announced in late July that the Flushing Meadows sewage experiment is a success.

The project is jointly sponsored by the City of Phoenix, the Arizona Health Department, and the U.S. Water Pollution Control Administration, which provided the financing.

Elath, Israel: Israel has at least one town which welcomes hippies from Western Europe and North America. The director of Elath's Tourist Services Association, Jack Preger, says that the hippies help to ease the manpower shortage in that town. Most of them work on construction sites, in the port, or in hotels.

San Francisco: A Gallup poll conducted in July found San Francisco to be the city most often chosen by Americans as the "best city in which to live." It ran 2 to 1 ahead of its nearest rival, Los Angeles. San Francisco also ranked as the city with the "most beautiful setting." But New York was the top choice for "gayest night life," "best-looking women." "best food," and "most interesting city."

Moscow: Telephone booths in Moscow have been vandalized at an alarming rate in the last 5 years. A youth magazine carried an article on how to convert a guitar to an electric guitar using telephone parts. Since then the attacks on phone booths have been "devastating."

San Francisco: In late August a complaint filed by Dr. Max Rafferty, state superintendent of public instruction, caused the San Francisco School Board to remove Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* and Leroi Jones' *The Dutchman* from the outside reading list of the city's "black authors" high school course.

Dr. Rafferty's action drew immediate fire from teacher groups, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the mayor of San Francisco, Joseph L. Alioto.

New York: There is some fear that the Chelsea area of New York City, may be about to lose its diversity amid the scramble for renovation which has displaced many lower income residents. Renovated apartments are renting for $275 to $300 a month and, though the area has 3 housing projects, many former residents of the neighborhood have moved to the slums of the South Bronx, Bedford, Stuyvesant, & Harlem.

Detroit: Middle-income earners across the country are finding it a challenge to make ends meet, even with increasing salaries. A Detroit firefighter who received a $2000 raise last year and is now making $11,200 says he's "not that much better off" than when he took the job for $4800 in 1960.

New York: Times Square is undergoing some serious face-lifting, but not everyone is sure that the changes are in a desired direction. While the construction of new stream-lined office buildings will give the Square new luster, the result may also be to detract from the haphazard quality of the area which is the heart of its attractiveness.

New York: Economists suggest three basic items which make New York one of the most expensive cities in which to live: high cost of real estate, high cost of labor, and high taxes. Two other factors often overlooked are the style of living in New York and the competition which corporations give individuals (e.g. executives on expense accounts are willing and able to pay high prices in restaurants and hotels).

Aspen, Colorado: At a population conference, in September, Dr. Garrett Hardin, professor of biology at University of California at Santa Barbara called voluntary birth control "insanity" and said that the only way to avoid population chaos is by compulsory birth control.

Across the country black-owned and black-operated bookstores are becoming familiar landmarks in black neighborhoods. Best sellers include: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Man-Child in the Promised Land* by Claude Brown, *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* by Harold Cruse, Edlridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice,* H. Rap Brown's *Die, Nigger, Die,* and *Wretched of the Earth* by Branz Fanon.

Atlanta, Georgia: "Underground Atlanta" is a project to restore a section of downtown Atlanta which was sealed over near the end of the 19th century and has remained untouched. The area is expected to be renovated by 1973 and will be reminiscent of other historic restorations like Larimer Square in Denver and Gaslight Square in St. Louis.

Stony Brook, Long Island: A new concept in health service is being explored at the State University Center at Stony Brook. Dr. Edmund Pellegrino said that incoming medical students will be admitted from the social sciences and humanities for the purpose of drawing men who are interested in dealing directly with human beings and not only with making scientific discoveries. It is also hoped that more interest in general practice can be generated.

What is the most efficient way of getting people to and from urban business centers? By rail, agree urban planners, but little progress has been made in increasing the railroad passenger service. Only five cities have regular rail commuter service: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Boston.

Detroit: Prefabricated houses have been tried before, and Detroit is one city where factory homes are being pushed again. Walter Reuther, president of U.A.W., says that the cost of construction per square foot can be cut in half with this mass production approach.

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Both Dean Kugel and Dr. Land hope to involve the clinic in the Family Practice program, and Land has stated that he is certain that some of the families involved in the Family Practice program will originate from the W Street Clinic.

Family Practice is based on a decentralization concept in medicine, which has grown in a haphazard manner since the end of World War II, especially in relation to outpatient services. It recognizes that there should be continuous, comprehensive care of the family both as individuals and as a unit, rather than episodic, non-continuous, non-comprehensive care. It stresses the social dynamics of the family more than the older concept of general practice, and it has a more humanistic approach to the teaching of medicine.

Dean Kugel feels that this medical humanization and decentralization meets the needs of the community in a more meaningful way than the more traditional method, and that this "shopping center" approach will allow the College of Medicine to have a more significant relationship with and to the community.

The making of Family Practice into a certified specialty will also, according to Dr. Land, increase the stature of the comprehensive or general type of medical program. Certification will allow general practitioners to be eligible for certain promotions in the armed services or in the Veteran's Administration, where the "GP" has traditionally done the same work as an internist, but for less pay.

The University's College of Medicine plans to place its initial emphasis on the implementation of Family Practice in the graduate program beginning in July 1970. Dr. Land anticipates having residents in all three years; the core of the program will involve the resident with a constant group of families for whom he will be responsible throughout his entire training period.

Dr. Land plans to introduce Family Practice into the College's undergraduate school later in the present school year at least in a small way and to begin the full implementation of the program on this level in 1970.

OPINION:

Many persons and groups are attempting to construct new institutions in the United States and modify old ones that will simultaneously give our cities a humane quality of life based upon pluralist traditions and enable them and the nation to continue to exist as viable communities. Perhaps, in the American context, these are not compatible goals.

A recent result of this attempt at institutional reform is the move toward the measurement of the quality of American life and its rational improvement—one might call it instant tradition or manufactured medievalism, to reiterate Lewis Mumford's perspective—and is contained in a document entitled *Toward a Social Report,* begun in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare while John Gardner was Secretary and completed during the tenure of his successor, Wilbur Cohen. *Toward a Social Report* is, in reality, a series of questions, the answers to which would result in a set of social indicators which would measure the social health of the nation in much the same way the economic report of the President's Council of Economic Advisors measures the economic health of the nation.

The book *Social Indicators,* edited by Raymond A. Bauer, is worth studying in connection with *Toward a Social Report.* Together, these works constitute an effort to develop a system of social accounting for the United States, similar to that which industrial democracies with ancient roots have developed crescively in periods of relative isolation and slower communication. They look to an inventory of the indices and indicators that must be precisely defined and reliably and validly measured in order to determine whether the nation's institutions are actually solving its problems and providing increasingly beneficial life styles for its citizens. They also hold out the possibility of developing blueprints which will enable the private citizen and the policy maker alike to go beyond the merely newsworthy in their thinking about the nation's institutions and values.

The questions asked by *Toward a Social Report,* for which there are present no very good answers—that is, answers beyond the vague belief that day-by-day we are getting better and better in every way—are of the following nature: Are we becoming healthier? How much opportunity for social and economic mobility is there? Are conditions in our physical environment improving? With respect to income and poverty, are we better off than we once were? What is the impact of crime on our lives? How much are learning, science, and art enriching our national life? What do we know and what don't we know about satisfactory group relationships and their connection with alienation and the lack of a sense of personal security?

To ask these questions and to develop ways of answering them would be to set about rationally achieving the ends which other democratic societies have achieved in a more leisurely fashion through trial and error and fortunate historic circumstance. It is possible that American society is making up for lost time in groping toward the rational study and policy making that are necessary to maintain it as a viable, urbanized national community.

But the United States has neither the luxury of a democracy built on ancient foundations, nor a population that is homogeneous. Herein lies one dilemma to which we shall later add those which may arise from its very solution. There was a time not too many years ago when we believed, or wanted to believe, that the processes of Americanization and the melting pot had eliminated ethnic and racial differences and had, in fact, created a nation that was characterized by democratic, ethnic, and voluntary pluralism. Only vague, romantic attachments to sentiments

The Future of Urban America: Repressive Pluralism or Sensual Escape?

for the quaint customs of life in the old world seemed to remain, and the only threat that these posed was gastronomic. But romantic attachments have ways of motivating real people to real action, and the drift of history which we characterize in vague phrases such as "civil rights," "black power," "red power," "Polish power" and "student unrest" has shattered the myth of one nation indivisible.

We find what formerly were sentimental attachments being turned into mechanisms for setting nationality against nationality, race against race, generation against generation, and religion against religion. We find that current leaders of groups who feel they are disadvantaged, or in fact are disadvantaged, have turned the insecurities of their followers into new ways of creating social cohesion and personal security stemming from membership in groups maintained by conflict with other groups. A new variety of class consciousness, with the resulting struggles and the drastic transformation of the existing social order, has been substituted for what once, at a minimum, were felt to be nationally agreed upon means and goals.

In city after city in the United States we find instances similar to those existing in New York City's schools, in churches, in the private economy, in higher education, in government, and in recreation. And all this discontent is couched in the contradictory terms of individual initiative, autonomy, the right to be equal, the social-psychological need for belonging, and in escaping from the alienation created by urban industrial processes.

On the one hand, if the citizens of the United States underscore their differences by defining them in terms of struggles for power—the Balkanization of American society—in order to excape the hurts of increased concentrations of population and to develop sub-community cohesion by pushing for stronger ethnic and class identifications, then they may give themselves a sense of belonging otherwise not achievable. To do this and also to maintain a semblance of a national community will create very real problems of public order and safety, which can be solved with control by and identification with the very real bureaucracies of the scientific-industrial-military complex, the engineering-space complex, technologically sophisticated police forces, and La Cosa Nostra, the criminal syndicate created in the name of the American Dream of poor immigrant boys getting ahead. Then our urban industrial civilization will be pluralistic, but it will be a pluralism maintained by repression.

On the other hand, the successful rationalization of the study and systematic planning for the quality of American life as proposed in *Toward a Social Report* may find the individual and the general populace living on successively higher levels of economic well-being and aesthetic appreciation, and increasingly protected from the insecurities of poor health, joblessness, old age, and inadequate education. In order to achieve this, however, they may be increasingly implanted in and subjected to homogenization by rules and regulations of benign, computerized, private, semi-private and public bureaucracies. Just as repressive pluralism has its incipient forms and methods of maintenance in contemporary American society, so does benign, affluent private and public welfarism.

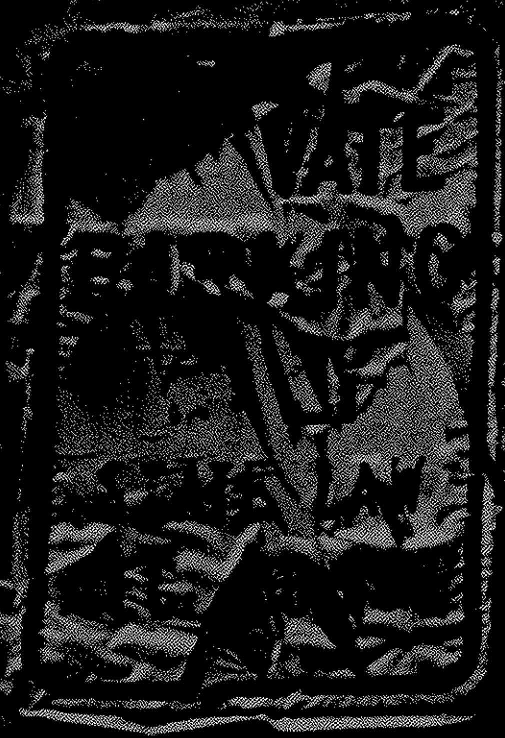
For each check written on magnetically encoded paper, there is a good meal, a color television set, or a shiny automobile. For each credit card there is a credit report and the resulting invasion of privacy from which attention is diverted by titillations provided by the mass media. For each generational or ethnic rift or unpleasant fact from the day's news, there is at least one mini-skirted stenographer or coed who uses the pill or an IUD. For each traffic jam there is a martini or a tranquilizer.

The pressures, then, of high population densities upon the unique origins, traditions, organization and patterns of American society, and the maintenance of that society as a viable, problem-solving community, will largely depend on how its problems are ultimately defined and by who defines them. Conditions seem now sufficient to evolve an Orwellian, repressive pluralism or an Aquarian sensual escapism.

A national community with one or the other as its leitmotiv is not inconceivable. A national community with one of these forms dominating and supported by congruent elements from the other is within the realm of possibility.

W.W.

next stockholm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