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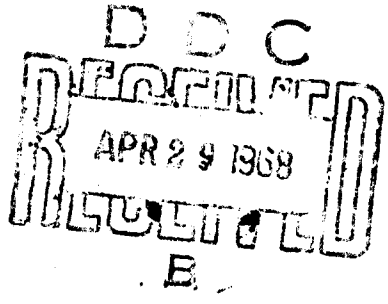

P-3827

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The title of this talk has the great virtue of allowing me to select a domain within its boundaries containing material with which I am familiar, and to reject those regions within which I have little or no acquaintance or, in some cases, a general lack of interest. I shall exercise this freedom of choice, and shall confine my remarks to a brief discussion of RAND's research efforts for the City of New York, and a general discourse on some of the advantages and disadvantages of involvement in urban research.

Back in August 1967, RAND was approached by the City of New York to initiate a research program aimed at assisting New York City's Police Department with some of its short- and long-term problems. During subsequent discussions with City** officials, and in particular with the office of the City's budget director, Frederick O'R. Hayes, it became clear that both RAND and the City were excited about initiating

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**Throughout this talk the term "City" refers only to New York City, and the term "city" refers to any city in the United States.

a broad program of research aimed at attacking and hopefully making significant contributions toward solving a wide variety of problems faced by the City. Since September 1967, members of RAND's research staff, as well as representatives of its management, have been conferring with representatives of several administrative units of the City regarding what those units do, what they perceive as problem areas, what they think RAND might do for them, what RAND thinks it might do for them, etc. Thus far those discussions have led to the generation and signing of "a mother contract", that is, a contract that lays down the general ground rules for the RAND—New York City relationship; and to the writing and signing of specific but rather broad agreements covering research that RAND is to carry on in behalf of the New York City Fire Department, Health Services Administration, Housing Development Administration and Police Department. Negotiations are in progress with other administrative units of the City, and it is hoped that these will lead to additional research efforts. Needless to say, the fact that these negotiations are still in progress makes it inadvisable, at this time, for me to single out what those efforts might be.

Before I embark on a brief discussion of some of the specific things that RAND is doing or is planning to try to do for the City of New York, it is important to point out again that RAND was invited to assist the City by

officials of that City, and to point out also that the government of New York City recognizes that the City has problems, that those problems must be solved, that the City must try to solve them, but that it cannot solve some of them itself, and that, therefore, it needs outside help to try to accomplish the job. Furthermore, both RAND and the City recognize that RAND does not regard its efforts for the City to be isolated pieces of research which, when completed, will terminate RAND's relationship with the City and its adventure into urban research. On the contrary, both RAND and the City regard RAND's efforts in and on behalf of the City as being the beginning of a multi-year effort by RAND to carry on research in and between the numerous problem areas which, by both conventional and unconventional usage, are regarded as facets of urban research. To carry on this very ambitious and hopefully commendable task, it will be necessary for RAND to obtain additional, very broadly based funding, including perhaps support from one or more foundations and from the Federal Government. Therefore, in the course of my discussion of RAND's work for the City's Fire Department, Health Services Administration, Housing Development Administration and Police Department, please keep in mind that RAND does not regard these efforts as being isolated "one-shot" affairs, but rather as being the first steps toward the achievement of a broad, challenging program of urban research whose life is measured in decades and not months or years.

Our agreement with the City and its Fire Department calls for research on six general topics, namely (1) planning-programming-budgeting, (2) incidence of fires, false alarms and emergencies, (3) departmental effectiveness and efficiency, (4) communications, (5) potential applications of new technological developments, and (6) existing data sources. To date emphasis has been placed upon communications, potential applications of new technological developments, and an examination of data sources.

Like all the other efforts for New York City, those for the Fire Department have been going on for only about two months, so it is not reasonable to expect that any definite conclusions have been reached as yet. General and specific impressions are legion, but most of them must remain unstated until more information is collected and evaluated.

Our agreement with the City and its Health Services Administration (HSA) calls initially for the development of a planning-programming-budgeting (PPB) system. For those of you who are not familiar with planning-programming-budgeting, let me explain that it is an approach or technique by which an organization is analyzed on a functional basis. The functions which the organization performed N_1, N_2, N_3, etc., years ago are determined, the functions that the organization currently performs are ascertained, and various sets of functions that the organization might perform at

one or more dates in the future are postulated. The costs of carrying on each of the functions performed N_1, N_2, N_3, etc., years ag' are determined, as well as those of carrying on the current functions. On the basis of this functional cost history, projections or estimates are made of the cost of each of the alternative sets of functions that might be performed at various dates in the future. Using these cost-estimates, managers and executives hopefully can make more rational decisions regarding what courses of action the organization ought to follow over the next five, ten, etc., years.

Advising the Health Services Administration on the development of a PPB system will give RAND an excellent opportunity to learn a great deal about HSA's functional structure and its formal and informal operational procedures. With this information our research staff and management will be in a better position to make a more intelligent estimate of what RAND ought next to do for HSA. Hopefully, the PPB exercise will also help HSA's management to understand their organization better and to decide what it would like RAND to do for it in the future.

Incidentally, New York City's Health Services Administration is one of several super-administrative units created by the Lindsay Administration in the hope of providing New Yorkers with more efficient services. It includes the Department of Hospitals, the Health Department, which runs

clinics in the City, the Community Mental Health Board, and the Office of the Chief Medical Examiner.

RAND's agreement with the City and the Housing Development Administration (HDA) calls for (1) advising HDA on the development of a PPB system, (2) making a cost analysis of the publicly assisted housing program, (3) investigating the circumstances resulting in under-maintenance and abandonment of privately owned rental property, (4) examining various long-range housing strategies, and (5) exploring the usefulness of making a housing market analysis. Currently, work is progressing on a PPB system, and data are being gathered preparatory to beginning work on item (3).

The Housing Development Administration includes the Departments of Development, Rent and Housing Maintenance, Relocation and Management Services, and Buildings.

For its work with the City and the Police Department, RAND has agreed to: (1) advise the Department on the development of a PPB system, (2) search for methods of measuring effectiveness, (3) examine the scale and nature of future police services, (4) analyze the recruitment, selection, and training of Department personnel, and (5) examine communications.

I take special pride in our effort for the City's Police Department because I had the pleasure of initially bringing together many of the people at RAND who are working on police problems. For roughly 10 months prior to the

signing of the contract with the City, met with these people, and we discussed the Report of the President's Crime Commission, including several of its supplementary volumes, listened to real and alleged experts on various phases of law enforcement and the administration of justice, took part in national meetings related to public order and technology, and conferred and visited with the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office. Thus, when the New York City Police effort came into being, we were ready for it, and what we initially may have lacked in experience, we made up for in enthusiasm.

I would now like to turn away from what RAND is doing for the City of New York and, instead, to direct my focus upon a more general but, in my opinion, a more important matter, namely, a discussion of some of the advantages and disadvantages of embarking on urban research.

On the positive side of the ledger, I believe we all would include the fact that our cities offer the researcher an opportunity to attempt to solve a wide variety of important, fascinating, challenging and frequently very difficult problems--problems which the nation must cope with if it is to avoid partial or even total urban disaster. Among these problems I would include finding and implementing ways to reduce racial tension, control population growth, reduce air and water pollution, improve health services and housing, and reduce the incidence of crimes of violence perpetrated

against persons and property. Note that I not only call for finding ways to solve problems (in the physical scientist's conception of a s 'ution) but also for finding ways to implement solutions. The latter requires that researchers work closely with various community leaders so that research findings can be converted into programs that can be implemented in the sense, say, of being sold to, and financed by a city council, state legislature, or federal agency.

Urban problems also have advantages for the researcher who has spent years working on military problems, in that they offer him a chance to attack a new and hopefully refreshing set of problems. He may be able to apply some of what he has learned in the past to those problems, and from them he may learn much that might later apply to his future work, be it military or civil. I do not wish to convey the idea that I believe one must choose to work either on military or urban problems but not on both. On the contrary, I believe it is possible to work on both types of problems concurrently. However, I readily admit that a researcher's success in doing this depends upon his ability to partition his time, the willingness of management to support him, and the availability of funds to support a divided effort.

On the other side of the ledger several factors come immediately to mind. First of all, urban masters may turn

out to be more insistent upon getting rapid results than military masters. This may arise from the fact that local officials are under much more pressure to show results than military officers or their civilian superiors. Local officials, for example, must face re-election every two or four years, and this probably is more nerve-racking than worrying about a military promotion or a reappointment due to a possible change in national administration. Regardless what the cause or causes may be, this thirst for rapid results has a high probability of precluding the possibility of carrying on genuine research, particularly research requiring a long-term financial commitment, and regarding which it is understood that the probability of arriving at a solution in the short run is fairly low, and although higher in the long run, is still far from certain.

Another matter that may plague the researcher is the fact that he will be working in, as it were, a large transparent fish bowl. He will be exposed to the constant scrutiny of not only the elected and appointed city officials but also the press, business, labor, and the clergy, etc. While I do not believe that this exposure is inherently bad, I must admit that I fear some of it might lead to harassment and unfair criticism, and this in turn could also seriously damage the possibility of pursuing a worthwhile research effort.

Potential abuse may arise from many causes. Among them I would include a misconception of what is involved in carrying on scientific research, a misunderstanding of what the research is intended to accomplish, a misunderstanding of the motivations of the people trying to carry on the research, and, unfortunately, even an attempt to embarrass the party in power.

When I think of the possible abuses that may accrue as a result of continuous and, in particular, premature public exposure of urban research programs, I am almost tempted to conclude that there may be a distinct advantage to working in a classified environment. In such an environment the researcher can wander up blind alleys, can make judgements, which while appearing to be reasonable at the time may look far less profound at a later date, and he can try various approaches to solving problems with comparative freedom from the fear of being subjected to premature, misinformed or even malicious criticism. However, I have a strong personal conviction, perhaps stemming from my professional training, that there is something inherently better about carrying on research in an open environment than in a classified environment. Therefore, I believe we should be willing to take our chances with the unpleasant possibilities that might accrue from premature public exposure and misguided criticism. I nevertheless recommend that persons involved in urban research, particularly research financed

with local funds, be very careful not to discuss such things as untested ideas, contemplated experiments, confidential data, and tentative conclusions with people whose discretion they cannot absolutely trust.

With regard to confidential or, in Defense Department parlance, classified material, it should be noted that the urban researcher can expect to encounter such material, and must be prepared to guard it just as carefully as he would classified material. Now, unfortunately, even if he takes every reasonable precaution with such material, including locking it in a safe each night and discussing it only with persons he knows he can trust, the material could still cause him considerable grief because it could be subpoenaed by a court. Thus, suppose you had won the confidence of the "Kibosh City" Police Department, and its chief gave you access to sensitive data regarding the activities of the local chapter of the crime syndicate. Suppose that this information indicated that certain allegedly respectable people in town might be implicated in the syndicate's operations, but this information was not sufficient to prove a case in court against them or members of the syndicate. Further, suppose that these data were given to you with the specific understanding that you would under no circumstances reveal that you had them, where you got them, or what the data contained. I now ask you what you would do if a court suspected you had the information,

and issued an order directing you to turn it over to the court. Fortunately, the chance of such a dilemma arising is probably quite slim because most government officials would be very reluctant to put you or themselves or their agency in such an awkward position.

Other problems that arise in trying to carry on urban research are those of divided authority and multiple-source funding. One finds, for example, some communities in which the jurisdiction over the city streets falls under the city government, but the bridges and tunnels leading into and out of the city fall under an independent body, and the highways leading from those bridges and tunnels to outlying communities or connecting the bridges and tunnels within the city fall under the authority of the state. Now if the city, the bridge and tunnel commission, and the state are not working in close accord with one another, which is probably more the rule than the exception, one will usually have difficulty obtaining funding for an integrated study of the city's traffic problems. Oh! you may get support for, say, a study of traffic problems on city streets, or vehicular flow across a particular bridge, or the need for widening state highway 10-A, but those are not studies of the city's overall traffic problems.

As for multiple-source funding, consider the fact that many local welfare programs, as well as many local health services, are financed by money contributed by the Federal

Government, the state government and the city government. Therefore, it is not surprising to encounter a dilemma as to whether a particular research program should be supported with federal, state, or locally derived funds, or some combination thereof. Resolving problems of this type can be frustrating if not downright exasperating. In most cases patience, tact and a little luck will go a long way toward saving the day.

Urban and military research have one important thing in common, which is that the success of both depends, in large measure, upon the ability of the researcher to win the confidence of middle- as well as upper-level management. This is easy to say but not always so simple to accomplish. It requires that every researcher dealing with middle-level personnel must be discreet, tactful, understanding, patient, etc. Finding enough competent people with all these other characteristics is very hard and sometimes impossible, so care must be taken to avoid, as much as possible, direct contact between middle-level personnel and members of one's staff who lack these necessary characteristics. In addition, one must constantly be prepared to repair the damage that will inevitably occur as a result of an unforeseen volatile or otherwise nondiplomatic encounter.

When the shoe is on the other foot and key personnel of the city's middle level management are uncooperative, deceptive, or otherwise prove to be a headache, the problem

may be much more serious. If the city's top-level personnel cannot or are not willing to help resolve the difficulty, it might be impossible to continue some or all of the research for the department or agency whose personnel are causing the difficulty. Chances are, however, that some kind of tolerable compromise can be reached, particularly if high city officials want the research pursued, believe the city needs the help, and recognize that the consulting research team has a good chance of doing the job and doing it well.

I hope this brief discussion of RAND's urban research in general are of some value to you. Personally, I believe that carrying on genuine research in the urban sphere is going to be very tough, particularly if that research is not supported, at least in part, by foundations or federal agencies. But even if those sources of funding are not forthcoming, I believe that the need to solve the problems faced by our cities is so great and important to the survival of a healthy, free society that I would vote in favor of making the attempt in any event.

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P-3827. Some Comments on Urban Research, by S. M. Genesky, April 1968.

Page 14, 2nd paragraph; I hope this brief discussion of RAND's urban research and the advantages and disadvantages of urban research in general are of some value to you.