



Interpretation of Community Opinion by Leaders

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Masters of City
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Signature of author

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I herewith submit a thesis titled: "Interpretation of Community Opinion by Leaders," in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of City Planning.

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I am indebted to Professor Howard for both his championship and criticism. They made this thesis possible.

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ABSTRACT

The hypothesis of this thesis is that the leaders in a community do not accurately interpret community opinion. Actually, whether they interpret opinion well or poorly was not really evaluated.

Instead of the word "interpretation" the word reflection should be used. For what was done was an attempt to see if the leadership groups selected could reflect on an exact percentage basis the town replies to the questionnaire. That is, if the town answered a question, 65% Yes, 35% No, the "Closest" leadership result about what they thought the town would reply would be 65% Yes, 35% No.

Five leadership groups, some official agencies, some private groups were selected to take a questionnaire which had also been handed out to the community in which they lived. However, on the questionnaire given to the leadership groups, there was requested two answers to each question. The first was their personal opinion; the second was their estimate or projection of what the townspeople would answer.

Comparisons were made between the leadership groups, between them and their projected answers for the town, and between their personal answers, projections of town opinion and actual results of town opinion on the questionnaire. The data was looked at group by group, and in aggregate.

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I Raison d'Étre

In almost every definition of the planning process, from Lewis Mumford's general "survey, diagnosis, treatment, prescription, to those of a more specific and detailed nature, there is an acknowledgement of the "intelligence" part of the planning process. While this might seem tediously obvious, there are today areas of information vital to planners about which we have scanty information.

The basis for every planning decision is information, hopefully reliable, but perhaps otherwise. This information may be divided into two main types: information about physical conditions, and information about social and economic conditions.

Information about physical conditions may deal with factors such as physical resources, topography, and also the man-made physical factors, e.g., housing, transportation systems, etc. It is often "objective," subject to quantification, and sometimes available from governmental sources.

On the other hand, certain types of information about social and economic conditions may also be "objective," also gotten from governmental sources and subject to quantification, e.g., employment statistics, ethnic and racial break-downs, population pyramids, etc. But much

of this type of information is neither quantified, available from government sources, nor examined at all. It is in this latter category that information about the "intangibles" fall; "intangibles" refer to factors such as community attitudes and opinions which for physical planners specifically relate to the physical development of the community.

Planners operate in two superficially dissimilar settings which condition their plans: The first is the palpable physical environment; the second, less palpable but not less real, is the environment of emotion, attitudes, impressions and opinions.

Probably the majority of this data is gathered during the planner's daily work. The planner is a bush-league, perhaps an unconscious, Gallup. He samples as he works, evaluating opinions, and modifying his plans accordingly.

Though it is possible to poll a community for this kind of data, expense aside, this information leaves something to be desired. The factor of change and the element of relative individual influence is not accounted for. Even if a poll is presumably "accurate," it is so only for one period in time; and one cannot constantly poll. Second, the poll does not evaluate the opinions on the basis of differential importance and influence of the holders in the community.

Confronted with these problems, the planner conducts his own informal polls daily. It seems likely that they rest on two tacit but importance assumptions: that the individuals polled are worth polling, that is, they are leaders and hence opinion formers; and that their impression of the community's opinions is reasonably accurate, that they know what people think. Thus the planner may proceed with his plans confident that his plans are in conformity with the "general will."

But not to be overlooked is that these polls are not random. Rather they touch only a select few, a specific elite. Therefore, we come to the justification for this thesis: as long as planners do try to discover what the community feels and wants by selectively polling a few individuals, it is relevant to determine if the latter's interpretation of community opinion is accurate (that is, do they know what the community thinks?). Perhaps with this knowledge the "intelligence" part of the planning process can be made more valuable inasmuch as the factor of reliability or unreliability may be better understood. Only in this way can planners fulfil the community's wishes which are so important in our democratic ideology.

II Objectives

It is the hypothesis of this thesis that the leaders in a community do not accurately interpret community opinion.

Following this thinking this thesis had only one major objective: to enquire if leadership interpretation of community opinion is accurate. Shorn of euphemism, do the leaders know what community opinion is?

Of course, subsumed under this are a number of related questions such as: if leaders are not 100% accurate, what part of community opinion do they reflect accurately? Are there particular areas of community opinion about which they are particularly knowledgeable or abysmally ignorant? Further, it is important to know if certain leadership groups are accurate about certain issues and not others, e.g., does the Industrial Development Commission accurately reflect community sentiment about the location of new industry, type of industry desired, and amount, but not about grammar school location and recreation facilities? does it accurately represent the opinions of the Chamber of Commerce about industrial location, etc? Thus, are leadership groups' interpretation of community opinion at least accurate for their particular constituency?

A final way of assessing the validity of the interpretation of community opinion by leaders is to compare the views of the various groups to determine if there is any consistent pattern or bias in their interpretation.

We have tried to cover these points in this thesis.

III Research Design

The nature of the objectives of this thesis affected the choice of research design. A method had to be adopted whereby a comparison between community opinion and leadership interpretation of that opinion could be made so that differences and similarities would become apparent.

A questionnaire¹ was handed out to the suburban community of Andover. It was mailed out, under a cover-letter by the Town Manager, to every third household. Instructions asked that it be answered by the household heads (preferably husband and wife together).

Another questionnaire was handed out by me to some leadership groups which appeared to have influence in the community,^{and} manifested an interest in planning problems, and which were assumed to be used by the planning authorities as informants. They were: the Planning Board, the Industrial Development Commission, the League of Women Voters, the Andover Selectmen, and the Andover Village Improvement Society. Though the questionnaire handed out to the community listed 30 questions, the one handed to the leadership groups was cut to only 21.²

1. The first draft was made up by the author while on a summer internship for Adams, Howard & Greeley. It was then modified by various town boards and the League of Women Voters. I worked closely with Mrs. Rita Leigh, chairman of the group charged with the responsibility for getting the questionnaire made up, mailed out, and

On the questionnaire submitted to the town there was room for only one reply to a question --- the respondent's own. On the questionnaire handed to the leadership groups there were two columns (both questionnaire follow this section). The headings of the columns were: "Your opinion, " and "Town opinion." Those given the questionnaire were asked to give their personal opinion under the first heading and under the second an opinion which they interpreted (i.e., a reflection) as the feeling of the town. There were an equal number of answer spaces next to each heading, giving the possibility for similar answers if the respondent thought such was the case.

The leadership was not asked to estimate the percentage distribution of town answers, e.g., 65% Yes, 35% No. They were asked merely to check the answer they estimated the majority of townspeople would answer. Then, the group as an aggregate was calculated by percentage. It has been

collated. Together we reformulated questions, omitted others, etc.

2. Nine questions were removed which were not of relevance to physical planning. The remaining questions were not changed in wording or sequence, except for question # 12 on the original questionnaire which was merely divided into two questions, numbers 7 and 8 on the new questionnaire, for purposes of clarity. Question # 20 on the original questionnaire was changed on the new (given to leaders) questionnaire by omitting the first part which was thought to ask something which could not be answered with any degree of accuracy, and furthermore didn't have particular relevance for physical planning. The second part of the question, however, was kept as question # 15 on the new questionnaire (for leaders).

pointed out that this procedure may have led to serious errors, and further a "wrong" leadership estimate, i.e., one running counter to the majority of town opinion, might actually give a group the appearance of exactly reflecting town opinion when no such thing occurred. Thus, the leadership respondents should have asked, it is contended, for their percentage estimates of town opinion rather than what was done in getting the group percentage as an aggregate. Having the respondents give a percentage breakdown on an individual basis, and then summing it to get the group's aggregate percentage estimates of town opinion, obviously makes sense. However, because this makes sense it does not necessarily follow that the method we employed is inaccurate on a group basis. It is my guess that using these two methods of asking leadership groups to interpret (i.e., reflect) town opinion would result in similar percentage answers.

The completed questionnaires were then compared in several ways: (1) the "Town opinion" answers were compared with the actual town's answers to determine just how accurately the leadership groups in toto could interpret community opinion. (2) The personal answers

of the leadership groups were compared with the town's answers. (3) The "Your opinion" and "Town opinion" answers of the leadership groups were compared on an individual basis to see how similar they were in order to determine if the leaders projected their own personal views on the town. (4) The questionnaires were examined group by group against each other to see if they differed in any significant fashion. (5) The questionnaires were evaluated against the town's answers, group by group, to determine if any group had a better appreciation of town opinion than the others.

Two questions about the research design remain to be answered: (1) why were the leadership groups chosen, and (2) why the number of groups chosen?

It is not the purpose of this thesis to attempt to define what a leadership group, ruling elite, opinion molders, "big wheels," etc.³ A simple rule of thumb was adopted in selecting leadership groups. Does the group have an affect on physical planning in Andover, and is it among the groups which physical planners generally use as informants?

By definition the Planning Board deals with physical planning problems. The elected representatives of the town, the Selectmen, also obviously affect the physical development

3. See Appendix I, pp. 2-12, for the difficulties in the determination of leadership groups.

of the community. The League of Women Voters in Andover has been particularly active and interested in promoting the expansion of recreation facilities. They have studied and reported to town officials on recreation space and open space needs, complete with recommendations about types of facilities, acreage, and location. The Industrial Development Commission is an official town committee appointed by the Town Meeting Moderator. True to its name, it is almost exclusively concerned with industrial master planning and industrial zoning, and was effective in making many of its views heard at the Town Meeting in March 1961. Finally, the Andover Village Improvement Society is a group of private citizens concerned with the preservation of the "rural and open" character of Andover. They have been active in fighting for preservation of open space before Town Meetings and the Recreation Committee, and have put their preaching into practise by actually buying land and holding it off the market so that it may be kept open.

The number of leadership groups chosen raises the much mooted question about the size of the leadership group.⁴ Many researchers realize that the closure of the leadership group is a problem without agreed upon solution, though

4. See Appendix I, particularly pp. 11-12.

some propose ways to avoid or minimize it.⁵ In this study I have arbitrarily cut off the leadership group on grounds of research convenience, though selecting groups which I felt were of importance to physical planning; this decision was based on personal job experience in Andover, and a helping of intuition. Research convenience, however, was the single most compelling reason for my choice of five leadership groups, inasmuch as it was difficult persuading the groups selected to take the questionnaire, and the prospects (in time and energy) of getting additional groups did not appear promising. As it was, the number of people in the leadership groups selected were 42, with a response of 31. The group by group breakdown of responses to the questionnaire follow (with possible replies in parenthesis, actual replies left plain): Planning Board, 5(5); Industrial Development Commission, 4(6); Selectmen, 4(5); Andover Village Improvement Society, 6(9); and League of Women Voters, 12(17).

Because of the small size of the leadership groups (a problem usually inherent in leadership groups, particularly in small towns), some results which are 60%-40% on the questionnaire tally sheets, are in fact a three-to-two split. Because only one vote carries such a majority,

5. Robert Wood and B. Seasholes are currently trying to get around premature closure by not setting a limit to the number of leaders respondents may name. After first round nominations of leaders, they propose to get the average of the nominations given, and on second go-round see if the respondents over or under this average will conform more closely to it. Of course, the average is not necessarily a golden number in itself, and was arbitrarily selected.

and a one vote switch would result in a reversal of the group's decision, these results are interpreted as indicating that the group did not feel very strongly about the question. Thus, in a five person leadership group, a 4-1 or 5-0 answer is considered an indication of strength of feeling. This is true for all the leadership groups.

Interpretation

The central question of this thesis is whether certain leadership groups in Andover have an accurate picture of what their "constituents" think about planning issues.

In this section we propose to show several things: First, we will describe the methods used to come to our conclusions. Second, we will present our conclusions and interpretations.

Two mathematical tools were used as handles to determine the answer to my central question. Our procedure was to first simply determine which opinions of the individual leadership groups came closest to the town replies; then which projections; and finally general leadership closeness for both opinion and projections. The determination of closest (usually called "Goodness of Fit") was made by the Chi (χ^2) method, which makes it possible to derive a one figure answer in determining goodness of fit over a multiple response question. The nearer the number to zero (zero being identity with the group used as the standard for comparison --- in this case, town opinion), the closer the fit. In this method we determined goodness of fit for each question (see χ^2 charts).

However, merely determining that group "A", for example, is closer to the town answer than groups "B", "C", or

"Z", does not tell us an even more important fact. What is "close?"** The importance of this distinction cannot be over-stressed. Though a group may win the race to approximate town answers in competition with other groups, it does not mean that this is significant. It may still be so far removed from the town answer that it may be meaningless, e.g., the general leadership fit for projections on question # 17, or the "winning" score for the Planning Board on part "a" of question # 13. Therefore a percentage of 5% was selected to determine how close "close" is. Though the selection of the 5% figure was arbitrary, it was not without reason. It was decided thusly: if a deviation is very large (over 5%), then it is not a random occurrence, i.e. it would occur randomly only one time in twenty. The 5% figure is thus the margin or error we allow and anything larger than this is considered non-random, i.e., a deliberate choice, and hence not close to our standard, the town results. Using 5% as the allowable margin of error it was then a simple matter to to to a "Table of χ^2 for Selected Values of P (5%) and n (denoting the number of degrees of freedom, i.e., number of possible answers to each question)", read off the χ^2 results of closest fit for each answer to arrive at whether it was indeed a "close" fit.

There was no difficulty in applying the Chi-square method of determining what was "close" for leaders' opinions.

** N.B. There is a difference here between "close" and closest. The latter is merely a relative comparison; the former denotes the specific limit of acceptability.

However the Chi-square method was questioned when applied to leaders' estimates of town opinion on two general grounds. The first was on the basis of the objections, previously noted, about the validity of giving the leaders instructions to answer only one answer for a question with what they thought to be the town majority view, and then getting percentage answers for the group as an aggregate. Rather, it is suggested that the Chi-square may be applied to determine what is "close" only if the respondents (leaders) had given a percentage answer to their projections of town opinion, which could then be summed to an aggregate group percentage breakdown.

The second objection lies in the use of the word "interpretation" rather than reflection. If one is attempting to determine if the leaders may reflect town opinion accurately, then the Chi-square method may be perfectly alright. For the Chi-square will give a good indication of closeness of town replies and leadership projections, i.e. to see how near to identical they are. However, the Chi-square method may be questioned if one is seeking only to interpret, i.e., if the town replies 70% in favor of something, and the leaders say that they think by a 100% response, that the town will be in favor of the proposition, then the leaders might be said to be accurately interpreting town opinion. As we see, however, this is quite different from attempting to see how well leaders may reflect community opinion (i.e., how near to identical the percentage answers are for town opinion and leadership estimates of town opinion).

For general leadership categories, the χ^2 determination showed that when general leadership personal opinion was

compared against general leadership projections, the former was closest to town answers 16 times, with 2 ties; the general leadership projections were closest 8 times, a ratio of 2:1. When examining this against our standard for "close" fit we see that 9 of the 16 of the general leadership personal opinions are "close" with 4 of the 8 general leadership projections "close" (both ties were "close"). Thus, the ration of "close" to closest is in both cases around 2:1, with the general leadership personal opinion retaining its lead. From this particular breakdown, then, we infer that the general leadership personal opinions more closely approximate the town opinions than do the leadership projections. However, in terms of our significant measure, the general leadership opinions were within the "close" range only 38% (9 of 36) of the time, not a percentage to encourage one to consider their responses reliable.

On the group by group breakdown of leadership opinion we find a similar situation. For closest fit determined by ²x the individual group responses were: Industrial Development Commission closest 4 times; Planning Board 7; Andover Village Improvement Society (hereafter referred to as AVIS) 7; League of Women Voters 10; and Selectmen 2. The honors go to the ladies who answered 30% (there were 30 questions here as several ties for closest occurred) of all questions closest, and were 30% ahead of their nearest rivals. Measured

against the standard of being "close," only 9 answers of the 30 were within acceptable limits. Only 1 of the Planning Board's 7 was "close;" 2 of 7 of AVIS; 6 of 10 of the League of Women Voters and none of the Selectmen's. Again the ladies carried the field in absolute number of answers within acceptable limits, and the highest percentage of acceptable ("close") answers to closest answers, 60%. Nonetheless, this does not encourage one's confidence in the reliability of our groups.

Next we embarked on a group by group breakdown of leadership projections in identical fashion to the opinion analysis (paragraph above). Closest fit as determined by ²x showed the following: Industrial Development Commission was closest in 6 questions (out of 33, as there were more ties here); Planning Board 7; AVIS 6; League of Women Voters 10; Selectmen 4. Thus, on the projections, the League also leads. Again measuring these results against the standards of acceptable limits, again about 2/3 of the answers are not acceptable. The Industrial Development Commission had one of six "close;" Planning Board, 2 of 7; AVIS, 2 of 6; League of Women Voters, 3 of 10; and Selectmen 2 of 4. The percentage of answers within acceptable limits is similar (10:33 against 9:30) to the leaders' personal opinions. It is obvious that they did not do any better, and do not inspire confidence as to their reliability to project town opinion.

Leaving aside considerations of "close," i.e., being within acceptable limits, we tried to see if there was a pattern or some consistency in the answers given by the various individual groups. That is, we looked at the questions in which the groups were closest to town replies in their personal opinions, and the questions in which they were closest to town replies on their projections, to see if they turn out to be the same a high percentage of the time. In this way, perhaps, we see if any of the groups are particularly au courant on certain questions. For the Industrial Development Commission out of 4 closest answers for personal opinion, and 6 closest for projections (10 total), there existed only one common closest question; out of 7 personal closest and 7 projections, only 3 were common for the Planning Board; of 6 personal and 5 projections closest for AVIS, only one was common; with 10 personal closest and 10 projections closest, only 4 answers were common for the League of Women Voters; and for the Selectmen of 2 personal and 4 projections closest, one question was common to both personal opinion and projections. These results do not lead to the conclusion that ability to be closest on personal opinion, or on projections, is transferrable. Rather the slight degree of similarity indicates that little or no pattern exists between the choices, and that apparently no special abilities exist to project the town answers, even

when personal opinion fairly closely reflects the town feeling.

Two further breakdowns will follow: both on a selected question basis: First, a breakdown on a "special competence" basis, to see if the leadership groups have any special ability to project in their particular areas of responsibility. Second, on a normative versus existential basis, we will examine selected questions. Here we will see if one or another group is more reliable on every day type questions. In order to make this as clear as possible, a single group has been selected as the one with the supposed greatest competence, on each of the questions discussed. This is not ignoring the fact that interest and competence in the questions may be held by every group.

It seems reasonable to expect that the Planning Board, as the agency officially concerned with town development, would have the greatest competence to answer question # 1 for projection of town opinion on the description of Andover's character. However, it was not them but AVIS which came closest to the town. However, none of the projections came within acceptable limits.

On question # 2, which asked what kind of a town they thought Andover was today, one would expect the Planning Board again to have special knowledge of town opinion. However, it was the League of Women Voters which was closest. And they were still far outside our limits of acceptability.

One of the most important questions asked was # 3. This attempted to discover opinion about town development over the next decade or two. Once again, this question falls first within Planning Board Competance. The Industrial Development Commission was the leadership group which most closely fit on the leadership projections, but again not within limits of acceptability.

In asking the three factors they most like about Andover in # 4, the Selectmen are the group with the broadest interests in town welfare. AVIS, however, was the leadership group which was closest on these projections to town opinion, and they were too far outside the limits of acceptability to be considered "close." On # 5, the companion question, which asked what they disliked about Andover, though one might expect the Selectmen to be most knowledgeable here, the League of Women Voters were closest in their projections. Again they were quite far from out limits.

On question # 6 which asked opinions about what type of property best supported itself, I don't know which group could be charged with particular competence, since this question cuts across so much. However, I certainly would not expect the League of Women Voters to be competent here. However, they tied for the projection which was closest to the town answer. Their projections, though, were not within our limits to be considered "close."

Question # 7 is particularly interesting. For it asks

(I think almost begs) for an affirmative answer to "Should we strive to preserve the open character of Andover?" Ignoring assignment of competence for this question, we find that every group but AVIS, which was formed for this purpose, tied for the projection closest to the town answer. But these answers were again outside limits of acceptability.

Question # 8, part (5) directly related to Planning Board functions. The closest projection to town opinion, however, was that of the League of Women Voters. And they were outside of limits of acceptability by almost a multiple of 10.

"Do you feel...recreational facilities should be:" supported, etc., is a question of broad interest. However, one would expect the Selectmen to be most up on town opinion about it. Instead, the closest projection was AVIS', which was "close" within our limits.

Though the Planning Board has a responsibility for physical development in Andover, it is to the Industrial Development Commission that I look for greatest competence on # 12, which asks what type of industry is preferred to come into Andover. The Planning Board exhibited the closest projection to town opinion, and was well within "close" acceptable limits. Moreover, one would expect the Industrial Development Commission to best know town opinions toward having industry within 1/4 mile of their homes, asked in

question # 14. But it was the Selectmen which projected closest with town opinion. Their projection was far out of our limits of acceptability.

The League of Women Voters would be expected to best know the principal reasons for buying outside of Andover, asked in # 15. Indeed, women are the consumers today. Lol they did project town opinion closest, though it was outside limits of acceptability.

Finally, one would expect that an issue as politically charged as Region High School participation is usually (# 18), would fall within the elected officials' competence. And the Selectmen's projections for the town were the closest. Indeed, they were almost identical with that of the town.

The selected questions surveyed above may be somewhat deceptive. Perhaps several explanations may be hypothesized to explain the abysmal showing of the leadership groups' projections.

First, in dealing only with projections, we deal with what the leadership groups presumably think the town's people want, not what the leaders may think best or desirable. For example, the Planning Board was way off base on its projections for town answers to large lot zoning. The town overwhelmingly favored this on the questionnaire. Why did the Planning Board miss this vital point? During the past year, the Planning Board attempted to have two acre zoning adopted in Town Meeting

(presently one acre zoning). In both regular and special Town Meeting, in the words of the chairman of the Planning Board, they got "clobbered." As a result, the Planning Board put the town down as being against large lot zoning. This illustrates the problem inherent in all opinion polls, which is: do people do what they say they will? As we have seen, if they don't, somebody gets mousetrapped along the way!

Another explanation of the lackluster leadership projections, may be illustrated by the Selectmen. They were quite close to town opinion on the matter of the Regional High School. This is a current issue. Perhaps, as elected officials, the Selectmen keep their eyes on the ball, and don't worry about long-range issues. For, elections are often decided on immediate issues and problems.

Lastly, it is simply possible that I have expected too much from leadership groups by way of specialized competence. Perhaps, in a small town, the leadership groups are not able to develop a real division of labor, and thus a high degree of competence in a few areas. Moreover, most of the official leadership groups in small towns are amateurs, only part-time officials, and can one expect a great deal from them?

We will now examine selected questions and attempt to study them through^a normative (what would you like?) versus

existential (what is there presently?) prism relating to Leaders' personal opinions and their projections. There is, of course, some overlap with the previous section.

On question #1, a question which though asking a fact sort of question, also allows a great deal (too much!) of personal feeling. The leadership group whose personal opinion was closest to the town's was the Industrial Commission; and the closest projection was Avis'. Neither was close enough to be acceptable.

Question # 2 is somewhat more on the fact side than #1, though still allowing emotional considerations to affect the answers. Here, the closest group personal opinion was Avis'; the closest projection, the League of Women Voters. Both were far outside the limit of acceptability.

Normative considerations are predominant in #3. The leadership personal opinion closest to town opinion was the Planning Board's, and the closest projections were the Industrial Commission's. Although both groups' answers were far outside the limit of acceptability, these are the groups which I would expect to be most concerned with this kind of normative consideration.

The market-analysis nature of question # 16 firmly puts it in the existential category. The leadership personal opinion which was identical with the town's opinion was the

League of Women Voters. The closest projections were those of the Industrial Commission and Planning Board, who also perfectly matched town opinion. Neither of these results are unexpected from the point of view of consumer interest (the League) or community services and facilities (Industrial Development Commission and the Planning Board).

Question # 17 is a middle ground sort of question, with normative and existential elements. The Planning Board was the closest in its personal opinion to town opinion, and the League of Women Voters had the closest town projections. Both groups, however, were very far from the range of acceptability. Again, from the point of view of consumer interest and interest in community facilities, both these groups have a logical relationship to the question.

Question # 19 ostensibly normative, but, as follow-up question # 20 illustrates, really quite here-and-now. The closest personal group opinion to " Do you desire other educational programs in Andover or the larger community?" was the league of Women Voters; the closest group projection was that of the Selectmen and the League of Women Voters which had identical answers. In this case, both answers were well within our limits of acceptability. And one would also expect these two groups to be interested in education, in the present and future.

Lastly, on a normative basis, it is interesting to note that questions which certain groups feel most strongly

about, e.g., Industrial Development Commission on industrial development, or the Planning Board on large lot zoning, were the questions about which those groups projected the greatest difference between their opinion and the town's, perhaps showing that in these cases, they were quite well aware of different viewpoints and opposition.

Because we do not know the sex of the town respondents we are forced to make inferences without data. However, it seems logical to suppose that a very high percentage of respondents were women. If true, this may account in part for the relatively high degree of fit between many of the League of Women Voters answers and town answers, particularly on questions which deal with shopping facilities. Of course, sex may not be the critical variable. Class might. But we don't have that information either.

In an attempt to determine whether the general leadership results were closer to town opinion than individual groups (for both leadership opinion and projections), the χ^2 values have been summed to see where the overall results were closest. For closest fit for leadership personal opinion the results were: general leadership personal opinion, 9 closest; individual group leadership opinion, 11 closest. Turning to projections: general leadership projections had 9 closest; individual leadership group projections, 7 closest. Together they are 17 closest for the general leadership groups for both personal opinion and projections; and

18 for individual leadership groups for personal opinion and projection.

The results, unfortunately, look no less equivocal when evaluated against my limits of acceptability to determine "close." When we discard all readings which do not meet the limits of acceptability, we find that 13 of the general leadership group well within its boundaries, and 14 of the individual groups. Broken down, we see a 6 to 7 division for general leadership and a 7 to 7 division for individual leadership.

Scatter diagrams were used (see table) to graphically portray the results in another way. Here, we attempt to show the combinations of answers the leaders gave. In this way we are able to see at a glance how often they felt the town would answer a question as they themselves would.

Of course, there are, on specific questions, marked differences among the leadership groups. For example, the Industrial Development Commission unanimously felt that additional industry was Andover's greatest need over the next couple of decades. AVIS, dedicated to preserving the "open and rural" character of Andover, tallied 6:1 against industry in Andover on another question. However, this was not our primary goal. We point this out as something of possible interest if one wishes to browse through the data.

As we have seen, over the whole questionnaire there does not seem to be any group close enough to the town answers, so that it may be called a reliable informant. Nor do the leadership groups as aggregates show a particularly greater closeness to town answers.

The conclusion of this thesis is that in Andover the Interpretation of Community Opinion by Leaders is not accurate. We have seen that though certain groups may be closer to community opinion than others on certain questions, they do not do so either frequently enough, or within a limit of acceptability that would indicate that they are "close." My hypothesis stands.

Findings

Enclosed herein are the following: percentage breakdown of town and leadership response for each question; Chi square (χ^2) values denoting closest fit between leadership opinion and projections and town opinion. Also included is a range of closeness as a table against which the Chi square (χ^2) findings of closest fit are calibrated to determine if these findings are significant within our standards.

371 townspeople questionnaires were scored for this questionnaire to give us our standard of opinion to measure the leaders against. The 371 questionnaires scored were roughly half (approximately 780 were returned of the 1500 sent out) the number of questionnaires returned.

Of a total of 42 individuals comprising my total leadership membership, 31 or 75% returned questionnaires. The breakdown for the various groups follow: League of Women Voters 12 replies from 17 questionnaires handed out; Industrial Development Commission 4 of 6; Board of Selectmen 4 of 5; Planning Board 5 of 5, and Andover Village Improvement Society 6 of 9.

RESPONSE PERCENTAGES

INSTRUCTIONS

This survey is addressed to you, the adult, heads of your household. Its purpose is to help you express your own personal feeling about the entire community of Andover. If possible we would like husbands and wives to work together to answer the questions below according to the likes and dislikes of their family.

So that you will tell us how you personally feel about Andover, we would prefer that you do not indicate your name or address on this questionnaire. Just indicate with check marks or short write-in comments your answers to all of the following questions. Please ignore the numbers at the side of the boxes and on the back of the questionnaire. They are for IBM processing only. Then return your completed questionnaire immediately in the stamped addressed envelope enclosed for your use. Thank you.

YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Approximately how many years have you, as a family, lived in Andover? (12 & 13)
2. Number of persons in household
- | | Male | | Female | |
|---------|--------------------------|------|--------------------------|------|
| under 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (14) | <input type="checkbox"/> | (20) |
| 6-12 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (15) | <input type="checkbox"/> | (21) |
| 13-17 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (16) | <input type="checkbox"/> | (22) |
| 18-22 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (17) | <input type="checkbox"/> | (23) |
| 23-65 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (18) | <input type="checkbox"/> | (24) |
| over 65 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (19) | <input type="checkbox"/> | (25) |
3. Are you employed?
- | | Husband | | Wife | |
|----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) in Andover | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) elsewhere | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> |
4. Does a veteran of any war live in your home? yes no (30)
5. Which of the following do you feel best describes Andover's character? Check one.
- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------|
| a. Self-sufficient and unique | <input type="checkbox"/> | (31a) |
| b. Satellite community of Lawrence | <input type="checkbox"/> | (31b) |
| c. Satellite community of Boston | <input type="checkbox"/> | (31c) |
| d. Integral part of Merrimack Valley Community | <input type="checkbox"/> | (31d) |
6. What type of town do you think Andover is today? Check one.
- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------|
| a. Primarily residential suburban | <input type="checkbox"/> | (32a) |
| b. Residential suburban with industrial flavor | <input type="checkbox"/> | (32b) |
| c. Residential suburban with business flavor | <input type="checkbox"/> | (32c) |
| d. Residential suburban with both industrial and business flavor | <input type="checkbox"/> | (32d) |
| e. Rural community | <input type="checkbox"/> | (32e) |
| f. Other | <input type="checkbox"/> | (32f) |
7. Considering the next 10-20 years, what do you think is most important in the development of Andover? Check one.
- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-------|
| a. Additional industry | <input type="checkbox"/> | (33a) |
| b. Additional business | <input type="checkbox"/> | (33b) |
| c. More rental property | <input type="checkbox"/> | (33c) |
| d. Selected spots of apartments | <input type="checkbox"/> | (33d) |
| e. Built up, but in large lots | <input type="checkbox"/> | (33e) |
| f. Remain generally the same in character | <input type="checkbox"/> | (33f) |

8. What three factors do you like about Andover ? Indicate three choices, 1, 2, 3 in order of preference (34, 35, 36)

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| Public schools | <input type="checkbox"/> | (a) | Business opportunities | <input type="checkbox"/> | (h) |
| Private schools | <input type="checkbox"/> | (b) | People | <input type="checkbox"/> | (i) |
| Present size | <input type="checkbox"/> | (c) | Town appearance | <input type="checkbox"/> | (j) |
| Proximity to work | <input type="checkbox"/> | (d) | Relation to Lawrence-Lowell | <input type="checkbox"/> | (k) |
| Rural character | <input type="checkbox"/> | (e) | Shopping facilities | <input type="checkbox"/> | (l) |
| Prestige | <input type="checkbox"/> | (f) | Progress of town | <input type="checkbox"/> | (m) |
| Proximity to good roads | <input type="checkbox"/> | (g) | Library | <input type="checkbox"/> | (n) |

9. What do you dislike about Andover ? List first three choices, 1, 2, 3 in order of preference (37, 38, 39)

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-----|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| Taxes | <input type="checkbox"/> | (a) | Roads | <input type="checkbox"/> | (g) |
| Shopping Facilities | <input type="checkbox"/> | (b) | New residential developments | <input type="checkbox"/> | (h) |
| Recreation | <input type="checkbox"/> | (c) | Town appearance | <input type="checkbox"/> | (i) |
| Crowded | <input type="checkbox"/> | (d) | Lack of Town Services | <input type="checkbox"/> | (j) |
| Rapid growth | <input type="checkbox"/> | (e) | Traffic | <input type="checkbox"/> | (k) |
| Politics | <input type="checkbox"/> | (f) | Lack of Town progress | <input type="checkbox"/> | (l) |

10. Should the Town have a tax-supported municipal pick-up of garbage and trash ?
yes no (40)

11. What type of property do you feel best supports itself by taxes ? Choose one. (41)

a. Farm land	<input type="checkbox"/>	(a)	Industrial	<input type="checkbox"/>	(d)
b. Residential	<input type="checkbox"/>	(b)	Apartments	<input type="checkbox"/>	(e)
c. Business	<input type="checkbox"/>	(c)	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	(f)

12. Should we strive to preserve the open character of Andover ? yes no (42)

If "yes" do you favor preserving the open character of Andover by:

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| a. Special tax measures to encourage the continued use of farm lands for farming ? | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> | (43) |
| b. Purchase of the land by the Town (Check one) | | | |
| 1. by negotiation | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> | (44a) |
| 2. by eminent domain | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> | (44b) |
| c. Setting up a trust to purchase land to make it possible for Andover to control its use | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> | (45) |
| d. Large lot zoning | yes <input type="checkbox"/> | no <input type="checkbox"/> | (46) |

13. What public recreational facilities which you or any member of your family would use, do you feel Andover lacks ? Check one or more.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|------|
| a. Parks, picnic and hiking areas | <input type="checkbox"/> | (47) |
| b. Areas open to hunting | <input type="checkbox"/> | (48) |
| c. Playgrounds | <input type="checkbox"/> | (49) |
| d. Skating Rinks | <input type="checkbox"/> | (50) |
| e. Teenage recreation facilities | <input type="checkbox"/> | (51) |
| f. Family recreation facilities | <input type="checkbox"/> | (52) |
| g. Tennis courts | <input type="checkbox"/> | (53) |
| h. Swimming pools | <input type="checkbox"/> | (54) |
| i. None | <input type="checkbox"/> | (55) |

14. Do you feel these recreational facilities should be

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------|
| a. Privately sponsored | <input type="checkbox"/> | (56) |
| b. Tax supported | <input type="checkbox"/> | (57) |
| c. Partly tax supported, partly privately supported | <input type="checkbox"/> | (58) |

15. Do your children avail themselves of the summer recreational programs in Andover? (59)
yes no

If "yes" check one or both.

If "no" check one or more.

- (yo) a. Poms Pond (60)
b. Playground (61)

- a. Away for summer (62)
b. Not interested (63)
c. Other (64)

16. If the Urban Renewal Program is accepted by Andover, would you approve of a civic Recreation Building in the center of Town? (65)
yes no

17. What type of industry would you prefer to come to Andover?

- a. Industrial Parks as along Route 128 (66)
b. Small scattered manufacturing firms with less than 100 employees each (67)
c. Large individual plants similar to Western Electric & Avco (68)
d. None (69)

18. Do you feel Andover has enough industry? (70)
yes no

If "yes", why? Check one or more.

- a. Industry would impair present character (71)
b. It would decrease value of nearby residences (72)
c. It would encourage the excessive growth of the town (73)
d. It would increase public expenditures not balanced by taxes industry would pay (74)
e. It would increase traffic congestion (75)
f. Other (76)

If "no", why? Check one or more.

- a. Industry would lower tax rate (77)
b. It would open up more employment opportunities in Town (78)
c. It would encourage the growth of the Town (79)
d. It would increase property values (80)
e. Other (111)

19. Would you mind if a clean industrial establishment were built within a quarter of a mile of your home? (112)
yes no

20. Approximately what percentage of the following items does your family purchase in Andover? Reason for buying outside Andover

	% bought in Andover	(See reasons below)
Food (groceries)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (113, 114, 115)
Clothing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (116, 117, 118)
Hardware and garden tools	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (119, 120, 121)
Books and phono. records	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (122, 123, 124)
Household appliances	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (125, 126, 127)
Automotive services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> (128, 129, 130)

Principal reason for buying outside Andover (Insert appropriate letter symbols a, b, c above

- a. Items not available e. Easier parking
b. Prices lower f. Shop near place of work
c. Wider selection g. Other
d. Better service

21. Do you believe more shopping facilities are needed in Andover? (131)
yes no If "no" pass on to question 23.

22. If shopping facilities were to be expanded, which one or more of the following would you prefer:

- a. A few specialty shops (132)
b. A few neighborhood stores (133)
c. One or more department stores (134)
d. Community shopping center (135)
e. Large regional shopping center (136)
f. Other (137)

23. Do you believe that Andover should participate in the Regional Vocational High School which is being considered for the Greater Lawrence area ? (Participation will involve paying a proportionate share of the construction and operational costs.)
 yes no (138)
24. In your opinion, should the length of the school day be increased ? yes no (139)
 a. For elementary pupils (140)
 b. For junior and senior high schools (141)
25. Would you be in favor of a longer school year? In other words, should the public schools operate for more than the required 180 days? yes no (142)
26. Evening courses in practical arts are offered Andover adults for twenty weeks each year. Subjects include sewing for beginning and advanced pupils, rug braiding, and furniture refinishing. This program is free to Andover residents. What other subject(s) would you like to have offered ?
 a. _____ b. _____ c. _____
27. Do you favor the continuation of our summer school:
 a. For enrichment purposes (143)
 b. For remedial work (144)
 c. For secondary students (145)
 d. For elementary pupils (146)
28. Should the summer school be financed:
 a. On a tuition basis (147)
 b. Tax supported (148)
 c. Part tax supported and part tuition (149)
29. Do you desire other educational programs in Andover or the larger community ?
 yes no (150)
 If "yes", check one or more.
 a. A public school adult education program (151)
 b. A regional community college (152)
 c. A community trade school (153)
 d. Expanded regional library service (154)
 e. Other (155)
30. Do you own your own home ? yes no (156)

This survey has the endorsement of the following Town Boards:

1. The Town Manager
2. Board of Selectmen
3. Planning Board
4. Industrial Development Commission
5. Board of Assessors
6. Recreation Committee
7. Board of Health
8. Library Board
9. School Committee

INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire is to be used for a Master's Thesis at MIT. The answers received are confidential -- so please do not sign your name.

As leaders in the Andover community, your personal opinions about town development are important. Also important are your interpretations of town attitudes on this subject.

For this purpose, we would like you to answer each question in two ways: first your personal answer to the question, and second your estimate of the majority of town opinion.

To the left of each answer is a space provided for your personal opinion, to the right is a space for your estimate of town opinion. For examples:

1. Do you believe that Andover should accept a gift of \$1,000,000?

(Your opinion)		(Town opinion)
A _____	If it is in Confederate money	_____ X a
B _____	If it is counterfeit money	_____ b
C _____ X	If it is in legal currency	_____ c

N.B. The answers do not have to be the same.

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Which of the following do you feel best describes Andover's character? (Check one)

(Your opinion)		(Town opinion)
A. _____	Self-sufficient and unique	_____ a.
B. _____	Satellite community of Lawrence	_____ b.
C. _____	Satellite community of Boston	_____ c.
D. _____	Integral part of Merrimack Valley Community	_____ d.

OPINIONS*

PROJECTIONS*

	TOWN	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SLT- HEAD	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SLT- men
T.													
A.	46	55	50	20	66	72	50	66	75	40	66	70	66
B.	9	4				9		3		20			
C.	4	7			16		25	7		20			33
D.	41	34	50	80	16	18	25	24	25	20	33	30	

* Given in percentages.

OPINIONS

PROJECTIONS

	TOWN	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SLT- HEAD	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SLt- men
2.													
A.	40	70	100	40	50	82	75	55	75	60	33	56	66
B.	15	3		20				7		20	16		
C.	7	6		20	16			14	25		16	18	
D.	35	17		20	33	9	25	17		20	16	27	
E.	2	3				9		3					33
F.	1							3			16		
3.													
A.	47	47	100	60		36	75	24	50		33	27	
B.	6	3				9							
C.	2												
D.	1							3					33
E.	8	5		20	16	27							
F.	36	33		20	84	27	25	73	50	106	66	73	66
4.													
A.	17	12	33	7	11	8	25	21	33	20	11	24	22
B.	8	12		13	22	11	8	12	17		11	18	11
C.	5	7			5	22		5			5	9	
D.	8	8	22	13		8	8	10	8	7	17	12	
E.	9	9		7	17	11	8	8		7	5	9	22
F.	7	7	11	13		8		15	17	20	6	15	22
G.	7	1		7				2		7	5		
H.	1	1		7				1			5		
I.	10	23	22	13	28	25	25	10	17	13	17	3	11
J.	12	10	11	13	5	11	8	6	8	13	6	3	
K.	2							2		7		3	
L.	2							1			6		
M.	4	3		7			8	1		7			
N.	7	7			11	8	8	6			6	3	11
5.													
A.	15	10	33	13		10		22	33	33	21	16	11
B.	9	9	11			17	8	4	8			6	
C.	9	14	11	13	21	13	8	11			21	13	22

5.(continued)

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|-------|----|
| D. _____ | Crowded | _____ | d. |
| E. _____ | Rapid Growth | _____ | e. |
| F. _____ | Politics | _____ | f. |
| G. _____ | Roads | _____ | g. |
| H. _____ | New residential development | _____ | h. |
| I. _____ | Town appearance | _____ | i. |
| J. _____ | Lack of town services | _____ | j. |
| K. _____ | Traffic | _____ | k. |
| L. _____ | Lack of town progress | _____ | l. |

6. What type of property do you feel best supports itself
by taxes (Check one)

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| (Your opinion) | | (Town opinion) |
| A. _____ | Farm land | _____ a. |
| B. _____ | Residential | _____ b. |
| C. _____ | Business | _____ c. |
| D. _____ | Industrial | _____ d. |
| E. _____ | Apartments | _____ e. |
| F. _____ | Other | _____ f. |

7. Should we strive to preserve the open character of Andover?

- | | | |
|----------------|-----|----------------|
| (Your opinion) | | (Town Opinion) |
| A. _____ | Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ | No | _____ b. |

8. If "yes" to Number 7, do you favor preserving the open
character of Andover by:

- | | | |
|---|-----|----------------|
| (1) special tax measures to encourage the continued use of
farm-lands for farming | | (Town opinion) |
| (Your opinion) | | |
| A. _____ | Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ | No | _____ b. |
| (2) Purchase of land by town through negotiation | | |
| A. _____ | Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ | No | _____ b. |
| (3) Purchase of land by town through eminent domain | | |
| A. _____ | Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ | No | _____ b. |
| (4) Setting up a trust to purchase the land to make it possible
for Andover to control its use | | |
| A. _____ | Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ | No | _____ b. |
| (5) Large lot zoning | | |
| A. _____ | Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ | No | _____ b. |

OPINIONS

PROJECTIONS

	TOWN	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SLT-head	GEN LEAD	Indn Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SLT-men
5. (cont.)													
D.	2	2					17	2		7		4	
E.	11	11		7	36	7	8	16	8	13	14	23	11
F.	7	5		20		3		2	8	7			
G.	3	1				3							
H.	10	8		7	21		17	10	8			16	22
I.	4	6	11		8	10		4			8	6	
J.	14	10		13		13	17	14	8	13	14	13	22
K.	8	11	11	20	14		25	9	25	13	21		
L.	8	13	22	7		23		6	8	13		3	11
6.													
A.	2	7				10	25	5					33
B.	28	10			33	10		32	50	20	33	33	37
C.	11	10	33	40				11	25	20			
D.	54	69	66	40	66	80	75	50	25	40	66	66	33
E.	5							4					
F.		4		20						20			
7.													
A.	92	93	100	100	100	82	100	92	100	100	60	100	100
B.	8	7				18		8			40		
8.													
(1)													
A.	65	29	50	75	40			24	50	50	20		
B.	35	71	50	25	60	100	100	76	50	50	80	100	100
(2)													
A.	80	77	50	50	100	75	100	77	50	75	84	75	100
B.	20	23	50	50		25	100	23	50	25	16	25	
(3)													
A.	42	29			40	50		10			20	12	
B.	58	71	100	100	60	50	100	90	100	100	80	88	100
(4)													
A.	71	59		50	60	57	100	47		75	40	50	
B.	29	41	100	50	40	43		53	100	25	60	50	100
(5)													
A.	82	88	100	60	80	100	100	51	100	20	20	50	
B.	18	12		40	20			49		80	80	50	100

9. What public recreational facilities which you or any member of your family would use, do you feel Andover lacks?
(Check one or more)

(Your opinion)	(Town opinion)
A. _____ Parks, Picnic and hiking areas	_____ a.
B. _____ Areas open to hunting	_____ b.
C. _____ Playgrounds	_____ c.
D. _____ Skating rinks	_____ d.
E. _____ Teen-age recreation facilities	_____ e.
F. _____ Family recreation facilities	_____ f.
G. _____ Tennis courts	_____ g.
H. _____ Swimming pools	_____ h.
I. _____ None	_____ i.

10. Do you feel these recreational facilities should be:

(Your opinion)	(Town opinion)
A. _____ Privately sponsored	_____ a.
B. _____ Tax supported	_____ b.
C. _____ Partly tax supported, partly privately supported	_____ c.

11. If the Urban Renewal program is accepted by Andover, would you approve a Civic Recreation Building in the center of town?

(Your opinion)	(Town opinion)
A. _____ Yes	_____ a.
B. _____ No	_____ b.

12. What type of industry would you prefer to come to Andover?
(your opinion)

(your opinion)	(Town opinion)
A. _____ Industrial parks, as along Route 128	_____ a.
B. _____ Small scattered manufacturing firms, with less than 100 employees each	_____ b.
C. _____ Large individual plants similar to Avco and Western Electric	_____ c.
D. _____ None	_____ d.

13. Do you feel Andover has enough industry?

(Your opinion)	(Town opinion)
A. _____ Yes	_____ a.
B. _____ No	_____ b.

If "yes", why? (Check one or more)

A. _____ Industry would impair present character	_____ a.
B. _____ It would decrease the value of nearby residence	_____ b.
C. _____ It would encourage the excessive growth of the town	_____ c.

TURN PAGE FOR COMPLETE LIST OF ANSWERS

OPINIONS

PROJECTIONS

	TOWN	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SlT-head	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SlT-men
9.													
A.	12	10		11	20	6	22	9			6	13	29
B.	3												
C.	7	4	12			3		12	12		12	17	
D.	16	17		11	20	23	11	20		25	18	26	
E.	10	8	25	11	10	3	11	16	25	25		10	14
F.	9	1				3		5		8	6	3	14
G.	16	32	25	44	30	32	33	25	25	33	25	20	29
H.	16	24	25	11	20	29	22	12	25	8	12	11	14
I.	9	3	12	11				1	12				
10.													
A.	19	17		20	16	9	50	8			20	10	
B.	24	23	33	20	50	9	25	44	66		40	50	66
C.	57	60	66	60	35	82	25	48	33	100	40	40	33
11.													
A.	56	57	75	40	66	55	33	55	25	60	60	55	66
B.	44	43	25	60	33	45	66	45	75	40	40	45	33
12.													
A.	40	50	40	80	33	44	80	44	60	40	66	20	100
B.	19	12			33	15		32		20	33	50	
C.	25	26	60			30	20	17	40	20		20	
D.	16	12		20	33	8		7		20		10	
13.													
A.	30	27		20	66	28	25	18	50	50	40	23	
B.	70	73	100	80	33	72	100	82	50	50	60	77	100
(if yes)													
A.	23	37		50	36	29		33		25	50		
B.	16	12				29		33		50	50	33	
C.	22	25			50	14		11	100				

13. (continued)

- D. _____ It would encourage public expenditures not
balanced by taxes industry would pay _____ d.
- E. _____ It would increase traffic congestion _____ e.
- F. _____ Other _____ f.

If "no" why? (Check one or more)

- A. _____ Industry would lower tax rate _____ a.
- B. _____ It would open up more employment opportu-
nities in town _____ b.
- C. _____ It would encourage the growth of the
town _____ c.
- D. _____ It would increase property values _____ d.
- E. _____ Other _____ e.

14. Would you mind if a clean industrial establishment
were built within a quarter of a mile of your home?

- (Your opinion) (Town opinion)
- A. _____ Yes _____ a.
- B. _____ No _____ b.

15. Principal reasons for buying outside of Andover

- (Your opinion) (Town opinion)
- A. _____ Items not available _____ a.
- B. _____ Prices lower _____ b.
- C. _____ Wider selection _____ c.
- D. _____ Better service _____ d.
- E. _____ Easier parking _____ e.
- F. _____ Shop near place of work _____ f.
- G. _____ Other _____ g.

16. Do you believe more shopping facilities are needed in
Andover? (if "no" skip question 17)

- (Your opinion) (Town opinion)
- A. _____ Yes _____ A.
- B. _____ No _____ b.

17. If shopping facilities were to be expanded, which one
or more of the following would you prefer?

- (Your opinion) (Town opinion)
- A. _____ A few specialty shops _____ a.
- B. _____ A few neighborhood stores _____ b.
- C. _____ One or more department stores _____ c.
- D. _____ Community shopping center _____ d.
- E. _____ Large regional shopping center _____ e.
- F. _____ Other _____ f.

18. Do you believe that Andover should participate in the Regional Vocational High School, which is being considered for the Greater Lawrence area?
(Participation will involve paying a proportionate share of the construction and operational costs)
- | (Your opinion) | (town opinion) |
|----------------|----------------|
| A. _____ Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ No | _____ b. |
19. Do you desire other educational programs in Andover or the larger community? (If "no" skip question 20)
- | (Your opinion) | (Town opinion) |
|----------------|----------------|
| A. _____ Yes | _____ a. |
| B. _____ No | _____ b. |
20. If "yes" to question 19, check one or more
- | (Your opinion) | (Town opinion) |
|--|----------------|
| A. _____ Public school adult education program | _____ a. |
| B. _____ Regional community college | _____ b. |
| C. _____ Community trade school | _____ d. |
| D. _____ Expanded regional library service | _____ d. |
| E. _____ Other | _____ e. |
21. Do you own your own home?
- | |
|--------------|
| A. _____ Yes |
| B. _____ No |

CHI SQUARE CHARTS

RANGE OF CLOSENESS*

Questions	x ²
1.	7.815
2.	11.070
3.	9.488
4.	22.362
5.	19.675
6.	11.070
7.	3.841
8. (1)	3.841
(2)	3.841
(3)	3.841
(4)	3.841
(5)	3.841
9.	15.507
10.	5.991
11.	3.841
12.	7.815
13.	3.841
14.	11.070
15.	9.488
16.	3.841
17.	12.592
18.	3.841
19.	3.841
20.	9.488

* N. B., These Chi Square figures denote the 5% margin which has been chosen to exemplify "close fit." All higher values fall outside of this category.

CHI SQUARE VALUES

OPINIONS

PROJECTION

QUESTIONS	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	SLT-head	GEN LEAD	Ind Com	Plan Com	Avis	Lwv	Sl-men
1	8.1	15.3					22			23.7		
2	22.9			31.1			25.5				43.4	
3	5.9		36.5				51.6	22.6				
4	33.6					55.7	23			55.8		
5	15.9		64				19.7				43.4	
6	45.3			29.5			4			29.5	29.5	
7	.1	8.3	8.3	8.3		8.3	0	8.3	8.3		8.3	8.3
8 (1)	56.9		4.3				73.9	9.9	9.9			
(2)	.6				1.5		.6			1		
(3)	6.9			.1			63.9			19.9		
(4)	6.9			5.9			22.6		9			
(5)	2.4			.2			65	22				
9	36.2			47.6			26.9				34.1	
10	.4		.9				41			6		
11	.04				.04		.04				.04	
12	6.1				7.3		20.2		2			
13 (1)	.3				2		4.9				2.3	
(2)	20				25.4		46.3		116.4			
14	9.3	1.4	1.4				72.4					19.6
15	42.2				31		130.4				33.7	
16	2.6				0		1.4	0	0			
17	46.1		76.9				42.4				92.7	
18	46.7				17.6		.04					.04
19	3.2				1.5		47				.6	.6
20	3.3				17.6		54.2	10.2				

ERRATA:

13(3) 49 9.6

27.8

40.4

SCATTER DIAGRAMS*

* These "Scatter Diagrams," actually Funnet Squares for questionnaires, are an attempt to illustrate the combinations in which the "Your Opinion" and "Town Opinion" responses came on the Leader Questionnaire. The red slash is drawn through the areas in which the two responses would be congruent.



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DISCLAIMER

**Page has been omitted due to a pagination error
by the author.**

1. Which of the following do you feel best describes Andover's character? (Check one)

(Your opinion)

(Town opinion)

- A. _____ Self-sufficient and unique
- B. _____ Satellite community of Lawrence
- C. _____ Satellite community of Boston
- D. _____ Integral part of Merrimack Valley Community

- _____ a.
- _____ b.
- _____ c.
- _____ d.

General Leadership*

A	9	1		4
B	1			
C	1		1	1
D	7		1	2
	a	b	c	d

Industrial Commission

A	1			
B				
C				
D	1			
	a	b	c	d

Planning Board

A	1			
B				
C				
D	2		1	1
	a	b	c	d

Andover Village Improvement Society

A	3			1
B				
C	1			
D				1
	a	b	c	d

League of Women Voters

A	4			3
B	1			
C				
D	3			
	a	b	c	d

Selectmen

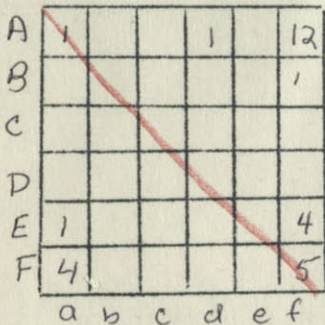
A	1			
B				
C			1	
D	1			
	a	b	c	d

* 43% congruent; 57% non-congruent.

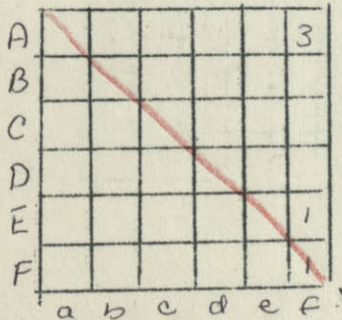
3. Considering the next 10 to 20 years, what do you think is most important in the development of Andover? (Check one)
 (Your opinion) (Town opinion)

- | | | | |
|----------|--|-------|----|
| A. _____ | Additional industry | _____ | a. |
| B. _____ | Additional business | _____ | b. |
| C. _____ | More rental property | _____ | c. |
| D. _____ | Selected spots of apartments | _____ | d. |
| E. _____ | Built up, but in large lots | _____ | e. |
| F. _____ | Remain generally in the same character | _____ | f. |

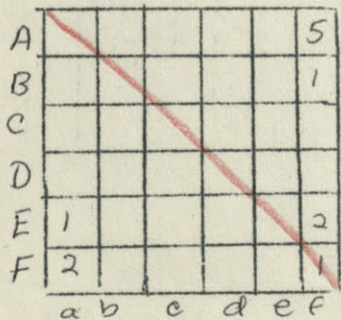
General Leadership*



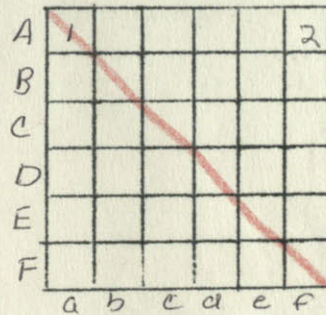
Planning Board



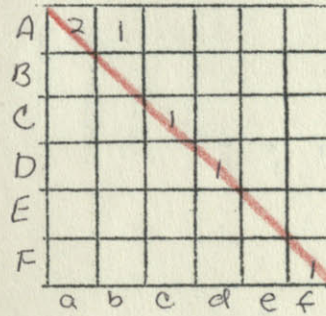
League of Women Voters



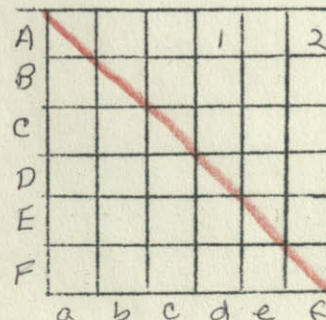
Industrial Commission



Andover Village Improvement Society



Selectmen



* 21% congruent; 79% non-congruent.

6. What type of property do you feel best supports itself by taxes (Check one)

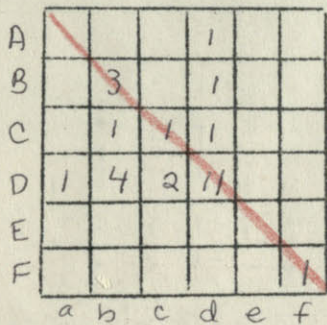
(Your opinion)

- A. _____ Farm land
- B. _____ Residential
- C. _____ Business
- D. _____ Industrial
- E. _____ Apartments
- F. _____ Other

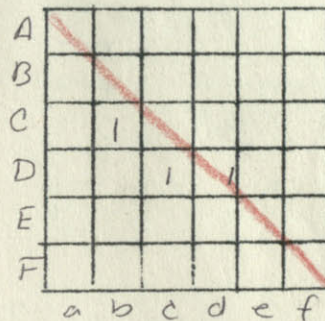
(Town opinion)

- _____ a.
- _____ b.
- _____ c.
- _____ d.
- _____ e.
- _____ f.

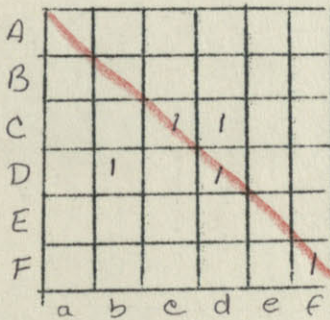
General Leadership*



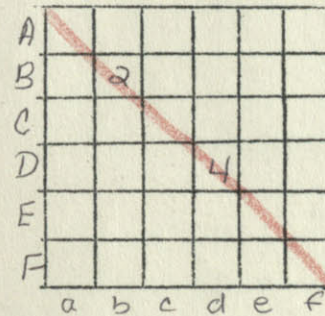
Industrial Commission



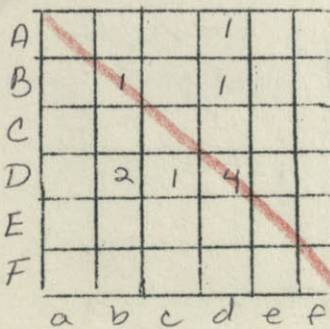
Planning Board



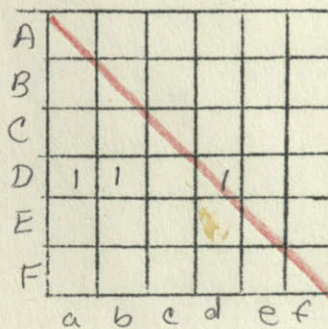
Andover Village Improvement Society



League of Women Voters



Selectmen



* 59% congruent; 41% non-congruent.

7. Should we strive to preserve the open character of Andover?
 (Your opinion) (Town Opinion)

A. _____ Yes _____ a.
 B. _____ No _____ b.

General Leadership*

A	20	2
B	2	
	a	b

Industrial Commission

A	4	
B		
	a	b

Planning Board

A	4	
B		
	a	b

Andover Village Improvement Society

A	3	2
B		
	a	b

League of Women Voters

A	8	
B	2	
	a	b

Selectmen

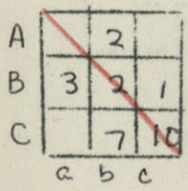
A	3	
B		
	a	b

* 85% congruent; 15% non-congruent.

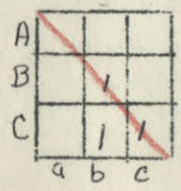
10. Do you feel these recreational facilities should be:
 (Your opinion) (Town opinion)

A. _____ Privately sponsored _____ a.
 B. _____ Tax supported _____ b.
 C. _____ Partly tax supported, partly privately supported _____ c.

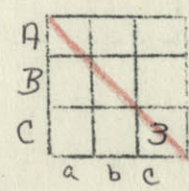
General Leadership*



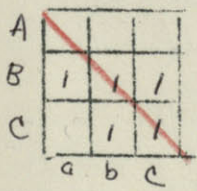
Industrial Commission



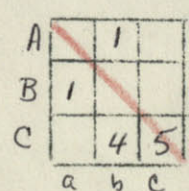
Planning Board



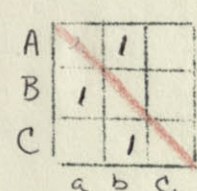
Andover Village Improvement Society



League of Women Voters



Selectmen



* 48% congruent; 52% non-congruent.

11. If the Urban Renewal program is accepted by Andover, would you approve a Civic Recreation Building in the center of town?

(Your opinion)

A. _____ Yes
B. _____ No

(Town opinion)

_____ a.
_____ b.

General Leadership*

A	9	6
B	6	6
	a	b

Industrial Commission

A	1	2
B		1
	a	b

Planning Board

A	2	
B	1	2
	a	b

Andover Village Improvement Society

A	3	1
B		1
	a	b

League of Women Voters

A	3	2
B	3	2
	a	b

Selectmen

A		1
B	2	
	a	b

* 55% congruent; 45% non-congruent.

12. What type of industry would you prefer to come to Andover?
 (your opinion) (Town opinion)

A. _____ Industrial parks, as along Route 128 _____ a.
 B. _____ Small scattered manufacturing firms, with _____ b.
 less than 100 employees each
 C. _____ Large individual plants similar to Avco _____ c.
 and Western Electric
 D. _____ None _____ d.

General Leadership*

A	5	1	2	2
B	1	3		
C	1	3	3	
D	2	1		
	a	b	c	d

Industrial Commission

A	2			
B				
C	1		2	
D				
	a	b	c	d

Planning Board

A	1	1	1	1
B				
C				
D	1			
	a	b	c	d

Andover Village Improvement Society

A	2			
B	1	2		
C				
D	1			
	a	b	c	d

League of Women Voters

A	2		1	1
B		1		
C		3	1	
D		1		
	a	b	c	d

Selectmen

A	2			
B				
C				
D				
	a	b	c	d

* 46% congruent; 54% non-congruent.

13. Do you feel Andover has enough industry?
(Your opinion)

A. _____ Yes
B. _____ No

(Town opinion)
_____ a.
_____ b.

General Leadership*

A	1	5
B	7	13
	a	b

Industrial Commission

A		
B	2	2
	a	b

Planning Board

A		
B	2	2
	a	b

Andover Village Improvement Society

A	1	2
B	1	1
	a	b

League of Women Voters

A		3
B	2	5
	a	b

Selectmen

A		
B		3
	a	b

* 54% congruent; 46% non-congruent.

14. Would you mind if a clean industrial establishment were built within a quarter of a mile of your home?
 (Your opinion) (Town opinion)

A. _____ Yes _____ a.
 B. _____ No _____ b.

General Leadership*

A	15	
B	8	5
	a	b

Industrial Commission

A	3	
B	1	5
	a	b

Planning Board

A	2	
B	1	1
	a	b

Andover Village Improvement Society

A	2	
B	1	3
	a	b

League of Women Voters

A	7	
B	3	1
	a	b

Selectmen

A	1	
B	2	1
	a	b

* 71% congruent; 29% non-congruent.

16. Do you believe more shopping facilities are needed in Andover? (if "no" skip question 17)

(Your opinion)

A. _____ Yes

B. _____ No

(Town opinion)

_____ A.

_____ b.

General Leadership*

A	8	2
B	3	12
	a	b

Industrial Commission

A	1	
B	1	2
	a	b

Planning Board

A	1	
B	1	2
	a	b

Andover Village Improvement Society

A		
B	1	5
	a	b

League of Women Voters

A	4	2
B		3
	a	b

Selectmen

A	2	
B		
	a	b

* 80% congruent; 20% non-congruent.

18. Do you believe that Andover should participate in the Regional Vocational High School, which is being considered for the Greater Lawrence area?
 (Participation will involve paying a proportionate share of the construction and operational costs)

(Your opinion)

(town opinion)

A. _____ Yes
 B. _____ No

_____ a.
 _____ b.

General Leadership*

A	11	10
B	1	2
	a	b

Industrial Commission

A		4
B		
	a	b

Planning Board

A	1	3
B		
	a	b

Andover Village Improvement Society

A	4	
B		
	a	b

League of Women Voters

A	5	2
B	1	2
	a	b

Selectmen

A	1	1
B		
	a	b

* 54% congruent; 46% non-congruent.

19. Do you desire other educational programs in Andover or the larger community? (If "no" skip question 20)

(Your opinion) (Town opinion)

A. _____ Yes _____ a.

B. _____ No _____ b.

General Leadership*

A	8	2
B	1	12
	a	b

Industrial Commission

A	3	
B		
	a	b

Planning Board

A		1
B		3
	a	b

Andover Village Improvement Society

A		
B	1	3
	a	b

League of Women Voters

A	4	1
B		5
	a	b

Selectmen

A	1	
B		1
	a	b

* 87% congruent; 13% non-congruent.

VI Critique

The validity, and hence the value, of the findings of this thesis are open to question on two levels: First, on the general level, this study should have been based on a number of communities, That is, it should have been a comparative study. As it stands the data is isolated and really cannot be measured against any sort of yardstick. Second, there are large numbers of unsolved, ignored, or unappreciated methodological difficulties.

While some excuse may be made by way of apology for not doing a comparative study, (on the basis of time pressures, no funds, lack of access to other communities, etc,) little excuse may be made for the methodological flaccidity of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire, which is the basis for gathering information, is defective in several important respects. Right off, it is not consistent. Though the first draft of the questionnaire was made out by one individual (me), it passed through many hands and many points of view before it went to the printers. The questionnaire was sponsored by the League of Women Voters, and it was their intention that it be a service to the town. By way of discharging that service they passed the questionnaire around to nine different groups and solicited their suggestions

and objections. While the suggestions introduced an element of inconsistency because of the various interests and viewpoints of the groups consulted,⁶ it even more introduced an element of selectivity. For some of the groups would not endorse the questionnaire if certain questions were asked of which they disapproved. The League of Women Voters wanted endorsements from the various Boards and Committees, and therefore acceded to their objections.

In reality this amounted to censorship, which immeasurably weakened the questionnaire. Inconceivable as it may seem, for example, there is relatively no socio-economic background data included on the questionnaire. Thus, we do not know the age, occupation, education, or even sex of the respondents. Some town boards objected to this sort of question on the grounds that Andover people would not be willing to answer the questionnaire if they were asked "personal" questions, and they wanted as great a response to the questionnaire as possible. In fact, the question about home ownership, the only one dealing with "personal" economic information, was inserted only at the last moment at the insistence of the de facto leader of the Industrial Development Commission --- who, it may be added, happens to be Andover's leading banker.

As corollaries of the problems inherent in constructing

6. These groups were: Town Manager, Board of Selectmen, Planning Board, Industrial Development Commission, Board of Assessors, Recreation Committee, Board of Health, Library Board, and School Committee.

a questionnaire by committee, certain other difficulties arose. There are a number of unclear questions (my responsibility is large here) due to the necessity of being acceptable to all the town boards, but thereby also capable of differing interpretations.

My only check over the form and contents of the questionnaire was my relationship with Mrs. Rita Leigh of the League of Women Voters who was in charge of the preparation of the questionnaire. Because of her cooperation and persuasiveness she was able to convince some town boards, on occasion, that certain questions should be omitted, altered or inserted. Nonetheless, questions having no direct relation to physical planning, and of only perhaps peripheral interest to the town itself, were inserted, e.g., questions 24 to 28.⁷ The form of certain questions, though unacceptable to me at least, were left unaltered, e.g., questions 18 and 20. The result was extended questions which often confused respondents. Further, just as some questions were too ill-defined or general, e.g., question 12, some were too detailed resulting in a high percentage of non-responses, e.g., the second part of question 12.

Finally, the questionnaire was disseminated by being mailed to every third household, with instructions that

7. All references to questionnaire numbers apply to the questionnaire mailed out to the town.

"we would like husbands and wives to work together to answer the questions...according to the likes and dislikes of their family." Among other things, what this did, I feel, was to dilute response. For if two people fill out a questionnaire there are bound to be differences of opinion (and why not between husband and wife?), which may result in compromise answers to certain questions. Is it the purpose of a questionnaire to diffuse responses or sharpen them? to clearly differentiate between answers from different sexes, groups, and most of all, different views, or obscure them? Further, there is no way to know if both husband and wife filled out the questionnaire. If this is not known it merely increases the difficulties of evaluating responses. And the lumping together of responses to the household level ignored opinions of young adults still living at home. Can there be any doubt that recreation facilities for young adults uses large quantities of land in most communities, particularly in Andover with a high percentage of teenagers, and intermittent pressure for such facilities.

Other short-comings were picked up in the course of working with the questionnaire and from library research.

First, in order to get as accurate a sample of the of the socio-economic profile as possible, perhaps the
8
quota method of sampling would have been preferable to

8. See Appendix III, footnote 78.

the area sample actually used in Andover. Secondly, as suggested by Professor Howard, some questions should have been included which might be checked against factual data. The closest approximation to this is perhaps question 20, which, however, would be extremely difficult to follow-up.

This questionnaire was primarily oriented toward opinion rather than factual information, toward normative rather than existential considerations. It would therefore seem advisable to use a method of questioning which would probe more deeply and yet broadly than that actually employed. This would involve the use of interviews. For many of the questions we asked were complex, and to confine them to the multiple choice format might produce distorted and incomplete replies. The interview technique might also help to get nuances which may be important to the physical planner. Further, the interview approach may permit some penetration of attitudes which lie in back of opinions.

Finally, the questionnaire should have had at least one pretest. If physical planners sometimes have difficulties in understanding our jargon (just what does "open space" mean?), these difficulties must be multiplied for the average respondent who does not usually think in terms of the physical environment. The pretest would insure that the questions made sense to respondents.

9. Both leader and town respondents mentioned that they were not sure what certain questions meant, or that the questions were not clear.

VII Suggestions for Future Research

"Interpretation of Community Opinion by Leaders" is at best a pilot study. Therein may lie its weakness but also its promise, a promise for future research which may yield more comprehensive and detailed data.

Actually two problems are dealt with in this thesis, one overt and one concealed. The overt problem is the nub of this study; the ability of leadership groups to accurately reflect community opinion. That is, we are trying to evaluate provisionally the reliability of the leaders as informants for the physical planner.

Even assuming for demonstration purposes that these leaders are unimpeachable informants, where does this lead us? Now it could eliminate the need for polls of communities, and supply the planner with information that is both current and accurate. But will this produce better planning? If one agrees that it is necessary for the planner worth his keep to not only reflect community desires, but also to raise their goals and give them a desire for an ideal environment, perhaps then accurately reflecting community opinion isn't enough.

We thus come to the second problem. Can these leaders lead as well as reflect community opinion? For leadership is, ideally, an amalgam of both factors. It therefore appears essential that studies be made to discover

if community leaders can manipulate or alter opinion, or at least stake out which publics they can and cannot manipulate (there is, of course, an element of tautology in this).

To analyze leadership ability to both reflect and manipulate community opinion more than pilot studies are necessary. Thus, a full study involving "similar" types of communities be undertaken. The "similarity" could be based on several variables, either singly or together: on population size; on major economic functions, i.e., service communities, industrial communities; on distance from a core city; and demographic groupings might be made according to similar growth rates of like-ranked towns. At the very least, a larger number of communities would be sampled, their results compared, and regularities and patterns existing among them ascertained.

The research design used in this thesis may be appropriate for larger studies. intent upon measuring the interpretation of community opinion by leaders. The evaluation of leaders ability to lead, to manipulate community opinion is more difficult. A possibility here might be to focus on controversial issues (fluoridation!), and sample public opinion on it. Leadership opinion should also be determined (of the leaders involved in the controversy). Then one should see how the issue is finally

resolved. The leaders on the winning side are presumably those who can manipulate opinion best. This crude suggestion leaves two major factors open-ended: the ability of the leaders to manipulate opinion on other issues, and the fact that other factors, e.g., mass-media, local traditions, etc. may enter into a community's decision --- with the problem of determining which factors were crucial in swinging the community to its final decision.

Cliches may serve a very important purpose. They may alert one to exceptions. While it may be good sense to leave war to politicians rather than generals, I do not believe that is the case where interpretation of community opinion by leaders is involved. For if greater knowledge means better planning it behoves the physical planner to get that knowledge. We cannot wait for others to get around to do our work for us. And who is more involved in all of the facets of community life than the physical planner, and who can bring to these problems a more comprehensive view? It is now time to go into these problems in depth.

APPENDICES

Introduction

Webster's New World Dictionary^{*} defines the word appendix as: "additional or supplementary material at the end of a book."

In the sense that material has been added to the corpus of the thesis, it is supplementary and therefore an appendix according to definition. However, as additional material, it may stretch a point. For it is additional, in the broad sense, that of being background. This appendix does not contain previous literature on the specific question raised by this thesis for a very good reason; I have not been able to find research which might be a precursor to the thesis.

More generally, the appendix surveys a few of the more recent works done on the problem of leadership determination (a shadow which lies over the thesis), scans various methodological alternatives, and reviews a handful of planning surveys which deal with the "social side" of physical planning. In sum, it is the larger backdrop against which the specific objectives of the thesis rest.

^{*} The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York, p. 70., 1958.

Appendix I Leaders & Community Power

While this thesis deals with the community power structure and the ability of the "leaders" within this structure to appraise community opinion, it only peripherally touches community power structure per se, and the determination of who the "leaders" really are. This thesis essentially ducks the problem of determining a definition of community leadership by using certain groups which planners apparently use as their informants, in a type of de facto recognition of leadership.

The literature of community power is voluminous, and this appendix does not pretend to exhaustively review it. It is hoped, rather, to present the latest thinking in this area, and perhaps give some indications of how this may alter some planning assumptions and hypotheses.

Nelson W. Polsby's "Three Problems in the ¹Analysis of Community Power," discusses three problems in the analysis of power in local communities: (1) "How are leaders to be identified?" (2) "What is the power structure?" (3) "How do economic, status, and power elites overlap?". Instead of discussing these problems on the basis of the considerable literature of community power extant, he discusses them in the context of a concrete research situation, New Haven, Conn.

1. Polsby, Nelson W., "Three Problems in Community Power," American Sociological Review, XXIV: 6, December 1959, pp. 796-804.

One of the "popular" approaches to the question, "How are the leaders to be identified?", has been to ask somebody --- usually a panel of "experts" --- to identify the most influential people in town.² The critics of this system have pointed out that there is no effective way to check on the expertise of the experts. Polsby feels that the problem may be stated in another, more fruitful, way.

Presumably, what is being determined when people are asked to identify influentials is the identity of those persons who have the reputation for being influential. This reputation can be divided into that part which is justified by behavior and that part which is not so justified. Clearly, it is those in the community whose behavior in the main justifies their repute as leaders whom social scientists would wish to call the 'real' leaders in the community.³

Indeed, asking about reputations is asking, once removed, about behavior. And Polsby, therefore, cogently argues that the researcher should make it his business to study the requisite behavior directly and not depend on "second-hand" opinions. Thus, it was "decided fairly early in the study that no a priori assumptions would be entertained about the location in the population of the 'real' as against 'apparent' community decision makers."⁴

At its outset, the study was faced with the problem of devising a method of identifying leaders which would not prematurely exclude some of them from view in an arbitrary

2. Ibid., p. 796.

3. Ibid., pp. 796-7.

4. Ibid., p. 798.

fashion. The way this was achieved was to construct a "leadership pool," consisting of the names of all persons formally connected with decision making in three issue areas where important decisions affecting the entire community were being made: political nominations, urban redevelopment, and public education. A second "supplementary" process entailed lengthy interviews with many persons named on the lists in the course of which key decisions in each issue-area were identified (This might be criticised as using the "expert" panel method, which Polsby himself previously denigrated.). These "key decisions" provided

an historical framework against which the activities of the leadership pool could be assessed; our picture of the distribution of power was in this way modified by experience. The point to be emphasized here is that further systematic investigation of the activities surrounding concrete decisions provided a necessary corrective to the leadership pool lists. This investigation helped to identify active participants in decision-making and provided descriptions of their various roles. This procedure narrowed rather than enlarged the original lists of the leaders, with but one exception /interestingly enough, the exception was the exclusion from the original urban redevelopment pool the professional redevelopment staff of New Haven, and this mistake was rectified by their inclusion on the leadership lists^{7.5}

Polsby felt that the procedure described above avoided two major pitfalls of methods previously used: "premature closure and inadequate specification of leadership roles, both of which result from overdependence on reputation

5. Ibid., p. 798.

rather than activity as the test of leadership."⁶

The second problem enunciated by Polsby was, "What is the power structure?" by which he meant, what is the composition of the leadership (he did not directly deal with problems of the stability of the power structure, or with its shape, e.g., pyramid shaped, etc.).

"In the New Haven study the composition of the power structure was treated as an empirical question."⁷ And it was hypothesized that if the leaders on issue A turned out to be the same as leaders on issue B and on C, then the power structure of New Haven would be identified.

It was found that after an "extensive observation" of the community for over a year that no multiple issue leader, other than the Mayor, exerted an important influence upon policy in more than one of the three issue areas under study.⁸ Further, it was found that "multiple issue leadership does not successfully predict active leadership with any issue area. We [Polsby] discovered rapidly in the course of the study that the decision making process within each issue area was much too complicated to permit us to predict from the number of community affiliations of participants the predominant values of policy outcomes."⁹

The question of multiple issue leadership led Polsby into his third problem area, "How do economic, status, and power elites overlap?" The various elites were identified in

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 799.

8. Ibid., p. 799.

9. Ibid.

several ways consonant with their "function." The economic elite were identified by using the presidents and chairmen of boards of every company having an assessed valuation putting it among the top 50 city taxpayers; or any individual with an assessed valuation during the past two years of more than \$250,000; the presidents and chairmen of boards of all banks and utilities and any individual who was a director of a New Haven bank; including local corporations if they had an assessment of \$250,000, or employing more than 50 employees if a manufacturer, or 25 if a retailer. The status elite was determined by those subscribing to the New Haven Cotillion during two years out of the last 10. And the power elite was selected from those in positions of formal authority in the areas of political nominations, urban redevelopment and public education. The names of the economic elite totalled 239, the social elite 231, "The possible overlap between these lists, 231 names, contrasts with the fact that only 25 names appear on both lists."¹⁰

The overlap between economic and power elites in New Haven was not much larger than the overlap between the social and economic elites.

Of 239 members of the economic elite, only 48 were involved in an urban redevelopment program of greater magnitude, considering the size of the city, than any other such program in the nation. All 48 were appointed by the Mayor, and almost all of them sat passively on the Citizens' Action Committee: their primary function was to deliver

10. Ibid., p. 801.

an annual nod of acquiescence when the Mayor and his staff gave their reports. A very few members of the economic elite took a more active part in decision making, some helping to recruit other members to the Citizens' Action Committee; and others were consulted by the Mayor on the timing and contents of press releases, aspects of the plan, and community reactions to proposals *[Italics mine]*. The initiative in this process of consultation was almost entirely in the hands of the mayor.¹¹

A proposition which was widely accepted in New Haven was that the redevelopment plan could not fail to greatly affect the lives of a large proportion of its inhabitants. Therefore, Polsby found it possible to "stratify economic leaders according to the extent of their economic interests in the plan, and...similarly possible to rank these leaders according to their degree of participation in decision making."¹² Surprisingly (in terms of findings of past studies of thistype) there "appears to be no great correspondence between these arrays."¹³ Rather, it was the personalities and personal prestige of the members of the economic elite which had the largest share in determining the extent of their participation in the urban renewal programs.¹⁴

The low coefficient of overlap between the various elites carries through into the other areas.

Only six economic elitists were involved in political nominations.... None appears in the public education leadership pool. Only two of them were involved in decisions in more than one issue area. Of the 231 members of the status elite,

11. Ibid., p. 801.
12. Ibid., pp. 801-2.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

28 were in urban redevelopment leadership, and only five participated in decision making activity to any significant extent. Two members of the status elite concerned themselves with political nominations, and two others with public education.¹⁵

Three main points may be summarized from this study:

(1) that members of the economic and social elites were not wholly excluded from decision making in the three areas studied,¹⁶ but were not nearly as influential as might have been thought in the past; (2) that the incidence of social-economic elite participation of members of the most depressed groups in the city;¹⁷ (3) the roles of the elitists who were involved in decision making varied greatly among individuals; while most merely "lent their prestigious names to the Mayor's efforts, some took a more active part in articulating and mobilizing support for his urban redevelopment program, and a few were engaged in attempting to shape this program and the Mayor's thinking in various marginal ways [*Italics mine*]."¹⁸

This study appears to present a break with the past findings, for

In none of the three issue areas could we detect the faintest hint of what Hunter described for Regional City, Lynds for Middletown, and Warner for Jonesville --- namely, the more or less covert determination of community policies by a political-ly homogeneous economic and social elite. Our findings are so far removed from those of Lynd, Hunter and Warner, that they raise very great doubts that the present study can be cumulated with theirs

15. Ibid., p. 802.

16. Ibid., p. 803.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

before it is determined whether or not we were studying the same phenomena. As indicated above, questions which heretofore were matters of definition or assumption were treated as empirical questions. If our results are untypical, this may be accounted for by differences in theory and research procedure and not because of some peculiarity in the social structure of New Haven.¹⁹

It should therefore be obvious that planners when dealing with specific issues cannot take as informants persons felt intuitively, or due to various outside factors, to be "leaders" in community life. Further, the use of general sociological theories as to "power elites" may be just as inaccurate. Only close study of actual situations and real involvement in them may provide a key to the reliability of information of informants and the exact status (i.e., power) of groups as policy formers and opinion makers.

There seem to be two over-riding methodological problems confronting researchers in community power: the first was presented by Polsby, as we have seen, and is the conflict between the generalized power hypothesis versus the specific issue hypothesis; the second is the attempt to evolve a method which will allow a determination not only who wields power, but the dynamics of power, i.e., how one becomes a leader.

One of the primary research techniques used to determine power, in the past decade particularly, has been the "reputational method." This method sprang into wide-spread prominence with the publication of Floyd Hunter's Community

19. Ibid., p. 803.

Power Structure.

Based on a new research technique which promised to make the study of political influence easier and more systematic, this volume reported that power in 'Regional City' (Atlanta) was concentrated in a small cohesive elite of businessmen.... The basic assumption underlying this method is that reputations for influence are an index of the distribution of influence. The researcher asks respondents either to rank names on a list or to name individuals who would be most influential in securing adoption of a project, or both. He assigns power to the leaders-nominees according to the number of times they are named by respondents; the highest ranking nominees are described as the community's 'power structure.' This technique for describing a local political system is referred to...as the reputational or power attribution method.²⁰

The purpose of Wolfinger's paper was to explore the utility of the reputational method for the study of local political systems. His inquiry involves two questions: "Are reputations for power an adequate index for the distribution of power? Even if the respondents' perceptions of power relations are accurate, is it useful to describe a political system by presenting rankings of the leading participants according to their power?"²¹

Part of Wolfinger's criticisms of the reputational method is a reaction to the reputational researchers' claims for it. He sees no great criticism of the reputational method if it is regarded "merely as a systematic first step in studying a city's political system rather than a comprehensive technique for discovering the distribution of power."²²

20. Wolfinger, Raymond E., "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power'," American Sociological Review, XXV: 5, October 1960, p. 636.

21. Ibid., p. 637.

22. Ibid.

Thus, if used "modestly" the researcher would not rely on the method to identify and rank all decision makers, but would use it as a guide to knowledgeable persons who would give him further leads to other informants until he had a complete picture of the political system.²³ If viewed in this perspective, then, the reputational method becomes a more sophisticated and methodologically elaborate variant of the hoary procedure of asking insiders (city hall reporters, politicians, etc.) for a quick rundown on the local big shots in order to identify potentially useful interviewees who would enable him to burrow more deeply into the political system under study.

The reputational researchers themselves do not make such modest claims for their method, nor do their critics take such a limited view, as Wolfinger points out:

The putative validation of findings yielded by this method, the assumption that a 'power structure' consists of those persons most often given high rankings by panels of judges, and a tendency to limit descriptions of decision making to the activities of the top-ranked leaders all point to a belief that this method is a sufficient tool to study the distribution of power in a community.²⁴

Granting for a moment that it is worthwhile to rank political actors with respect to their power, is the reputational method adequate for this purpose? In asking respondents to name in rank order the most powerful members of their community, two major causes of ambiguity arise: "the variability

23. Ibid., p. 637.

24. Ibid., pp. 637-8.

of power from one type of issue to another; and the difficulty of making sure that the researcher and respondent share the same definition of power...."²⁵

One of the basic defects of the reputational method is that the researchers fail to specify scopes in soliciting reputations for influence, assuming (at least implicitly) that the power of their leaders-nominees is equal for all issues, and " some researchers specifically state that they are concerned with a 'general category of community leadership',"²⁶ thereby assuming actually what they claim they are attempting to find out! This assumption is very dubious. Using Wolfinger's felicitous example, it is unlikely "that the same people who decide which houses of prostitution are to be protected in return for graft payments also plan the public school curriculum."²⁷

The hypothesis which Wolfinger counterposes to the general category of community leadership is that an individual's political power varies with different issues, and therefore "general power" rankings are misleading. Further, the researcher cannot be sure that the respondent is not basing his rankings of community leaders on an "implicit scope," with the result that an individual may be given a very high power ranking because he is perceived to be influential on a particular issue which is currently important to the community

25. Ibid., p. 638.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

or particularly salient to the respondent.

The reputational method appears to be particularly susceptible to ambiguity resulting from respondents' confusion of status and power. This difficulty is amplified by the low esteem in which labor leaders, local politicians, and municipal officials are often held, as well as by their usually lower socioeconomic status compared to businessmen and leaders of charitable organizations.²⁹

As Wolfinger wryly observes, questions which do not distinguish between power and status, and between public and private scopes, are likely to lead researchers to leader-nominees whose power may be exercised chiefly on a country club's admissions committee.

Even if one could assume that interviewer and respondent had the same definition of power, the question of the accuracy of the respondent's perceptions still persists. There is some evidence that the respondent's perceptions may indeed be inaccurate, and so far most of the power attribution studies have been validated on this point by other means.³⁰

If it has been pointed out that private citizens are unreliable informants, it has not been shown that those active in public life are any more reliable sources of information, either on general or specific questions.³¹ For example, in a certain city, Republican politicians felt that their lack of success with various ethnic groups was due to the energetic activities of local Catholic priests on behalf of the Democratic party. Actually, most of the priests were

28. Ibid., p. 638.

29. Ibid., p. 640.

30. Ibid., p. 641.

31. Ibid.

Republicans. Another, though dissimilar example of the unreliability of informants active in public life occurred in New Haven. There, a number of prominent citizens active in public affairs, could not identify other decision makers in the same field.

Reputational researchers also make assumptions about the size of the power group. This implicitly carries an assumption about the distribution of political power. But if the number of people selected are too low, there is the risk of excluding so many political actors that one gets only a small part of the influence exercised in the community; if it is too high, it may result in the diffusion of leadership with too many non-leaders. Moreover, by making a prioristic assumptions about the size of the power group, the researcher may well conclude at the end of his research that the number of individuals in the power group are what he thought in the beginning --- his assumptions actually having the force of a self-fulfilling prediction because he looks that far and no further.

The identification of leaders which the reputational method is supposed to achieve has limited utility for another reason.

A demographic classification of such leaders is not a description of a city's political system because it does not indicate whether they are allies or enemies. To establish the existence of a ruling elite, one must show not only that influence is distributed unequally but also that those who have the most influence are united so as to act in concert rather than in opposition. One cannot conclude that the highest-ranked individuals comprise a ruling group rather than merely an aggregate of leaders without establishing their cohesiveness

as well as their power.³²

Most of the reputational researchers consider the above point, but then go on to draw conclusions about the probable decisions their elites might make by assuming that political preferences can be inferred from socio-economic status,³³ a dangerous generality.

Perhaps the final, though not minor, criticism about the reputational method is that it reports (and tacitly assumes) a static distribution of power. This method must assume that changes in the nature and distribution of power occur very slowly. Furthermore, this static distribution of power may tell the researcher where someone is in the power structure, but does not shed light on the dynamics of accession to power.

Though the two "cosmic" problems so far summarized legitimately dominate the interest of present researchers in this field, other important problems have not been neglected.

One of those problems deals with the initial assumption that a theoretical and empirical distinction can be made between the most powerful persons and units in a community and those having lesser degrees of power. "To make [the above]... assumption is not to deny that power relations in the modern urban community are 'unneat,' nor is it to argue that community power can necessarily be conceived in the form either

32. Ibid., p. 643.

33. Ibid., p. 643.

of a single or a simple pyramid; neither is it inconsistent with Simel's long-recognized thesis that dominance is always a two way street."³⁴

Thus, we arrive at the next crucial question: How does one proceed to determine the "most powerful and influential"³⁵ individuals in American communities? As we have seen, political scientists and sociologists have employed one or the other of two techniques to answer this question: one based on reputation and the other on position. "The method based on position involves selecting certain persons as the most powerful and influential on the basis of their official status in the community's institutionalized economic, political and/or civic structures...."³⁶ The reputational method needs no recapitulation here.

The central question is, of course, to what extent the methods based on reputation and position yield similar or compatible answers to the questions of who are the most powerful and influential people in a community. Schulze and Blumberg concluded that

The composition of the community's power elite, as defined by reputation, differs significantly from that defined on the basis of superordinate positions in either the local economic or the political-civic institutions.³⁷

34. Schulze, Robert O., and Leonard U. Blumberg, American Journal of Sociology, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," LXIII: 3, 1957, p. 290.

35. Schulze and Blumberg feel that there are possibly significant conceptual differences between the terms "power" & "influence," which have so far been of greater concern to the theoretician than to those doing actual research. For their paper -- and I agree for my thesis -- the concepts are used as roughly synonymous.

36. Ibid., p. 291.

37. Ibid., p. 294.

However, they go on to state in partial defense and explanation of the difference in findings observed between reputational and positional methods, that it is not "a question of whether one or the other is 'right'."³⁸ Rather, they suggest that by using both methods and by determining the nature and degree of similarity between the two resulting lists, valuable leads may be found as to the structure and dynamics of local power.³⁹ In other words, they propose using each method against the other as a correction device, a way of calibrating their results to get "truer" and "unbiased" answers.

Schulze and Blumberg conclude by suggesting that when based on a single community the generalizations arrived at are obviously provisional. However, the disparity between the categories of public leader and economic dominant, as suggested by reputational and positional methods, were so marked that it suggested

...a widespread and growing reluctance on the part of economic dominants to become involved in the initiation and determination of local political decisions. And this, in turn, raised the larger question of the changing role of major economic units --- especially absentee owner corporations --- in the local power structures of American communities.⁴⁰

As a follow-up of the study of "The Determination of Local Power Elites," Schulze explored in depth his concluding question, "the changing role of major economic units." In "The Role of Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure,"

38. Ibid., p. 296.
 39. Ibid.
 40. Ibid.

he found a "bifurcation of the community's power structure."⁴¹
 By a "bifurcation" of community power Schulze meant that those who exercised primary direction over the socio-political system of "Cibola" were no longer the same set of persons who exercised primary control over its economic system. This finding stemmed, he felt

from the withdrawal of the economic dominants from active direction of the political life of the community --- appears quite generally to corroborate the investigation of Peter Rossi and his associates of the changing patterns of political participation in a middle sized industrial community in New England.⁴²

Schulze further showed that there was a high degree of direction of the socio-political system of Cibola by people with control over its economic system; however, these people were "economic minors,"⁴³ e.g., the president of a small local bank, a local contractor, a local hardware store owner. The results of this study showed that as industry became increasingly absentee-owned, the economic dominants exercised less and less power in the socio-political affairs of the community --- one of the reasons being a fear of getting involved in controversial matters, and another being a personal lack of interest by corporate officials in local affairs.

Echoing the studies reviewed here, Schulze concludes that

41. Schulze, Robert O., "The Role of the Economic Dominants in Community Power Structure," American Sociological Review, XXIII:1, February 1958, p. 8.

42. Ibid.

43. Schulze showed that since the turn of the century, the economic dominants, i.e., largest employers, etc., exerted a decreasing influence in community affairs as determined by their membership in the formal (public office) governmental structure.

Whatever the reasons for the apparent differences in the nature and extent of economic dominant involvement in local power structures...the Cibola study appears to document the absence of any neat, constant and direct relationship between power as a potential for determinative action and power as determinative action itself.⁴⁴

Thus, this is another factor which the planner must be aware of, in addition to the "heterogeneous" character of the community power structure.

44. Ibid., p. 9.

Appendix II Questionnaire Methodology

Though it may be a research cliché, the validity of a study hinges as much on its methodology, as its research design or overall conception. For if a study does not hang together in terms of the methods used to gather information, it may upon critical scrutiny, be ripped apart separately.

In the context of this thesis, not the least among methodological problems are the definitions of opinion and attitude. Though the terms opinion and attitude are very often casually used as congruent, it is felt by some that a clear conceptual and methodological distinction between opinion and attitude be made. G.D. Wiebe holds (after Floyd Allport) that attitudes are most profitably regarded as structural predispositions of a relatively generalized and enduring sort, while opinions reflect particular decisions made in a social context.⁴⁵ If this distinction is accepted, it becomes apparent that evaluating opinions is not the same as weighing attitudes, and that different types of questions and research tools must be used to assay them.

The distinction which has been made between opinions and attitudes does not imply that they are exclusive of each other. For "opinions adapt attitudes to the demands of social situations; but having adapted them, opinions appear to become ingredients in the constant reformulation of attitudes."⁴⁶

45. Wiebe, G.D., "Some Implications of Separating Opinions from Attitudes," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVII:3, 1953-4, p. 329.

46. Ibid., p. 333.

And it is this reciprocal relationship which must be examined for "cause and effect" in each specific situation.

In order to give the distinction between attitudes and opinions significance, certain criteria must be established so that differences between them may be validated operationally. It is along these lines that Wiebe suggests that attitude responses have no essential relationship to overt behavior:

it would appear that the closest approach to a person's attitudes is in the privileged communications of clinical interviews or in the revelations of projective techniques. Thus the best validating criteria for attitudes appear to be clinical. But opinions, as defined here, lie so close to social interaction that behavior criteria are by far the most convincing for the validation of opinions.⁴⁷

Following the above, it is quite logical that the test proposed for validating opinion responses is essentially one which seeks to question if a respondent's future behavior conforms to the decision implied by his questionnaire response.⁴⁸ The distinction between attitudes and opinions presented here asks the practical and theoretical value of many past "opinion" questions; and further precludes the possibility of evaluation of the precursors of opinion, attitudes, except on the analyst's couch.

These distinctions are not accepted uncritically, and

47. Ibid., 338.
48. This may be well and good, but his suggestions rob us of precisely what we are attempting to use opinions for -- the projection of responses to a future situation. Of course, background research of opinion validity in terms of Wiebe's definition should probably be attempted.

some severe criticism has come from M.B. Smith in a follow-up comment about Wiebe's article. Agreeing with Wiebe about the necessity of distinguishing between attitude and opinion, Smith criticises the methodological implications of the distinctions outlined in his article:

detaching attitudes from behavior and relating them to clinical criteria...which is actually relegating attitudes to the realm of the trivial and academic: serious and practical people should, if they follow his analysis, devote themselves to the study of opinion, where to be sure more exacting criteria of validation have to be met, but the pay-off in predictive power seems to be proportionately greater.⁴⁹

It does not seem unlikely that the unclear distinctions between opinions and attitudes may be a contributing factor to the apparent instability of responses to various kinds of questions which many investigators have noted. For example, repeat interviews have been given to elicit responses to the same questions that informants had previously been asked. The most significant result of this is the percentage of respondents who change their answers.⁵⁰

If there are questions about the consistency of responses, and hence their reliability, the validity of the whole study is impeached. To glibly discuss validity, however, does not necessarily mean that we are getting anywhere. Perhaps no word has been more vaguely or loosely used

49. Smith, M. Brewster, "Comment on the 'Implications of Separating Opinions from Attitudes'," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII:3, 1954, pp. 255-65.

50. Clover, Vernon T., "Measuring Firmness with which Opinions are Held," Public Opinion Quarterly, XIV: Summer 1950, pp. 338-40.

in all the social sciences than 'validity.' To some it is a matter of gradation -- a continuum so to speak -- ranging from an imaginary absolute of perfection down to an equally imaginary absolute of non-validity. To others, more naive, it is an either-or dichotomy, chiefly useful as a weapon to hurl against personal or ideological opponents. Yet validity is basic to all research, and the concept must clearly be made more specific.⁵¹

As great as the problem of validity is in the social sciences, no branch of the social sciences has been as bedevilled by this as the public opinion researchers. In attempting to define the essential meaning of validity, two main schools of thought may be distinguished. The more common definition is given in terms of "predictive accuracy."⁵² Educators, social psychologists, and others concerned with psychological testing are familiar with the concept of validity as the "validity of a test to predict performances; the criterion in the case of an entire test being some outside measurement such as school success, while item validity measures the predictive accuracy of individual test items against the criterion of the full test score...."⁵³ Though many definitions of test validation, both definitional and methodological can be found in the literature, nearly all of them, to a greater or lesser extent, are based on the concept of validity as the ability to predict performance (though some writers have begun to point out that the performance criteria themselves may be subject to various types of invalidity).

51. Parry, Hugh J, and Helen M. Crossley, "Validity of Responses to Survey Questions," Public Opinion Quarterly, XIV:1, Spring 1950, p. 61

52. Ibid., pp. 61-2.

53. Ibid., pp. 61-2.

An amplification of this first definition of "validity" is held by research workers in the broader field of public opinion and market research. They have applied the concept of predictive accuracy more broadly to mean prediction of behavior.⁵⁴ In this sense, attitude surveys are considered valid if they can predict with reasonable certainty how various groups or individuals will behave at the super-market, department store or in some further behavioral situation. But, as Dollard has pointed out,

...the conditions under which opinions can be expected to predict behavior may vary greatly according to such factors as the state of mind and the verbal ability of the respondents, the conditions of the test situation, and the intrusion of outside factors between the time of the test and the actual behavioral situation.⁵⁵

Further, many attitude tests are descriptive but not predictive.⁵⁶ A comparison of the answers to nine "opinion scales" with results from seven "activity scales" leads to this conclusion, with the result that definitions of attitude as a tendency to act may need to be reconsidered if we hold that acceptance of the definition implies that behavior is the criterion of validity.⁵⁷

The second main school of thought views "validity" as a

54. Ibid., p. 62.

55. Dollard, John, "Under What Conditions do Opinions Predict Behavior?" Public Opinion Quarterly, XII:4, 1948, p. 623.

56. Pace, C. Robert, "Opinion and Action: A Study in the Validity of Attitude Measurement" in the American Psychologist, Parry and Crossley, op. cit., p. 62

57. Ibid., p. 62.

matter of interpretation. This has occurred as a realization that the use of validity to mean predictive accuracy is not a fair or complete test of the accuracy or usefulness of survey results. "Opinion may be closely related to behavior but it is not the same thing and it therefore may have separate validity of its own."⁵⁸

Whether validity is considered as predictive accuracy or as interpretation, a way must be found to measure it. The usual method has been by means of comparisons of aggregate results from the survey in question against actual or percentage figures from an outside source, such as election results or census figures. And on many types of surveys, given sufficient checks, results can often be assumed to have over-all validity.

Yet there is always a danger that satisfactory aggregate comparisons may conceal dangerous compensating errors. Thus, the most reliable means of establishing validity of survey results is the comparison of aggregate results with outside data accompanied by an independent check on the worth of individual responses.⁵⁹

Not content with theoretical formulations about the validity of responses to questionnaires, Pace and Crossley attempted to test the factual validity of answers to a questionnaire (some of the questions were about past voting records, community chest contributions, etc.).

58. Ibid., p. 62. An example given of this was the 1948 presidential election polls which may have been valid at the time they were taken, but in between the time of the last poll and voting (two weeks), behavior changed, (and presumably opinion also) as all the pollsters could do was measure pre-election opinion and intention.

59. Ibid., pp. 63-4.

The Denver study disclosed amounts of invalidity from one-twentieth to nearly a half of the responses received on various types of factual questions. While other situations or areas may show more or less validity depending on the circumstances, the survey results indicate clearly the wide range of invalidity to be found in the answers to a number of factual items of types often used in survey research. They further underline the need for caution in accepting so called 'factual' information at face value; even census type data must be considered suspect.⁶⁰

As encouragement to the pollster, the authors suggest that invalidity is not necessarily inevitable; that it has causes which can be found in the questionnaire, the respondent, the interviewer, and above all in the interpretation of data. Though invalidity varies by subject and among subgroups, it can be measured and analyzed, and once this is done, it is subject to certain pragmatic checks and controls. Thus, "it is not necessary to turn to Yoga or Neo-Thomism," at least on factual surveys. "here this leaves the survey dealing primarily with opinions, rather than factual material, is too horrible to contemplate!

60. Ibid., p. 80.

Appendix III Survey Interpretation

The literature on interviewer bias is voluminous, and, because of the attention focused on it many researchers take it into account and attempt to correct for it, to eliminate it in their work. Just as important, however, though perhaps less well publicized, is the problem commonly referred to as the "mail-back bias;" and it constitutes one of the limitations of the written mail-out questionnaire.

In response to any questionnaire there is an important number of persons (which may be as high as 50%) who are the "habitual repliers."⁶¹ These persons who almost invariably answer when receiving mailed questionnaires are usually people of higher education; likewise, there are habitual "non-repliers," who are presumably less well⁶² educated. It is due to this factor that questionnaire response can never be called representative of the universe being sampled.

"Unrepresentativeness may or may not affect the practical findings on subjects in which the frequent repliers (and or non-repliers) are not notably distinctive [i.e., presumably representative of clearly definable groups]; the results of the mail survey may be the same as any other method of inquiry."⁶³ But, when sampling a heterogeneous

61. Wallace, David, "A Case for and against Mail Questionnaires," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII:1, 1954, p. 51.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

universe, until it can be established that the repliers and non-repliers are not notably different in respect to the specific subject matter of the inquiry, mail responses must be considered pretty much an unknown quantity.⁶⁴

If the causes of mail-back bias are discovered, then perhaps mail-back bias itself may be reduced significantly or eliminated. In an attempt to test factors which lead to mail-back bias, E.J. Baur studied respondents to a questionnaire sent to veterans by the Veterans Administration. He identified five variables: (1) veterans with and without definite plans for education and training; (2) formal education (high school and non-high school graduates); (3) married, from single, widowed, divorced and separated; (4) the married who were parents of one or more children were separated from childless couples; (5) an age break point between those under thirty years old and those over. Of the five factors analyzed the greatest bias was introduced by

differences in interest in the subject of the questionnaire. Those without definite plans for education or training were under-represented in the early returns. Thus, the smaller the proportion of returns in a mail questionnaire on a subject of interest to only a part of the sample, the greater the bias attributable to differential interest in the subject. This kind of bias might be reduced by disguising the subject of the questionnaire and broadening its appeal through the addition of questions on other subjects.⁶⁵

"Inseparable from the interest factor was the bias

64. Ibid., p. 57.

65. Baur, E. Jackson, "Response Bias in a Mail Survey," Public Opinion Quarterly, XI, Winter 1947-8. p. 600.

of sponsorship."⁶⁶ Thus, it was felt that if the questionnaire had not been identified as coming from the Veterans Administration there might have been less bias among the classifications, which included men with and without definite plans for education and training.

With two of the remaining three characteristics there was also an evident bias.

Under represented in the early returns were the less educated and the married. They were correspondingly over-represented among those who replied during the last period. Among those who did not answer at all, the proportion of those less educated was very great, but the proportion who were married was [also] very low. The educational level of the non-respondents was most like that of the tardiest respondents, but their marital status was most like those who responded quickly. The regression in the percentage married among the non-respondents shows the danger in the assumption commonly made that non-respondents are like the slowest respondents.⁶⁷

Of course, the ideal situation would be to completely eliminate mail-back bias. But more practically, it might be possible to correct for bias, or to use the mail questionnaire for types of research in which this liability might be an advantage. Thus, while other studies⁶⁸ are generally consistent with Baus' findings, they nevertheless hold out more hope of managing and controlling it.

In the Larson-Catton study the mail-back bias was confirmed as were demonstrable differences between early

66. Ibid., p. 600.

67. Ibid., p. 600.

68. Larson, Richard F., and William R. Catton Jr., "Can the Mail-back Bias Contribute to a Study's Validity?" American Sociological Review, XXIV:2, April 1959, pp 243-6.

69. Ibid., p. 243.

and late returns. However, the findings went a step further, in that early and late returns were indicative of the difference between returns and non-returns.⁶⁹ They concluded that their data

...generally support the contention that mail-back bias may be advantageous in some types of research problems. While definitely not representative of the population solicited, mailed questionnaire returns may be sufficiently representative of the universe in which the investigator is actually interested.⁷⁰

Another reason that mail-back bias does not overly worry Larson and Catton is that a way of circumventing its deleterious effects is at hand. Even in the absence of census data or some other criterion for comparing respondents with non-respondents, "a comparison of early and late returns should reveal differences in the same direction [*Italics mine*]⁷¹ as would a comparison of returns and non-returns." Thus, in studies where the census data is lacking or where a determination of the magnitude of mail-back bias is not vital, the use of this technique may tell the investigator something about the characteristics and preferences of the universe he has not gotten responses from. Though the "procedure may not be sufficiently sensitive to measure the magnitude of mail-back bias, it may provide a simple and valuable technique for determining the probable direction

69. Ibid., p. 245.

70. Ibid., Does this imply that one is interested only, or primarily, in the "activists" (and hence "power-wielders?"); the non-activists dis-enfranchise themselves by their lack of response.

71. Ibid., p. 243.

of bias."⁷²

A final problem⁷³ of bias in survey techniques such as those used in this thesis deals with the question of physical planning: the areal location (on paper, of course) of questions and their relation to one another. For a universal problem of any fixed alternative questionnaire is the relationship of the physical organization and arrangement of the questions to the patterns of response obtained from the respondents. This may become especially important when several questions are to be combined into an index or a scale delineating an important research variable. If these questions are grouped together on a questionnaire, there may be a problem as to whether the relationship found has not been imposed to some degree by the designer of the questionnaire.⁷⁴

Researchers ordinarily try to meet this problem by "randomizing" their questions on different topics throughout their questionnaires.⁷⁵ It was found, however, that this technique introduces another problem wherein the readability (and imageability?) of the questionnaire is frequently decreased. It also⁷⁶ often results in the respondent feeling that he is being asked to react to questions which he has already answered."

72. Ibid., p. 243.

73. This does not imply that the language of the questions themselves is not important. It is just that the literature I read, though warning of this problem, offered no "rules" on how to avoid building bias into one's questionnaire, other than constantly being aware of it while formulating questions.

74. Meltzner, Helen and Floyd Mann, "Effects of Grouping Related Questions in Questionnaires," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII:1, 1953, p. 136.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

To a disconcerting degree, however, the effects of grouping related questions in questionnaires is still up in the air. In order to test the effect of relating questions, Meltzner and Mann gave the same questions in sequence and in non-sequence. They found that

grouping the questions about a subject and then formally indicating the subject does not invariably contribute to or intensify the relationship among the questions. Nor can it be said categorically that relationships between the questions that are in different previously designated subject areas are unaffected by grouping questions into subject areas.⁷⁷

This appendix has dealt only with the more obvious problems in survey techniques. Other factors, e.g., the number of reminders mailed to respondents, the response curve over time, etc., are certainly of interest to the surveyor. Though survey techniques have been in fairly widespread use for over a quarter century, it is still an art rather than a science; and perhaps the best one may hope for is a minimization of the pitfalls we know about. 78

77. Ibid., p. 141.

78. Meier, Norman C., and Cletus J. Burke, "Laboratory Tests of Sampling Techniques," Public Opinion Quarterly, XI, Winter 1947-8, p. 586. The quota method and the area technique of sampling should be noted before moving on. The quota designation refers to methods which feature assignments to interviewers of types of respondents, specified as to age, sex, income group or any other stratification of the general population that may correlate with the objective of the survey. The returns should be proportional to the existence of these strata in the universe sampled. "The operation of such a check function gives to the methods the designation: quota-control, representative, stratified sampling."

Area methods require that interviews be made only in

specified, circumscribed areas, and that within these areas every pertinent individual or a strictly random sub-sampling of such individuals be interviewed. "The areas are selected by drawing --- ideally from a listing of all areas into which the universe is divided --- by chance methods, usually from a table of random numbers."

It was the intention of this study, done in 1948 by Meier and Burke, to test the relative merits of one method versus the other. Their conclusions were:

- (1) the quota method comes out better on the point for point comparison
- (2) the results on home-ownership indicate the possibility of unwitting bias in the quota samples
- (3) on income alone, the quota method is better than simple random sampling
- (4) there is some evidence that neither method is as efficient as a simple random sampling for the composite results on all three variables.

In conclusion, the study showed that the difference between the results obtained by the two methods are not so great that a clear cut superiority for one or the other can be demonstrated, and that preference for one or the other sampling technique may depend on the task at hand.

Appendix IV Leadership and Public Opinion

When doing research it is customary to scan the journals, books, etc., to discover what previous work has been done on one's subject. This is a commendable practise because it may give the researcher a more catholic view of his subject; it may give him valuable background to build his own structure on, and may help him avert mistakes others have made.

Unfortunately, a survey of the literature on studies dealing with leadership and public opinion has not uncovered work on leadership interpretation of community (public) opinion --- the subject of this thesis. A study of comparisons between leaders opinions and public opinion on certain issues by H.W. Eldredge was the most closely related to the subject at hand.

The Hanover Town Plan Public Opinion Survey is one of the best efforts of evaluating and comparing leadership opinion and community opinion on planning issues. The Hanover Survey started at the behest of a "well known New England consulting firm." The planners felt the need for information about public attitudes that they would like to have clarified --- and this was the original take-off point of the survey.

Though Burnham Kelly and Justin Grey, consulting planners for the community prepared a "searching set of questions" that they felt needed answering, they enlisted

additional aid in formulating and administering the questionnaire. H. Wentworth Eldredge, a Sociology Professor at Dartmouth, was given the Kelly-Grey questions. He took a more "academic" view of the survey, with the result that the survey was grafted on to a theoretical superstructure, which eventually led into the questioning and comparing of leadership opinion and community opinion. The survey itself, represented the fact that

A favorite shibboleth used by American city planners --- at least for public consumption --- is that the planner is merely a servant of the people. His job is to put into urban development simply what his masters, the people, want. Several questions immediately come to mind: Do the people actually know what they want? Do the people have the ability to choose 'wisely' what they want? And finally, does the city planner actually know what the people think? /Italics mine/ 79

Following up his question, "does the city planner actually know what the people think?" Eldredge turns his attention to the more specific underpinnings of the actual study of leadership opinion and community opinion comparability.

It is, of course, clear at the outset that 'people' consists of many publics --- not of one public with a monolithic point of view. In view of the advanced level of public opinion research in the United States today it is very surprising indeed that such techniques have not been applied on a large scale to the urban planning field, where great responsibilities and large sums are involved. Traditionally, city planners have drawn their conception of 'what people think' from contact with local officials, from the amateur appointed planning board, from the

79 79. Eldredge, H. Wentworth, "The Hanover Town Plan Public Opinion Survey," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXIV:3, 1958, p. 179.

local press, as well as from episodic and spasmodic relations with the citizenry, local busybodies, and assorted pressure groups. Osmosis was also supposed in some mysterious fashion to play its part. In this chaotic fashion the professional planner was supposed to gain a reliable comprehension of local desires and level of understanding. *[Italics mine]* 80

The public opinion tested was composed of 10% of the registered voters (registered voters were taken because it was felt that it was the best "effective" public opinion sample available).⁸¹

The questionnaire itself was "highly structured; that is, the questions were precise and firm, although some questions were left open-ended for some clue as to why people thought the way they did."⁸² Further, the questions were grouped together under seven headings: (1) basic data about the informant for possible correlation purposes; (2) retail business expansion; (3) college, hospital, and clinic expansion; (4) housing; (5) industry and taxation; (6) traffic and parking; and (7) planning --- general.

Before the final questions emerged, the questions went through four drafts, and were then tried out on a pretest group of 38. This test was conducted by all those concerned with the project (Several questions had to be deleted due to opposition from the College --- about tax exemption status of Dartmouth and a local group-medicine clinic --- under threat of its withdrawing approval from the questionnaire).⁸³

80. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*, This is a very real problem; I know of whole series of questions which were deleted from the Andover questionnaire because of opposition by various official boards, e.g., assessors,

Finally, the sample chosen was interviewed by student interviewers from Eldredge's sociology classes. To prepare the public for the questionnaire a press campaign about the poll was undertaken, with the sanction of the Planning Board.

However, there was a further development of the testing of the various publics involved. This needs to be given special consideration as it relates to this thesis, as

Modern urban community research undertaken by various disciplines, indicates that local policies and programs are originated and brought to fruition by the local 'power elite,' 'decision makers,' 'power holders,' 'opinion molders,' as they are variously named. In order to test opinion differences between the Hanover general public and the Hanover 'opinion molders,' an ad hoc selection of 44 names was made, with the help of an astute local businessman [111] of the community 'big wheels'.... In this group were included the top college officers, the newspaper editors and publisher, hospital and medical clinic officials, heads of local enterprise, elected community officials, faculty organization heads, resident clergy, and finally the service club and other important local organizations. Both men and women were included in this group, although it was obviously heavily male.... No publicity whatsoever was given to this aspect of the survey; although eventually it became generally known that there were certain individuals not in the sample who were being interviewed.⁸⁴

The test of the opinion differences of the Hanover general public and the Hanover "opinion molders," resulted in "mixed feelings about the value of time and effort expended on the ad hoc 'opinion molders',"⁸⁵ because "their opinions varied considerably as most certainly did their

84. Ibid., p. 181.

85. Ibid., p. 183.

real influence...."⁸⁶ Generally, the

Opinion Molders did not show any startling sophistication which put their town 'followers' to shame; rather they seemed only to be a little more on the 'good' or 'wiser' side of planning understanding.⁸⁷

Because the number of "opinion molders" were too small a group to divide into relevant sub-publics, it was not possible to obtain some indication of "resistance spots" to projects of groups on which educational efforts might be concentrated. Thus, while this survey did not pretend to answer the "very relevant question whether a more sensible planning public relations program, with a modest budget, should consist of a concentrated attack on the local opinion molders or a city wide attempt to life the understanding of all the citizenry,"⁸⁸ it did give the planners an indication of what the townspeople felt, what the opinion molders felt, and the differences between them.

86. Ibid., p. 183.

87. Ibid., These are some of the answers to questions posed to the general public and the opinion molders on subjects under the headings (opinion molders will be referred to as OM in this section):

(1) Retail Business Expansion

Town Answers: 65% wanted the town to become a more important business center; 43% wanted the town to remain as it was; 80% thought the town needed more business space; 46% wanted a business expansion on the fringes of the present business area; 50% wanted such expansion farther out if it occurred; over 57% wanted more chain stores; 63% wanted existing non-business cleaned out of the business area.

Opinion Molders: 54% for more business area; 86% more business space; 77% ready to clear out residences in the existing business area; 61% wanted more chain stores, with 59% wanting business expansion on the fringes of the present business area, with

Even more germane, in some respects than the Hanover Survey, to the subject of this thesis, is Kaare Svalastoga's study of leaders' estimates of public opinion. In his study, he attempted to observe and record what he considered the significant relationship between the opinion of a leader and the leader's estimate of the opinion of some group.

Svalastoga approached the problem from the point of view which held that one has little choice in accepting or rejecting estimates of group opinion offered by opinion leaders, for the simple reason that they often represent the only available source of data on group opinion. If this is correct,

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- 41% wanting it still further out.
- (2) Local residents expressed a desire to see Hanover become much more of a cultural and tourist center, 63% of them did, during the summer months (OM 77%); 53% of the town wanted Dartmouth to increase in size, but not much (OM 68%).
- (3) Housing
85% of the town thought there was a local housing problem (OM 86%); as a solution 42% (OM 45%) preferred private dwellings, and 34% apartments (OM 32%); 48% of the town favored having a large investment concern or insurance company undertake this housing with 40% of the town against this (OM: 59% for, 39% against). However, there was relatively little desire (27%) by the town for concentrated neighborhood development; most approved (63%) the old, traditional small lot development (OM: concentrated neighborhoods 34%, scattered traditional 34%). 60% of the town voted for a mixed-class community (despite the actual homogeneity of the town) with a "whole range of family and wage earner types," but 36% preferred a one class community (OM: mixed class community, 66%; one class, 30%).
- (4) Industry
79% of the town wanted some large "nice, clean" business to locate in town (OM 75%), with 71% in favor of active solicitation for such enterprises (OM 66%).
- (5) Planning-general
59% favored outside planning professional aid, with 35% who felt local amateurs were adequate (OM: outside pros 75% locals, 20%); most of the town favored a uninuclear community system (54%), with 38% against (OM: uninuclear 75%, multinuclear 23%)

two important problems then arise: How valid are these estimates? Under what conditions do they tend to be most valid?⁸⁹

In reality, the main factor Svalastoga was attempting to isolate was:

If a group of leaders of opinion is presented with a list of questions and asked to estimate public opinion of a certain other group on these questions, will there be any overall tendency of the leaders to attribute their own opinion to the group more often than not?⁹⁰

He set up the hypothesis that there is a significant tendency for leaders of opinion to attribute their own opinions to a group whose opinion they are asked to estimate. In short, that leaders of opinion inject their bias into the opinions of groups which they are asked to estimate. However, Svalastoga attempted to evaluate this hypothesis by seeking to verify its opposite.

In order to test his null hypothesis, he assumed certain conditions to be true:

In estimating the opinion of a group on two or more issues there is no tendency for the leaders to follow a definite pattern of agreement or disagreement between their own opinions and estimated group opinion from one issue to the next, and so on.⁹¹

The 98 persons who were classified as opinion leaders answered "yes" to the question: "Has anybody outside your family

89. Svalastoga, Kaare, "Note on Leaders' Estimates of Public Opinion," Public Opinion Quarterly, XIV, Winter 1950-1, p. 767. "Validity here means the degree of correspondence between public opinion as estimated by leaders and public opinion as ascertained by the best polling techniques."

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

asked you for information or your opinion on international problems during the past month?"⁹²

Questions in statement form were concerned with views on international political problems of a rather general nature, e.g., "We should give an international body the power to make laws on world affairs?"⁹³ On these questions, opinion leaders were requested to give their own opinion and their estimates of the opinions of our Federal Government. While the Federal Government is not a "group" of opinion in the sense of this thesis (perhaps the scale is different!), it does not preclude the possibility of obtaining results which may have value as analogies.

In answer to the seven questions, it was seen that the "agree" response of a respondent tended to be accompanied by an estimate of an "agree" response of the Federal Government; and a "dusagree" response tended to be accompanied by an estimate of a "disagree" response of the Federal Government.⁹⁴ On this basis it would seem that the hypothesis that there is a "significant tendency for leaders of opinion to attribute their own opinion to a group whose opinion they are asked to estimate," must be accepted.

Rather than merely accepting the findings as a specific case, Svalastoga believes that if the results arrived at are generalized to the situation where the group about which

92. Ibid., p. 767. A much sloppier way of determining "opinion leaders" I cannot imagine. And it got published, too!
93. Ibid., p. 768.
94. Ibid.

the leaders are to estimate is not the government, but the nation to which the leaders belong, there may be a key to certain conditions under which leader estimates might be the most valid. In such a situation

there would seem...to be a good chance that leader estimates would increase in validity with increasing similarity between the pattern of opinion actually existing among leaders and the pattern of opinion actually existing within the nation to which the leaders belong.⁹⁵

Of course, if one only knew that a similarity existed, it might remove the necessity of public opinion polls. But how does one get to this point? And does the similarity between the pattern of opinion among leaders and the nation as a whole stay constant? What factors must be chosen to correlate between the leaders and nation to ensure the similarity necessary for valid estimates of opinion?

On the basis of findings regarding the validity of leader estimates of group opinion, the safest course demands extreme care in making inferences from leader estimates of group opinion to actual group opinion.⁹⁶

However, the conditions under which leader estimates may be most valid arise when the leadership group is selected in such a way that the opinions of the leaders on the issues under study may be expected to correlate highly with the unknown opinions of the group.

Thus, if it is assumed that education is a

95. Ibid., pp. 768-9.

96. Ibid., p. 767.

dominating opinion determinant on the issues in question, one should make sure that the educational distribution of the leaders selected is the same as the educational distribution of the total sample [this seems very much like sampling --- but instead of sampling the group, it is the leaders that are to be sampled]. Further, since leadership is a function implying superior social status within some group, in so far as such social status is an opinion determination on an issue, a status bias may be expected where leader estimates of group opinion are used as estimates of that opinion.⁹⁷

This study skirts the question of leader estimates of public (or group) opinion, when the leaders do not (as may be usually the case) correlate highly with the group they lead in terms of education, social status, etc. It is this question which is the pertinent one to planners.

Stuart Chapin's study, "Mass versus Leadership Opinion on Wartime Rationing," has much in common with the previously surveyed studies, but this also sheds a wavering, rather than a direct light on the main thesis problem. Chapin attempted to evaluate the difference (if any) between mass and leadership opinion on an issue which affected all Americans more or less equally, and on which all had vigorous opinions --- rationing.

The research design called for an interview of 233 randomly selected people, out of a city population of 10,000. It asked if the persons questioned were undecided, approved or disapproved of wartime rationing. For the purposes of Chapin's analysis, the "masses" were defined by

97. Ibid., p. 769.

two sub-groups of the sample: (1) 110 persons in the "lower occupational groups" of day laborers, unskilled workers,⁹⁸ semi-skilled, and operatives; and (2) 32 union members. He defined his leadership group as those (1) 29 persons named by a committee of the local Chamber of Commerce as the top civic and economic leaders of the community; (2) 12 persons who were the titular labor leaders of the union locals; and (3) 17 persons not named in advance of the survey, but found on analysis of the returns to be very active in local organizations of all sorts (called by Chapin "emergent leaders").⁹⁹ The three leader sub-groups were mutually exclusive in membership, with no persons¹⁰⁰ common to any two groups.

On "trite" questions as

'Is wartime rationing necessary to the war effort? Do you think the enforcement of rationing is unfair? Do you think that the enforcement of rationing rules is uneven?', the pattern of response of all five sub-groups was essentially the same; majorities said 'yes' on [the first question] and 'no' on the second and third. On all questions, the groups of leaders tended to be more decisive than the masses; they showed low percentages of zero response on 'Undecided' and tended to take either a 'yes' or 'no' position on each question.¹⁰¹

However, the pattern of responses between the leadership and mass did not maintain this similarity of response.

There were two types of questions that brought out interesting

98. Chapin, F. Stuart, "Mass versus Leadership Opinion on Wartime Rationing," Public Opinion Quarterly, XI, Winter 1947-8, pp. 581-2.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., p. 582.

"differentials:" (1) questions on the agency which should enforce rationing rules, and (2) questions on the conditions of termination of rationing after the close of the war. ¹⁰²

It is evident that the 'selected' leaders of the community and the labor leaders of the community show a pattern of response similar to each other, but different from that of the 'emergent' leaders; and that the pattern of responses of these 'emergent' leaders is closer to the response of the 'masses.' And this differential response is most clearly shown in respect to opinions about enforcement of rationing rules by local and paid officials.¹⁰³

Chapin hypothesized an interesting explanation for the differential responses between the leader groups. He surmised that the observed differences reflected tendencies among the "selected" leaders and the labor leaders to take a more formal stand (reflecting social stereotypes and labor stereotypes) than do the masses, and that the similarity of attitude patterns of the "emergent" leaders and the masses may represent the fact that the "emergent" leaders are closer to the masses, and thus more nearly express the desires of the latter.¹⁰⁴ It would appear, then, that if one wanted to have leaders with a high degree of empathy and awareness of public opinion, it is the "emergent" leader one wants.

One final point was explored briefly by Chapin. An effort was made to discover whether significant differences

102. Ibid., p. 582.

103. Ibid., p. 582.

104. Ibid., pp. 582-584.

existed between public attitudes and private attitudes on the same question. The techniques used to elicit these responses was done by phrasing each question in two ways: "(a) Suppose you were asked in the presence of several strangers, 'Is wartime rationing...?' and (b) Suppose you were talking with an intimate friend who asked 'Is wartime rationing...?'"To such questions "no significant differences were found between any of the subgroups of the sample, although there was a tendency toward expressions of more critical opinions in private attitude than in public attitude, particularly when the question suggested some criticism of rationing."¹⁰⁵

Chapin concluded by refusing to draw generalizations from this study, saying that more work along similar lines was needed.

105. Ibid., pp. 584-5.

Appendix V Planning Surveys

In the course of daily planning there are planners who make use of the planning survey as an intelligence tool. An example of this close to home is the Concord Questionnaire which yielded valuable practical information. Here, however, we are not concerned so much with the Concord type of planning survey, but rather with surveys which deal with data the planner needs as background, e.g., the opinions of his clients about their physical environment.

When published in 1942, Melville C. Branch believed that his opinion survey was the first national opinion survey oriented toward the general field of planning, and more specifically to the field of Urban Planning.¹⁰⁵ Today it remains the only such attempt. In addition, the scope of the study and the problems it brought out were well in advance of the time.

Branch's objectives were ambitious and comprehensive, and still have relevance and interest. The first ranked objective of his survey, according to Branch, was "to provide more conclusive illustration of the importance of public opinion surveys in Urban Planning."¹⁰⁶ He felt that the mechanism of the opinion poll "permits a democratic determination of the attitudes, desires, and resistances of those who live in cities toward planning problems and proposed solutions."¹⁰⁷ As a corollary of his first objective

105. Branch, Melville C., Jr., Urban Planning and Public Opinion, p. 1.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.

the second announced the intent to "emphasize the usefulness of the public opinion survey technique as an integral part [*Italics mine*] of the technical development of plans and programs for urban improvement in a community."¹⁰⁸ Branch's third objective was coincident with the second, and was to "demonstrate the potentialities of employing national or regional surveys of public opinion as a means of gathering factual data and information for use in more basic nationwide studies of urbanism."¹⁰⁹ The fourth objective was to suggest the "importance of opinion surveys in the promotion of a general public interest in planning for the welfare of the community."¹¹⁰ Finally, his last objective was to provide "opinion and information of value for urban planning and research."¹¹¹

A general summary of the questions of opinion with which Branch dealt may give even a more precise view of what the survey was about. He dealt with questions of opinion about: home ownership; why people do and do not own homes, people who would like to shift from renting to home ownership and vice-versa, and the percentages of people who own their homes and those who rent. Coupled with this were questions about neighborhood improvement (i.e., how many people desire it), and neighborhood living preferences (i.e., among what "type" of people and in what proximity to particular community facilities, such as schools); and

108. Ibid., p. 2.

109. Ibid.,

110. Ibid., p. 3. Perhaps as a "persuasive poll" as much as a simple data-gathering mechanism?

111. Ibid., p. 4.

Branch worked out "satisfaction scores" for neighborhoods
112
based on his questions.

Branch progressively broadened his scope to include questions dealing with the desire for inter and intra city migration, and its reasons.
113
He also investigated the relationship of home location to place of work, in terms of distance of travel to work, and surveyed various sized communities in order to determine differences among them in travel time. In the poll the modes of transportation employed in getting to work in the various sized (percentage taking car, mass transportation, walking) cities was
114
also considered.

Finally, Branch asked respondents what they considered their most important city problem, which turned out to be housing; he inquired into their opinions about ways of improving housing (public housing, etc.) conditions, and
115
their voting habits.

His general conclusions were: most American city dwellers were "reasonably satisfied" with their environment as it existed, and that education was necessary if they were to realize that certain planning problems existed. The people, themselves, he felt, did not show "that community interest and concern which guarantees progressive urban
116
development." Another of his conclusions was that in

112. Ibid., pp. 7-28.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., pp. 17-20.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., p. 30.

terms of public opinion the aims of City Planning had been simultaneously too high and too low; "on the one hand grand schemes for reorganization have presupposed a public momentum which does not exist, and on the many other programs... dealt primarily with the three dimensional patterns of physical development and have not reflected sufficient considerations of the social, economic and governmental mechanisms comprising the core and essence of the planning problem."¹¹⁷

The situation which Branch called the "greatest social contentment," as well as certain advantages in living, were found in communities of less than 25,000.¹¹⁸ Interestingly enough, this study did not find significant regional differences in opinion and factual information. Instead, "in almost all instances, regional variations are the result of city size."¹¹⁹ The explanation that he gave for this phenomenon was

Since cities are to a large extent unities in themselves, they do not appear to reflect strong variations between regions on more basic subjects; the effects of urban form are more powerful than sectional location.¹²⁰

Surely this must be considered a pregnant insight; for, it has been relatively recent that an appreciation of the rôle urban areas play in national development has developed (and in a much more sophisticated fashion, e.g., see B. Hoselitz).

117. Ibid., p. 30.

118. Ibid., p. 31.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid., p. 32.

As far back as 1942, Branch noted certain desires, opinions, and values which presaged the type of metropolitan development we see today. For example, he found a momentum building up among city dwellers for residential decentralization, of the subsequent move to the suburbs. And he found a great desire among renters (up to 50%) for home ownership, and also the desire to live with their own "kind," with the same general interests, standards, and financial status.¹²¹ Finally, came up with evidence that

disproves the contention that persons of lower economic and educational status are inured to the environmental disadvantages which they endure. In most instances, less fortunate men and women show the highest dissatisfaction and the most definite desire for remedial action.¹²²

Branch's study focused primarily on the central urban area (core city). Today, however, planning interest has broadened (areally), and deals with suburban and fringe areas in relation to the central urban areas. In turn, this view has itself progressively broadened to include metropolitan planning "as the logical approach to...city-fringe problems."¹²³

As Brademas points out, using the metropolitan area as an actual planning unit presents a number of difficulties. He addresses his survey to the study of some of these difficulties:

Some of...[which] can be traced to partisan politics. There is another basic difficulty in

121. Ibid., p. 33.

122. Ibid.

123. Brademas, Thomas B., "Fringe Living Attitudes," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXII:2, Spring 1956, p. 75.

metropolitan planning, however, which the planner can & must resolve. The planner must determine the range and magnitude of what people in the central city and the urban fringe want. Do both groups desire the same services and facilities and if so, at the same level?¹²⁴

Since there is usually a wide disparity of services and facilities between the central city and its fringe area, is it also true that the people in the city and the fringe differ? Further, in the light of this, can the same standards be applied to both areas? Brademas felt that answers to these questions were essential before any intelligent planning could be attempted --- hence, the purpose of his survey. His justification for the attitudinal nature of his survey was not that the social, demographic and economic factors lacked importance to the planner; rather that the differences in attitudes on community living expressed by city and urban fringe dwellers were of equal importance.¹²⁵

Some of the differences between city and fringe household heads which were studied for social, demographic and economic background were: age of households, marital status, race, sex, size of household, composition of household, occupation of head, take-home pay, and education of head.

Under the heading of city and fringe attitudes, studies were made of: reasons for moving out of the city. Subsumed under that heading were, advantages of living in the city and disadvantages. Also questioned was reverse movement, i.e., reasons for moving out of the fringe area were analyzed,

124. Ibid., p. 75.

125. Ibid.

with a breakdown of fringe advantages and disadvantages.

There was a further breakdown to the neighborhood level, eliciting reasons for selecting neighborhoods, along with likes and dislikes about it, and reasons for leaving the previous neighborhood. A survey of dissatisfaction (and comparison) with facilities and services in the fringe and city was undertaken, and finally, major differences in housing in the central city and urban fringe were isolated, e.g., lot size, number of rooms, utilities, home tenure, market value, monthly rental, etc.¹²⁶

The final part of the survey attempted to determine what solutions to problems which affected both fringe and city would be supported by most people. This produced such a "wide divergence of views on how the joint city-fringe problem should be approached," that "clearly the solution or solutions to these problems will not be easy ones."¹²⁷ Though the intent of this survey was not to provide practical solutions to the problems outlined, it indirectly aided the planner by providing him with a more complete picture of his problems, so that his ultimate solutions based on this knowledge be beneficial and achievable.

In "Fringe Living Attitudes," Thomas Brademas attempted a survey with broad scope. On the other hand, Basil Zimmer and Amos Hawley survey only one of the problems Brademas dealt lightly with, "Home Owners and Attitudes Toward Tax Increase."

The purpose of this study was to verify or deny two

126. Ibid., pp. 76-80. See tables at end of chapter.

127. Ibid., pp. 81-2.

notions concerning local taxation that seem to be popular in American Society:

First, that people are generally opposed to any increase in taxes, and second, that fringe people in particular are opposed to any such increase.¹²⁸

This question is particularly germane to planners, as it is not uncommon for them to hear local leaders in the city explain the movement out to the suburbs in terms of a desire on the part of those people to escape the higher taxation of the core city. It is worthwhile to note, however, that in this study only 4% of the fringe households gave lower taxes as the reason for moving out of the city of Flint.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, the city dwellers' pique at such a (supposed) situation is likely to express itself in a certain hostility to the fringe dwellers (so goes the argument), with a resultant condescension regarding people who would rather go without "urban type" facilities than pay for them through higher taxes. If, indeed, residents are willing to pay more taxes for better services and facilities, it is of practical significance to local administrators, politicians, and planners.

Zimmer's and Hawley's study set out to explain

(1) the differential tax and property related characteristics of home owners that exist in different parts of the metropolitan area, (2) how the household heads in different parts of the metropolitan area feel about a tax increase in order to obtain better community type services,

128. Zimmer, Basil G., and Amos H. Hawley, "Home Owners and Attitudes Toward Tax Increase," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXII:2, Spring 1956, p. 65.

129. Ibid., p. 65.

and (3) how the opinions expressed in both areas related to (a) property related characteristics, (b) satisfaction with services, (c) characteristics of the head of the household, (d) migration experience of the head of the household.¹³⁰

They obtained their data through direct personal interviews, with a random sampling of household heads.

Observing that home ownership rates are higher in the fringe than in the city, they hypothesized that this situation was due to the difference in family composition. But it was also discovered that marked differences existed concerning property related characteristics. Thus, it was found that

fringe homes were valued at less than city homes; that is, in the latter area homes were over-represented in the higher-valued category as compared with fringe homes. However, in comparing homes of equal reported market value in the two areas, it was observed that they differed markedly in property related characteristics. Fringe dwellers enjoyed much more space, a lower assessment and a lower total tax for all units of local government than city residents. However, fringe homes in each value category were less likely to have hard surfaced streets, but in both areas type of street surfacing was closely related to market value.¹³¹

Contrary to the notion that people generally, and fringe dwellers in particular, are opposed to any tax increase, this study found that "fringe dwellers were...more willing to accept a tax increase than city dwellers."¹³²

130. Ibid., p. 65.

131. Ibid., p. 74.

132. Ibid., p. 74.

Further, this difference was found to hold when successive control variables were introduced.¹³³ Thus it was observed that though "property related characteristics, satisfaction with services, characteristics of head of households, as well as migration experience exerted considerable influence on the attitude toward taxes..., the main differential was found to be the place of residence."¹³⁴

Thus, the main conclusion of this study would seem to be that movement of people from the core to the fringe was not because they were seeking to avoid taxes. Rather, reasons related to "space and privacy" seemed to be the attractions in the fringe and the repulsion in the core city."¹³⁵ This is the factor which planners should face up to in planning and controlling development in areas around the core, or in Urban Renewal areas within the core itself.

The smallest scale with which many planners concern themselves is the neighborhood. As the literature of planning is replete with references to the neighborhood, and more particularly the neighborhood unit, it is somewhat ironic that it should take relatively recent Urban Renewal legislation to produce some practical results.

Mel Ravitz' deals with the relationship of the social sciences to urban planning, and more specifically with the possibility of using the attitude (his term, not mine) survey in urban renewal planning at the neighborhood level. Perhaps

133. Ibid., p. 74.

134. Ibid., See tables for this information.

135. Ibid., p. 74.

the attitude survey is the technique planners need in order to realize the neighborhood unit concept.

If attitude surveys are useful in slum clearance activity it will be to determine the attitudes of those displaced, their reactions to displacement and relocation, and studies of the attitudes of prospective clientele of the new housing which will rise in order to ascertain the types of facilities they would like to live in.¹³⁶ Before such housing is built it would be sensible to discover what the "attitudes of expectation" of the prospective tenants are; then, after they have lived there, to determine to what degree these expectations have been satisfied.¹³⁷ It would be further useful to inquire into their attitudes toward their neighbors who may be of different races, religions, or ethnic groups than formerly.¹³⁸

But it is in those areas of the city where the urban renewal effort is slum prevention or neighborhood conservation that the attitude survey may be of maximum significance.

Let us take a look at conservation and some of its ramifications.

As part of the conservation approach to urban renewal two major ends must be achieved if a neighborhood is to be conserved: A) the citizens themselves must actively be encouraged to develop a renewed pride of neighborhood so that they

136. Ravitz, Mel J., "The Use of the Attitude Survey in Neighborhood Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXIII:4, 1957, pp. 179-80.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

will work to maintain and improve their own property, and B) the local government together with the Federal funds must make necessary public improvements....¹³⁹

Therefore, from the physical side it would seem that no wholesale or large scale demolition should be undertaken. From the social side, it also means that most of the residents presently living in the neighborhood would be allowed to stay. Essentially, Ravitz points out that the success of the conservation program is

dependent on the attitudes of those residents towards their houses, their neighborhood and their neighbors. If conservation of neighborhoods is to be successful, not only must there be physical improvements, private and public, but also changes in attitudes toward more satisfaction with the neighborhood must accompany these physical improvements. Unless these attitude changes develop, the conservation program will simply be an expensive way to modify the environment according to the theoretical notions of the planners, but without regard for the needs and desires of the people who actually live there.¹⁴⁰

Ravitz feels that the attitude survey is of vast potential significance in the effective implementation of the conservation program in any city.¹⁴¹ He feels that it may be of significance in two ways:

1) in order currently to reveal the peoples' attitudes about their needs and desires and thus help the physical planners in their efforts to redesign the neighborhood in a preferred fashion; 2) in order to provide a

^{139.} Ibid., p. 180.

^{140.} Ibid.,

^{141.} His ideas have value if the conservation area has a very high percentage of property owners who reside in their own houses. What happens in the neighborhood with a high percentage of absentee ownership? Are the residents' attitudes then the most important factor in this situation?

guage of the success of the conservation program by measuring peoples' attitudes before and after physical public improvements in any given neighborhood.¹⁴²

Attitude surveys are most important for community organizers in order to get some idea of those individuals willing to participate in neighborhood improvement groups. And the attitude survey may further indicate who are the key persons or leaders in the neighborhood. Both of these factors are of importance to the physical planner in effectuating his conservation planning.

Underscoring the usefulness of the attitude survey was the experience gained in one particular survey in Detroit in 1954. " This study was part of a comprehensive neighborhood conservation effort; it was planned to conduct the attitude survey to help both the physical planners who were responsible for re-designing the physical area, and the community organizers who were responsible for developing a block and neighborhood citizen organization."¹⁴³ It was a pilot neighborhood survey, with the possibility of incorporating it into a larger design in order to evaluate the whole conservation program.

The neighborhood selected was 38 blocks in size, and an area probability sample of 108 households was selected. Of these, responses were received from 82.4%. The data gathering device used was the structured interview.

142. Ibid., pp. 180-1. This last is what Martin Myerson calls "result analysis," and is often neglected.

143. Ibid., p. 181.

The interview schedule sought to inquire into the following four areas:

- 1) general background characteristics of the head of the family and the respondent, including age, sex, occupation, race, religion, hometown;
- 2) information on the respondents' attitudes towards their present and past houses;
- 3) information on the respondents' attitudes toward the various features, physical and social, of the neighborhood; and
- 4) information about the degree and nature of the respondents' social and civic participation.¹⁴⁴

Ravitz felt that the features of greatest interest to physical planners were those which showed satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the neighborhood residents toward a number of features of their area.

The neighborhood feature about which there was the greatest dissatisfaction was lack of parking space. Closely behind it in importance, and indeed more important as the percentage of satisfaction indicates, is the type of new neighbors moving into the area. This is the feature of the neighborhood about which there is the least satisfaction and almost the most dissatisfaction.¹⁴⁵

By subtracting dissatisfaction percentages from satisfaction percentages for each of the 15 items¹⁴⁶ and then ranking the resulting scores, one finds that the type of new neighbors moving into the neighborhood heading the list as the item about which there is the least satisfaction.

The pertinence of such studies to physical planners are as obvious as Gulliver in Lilliput. For they suggest

144. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

145. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

146. See tables for this information.

to the planner what features of the neighborhood require priority attention, if the attitudes of the people toward this neighborhood are to be altered and greater satisfaction with their environment achieved. If additional parking space can be provided, if through traffic can be diminished, if needed play space can be made available to the neighborhood, and generally more quiet, cleanliness, and improved city services are provided, the major physical dissatisfactions of the people of this particular neighborhood will have been met.¹⁴⁷

Lastly, if attitude surveys can suggest areas of priority to the physical planner, then we may be able to make use of scarce funds in a manner which will produce the most results. And the result could be satisfied people and better planning simultaneously.

147. Ibid., p. 182.

Tables from:
Brademas, Thomas,
"Fringe Living Attitudes"

TABLE I

AGE OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS		
City	Fringe	
2.3%	5.3%	Under 25 years
25.5	28.9	25-34 years
22.1	23.5	35-44 "
23.8	25.1	45-54 "
14.7	10.2	55-64 "
11.6	6.4	65 and over
...	.5	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

Over ten per cent (10%) of the heads of households in the city are non-white. In the fringe there were no non-white heads of households reported. Table II gives this information in more detail and also gives the marital status and sex of the household heads.

TABLE II

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD - MARITAL STATUS, SEX, RACE			
City	Fringe		
73.9%	93.0%	White - Male	Married
5.1	1.6	White - Male	Unmarried
...	...	White - Female	Married
10.2	5.3	White - Female	Unmarried
8.5	...	Non-White - Male	Married
...	...	Non-White - Male	Unmarried
...	...	Non-White - Female	Married
2.3	...	Non-White - Female	Unmarried
...	...	Not ascertained	
100.0%	100.0%		

The size of city and fringe households varies considerably. Table III shows the percentage variation.

TABLE III
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

City	Fringe	
8.5%	2.1%	One
21.8	19.3	Two
28.9	21.9	Three
21.5	26.2	Four
11.0	16.0	Five
4.3	10.2	Six
2.3	2.1	Seven
.8	1.6	Eight
.8	.5	Nine and over
...	...	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

The composition of city and fringe households helps to explain the differences in attitudes on such items as education and recreational facilities. Table IV indicates the composition of households.

TABLE IV

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD		
City	Fringe	
11.2%	6.4%	Households with children 17 yrs. & over
50.1	71.1	Households with children under 17 yrs.
30.0	20.3	Households with no children
8.5	2.1	Single person families
100.0%	100.0%	

The differences in occupation, education, and take home pay of the heads of households in the city and fringe are slight. These statistics show that general statements such as, "The better educated and more prosperous families are found in the central city's suburbs," are not always accurate.

TABLE V

OCCUPATION OF HEAD

City	Fringe	
14.2%	11.2%	Prof., mgr., prop.
12.5	13.4	Clerical and sales
20.7	25.7	Skilled
33.9	36.4	Operatives } except farmers
4.2	4.8	All others }
...	1.6	Farming
14.2	5.9	Not working
.3	1.1	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE VI

TAKE HOME PAY (HEAD) (PER WEEK)

City	Fringe	
4.5%	2.1%	Under \$ 50
18.9	21.4	\$ 50 - 74
30.9	36.4	75 - 99
16.1	18.2	100 - 124
5.7	4.8	125 - 149
3.7	3.7	150 - 199
.8	1.1	200 - 249
.6	1.1	250 and over
14.2	5.9	Not working
4.5	5.3	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE VII

EDUCATION OF HEAD

City	Fringe	
4.2%	3.7%	Under 6 years } Grade school
26.6	29.4	6 - 8 years }
18.7	20.9	9 - 10 years } High school
32.9	38.5	11 - 12 years } College
16.4	6.4	13 and over
1.1	1.1	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE VIII
REASONS FOR MOVING OUT OF CITY OF FLINT

<i>Fringe</i>	
10.3%	Land and/or housing attractive — financial reasons
6.8	Land and/or housing attractive — non-financial reasons
4.8	Lower taxes
...	Lower cost of living other than 1 & 3 above
6.8	City noisy, dirty, unsafe, unwholesome
31.2	Lack of space and/or privacy
4.3	To be with/near friends or relatives
33.1	Other
2.7	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE IX
ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN CITY

<i>Fringe</i>	
16.0%	Better transportation facilities
15.5	Better utilities (sewers, water, gas, electricity, etc.)
1.6	Better fire and police protection
4.3	Convenient to work
12.8	Facilities & services more accessible & convenient
31.6	No advantages
5.9	Other
12.3	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE X
DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN CITY

<i>Fringe</i>	
12.8%	Noisy, dirty, unsafe, unwholesome
7.5	Traffic & parking & related problems
49.7	Lack of space and/or privacy
5	Presence of Negroes
9.6	Higher costs of living
8.0	No disadvantages
4.3	Other
7.5	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	

Although a considerably smaller percentage of present city dwellers had experienced fringe living, their attitudes are nonetheless important to the planner. City dwellers listed the following as reasons for moving from the fringe to the city.

TABLE XI
REASONS FOR MOVING OUT OF FRINGE AREA

<i>City</i>	
23.7%	Housing-related reasons
6.0	Poor utilities
14.9	Services and facilities inaccessible
3.2	Poor educational and recreational facilities
7.6	Poor transportation
...	Lack of fire and/or police protection
12.2	Work-related reasons
32.4	Other
<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XII
ADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN FRINGE

City	
18.9%	Quiet, clean, safe, wholesome
34.3	More space and privacy
1.1	Lower cost of living (other than taxes)
3.7	Lower taxes
5.4	Raise animals and/or garden
20.7	No advantages
2.3	Other
13.6	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XIII
DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING IN FRINGE

City	
11.9%	Inadequate utilities
4.2	Inadequate fire and/or police protection
4.8	Poor roads
24.7	Poor public transportation
1.4	Poor educational and/or recreational facilities
32.9	Generally inaccessible and inconvenient
7.9	No disadvantages
4.0	No answer
8.2	Other
<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XIV
REASONS FOR SELECTING NEIGHBORHOOD

City	Fringe	
13.3%	8.6%	Convenient to work
4.2	3.2	Convenient to educational and recreational facilities
1.7	1.1	Good facilities and services in area
7.4	11.2	Presence of friends and/or relatives
1.1	.5	Absence of Negroes
15.6	14.9	House attractive — financial reasons
10.8	8.6	House attractive — non-financial reasons
24.1	24.1	Lack of other available housing & other housing-related reasons
14.4	18.7	General attractiveness of neighborhood
7.4	9.1	No answer, does not apply, other
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XV

THINGS LIKED ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD

City	Fringe	
26.1%	34.8%	Friendly, helpful, & congenial neighbors (relatives)
.3	...	Good fire and/or police protection
3.1	3.7	Good educational and/or recreational facilities
1.1	.5	Property is maintained (kept up)
2.3	14.4	Space and/or privacy
18.4	17.6	Quiet, clean, safe, and wholesome
...	...	No Negroes
34.8	13.9	Accessibility
5.4	3.2	Nothing in particular
6.8	10.7	No answer, other
1.7	1.1	Dislike (don't like anything)
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE XVI

THINGS DISLIKED ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD

City	Fringe	
10.5%	23.5%	Poor utilities and streets
2.3	.5	Poor public transportation
.6	1.6	Fire and/or police protection
10.8	5.4	Noisy, dirty, unsafe, unwholesome
6.5	3.7	Lack of space and privacy
4.2	2.1	Dislike neighbors
1.7	4.3	Neighborhood property poorly maintained
8.2	4.8	Traffic and parking conditions
1.9	2.7	Poor educational and recreational facilities
11.6	8.0	No answer and other
41.6	43.3	Like (don't dislike anything)
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE XVII

REASONS FOR LEAVING LAST NEIGHBORHOOD

City	Fringe	
19.5%	21.7%	To acquire home
.8	.5	Former housing unsuitable — cost
9.7	10.9	Former housing unsuitable — for other than cost
1.1	1.6	Because of noise, dirt, unsafe, unwholesome
1.1	7.6	Lack of space and privacy
4.0	3.8	Neighborhood inconvenient to facilities and/or services
1.7	1.6	Presence of Negroes
5.4	5.4	Eviction
9.6	14.7	Other
47.0	32.1	Does not apply — last residence was in this neighborhood — no answer
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE XVIII

PER CENT DISSATISFIED WITH FACILITIES AND SERVICES

City	Fringe	Facilities or Services
4.4%	7.5%	School facilities
2.0	2.1	School teachers
5.3	28.4	Sewage disposal
2.2	10.1	Fire protection
28.1	35.8	Streets and roads
26.3	40.1	Recreation (children)
26.4	29.4	Recreation (teen agers)
20.1	29.4	Recreation (adults)
2.8	9.0	Water supply
4.5	18.2	Police protection
9.9	17.7	Library facilities
11.9	44.4	Street lighting
2.5	10.2	Garbage collection
3.4	8.6	Neighborhood shopping
8.5	14.4	Health and medical
17.6	41.7	Public transportation
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE XIX (a)

SIZE OF LOT (FRONT FOOTAGE)		
City	Fringe	
7.1%	1.6%	Under 40 ft.
57.8	23.5	40 to 59 ft.
7.9	16.6	60 to 74 ft.
9.3	24.1	75 to 124 ft.
2.0	18.2	125 ft. and over
4.2	.5	Not applicable
11.6	15.5	No answer and "Don't know"
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XIX (b)

SIZE OF LOT (SQUARE FOOTAGE)		
City	Fringe	
11.9%	2.1%	Under 4,000 sq. ft.
50.4	17.1	4,000 to 6,499 sq. ft.
11.3	5.9	6,500 to 7,999 sq. ft.
6.5	17.6	8,000 to 11,999 sq. ft.
3.4	18.2	12,000 to 24,999 sq. ft.
.6	6.9	25,000 to 43,560 sq. ft.
.3	21.4	One acre and over (43,560 sq. ft. lower limit)
.6	.5	Don't know
3.7	...	Not applicable
11.3	10.2	No answer and "Don't know"
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

While it is normal to find the bulk of city dwellings on lots from forty feet to seventy-five feet in width, it is surprising and disturbing to find that a great number of fringe dwellings are built upon small lots. If this practice is continued, it could present a very serious health problem, since all sewage disposal in the fringe area is by private septic tanks.

TABLE XX

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN HOUSE (D. U.)		
City	Fringe	
.6%	...	One room
3.1	.5%	Two
5.7	4.3	Three
21.5	27.3	Four
25.8	31.0	Five
18.7	21.4	Six
9.6	9.1	Seven
7.1	3.2	Eight
6.2	3.2	Nine or more
1.7	...	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XXI

BATH OR SHOWER		
City	Fringe	
96.0%	85.6%	Yes — have bath or shower
3.7	14.4	No — do not have bath or shower
.3	...	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XXII

HOME TENURE		
City	Fringe	
73.9%	87.2%	Own
25.5	12.3	Rent
.6	.5	Other
...	...	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XXIII

METHOD OF ACQUIRING HOME (D. U. OWNED BY RESIDENCE)		
City	Fringe	
10.7%	6.7%	Had it built
5.4	26.9	Built self
15.3	11.7	Bought new
68.2	51.5	Bought second-hand or inherited
...	...	Not applicable
.4	3.1	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XXIV

APPROXIMATE MARKET VALUE OF HOMES (D. U.'s OWNED BY R)		
City	Fringe	
3.1%	6.1%	Under \$5,000
8.0	25.2	\$ 5,000 to 7,499
16.9	19.0	7,500 to 9,999
34.5	18.4	10,000 to 12,499
9.9	7.9	12,500 to 14,999
11.5	7.4	15,000 to 19,999
2.3	1.8	20,000 to 24,999
2.7	2.5	25,000 and over
...	...	Not applicable
11.1	11.7	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XXV

MONTHLY RENTAL (FOR RENTED D. U.'s) (WITH UTILITIES)		
City	Fringe	
2.2%	4.2%	Below \$25
14.1	25.0	\$ 25 — 49
36.9	41.7	50 — 74
34.8	20.8	75 — 99
6.5	4.2	100 — 124
1.1	...	125 and over
...	...	Not applicable
4.3	4.2	No answer
<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

TABLE XXVI

SOLUTION MOST WILLING TO SUPPORT

City	Fringe	
46.7%	28.3%	City and townships work together
4.3	14.9	Townships work together
13.0	23.5	Each township alone
6.8	16.6	County takes over problems
20.9	9.1	Annexation of fringe area to city
2.3	5.9	Other
5.9	1.6	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

The wide divergence of views on how the joint city-fringe problem should be approached indicates clearly that the solution or solutions will not be easy ones.

TABLE XXVII

OVER-ALL PROPERTY TAXES — CITY VS. FRINGE

City	Fringe	
79.3%	75.5%	Higher in city
3.4	7.4	Higher in fringe
8.4	11.6	About same in each area
1.9	...	It varies
6.9	5.5	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

Table XXVII is interesting since it indicates that property taxes in the city are considerably higher than in the fringe. This table is also significant in showing the large number of respondents who did not know the amount of property taxes they had paid for the previous year.

TABLE XXVIII

TOTAL PROPERTY TAX PAID LAST YEAR
(ALL GOV'T UNITS)

City	Fringe	
3.8%	36.8%	Under \$50
4.2	22.1	\$ 50 - 74
9.2	7.4	75 - 99
30.3	7.4	100 - 149
18.4	3.7	150 - 199
8.0	1.8	200 - 249
1.5	...	250 - 299
3.4	2.5	300 and over
21.1	18.4	No answer or don't know
100.0%	100.0%	

There is a wide divergence in views on whether the city or fringe dweller receives more community facilities and services per tax dollar collected. Table XXIX indicates these divergent views.

TABLE XXIX

WHAT COMMUNITY PROVIDES PER TAX DOLLAR
COLLECTED

City	Fringe	
62.8%	34.9%	City provides more
8.4	22.7	Fringe provides more
21.1	36.8	About the same in both areas
7.7	5.5	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

TABLE XXX

HOW FEEL ABOUT PAYING MORE TAXES?

City	Fringe	
13.0%	23.3%	Willing w/o qualifications
25.3	43.6	Willing with qualifications
6.9	1.8	Not willing with qualifications
52.1	28.2	Not willing w/o qualifications
2.7	3.1	No answer
100.0%	100.0%	

Tables from:

Zimmer, Basil G., and Amos Hawley,

"Home Owners and Attitudes Toward Tax Increase"

TABLE 5
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD TAX INCREASE BY SATISFACTION WITH SERVICES, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

Service and Satisfaction*	City			Fringe		
	Tax Increase		Total Per Cent	Tax Increase		Total Per Cent
	Favorable	Unfavorable		Favorable	Unfavorable	
FIRE PROTECTION						
High	37.7	62.3	100.0	65.3	34.7	100.0
Low	50.0	50.0	100.0	82.6	17.4	100.0
POLICE PROTECTION						
High	36.9	64.1	100.0	69.8	30.2	100.0
Low	52.9	47.1	100.0	73.3	26.7	100.0
STREET LIGHTING						
High	37.5	62.5	100.0	64.0	36.0	100.0
Low	46.8	53.2	100.0	76.9	23.0	100.0
SEWAGE						
High	39.9	60.1	100.0	60.5	39.5	100.0
Low	49.0	50.0	100.0	82.5	17.5	100.0
WATER						
High	38.9	61.1	100.0	71.4	28.6	100.0
Low	40.0	60.0	100.0	75.0	25.0	100.0

*A five point scale collapsed as follows: High includes very and quite satisfied. Low includes fairly satisfied, quite and very dissatisfied.

TABLE 6
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD TAX INCREASE BY CHARACTERISTICS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

Selected Characteristics	City			Fringe		
	Tax Increase		Total Per Cent	Tax Increase		Total Per Cent
	Favorable	Unfavorable		Favorable	Unfavorable	
AGE OF HEAD						
Under 35 years	42.9	57.1	100.0	77.0	23.0	100.0
35 - 44 yrs.	63.0	36.9	100.0	77.3	22.7	100.0
45 - 65	35.7	64.3	100.0	65.3	34.6	100.0
65 yrs. and over	12.5	87.5	100.0	58.3	41.7	100.0
OCCUPATION						
Prof. Clerical	48.6	51.4	100.0	82.8	17.2	100.0
Skilled Operatives	40.3	59.7	100.0	70.7	29.3	100.0
Other	37.5	62.5	100.0	52.6	47.4	100.0
Not working	18.9	81.1	100.0	43.8	56.3	100.0
EDUCATION						
Grade School	28.8	71.3	100.0	68.5	31.5	100.0
Higl. School	37.9	62.0	100.0	70.7	29.3	100.0
College	63.6	36.4	100.0	90.0	10.0	100.0
TAKE HOME PAY						
Under \$75	34.5	65.5	100.0	51.9	48.1	100.0
\$75 - \$99	48.1	51.9	100.0	76.8	23.2	100.0
\$100 and over	46.7	53.2	100.0	73.2	26.8	100.0
FAMILY COMPOSITION						
Children over 17 yrs.	52.0	48.0	100.0	78.0	22.0	100.0
Children under 17 yrs.	45.0	55.0	100.0	73.0	27.0	100.0
Without children	30.0	70.0	100.0	62.0	38.0	100.0
Single Person	12.0	88.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	100.0

TABLE 3
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD
TAX INCREASE BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE*

<i>Attitude Toward Tax Increase</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>	
	<i>City</i>	<i>Fringe</i>
Total	100.0	100.0
Favorable	38.4	68.1
Unfavorable	58.9	28.3
No answer	2.7	3.6

*Home owners only

TABLE 4
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD TAX INCREASE, BY HOME AND TAX RELATED
CHARACTERISTICS, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Property Related Characteristics	City			Fringe		
	Tax Increase		Total	Tax Increase		Total
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Per Cent	Favorable	Unfavorable	Per Cent
REPORTED MARKET VALUE OF HOME						
Under \$10,000	37.8	62.2	100.0	76.9	24.0	100.0
\$10,000 - \$15,000	37.5	62.5	100.0	73.3	26.7	100.0
\$15,000 and over	44.4	55.6	100.0	72.0	28.0	100.0
ASSESSED VALUE OF HOME						
Low	38.1	61.9	100.0	74.3	25.7	100.0
Medium	38.6	61.4	100.0	72.7	27.3	100.0
High	42.6	57.4	100.0	64.7	35.3	100.0
PROPERTY TAX PAID LAST YEAR FOR ALL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT						
Under \$75	42.9	57.1	100.0	73.2	26.8	100.0
\$75 - \$150	34.3	65.7	100.0	71.4	28.6	100.0
\$150 and over	45.7	54.3	100.0	62.5	37.5	100.0
TYPE OF STREET SURFACING						
Hard Surface	38.6	61.4	100.0	63.1	36.9	100.0
Gravel	33.3	66.7	100.0	70.2	29.8	100.0
Dirt	56.3	43.8	100.0	85.7	14.3	100.0
SIZE OF LOT						
Under 60 ft.	38.4	61.6	100.0	81.7	18.3	100.0
60 to 74 ft.	45.5	54.5	100.0	70.5	29.5	100.0
75 ft. and over	53.3	46.7	100.0	67.9	32.1	100.0

TABLE 7
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD TAX INCREASE, BY MIGRANT STATUS OF HEAD
OF HOUSEHOLD BY PRESENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Migrant Status Characteristics	City			Fringe		
	Tax Increase		Total Per Cent	Tax Increase		Total Per Cent
	Favorable	Unfavorable		Favorable	Unfavorable	
YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN COUNTY						
Under 10 years	42.9	57.1	100.0	77.4	22.6	100.0
10 or more	37.9	62.0	100.0	70.9	29.1	100.0
Natives	42.9	57.1	100.0	65.6	34.4	100.0
REGION OF BIRTH						
Same state	37.5	62.5	100.0	67.4	32.6	100.0
Southern states	35.4	64.6	100.0	84.1	15.9	100.0
Other	40.7	59.3	100.0	71.1	28.9	100.0
COMMUNITY OF LAST RESIDENCE						
Farm	35.7	64.3	100.0	73.4	26.6	100.0
Village	37.7	62.3	100.0	77.8	22.2	100.0
City	39.6	60.4	100.0	69.0	30.9	100.0
FARM EXPERIENCE						
Under 10 years	53.7	46.3	100.0	78.8	21.2	100.0
10 - 19 years	24.4	75.6	100.0	76.8	23.2	100.0
20 years and over	18.2	81.8	100.0	63.3	36.7	100.0
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE IN AREA						
Never lived in opposite place	36.8	63.2	100.0	68.9	31.1	100.0
Lived in opposite place	40.2	59.8	100.0	71.1	28.9	100.0

Tables from:

Ravitz, Mel, J. "The Use of the Attitude
Survey in Neighborhood Planning"

TABLE 1

Number and Per Cent of Residents Attitudes Toward
Selected Neighborhoods Features

<u>Selected Neighborhood Features</u>	<u>Degree of Satisfaction</u>					
	<u>Satisfied</u>		<u>Don't Know</u>		<u>Not Satisfied</u>	
Parking space	45	51.1	11	12.5	32	36.4
Type of neighbor moving in	32	37.2	23	26.7	31	36.0
Side street traffic	46	52.3	12	13.6	30	34.1
Quietness	55	62.5	5	5.7	28	31.8
Cleanliness	54	62.1	7	8.0	26	29.9
Parks and playgrounds	45	53.6	18	21.4	21	25.0
Adequacy of city services	62	71.3	8	9.2	17	19.5
Size of lots	64	72.7	9	10.2	15	17.0
Street lighting	72	81.8	3	3.4	13	14.8
Appearance of yards	60	69.0	16	18.4	11	12.6
Shopping facilities	70	80.5	7	8.0	10	11.5
No. of trees/green	67	77.0	12	13.8	8	9.2
Street pattern	64	72.7	16	18.2	8	9.1
School location	64	74.4	20	23.3	2	2.3
Transportation	81	92.0	5	5.7	2	2.3

TABLE 2

Residents' Ranked Attitude Scores (Satisfaction Percentage Minus Dissatisfaction
Percentages) for Selected Neighborhood Features

<u>Selected Neighborhood Features</u>	<u>In Order of Dissatisfaction</u>	
	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Score</u>
Type of neighbors moving in	1	1.2
Parking space	2	14.7
Side street traffic	3	18.2
Parks and playgrounds	4	28.6
Quietness	5	30.7
Cleanliness	6	31.2
Adequacy of city services	7	51.8
Size of lots	8	55.7
Appearance of yards	9	56.4
Pattern of streets	10	63.6
Street lighting	11	67.0
Shopping facilities	13	69.0
School location	14	72.1
No trees/green	12	74.8
Transportation	15	88.7

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