A STUDY OF THE USE OF ATTITUDE ASSESSMENT TECHNIQUES BY AMERICAN PLANNING AGENCIES

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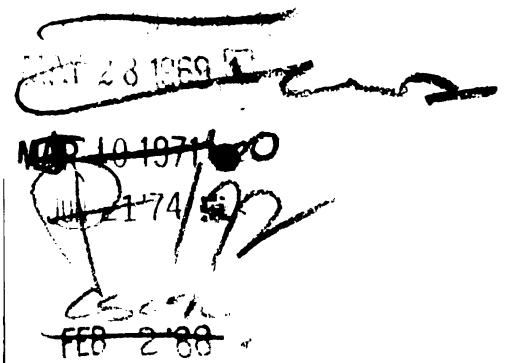

ABSTRACT

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by Gordon N. Dixon

This thesis is based upon the assumption that planning agencies need to communicate with the public that they attempt to serve. The major premise of the thesis is that the planner must communicate with all segments of the society that he is serving, and this includes the silent, the disadvantaged, and the minority sub groups of the population as well as the vocal, affluent majorities of our society. The minor premise is that this communication should be a two way process--that the planner should be a receptor as well as a sender of information in this process.

The traditional methods that have been used by the planner to communicate with the public--through the planning commission, the citizens advisory group and the public hearing--are briefly considered. While the approach taken by the planner is not questioned, the comprehensiveness of this approach is viewed with some skepticism. As an additional technique used in this communication process attitude

surveys are also considered, and the use of this technique by American planners is the point of inquiry of this thesis.

In order to study the use of attitude surveys by planners there must first be an understanding of the general concept of attitudes. In the discussion of attitudes it is emphasized that attitudes are a basic motivating factor in the individual personality, and that their assessment is not an easy task due to the fact that people often are not fully aware of their attitudes or they may try to disguise their attitudes from an interviewer. For this reason the study of attitudes must be approached in a careful and scientific manner in order to elicit an accurate picture of the prevailing attitudes of the public. The approach to attitude assessment by American planning agencies forms the major body of original research undertaken as a part of the thesis.

To determine the extent of attitude survey use in the planning profession a National Survey of 500 planning agencies was conducted, and to determine the application of attitude surveys a number of such studies prepared by planning agencies and their consultants was reviewed.

The findings of this thesis indicate that almost half of all planning agencies contacted either have used or are anticipating the use of an attitude survey in the near future. It was also found that there are few characteristics of agencies which are highly correlated with the use of the attitude survey.

A review of the attitude surveys conducted by planners indicated that often the construction and administration of the survey was accomplished in a manner which raises serious questions about the validity of the study. Conversely, other agencies display very careful approaches to the conduct of the survey and there seem to be some outstanding planning consultants which assist in the survey operations.

This thesis concludes by asserting that much needs to be done to make this potentially valuable planning tool fully operational as a means to communicate with the public at large. Further, it is suggested that planners and others concerned with urban design should develop new approaches to the effective and full use of the attitude survey as an instrument to help build a better urban environment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the chief concerns of the urban planner is that of citizen participation or public involvement in the planning process. The motivation of this concern may vary from the fact that there is increasing Federal emphasis being placed on "citizen participation" in the Workable Program, the "citizens advisory committee" in Economic Development Administration assistance, and the "community action panel" which is related to the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. However, generally speaking, the planner's interest in community participation goes beyond the fact that an attempt at citizen involvement is required by more and more Federal programs which are aimed at affecting the condition of a large segment of the population.

The planner realizes (too often through firsthand experience with the subject) that acceptance of a planning proposal by the local body politic and/or the public at large may depend on the degree of citizen participation and public involvement in the preparation of the plan. If the public feels that something is being put over on it

it's reaction is often surprising; the unorganized public can become organized, vocal and powerful with astounding speed.[1]

Even more important is the honest attempt by many planners to help devise plans which reflect the goals and desires of the people that they are to serve. Because it is in this way that plans are made realistic enough to be implemented even though the proposals may have far reaching implications in terms of political, social, and economic problems to be surmounted. If plans are to "stir men's blood" they must have the support of the public, and much of that support is derived from a feeling of involvement and identity with aspects of the proposal.

Methods of Involvement

The Planning Commission

Even though the planning commission is to function primarily as a policy body the P.A.S. Report 19 indicates that planners look for support of proposals and a feeling of public sentiment from their planning commissions.[2] However, the planning commissions are not in a position to

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[1] James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, No. 4 (November, 1963), p. 243.

[2] American Society of Planning Officials, The Planning Commission--Its Composition and Function, Planning Advisory Service Report 19 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, October, 1950), p. 8.

offer such an appraisal of public sentiment because the commissions are not representative of the urban population in the true sense of being representative. In a study of planning agencies Robert Walker indicates that 82.3% of the "typical" planning commission is composed of businessmen, realtors, lawyers, doctors, and engineers.[3] The Planning Advisory Service Report 195 further supports Walker by indicating that architects, engineers, lawyers, businessmen, and realtors compose almost 60% of the local planning commission.[4] Obviously such a commission is not truly representative of the community at large, unless it is a very unusual community.

Citizen Groups

Another approach to obtaining more active citizen involvement in the planning process has been by the creation of citizens groups which supplement the planning commission. These citizens groups may work with the planners on specific projects, such as proposals for planning regulations or standards, or on specific problems with which the planner is concerned, such as low cost housing. Again questions could be raised about such groups; Are they articulate enough to speak for those they represent?

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[3]Robert A. Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 135.

[4]American Society of Planning Officials, The Planning Commission--Its Composition and Function, Planning Advisory Service Report 195 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officals, February, 1965).

Are they representative? The answer is generally negative on the latter count because the membership of the city wide citizens group is usually dominated by community leaders and influentials.[5]

The Public Hearing

The public hearing is a device that the planner has looked upon as one method of keeping the public informed, and eliciting response on planning matters. However, this device has many shortcomings when viewed as a citizen participation technique. When plans reach the hearing stage they have already become too finalized to undergo much revision, and the public hearing, for all practical purposes, is only an opportunity for the public to register it's protests before the plan is adopted. The planner too often approaches the hearing with the attitude--"Here is the plan. What do you think of it?"[6] Should considerable protest be registered, the plan may be abandoned and the work started all over again. Time is too valuable to be wasted in this fashon so every attempt must be made by the planners to avoid such last minute controversies.

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[5]American Society of Planning Officials, Citizens Planning Groups, Planning Advisory Service Report 141 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, August, 1961), p. 6.

[6]American Society of Planning Officials, P.A.S. Report 149, p. 6.

Advisory Committees

To be sure there are other ways in which the citizens of a city can be involved in the planning process and among them are the advisory groups which deal with special problems. The planners must realize that they are the paid planning professionals, and that response from the general public when asked to serve on advisory committees of any type may be erratic and wane as the planners insist on more and more study with the goal of action a remote event of the future. Most often those who have the interest and time to devote to civic problems and plans are the busy action oriented people who are concerned with results, not detailed plans.[7] How long can the planner ask these people to attend meetings which must compete with other interests and activities, and expect regular attendance and sustained interest? Often such busy people become a rubber stamp for the policies developed by the planner.[8]

Direct Consultation

Another problem to be considered is the fact that often the people who are most directly affected by a particular problem (slum housing) or a planning proposal

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[7] American Society of Planning Officials, P.A.S. Report 149, p. 25.

[8] American Society of Planning Officials, P.A.S. Report 149, p. 7.

(neighborhood renewal in an area occupied by elderly persons) may not be vocal or articulate enough to express their views on the issue at hand. Thus, it would seem that the planner needs to consider direct consultation with the general public in addition to the representative participation which is outlined above. The reason for this need is because too often representative groups may not be as representative as they are supposed to be.

Speaking before a meeting of the Ohio chapter of the AIP, Senator Abraham Ribicoff stressed that the planner contact the people directly. In the words of Ribicoff:

> We are hesitant [to trust the planners] because most of you--the professionals--have never talked to most of us--the people. You sense we are apprehensive. But do you know why? Have you come to us, particularly those of us who are silent, to learn what troubles us?
> . . . . . .
> Go outside your profession. Speak and listen to the people for whom you are planning and building. Seek them out if they do not come to you . . . good planning like good government, requires not only that many voices be heard, but that they be understood as well.[9]

While the planner is not guiltless in this matter of directly consulting the people he does deserve more credit than the Senator was willing to admit. The planner has made attempts to communicate directly with the people through the use of public opinion surveys and similar approaches to public consultation. Planners could take a

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[9]American Institute of Planners, AIP Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 6 (June, 1967), pp. 5-6.

cue from Ribicoff and work harder, with more conviction in the public involvement to which the Senator referred. One way to more effectively "ask the people" might be through the so called attitude or opinion survey. Such surveys should not supplant the methods mentioned above, but rather supplement those methods with a broader, more inclusive and representative range of contacts than could be attained by any or all of those methods mentioned thus far. No one should expect the planner to base policy and recommendations entirely on the remarks which he receives from the general public--planning can never be made that democratic. The planner cannot base his recommendations on the fact that 52% of those interviewed preferred a particular proposal. Even though there are many technical aspects of planning the planner should also be cognizant of the feelings of the people. Perhaps if the planner had had an idea of the sentiments and intensity of feeling of the people in Watts, Newark, or Detroit he could have had a role in diverting an urban tragedy whose real cost is not measured in dollars, but in loss of human life and the abrogation of trends which could have led to better human understanding and improved environmental conditions for those living in the area.

Can surveys and studies of the human element of our cities accomplish such ends?

William B. Shore, information director of the Regional Plan Association of New York, has outlined at least six problems of direct public consultation.[10] First of all, Shore contends that the urban planning issues are too complex to be answered on a doorstep by people who have given the issue little or no thought. Furthermore, people tend to "satisfice" rather than optimize; which simply means that people accept what satisfies them rather than try to reach some theoretical optimum. People may base their final decision whether or not to buy a particular house on the fact that it has a dishwasher, and not because of the size of the lot or the neighbors in the area.

Shore's second point is that often people do not realize the implications of one decision or judgment on others. There are few facets of urban life which are mutually exclusive. An example might be of the person who expresses a desire for more and better community services and lower taxes at the same time, or the individual that would like for the city to be composed of houses on two acre lots, and be able to walk to work. The interrelationships of many planning concepts are not apparent to most of the average citizens.

Thirdly, Shore contends that people often cannot imagine a situation that they have not experienced. How

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[10]William B. Shore, "Public Consultation in the Planning Process," Planning 1965, pp. 148-157.

will the person who was raised in the urban core of a large city know if he would be happy in a suburban area; or a person who has lived all of his life on a farm may not be able to say if he would really be happy in an apartment. Many, if not most, people could not answer such questions directly.

The fourth point, similar to that above, presents the question of how people could offer an opinion on patterns of proposals that have not been built or with which the individual has nothing to make a comparison. How can a person speculate on a totally new type of travel, or a new concept of housing when he has no bench mark to make such a comparison.

Fifth, it is not enough to count opinions and preferences. The intensity of feeling is often the important component in an issue. It is not as much being for or against something, but rather <u>how</u> much for or against it you are, will you work for the proposal, and will you encourage others to work for it is the real question.

The last point that is made by Shore is the fact that the vast majority of persons for whom we are planning cannot be consulted. This segment of the population has not yet been born or is so young that it can not respond to the questions that we might ask.

The problems which Shore presents are formidable and it would seem that planners need to search for a

consultative technique which touches on basic human emotions, which will enable the research person to elicit information about people which they may or may not have thought about consciously. That will give us some clue to a response to a situation that the individual has not heretofore faced. The problem of the unborn individual is not easily overcome since we do not know what natural, social, political, or economic conditions will mold the citizen of tomorrow. We can only cope with this problem as best we can and attempt to plan effectively for our children with the knowledge at our disposal.

Thesis Approach

The basic premise remains, and that is "meaningful and effective planning must be based on a two-way communication flow between the public and the planning agency." Communications between the planner and the public should be "dialogues rather than monologues,"[11] and the attitude survey holds the promise of accomplishing this goal. Chapin explicitly stressed the value and need of attitude studies by the urban planner when he said "a soundly conceived method of investigating attitudes in many respects provides information just as basic to the mechnical . . .

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[11]David R. Godschalk and William E. Mills, "A Collaborative Approach to Planning Through Urban Activities," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 32 (March, 1966), p. 88.

planning process as the land use survey."[12] A key phrase in Chapin's statement is "soundly conceived" which implies that some surveys may not be so conceived and that such a study is of such significance that care must be exercised in its construction. Before the planner is in a position to construct, or hire a consultant to construct an attitude survey of any type he should have a basic understanding of the concept of attitude, how and why attitudes are important in individual functioning, and some of the techniques that are employed in the measurement of these attitudes. These considerations form the first point of inquiry with which this will deal.

The study of attitudes enters into the fields of Psychology and Social Psychology where most of the investigation has been conducted, and these fields are as broad as they are diverse. Within each field there are many schools of thought which view concepts (such as attitude) from different perspectives, with different emphasis, and varying basic notions. The result, as one would expect, is a variety of views on the same concept which do not facilitate the understanding of the subject by the layman. This is true for the notion of attitude, so an understanding of the range of views on the subject is required.

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[12] F. Stuart Chapin, Land Use Planning (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 71.

A second point of inquiry which will be considered is the use of attitude surveys by planners in America. To explore this subject two approaches will be taken. First, an examination of several known attitude surveys in an effort to compare some of the methods and approaches which have and are being taken. The second approach will involve asking a number of planning agencies if and how they have used attitude techniques.

The desired outcome of this investigation will be some conclusions about the use of this technique of studying the population by american planners, and how the planning profession can improve the use of this technique in reaching toward a better understanding of our urban populations.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT, FUNCTION AND MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES

Chapter I presented the argument that attitude assessment is an important study to be considered in urban situations, and further that the planning agency can legitimately perform such studies for the urban area under consideration. However, the study and measurement of attitudes is not a project that should be undertaken by one with no knowledge of the basic concept of attitudes and attitude assessment. This chapter will attempt to briefly present the concept of attitudes and how they function for the individual. The techniques of attitude measurement will also be discussed in order that the reader may have some understanding of the methods that are used to measure this dimension of the individual.

The Attitude Concept

Attitudes Defined

For the urban planner who is not familiar with the field of Psychology or Social Psychology one of the key problems to an understanding of the concept of attitudes

is the fact that in the field of Psychology itself "the concept of attitudes is one of the most controversial ones. At the present time, we may find some thirty different meanings for it."[1] Katz and Schanck go on to say that:

> The definitions of the term attitude are more numerous than those of the word personality itself. This is due to the lack of scientific knowledge about the subjective states to which attitude refers. Though we all seem to know what is meant by an attitude of mind, as, for example, a derisive attitude, or a snobbish attitude, we experience difficulty in arriving at a precise definition.[2]

Even though some controversy over the term and concept of attitudes does exist, an attempt must be made to understand the range of definitions and their meaning for the urban planner. One of the most basic and widely quoted definitions is offered by Allport: "An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related.[3]

An examination of Allport's definition reveals three major components. First is a state of readiness to react to a given stimulus without having to think about

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[1]Otakar Machotka, The Unconscious In Social Relations (New York: Philosophical Library, 1964), p. 192.

[2]Daniel Katz and Richard L. Schanck, Social Psychology (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1938), p. 442.

[3]Gordon W. Allport, "Attitudes," A Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Carl Murchison (Worchester: Clark University Press, 1935), p. 810.

"what do do" in a particular situation. It would seem that, according to Allport, an attitude is an activity "short cut"; without this system of attitudes people would have to consider every action on the basis of the knowledge at hand. Thus if a person lacked a positive attitude toward traffic laws and the general observance of those laws he would face a crisis in his response pattern each time he approached a green traffic signal, or an intersecting street. However, it must be realized that such "short cuts" are not always an advantage to the individual. Consider the youth who has acquired an attitude of fear and disrespect of law enforcement officers or of government officials. His response and reactions to law and government might well be a basic mistrust if not open hostility. The result of such an attitude need not be elaborated on at this time, but one might speculate on some of the consequential responses.

The second component of Allport's definition is that attitudes are learned and developed through experience. Considering the psychological theory of conditioning and reinforcement, it would seem that as experiences tend to accumulate around a basic attitude that attitude is consequently reinforced or strengthened.

The third component of the definition points out that attitudes are active in the "psycho-system"[4] of

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[4]"Psycho-system" is the author's word to denote

individuals; they have aspects of motivation which prompt a person to take action in a particular or characteristic way.

Another prominent author on the subject of attitudes poses the following definition: "An attitude is the sum total of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions about any specific topic."[5] Attitudes are also considered as "the intervening variable between stimulus and response."[6] This concept, diagramed by Rosenberg and Hovland, is illustrated in Figure 1.--A Schematic Conception of Attitudes.[7]

Considering attitudes as the intervening variables between stimuli and response places them in a key pivotal position in man's response to his world; a basic element of the psycho-system which has a direct relationship to an individual's activity. In a similar fashion it has been

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an intergrated organization of organic neural process and the affective and cognitive aspects of the individual.

[5]Louis L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, The Measurement of Attitude (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 6.

[6]J. D. Halloran, Attitude Formation and Change (Leicester, England: Leicester University Press, 1967), p. 28.

[7]Milton J. Rosenberg and Carl I. Hovland, "Cognative, Affective, and Behavioral Components of Attitudes," Attitude Organization and Change, Vol. III of Yale Studies in Attitude and Communication, ed. C. I. Hovland and M. J. Rosenberg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 3.

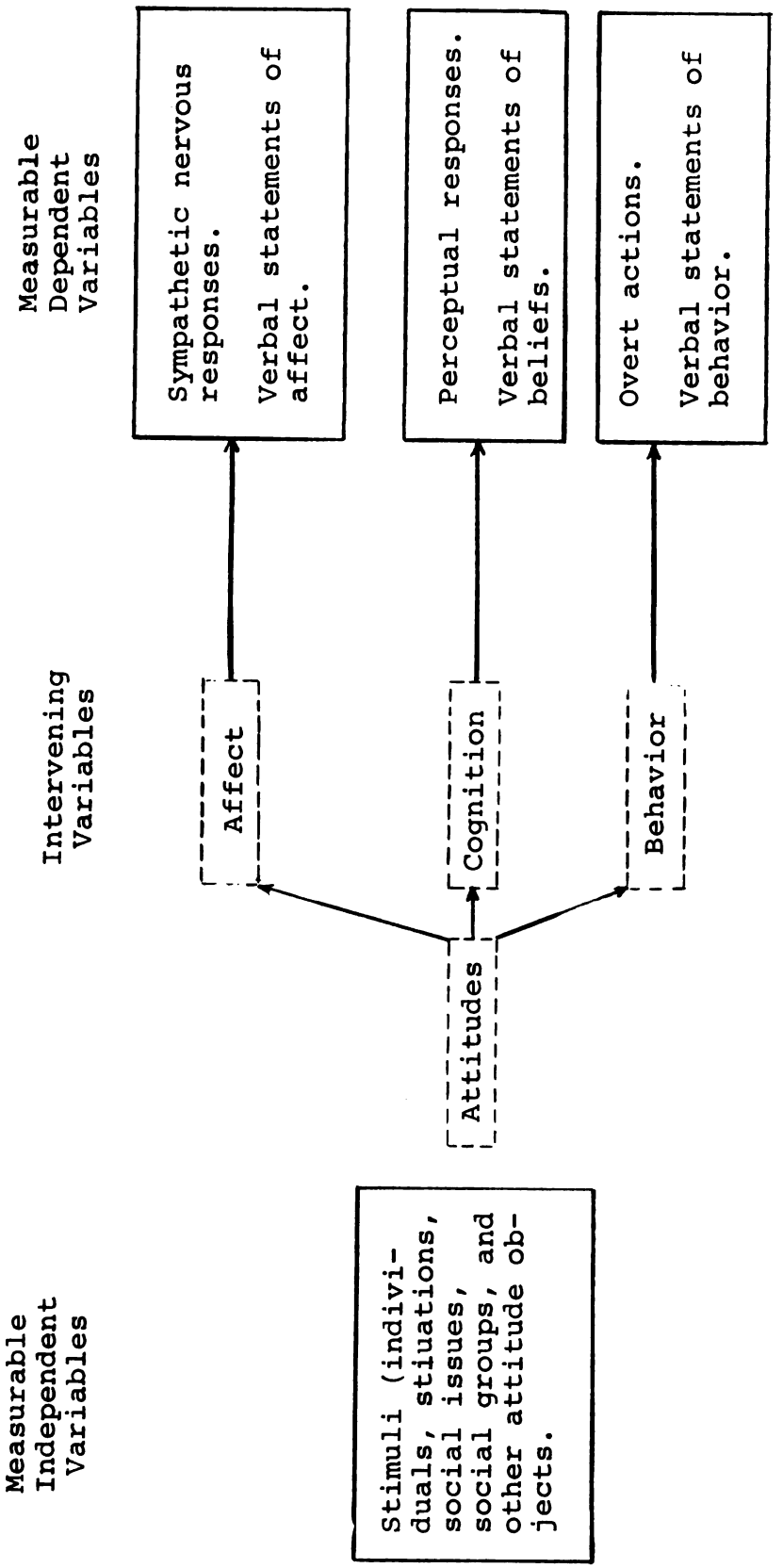

FIGURE 1.--A schematic conception of attitudes.

said that "an attitude may be considered as the psychological counterpart of the dynamic process within the individual which results in the organization of his perception of any given situation and is manifested in his response."[8]

With the numerous definitions of attitudes and the disagreement among psychologists and social psychologists about the definition and concept of attitude, it is little wonder that planners experience some difficulty in understanding "attitude" let alone to differentiate between attitudes and similar concepts such as values, opinions, etc.

Most of this "grey" area of definition lies between attitude and opinion. Thurstone talks of opinions as verbal expressions of attitudes, and that an opinion symbolizes a more basic attitude.[9] This basic distinction is supported by Sherif inasmuch as he sees opinion as an attitude that has been expressed and that is based on more objective thought than a stereotype or prejudice.[10] However, Young makes a slightly different comparison when he states that opinions are what we believe and attitudes are what we are

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[8]Irving R. Weschler and Raymond E. Bernberg, Indirect Methods of Attitude Measurement," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, Vol. IV,

[9]Thurstone and Chave, p. 7.

[10]Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego Involvements: Social Attitudes and Identification (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947), p. 26.

prepared to do.[11] Along the same line Shaffer views opinions as simply beliefs, views or judgments while attitudes are the basic motivating characteristics of the individual.[12] This seems to be a key point of distinction between opinions and attitudes and subsequently a prime reason why planners should concern themselves with the study of attitudes. Opinions are verbal responses to a given question, and usually they are probably given honestly; however, they may not actually represent what the person will actually do when confronted with a given situation. A person may say he would use a new method of rapid transit; then after considerable public funds had been expended on the system the planner or public administrator may find that the project has not had the success that had been predicted. On the other hand, if the planner had had the results of a good attitude survey at hand he might have been in a position to suggest an alternative that would have met more success, or corrected some aspect which would have made the system more acceptable in the public sight.

For the planner the term "attitude" must mean a basic function of the human psycho-system (animals may have

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[11]Kimball Young, Social Psychology (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), p. 77.

[12]Margaret T. Shaffer, "Attitude Assessment Techniques in Planning," A paper presented at the conference of the American Institute of Planners, October 20, 1965. (Mimeographed.)

attitudes, but this need not concern the urban planner) which is learned by the individual (this aspect will be dealt with at a later point) and is instrumental in forming a response to a given stimulus which the individual may or may not be able to consciously recognize as they operate for him.

From the foregoing it would follow that an "opinion" is not always a reliable indicator of an attitude, and that the planner must concern himself with the more basic attitude if his study of the individual in society is to have full meaning. In addition to knowing what the term attitude means the planner should have a general idea of how attitudes are formed and how they function for the individual.

Attitude Formation

As has been mentioned before, attitudes are learned and therefore a part of the individual's learning process. Just as the learning process is not a simple process, attitude formation may be somewhat involved also. Allport suggests that attitudes are formed in four ways:[13] integration of numerous specific responses of a similar type; individualization, differentiation, or segregation of response; the dramatic experience or trauma; and by the adoption of ready made attitudes of parents, teachers or playmates.

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[13]Allport, p. 810-811.

With the integration concept of attitude formation Allport suggests that it is not a single experience which is responsible for the formation of attitudes but rather a number of pleasant or unpleasant experiences related to a specific object which when "integrated" together by the individual form the basic attitude toward that object. (In this case an object may be a person, place, thing or institution.) Attitudes, then, according to this principle, are the product of all experience that is relevant to a certain issue.

The second concept is that of segregation of response. This concept implies that the individual must separate and organize various stimuli into a consistent manner or reaction according to his desire to "approach or avoid "the stimulus in question. This would seem to presuppose that the individual has already formed a tendency to approach or avoid new situations, is caught up in a new situation by accident, or responds in a random fashion to new stimuli until he has learned to integrate his response into a new attitude.

The third concept of dramatic experience is slightly opposed to that of integration. This concept, in theory, maintains that a person may experience an event that is so dramatic or traumatic in content that an attitude toward an object may be formed quickly without the need of integration as was presented as the first principle of attitude

formation. Freudian psychologists often maintain that such a traumatic event may occur and subsequently the individual forms an attitude which may persist long after the memory of the event. Even when asked to remember the traumatic event the individual may be unable to do so, yet the attitude persists.

Allport's fourth principle of attitude formation is that of adoption. The implication here is that people often "adopt" ready-made attitudes from others. The "others" may be parents, teachers, or peer groups. This idea of adopted attitudes is supported by various studies. An example is a study recounted by Hollander[14] in which the attitudes of three groups were measured. The groups included southerners at a southern school, northerners at a northern school and northerners at a southern school. As might be expected, the southerners were, on the average, less favorable toward Negros than the northerners in the northern school. The northerners in the southern school, however, exhibited an average attitude which was inbetween the attitude of the other two groups. Of course the point is that the northerners in the southern school were "adopting" the less favorable attitude of the southerners.

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[14]Edwin P. Hollander, Principles and Methods of Social Psychology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 128.

Lambert takes a different approach to explaining how attitudes are formed.[15] Three concepts are employed--association, need satisfaction, and transfer--to explain the attitude formation process.

For Lambert association means that a person learns to associate an object (here again to mean a person, place, thing, institution etc.) with a pleasant or pleasant experience. As a result an attitude is formed which reflects the pleasure or lack of it that the person feels. One can quickly see how this might fit in with the theory of integration presented by Allport. Again we are faced with the question of what (outside of physical pain or pleasure) constitutes emotional pleasure for the individual--a question to which Lambert provides no clear answer.

The second component of attitude formation is that of need satisfaction. Lambert feels that if an object or activity satisfies some need for the individual then a positive attitude toward that object is formed. The converse, naturally, is also true. Lambert emphasizes that the two concepts of association and need satisfaction are closely related, and an experiment is cited to show the close relationship of the two concepts. A group of children in a classroom were divided into two teams, and those children who had formed a close relationship with another

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[15]William W. Lambert and Wallace E. Lambert, Social Psychology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 61-63.

person in the class were separated one from the other. The two teams then participated in a game and the winning team members were rewarded with gifts, praise and attention. Later in the year the children were asked with whom they would rather spend a weekend holiday. The results showed that those who received the gifts chose more of their "teammates" than those who received nothing. The point is that through association and the satisfaction of the need for recognition connected with a pleasurable event a positive attitude was formed toward the teammate. Again whether or not this was a reliable measurement of attitudes is open to question, but not considered here.

Transfer is the third principle which Lambert presents. Lambert's "transfer" concept is similar to the idea of adoption expressed by Allport. In other words, people transfer attitudes from others (parents, play-groups, etc.) without necessarily having to experience or be "associated" with the object in question. Lambert does, however, pointpoint out that "need satisfaction" often does play a role in the transfer of an attitude. As in a case where a person transfers the attitude of a peer group because, in part, of his "need" to belong to that group or any group as the case might be.

Sargent[16] feels that this cultural framework is the most important factor in the formation of attitudes because the cultural situation sets limits to attitude formation. At the same time the primary groups to which a person belongs are an important factor which the above authors recognize. In fact the cultural determinants may well be of the most significance to the urban planner, for the planner is primarily concerned with the "social attitudes" of people which have been defined as "attitudes formed in relation to other individuals, groups, institutions, tools and technology, standardized values or norms."[17]

Earlier it was mentioned that attitude formation was similar, in many respects, to learning, and one of the fundamentals of learning theory, according to Doob,[18] is that of reinforcement and extinction. Briefly, the theory of reinforcement is that when a response (or attitude) is successful in meeting a need that response is strengthened--a concept which would seem to follow Allport's theory of integration in the formation of attitudes. At the same time we must recognize that the physical act of perception influences our attitudes. When we see, read, or otherwise

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[16] S. Stansfield Sargent and Robert C. Williamson, Social Psychology: An Introduction to the Study of Human Relations (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1958), pp. 232-233.

[17] Sherif and Cantril, p. 25.

[18] Leonard W. Doob, Social Psychology: An Analysis of Human Behavior (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 66-69.

perceive our attitudes are influenced. However, we know that our formed attitudes have an effect on what we perceive. For example, Lambert[19] reports of studies where subjects were shown a picture of a Negro and white man standing on a deserted subway platform. The white man is holding an open razor blade. Then asking a person who has seen the picture to describe it to one who has not, and in turn having that person describe the picture to another and so on until it was found (in groups of white teenagers or older) that somewhere along the line the razor switched to the hand of the Negro and he was threatening the white man. Similar experiments further document the manner in which attitudes influence perception. We begin to see an integration of elements in the psychosystem to form consistent and perpetuating attitudes. Attitudes influence perception, what we perceive reinforces our attitude, a now stronger attitude influences new perception, and the cycle is created. The same idea has been expressed in more academic terms by Krech:

> Because perception is functionally selective, and because beliefs and attitudes play a role in determining the nature of this selectivity, new data physically available to an individual but contradictory to his beliefs and attitudes may not even be perceived.[20]

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[19]Lambert and Lambert, pp. 49-50.

[20]David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology (New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), p. 190.

> Not only do the various processes we have discussed and illustrated tend to make belief and attitudes self-preservative, but they make beliefs and attitudes self-reinforcing. [Emphasis added] Attitudes and beliefs create, as it were, the fuel upon which they grow.[21]

However, attitudes are not totally rigid and they do undergo modification and change; a subject to which we shall now turn.

Attitude Change

If the urban planner is to concern himself with the attitudes of the people he must have an idea of how stable these attitudes are. If an attitude is unstable, and subject to ready change then the planner would be dealing with data which might quickly become out of date. The planner seems to be plagued by data which becomes obsolete all too quickly, and a detailed study to attempt to quantify a variable which is vacillatory would be a waste of money and, even more important, of valuable time. On the other hand, if attitudes are stable then much could be gained by their study.

Here again care must be taken to distinguish between basic attitudes and general opinion. For example, when asked what was a person's attitude toward "urban renewal" the response might have been that the individual was opposed to the activity. However, on further investigation one might discover that the opposition expressed

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[21]Krech and Crutchfield, p. 194.

was one toward displacement of families with little regard for their relocation which the respondent had associated with urban renewal, but that the respondent was not basically opposed to rebuilding structures which were functionally or structurally obsolete. Upon being informed that the urban renewal officials were taking great care to find standard housing for relocatees and producing records to substantiate this statement (educating the person) he might then say that he had changed his "attitude." However, it should be clear by now that he had not, in fact, changed his basic attitude which could be termed as one permitting the reconstruction of unsound structures, but not at the cost of the indiscriminant dislocation of people. The only change was the person's "opinion" of urban renewal as he perceived it. Getting at this so called "basic attitude" is one of the greatest problems in this area which confronts the urban planner as well as the psychologist.

This is not to say that attitudes cannot be changed, because "we know that beliefs and attitudes show constant change in many of their characteristics. "Yet we also know that these beliefs and attitudes . . . frequently show resistance to change."[22] Krech goes on to indicate that this resistance to change is due to the operation of four

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[22]Krech and Crutchfield, p. 190.

functions: selectivity in perception and memory; cognitive consistency; withdrawal; and social support.[23]

Selectivity in perception and memory refers to the idea presented earlier that information that is contradictory to attitudes which have already been formed may not be perceived by the individual. In cases where the individual cannot help to "see" the facts (an example would be a film or lecture which presented facts contrary to existing attitudes) the individual may soon "forget" the facts that were presented to him. One illustration of the fact of not remembering contradictory facts can be pointed out by a study that was performed by two social psychologists and reported in the Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology (Vol. 38). In this study a group of students with positive and negative feelings toward communism were given material to read which contained both pro- and anti-communist information. Later on a test for retention revealed that those students favorable toward communism remembered more of the pro-communist material than those unfavorable to communism and vice-versa.[24]

Cognitive consistency is a term used to relate the idea that in order to maintain consistency in the psychosystem new ideas received into the psychological field of an individual will be received in such a way to produce the smallest effect on a stronger psychological tendency, and

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[23]Krech and Crutchfield, p. 190.

[24]Krech and Crutchfield, pp. 190-191.

attitudes "involve perhaps the strongest of our cognative organizations." Therefore, our operative attitudes will not only "color" our preceptions, but also will be a factor in determining the meaning that we will attach to those perceptions.[25]

Withdrawal is the term used to characterize a more or less rational action of the individual which will tend to perpetuate the operative attitude. According to Krech an individual will tend to withdraw from situations where information contrary to his established attitudes will be presented. This may mean a psychological withdrawal from a lecture by way of wandering attention, or a refusal or reluctance to read an article which could disturb ones cognitive consistency.[26]

Social support in the support of attitudes plays a role similar to that of the cultural or social framework in the formation of attitudes. Since people generally exhibit attitudes which they share in common with others in their primary group. Therefore, unless the group would undergo "wholesale" change or questionning of an attitude the individual would be inclined to resist such changes.[27] In an urban situation, a neighborhood group that held, for

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[25]Krech and Crutchfield, p. 191.

[26]Krech and Crutchfield, pp. 191-192.

[27]Krech and Cruchfield, p. 191.

the most part, attitudes which were contrary to a rehabilitation effort would probably remain strong because the attitude of opposition would have strong "social support," and try as he may the planner would not have an easy task in any attempt to change these attitudes.

Lambert also suggests that attitudes resist change if they are formed early in life, if they were learned by association as well as by transfer, if they help satisfy some need or needs, and if they have been integrated into one's personality and style of life. It would seem that the more effectively attitudes are learned the more resistant they are to change.[28]

Attitude change then, while not impossible, is difficult when viewed in both the personal as well as the social context. "Attitudes are in a constant equilibrium involving both rigidity and fluidity. Society and culture are in continual process of change, and attitudes reflect the relation of the individual to his inconstant world."[29] The planner would do well to concern himself with the study of attitudes because they do form an important dimension of the society he is attempting to understand. Furthermore, an understanding of general attitudes could also give the planner a general clue to approaches to improved methods

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[28]Lambert and Lambert, pp. 64-66.

[29]Sargent and Williamson, p. 233.

of public education on matters that deal with the purpose of the planning commission, the operation of the commission on particular elements of specific proposals and policy determinations.

The Function of Attitudes

The foregoing discussion of attitudes has presented the general concept of attitudes, including some of the definitions, the process of attitude formation and change. At this point it is well to consider the function of attitudes in the human psycho-system. Obviously there will be some overlap between the functioning of attitudes and the material which has already been presented since the function is closely tied to the concepts involved in formation and change.

Machotka states that "the unconscious operation of our attitudes shows up in almost all of our behavior."[30] He goes on to elaborate on this statement by pointing out how attitudes affect our perceptions, both by "adding" to what we see, and "blinding" us to aspects which we do not want to see. Likewise, our ability to remember is affected by our attitudes inasmuch as we often remember "facts" which support our attitudes while, at the same time, we tend to forget information which is contrary to the attitudes we hold. It is also pointed out that attitudes often

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[30]Machotka, p. 199.

influence our very interpretation of facts and information. Even when persons conscientiously try to consider information in the most objective manner, Machotka says, "their fight for correctness and impartiality is in vain, despite their best efforts. The unconscious influence of the conscious attitude in many cases cannot be overcome."[31] He further goes on to say that "even an impartial mind unconsciously and almost necessarily sides with the case favored by the attitude."[32] It would seem that this sociologist has some very definite ideas about the important role that the attitudes play in the operation of the human psychosystem, and while this may not be conclusive evidence of the stated propositions, they are based on the results of a number of studies which were cited in the original text. The importance for planners would seem to be the possibility that attitudes do play such an important role in the behavior of the individual.

Daniel Katz has indicated four kinds of functions which form the motivational basis for attitudes:[33]

1. The instrumental, adjustive or utilitarian function.
2. The Ego-Definsive function.
3. The Value Expressive function.
4. The Knowledge function.

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[31]Machotka, p. 201.

[32]Machotka, p. 201.

[33]Daniel Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Summer, 1960), pp. 163-204.

The instrumental function refers to the fact that an attitude often serves as an instrument which relates him in a positive way toward a primary group. Since the individual needs some sort of group affiliation (keeping in mind that the "group" need not be a formalized or recognized group, but simply persons with a common bond) the attitude serves as social reward for the individual.

The ego-defensive function of the attitude is a device to protect the person from an acknowledgment of his shortcomings and help the person to maintain an attractive "self-concept."

Value expressive functions of attitudes are almost a reverse of the ego-definsive functions. It is through the value expressive operations that the person may present those values which are of most importance to him to the world about him. It is in this way that the person openly expresses his commitments, not necessarily for social support but to confirm some aspects of his own self concept.

Attitudes motivated by the knowledge function enable the person to give meaning to an otherwise unmeaningful situation. Formed within this context, they help provide us with frames of reference which assist in providing people with a degree of consistency and stability.

The Measurement of Attitudes

There are numerous methods and techniques for the measurement of attitudes, and the variations for some of the methods are almost without end. Because of the quantity of variations no attempt will be made to include them all. However, what will be attempted will be an enumeration of the major types of techniques with some comment on the more important variations and forms that these techniques take. In general the following discussion will first consider the more structured methods of attitude assessment and work progressively toward the most unstructured methods.

The Fixed Alternative Questionnaire

The fixed alternative questionnaire is a method of assessment which is often used to collect data which is to be used in a number of ways.

Essentially, the form of this method is a question pertaining to the subject of the inquiry (e.g., the major problem in this neighborhood is a lack of:) followed by a number of alternative answers (e.g., a lack of community facilities; a lack of social services; or a lack of good housing, etc.) from which the respondent could choose. There are several distinct advantages of this type of questionnaire and, at the same time, several notable disadvantages.

Among the advantages of the fixed alternative form of questionnaire must be included the ease of administration. Such a form needs little instruction and, therefore, may be mailed out in large quantities, which would be considerably less expensive than hiring personnel to administer the survey. At the same time this form of questionnaire lends itself to easy coding for automatic data processing of results of the information received. The subsequent analysis of information is also simplified by the standardized approach.

However, there are imposing disadvantages which cannot be discounted. Among these disadvantages must be included the possibility that not all alternatives to a given question can be included in the range of "fixed alternatives." Many surveys attempt to cover this point by including a space for "other" comments, but this partially negated the advantage of standardization, because a variable has been introduced which must be analized at some point before the results can be tabulated, let alone interpreted. Another problem needs to be mentioned at this point--the fact that respondents may intentionally or unintentionally "guard" their response by refusing to answer the question, or offering "no opinion" on the question being asked. This problem will occur through most of the techniques discussed and will remain a problem for some time.[34]

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[34]Claire Selltiz, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc.), pp. 225-262.

Open-Ended Questionnaire

The open-ended technique of questionnaire construction presents a question to the respondent without limiting him to stated alternatives. A question is asked and the respondent is free to answer the question in whatever manner he feels is appropriate.

Once again such a questionnaire could be mailed or otherwise distributed to a large number of respondents, however, because the respondent would have to write his response to the question (which would further limit the number of returns because many would not take the time and trouble to write detailed responses) the wholesale distribution of this type of questionnaire is not highly recommended. Questions designed in this manner could elicit more information on a given question due to the fact that the respondent is not limited to responses which those constructing the questionnaire thought appropriate. In this manner the urban research personnel might uncover responses to questions that were heretofore not considered as significant.

The reader can quickly see that the open-ended type of questionnaire form would require more effort in the coding, and analysis of data than would the fixed alternative method. This would naturally call for more sophistication in social survey methods since the response to a question like, "What is your major objection to the current

mass transit system? might vary from "The cars always seem too noisy and dirty." (which could be easily classified) to a response which may be much more ambiguous like "I don't know what it is, but I always feel uncomfortable when I ride those things." Both responses indicate a negative feeling toward the transit system but the latter does not give the interviewer a cue to the underlying reason for the dislike of the system.[35]

Another major method of measuring the attitudes of a population is by the use of scaling techniques. There are several widely used techniques but all scales are an attempt to discover an underlying consistency of the individual's behavior, while at the same time limiting the range of objects towards which the consistency is expressed.[36] In general attitude scales consist of a number of statements to which a person may agree or disagree expressed along a continuum.[37] Selltiz has classified rating scales into three general categories.

Itemized Rating Scales

In this type of scale the rater (whether this is the individual or another person) selects one of a given number of categories that are ordered or weighted in

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[35]Selltiz, pp. 257-263.

[36]Young, pp. 452-453.

[37]Hollander, pp. 142-143.

relation to their relative scale position.[38] One of the early rating scales was one of this type devised by Thurstone and Chave in the late 1920's. Even though there was co-authorship of this work the scale is commonly referred to as the Thurstone scale. In this scale a number of statements relating to the subject under study are rated by a group of judges which decide if the statement is negative or positive in effect. These statements are assigned a value on the basis of the position they are placed on an eleven point scale. The respondent is asked to check each statement which expresses his sentiment. After all of the appropriate statements had been checked by the individual his attitude is then established by arriving at a mean score of the statements with which the subject was in general agreement.[39]

Thurstone applied his technique to measure attitudes of groups toward the church and graphically indicated those attitudes in a manner similar to that shown in Figure 2.[40]

Figure 2 indicates the relative attitudes held by three different groups on the church. The positive attitude is represented on the left side of the scale and the negative attitude is represented on the right side of the

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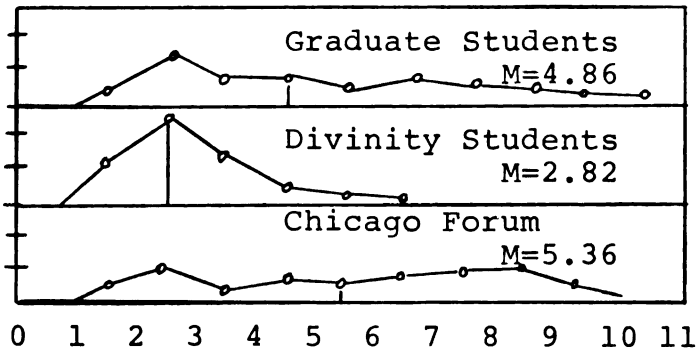
[38]Selltiz, p. 347.

[39]Mouis L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, The Measurement of Attitudes (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 1-66.

[40]Thurstone and Chave, p. 68.



M = Mean Score

FIGURE 2.--An Applied Thurstone Scale

scale. Whether the positive attitude is shown on the right or left is an immaterial distinction which depends on the values assigned to the statements. In this case the most positive statement was assigned a value of 1, and the most negative response a value of 11. As would be expected the Divinity students show the most positive attitude toward the church with a standard deviation of 0.96. At the other end of the scale the Chicago Forum as a group expressed an almost neutral attitude with a mean score of 5.36 and greater dispersion with a standard deviation of 2.56.[41] Thurstone attempted to establish a relationship between the attitude profile and overt actions of those being studied. In this attempt Thurstone asked if the respondents "attended church regularly" and if they were "active

[41]Thurstone and Chave, p. 67.

church members." Those graduate students whose attitude was toward the favorable end of the scale (0 - 5.0 value) represented 59.8% of the total group. Regular attendance was indicated by 40.2% while 19.6% indicated that they did not attend regularly. Those who were found to be on the "anti-church end of the scale indicated that 5.7% did attend church regularly and 34.5% indicated that they did not attend.[42]

Using church attendance as a criterion of overt expression of attitudes toward the church would seem to indicate that the Thurstone scale was an effective instrument in the measurement of attitude. Even so, the question which now arises is whether or not the attitude scale was a more effective instrument than simply asking "what is your attitude toward the church?" The one distinct advantage of the scale approach is that an indication is given of the strenth of attitude and this strength may be indicated quantitatively, and the profile of the attitudes of a sample may be shown graphically. Using this approach the planner could actually show the attitude profile of a group which could have a bearing on some policy decision.

There are problems with this technique, not the least of which would be to answer the question of to what extent the attitude of the "judges" would affect their

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[42]Thurstone and Chave, p. 84.

rating of statements, because if the scale is to be considered valid the scale values of the statements should not be affected by the opinions of the people who help to construct it.[43]

Another approach to the construction of a scale was taken by Remmers in 1934. Remmers found the Thurstone technique as excessively laborious because the attitudes assessed were quite specific in nature and innumerable scales would have to be constructed to measure a wide variety of attitudes. As an alternative he suggested a generalized scale to avoid the disadvantage of scaling numerous specific attitudes.

The construction of generalized attitude scales is similar to that of specific scales like the Thurstone scale. The major distinction lies in the fact that the generalized scales attempt to measure the attitudes to, for example, all races instead of attitudes toward the Negro; or to measure the attitudes toward all foreign nations instead of toward the U.S.S.R. specifically. The planner might be interested in measuring the attitudes toward Federal Urban Programs, instead of attitudes toward Urban Renewal per se. The point is to reduce the labor involved in the construction and the administration of the scale and still have instruments that can be widely

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[43]Thurstone and Chave, pp. 90-92.

used.[44] However, even with the advantages of the generalized scale there will still be times when the urban analyst will want attitudes on a specific subject, and will consequently find that the Thurstone type of measurement the better type of itemized rating scale.

A slightly different approach was taken by Likert in the development of an attitude scale. In the Likert method the subject is presented with a series of statements dealing with a particular attitude. To each of the statements the respondent may select a response which is indicitive of his feelings on the subject. In all there are five responses from which to choose: (1) Strongly approve or agree; (2) Approve; (3) Undecided; (4) Disapprove; and (5) Strongly disapprove. On this scale the "pro" stand is given the highest value and the "anti" stand the lowest. Depending on the wording of the statement, the "strongly approve" stand may have a score value of 5 (if "pro") or 1 (if "anti"). The score may then be added and if 10 statements are used to measure an attitude a score of 50 would indicate a very strong positive attitude toward the object in question. However, in assessment of this type an individual may only be compared with others who have taken the same test.

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[44] James Mursell, Psychological Testing (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947), pp. 260-264.

Statements used in such a technique should represent the range of pro and anti sentiments, but should not include statements with which all members of the population would agree or disagree. Care must also be exercised to be sure that statements are limited to a single issue.[45]

The Likert scales are often presented in a linear fashion (although this is not always the case) similar to the following:

Statement relating to the subject under consideration

Strongly Approve	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove
1	2	3	4	5

When presented in this manner the respondent may indicate his position by indicating a number next to the statement. In this way the scale becomes almost self scoring and considerable time is saved the analyst of the data. When presented in such a linear fashion the scale approaches a graphic scale which is the next type of scale to the considered.

The Graphic Scale

The graphic scale is an attempt to indicate attitudes at some point on a continuum without imposing any

[45] Sherif and Sherif, pp. 519-520.

limits or restrictions on where that point should be. On the Likert scale that was discussed above a respondent might feel that his position on a given issue was somewhere between the approve and undecided point. In such an instance there would be no proper location for their position and the respondent would have to choose one or the other. By contrast the graphic scale does not require such a choice. The graphic scale applied to an urban proposal might appear as follows:

Open Housing Legislation Represents

A positive and constructive approach to a major problem.			A step in the right direction but with many shortcomings.			A minor piece of legislation of little value.			An infringement of government on basic property rights.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

The respondent would be instructed to indicate his position by placing an "X" at some point on the scale which represented his position.

As with any measurement technique certain precautions must be taken to improve the validity of the instrument. For example end statements which are so extreme that they would seldom be used should be avoided, and the length of the scale should not exceed 10. Of course there are other precautions and pitfalls to be taken into

account but such considerations are not to be undertaken here.[46]

Comparative Rating Scales

The third type of rating scale uses the technique of comparing attitudes on an issue with direct reference to the positions of other individuals or groups with which he might be compared.[47] For the urban planner studying social attitudes the use of such comparative rating scales might prove the least adaptable of the three major types of scales enumerated by Selltiz, because of the practical difficulty in establishing a benchmark to serve as the point to which attitudes are related.

To this point the techniques discussed have been non-disguised in nature, and this has been the traditional approach to the assessment of attitudes. The various methods discussed to this point have essentially been to approach an individual and ask what his feelings were on a given issue. The manner in which this question was asked has varied from giving the respondent a group of ready made responses from which to choose to asking with which statements in a series he agreed or disagreed. In all cases the issue under study was approached in a direct manner with no effort to disguise the intent of the questions. The reader

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[46] Selltiz et al., pp. 345-346.

[47] Selltiz et al., pp. 340-350.

must ask the question, "Is a disguised or indirect approach to the measurement of attitudes necessary?"

Part of the answer to such a question must lie in the very operation of attitudes as well as with the nature of human behavior and a person's willingness to "reveal" his attitudes (providing he is aware of what his attitudes are on some subjects) to another for the incorporation into a report. This final point seems particularly relevant for the urban planner who is not studying attitudes for purely academic reasons, nor in an effort to sell more super soap; but rather in an effort to understand the population of an area and quite possibly to make policy recommendations or judgments on matters of importance which may affect the whole of society.

Can the middle class Detroit pollster dressed in white shirt and tie expect an unbiased objective response from the resident of a Negro slum area on any urban issue, or would the response likely be laced with suspecion, resentment, or open hostility? Less dramatically the planner could expect other segments of society to be more or less reticent in their replies.

Indeed, Shaffer has said that "attitudes cannot be measured by simple, direct interrogation of an individual. The simple questionnaire must be ruled out as an adequate method to fathom attitudes."[48] In addition Weschler and

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[48]Shaffer.

Bernberg express the idea that people may disguise attitudes or are not able to verbally express some attitudes that they hold. Such attitudes may be " . . . inaccessible to the explicit frontal approach of the various direct measurement techniques."[49]

Planners should also remember that attitudes may operate at an unconscious level, and that it is possible that "individuals are not fully aware of their attitudes. Indeed, to a considerable degree attitudes exist at a low level of consciousness."[50]

If the foregoing statements are true, how then is the planner to measure this elusive psychological function? One method may be found in the use of so called "projective techniques"; a method of attitude assessment which bears further discussion.

Projective Techniques

The concept of projection was one originated by Freud to describe a defense mechanism of individuals. Projection is the act of ascribing to individuals a trait or desire that would be painful to the ego to claim as one's own. In the Freudian sense, projection refers to a misperception or false perception of some stimulus.

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[49]Weschler and Bernberg, p. 209.

[50]Hollander, p. 122.

This "projection" is not a conscious process, but rather an unconscious function which serves to protect the ego of an individual.[51] "He meant principally the tendency, under certain circumstances, to attribute to other persons' characteristics, emotional structures, and social relationships that might be more relevant to the critic himself than to other persons."[52]

It is from this that the "projective technique" of personality measurement originaltes. Basically, a projective test is one that provides the subject with a stimulus situation to which he may respond in relation to what is meanginful to the subject, and not what the experimenter has decided it must mean. In this way the personality may impose upon the situation his private idiocyncratic meaning and organization.[53]

There are three main requisites found in projective techniques. First, a stimulus situation must be presented which is relevant to the attitude under study. Second, there must be some lack of checks or anchorages in order to elicit alternative reactions. Third, the task

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[51]Harold H. Anderson and Gladys L. Anderson (ed.), An Introduction to Projective Techniques (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), p. 3.

[52]Anderson and Anderson, p. 149.

[53]Helen Sargent, "Projective Methods: Their Origins Theory and Application in Personality Research," Psychological Buttetin, XLII (May 1945), pp. 257-293.

must be presented in such a way that it does not relate directly to his attitude on the subject. The first requirement almost goes without saying and needs no further elaboration. The second requirement is also rather obvious inasmuch as a stimulus which was so clear cut as to restrict a variety of responses would do the investigator little good. A drawing of a group of people in an urban area shouting, shaking fists and throwing objects at buildings would suggest a riot or demonstration to most people. On the other hand, a similar drawing of a group of people standing casually perhaps a few with smiles on their faces could suggest a variety of situations in addition to the above. The respondent may see a tragic event such as an accident, or a social affair like a street dance or parade depending on his outlook. The third requirement is to disarm the respondent by limiting the ego concerns which might be aroused by direct point blank questions or ratings.[55]

There are numerous different projective tests available--the Mental Measurements Yearbook includes fifty-one such tests available in English speaking countries,[56] so a detailed discussion is not required at this juncture. However, a general classification of the various techniques is warranted. Lindzey proposes five classifications of such techniques:

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[55]Sherif and Sherif, p. 499.

[56]Freeman, p. 675.

1. The Associative technique is based on a quick response to a stimulus. Often the stimulus may be a single word as in a word association test, or free association which may be considered more of a psychoanalytic technique.

2. Construction techniques are those which provide a limited stimulus around which the respondent constructs a situation which he feels is appropriate for the stimulus. Examples of the construction techniques include the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) which is a series of picture drawings to which the subject responds.

3. The Completion techniques present a slightly more structured stimulus to which the subject responds by completion of the stimulus. An example of this technique is the sentence completion test in which the subject is given part of a sentence (i.e., I wish my father . . . or When in the city I feel . . .) to which he responds in a way that he feels is appropriate. Here again, the theory is that the individual will respond in a way that is meaningful to him which will express an inner attitude, and is not prompted by alternatives offered by the interrogator.

4. Choice or Ordering techniques, on the other hand, do offer a choice of alternatives, and the theory is that a consistent choice of alternatives will reveal a consistent attitude. However, the difference between the Projective method and others is the fact that a number of statements are given which relate to a specific attitude

or outlook. If the point of study centered around high density housing questions could be posed about the proximity of neighbors, many neighbors, few neighbors, use of cultural facilities, etc. From such an investigation the planner might find an overt expression of dislike for apartments, but an internal preference for many close neighbors, an inclination toward educational and cultural (if they are different) extension; but a dislike for noise and constant exposure to the "outside" world. Such an indication might signal the way for a new type of high density dwelling with characteristics not commonly employed in those we know today.

5. Expressive techniques are those in which the respondent may "act" out a situation in a type of drama, such as the psychodrama or sociodrama. This technique is seen as the bridge between the diagnostic and therapeutic applications of the projective techniques,[57] and implications for the planner are not clear.

While validity (the effectiveness of a test to measure what is supposed to measure) and reliability (the consistency or stability of a test) are of extreme importance in all tests mentioned thus far, they have not been discussed because this aspect is out of the scope of this

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[57]Gardner Lindzey, "Classification of Projective Techniques," Psychological Bulletin, LVI (March, 1959), pp. 158-168.

paper. Nevertheless, a brief mention must be made of these aspects in relation to projective techniques. Not to make mention of these aspects would be to lead the reader astray.

Validity.--In the field of psychology there is much discussion of the validity and reliability of all projective techniques. Various writers have presented arguments both supporting and questionning the valiation of such techniques. Part of the problem lies in the fact that such techniques call for the judgment of the interpreter for the final results of the test. Thus, if it is said of the scaling techniques that the attitude of the "judge" may have a bearing on the construction and evaluation of the test instrument, the same must be said about the projective techniques.[58] Much work needs to be done before this method may be used widely by the planner, but the field seems to be a fruitful one and worthy of further investigation.[59]

Summary

In review, the concept of attitude has been explored briefly and it was found that there is considerable confusion concerning this subject, and that differences of opinion exist among the psychologists as well as those whose exposure to the subject is even more limited.

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[58]Anderson and Anderson, pp. 26-53.

[59]Shaffer.

It was also pointed out that attitudes are a basic function of the so-called psycho-system, that they not only influence behavior, but they influence perception as well. Furthermore, it was indicated that attitudes are somewhat inflexible in nature and are resistant to alteration. They are not totally rigid, however, and do experience change and modification through time.

Attitudes assist the individual in his response to the everyday world. The four functions of attitudes outlined by Katz help him to relate to his groups, are a defense for the ego, enable him to express important values, and help him give meaning to otherwise unmeaningful stiuations.

The measurement of attitudes may be accomplished in a number of ways through several basic approaches. These approaches vary from asking an individual what his attitude is on a given topic to inferring attitudes from responses to unstructured stimuli. The direct approach, while requiring careful approach and construction, is fairly simple. At the other end of the scale an indirect approach adds to the complexities of construction, administration and analysis, but may yield more meaningful results because of a natural reluctance of people to verbalize their true attitudes on certain subjects. There would seem to be an inverse relationship between the ease of construction and administration and the results derived from the

survey itself. This could have implications for the use of consultants to prepare and evaluate survey results.

One of the most promising methods of attitude assessment seems to be in the realm of the projective testing techniques. Even so, much work must preceed the use of such techniques by the urban planner if they are to reach their full potential.

With this background the attention of the thesis may be turned to the planner's application of attitude surveys. The form that the end product takes, the degree to which such surveys are used throughout the nation, and the stated opinion of planning directors about such surveys are all points which will be approached.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Research Approach

The research for this thesis utilizes two approaches. First, a national survey of planning directors was undertaken, and second, a review and analysis of a number of attitude surveys that have been used by numerous planning agencies was employed. It is the intent of this chapter to set forth some of the methods and considerations that were taken into account in these research activities.

A Review of Material

In order to learn something about the use of attitude surveys by urban planning agencies it was deemed advisable to review the product of this activity--attitude surveys.

To obtain copies of all of the attitude surveys produced by planners of their consultants would be a worrisome task, if not altogether impossible. For that reason a method had to be found to collect a sample of such surveys with a minimum of difficulty and expense. This review was considered an important one since it would give

the author an opportunity to observe the final product of some of the agencies through the nation. The actual collection of the reports reviewed was accomplished by asking a number of agencies to contribute copies of attitude surveys that they may have done. This was done at the same time that over five hundred agencies were asked to participate in a national survey on the use of attitude surveys (the national survey is explained in a later portion of this chapter).

The response to this request for copies of reports seems generally good. Out of 103 agencies that have indicated that they have completed attitude surveys, or are in the process of attitude assessment, a total of 52 pieces of material were received. The term "material" is used to call attention to the fact that not all of the materials sent were complete surveys. In some cases a survey form only was sent because the survey had not been conducted or analyzed, and, in other cases, the instruction manual only was sent for the same reason.

The second route of the research approach is that of the national survey, and requires a more detailed examination.

A National Survey

Objectives of the Survey

It is a point of interest to know to what extent attitude surveys are actually being used by planners and

what the feeling of agency directors (directors because they are instrumental in deciding what will be included in the planning program) is toward such surveys. For this reason a National Survey was considered by the author. The overall objective of the survey was, therefore, to obtain information from a representative sample of American planning agencies to determine the use of attitude surveys and the stated opinion of the directors of planning agencies as to the value of such surveys to the urban planner.

The success of such an approach depends on many factors, and the value of the project should be assessed in terms of the methodology as well as in terms of the results of the research. For that reason attention will be directed to the survey methodology as well as to the survey content and results.

The Survey Methodology

Sample Selection.--One of the first problems to be overcome in the research desgin was the selection of a meaningful sample from which to draw. Planning agencies vary considerably in their approach to planning--their legal basis and so forth--so much so that a truly representative sample of agencies may not be obtainable. The universe of American planning agencies could, of course, not be contacted, therefore, some type of sample had to be selected. A stratified sample was out of the question

due to the complicated procedure that would be required to construct such a sample. The next best type would be a random sample of all agencies in the country, but to select a random sample one must first have a listing of all agencies.

The two major planning organizations of the United States--the American Institute of Planners and the American Society of Planning Officials--were contacted to determine if such a listing was available. The indication was that neither organization had such a listing of agencies that could be made available. The next approach was to consult the Municipal Yearbook for such a listing, but it was quickly evident that many types of planning agencies would not be included in the Yearbook.

The approach that was finally settled upon was a review of the 1966 and 1967 Handbook and Roster of the AIP and notation of all the members that were listed as a director of an agency. Names selected from the 1966 Roster were compared with the 1967 Roster as a check for persons changing places of employment from one year to the nest. The names of agency directors were retained in an effort to make contact with the agency more personal than would be the case if the correspondence were simply addressed to the "Director." It was recognized that in a few instances the survey would be incorrectly addressed because of a change of positions after the publication of the 1967

Roster, however, the personal contact was considered of enough importance to compensate for a few mis-addressed questionnaires.

In addition to the listing of agency directors, several directors of transportation studies were also included due to the fact that such studies often include attitude surveys and are in a real sense planning agencies even though the director may not be a member of the AIP.

Sample Bias and Size.--Clearly, the sample used was not free from an inherent bias due to the method of sample selection. Only agencies with directors that were members of the American Institute of Planners were included in the universe, and even then an agency might not be represented if the director did not care to be listed as a director in the AIP Roster. Nevertheless, these limitations were accepted in view of the lack of a suitable alternative method of sample selection.

Sample size is also an important element to be considered. The sample should be large enough to be of value but not so large that an unreasonable amount of time is devoted to mechanics. The sample size selected was five hundred which was a rather arbitrary number based on the fact that about 535 listings were obtained from the Roster, and the selection of 500 names would enable the author to use an even numbered sample size contact most of the listed directors, and retain a few names in reserve to replace

names that could not be reached, thus keeping the sample at a constant level of 500. These "reserve" names were used when the total sample size was ultimately altered to 508 to account for eight listings which were undeliverable for one reason or another. After determining the sample the recipients were grouped geographically by states in order to check the distribution since wide geographic distribution was considered as desirable. It was found that all of the states except North Dakota and Vermont were represented in the sample. The geographic distribution of the questionnaires is listed in Appendix A.

Survey Mechanics.--In accordance with principles of effective mailed questionnaire techniques as outlined by Borg,[1] the questionnaire was printed on colored paper with colored ink in an effort to create the best possible impression on the recipient. By the same token the letter of transmittal was printed on M.S.U. Urban Planning School letterhead and indicated the purpose of the survey, the importance of the response and the respondent, and was co-signed by the author and the academic advisor--also a member of the AIP. A pre-addressed return envelope was included with the questionnaire to facilitate the return.

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[1]Walter R. Borg, Educational Research: An Introduction (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 213-220.

To further increase the possible response, a follow up was also planned for those not responding after two weeks. The Questionnaire format, letter of transmittal and follow up letter are included as Appendix B of this thesis.

Survey Content.--The survey itself was composed of twenty-one questions which were designed to yield data which can be placed into four categories.

Part one of the survey contained two questions which were used to provide some information on the agency's planning area. The questions refer to the official jurisdiction of the agency and the population of that area. The first question was included as an indicator of the range of planning agencies responding, and to determine if a particular type of agency used attitude surveys more than the others. The second question, while not of relevance to attitude surveys directly, was combined with a later question to determine the per capita amount of funds available to that agency, and this fact could be significant in the employment of surveys.

Part two of the survey dealt with information pertaining to the internal operation of the planning agency. Such things as the functional position of the planning department in the governmental framework, the size of the department staff, and the financing of the agency were all asked to gain more insight into the types of agencies which use attitude techniques.

Part three included information pertaining to the employment of attitude surveys. One question asked if the agency had used such surveys. For those that had used such techniques several questions sought information on the preparation of the survey, and the qualification of the person(s) doing the work. Similar questions were also asked about survey administration and analysis, attitudes sought, details of the sample, the form of the survey, and how the agency anticipated using or has used the results of the survey.

Part four was a single question which attempted to elicit the stated opinion of the planning director about the value of such surveys for his particular planning operation.

As Borg suggests the questions were worded in the most neutral manner possible in order that a director would not see them as a threat to his ego or a challenge to his planning program. Whether or not this attempt was successful is difficult to determine. The format was such that, for the most part, only checks to the correct response were required, but this structure could not always be maintained since a few questions required specific or detailed comments from the respondent.[2]

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[2]Borg, pp. 206-210.

The Survey Response

In total 508 surveys were sent to different agencies through the United States, and out of that number eight surveys were returned to the sender because they were undeliverable for one reason or another for an effective survey universe of 500 planning agencies. Out of this number a total of 333 surveys were returned before the cut off date of November 11, 1967, for an effective return of 66.6%. If the survey sample were highly stratified (which as was indicated it was not) this degree of response would be considered questionnable according to Brog who suggests that a response of 80% is the minimum that can be considered a safe response to such a sample.[3] However, since this sample was not in fact a highly stratified one, nor even a random sample in the strictest sense, this response was considered acceptable by the author. The geographic survey response is also to be found in Appendix A.

At this point the attention of the thesis will turn to the two research approaches. Each will be dealt with in a separate chapter for convenience. Chapter IV will be concerned with the review of those attitude surveys studied, and Chapter V will deal with the detailed results of the questionnaire that was distributed nationally to planning directors.

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[3]Borg, p. 218.

CHAPTER IV

A Comparison of Attitude Surveys

Introduction

This chapter relates one approach to the study of the use of attitude surveys in American Planning agencies, and is essentially a comparison of documents or reports that are called attitude surveys by the agencies that prepare them. In order to obtain copies of the material that was reviewed the planning agencies that were contacted in the national survey were asked to contribute copies of an attitude survey form and/or attitude report if they had conducted such a survey and if copies were available. As a result a number of agencies contributed a total of 55 pieces of material for review. In some instances one agency submitted several reports or other pieces of material that were subsequently reviewed. In some cases the material submitted was not a complete survey but rather a proposed questionnaire, a manual of procedures, or other survey connected data.

This material is not meant to be interpreted as a representative sample of the attitude surveys used by all American planning agencies, because the collection of the

material was not approached in a methodical fashion. Nevertheless, some generalizations can be made about the material that was reviewed and the material may well reflect the work that is currently being done along these lines by planning agencies.

The review was made by a general comparison of four basic aspects of study. First, the survey format was considered and compared to those methods of attitude assessment that were considered in Chapter II. (The survey format being the questioning technique which was used by the agency.) The second point of comparison was the actual administration of the survey. Third, the method of analysis of the results was compared, and fourth, the manner of application of the survey results.

Survey Format

The survey format is seen as including the actual survey form, the context of the survey, the agency or group preparing the survey, and as a bridge between the format and administration divisions of the review a few comments on the stratification of the sample used as the basis of the survey.

In all of those surveys that were reviewed there were no truly "pure" forms in the sense of the method that was used to question the respondent. Rather, most agencies used a combination of approaches in their questioning

technique. Because of this fact when the fixed alternative, open-ended, or a scaling technique is discussed it must be kept in mind that these methods were almost always used in concert with other methods even though an explicit statement to that effect may not be made.

Fixed alternative questions.--By far the most often used approach to the survey was that of the fixed alternative. As mentioned earlier this technique presents a question and then offers a series of alternative responses from which to choose. The advantage of such an approach is clear--such an approach lends itself to computer processing with little judgment having to be exercised by the analyst of the data, providing the material is set up in such a way that each alternative has a given row and column reserved on a punch card. Cards may then be punched by almost any key punch operator even though that person may not have the slightest idea of the intention of the survey. In most instances where the fixed alternative is used the person responsible for the survey construction attempted to relax the constraints of this method by including an "other" classification in order that the respondent might include comments which were not considered by the author of the survey. Naturally, when this is done some complications are introduced into the analysis of the data, since someone must classify the "other" response in

order that that response may be incorporated into any final summary. The "other" response may be left as other in which case the variety of response is hidden in a catch all classification.

One fact involved with the use of this technique must not be overlooked. That fact is that when alternatives are offered to the respondent he has an inclination to choose one or more of the suggested alternatives without giving much thought to any "other" alternative. A questionnaire from one of the western states illustrates this point quite graphically.[1] The question is asked as to the major assets of the community, and six alternative responses are offered with the seventh being "other." In the results the offered responses were chosen by 88% of the respondents. The five "other" responses listed comprised only 12% of the responses. On another question which asked what the major deficiencies were, three alternatives were offered and each received responses of agreement from 52% of the people. The range of "others" was wider with fifteen deficiencies being mentioned. All fifteen "other" responses mentioned together only accounted for a response from 39% of those interviewed, and the

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[1]City of Boulder Planning Office, Results From City of Boulder Planning Questionnaire (Boulder, Colo.: City Planning Office, July, 1966), p. 1.

remaining 9% offered "no comment." In view of the fact that only three "deficiencies" were offered it seems that almost every respondent should have been able to think of at least one additional deficiency of the area, but in fact only a limited number could add anything to the authors suggestions.

From this it would seem safe to say that either 1) the planner exhibited exceptional insight in outlining the assets and deficiencies of the community, 2) the sample chosen was so similar in socio economic composition to that of the planner that both the planner and the sample chosen saw eye to eye on this subject, or 3) the alternatives given offered enough of a cue to the respondent that he felt he had answered in the desired manner. The latter assumption could be checked by using a survey form (form A) which includes one item and an alternate form (form B) which excludes the same item, then administering form A to half of the respondents and form B to the other half. If there were a significant difference between the selection of the responses which could be attributed to the suggestion offered by the survey form itself then we would have an indication of the amount of cueing resulting from the form.

Even though we lack a study of this nature the western community[2] does offer a comparison (unintentionally)

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[2]City of Boulder, pp. 9-14.

which should be considered. In addition to the survey form discussed above which was mailed to residents, the planning agency also held a series of public meetings at which a response to questions similar to those incorporated into the survey was sought. From the material reviewed on the public meetings the respondents were not offered a fixed alternative as in the questionnaire (however, there was an indication that traffic problems were discussed by the planners before the discussion period) but were asked what they thought were the major deficiencies of the community. By carefully studying all of the responses indicated then classifying them into the three fixed alternatives as outlined in the mailed questionnaire, and then classifying the other responses as "other" a general comparison can be made. In the mailed questionnaire the "other" category claimed a response from 39% of the interviewees. On the other hand, of those responding to the public meeting the "other" classification accounted for a 55% response which would seem to lend some support to the contention that the fixed alternative does offer some cues that bias the results.

Admittedly, the comparison is a crude one because the sample size varied, the information available to the two groups may have been presented differently which could have affected the outcome, the composition of the two groups may have varied substantially in terms of education,

social status, and interest in the community. Nevertheless, the results do add a measure of credibility to the cueing effect of the stated alternatives which could well have an adverse affect on the validity of the measurement device.

Open-ended questions.--The method employed almost as often as the fixed alternative method was that of the open question which is simply the asking of a specific question such as: What is your attitude toward the schools in our city? To this question the respondent makes his reply and the varied responses are simply listed as in one mid-western city,[3] or the responses grouped for analysis. The latter method is, of course, preferred because a listing of a wide range of responses to a question offers little advantage in the analysis of a problem or area of inquiry. Both the fixed alternative and open ended question techniques can be indicators of a positive or negative disposition toward a subject, but the strength of this disposition is not indicated unless the respondent says that he is "strongly opposed to the operation of the school system." A technique which attempts to elicit the strength of the disposition are referred to here as "scale techniques."

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[3]Clifford W. O'Key, Community Attitude Survey, A Report by the Office of the City Manager (Norman, Oklahoma: April, 1967).

Scaled Questions

The relative degree of strength of an individual's response to a question is dependent on the length of the scale, and scales of various lengths are being used by planners today.

A simple scale was employed by an agency in Colorado[4] when they asked if the person would rate as "good," "fair," or "poor" or if they had no opinion on such matters as the city Chamber of Commerce, the County Welfare Department, the County Assessors Office and so on. In an Illinois city[5] a more detailed approach was sought by using a scale that included an "excellent, good, fair, below average, and poor" rating of particular elements of the community.

From the materials reviewed when a scale approach was used it was most common to employ a five point scale similar to the Illinois questionnaire referred to above. However three point and six and seven point scales are also used.

As with the fixed alternative approach the statements presented on a scale may also influence a respondent.

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[4]Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, Pueblo Urban Shoppers Survey, Technical Working Papers T-19 (Pueblo, Colorado: July, 1967), p. 20.

[5]Joliet Region Chamber of Commerce and Joliet Jaycees, Community Attitude Survey (Joliet, Illinois: October, 1965).

For example, a regional planning commission[6] presented statements for scaling which were worded in such a way that most respondents had little choice in the manner of response. A statement such as "Good agricultural land should not be wasted by subdivisions and other development scattered all over the countryside" could hardly be answered by saying "I disagree." Few people could say that they favor the waste of good agricultural land. By the same token a statement such as "The best industrial sites should be preserved for future industrial use" while not as heavily loaded as the first example might still tend to lead a respondent to a given conclusion. It is unfortunate that the results of this regional commission's survey were not available for further review.

This is not to say that the use of loaded questions can't yield some useful information, but rather that if such loaded questions are used intentionally they must be carefully constructed and interpreted by a person with considerable training in psychological testing. In the example cited there was no such indication. In a California Transportation Study[7] a five point scale was used and people were asked their degree of approval or disapproval

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[6]The Research Triangle Regional Planning Commission, General Development Plan Questionnaire.

[7]The Stockton Area Transportation Study, Stockton Area Transportation Study Resident Questionnaire (Stockton, California: No Date), p. 2.

about spending more local public money to "attract more non-farm industries" and to "encourage more low cost housing" and other similar statements which were more or less neutrally worded.

A technique that was employed by one of the planning agencies[8] was the inclusion of some "self checking" questions to be scaled. The approach was to include a number of statements that were positively worded in one instance, and then later in the series a very similar statement was worded in a negative manner. As a result if the person were to agree with the first statement he should then disagree with the second (thus the "self checking" aspect). In the example mentioned the amount of agreement with the first statement is very closely balanced with disagreement on the later statement. The balance is not perfect however, and a number of such questions should be used to check the internal consistency of the respondent. Again caution must be exercised less the wording of the two alternative questions encourage an inconsistent response.

An advantage of the scaling techniques include easy tabulation of results with little need for the exercise of interpretive judgment, which for the planner can be a distinct advantage.

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[8]Harvey Plan Commission, Goals-Objectives-Policies: A Report on Community Attitude Survey (Harvey, Illinois: Dept. of Planning and Development, April, 1966), p. 15.

One of the most interesting approaches to be reviewed was proposed by a Pennsylvania County Planning Commission.[9] One part of the survey centered around some sentence completion responses. One sentence was worded: "The main problem of the township is_____." Another sentence was worded: "I would like to live in a community that_____."

A second part of the same survey forced the respondent to choose between two responses. For example the respondent would check one of the following: "Live close to a shopping area; Live in a rural area." In another question one could choose to "Have more and better community services (schools, recreation, police, etc.); or "Have lower or stable taxes."

These additions to other methods used in the same proposed questionnaire (scale and open ended questions) will make interesting reading when the survey is completed, even though the interpretation of such questions may present some problems which will have to be reconciled.

In addition to the attitude or opinion directed questions all but a very few surveys included questions concerned with the age, education, income race, etc. of

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[9]Bucks County Planning Commission, "Middletown Questionnaire" (Proposal) (Bucks County, Pennsylvania: 1967), pp. 1-3.

the respondent. A survey conducted in Minnesota[10] even saw the occupation of the male adult's father when that adult was a child as an item of importance in the survey format. Needless to say that the inclusion of such socio economic information will do much in the interpretation of the data collected as a part of the survey. Indeed, without such information much of the real value of the survey will be irretrievable.

Survey Context

Ideally all of the surveys reviewed would have been strictly attitude surveys, but as was mentioned, this was not always the case. However, since planning agencies were contacted and asked for copies of available material used by that agency the fact that some of these non-attitude surveys were included leads one to believe that the planning agency does accept, to some extent, the survey which was contributed. Many of the surveys which were called something other than an attitude survey included sections where they referred specifically to attitudes.

Even though a survey included reference to attitudes the context of the survey was often in other fields. The reader could gleen something from this fact, and one

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[10]Minneapolis Planning Commission, Some Factors in Minority Housing Patterns in Minneapolis (Minneapolis, Minn: North Star Research and Development Institute, April, 1966), p. 46.

inference might be that the planner cannot justify an attitude survey as an independent study, but he can justify such a survey when it is incorporated with another "more important" study. However, more study would have to be conducted before one could accept such a conclusion as a matter of fact. On the other hand an attitude study incorporated as a part of another type of study gives a degree of direction to the structure of that section which deals with attitudes. When attitudes are incorporated as a part of a "shoppers survey" most of the questions center around feelings toward retail commercial establishments, general shopping areas, etc. Likewise, in connection with the transportation studies the dispositions sought were toward the propinquity of the residence to places of employment, shopping areas, schools and the like. This is a logical approach. When planners are considering specific problems of the community the attitudes of the people should be taken into account, and a study which consumes a large block of time and considerable financial resources should, perhaps, be included.

This is by no means a suggestion that attitude surveys that are not constructed within a framework of another study are a waste of valuable resources, but rather that when such surveys are conducted they should be done with clear objectives in sight. Most such surveys seek information on the urbanization of the area--"At present

growth rates in only 20 more years most of our remaining open lands will change from 'country' to 'city.' How do you feel about this"?[11] The plight of downtown is seldom overlooked--"Check your opinion: a) Big downtowns are impractical and out of date; b) A big downtown would offer a lot of advantages, but nothing can be done; c) We need a big and prosperous downtown."[12] Even some design elements are presented from time to time--"If you were laying out a new housing development on a large tract of land would you: a) Lay the whole tract out in streets and house lots so that each dwelling would be placed on its own lot? Or arrange for the same number of dwellings but closer together in 'clusters' taking less land for the structures and leaving more land for common use by the residents"?[13]

By contrast less well conceived surveys ask the respondent to rate everything from "water pressure" to "dental services" and from "public restrooms in the business area" to "news coverage by radio." To salvage anything of value from such surveys will be the most difficult task of the urban analysist, and to produce results of any value will be the most notable achievement.

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[11]Broward County Area Planning Board, Public Attitudes Survey: A Report for Broward County, Florida (Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.: Broward County Area Planning Board, September, 1965), p. 14.

[12]Broward County Planning Board, p. 17.

[13]Broward County Planning Board, p. 20.

Survey Administration

The administration of attitude surveys also varied widely. Generally speaking, surveys prepared by consultants seemed to be administered in a more systematic manner. Personal interviews were used by all of the consultants undertaking materials that were reviewed. Sample construction by the consultants seemed more methodically approached also.

The survey sample selected by the consultant in one instance was based on a random selection of all residents that received utility service,[14] and represented a significant proportion of the total population. In another instance the sample was based upon the proportionate size of a census tract to the total population of the planning area.[15] In almost every case the consultant mentioned that the home interviews were conducted by persons that had been trained in the interview procedure. Great care also seemed to be exercised by the consultant to stress the importance of maintaining the integrity of the sampling technique, which was accomplished by making it very clear

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[14] National Analysts, Inc., Home Interview Survey Manual: Interview Procedures (Lansing, Michigan: Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, November, 1965), p. 1.

[15] Alan M. Voorhees & Associates, Community Planning Survey (Waterbury, Conn.: Central Naugatuck Valley Regional Planning Agency, January, 1963), p. 3.

to the interviewer that he should follow exactly the prescribed procedure in the interviewing process.

The procedure followed by the public planning agencies and other groups showed more variation in technique. In some instances home personal interviews were conducted, however, this technique is more expensive and time consuming than other methods and was not employed as extensively as the more economical methods.

As would be expected the mailed questionnaire is used quite often by planning agencies in their assessment of local feelings. The success of this method varies from a comparatively high response rate of 30 to 40% to as low as one or two percent in some instances. Even with an excellent sample and a response of 50% the results must be considered tenuous at best. While the consultant anticipated making as many as three follow-up home interview contacts to keep the sample tight a follow-up was never considered by those agencies using the mailed questionnaire technique.

One variation of the mailed questionnaire technique that meets with considerable success has been used by a number of agencies. Essentially this method uses volunteer organizations to personally deliver the questionnaire form, and then pick the form up after the respondent has had a few days to complete the information requested. This method has resulted in a return as high

as 80% and is still quite economic. This approach is not without problems, however, but the advantages out-weigh the problems when compared to the mailed questionnaire.

In a few limited examples the planning agency was able to secure the assistance of local volunteer groups in conducting interviews for the questionnaire. Needless to say that the problems increase significantly with this approach especially if a large sample is sought, because the planner would be dealing with many individuals that would have to be carefully trained and supervised. People who may not take the task as seriously as people being employed to do a job, and who may not appreciate the value of the objective approach. The very large planning agency such as the City of St. Louis Planning Commission provides an exception to the generalizations offered above inasmuch as the sample and interviewing technique is as sophisticated as those techniques employed by the more experienced consultants. In fact the St. Louis instruction manual[16] indicated to the interviewer when and how to use a probe in order to elicit a better response if it should be necessary. Instructions of this nature were not indicated in any of the material furnished by the consultant group. A probe, properly used can convert an almost useless response to one of significance.

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[16]St. Louis Planning Commission, A Guide for Interviewers (St. Louis, Mo: City Planning Commission), 1967.

While most of the surveys were administered to representatives of the public at large there were also instances of administration to the perceived community leaders or special interest groups. An interesting example of an attempt to relate the active support or active opposition to a stated method to reach a formulated goal is provided by the North Star Research Institute for the City of Minneapolis.[17] The community leaders represented retail sales, education, labor, community actions, utilities, finance, real estate, communications and manufacturing groups. While the methodology of the attitude assessment technique is not discussed in detail the result is a form of matrix which relates the reaction (in the form of active support, passive acceptance or active opposition) of each of the nine community groups to each of 65 sub goals in the study. The result is a graphic representation of where the active support or opposition may be anticipated. Such an approach could aid the planner in the formation of goals and policies. Valuable information could be obtained about the position of powerful groups on certain policy matters which could give the planner a clue to the type of public education needed, and areas where greater understanding are needed.

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[17] North Star Research Institute, Economic Study of the City of Minneapolis (Minneapolis, Minnesota: The City of Minneapolis, November, 1965).

A key factor in the administration of public consultation surveys is the selection of the sample. The sampling technique, while not always described in detail, may be summarized in the following categories.

A few of the agencies used a technique which they called a "random" sample but which was in fact a "systematic" sample. That is to say that the agency secured what was considered an adequate universe (a listing of all water customers for the city) and then proceeded to select every eighteenth address from the list to receive a mailed questionnaire. While this method is better than an unsystematic approach it still leaves much to be desired because it is still basically a haphazard approach to sample construction.

Several examples reviewed indicated that the sample chosen was random, but again failed to fully describe the exact method used in obtaining the sample. What is implied is that a population was selected (in some cases the population was indicated as in the case where the population selected was a listing of all utility subscribers) and from that population individual recipients were selected so that each element of the set had the same probability of being selected as any of the others.

Many of the agencies attempt to select a proportionate sample by using some geographic area (eg. a census tract) and assigning the same percentage of the total

sample to that area in direct relationship as the percentage of that area to the total population of the planning area.

The preferred sample would be that of a stratified random sample.[18] The stratified sample is one that assures that certain sub-groups of the population will be represented in the sample in proportion to their numbers in the population itself. A random sample could exclude left handed persons, whereas, a stratified sample based on dexterity will include proportionate numbers of both right and left handed people. In assessing attitudes for an urban population the planner would want to be sure that he included representatives from all socio economic groups if he was looking for a truly representative sample.

In the material reviewed a truly stratified sample was not included because of the difficulty in pre determining where people of a certain income level could be found, or even more difficult, where people coming from a rural community as opposed to those coming from an urban community would be located. What was done, however, was to compare certain characteristics such as place of birth with professed attitudes which brings us to the analysis of the material reviewed.

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[18] Claire Selltiz (et. al.), Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 528.

Agency Analysis of Surveys

As indicated above many of the planning agencies attempted a multivariate and/or a multiple regression approach to an analysis of the data. Those authors who employed such approaches most systematically were the consulting firms and the larger planning agencies. One consultant, the North Star Research Institute employed both techniques in the analysis of attitudes involved in minority group housing.[19] Most of the agencies were less precise in their analysis of the data obtained.

Several of the studies attempted to make some comparisons of responses and project these comparisons to some basic conclusions about the relationship between one response and another, however, even when this was done the outcome was less than satisfying inasmuch as a typical analysis would state that because n% of the respondents answered the question in a particular manner this "shows that_____."

Even more disappointing were the instances (a majority of the cases reviewed) where a conclusion was drawn about a particular attitude on the basis of the numerical response to the question. "n% responded to question X in this manner which means that_____." Almost as

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[19]Minneapolis Planning Commission, Some Factors in Minority Housing Problems.

meaningful and perhaps more accurate are those instances in which no conclusions are drawn from the survey findings; rather the response was listed simply as n% yes, 0% no, etc.

The analysis of the data obtained is perhaps the most important element of such surveys, and except for a few of the consultants and the larger planning agencies survey analysis seems the weakest link of the components of information collected.

Application of Survey Results

The application of the results of a well constructed, administered and analyzed attitude survey is one of the most exciting aspects of the whole idea of attitude assessment. If the results of such a survey are not used to enrich the environment for those living in an area then the effort that went into the project can be considered as a waste of valuable resources. On the other hand if the study results are used in a constructive manner then we may have taken a step toward a better life for the inhabitants of our urban areas. Unfortunately, planning is an occupation when the product of a project often falls short its fullest potential--there is a fact of life with which Planners have to learn to live.

The application of attitude surveys is very difficult to assess because the outcome of the study may

manifest itself in ways that are never apparent to the urban observer. All of the attitude surveys reviewed professed to have the application of the results outlined prior to the project undertaking.

Most often the survey results were to be used as a basis for the definition of community goals. In an Illinois[20] community a goals report does follow the attitude survey, and one can see many similarities between the survey and the goals report. In other instances the survey was to be used to "determine the effectiveness of the comprehensive plan,"[21] but the survey return was so poor that no valid conclusion could be drawn. Still another survey professed to "gain an insight into the physical and social composition of the community."[22] In this particular instance absolutely no conclusions were drawn from the information gathered. Another Illinois survey[23] attempts to indicate areas of community improvement,

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[20]Harvey Plan Commission, Goals and Objectives for the City of Harvey, Illinois (Harvey, Ill.; City Plan Commission, May, 1967).

[21]Upper Merion Township Junior Chamber of Commerce, Summary and Analysis of the Upper Merion Questionnaire to Township Officials (King of Prussia, Pennsylvania: Junior Chamber of Commerce, August, 1964), p. 1.

[22]Milpitas Planning Commission, How Should We Plan for Milpitas in the Year 1985? (Milpitas, California: Milpitas Planning Commission, October, 1962), p. 1.

[23]Joliet Region Chamber of Commerce, pp. 2-7.

and in so doing can only offer statistical tables which the community leaders are to use to improve the community.

Almost without exception the so called attitude surveys that were reviewed fail to touch upon basic motivating attitudes of the people; rather they report, in essence, that 20% of those interviewed feel the police department is excellent, or that 80% of those surveyed liked their community because of the climate, etc.

It would seem based on the material reviewed that the planner still has not been able to isolate basic motivating attitudes which will enable him to make design recommendations, suggest policy changes or present plan alternatives which are truly based on basic wishes of the people. Rather he persists in compiling various opinions.

A measure of the types of agencies that have or are using attitude surveys, and what those agencies expect from such studies must be based on more than fifty-five examples of related material; this is the objective of a national survey to determine the use of Attitude surveys and will be considered at this point.

CHAPTER V

A NATIONAL SURVEY OF PLANNING AGENCIES

Intent of Survey

The national survey of planning agencies was used in an attempt to seek broad based information on the use of such techniques by planning agencies.

Specifically, information was sought to determine the extent that attitude surveys were being used by planners, in terms of numbers or a percent of the total number of respondents. The second point of interest was to discover if there were any unique characteristics of agencies that use such surveys. For example, does one particular type of planning agency use attitude surveys more than others when compared in terms of staff size, budget, jurisdiction, etc.

The third area of interest was in how the planning directors of the various agencies viewed the attitude survey as a tool to be used by planners.

Overall Survey Response

As was mentioned earlier, a total sample of 500 American Planning Agencies were contacted as a part of the national survey. Out of this number a total of 333 forms

were returned for a response of 66.6% of the agencies contacted. This total response will be broken down and elaborated upon in a later section of this chapter.

Agencies Using Survey

Out of the total response, almost half of those replying (41.7%) either had used such surveys or were anticipating their use within the next two years. It naturally follows that 58.3% of the agencies responding had not employed such surveys nor were they anticipated in the plans of the directors for the next two years. The significance of this information is difficult to assess when taken by itself. Rather it should be considered in relation to the feeling of the director about the use of such surveys. As some directors indicated, they did not feel that their agency had the funds to conduct such a survey at the present time, but that they did feel that attitude assessment was an important aspect of a full planning program. Another fact that should be taken into account is that some agencies had used this method of contacting the public more than once. The Minneapolis City Planning Commission, for example, had conducted a series of six different attitude surveys for its planning area.

Nevertheless, it is significant to note that a large percentage of the planning commissions contacted have employed or hope to employ an attitude survey as a

part of their planning program. From this it would seem that such surveys are an important part of many planning programs, and an area where planners could spend more time in developing refinements in the measurement techniques--just as is the case with other measurement techniques of the city planner.

Comparisons of Agency Characteristics Related to Attitude Survey Use

It has been noted that of the 333 planning agencies responding to the national survey, 41.7% of those agencies have either used or are anticipating using such surveys in the next two years. The question that is being posed here is whether or not there is some characteristic which seems to influence the use of attitude surveys by planning agencies. For example, are such surveys used more by the city planning agency than by an Area or Regional planning agency? Or does the planning agency with a per capita planning budget less than $1.00 use such surveys less than agencies whose per capita budget exceeds a certain amount?

In deciding what criterion to use in such an evaluation, several factors were considered of importance. First the type of planning agency was considered in terms of the planning area. That is, whether the planning agency responsible for a particular type of area conducted attitude surveys more than other types of agencies. Tables 1A and 1B are used to indicate this relationship. Table 1A

compares the jurisdictional distribution of the total sample with the jurisdictional distribution of agencies not using, using, and anticipating the use of attitude surveys. Table 1B takes a slightly different approach by showing the use of attitude surveys by jurisdictions.

Some comments on the two tables in the way of definitions are in order before the two tables are presented. While most of the jurisdictional classifications are self explanatory the meaning of the "area commission" and the "county sub-area" require some clarification. The term area commission is used to represent a commission which serves an area larger than a county. Such an area might be a metropolitan type commission, a multi-county regional commission, or a multi-county planning area which may not be considered as a region in the strictest sense. In short, any area larger than a county. The county sub-area is a political sub division of a county but not a city or a city with extraterritorial jurisdiction. An example of such a jurisdiction would be a township which would have a planning department. Most of this type of agency is to be found in the State of Michigan.

The results of this approach follow in tables 1A and 1B:

Table 1A. Use of Attitude Surveys by Planning Jurisdictions

Jurisdiction	Total Number	Percent of Total	Column 1*	Column 2**	Column 3***
Incorporated City	147	44.1	43.8	46.6	38.8
City plus extra territory	11	3.3	4.1	1.9	2.8
Area Commission	64	19.2	17.0	21.4	25.0
County	37	15.6	19.1	9.8	13.9
City-County	39	11.8	10.3	13.6	13.9
County Sub-Area	7	2.1	1.6	2.9	2.8
State	4	1.2	1.0	1.9	0
Multi State (Trans. Study)	2	.6	1.0	0	0
Other	7	2.1	2.1	1.9	2.8
Total	333				

*Column 1 represents those agencies not using or anticipating the use of an attitude survey within the next two years.

**Column 2 represents those agencies which have conducted or are in the process of conducting an attitude survey.

***Column 3 represents those agencies which anticipate the use of an attitude survey within the next two years.

From the material presented in table 1A it would appear that there is little difference between the jurisdiction of planning agencies and the employment of attitude surveys. However, more elaboration on this subject is found in table 1B which follows.

Table 1B. Use of Attitude Surveys by Planning Jurisdictions

Jurisdiction	Total Number	Percent Not Using Survey	Percent Using Survey	Percent Anticipating Use	Total Percent
Incorporated City	147	57.8	32.7	9.5	100.0
City plus extra terriroty	11	72.7	18.2	9.1	100.0
Area Commission	64	51.5	34.4	14.1	100.0
County	52	71.2	19.2	9.6	100.0
City-County	39	51.3	35.9	12.8	100.0
County Sub-Area	7	42.9	42.9	14.2	100.0
State	4	50.0	50.0	0	100.0
Multi State (Trans. Study)	2	100.0	0	0	100.0
Other	7	57.1	28.6	14.3	100.0
Total	333	58.3	30.9	10.8	100.0

For the most part table 1B substantiates that information which was shown in table 1A. There are some instances of deviation which may be significant (such as the fact that 71.2% of County agencies have not used attitude surveys while only 42.9% of the county sub-area agencies have not used the surveys) but in those cases where such deviation appears the sample is too small to make a valid judgment. A point which is shown in table 1A but not confirmed in 1B is that the agency which is confined to the corporate limits of a city is using attitude surveys in a slightly greater percentage than was represented in the total sample. The difference is so slight that much significance cannot be attached to this point without further study, especially in view of the information presented in table 1B.

The second point of study is that of the funds available for planning on a per capita basis. To break this down in some detail the information is presented in increments of .25 up to the point of $2.26 per capita planning funds. After the $2.25 point all agencies are lumped together due to the fact that further refinement of the data would add little to the information presented. As with table 1, table 2 is presented in two forms. Table 2A presents a comparison based on the use, nonuse, or anticipated use of attitude surveys. Table 2B indicates similar information by economic strata.

Table 2A. The use of Attitude Surveys Compared to Per Capita Funds Available for Planning

Planning Funds on a Per Capita Basis	Total Number Reporting	Percent of Total	Column 1*	Column 2**	Column 3***
.25 - less	27	8.1	9.3	7.8	2.8
.26 - .50	70	21.0	19.0	24.3	22.2
.51 - .75	59	17.7	19.0	15.5	16.7
.76 - 1.00	46	13.9	12.9	14.6	16.7
1.01 - 1.25	38	11.1	13.4	10.6	2.8
1.26 - 1.50	20	6.1	6.2	3.9	11.1
1.51 - 1.75	16	4.9	2.6	7.8	8.3
1.76 - 2.00	9	2.7	3.1	2.9	
2.01 - 2.25	9	2.7	2.1	1.9	8.3
2.26 - over	15	4.5	3.6	7.8	
NA	24	7.3	8.8	2.9	11.1
Total	333	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Column 1 represents those agencies not using or anticipating the use of an attitude survey within the next two years.

**Column 2 represents those agencies which have conducted or are in the process of conducting an attitude survey.

***Column 3 represents those agencies which anticipate an attitude survey within the next two years.

NA Information not available.

The information presented in table 2A indicates that there is little correlation between per capita planning funds and the use of attitude surveys. To the contrary, it can be seen that 28.3% of the planning agencies that have not used surveys had a budget of .50¢ less per capita; while 32.1% of those agencies using such surveys had the same limitation on budget. The difference, while slight, would seem to indicate that planning agencies with limited budgets can still afford to conduct attitude surveys if there is a desire on the part of the agency to do so. This is not to say that a valid attitude survey can be conducted on a low budget, but rather that currently in the U. S. planning agencies are attempting attitude surveys even within budget limitations.

Throughout table 2A the variations between those using an attitude survey in one budget class (eg. .25 - less) and those not using the survey in the same class are slight--between 1.5% and 5.3% for any given class. This variation could be distorted one way or the other as a sample error, but it would appear that budget has little or nothing to do with the use of attitude surveys.

Table 2B. The Use of Attitude Surveys Compared to Per Capita Funds Available for Planning

Planning Funds on a Per Capita Basis	Total Number Reporting	Percent Not Using Survey	Percent Using Survey	Percent Anticipating Use
.25 - less	27	66.7	29.6	3.7
.26 - .50	70	52.9	35.7	11.4
.51 - .75	59	62.8	27.1	10.1
.76 - 1.00	46	54.3	32.6	13.0
1.01 - 1.25	38	68.5	28.9	2.6
1.26 - 1.50	20	60.0	20.0	20.0
1.51 - 1.75	16	31.2	50.0	18.8
1.76 - 2.00	9	66.7	33.3	0
2.01 - 2.25	9	41.5	22.2	33.3
2.26 - over	15	46.7	53.3	0
Not Available	24	NC	NC	NC
Total	333	58.3	30.9	10.8

NC Data not computed for lack of comparison

Table 2B indicates that there may be a slight tendency for agencies with the higher budgets to employ attitude surveys slightly more than the agencies with lower per capita budgets. However, the sample error should be greater for these agencies with the higher budgets because generally the sample size is much smaller. In view of the fact

of small sample size and lack of impressive deviation in the use of attitude surveys when related to per capita funds available for planning it is still contended that there is little correlation between per capita budget and attitude survey use.

The next question considered is whether the agency's position in the governmental structure has a bearing on the use of such techniques. It could well be that agencies that are directly responsible to a governing entity, such as a mayor or city council, would employ such surveys more than agencies that are independent or responsible to a policy body which would feel that they were fully representative of the total population. Table 3 presents the findings on this particular aspect.

Table 3. The Use of Attitude Surveys Compared to Governmental Context of the Agency

Governmental Context	Total Reporting	Percent of Total	Column 1*	Column 2**	Column 3***
Independent agency	7	2.1	2.6	1.9	
Responsible to administration	111	33.3	33.0	33.9	33.4
Responsible to policy body	179	53.8	50.5	61.2	50.0
Jointly responsible to policy and administrative body	27	8.1	10.8	3.0	8.3
Other	9	2.7	3.1		8.3
Total	333	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Column 1 represents those agencies not using or anticipating the use of attitude surveys within the next two years--shown as a percent.

**Column 2 represents those agencies which have conducted or are in the process of conducting an attitude survey--shown as a percent.

***Column 3 represents those agencies which anticipate the use of an attitude survey within the next two years--shown as a percent.

The agencies which are listed as an "Independent" agency are those which are not responsible to another agency, commission, board, committee, or similar supervisory body. As would be expected very few of the agencies

contacted were of this type. A large number of agencies (33.3%) indicated that they were directly responsible to a governing or administrative body such as being directly responsible to the mayor, governor, or other similar agent. In this context the planning department would be considered as "staff aid to the chief executive" in the words of Kent.[1]

An agency responsible to a policy body indicates at least a formal separation of the planning agency from the chief executive. In such an instance the planning department may be responsible to a body which indirectly represents the administration of the locality. In such an organization the planning director is primarily responsible to the Planning Commission, Board of Directors or similar body, and they in turn are responsible to the local government.[2]

In actual practice the planning department may be directly responsible to the Planning Commission, but the planning department sees its relationship functionally with the mayor or other administrator. Several respondents indicated such a dual relationship, and these are indicated in the category of being jointly responsible to a policy and administrative body.

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[1]T. J. Kent, Jr., The Urban General Plan (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 15.

[2]Kent, p. 16.

Once again there seems to be little significant difference between those agencies which have not used a survey technique and those that have, at least when indicated in terms of the governmental context of the planning agency. The one exception seems to be that of those agencies which have employed attitude surveys a greater proportion seem to be responsible to a policy body than of those agencies which have not conducted attitude surveys. That is, that 50.5% of agencies not using attitude surveys were responsible to the policy body, while 61.2% conducting such surveys were responsible to the policy body. The difference represents 10.7% of all agencies using the attitude survey. However, in light of the fact that this group only represents 30.9% of the total, and agencies not using surveys represent 58.3% of the total the significance of this difference must be viewed with great caution. In all probability this difference is not due to the governmental context although this possibility does remain.

The size of the planning staff could well have a relationship to the use of an attitude survey by a given agency. It was found from an interpretation of question 10 that of those agencies that have used the survey technique that 56.4% had been prepared by the staff of the department. Further, those respondents that indicated that the possibility existed that an attitude survey would be administered within the next two years 50.0% would be

conducted by the staff of the department. Therefore, the staff of the agency plays an important role in the use of attitude surveys.

Another factor which maybe considered is the relationship between attitude survey use and the size of the agencies jurisdiction in terms of population. It is a possibility that the larger agencies employ attitude surveys more than the smaller ones. This could be the agency's way of accounting for a feeling of being removed from the general public. At the same time it might be found that the smaller agency used attitude surveys more because their constituents are more accessible than the population in a large and diverse urban area.

In order to study the relationship which might exist all of the responses were divided into five population groups and each group was classified by survey use. The result of this analysis is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Attitude Survey Use by Planning Area Population

Size of Planning Area in terms of Population	Total Number	Percent of Total	Attitude Surveys: Percent Not Used	Attitude Surveys: Percent Used	Attitude Surveys: Percent Anticipating Use
Over 500,000	57	17.1	47.4	43.8	8.8
100,001-500,000	114	34.2	62.4	28.0	9.6
50,001-100,000	81	24.2	60.5	30.9	8.6
25,001- 50,000	53	15.9	58.5	22.6	18.9
Less than 25,000	21	6.3	62.0	33.3	4.7
NA	7	2.1			
Total	333	100%			

NA Data not available

From the information presented in table 4 it would seem that the planning agencies for the larger areas (500,000 or greater population) are more inclined to use the attitude survey than the smaller agencies. At the same time one will note that the agencies serving the smallest population area (less than 25,000 population) rank second in the use of attitude surveys. It is also noted that 8.8% of the agencies in the 500,000 and over population bracket anticipate the use of attitude surveys in the next two years, while 18.9% of the agencies in the 25 to 50,000 population bracket anticipate such studies.

Thus, even though those agencies serving a population in excess of 500,000 seem to use the attitude survey more than agencies of smaller sizes such a generalization will have to be made with caution due to the fact that the sample size is limited and other indicators tend to balance this situation. The conclusion drawn is that there is probably little correlation between the population of the planning area and the use of attitude surveys.

Two dimensions of the staff preparation of attitude can be considered: the size of the staff, and the qualifications of the staff to prepare such work. The staff size is important because if the staff is quite large the planning director could allocate staff personnel to attitude assessment and still be able to carry on a number of other commitments. Obviously, with a small staff (two or three persons) the director would not have that degree of flexibility. If he were to assign personnel to attitude work other tasks would suffer to some degree. An option open to the director of a planning agency with a small staff would be the use of consultants to undertake the work of the survey. It was indicated by the respondents that 19.4% of the agencies using attitude surveys employed consultants to do the work, and 18.4% used some combination of staff and consultant to prepare the survey.

Eighty percent of the agencies that had prepared attitude surveys at one time or another had used

consultants. However, at the very most only 43.6% of the agencies had used some sort of outside help in the preparation of the attitude survey that was complete or in progress. This would seem to indicate that for the most part such surveys are prepared by the staff of the planning agency.

It was pointed out in Chapter II that the preparation of attitude surveys, and the selection of the sample is a rather detailed task which must be approached in a systematic manner. Some of the agencies indicated that the staff person preparing the survey had a degree in Sociology, or some other background in social research, but the majority indicated that the person preparing the survey was qualified by virtue of being a "qualified planner" or by virtue of having a "degree in city planning." In view of the involved techniques which must be used to assess public attitudes in a meaningful manner one could well ask if being a "qualified planner" or having a "degree in city planning" would be enough to give adequate credence to the end product. As was pointed out in Chapter II, the validity of attitude surveys prepared by competent psychologists is often questioned: Can the work by a person with "a degree in city planning" be considered more reliable than these? Or is a high level of sophistication needed to produce results equal to the tasks which are to be met?

Survey preparation is only one phase of attitude assessment. Also to be considered is the administration and analysis of the survey. Here, too, the staff was relied upon heavily by those agencies conducting or anticipating the use of an attitude survey. The attitude survey was administered by the staff of 52.4% of the agencies conducting the survey, and of those agencies which anticipate the survey the administration will be accomplished by 46.2%. Of even more significance; 61.1% of agencies conducting a survey have relied totally on their staff for an analysis of the results. Of those agencies that anticipate a survey, 58.3% will be analyzed by the staff. As was pointed out in Chapter IV the analysis of attitude surveys may be a superficial compilation of statistics which may be adequate for some types of surveys does not lend itself to the in depth study of human personality which should be the goal of an attitude survey for planners.

The national survey of the use of attitude surveys by planning agencies also elicited some information on the techniques that were used by planning agencies to construct the survey that was used, as well as the attitudes that were sought most by those agencies.

Technique Considerations

As was indicated earlier, the selection of the sample to be used in a survey is of importance. There are

a number of approaches which can be taken, and among those approaches is the random sample, which was discussed in Chapter IV; the predetermined or stratified sample which was also discussed earlier; and the incorporation of an entire population into the study. It was indicated that the stratified sample approach seemed to be the better type of sample to incorporate into the study because it would allow multivariate analysis of expressed attitudes and socio economic characteristics, and those agencies conducting and anticipating attitude surveys generally attempted such an approach. Table 5 indicates the extent that the various sampling techniques were employed.

Table 5. Sample Basis Used in American Attitude Surveys

Sample Type	Agencies Using Survey		Agencies Anticipating Survey	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Random Sample	31	30.1	7	19.4
Stratified Sample	57	55.3	19	52.8
Total Area Sample	5	4.9	3	8.4
Data Not Available	10	9.7	7	19.4
Total	103	100%	36	100%

As shown in table 5, the predetermined or stratified sample was by far the preferred sample technique. The caution mentioned previously must again be stated: that the construction of a stratified sample requires careful advance planning inasmuch as a number of correlated social and economic variables must be incorporated into the survey, since the inclusion of economic data alone will not always offer a true picture of the society that the planner is trying to study. The number and extent of variables that will be taken into account will depend on the major objectives of the survey, and should be carefully considered by one with considerable training and experience with the subject.

In close conjunction with the selection of the sample is the area of the community that is being surveyed. That is, is the sample to be considered to be a typical cross-section of the community--a microcosm of the area, or a particular segment of the community such as persons who live in an urban renewal area.

Table 6 summarizes the population that the planning agencies using attitude surveys attempt to reach.

The community segment may also be considered a special segment of the community. In one instance this segment was considered as the leaders of special interest groups in the community. Similar studies are sometimes done with community leaders to determine the support that

Table 6. The Population Represented by the Survey Sample as Determined by Planning Agencies

Sample Representation	Agencies Using Survey		Agencies Anticipating Survey	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Community Cross Section	51	49.5	11	30.7
Community Segment	33	32.0	13	36.0
Total Area	5	4.9	1	2.8
Undetermined Sample	8	7.8	3	8.3
Data Not Available	6	5.8	8	22.2
Total	103	100%	36	100%

they may be expected to lend to a particular project. Conversely, knowing from what segments of the community opposition will come can also be helpful to the planner or to the city administrator.

It is of interest to note that 5.8% of the agencies using an attitude survey could not determine what the sample represented. This would seem to be one of the primary hazards of sending a survey form through the mail to water customers, as was done in one instance, or publishing the survey form in a local newspaper, as was done in

another instance. In both examples the results received would be of limited value to the planner. However, such methods are usually inexpensive to conduct and relatively expedient. This should indicate that economy and expediency are not virtues in any planning study--especially of a dimension as difficult to measure as attitudes.

In Chapter II mention was made of the methods used to assess attitudes. The most common methods employed by planners are shown in table 7.

Table 7. Techniques Used by Planners to Measure Attitudes

	Agencies Using Survey		Agencies Anticipating Survey	
Technique	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Direct Question Approach	39	37.9	8	22.2
Scale Approach	8	7.8	3	8.3
Projective Approach	11	10.6		
Depth Interview Approach	5	4.9	4	11.1
Combination	36	34.9	12	33.4
Not Available	4	3.9	9	25.0
Total	103	100%	36	100%

There are a number of comments that can be made about the information found in table 7. First of all the reader will note that while the direct question approach was used most by those already conducting an attitude survey, the method that occupies the second position is a combination of approaches. In such a combination, the direct question might be used with a scale approach and so on. It is interesting to note that agencies anticipating the use of an attitude survey consider this combination more than any other method. The uncertainty of the survey use in the latter case must be taken into account since their ideas might change considerably by the time that the survey is actually undertaken. It is also notable that the scale approach was not used any more than it was. The reader will remember from Chapter II that the Thurstone, Likert, and similar scales are used extensively in the field of psychology to measure attitudes. However, in 27 of the 36 agencies that used a combination of techniques the scale approach was employed in combination with the other methods used. Even so, in view of the use of the scale techniques in the other social science fields, it would seem that the scale technique would be employed more than seems to be the case.

Another point that should be noted about the information shown in table 7 is the comparatively large number (10.6) of agencies which profess to have used

projective techniques in their assessment of attitudes. As one recalls from Chapter II, the use of projective techniques is a rather sophisticated approach to attitude measurement, and one that has not proven to be totally reliable or valid in the situations in which it has been used. From Chapter IV the reader will recall that in the surveys that were reviewed only one exhibited any type of projective approach to the assessment of attitude. For these reasons the author seriously questions whether the methods that were referred to by the respondents were actually what they indicated--projective techniques. One explanation for the response that was received might be in the way the statement was worded on the questionnaire that was sent to the planning agencies. The statement was worded as follows: "A projective technique approach (the presentation of an 'open ended' situation to which the respondent replies in his own manner)." The reader will notice at once that this statement differs from what was presented in Chapter II. In that chapter the projective technique was described as "one that provides the subject with a stimulus situation to which he may respond in relation to what is meaningful to the subject and not what the experimenter has decided it must mean." Further, the stimulus situation must be a non-structured one that lacks checks or anchorages for the respondent.

The concept is not one that lends itself to a simple definition and for that reason the simplified statement was used in the questionnaire that went to planning agencies. In the opinion of the author, many of those receiving the questionnaire may have interpreted the statement to mean that a question asking "What do you think of the appearance of this town"? could be considered a projective technique. Clearly this is not a projective technique but at the same time it is an "open ended" question, and the respondent does in fact "reply in his own manner." Therefore, one can quickly see how a person would mis-interpret the statement, which could well lead to the high indication of agencies using "projective techniques."

Agencies using attitude surveys were seeking public attitudes on a variety of subjects. The national questionnaire sought to discover what attitudes were being probed by planning agencies. Most of the planning agencies attempted to study more than one attitude in their survey. One agency went so far as to indicate that they would seek about 60 attitudes in a forthcoming survey. We live in an age when everything must be bigger and better than whatever preceeded it, but in the author's opinion, this should not be the case with attitude surveys. If we seek to uncover a basic motivating inclination of an individual how can such an undertaking be

resolved when dealing with such wide variables? Support to this line of reasoning is offered by a prominant planning consultant with considerable experience with attitude surveys. In personal correspondence Mr. Alan M. Voorhees stated: "One thing we have discovered. Too often we try to develop a general purpose survey. This is not as effective as a highly structured survey which has limited objectives."[1]

From the results of the national survey it was found that the attitude sought most often by planning agencies was that of Community Environment which was mentioned a total of 69 times by planning agencies. Next came Housing Conditions which were mentioned 53 times; Shopping, 47; Travel Patterns, 40; Policy, 39; Master Plan, 29; Local Government, 27; Recreation, 10; and others were mentioned a total of 28 times.

It is almost surprising to note that out of 103 possibilities that attitudes on policy were only sought by 39 agencies. As was indicated in Chapter I this is one field in particular that holds much promise for the planner, and why this aspect was not mentioned more often than it was is hard to imagine. Is this an indication that policy is firmly established by the people in position of some authority and that the planners are not willing to

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[1]Personnel Correspondence dated November 9, 1967.

open this subject to public comment? Naturally we cannot make judgments on this question without further information, but questions must remain all the same.

Response From Agency Directors

Agency directors were asked if they felt that attitude surveys were of value to their particular planning agency. The question was posed in this manner in the National Survey in order that the directors could personally address themselves to the use and value of the attitude survey. It was the intent that the director would not feel that he was supporting or rejecting attitude surveys as "good planning" but rather how the use of this technique affected his agency. From the responses that were received most of those directors that were favorable to the use of attitude surveys seemed to reflect a "good planning" notion. For example, statements like: "The citizens' attitudes and ideas should definitely be considered by planning agencies in all phases of the planning process" and "It helps avoid 'tunnel vision' on the part of the planning staff--frequently we overlook the obvious--the citizen's view keeps us in touch with the realities" were not at all uncommon among those who supported the use of the survey. On the other hand, many of those directors which did not feel that such surveys were of value related the use of the survey directly to their agency. For

example: "A phase of any master planning work done by this agency for a city, district, or total county is called a 'Goals and Policy' phase where citizen committees are established to study the area, its needs and prepare goals to accomplish and policy to achieve these goals, on an intensive short term basis." Another director states: "Our operation is responsible to the demands of the County legislative body. As elected officials they collectively represent public opinion. In general we have found public opinion either too uninformed or simply lagging on matters of importance to our county." The latter statements seem to indicate that the director is implying that he will not say that the technique is not a valid one, but that in his area it is not needed because the "established" method of meeting the problem of effective citizen contact is quite adequate in his locality. While the former statements indicate that the use of attitude surveys are good planning practice to communicate with the public more effectively, the latter indicate that the director avoids facing the issue of attitude assessment techniques by saying they are not applicable to his particular jurisdiction.

Generally the comments of planning directors were of great interest because a number of unique ideas and opinions were brought to light. It is unfortunate that all of the comments cannot be recorded here, nor that they could not be summarized and categorized in some manner for

presentation in tabular form. However, an attempt will be made to comment upon some of the most significant statements received from the national survey.

Some of the responses received from the agency directors seemed to reflect the notion that the survey could be used to support the agency in ideas or plans that had already been established but now needed to be "sold" to the people. As a case in point, one director from New York stated simply that the attitude survey would be used for "Supporting documentation for planning projects." Similarly, a Pennsylvania director stated, "They frequently support technical planning projects." A California director indicated that "Planning commissions and city councils are more likely to be influenced by public opinion than they are by professional staff" [emphasis mine]. Along the same vein, a county planning director stated that "Surveys give respondents a feeling of participation" [emphasis mine]. This word choice would seem to indicate that the survey is a public pacifier which intended to delude the citizen into a feeling of participating in the planning of his community. Correctly applied, the attitude survey should directly involve many citizens in the planning process through a limited dialogue. To use the survey as a "support" for plans is a prostitution of the concept of attitude assessment.

It would be foolish not to recognize that such surveys might help to "sell" plans to the public but this is an "extra" or side benefit of the survey, and not its primary objective. A director from Pennsylvania indicated such a secondary function by saying that the survey helped "Determine whether our goals and development policies established in the revised comprehensive plan of the city fulfill the immediate as well as long range needs of the people. A valuable tool to formulate strategy concerning action programs." Still another director from the state of New York said "It puts the agency in touch with the people and their situation which tends to produce more meaningful policies and . . . a more saleable product in terms of neighborhood acceptance."

Conversely, some planning directors felt that attitude surveys were not necessary to their planning operations. The planning director of a Chicago suburb of 75,000 persons feels that "The needs of this city are so obvious that such things as attitude surveys would not justify staff time required." One might wonder if the problems are all really that obvious in a city of 75,000 people. Another director feels that "The attitudes of the citizens are more certainly revealed at the election polls every two years than by any other meaningful method I know." Even so, what percentage of the population votes at any given time? Senator Ribbacoff advised that planners

seek out the people;[2] not listen to what the people (or at least part of the people) say at a periodic election.

The technical aspects of planning are expressed by the Arizona director that stated "The public is not aware of their needs . . . ," and the director from Arkansas who says "Our recommendations are based on factual studies and statistical projections; further we rely extensively on technical task forces and advisory committees during the planning process." The value of these technical aspects are not to be discounted, nor should the importance of public expression of sentiment at the polls be overlooked, but as the director from a Georgia planning agency put it; the "Planning study involves community participation, an attitude survey is only one method in encouraging this participation in defining goals for their community." But to support the contention that attitude surveys are an important part of the planning process a Kansas planner indicated that "Due to apathy at public hearings, planning commissions do not hear the ideas and opinions of the masses of citizens. I believe these public surveys do express a certain amount of opinions that have gone unexpressed."

The directors' comments also point up some of the problems involved with attitude surveys. Most of these

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[2]A.I.P. Newsletter, June, 1967, pp. 5-6.

problems have been recognized earlier in this thesis but they are of such importance they bear repeating.

A direct approach was chosen by an Ohio planner for a city of 829,000 people with a budget of $480,000 when he said of attitude surveys: They are "too costly, time consuming, and too many methodological problems . . ." To put it another way, one director indicated that "Sound surveys and analysis techniques are difficult to develop, highly consumptive of staff time and funds and would require frequent repetition to insure reflection of current attitudes." Admittedly, most of these are valid comments, but basic attitudes change slowly and if we can learn to assess these "basic attitudes," frequent repetition may not be as necessary as the planner suggested.

Other problem points are expressed by a Michigan planning director. He suggested that "A person's attitudes cannot be based only on the few questions he may be willing to take the time to answer. Since the response is voluntary it selects only those persons wishing to respond." There are valid statements and problems that would have to be overcome by those administering such a survey. The problems should be viewed as a challenge to the planner for more effective communication with the public; not as an insurmountable obstacle which can't be overcome.

Summary

Quotes from two planning directors serve to summarize this chapter. The first quotation is from a California planner, and the second from the director of an Alabama agency.

> "It is obvious that the success of any planning worthy of the name should take into account the desires and aspirations of the citizens. By ascertaining citizens views, much helpful and valuable information may be obtained which, if carefully evaluated and properly used, will benefit the plan and insure its general acceptance and adoption."

> "I would readily admit that there are limitations to this procedure although it is the only one we can follow at this stage. A broad scale attitude survey would open up considerably more scope for learning the broader range of community attitudes which I am sure would be found at levels other than those of elected officials. It would also be an extremely useful device for bringing the planning program to the attention of the community; strengthening its relationship with the community; and thereby improving its overall effectiveness."

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The major premise upon which this paper is based, explicitly and implicitly stated, is the need for the urban planner to communicate with the public. The planner should be Mr. Metropolis for the city that he serves--he should have an understanding of and a feeling for the people in the area if he is to design more meaningful environments which promote a more satisfying urban life. This the planner must do in the face of increasing segmentation of the society into small, and often non-communative sub-cultures and groups.

The fact that the planner has not been totally derelict in this obligation is evidenced by his use of citizens groups and planning commissions as a barometer of the public needs and desires. However, the fact that he has too often fallen short of his goal is evidenced by the increasing demands of the Federal government that "citizens advisory groups" be formed and detailed records of meetings be available to document the planners use of this method of communicating with the public. The value of this

approach has been questioned as not fully answering the communications need which exists today; however, such groups do serve a valuable function and their abolition or complete replacement is not suggested.

The planner has recognized this need and has attempted to improve his understanding of the public through the use of so called attitude or opinion surveys. An investigation of some of the current theoretical concepts of attitudes--their formation, function and measurement--has been interpreted to indicate that the measurement and understanding of a deep, basic and motivating attitude is something which does not lend itself to simple or easy measurement. Often an individual is unwilling to expose his basic motives and attitudes to a stranger who is an impersonal interviewer. This may be especially true if the interviewer and interviewee are further removed by a considerable socio economic separation. To further compound the problem of attitude measurement is the fact that the individual may not be fully aware of these basic attitudes himself, so how can he describe this characteristic to the interviewer?

One method of attitude measurement that has been employed by the psychologist is that of the "projective technique," a technique by which the interviewee simply "projects" his attitude to an unstructured non-threatening stimulus. While such methods hold much promise there are

questions raised about their still unproven validity and reliability, and the resolution of these questions remains a consideration for all who attempt to use such techniques.

A review of a number of public communication methods employed or adopted by planners seemed to indicate, for the most part, a rather superficial approach to the understanding of the community. Often such studies were based on samples which were theoretically weak, administration which was accomplished by the individual or a relatively untrained person, and analysis which was based on shallow conclusions or statistical summaries. The application of the results of such surveys to general or planning policy--which, after all, should be the goal of communication of this type--was rarely indicated in action plans or programs, and only slightly more often evidenced in general statements of policy or goals.

In all fairness it must be recognized that the above statements are gross generalizations because there were several very commendable surveys reviewed, and some of the surveys presented were so recent that analysis and application had not had time to mature to the point of objective consideration. The most noteworthy surveys were generally prepared by specialists in the field in cooperation with the planning agency. In some cases these were consultants hired by the planners, and in a few cases the agency had people on the staff which could accomplish many

of the objectives. In the cases of staff preparation, the individual responsible had considerable training and experience with the subject. Since wide generalizations about a subject so broad can't be made by a review of such a limited sample, the comments used above are presented with caution.

The survey of planning agencies undertaken as part of this thesis with all of its limitations, indicated that a number of American planning agencies have used or are considering the use of attitude type surveys. Such agencies exhibit no particular characteristic which could be used to single out attitude survey "proneness" or "potential" so that it was concluded that most any agency could, and do, use such methods.

Of most significant findings of the survey was the lack of firm ideas by Directors of planning agencies pertaining to how the attitude survey could be used. This is particularly interesting when one considers that the overwhelming majority of Directors felt that such surveys were of value to their understanding of the community. The responses of the Directors seemed to indicate that the attitude survey was viewed by some as a technique of "selling the planning program" or "convincing the public that the agency was concerned about them and that future plans would and did reflect their feelings." Such an approach seems to be a perverted use of a tool which is designed to provide

an input into the planning process, and which should lead to a better understanding of the total society. This seems to be the greatest failure of the profession with respect to the measurement of attitudes.

Conclusions

The first and most important conclusion which can be drawn from the information presented by this thesis is that planner must learn to incorporate consultative surveys more effectively into his formation of policy and subsequent plans. Further, he must change his outlook from that of how the survey will benefit the agency to one of how the agency can use the survey for more effective service to the community.

An area of this field which might be quite promising is that of projective measurements of basic attitudes. Unfortunately, most of the exploratory work in this field has yet to be done. Test construction is only the first problem to be overcome. After the test has been constructed some assessment of the validity and the reliability must also be made before an attempt can be made at a practical application. After that has been accomplished, the problems of application and integration of results into planning policy would yet remain. Even so, the promises of this technique seem to indicate the necessity of making such an effort.

It has been indicated throughout this thesis that the attitude survey, and all other activities associated with the actual survey (sample selection, survey administration and analysis), are all involved techniques. All but the largest planning agencies will probably lack personnel which have the background and training to perform such sophisticated tasks. It is, therefore, readily apparent that planning agencies would do well to rely on consultants to assist in this aspect of planning. This conclusion is supported by the fact that some of the most meaningful attitude surveys that were reviewed as a part of this research undertaking were studies prepared by consultants. The use of a Chamber of Commerce survey form and volunteer assistance does not do justice to the human dimension that is being sought. Generally, many planning agencies do use consultants extensively. For example, 76.6% of the agencies contacted in the national survey utilized consultants upon occasion. The use of consultants for designing and interpreting attitude surveys would appear to be a wise investment.

The results of the national survey indicate that the majority of planning directors feel that attitude surveys are of value to the urban planner, even though their use of the knowledge gained by this technique could, perhaps, be more sophisticated. Those planning directors which hesitate to endorse the use of such surveys generally

seem to feel that their traditional approach to citizen involvement by way of the planning commission or citizen advisory groups is effective. This widely held assumption was questioned in Chapter I of this thesis as possibly not meeting the present needs of a complex urban society. It was further suggested that there may be many social and ethnic groups in the contemporary metropolis that were not being given an opportunity to express themselves in the planning process. The stand was taken in Chapter I again in Chapter V and reasserted here that all possible methods of citizen participation should be used by the planning profession, and that additional techniques should be developed to understand more and more of the people in our diverse population.

A final conclusion is that much research is needed on the subject of effective attitude assessment techniques. Moreover, because of the nature of the subject and the "state of the art" of attitude measurement, man will probably never develop a perfect yardstick to measure man. Nevertheless, planners, psychologists, social psychologists and other disciplines must all work together to develop and improve this method to attain better communication with the various segments of our urban populations.

Implications for Planning

The use and development of attitude surveys as part of the planning process indicate several major implications that have meaning for the urban planner. As mentioned above, the field of research is one where a planner seeking to specialize in this subject could offer a valuable service. An example of this research potential can be indicated by the following experiment.

An experimental psychologist, Daniel Katz conducted an experiment to observe the consistency of an individual's attitude system.[1] His objective was to discover whether a set of attitudes operating for an individual could be contradictory in nature. Katz approached this problem by administering an attitude test on several closely related attitudes to a group of college students. After the test had been analyzed the students were hypnotized, and through hypnotic suggestion one of these attitudes assessed in the earlier testing was altered. After a period of time the students were retested on the attitudes tested previously to discover what effect the hypnosis had on the attitude set.

Katz found that not only that attitude altered by hypnosis had changed since the first test, but all of the

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[1]Daniel Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," Public Opinion Quarterly. Vol. 24, Summer, 1960, pp. 163-204.

associated attitudes had also changed accordingly. From this experiment Katz not only learned that a set of similar attitudes were complementary but also that attitudes could in fact be changed by hypnosis.

Taking the second point (the fact that attitudes can be altered by hypnosis) of Katz' study an experiment with planning implications can be constructed.

As was mentioned previously the data on the validity and reliability of the projective tests is not conclusive, and to assist in the establishment of these test measures for urban planners the following experiment could be constructed.

First a projective test would have to be constructed to measure a given urban attitude or set of attitudes. For example an individual's attitudes toward a particular urban environment. The analyst would then administer the test to a number of volunteer subjects, and analyze the results. After each individual's attitude toward the urban environment had been established the experimenter would then hypnotize the volunteer and change this attitude. While under the hypnotic influence a suggestion would be given to the volunteer that he would not remember any of the details of the attitude test, or in fact, that he had been given the test before. Later, the experimenter would readminister the test to the individual and note how his response had changed from the first test. This could

be done a number of times, and each time a variation of the individual's response could be noted. Of course at the conclusion of the experiment the experimenter would be sure that the individual's original attitude would be reinstated and the entire experiment explained in detail to the individual.

The value of such an experiment would be that the urban analyst would be dealing with a controlled situation in which only one variable (an individual's attitude toward a given subject) would change from one time to another. The other elements (the testing device, the test administrator and the individual) would remain unchanged.

Therefore, the planner could say that as the response to the test varied this would be due to different attitudes which are known to the experimenter because it was he who implanted the various attitudes in the first place; and in this way the planner could see what effect attitude would have upon responses to the testing stimulus. By conducting a number of such experiments a typical response could be found which would establish the test.

It is obvious that such an experiment could not be conducted by anyone but an expert in the field of psychology, but the approach could be pregnant with the promise of better understanding of the diverse groups of people which make up our world, and the challenge to planners could open new ideas for urban design.

It is recognized that urban design is an important aspect of the environment, and the effect of urban design on the psychological well being of the individual has long been expounded by the urban designer. It has been said by architects that a certain design leads to a "sterile" environment. "I suggest that, with all of the improvements that have occurred during the last century in the social environment . . . the physical environment has not proportionally improved but has retrogressed."[2] The physical environment of the city is generally so chaotic that people have to "filter out" in order to survive.[3] Alexander carried on with this reasoning to indicate that we must design the urban environment to sustain human contact unless our population is to suffer from the "withdrawal syndrome."[4]

Where does the assessment of attitude come into this picture? So far the designer has given us little documentation of what effect the environment has upon individuals or even upon society as a whole. The planner skilled in the use of attitude assessment techniques and working with the architect could evaluate the design

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[2]Ian McHerg, "The Ecology of the City," The Architect and the City, ed. Marcus Whiffen (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), p. 53.

[3]Ibid., p. 65.

[4]Christopher Alexander, "The City as a Mechanism for Sustaining Human Contact," Environment For Man, ed. William R. Ewald, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), pp. 60-86.

aspects of any area, measure the attitudes of the people affected, and attempt to compare the design aspects with the attitudes toward the city, human contact, and similar conditions upon which the design might have a bearing. Having done this, those design experts could draw some conclusions about design elements which enhance a person's attitudes toward the environment around him.

Change is so basic in modern life that it is almost an element of the environment--in many respects "change" is as much a fact of modern urban life as the buildings which crowd the landscape. In one response to an opinion question in an attitude survey, the following statement was made:

> " . . . satisfaction is also revealed by the attitude that change should not be sought and that change should be resisted if it would substantially alter the established pattern of behavior. Thus, the residents view possible change with caution, feel that their present way of life should be preserved as much as possible. . . ."[5]

If change is viewed as inevitable it seems that the planner should not attempt to "resist change," but should attempt to find the underlying elements of the environment (through attitude assessment) which promote the well being and satisfaction of the individual and incorporate those elements into the designs of the future.

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[5]Author unknown, Opinions of the Greater Kaneland Area.

Clearly, the study and use of attitude surveys by the urban planner is a far cry from the physical orientation which has existed for many years. Some would say that the planner is "claim jumping" when he enters into the field of psychology. However, if one takes the approach that "planning is for people," then attitude assessment may be viewed as one more area where the planner can be of service.

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APPENDIX A

Geographic Distribution and Return of National Survey (By States)

Geographic Distribution and Return of
National Survey
(By States)

State	Surveys Sent	Surveys Returned	State	Surveys Sent	Surveys Returned
Alabama	2	2	Montana	1	1
Alaska	3	3	Nebraska	1	1
Arizona	7	4	Nevada	2	2
Arkansas	2	1	New Hamp.	2	2
California	94	57	New Jersey	17	12
Colorado	10	6	New Mexico	2	1
Conn.	17	10	New York	22	15
Delaware	2	2	N. Carolina	15	12
Dist. of Col.	1	1	N. Dakota	-	-
Florida	22	13	Ohio	17	11
Georgia	18	11	Oklahoma	4	3
Hawaii	4	3	Oregon	6	5
Idaho	2	2	Pennsylvania	38	26
Illinois	13	10	Rhode Island	5	3
Indiana	9	5	S. Carolina	6	5
Iowa	8	5	S. Dakota	1	1
Kansas	5	3	Tennessee	11	5
Kentucky	7	3	Texas	10	6
Louisiana	2	2	Utah	4	2
Maine	2	0	Vermont	-	-
Maryland	8	5	Virginia	15	10
Mass.	12	6	Washington	27	20
Michigan	26	19	W. Virginia	2	2
Minnesota	8	6	Wisconsin	10	5
Mississippi	2	1			
Missouri	9	6	Total	508	336

APPENDIX B

National Survey Material
Survey Form

A NATIONAL SURVEY TO DETERMINE THE USE OF ATTITUDE SURVEYS BY PLANNING AGENCIES

DIRECTIONS:
1. Mark (X) each correct response or,
2. Supply the correct data (questions 2, 4, 5 & 6).
3. Directors please answer questions 20 & 21.

1. Nature of the planning for which the agency is officially responsible:

___ Incorporated city only
___ County sub-area only (township, milita district, borough, etc.)
___ Unincorporated county only
___ City-county agency
___ Area (metro, multi-city, multi-county or combination)
___ State
___ Multi-state
___ Other (Please indicate_____)

2. Current estimate of the population of the planning area:

_____, _____00.

3. Planning department position in government:

___ Independent (Not responsible to any agency, commission, board, committee, etc.)
___ Directly responsible to a governing entity (city council, mayor, county supervisor, governor, etc.)
___ Responsible to a policy body (Planning commission, board of directors, etc.)
___ Other (Please indicate_____)

4. Size of Planning Department Staff (Please exclude secretaries, bookkeepers, draftsmen and similar staff)

___ Number of staff members
___ This agency has used consultants to augment the staff

5. The current operating budget (calendar or fiscal year) is:
   ___$_____, _____00.00

6. Funds for this operating year are derived in approximately the following manner:

   ___% Local subscriptions (Contributions from non-tax sources)
   ___% Local taxes
   ___% State funds
   ___% Federal funds (701, Farmers Home Administration, etc.)
   ___% Other (Please indicate_____)
   ___% Other (Please indicate_____)

   100% TOTAL

7. ___ This agency has not employed any type of attitude assessment survey, nor is such a survey anticipated within the next two years. (Please go directly to question 21.)

8. ___ This agency has conducted or is in the process of conducting an attitude survey.

9. ___ This agency anticipates or is considering an attitude survey within the next two years.

10. The survey was or will be prepared by:

    ___ Staff personnel
    ___ Consultant (Please identify_____)

11. Special qualifications of person(s) or consultant preparing survey (if known)_____

    _____

12. The survey was or will be administered by:

    ___ Staff personnel
    ___ Special personnel under direction of staff member(s)
    ___ Consultant (Please identify if different from above_____)

13. Special qualifications of person(s) or consultant administrating survey (if known_____

    _____

14. The survey was or will be analyzed by:

___ Staff personnel
___ Consultant (Please identify if different from above) _____

15. Special qualifications of person(s) or consultant analyzing survey (if known) _____

_____

16. The survey attempted or will attempt to indicate attitudes on:

___ Travel patterns or preferences
___ Local government
___ Community environment
___ Housing conditions or preferences
___ Public policy
___ Shopping preferences
___ Master plan alternatives
___ Others (Please identify _____)

17. The survey sample of respondents was or will be:

___ A random sample (Interviews without predetermined selection of respondents; such as street interviews, etc.)
___ A predetermined sample based on specific or predetermined criteria.

18. Our agency considered the sample to represent:

___ A cross section of the community
___ A particular segment of the community (i.e. community leaders, residents of an urban renewal area, etc.)
___ An undetermined sample

19. The form of the survey followed or will follow:

___ A direct question approach (Asking for a person's attitude on a specific question)
___ A scaling approach (Asking a person to place his attitude toward a question on a continuum or in relation to other positions on the same question)
___ A projective technique approach (The presentation of an "open ended" situation to which the respondent replies in his own manner)
___ A depth interview approach (Discussing a topic(s) with the respondent and drawing inferences from the actions and/or replies of the individual)

**20. The agency has or will use the results of the survey in the following manner:_____

_____

_____

_____

(Please use additional space if needed)

**21. I feel that such surveys (are) (are not) of value to this Planning agency for the following reasons:

_____

_____

_____

_____

(Please use additional space if needed)

**Questions to be answered by the agency Director

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Transmittal Letter

October 5, 1967

Dear Planning Director:

One of the characteristics of planning agencies today seems to be an emphasis on "citizen participation," "public consultation," and similar attempts to involve the local citizen in the planning process. One method which has been used to some degree is the employment of so-called "attitude" surveys, "opinion" polls, "value" studies and similar efforts to ask the people what they think--like or dislike--about the community in which they live.

As a part of my Masters Thesis in Urban Planning, I am sending the enclosed questionnaire to a few key agencies to discover if they have used a survey to measure community feeling, and if so, some of the form that was followed in the employment of such a survey. Because of a rather limited sample, a high response to this questionnaire is needed.

I know your time is valuable and all too limited, so for that reason the questionnaire is designed in such a way that it can be passed on to a subordinate familiar with your survey for most of the responses requested. However, you are asked to look over the material briefly, make any comments you feel appropriate and pay particular attention to questions 20 and 21 because these questions are designed to be answered by agency directors.

In the event that your agency has conducted such a survey and copies of the survey form and/or report are available, I would appreciate seeing them. Of course, copies sent on loan will be returned as soon as possible. Results of the survey will be made available to participants on request.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for your cooperation and the time that you can devote to this request.

Sincerely,

Gordon N. Dixon
Graduate Student

Sincerely,

Keith M. Honey, AIP
Associate Professor
School of Urban Planning

Follow Up Letter

October 23, 1967

Dear Planning Director:

Some time ago I sent out questionnaires to selected planning agencies in an effort to determine the use of attitude surveys by planning organizations. This was done as a part of my thesis for a Masters degree in Urban Planning.

To date, my records show that a response from your agency has not been received. Realizing that mail is often lost in handling, or that the questionnaire may have been misdirected or overlooked in your office, I am sending a second survey form assuming that you wanted your agency included in the results of the national survey.

Let me call your attention to the fact that the survey is designed in such a way that it can be passed to a subordinate after you have responded to only two questions (questions 20 and 21). As before, a pre-addressed return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

If you have returned the survey form within the past few days, please disregard this letter.

Again, let me thank you for your cooperation and time. Without your assistance, the success of this undertaking would be limited.

Sincerely,

Gordon N. Dixon
Graduate Student