



THE PERSUASIVE PUBLIC-OPINION POLL IN CITY-PLANNING

by

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ABSTRACT

## THE PERSUASIVE PUBLIC-OPINION POLL IN CITY-PLANNING

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The argument is made that public-opinion polls can help the city-planning practitioner sell his ideas to politicians and to laymen. This service is in addition to the usual information-collecting, interest-generating, and idea-inviting functions. Eight drawbacks of opinions currently collected on opinion polls are cited. Scientific, design, technological, conservation, social improvement, governmental and political, career-maximizing, and coordination approaches in theory are proposed to combat those drawbacks. A historical treatment based on the theoretical approaches follows, cataloguing the persuasive elements in fourteen past city-planning polls. A case-study for poll pre-testing in a small town is developed with examples drawn from Wenham, Massachusetts. The examples are exhibited in eight question-types that are new to city-planning questionnaires and that are appropriate to the persuasion theme. Persuasive alternatives are mentioned and limits to this poll device as a propagandist are indicated. That the poll has the advantage of persuading is empirically borne out by a limited experience in the housing field. 78 pages. Illustrated.

Thesis Supervisor: Bernard Frieden  
Title: Instructor in City-Planning

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Massachusetts Institute  
of Technology  
Cambridge 39, Mass.  
October 31, 1958

Professor John T. Howard  
Department of City and Regional Planning  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Howard:

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in City Planning, I submit this thesis entitled "The Persuasive Opinion-Poll in City-Planning."

Sincerely yours.

Richard G. Townsend

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I assume full responsibility, however, for any technical or professional errors contained in this paper.

R.T.

## PICTURE CREDITS

The photographs of the statues were taken from Meyric Rogers' book, Carl Milles, An Interpretation of His Work.

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Read apart from the text, the captions for the pictures make little sense. In other words, the reader is invited to be sympathetic and read the pictures along with the text.

## INTRODUCTION

The public-opinion poll can be used by city-planning practitioners as a persuasive tool. That is, the poll can win politicians and laymen by city-planning appeals to reason and to feeling. This principle is the thesis advanced in this paper.

Statistics have not been amassed or experiments conducted to corroborate this thesis. The development here will instead be historical and utopian. The reader may accordingly expect that the utopian remarks will seem immediately impractical. Nonetheless, as pace-setting ideals, do not utopian suggestions deserve statement?

The first chapter contains a theoretical base while the second chapter includes some specific applications of that theory for the future. The third chapter touches upon some limits, alternatives, and advantages of the persuasive poll in city-planning.



CHAPTER ONE: PERSUASION POLLS IN GENERAL

One job of city-planning practitioners is to sell their ideas. That idea is the basic conviction of this paper. There seems little enduring magic in noble plans whose spatial determinations have been violated by post-plan constructions. If they had been persuaded of the merit of their planners' ideas, the city's laymen might have agitated for follow-through action from their elected representatives. If they had been persuaded of the merit of their planners' ideas, those representatives - the city's politicians - might have enacted appropriate legislation. Narrowing down this matter of salesmanship, it appears that one job of city-planning practitioners is to sell their ideas to laymen and to politicians.

To understand how this public relations job might be discharged by public-opinion polls, it is desirable to know something about the development and the present state of polls conducted by land-use practitioners.<sup>1</sup> A sketch of that development and state will be chronologically ordered.

Ancient fairy tales where Good Kings discovered social maladjustments that Wicked Kings had concealed, time-honored legends where Robin Hoods suddenly materialized to protect physical occupancies of poor plowmen - these and other folk fictions that America inherited are sewn of a common thread.<sup>2</sup> If the rulers only knew about these maladjustments and poor occupancies, an implication might be spun, then citizens'

social, physical, and physicosocial environments might be idyllic.

But the rulers did not always have the time or the disposition to know. Not until the early eighteenth century did governmental rulers acquire the John Howard report, one of the first objective and systematic social surveys.<sup>3</sup> The remedial consequences of Howard's report on prisoner opinions of London jails demonstrated that verifiable statements or attitudes about habitats could be marshalled to spur reform.<sup>4</sup>

For political rulers some two hundred years later, Patrick Geddes arranged one of the first thorough physical surveys of a city.<sup>5</sup> An examination of Edinburgh's growth, it demonstrated that each generation made its individual contribution to the city shell.<sup>6</sup>

Although social and physical engineers both avouched a behavioral link between physical form and man, for some years the two survey strands were stitched of different fabrics. The sociologists pondered about fashions in city sections and inferred that these trends were determinants of human personality.<sup>7</sup> They also amassed estimates of governmental departments, radio broadcasts, and industrial milieus.<sup>8</sup> The city-planners reflected about patterns of city sections.<sup>9</sup> They assumed that man responded favorably to uncrowded and smokeless neighborhoods.<sup>10</sup>

The two strands were woven together when Melville Branch organized a nation-wide opinion poll about city-planning,

partially to stimulate local polls of randomly selected  
citizens.<sup>11</sup> The following texture of thought is knit from  
Branch's reasons in 1942, but he is in no way responsible  
for the word embroidery: city-planners resemble wizards  
relying on fairy-tale magic as they avoid conferring directly  
with the people who know their own needs best; the opinion  
questionnaire is an excellent way to learn these needs;  
residents' verdicts on polls should influence land policies  
much as polled judgments have influenced governmental  
departments, radio broadcasts, and industrial milieus.

Sophisticated pollsters today would be a little doubt-  
ful about the faith in the average citizen's wisdom implicit  
in these pro-poll assertions. They would caution that  
sometimes their survey results could be misleading.<sup>12</sup> In  
particular, perhaps the wording of the questions was inade-  
quate. Perhaps the significant questions were left out.  
To gain correctives for such inadequacies and omissions,  
modern opinion pollsters carefully pre-test their surveys  
with small groups. Upon learning of their errors, they  
modify their questionnaires. In subsequent testings, they  
hope that their modified polls measure in intensity and in  
number the representative outlooks of an entire group (e.g.,  
a city). But, even then, these question-designers are not  
sure that their results are impeccable. The question-  
respondents may contribute their own distortions. Their  
verbal answers may not jibe with their overt behavior. This  
irregularity could be caused by the respondents' answering  
hurriedly, impatiently, or unthinkingly. Later they may

have tempered, perserving, or pensive views.

Sophisticated pollsters would also have doubts about any unhesitant and trusting uses made of their findings. Some of the older opinion-testers might argue - as George Gallup has done<sup>13</sup> - that poll findings quickly alert the busy politician to the people's widest wishes. In a democracy of, by, and for the people, these let-the-people-decide pollsters might continue, these opinions should be published and heeded. For the scientific sake of understanding and of predicting the people's sentiments, the modern pollster would probably agree to the publication of his findings. But he would probably go further than Branch was willing to go in 1942. He would probably insist that his poll findings only be heeded after they had been put back into the contexts of reality. In one aspect of everyday reality, people's opinions are frequently uninformed. Consequently their wide wishes might also be unwise and their polled judgments should not exclusively determine local policies.

To elaborate in a city-planning context, pollsters would doubt whether citizens had enough information to make an intelligent choice about, say for example, the location of a new public library. Some citizens might be ignorant of some of the long-term and important benefits accruing from different possibilities for library sites. Their choices, then, would be short-sighted.<sup>14</sup> Some citizens might also favor only that with which they were familiar. As an example, they might lack experience or tutelage in lustrous or beau-

tiful environments and thus lack emotional sympathy for past city-planning glories; as a result, obedience to these citizens' uninformed opinions might stifle such a visual innovation as developing a rustic-seeming town entrance. To oversimplify, such views can be haltingly conventional.<sup>15</sup> Less importantly, people's views might be inefficient. Thinking that a particular system of two-way streets was reasonably quick and convenient, they might unknowingly favor the obsolete. Moving on to another drawback, if asked for an opinion about retaining parks as parks, some citizens might reply with a trite or obvious<sup>16</sup> or banal "Let's keep them" - a sentiment that might not be worth the cost of a poll analyst's time, assuming of course that the analyst is hired to probe hidden sentiments. Views can also be self-enclosed.<sup>17</sup> The immediate importance of citizens' personal problems can crowd out of their minds humanistic consideration of community problems. At night, for instance, citizens are more prone to care about tossing footballs with their sons than to worrying about playgrounds where their sons and their sons' friends toss footballs during the day. What is more, views can also be indifferent. Thus, a citizen can say, "The politicians make the zoning regulations. What can a little guy like me do about it?" Next in this catalogue of possible drawbacks of uninformed citizen opinions, citizens might get a wrong impression from planners' reports. They might not, for instance, appreciate the purpose underlying the postponement of development on a tract of land, a tract

of land that future generations might someday be able to use for yet-unimagined physical needs. Present-day citizens might be confused about the intentions of the postponement. If they hear that the owner of the tract is enjoying tax concessions, they might think, for instance, that he was bribing the town officials. Accordingly, citizens' views of the present can be un-natural to fact or far-fetched.<sup>18</sup> Lastly, most peoples' answers are unrelated to groups.<sup>19</sup> To put that charge in another way, the citizenry's poll opinions about a highway location might only be temporary and flexible when polled. Later these same persons' views might be transmuted and fixed by the opinions of an admired group. Their new views might be inconsistent with the polled judgments that the experts were relying upon.

While other examples might be more diverting, for the sake of consistence each of these concretes (i.e., libraries, town entrances, obsolete two-way highways) will be developed in the next chapter, a chapter where instruments for translating the persuasion principle will be proposed. For now, however, the uninformed citizen and his poll responses might be summarily characterized as tending to be: 1) short-sighted; 2) conventional; 3) inefficient; 4) banal; 5) self-enclosed; 6) indifferent; 7) far-fetched; and 8) unrelated to groups. (Thirty pages from now, the reader may distrust some of these eight trend-summarizing terms. Al pity, as these terms will be used in a connotation consistent with the definitions and examples given in the preceding paragraph.)

Admittedly, this is a devastating summation of the average layman's worst mental processes. On the positive side, one wishful assumption that is made is that the uninformed citizen has a naivete which impulsively recognizes and appreciates a good or kind proposal. This faith in the decency of people will be benevolently exploited in the second-chapter examples of what I think are good or kind proposals.

The methodology of the remainder of this paper is based upon the eight mental drawbacks (i.e., short-sightedness, conventionality), as extended, and upon the one emotional assumption (i.e., that people sometimes impulsively are warmed to do decent things). Let us first examine the mechanics inspired by an extension of the mental drawbacks.

These eight drawbacks are wholistically regarded as the paper's germinating problem, a problem that I will try to minimize by persuasive measures. These drawbacks constitute the base for a complex structure of parallels. This base has five parallels, each of which is developed separately in the following pages. The parallels in the text are:

1. The eight enumerated deficiencies.
2. The eight obverses of the deficiencies.
3. The eight planning points of view which combat these deficiencies and harness the obverses.
4. Eight general purposes of opinion polls.
5. Eight purposes of city-planning opinion polls as viewed by a persuader-planner.
6. Eight question-types which might be poll instruments for city-planning persuasion.

As indicated in this list, each of the six parallels is divided into eight separate parts. The parts are linearly



Figure 1 - Overview



related to each other. The first part of parallel one, therefore, is related to the first part of parallels two, three, four, five, and six, the second part of parallel one is related to the second part of parallel two, three, four, five, and six, etc. Possibly these forty-eight parts could be handled as dynamic, relative forces which overlap each other or which couple with each other. Within the limited compass of this paper, however, only a linear, static treatment will be tried.

The six parallels listed above were not devised for a symmetrician's pleasure. The symmetry, for that matter, is not pleasing: it is often strained. This framework was devised for the pleasure - or rather the referential benefit - of the reader. Bearing such a framework in mind, the reader at any parallel or part of the paper should know where in the continua he has been, where he is, and where he is going.

Let us now turn to the mechanics derived from the wishful assumption, i.e., the notion that people warmly respond to decencies. In this thesis about persuasion, it is felt that the city-planning persuader tries to unlock that warm humane spirit in politicians and in laymen. To unlock this spirit, the planner qua persuader talks about things that politicians and laymen know - human beings, personal hes and shes; he shies away from technicalities, from impersonal laws and regulations. His goal is to relate his abstract entreaties in concrete, perceptual images. To get the reader thinking in such terms, it seems becoming to use the concrete, perceptual images of sculptor Carl Milles' Orpheus fountain in Stockholm, Sweden. (See Figure 1) In legend, Orpheus is remembered as the poetic persuader who was able to influence

the public decisions of politicians and of laymen in his city-state. Hoping to unlock a warm spirit in the reader, I propose to let the central figure on the high pedestal - the orotund Orpheus - represent the planner-persuader, the hero of this paper, the incarnation of the idea-salesman who convinces society to fight for superior arrangements of civic lands. In the he-and-she descriptions of different points that follow, this fountain image is going to be stretched. The reader, therefore, would do well not to expect too empirical an allegory of opinion polls.

With these procedural notes out of the way, we are ready to return to the six-parallel framework in some detail.

Given the mental drawbacks of the uninformed, the conviction here is that opinion should be heeded in city-planning matters only when there is reason to believe that it is an informed opinion. On the whole, however, a high level of informed layman and politician opinion about community matters is probably rare. First let us glance at the layman's cognizance.

Flooded with material in his communication channels of press and broadcast, the average layman cannot ascertain during his free time the validity or propriety of much of his information. His city-planning opinions, for one thing, are thus likely to be casual and unconnected.

The politicians who are charged with advancing, purposefully and connectedly, the quality of common life, need to take a larger view than the casual and unconnected views revealed by their constituents on opinion polls. They need policy prescriptions which counter-act the above-listed

drawbacks of layman thinking. That is, their prescriptions should embrace:

1. Long-range thinking.
2. Wise innovations.
3. Efficiencies that improve the comfort of man.
4. Subtleties.
5. Measures for the common good.
6. Concern for governmental and political processes.
7. Disabusions of far-fetched notions.
8. Rallies of groups around the idea of large-scale betterment.

Still lacking the time or the disposition to develop these prescriptions, politicians often look to specialists. Lobbyists of special-interest groups counsel politicians on their groups' attitudes. These lobbyists also offer prescriptions. Planning practitioners are a sort of lobby too. As professional advocates, they too have their special attitudes. They have the biases of their occupational outlook, the biases that they think are fitting in particular circumstances. Having shored up their city-planning competence by studying lands and regulations historically, experimentally, statistically, and ideally, they are reasonably sure of the merits of their biases. Accordingly, I believe that planners should try to win the public's favor on matters that they, the planners, care about but which the power structure is not yet committed to. If the poll's results express an enlightened opinion, the poll could be interpreted as a mandate for the politicians. If the poll's results express an anti-planning opinion, well then planners can at least prepare briefs against the people's known stand.

There may be strategic advantage in knowing the direction and extent of the anti-planning groups.

But the technical planner should not, of course, take it upon himself to try to dictate policy. Being a narrow specialist normally unskilled, for instance, in such presently peripheral disciplines as psychology and anthropology, a planner should admit that his prescriptions might not fulfill the larger view that society demands. He consequently should expect politicians - or perhaps statesman is a more accurate word - to be the arbiters of his planning prescriptions, as well as the policy prescriptions from psychologists, anthropologists, etc. Thus as a planning specialist can be a balance to politicians' unknowing catch-as-catch-can notions, a politician can be a check on the limited perspectives of the planning specialist.

How then might polls help planners in their balance efforts? The approach here to answering that question will combine the historical with the utopian. Let us first examine both methods separately, coming to the combination after we have some familiarity with the elements that are to be fused.

In the past ten years, the following sorts of purposes have been assigned to public-opinion polls:

1. Planners have proposed that polls can suggest popular policies for decision-makers.<sup>20</sup>
2. Motivation researchers have used polls to ~~assess~~ the sales appeal of products.
3. Planners have observed that polls generate interest.<sup>21</sup>
4. Pollsters have asserted that polls can assess community resistances.
5. Motivation researchers have said that polls can isolate widespread misconceptions.
6. Planners have devised poll questions that seem to try to incite citizens to participate in the planning process.

7. Political scientists have said that polls can reorient administrative programs. <sup>22</sup>
8. A lawyer has suggested that polls can collect opinions that support planners in courtroom advocacies. <sup>23</sup>

Moving now from historical to utopian considerations, I will try to relate the poll directly to what city-planners are trying to do today. The assumption is that a persuasive poll can be a mirror of the city-planning profession. City-planning will be related by a hidden-mechanism theory.

The American Institute of Planners has published a list of general motives attracting people to the field of city-planning. <sup>24</sup> The brief list includes: Scientific Knowledge; Design; Conservation; Social Improvement; Government and Politics; Career ( i.e., having a meaningful and rewarding job); and Coordination. By extension, it will be assumed here that these motives can be fulfilled in the practice of city-planning as much as in the anticipation of that practice. With this hidden mechanism for understanding city-planning, it is presumed that practitioners are more than walking editions of Planning the Neighborhood, however valuable a source of quotable suburban standards that handbook may be. Instead, planners are believe to have vital drives, ideals, and anticipations that set the sought-after perspectives of their work. It will be assumed that not only can the motives, outlooks, perspectives, purposes, points of view, and attitudes of mind (these terms are used inter-changeably) be fulfilled, but that

- 1) they can be integrated into the city-planning poll with
- 2) the rationale of a persuader-planner.

The point may be polemical, but it is felt that the tone of the A.I.P motives does not seem relevant to vital drives, ideals, or anticipations. Missing is any implication of vigor.

Missing is any joyous heartbeat. Missing is any sense of people, of human beings, fulfilling themselves or of integrating their perspectives into a persuasive mental crucible.

Rather than the official list of nouny terms and adjectival qualifications, the following active verb-phrases will be used:

1. Be Scientific.
2. Design.
3. Be technological.
4. Conserve.
5. Socially Improve.
6. Govern-Politick.
7. Build A Career.
8. Coordinate.

To humanize the ensuing discussion, it might be well to think of these animating phrases as people's names. Some perspectives go by their full names (e.g., Be Scientific), others use only their family names (e.g., Design). One phrase is the offspring of a marriage between two hard-headed legislative families accustomed to compromise, the Governs and the Politicks.

To the A.I.F. list of motives has been added one other point of view, Be technological. It differs from Be Scientific much as applied science (which develops instruments of precision) differs from pure science (which develops knowledge about curious phenomena). This incentive was included to engage a tool-making point of view that could not be subsumed under other headings. The forging of mechanical contrivances and the harnessing of wheels, wedges, and levers - Technology (with a large T) - may be beyond the present competence of most city-planners. Yet it is thought that the predisposition to iron out frictions, to hunt for mechanical relationships, to search out solutions, to accelerate quantities and qualities of change, and to utilize natural forces - technology (with a small t) - is,

or can be, as much of a flywheel in today's city-planning as it was in the day of Sir Ebenezer Howard.<sup>25</sup> He is appreciated as the inventor-planner who devised the greenbelt, a planners' dream.

Now since the fountainhead of planning and of poll mirrorings was a list of personal dreams or motives of urban planners, it does not seem, well, urbane, to treat these subjects with impersonality. Extending the concrete, perceptual Orpheus image, the ensuing discussion will give each of these points of view body form. These points of view will be personified by the eight subsidiary figures of the fountain. The interpretations cannot be blamed on the sculptor; I assume interpretative blame.

How, exactly, can these points of view work for Orpheus? A Fusion of aspects of the last two lists looks like this:

1. The point of view that suggests long-range aspects of decisions on matters that planners are neutral about. It is scientific in that it propagates logic.
2. The point of view that assesses the sales appeal of city-planners' wise innovations in order to make the designed products more saleable.
3. The point of view that educates citizens to think together interestedly about environmental efficiencies.
4. The point of view that assesses community resistances so that planners can anticipate and confound anti-conservation opposition, with subtlety.
5. The point of view that isolates widespread community misconceptions about matters of common good. Once isolated, citizens' fallacies can be pointed out.
6. The point of view that points out to citizens the governmental and political advantages of participating in the planning of their community.
7. The point of view that persuades citizens that planning is not a far-fetched past-time while also collecting information to reorient programs. It is career-oriented in that the planner maximizes his professional position.
8. The point of view that rallies administrators or judges behind coordinations that planners advocate with poll results which support planners.

In talking about points of view above, we have been ignoring a cardinal principle of the persuader-planner. If we are to return to the stuff of persuasion, it is plain that some

other term besides point of view, etc. must be devised. It must be concrete for the sake of vividness, human for the sake of the motive connection, and animated for both those reasons. Perhaps the problem may be solved by referring to the statue-attitudes as goal-keepers. There is a tenuous historical justification for this term, if the reader will tolerate fancy. In eleventh century England, soccer teams from neighboring villages would play each other. They would start the game by kicking off in the country midway between the two inhabitations. The market-place of each village would serve as the opponent's goal, the terminating point toward which ten men and a goal-keeper would strive to advance. This was the spot that the local goal-keeper would run back to defend whenever necessary.<sup>26</sup> Some 800 years later, the word goal is a common term among city-planners. It generally represents the formal directions to which land-use planning tends to take a city. Today equipped with goal-sticks of public controls (which prevent some scoring against the physical environment), city-planners are one group that can be likened to modern goal-keepers. They work on country problems midway between two or more towns. They are charged with stopping all sorts of movements that physically threaten community lands. Also serving as a line of defense in the protection of the city market-place, planners have points of view that try to terminate, partially anyway, the earlier-described citizen drawbacks. The goal-poll connection is a simple one. Ideally, Be Scientific opposes opinions





Figure 2 - Be Scientific

that are short-sighted. Design opposes opinions that are conventional, Be technological opposes opinions that are inefficient, etc. A theoretical and historical base for each of these proposed connections will be separately developed below. They will be considered in order of priority. The priority is based on probable demand, to a persuader-planner.

### Be Scientific

An open-eyed girl looking directly at the source of Orpheus' sounds is the goal-keeper for the attitude of mind to Be Scientific. (See Figure 2) She collects, classifies, and generalizes preferences which planners are neutral about. These are preferences where the profession's humanitarian values are not called into play, viz., where there are no violations of tastes, efficiencies, resources, general welfares, participations in outside worlds, administrative communicativeness, and land coordinations. As suggested by the movement of her arms seemingly protecting herself against Orpheus' emotional sway, she tries to keep a rational dispassionate outlook. By presenting alternatives, she does her best to inform the citizen. She urges him to pass the variables of a choice through his mind. In past polls, she has been the busiest of all goal-keepers.

She has collected opinions about the organization of structures in terms of mixed uses, shopping dispersions,

school groupings, and residential nucleations. That is to say, the citizen has erased or frozen non-conforming dwellings in downtown centers (Hanover\*). The citizen has also extended fringes of business districts or has dispersed shopping centers into outlying areas (Hanover). He has centralized or separated educational patterns as he selected between the poll alternatives of having school villages or of having walking-distance schools (Hanover). The citizen has concentrated clusters of homes on quarter-acre lots near spaciouly landscaped community centers or has scattered those homes onto acre-sized plots.

The goal-keeper for Be Scientific has also dealt with specific locations. She has put forward not one or two, but seven proposed locations for a shopping center. Then she asked the citizen to indicate which site he most preferred and which site he least preferred (Concord).

She has handled instruments that do community work. Once she asked the citizen if he wanted to protect a farm belt from further buildings. When the citizen said yes, Be Scientific asked him to choose the instrument for accomplishing that end. Among the instruments she listed were: tax favors for farm owners who did not sell their properties for sub-

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\*Bracketed towns refer to the community where the cited aspect of the poll perspective was operative. The polls are listed in the Selected Bibliography.

divisions, land acquisitions by the municipality, the formation of taxpayer trusts to purchase the land, zoning for large-sized lots, and use of eminent domain (Concord). Other instruments appearing on polls have timed capital improvements or raised civic funds. Thus the citizen has determined the disbursement of scheduled public works (Miami, Syracuse) and also decided whether he would rather pay higher taxes than see more industry in town.

Only within the last three years has Be Scientific offered alternatives to the respondent. She has tried in the past mostly to assemble information that in a sense would keep the planner from being short-sighted in his projections. At best, the persuasive elements were obscure.

Correctives have been sought about elased projects. In this connection, Be Scientific has collected preferences about unplanned and planned totalities. To convoke feedback about whole settlements that were unplanned, she asked a group of new rural denizens why they moved away from the city.<sup>27</sup> For replies, she provided them with a list of escapist reasons, for example, cleaner, less congested, better for children, etc. (Milwaukee). Knowledge about planned colonies has also been augmented by at least one other governmental measuring:<sup>28</sup> tenants living in atomic-plant cities have vouched their predilections for federal or for private home

ownership, for national or for local management of schools and hospitals (Oak Ridge).

This goal-keeper has also sought responses to present environments. She has collected not only objective facts (that is, reality) but subjective facts (that is, ways in which people observe reality) as well. This paragraph will move from objective to subjective topics. A listing of shops where out-of-town purchases are completed (Briarcliff Manor) is an objective fact used to estimate local shopping needs. Cross-sections of opinion samples consonant with census delineations are commonly said to invest polls with a typicality that allows replies to represent the entire community. Accordingly, Be Scientific has whipped into questionnaires objective queries calling for the respondent's demographic status, that is, sex, age, education, occupation, family size, length of local residence (Milwaukee). Knowing that community organizers want to know about the resiliency of people in conservation districts, she has objectively polled respondents about their power to assert themselves economically, that is, income, house market-price, owner or tenant status, monthly rental (Flint). In one mail-out survey, a map partitioning the town into nine neighborhoods was enclosed (Concord). Anonymous householders were asked to designate objectively their home vicinity. In another earlier poll, citizens had subjectively designated their



Figure 3 - Design

neighborhood contentment or disappointment (Oshkosh). Had that contentment topic been used in connection with the map poll, it would have been possible to graph areal tendencies toward psychic satisfaction. Among purely subjective facts, Be Scientific has gathered estimates about town advantages (Concord).

She has also sought opinions about occupancies and services desired for the future. The citizen has had a chance to stabilize or reinforce the amount of retail and service outlets, industries, movies, wholesale firms, and city-to-country roads (Briarcliff Manor, Concord, Hanover, Fort Smith). With regard to the assessment of municipal services, intensities of like or dislike have been fathomed; for instance, "If you do dislike trackless trolley coaches, how much do you dislike them?" (Detroit).

### Design

The next point of view does not embrace information that planners are neutral about. It is dedicated to influencing that planners do care about.

Design might resemble the attitude of an artist, angry because he cannot realize his conception as an innovator. Milles sculpted the deaf Beethoven as such a figure in his Stockholm fountain. It is a statue stretching toward Orpheus' wonderfully aching music. (See Figure 3) Thwarted in city-planning by hordes of insensitive Yahoos with stingy

conventional opinions about the place of beauty in urban surroundings, this goal-keeper refused to be corrupted. He incessantly strives - even somewhat deviously - for the embellishment of grounds, streets, and structures.

However strenuously he strives, Design is a wise enough artist to know that the success of his programs depends in the long run upon public acceptance. The primitive public needs to be persuaded, or at least introduced to the possibilities of art. Wanting this persuasion or introduction to be as successful as possible, he should poll the public for their favorable and unfavorable responses to his point of view. Shunning the insincere devices of a propagandist who will call things by uncomplimentary names, offer spurious testimonies, and try to ingratiate with a slick neighborly "just folks" routine,<sup>29</sup> he should still be enough of a pitchman to load questions about emotional perspectives with emotional color. Originally at least, emotional perspectives are meant to be judged emotionally.

With responses showing those aspects of a plan that fire the public's imagination, Design can rework his presentation, highlighting those advocacies with tested sales appeal. He can also discard or minimize those Beauties that are not the public's Truths. Having practiced his pitch for visual remarkability with random citizens, the planner is now ready to try to persuade the key men, the politicians. Furthermore,





Figure 4 - Be technological

by additionally using his most compelling persuasions with the public, Design can also try to create an atmosphere that will eventually orient political Yahoos away from the old wines of common conventionality.

### Be Technological

The goal-keeper Be technological might be symbolized by another feminine statue, this one more voluptuous than the economically proportioned Be Scientific. As the ardor of her mien and limbs suggests, she is uneasy. (See Figure 4) She feels things are so wrong. She is an exciting and excited woman. She wants to accelerate or modulate the execution of parts of an efficient physical plant. The last two words of this definition, physical plant, should not be seized upon for what is a twelve-word connotation for the empirical streamlining and processing of city changes.

In past polls Be technological has tried to educate city residents and fringe residents to think together about possible governmental mergers. She has also collected information to encourage city officials and city businessmen to think together about off-street parking requirements that might be written into zoning bylaws (Hanover). Perhaps in an effort to educate citizens to outside construction opportunities, she has asked respondents if they wanted non-local insurance companies or home-builders to undertake housing developments within town environs (Hanover). Be technological

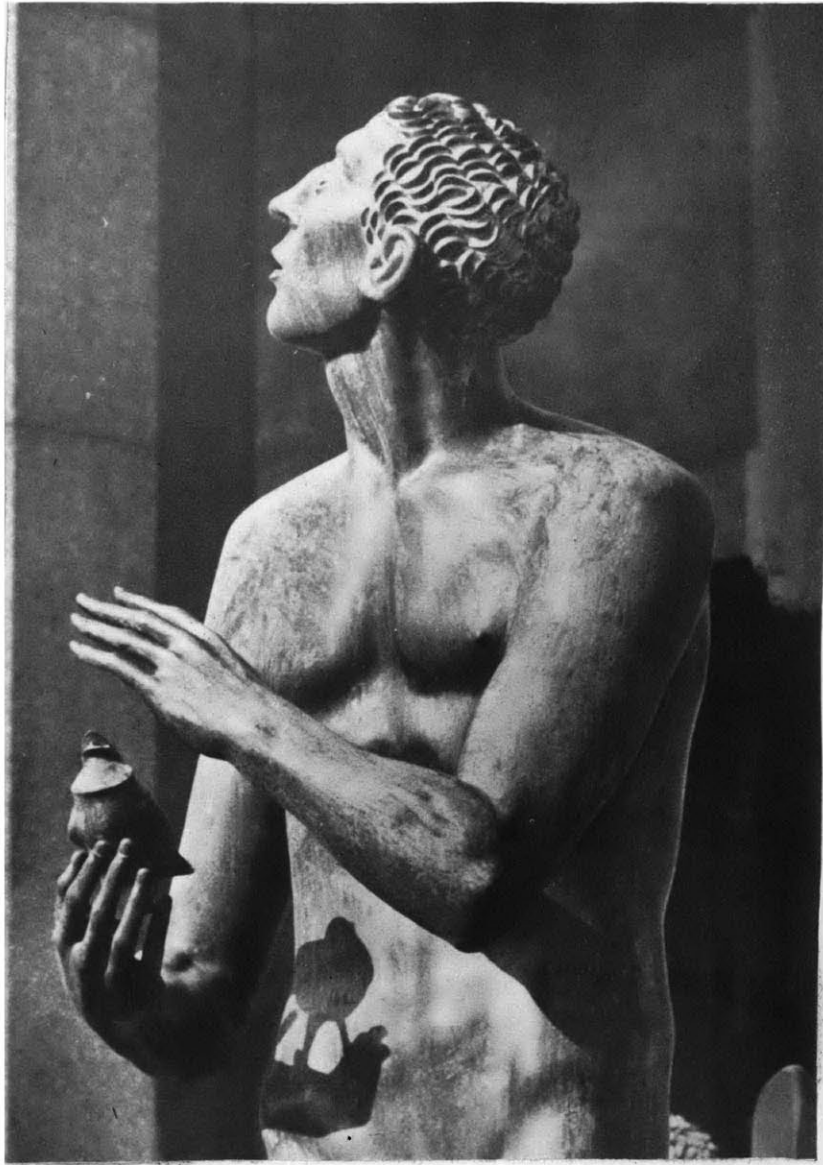


Figure 5 - Conserve

has also asked people if they noticed smoke, dust, odor, or sanitation deficiencies (Philadelphia). As conceived here, she has tried through such questions to dispel citizens' inefficiencies by indicating that there are solutions. Having had a say in the consideration of such solutions, citizens may genially accept the changes.

Through poll questions that educate people about possible new processes, unwanted expediencies could be spurned. However much planners might prefer enhancing efficiencies, in future polls citizens should have a chance to advise their advisers when they want to "lag." Research revealing this sort of prolonging sentiment should be immediately valuable to rectifying technicians who believe that each community has its own precious dynamics.<sup>30</sup> When the general welfare is not offended, planners should honor the community that wants to be left alone, that wants to develop its uniqueness.

### Conserve

It has just been postulated that there is some point to alerting the public about some of the planners' preconceptions that they might want to resist. If that is acceptable, it seems fair to alert planners to some of the citizens' preconceptions that they might want to resist. Conserve, a man shading a bird against the sun, might symbolize that point of view. (See Figure 5) This perspective should be operative



Figure 6 - Socially Improve

on polls when planners suspect that citizens tolerate the skinning and depleting of resources.

In a negative way, the proposal in this section resembles Design's assessment of sales appeals of planners' projects. Here, however, reason and not emotion is pursued. To combat citizen banalities, polls should hereafter encourage respondents to write in their feelings about threatened conservation matters. Planners can later analyze these statements and prepare counter-attacking statements of their own. They can take a stand against the ruination of natural enjoyments deserved by future generations. These counter-attacking briefs can be passed on to local politicians as the sort of ~~persuaders~~ ~~that~~ decision-makers of sagacity and foresight should know about.

### Socially Improve

Conserve collects citizen preferences that planners might argue with. But polls can also collect widespread citizen attitudes that planners know are flatly wrong. Another goal-keeper might be charged with this collection.

About him there is a look both of anguish and of compassion. He is in the exalted company of a god, Orpheus, but still he humbly looks out to those human beings in the Stockholm square around him. He is that attitude of mind called Socially Improve. (See Figure 6)

In past polls he has sought citizens' opinions about



Figure 7 - Govern-Politick

special groups: should the range of housing types be extended to provide for a diversity of worker-types in town? (Hanover). In future polls, Socially Improve might deliberately collect community misconceptions about more special groups. He can later smite these conceptions by exposing them for the untruths that they are. Thus he might frustrate those who misrepresent themselves as spokesmen of public opinion. He might also stimulate local discussions, and perhaps then some of the biases, mores, and social distances of self-enclosed citizens might fall away, **assuming reason is persuasive.**

If this is putting too great a strain on the regenerative powers of open discussion to change the prejudices of elders whose opinion is encrusted, there is still another hope. To the young that overhear it, the discussion might transmit the Ruskinian idea that buildings are an expression of a community's moral practice. Years later when they are working and living in other towns, they might favor welfare considerations that they agreed with when they were rebellious young idealists.

### Govern-Politick

Among the Milles statues, there is at least one young idealist. Upon hearing the tones of Orpheus, Govern-Politick drops her flower of irresponsibility. (See Figure 7) A gamin with a knowing look, she personifies the attitude of mind that advises citizens that there is a time to quit



frollicking. For their own sake, they should start to participate in the shaping of a better world.

In one preceding poll, she has directly called upon residents to partake of managerial accountability for their environment, i.e., "Do you ever talk among friends about how the town should grow and what community services and improvements it will need?" (Briarcliff Manor). Dulcetly she has also requested names of people who might handle executive power or perform committee work, i.e., "And who among your friends would you say has particularly good ideas about planning town growth?" (Briarcliff Manor).

Judging from this limited number of questions, it appears that Govern-Politick has been a rather inactive goal-keeper on polls in disabusing people of their indifference. Perhaps the men who designed polls did not think much of enlisting citizens to work for planning. Perhaps they thought instead that every town had its plan Leader(s). The plan Leader conception was the cultural value that City-Beautiful publicist Walter Moody propagated in Chicago at the start of the twentieth century. With the contemporary emphasis on people participating democratically through discussions, compromises, lobbies, political rallies, voting booths, etc., in determining the extensive neutrally valued aspects of their community and in fostering a climate of opinion conducive to planning progress, the conception of



Figure 8 - Build A Career

a plan Leader is outdated. To reflect the modern emphasis in planning, Govern-Politick deserves serious consideration in future polls.

### Build A Career

Of less importance in future planning polls should be that point of view that is symbolized by the Milles statue who is straightening her hair. (See Figure 8) She is Build A Career. Desirous of the good accounts of her guild, of her research suppliers, and of allied tradesmen, she is that state of mind which hankers for laymen to have a good opinion of planning. Poll collections of this good opinion seem to lack a high priority because more direct means of collection (for instance, conversations, phone calls) are available. Still, if polls are being conducted anyway, these opinions have a sufficient accessory interest that makes them worth collecting.

In past planning polls, Build A Career has asked citizens whether they thought their precinct's physical problems were such that qualified land-use experts from outside should be retained for recommendations (Hanover). After land-use experts had been retained in another city, she sounded out adult non-student residents for their mindfulness of a publicized master plan (Berkeley). Through this survey, planners might have collected some far-fetched citizen ideas about

master plans. These ideas might have suggested a reorientation of ~~future publicity as well as persuading~~ some about planning.

There is at least one other topic that has been proposed, if not yet acted upon, in this category. Mel Ravitz has suggested that polls sample reactions to residential disturbances compounded by urban renewal.<sup>31</sup> In doing so, he seems to have had in mind the assembling of views about the efficiency of rehousing authorities. Yet ascriptions of the wisdom or the wantonness of planners' redevelopment schemes and indications of pleasure over new accommodations could be assembled simultaneously. This assembling might have been implied in Ravitz' recommendation. Presumably this sort of information would tell planners about mistakes they had made and that they might avoid in similar circumstances in the future.

### Coordinate

At this point it is desirable to distinguish between two common revisionistic land-use acts, integration and coordination.

As suggested by the Orpheus analogy, integration cuts across all the planning points of view, not only in the development of plans but in the fusing of questionnaires as well. Through its operation, large and small perspectives are coalesced into a more inclusive whole. Integration, then, is to be regarded as a generality, a universe.

For coordination in city-planning, it does not seem



Figure 9 - Coordinate

adequate to employ the dictionary's special administrative meaning: the supervision over routine activities in various departments. Civic departments are usually thought to be basic functions, for example, health, police, tax assessment. The planner cooperates with these functions but, being a mere adviser, he does not supervise them. By this bureau-crossing definition, the various sections of a planner's office cannot be counted as departments. They are parts of the same basic function, planning.

For the sake of precision, a special meaning is necessary to replace the loose common usage; that is to say, coordination is cooperation or adjustment. Perhaps this particularizing demarcation will get pretty near home: the interrupting, avoiding, or harmonizing of land patterns belonging to private sources that can hire their own development planners. These development planners can devolve on city-hall technicians for guidance in space-time action compatible with the community. Thus the coordination process is only a particular satellite in integration's universe of processes.

Coordinate might be represented in the Milles fountain by the girl who straight-forwardly turns around with an all-interested expression to look at - or perhaps conciliate with - her neighbors. (See Figure 9) Some of her past poll

questions have persuaded the citizen to review projected developments of colleges and hospitals; for example:

If Dartmouth College continues to grow, would you prefer to see it concentrate physical development essentially in its present location or spread out to the edges of the precinct? (Hanover)

Do you think the Mary Hitchcock Hospital and Clinic should expand beyond what it now is, or remain about the present size? (Hanover)

A previously mentioned criticism of polls is that they only muster temporary, fluctuating, personal opinions that later can be transmuted and fixed by group opinions. With this goal-keeper's questions, this aspect of poll operationalism itself might be somewhat transmuted. True enough, questions would still only muster personal opinions. Yet in some rare cases the elan of these opinions might influence the decisions of dynasties ardent for citizen esteem or support. If land condemnations become necessary, planners could bring into court the tabulated responses. They could then confound opposing lawyers claiming that the condemnations were arbitrary. This presentation of public opinion might convince deciding judges.

This speculation concludes a theoretical and historical introduction to the eight points of view that seem appropriate to city-planning opinion polls. But speculation is easy, demonstration difficult, circumstance rare, and

illustration necessary. By way of demonstration, circumstances will be adapted for illustrations in the next chapter. It is hoped that the persuasion motif will not seem quite as remote as it may have seemed in the preceding examples, all of which are assumed to have contained an element of persuasion, an element of appeal to citizens' or politicians' reason or feeling. As they collected information, generated interest, etc., planners do not seem to have realized that in a sense they were persuading, that they were bringing laymen and politicians around to seeing some types of planning values.



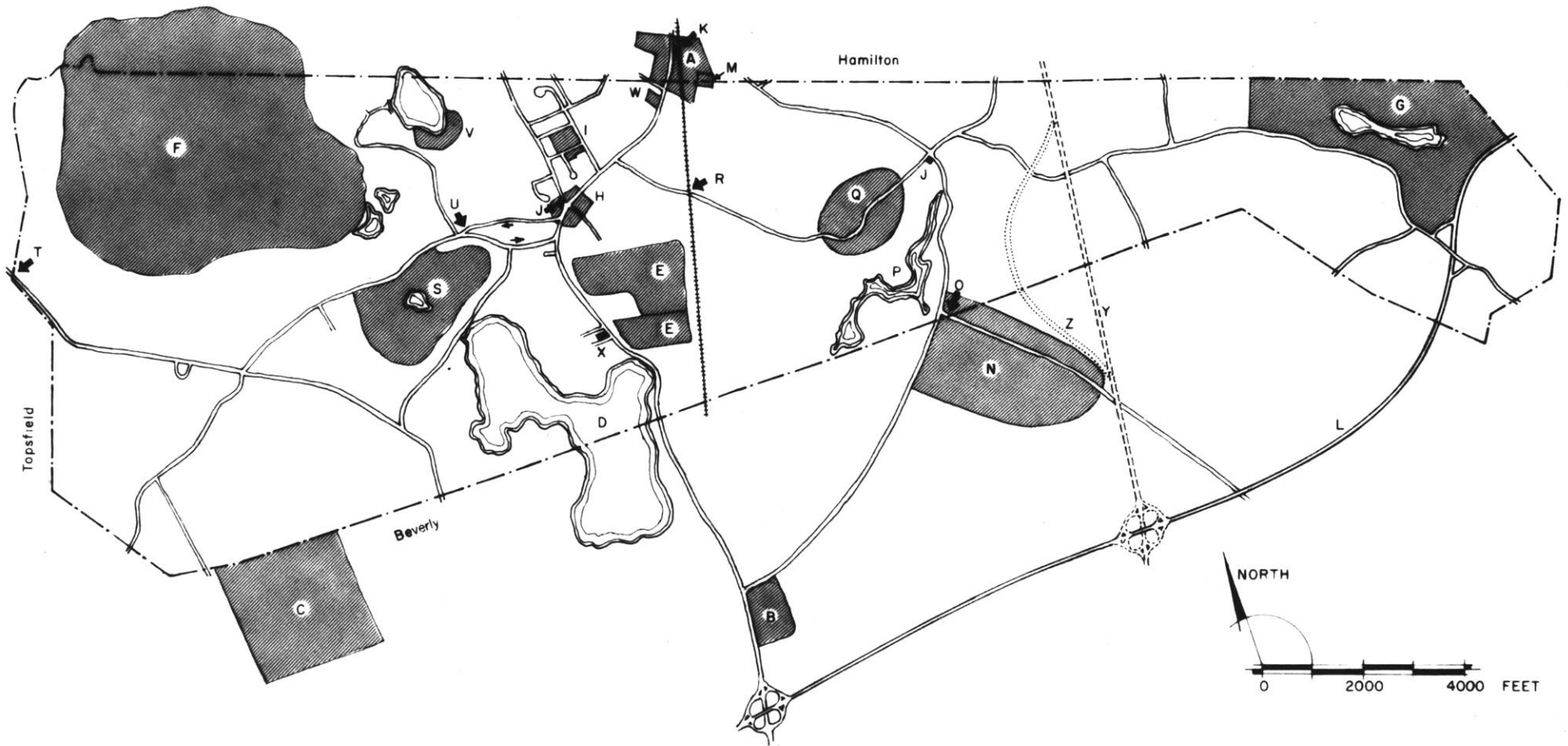
## CHAPTER TWO : A PERSUASIVE POLL IN WENHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

A persuasive poll integrating the eight perspectives will be developed for pretesting in this chapter. The illustrations will be drawn from Wenham, Massachusetts. Information about planning there is readily available, since I was a student integrator of a general plan for that town.<sup>32</sup> That plan was done as part of a training exercise in city-planning during Spring term, 1958.

These illustrations will only be appropriate for a particular small town where poll respondents have some familiarity with the layout of the land in its entirety. I would hope, however, that the illustrations would have general applicability to larger towns and to metropolitan neighborhoods as well.

Other communities would have been richer sources for exhibiting the planning point of view. This suburb - twenty miles distant from Boston - has some atypical institutions and practices. These singularities of Wenham's location, extent, and character will be enumerated shortly. This enumeration should alert the reader to some of the more prominent aspects of the attitudes of mind that he might expect to find on a planning poll but which will not be suggested on the following pages. This vignette will also provide a quick scene-setting introduction to the entire town. Without the familiarity gained from such a thumbnail survey,

FIG. 10. WENHAM, MASS. KEY MAP TO AREAS AND POINTS REFERRED TO IN TEXT.



- A. HAMILTON SHOPPING
- B. BEVERLY SHOPPING
- C. BEVERLY AIRPORT
- D. WENHAM LAKE
- E. GOLF COURSES
- F. SWAMP-WOODLANDS
- G. SEMINARY
- H. WENHAM CENTER
- I. PUBLIC SCHOOL

- J. CHURCHES
- K. RAIL ROAD STATION
- L. CIRCUMFERENTIAL HIGHWAY (ROUTE 128)
- M. JOINT LIBRARY SITE
- N. BEVERLY HOMES
- O. TOWN ENTRANCE (IN DESIGN QUESTIONS)
- P. LONGHAM LAKE
- Q. GRAPEVINE ROAD SUBDIVISION

- R. RAIL ROAD TRACKS CROSSING
- S. HIGGINSON ESTATE
- T. TOWN EXIT (IN DESIGN QUESTIONS)
- U. TRAFFIC CONVERGENCE
- V. SOUTH PLEASANT POND
- W. ART-EDUCATION CENTER
- X. CHINESE RESTAURANT
- Y. PROPOSED ROUTE (STATE PROPOSAL)
- Z. PROPOSED ALTERNATE ROUTE (TOWN PROPOSAL)

subsequent citations might seem casual, unconnected, and fragmented. Come aside briefly to Wenham, then, where the eight outlooks will each set the tone for one complete sentence:

Wenham stands the test of having definite access to ample shopping (A, B\*) and airport (C) facilities; by experiment, these facilities are no more than five car minutes away; they are in the more agglomerative neighboring communities of Hamilton and Beverly (Be Scientific). Something of a delectable arcadia, Wenham is; its miles of undulating stone fences along its irregular country roads stud the community with a unique knobby and fawn surface texture (Design). Beyond the fences you can see new homes on one-acre house lots; through this mechanical device, new house construction has been slackened as has attendant growth of population and cost of schools; as a result, Wenham manages to have one of the state's lowest tax rates; when physical changes are broached, bankers are agreeable, regarding the town as a healthy credit risk (Be technological). With only a dozen exceptions, the old homes catch sunlight and fresh air; the minimum lot frontage is one hundred feet and the mean building

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\*Bracketed letters refer to locations on the kep map, Figure 10.

coverage is no more than forty percent; the 300-year-old town is 100% proud of the glassy quality of one (D) of its well-kept natural lakes; owners of the town's 5000-odd acres have also kept more road and brookside meanderings, golf courses (E) and woodlands (F) than more regularized cityscapes can boast (Conserve). There are no structures for the passing transient, i.e., no hotels, no rooming houses; there is a rhythm of residential change, however; each year brings new students to the seminary (G); on weekends they leave their campus (with its hundreds of acres available in Hamilton for biblical expansion) and hitchhike rides from natives to the library, museum, post office, grocery-store and town hall in the Town Center (H); Wenham also has concentrations of settlements that afford face-to-face meetings that might not occur in some modern sprawling communities; its new, centrally located school plant (I) suffers from some playground deficiencies, but Wenham educators have already projected some possible remedies; the bells of the two churches (J) peal to stabilized congregations remote from the transitional jostle that affronts or heartens some big-city parishes; Wenham's one unsegregated Negro hardly comprises a ghetto that could be dispersed, but at the same time - in accord with modern ecclesiastical

thinking - the town might have a racial problem in that statistically it has almost no Negroes and therefore almost no opportunity to translate its pious pro-integration feelings into action (Socially Improve). The selectmen preside over a town-meeting form of government older than the Declaration of Independence; unlike their pioneer forefathers, they have no taverns to regulate, no large roadways to add to or repair, no stray animals to build public kennels for; these selectmen also have no public housing stocks to govern, no renewable slum areas to politick for, no displaced families to accommodate; since the citizens have previously resisted industrial invasions in order to retain the town's residential air, Wenham is no lobbying rival to the less solvent nearby municipalities who are hungry to beef-up their tax potential; no comprehensive governmental reorganization yet appears desirable, since the needs for common area-wide functions (e.g., public health facilities, fire) are so minimal that bureaucrats do not have a chance, at present or within foresight, to duplicate or to conflict (Govern-Politick). Land conflicts within a town are commonly reduced by planners through zoning; only during the past dozen years have the residents come to regard their town as a commercial enterprise deserving the investment

protection of zoning; their plan calls for a simple residential-agricultural-light business zoning (Build A Career). The cosmos of the town is such that major and direct transportational routes are quickly accessible to townsfolk; most of the 700 household-heads commute to jobs in larger communities; they share journey-to-work experiences available through a transit stop (K) or they organize car-pools to traverse a modern nearby circumferential highway (L) (Coordinate).

Before the Wenham questions are traversed, two methodologies deserve mention. It is admitted that they are gratuitous methodologies, gratuitous because they are not essential to the thesis' statement that there are eight purposes for planning polls.

Firstly, the topics used in the Wenham questions will not duplicate those topics that were reviewed in the last chapter. These topics in this chapter should suggest new directions for polls, or - if not that - at least spare the reader some boredom.

Secondly, multiple-choice or free-answer question-types will not be centrally used. To my knowledge, they have monopolized all planning polls. Instead eight new question-types will appear. This will not be done for the sake of using new tools. Rather these question-types seem suitable (but not exclusively suitable) to the eight different points

of view. Not an expert in question construction, I still think a public-opinion specialist hired by a planning agency would find these question-types plausible and suggestive. As he develops a poll for pretesting in his community, he probably would have to reorient these question-types to make sure that they do not pry, confuse, or bewilder.

### Be Scientific in Wenham

In dealing with spatial alternatives, Be Scientific has not yet reliably offered the accruals emanating from publicly owned point occupancies. She might do this through matching questions whose intrigue aroused the respondent's curiosity. Since her domain of science is impelled by curiosity, this strategem might be in character for this goal-keeper. Being scientific, she would have to be honest, listing pluses and minuses. Realizing that people might not like to spend much time on polls, she might abbreviate her lists of fiscal, historical, ideal-type, and statistical accruals. On a questionnaire, her attempt to present easily grasped phrases might look like this:

Fifteen factors are listed below. Some are profits and losses from a proposal we shall call A. A is the proposal to locate a joint Wenham-Hamilton library on the town line near the Prince House (M). Some other factors belong to B. This is a proposal for a library for Wenham residents only in our Town Center (H). There is no difference in cost between A and B.

Look over the list below. Then jot down either A or B, A if you think the factor belongs to the joint

library, B if you think it belongs to the Town Center library. If you're any sort of a detective, the guesswork should be easy. Then check your answers with those that are given at the end of the questionnaire. After you have done this, kindly indicate which proposal you favor.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Builds up Wenham's central essence.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ 2000 books, 400 annual acquisitions.\*
3. \_\_\_\_\_ 4000 books, 800 annual acquisitions.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ No room for expansion in the future.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ One acre of land for expansion.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ Four rooms for lectures, club meetings, non-commercial movies.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ Two rooms for lectures, assemblies.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Means mingling with those people from Hamilton.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ Not far from anybody in Wenham.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Far for some Wenham residents.
11. \_\_\_\_\_ Means more cooperation with neighbors.
12. \_\_\_\_\_ High participation rate, since it's conveniently near several stores.
13. \_\_\_\_\_ Moderate participation rate, since it's conveniently near the Town Hall, the Museum, and the Tea House.
14. \_\_\_\_\_ Increased parking problems at mail-call.
15. \_\_\_\_\_ Boston & Maine commuters could easily pick up and return books, records, etc.\*\*

Which site do you prefer, now that you've checked the answers? Check one.

\_\_\_\_\_ A, the site on the Town Line.

\_\_\_\_\_ B, the site in Wenham Center.

With questions that informatively focus on long-range accruals and do not require serious mental effort to assimilate, citizens might be persuaded to forsake their proverbial short-sightedness. If this strategem works, the poll will not only collect information on a matter that planners are neutral about, but will have also persuaded the citizen.

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\*Figures in this question are only approximate.

\*\*The answers are: 1--B; 2--B; 3--A; 4--B; 5--A; 6--A; 7--B; 8--A; 9--B; 10--A; 11--A; 12--A; 13--B; 14--B; and 15--A.



### Design in Wenham

In his textbook on Urban Land Use Planning, Stuart Chapin has called for the sampling of opinions toward the intermixing of tall and low buildings.<sup>33</sup> His suggestion might be a signal for testing emotional attitudes toward the verifying properties of grounds. These would be the sorts of properties that planners generally respect, viz., appearances of entrances and exits, strengthenings of local color, developments of complete topographic units, curtailments of suburban growth, differences in intensities, sequences of open spaces, linkings by paths, vistas observable within the community, intermixtures of old and new properties, rhythm, and transition. One way in which the goal-keeper Design could serve up these topics on local opinion polls in a small town would be through radicalizations of empathy constructions. These questions might contrast warming and bleak possibilities and allow citizens to taste them in their sense and mind.

Imagine that it is 1980. You drive down silent streets comprehending Wenham scenery that is clear, orderly, memorable, and aesthetically enjoyable. In the answers given below, cross out what you would not, repeat not, like to see.

From a new highway that connects Salem to Ipswich (Z), you turn onto the start of Grover Street. After passing Beverly homes that are crowded together (N), you enter Wenham. Is the view (O)

1. as packed with homes as Beverly, or
2. filled with fields yearning for picnics?

You turn down Walnut Road, flank the trees of Longham Lake (P). Is it

1. green wherever your fresh eye roams, or
2. space taken by some new private homes?

You now drive onto Grapevine Road (Q). There you see new homes on one-acre lots. Do they

1. hem like buttons on one road side, or
2. block both road sides, hiding both fields from view?

Further down Grapevine you see

1. some land open for kite-flying, sleigh-riding, butterfly-chasing, and daisy-picking, or
2. new homes are evident.

Soon you stop before the railroad crossing (R).

A group of scouts are en route from the walks around South Hamilton (A) to the paths around Wenham Lake (D). Their path

1. is arcaded by tall heavy trees, or
2. is the tracks when the trains aren't there.

Crossing the tracks, you choose to motor through Wenham Center (H).

1. It is the plum that saccharizes your trip. The old houses are as low as ever, but several apartments gush amid lawny billows. On the Car Barn lot there's a silvering fountain and near it some bowers overflow with flashing tulips. The town hall is a snowy white. Or do you see
2. no soaring house, no watery reflections, no planting colors, no town hall renovations?

On Monument you turn your car to view the swamp and then Higginson's estate (S). Once again, new homes strike the eye. Do they

1. hem like buttons on one road side, or
2. block both road sides, hiding both fields from view?

Then you turn your car onto Topsfield Road and motor toward the Town Line. Soon you'll be in Topsfield where you'll pass homes that are crowded together. Is the final Wenham view (T)

1. as packed with homes as Topsfield, or
2. filled with fields yearning for picnics?

The responses to this set of questions should be compared to responses in the same community from another set. That second set would present both choices in the flat style that half the answers unemotionally have above. Then it could be ascertained whether the images of picnics, greens, buttons, kite-flyings, trees, plums, etc., help put across the values that are propagated by a Design-oriented planner. People in Wenham, for instance, may think differently about these matters than people in Beverly.

If images appear to sour citizens against visual proposals, these images should of course be eliminated for future presentations. If images do not noticeably affect citizens' approvals, they also might be eliminated. The images might only get in the way. The proposals might then be acceptable or unacceptable aside from any emotional aspects. If the verbal pictures appear to invite public sanction and seem to tease people out of their cityscape conventionalities, they could be presented to politicians in a special section of a planning report. The section would openly admit that citizens seem to be animated by these visions, visions that Wenham planners relish for their town, visions that local selectmen can realize in zoning, subdivision, and budget programs for their constituents.

#### Be technological

In preceding polls, it appears that the goal-keeper

Be technological has stressed instrumentalities that do city-changing work. She might additionally deal with instrumentalities that change the city while saving work energies of time, labor, etc. One way for her to do this is through series of shunt questions.\* Through successive queries in a set, the series could force respondents into exclusive groups for easy analysis.

To strip the question of acquisitive technological wants might be unrealistic in a world of acquisitive technological wants.<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, relevant accomplishments of other environments could be pressed into the presentation of a set.

Transport yourself to the convergence of Cherry and Monument Streets (U). Even though there has never been an accident there, that corner is said to be mischievous. It is thought that there is cramped space for maneuvering onto Monument. Do you think this assessment is true, or do you think it has been exaggerated? \_\_\_\_\_

If you think it is true, then would you approve the inauguration of a one-way horseshoe street system? It would go east on Cherry and west on Monument. \_\_\_\_\_

If your answer is yes, then which of the following justifications is closest to your reason or reasons? Check appropriate number(s).

1. Loose turning efforts will be cut out. Modern roads avoid such turns.
2. Driving tensions will be reduced.
3. Less cross-traffic will ensue. Travel time to Pleasant Pond (V) will be shortened.

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\*Single shunt questions have appeared on the Hanover and Concord polls, probably the two most sophisticated polls here surveyed.

If your answer is no, then which of the following justifications is closest to your reason or reasons? Check appropriate number(s).

1. System is unnecessary. Beverly, a town that has more traffic than Wenham will probably ever have, gets along safely with such turns. It doesn't have one-way streets.
2. System is inconvenient for cross-town traffic and for residents on Cherry and Monument.
3. I resent being channelized on my country roads. In the past Wenham has gotten along without such regulations. It can do so now.

That is how a technologist might drive to a destination of reducing labor efforts and time forces. Here the respondents were supported with vital information about technical means and side effect. Thus the charge that citizens sometimes unknowingly prefer the inefficient<sup>35</sup> might be vitiated. Citizens might still prefer the inefficient, but at least they would be aware of the burden of that preference. So much for the anti-inefficient rationale of a persuader.

#### Conserve in Wenham

In the preceding chapter, it was postulated that Conserve should be concerned with preserving natural resources. Two such resources might be park land and topographic configurations. In Wenham, selectmen have been contemplating the spoliation of such features. They wonder how their constituents would react to skinnings and depletions of the landscape. Citizens' attitudes could be collected on opinion polls through approval-choice questions, followed by invitations for free answers.

It has been proposed that a public building such as a post office be erected on the town's Car Barn Lot. How do you feel about this idea? Circle one response.

Dislike Very Much  
 Dislike Moderately  
 Undecided  
 Like Moderately  
 Like Very Much

For guidance in determining town policy, we would like to know more about how you feel on this matter. Would you kindly give your reasons for the response you circled?

It has also been proposed that Wenham construct a public recreation area in the grove on the south side of Pleasant Pond (V). To provide parking space that is handy and within view of car-owners who are bathing on the shore, it will be necessary to level - at very small cost - a tiny hill. How do you feel about this proposal to level the hill? Circle one response.

Like Very Much  
 Like Moderately  
 Undecided  
 Dislike Moderately  
 Dislike Very Much

For guidance in determining town policy, we would like to know more about how you feel on this matter. Would you kindly give your reasons for the response you circled?

However banal people's reasons might be, planners could mine them. They could study the pro-building and pro-asphalt reasons and prepare counter-statements (i.e., a fresh air-pocket will soon be a rarity in Wenham Center, an intrusion of everyday mechanical features is inconsistent with the aim of a rural recreation area). What is more, the pro-conservation reasons might be constructive and new. In advocacies

before planning commissioners or legislators, planners could then use the best arguments to offset what they suspect will be their opponents' reasons. Thus fortified in advance, planners should be able to make a strong case against those who would denude the landscape. Hopefully, this is a subtle way to persuade politicians.

Socially Improve in Wenham

Error-choice questions are one way to collect citizen misconceptions of project cost, usefulness, and need. Factual (i.e., correct) and non-factual (i.e., incorrect) answers could be held out to respondents in Wenham.

1. The increase in the tax rate per thousand dollars of valuation to build, to maintain, and to police a play yard at the shallow town beach (V) would be (a) a fifth of a cent or (b) five cents.\*
2. Among Wenham wives, husbands, and retired folk, the percent of estimated leisure time that would be spent at a local art-education center (W) is (a) five percent or (b) thirty percent.
3. The number of apartment units available in Wenham for single school teachers, young couples, and elders who wish to live near their Wenham children is (a) four or (b) twenty-five.

A variation of this type of question might tender opinions instead of facts.

4. Asians (a) are or (b) are not welcomed as residents in Wenham.

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\*Figures in this set of questions are only approximate.

When they are later informed in newspapers, town reports, or town meetings that the tax rate is increased only infinitesimally for a playyard, mistaken citizens might revise their opinions. They could be willing to provide this frame for the working off of children's excess energies, a frame that would keep the young off the streets. When they realize the extensive use an art-education center might enjoy, citizens might approve funds for the establishment of one. They might come to agree that a center would enkindle group interactions in lonely suburbia. They might look forward to murals, paintings, utensils, woodworks, and sculptures to grace town buildings and homes. When they reflect that apartment units are scarce, they might speak up for apartment-house zoning that would round out the town's population diversity. As a testimony to their open, brotherly ethos, citizens might indicate that Asians were welcome in their Anglo-Saxon community. In that event, town officials might subtly convey that sentiment - for whatever it might be worth - to the Chinese-American family which operates the local restaurant (X). That family commutes daily to Wenham. Perhaps they are happy living in Boston's Chinatown. But perhaps they are weary of their downtown apartment and would like to save in transportation and time costs. Perhaps they would like the diverse friendship experiences available in Wenham. Perhaps it is a utopian idea, but they



might welcome a friendly invitation to settle with their growing children amid the creeks and tree-houses of Wenham. So much for the anti-self-enclosure tactic of a persuader.

Govern-Politick in Wenham

A new topic that Govern-Politick might display in Wenham is the exercise of the privileges of neighboring. This privilege is the protecting of one's investment in residential livability by standing up and being counted as an enemy of potential land frictions. One way this goal-keeper might spur this action is through behavior-choice questions. A set of them could underpin attitudes from the respondent's acceptance or rejection of pugnacious acts in a common circumstance.

In the block where you live, a man makes preparations to attach an auto-wrecking yard to his home. You do nothing about it.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

You and your neighbors visit him. You point out that his proposed operation will endanger the living happiness and character of the area. It will worsen property values and retard real-estate improvements. You urge him to withdraw. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

You and your neighbors judge that your duty is done once you complain to your selectmen about it. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

You and your neighbors vigorously protest to your elected representatives. Why did these selectmen allow this unjust usage that may generate noises destructive of inhabitants' rest? That may fill streets with truck hazards for children? That may litter the area and induce longtime residents to give up in despair in trying to keep their homes

in decent shape? You try to persuade your representatives to disallow the wrecking yard before it impairs health, safety, and the general welfare. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

The gist of this topic might spread from respondent to non-respondent. Prudence might thereafter dictate that once-indifferent citizens will count it their right, will count it their duty, to remonstrate with opportunists who injure the good of the community. If the respondent is a potential problem-maker himself, his native magnanimity might be stirred to the point that he voluntarily works for more perfect Neighborhood Ties.

The poll responses might allow planners to further incite this aspect of the planning process. If responses are impassive, the planner could gain ammunition for conversations, community speeches, television courses, newspaper articles, etc. He might warn his audience of the blighted settlements that would result if people let spot-zoners walk all over them.

Candor demands the observation that some persons might think that planners engaged in this activity were acting outside their competence. They might think that political-minded planners were mixing their roles as detached practitioners in public and as leaders of action among their fellow-professionals. Anything but original, the position here is that the public deserves ample and clear instruction on action to improve its neighborhoods.

Build A Career in Wenham

Judging from past polls, the citizen has not yet given his opinions about everyday planning performances. One way to assemble opinions on these matters might be through grade scales. Citizens could rate planners much as teachers grade students and, in some schools, students grade teachers.

Anxious to better their performances for the improvement of your community, the planning staff would like to know how you honestly think they are doing. On the basis of your impressions, kindly mark the level that comes closest to your estimate of their work.

Office department of technicians. (Is the staff, for instance, sympathetic in discussing your land wishes for extension of water lines, provision of street lights?):  
 excellent good fair poor failing don't know

Readability of planning reports. Are they easy to grasp?  
 excellent good fair poor failing don't know

Distribution of administrative regulations. Did you know, for instance, that you cannot legally extend your house to your side-yard property line? (This regulation prevents you from cutting off your neighbors' light and air.)  
 excellent good fair poor failing don't know

Explanation of Significances.

First, were you able to attend the last town meeting? \_\_\_\_\_

If you were there, did you think the discussion of land policies was satisfactory? For instance, did you think the plan for the Higginson estate's preservation (\$) was well put across?  
 excellent good fair poor failing don't know

Should questions be coined for estimates of planners' administrative performances, planners might be able to achieve a more assured posture. Replies could indicate that

the majority of the community had a confidence in their planners' work. This return might persuade politicians that planners' budget requests were justified after all - the town has faith in planning activities. When the consensus attitude is fair, poor, failing, or don't know, planners could reorient their staffs' public relations, reorganize their external publications, redirect the informational phases of their administration **AFTER** they had subtly implanted the idea that planning is a worthwhile activity, that planning cares about the people's personal land problems, that there is need for planning, etc. So much for the anti-far-fetched rationale of Orpheus, the persuader-planner, on opinion polls.

#### Coordinate in Wenham

In addition to persuading citizens to think about the expansions of colleges and hospitals and of persuading the planners of colleges and hospitals to heed the public's wishes, Coordinate could also solicit views about extensions of private households, if owners of those households were curious and agreeable. This persuasive goal-keeper could also collect views about determinations of functional district, state, regional, and national agencies, even if those group galaxies were not particularly agreeable. One way for her to do this in Wenham might be through group-referential questions where respondents identified themselves with groups that had certain reactions to the land orbits of household and functional groups.

If the private horse stable 200 yards from the Town Center (H) is continued on its present site, which of the following statements comes the closest to expressing the direction and intensity of your reactions?

1. I like it very much. It gives Wenham a slight country flavor. I appreciate

that flavor after the gas fumes of the city where I work. Nothing's wrong with the stable. It should stay.

2. I like it more or less. The scent occurs infrequently. If the stable were moved away, however, I would not miss it.
3. It makes no difference to me.
4. I dislike it more or less. I admit that unpleasant odor is noticeable. If the stable stays, however, I will not complain.
5. I dislike it very much. It gives the surrounding homes, the museum, the post office when we pick up our mail, the town hall, the whole Town Center, a foul, primitive smell. The stable should be removed.

READ THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS TOGETHER BEFORE ANSWERING THE NEXT QUESTION

If a limited-access highway answering north-south destination demands traverses Wenham cutting through the Miller estate (Y), which of the following statements sums up your opinion?

1. I like it very much. As a driver, I appreciate short routes.
2. I like it somewhat. It gets out of town speedily.
3. It makes no difference to me.
4. I dislike it somewhat. Still I do not think that it violates Wenham's needs.
5. I dislike it very much. It takes the ground that could serve as a place for Wenham's pageantries, music festivals, country clubs, etc. It does not particularly help the town in any way I can see.

If a limited-access highway answering north-south destination demands traverses Wenham (Z) skirting the Archer estate, which of the following statements comes the closest to expressing your opinion?

1. I like it very much. It opens up areas for subdivision that are close to shopping. It means economy. Outlying roads will not have to be widened.
2. I like it somewhat. It does not violate any prized Wenham grounds.
3. It makes no difference to me.
4. I dislike it somewhat. It is longer and more expensive.

5. I dislike it very much. The state would have to invest perhaps \$30,000\* extra funds to wind through Wenham. I am not sympathetic to roads that lengthen travel times.

It is an open question whether dynasties of highway commissioners would respond to community wishes for roads that work to the advantage of one town. Yet administrators of road bureaus are public servants and if they do not realize that, perhaps their executives - who are elected politicians - do. Here it is believed that the views of the public should be made known to the highway men at their remote decision-making level. If that produces little satisfaction, these views supporting local planners who want to retain prized grounds might be carried by public officials or private citizens to representatives in the state house. On election eve.

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\*A hypothetical figure.

CHAPTER THREE:  
SOME LIMITS AND ADVANTAGES

Some possible limits and advantages of the persuasive poll in city-planning need to be set forth.

A primary limit is connected with the intrinsic operation of the community poll. It samples the opinions of randomly selected citizens, opinions that later are generalized to represent the entire community, thus saving the pollster the prohibitive expense of questioning the entire community. Because the respondents are randomly selected, the respondent - even if he is persuaded - is likely to have an insignificant influence on the shaping of land policy. The holders of community influence, the political bosses and the veto directorates, might never be called upon by scattered persuaded respondents to enact legislation for forward-looking plans. In a small town where everybody knows each other (such as Wenham), this limit might not be operative.

Looking for alternatives that are more economical in exertion and cost than opinion polls, planners might try to persuade the public through newspaper columns and club speeches. To sell their ideas to politicians, planners might find support in unsolicited expressions from the public, e.g., petitions, letters.<sup>36</sup> Arising from antagonisms that may not be endemic, these personal expressions may lack informed dimensions such as long-range thinking, wise innovations, etc. Or planners might prefer to spend their public-relations funds in trying to influence group leaders through the interview device.<sup>37</sup> But this device may be more expensive than the poll, even though it concentrates its

persuasive appeals on the power structure that can influence the politicians. For the position in this paper is that the public-opinion poll should undertake persuasion as an ancillary task. If planners have already decided to collect information, generate spirit, and invite suggestions through an opinion poll, there appears to be little additional expense in including questions which try to persuade.

It would be reassuring if the idea-salesmanship aspect of the public poll could be substantiated by empirical results. To my knowledge, this principle has not yet been suggested in city-planning. In a limited fashion, however, the principle has been effective in the related field of housing. Let us sketchily examine that experience, an experience which persuaded politicians rather than citizens.

During the early 1950s, real-estate interests were able to stunt the growth of the infant public housing program by promoting local referenda on that federal program to house the poor. The theory of the real-estate men was that voters were more antagonistic to public housing than city councilmen or aldermen. Such negative referenda discouraged politicians in the states of Arkansas, California, Florida, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, South Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin.<sup>38</sup> Much as the real-estate lobby used the referenda to persuade the politicians, a planning lobby might use the poll to persuade the politicians too.



## NOTES TO TEXT

### Chapter One: Persuasive Polls in General

1. This paper thus excludes the insights of social scientists who comment on housing wants or on dwelling positionings (e.g., William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man, 1956, pp. 330-349). Keyed to impending projects, planning polls might also allude to votes cast in bond issues or referenda (e.g., John Lardner, "War for Chavez," Newsweek, December 16, 1957), to opinions written to politicians or to editors (e.g., "How They Take It," Town and Country Planning, XXII, January, 1954, pp. 63-75), and to audience speeches made at organization meetings or public hearings (e.g., "The People Speak," Building America's Health, IV, 1952). This study bypasses them as well as those journalistic articles which try to inform (e.g., Hadley Cantril, Public Opinion, 1935-1946, 1951, pp. 296-304, 696-699), amuse (e.g., "Favorite Spots: All Around the Town," New York Times magazine section, April 29, 1956), or inspire (e.g., R. L. Duffus, "The Ex Ex Urbanite," New York Times magazine section, March 16, 1958) readers with citizen impressions of uses and occupancies. Also unexamined will be attitude studies which develop modern scientific bodies of knowledge (e.g., Byron Munson, "Attitudes Toward Urban and Suburban Residence in Indianapolis," Social Forces, XXXV, October, 1956, pp. 76-80). Nor will this paper cover foreign polls (e.g., Ruth Glass, ed., The Social Background of a Plan, 1948, passim). The repercussions between planners' reports and subsequent formations of citizen and politician opinion is a fascinating topic also unexplored. For an account of a technical planning study that consolidated public opinion against its recommendations, see David Lowenthal, "The West Indies Chooses A Capital," Geographic Review, XLVIII, July, 1958, pp. 336-364.
2. See David B. Truman, "Public Opinion as a Tool for Public Administration," Public Administration Review, V, Winter, 1945, p. 62.
3. See Pauline Young, Social Surveys and Research, 1939, pp. 4-6.
4. Ibid.
5. See Philip Boardman, Patrick Geddes, Maker of the Future, 1944, pp. 243-253.
6. Ibid.

7. See Ernest Burgess, ed., The Urban Community, 1926, passim. Some of the techniques pioneered in the studies appearing in this book have since become regarded as polling in the broad sense, a sense embracing any means of collecting attitudes. Some uncommon means - not commonly employed by city-planners - include participant observation and content analysis.
8. See H.H. Remmers, Introduction to Opinion and Attitude Measurement, 1954, pp. 255-363.
9. See New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment, Report on the Height of Buildings Commission, 1913, pp. 7-21.
10. See C.B. Whitnall, Five Lectures on Planning, 1937, passim.
11. See Urban Planning and Public Opinion, 1942, passim.
12. See Lindsey Rodgers, The Pollsters, 1949, passim.
13. See Pulse of Democracy, 1940, passim.
14. See Svend Riemer, "Values and Standards in Research," American Journal of Sociology, LV, September, 1949, p. 135.
15. Ibid.
16. Interview with Roland Greeley, city-planning faculty, M.I.T.
17. See Martin Meyerson and Edward Banfield, Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest, 1955, passim.
18. Interview with Greeley.
19. See Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," American Sociological Review, XIII, pp. 542ff.
20. See Lawrence Mann, "The Role of Public Opinion Research in the Planning Profession: A Survey of Forty City-Planning Directors," typed manuscript, Harvard University, 1957, passim. A careful study, Mann's paper suggests that fifty-six percent of the directors in large planning offices and forty percent of the directors in small planning offices favor opinion research.
21. Ibid.
22. See Truman, op. cit. See also Henry Cohen, "Clinic: Public Opinion Surveys," Planning 1955, 1956, p. 156.
23. See Charles Haar, "Proceedings of Planning Commission Meeting to Investigate a Proposed Zoning Change," a

mimeographed draft of a created conversation, Harvard University Law School, 1957.

24. See questionnaire distributed to members, Summer, 1958. Another approach to organizing this section might be to abstract (somehow) the use and ownership phenomena that might appear in poll questions. For a list of such uses and ownerships, see Joe Williams, "Memorandum on Land Use Code Components," handwritten note, Nashville Advance Planning and Research Division, 1957. Another approach might be to organize the discussion around personal goals that are fulfilled in environments. For a list of such goals, see Peter Abeles, Harry Moul, and Brigitte Orent, "Goals for Community Planning," type-written report, M.I.T., 1957.
25. It should not be inferred that the technologist is the only tool-maker. Planners steeped in the other points of view might certainly enhance efficiency as well. But, to tinker with a couple of metaphors, in town-planning, the technologist is the city mouse who wants to build better to get rid of man-traps.
26. See Elmer Mitchell, Sports for Recreation, 1952, p. 325.
27. Comes the either-laud-or-blame dichotomy in the acquisitive reasons that fringe-quitters cite for moving into the city. See Thomas Bradmeas, "Fringe Living Attitudes," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXII, Spring, 1956, p. 77.
28. For an independent study by a non-planner, see William Form, "Status Stratification in a Planned Community," American Sociological Review, X, October, 1945, pp. 605-613. Original residents in a greenbelt town rated occupation prestige. With these results together with his participant observations of community leadership, Form was able to suggest that planner aspirations for non-stratified communities seem ill-fated.
29. See Alfred Lee, The Fine Art of Propaganda, 1934, passim.
30. For comments about the mental rigidity of technicians, see Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom, Politics, Economics and Welfare, 1953, p. 74.
31. See "Use of the Attitude Survey in Neighborhood Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXIII, IV, p. 181.

Chapter Two: A Persuasion Poll in Wenham, Massachusetts

32. See "Wenham Plans for 1975," mimeographed report, M.I.T. In one way or another, the plan was generously influenced by all the city-planning professors at that school, as well as by numerous students. Wenham, incidentally, makes an acceptable stage for a public-opinion poll. Four widely different town groups are evident: old-line Yankee farmers and managers; wealthy industrialists; middle-income technicians, artists, and clerks; and semi-skilled laborers. With these different socio-economic orientations, it is possible that there may be varying presumptions about the direction of town growth. Here the poll might collect information, invite suggestions, and generate interest. This circumstance in this town of 2400 might be in marked contrast to large cities where it is said that opinions do not crystallize. (See Julie Mayer on large cities, "The Stranger and the City," American Journal of Sociology, LVI, March, 1951, p. 481.)
33. See p. 71f.
34. See H.A. Overstreet, "Arousing the Public Interest in City Planning," Proceedings of Twentieth National Conference on City Planning, 1928, p. 129. Quoted by Frederick J. Adams, city-planning professor at M.I.T., in theory class, 1956.
35. See Alfred Politz, remark at Conference on Experimental Method in C.W. Churchman, et. al., ed., Measurement of Consumer Interest, 1947, p. 16.

Chapter Three: Some Limits and Advantages

36. See John Paulus, "Determining and Evaluating Citizen Needs," Public Management, XL, February, 1958, pp. 35-37.
37. See Carl Friedrich, "Creative Methods in Urban Political Change," Annals of American Academy, CCCXIV, November, 1957, pp. 91f.
38. See "Scoreboard on Housing Referenda," Journal of Housing, VII, May, 1950, p. 159. Lloyd Rodwin, of the M.I.T. city-planning faculty, called this example to my attention.

## APPENDIX A - SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

In his 1956 presidential address to the Public Opinion Society, Harry Alpert called for workers from other disciplines than sociology to develop specialities in public opinion.<sup>1</sup> If land-use practitioners accepted his trespass invitation, they might find unresearched problems for each motive or point of view discussed in the text. The poll subjects that are sketched below are not necessarily those most worthy of investigation. But they are a little more than the usual valid request for someone to gather verifying, modifying, or condemning data on the preceding purposes. It is hoped that the suggestions below hint at the fertility of the public-opinion field for planners.

The order of their mention will follow the order of perspectives ranked in the text. An exception will be technology. It will be considered lastly. It is, after all, only my annexation and is not an officially authorized A.I.P. motive.

For a better understanding of the applications of scaling techniques, curves, and weighting, technicians might look for suggestions from their colleagues primarily motivated toward Scientific Knowledge.

The student who enjoys Designing things might imagine ways in which city-planning reports might reflect the attitudes of the public more consciously. At the present time,

reports that technicians prepare for laymen might appear forbidding to their intended audience. Their presentation does not seem to involve the plan's consumer. Where might the theme of the public's preferred uses and occupancies and the practitioner's projections be verbally and visually joined? If the planner decides he cannot agree with the substance of public opinion, how might he historically, culturally, or prognostically persuade his report-readers?

The public planner who is strong for Conservation might analyze the legitimacy of official auspices trying to create public opinion. Is there any safeguard to prevent a partisan planner from framing questions to obtain cartes blanches for pet projects? As a point of departure in this area, how unfairly are the questions loaded in the text? To assure poll propriety, should citizens' groups be called in for advice? For another aspect of propaganda, how creditable are the opinion samples about land development made by private pressure-groups?

If he is honestly anxious to tap the noblest citizen wishes, the planner interested in Social Improvement might develop interrogations that incisively feel out the compassionate hopes and itching anguishes of respondents. Standards for question-drafting are already available (e.g., shake out implications that disfavoring a scheme is tantamount to civic irresponsibility, eliminate technical

jargon),<sup>3</sup> but are there new sorts of sensitive, less mechanical standards that can be drafted?

With his interest in local discussions, the planner keen on Government and Politics might scrutinize who and how many persons should receive provocative polls. How should respondents be selected?<sup>4</sup> Through areal distributions?<sup>5</sup> In periodic panels?<sup>6</sup> On what occasions? If housewife, neighborhood, or special-interest groups are polled on particular issues, when is there a justification for ignoring the attitudes of the rest of an interdependent community?<sup>7</sup>

The Career planner might work out new techniques to increase office returns of questionnaires. Typed letters, official stationery, colored small-denomination stamps, etc., have been found to boost mailed-in replies,<sup>8</sup> but some additional planning suggestions might be welcomed. What sort of image - e.g., civic, businesslike, whimsical - should letters accompanying questionnaires show in order to induce vast, warm, extensive, and quick replies? Round-robin organizational endorsements, return rewards, and graphic aids are some notions that might be explored. For that matter, a Careerist's analysis need not be restricted to the mail-out poll. The direct-interview method might be developed for planning, e.g., how does one classify vague or poorly expressed spatial references that interviewees might make? For another variation, opinions on physical developments



have been elicited through picture-selections and playing of roles.<sup>9</sup> The Careerist might suggest amplifications of these visual and performance means of elucidation and possibly even invent some sort of aural index.

While the careerist labors over internal mechanics, the Coordination-oriented planner might mull types and methods of external organizations that might aid in poll execution. College sociology professors have furnished student interviewers (Hanover), radio stations have provided publicity (Syracuse), newspapers have printed ballots (Miami), boy scouts have earned civic-service merit badges for distributing questionnaires (Oshkosh), and power companies have furnished address lists (Concord). Are innovations in groups and techniques still possible? Can business and factory supervisors pass out questionnaires with pay checks? Can museum guards hand out polls for visitors to complete as they view exhibits illustrating city-planning alternatives?

The technology-motivated planner might compute means to reduce costs of polls. How much do various-sized samplings cost? Can savings in coding be devised? As there is increasing organization of mutual problems, can an index for city-to-city comparability of finding be established. In other words, can or should references for urbanization policies be prepared for districts, states, regions, nations, continents, worlds, etc.?

## NOTES TO APPENDIX A

### Some Suggestions for Poll Research

1. See Public Opinion Quarterly, XX, Fall, 1956, p. 499.
2. See, for instance, Henry Connor, "Citizens' Committee Seeks Urban Highways," National Municipal Review, XLI, July, 1952, pp. 356f.
3. See H. Cantril, ed., Gauging Public Opinion, 1947, pp. 23ff.
4. For an extensive example of planning methodology in general circulation, see Branch, op. cit., pp. 43ff.
5. For an introduction to this problem, see Mildred Parten, Surveys, Polls and Samples, 1950, *passim*.
6. For a rare planning example, see Jerome Lubin and Robert Bingham, Changes in Westchester, New York, Department of Planning Report, January, 1955.
7. For an example of such a poll, see Kenneth E. Clark, "Opinions of Residents Toward an Industrial Nuisance," Journal of Applied Psychology, XXXII, October, 1948, pp. 435ff.
8. See D.S. Longworth, "Use of a Mail Questionnaire," American Sociological Review, XVIII, pp. 310-313.
9. See Kurt Back and Howard Stanton, "Public Housing Attitudes Through Role Playing, Picture Matching," Journal of Housing, XIII, November, 1956, pp. 397-399.

## A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PLANNING POLLS

Ideally, all the well-phrased questions appearing on the surveyed polls would appear in a suggestive concluding section. For the sake of brevity, however, only references or sources will be given.

Berkeley, California Poll, reviewed by Donald Foley, "How Many Berkeley Residents Know About Their Master Plan?" Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXI, Fall, 1955, pp. 138-144.

Briarcliff Manor, New York Poll, reviewed by Robert Bartels and Frank Stewart, "How Briarcliff Manor Took Inventory," American City, LXIII, September, 1948, pp. 104f.

Concord, Massachusetts Poll, prepared by Al Ehrenfried and a Citizens' Advisory Council, "Your Questionnaire for Concord, Massachusetts," 1958.

Detroit, Michigan Poll, prepared by Benson and Benson, Incorporated, Opinion Survey of Trackless Trolley Coach Riders in Detroit, Michigan, 1952.

Flint, Michigan Poll, reviewed by Basil Zimmer and Amos Hawley, "Home Owners and Attitudes Toward Tax Increase," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXII, Spring, 1956, pp. 65-74.

Fort Smith, Arkansas Poll, prepared by Fort Smith Chamber of Commerce, Fort Smith--Forward By Plan, 1945.

Hanover, New Hampshire Poll, prepared by H.W. Eldredge, Clark Horton, Justin Gray, et al., "Hanover Town Plan Public Opinion Survey," 1956.

Kalamazoo, Michigan Poll, reviewed in American City, LXVIII, May, 1953, p. 127.

Miami, Florida Poll, reviewed in "A Question for Local Legislators and Planners," Horizons for Modern Pennsylvania Government, May, 1956, p. 1.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin Poll, prepared by Richard S. Dewey, Residential Development in the Unincorporated Areas of Milwaukee County, 1946.

Oak Ridge, Tennessee Poll, prepared by the Atomic Energy Commission, Report of the Survey on Home Ownership and Self Government, 1952.

Oshkosh, Wisconsin Poll, prepared by John W. Alexander, A Public Opinion Survey, 1951.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Poll, prepared by Department of Public Health, Housing and Neighborhood Conditions and Attitudes of the Residents, Hawthorne Leadership Area, 1957.

Syracuse, New York Poll, reviewed by Barney L. Finn, "Syracuse Plans for Its Future," Planning, 1944, 1944, pp. 190-194.

## APPENDIX B - DIGRESSION

Lest this thesis exercise inhumanly end on an objective bibliographical note, a subjective anti-statistical digression seems in order. Let it be a digression on city-planning history. An acceptable structure for such a history might be based on the analytical tool used in the text. A historian using the eight planner motives for an expositional framework would have to be careful not to confuse a point of view toward uses and occupancies with the uses and occupancies themselves. This is a distinction that Mr. Bernard Frieden has called to my attention. Perhaps distorting that distinction, skipping all the causes and effects, glancing only at the highlights, and doing violence to chronology, a rough topical approximation of the beginnings of those points of view might go something like this.

The nineteenth century German codifiers of free-city building experience could be represented as contributing impetus for the development of the Scientific Knowledge perspective. The Egyptian, Hittite, Chinese, Mayan, Etruscan, and Greek builders of harmonious and coherent patterns could be shown cultivating Design tendencies. With the levees, bridges, aqueducts, and tunnels of the Tigris and Euphrates epochs could be shown inaugurating some of the first technological efforts. Thrift-conscious Europeans, prudent nationalists, and defense planners could be

represented as strengthening the Conservation attitude of mind. Social Improvements might be earned originally by utopians, statisticians, and pamphleteers while revolutionists, jurists, and democratic philosophers could be cultivated for their ideas about Everyman in Government and Politics. The British system of civil service and the American City Efficient movement could be depicted as fostering Coordinators. The feminism movement might be represented as responsible for the Career motive.

On this last matter, it is admitted that rarely in America is it kind to call a motive feminine, -but - right or wrong - the impression persists that the Career incentive was something originated by plannerwomen, planneresses, and plannerixes. It is suspected that at first Career-Building was not being two-fisted about a lifetime vocation. It was not having fire in the eye for particular work. It was something before pregnancies and after nurseries. At the start, anyway, Career-Building was the matron in the drafting room who kept the conversation clean. Today of course women grace more and more offices, not only with their femininity, but with their mental agility and with that patience of theirs. That patience mothers gradual planning success.