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ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION, PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND
URBAN PLANNING IN THE LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

Nigel Cairns.

Volume 1.

Submitted as thesis for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, Department of Town and Regional
Planning.

University of Glasgow.

July, 1981.

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For my mother and father.

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SUMMARY.

Environmental perception, public participation and urban planning have hitherto been examined from varying perspectives and as relatively discrete subjects. These constructs are, however, inter-related and it is the purpose of this study to demonstrate the linkages between them. From the conceptual connections between these constructs it is possible to describe a cybernetic model of local government which varies from existing models in that it is overtly needs orientated. The inputs to this model are taken to include individuals' perceptions of their physical and social environment. It is these relatively subjective indicators which are considered alongside those more objective indicators traditionally used to describe economic, social and demographic well-being. These flows of information are used to describe a feedback model of an urban planning system. This model, it is argued, describes more accurately a consumer orientated approach by local government towards land-use planning which has developed in recent years.

The Introduction attempts to establish the nature of the variables and the relationships between them in a model of the urban planning system. Included here is a study of the research in man-environment relations relevant to environmental psychology, urban politics, theories of planning, social theory and the study of systems or cybernetics. By examining the different approaches of these disciplines and by considering the cyclical nature of the planning process it was possible to outline the foundations of a feedback model of the urban planning process. This is described in Chapter 2. In this model information is seen as an input while changes in the delivery of urban goods and services are

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regarded as outputs. The model attempts, by this approach, to fill some of the gaps in existing models of the planning system. In attempting to do this it brings together aspects of environmental psychology and public administration in the assessment of need. The model also describes more accurately the British town planning system since its revision during the 1970s with its greater emphasis on public involvement.

Chapter 3 outlines the empirical approach adopted to test this model against reality. The relations between the variables in the model were examined in the light of the behaviour of one particular local authority. This was the London Borough of Camden which made available the bulk of the data on which this study is based. This came, in part, from an attitudes survey which was a major component of the local authority's programme of public participation. Chapter 3 also considers in some detail the 'official' or 'objective' background of the physical and social environment in Camden. These descriptive variables covered aspects of housing, social, economic and demographic features of the borough. They provided a background against which residents' 'subjective' feelings could be compared.

The attitudes of residents towards the varying aspects of their environment are regarded as 'subjective' indicators in Chapter 4. These attitudes, derived from the attitudes survey, covered a number of topics. Residents' feelings towards the different aspects of the environment over which the local authority had some control were examined against economic and demographic variables as well as varying locations in the borough. From this analysis of the spatial distribution of attitudes some insight into the levels of felt and expressed need was obtained. By comparing

the objective indicators of life in Camden with subjective attitudes, the difference between the local authority's perception of need and that of the residents' becomes clearer.

Chapter 5 shows that in the study area the perceptions and preferences of residents for different environments varied little between one area and the next and between one social group and another. Residents as a whole tended to order their preferences for change in the environment similarly. However, some groups and some areas expressed attitudes reflecting their locational and socio-economic characteristics.

The evidence put forward in Chapter 6 suggests that respondents who had participated more in local affairs were, on the whole, just as likely to have the same attitudes and preferences as those residents who were less involved in neighbourhood affairs. The analysis, therefore, reveals a common perception of the problems facing the borough. It also shows that residents were prepared to put their own interests behind those of groups perceived to be in greater need.

The ease of policy implementation is partly dependent on the attitudes of residents towards the system of local government. Chapter 7 looks at the attitudes of residents towards the institution of local government. Here the affect for the political and administrative aspects of local government are considered. These attitudes were broken down according to demographic variables and were compared with the findings of studies of these attitudes in other areas.

Those residents who engaged in civic affairs were typically

unlike the majority with respect to their social and economic background. Yet, it might have been expected from other studies that this difference might make participants less representative in terms of their environmental attitudes than the non-joiners. From the analysis described in Chapter 8 it was found that participants and non-joiners had a similar ranking of priorities and that these were modified only slightly by the varying access of these groups to different facilities within the borough.

In Chapter 9 the stability and legitimacy of local government are seen as a function of the affect which residents express towards it. The feelings which people express towards local government can be seen as a measure of the perceived effectiveness of local government. In Camden, generally positive feelings were expressed. This indicates, to some extent, a congruence between local authority policy and residents' expectations of local government.

Chapter 10 describes how Camden uses subjective indicators in the formulation of its land-use plan. The medium through which the soft data of environmental preferences pass was the local authority's programme of public participation. The extent to which the preferences of some groups were given more weight than other groups was considered here. From an analysis of the use made of this soft data by Camden its relevance to decision-making in urban planning was explored.

The Synthesis attempts to place the empirical work of the analysis in the context of a feedback model of the urban planning system. This particular case study suggests that a better model

of the urban planning system, at least in Camden, is one characterised by a needs orientated approach. However, if such an approach were adopted by other local authorities then it could be done so in a more simplified and standard format. This would, it is suggested, reduce the costs of implementing such a programme and, secondly, make it easier to compare the consumer orientations of different urban planning authorities. In this final chapter the implications of the research for democratic and social theory are considered. Suggestions are made for a more sophisticated model of a citizen orientated model of the urban planning process.

CHAPTER 1.

Introduction.

Environmental perception, public participation and urban planning can be examined as relatively discrete entities. The purpose of this study is, however, to demonstrate the relationships between these concepts and show that they can be regarded as part of the structure of a cybernetic model of local government. The attitudes of individuals towards their environment are influenced by a variety of demographic, socio-economic and cultural variables. It is these attitudes, which reflect varying values and needs, that local government may try to cater for at least in the realm of public goods. Other goods and services may be provided by the market. The medium through which citizen preferences are expressed for public goods is traditionally regarded as the political system. Through the various modes of political participation competing and conflicting demands are channelled. These are resolved in the decision-making forum, whether this be at national or local government level. The increasing role of the state in the production of consumption goods has been accompanied by trends towards greater efficiency and rationalization of the administration of those services. To balance these developments adaptations to the system of political participation have come into existence. Also, greater citizen input into the administration of local government has emerged. Sometimes this has been imposed and elsewhere it has been spontaneously generated. It remains to be seen as to whether these changes can be deduced from either a liberal or radical theory of social change. From the analysis of the relationships between the way residents perceive their environment and the

urban policy-making process, as mediated by citizen involvement, it is hoped that a clearer picture of their interdependence will emerge, and at the same time provide a basis for a commentary or critique of theories of planning.

The starting point of this analysis is the individual or group and the feelings which are held regarding the environment in which they live. The attitudes which residents express towards their environment can be regarded as the result of the interplay between social norms, personality and cognitive structure (Fishbein, 1967; Thomas, 1971). The study of the way individuals see their surroundings, whether this be the home, the city or the state, has become known variously as 'environmental psychology', 'environmental perception', 'cognitive mapping' and 'cognitive geography' (Ittelson, et al., 1974; Saarinen, 1976; Downs and Stea, 1977; Tuan, 1974). As such, these approaches demonstrate linkages between man and his environment. The way in which man perceives or experiences the world about him can be seen as input to those processes which make meaning of the world. This is the function of cognition; for it is the process which makes sense of a complex environment (Ittelson, et al., 1974, p.6). It is this environment, that is the stimulus, which affects perception. Different perceptions can be seen to be influenced by a number of factors including social class (Goodchild, 1974), housing status (Budge, 1965), culture (Mannheim, 1976; Marans, 1970; Canter and Thorne, 1972), and location in space (Lynch, 1960; Gould and White, 1968). While some students have concentrated their attention on the structure of environmental attitudes (Kelly, 1955; Osgood, et al., 1957; Canter, 1969) others have been concerned with the value of this information in environmental design (Michelson, 1975; Canter, 1971 and Clark, 1976). It is the applied aspects of environmental

perception that are given more weight here. Few of the many aspects of environmental psychology have been developed with the requirements of policy-making in mind. It is, however, an understanding of the nature of decision-making that leads to an appreciation of the kind of data that are most applicable. It is the goal directed nature of urban planning that puts the emphasis on the need for perceptual and attitudinal data that are related specifically to goals or needs (Clark, 1976; Neuber, 1980).

At the micro-level, the individual interacts with the environment so as to satisfy basic needs and culturally determined desires (Cohen, 1975; Fitch, 1970). For example, the wearing of clothing may be regarded as the first line of defence against the weather. Buildings can be seen as another type of response to the environment. Within buildings we live an encapsulated existence, secure and protected from the elements. Within buildings there is specialization of space; rooms are used for varying purposes to meet differing needs (Saarinen, 1976, p.46). Yet, few of the commentators on environmental perception and environmental design consider macro-level man-environment relations. Notable exceptions include studies at the national level (Lowenthal, 1968; Gould 1966) and perceptions of differences between nations at the world level (Kelman, 1965; Tuan, 1974). But even at these higher levels little attempt has been made to relate environmental perceptions and attitudes with organisational structures such as local and national governments or with international agencies. Yet, it is at the interface between man and those institutions which manipulate the environment that perceptual or attitudinal information is most relevant. As the institutions of the state take on an increasing number of functions

there is a danger of the traditional systems of representation being unable to control an increasingly complex system of administration. This tendency towards centralisation in decision-making has been accompanied by demands for a greater voice in local affairs and more devolution (Jowell, 1975; Levin and Donnison, 1973). Thus, on the one hand, there is a desire for greater personal involvement, at least by some individuals and groups (Damar and Hague, 1971; Lucas, 1976). On the other hand, the encouragement of citizen involvement by local agencies and government can be seen as a way of improving the data base of decision-making (Hatry and Blair, 1976), or of a means of legitimating decisions already carried out.

One of the characteristic features of political action and debate since the late 1960s has been the concern with a plethora of forms of citizen involvement (Pennock and Chapman, 1975). These can be set on a continuum ranging from manipulation at one extreme to the sharing of power in decision-making at the other (Arnstein, 1969). New structures for sharing power have developed in local government (Fagence, 1977), in public housing (Boone, 1972; Craddock, 1976), transport planning (Webber, 1975), health services (Levine, 1970) and with a certain amount of controversy in Britain, in industry (Clegg, 1960; Bullock, 1977; Elliott, 1978). The reasons put forward for these changes revolve around two basic concepts, namely efficiency and democracy. They are frequently regarded as conflicting tendencies but in the right proportions they may be complementary (Lucas, 1975). Greater administrative efficiency and centralised decision-making have led to more rational and integrated policy-making (Eddison, 1975), but at the same time they have made the ordinary citizen more remote from the decision-

maker. Citizen involvement or public participation implies greater public involvement and more lengthy deliberations over issues. Ideally, all those who are affected either directly or indirectly might be involved or at least consulted. This would produce perspectives on the problem in question that may have been under-emphasised or ignored by the traditional structures of decision-making. It may also produce long delays which have a cost or blighting effect on some groups and areas (Senior, 1972; Dennis, 1972). The programmes of public participation as carried out by local government in Britain can be seen as one attempt at trading-off efficiency with democracy.

The functions of participation programmes can be divided into two main categories. Firstly, citizen involvement may help to develop the individual's or groups' sense of achievement or well-being (Pateman, 1970). This may be a personal reward in the form of greater understanding and increased social interaction. Or, it may be a material reward in the form of a more effective, sensitive and equitable allocation of goods and services by the local authority (Cole, 1974). These are two criteria by which participation programmes can be evaluated. However, this empirical approach has been largely confined to studies of urban politics in the United States (Cole, 1974; Bolan and Nuttall, 1975). Of more relevance to Western Europe and particularly those regions with centralised systems of government such as in Britain, the role of government both at the national and local level is much more important. From one standpoint, that of liberal democracy, citizen involvement is one way of keeping a check on the local government's allocation of public goods. It increases the local state's

accountability and sensitivity to varying interests (Altschuler, 1965). Yet, from a radical viewpoint such programmes are seen as methods by which the local authority can incorporate possibly antagonistic feelings at an early stage in the decision-making process and consequently arrive at a plan which may have a higher level of acceptability (Castells, 1978; Coit, 1978). Thus, in terms of evaluation, the perspective of the examiner needs to be determined, or made clear. Gains made by local groups may well be at the expense of the existing power structure in a community (O'Malley, 1977). But more frequently it will be the established groups and elites who control and manipulate the involvement of the non-joiners (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970).

Citizen participation in this light might be seen as an end in itself. This is the view taken by the theorists of participatory democracy (Rousseau, 1968; Pateman, 1970). Elsewhere, it is regarded as a prerequisite for effective and sensitive government. Participation in this context is seen as part of the framework for a dialogue between the system of government and a community system (Friend and Jessop, 1976). But this dialogue is constrained by the institutional framework in which it operates. The reform of local government in Britain has led to a more rationalised and integrated form of decision-making and administration (Baine, 1978). This has, in effect, centralised decision-making and weakened the role of those elected members who are not in the influential policy-making committee of the local authority (Hambleton, 1978). It has, in some cases, reduced the influence of senior officers in departments that formerly had greater autonomy (Eddison, 1975). From the administrative point of view, the advantages of a more integrated approach to decision-making are seen to outweigh the negative political consequences. Corporate

planners argue that the work of government is seriously hampered by the relatively arbitrary fragmentation of effort between departments, professions, committees, units of government and agencies. This compartmentalization is seen to restrict the ability of government to perceive and react to problems in society (Hambleton, 1978).

The greater autonomy of departments before local government reorganization emphasised the administration of a service rather than its effectiveness in meeting some goal from the client's point of view (Hambleton, 1978, p. 46). This is in contrast to the idea of corporate planning with its emphasis on the need for continual review of the effectiveness of activities in terms of their impact on neighbourhood and borough-wide problems such as homelessness, unemployment, traffic congestion and overcrowding. This approach stresses the importance of learning about what is happening in the environment and adapting to what is learnt. It seeks to identify and anticipate changing needs and problems and to assess the known and likely impact of local authority activities upon these problems. The focus of study is policy or planning, its content and the processes by which it is formulated, implemented and evaluated. In practice the advantages of corporate management and planning proclaimed by its proponents have only in part been achieved. There has been a tendency towards a mechanistic approach which has underrated the monitoring of effectiveness of plan-implementation. Secondly, the policies resulting from this decision-making approach have frequently been superseded by events mostly outwith the control of the local authority (Hambleton, 1978, p. 61). In Britain there is the obligation of the local authority to produce a land-use plan (district and structure plans) which only

goes some way towards the idealised corporate plan, and is only partially integrated into the budgeting programme of the local authority. It is the comprehensive nature of the corporate plan which might be seen as the programme of goals for a community. However, in Britain it is the land-use or structure plan which comes nearest to this 'holistic' outlook (Eddison, 1975, p. 92), and it is the process by which it is produced that is considered here.

This brief account of some of the aspects of the way people perceive the environment, how they interact with local government, and the way in which decisions are made affecting the environment illustrates a certain amount of inter-connection between them. It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate that amongst other variables, environmental perceptions can be seen as an input into the decision-making framework whose output is initially a corporate or land-use plan which precedes programmed changes in the environment. The medium through which this input flows can be regarded as citizen involvement or consultation. It has been demonstrated, at least in the United States, that a number of factors influence the way in which the perceptions of residents are initially obtained and how they are finally used by the policy-making actors (Cole, 1974). Political, social, economic and organisational factors are cited as having varying degrees of impact on this flow of information and expressions of environmental preferences (Nuttall and Boldan, 1975; Almond and Verba, 1965). In American studies of citizen involvement the political culture, or attitudes towards the system of government, has been examined (Lasswell, 1948; Greenstein, 1968; Almond and Verba, 1965). In those studies as in Rowe's British Study (Rowe, 1978), the result of citizen involvement was not only to change the data input into the policy-making process but also to change

participants' feelings towards the institutions they were dealing with. Depending on the expectations of the involved citizen, the feelings expressed towards the institutions of local government varied with the degree of involvement (Cole, 1974). This study attempts to examine the affect which some citizens express towards their local government. At this stage, it might be hypothesised that the greater congruence between the policy decisions of the local authority and environmental preferences the greater is the amount of affect shown by residents for the institution of local government.

The Public Participation Movement. Feelings of powerlessness, stress and multiple deprivation have become aspects of what has become known as the 'urban crisis' (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). The growth in the demands for greater involvement in decision-making has been described as a means by which communities can overcome these problems (Hill, 1966, 1970; Hegedus, 1976). It is still a matter of some conjecture as to whether the participation of citizens in local government has improved the quality of decision-making. It may, in many cases, make it more democratic but at the expense of efficiency. However, the quality of decision-making is judged by both consumers and administrators of public services and few attempts have been made to develop rigorous criteria for testing this concept. This type of evaluation can be seen from the perspectives of the different causes of its growth. Participatory techniques employed by local government may be seen as aids to management by helping to improve the quality of decision-making (Krause, 1968; Selznick, 1953; Strange, 1972). Secondly, participation programmes can be viewed from the perspective of the participant. The function of citizen involvement in this context has two aspects. Participation can be seen as a way of improving the

allocation of goods and services (Ostrom, 1976; Robinson, 1972).

It can also be looked at from a psychological perspective. Its function in this sense might be to improve the participant's sense of well-being by increasing the level of awareness of responsibility and understanding of the processes operating in the environment (Rousseau, 1968; Cole, 1974; Paterson, 1970).

The tendency towards increasing size of administrative units has produced a widening gap between the administered and the administrators (Dahrendorf, 1975; Milliband, 1969). In Britain, for example, local government reorganisation has led to an increase in the scale of the smallest administrative unit, i.e. the local authority (Redcliffe-Maud, 1968; Local Government Act 1972). It was felt by the Maud Committee on Local Government Reform that these new units would be more efficient in using man-power resources and for distributing goods and services than the then existing arrangements (cf. Bains, 1972). This study included an attitudes survey of neighbourhood reactions to local government as well as attempting to identify a sense of community. From that it identified areas which were commonly perceived as 'home' territories (Redcliffe-Maud, 1968, No. 9). They represented those areas about which people felt a certain amount of attachment or identification. It was this neighbourhood, as perceived by residents, the Report found, that should be the base for any new organisation, whether of a deliberative type or one with executive functions. It was at the level of old parish and town councils that new neighbourhood councils become established after the 1972 reorganisation. However, these neighbourhood councils and community councils as they are called in Scotland, have no executive powers as such. Their function is seen as principally one of information exchange (Liggett, 1978;

Local Government Act 1972). At the present time not all local authorities have established neighbourhood or community councils. They do, however, provide a limited opportunity for individuals to participate in neighbourhood affairs. At the same time, they represent a source of grass-roots opinion which the local authority may want to make use of.

As the organs of local government become more remote from the consumer there tends to develop an increasing insensitivity to neighbourhood variations in demands for goods and services (Skeffington, 1969; Hill, 1970; IULA, 1971). The growth of more local organs of neighbourhood control might be seen as a partial solution to this problem. Operating at a more local scale than the neighbourhood council, in Britain, is the tenants' association, local amenity group, and housing co-operative. These bodies can be thought of as being concerned with influencing, on behalf of their members, the quantity and quality of housing and neighbourhood services. They act as advocates on behalf of the residents in pressing the various organs of local government for changes in the level of provision (Castles, 1967; Young, 1975). It is, perhaps, easier for residents to identify with local representatives than it is for them to relate to local government officials (Beresford and Beresford, 1978). The skill which these local associations develop in dealing with different aspects of local government may put the neighbourhood, of which they are a part, in a more ready state to deal with local government decisions which affect their area (O'Malley, 1977). These local associations and groups can give a forewarning of events to their members and explain more fully planning and other departmental proposals. These features of neighbourhood citizen groups help to explain their growth in a time of increased rationalisation of

bureaucratic structures. However, the increasing distance between the governed and the governors in local government is only one explanation of the increased demand for more citizen involvement in decision-making since the late 1960s.

The greater level of general education in the population, at least in the Western democracies, has been associated with a developing interest in environmental issues (Gable, 1958; Barker and Keating, 1977; Lowe, 1975). Concern with the physical appearance of the urban form, and interest in civic history and culture, and awareness of pollution might be seen as leading to the creation of interest and pressure groups promoting these issues. At the national level the influence of these groups has been to develop a greater awareness of environmental issues. At the local level the effect of their influence has been to encourage in local officials and in schools (Hammersmith, 1978) a greater awareness of the pressures on the environment and its value as a resource. One result of this movement has been an increase in the involvement of amenity and environmental groups and schools in the monitoring of local authority's plans affecting various parts of the environment over which it has some influence (Lucas, 1975; Brookes and Richardson, 1974).

The gradual decrease in the length of the working week and the associated increase in leisure time has made it possible for a greater number of people to enter some form of voluntary community service. It is not known whether the proportion of people becoming involved in 'non-political' organisations such as sports clubs and some amenity societies is increasing in comparison with the numbers who are involved in more overtly political groups such

as political parties, residents' and tenants' associations. Certainly there has been a flourishing growth of pressure groups concerned with environmental problems which lobby at a local and national level (Brotherton, 1978; Bugler, 1978; Cook, 1967). What evidence there is suggests that those who are more active in neighbourhood affairs, such as being a member of a neighbourhood council, tenants' or residents' association, tend, on the whole, to be the better educated and long term residents of higher social status than the bulk of the people in the neighbourhood in which they live (Crewe, Fox and Alt, 1977; Fagence, 1977). As leisure time increases, it is likely that the involvement of citizens in voluntary groups of all types, but particularly those dealing with amenity and environment, will become more widespread (D.o.E, 1972).

From a sociological point of view, the generally increasing specialization of work by continuing division of labour combined with a withering away of accepted codes of behaviour has led to a rise in the feelings of normlessness and lack of integration in society. This is accompanied by an erosion of the concept of the meaning of life (Durkheim, 1951; Blauner, 1964; Neal and Rettig, 1967). In the production line factory where there is extreme division of labour it is difficult for the worker to know what place his work has in the overall production of the final good. The employee in this position will find it hard to place much value on his own work. Special motivation may be required to assess his own work in relation to that of others some distance away along the production line. The result of having little personal control over the pace of work, its quality, and its final use can develop in the worker feelings of powerlessness or a degree of alienation from his work (Blauner, 1960).

More recently, however, this development has slowed down and a trend towards job enrichment and greater involvement in decision-making in the work place is becoming more widespread (Department of Employment, 1975; Walker, 1977). As with the work place so too with the neighbourhood. The concept of alienation or feelings of powerlessness might be applied to the neighbourhood where local government is sometimes seen as 'them' and the local residents as 'us' (Beresford and Beresford, 1978). A lack of understanding of the workings of local government and the continuing professionalisation of its administration develops feelings of powerlessness just as in the work place. It is by decentralising or delegating power to neighbourhood interests and community groups that these feelings may be overcome (Pateman, 1970). By exerting a minimal amount of power or influence the individual is able to experience some control over his environment. This, in turn, may reduce the individual's or groups' feelings of alienation towards local government and society, and thereby give some meaning to life, and, at the same time, reduce the likelihood of conflict (Dahrendorf, 1959, 1975).

In urban societies it has been noted that city size is associated with varying levels of specialization (Wirth, 1938; Reissman, 1964; Jones, 1966). This association might be used to explain some of the types of personal relationships characteristic of larger settlements such as cities. In these settings relationships between people are frequently restricted to either work or leisure activities. It is more difficult for people to meet in more than one role (Reissman, 1964). The effect of this is a degree of normlessness and uncertainty which leaves the individual

with conflicting norms of behaviour and a greater likelihood of unrestrained aspirations (Durkheim, 1977; Lukes, 1969). This state of affairs is referred to in the literature as 'anomie', and accounts, in part, for the higher levels of crime and mental stress to be found in certain areas (Palmer and Goldstein, 1966). These studies of urban pathology compare the way of life in towns and cities with that of the life of smaller settlements with, perhaps, more integrated communities (cf. Frankenberg, 1969; Willmott and Young, 1976). In smaller towns and rural settlements life styles and interpersonal relations vary in degree from those of a metropolis. For example, social status in the rural village is more likely to be ascribed rather than achieved. Norms of behaviour are more likely to be enforced (Frankenberg, 1969). The result of these differing relations between people in town and country is a lower sense of normlessness in the smaller-sized settlement. The implication of this work for the study of citizen involvement is that improved opportunities for participation may decrease feelings of powerlessness or anomie by providing local opportunities for direct action and involvement. This may have an integrating effect on otherwise isolated individuals and groups and may, perhaps, engender a common awareness of environmental problems.

According to some social theorists, one of the roles adopted by local government is that of an instrument for containing or controlling conflict (Arnstein, 1964; Smith and Borghorst, 1976). By encouraging the involvement of dissatisfied interests their energies may be directed to more useful ends. By excluding critical elements from the decision-making process frustration may develop into open confrontation and violence. Other causes used to explain the violence of the urban poor, particularly the black revolts

of the late 1960s, could be the structured pattern of inequality and the goal-oriented struggle for political or social power (Smith, 1980). It is conflict of this sort that damages the credibility and legitimacy of the administration. However, inequitable distributions of goods and services may result from forces beyond the control of local government. This is particularly relevant in the sphere of economic or production goods where local government in western democracies have fairly limited influence (Mollenkopf, 1978). In those cases where the local authority is responsible for the changing level of provision, poor quality decision-making may be the result of a lack of funds for information storing and retrieving devices, intelligence gathering, and perhaps because of the poor state of the art of decision-making as it relates to a particular place and time (Robinson, 1972). Planning in its broadest sense is decision-making involving the setting of goals and the monitoring of plan-development (Davidoff and Reiner, 1978). The information and techniques of analysis that are used in decision-making influence the final judgement made. The more detailed and comprehensive the information or data used, the more likely are the decisions made to be robust (Steinbruner, 1974). And, as with all decision-making, any interpretation of data reflects the varying values of those who take part in this process. The degree of congruence between the emphasis or weight put on different values or positions by decision-makers and citizens tends to be proportional to the amount of political trust or affect which people have for the political and administrative systems of government (Almond and Verba, 1965). If techniques or methods are available for providing decision-makers with more accurate and wide-ranging indicators of community problems and preferences then it may follow that the decisions made will at least be better

informed, even if they do not reflect the varying aspirations of special interest groups. The participation programme is increasingly seen as one of the principal methods by which the local authority can obtain attitudinal data not normally collected on a regular basis (Clark, 1976).

The development of the concept of participation, not only in local government but in the work place, can in part be attributed to an academic interest in theories of democracy. In contrast to the 'realist' or 'representative' theory of democracy, classical theory, and, as it is now called, participatory democracy, advocates an increase in the degree of involvement of individuals and groups in decision-making (Pateman, 1970; Milbrath, 1965). The classical theorists who have advocated widespread citizen participation, like Rousseau and J.S. Mill, emphasize the effects participation has on the individual (Rousseau, 1968; Mill, 1946). These can be thought of as psychological reasons. It is through participating in the work place and in the neighbourhood that the individual learns or becomes aware of a sense of responsibility. His awareness of the functions of local government as a consequence of this exposure may become clarified. His sense of well-being according to these theories is developed while feelings of control over the environment are enhanced. This participation at the neighbourhood or local level prepares the individual for participation in public affairs at higher levels and eventually at national or state level (Rousseau, 1968; Pateman, 1970). Involvement at the level of the state, the classical theorists argue, is successful only if the individual is sufficiently skilled in the art of decision-making which he achieves at the local level and where mistakes are not so serious. The benefits according to this theory accrue to the individual and can be expressed in terms

of greater awareness and fulfilment. This theory of democracy is not without its critics. Those supporters of a representative theory of democracy base their interpretation on post-war empirical studies of political participation, particularly those in the United States (Dahl, 1956; Almond and Verba, 1965). These studies found that, contrary to what was advocated by the classical democrats, the majority of people are only moderately interested in government and that only a small fraction of the population is actively involved in politics. The majority are disinterested and are content to leave the decision-making to a small group or elite that remains accountable to the electorate by being subject to dismissal every few years (Schumpeter, 1976; Pennock and Chapman, 1975). The supporters of the representative theory argue that it would be positively damaging to democracy if more direct involvement was promoted (Lipset, 1959; Schumpeter, 1976). They suggest that liberal minded people are attracted to positions of power and that the encouragement of mass participation would result in more authoritarian personalities entering the decision-making system. This is seen as a threat to the continuing existence of democratic institutions. This is in addition to the loss of efficiency experienced by having more people employed in decision-making. A refinement of this theory maintains that efficiency is maintained by controlling the numbers involved in decision-making. This tendency towards elitism endorses the minimal involvement of citizens in politics (Parry, 1969; Wright Mills, 1956.)

As well as the academic interest in theories of participation there has, since the late 1960s, been a more practical interest in the concept of citizen involvement. The benefits of incorporating more interests into the realm of administration and decision-making

have to be balanced against the costs of that involvement. A trade-off has to be reached by local government using citizen participation programmes which balances the desire for consultation and involvement with the need for quick decisions (Skeffington, 1969; Dennis, 1972). One example of the blighting effects of delays in decision-making due to public consultation relates to proposals for new motorways. The greater the length of time spent in deliberation, the greater is the blighting effect as is the stress caused to individuals by uncertainty (Prescott Clarke, 1975; Abbiss and Lumsdon, 1979). The demands by environmental groups and others for greater participation or consultation in this type of decision-making are inevitably going to lead to expenses of this kind. It is one of the costs of citizen involvement.

In Britain, changes in the law relating to town and country planning have made it obligatory for local authorities to establish programmes of participation as an integral part of the development plan process. The nature and scope of these programmes vary depending on the size and situation of the local authority, as well as the political composition of the council. The Town and Country Planning Act 1971 reflected the trends which have been described here together with reforms of local government which were being carried out at that time (Local Government Act 1972; Richards, 1973). It also reflected the need for new structures to fill in the gaps left by the disbanded and agglomerated town councils. These programmes of consultation can also be seen to represent a desire on the part of local governments, and especially the departments of planning, to improve the quality, or at least the image, of their decision-making.

Public Participation In Theory. From a theoretical point of view citizen participation exercises are frequently cited in support of a participatory theory of democracy (Bachrach, 1969; Pateman, 1970; Pennock and Chapman, 1975). Studies in both the United States and Europe tend to suggest that there are common causes (IULA, 1971). In the 1960s concern with poverty in the United States led to programmes being initiated by federal agencies to 'remove poverty'. These suggestions included the 'maximum feasible participation' programmes, the Model City legislation and the Equal Opportunities Act (Marris and Rein, 1967). The implementation of these programmes varied from city to city and were unlike those adopted in Britain in a number of respects (Hambleton, 1978). In the United States citizen participation programmes were funded directly from central agencies. Whereas in Britain public participation has been much more closely controlled by the second tier of government, that is the local authority. In Britain the emphasis has been placed on consultation with individuals and groups rather than on the devolution of power to community groups as happened in many of the American experiments (Moynihan, 1969; May, 1971; Aleshire, 1972).

There has been a longer history of empirical participation research in the United States. Of those writers who have linked citizen involvement with urban planning Arnstein represents one of the earlier and more important contributors to the discussion. Arnstein (1969) was particularly concerned with an evaluation of the influence on decision-making by various programmes of citizen involvement. In her 'ladder of participation' citizen participation is seen, at one extreme, as a rubber stamp for decisions taken by the local administration. This she describes as 'political

manipulation' of the citizen body. At the other extreme, citizen groups may be given full control over the allocation of funds. In essence, this approach is classificatory in that it describes a continuum of categories against which participation programmes can be labelled. By differentiating between programmes on the basis of the level of influence exercised by local groups she placed a technique of administration in the context of theories of power and urban politics.

Attempts have been made, especially by sociologists and political theorists, to allocate this relatively recent phenomenon to a place in established democratic theory. On the one hand it is cited as evidence for a reemergence of a participatory theory of democracy (Pateman, 1970; Pennock and Chapman, 1975). While others holding elitist views, or those of a representative theory of democracy, condemn this change as being dangerous to the fragile structure of democratic institutions (Collins, 1978; Dahl, 1958; Agger et al., 1964). Insufficient empirical research has been undertaken to say either one way or the other which is the more tenable position. Supporters of the representative and elitist theories illustrate their argument by pointing out that the majority of citizens are not involved in any kind of community or work place decision-making. They argue that minimal involvement is conducive to stable government and efficient decision-making (Moser, 1939; Wright Mills, 1956). This interpretation of the evidence can be seen as a justification or explanation of the generally low levels of citizen involvement in decision-making. They are not approaches which explore the effects of different political institutions. The representative theory, on the whole, is not one which encourages criticism and change of established practices. In contrast,

advocates of a participatory theory of democracy rest their case on the benefits to the individual through the participatory act and, secondly, on the advantages of a better informed system of decision-making even though it may be longer than the time taken by representative or elitist systems.

From a standpoint of social change, programmes of participation can be seen as an integral part of the process that leads to organisational evolution (Thornley, 1977; Smith, 1980). The place of participation in theories of change varies according to the perspective taken by a number of theorists. Almond and Verba (1965), for example, have a relatively small role for participation in their theory of political and social change. They tend to hold the view of the elitist and representative theorists. Change comes about, according to this approach, by the elite groups and the professional administrators who make the more important decisions (Dahl, 1956; Bachrach, 1969). The experience and training of these groups enables them to make the most reasonable decisions in the best interests of the community. It would be folly, they argue, to have more participation as this would only hinder and make less effective the decision-making of the elite groups. Almond and Verba's approach, like that of elitist and representative theory in general, explains the current low levels of citizen involvement, at least up until the 1960s. But it pays rather less attention to the personal benefits to be gained by citizen involvement and gives rather inconclusive evidence for the dysfunctional effects of participation (Pateman, 1970).

In his analysis of participation and social change, Thornley puts Dahrendorf in a midway position between those who wish for no

more participation and those who would have mass participation (Thornley, 1977). The advantage of encouraging a limited amount of citizen involvement, Dahrendorf argues, is that conflict, whether in the workplace or in government, can be contained (Dahrendorf, 1959). If the critical elements in a community have no way of influencing decision-makers then disagreement and frustration may erupt into violent conflict. By bringing into, or incorporating into the decision-making structure, the radical or disenchanted groups, decisions can be changed or amended so as to reduce stress and possible conflict. It is by institutionalizing conflict in this way that society can change to meet new needs peacefully. Dahrendorf (1975) sees the recent efforts to encourage citizen involvement, particularly in the more deprived areas of cities as one way of containing conflict, and at the same time providing a framework for more acceptable and sensitive decision-making. It is this middle-of-the-road position that might be used to describe participation programmes in Britain. In Britain, programmes of citizen involvement have been established under the control of local government planning departments (Town and Country Planning Act, 1971). And, as such, from Dahrendorf's perspective programmes of participation might be seen as an institutional attempt at containing conflict (Thornley, 1977).

Those theorists who advocate mass participation such as Rousseau (1968) and Marx (1974) and more recently by Pateman (1970) do so, Thornley (1977) suggests, because of the benefits which accrue to the individual and, secondly, because of the social change which is believed to follow from mass participation. However, no programmes have reached anywhere near the ideals outlined by these

theorists; though some steps have been taken along this path. At present, programmes of citizen involvement have only extended participation to certain aspects of local government, notably town planning in Britain and to a lesser extent in housing and industry. It may be that there are natural limits to the involvement of groups in decision-making. Certainly, it is difficult to imagine the mass participation of citizens in decision-making in local government today as it was envisaged by Rousseau (1968) or which existed in the Greek city state (Plato, 1941). The evidence of participation in planning in Britain suggests that informed participation becomes increasingly difficult as the scale of government increases (Hampton and Beale, 1976). The complexity of decision-making at city-wide and regional levels, for example, may well represent a barrier to greater consultation and involvement.

Thornley's analysis of the theories of social change of people like Rousseau, Almond and Verba, and Dahrendorf can be seen as a framework on which the growth in demands for increased citizen involvement can be traced. The violence experienced in the down-town areas of several American cities during the late 1960s might be mentioned as evidence of the inability of local governments and society in a general sense to meet the needs and aspirations of the poor and black (Jowell, 1975). Such evidence discredits the status quo theory of Almond and Verba. The notion of institutionalized containment of conflict propounded first of all by marxist sociologists (Castells, 1978; Tabb and Sawers, 1978) accords reasonably well with events in the last decade. The idea of mass participation is as yet a long way from reality. The emphasis put on the personal benefits of participation by the classical theorists has, however,

found some support amongst empirical studies, particularly those carried out on some aspects of urban politics in American cities.

Cole (1974) in his largely empirical study of participation programmes in the United States attempted to assess the value of participation in terms of its effect on the individual participants and the change in political trust brought about by more local control and contact with local government officials. He attempted to build a causal model explaining the variation in participation programmes by environmental features such as the political and socio-economic background of each area in which the programmes were operating. In this work Cole noticed that a number of indicators, including the crime rate, the proportion of blacks, the amount of federal finance, the political strength of the mayor, and city size were the significant factors influencing the variation in the intensity and range of participation programmes. Cole defined the range of a programme as the number of activities or services under the control of the participating body. The intensity of a programme was defined as the degree of control exerted over the allocation of goods and services. This concept of intensity can be compared with the concept of control outlined by Arnstein (1969) in her ladder of participation. The methodological advance made by Cole was that he attempted to quantify programmes of citizen involvement by an aggregate measure of intensity and range. With these indicators of involvement he was able to identify and categorize areal variations in participation programmes in the cities which he studied. As it turned out, no spatial component was found to be significant in explaining the variations between programmes. On the other hand, political and socio-economic indicators were found to be the important explanatory variables.

The work by Cole and similar work by Bolan and Nuttall (1975) gives support for Pateman's revised participatory theory of democracy and for the psychological basis of that theory. In the Cole study a sample of participants were asked how they felt about taking part in community decision-making. The nature of the responses varied according to the range and intensity of the programmes (Cole, 1974). Those programmes which scored most highly on his index of participation were associated with negative feelings in the participants. This negative attitude towards the programme was also observed in those respondents who took part in the most limited programmes. The greatest feelings of effectiveness and political trust were experienced by those citizens in those programmes with only moderate expectations. And, it was also noted that it was this type of programme that was most likely to receive financial and administrative help from city hall. More ambitious schemes tended to be regarded as challenges to the existing authority of local government (Mogulof, 1970; Aleshire, 1972; Cole, 1974). In Cole's study a measure of effectiveness was used to assess the success of participation programmes. In his study success was defined in terms of the change in political trust or affect towards local government as a result of the participatory experience. A second criterion was also adopted. Success was also measured by the perceived change in the allocation of goods and services in the areas covered by the programmes. In brief, citizen involvement was being evaluated from the perspective of the service providers and by the consumers of those goods and services. His analysis involved the use of attitude surveys of participants. It was found from these that feelings of accomplishment varied with feelings of political trust. In those programmes which attempted either too little or too much

there was a negative or a lower sense of trust expressed towards city government. This was combined with lower feelings of success in their particular programme. The contribution to the study of urban planning and politics that this type of research makes is that it combines an attempt at systematic categorization with evaluation in terms of producers and consumers of public goods. It succeeds, to a limited extent, in identifying environmental factors which are associated with the varying scope and intensity of participation exercises. This may be useful for helping to predict the occurrence and eventual outcome of programmes in other places and other settings. Cole identified a method of evaluation which is fairly easily reproducible elsewhere. Unfortunately, these criteria of evaluation are not particularly objective measures of assessment in that they are based primarily on the participant's subjective feelings of being involved. Cole did not consider some important aspects of participation programmes such as the cost and time taken. Nor did he try to assess variations in the allocation of goods and resources as a result of citizen involvement. Thus, on a number of points Cole's study can be seen as only a partial description and evaluation of neighbourhood involvement. Also the impact of these programmes from the point of view of city hall or local government was given much less coverage. This may, in part, be explained by the nature of the funding of most of these exercises which was federal rather than metropolitan in origin (Marris and Rein, 1967; David and Peterson, 1974). In Britain, and in other Western European countries public participation has more frequently been guided by local government directly and has been rather less spontaneous than citizen involvement in the United States (IULA, 1971). It is from the point of view of local government that criteria of evaluation need to be

developed. In Britain public participation can at one and the same time slow down decision-making and increase its quality. These two goals are not mutually exclusive but need to be balanced in a proportion that is both acceptable to the providers of public goods and to those who consume them. Arnstein (1969), Cole (1974) and Nuttall and Bolan (1975) put forward the type of questions that need to be asked of any form of public participation. They involve questions of power and politics and costs and benefits. These American studies illustrate the relevance of empirical and particularly quantitative data to practical problems of urban planning, as well as providing evidence to support the various theories of participation from a psychological and political perspective.

Citizen Involvement In Practice : Experience In Britain. The history of public participation in urban planning has been much shorter in the United Kingdom than it has been in the United States (Hambleton, 1978). The programmes of citizen involvement which have been adopted by local government in Britain, for example, can be traced to demands for the reform of local government together with problems that arose out of the planning system developed in post-war Britain (Planning Advisory Group, 1965). During the late 1950s and early 1960s a growing concern developed over the delays and increasing insensitivity of the development plan system towards community interests and individual rights (Cullingworth, 1972). Secondly, the reorganisation of local government into generally larger scale units created a need for new forms of organisation to take the place of the disbanded town and district councils (Redcliffe-Maud, 1969; Bains, 1972). These new structures have become known as neighbourhood or community councils (Liggett, 1978). Their principal function is to represent the views of the neighbourhood to the local authority. As yet they

have virtually no executive powers to carry out functions assumed by local government (Richards, 1973; Liggett, 1978). The development of these community councils together with a number of techniques for involving and consulting local groups such as the use of group consultations, attitude surveys, and written representations can be seen as the more important dimensions of those phenomena which are described as public participation in planning (Skeffington, 1969). The relatively short time during which these programmes of public involvement have been in existence has meant that the research undertaken has looked most closely at the administrative problems of technique implementation (Stringer, 1978). This approach contrasts with that of American empirical studies which have considered exercises in participation from a functional viewpoint. In comparison, the British work has tended to ignore the implications of citizen involvement on changes in service provision and also in the level of system affect. Neither have there been many attempts to develop criteria of success in order to evaluate the participation exercises operating at different scales and in different places (Sewell and Coppock, 1977). However, one major attempt to assess participation programmes of British local authorities has been undertaken by the Department of the Environment (1974; Stringer, 1978).

This project examined in some detail a variety of techniques that were employed by a number of local authorities as part of their consultation exercises for the preparation of strategic plans. These strategic plans are referred to in Britain as 'Structure Plans'. A structure planning authority may be a county, a city, or part of a county in England and a region in Scotland. Its function in planning terms is to monitor and control the development of industry, housing and transport through the medium of land-use control (Town and Country Planning Act, 1971; D.o.E., 1972, 1973, 1974). At the

second tier of local government, that is at the district level, 'Local Plans' deal with the responsibilities of the local authority with regards to its proposals for land-use change over a period of between ten and fifteen years from the time of plan completion (D.o.E., 1972). It is envisaged that these development plans for both tiers of government will be re-examined yearly and perhaps modified to take account of changing circumstances, particularly financial ones. The research sponsored by the Department of the Environment (1974-8) was principally concerned with the techniques of participation employed by structure planning authorities. However, many of the methods that were used have also been employed in programmes of public participation at the district level of local government (D.o.E., 1974; S.D.D., 1976). As problems of a neighbourhood level tend to arouse greater local interest than the more abstract goals of a structure plan it may well be that the techniques employed at the structure plan level are more successful when used in the preparation of local plans.

The majority of local authorities at both the local and structure plan level have preceeded their programmes of public participation by widespread publicity (Planning Exchange, 1977; Stringer and Uzzell, 1978). For there to be informed and relevant responses to environment problems there needs to be a certain awareness of the role local government can play. Through publicity and community education local authorities have attempted to improve on the level of knowledge of local government and its relationship with environmental problems in local populations (Stringer and Plumridge, 1975; Hammersmith, 1978). The more remote nature of the problems operating at the structure plan level has meant that consultations with the larger organisations were rated by officials as the most

useful, and also by those representatives who took part in the consultations (Hampton and Beale, 1976). The major employers, public utilities, branches of nationwide pressure groups and neighbouring authorities, in the cases studied, were reasonably able to understand the forces and problems at a city-wide, county or regional level and were sufficiently able to muster competent staff to comment on the planning authority's suggestions and to make some of their own. Individuals and local groups tended to have neither the ability nor the resources to participate adequately at this level.

Similarly, at the level of the individual and the group, resources and ability influence the degree of involvement in participation exercises and in politics in general (Allport, 1945; Marshall, 1968; Goldsmith and Saunders, 1976). Individuals who attend public meetings and who are, perhaps, more active in the neighbourhood by being members or officials of a local action or pressure group tend to be unrepresentative of the people in those areas in which they live (Hampton and Beale, 1976). Those residents who are more involved in local affairs are characteristically the more highly educated, owner-occupiers, of higher social status and residents of long standing (Crewe, Fox and Alt, 1977). The traditional community groups, like residents' associations and various clubs and societies, attract local elites rather than the typical neighbourhood resident (Frankenberg, 1969). Local groups do, however, represent an intermediate level of involvement between the local authority and the individual or household unit. The problems which arise from this differential involvement in neighbourhood affairs is that the interests of some groups who do participate are given greater weight or importance than their

numbers deserve. To identify the special needs and aspirations of those non-joining residents special devices can be used. In the preparation of local and structure plans some authorities use community development officers whose job is to identify and approach groups and organisations, mainly of the voluntary type, and communicate their feelings to the various parts of local government (Hampton and Beale, 1976). The limited use made of this technique by local authorities means that its effectiveness in representing the non-participating interests cannot yet be adequately assessed. A more popular and certainly more objective method of finding out residents' feelings about the environment of both joiners and non-joiners is the attitude survey (Boaden and Walker, 1976; Hatry and Blair, 1976). For the decision-maker in local government the data from this latter source has an air of legitimacy when compared with observations made at public meetings and representations made by motivated individuals, local groups and established organisations. Citizen surveys cannot really be seen as a means by which non-joiners can take part in decision-making since they usually reach only a very small part of the population. It is, nevertheless, a technique which has been fairly widely used to supplement the data base of the local authority.

The research which has been carried out into public participation in Britain and particularly that relating to structure planning (D.o.E., 1974-78) has tended to concentrate on the evaluation of techniques used. This evaluation has been orientated towards the perspective of the initiating body, that is the local authority. Overall, these studies only partially achieve an overview of participating programmes in terms of their function, firstly from the point of view of the community, and secondly, perhaps more

successfully, from the point of view of local government. Neither has there developed systematic criteria of evaluation for the various methods employed in participation programmes. By defining the function of citizen involvement, particularly with regards to urban planning, a context for the assessment of the different methods is established. Thus, the techniques need to be related not necessarily to the goals of the administration but rather to changes in the levels of service output. Another of the gaps in the participatory research in Britain is the lack of studies of the variations in the nature of participation projects on a regional or national basis. This study does attempt a limited study of citizen involvement according to location and explores the relationships between the inputs to the various methods of participation, such as environmental perceptions and preferences, and the outcome of the participation exercise which is the change in policy. More specifically this is the land-use plan in the British planning context.

Summary. Attempts have been made by sociologists and political scientists to associate public participation in planning with theories of democracy and social change. The evidence available which is largely American and empirical in nature suggests that citizen involvement as a phenomenon accords well with a participatory theory of democracy (Paterson, 1970; Thornley, 1977; Smith, 1980). Some of these studies such as those by Cole (1974) and Bolan and Nuttall (1975) make valuable contributions to the study of the administration of planning as well as offering a critique of urban political theory. Demands for greater public participation or citizen involvement in decision-making at all levels, but particularly at the level of the town or city region, can be correlated with greater concern for the administration of services,

activities formerly thought of as too complex for lay involvement. For any programme of participation to be successfully evaluated it needs to be measured against a number of criteria together with the extent to which it has achieved predetermined goals. These goals can be used in a functional explanation of participation. Firstly, the aim of the programme of involvement may be to benefit the initiating agency. Secondly, the programme can be seen as having rewards for the consumers of local government services as well as the personal benefits of the act of involvement. In the United States this movement has been more spontaneous and the benefits have accrued at the individual or neighbourhood level. In Britain, and in those other centralised industrialised democracies, this trend has been developed or initiated by established organs of government, particularly local government. In the context of this study it is suggested that the attitudes and perceptions which residents have of their environment as expressed in the form of environmental preferences can be seen to influence urban public policy. The implications of this perspective are that it relates the various methods of participation into a functional relationship with citizen preferences and public policy. Thereby it presents a means by which participation programmes can be evaluated in terms of consumer demands, the practicalities of policy planning, and administration.

The starting point of this analysis is the individual and his cognition of the environment. The way that the citizen's surroundings are perceived may vary according to a variety of locational and socio-economic factors. These feeling states can be expressed as preferences for a continuing or changing state of the various aspects of the environment. These preferences may be aggregated to form demands for public and private goods. Here, however, the

emphasis is put on the manner in which demands for public goods are expressed. As the functions of government tend to diversify the administration of services becomes increasingly complex.

Traditional democratic institutions such as systems of representative government have become increasingly unable to control the bureaucracy associated with the distribution of consumption goods (Castells, 1978; Miliband, 1969). As a reaction to the growth and complexity of public administration demands have arisen for greater citizen involvement in decisions formerly taken by public officials and elected representatives. Citizen involvement in decision-making is to be found in areas outside of public administration. The concentration of capital in industry and the growth of multi-national corporations have left workers and managers increasingly removed from the key centres of policy formation. This trend, as with local government, can be associated with an interest in worker participation or greater industrial democracy (Elliott, 1978). The nature of this development has been studied from basically two positions. On the one hand, it has been seen as a legitimizing tool, as a way of containing conflict (Krause, 1969). The other perspective is to see it from a liberal standpoint of benefiting the participating individual or group. European empirical research has examined in greater depth the former approach while American studies have considered in greater depth the psychological benefits and material rewards of citizen involvement in decision-making.

In Britain public participation in planning has been organised by established tiers of government. It has rarely been self-generated. The research experience in Britain focuses on citizen involvement as a technique or method used in decision-making.

Initially, it was seen to be an end in its own right, but has become a method used, and sometimes reluctantly, by local authorities, for improving the data base on which decisions are made. However, this approach sees participation from the point of view of the administration. It is only one of the criteria which can be used to assess the success of a programme of citizen participation. Seen from the participatory theoretical approach citizen involvement is more adequately assessed when the returns to the participant are considered. In this situation rewards of involvement can be measured along two dimensions. Firstly, there are the emotional or psychological benefits of participation. These are supposed, it is hypothesised, according to the classical theories of democracy, to reduce feelings of anomie and alienation. On the other hand, citizen involvement in urban planning is believed to improve the quality and sensitivity of plan-making and administration and as a consequence may result in a more satisfactory allocation of public goods and services. It is the aim of this study to analyze in depth one particular example of citizen involvement in planning in the hope of producing evidence which will throw some light on these competing approaches to citizen involvement. By adopting a model or conceptual framework of the relations between how the environment is perceived and how competing preferences result in a particular development plan it is suggested that a more valuable framework for discussing the allocation of public goods by local government may emerge.

CHAPTER 2.

A Conceptual Framework For Environment Perception, Public Participation, And Urban Planning.

Introduction. The history of the relationships between man and his environment has been ever changing and is becoming increasingly complex. All too often different aspects of these relations are studied in isolation. Consequently, partial views and interpretations result. The relations between man and his environment, between man and the social system, and the links between the social system and the physical environment can be studied in their own right. However, these categories or concepts are not mutually exclusive. They are inter-related and the nature of the influence of one variable on another varies through time and across space. The inter-relationship of the physical environment, the social environment and man can be seen as an ecological relationship. The term 'ecology' is borrowed from the natural sciences where the behaviour of animals is studied as part of their natural habitats. The ecological approach as applied to society has a central interest in the way in which individuals and groups react to and adapt to environmental stress (Wirth, 1938; Park, 1952; University of California, 1980).

Here, some of these inter-relationships are examined together with some explanations of their development. The interest in the late 1960s in citizens involvement both in Europe and the United States, for example, might be seen as an adjustment to stress in the relations between the individual, the political system, and the state. And in this ecological context, public participation can be seen as an adaptation of this system to meet changing needs and circumstances. But this adaptive approach can also be seen as one method of social change.

Social systems can be seen to tend towards consensus or conflict (Horton, 1966; Gillespie and Nesvold, 1971). This ecological approach to urban problems can be seen to fit into a consensus framework. The conflict approach to explaining relations between the individual and the state sees such approaches and development, like the study of man-environment relations and participation, as methods of diverting conflict and of legitimising existing economic and social relations (Castells, 1978). In this context the credibility of either of these two perspectives can only be justified by observation, by testing the concepts against what actually happens in the environment (Popper, 1972; Kuhn, 1970). It is this approach, or scientific method, which is employed here, firstly to identify, by example, the relations between the individual, the planning system and the political system and, secondly, to examine the extent to which the observations support these macro-theories of social change.

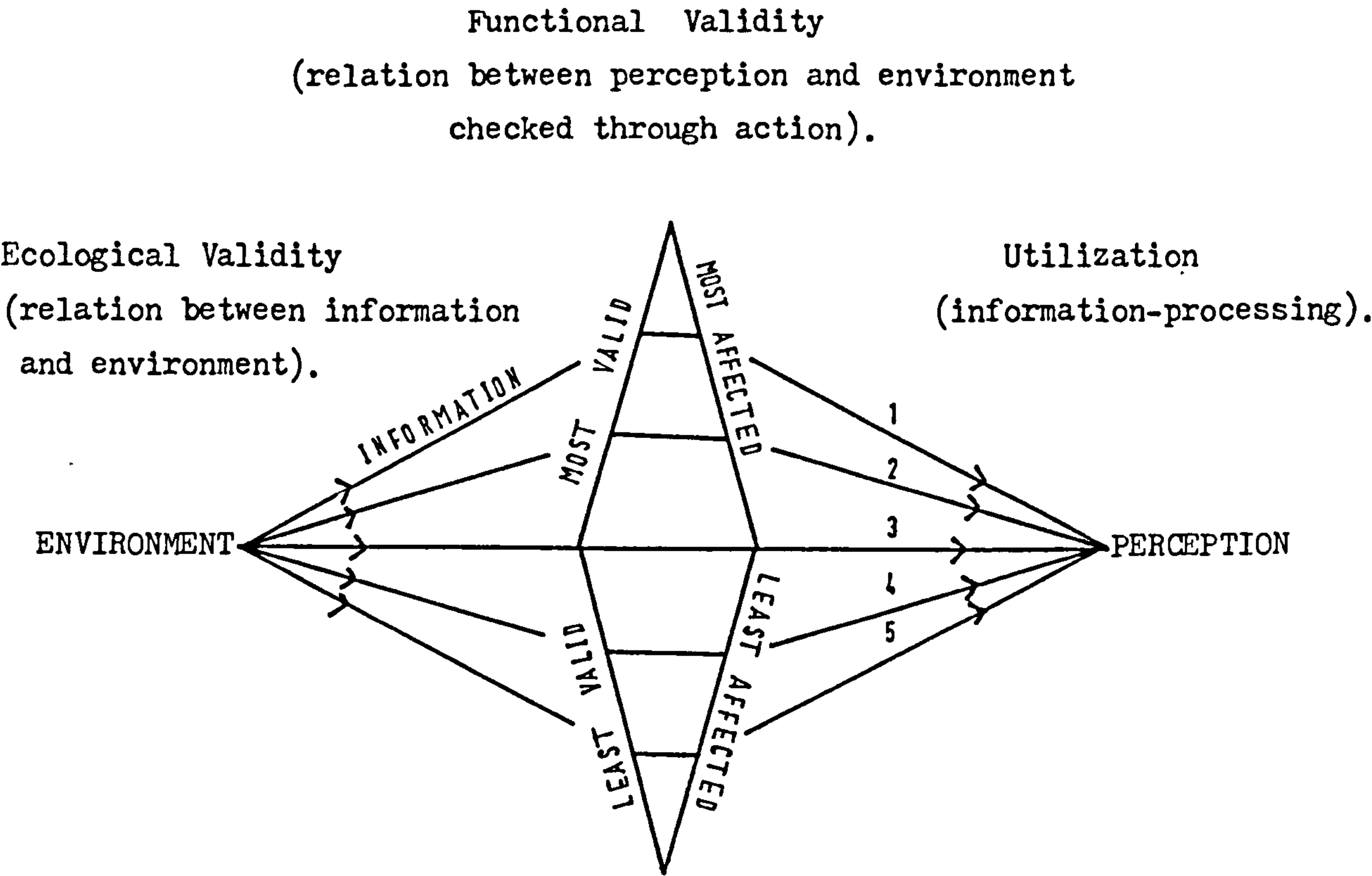
Man-Environment Relations. The starting point of the framework explored here is the way in which man reacts and adapts to his environment. This environment may extend from the classroom to a neighbourhood and city region. To make meaning out of this complexity the surroundings may be categorised or labelled. For the various components of the environment many names already exist. These objects are described by adjectives and the general process of giving names and qualities to environmental objects is called 'social encoding' (Ittelson, et al., 1974). It enables social man to deal with his fellows on a common ground of understanding. Most of all this coding enables the individual to manipulate aspects of the environment so that they can be related to human motivation or the goal-directed nature of human behaviour (Cohen, 1975). These

motivations or drives may be physiological in nature such as hunger, thirst, sex and aggression or they may have social determinants such as recognition, power, affiliation, achievement, territoriality, privacy, and self-esteem. The manner in which these motivations are related to environmental stimuli varies according to their perception and interpretation. It is this psychological process of cognition that is perhaps most crucial for man-environment interaction. It is this intellectual function and the perceptual process with which it is related that enables man to transform complex reality as picked up by the senses into a coherent inner world than can be managed (Ittelson, et al., 1974, p.98). Cognition, in short, enables the individual to order reality (Turner, 1975).

The concern here is with how the individual organises the environment in his mind. In this respect perception can be seen as the way in which an observer relates to his environment, that is the way in which information is gathered and interpreted (Murch, 1973). Environmental perception sees the observer not as a subject of the environment but rather as a participant in it. The environment is as much part of the individual as the individual is of it. Thus, environmental perception does not take place by itself but as part of the situation in which it occurs. By taking this stance regarding man-environment relations the subject-object dichotomy merges into an holistic or ecological relationship where both actor and setting are inter-related. The perceived environment, because it is a selection from reality, is the product, not the cause of perception. Perceiving in this sense is carried out by an individual from his own position in space and time and in terms of his own combination of past experiences and needs (Ittelson, et al., 1974, p.105).

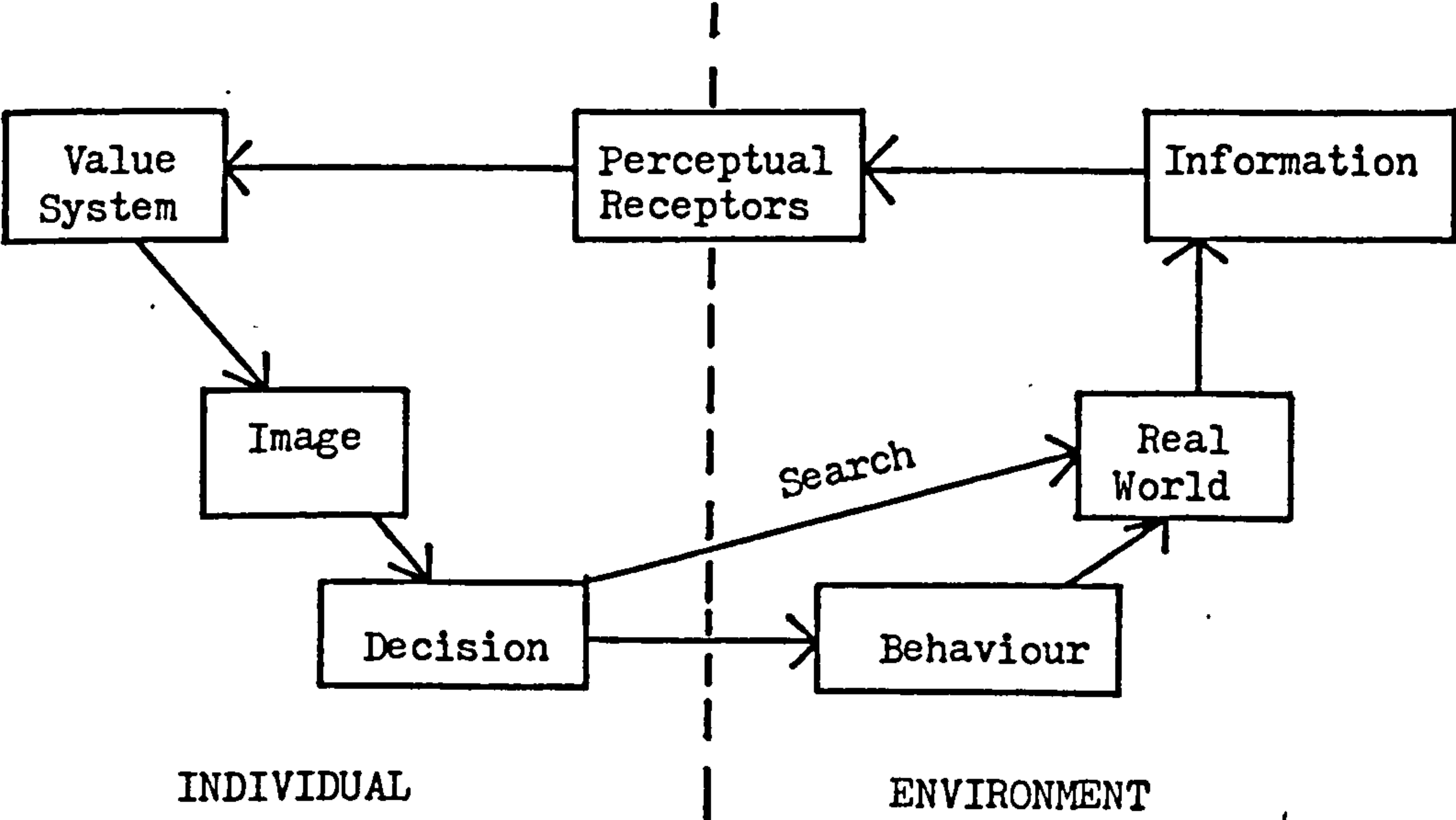
This interpretation of perception sees it as a kind of information processing mechanism. Formerly the view of perception was its relation to some external stimulus. Changes in the external environment when stimulating the organism's senses start processes which result in a response determined by the nature of the stimulus (Vernon, 1962). Since the Second World War a different view of the stimulus has emerged. Here the stimulus is seen, not as a predeterminant of a specific behavioural act, but as a source of information. The psychologist who first put forward the concept of the stimulus as a source of information was Brunswik (1956). He suggested that the individual experiences the environment as he perceives it and then tests the accuracy of this perception by interacting with the surroundings. These perceptions can only be as accurate as the number of samplings of the environment. But because it is not possible to experience all environments or all aspects of one particular setting the resulting perception the individual has is only an estimation or model of the real environment. In Brunswik's terms the perceiver builds up probabilities about the environment which are changed according to experience. This is what he refers to as 'ecological validity' in his 'lens model' of perception (Figure 2.1). The environment emits light, colour, smell and noise and this information is recombined or reordered by the perceiving individual and focused as a lens into a limited set of categories or concepts. This focussing of information is what the observer notes as the perceived environment. The degree to which this perceived environment is a valid representation of the world is its 'functional validity' and will vary as the individual interacts with the environment. The significance of this model and subsequent similar approaches is that it placed man in an

Figure 2.1: Brunswik's 'Lens Model' Of Perception.



(Source: Brunswik, 1956).

Figure 2.2: A Conceptual Schema For Research Into Geographic
Space Perception.



(Source: Downs, R.M., 1970, p.85; adapted by Saarinen, 1976, p.10).

ecological relationship with the environment. Through this relationship the perceived environment varies in its validity for the observer according to his experience of reality and his checking of his perception with the environment.

Although Brunswik's model takes into account most of the information in the environment it does not include all. Ames (1951) added to the objective environment what he called 'sequential significances and value significances'. By this he meant that certain aspects of an environment contain objects which have a special or symbolic meaning for the observer. The importance of symbols on the perception of the environment have been studied more recently by Lynch (1960) and Appleyard (1979). From these approaches it can be seen that environmental perception involves not just sensing the external environment as though it had fixed independent qualities of its own, but rather that the individual samples, tests and gives meaning to the environment which is unique to that individual.

'Environmental perception does not spring directly from the objective properties of the world out there, but rather from the world transformed into a psychological environment by a perceiving and cognizing organism ... The adequacy of these perceptions is assessed not by comparing them with some hypothetically independent environment, but rather by their utility in aiding the individual in achieving his own personal and social goals' (Ittelson, et al., 1974, p.113). From the uniqueness of this process it follows that individuals and groups are likely to see or perceive the same environment quite differently. Yet, the regularity of human behaviour suggests that in many cases there is a similarity between people's environmental perceptions. By emphasising place and activity it may be that a greater similarity between the images residents have of their surroundings will emerge.

Building on this perspective, Downs (1970) incorporates a number of those basic theories and concepts of environmental perception and places them in a broader social science context. Thus, people are viewed as decision-makers, their behaviour is considered to be some function of the real world, and, like the Brunswik model, individuals are regarded as complex information-processing systems (Figure 2.1). In this model the real world is taken as the starting point and is represented as a source of information. This information then enters the individual through a system of perceptual receptors, and the precise meaning of the information is determined by an interaction between the individual's value system and his image of the real world (cf. Ames, 1951; Cohen, 1975). The meaning of the information is then incorporated into the image. On the basis of this information the individual is required to adjust himself with respect to the real world. This requirement is expressed as a decision which can be one that involves no overt reaction. The links from the concept of 'a decision' (Figure 2.2) are seen as consisting of two parts. The first link is a recycling process described as 'search' (Figure 2.2) where the individual may decide that sufficient information has been acquired. A decision is then made which may be expressed as a pattern of behaviour which may in turn affect his surroundings. If reality does change as a result of the action, 'the behaviour', fresh information may result and the whole process can continue. This framework, therefore, allows the perception of the environment to occur in both a temporal and a spatial setting (Downs, 1970, p.85).

According to this position individuals see the world differently because their 'lens' or 'filters' screen information coming from the environment. These filters can be language, social class, personal values, value and need, culture, and some form of gestalt or pattern-

seeking function (Saarinen, 1976, p.11).

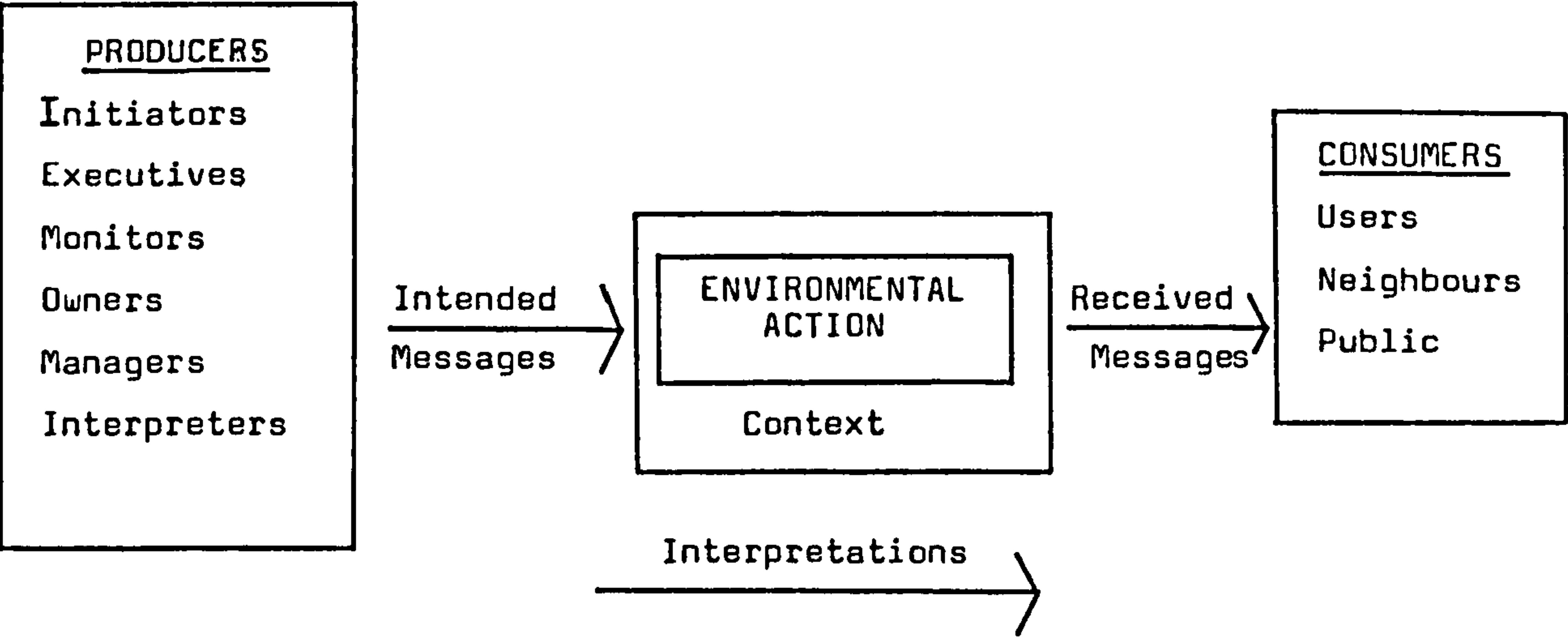
The power of these psychological filters to alter or select from the incoming information may be seen from an examination of language, the major system of interpersonal communication. In the process of adjusting to the environment each culture selects from an infinite array of possibilities a certain set of categories to describe and explain what is there (Tuan, 1974; Clark, 1977). These categories become part of their system of communication and thus structure for succeeding generations which aspects of the environment are attended to. It is through communication or the exchange of information that a more comprehensive image of the environment develops. According to Delong, it is through the communication process, internalized relatively early in life, that the organism establishes a way of relating to both his physical and social environment. The specific manner in which he does so irretrievably marks him as a member of a group, a group to whom his allegiances are conservatively drawn, emotionally reinforced, and neurologically guaranteed (DeLong, 1972, p.283). This indicates that many different points of view must be considered in environmental planning and design. It is this perspective that Appleyard adopts in his approach to man-environment relations.

Appleyard, in his theory of environmental action and perception, considers the relations between producers and consumers (Appleyard, 1979). In this simple framework there are producers and consumers and communication between them is seen as one way in which information about specific aspects of the environment can be directed to those individuals who are most likely to change the environment. All too often, Appleyard suggests, professionals and social scientists tend to screen out the connections between the physical environment and

its social meaning. Environmental professionals have not been fully aware of the symbolic content of the environment. They have tended to see it as 'a functional container, an accumulation of goods or commodities, a setting for social action or programs, a pattern of land-uses, a sensuous experience, or a natural ecosystem, but seldom do they see it as a social or political symbol' (ibid., pp. 143-144). In many cases the environment is deliberately 'desymbolized' in order to deal with it in technical, non-political terms.

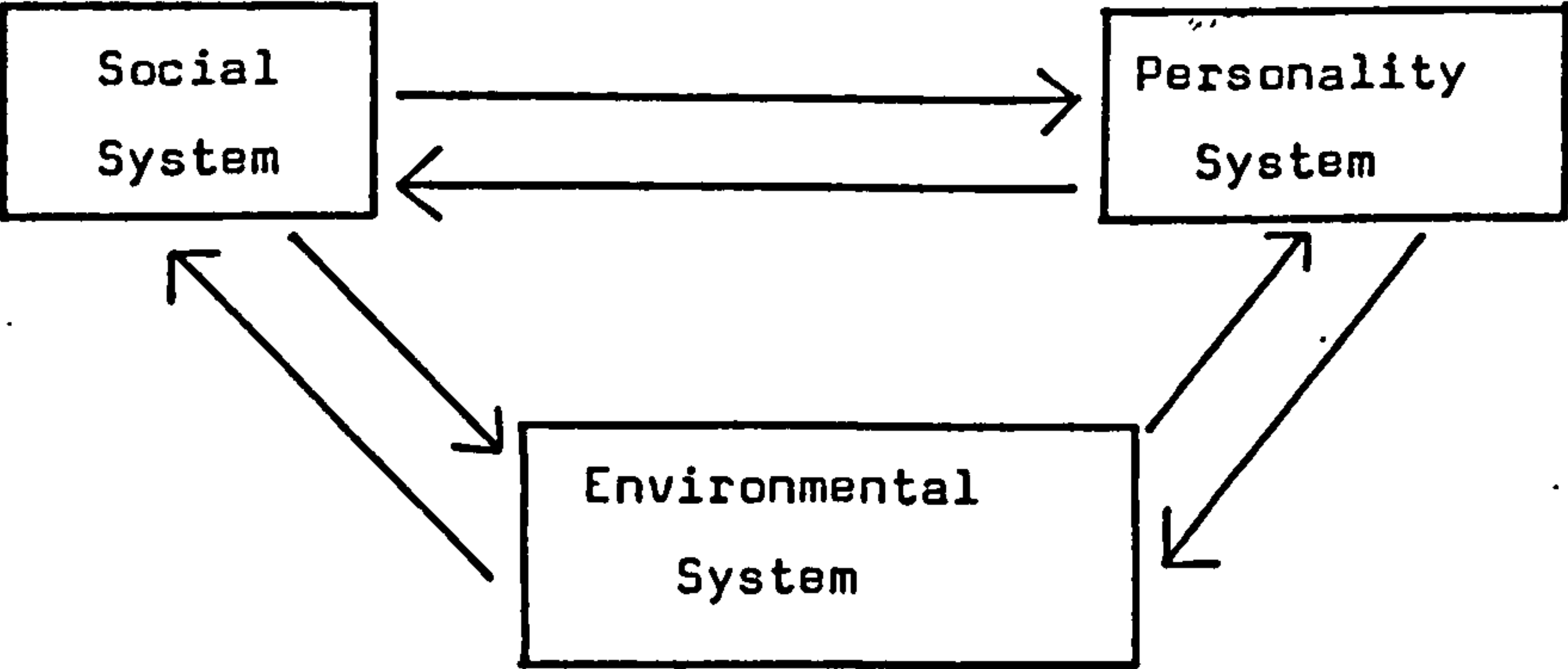
This neglect of the consumers' point of view resulted in the social critique of physical planning that peaked in the 1960s (Gans., 1968). Consequently, the physical environment has become a new focus for political struggles which have shifted from the point of production to the point of consumption (Castells, 1976). It is the activism of individuals and groups at the point of consumption that is reflected in the changing behaviour of those institutions responsible for change in the urban fabric. In Appleyard's communication model (Figure 2.3) the initiators of environmental action can range from the individual who erects a fence or plants a tree to the major developers, property owners, public agencies, and private establishments who are the key actors in urban change. The 'executives' are those people who actually effect environmental change. But these groups which change the environment are no longer free to do exactly as they like. Their actions are subject to 'monitors' who may be conservation and other interested groups, politicians and public authorities. 'Owners' and 'managers' are seen to have a more direct and continuing influence on the environment. Besides property owners they include housing managers, refuse collectors, the police and firemen. Another group which has less of an effect on the environment, but, perhaps, an influential affect on people's perceptions is the group

Figure 2.3: Communications Model Of An Environmental Action.



(Source: Appleyard, 1979, p.144).

Figure 2.4: Man-Environment Relations.



The Interplay of Personal, Societal, and Environmental Systems.
(Source: Craik and McKechnie, 1978, p.15).

of 'interpreters'. Reporters and news commentators, academics and the media can change perceptions of an environment and hence mould public opinion without direct environmental intervention (Appleyard, 1979, p.145). These producers of change can be linked to consumers by three types of messages. These are the producers' intended messages, their environmental actors, and the perceptions or received messages of the consumers (Figure 2.3). Although most environmental communication is one way the recipients can engage in various forms of feedback. This may be positive or negative, adaptive, environmental, political and often through the news media. If it is to be effective from the consumers point of view this feedback must take place before construction, in the period of design, hence the development of public participation in planning and design. Environmental communication is otherwise virtually a one-way process. If a building is constructed that emits unwanted messages there is no easy environmental reply: 'Vandalism and graffiti' are hardly effective protests while destruction is dangerous, and often illegal and costly (ibid., p.152). To prevent this type of behaviour a greater awareness by planners and designers of the need for identity, recognition, and even some sense of power as a basic human need which has a necessary outlet for expression in the physical environment is suggested. In this context, the role of 'citizen participation in environmental decisions is critically important, because this is the way in which people can become identified with a new environmental action, the way in which they can possess and feel responsible for it. It reduces their alienation' (ibid., p.152). So, on the one hand there are demands for involvement and on the other hand a need for better communication of the varying value systems of different groups.

Craik and McKechnie (1978) in their model of the interplay of personal, societal, and environmental systems emphasise the measurement of meaning at the same time as pointing out the importance of communication and feedback which Appleyard's framework describes (Figure 2.4). By placing the emphasis on environmental dispositions the relevance of measurement techniques becomes apparent. The concept of disposition is an intermediary level of analysis between behavioural acts and the personality system. According to research into the personality system (Black, 1977; Sanford, 1963), dispositions can be seen as part of a feedback system relating to personal motivations and adaptations to the environment. This adaptive system sees the various parts as interacting with one another. In Craik and McKechnie's model the personality system includes the skills, cognitive capacities, values, and psychodynamics of the individual (Craik and McKechnie, 1978, p.14). The social system is regarded as a collection of institutional structures, regulatory principles, technological capacities, and adjustment mechanisms of a society (Smelser and Smelser, 1970). The environmental system is regarded as a dynamically linked network of physical, chemical and biological subsystems (Hertz, 1970). Each part of this system can be examined in its own right. One element can be considered as a dependent variable and the others as independent variables. For example, variations in the personality system which might include a disposition towards 'pastoralism' (McKechnie, 1974) may correlate highly with behaviour in rural areas and perhaps membership of an environmental pressure group. The interest of this perspective to the study of man-environment relations is that it includes a conception of personality as part of the ecological relationship between the individual and the social and physical environments. This personality orientated approach tends, unlike Appleyard's, to concentrate on

correlation in the broadest sense, seeking to discover naturally occurring inter-relationships among personality attributes. This is a taxonomical approach and is essentially value neutral. However, man-environment relations are strongly influenced by competing value systems which this type of approach does little to resolve.

These models of man-environment relations described here demonstrate the interaction of man and his psychological process with the environment. By starting with the perception of the environment a conceptual framework between the actual environment and cognitive processes may be developed. In Brunswik's model the image is only a representation of reality. Stimuli are filtered from the environmental object to produce a perception which is a representation of the environment which is valid for that individual. By experiencing more of the surroundings, by constantly checking the image against reality, the observer is able to produce a more realistic representation of the world. This image or environmental perception is, in part, a product of, and, in part, a cause of the external environment. Downs and McKechnie in their models of man-environment relations put greater stress on the influence of the social environment as a determinant of environmental perceptions. Culture and social class, as well as location and time are variables influencing individuals' and groups' perceptions of their surroundings. These models place the subject of their study on the individual and his reaction, behaviour and perception in certain settings. Broad categories like the 'social system' or 'environmental action' are used to support and express these man-environment relations. Appleyard, in his model, goes some way to specifying certain aspects of the social environment which vary with changes in individuals' perceptions. His model is a man-institution relationship where the perceiver or individual is seen as a consumer of the output, the changed environment, of the

producing institutions which may be private corporations or public agencies. He does not attempt to qualify these relations while McKechnie does. However, McKechnie's technique is primarily a psychological scaling device for illuminating various attitudinal structures relating to the urban environment. It is, however, the output of institutions that has the greatest impact on residents' perceptions as Appleyard points out. This approach to relating organised human behaviour to individual needs can be studied by looking at how urban planning is associated with how citizens perceive their environment.

Environmental Perception And Urban Planning. Appleyard describes the relations between producers and consumers as part of a feedback system (Appleyard, 1979). Yet, he does not describe in any formal sense how this communication takes place. One of the more obvious methods of communications is the political system. The late 1960s saw dramatic increases in the demands by citizens for greater involvement and input into the areas of public decision-making. Decentralization and increased citizen participation in local government and in industry were frequent demands. In response, various institutional structures with citizen inputs have been tried. In the United States these efforts range from citizen boards for Model Cities to little city halls (Clark, 1976). In Britain public participation is a formal requirement of the plan-making process (Town and Country Planning Act, 1971). By the mid 1970s many public officials, particularly in the United States, felt that citizen participation had not been as effective as first hoped (Cole, 1974). One of the models of the democratic process is the populist or economic model of democracy. Advocates of this model, such as Downs (1957),

conceive of the political system as analogous to a pure market economy. Citizens in this model become the sovereign beings and it is their preferences which competing candidates for office seek to implement. If candidates in this model, who are seen as political entrepreneurs, are successful, they may deliver public goods. However, the ability of elected representatives to adequately express community preferences has been increasingly challenged, particularly as public administration becomes increasingly comprehensive and at the same time more complex (Shonfield, 1965). As a response to this difficulty attempts have been made to make the administration of public services more sensitive to the varying needs and desires of citizens. But, it is not clear how far this trend in consulting citizens about specific policy issues may go. This type of approach to applying an economic theory of democracy to the provision of public goods represents a link between expressed needs and the delivery of urban services. Hoinville (1971) has remarked that the planning process is most usually geared to receiving the views and aspirations of interest groups through the medium of public inquiries, and that it has not yet developed the capacity to learn much about the complex preference structure of the community as a whole. Those citizens who do not participate in the political system may have preferences even though they are not overtly expressed. Frequently used methods of estimating public opinion such as elections often under-represent some opinion. Those methods which have been used by some local authorities to assess the preferences of non-joiners involve an active approach to obtaining this information (Fagence, 1977, p.282).

That people differ in their preferences for different environmental setting needs little evidence. The difficulty for

the individual and the initiator of environmental change is how these differences can be determined. One approach is provided by the relatively well tried procedures of personality testing (Kaplan, 1978). The extent to which people's feelings about the environment have different characteristics from feelings about themselves means that the application of these measurement procedures to environmental perception may require some modification. For example, the problem of disguising the purpose of the measure may not be so important with respect to environmental matters as it is to personality dimensions. This may allow a more direct and unambiguous approach to questioning. People may be reticent about discussing aspects of themselves, but this attitude does not necessarily carry over to what they like and dislike about their world. On the contrary, people indicate that they actually like to express their environmental preferences (ibid., p.48).

One of the techniques developed to measure environmental preferences is the Environmental Preference Questionnaire (EPQ), (Kaplan, 1977). This is a similar instrument to McKechnie's Environmental Response Inventory (McKechnie, 1974). While McKechnie used a multiscale measuring device for identifying the differences in the ways people habitually interact with the environment, Kaplan's instrument is orientated towards identifying sources of satisfaction and patterns of preference relating to different environmental settings. The two methods may provide a complementary assessment of environmental dispositions. From this type of research an increasing level of validity is developing with these instruments. For example, the influence of situation or location on behaviour has been established by the various uses made of the Environmental Response Inventory (McKechnie, 1978). It is becoming more apparent

that individuals behave differently in different situations and that even personality traits may be situation specific (Kaplan, 1977, p.65). Environmental preferences may thus be both an enduring property of an individual and also an indication of how an individual is going to behave in certain settings. These approaches to identifying environmental preferences and levels of satisfaction have the merit of being divided into a manageable number of dimensions. These have been understood by a wide range of subject groups. Although these attitudinal based instruments provide an indication of the relative strengths of feelings for different aspects of the environment they tend towards unconstrained idealism rather than the more realistic trade-off approach which individuals make in decision-making.

In the market place the entrepreneur faces the problem of finding out what his customers prefer. A misjudgement on his part will result in a loss of sales and profit. But a private entrepreneur does have some information to go on. As private consumers buy goods, they reveal their preferences for certain goods at one price over goods at other prices. The 'public entrepreneurs', on the other hand, obtain little information from daily exchanges about the current preferences of their 'consumers'. But because the goods and services which most public entrepreneurs produce are made to defined client groups, without any medium of exchange, and often in the form of non-divisible goods, no record of the satisfaction that clientele receive from these goods and services is produced (McIver and Ostrom, 1976). Services are provided, on the whole, with very little information returning to elected representatives or those responsible for the administration of the public service. The difficulty with open-ended questioning instruments and environmental preferences

is that they are unconstrained by the complexity of service provision. What information is obtained from citizens is relatively difficult to interpret. Because the payment for public goods is separated from the delivery of such goods most individuals want more rather than less of any public good, as long as they place a positive value on the goods. With goods which are bought individuals have to make choices about the relative merits of different goods at varying prices. In the context of estimating demand for public goods decision-makers are looking for those preferences which are constrained by the actual and perceived costs to the individual or group of implementing the desired change (ibid., p.88; Robinson, et al., 1975).

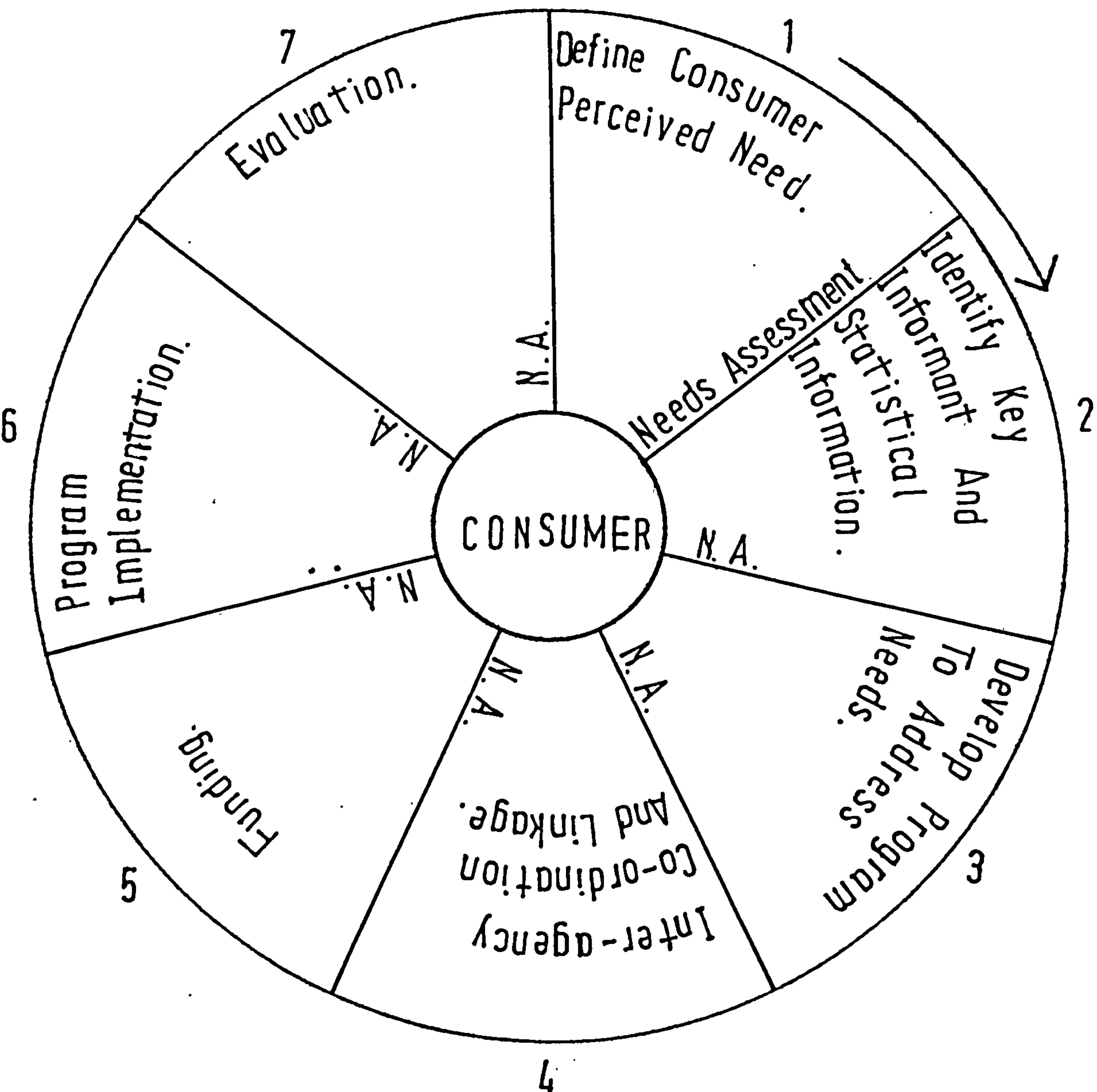
One of the techniques devised to assess individual preferences is the budget pie (McIver and Ostrom, 1976). This model approaches reality in that it places constraints on the range of choices made by respondents. The budget-pie, like the priority evaluating techniques of Hoinville (1975 and 1977) and Hedges (1975), has the aim of improving the decision-makers' knowledge of the preference profiles of a given population. Planning authorities in Britain, for example, in the preparation of development plans, are obliged to prepare statements about how they are going to justify the social and economic implications of a plan. In order to reach such an assessment it is necessary to examine the needs and wants of the local population being planned for. and their perceptions of the local area considered (Hedges, 1975, p.2). One of the functions of the planning process is the formulation of objectives. And, as part of this process, there may be an exchange of information between the different actors in the decision-making system and the consumers of its services. One way of obtaining the views of the public is through the use of a

survey instrument. It is through surveys that the various techniques of perception and preference identification have been used (Michelson, 1975; Clark, 1976). But even when these preferences are aggregated, whether they come from trade-off games, budget pies, or priority evaluating techniques, there is the problem of relating this data to information about other aspects of need or stress. One method of need assessment, that devised by Neuber (1980), attempts to combine objective and subjective measures of need.

The Neuber model of assessing needs is relatively specific in its orientation. Originally it was designed to identify the needs of the consumers of mental health services. It is, however, applicable for needs assessment in other public service settings. The emphasis in this model, as with other preference revealing models, is on consumerism, that is on the perceptions and feelings of residents towards issues that are of an overriding local concern (Neuber, 1980, p.10). The major impetus for this increased sensitivity to community needs, at least in the United States, is reflected in state and federal legislation such as the Public Law of 1975 (94-63) which focused on community mental health centres and the responsibility of those centres to address community needs. In Britain, under the planning legislation, account has to be taken of public and organisational attitudes in the preparation of development plans (Town and Country Planning Act, 1971). In addition to legislation, public services have been hit by the fiscal crisis of cities particularly in the United States (Tabb and Sawers, 1978) and by the economic recession. This has developed a greater sense of accountability in the public services, that is an increased responsibility to the communities which different agencies serve (Neuber, 1980, p.15).

In order to determine the priorities of a particular service it is necessary that public authorities possess information from communities regarding their wide-ranging and inter-related needs. Data input can provide a basis for plan review and revision. Without reasonably up to date information about the community, the people within it and their needs, the effectiveness of any planning will be reduced. Consequently, an effective system of communication between the community and service providers is necessary. Traditionally, service providers have communicated with the consumer by programme implementation which reflected professional and established interests. The Community Oriented Needs Assessment (CONA) Model (Figure 2.5) develops the methods of two way communication examined so far. Unlike priority evaluator models the Neuber Model incorporates data collected from three sources. Firstly, the method involves the use of objective indicators of the population under study. These include, primarily, demographic and statistical profiles, key informants and individual interviews with randomly selected consumers and potential consumers (Neuber, 1980, p.16). The key informants are described as persons having direct contact with individuals experiencing problems in living. These may be social workers, lawyers, doctors, the police and teachers. The results of individually interviewing a random sample of the general public include data which reflect (1) personal problems and needs; (2) perceived community problems and needs; (3) the consumer's awareness of available human services and community service providers; and (4) the consumer's attitude toward problems of living and the services designed to assist people in dealing with such problems (ibid., pp. 17-18). The value of this data for decision-makers is that it represents a statement of actual and perceived community need. This improves the probability of any plan being successful in its implementation.

Figure 2.5: The Consumer/Provider Communication Wheel.

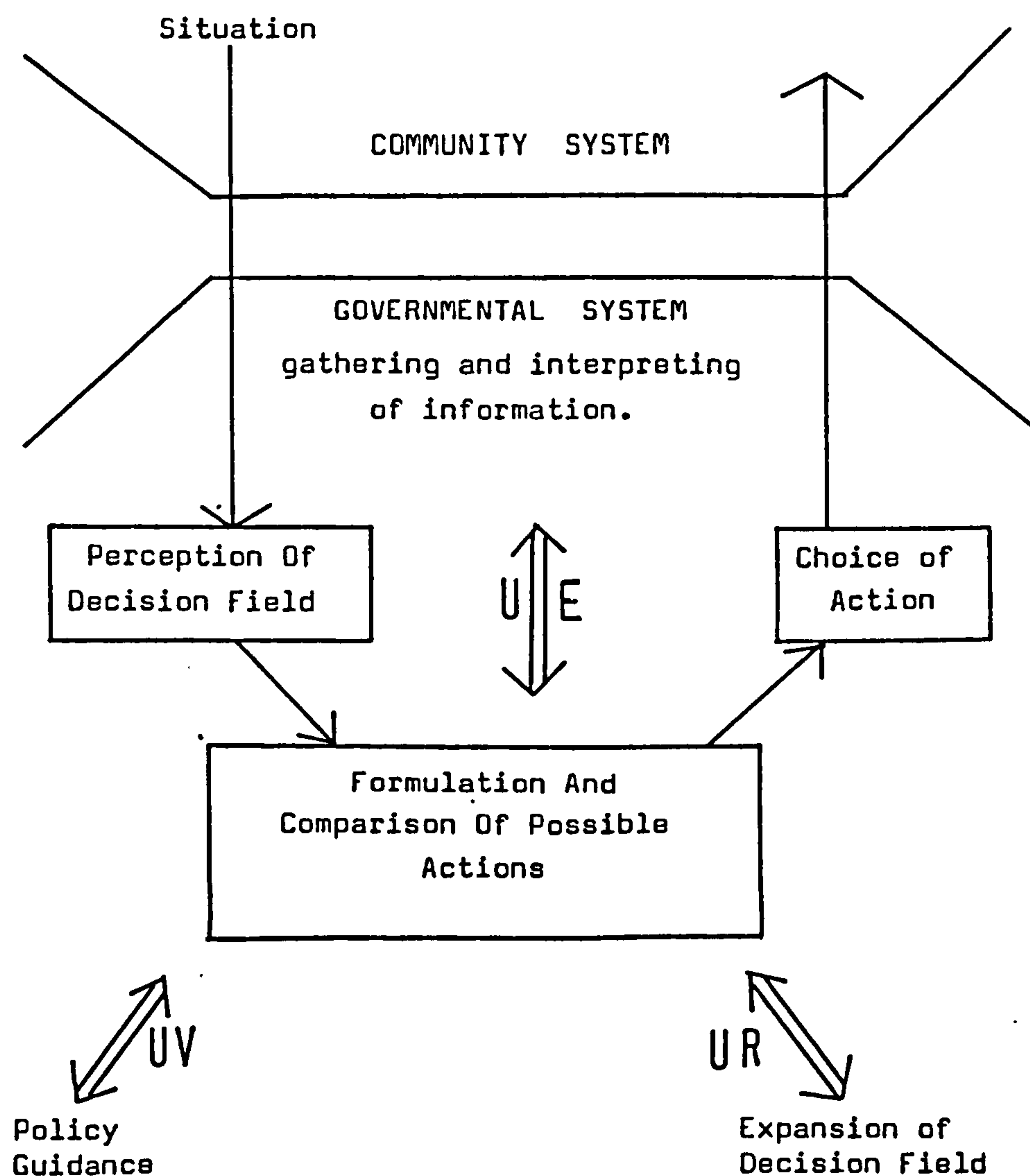


(Source: Neuber, 1980, p.58).

The assessment of consumer need is but one stage in any planning process. In this type of market research oriented approach the consumer is the focal point for determining what type of information is wanted and how it is collected. The difficulty for the decision-maker and implementing agency is keeping this focus on the user of public services and devising ways of continuing the communications between consumers and service providers. The service delivery system is frequently conceptualised as cyclical beginning with the identification of a need and continuing through the evaluation of a plan or programme designed to meet that need (Neuber, 1980, p.58). In this type of model needs assessment functions as an informational link between consumers and service providers (Figure 2.5). The final stage of this process is the evaluation of goods or services by consumers. By periodically reassessing the public the planner and service provider are able to determine the impact programming has had on the identified need (ibid., p.62). This method, although allowing for communication, does so only in a limited format. The collection of information from key actors and the public by this type of technique offers only a limited amount of scope for involvement of interested citizens. This model of needs assessment can be seen as an aspect of planning as a continuous process (Hall, 1975). In this cybernetic view of planning, ways are sought to control and direct the system concerned, and then ways of monitoring the effects to see how far the controls have been effective or how far they need subsequent modification are considered (ibid., p.269). In the language of rationality, needs assessment is an attempt to reduce uncertainty. This uncertainty is only one type affecting the planning system and the measurement of consumer need may well be only one of the goals of a public agency (Friend and Jessop, 1976).

The Neuber Model of consumer-provider communications places consumerism as an important aspect of public agency planning. Friend and Jessop (Figure 2.6) in their model of the planning process regard needs assessment as just one of three competing goals. In this model the needs and demands of client groups are treated as one area of uncertainty. Together, these are described as uncertainties in knowledge of the external environment (abbreviated to UE), uncertainties as to future intentions in related fields of choice such as at the local government departments or public agencies (UR), and uncertainties as to appropriate value judgements to be applied in the selection of a preferred solution (UV) (ibid., p.106). Within the planning authority a perception of uncertainties of the first kind may lead to demands for further gathering and interpreting of information about the present and future state of the community or its physical setting; while a perception of uncertainties of the second kind may lead to demands for a widening of the field of decision by having greater coordination between different plans and agency organisations such as under corporate management structures (Hambleton, 1978); and a perception of uncertainties of the third kind can lead to demands for more policy guidance from elected representatives. These all represent demands for a change of some kind in the context of decision-making. Later, the extent to which established interests in a community and political system have influence over decision-making by public agencies is considered. However, uncertainties of whatever kind create pressure for a change in the context in which decisions are made and implemented. In the Friend and Jessop Model pressures for change are seen to come from the 'community system' (Figure 2.6). The driving force in this circular process has its origins in the community. Various interests may put pressure on the

Figure 2.6: Friend and Jessop's 'Dialogue' Model
Of The Planning Process.



- Code UE, uncertainties in knowledge of the
 external environment.
- UR, uncertainties as to future intentions
 in related fields of choice.
- UV, uncertainties as to appropriate
 value judgements.

(Source: Friend and Jessop, 1976, p.107).

public service authority to respond to its own demands and needs and these pressures are restrained by the three kinds of frictional force associated with the varying types of uncertainty within the planning agency. Thus, the model outlined here is similar to the cyclical model of the planning process as outlined by McLoughlin (1969) and Chadwick (1971). And, while the approach by Neuber emphasises the consumer oriented approach of the public agency this is likely to be constrained in practice by the various uncertainties in decision-making as outlined by Friend and Jessop (1976). A medium that may, on the one hand, maintain a consumer orientated approach to planning and put pressure on the otherwise frictional tendencies of public administrations is the active involvement of clients or consumers in some of the decisions which affect their lives. Thus, to the cybernetic models of planning outlined here must be added changes in the organisational structure of decision-making which allows for greater citizen involvement.

The relationships which have been examined here have dealt with the perceptions and preferences of citizens and the agencies or organisations which are responsible for the allocation of public goods. These have been related by most commentators to a cyclical or feedback system. In these models information has been most often regarded as the input of the planning system and the output of community systems. The outputs of this system are changes in the urban environment which may affect both the physical and social environments. For consumption goods the market place has been the arena where customers preferences for goods has been expressed. Public goods, on the other hand, are produced and allocated according to estimates of need rather than ability to pay. Attempts at making

service delivery more equitable and appropriate can be seen in the trend towards a more market research orientated approach towards needs assessment. The measurement of environmental perceptions and preferences as seen in more recent models (cf. Appleyard, 1979; Neuber, 1980) represents attempts by decision-makers to incorporate 'subjective' indicators of need with more frequently used 'objective' indicators of environmental stress. In the feedback or cybernetic approach this development can be seen as one which reduces uncertainty and the probability of conflict between service provider and service user. Some of the mechanisms which have developed to improve the flow of information, which has usually been one way, and to facilitate the active involvement of citizens in urban planning, have arisen out of the participation movement.

Public Participation And Urban Planning. The information gathering function of citizen involvement in planning is only one aspect of the relationship between individuals and the initiators of change. When the administration of services by public authorities was less complete than it is today the system of political representation was regarded by many as an adequate mechanism for expressing citizen needs and preferences. The growth in the number and complexity of public services has meant that for some services there has been inadequate attention paid to consumer demands (Jowell, 1975). To respond to demands for decentralization and delegation various institutional structures have become established (Clark, 1976). By the early 1970s many public officials began to become convinced of the need to supplement surveys of citizens of the objective and subjective types with efforts at providing opportunities for direct consultation and involvement. This interest has been concentrated at the level of the

neighbourhood and city, that is at the level of municipal politics (Cole, 1976). These trends have resulted in a wide variety of forms of citizen involvement. Some analysts such as Arnstein (1969), Cole (1974) and Glass (1979) have attempted to categorise the varying methods adopted. Some may be peculiar to certain social and political environments. Different programmes may vary in the amount of power they give to community groups. Studies such as those by Cole (1974), Almond and Verba (1963), Cantanese and Farmer (1978) have looked at the effects of participation on the individual, whether he shows but a little interest in neighbourhood affairs or is a key actor in the decision-making process. Participation can thus be seen as a medium of exchange in the planning process and as a medium of involvement where the individual is presented with an opportunity to reduce feelings of powerlessness and alienation (Smith, 1980). Although the development of many citizen participation programmes did not originate with citizens themselves the procedures which have been tried have been supported by various philosophic, practical, and political concerns. This section examines some of the concepts behind the relations between public participation and urban planning.

As a philosophical idea citizen participation is a product of two schools of thought. The sociological perspective is concerned primarily with the effect of the loss of community on society as a whole; the political science view has been concerned with the effects of non-participation on the individual's psychological and educational development (Cole, 1974, p.2). According to the sociological view the distinguishing feature of post-capitalist industrial society has been the erosion of such primary institutions as the family, job, church, and especially the community through which individuals can relate to one another, form alliances and take political initiatives

(cf. Fromm, 1956; Stein, 1960). The lack of contacts and cohesion provided by groups such as the community leaves the individual in a state of apathy and discontent, as Kornhauser (1959) suggests, or of alienation as Marx refers to it (Marx, 1974). This sociological view of participation stresses the threat to democratic society of the erosion of primary face-to-face groups. Such an erosion, according to this view, leads to mass anomie, alienation, loss of identification, and apathy (Cole, 1974, p.3.). The solution to these problems involves the greater involvement of citizens in groups and organisations with meaningful functions (Moynihan, 1969).

The political science perspectives of the 1960s and 1970s which advocated direct means of citizen involvement were more concerned with the psychological effects of participation rather than its effect on the stability of established institutions, though this latter approach is becoming more popular (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). Bachrach (1969), one of the proponents of participatory democracy, sees the majority of individuals gaining self-esteem and a fuller affirmation of their personalities by participating more actively in community decision-making. This position is quite different from that taken by the advocates of a representative theory of democracy which provides an explanation of the current low levels of civic involvement rather than a prescription for a future desired state of mass involvement. It is not the representative model but the classical model of the democratic process which stresses direct participation of the individual in the decision-making process (Pateman, 1970). Thus, the participation model defines an active role for the individual, whereas the contemporary (sometimes called elitist) model focuses upon the passivity of most individuals (Cole, 1974, p.6).

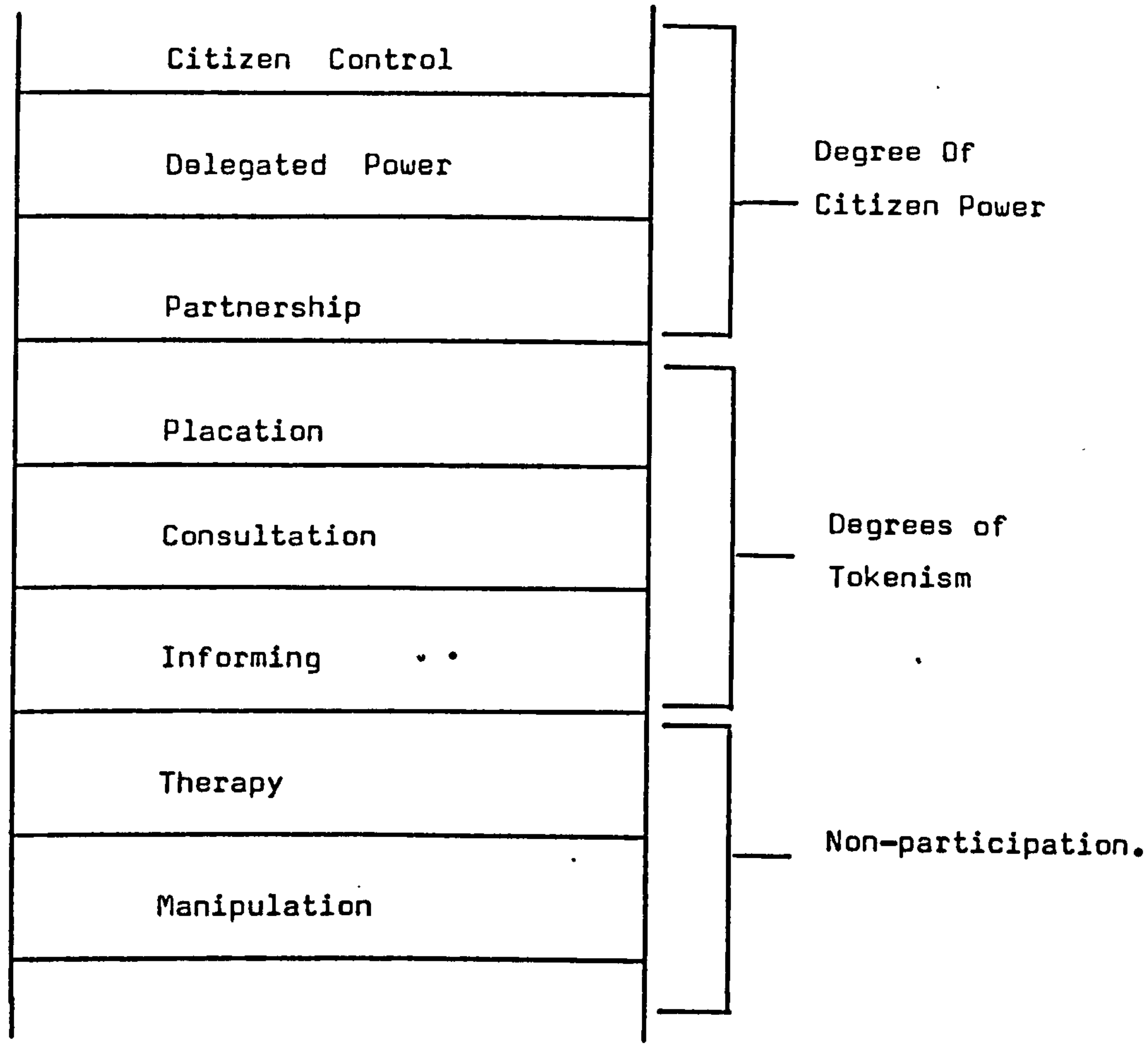
(cf. Fromm, 1956; Stein, 1960). The lack of contacts and cohesion provided by groups such as the community leaves the individual in a state of apathy and discontent, as Kornhauser (1959) suggests, or of alienation as Marx refers to it (Marx, 1974). This sociological view of participation stresses the threat to democratic society of the erosion of primary face-to-face groups. Such an erosion, according to this view, leads to mass anomie, alienation, loss of identification, and apathy (Cole, 1974, p.3.). The solution to these problems involves the greater involvement of citizens in groups and organisations with meaningful functions (Moynihan, 1969).

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It is in the context of local government that practical justifications for increasing channels of neighbourhood involvement have been put forward. Such involvement, it has been suggested, increases citizens' feelings of political effectiveness, increased administrative attentiveness to neighbourhood needs, develops neighbourhood leadership, and promotes community cohesion (IULA, 1971; Aleshire, 1972). The majority of these justifications can be classified into two groups: those which would suggest that such participation will lead to better, or at least more accountable local authority services; and those which would argue that citizen involvement will increase citizen trust and confidence in public officials, thus reducing the likelihood of urban unrest and violence. These views are respectively classified as the neighbourhood or citizen perspective and the administrative or official perspective (Cole, 1974, p.7).

The problem with much participatory research is that it has been conceptual in nature deriving from political and sociological perspectives with little attempt at empirical validation. Or, it has been largely descriptive and has failed to develop adequate criteria of effectiveness. The first step in any form of scientific activity or analysis is the development of a classification scheme by which programmes can be categorised and compared. One scale of participation based on intensity of involvement is Arnstein's 'Ladder of citizen participation' (Figure 2.7). According to her scheme citizen participation can be conceived in terms of eight rungs of a ladder ranging from least to most influence. Although this type of scale is an advance on nominal classifications it fails to capture the differences between intra and inter-city comparisons (Cole, 1974, p.17). It fails to discriminate between the number and variety of programmes, and it does not take account of the range of

Figure 2.7: A Ladder Of Citizen Participation.



(Source: Arnstein, 1969, p.217).

activities covered by the programmes. In Cole's typology of participation programmes there are two dimensions along which a programme can be categorised. He includes an intensity dimension similar to that advocated by Arnstein which varies from citizen control of local resources to non-participation where local groups are merely manipulated by business and other established elites. The other dimension which is used enables cross-city comparisons to be made. This is his dimension of scope and variety, along which participation programmes are placed according to the number of service activities or functions which they include (ibid., p.17). On such a typology can be added criteria of assessment. In most participation programmes three types of actors are involved. Firstly, there are the elected representatives who may initiate the scheme. Then there are the officials in local government who may be responsible for the programmes implementation. And, finally, there are the participants themselves, or the groups to whom the programmes are addressed. It is this latter group, the residents, who should be included in any criteria of success. Two of the major objectives of citizen participation programmes are widely seen as the improvement of the delivery of goods and services from the perspective of the neighbourhood resident (Ostrom, 1976; Neuber, 1980), and, secondly, the improvement of citizens' images of government (Cole, 1974, p.20). These two goals have been examined from the standpoint of the administrator and from the participant. Few studies have attempted to assess programmes from both of these positions although Glass (1979) provides a framework into which empirical work might be placed.

While citizen participation is becoming a common-place part of town and regional planning, both planners and citizens assess

participatory techniques as being less than ideal (Glass, 1979; Stringer and Uzzell, 1978). The difficulty for planners, those who are responsible for initiating most schemes, is one of matching objectives with techniques. Glass, in his classification of participation programmes, places emphasis on the programmes from the initiators' perspective rather than on the power indices used by Arnstein and Cole. Glass lists five main objectives which he regards as being useful in any programme evaluation. These include information exchange, education, support building, decision-making supplement, and representational input (ibid., p.182). Information exchange is seen as bringing planners and citizens together for the purpose of sharing ideas and concerns. Education, an extension of the information exchange objective, refers to the dissemination of detailed information about a project, or about public participation. This goal is concerned not only with informing residents about a plan but is also to provide details on the reasons for the plan (cf. Stringer and Plumridge, 1975). Support building would involve such activities as creating a favourable climate for proposed policies and plans or resolution of conflict among citizen groups or between citizen groups and the government. Information change, education, and support building do not involve the resident directly in the planning process. They are goals which might be advocated by the initiating administration (Table 2.1). The other two objectives of citizen participation relate to different aspects of decision-making. The decision-making supplement refers to efforts that are designed to provide citizens with an increased input into the planning process. The objective is seen as supplemental planning because it provides the planner with another dimension to consider along with data from other sources (ibid., p.182). Representative input is defined as the effort to identify the views of the entire community on particular issues in

Table 2.I: The Objectives, Techniques, and Purposes Of Citizen Participation.

Technique Categories	Objectives			
	Information Exchange	Education Support Building	Decision-making Supplement	Representational Input
Techniques	<div>1. Drop-in centres.</div> <div>2. Neighbourhood Meetings.</div> <div>3. Agency Information Meetings.</div> <div>4. Public Hearings.</div>	<div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div> <div>1. Citizen Advisory Committees.</div> <div>2. Citizen Review Boards.</div> <div>3. Citizen Task Forces.</div>	<div>1. Nominal group process.</div> <div>2. Analysis of judgement.</div> <div>3. Value analysis.</div>	<div>1. Citizen Survey.</div> <div>2. Delphi Process.</div>
	Administrative Perspective		Citizen Perspective	
	Purposes			

(Source: Glass, 1979, p.183).

order that subsequent plans will reflect community desires. It is on this typology that Glass places different techniques used in citizen involvement programmes. From this it emerges that some methods are more appropriate for some functions than for others. The best technique is dependent upon the situation and the objectives sought. Once the objectives of a programme have been defined the appropriate technique can be chosen. This approach which is similar to that devised by Stringer and Uzzell (1978) for techniques used in the British planning context is most useful for categorising projects initiated by local government. It represents a framework on which different techniques can be evaluated but tends to place less emphasis on political and psychological criteria of evaluation. Glass's classification does, however, add some new functions to typologies of participation notably the educative function which is advocated by participatory democrats though referred to only sparingly by commentators (Glass, 1979).

Public participation and planning have been looked at here principally in terms of aspects of a system. The output of programmes of citizen involvement is commonly seen as an aid to decision-making by public agencies, especially local government. The emphasis on the evaluation of such techniques by public agencies reflects their own interests in the use of them. Both in Britain and the United States there is developing a more sophisticated typology of methods of participation. From this an awareness has arisen of the different functions of the various methods which can be used. If the goal of participation is educative, informative or participatory, then different techniques should be used appropriate to the goal in question. All too often these criteria are not laid out at the start of participatory programmes. Consequently, the initiating officials

and the participating citizens are disillusioned by the results. By providing a number of dimensions along which participation programmes can be measured Cole, Arnstein and Glass lay down a framework which can be useful in intra-city and cross-city comparisons. In this way they open up the opportunity for a systematic study of citizen involvement. This enables the analysis of citizen involvement with other forces in the city such as the inter-related socio-political and economic system; in short it provides a basis for an ecological description of participatory behaviour. Public participation is, however, seen as a medium relating the individual with producers (cf. Appleyard, 1979). In terms of systems analysis it might be expressed as a feedback mechanism (McLoughlin, 1969). But, as Cole (1974) points out, it has to be seen in a political and social context in which citizens have either more or less influence over the decisions which public bodies and local government take.

A Conceptual Framework Developed For Environmental Perception, Public Participation And Urban Planning.

The relationships between the perceived environment, citizen involvement, and urban planning have been touched upon here. In reality the actual links between these aspects of the city are much more complex than these simple models illustrate. However, they are not independent and might be thought of as different parts of an urban system which relates consumers and producers (Appleyard, 1979). By including environmental perceptions in this systematic framework the values and orientations of citizens in their environment are taken account of. This, in effect, shifts the goal orientation of planning away from established indicators of need to those which are subjectively experienced. It is hypothesised by some model builders (cf. Neuber, 1980) that this is likely to lead to better need assessment and possibly better feelings towards the public agency responsible

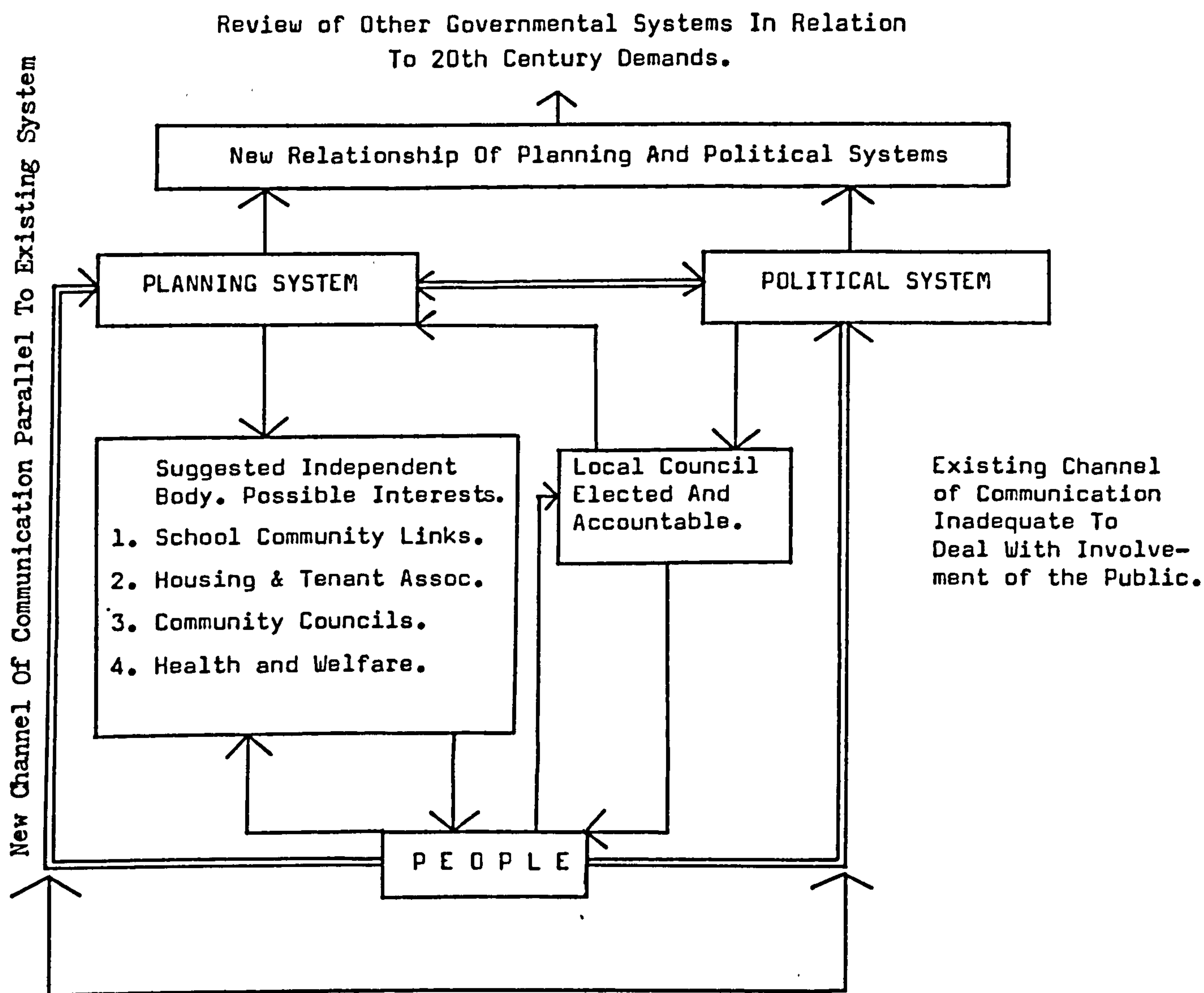
for the service delivery (Glass, 1979). The medium through which this information flows is traditionally the representative system of government. However, the implementation of programmes of citizen involvement which have been used by public agencies both in Europe and the United States suggests that the administration is taking on part of this role, though only to the extent of establishing and funding such programmes. The criteria of evaluation of such programmes included the benefits and costs of these new structures to both residents and local government. In this field citizens, officials, and elected representatives are the three participating groups. It remains to be seen, however, which group has benefited most from the experiences of participation. By studying the passage of information from the citizen, through methods of participation, to the final plan some indication of the varying influence of these groups may be obtained.

Today most planning exercises use some form of systematic plan evaluation technique. This may involve comparisons with established indicators or referral back to the consumers of public goods. The tradition in planning has been that the process of plan-making is linear, where alternative plans are developed and evaluated side by side with a common set of evaluation procedures (Hall, 1975). The cyclical or recursive approach appears to be more complex but may be more efficient in the long run by taking account of changes as they occur. This can be achieved by having a monitoring or feedback system which checks the responses of the urban or regional system against the various planning measures which may be taken to control its progress (McLoughlin, 1969). One model of the planning process which incorporates such a feedback mechanism is that designed by Reynolds (1969). In this model (Figure 2.8) the quality, quantity, and degree of participation is dependent upon education and the

establishment of a simple two-way communication mechanism. In the model the political system is seen as being inadequate with regards to transmitting consumer preferences to the administration. Instead, people communicate directly with the administration through various methods of participation. Although Reynolds does not specify these methods, such bodies as neighbourhood councils, consultative groups and surveys might be put in this category. The model also suggests a feedback link direct from the planning system to the people (Figure 2.8), but it is not clear what form this should take. In Appleyard's model (1979) this feedback takes the form of changes in the environment which citizens respond to. Ideally, some form of publicity and continuing consultation with neighbourhood interests could fulfil this function. It is this feedback system which can be considered to be an auxiliary system to the democratic process which is, in Britain, representative government.

At the level of the nation state the individual relates to government through the political system. Representatives might be seen as entrepreneurs dealing with people's preferences for public goods (Figure 2.9). These preferences are made manifest by a great variety of political bodies such as political parties, pressure groups, industrialists, trade unions and many more, each competing with one another to influence decision-makers. It is, however, at the level of local government where new structures have been added to the political system. It is at the local level, Reynolds, Cole and Fagence point out, that the political system has been shown to be most wanting in citizen respect and trust (cf. Redcliffe-Maud, 1968). And it is here in towns and cities that programmes of citizen involvement have been most extensive. In other aspects of people's lives such as work and the home the

Figure 2.8: Reynolds' Model of Communication In Planning.



Overall Structure System To Enable Growth At Particular Nodes Where Needed. No Forced Involvement.

(Source: Reynolds, 1969, p.145).

development of industrial democracy and tenant participation has not been so widely accepted or adopted. Participation in planning is seen by some as one medium of communication between the planners and the planned. The perceptions of the environment which people hold can be expressed to the initiators of change through programmes of public consultation and involvement. It is this concept that is examined in more detail below. By relating environmental perceptions and preferences to producers and service providers a link is drawn between the physical environment and the socio-political system. The relations between people and the planning system can be placed in the broader context of the state, the political system and the people (Figure 2.10). At the local level as well as at the level of the state there is a flow of information about needs and preferences to decision-makers and in both cases this is mediated through some form of political system. In the context of this study these preferences are expressed through the medium of one local authority's participation exercise.

The models of planning put forward by Reynolds (1969) and McLoughlin (1969) both stress the importance of feedback. This approach more nearly resembles reality in decision-making than the more simplistic linear approach. A feedback system where the flows between subsystems are information can be referred to as a cybernetic system. In such a system the information which passes from the individual to the planning system is not merely a list of 'objective' attributes of the citizen but also the subjective feelings that the individual has for the world around him. And, modifying Appleyard's feedback model to include the medium of citizen involvement, changes in the relations between perception, participation and planning can be observed over a period of time (Figure 2.11). As the initiators

Figure 2.9: Channels Of Communication Between The Individual And The State.

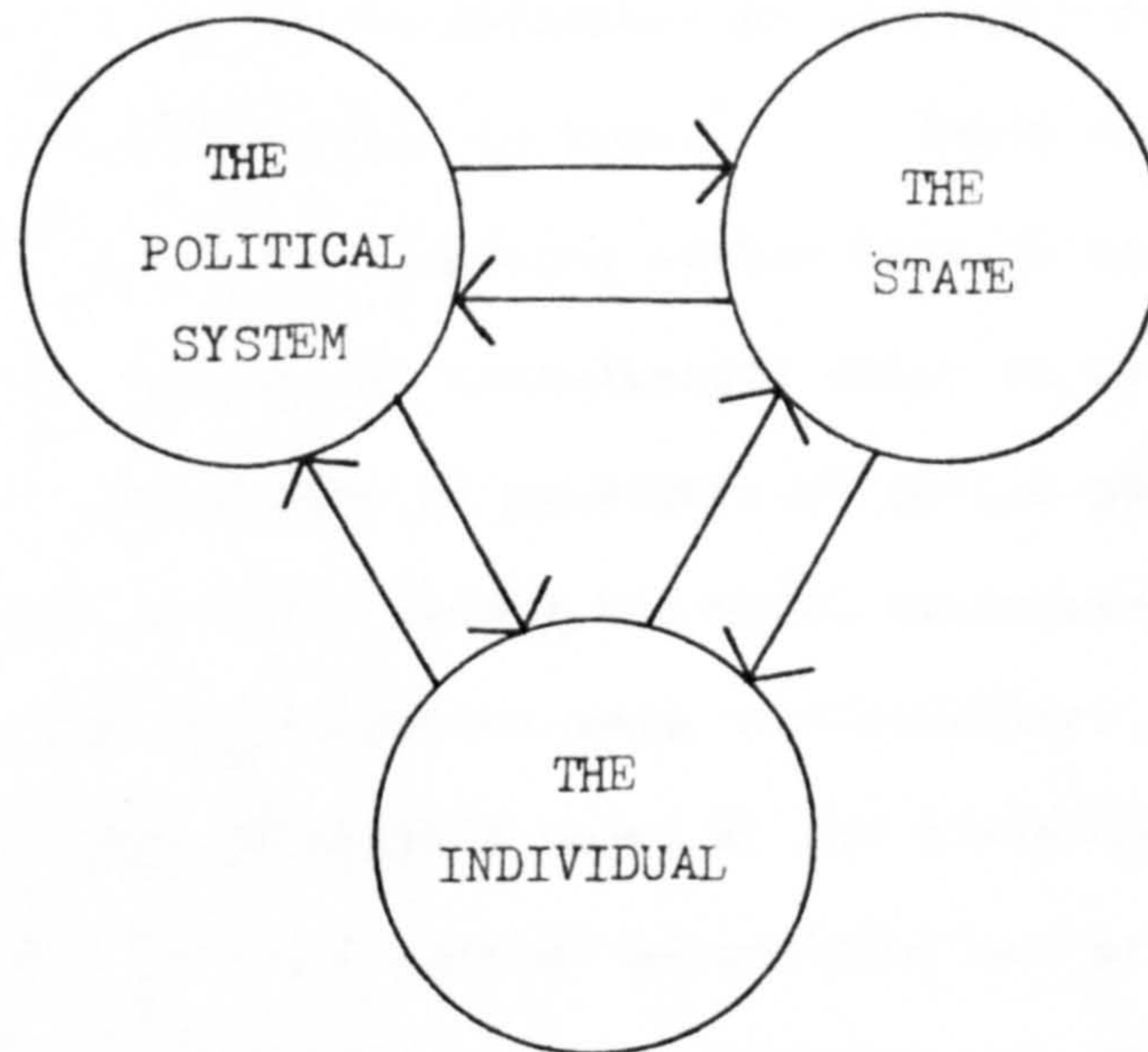
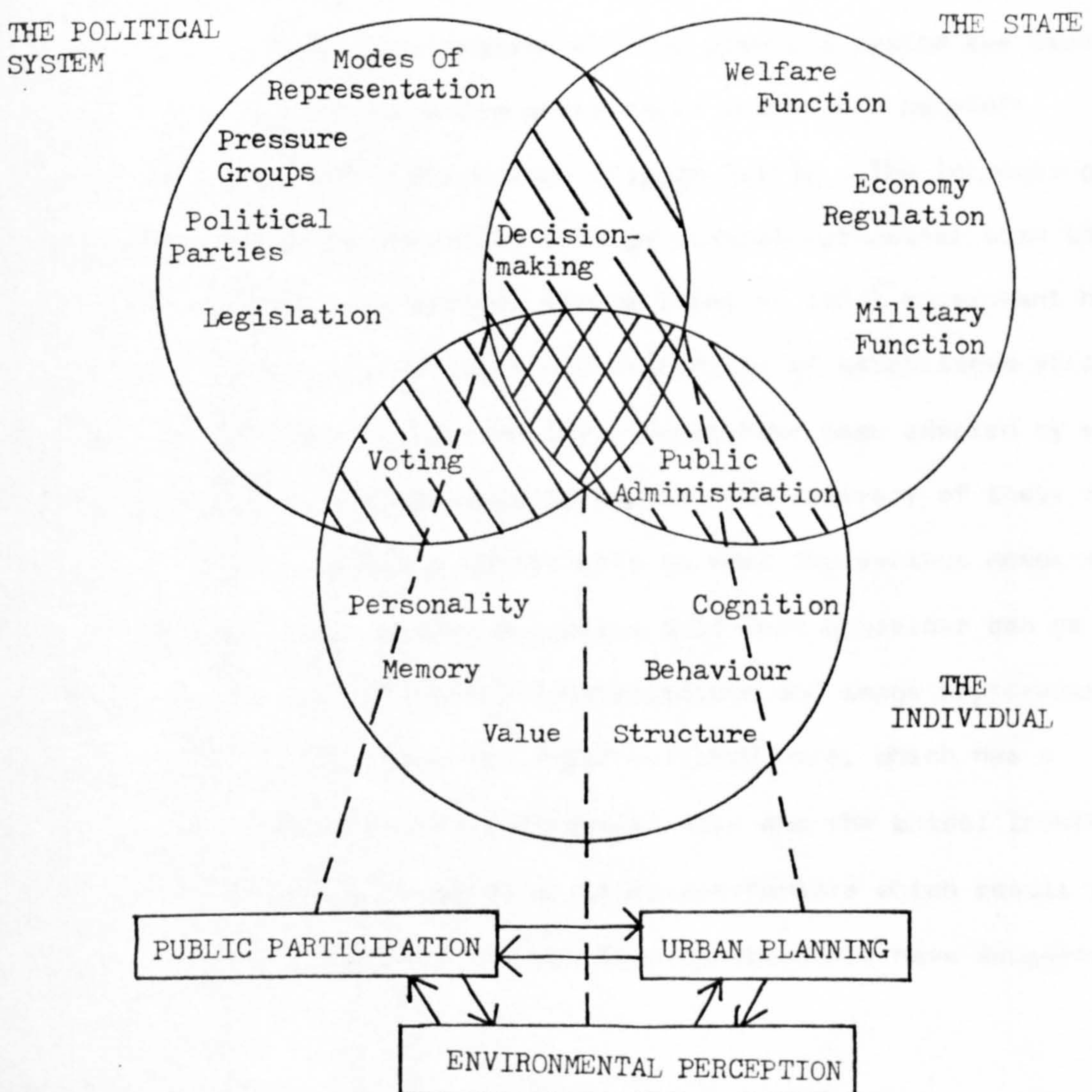


Figure 2.10: A Conceptual Framework For Environmental Perception, Public Participation And Urban Planning.



of change respond to inputs from programmes of participation and from their own indicators, changes in the environment may result. These changes in turn may be reflected in varying perceptions of the environment at another period in time. These changed perceptions may be communicated to the planning system through the political system or through methods of consultation which in turn result in a response from the producers or providers of public goods. In relation to Neuber's model (1980), the model described here tends to place the emphasis of adaptation onto the consumer. In it is, essentially, a needs orientated model of the planning system which adapts to changes in environmental perceptions and preferences. The extent to which this consumer orientated approach is applied in practice is one of the aims of the following analyses.

In the model of the planning process described here environmental perception, public participation and the planning system are seen as parts of a feedback mechanism where basic inputs are people's perceptions of their surroundings (Figure 2.12). The increasing complexity and scope of public service provision, together with the difficulties political systems at the level of local government have faced, have resulted in strains and criticisms of established arrangements. Techniques of citizen involvement have been adapted by public agencies and local governments to improve the delivery of their own services as well as being better able to meet the various needs of client groups. It is also suggested that this behaviour can be related to the idea of agency legitimization and image improvement (Glass, 1974). By using the model outlined here, which has a consumer orientation, both information flow and the actual involvement of citizens are regarded as important factors which result in a more sensitive assessment of need than other models have suggested.

Figure 2.11: Information Flows And System Change.

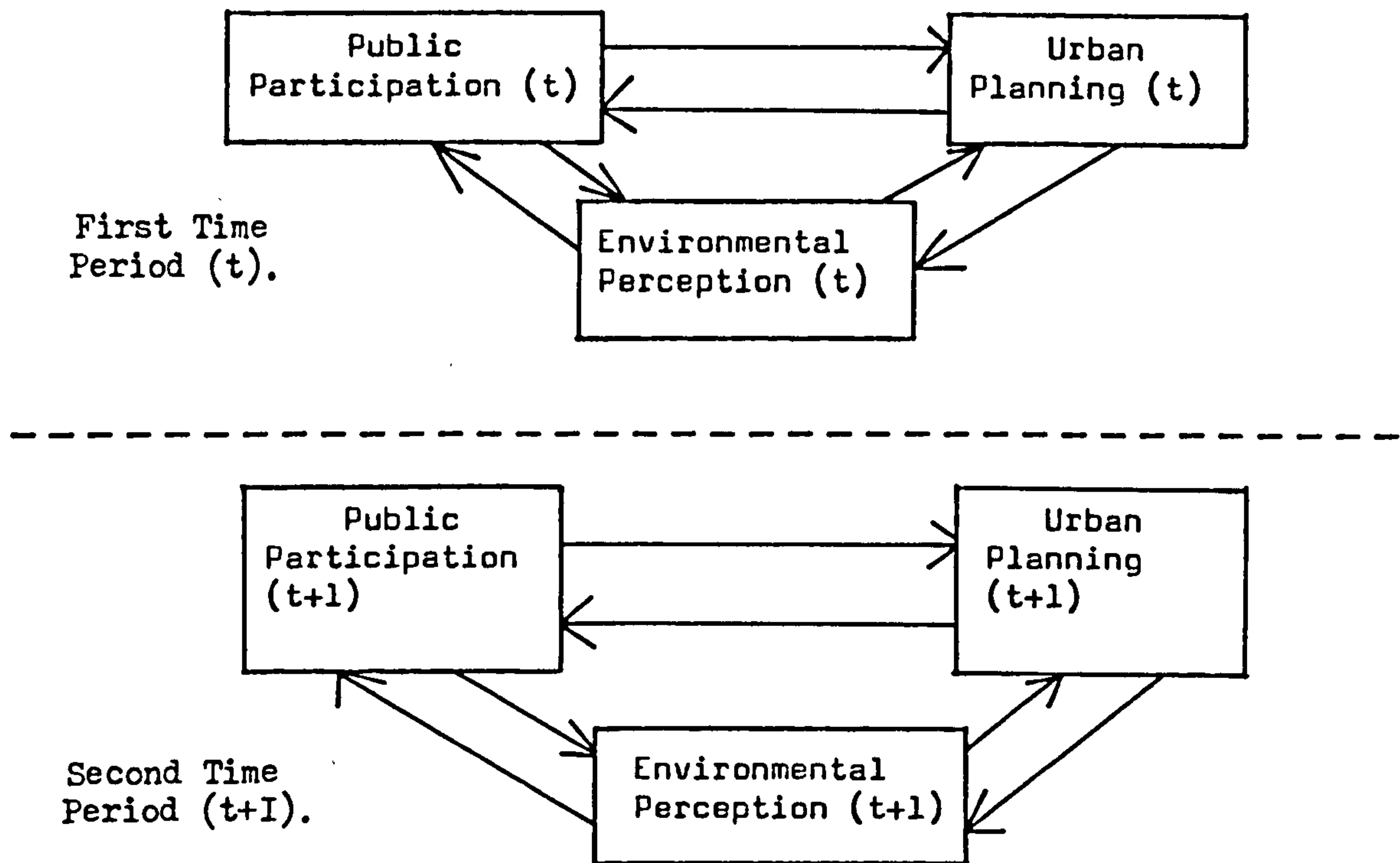
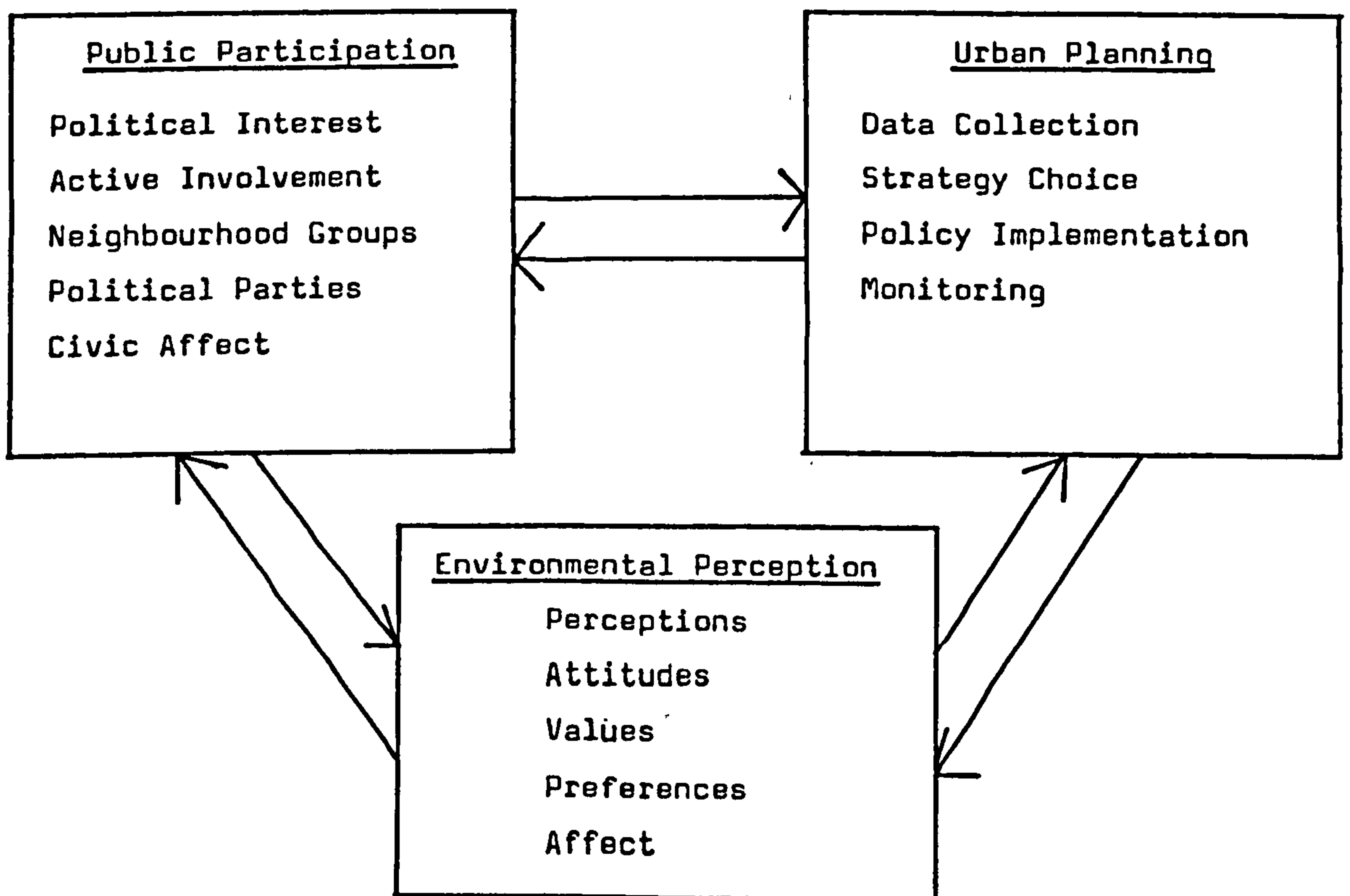


Figure 2.12: Relations Between Environmental Perception, Public Participation And Urban Planning.



This remains to be demonstrated by the empirical analysis carried out here. The perceptions and attitudes which citizens have towards their environment are modified by cognitive processes to reflect individual values and goals. These attitudes towards various aspects of the environment can be expressed as preferences for different environments or for different levels of service provision. These feelings can then be expressed to decision-makers or the planning system either directly or indirectly via public participation techniques and the political system. Information from both channels has to be assessed according to criteria of legitimacy and representativeness. The final selection of priorities for change will vary according to the expressed preferences of a number of groups and interests. By analysing this final weighting of priorities some indication of the influence of various groups in the planning process may become clear. Programmes of participation have a secondary function in addition to that of being an information feedback mechanism and that is the learning experience of being involved, even if to a limited extent, in local affairs. It has been found that the respect with which citizens have for local government is proportional to the level of involvement (Almond and Verba, 1965). And, as it has been observed elsewhere (Redcliffe-Maud, 1968), the affect shown towards local government, at least in Britain, is not particularly high. It remains to be seen whether the quite widespread use of citizen involvement in the preparation of local and structure plans has changed this generally held attitude.

Summary : The Planning Process From A Consumer's Perspective. This chapter has reviewed some of the intellectual, political and pragmatic forces which have influenced the change in the structure of local government and public agencies to take greater account of citizen

preferences and citizen involvement. In the United States and in Europe the majority of towns and cities have adopted programmes of public participation. These changes have been advocated to supplement the democratic process and to improve the sensitivity of service delivery. A number of models have been put forward to explain how this development has come about without clearly defining exactly what participation is or what it is meant to be. Although attempts have been made to categorise methods of citizen involvement along a number of dimensions little empirical work has been done to compare different programmes according to these dimensions. The studies by Cole (1974) and by the Linked Research Project in Britain (Stringer and Uzzell, 1978) represent such attempts. The latter approach tends to see programmes from the public agencies' point of view rather than in terms of changes in service delivery or from the consumers' point of view. Those models which adopt a market research orientated perspective (cf. Neuber, 1980) place the assessment of need on the subjective feelings of citizens together with objective or official indicators of need. It is this type of approach which the model of the planning process described here tries to assess. In addition, by examining the media through which citizens' environmental perceptions are communicated and the weight attached to the preferences of different groups, it is hoped that a clearer impression of the political forces at work on this feedback system will emerge.

The present study, then, attempts to present an analysis of a planning process which relates the manner in which people perceive their environment, citizen involvement, and the urban planning system. By adopting a systems or cybernetic approach it is hoped that a more realistic model of the planning process can be expressed than the

conceptual frameworks discussed above have done. This analysis adopts a case study approach to one particular local authority and follows through in detail the flow of information from citizens to planners. The problem with this approach is that the uniqueness of the study will make any finding specific to one local authority. However, by studying in detail a step by step analysis of the process from expressed feeling to land-use plan some of the forces and influences at work on the flow of information and preferences may emerge. From this the extent to which the model of the planning process is consumer orientated may be more apparent.

CHAPTER 3.

Objective Indicators Of Well-being In Camden.

Indicators And Urban Planning. As attempts to understand and control the environment have developed so too has a trend continued in which more and more aspects of the environment are quantified. This tendency towards greater quantification has brought, on the one hand, a more accurate and comprehensive picture or profile of an area, yet, on the other hand, it has created a problem of 'information overload' (Knox, 1978). In the last ten years or so public agencies in Britain have shown a greater concern with evaluating levels of well-being or social malaise (Knox, 1978). The failure of attempts like the Poverty Programme in the United States and the Community Development Projects in Britain to have any influence on the structural determinants of stress in those areas did have a side effect. This has been a change in the structure of service provision. The identification of areas of 'multiple deprivation' from the use of a great number of indicators of deprivation resulted in attempts to organise service provision on an area basis. With local government reorganisation and concentration of decision-making in fewer hands, such as in systems of corporate management, there developed a need for a series of indicators covering all aspects of a local authority's work. Also, a demand developed for greater comparability of indicators used by different departments within public administrations (Eddison, 1978).

In many of the industrialised nations the level of economic development has reached a point where the marginal utility of more consumer goods is beginning to decrease. In these countries there

can be witnessed a growing concern for public goods and services, and a general improvement in the 'quality of life' (Knox, 1975). Thus, there may be a shift in emphasis away from economic indicators to ones measuring a more intangible 'quality of life', that is by the feelings of well-being experienced by different groups in different places. Recently, research focussing on the development of a system of social indicators for the purpose of measuring and monitoring social progress has emerged (Sheldon and Land, 1972).

A number of factors can be associated with the difficulty of applying social indicators to planning and policy-making. There is a widespread agreement on the low level of theoretical development and statistical sophistication (Watson, 1973). This, in part, reflects varying societal theories about urban change and the different sets of indicators that might be used to test these theories. There is the problem of scale. Many nations have developed economic and social indicators that apply, or are collected, at the national level (Moser and Scott, 1961). These may be inappropriate to explain change at either a regional or metropolitan level. Because of the many important links between national, regional and local areas of administration it is important that measurements of well-being be developed for all levels and in a way suitable for inter-level comparisons.

In a period of economic recession programmes of rationalisation of public services have emerged. Greater effectiveness in service delivery and more efficient decision-making have characterised reforms in local government in Britain. This has been mirrored by the rationalising of local government decision-making in the United States with planning, programming and budgeting systems (PPBS) (Hatry and Blair, 1976).

Corporate planning and area management can be seen as part of this development towards the greater integration of policy planning of different government services (Eddison, 1975). As a way of evaluating policy and monitoring change in the urban environment as a response to policy or other factors, there has come about a demand for more sophisticated criteria of assessment, and a demand for multi-variate indicators (Knox, 1975).

These anti-democratic tendencies of the centralisation of decision-making have been partially compensated for by requests for greater citizen involvement in urban planning, though this involvement, in any meaningful sense, can only be said to be effective at the very local or neighbourhood level. Here problems have arisen for local administrators in interpreting the more qualitative or subjective data that results from programmes of participation. These problems are considered later. Here the analysis concentrates on the use of those criteria of well-being that are traditionally used by public agencies. These indicators have been described as 'objective' indicators to distinguish them from the less easily quantifiable measures of satisfaction and quality of life.

Objective Indicators. Since the end of the nineteenth century public authorities began to concern themselves with the health and welfare of residents in their care. To measure the extent of poverty, overcrowding, ill-health and insanitary conditions a variety of descriptions developed. These early measures of stress emphasised the physical conditions of houses; whether there was enough light and air, the presence of drains and of running water. It was noticed by the early students of urban squalor like Booth (1903), Seebohm Rowntree (1901) and Engels (1969) that bad housing conditions were associated

with low wages, over-crowding, malnutrition and disease (Townsend, 1979). But the measures of well-being that were adopted in these studies and by local authorities emphasised standards of housing which, if adopted, would prevent some of the worst squalor. Less attention was paid to the relationship between income and well-being which was later to become a major aspect of social welfare (cf. Social Security Administration Poverty Index, US Department of Agriculture, 1980).

In Britain, as elsewhere, variables used in the national census have been used to describe the well-being of areas in several studies. They can also be used to monitor government policy and to identify changes in territorial well-being. Traditionally, physical indicators alone have been stressed in the evaluation of housing conditions and in planning for improved residential areas (Hartman, 1963). However, the growing awareness of the impact of the economy on spatial well-being especially after the 1930s saw a greater awareness and use of economic indicators. At the metropolitan and regional scale economic health began to be measured by such indicators as the numbers of unemployed, the distribution of personal income, the industrial structure of employment areas and the presence or absence of declining industries (Hall, 1975). This widening use of indicators might be seen to reflect the growing concern and involvement of public bodies, particularly the more comprehensive institutions like local government, with the economic and social forces at work at the metropolitan and regional level. Urban planning has developed a broader and looser conception of the scope of city planning beyond its former preoccupation with the physical arrangements of objects in space to include all the subject concerns for which the city carries a responsibility including:

'(1) economic expansion, full employment, efficiency of government operations, (2) social welfare, crime, juvenile delinquency, racial integration, (3) education programmes and facilities, (4) house building, (5) public transport, (6) environmental and public health, (7) cultural and recreation services, (8) land-use control and (9) control over design values' (Friedmann, 1972).

Today, economic expansion would need to be substituted with the management of no growth or even decline in Britain. Local authorities deal with similar functions and are more co-ordinated than are services, only a few of which can be said to be part of city administrations, in the United States.

In order to choose those measures which might best be of use to the urban planner it is necessary to know what goods his department, or local government, have chosen. Firstly, he will need to select those indicators which can measure the desired level of service provision. These 'achievement goals' can be set for each service over which the local authority has some control. As they are service specific they tend to be more detailed than 'performance' indicators which are chiefly concerned with policy plans for the city as a whole (Friedmann, 1972, p.44). Policy planning looks towards maintaining the city in a state of dynamic equilibrium by changing those variables which are part of the overall goal yet controlling the effect this change has on other variables. Unfortunately, the theory of the city is not so well developed as neo-classical or marxian economics. We are still lacking a set of social accounts for urban units that would permit policy planners to measure the current state of the city by a few simple indices (Arrow, 1951). Consequently, planners are unable to say when the city is performing optimally and when it is not.

Social Indicators And Deprivation. One aspect common to all man-environment interactions is that they evoke, or are associated with, some adaptive or coping behaviour on the part of the affected individual, family neighbourhood, or social system; that is they produce 'stress' (Foster, H.D., 1979). This stress might be in the form of unemployment, poor housing or inadequate public transport. It may be all of these and more in a reinforcing situation, in a 'cycle of poverty' where there is what is called 'multiple deprivation'. The use of indicators in contexts such as those of territorial ill-health have become widespread in recent years.

Concentrations of social, demographic and familial instability in the twilight areas of cities have been known for a long time. The 'Chicago School' of geographers in the 1920s, who developed this ecological approach to social problems, based their work on analyses of many indicators that were then regarded as illustrative of need (Park and Burgess, 1925; Hauser and Schnore, 1965). Generally speaking, however, geographers have paid little attention to spatial variations in social conditions within advanced industrial countries (Knox, 1975). Recently, with a quantitative revolution in academic geography a greater willingness to use census indicators as measures of well-being slowly emerged. Moser and Scott (1961), in an important work on the social and economic characteristics of British towns, were able to demonstrate the nature and extent of inter-urban disparities (Knox, 1975). Since then, this type of approach has been applied by public agencies.

The analyses of deprivation by local authorities in the 1960s produced a demand for new indicators depending on the nature of the stress being studied. In order to identify schools and neighbourhoods in areas 'where educational handicaps are reinforced by social handicaps' (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967) 'objective criteria'

of deprivation were chosen. Ten variables with an educational orientation were selected together with social indicators of occupation, housing and marital status. In its attempt to identify areas of housing stress the Greater London Council developed an indicator of stress from seven census variables including over-crowding and household amenity. Similarly, indicators were used to identify areas of economic decline for the community development project (Community Development Project, 1977) and also with the studies carried out of the depressed and declining areas of British cities (Department of the Environment, 1974). It is in this context, of a more comprehensive use of indicators, that the London Borough of Camden is examined.

The Use of Indicators In The London Borough of Camden.

As an example of the use of a wide-ranging set of measures in an urban environment the London Borough of Camden offers a typical example. One of the functions of town planning departments at city-wide and regional level is to prepare land-use plans for periods lasting between ten and fifteen years after completion. These plans, partly policy and land-use orientated, attempt to outline the main directions of employment, housing and transportation change within the area of control of the local authority. At the strategic or structural tier of local government (metropolitan or county authority in England and Wales and the region in Scotland; 1971 Town and Country Planning Act) the main planning document is the development plan which sets out in broad terms the policy decisions of the local authority paying regards to the major economic and social forces acting on it. At the second tier, or lower level, district authorities have the responsibility of producing detailed land-use maps which put into concrete format the more general principles outlined in the structure plan. The initial

selection of priorities for both the local and structure plan tend to be identified by officials in local government and subsequently modified or accepted by political representatives.

In its attempt to produce a list of priorities for change the London Borough of Camden carried out an exploratory survey of well-being in the borough. This consisted, in the main, of an analysis of objective indicators, many of which came from the 1971 Census. From these statistics some idea of the way in which the 200,000 people living in this inner London borough was obtained. However, the selection of the indicators used to measure well-being was made by the local authority itself rather than by the consumers of its services. It is this official or 'objective' view of the state of the environment that is presented here. This is then compared with the perceptions of problems and priorities that residents themselves have for the borough.

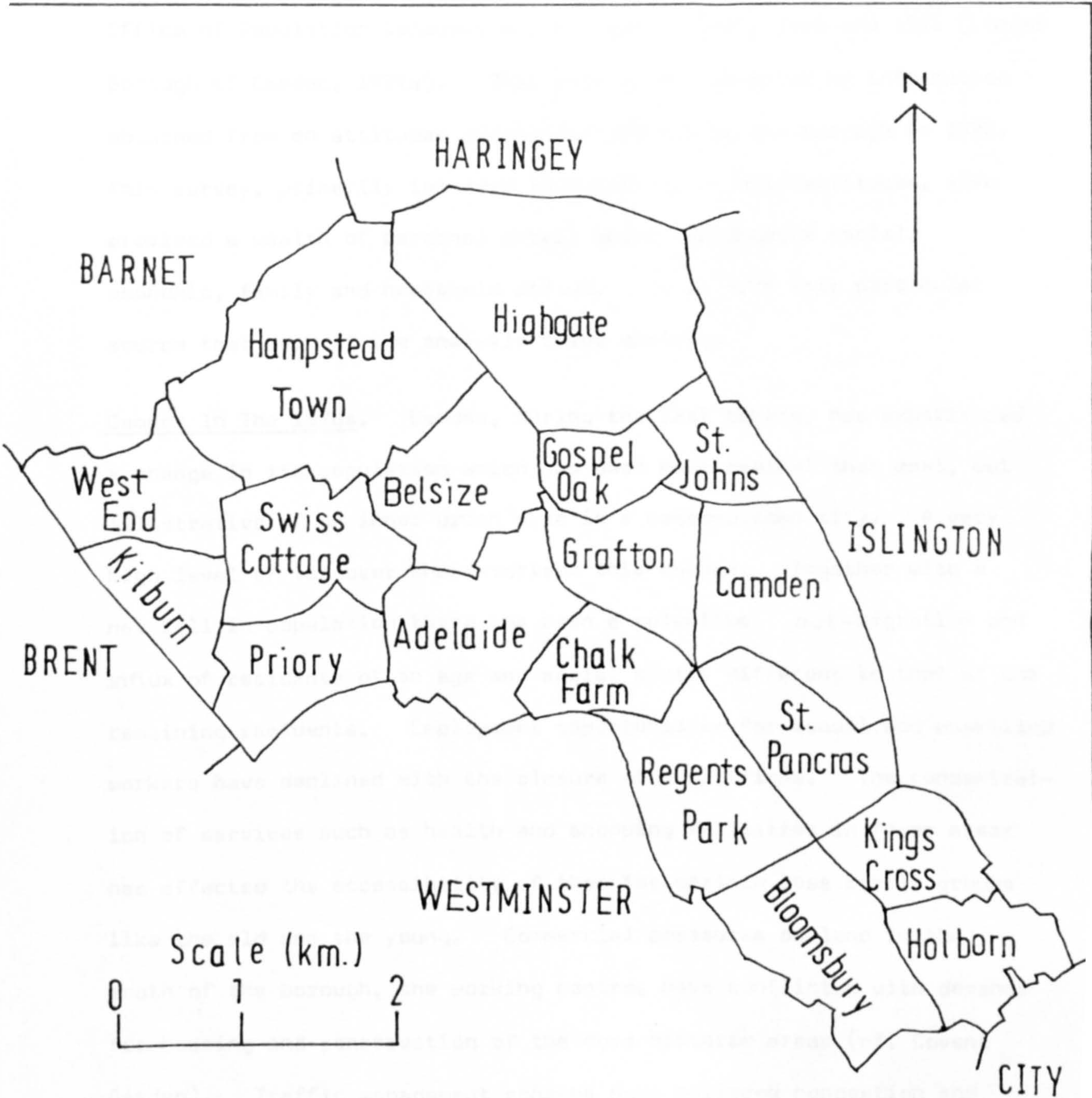
In the preparation of the local plan for Camden the information provided by the objective indicators derived from census, household, and transport surveys was supplemented by the input of data from the local authority's participation programme. It is from a synthesis of the local authority's own perception of problems together with those identified by residents that the draft plan emerged. One of the problems facing the local authority, particularly the planning department, was in deciding what weight to put on its own and residents' preferences for change. Initially, the traditional indicators of well-being are examined to get a first impression on the officials' view of the state of health of the borough.

The information used here to describe the state of Camden in the 1970s comes from a number of sources. The data from the 1971

Figure 3.I: The Boroughs Of Greater London.



Figure 3.2: The London Borough Of Camden.
Ward Boundaries.



census is used and that of the 1966 and 1961 censuses to illustrate trends in development. Surveys of housing carried out by the borough and city-wide transport studies together provide other dimensions of life not covered by the variables included in the censuses of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys in 1961, 1966 and 1971 (London Borough of Camden, 1971a). This data is supplemented by information obtained from an attitudes survey carried out by the borough in 1975. This survey, primarily intended to measure residents' attitudes, also provided a wealth of personal detail about respondents' social, economic, family and household status. It is from this particular source that much of the analysis below derives.

Camden In The 1970s. Camden, during the last decade, has experienced a change in its population which has been more radical than most, but illustrative of an inner urban area in a metropolitan city. A very high level of turnover characterises this change. Together with a net fall in population there has been a selective out-migration and influx of residents of an age and social status different to that of the remaining residents. Employment opportunities for manual and unskilled workers have declined with the closure of small firms. The concentration of services such as health and shopping facilities in fewer areas has affected the accessibility of them for certain less mobile groups like the old and the young. Commercial pressures on land in the south of the borough, the working centre, have conflicted with demands for housing and conservation of the more historic areas (cf. Covent Garden). Traffic management schemes have relieved congestion and danger on some roads yet have produced greater flows elsewhere. The diminishing size of families has led to a welcome relief for oversized classrooms while in some areas it has led to rationalisation and closure. As a result of these changes some areas and some groups

have benefited and others lost; but very few have remained unaffected at all (Camden, 1975a).

Demographic Features. The estimated population of the Borough in 1974 was 192,000. This is 6 per cent fewer than in 1971 and only half the maximum total reached in 1901 (Camden, 1975a, p.7). This decline is due principally to net out-migration. The population is extremely mobile with nearly one in four residents having moved into the borough during the previous five years. The majority of these migrants have been families that have, perhaps, moved to where job opportunities are better and where there is more suitable housing for families such as the new towns that are satellites of London. The result has been a decrease in the average household size. In 1971 seventy per cent of households were of one or two people. This has tended to produce a mismatch between the houses available and the size of households to fill them.

The pattern of migration corresponds with the changing pattern of employment. It has been the semi-skilled and unskilled workers that have been worst hit by the changing industrial structure. This tendency is producing a polarization between the highest and lowest status groups (Camden, 1975a). Changes in the social structure can be seen to be influenced by changes in the employment structure of inner London and the difficulties of the housing market in this part of London.

The demographic structure of the household survey of residents reflects the data found elsewhere, especially the 1971 census (ibid., Chapter 1). These findings give legitimacy to the statistics compiled from the survey. From the survey and census data it emerges

that Camden as a borough has an age profile similar to that of the rest of London and Britain as a whole.

Table 3.1.

<u>Percentage Of Adults Aged</u>	<u>London Borough of Camden</u>	
	<u>Survey data (1975) (per cent)</u>	<u>1971 Census data (per cent)</u>
15 - 24 years	18	21
25 - 44 "	36	33
45 - 64 "	28	29
65 years and more	18	16

(Source: Appendix A, Table A.21; Camden, 1975a).

Camden, as a borough, has a higher than average proportion of people higher up the social scale. The social groups classified here are based on the occupational status of respondents. It is shown below that socio-economic status is positively correlated with a number of important variables such as income, educational attainment and housing tenure.

Table 3.2.

<u>Socio-economic Group</u>	<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Percentage In Sample</u>
1, 2, 3, 4, 13.	I	23
5, 6.	II	27
8, 9, 12, 14.	III	20
7, 10, 15.	IV	9
11, 16, 17.	V	21

(Source: Appendix A, Table A.17).

In addition to having a higher than average proportion of residents in the professional and managerial group the borough is also relatively high on the number of people in social class 5. The reason for this is because students are classified in this group on the Registrar General's system. Social class 5 consists, therefore, of two groups

of residents on basic incomes, old age pensioners and students.

Another unusual aspect of Camden's population is that one in three residents in 1971 was born outside Great Britain. Camden has a much higher proportion of foreign-born residents than Greater London or Great Britain as a whole. These foreign residents are not mainly from the New Commonwealth countries. The biggest group, the Irish, made up 6 per cent of the respondents in the survey, 5 per cent were of a European nationality, 2 per cent were Indian or Pakistani, 2 per cent American while Australia and New Zealand and Africa each accounted for a further one per cent. The concentration of these immigrants can be found in Kilburn, Hampstead Town and Euston (Camden, 1975a).

A large number of Camden's residents (23,000; 11 per cent) live in institutional accommodation of one sort or another. In the south of the borough there are hotels, hospitals and student halls of residence which account for 51 per cent of the respondents in Bloomsbury (Appendix A, Table A.6). The distribution of different age groups in Camden is also irregular. Those wards with concentrations of public housing tend to have the highest proportions of children. St. Pancras and Camden wards both have relatively low levels of turnover and they both have large numbers of children (Appendix A, Table A.3; Camden, 1975a, p.9). In the centre of the borough and in some of the northerly wards such as Highgate there are large numbers of elderly residents many of whom are single (Appendix A, Table A.21). It is also these wards that have experienced the greatest population decline. Young people, on the other hand, are to be found mainly in the southern wards of King's Cross, Bloomsbury and Holborn (Appendix A, Table A.21). This variation in the distribution of the age structure, in part, reflects the household size.

The number of households in Camden has fallen less rapidly than the total population. This can be explained because of a diminution in the size of households. The increase in the size of the young population (15 - 25 years old) in Camden has been more than offset by the loss through migration. Nearly twice as many people in this group came in as left. For the 25 - 34 years old age group the proportion has remained almost static, while for other age groups there has been a steady decline. The biggest falls, however, have been amongst children and the middle-aged so that young adults and the elderly accounted for an increased proportion of the population (Camden, 1975, p.8). This combined with the nation-wide trend towards smaller households, as people leave home earlier and live longer, has created an unfulfilled demand for smaller houses and flats. In Camden the size of the average family has fallen from 2.52 in 1952 to 2.46 in 1961 and 2.23 in 1971 (op. cit.). Like other demographic variables considered here, there is a great deal of variation between wards (Appendix A, Table A.3.) reflecting such factors as the age structure, the number of large or small dwellings available, and patterns of tenure.

The distribution of social groups in Camden is irregular and the socio-economic structure differs significantly from that of Greater London. There are relatively higher proportions of the highest and lowest socio-economic groups and fewer in the middle (Table 3.2). This polarisation has become more pronounced during the last decade. Over this period the numbers of people in social group I (professional workers, employers and managers) grew by 13 per cent (1966-71, Camden, 1975a, p.12). Social group V grew by 28 per cent (unskilled workers and the unassigned). Social group II (non-manual workers) fell by 8 per cent. The proportions of skilled manual workers and supervisors

(social group III) and semi-skilled workers and personal service workers (Social group IV) fell by 22 per cent (ibid, p.12). These trends can be associated with the changes in the employment structure of inner London. They also reflect a housing stock which increasingly caters for the high income purchaser and tenant or to low income groups, as a growing proportion of privately rented housing is either improved or replaced by Council housing.

Housing. Housing is one of the major functions of this local authority and is the cause of much concern both from the administration's and consumer's point of view. It is a subject which affects everyone, at least to a limited extent, even those in privately rented and owner-occupied accommodation over which the local authority has restricted powers. In Camden the number of dwellings actually increased during the period from 1961 to 1971, but there was a fall (one per cent) in the number of rooms. This can be explained by the process of sub-division which has increased the number of bathrooms and kitchens at the expense of the number of habitable rooms. Thus, during the period from 1965 to 1975 3,500 dwellings were added to the housing stock through sub-division. 3,000 dwellings were built by private developers and 5,700 by the Council, the GLC and other public bodies (Camden, 1975a, p.16).

The fall in the average size of households has resulted in a general improvement in space standards. Improved living standards and a fall in household size have, in part, been responsible for this change. This general improvement in space standards does not apply equally to all households. Large families and residents in privately furnished and unfurnished accommodation still experience higher than average levels of overcrowding (Table 3.3 and Appendix A; Tables A.4 and A.5).

Table 3.3: Household Size And Number of Rooms Per Dwelling.

<u>Size of Household.</u>	<u>Number of Over-crowded Households. (More than 1 person per habitable room.)</u>
One person	-
Two people	27
Three people	26
Four people	53
Five or more people	62

(Source: Survey crosstabulation).

In addition to there being more overcrowding in larger households tenants in both private and publicly rented accommodation are much worse off than those living in owner-occupied accommodation (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Occupancy Rates and Household Size, Camden 1971.

<u>Household Size (Persons)</u>	<u>Tenure (Persons Per Habitable Room)</u>				
	<u>Owner- Occupied</u>	<u>Local Authority</u>	<u>Rented Unfurnished</u>	<u>Rented Furnished</u>	<u>All Tenures</u>
One	0.26	0.44	0.40	0.68	0.46
Two	0.41	0.61	0.59	0.93	0.61
Three	0.52	0.77	0.75	1.04	0.74
Four	0.61	0.93	0.92	1.13	0.86
Five	0.71	1.08	1.06	1.25	0.96
Six and more	<u>0.85</u>	<u>1.32</u>	<u>1.24</u>	<u>1.41</u>	<u>1.14</u>
All households	0.51	0.77	0.65	0.88	0.68

(Source: Camden, 1975a, p.16).

Residents in rented furnished accommodation are the most likely to experience overcrowding. Those living in local authority housing experience less overcrowding but all types of rented accommodation fall behind the standards in the privately owned dwellings. Throughout the borough the pattern of tenure reflects the occupancy rates but even in the more affluent wards such as Hampstead Town, several households were severely overcrowded (95 households had more than 1.5 persons per habitable room in 1971, Office Of Population, 1971). Some wards had a

much higher than average proportion of overcrowding. There was an average occupancy rate of 0.78 persons per habitable room in Kilburn and only 0.5 persons per room in Hampstead Town ward (Camden, 1975a, p.16, Appendix A, Table A.5). Belsize, Swiss Cottage, Priory, St. Johns, King's Cross, Bloomsbury and Holborn also had higher than average proportions of overcrowding. The lower occupancy rates in wards like Highgate and Hampstead reflect, in part, the larger sizes of houses there (4.4 and 4.3 rooms per household other than kitchen and bathroom; Appendix A, Table A.5).

Overcrowding is one indicator of stress which a household may experience. Another is the provision of facilities in the dwelling. The 'standard amenities' which are regarded by public authorities as being basic for an adequate standard of living are the exclusive use of a hot water supply, a fixed bath, and an inside water-closet. From the census, details of these three facilities can be obtained. In the survey of households a dwelling was regarded as being self-contained if it had exclusive use of a bathroom and a kitchen. Also, the survey included the common household amenities of a television set and telephone. The presence of these amenities is not normally considered necessary for an adequate standard of living in most surveys, although it is included in Townsend's list of poverty indicators on the basis that they are necessary for an acceptable level of social intercourse without which people tend to feel relatively deprived (Townsend, 1979).

Although housing stress is experienced in all the wards of the borough it is felt more keenly in some than in others. Many families, particularly those in privately rented accommodation probably suffer from all kinds of housing stress which the census covers, such as

over-crowding, poor facilities and shared dwellings. The information from the household survey certainly suggests this. Regarding the influence of tenure on amenity, only 5 per cent of owner-occupiers have to share a basic facility like a toilet and kitchen (Appendix A, Table A.10). 5 per cent of tenants in council housing have to do this while residents in privately rented accommodation are the worst affected; 30 per cent of them have to share at least one of these facilities. Of those people living in hostels, the majority (85 per cent) have to make do with communal provision. Though many young people are willing to put up with sharing to be in the centre of London a better indicator of need would be the number of elderly people having to share. Indeed, the young are definitely more prepared to share, or are obliged to, than are longer term or more elderly residents. 43 per cent of residents living less than one year in Camden had to share and only 12 per cent of those residents of between five and nineteen years standing did so (Appendix A, Table A.10(a)). The elderly who tend to be the longer term residents are not so well-off as the middle aged in this respect. 20 per cent of those aged sixty-five or more lacked one or more facilities. Those wards with the greatest concentrations of housing stress, as measured on the amenity indicator, are Swiss Cottage, Regents Park, Grafton, Gospel Oak and Highgate, all of which have over 25 per cent of the households sharing a basic facility (Appendix A, Table A.25). All tend to have above average proportions of rented accommodation while Highgate has 4 per cent in hostels and 33 per cent in privately rented accommodation.

From this description of some aspects of housing it is clear that there is a certain overlap of those variables measuring different kinds of need. Areas which lack basic amenities tend also to lack secondary amenities such as television sets and telephones (Appendix A,

Table A.8). They are likely to be overcrowded, shared dwellings and privately rented accommodation. Areas which have a high incidence of housing stress often have other problems such as a poor general environment, lack of open space, and poor access to shops, work and public transport (Camden, 1975a, p.17). It is this interlocking relationship which has been termed the 'cycle of deprivation' (Townsend, 1979). The changes in the population and housing that have been outlined so far are closely linked and affect many other aspects of life in Camden. For example, population decline has implications for shopping centres and the distribution of education and health services. The changing economic structure has resulted in a polarization in the socio-economic structure while the high cost of accommodation has prevented some workers in the poorly paid service industries from living in the borough. Some of these trends and their implications for different facets of life in Camden are further outlined below.

Employment In Camden. More people work in Camden than live there. In 1971 233,000 people were working, yet this represents a fall of about 10 per cent since 1961. In 1971 52 per cent of jobs were in the distribution and service industries. Although there have been heavy losses in the number of jobs in manufacturing, this sector is still the second largest, providing 20 per cent of all jobs. The decrease in the size of the population living in Camden (16 per cent) is matched by the fall in the resident work-force (1961-71; Camden, 1975, p.25). The loss in employment has not been evenly spread. Skilled and semi-skilled workers accounted for most of the employment loss. The unemployment situation deteriorated yet much of this appeared to be a short term loss of work rather than structural long term unemployment. The local authority has only limited powers to

affect the economic situation in Camden; it is influenced by metropolitan and national trends and policies, and the state of private enterprise.

The trends in employment in Camden reflect national and city-wide trends. There is a greater shift towards employment in the service industries and away from manufacturing. At the regional level there has been a movement of industries, particularly those in the manufacturing sector, out of congested sites in inner London to better equipped and more spacious estates elsewhere such as in the new towns and medium-sized towns beyond London's green belt. In addition, the growth of the tourist industry in central London in the 1970s has produced a demand for often poorly paid service jobs in services such as hotels and restaurants (Camden, 1975a, p.25).

In 1971 the majority of the resident workforce in Camden was employed in the distribution and service industries. Most of these workers came from social groups I and II and half from social group V (op. cit., p.26). The changes in the employment opportunities which have resulted from the trends outlined have serious consequences for certain groups of workers, particularly the unskilled. The loss of manufacturing industry means not only the loss of skilled manual jobs but also the loss of unskilled jobs which are reasonably well paid compared to unskilled jobs in the service sector; though not all jobs in the service sector are poorly paid. New service industries based on computers and electronics provide well paid jobs, but only to the suitably qualified.

Perhaps, the most widely used indicator of economic well-being of an area is the level of unemployment. However, the level of unemployment as measured by the Department of Employment is

considerably lower than that produced by the census. This is because Employment Exchange figures include those registered as unemployed while Census figures include many married women who do not register when they are unemployed especially if they think there is little chance of finding a job. Secondly, the Census includes all those absent from work because of illness on Census day. For these reasons Census figures on unemployment are frequently two and three times higher than the Department of Employment figures.

The number of unemployed in Camden on Census day 1971 was 7,000. That was 6.1 per cent of the economically active at that time. This was higher than the figure for Greater London as a whole (5.1 per cent). Yet, there were variations from year to year, and even across the borough concentrations of unemployment exist. The household survey included women and the sick in the unemployed category. King's Cross, Bloomsbury, Priory, Hampstead Town and Highgate appeared with more than 20 per cent unemployed (Appendix A, Table A.20). King's Cross and Priory have large proportions of unskilled workers (Appendix A, Table A.16) while Bloomsbury has a large number in social class 5, as does Hampstead (31 per cent) while Highgate has a quarter of its residents in social class II (26 per cent; Appendix A, Table A.16). It is social groups II and V that are experiencing the worst unemployment; 28 per cent of social group II and 42 per cent of social group V were unemployed for the 1971 Census. Many of those unemployed were previously employed or were seeking work in the service and distribution industries (mostly social class II; Camden 1975a, p.28). In spite of the high unemployment in this sector there were also more vacancies for both men and women. But many of the jobs in these industries are poorly paid and unpleasant and as a result the hotel industry has faced problems in recruiting staff. Textiles and clothing, transport and communications, and the

distributive trades all pay poorly and find it difficult to attract labour where accommodation is scarce and expensive or inaccessible.

The large numbers of resident workers in the service and distribution trades (66,000 in 1971; Camden, 1975, p.27) and the fairly high proportion of unskilled and unassigned workers means that Camden has many households with low incomes. This is in spite of the fact that it has a higher than average proportion of professional workers, managers and employers. In 1971 Camden ranked twenty-seventh out of the thirty-three local authorities in Greater London in terms of median household income (op. cit., p.28). At that time 50 per cent of the households in the Borough had an income of less than £1,553 per annum compared with a median household income of £1,725 per annum. The data collected in the household survey of 1975 does not lend itself to a comparison with the 1971 data as the response rate for the question on household income was below 50 per cent. Data was available, nevertheless, for personal incomes which show a large number of low income residents, 27 per cent under £1,000 (Appendix A, Table A.11) and 14 per cent earning over £3,000 per annum. There appears to be a strong relationship between income, social status and indicators of deprivation (Appendix A, Tables A.17 and A.18). The distribution of personal income is a useful indicator in that it is correlated positively with a number of housing, demographic and social variables. But, more importantly, for a public body such as a local authority, a high proportion of residents on low incomes leads to a demand for social services. Many of those who are on low incomes are also those who tend to operate services which are essential to the efficient running of public services within the Borough. It may be that a special case can be made out for giving extra assistance to these workers, but there is the difficulty of identifying the essential

and needy of that group (Camden, 1975a, p.28).

Housing and demographic variables vary spatially. Some wards fair better on a range of economic indicators than do others. Income distribution, unemployment and social status tend to overlap. The highest incomes are to be found in Hampstead Town, Highgate, Belsize and Swiss Cottage (Appendix A, Table A.11) whilst the lowest are found in Camden, King's Cross, Kilburn, and St. Pancras. All of the wards with the lowest incomes had above average percentages of households with an unemployed respondent (Appendix A, Table A.20). In four of the five wards with the highest median incomes over a quarter of the households had two or more members in full-time employment (Camden, 1975a, p.29). Correspondingly, the wards with the higher income workers tended to be those with more professional and managerial workers. Highgate had 38 per cent in social group one (Appendix A, Table A.16). Adelaide had 50 per cent and Hampstead Town 50 per cent. In comparison, King's Cross had 11 per cent in this group, Priory 16 per cent and King's Cross had 15 per cent even in social class one. With this distribution of economic well-being there is the distribution of economic activity itself. The southern part of the borough is of overwhelming importance in this context, while centres such as Camden Town and Kentish Town are local centres of employment. It is this concentration in the south of the borough which produces congestion and difficulty of access for some workers both within and without the borough and it is the problem of mobility within Camden which is considered below.

Transportation. The needs of residents for employment, housing and leisure facilities and their dispersion in space results in movements of people from place to place. Shopping, health and education facilities have different space requirements. They all compete with

one another for land within the borough. Yet the demands of the users of these services vary and some modes of transport are more appropriate than others. With changing demands for different services the patterns of movement alter. Pressure is put on some routes and taken off others. Growing affluence has led to a greater reliance on the private car and this, too, has brought problems of congestion, particularly at certain periods of the day.

The indicators which Camden uses to measure stress on the mobility factor are: the household population, household income, car ownership and household structure (Camden, 1975a, p.49). While the total numbers of people influence the amount of travel in an area the most significant variable in the Camden analysis in affecting the total number of journeys each household makes is the ownership of a car. Car ownership, like housing status, varies with income. As household income increases so does the probability of owning a car increase.

For residents working in the commercial centre south of Euston Road there is a problem of access. Parking space is restricted, but there are good cross-area bus and underground routes. On the periphery of this area there are the main line railway termini of King's Cross, St. Pancras and Euston. Roads outside of the central area tend to be radial and constructed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to serve the then new housing developments. The central area has a mainly grid-iron pattern of roads. The competition by different road users has, in part, been relieved in several areas of Camden where many minor roads have been closed and through traffic directed to fewer more suitable roads. This has reduced the number of accidents, especially those involving pedestrians,

who otherwise suffer delay, danger, noise and pollution from motor vehicles. This trend reflects the move away from the 1950s approach of increasing the volumes and speed of traffic flows to the late 1960s and early 1970s goals of improving public transport, pedestrian safety and the environment (Camden, 1975a, p.58).

The public transport service, and in particular the bus service, has come in for increasing criticism generally and more especially in those areas and from those groups who are more dependent on it. Part of the decline in the use of buses can be attributed to the opening of the Victoria Line in 1969. More importantly, bus services have become increasingly unreliable due to traffic congestion and staff shortages. Of these two reasons the latter is more important because it has a far more disruptive effect on services since unplanned cancellations cause unpleasant gaps in the service (Camden, 1975a, p.60). Another major problem is accessibility to bus routes. There are some wards like Hampstead, Highgate and Kilburn which have residential areas where people without ready access to private transport may experience difficulties. This is true especially for the less mobile residents like the elderly, the handicapped and the young. For some residential areas these problems cannot be overcome because of the difficulty of access by standard size buses. Yet, in some areas smaller buses are being tried on an experimental basis, e.g. 'The Midi bus' (Camden, 1975a, p.65).

An efficient and reliable transport system, whether public or private, is essential for people living in a dense urban environment. Yet, to achieve anything along these lines some users may have to give way to others, particularly to the users of public transport. And, as the costs of private motoring increase together with the increasing

scarcity of oil it may seem sensible to adopt a policy which maintains, or improves, a transport system which makes more efficient use of space since more people can be carried per vehicle. Accessibility of the more neglected areas might be improved by smaller buses and, perhaps, less on street parking, while alternative forms of transport such as the bicycle and motor bicycle may become more important. But, in the short run the central area in the south of the borough continues to be congested, especially at peak periods while the north of the borough suffers from poor access to public transport facilities. It remains to be seen whether the residents of Camden have these perceptions of the problems of transport (Chapter 4).

Shopping Facilities. The changing demographic structure together with a change in shopping habits has resulted in a different pattern of retailing in the 1970s. On the demand side of retailing, changes in taste, prosperity and patterns of living have altered the requirements of consumers. A greater proportion of income is now spent on durable goods, for example (Camden, 1975a, p.75). On the supply side, there have been considerable organisational changes. As a result of a desire for more efficient means of distribution supermarkets and hypermarkets have grown up. Undoubtedly, these developments have brought prices down for a great number of people. However, costs have been incurred by other retailers and buyers. The growth of supermarkets and self-service retail outlets has enabled a greater turnover to be produced on a smaller area. This has meant that small retail establishments, particularly in the convenience food and goods sector, have gone out of business. This trend has been exacerbated by the increase in the numbers of car-borne shoppers who are able to make use of new hypermarkets and out-of-town shopping centres.

Larger enterprizes have encouraged customers to buy in bulk.

This tends to be useful to those who have the cash to make the necessary outlay, a car in which to take their purchases home, and adequate storage space. The elderly, who constitute 17 per cent of Camden's population, are rarely able to benefit from this type of shopping. Thus, in those areas where there have been above average numbers of shop closures those who are less mobile will tend to have suffered. There has been a decline in retail activity in London as a whole and this has been reflected in Camden. Those areas which have suffered the most have been on the fringes of the central area below Euston Road (i.e. part of the West End) such as King's Cross and Farringdon. Other areas have been affected by uncertainty over their future such as Covent Garden. But the recent reopening and the influx of retailing activity suggest that there is still a demand for shopping space in the central area. Although, even here the goods are aimed at the higher social groups, and local residents have fewer everyday food and good stores here than they did formerly.

Residents in the central area have the greatest access to the widest range of retailing, although, perhaps, less to everyday goods than residents in the suburban centres. Tottenham Court Road is a centre for electrical goods and furniture, Hatton Garden for jewellery, Fitzrovia for its restaurants and the British Museum area caters for tourists and the book trade. The market for these more specialist goods is city-wide and even international: Camden's residents are fortunate in having them so close at hand.

Gentrification around Camden Town has brought a new spark of life to an otherwise ordinary shopping centre. Gospel Oak has declined as a shopping area, partly as a result of extensive redevelopment work. This has, in part, been compensated for by a small growth in the number of shops in Camden Town and Kentish Town Road.

For many of the residents in Grafton and Gospel Oak wards this means a long bus journey and more expensive shops when they arrive. Kentish Town has been streamlined at the expense of the more traditional grocer's shop. These have been replaced by convenience goods shops like take-away food outlets which are able to pay higher rents than the relatively less profitable service shops they replaced. This situation is even more exaggerated in Hampstead Village. The presence of large numbers of visitors, combined with a high status image has made it a popular place for boutiques which sell expensive items. Local shop-keepers could not afford to pay higher rents so that at the time of the household survey there was no supermarket in the area. Residents had to go to Finchley Road, Camden Town and Golders Green to do their weekly shopping (Camden, 1975a, p.82).

The provision, location and accessibility of shopping facilities are aspects of the environment which contribute to the individual's sense of well-being. Changes in retailing organisation and the more widespread use of the motor car have and continue to alter the pattern of retail distribution. Some areas, particularly those on the edge of the central area and those in the higher status wards have lost a certain number of convenience goods shops. For residents in these areas the costs of shopping tend to be higher than elsewhere. For the immobile elderly and young a strain is put on their resources, and some experience hardship in obtaining the most basic of goods. The powers of local authorities to influence this state of affairs are limited. It may, in the last resort, provide shops itself or do so in partnership with private developers. It may refuse permission for certain changes of use but not to prevent a food shop from becoming a boutique or clothes shop, for example.

Educational Provision. For the last two decades the child population of Camden has declined rapidly. Though this decline has been worse in some age groups and in some areas than in others. In addition, there has been an increase in adult and further education. The 60,000 full and part-time students and 35,000 attending adult education centres provide employment for 12,000 of Camden's daily workforce. These changes in the nature of service provision in this sector have implications for transport and leisure facilities and for specialised residential accommodation.

The control of education in many London boroughs is the prerogative of the local authority itself. Under the Local Government Act 1963 education in the inner London boroughs, including Camden, became administered by a committee of the Greater London Council which is known as the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA). It has control over provision of buildings and payments of salaries in nursery, primary and secondary schools, a number of adult institutes and special schools for the handicapped. Another educational organisation, the University of London controls a third of all land used for educational purposes in Camden. It is autonomous and only has to seek consultations with the local planning authority over long term planning matters. In addition to these organisations over which the local authority has very little direct influence there is the private sector which has control over play groups, preparatory, public schools and independent colleges. What powers the local authority does have are confined to the approval of sites and extensions (Camden, 1977a, p.89). Yet, this is an important power for in a dense urban environment where land is scarce many people may be disadvantaged by poor siting of services. It has been estimated that about 1,000 people in Camden live in areas blighted by school extension proposals (ibid., p.89).

The decline in the size of school roles reflects a fall in the population. Areas like Gospel Oak, King's Cross and St. Pancras, which have experienced the greatest population losses, have experienced the largest falls in the child population. This fall has been greatest in the number of children of pre-school age (0-4 years). For example, Gospel Oak lost 60 per cent of its child population of 0-4 years in the period 1961 to 1971. On average, the loss per ward was 32 per cent over this decade (1961-1971). It may be that this decline in numbers has meant an increase in standards in most places by improving space levels for instance. But, with time schools become obsolete, several having been built in the last century. It also means that journeys to school may be long and dangerous. Longer journeys also produce more traffic where parents take their children to school. This can cause acute congestion in some areas at times when roads are normally very busy.

One area of provision that appears to be lacking is pre-school establishments for the under fives. The attendance of children at these places is voluntary. Some are run by public bodies like ILEA but the majority are provided by private interests. Nurseries run on a part-time basis and those run for the full day in the private sector tend to run for longer hours than the equivalent ILEA nurseries (ibid., p.91). They cater, therefore, more suitably for working parents. In the primary sector some schools are unpopular because of the awkward and small sites which they occupy. Of the 15 hectares of land covered by primary schools another 9 hectares are needed to bring them up to DES standards (H.M.S.O., 1972). There is a spatial problem for parents of children of both primary and secondary school age. There are far fewer primary and secondary schools in the west of the borough than in the east. And, of those that are in the west,

a great many are privately run. For residents in these wards the distance to the nearest available school may be considerable (up to one hour's travelling time for Hampstead High School).

The distribution of education services affects the users of them most of all. In Camden the large number of old schools with inadequate facilities and below standard space are deprived relative to those in less dense environments. The unequal spread of schools throughout the borough means that some children have greater distances to travel than do others. With regards to secondary and primary schools the most inadequate provision appears to be in the south and west of the borough. The facilities for children of nursery school age only meet a fraction of the demand for such places. Their absence creates problems for those parents who wish to go out and work. In the south of the borough the university and its demands for space for its students and staff put pressure on space which is desired by other residents. The generally decreasing population has relieved pressures in the area of education provision and this will, in part, help to improve space standards if not the quality and range of services in schools.

Health Care And Social Services. The well-being of any community is influenced by the availability of services to look after the aged, handicapped, ill, those who are isolated, in poor housing, and in poverty. The incidence of these forms of stress seems to vary with the demographic and social characteristics of a population. As has been noticed so far many indicators of stress appear to be correlated in certain areas that have become known as areas of multiple deprivation. The demand for certain services varies, of course, with the population mix. Those areas with higher than average proportions of elderly and young people will make specific and persistent claims

on health care facilities. There is a certain overlap between the need for health care services and those provided by the Social Services Department of the local authority. Although the organisation of health care lies outwith Camden Council, the indicators used by the health service to measure need are similar to those used by the social services. They include poverty, old age, poor living conditions and a high percentage of children.

The provision of social services in Camden is a statutory responsibility, at least for certain services such as care of the elderly, the handicapped, children, the homeless and those in difficulty. Its assistance to many voluntary groups is, however, discretionary. One aspect of the social work service that is irregularly spread is the residential day care centre (Camden, 1977a, p.85). In these centres the individual is granted refuge from the family or environment in which he lives. In these situations it is important to maintain contact with friends and relatives so, ideally, the resident should be housed as close as possible to his or her neighbourhood. This is not the case in some areas of Camden where there are particularly high concentrations of elderly people. For example, there are no residential care facilities for the elderly south of Euston Road, neither is there a luncheon club in this area. The difficulties of improving the situation in areas like this are great when there are so many pressures on land and buildings for alternative uses.

The incidence of poverty is one of the main indicators of the need for personal or family assistance. Those in poverty tend also to suffer from a number of other conditions. They are most likely to live in the worst housing. The children of parents living

in these conditions are less likely to do well in the education system. Things are made worse if the householder is a single parent, handicapped, elderly or a member of a large family. According to Syson (1975) the highest incidence of poverty occurs amongst those Camden residents who are retired (60 per cent), the long-term sick (10 per cent), those in full-time work (6 per cent), unemployed (7 per cent), housewives (5 per cent) and students (5 per cent). From the household survey there is, too, an association between personal income (Appendix A, Table A.11), overcrowding (Appendix A, Table A.26), type of tenure (Appendix A, Table A.6) and level of household amenity (Appendix A, Table A.8). As the distribution of the areas of stress is by no means uniform it is important that the distribution of social work department offices and care facilities should be as close to those areas as possible.

With regards to the provision of health services in Camden a similar analysis to that of the distribution of social services can be made. Indicators of stress which relate to health service provision are concerned with the range of services available and their distribution throughout the borough. This service includes doctors' practices, dental surgeries, health clinics and hospitals. Like schools, Camden Borough has no direct control over the provision and management of medical services. However, some power remains in the control over their land-use. Besides being a service to residents, medical services generate a lot of local employment and also much traffic.

Camden residents are better served than most when the range of hospitals available is considered. This is due to the large number of teaching and specialist hospitals, many of national importance,

within the borough. On the primary health care side the distribution and numbers of doctors and dentists is regarded as adequate and there are no plans to increase the numbers of these (Camden, 1977a, p.88). This position can be explained by the declining population. One change which may cause some difficulty is the move to create more family health clinics. But so far progress along this path has not been quick so it is difficult to assess the effect of this type of health care on the less mobile groups.

The distribution and provision of health care in Camden appears to be more evenly distributed than some social services. Both respond, or are in existence, to cater for social and health needs. Yet both these services are remedial rather than preventative. The local authority has little control over poverty, old age, and large families since it does not assess or provide the income of these more deprived groups. This is the function of national administration, particularly the Department of Health and Social Security who determine 'adequate incomes'. Social work and health care vary from some of the other services which contribute to a sense of well-being in that accessibility is not so important since workers in these services often visit the client at home. In a number of cases the location of social work centres and departments and health centres can produce hardship for some.

Access To Recreational And Leisure Facilities. The demand for facilities for recreation, like that of other services examined here, varies from age group to age group. The elderly prefer more restful forms of recreation while the young engage in more active pursuits. The distribution of these facilities is uneven. In Camden leisure and recreation are provided by both public and private

bodies. Traditionally, the public sector has made provision in the less profit oriented fields such as sports participation, open space, libraries and children's playgrounds whereas private concerns have been more interested in those profitable activities which include the tourist trade, cinemas, theatres and sports' clubs. As life styles change, there has been an increase in the demand for certain leisure activities, particularly those requiring greater participation (Camden, 1977a, p.99). Another factor influencing the demand and provision of recreational facilities in Camden is the structure of the demand. Three main groups have to be considered. Firstly, there are the residents themselves, secondly, there is the daily workforce, many of whom are occupied in the south of the borough. Finally, there are the tourists who provide a large source of income for many residents and who seek access to the centres of tourism within the borough.

The young spend by far the greatest length of time on recreation. In the 30-49 year old age group about 20 per cent of the total available time is spent on leisure (H.M.S.O., 1974). Of the time devoted to recreation a considerable amount is spent on activities in the home such as watching television, reading, gardening and home decorating. Here, however, the study is concerned with those activities outside the home which can be loosely divided into sporting and non-sporting activities. Among sporting activities those in which Londoners wished to participate were, in order of preference: swimming, tennis, golf, fishing and soccer. Those of which existing participants wanted more were: golf, squash, sailing, riding and motor sports (Greater London Council, 1974). Of the non-sporting activities the greatest demand appeared to be in 'out-of-town' activities, especially visits to the seaside and stately homes. While in London an increasing demand for theatres, cinemas, dancing

and zoo visits and the taking up of evening classes was expected (Camden, 1977a, p.100).

The demand for leisure in Camden may be expressed quantitatively and qualitatively. A certain level of population creates a certain demand for facilities and public authorities have developed indicators or standards of recreation and leisure facility provision which can be used to assess an official standard of provision. In sport, quality is an important factor. The standard of equipment available for lunch-time recreation such as a tennis court or running track may be inadequate to meet the needs of those who wish to participate or compete at a higher level. Those wards with higher than average proportions of young people (Bloomsbury, King's Cross and Camden, Appendix A, Table A.21) will have a greater demand for sporting facilities than those with a larger number of people of retirement age (Highgate, Priory, Chalk Farm and Hampstead Town). These more elderly residents are most likely to want areas for quiet relaxation such as sitting out areas. The elderly are more evenly dispersed throughout the borough than are young children, for example; but the provision of open space is not so regular.

According to the standards of open space laid down in the Greater London Development Plan (Greater London Council, 1969) Camden has more than enough. The standard is 1.6 hectares per 1,000 residents. Though 330 hectares are needed to meet this standard there are 358 hectares in Camden. This open space is concentrated in a few places. Chalk Farm, Hampstead Town, Highgate and Regents Park have the greatest access to open space and many of the facilities provided there such as playing fields and play space for children. On the other hand, some parts of Camden are

very poorly served, e.g. Camden, Belsize, King's Cross and Priory wards (Camden, 1977a, p.103).

The needs for recreation are also felt by those people who work or visit the borough but are not actually resident in it. There are 233,000 workers in Camden each day, the majority being concentrated in the central area south of Euston Road. The demand from these people is for open spaces for lunch-time relaxation, library and cultural facilities, pubs, cafes and restaurants. The congestion of buildings here puts severe strain on what facilities there are. Open spaces such as those in Lincoln's Inn Fields and facilities such as the public swimming pool in Bloomsbury are intensively used. Visitors to Camden also have particular demands. The attractions for the visitor in the south of the borough include the British Museum, the Bloomsbury Squares and the Inns of Court. Access to them will be wanted for greater lengths of time than by the resident population so special arrangements for extended opening hours may be desirable.

In Camden some areas have a better allocation of sports and leisure facilities than do others, yet the assessment of need is complex. Three populations have to be considered. Residents, workers, and tourists have different demands and express them at different times of the day. Generally, the south of the borough is lacking in facilities for workers. Residents in the peripheral area to the West End lack open space and play space for children and the young. Areas to the north of the borough, particularly those bordering Hampstead Heath, are particularly well served with open space and facilities for sports of the open air kind. However, the north lacks public and private indoor sports facilities while the south is slightly better served in this respect.

Local Authority Expenditure. The distribution and allocation of resources within London affects its development and the role that local government plays. The costs of capital projects are high as are the costs for personal and social services. Traffic congestion, environmental pollution and recreational deprivation have made worse the problems in inner London. As the population continues to fall changes have to be adopted to accommodate the needs for renewal and adaptation. While problems are distributed unevenly in London so, too, are the resources to tackle them. This variation arises primarily because of the exceptionally highly rated non-residential properties in the centre of London, but also because of highly rated domestic properties. This gives some boroughs, particularly some of the inner London boroughs, a financial advantage over others.

Since the inception of the London County Council there has been a widespread recognition of the great disparity between the rateable resources of the boroughs. There is some attempt at equalisation through the London Boroughs' Association which provides for a marginal redistribution of resources mainly from inner to outer London. This evens out, to a limited extent, the concentration of high rateable values in central London. This is supplemented by the needs element of the Rate Support Grant. However, those boroughs with a high rateable value have a potentially greater income than those that do not. For example, during the period 1975-76 a one penny rate would raise £1.01m in Camden but only £0.24m in Greenwich and £0.3m in Lewisham. Although Camden's rateable value is higher than most other London boroughs its needs for social services are greater. In 1975 of the thirty-two London boroughs Camden received the third highest per capita Rate Support Grant (Needs Element) (Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1975). The average rate for domestic properties was

also the third highest at £196 in Camden. This compares with £224 per head in Westminster, £82 in Hackney and £108 in Southwark. Thus, although Camden receives a fair proportion of income in the form of grants from central government it also allocates more resources per head of population to social and personal services. For example, Camden allocated £146 per head to education during 1975-76. Tower Hamlets and Wandsworth, two other inner London boroughs, allocated £70 and £47 respectively (op. cit., pp.8-11). On housing, Camden allocated £167 per head. This was the highest allocation of both inner and outer London boroughs. The amount allocated to town and country planning by Camden ranked only second to that of Westminster. Although the expenditure on social services is higher in the inner London boroughs, residents, on the whole, have to pay for the services over and above a minimum level of provision. The average rate per domestic dwelling was 52 per cent higher in Camden than in other inner London boroughs in 1975-76 and 39 per cent higher than the boroughs in Greater London (op. cit., p.11).

These aspects of local authority expenditure suggest that the London Borough of Camden is rather atypical when seen alongside other London boroughs. Although it has special needs it also has a relatively strong fiscal base on which to stand. This combined with the political composition of the council (predominantly Labour, cf. Chapter 6) partly explains the higher than average expenditure on personal and social services in Camden. The extent to which residents support this allocation is the subject of the analysis in Chapter 9.

Summary.

The indicators of life in Camden described here show that almost all groups and places lack provision or access to some facility or

service. However, some groups fair less well than others. Competition for resources is exerted by residents, workers and tourists, each of which have particular needs at differing times and at various places within the borough. One of the dilemmas facing the decision-maker is how to weight the conflicting needs of different groups and different areas for the limited amount of resources. Housing, employment, transport and leisure facilities are, in part, distributed through the market system while provision is made, to a limited extent, through public agencies for those groups who are unable to compete for essential services and facilities individually. In this field Camden has only a limited amount of power to influence management and the allocation of services within its boundaries.

Camden's assessment of need, as illustrated by the indicators used here, places great reliance on the use of demographic variables. Indeed, changes in the size of the population have had significant effects on housing, transport, the provision of educational, health and social services. Accompanying this change there has been a high rate of turnover and selective out-migration. The result has been a fall in the number of semi-skilled manual and non-manual workers and a proportionate increase in the numbers of high and low status workers putting greater pressure on social services in some areas. Some wards with particularly high concentrations of immigrants may experience particular difficulty. Although many migrants are from the Old Commonwealth or Ireland and have relatively little difficulty in assimilation. Another of the demographic indicators that has widespread effects on several aspects of the environment is the age structure of the population. The concentrations of families with children in some wards (St. Pancras, Belsize and Kilburn) creates a demand for play space, health and education services which may be

less accessible to those residents who have low incomes or live in areas where these facilities are sparsely situated, such as the north-west of the borough. The high proportion of small and single person households has put pressure on the housing stock for a greater number of dwellings of smaller size. This has been achieved, partially, by the decline in the population and sub-division of larger dwellings. These demographic trends typically derived from censuses provide a picture of the gross changes in a given population. But, well-being has many facets and, in order to examine these, alternative data sources have to be examined.

The decline in the population has had implications for housing but so, too, does the institutional allocation of housing. Residents in privately rented accommodation, whether furnished or unfurnished, have to put up with less satisfactory conditions than tenants in local authority housing or privately owned homes. They are more likely to live in over-crowded conditions, especially if there is a large family, and are more likely to lack basic and other amenities. The decline in the number of dwellings in the privately rented sector is having the effect of restricting access to low income workers, particularly in the service industries. They have restricted access to public housing because of a housing waiting list while being unable to enter owner-occupation because of low incomes.

The indicator used to measure economic well-being is most commonly the number of unemployed people. This only gives some impression of the health of an area. Measures of industrial structure would be more useful. Although the unemployment rate in Camden is slightly higher than that of the rest of London it has declined steadily with the population. However, manufacturing jobs have suffered the most. Many of the manufacturing companies have closed

for good or have moved to better sites, many to the new towns.

This loss of manufacturing employment partly explains the increasing polarisation of social groups in Camden which has a higher than average proportion of professional and managerial workers and unskilled workers and students than does London or Britain. What employment there is is concentrated in the south of the borough with minor centres at Camden and Kentish Town. The employment centre in the south poses little problems of access for those living in the southern and central wards, but some difficulty for those living in the northerly wards particularly if there is a dependence on public transport.

The distribution of schools, shops and social services remains uneven, partly as a result of historical circumstances and partly because of the difficulty of providing or making space for these facilities in areas where there is a demand as measured by the size of catchment areas. The allocation of facilities for the elderly is regarded as inadequate in the area south of Euston Road. There is widespread under-provision of nursery schools and a lack of secondary schools in the public sector in the north and west of the borough. With regards to the provision of shopping facilities and changes in retailing management and shopping customs there has been a decline in the distribution of general stores and grocers. The more widespread use of the motor car and the growth in the number of supermarkets and out-of-town shopping centres has benefited those that can make use of them but have made shopping more difficult for the less mobile.

By indicating the nature of groups and areas in Camden some conception of the needs of different places and people develop. Those indicators which are traditionally employed to describe the well-being of an area have been made use of here. Demographic,

employment, transportation, shopping and social service data together provide a multi-faceted view of the environment. But, still it is the local authority's view of the environment at any one time. And, it is from these indicators that policies for change in that environment develop. By comparing the varying needs identified in this section with the perceptions of the environment of the consumers and occupiers of that environment is to analyse the attitudes of residents themselves. It is the analysis of these environmental perceptions of Camden residents that are considered as subjective indicators. Later, these subjective indicators will be compared with the objective indicators outlined here in order to see whether there is any variation in outlook on the environment and also if there is a difference in the preferences for change of the environment by different groups in the borough.

CHAPTER 4.

Subjective Indicators: Environmental Attitudes In Camden.

Section 1.

Introduction.

Herbert Gans (1968) once said that planners are more like tourists than residents. The environment in which people live, adapt to and change develops a special meaning which observers and outsiders may find difficult to appreciate or understand. It is this subjective view point which urban planners are now trying to identify and put into the urban policy decision-making framework (Appleyard, 1979). During the 1960s it became apparent that technical planning based on 'objective' indicators of well-being was value based. Many physical planning decisions could be shown to have consistently benefited some groups at the expense of others (Appleyard, 1979). By collecting information about the feelings and wants of client populations it is hoped that a more comprehensive picture of need might develop. In some technical areas the advice of an expert may be used to assess the health implications of change. In other areas elected representatives may claim a right to express their views. The market research approach to urban planning puts the stress on consumer or resident needs and expectations (Hedges, 1975). It is the way in which residents perceive their environment and how this perception can be measured by professionals in the urban policy fields that is of interest here.

Subjective Indicators. 'Subjective' indicators like their objective forebears attempt to improve on the measurement of the quality of life of an area, neighbourhood or community. The subjective dimension of an environment cannot be categorised or described by a short list of

key variables as might the economy of a region or city be described. As cognitive geographers (Lynch, 1974, and Saarinen, 1976) and environmental psychologists (Proshansky, 1970) have illustrated, the environment means a lot of things to a lot of people. Buildings, landmarks, routes and meeting places have greatly different meanings and importance for different groups (Lynch, 1974). Earlier, social anthropologists like Malinowski (1926) and Evans-Pritchard (1937 and 1972) demonstrated the importance of culture on the perceptions primitive peoples have of the world in which they live. Consequently, an 'improvement' to the neighbourhood according to one group of people may be a deterioration for others. The gentrification or 'Chelsealization' of some formally working class suburbs by incoming middle class residents might be put in this category. At a larger scale the change in the shape of a building can be symbolic of imports of another culture, or another value system. Look, for example, at the 'Manhattanization' of San Francisco (Appleyard, 1979).

Although different people perceive the environment in different ways it is relevant to ask why it is important to take greater note of these differences when there are administrative and political channels for expressing varying attitudes and preferences. The response to this is that the decisions taken affecting the urban environment and the rural environment by local government have, during the 1960s, become at variance with popular demands or expectations of change (Jowell, 1975). This, combined with changes in the structure of local government in Britain (Hambleton, 1978), particularly the growth of the corporate management, has led to a decrease in the amount of influence citizens have had over the affairs which affect their lives (Cockburn, 1978). To compensate for this tendency towards remoteness in decision-making new structures have been established to improve the flow of information

and consultation at the very local level of the neighbourhood. The pressures for citizen involvement from without local government and from within can be seen as an expression of the need to fill that gap between the citizen and local representative. As electoral constituencies increase in size it becomes increasingly difficult to keep abreast of the developing interests of competing groups. More significantly, the growth in the size of public administrations, in terms of the range of service provision, has demanded a greater awareness of the inter-relatedness of departmental policies and their effects on client groups. In an attempt to allocate goods and services through non-market mechanisms local governments have gradually developed increasingly sensitive indicators of need. There has been a progression and accumulation of data which started with a concern for the physical environment. To these variables social indicators have been added, and most recently the more subjective indicators of residents' perceptions of the environment. Hartman concluded that 'traditionally, physical factors alone have been stressed in the evaluation of housing conditions and in planning for improved residential areas. Physical factors are important, but they can have no invariant or 'objective' status and can only be understood in the light of meaning for people's lives - which in turn is determined by social and cultural values' (Hartman, 1963). Marcuse (1971) suggests that many of the census indicators used to assess the state of housing in the United States are poorly correlated with residents' subjective assessment of their own housing situation.

This growing interest in the social or subjective environment of residents has developed alongside the assessment of residential quality. Attempts are being made to quantify the quality of an environment (Hemel and Tucker, 1979). This has most commonly been attempted for

the housing environment (Angrist, 1974). In Britain, residents' housing preferences and attitudes have also been assessed in order to feed back into the decision-making framework consumer reactions to publicly provided goods (Berthoud and Jowell, 1973; Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 1975). In the United States a definition of housing quality was originally based on a number of variables selected from the census (Hempel and Tucker, 1979). These included the traditional measures of stress such as the amount of dilapidation, overcrowding and provision of facilities. In 1973 a move was made to incorporate client attitudes towards housing. At this time the Department of Housing and Urban Development in its Annual Household Survey included the personal evaluations of street conditions, noise, traffic, odours, rubbish, rundown housing, eyesores and crime (op. cit.). The principle of finding out consumer attitudes and preference is straightforward to describe. It is much more difficult, on the other hand, to operationalize it so that it may become a useful tool of the urban planner.

In order to be of use in policy formulation these objective indicators need to encompass those areas of concern which are important to the individual. This has been considered in the context of public housing but is rarely, or only cursorily, extended to other aspects of the environment (Clark, 1973). Clark (1973) identifies three criteria which might be adopted if subjective indicators are to be used in a practical setting. Firstly, the chosen indicator should minimize the problems of measurability (i.e., does the attitude reflect social desirability or self-interested responses?). Secondly, the indicators, if they are to measure what they are set out to measure, should represent issues that are viewed as important by most sectors of the community. Finally, Clark suggests that these indicators should be integrated into an explanatory model. It may be that these indicators

can be seen as part of the feedback data which influences the changes in man-environment relations.

The Structure Of Attitudes. One of the major aspects of the study of the way in which people perceive, structure and represent the environment is the attitudes that are held by an individual and the way they relate to different facets of the environment. In social psychology attitude development and attitude change have long been regarded as central concepts of a paradigm which links man's behaviour to his surroundings (Sherif and Sherif, 1969). And, more specifically, the environmental psychologists (Canter, 1977; Proshansky et al., 1970) have been concerned with the influence of place on the structuring of attitudes and of the way individuals orientate themselves in an environment through the use of mental maps (Lynch, 1960). In both approaches the emphasis is being put on how representations of the environment develop rather than how the environment actually is, as measured by more 'objective' measures, or how the individual behaves in that environment. This is because the attitude is seen as a mental construct which has varying effects on the way the individual responds to the environment. According to Cook and Selltitz (1964), an attitude is 'an underlying disposition which enters, along with other influences, into the determination of a variety of behaviours towards an object or class of objects, including statements of beliefs and feelings about the object and approach avoidance actions with respect to it.' However important attitudes are conceptually in explaining or predicting behaviour, they are only of value in an applied manner if they can be identified, or inferred, measured and compared with the attitudes other individuals may have towards the same object (Sherif and Sherif, 1964). Thus, in order to measure an attitude it is necessary to know something about the properties of that attitude.

Internal predispositions to behave in certain ways in particular situations are not all attitudes. Some behavioural tendencies are innate, for example. Attitudes are not innate. Their development depends upon learning. They are not temporary states but more or less enduring once they are formed. However, they are susceptible to change when, for example, there is negative reinforcement (Skinner, 1938) or cognitive dissonance (Aronson, 1973). Attitudes tend to stabilize a relationship between the person and object. Thus, every attitude is a subject-object relationship. They are not self-generated but are formed or learned in relation to identifiable objects or ideas which may include persons, groups, values, institutions and social issues (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p.334). The relationship between the subject and object is directional or affective. That is, when a person forms an attitude he is no longer neutral towards the object in question. He is for some things and against others. And, in turn, categories of events become established about which either good or bad, positive or negative attitudes are at first hand ascribed. In consequence, when an attitude towards a particular group or area is developed, members of that group or attributes of that area take on the attributes of the whole group or area. Here there is the idea of scale. The individual can form an attitude towards a unique object in time and space and also an attitude towards the group or species of which the object is just one member (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p.335). Thus, the individual can hold, simultaneously, attitudes towards a particular neighbour and towards the neighbourhood as a whole.

With respect to the attitude itself, three broad dimensions may be identified. Firstly, for an attitude to develop, the concept of the relationship between the object and the subject has to exist. And, to apply to this relationship any meaning implies that there are

conscious or unconscious processes at work which do this. This thinking aspect of attitude formation is frequently called the 'cognitive' component of the attitude (Brewster Smith, 1973). It is concerned with the tendency for beliefs and feelings to be brought into line. In this way any dissonance or incongruity between feelings are reduced (Rosenberg et al., 1960). Besides this cognitive component of the attitude there is the 'motivational' or 'dynamic' component and the 'behavioural' component (Sherif and Sherif, p.335, 1969). The motivational component is that part of the attitude which is concerned with direction of feelings. For example, one object may be regarded as being more pleasant than another, and, stated differently, the subject feels more positively towards x than towards y. Thirdly, there is a behavioural or action-orientated component (Osgood et al., 1957). It is the behavioural data, whether verbal or non-verbal, which is used to test any theory of attitudes; so in this respect it is, for the study of attitudes, the most variable component. Research by McGuire (1968) and Sherif (1965) suggests that a particular individual's beliefs, emotional feelings and behaviour towards the attitude object are highly correlated and that this consistency is greater the more personally involved the person is. Having identified some of the attributes of an attitude its relevance for any decision-maker lies in its applicability. To go beyond the concept of the attitude is to quantify it. And, being an internal predisposition this is no easy thing to do. Some of the problems of attitude measurement are considered here.

Attitude Measurement . In the social sciences measures or indices are more useful if they are both reliable and valid (Moser and Kalton, 1971). This is particularly important if a test is being used to discriminate between subjects with respect to a certain characteristic

(Wright and Taylor, 1970). A measure or test is reliable if, whatever it measures, it always measures the same characteristic. Thus, if one person's study is to be compared with another study in another place, i.e. a replication of the first study, then it is important for comparability that the measures are picking up the same things. However, a test which is highly reliable may still not be valid, in the sense that it might give highly reliable scores which are not in fact measures of the characteristic which the test is intended to measure. The empirical validity of a test, for example, might be assessed by correlating the test scores with other or external criteria of the characteristic under consideration (ibid., p.461). In artificial research situations the validity of social attitudes is always open to question. In these cases methods of overcoming the 'socially desirable' response may be necessary, perhaps, by negative questions and disguised sentences. A number of techniques have been devised to quantify attitudes some of which are comparable while others are not because of the varying goals of different techniques.

The measuring tools which have been employed to assess attitudes reflect the interests of the study in question. Those studies which look at the cognitive, motivational and behavioural aspects of an attitude may choose the Semantic Differential (Osgood et al., 1975). Those who are interested in the extent to which an attitude is held, that is the range of environments or factors over which the attitude has some influence, might choose a Guttman scale (Guttman, 1947). While one of the most commonly used measures of social attitudes is the Likert technique (Likert, 1932). These direct techniques for attitude assessment are frequently used in situations where there is good reason to believe that the population being studied has attitudes towards the object of interest and, secondly, that these attitudes can

be obtained by a free expression of them by the individual (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p.367). This has resulted in some topics being given widespread coverage and the less socially acceptable areas of behaviour being given far less treatment, at least by these techniques.

The scaling measure which is, perhaps, most commonly used to identify the structure of an attitude is the Semantic Differential technique. With this method a number of bi-polar adjectives are employed describing an object such as the home or the neighbourhood. The respondent is then asked to indicate his feeling for the object on a scale between bi-polar adjectives of the type:

Good Bad

Warm Cold

By subjecting these scores to a multivariate analysis, most frequently factor analysis, a simplified structure may emerge (Osgood, et al., 1957). This is usually the cognitive, motivational and behavioural structure of an attitude. Often other dimensions appear such as a 'neighbourliness' dimension when the social environment is the object of the attitude (Wolff, 1978). The Semantic Differential is easy to assemble and score; however, it is difficult to analyse the results. The multivariate approaches need careful handling and the identification of dimensions of attitudes from the resulting statistics are sometimes extremely subjective. Yet, the Semantic Differential has the advantage over other rating scales, which require merely a simple 'agree' or 'disagree' answer, of yielding finer gradations of meaning (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p.375).

Likert Scales, like the Semantic Differential, can be subjected to multivariate analyses to find the underlying structures of an attitude or set of attitudes. Likert-type tests involve a series of statements covering attributes of the object. For example, the

respondent may be asked to represent his position on the statement:

'Negro homes should be segregated from those of white people'

Strongly Approve (1)	Approve (2)	Undecided (3)	Disapprove (4)	Strongly Disapprove (5)
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(From the 'Negro Scale', Lickert, 1932).

The overall test score is found by adding the scores for all the statements on this scale. A high score would be taken to be indicative of a stand towards one extreme on an issue and a low score as a stand towards the opposite extreme. In this type of test it is important to have an equal number of pro and con statements to overcome any response bias. One of the difficulties of the Likert test is the problem of ranking individuals on a particular attitude since the scoring or weighting of statements is very coarse.

This limitation of the Likert-type test is overcome by a cumulative scaling method known as the Guttman method. It has the advantage of an orderly procedure for ranking individuals in a study population. However, the ranking of items is rarely uniform, some statements being more or less close to others in the progression from one extreme attitude to another. But, the most limiting factor of this particular scale is that psycho-social scales are not always cumulative as physical scales are (Sherif and Hovland, 1961).

In addition to deciding on what particular attitude measuring device to use the surveyor has to ensure that the technique is applied rigorously if he is to obtain data that is both valid and reliable. In attempting to collect attitudinal data, especially if it is done in the form of a questionnaire survey, interviewer bias and question bias have to be controlled for. Assuming an adequate representative sample there is a built in source of bias in survey

research in the hiring and use of interviewers. Middle-class and working-class interviewers produce different results for working-class samples, for example (Cantril, 1944). Question bias is more complex. Difficulties in questionnaire design arise when a number of topics are to be included and each given little breadth. The single question often forecloses on a number of possible responses and, consequently, spurious replies result. This can only be overcome in the greatly extended questionnaire which includes questions of the open-ended type. But, here too, problems arise with the coding of the responses generated (Campbell, et al., 1960). Having examined the structure and measurement of attitudes it remains for their application in public affairs to be examined.

Attitudes And Planning. Here the value of the attitude and its relationship to town planning is considered. Two main themes are examined. Firstly, to what extent can an attitude or group of attitudes be used as indicators of stress or deprivation which other social, economic and demographic indicators only partially identify? Secondly, its value as an input into the decision-making process might be considered. Here the problems of measurement and weighting arise. Given that tools for measuring attitudes are reasonably well developed (Lemon, 1973), emphasis needs to be placed on their application to areas of decision-making (Wheaton and Wheaton, 1972). This type of data is also problematic in the form in which it is presented, usually the result of a questionnaire-type household survey. The difficulty here lies in the comparison between this subjective attitudinal data and data from more credible sources. However, the legitimacy of attitudinal data from rigorous surveys is greater than similar data from other sources (Boaden and Walker, 1976). Consultations with various interests may produce a wide-ranging list of

attitudes but its representativeness and hence its legitimacy as a tool in decision-making makes the use of such data less valid. In Britain, as part of the Development Plan Process, some local authorities have used attitude surveys as a bench mark against which forms of public participation can be assessed (e.g. Gloucestershire County Council, Field, 1975a). They have been used in both the lower tier of government (district councils) and in the higher tier (county and regional planning authorities).

In Britain several techniques have been used to elicit residents' perceptions of their environment and their preferences for change (Linked Research Project, 1974-78). These have included public meetings, group consultations, the employment of community development officers, and the use of attitude surveys. For the urban planner the difficulties of using data from these varied sources include the problem of measurement and, secondly, the problem of weighting. The various techniques together produce a shopping bag full of attitudes, opinions and preferences. From this range of interests an attitude questionnaire can be constructed which will include those feelings expressed in group meetings and consultations, for example (Camden, 1975b). By using this technique attitudes can be gathered that accurately reflect those of the wider population. They reach people who would not be reached by other means (Boaden and Walker, 1976). From a cost-effective point of view they give a representative picture of the whole population in the study area without the need to involve everyone (Moser and Kalton, 1977). On the other hand, the attitude survey is a relatively expensive technique for a local authority to use. For those district and structure planning authorities which made use of an attitude survey, it frequently became the most expensive procedure used in public participation programmes (Camden, 1977b; Boaden and Walker, 1976). However, its very limited use to

date and the lack of comparative studies with traditional indicators makes attitudinal data an unknown quantity for most decision-makers in urban planning. This study attempts to illustrate the use of this type of data in an urban planning framework.

Section 2.

Environmental Attitudes In A London Borough.

1. An Attitude Survey. This section looks at the methods used by the London Borough of Camden to gather subjective data about the environment and services over which it had some control. It did this so that it could fulfil the obligations of the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act to have a limited amount of citizen input into the design of the Borough Plan. Through an attitude survey Camden hoped to 'ensure as far as possible that the Borough Plan concerns itself as far as possible with the issues that really matter to the people' (Camden, 1975b, p.1). In this survey it was intended that not only those features which were of concern to residents but also the priorities given to different issues should be included. In this way some attempt is made to assess residents' willingness to trade-off one priority with another. In addition, a number of attitudinal questions were included to measure the feelings of different sections of the community to aspects of their daily life 'in order to assess the representativeness of the views put forward by interest and pressure groups and particular individuals' (ibid., p.1). To achieve these aims the London Borough of Camden commissioned the British Market Research Bureau to carry out the exploratory and actual survey and to provide data in a format which the planning department in Camden could use (Camden, 1975b). It was felt at the time that the planning department did not have the expertise and time to carry out a thorough-going survey of the type that was wanted. The consultants could

provide this service at relatively short notice, though at some cost to the local authority (£16,000; Camden, 1977b).

The exploratory stage was carried out by the consultants, the British Market Research Bureau. The main purpose of this stage was to identify and explore the topics and issues which were of particular interest or concern to Camden residents. During meetings with different groups of residents throughout the borough records were made of those issues that were of interest and concern. Other topic areas were probed which were not spontaneously mentioned. Also, care was taken to note the language in which problems were expressed. This is an important point because language has an important influence on question bias (Dawes, 1972). It was the language used by residents that was subsequently used to phrase questions in the pilot and main surveys. The meetings which were held to find the range of feelings were based on group discussions with Camden residents in people's homes with from eight to ten people recruited locally with one of the BMRB's researchers guiding the discussion (Camden, 1975b, p.2.) These meetings were held in different wards. Unfortunately, this method fails to adequately represent certain groups such as the young, aged and deprived. To offset this bias, additional group meetings were held with young people (aged 11-19 years), young workers (aged 19-25 years), students, two groups with old-aged pensioners and with some 'activist' groups like residents' associations. In addition to these exploratory discussions a further thirty-four individual 'depth' interviews were carried out to represent other groups within the community. These included disabled people, members of ethnic groups, small traders, institutional residents and night workers (op. cit.)

2. The Main Survey And Fieldwork. The main quantitative stage of the survey involved the interviewing of a random sample of residents

in the London Borough of Camden. The sampling frame used was the electoral register. This seemed the most appropriate mode as the electoral role was only three months old at the time of the piloting. However, it has the disadvantage that certain groups tend to be inadequately represented. This applied particularly to those residents who have lived in the borough for only a short time or are of no fixed address (Moser and Kalton, 1977).

The fieldwork, as with the exploratory stage and questionnaire design, was carried out by BMRB. This fieldwork was undertaken during the period February 26th to April 26th, 1975. This was much longer than had been anticipated by the consultants. The length of the interview proved to take much longer in the field than had been anticipated (Camden, 1975; p.4). A total of 1,193 interviews were eventually accepted for analysis. This was much less than originally planned. Of a total of 2,143 names issued for the survey, 252 had moved away, 140 premises were empty or demolished and 19 were deceased. To compensate for this loss 264 more persons were interviewed to increase the sample size. This brought the sample size of named individuals to 1,887. Of this sample, 273 refused to reply, 104 were too sick or old for an interview, 119 were out for six calls and unable to make contact and 65 were away temporarily (Camden, 1975b, Appendix B). Thus, 691 of the final sample failed to have a successful interview. 1,196 (63.4 per cent) interviews were thus obtained. During the coding stage three of these had to be discarded. The final number of questionnaires available for analysis was 1,193. This figure was much less than expected. The very high number of unusable addresses severely reduced the sample size. Fortunately, this figure of ineligible addresses does not compare unfavourably with other studies in the metropolitan area of London (Camden, 1975b, Appendix C).

The main effect of this reduction in sample size is to raise the 95 per cent confidence limits from 2.5 per cent to 2.9 per cent on the full sample. The implications of this for this study is that the relationships between sub-samples will be less significant. For some variables the number of individuals may be so small as to make comparisons meaningless. This problem is characteristic of all survey type data and demonstrates a recurring problem in the analyses carried out here.

3. Questionnaire Design. The structure of the questionnaire reflected the aims of the London Borough of Camden 'to assess the attitudes of the public to everyday life in Camden, and to those issues affecting residents of the Borough over which the Council might have some control or influence with an additional aim of collecting up to date information on the characteristics and behaviour of the population of Camden' (Camden, 1977b, p.3). This laid down the parameters for the selection of topics to be included. As with any questionnaire design what is included invariably influences what comes out. The Camden survey did not cover several aspects of the environment over which the local authority did not have control such as conditions of work, health care and management of schools. Some of these are nevertheless of importance to large numbers of residents. Thus, even at the initial stage of questionnaire design there is an inbuilt bias towards including problems of local government administration, rather than the environment as perceived by residents.

Despite this drawback, the questionnaire does include a range of topics covering most of the interests of residents. For those topics that were not included provision was made for respondents to express their feelings through open-ended questions. In the

exploratory stage of the questionnaire (Camden, 1975a, p.2) those topics which were of relevance to residents were broken down and amalgamated to form groups of interests on a functional or service orientated basis. In the Camden survey these topics covered the following interests. Under housing, questions were inserted regarding details of current accommodation, likes and dislikes about it and general attitudes towards housing. The presence or absence of friends and neighbours in the area was covered as were opinions about friendliness, stability, and the social composition of the neighbourhood. Questions relating to the amenities of the local area, whether improvements were required, and whether it was visually attractive in some way were included. In the employment section questions relate only to access and attitudes towards the location of work. Health is another category which can be regarded as being under-representative of residents' concern for this service. In the questionnaire emphasis is placed on accessibility rather than on quality of service provision. Under education, attitudes towards nursery groups, primary schools, secondary schools and night classes are included. The location of shopping centres and the quality of the service is considered. On transport, questions relate to the frequency and reliability of public transport, attitudes towards private transport, especially the motor car, the difficulties of parking, and traffic congestion. Finally, questions are included which relate to the accessibility and provision of open space and recreational or leisure facilities (Camden, 1975b, p.5-6; see also Appendix B). These topics are given varying degrees of coverage in the questionnaire and give some indication of the direction and strength of feeling on a number of subjects .

The measuring scale that was used on some of the attitudinal questions, though unfortunately not on all (health is one topic

that was not covered), was a simple Likert-type measure. The merits of this particular measure are discussed elsewhere (see above).

Its main use here was to provide a single value which could be compared with other attitudes. In the Camden study respondents were presented with a card on which five alternative sentences were available and from which respondents could select one which reflected their feelings about a particular statement in the questionnaire. These were read out to them by the interviewer. A five statement scale used the sentences:

- I agree strongly.
- I agree a little.
- I neither agree nor disagree.
- I disagree a little.
- I disagree strongly.

By applying unitary values to these sentences (e.g. from -2 to +2 or from 1 to 5) a summary score can be produced for a particular sub-group or area. These scores can be added to produce a composite score for one general topic such as housing. This value can then be used as a gross measure of the feeling expressed towards a particular aspect of the environment. In these attempts to measure attitudes the assumption is that the gap between two values is equal in attitudinal strength or feeling to that between two other values on the same scale. The relationship may, however, be curvilinear. As will be seen below attitude scores have a tendency to be highly skewed with a small proportion being normally distributed. The problems that this causes arise when statistical analyses and inferences are made where many of the techniques assume a normal distribution (Blalock, 1960).

It is with these methodological problems in mind that the data was examined. The slight bias in the selection of topics and the disadvantages of the instrument used to measure attitudes means that those

environmental attitudes which are picked up by the questionnaire are only crudely measured. However, even this information is sufficiently comprehensive for a detailed analysis of residents' feelings towards many aspects of the environment. The questionnaire, as well as containing a series of questions, included a section on trade-offs and priorities. Given the difficulties of comparing attitudes derived from Likert scales, the questionnaire included two techniques for evaluating the preferences residents had for different states of the environment. These are considered below (Chapter 5) and may be seen as complementary to the environmental attitudes described here.

4. Analysis Of The Survey Data. The first analysis of the data produced from the attitude survey was carried out by the British Market Research Bureau on their IBM 1130 computer. The analysis by BMRB for the London Borough of Camden consisted of cross-tabulations of the attitudes included in the questionnaire against a number of demographic variables. Further to this LBC have carried out some multivariate analyses of this data (Camden, 1975b, p.4) some of which is referred to below.

The analyses referred to here and elsewhere in this study are based on work carried out by the author. The format of the data which was being used by LBC was not particularly suitable, nor did it include analyses that are of relevance here. The author is extremely grateful for the help which LBC gave him in providing the raw data from the attitude survey carried out by BMRB. This data was in the form of computer punch cards. The author had to decode these cards with the help of officers from LBC since BMRB were unable to provide their coding sheets. However, when a library file of these data was to be prepared in Glasgow it was found that the card reader of the Glasgow

University ITL 2976 computer was unable to read the multi-punched format of the BMRB's cards. This problem was overcome by translating and expanding the format of the multi-punched cards into single column punched cards. This proved to be an extremely time consuming procedure and no analyses could begin until every card was in a readable format. Once this total transformation of the data set was completed a computer library file on demountable disc was created. It was from this file that the analyses in this study are derived.

Selection Of Variables. Of the many variables measuring attitudes towards different aspects of life in Camden only a few are presented here. Limitations of space preclude a more comprehensive presentation. Nevertheless, some indicators, or environmental attitudes, are examined for all the topic areas included in the questionnaire. However, although several aspects of the environment are considered here, only facets of those aspects are examined in depth. For example, under the housing topic there are a number of statements about various aspects of housing covering the private, public rented sector, and owner-occupation. Where there is a more general attitude towards housing such as the level of satisfaction with the present home this has been chosen in preference to the more specific statements. The justification for this is that it gives a more general impression of attitudes towards housing. Yet, this approach glosses over the intensity of feeling which might be felt towards one particular aspect of housing. These attitudes are considered here against a background of demographic and spatial characteristics.

1. Housing. The statement from the questionnaire used as an indicator of housing attitudes reflects residents' feelings for their home (Appendix B). Housing attitudes reflect not only the physical and locational

aspects of the building but a complex interplay of values and expectations that the householder may have of himself and of his neighbours (Hempel and Tucker, 1979). Basically, the preferences of residents for housing reflects their position in the market place for housing and social choice (Moriarty, 1974). Satisfaction with housing is also seen to vary with access to the job market, size of accommodation and a neighbourhood of similar racial and ethnic status (Duncan and Duncan, 1960; Hecht, 1973). These factors which become more important in locational choice are not so relevant to those residents who are already occupying a particular housing group. In Britain housing mobility is lower than in the United States where much of the empirical work on housing preferences has been carried out. Yet, the preferences of residents in both countries reflect common aspirations (Hempel and Tucker, 1979). However, the much greater importance of public housing in Britain has made more complex the housing preference system of individuals. Elsewhere (Duncan and Duncan, 1960) it has been shown that social status is correlated with access to the more preferred housing. Social status is, however, just one of a number of demographic variables which are considered alongside residents' attitudes towards varying aspects of their environment.

In Camden the attitudes towards the home vary according to a number of demographic variables. On the particular indicator used here there appears to be no significant difference between the attitudes expressed by men and by women. Each seem to be equally satisfied with their home. 68 per cent (Table 4.1) of residents are quite content with their home. It is not possible to say what residents include in their image of the home. It may be conjectured that it includes both physical and social components, that is the appearance and function of it and the relations that might exist with other

ATTITUDES TO THE HOME ENVIRONMENT.

LEVEL OF SATISFACTION.

I S L I N G T O N

W E S T M I N S T E R

ATTITUDE SCORES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM
MAXIMUM

3.20
3.42

3.64
3.86

4.08
4.30

XXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXX

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Table 4.1:

An Attitude To The Home

Number Of Respondents (Percentage)		Feelings Towards The Home				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
WARD	Hampstead Town	33 (53)	16 (26)	5 (8)	6 (10)	2 (3)
	Belsize	42 (53)	12 (15)	5 (6)	9 (11)	11 (14)
	Adelaide	40 (49)	20 (24)	7 (9)	4 (5)	11 (13)
	Swiss Cottage	44 (45)	16 (17)	13 (13)	13 (13)	11 (11)
	West End	46 (48)	21 (22)	6 (6)	9 (10)	13 (14)
	Kilburn	22 (43)	14 (25)	0 (0)	7 (13)	11 (20)
	Priory	40 (58)	13 (19)	4 (6)	7 (10)	5 (7)
	Highgate	35 (64)	9 (16)	4 (7)	4 (7)	3 (6)
	St. Johns	21 (41)	12 (24)	5 (10)	8 (16)	5 (10)
	Gospel Oak	11 (50)	5 (23)	2 (9)	3 (14)	1 (5)
	Grafton	25 (31)	19 (24)	7 (9)	8 (10)	22 (27)
	Camden	36 (46)	12 (15)	4 (5)	15 (19)	11 (14)
	Chalk Farm	17 (55)	6 (19)	0 (0)	4 (13)	4 (13)
	Regents Park	41 (53)	13 (17)	3 (4)	9 (12)	12 (15)
	St. Pancras	29 (49)	12 (20)	2 (3)	4 (7)	12 (20)
	Kings Cross	36 (47)	14 (18)	4 (5)	10 (13)	12 (16)
	Bloomsbury	24 (33)	15 (21)	9 (13)	8 (11)	16 (22)
	Holborn	26 (57)	5 (11)	3 (7)	2 (4)	10 (22)
	Total (Percentage)	570 (48)	234 (20)	83 (7)	130 (11)	172 (15)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.2: Social Status And Feelings About The Home

Number Cf Respondents (Percentage)		Feelings Towards The Home				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatis- fied	Very Dissat- isfied
Social Status Group	ONE	135 (51)	49 (18)	26 (10)	28 (11)	29 (11)
	TWO	147 (44)	72 (22)	24 (7)	42 (13)	48 (14)
	THREE	406 (47)	40 (18)	11 (5)	27 (12)	41 (18)
	FOUR	43 (38)	33 (29)	6 (5)	8 (7)	23 (20)
	FIVE	138 (55)	40 (16)	16 (6)	25 (10)	31 (12)
	Total (Percentage)	570 (48)	234 (20)	83 (7)	130 (11)	172 (15)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.3: Feelings About The Home And Age

Number Cf Respondents (Percentages)		Feelings Towards The Home				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatis- fied	Very Dissat- isfied
Age of Respondent (Years)	15-19	35 (43)	18 (22)	9 (11)	13 (16)	6 (7)
	20-24	48 (36)	35 (26)	12 (9)	21 (16)	18 (13)
	25-34	100 (39)	53 (21)	20 (8)	40 (15)	46 (18)
	35-44	66 (39)	34 (20)	18 (11)	21 (12)	32 (19)
	45-54	74 (45)	37 (22)	10 (6)	17 (10)	28 (17)
	55-64	103 (61)	27 (16)	7 (4)	8 (5)	23 (14)
	65 and over	144 (69)	22 (14)	7 (3)	10 (5)	19 (9)
	Total (Percentage)	570 (48)	234 (20)	83 (7)	130 (11)	172 (15)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.4: Attitudes To The Home And Employment Status

Number Of Respondents (Percentage)		Feelings Towards The Home				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Employment Status	Working	418 (45)	190 (20)	68 (7)	112 (12)	145 (16)
	Not Working	139 (63)	35 (16)	15 (7)	16 (7)	17 (8)
	Total (Percentage)	557 (48)	225 (20)	83 (7)	228 (11)	162 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.5: Attitudes To The Home And Housing Amenity

Number Of Respondents (Percentage)		Feelings Towards The Home				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Housing Amenity	Self-Contained	483 (52)	181 (20)	58 (6)	96 (10)	109 (12)
	Not Self-Contained	83 (33)	51 (20)	23 (9)	33 (13)	62 (25)
	Total (Percentage)	566 (48)	232 (20)	81 (7)	129 (11)	171 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.6: Attitudes Towards The Home And Length Of Residence

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings Towards the Home				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Length of Residence(Years)	Less than one year	60 (32)	44 (24)	22 (12)	26 (14)	33 (18)
	One year to four	169 (47)	77 (22)	23 (6)	38 (11)	51 (14)
	Five to nine years	116 (50)	49 (20)	13 (5)	31 (13)	34 (14)
	Ten to nineteen	114 (53)	34 (16)	13 (6)	22 (10)	34 (16)
	Twenty years or more	109 (61)	29 (16)	12 (7)	13 (7)	16 (9)
	Total (Percentage)	570 (48)	234 (20)	83 (7)	130 (11)	172 (15)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.7: Attitudes Towards The Home And Housing Tenure

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings Towards The Home				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Type of Tenure	Owner- Occupied	136 (65)	38 (18)	11 (5)	13 (6)	12 (6)
	Private Rented	165 (40)	83 (20)	38 (9)	54 (13)	72 (18)
	Local Authority	191 (50)	76 (20)	12 (3)	40 (11)	60 (16)
	Hostel	27 (40)	12 (18)	10 (15)	12 (18)	7 (10)
	Total (Percentage)	519 (49)	209 (20)	71 (7)	119 (11)	151 (14)

SL = 0.01

members of the household. A more detailed analysis would be necessary to measure and identify these components of the 'home environment'. In Grafton ward, those residents who mentioned things that they disliked about their accommodation included: lack of space (15 per cent), absence of bathroom or outside toilet (15 per cent), dampness and the state of repair (9 per cent, Camden, 1975b, p.51). In 15 per cent of the cases residents were extremely dissatisfied with their housing and it might be that elsewhere in Camden residents express the same dislikes.

Younger residents feel less happy about their housing than do older people. One third of those aged between 20 and 55 years felt dissatisfied with their present home compared with 14 per cent of those aged 65 or over (Table 4.3). Older residents are also more certain of their feelings. The young, on the other hand, expressed greater uncertainty or difficulty in coming to an evaluation. This may reflect the different tenure patterns of the two groups. Younger people, for example, are more likely to be in privately rented accommodation which is, on the whole, of lower amenity than either public housing or owner-occupied housing (Chapter 3). Length of residence, like age, also has an affect on the attitude towards housing. Longer term residents, who tend also to be the older residents, have more favourable attitudes towards their home than do newcomers to the borough (Table 4.6). 77 per cent of residents of twenty years standing are content with their home while 54 per cent of those who had been in the borough a year or less expressed this attitude. Length of residence happens to be one of the requirements for entry into the public sector housing system. Level of income and occupational status influence entry into the owner-occupied sector. On both of these criteria newcomers to the borough may score lowly. Consequently, they have to make do with the poorer quality private rented accommodation of which there is a continually

decreasing amount.

Those residents who occupy private rented housing experience the worst housing conditions (Chapter 3). Homes which are not self-contained, that is where the occupants have to share a bathroom and/or kitchen, tend to be occupied by residents who are less content than are those residents who have these facilities (Table 4.5). 25 per cent of respondents lacking these basic household amenities were very dissatisfied with their homes while 12 per cent of the respondents living in self-contained accommodation expressed extreme dissatisfaction with their housing (Table 4.5). This poor standard of amenity is reflected in attitudes towards the home by type of tenure. Those who live in privately rented accommodation as with hostel dwellers are less happy than are those in local authority or owner-occupied housing. 70 per cent of those in public housing express contentment (Table 4.7) while the most happy are those who own their own homes (83 per cent). This may reflect the preference structure of most individuals for the ownership of a home. It is commonly seen that 'a man should provide a family with a home of their own' which should 'obtain a good return on money invested' (Hempel and Tucker, 1979, p.415). In this context, owner-occupiers might be seen as relatively successful competitors in the housing market.

The attitudes which are expressed toward the home vary with social status. Both the highest and lowest socio-economic groups express greater contentment with their accommodation than the middle groups (Table 4.2). Residents in social group one are more likely than any other group to be owner-occupiers. And, as has been mentioned here, this group tends to express greater satisfaction with its housing than do other groups. Group five is not composed mainly of owner-occupiers.

Nearly one half are institutional dwellers, especially students, who may be in the borough for a relatively short period. The remainder is made up mainly of retired people and those on fixed incomes. These people tend to be older and residents of longer standing. They tend to have slightly more favourable attitudes towards their homes. Skilled and semi-skilled manual workers and those in the personal services (social groups two, three and four) are slightly less content. This may reflect the difficulties which these groups have in finding suitable accommodation in London at a price they can afford. This difference in attitude between the social groups mirrors the polarization which is happening in the borough. Those groups which are less content with their present home tend to form the larger proportion of those residents who have left the borough (Camden, 1977a, p.24).

The feelings which respondents have for their home vary across the borough (Figure 4). Some areas are characterised by higher levels of satisfaction. In part, this difference can be explained by variations in social status, type of tenure and length of residence. Some areas, although having similar demographic profiles, vary with respect to the attitudes residents have of their housing. Hampstead and Highgate wards are similar demographically. They both have large proportions of high status residents in owner-occupied housing. Highgate, if anything, is less accessible from central London than Hampstead yet the attitudes towards housing in Highgate are the most positive in the borough. 64 per cent of the residents in this ward are very pleased with their homes (Table 4.1) compared with 53 per cent in Hampstead and 48 per cent for the borough as a whole. This may reflect the historical development of both Highgate and Hampstead. Formerly villages, they have remained essentially so, despite being surrounded by the growth

of London's suburbs. On the less favourable side, Kilburn and Grafton wards have housing which is seen as the least attractive from the point of view of its residents. Both of these wards are characterised by private rented accommodation, immigrants and unskilled workers. Other areas such as King's Cross and St. Pancras suffer from other negative features but the housing in Kilburn and Grafton is seen to be particularly unpleasant (Table 4.1). Interestingly, Gospel Oak ward which comes out badly on the overcrowding and housing amenity indicators has residents who are more favourably disposed to their housing than might have been expected from these indicators alone. 73 per cent of its residents expressed contentment with their home (Table 4.1). This analysis of the spatial variation in attitudes towards housing suggests that indicators other than the demographic ones examined above (Chapter 3) may be useful in identifying preferences for particular types of housing. The following discussion examines the attitudes residents have towards other aspects of the environment.

2. The Social Environment. The social environment is considered here very generally. It might be thought of as a group of people in a particular area and the inter-relationships between them. The cohesion of any group or community might vary with the social status, age and length of residence of its members. Cohesion and a sense of identity or belonging is influenced by the exchange of goods and services between those who share a common locale. Though for some groups, particularly the more affluent and mobile, these relationships of exchange and reciprocity may exist over wide areas (Frankenberg, 1969; Lynch, 1960; Dahl, 1970). It is this interaction, especially in times of need, which contributes to the quality of life of any group or neighbourhood (Camden, 1975b, p.14). In Camden, where there are areas of high turnover, residents

may find it difficult to make contact or to maintain friendships for any length of time. These people may be more prone to loneliness than other more stable groups. To get some idea of the social environment in Camden the attitude towards neighbours is considered. Specifically, the statement in the questionnaire relates to the helpfulness of people around the respondent's home (Appendix B).

As with attitudes towards the home, there does not appear to be any significant difference between the feelings of men and women to the neighbourliness of their areas. Those residents who have lived in the borough, and especially their existing house for some time, vary in their feelings, on this indicator, from more recent arrivals (Tables 4.10 and 4.12). 68 per cent of those residents aged 65 and over find their areas neighbourly while 53 per cent of those aged between 20 and 24 expressed this feeling (Table 4.10). 26 per cent of the residents who had lived in their present house for twenty years or more found their neighbours very helpful while 16 per cent of those resident for less than one year did so (Table 4.12). It is to be expected that longer term residents find their areas more neighbourly. They are more likely to have friends and relatives living locally than are new residents. Length of residence and age are not the only variables which influence this attitude. People living in self-contained houses tend to live in more neighbourly areas than do the residents in houses lacking the basic amenities (Table 4.11). This finding reflects the type of tenure of those in the less well-appointed houses. Residents living in owner-occupied housing are the most likely of all the housing groups to express a strong positive attitude towards their neighbours. 68 per cent of owner-occupiers find their neighbours helpful and so do 67 per cent of the people in publicly rented accommodation. Tenants in privately

Table 4.8: Attitudes Towards The Social Environment

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitudes Towards Neighbours				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
WARDS	Hampstead Town	12 (19)	24 (39)	14 (23)	8 (13)	4 (7)
	Belsize	17 (22)	29 (37)	21 (27)	6 (8)	6 (8)
	Adelaide	18 (22)	33 (41)	16 (20)	7 (9)	7 (9)
	Swiss Cottage	16 (16)	25 (26)	37 (38)	14 (14)	6 (6)
	West End	20 (22)	30 (33)	26 (29)	12 (13)	4 (4)
	Kilburn	5 (9)	16 (29)	27 (48)	4 (7)	4 (7)
	Priory	11 (16)	30 (44)	18 (26)	6 (9)	4 (6)
	Highgate	22 (40)	21 (38)	9 (16)	1 (2)	2 (4)
	St. Johns	11 (22)	22 (43)	7 (14)	5 (10)	6 (12)
	Gospel Oak	6 (26)	11 (48)	6 (26)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Grafton	21 (26)	33 (41)	16 (20)	6 (7)	5 (6)
	Camden	22 (28)	25 (32)	15 (19)	11 (14)	5 (6)
	Chalk Farm	6 (19)	13 (42)	5 (16)	3 (10)	4 (13)
	Regents Park	24 (31)	30 (39)	11 (14)	8 (10)	4 (5)
	St. Pancras	11 (19)	30 (51)	6 (10)	8 (14)	4 (7)
	Kings Cross	17 (23)	31 (41)	14 (19)	8 (11)	5 (7)
	Bloomsbury	14 (19)	21 (29)	17 (24)	14 (19)	6 (8)
	Holborn	15 (33)	15 (33)	8 (17)	4 (9)	4 (9)
	Total (Percentage)	268 (23)	439 (37)	273 (23)	125 (11)	80 (7)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.9: Attitudes Towards Neighbours And Type Of Tenure

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitudes Towards Neighbours				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Tenure Type	Owner- Occupied	63 (30)	79 (38)	32 (15)	18 (9)	16 (8)
	Private Rented	82 (20)	132 (32)	121 (30)	41 (10)	32 (8)
	Local Authority	103 (27)	153 (40)	50 (13)	40 (11)	35 (9)
	Hostel	6 (9)	32 (48)	14 (21)	10 (15)	5 (8)
	Total (Percentage)	254 (24)	396 (37)	217 (20)	109 (10)	88 (8)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.10: Attitudes Towards Neighbours And Age

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitudes Towards Neighbours				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Age (Years)	15-19	9 (11)	34 (43)	16 (20)	17 (21)	4 (5)
	20-24	17 (13)	53 (40)	38 (28)	16 (12)	10 (8)
	25-34	53 (21)	84 (33)	75 (29)	26 (10)	20 (8)
	35-44	40 (23)	72 (42)	41 (24)	11 (6)	7 (4)
	45-54	42 (25)	62 (37)	26 (16)	19 (11)	17 (10)
	55-64	46 (28)	52 (31)	38 (23)	21 (13)	10 (6)
	65 and over	61 (29)	82 (39)	39 (19)	15 (7)	11 (5)
	Total (Percentage)	268 (23)	439 (37)	273 (23)	125 (11)	79 (7)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.11: Attitudes Towards Neighbours And Housing Amenity

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitudes Towards Neighbours				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Housing Amenity	Self- Contained	226 (25)	347 (38)	206 (22)	85 (9)	58 (6)
	Not Self- Contained	38 (15)	88 (35)	66 (26)	36 (14)	22 (9)
	Total (Percentage)	264 (23)	435 (37)	272 (23)	121 (11)	80 (7)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.12: Attitudes Towards Neighbours And Length Of Residence

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitudes Towards Neighbours				
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Length Of Residence (Years)	Less than one year	30 (16)	72 (39)	47 (26)	25 (14)	10 (15)
	One year to four	82 (23)	132 (37)	99 (28)	24 (7)	22 (6)
	Five to nine years	64 (27)	93 (39)	40 (17)	23 (10)	19 (8)
	Ten to nineteen	45 (21)	77 (35)	52 (24)	30 (14)	14 (6)
	Twenty years or more	46 (26)	63 (35)	34 (19)	20 (11)	15 (8)
	Total (Percentage)	268 (23)	439 (37)	273 (23)	125 (11)	80 (7)

SL = 0.05

rented housing are less content (52 per cent). This latter group, reflecting its greater mobility, is much more likely to give a response of uncertainty regarding their neighbours (30 per cent) than are those in owner-occupation (15 per cent) and local authority housing (13 per cent). Unlike the attitude toward the home environment, different social groups do not see their neighbours very differently. The majority of people in all social groups find their neighbours helpful while a substantial proportion (23 per cent) found their neighbours neither helpful nor unhelpful.

Some areas of Camden are seen as being much more friendly places than others (Figure 4.2). Highgate, in particular, stands out because here 78 per cent of the respondents found their neighbours helpful (Table 4.8). Other wards with higher than average scores include Gospel Oak, which does badly on most demographic indicators, Regents Park, St. Pancras and Holborn. Those areas in Camden which are seen as unneighbourly are Swiss Cottage, Kilburn, Hampstead Town and Bloomsbury. The last mentioned ward is especially low indicating its predominantly institutional population. From this description of attitudes towards the neighbourliness of areas it can be seen that some groups and some areas are more friendly than others. Those areas with greater mobility, on the whole, have lower levels of neighbourliness while longer length of residence is associated with a more friendly environment. Some wards are particularly neighbourly such as Gospel Oak and St. Pancras, wards which elsewhere do badly on demographic indicators. This may be because of the relative homogeneity of these wards in terms of type of tenure and social status. They contrast with Kilburn and Hampstead Town, for example, which have high proportions of immigrants.

3. The Physical Appearance Of The Neighbourhood. The attitudes which are held regarding the physical environment have been divided into two

components (Osgood, et al., 1961). These are broadly described as the connotative and denotative aspects. The denotative meaning refers to the more 'objective' attributes of the object such as its shape, height, weight and so on. The connotative meaning refers to the 'quality' of the object which may be warm, hard, sharp or smooth (Canter, 1969). The connotative aspect of a building or place may be assessed by using a series of bi-polar adjectives in the form of the Semantic Differential. From this data a structure of the individual's or groups' attitude towards the object may be discerned (Osgood, et al., 1957). In the case of the Camden survey no attempt was made to find out this structure and so the statements in the questionnaire do not lend themselves to the sort of analysis that Osgood and Canter describe (op. cit.). However, the attitudinal statements that were included in this particular section might be seen to be denotative and connotative. The connotative aspect of the physical environment is regarded as being attractive or unattractive (Table 4.13), and the denotative aspect is seen as being a dimensional attribute referring to buildings being close together or spaced apart (Table 4.17). It is these attributes of the environment, as they appear to residents in Camden, that are considered here alongside personal and locational characteristics of respondents.

Male and female residents express similar attitudes towards the density and physical appearance of the neighbourhood. Thus, men and women see both their social and physical environments, as measured by the statements used here, in a similar way. Age and length of residence are differentiating variables. Young residents and newcomers to the borough are likely to express greater satisfaction with some aspects of the physical environment than are older people and residents of longer standing (Tables 4.19 and 4.20). Respondents who had lived in their present house less than one year were more likely to say that

Table 4.13: Physical Appearance Of The Neighbourhood

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Physical Appearance Of The Neighbourhood				
		Very Attractive	Attractive	Uncertain	Unattractive	Very Unattractive
WARDS	Hampstead Town	47 (76)	14 (23)	0 (0)	1 (2)	0 (0)
	Belsize	54 (68)	17 (22)	1 (1)	4 (5)	3 (4)
	Adelaide	42 (51)	28 (34)	1 (1)	7 (9)	4 (5)
	Swiss Cottage	43 (44)	40 (41)	4 (4)	9 (9)	1 (1)
	West End	31 (33)	35 (37)	3 (3)	12 (13)	13 (14)
	Kilburn	8 (14)	20 (36)	4 (7)	7 (13)	17 (30)
	Priory	19 (28)	23 (33)	6 (9)	14 (20)	7 (10)
	Highgate	36 (64)	6 (11)	3 (5)	9 (16)	2 (4)
	St. Johns	15 (29)	17 (33)	1 (2)	9 (18)	9 (18)
	Gospel Oak	8 (35)	7 (30)	0 (0)	2 (9)	6 (26)
	Grafton	15 (19)	27 (34)	1 (1)	12 (15)	25 (31)
	Camden	17 (22)	34 (44)	2 (3)	10 (13)	15 (19)
	Chalk Farm	8 (26)	15 (48)	1 (3)	1 (3)	6 (19)
	Regents Park	16 (21)	25 (32)	1 (1)	16 (21)	20 (26)
	St. Pancras	5 (9)	22 (37)	0 (0)	10 (17)	22 (37)
	Kings Cross	16 (22)	18 (24)	3 (4)	18 (24)	19 (26)
	Bloomsbury	14 (19)	15 (21)	5 (7)	18 (25)	20 (28)
	Holborn	10 (22)	12 (26)	1 (2)	2 (4)	21 (46)
	Total (Percentage)	351 (30)	364 (31)	35 (3)	181 (15)	256 (22)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.14: Social Status And Attitudes Towards The Physical Environment

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Physical Appearance Of The Neighbourhood				
		Very Attractive	Attractive	Uncertain	Unattractive	Very Unattractive
Social Status Group	ONE	128 (48)	74 (28)	7 (3)	31 (12)	28 (10)
	TWO	126 (38)	116 (35)	9 (3)	47 (14)	36 (11)
	THREE	71 (32)	59 (26)	13 (6)	49 (22)	32 (14)
	FOUR	29 (26)	35 (31)	4 (4)	18 (16)	27 (24)
	FIVE	82 (33)	83 (33)	13 (5)	34 (14)	38 (15)
	Total (Percentage)	436 (37)	368 (31)	46 (4)	179 (15)	161 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.15: The Appearance Of The Neighbourhood And Housing Amenity

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Physical Appearance Of The Neighbourhood				
		Very Attractive	Attractive	Uncertain	Unattractive	Very Unattractive
Household Amenity	Self- Contained	359 (39)	291 (31)	31 (3)	130 (14)	115 (12)
	Not Self- Contained	72 (29)	76 (30)	14 (6)	44 (18)	45 (18)
	Total (Percentage)	431 (37)	367 (31)	45 (4)	174 (15)	160 (14)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.16: The Appearance Of The Neighbourhood And Type Of Tenant

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Physical Appearance Of The Neighbourhood				
		Very Attractive	Attractive	Uncertain	Unattractive	Very Unattractive
Type of Tenure	Owner- Occupied	120 (57)	49 (23)	6 (3)	19 (9)	16 (8)
	Private Rented	134 (33)	124 (30)	13 (3)	60 (15)	79 (19)
	Local Authority	95 (25)	125 (33)	8 (2)	59 (16)	93 (25)
	Hostel	7 (10)	23 (34)	5 (7)	15 (22)	18 (27)
	Total (Percentage)	356 (33)	321 (30)	32 (3)	153 (14)	206 (19)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.17: Appearance Of The Neighbourhood

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Perceived Building Density			Attractiveness Of Some Buildings	
		Close Together	In Between	Spaced Apart	Attractive	Un- Attractive
WARD NAME	Hampstead Town	1 (2)	19 (41)	26 (57)	54 (89)	7 (11)
	Belsize	2 (4)	31 (61)	16 (33)	66 (84)	11 (14)
	Adelaide	2 (4)	23 (47)	23 (47)	64 (82)	13 (17)
	Swiss Cottage	1 (2)	20 (38)	31 (59)	70 (76)	18 (20)
	West End	0 (0)	17 (59)	11 (38)	52 (56)	39 (42)
	Kilburn	5 (33)	8 (53)	2 (13)	13 (26)	38 (75)
	Priory	0 (0)	14 (45)	17 (55)	41 (62)	24 (37)
	Highgate	2 (5)	10 (27)	25 (68)	39 (71)	14 (26)
	St. Johns	0 (0)	2 (33)	4 (67)	25 (56)	20 (44)
	Gospel Oak	1 (7)	10 (67)	4 (27)	13 (57)	6 (26)
	Grafton	1 (3)	11 (38)	17 (59)	42 (54)	33 (42)
	Camden	1 (3)	18 (49)	18 (49)	47 (60)	29 (37)
	Chalk Farm	2 (17)	6 (50)	4 (33)	21 (70)	7 (23)
	Regents Park	0 (0)	19 (51)	18 (49)	55 (74)	19 (26)
	St. Pancras	2 (7)	8 (26)	21 (68)	40 (69)	17 (29)
	Kings Cross	0 (0)	21 (68)	9 (29)	63 (83)	9 (12)
	Bloomsbury	3 (13)	13 (57)	7 (30)	58 (80)	13 (18)
	Holborn	2 (11)	7 (39)	9 (50)	28 (64)	16 (36)
	Total Percentage	25 (5)	256 (47)	262 (48)	791 (69)	333 (29)

Table 4.18: Physical Appearance Of Neighbourhood And Household Conditions

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Perceived Density		
		Close Together	In Between	Spaced Apart
Household Amenity Shared Bathroom/Kit.	Self- Contained	20 (5)	195 (44)	226 (51)
	Not Self- Contained	5 (5)	60 (61)	32 (33)
	Total (Percentage)	25 (5)	255 (47)	258 (48)

SL = 0.03

Table 4.19: Attractiveness Of Area And Length Of Residence

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Buildings In The Neighbourhood	
		Attractive	Not Attractive
AGE	Less than one year	132 (73)	47 (26)
	One year to four	258 (74)	82 (23)
	Five to nine years	164 (70)	66 (28)
	Ten to nineteen	142 (67)	67 (32)
	Twenty years or more	91 (54)	70 (42)
	Total (Percentage)	791 (69)	333 (29)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.20: Physical Appearance of Neighbourhood And Peoples' Age

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Buildings In The Neighbourhood Which Are Attractive	
		YES	NO
Age of Respondent (Years)	15-19	57 (72)	22 (28)
	20-24	100 (76)	29 (22)
	25-34	197 (78)	51 (20)
	35-44	124 (74)	40 (24)
	45-54	114 (69)	48 (29)
	55-64	92 (57)	63 (39)
	65 or over	106 (55)	80 (41)
	Total (Percentage)	791 (69)	333 (29)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.21: Physical Appearance of Neighbourhood And Type Of Tenure

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Buildings In Neighbourhood Which Are Attractive	
		YES	NO
Type of Tenure	Owner-Occupied	159 (79)	37 (18)
	Private Rented	271 (67)	123 (30)
	Local Authority	220 (60)	135 (37)
	Hostel	52 (77)	14 (21)
	Total (Percentage)	702 (69)	309 (31)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.22: Social Status And Physical Appearance Of Neighbourhood

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Buildings In Neighbourhood Which Are Attractive	
		YES	NO
Social Status (Socio-economic group)	ONE	213 (82)	43 (17)
	TWO	240 (74)	75 (23)
	THREE	124 (57)	89 (41)
	FOUR	64 (58)	45 (41)
	FIVE	149 (62)	81 (34)
	Total (Percentage)	791 (69)	333 (29)

SL = 0.01

they found some buildings in their neighbourhood attractive (73 per cent; Table 4.19) than were those who had lived in their present home for twenty years or more (54 per cent). Similarly, young people (aged 20-24 years) see more buildings as being attractive (76 per cent; Table 4.20) than do older residents (65 years and more; 55 per cent). This difference between age groups and length of residence might be attributed to a more discriminating outlook by the longer established residents. It is not possible to distinguish between the types of buildings which give visual pleasure to the different age groups. Such data may go some way to explaining these differences.

As might be expected, residents in housing which is poorly equipped and maintained tend to see their neighbourhood in a negative light. Residents in self-contained houses are more likely to live in areas of owner-occupation. These areas have buildings which are generally spaced apart (Table 4.18) and attractive (Table 4.16). People who live in owner-occupied dwellings also tend to see neighbouring buildings as attractive (79 per cent; Table 4.21). Residents in hostels, interestingly, also live in attractive areas (77 per cent). The lack of facilities in hostels does not detract from the otherwise visually attractive areas in which they are most commonly found, notably Bloomsbury and Hampstead. Residents in publicly rented accommodation appear to be better off on this indicator than are the residents of public housing who are more likely to live in areas with unattractive buildings. The private rented sector, although of poorer amenity than local authority housing, is, perhaps, of greater variation and interest.

Like housing status, social status has an influence on people's attitudes towards the physical environment. Residents of social

group one are the most likely to see themselves living in an area which has attractive buildings and in an area which is generally perceived as being attractive (Tables 4.14 and 4.22). The semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers are those groups (social groups three and four) which are most likely to live in the less attractive areas. Social status group five (Table 4.22) expresses slightly more satisfaction with the physical environment and this probably reflects the composition of this group, a large proportion of which live in institutional accommodation and privately rented dwellings. To some extent the variation in attitudes according to social status is reflected in the spatial distribution of feelings for the visual appearance of the neighbourhood (Figure 4.3). Thus, areas like Hampstead, Adelaide and Highgate with above average proportions of residents in social class one are seen to be very attractive by a majority of their residents (Table 4.13). Although the larger proportion of people in each ward finds its neighbourhood attractive there are pockets of unattractive buildings and areas. Kilburn comes out as a black spot with regards to the visual aspects of the environment. Three-quarters of the respondents in Kilburn said that there were buildings round about which were unattractive (Table 4.17) compared with one in three for the whole of the borough. Other wards with ugly buildings include West End, Priory, St. Johns, Grafton and Holborn. Wards in the south of the borough are also likely to be perceived as being dense (Table 4.17). Holborn, Bloomsbury and Kilburn are wards where buildings are seen to be close together. In Swiss Cottage, Highgate, Hampstead, St. Johns and St. Pancras buildings are more spaced apart than elsewhere (Table 4.17). For St. Pancras the response rate for this question is low (52 per cent) with the result that little weight can be given to this statistic. However, when the general attitude towards buildings in St. Pancras is

examined 54 per cent (Table 4.13) find the neighbourhood to be unattractive. King's Cross is almost as unattractive (50 per cent) followed by Bloomsbury, Grafton and Kilburn. Gospel Oak which does poorly on the objective indicators has less than average numbers of residents (35 per cent) finding the neighbourhood unattractive. But, here again, the sample is too small to be significant. In spite of the problems of small samples from each of the wards, some impression of the variation in attitudes towards the appearance of buildings and the neighbourhood is gained.

These attitudes towards the physical environment tend to vary as do the other attitudes examined here with a number of demographic variables. Those personal characteristics which seem to have most influence on the variation in attitudes include: the age of the respondent, length of residence, the standard or quality of the housing, type of tenure, social status, and location within the borough. Some areas such as those in the south of the borough have buildings which are close together, some areas of which are more attractive than others. Elsewhere in the borough areas of housing which by housing standards are of low quality are not necessarily perceived as such by the inhabitants. Generally speaking there is a positive correlation between the objective indicators of housing stress and the attitudes which residents express about the appearance of their neighbourhood.

4. Health Services. The accessibility and quality of health services are important variables which contribute to the quality of life. In Camden health services are ranked fourth in a list of ten priorities (Chapter 5). Yet, health care is not one of the major responsibilities of this tier of government. The high allocation for this particular

Table 4.23:Attitudes To Health Services

WARD	Attitudes Towards The Provision Health Service	
	Satisfactory (No.)	Percentage
Hampstead Town	49	79
Belsize	67	85
Adelaide	70	85
Swiss Cottage	66	67
West End	65	68
Kilburn	45	80
Priory	52	75
Highgate	49	88
St. Johns	41	80
Gospel Oak	21	91
Grafton	63	78
Camden	61	78
Chalk Farm	26	84
Regents Park	67	86
St. Pancras	47	80
Kings Cross	62	82
Bloomsbury	61	84
Holborn	37	80
Total	949	80

SL = 0.01

Table 4.24: Attitudes To Health Services By Age.

		Attitude Towards The Provision Of Health Services. Numbers Finding It Satisfactory	
Length of Residence (Years)		Sample Size	Percentage
	Less than one year	130	70
	One Year to four	278	77
	Five to nine years	200	82
	Ten to nineteen	178	81
	Twenty years or more	158	88
	Total	949	180

SL = 0.01

sector may indicate a serious concern for the provision of health facilities. And, for this concern to be effective, it would have to be channelled towards Central Government and the National Health Service, since most major decisions in this area are taken by them. Although there is widespread concern for health facilities, like other aspects of the environment, there may be different attitudes expressed by different groups in the population.

On the whole, the provision of health services in the borough would seem to be considered satisfactory. In response to the question, 'Bearing in mind your own personal state of health, would you say that the provision of hospitals, doctors and so on is satisfactory?', 80 per cent replied in the affirmative (Table 4.23), 14 per cent in the negative, and 6 per cent did not know. Of all the variables considered, the only significant ones to emerge were length of residence and place. Residents of longer standing tended, on the whole, to be more satisfied with health care than were new residents (Table 4.24). Among the over 65 year olds only 6 per cent thought that the health services were not satisfactory. Otherwise no significant differences in the relative importance attached to health facilities by any of the groups examined could be isolated.

When the borough is looked at as a whole some variation in the accessibility of some services becomes apparent. Throughout Camden, 43 per cent thought that general practitioners' surgeries were within reasonable travelling distance (Camden, 1975b, p.82). Those areas which appear to be less well served are in the centre of the borough (Figure 4.4). In both Swiss Cottage and West End wards a quarter of the respondents criticised the provision of health facilities (Table 4.23). The reasons that were given for the health service not being satisfactory

included 'the inadequacy of the health service/NHS', 'long waits for appointments', 'doctors not very good' and 'not enough hospitals' (Camden, 1975b, p.83). Clearly, most of these criticisms are aimed at the National Health Service and as such are to some extent beyond the direct influence of Camden Council. However, the importance attached to the provision of health facilities and the variation in provision as perceived by residents of varying age and location is by itself an important indicator of need for those agencies charged with the responsibilities for these services. Also, the distribution of these facilities and services does not seem to be as irregular as are the variations in the social and physical environments for example. These variations in attitudes could be attributed to several demographic variables. For health facilities, on the other hand, there is a widespread similarity in outlook both between different groups and different places within the borough.

5. Schools. Education, like health, is a service that is seen to be an important influence on the quality of life. In the list of priorities expressed by residents education as a category ranks third after housing and helping people in need (Chapter 5). Education is a broad topic and includes services to all age groups from the very young with day nurseries and play groups to the middle-aged and elderly with further and continuing education. For the majority, however, it is the provision and quality of primary and secondary schools that is of most importance. Although the majority of residents would like to see improvements in the quality of schools, some groups express greater dissatisfaction than others. The general consensus on this aspect of the environment is over-laid by the special interests of particular groups notably younger people and those with larger families. They are

more inclined to note this as an important topic. It is these groups who are also less non-committal about education. They are more likely to agree strongly or disagree strongly than are other groups.

Men and women, on this attitude towards the quality of schools, express similar feelings. Though people of young and middle-age are more likely to express dissatisfaction over the quality of schools in their neighbourhoods than are the elderly (Table 4.26). Both the young and especially the old (those aged 65 years and more) are likely to express greater ignorance or uncertainty over this particular aspect of their environment. 52 per cent of the residents aged 65 years or more were unable to express an opinion about the quality of schools while only 22 per cent of those residents aged between 35 years and 44 years said this (Table 4.26). This difference may be explained by the greater interest shown by residents of child-bearing age and parents with children. Interest in this service tends to decline with age. Certainly the young and middle-aged are much more concerned about the quality of schools than are the aged. This difference in outlook according to age is reflected in the attitudes of respondents according to their length of residence. Newcomers express the greatest uncertainty about this aspect of the environment (Table 4.28). Although this uncertainty declines with an increase in the length of residence, the level of concern about the quality of schools reaches a maximum between one and nine years and reaches a minimum after twenty years residence or more. The influence of age reflects that of family or household size. Residents in middle-age tend to have families with children. Older residents may have had their children leave them, while the young may be single or married without children. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the greatest uncertainty about schools

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SCHOOLS.

LEVEL OF SATISFACTION.

ISLINGTON

WESTMINSTER

ATTITUDE SCORES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM
MAXIMUM

2.46
2.60

Table 4.25:

Attitudes Towards Schools

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
WARD	Hampstead Town	13 (21)	10 (16)	30 (48)	8 (13)	1 (2)
	Belsize	27 (35)	12 (15)	30 (39)	8 (10)	1 (1)
	Adelaide	30 (37)	16 (20)	29 (35)	5 (6)	2 (2)
	Swiss Cottage	37 (38)	21 (22)	36 (37)	2 (2)	1 (1)
	West End	30 (32)	14 (15)	46 (49)	2 (2)	2 (2)
	Kilburn	16 (29)	5 (9)	29 (53)	1 (2)	4 (7)
	Priory	22 (33)	9 (13)	27 (40)	5 (8)	4 (6)
	Highgate	16 (29)	10 (18)	21 (38)	5 (9)	4 (7)
	St. Johns	16 (31)	10 (20)	16 (31)	6 (12)	3 (6)
	Gospel Oak	13 (57)	2 (9)	4 (17)	2 (9)	2 (9)
	Grafton	43 (54)	11 (14)	17 (22)	7 (9)	1 (1)
	Camden	32 (42)	12 (16)	30 (39)	1 (1)	2 (3)
	Chalk Farm	10 (32)	6 (19)	13 (42)	2 (7)	0 (0)
	Regents Park	32 (42)	15 (20)	22 (29)	6 (8)	2 (3)
	St. Pancras	16 (27)	13 (22)	21 (36)	4 (7)	5 (9)
	Kings Cross	18 (24)	14 (19)	40 (53)	2 (3)	1 (1)
	Bloomsbury	16 (22)	12 (17)	41 (57)	3 (4)	0 (0)
	Holborn	17 (37)	8 (17)	19 (41)	1 (2)	1 (2)
	Total (Percentage)	404 (34)	200 (17)	471 (40)	70 (6)	36 (3)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.26: Attitudes Towards Schools And Age

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitudes Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Age (Years)	15-19	34 (43)	12 (15)	32 (40)	2 (3)	0 (0)
	20-24	49 (37)	22 (16)	58 (43)	4 (3)	1 (1)
	25-34	109 (42)	45 (18)	94 (37)	6 (2)	3 (1)
	35-44	86 (50)	27 (16)	37 (22)	11 (6)	10 (6)
	45-54	52 (31)	31 (19)	65 (39)	15 (9)	4 (2)
	55-64	36 (22)	36 (22)	78 (47)	9 (6)	6 (4)
	65 and over	38 (18)	27 (13)	107 (52)	22 (11)	12 (6)
	Total (Percentage)	404 (34)	200 (17)	471 (40)	70 (6)	36 (3)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.27: Attitudes Towards Schools And Social Status

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitudes Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Social Status Group	One	90 (34)	44 (16)	111 (41)	17 (6)	6 (2)
	Two	113 (34)	61 (18)	140 (42)	10 (3)	7 (2)
	Three	90 (40)	41 (18)	59 (26)	23 (10)	11 (5)
	Four	42 (37)	20 (18)	42 (37)	7 (6)	2 (2)
	Five	69 (28)	34 (14)	118 (48)	13 (5)	10 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	408 (34)	200 (17)	470 (40)	70 (6)	36 (3)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.28: Attitudes Towards Schools And Household Size

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Household Size (Persons)	One	74 (22)	48 (14)	197 (58)	10 (3)	9 (3)
	Two	107 (30)	67 (19)	151 (42)	22 (6)	13 (4)
	Three	91 (48)	33 (18)	50 (27)	12 (6)	3 (2)
	Four	67 (43)	27 (17)	47 (30)	10 (6)	5 (3)
	Five	65 (47)	25 (18)	26 (19)	16 (12)	6 (4)
	Total Percentage	404 (34)	200 (17)	471 (40)	70 (6)	36 (3)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.29: Attitudes Towards Schools And Type Of Tenure

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Type of Tenure	Owner- Occupied	61 (29)	39 (19)	81 (39)	21 (10)	7 (3)
	Private Rented	142 (35)	64 (16)	179 (44)	15 (4)	6 (2)
	Local Authority	158 (42)	64 (17)	106 (28)	30 (8)	20 (5)
	Hostel	11 (16)	15 (22)	40 (56)	2 (3)	0 (0)
	Total (Percentage)	372 (35)	182 (17)	406 (38)	68 (6)	33 (3)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.30: Attitudes Towards Schools And Length Of Residence

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Length of Residence(Years)	Less than one year	55 (30)	26 (14)	99 (54)	4 (2)	1 (1)
	One year to four	142 (40)	59 (17)	137 (39)	7 (2)	10 (3)
	Five to nine years	95 (39)	40 (17)	79 (33)	19 (8)	9 (4)
	Ten to nineteen	67 (31)	43 (20)	77 (36)	20 (9)	9 (4)
	Twenty years or more	42 (24)	32 (18)	76 (43)	20 (11)	7 (4)
	Total Percentage	401 (34)	200 (17)	468 (40)	70 (6)	36 (3)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.31: Attitudes Towards Schools and Employment Status

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Employment Status	Working	340 (37)	167 (18)	342 (37)	53 (6)	28 (3)
	Not- Working	49 (22)	29 (13)	120 (54)	16 (7)	7 (3)
	Total (Percentage)	189 (34)	196 (17)	462 (40)	69 (6)	35 (3)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.32: Attitudes Towards Schools and Housing Amenity

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Quality Of Schools				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Housing Amenity	Self- Contained	329 (36)	160 (17)	342 (37)	59 (6)	32 (4)
	Not Self- Contained	70 (29)	39 (16)	124 (50)	11 (5)	2 (1)
	Total (Percentage)	399 (34)	199 (17)	466 (40)	70 (6)	34 (3)

SL = 0.01

amongst single member households (Table 4.28). 36 per cent of one person households show concern over the quality of schools while 66 per cent of three person households do (Table 4.28). In addition to the size of the family or household unit, the amenity of the household also tends to be associated with attitudes towards education. The difference in attitudes might, in part, be explained by the type of residents living in self-contained and shared dwellings. Those in the latter group tend to be young, single, and of recent arrival in the borough. For these reasons alone it might be expected that this group should show less concern and knowledge about local schools. In the sample, half of the residents in housing lacking the basic amenities felt unable to express an attitude about this aspect of the environment (Table 4.32). Those who live in the poorer housing are like those who were unemployed or not working with regards to the education attitude. Those residents who were working during the study period expressed a greater concern for education than did those who were not employed (Table 4.31). In part, this difference may be explained by the family status of the unemployed as well as by other more pressing considerations of those without work. In consequence, the unemployed tend to put more weight on alleviating their conditions, but not as much as might have been expected (Chapter 5).

Two demographic variables which influence attitudes towards education are related. Social status and type of tenure were both found to have a significant influence on the variation in attitudes towards the quality of schools (Tables 4.27 and 4.29). Residents living in owner-occupied housing tend to show rather less concern for the quality of local schools than do residents in either publicly or privately rented accommodation. Those living in local authority housing show the greatest concern. In the north and west of the

borough, areas characterised by the higher status groups and owner-occupation, there are many private primary and secondary schools catering for the needs of these groups. These areas are particularly poorly served with public primary and secondary schools. It might be expected that residents in other status groups and living in these areas show a heightened dissatisfaction with the amount and quality of provision. On an area basis the attitudes towards schools do not appear to be very negative in the north of the borough (Figure 4.5). Those wards where the greatest proportion of respondents agreed that better schools were needed in their area were Grafton (73 per cent, Table 4.25), Gospel Oak (66 per cent), Swiss Cottage (60 per cent) and Regents Park (62 per cent). At the other end of the scale were Hampstead Town (where only 37 per cent agreed), Kilburn (38 per cent) and Bloomsbury (39 per cent). In this group there was not a high degree of satisfaction but rather a large number of people who were uncertain about this facility or who had neutral opinions. The high scores in Grafton, Gospel Oak and Swiss Cottage may be seen as indicators of need for better schools in those areas. Kilburn and St. Pancras had higher scores on this indicator. This suggests a relative satisfaction with the quality of schools in those areas. However, both Kilburn and St. Pancras are wards with a number of problems as illuminated by the objective and subjective indicators described here. As a consequence, the low rating on this indicator may signify that it is less important than a number of other pressing problems. Indeed, fewer counters are allocated to this topic than to others in these areas (Chapter 5).

The attitude to education which has been examined here is a relatively important one in the eyes of most of Camden's residents. Nearly all of the demographic variables considered showed some influence over this attitude although to some extent they are inter-related.

With regards to this issue a certain amount of self interest is apparent. This is not surprising, for it is to be expected that those people with children of school age should pay more attention to this topic. Elsewhere (Chapter 3) it was noted that there was a demand for a greater provision in the allocation of pre-school facilities (nursery schools and play-groups). With the data used here, there appeared to be a widespread concern with the quality of the existing provisions. In Camden some areas appear to be poorly served in the eyes of a substantial number of residents. Yet, the control of primary and secondary education in Camden is the responsibility not of the local authority but of an extraneous body, the Inner London Education Authority, over which Camden residents have only limited control. Thus, although this topic is of less concern to the local authority that does not mean to say that it is of no concern to residents. Indeed, education is ranked high among the priorities for change in Camden by the residents themselves (cf. Chapter 5).

6. Attitudes Towards Local Employment. The attitudes which residents have towards jobs are not as strong as some feelings towards other aspects of life in Camden. Employment as a priority category was ranked only above leisure and shopping by residents in a trade-off of ten environmental categories (Chapter 5). But here employment is seen as an attitude rather than a priority. The majority of residents show dissatisfaction with the state of employment yet employment is regarded as a low priority. For those residents who find the job situation dissatisfying a number of relevant characteristics emerge.

Referring to the objective indicators, it was found that in Camden roughly four out of every five households have someone in either full-time or part-time paid employment (Camden 1975b, p.118). Earlier

it was noted that some groups and locations were worse off than others with regards to the availability and accessibility to suitable employment. In King's Cross, for example, the proportion of households where no one had a job was above the average. This ward, like Bloomsbury, contains a high student population and a similarly high proportion of people living in institutions. In spite of these variations across groups and areas there was a general agreement with the need for jobs to be located near to where people lived. This was so even though a fairly large proportion of residents agreed that those who live in a big city should not expect to be able to work where they lived (Camden, 1975b, p.125). It was the attitude towards the availability of local jobs that was found to vary according to a number of demographic variables.

On this attitude, the young (aged 15-24 years) show the greatest concern for local job opportunities (Table 4.34). Other age groups tend to express dissatisfaction but less so than the younger people. As with age, length of residence has an influence on attitudes. New-comers to the borough are slightly more likely to feel that there are not enough local jobs while residents who have lived in their present area for some years are less likely to feel unhappy about this aspect of their environment (Table 4.39). Longer term residents express greater satisfaction with the availability of jobs. What distinguishes the newcomer from other residents is the uncertainty or lack of knowledge of the local employment situation. With regards to housing, those respondents who live in low amenity housing (Table 4.38) which is privately rented, and those in local authority dwellings, are likely to show more concern for local jobs than other groups. These residents tend to be manual workers both skilled and semi-skilled and those semi-

Table 4.33: Attitudes Towards Local Employment

Number Cf Responses (Percentage)		Feelings About Local Job Opportunities				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
WARD	Hampstead Town	15 (24)	20 (32)	13 (21)	13 (21)	1 (2)
	Belsize	19 (24)	25 (32)	20 (25)	9 (11)	6 (8)
	Adelaide	17 (21)	36 (44)	15 (18)	8 (10)	6 (7)
	Swiss Cottage	22 (22)	31 (32)	29 (30)	12 (12)	4 (4)
	West End	34 (36)	24 (25)	21 (22)	6 (6)	9 (10)
	Kilburn	11 (20)	21 (38)	13 (23)	6 (11)	4 (7)
	Priory	30 (44)	25 (36)	6 (9)	5 (7)	2 (3)
	Highgate	15 (27)	14 (25)	14 (25)	7 (13)	6 (11)
	St. Johns	19 (37)	20 (39)	6 (12)	5 (10)	1 (2)
	Gospel Oak	11 (48)	7 (30)	1 (4)	3 (13)	1 (4)
	Grafton	34 (42)	28 (35)	12 (15)	5 (6)	1 (1)
	Camden	30 (39)	21 (27)	13 (17)	6 (8)	7 (9)
	Chalk Farm	8 (26)	11 (36)	7 (23)	5 (16)	0 (0)
	Regents Park	37 (47)	18 (23)	12 (15)	9 (12)	1 (1)
	St. Pancras	21 (36)	16 (27)	6 (10)	15 (25)	0 (0)
	Kings Cross	24 (32)	18 (24)	19 (25)	14 (18)	1 (1)
	Bloomsbury	21 (29)	24 (33)	18 (25)	7 (10)	2 (3)
	Holborn	18 (39)	11 (24)	13 (28)	4 (9)	0 (0)
	Total Percentage	386 (32)	370 (31)	238 (20)	139 (12)	52 (4)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.34: Attitudes Towards Local Employment And Age

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings About Local Job Opportunities				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
AGE (YEARS)	15-19	19 (24)	35 (43)	24 (30)	2 (3)	1 (1)
	20-24	41 (31)	51 (38)	20 (15)	19 (14)	3 (2)
	25-34	75 (29)	92 (36)	52 (20)	31 (12)	8 (3)
	35-44	62 (36)	46 (27)	35 (20)	19 (11)	10 (6)
	45-54	68 (41)	37 (22)	30 (18)	20 (12)	11 (7)
	55-64	61 (36)	45 (27)	29 (17)	20 (12)	11 (7)
	65 and over	60 (28)	64 (30)	48 (23)	27 (13)	8 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	386 (32)	370 (31)	238 (20)	138 (12)	52 (4)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.35: Attitudes Towards Local Employment And Employment Status

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings About Local Job Opportunities				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Employment Status	Employed	322 (34)	280 (30)	173 (19)	118 (13)	40 (4)
	Not Employed	56 (25)	80 (36)	60 (27)	16 (7)	10 (5)
	Total (Percentage)	386 (33)	369 (31)	238 (20)	137 (12)	52 (4)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.36: Attitudes Towards Local Employment And Type Of Tenure

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings About Local Job Opportunities				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Type of Tenure	Owner- Occupied	48 (23)	57 (27)	56 (27)	33 (16)	16 (8)
	Private Rented	122 (30)	142 (34)	82 (20)	49 (12)	15 (4)
	Local Authority	165 (43)	97 (26)	49 (13)	49 (13)	17 (5)
	Hostel	12 (18)	25 (37)	25 (37)	4 (6)	2 (3)
	Total (Percentage)	347 (33)	321 (30)	212 (20)	135 (13)	50 (5)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.37: Attitudes Towards Local Employment And Social Status

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings About Local Job Opportunities				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Social Status Group	One	50 (19)	83 (31)	75 (28)	43 (16)	17 (6)
	Two	115 (34)	100 (30)	68 (20)	42 (13)	9 (3)
	Three	95 (42)	65 (29)	26 (12)	23 (10)	15 (7)
	Four	54 (48)	36 (32)	11 (10)	9 (8)	2 (2)
	Five	71 (28)	86 (34)	58 (23)	22 (9)	9 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	386 (32)	370 (31)	238 (20)	139 (12)	52 (4)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.38: Attitudes Towards Local Employment And Household Amenity

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings About Local Job Opportunities				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Housing Amenity	Self- Contained	314 (34)	264 (28)	179 (19)	121 (13)	46 (5)
	Not Self- Contained	68 (27)	100 (40)	56 (22)	18 (7)	6 (2)
	Total (Percentage)	382 (32)	364 (31)	235 (20)	139 (12)	52 (4)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.39: Attitudes Towards Local Employment And Length Of Residence

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Feelings Towards Local Job Opportunities				
		Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Uncertain	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
Length Of Residence (Years)	Less than one year	51 (28)	70 (38)	46 (25)	16 (9)	2 (1)
	One year to four	115 (32)	111 (31)	66 (18)	46 (13)	21 (6)
	Five to nine years	93 (38)	70 (29)	45 (18)	29 (12)	5 (2)
	Ten to nineteen	76 (35)	58 (27)	47 (22)	24 (11)	10 (5)
	Twenty years or more	49 (27)	59 (33)	33 (18)	24 (13)	13 (7)
	Total (Percentage)	384 (32)	368 (31)	237 (20)	139 (12)	51 (4)

SL = 0.01

skilled workers in the service sector. Respondents in social class four (Table 4.37) are those most dissatisfied with the availability of work locally. It will be remembered that the manufacturing sector has been the one which has declined most in recent years in Camden. In contrast, the smallest proportion of those who agreed with the statement that there were not enough jobs locally come from social class one. This fits in with the fact that a smaller proportion of this group worked near home, combined with the fact that they regard expenditure on providing jobs as a relatively low priority (Chapter 5).

Spatial as well as demographic characteristics have an influence on people's attitudes towards employment. Some areas in Camden are closer to employment centres than others. Kilburn, Camden Town and the southern part of the borough provide most of the jobs. Other areas which are more remote from these centres do not all have residents expressing the same feelings. One of the more distant wards, Highgate, is one area in which residents are quite happy with job opportunities and with the journey to work (Table 4.33). Grafton, Gospel Oak and Priory, on the other hand, are wards which would like more jobs nearby. Bloomsbury and Holborn, which are in the south of the borough, have residents who are less anxious to see more job opportunities nearby. It is not that these residents are more satisfied with the employment situation locally, but rather that they have not formed an opinion or are uncertain of the opportunities in the neighbourhood.

The attitude towards employment which has been considered here is only one facet of a general attitude towards work. Accessibility and conditions of work are both important. In the questionnaire thought was given only to accessibility and location of employment. It is these factors which the local authority has some control over

and, thus, they were included in the questionnaire. The attitude towards the availability of local jobs has been considered here. It appears as though the working classes desire more jobs in the Borough partly as a result of their reluctance to travel very far to and from work (Camden, 1975b, p.128). The young are especially concerned with the availability of jobs. This might be explained by city and nation-wide difficulties in finding suitable employment. These attitudes also vary with location (Figure 4.6). Nearness to job markets tends to diminish the desire for more local employment. Although, in those areas with public housing and semi-skilled workers there is still an expressed demand for greater local job opportunities. It will be seen later that although employment is regarded as an important issue, as a priority amongst other issues, it is not rated very highly. This may be because the provision of more jobs is something outside the control of the council; this interpretation is debatable however.

7. Attitudes Towards Traffic And Transport. The feelings which residents have about the amount of traffic in their neighbourhood vary. Obviously some areas, notably those in the south and areas peripheral to the main transport arteries, will be affected by this aspect of the environment more than others. Noise, pollution, congestion and danger to pedestrians are some of the negative aspects of this activity. Yet, where housing is separated from work, shopping, and leisure facilities, there is a demand for transport. For the shortest of distances walking may be a suitable means of getting from one place to another. But, as distances between places increase there arises the demand for alternative modes of transport. In Camden, as elsewhere, there is a mixture of modes. Some, like the railways and buses,

are provided by public bodies, while some belong to the individual or family unit such as the motor car. It is not possible, however, to examine the attitudes of residents to all of these types of modes, but a couple are examined in some depth here. An attitude towards traffic together with the feelings residents have for public and private transport are considered.

The attitudes which Camden residents have towards the amount of traffic in their neighbourhoods does not vary across many of the demographic variables used here. Men and women express similar feelings here as do residents in good and bad housing, rented and owned dwellings. Neither does length of residence have any significant influence on this attitude. Those variables which do have some effect are age, social status and location. The vast majority (over three-quarters) of residents in the borough would like to see some reduction in the amount of traffic in their areas (Table 4.40). From the sample it is apparent that elderly people perceive their neighbourhoods to be freer from traffic than do other age groups (Table 4.42). The young (aged 15-19 years) expressed a slightly greater concern for the amount of traffic. The below standard amount of play-space and open space in some areas and the generally low level of mobility of this group may partly explain the greater concern of this group. The elderly in comparison are also less mobile, more prone to accidents, and are most aware of the dangers of traffic. But, in Camden this group sees itself as living some distance from those areas where there is most traffic. Looking at the differences in attitudes between the social classes it seems as though the higher social classes (one and two, Table 4.41) show more dissatisfaction with traffic than do manual and unskilled workers. Although only a small proportion of residents find the amount of traffic in their area satisfactory (11 per cent),

SYMBOLS	1.20	1.36	1.52	1.68	1.84
MINIMUM	1.20	1.36	1.52	1.68	1.84
MAXIMUM	1.36	1.52	1.68	1.84	2.00

Table 4.40: Attitudes Towards Traffic

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards Traffic				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Un-Satisfactory	Very Un-Satisfactory
WARD	Hampstead Town	4 (7)	5 (8)	2 (3)	12 (19)	39 (63)
	Belsize	2 (3)	7 (9)	3 (4)	13 (17)	54 (68)
	Adelaide	3 (4)	3 (6)	0 (0)	15 (19)	58 (72)
	Swiss Cottage	3 (3)	3 (3)	0 (0)	14 (15)	76 (79)
	West End	6 (6)	5 (5)	0 (0)	10 (11)	73 (78)
	Kilburn	4 (7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (11)	44 (82)
	Priory	3 (4)	6 (9)	1 (2)	9 (13)	49 (72)
	Highgate	6 (11)	6 (11)	0 (0)	10 (18)	34 (61)
	St. Johns	0 (0)	7 (14)	0 (0)	8 (16)	36 (71)
	Gospel Oak	2 (9)	2 (9)	0 (0)	1 (4)	18 (78)
	Grafton	4 (5)	7 (9)	2 (3)	6 (8)	58 (75)
	Camden	6 (8)	4 (5)	4 (5)	7 (9)	56 (73)
	Chalk Farm	1 (3)	3 (10)	2 (7)	4 (13)	21 (68)
	Regents Park	2 (3)	10 (13)	0 (0)	11 (14)	54 (70)
	St. Pancras	1 (2)	2 (3)	1 (2)	8 (14)	46 (79)
	Kings Cross	3 (4)	2 (3)	0 (0)	12 (16)	59 (78)
	Bloomsbury	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	8 (11)	63 (86)
	Holborn	0 (0)	2 (4)	1 (2)	3 (7)	40 (87)
	Total (Percentage)	51 (4)	77 (7)	16 (1)	157 (13)	878 (75)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.41: Attitudes Towards Traffic And Social Status

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards Traffic				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Unsatis- factory
Social Status Group	One	7 (3)	17 (6)	6 (2)	45 (17)	191 (72)
	Two	12 (4)	19 (6)	2 (1)	37 (11)	262 (79)
	Three	10 (5)	12 (5)	3 (1)	22 (10)	177 (79)
	Four	3 (3)	11 (10)	0 (0)	18 (16)	81 (72)
	Five	19 (8)	17 (7)	5 (2)	35 (14)	167 (69)
	Total (Percentage)	51 (4)	77 (7)	16 (1)	157 (13)	878 (75)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.42: Attitudes Towards Traffic and Age

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards Traffic				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Un- Satisfactory
AGE	15-19	1 (1)	5 (6)	0 (0)	12 (15)	63 (78)
	20-24	2 (2)	8 (6)	5 (4)	25 (19)	93 (70)
	25-34	9 (4)	14 (5)	4 (2)	39 (15)	193 (75)
	35-44	4 (2)	13 (8)	2 (1)	18 (11)	133 (78)
	45-54	12 (7)	7 (4)	2 (1)	21 (13)	124 (75)
	55-64	3 (2)	13 (8)	1 (1)	18 (11)	130 (79)
	65 and over	20 (10)	17 (8)	2 (1)	24 (12)	141 (69)
	Total (Percentage)	51 (4)	77 (7)	16 (1)	157 (13)	877 (75)

SL = 0.05

this proportion tends to be made up of social groups four and five. It may be that these groups have more important issues to think about. On an area basis the attitudes towards traffic reflect distance from main roads and particularly distance from the congested central area in the south of the borough. People in Hampstead Town, Highgate and Gospel Oak consider themselves to be relatively free of traffic problems. The most southerly wards of Holborn and Bloomsbury, in contrast, show the greatest dissatisfaction with the amount of traffic (Table 4.40). The lack of space in the central area creates not only congestion but competition between public and private transport. The demands of private transport include parking space in addition to road space further adding to the difficulties faced by the users of this mode of transport.

In the sample 41 per cent of all respondents came from households of which at least one member had a car or a van. Of these just over a fifth claimed to come from two-car households. It is the middle-aged people (25-64 years old) who make most use of a car; although a sizeable proportion (a fifth) of the young (15-24 years) had the use of a car. In Camden social classes one and three make most use of a car. Those wards in which ownership is highest include Hampstead (68 per cent), Gospel Oak (57 per cent), Highgate (52 per cent) and West End (51 per cent). Those with least access to this mode of transport live in Holborn, (21 per cent) King's Cross (19 per cent) and Bloomsbury (14 per cent). It is against this background of the use of the private car that attitudes are related.

The feelings which residents have for this aspect of transport reflect the use made of it and the ease by which it can be used. Generally, most residents would like to see more facilities or better facilities for parking in all wards. No other suggestions on how to

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PRIVATE TRANSPORT.

LEVEL OF SATISFACTION.

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Table 4. 43: Attitude Towards Private Transport

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Use Of Private Cars				
		Very Difficult	Difficult	Uncertain	Easy	Very Easy
WARD	Hampstead Town	13 (21)	16 (26)	13 (21)	12 (19)	8 (13)
	Belsize	9 (11)	12 (15)	17 (22)	27 (34)	13 (17)
	Adelaide	21 (26)	19 (23)	13 (16)	19 (23)	10 (12)
	Swiss Cottage	14 (15)	32 (33)	23 (24)	20 (21)	7 (7)
	West End	21 (23)	19 (20)	22 (24)	20 (22)	11 (12)
	Kilburn	15 (28)	14 (26)	12 (22)	8 (15)	5 (9)
	Priory	21 (31)	13 (19)	15 (22)	12 (18)	7 (10)
	Highgate	10 (18)	9 (16)	14 (25)	7 (13)	16 (29)
	St. Johns	9 (18)	16 (31)	9 (18)	7 (14)	10 (20)
	Gospel Oak	8 (35)	6 (26)	5 (22)	1 (4)	3 (13)
	Grafton	24 (31)	22 (28)	13 (17)	10 (13)	9 (12)
	Camden	19 (25)	19 (25)	20 (26)	8 (10)	11 (14)
	Chalk Farm	9 (29)	7 (23)	8 (26)	6 (19)	1 (3)
	Regents Park	23 (30)	36 (46)	7 (9)	5 (6)	0 (0)
	St. Pancras	23 (39)	13 (22)	10 (17)	9 (15)	4 (7)
	Kings Cross	17 (22)	14 (18)	19 (25)	13 (17)	13 (17)
	Bloomsbury	16 (22)	10 (14)	15 (21)	8 (11)	23 (32)
	Holborn	10 (22)	13 (28)	8 (17)	6 (13)	9 (20)
	Total (Percentage)	282 (24)	290 (25)	243 (21)	200 (17)	165 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.44: Attitudes Towards Private Transport And Age

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Use Of Private Cars				
		Very Difficult	Difficult	Uncertain	Easy	Very Easy
AGE (YEARS)	15-19	14 (17)	27 (33)	19 (24)	10 (12)	11 (14)
	20-24	25 (19)	45 (34)	22 (16)	21 (16)	21 (16)
	25-34	59 (23)	40 (16)	55 (21)	57 (22)	45 (16)
	35-44	51 (30)	35 (21)	29 (17)	31 (18)	25 (15)
	45-54	47 (28)	40 (24)	29 (18)	29 (18)	21 (13)
	55-64	47 (28)	46 (28)	26 (16)	27 (16)	20 (12)
	65 and over	39 (19)	57 (28)	63 (31)	25 (12)	21 (10)
	Total (Percentage)	282 (24)	290 (25)	243 (21)	200 (17)	164 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.45: Attitudes Towards Private Transport And Sex Of Respondent

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Use Of Private Cars				
		Very Difficult	Difficult	Uncertain	Easy	Very Easy
SEX	Male	118 (22)	118 (22)	96 (18)	106 (20)	89 (17)
	Female	164 (25)	172 (26)	146 (22)	94 (14)	76 (12)
	Total (Percentage)	282 (24)	290 (25)	242 (21)	200 (17)	165 (14)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.46: Attitudes Towards Private Transport And Social Status

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Use Of Private Cars				
		Very Difficult	Difficult	Uncertain	Easy	Very Easy
Social Status Group	One	54 (20)	57 (21)	49 (18)	57 (21)	50 (19)
	Two	77 (23)	82 (25)	62 (19)	68 (21)	41 (12)
	Three	77 (34)	57 (25)	44 (20)	30 (13)	16 (7)
	Four	32 (28)	35 (31)	20 (18)	14 (12)	12 (11)
	Five	42 (17)	59 (24)	67 (27)	31 (13)	46 (19)
	Total (Percentage)	282 (24)	290 (25)	243 (21)	200 (17)	165 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.47: Attitudes Towards Private Transport And Household Size

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Use Of Private Cars				
		Very Difficult	Difficult	Uncertain	Easy	Very Easy
Household Size(Persons)	One	55 (16)	64 (19)	98 (29)	59 (18)	59 (18)
	Two	89 (25)	94 (26)	69 (19)	59 (16)	50 (14)
	Three	50 (26)	59 (31)	26 (14)	35 (18)	20 (11)
	Four	44 (28)	41 (26)	28 (18)	22 (14)	21 (14)
	Five	44 (32)	32 (23)	22 (16)	25 (18)	15 (11)
	Total (Percentage)	282 (24)	290 (25)	243 (21)	200 (17)	165 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.48: Attitudes Towards Private Transport And Employment Status

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Use Of Private Cars				
		Very Difficult	Difficult	Uncertain	Easy	Very Easy
Employment Status	Employed	244 (26)	233 (25)	168 (18)	168 (18)	117 (13)
	Unemployed	26 (12)	52 (24)	74 (34)	28 (13)	40 (18)
	Total (Percentage)	281 (24)	289 (25)	243 (21)	200 (17)	164 (14)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.49: Attitudes Towards Private Transport Of Type OfTenure

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude Towards The Use Of Private Cars				
		Very Difficult	Difficult	Uncertain	Easy	Very Easy
Type of Tenure	Owner- Occupied	42 (20)	38 (18)	44 (21)	41 (20)	42 (20)
	Private Rented	92 (23)	99 (24)	80 (20)	81 (20)	55 (14)
	Local Authority	118 (31)	99 (26)	73 (19)	55 (15)	33 (9)
	Hostel	6 (9)	17 (25)	15 (22)	12 (18)	18 (27)
	Total (Percentage)	258 (24)	253 (24)	212 (20)	189 (18)	148 (14)

SL = 0.05

improve things for the private motorist were mentioned by respondents although at the other end of the scale 4 per cent of residents said that cars should be banned from the roads (Camden, 1975b, p.136). A slight majority of residents would, however, like to see it made easier for people to use their cars (49 per cent, Table 4.43). But, as many as one third disagreed and one in five were uncertain on this issue. Slightly more women than men find it difficult to use a car. This may be because of the difficulty of parking at shopping centres, schools, and in the neighbourhood where it may be used for social visits (Table 4.43). More women than men are uncertain on this attitude. This probably reflects the proportionately smaller number of journeys made by women. The greater uncertainty about the ease of use of private cars is also reflected in the age of respondents. Those residents who make less use of cars notably the young (15-19 years) and the elderly (65 years and over) are most likely to be ignorant of the difficulties of using a car in Camden (Table 4.44). Car users show higher levels of dissatisfaction. The users of private transport are prepared to give up the use of their own vehicles if public transport were improved. On the whole, it is the residents of the more northerly wards such as Highgate, Belsize, Swiss Cottage and West End who find motor cars easier to use (Figure 4.8). Holborn, Regents Park and St. Pancras residents find it more difficult. The analysis of feelings towards public transport shows the reverse picture where residents in the south of the borough tend to be better provided with public transport (Figure 4.9).

The attitudes which residents have towards public transport are influenced by demographic factors and location. They tend to be the opposite of those towards private transport. Those groups and areas which make most use of public transport do so because they have to, or

because it is the easiest of modes to use in their area. Private transport is used by those social groups who can afford it and in those areas which are relatively poorly served by one of the modes of public transport. Public transport is more frequently used in Camden than private transport. Two-fifths of respondents claimed to use some kind of public transport every day, while a further third travelled by it between one and four times a week. In comparison, only one in five residents make daily use of a motor car. Senior residents (aged 65 years and over) use public transport less frequently than other groups, but this group has only limited access to private transport so its dependence on public transport is that much greater. For the majority of those residents who frequently use public transport, it is used most to get to and from work. About half of these use buses and about half use trains and tubes. Only a small fraction of residents (14 per cent) use public transport for shopping (Camden, 1975b, p.142). Against these factors the attitudes of residents towards public transport can be better appreciated.

Of the several attitudes towards different modes of public transport, only one is used here. Since three-quarters of the users of public transport travel to and from work it was decided to use that variable which considered travel by public transport to the centre of London, the main employment centre. Although this variable only looks at one aspect of public transport it is not the least important for it was found that on this attitude alone there were variations in response not only across the borough but between different groups. Indeed, access to the centre of London is seen as satisfactory by the majority of residents (84 per cent, Table 4.50). Travelling across Camden is seen to be much less simple as most of the train and tube routes, as well as bus routes, are radial in pattern. On the

Table 4.50: Attitudes Towards Public Transport

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude To Travel By Public Transport To The Centre Of London				
		Very Satis- factory	Satis- factory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Un- satis- factory
WARDS	Hampstead Town	26 (42)	27 (44)	4 (7)	3 (5)	2 (3)
	Belsize	40 (51)	25 (32)	2 (3)	6 (8)	6 (8)
	Adelaide	37 (46)	26 (32)	7 (9)	8 (10)	3 (4)
	Swiss Cottage	61 (63)	26 (27)	3 (3)	4 (4)	3 (3)
	West End	65 (69)	19 (20)	4 (4)	2 (2)	4 (4)
	Kilburn	36 (67)	15 (28)	2 (4)	1 (2)	0 (0)
	Priory	37 (54)	24 (35)	3 (4)	2 (3)	2 (3)
	Highgate	16 (29)	14 (25)	2 (4)	9 (16)	15 (27)
	St. Johns	25 (50)	18 (36)	2 (4)	3 (6)	2 (4)
	Gospel Oak	15 (65)	5 (22)	0 (0)	3 (13)	0 (0)
	Grafton	43 (55)	20 (26)	4 (5)	7 (9)	4 (5)
	Camden	47 (61)	16 (21)	2 (3)	5 (7)	7 (9)
	Chalk Farm	11 (36)	13 (42)	1 (3)	5 (16)	1 (3)
	Regents Park	44 (56)	29 (37)	3 (4)	1 (1)	1 (1)
	St. Pancras	34 (58)	16 (27)	4 (7)	3 (5)	2 (3)
	Kings Cross	46 (61)	15 (20)	4 (5)	7 (9)	4 (5)
	Bloomsbury	51 (70)	17 (23)	3 (4)	0 (0)	2 (3)
	Holborn	29 (64)	10 (22)	3 (7)	1 (2)	2 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	633 (56)	335 (28)	53 (5)	70 (6)	60 (5)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.51: Attitudes Towards Public Transport And Sex

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude To Travel By Public Transport To The Centre Of London				
		Very Satis- factory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Un- satis- factory
SEX	MALE	295 (56)	145 (28)	15 (3)	43 (8)	27 (5)
	FEMALE	368 (56)	189 (29)	38 (6)	27 (4)	33 (5)
	Total (Percentage)	663 (56)	334 (28)	53 (5)	70 (6)	60 (5)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.52: Attitudes Towards Public Transport And Household Size

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude To Travel By Public Transport To The Centre Of London				
		Very Satis- factory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Un- satisfactory
Household Size (Persons)	ONE	197 (59)	85 (25)	27 (8)	12 (4)	14 (4)
	TWO	196 (54)	108 (30)	10 (3)	24 (7)	23 (6)
	THREE	112 (59)	51 (27)	6 (3)	13 (7)	9 (5)
	FOUR	90 (57)	47 (30)	6 (4)	8 (5)	6 (4)
	FIVE OR MORE	68 (50)	44 (32)	4 (3)	13 (10)	8 (6)
	Total (Percentage)	663 (56)	335 (28)	53 (5)	70 (6)	60 (5)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.53: Attitudes Towards Public Transport And Age

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude To Travel By Public Transport To The Centre Of London				
		Very Satis- factory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Un- satisfactory
Age (Years)	15-19	55 (68)	19 (24)	2 (3)	3 (4)	2 (3)
	20-24	78 (58)	42 (31)	2 (2)	7 (5)	5 (4)
	25-34	152 (59)	72 (28)	7 (3)	13 (5)	13 (5)
	35-44	89 (52)	52 (31)	7 (4)	14 (8)	8 (5)
	45-54	80 (48)	54 (32)	6 (4)	14 (8)	12 (7)
	55-64	94 (57)	47 (28)	5 (3)	8 (5)	12 (7)
	65 and over	114 (55)	49 (24)	24 (12)	11 (5)	8 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	663 (56)	335 (28)	53 (5)	70 (6)	60 (5)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.54: Attitude Towards Public Transport And Employment Status

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude To Travel By Public Transport To The Centre Of London				
		Very Satis- factory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Un- Satisfactory
Employment Status	Working	515 (55)	278 (30)	28 (3)	58 (6)	51 (6)
	Not- Working	126 (57)	51 (23)	24 (11)	12 (5)	8 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	641 (56)	329 (28)	52 (4)	70 (6)	59 (5)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.55: Attitudes Towards Public Transport and Social Status

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Attitude To Travel By Public Transport To The Centre Of London				
		Very Satis- factory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Un- Satisfactory
Social Status Group	ONE	136 (51)	87 (33)	10 (4)	20 (8)	13 (5)
	TWO	194 (59)	94 (28)	10 (3)	17 (5)	16 (5)
	THREE	135 (60)	55 (24)	5 (2)	16 (7)	14 (6)
	FOUR	64 (57)	34 (30)	4 (4)	4 (4)	7 (6)
	FIVE	134 (55)	64 (26)	24 (10)	13 (5)	10 (4)
	TOTAL Percentage)	663 (56)	335 (28)	53 (5)	70 (6)	60 (5)

SL = 0.05

attitude towards transport measured here, men are slightly more likely to see public transport to the centre as unsatisfactory. This might be explained by the higher proportions of men who use this mode to get to work. Women, however, may not be so content but rather uncertain about the quality of this service (Table 4.51). Similarly, with regards to age, those people who are of working age are more likely to express concern over this service than are the young or old (Table 4.53). Families and large households seem to have greater problems with public transport than do single people (Table 4.52). Those respondents who said that they were employed tended to express a little less satisfaction with access to the centre than did those who were not working (Table 4.54). Those not working were not more dissatisfied, but rather less knowledgeable or dependent on this service. People in social class one do not find the service so good as other groups (Table 4.55). This may be because the majority of people in the upper two social classes tend to live in the more remote wards in the north of the borough where access to public transport is poorer than elsewhere. 46 per cent of the respondents in Adelaide ward, for example, found travel to the centre of London by public transport very satisfactory (Table 4.50). Residents in the south are much more fortunate. 64 per cent in Holborn and 70 per cent in Bloomsbury were very satisfied as were 67 per cent in Kilburn (Figure 4.9). Thus, with regards to location, the attitudes towards public transport tend to be the converse of those attitudes towards private transport.

The attitudes of residents towards traffic, private and public transport, vary spatially and between groups. Of all the variables considered, location and frequency of use are those which have most influence on the variation in the attitudes examined here. The feelings

residents have for traffic are more uniform than are attitudes towards transport. One variable which has an influence on attitudes to public transport is age. The elderly are relatively satisfied with all the aspects of traffic and transport. Yet, as will be seen later the elderly rate transport more highly than do other groups (Chapter 5). This can be seen simply as a result of their greater dependence on public transport (in the absence of private transport) rather than any great dissatisfaction with the services provided. Those groups who rely most on public transport, which includes those who are working, tend to be most dissatisfied with it. As with the elderly, other groups are not generally more unhappy but probably less knowledgeable of the service. Location also has a strong influence on attitudes towards both public and private transport. Public transport is seen as more inadequate in the outlying wards and much less so in those wards situated close to the centre of London.

8. Attitudes Towards Shopping. Attitudes towards shopping like residents feelings towards traffic and transport vary according to location and particularly with age. These differences might be explained by the variation in access to the main shopping centres and the quality of facilities at these places. From the study of residents' shopping behaviour it was found that five main centres served a majority of residents (64 per cent, Camden, 1975a, p.152). A further seven per cent said their nearest main centre was outside Camden. The remaining three-tenths mentioned various major and minor shopping parades. The five main centres were Camden Town (serving 18 per cent); Kentish Town (serving 13 per cent); Finchley Road (serving 15 per cent); Kilburn (serving 11 per cent) and the Brunswick Centre in Holborn which served 7 per cent of respondents (ibid., p.152).

The frequency of use of these centres depends to a great extent on proximity to the home. The majority of residents (almost four-fifths) did their shopping on foot while 13 per cent went by bus and 8 per cent by private car. The use of the car for shopping was confined almost exclusively to respondents aged between twenty-five and sixty-four years and from social class 1 (ibid., p.154). In Hampstead and Highgate residents were particularly likely to shop by car (21 per cent doing so in both wards). Highgate residents also make frequent use of buses when shopping (29 per cent usually travel by them). Regents Park ward, being particularly poorly provided with this service, had one third of its residents travelling by bus to do shopping, which in the case of four-fifths of the residents was Camden town, a neighbouring ward and thus some distance away. For the majority of residents, approximately half, the nearest shopping centre was no more than five minutes journey time away. For some groups even short distances can be difficult and time-consuming. Older residents, particularly those aged 65 and over, gave a noticeably longer average time of journey. These behavioural characteristics of shopping in Camden provide a background to the attitudes residents have for this aspect of their lives.

In Camden women more than men tend to be dissatisfied with the provision of local shops. Housewives are more likely to take on the responsibility of doing shopping than husbands, and as a consequence be more aware of the difficulties of shopping. It is not necessarily that men are more satisfied with the number of shops locally, but rather that they have less knowledge or experience of them (Table 4.59). Looking at respondents according to age, it becomes apparent that the young and old find the provision of local shops more adequate than those in middle age (Table 4.58). This is in spite of the fact that

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SHOPS.

LEVEL OF SATISFACTION WITH LOCAL SHOPS.

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[illegible]

W. J. SIMINSTER

ATTITUDE SCORES

SYMBOLS	2.40	2.68	2.96	3.24	3.52
MINIMUM	2.40	2.68	2.96	3.24	3.52
MAXIMUM	2.68	2.96	3.24	3.52	3.80

Table 4.56: Attitudes To Shops (Adequacy of Shops)

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision of Local Shops				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satis- factory
WARDS	Hampstead Town	10 (16)	21 (34)	7 (11)	20 (32)	4 (7)
	Belsize	25 (32)	21 (27)	2 (3)	21 (27)	10 (13)
	Adelaide	26 (32)	17 (21)	12 (15)	17 (21)	9 (11)
	Swiss Cottage	5 (5)	26 (27)	17 (18)	32 (33)	16 (17)
	West End	24 (26)	8 (9)	6 (6)	22 (23)	34 (36)
	Kilburn	3 (6)	9 (16)	9 (16)	10 (18)	24 (44)
	Priory	12 (18)	9 (13)	4 (6)	24 (35)	19 (28)
	Highgate	9 (16)	10 (18)	6 (11)	20 (36)	10 (18)
	St. Johns	13 (26)	9 (18)	3 (6)	18 (35)	8 (16)
	Gospel Oak	9 (39)	5 (22)	1 (4)	4 (17)	4 (17)
	Grafton	29 (37)	20 (26)	3 (4)	19 (24)	7 (9)
	Camden	13 (17)	10 (13)	8 (10)	23 (30)	23 (30)
	Chalk Farm	6 (19)	3 (10)	1 (3)	12 (39)	9 (29)
	Regents Park	28 (37)	11 (15)	3 (4)	21 (28)	13 (17)
	St. Pancras	19 (32)	11 (19)	5 (9)	16 (27)	8 (14)
	Kings Cross	18 (24)	20 (26)	10 (13)	13 (17)	15 (20)
	Bloomsbury	22 (31)	22 (31)	6 (8)	10 (14)	12 (17)
	Holborn	6 (13)	8 (17)	5 (11)	15 (33)	12 (26)
	Total (Percentage)	277 (24)	240 (20)	108 (9)	317 (27)	237 (20)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.57: Attitudes To Shopping And Social Status

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Local Shops				
		Very Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Social Status Group	ONE	89 (33)	69 (26)	30 (11)	38 (14)	41 (15)
	TWO	113 (34)	84 (26)	36 (11)	34 (10)	63 (19)
	THREE	86 (39)	52 (23)	32 (14)	19 (9)	33 (15)
	FOUR	42 (37)	37 (33)	5 (4)	18 (16)	11 (10)
	FIVE	77 (31)	59 (24)	29 (12)	37 (15)	44 (18)
	TOTAL (Percentage)	407 (35)	301 (26)	133 (11)	146 (12)	192 (16)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.58: Attitudes To Shopping And Age

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision of Local Shops				
		Very Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Age of Respondent (Years)	15-19	15 (19)	21 (26)	5 (6)	23 (28)	17 (21)
	20-24	29 (22)	33 (25)	20 (15)	35 (26)	17 (13)
	25-34	49 (19)	52 (20)	26 (10)	75 (29)	55 (21)
	35-44	45 (26)	36 (21)	13 (8)	50 (29)	27 (16)
	45-54	52 (32)	33 (20)	11 (7)	35 (21)	34 (21)
	55-64	43 (26)	31 (19)	8 (5)	41 (25)	42 (26)
	65 and over	44 (22)	34 (17)	25 (12)	38 (28)	44 (22)
	Total (Percentage)	277 (24)	240 (20)	108 (9)	317 (27)	236 (20)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.59: Attitudes To Shopping And Respondent's Sex

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Local Shops				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
SEX	MALE	108 (21)	103 (20)	64 (12)	140 (27)	110 (21)
	FEMALE	169 (26)	137 (21)	44 (7)	176 (27)	127 (19)
	TOTAL (Percentage)	277 (24)	240 (20)	108 (9)	316 (27)	237 (20)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.60: Attitudes To Shopping And Length Of Residence

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision of Local Shops				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Length of Residence	Less than one year	78 (42)	52 (28)	15 (8)	18 (10)	22 (12)
	One year to four	134 (38)	101 (28)	41 (12)	38 (11)	43 (12)
	Five to nine years	75 (31)	67 (28)	28 (12)	30 (12)	41 (17)
	Ten to nineteen	67 (31)	47 (22)	26 (12)	36 (17)	39 (18)
	Twenty years or more	50 (28)	33 (19)	23 (13)	24 (14)	46 (26)
	Total (Percentage)	404 (35)	300 (26)	133 (11)	146 (12)	191 (16)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.61: Attitudes To Shopping And Type Of Tenure

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision of Local Shops				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Type of Tenure	Owner- Occupied	36 (17)	33 (16)	33 (16)	63 (30)	43 (21)
	Private Rented	67 (17)	92 (23)	43 (11)	114 (28)	90 (22)
	Local Authority	130 (34)	63 (17)	24 (6)	88 (23)	73 (19)
	Hostel	13 (19)	19 (28)	8 (12)	18 (27)	10 (15)
	Total (Percentage)	246 (23)	307 (20)	108 (10)	283 (27)	216 (20)

SL = 0.01

both the young and the elderly are relatively less mobile than other groups. As a priority, these groups rank access to shops more highly, possibly reflecting the difficulty of accessibility rather than the level of provision. Newcomers to the borough tend to see the provision of local shops as being less adequate than other groups (Table 4.60). 70 per cent of respondents who had lived in their present house for less than one year found this aspect of shopping unsatisfactory while 47 per cent of those who had been living in their home for twenty years or more did so. This difference may be due, perhaps, to a change in attitude by some residents into accepting their position with regards to local shops. People may have located in those areas where shopping facilities were better, and have been content to remain there. Whatever the reason for this the length of residence of respondents tends to be associated with a general improvement in feelings for this aspect of the environment.

The social status and housing status of respondents has some influence on their attitudes towards the provision of local shops. Residents who live in publicly rented accommodation are especially likely to feel that there are not enough shops in their areas (Table 4.61). Respondents in privately rented accommodation seem more content with this facility while owner-occupiers appear to be the least dissatisfied with the provision. As has been mentioned above, it is this group which has the greatest access to private transport and the resources to locate in those areas within easy reach of shopping centres if that is what is wanted. It is those social groups which include the semi-skilled and manual workers who show the most concern over the number of local shops (Table 4.57). As these groups rely more on public transport and are more likely to live in public housing, which is not well provided for with shopping facilities, they express

greater dissatisfaction with this facility than either social classes one or five. These variations in attitudes due to the influence of social status, type of tenure and age are reflected in the attitudes towards the provision of local shops (Table 4.56). Those areas which are more remote from the main shopping centres and parades are more desirous of local shops (Figure 4.10). Regents Park, Grafton and Gospel Oak wards are most distant from the main centres and represent those areas of greatest dissatisfaction. Swiss Cottage ward and the nearness of its residents to the shopping centre in Finchley Road make it a very satisfactory ward to be in, at least on this attitudinal dimension. Holborn, Chalk Farm and Camden are also wards near to large shopping centres and where residents are quite satisfied with the provision of local shops.

The attitudes which residents in the borough have towards shopping, or at least to the aspect of it examined here, reflects the influence of the demographic and locational variables which have been examined with other aspects of the environment. Again the influence of age is an important variable in explaining attitudinal variation as was the sex of the respondent. Shopping is characteristically a female occupation and consequently this group showed greater knowledge of this aspect of the environment than did the men in the sample. As with most of the other facets of the environment considered so far, housing and social status were seen to have an effect on this attitude. Residents in publicly rented dwellings and those working in manufacturing and in the unskilled service sector were relatively dissatisfied with the provision of shops in those areas. Spatially, too, attitudes toward this aspect of people's lives tended to vary. Those areas more remote from the main shopping centres, for example, showed greater dissatisfaction with this facility.

But, from the data examined here it is not possible to say what shops would be preferred in those areas of greater discontent. It remains to be seen, in the next chapter, the extent to which residents rank this facility alongside other changes in the environment. It may well be that when one aspect of people's lives is considered alone it may be seen to be important but when ranked alongside other problems which are also perceived as important then the first aspect may become comparatively less significant.

9. Attitudes Towards Leisure And Recreational Facilities. Leisure and recreation are wide-ranging terms embracing a number of topics. They include the provision of entertainment facilities such as cinemas and theatres, provision of sports facilities, community halls, parks and gardens, libraries and evening classes. For convenience these categories are arbitrarily divided into entertainment facilities on the one hand and recreational facilities on the other. Entertainment facilities are taken to include pubs, cinemas and restaurants while recreational facilities are more sport-orientated and include the provision of sports centres, playing fields, swimming pools and open space. The distribution of these facilities is by no means even as the section on objective indicators describes (Chapter 3). The southern part of the borough, for example, is lacking in open space and recreational facilities of most kinds while being at the same time the centre for entertainment, not only for the borough but of London as a whole. It was also noted that the young are the most frequent users of recreational facilities of most types so it is to be expected that this group will express the strongest attitudes towards the availability and quality of these services in their localities.

Generally, there is a high level of agreement that 'local entertainment facilities such as pubs, cinemas and restaurants are

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.
ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES.

LEVEL OF SATISFACTION.

I S L I N G T O N

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES.									
LEVEL OF SATISFACTION.					I S L I N G T O N				
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Table 4.62: Attitudes Towards Entertainment Facilities

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Entertainment Facilities In The Neighbourhood				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Unsatis- factory
WARDS	Hampstead Town	23 (37)	23 (37)	8 (13)	7 (11)	1 (2)
	Belsize	38 (48)	24 (30)	5 (6)	10 (13)	2 (3)
	Adelaide	24 (29)	27 (33)	9 (11)	17 (21)	4 (5)
	Swiss Cottage	37 (38)	30 (31)	14 (14)	13 (13)	2 (2)
	West End	29 (31)	27 (28)	7 (7)	19 (20)	12 (13)
	Kilburn	33 (59)	5 (9)	8 (14)	7 (13)	1 (2)
	Priory	29 (42)	22 (32)	4 (6)	8 (12)	5 (7)
	Highgate	13 (23)	12 (21)	10 (18)	9 (16)	12 (21)
	St. Johns	9 (17)	14 (28)	2 (4)	11 (22)	15 (29)
	Gospel Oak	8 (35)	4 (17)	1 (4)	5 (22)	5 (22)
	Grafton	19 (24)	24 (30)	7 (9)	16 (20)	11 (14)
	Camden	19 (24)	18 (23)	14 (18)	16 (21)	10 (13)
	Chalk Farm	10 (32)	12 (39)	4 (13)	3 (10)	1 (3)
	Regents Park	25 (32)	18 (23)	13 (17)	12 (15)	10 (13)
	St. Pancras	9 (15)	19 (32)	14 (24)	10 (17)	7 (12)
	Kings Cross	15 (20)	27 (36)	8 (11)	17 (22)	9 (12)
	Bloomsbury	39 (53)	15 (21)	4 (6)	12 (16)	3 (4)
	Holborn	20 (44)	15 (33)	1 (2)	6 (13)	4 (9)
	Total (Percentage)	399 (33)	336 (28)	133 (11)	198 (17)	114 (10)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.63: Social Status And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Entertainment Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Entertainment Facilities In The Neighbourhood				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatisfactory	Very Unsatisfactory
SOCIAL STATUS GROUP	One	100 (37)	70 (26)	30 (11)	47 (17)	19 (7)
	Two	111 (33)	98 (29)	23 (7)	68 (20)	32 (10)
	Three	78 (35)	60 (27)	19 (8)	38 (17)	30 (13)
	Four	31 (27)	36 (32)	15 (13)	15 (13)	16 (14)
	Five	78 (31)	72 (29)	46 (18)	30 (12)	17 (7)
	Total (Percentage)	399 (33)	336 (28)	133 (11)	198 (17)	114 (10)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.64: Sex Of Respondent And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Entertainment Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Entertainment Facilities In The Neighbourhood				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatisfactory	Very Unsatisfactory
SEX	Male	173 (33)	154 (29)	39 (8)	109 (21)	51 (10)
	Female	225 (34)	182 (28)	94 (14)	89 (13)	63 (10)
	Total (Percentage)	398 (33)	336 (28)	133 (11)	198 (17)	114 (10)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.65: Employment Status And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Entertainment Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Entertainment Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Unsatis- factory
Employment Status	Employed	189 (47)	88 (22)	36 (9)	59 (15)	33 (8)
	Not- Working	32 (34)	24 (26)	6 (7)	19 (20)	12 (13)
	Total (Percentage)	221 (44)	112 (22)	42 (8)	78 (16)	45 (10)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.66: Length Of Residence And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Entertainment Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Entertainment Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Satis- factory
Length of Residence	Less than One Year	65 (35)	44 (24)	17 (9)	36 (20)	21 (11)
	One Year To Four	109 (30)	118 (33)	27 (8)	69 (19)	34 (10)
	Five To Nine Years	87 (36)	67 (28)	24 (10)	39 (16)	26 (11)
	Ten To Nineteen	77 (35)	60 (27)	29 (13)	32 (15)	18 (8)
	Twenty years or more	61 (34)	47 (26)	33 (18)	21 (12)	15 (8)
	Total (Percentage)	399 (33)	336 (28)	133 (11)	198 (17)	114 (10)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.67: Age And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Entertainment Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Entertainment Facilities In The Neighbourhood				
		Very Satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatis- factory	Very Unsatis- factory
Age Of Respondent (Years)	15-19	27 (33)	23 (28)	5 (6)	16 (20)	10 (12)
	20-24	47 (35)	39 (29)	3 (2)	32 (24)	13 (10)
	25-34	93 (36)	68 (26)	19 (7)	50 (19)	29 (11)
	35-44	52 (30)	51 (30)	12 (7)	37 (22)	18 (11)
	45-54	51 (31)	51 (31)	21 (13)	26 (16)	16 (10)
	55-64	63 (38)	47 (28)	18 (11)	23 (14)	14 (8)
	65. and over	65 (31)	57 (27)	55 (26)	14 (7)	14 (7)
	Total (Percentage)	399 (33)	336 (28)	133 (11)	198 (17)	114 (10)

SL = 0.01

very satisfactory' (Table 4.62). Overall, 61 per cent agreed with this statement, 11 per cent were non-committal and 27 per cent regarded the level of provision as being unsatisfactory. Men, on the whole, are slightly more prone to regard this facility as inadequate (Table 4.64). Women tend to be equally satisfied with men but less knowledgeable or non-committal about this aspect of the environment. Although similar proportions of young and old residents find the provision of entertainment facilities in the neighbourhood to be satisfactory, young people, up to middle age, tend to be rather less content than the elderly (Table 4.67). Those aged forty-five and over are not more satisfied but rather less aware or knowledgeable of the facilities available locally. Similarly, with length of residence, nearly two-thirds of all residents find the local provision satisfactory. Those who are more dissatisfied tend to be the newer residents to the borough (Table 4.66). Longer term residents, like the older residents mentioned above (Table 4.67), perhaps because of their less frequent use of entertainment facilities of one kind or another, are more non-committal on this variable than are younger residents. Unemployed residents express slightly more dissatisfaction than those residents who have jobs (Table 4.65). It is not possible to say why this should be although those residents who are not working may have greater difficulty with access to entertainment facilities, located primarily in the south of the borough which is also the major employment centre. In the case of the social status variable only slight differences between groups occur (Table 4.63). Only social class five finds the number of local entertainment facilities less unsatisfactory than other groups. This group, made up of unskilled workers and a sizeable proportion of students, is found in greater numbers in the more southerly wards. However, the nearness of the entertainment centre does not make this group any more satisfied. It is this group which is most non-committal about local provision, perhaps

reflecting a lower level of experience of these facilities. Those areas which express the greatest level of concern include Gospel Oak, St. Johns and West End wards (Table 4.62). This may be explained by a lack of pubs, theatres and restaurants in these areas, but from the data used here it is not possible to be any more specific about what facility in particular each of these areas lacks. Wards in the south of the borough like Bloomsbury and Holborn show the highest levels of satisfaction with the provision of entertainment facilities nearby (Figure 4.11). The types of facilities considered here are relatively intensive users of land. Sports facilities, on the other hand, generally require greater amounts of land and as a result the distribution of attitudes for these facilities might be expected to vary inversely with the attitudes towards entertainment facilities.

The attitude which was chosen as an indicator of residents' feelings towards recreational facilities was the provision of sports facilities in the neighbourhood. This, like the attitude towards entertainment provision, is a wide-ranging term including many sports. In Camden, the most popular sports were swimming, tennis, squash and football (in that order), but football emerged as the most popular sport among the under 25's. Swimmers declared themselves most satisfied with the facilities available, while players of the other sports come off poorly by comparison. For example, only 41 per cent of those who played football thought that provisions were adequate locally (Camden, 1975a, p.107). The more northerly wards come out better on these indicators. Chalk Farm, Highgate, Regents Park, and Gospel Oak all have a local park or public garden (ibid, p.108). Those wards in the south fare less well with 20 per cent of the residents in King's Cross not having a local park, 42 per cent in West End and 35 per cent in Priory. It is in these wards that the most adverse attitudes towards the provision of open space and sports facilities might be expected (Figure 4.12).

[illegible]

Table 4.68: Attitudes To Sports Facilities

Number of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Sports Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
WARDS	Hampstead Town	10 (16)	4 (7)	31 (50)	13 (21)	4 (7)
	Belsize	17 (22)	17 (22)	21 (27)	17 (22)	7 (9)
	Adelaide	16 (19)	11 (14)	33 (41)	11 (14)	10 (12)
	Swiss Cottage	16 (17)	28 (29)	39 (41)	7 (7)	6 (6)
	West End	23 (25)	13 (14)	37 (39)	10 (11)	11 (12)
	Kilburn	12 (22)	8 (15)	26 (48)	1 (2)	7 (13)
	Priory	15 (22)	16 (24)	20 (29)	8 (12)	9 (13)
	Highgate	8 (14)	7 (13)	13 (23)	11 (20)	17 (30)
	St. Johns	10 (20)	17 (33)	15 (29)	2 (4)	7 (14)
	Gospel Oak	6 (26)	4 (17)	6 (26)	6 (26)	1 (4)
	Grafton	14 (18)	27 (35)	18 (23)	16 (21)	2 (3)
	Camden	15 (20)	19 (25)	24 (31)	10 (13)	9 (12)
	Chalk Farm	8 (26)	4 (13)	12 (39)	6 (19)	1 (3)
	Regents Park	21 (27)	18 (23)	18 (23)	12 (16)	8 (10)
	St. Pancras	17 (29)	16 (27)	17 (29)	8 (14)	1 (2)
	Kings Cross	22 (29)	13 (17)	28 (37)	9 (12)	3 (4)
	Bloomsbury	25 (34)	21 (29)	19 (26)	5 (7)	3 (4)
	Holborn	16 (35)	8 (18)	16 (35)	4 (9)	2 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	271 (23)	251 (21)	393 (33)	156 (13)	108 (9)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.69: Household Size And Attitudes Towards Sports Facility Provision

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Sports Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
HOUSEHOLD SIZE	One Person	77 (23)	60 (18)	139 (42)	35 (11)	23 (7)
	Two Persons	63 (18)	76 (21)	126 (35)	55 (15)	40 (11)
	Three Persons	46 (24)	43 (23)	54 (28)	30 (16)	18 (9)
	Four Persons	45 (29)	40 (26)	38 (24)	21 (13)	13 (8)
	Five or more people	50 (29)	32 (23)	36 (26)	15 (11)	14 (10)
	Total (Percentage)	271 (23)	251 (21)	393 (33)	156 (13)	108 (9)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.70: Sex Of Respondent And Attitudes Towards Sports Facility Provision

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Sports Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
SEX	Male	145 (28)	130 (25)	146 (28)	65 (12)	39 (8)
	Female	126 (19)	121 (19)	246 (38)	91 (14)	69 (11)
	Total (Percentage)	271 (23)	251 (21)	393 (33)	156 (13)	108 (9)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.72: Type Of Tenure And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Sports Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Sports Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Type Of Tenure	Owner- Occupied	42 (20)	33 (16)	71 (34)	37 (18)	24 (12)
	Private Rented	87 (21)	82 (20)	150 (37)	56 (14)	33 (8)
	Local Authority	92 (24)	85 (22)	108 (29)	46 (12)	46 (12)
	Hostel	25 (37)	17 (25)	19 (28)	5 (8)	1 (2)
	Total (Percentage)	246 (23)	217 (20)	348 (33)	144 (14)	104 (10)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.73: Social Status And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Sports Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Sports Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Unsatis- factory	Unsatis- factory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Social Status Group	One	61 (23)	48 (18)	92 (35)	39 (15)	26 (10)
	Two	80 (24)	78 (24)	110 (33)	39 (12)	25 (8)
	Three	62 (28)	47 (21)	50 (22)	36 (16)	30 (13)
	Four	24 (21)	24 (21)	37 (33)	19 (17)	9 (8)
	Five	44 (18)	54 (22)	103 (43)	23 (10)	18 (7)
	Total (Percentage)	271 (23)	251 (21)	393 (33)	156 (13)	108 (9)

SL = 0.05

Table 4.74: Employment Status And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Sports Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Sports Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Employment Status	Working	235 (25)	204 (22)	278 (30)	128 (14)	86 (9)
	Not-Working	27 (12)	41 (19)	105 (48)	25 (12)	20 (9)
	Total (Percentage)	262 (23)	245 (21)	383 (33)	153 (13)	106 (9)

SL = 0.01

Table 4.75: Length Of Residence And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Sports Facilities

Number Of Responses (Percentage)		Provision Of Sports Facilities In Neighbourhood				
		Very Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Uncertain	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
Length Of Residence (years)	Less than one year	55 (30)	43 (24)	60 (33)	16 (9)	9 (5)
	One year to four	92 (26)	90 (25)	107 (30)	43 (12)	25 (7)
	Five to nine years	55 (23)	51 (21)	72 (30)	37 (15)	27 (11)
	Ten to nineteen	51 (24)	43 (20)	75 (35)	26 (12)	21 (10)
	Twenty years or more	17 (10)	24 (14)	17 (44)	34 (19)	25 (14)
	Total (Percentage)	271 (23)	251 (21)	393 (33)	156 (13)	108 (9)

SL = 0.01

The feelings of residents towards the provision of sports facilities like those towards entertainment is influenced by the sex of the respondent. Men are much more likely to find the provision of sports facilities unsatisfactory. Women are not more dissatisfied but rather less knowledgeable or non-committal (Table 4.70). Age is another important variable. Those under forty-five years of age show the most dissatisfaction while the elderly (aged 65 years and more) are less knowledgeable rather than more satisfied (Table 4.71). The greater uncertainty or non-committal responses of the older respondents probably reflects the decreasing level of involvement in sport with increasing age. The longer term residents are less likely to find fault with these facilities (Table 4.75). Again, as with age, the longer term residents are less likely to take an active part in sports and so their responses tend to be non-committal. Parents with children, large families and large households, in general, are more concerned about the provision of facilities in their neighbourhood (Table 4.69). Single person households are very uncertain on this attitude, perhaps reflecting the large proportion of elderly single people in this category, and the large proportion of students and newcomers to the borough who may be more unaware of local facilities. The latter explanation seems more unlikely given the fact that short-term residents are generally more aware of local provision than the longer term residents.

People in Camden of high status and who live in owner-occupied housing tend to be relatively more satisfied with the provision of sports facilities in their neighbourhoods (Tables 4.72 and 4.73) than do those in other groups. Those residents who live in hostels of one kind or another are least satisfied. The occupants of these dwellings are very likely to be students and those from the younger age groups who generally take a more active part in recreation. Those who are more

active are like those who are in employment on this attitude. Both find local provision inadequate. Those residents who do not work, whether they be unemployed, physically disabled, or housewives, on the whole, find the provision of sports facilities less inadequate than others and are rather less knowledgeable or uncertain about the provision of these facilities. Spatially, those areas which are worst off tend to be those with the least amount of open space since many sports are played in public open spaces often part of, or adjacent to, public parks and gardens. Bloomsbury, Holborn and St. Pancras wards come out the worst on this indicator while Hampstead, Highgate, Gospel Oak and Belsize come out as wards where there is a more reasonable provision of sports facilities.

The feelings which residents in Camden express towards the provision of recreation and leisure facilities represent the last aspects of the environment to be considered here. As with the social and physical environments and a number of other dimensions of the environment it has been observed that feelings vary across a number of demographic and spatial variables. In the case of attitudes towards leisure and recreational facilities, sex, age and location appear to be the most influential variables. Younger people are the most active and make most use of available facilities in both entertainment and sport. It is this more active engagement which enables them to be more critical, or at least knowledgeable, of these facilities. And, in this they find that in the south of the borough there is an unsatisfactory amount of recreational facilities, while in other parts of the borough the amount of open space and leisure facilities are inadequate.

Summary.

The attitudes to various aspects of the environment which have been

examined here give substance to those observations of life in Camden which were looked at as objective indicators. Generally speaking the attitudes expressed by residents reflect those areas of stress which were identified by the use of demographic and physical data about the inhabitants and the infra-structure of the borough. This does not mean to say that there was direct correspondence between attitudinal and demographic variables. On the contrary, some aspects of the environment are seen by local residents in a positive light while scoring negatively on physical indicators. The converse is also true; areas and groups which scored highly on the traditional indicators scored less highly on attitudinal indicators in some cases. It was also noticed that some demographic and locational variables have a more pronounced influence on environmental attitudes than do others. These results, in part, support the findings of other studies of environmental attitudes particularly those relating to housing (Hempel and Tucker, 1979) while at the same time reflecting the special features of an inner urban area which is experiencing selective population decline.

Of the data which was analysed it was observed that residents expressed strong feelings about many environmental attributes. Those categories, where there was a greater degree of satisfaction or indifference to the facility, included health and traffic. Those aspects which were of most concern included housing, education and transport. Across these topics the responses were generally skewed towards dissatisfaction with the facility under question. Thus, a number of attributes come up with high rates of dissatisfaction. The Lickert Scales which were employed to gauge this level of feeling do not, unfortunately, indicate very accurately how one thing, rated as important or satisfactory, compares with another item similarly

Table 4.76: Demographic Variables And Environmental Attitudes.

	Demographic And Locational Variables								
	Sex	Age	Length Of Residence	Household Amenity	Household Size	Tenure	SEG	Employment status	Location
Housing	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
Physical Environment	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
Social Environment	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
Neighbourhood Buildings	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
Health Services	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Schools	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Employment	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Traffic	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
Private Transport	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Public Transport	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
Shops	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
Recreation Facilities	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Leisure Facilities	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
Total	5	11	9	6	4	9	11	6	13

Environmental Attitudes

Key: + significant relationship at 0.05 level or below.
- insignificant relationship at 0.05 level.

scored. In essence, this scaling device is not very suitable as a tool in comparison since it describes unconstrained choice (McIver and Ostrom, 1976). As a result, the attitudinal responses might be seen to reflect a desire for more of everything rather than a realistic list of preferences. Indeed, this is being rather simplistic for residents do show discrimination between services and facility provision. Health services, for example, are regarded as being much more satisfactory than either housing or transport. A more realistic analysis of residents' preferences for alternative states of the environment is considered in the next chapter.

The demographic and locational variables which were examined in relation to environmental attitudes showed varying levels of influence. By far the most important variable which was used to explain the variation in environmental attitudes was location. In all of the various facets of the environment chosen for analysis location was an important influencing variable. In addition to varying across the borough, attitudes were noted to change with a selection of demographic characteristics. After location, the social status of the respondent, and age were the next most influential variables. These were followed by: the type of tenure and length of residence (Table 4.76). Of less importance were the quality of the household, employment status, sex and family or household size. Yet, for each of these variables there was at least one attitude with which it varied significantly. Put in other words, the feelings which residents have towards different aspects of life in the borough do not vary very much between men and women or between small and large households. Those people who live in poorer quality housing and who are unemployed are slightly more likely to differ in their attitudes while the variation in feelings between young and old, newcomer and long stay resident, tenant and

owner-occupier vary still more. The difference in outlook between those who live in rented accommodation and those who live in owner-occupied dwellings is large, while the variation between one ward and the next produces a patchwork of environmental attitudes over all the different aspects considered here.

The analysis of attitudes towards the several aspects of the environment revealed a certain amount of self-interest. Some groups and some areas express more concern about some services and facilities than do other groups and places. In part, this may be explained by the concern residents show for those topics which impinge most directly on their own or their families' lives. However, this tendency was not overwhelming. In most cases the differences between groups and areas reflected what might have been expected from the actual distribution of services and facilities within the borough. As an example, parents with families tended to express greater concern for the quality of neighbourhood schools while residents in the more isolated parts in the north of the borough expressed greater concern over the provision of public transport. However interesting these attitudes may be they are not easily input into the decision-making system. They do not indicate the marginal utility of one environmental facet over another. And, it is the way that residents trade-off one service for another that is of importance for any decision-maker concerned with the identification of goals. The value of this preliminary and exploratory analysis of environmental attitudes lies in the breadth of topics which can be covered in a questionnaire-type instrument. When the respondent has to consider several topics together and list them according to his or her own value system, as trade-off games demand, then the number of categories to be included has to be severely restricted. It is this compromise between breadth and depth of attitudinal analysis that is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5.

Environmental Preferences : The Weighting Of Attitudes.

Attitudinal Indicators. The value of any indicator as a guide to the state of a system depends to a great extent on the techniques which are used to measure it (Craik and McKechnie, 1978). The validity and reliability of attitude measurements are a source of continuing debate. But, as scales develop and are tested in the field these criticisms begin to diminish. The Environmental Response Inventory (E.R.I.) is one of the better tested techniques for measuring environmental attitudes (McKechnie, 1978). For the academic such tools are of interest in their own right. The policy maker, however, needs a method which can be used to produce a better or improved strategy. He may want to know the extent to which attitudes towards various aspects of the environment differ, the direction of these feelings, and the intensity with which they are held. This may be in addition to wanting to find out whether attitudes are relatively enduring aspects of the individual's predispositions. These may be some of the factors which influence change in environmental attitudes (Fishbein, 1967; Brewster-Smith, 1973).

In order that an attitude may be quantified it is necessary, first of all, to identify the attitude. This is not always a simple procedure. Attitude scales, self-response inventories, behavioural simulation and direct observation are different methods that the observer can employ to help identify the underlying dimensions of the attitude which these techniques may only partially measure (Michelson, 1975). One difficulty of using attitudes as data in decision-making is that they tend to be more variable than the relatively hard social and demographic data. Another problem is the difficulty of comparing

attitudes identified by different scales. For example, the attitudinal scores obtained from Lickert and Semantic Differential scales are not directly comparable in terms of relative intensities (Lemon, 1973). On one scale, for instance, an attitude to one aspect of the environment may have a score equal to that of another attitude towards some other aspect of the environment and yet be not so important in the overall ranking of the individual's attitudes. It is the nominal and ordinal nature of attitudinal measurements which makes them problematical when used with other types of data (Blalock, 1960; Siegel, 1956). For there to be any sort of comparison between attitudinal and other kinds of data some sort of ratio scale is needed. It is only at this level of quantification that rigorous parametric tests can be applied. It is at the ratio scale level that the distance between the units of measurement is fixed and counting starts from some fixed point or zero point (Moser and Kalton, 1971). Attitude scales rarely go beyond the ordinal or interval scale. This limitation makes it difficult to compare the intensities with which various attitudes are held. If attitudes were measured along scales with fixed intervals and common base points a greater comparison of attitudes would be feasible (Cook and Selltiz, 1973). More exact means of calibrating attitudes may help to overcome this disadvantage. The relatively simple five and seven point Lickert scale is one such method of quantifying an attitude. One method of overcoming the difficulty of measuring the internal predisposition to act is not to try and measure the attitude through various types of scales, but to measure overt behaviour directly. By observing how people behave in certain situations it may be possible to infer what motivations they have for behaving in the way that they do (Michelson, 1975).

The attitude scale is one method by which an individual's motivations to behave can be assessed. In the context of input for policy formation attitudes alone only give some indication of the strength and direction of feelings. Decision-making is concerned with goals and trade-offs between competing policies. Those techniques which are goal orientated and commensurable with an ordering of individual preferences may be of direct benefit to the decision-maker (Robinson et al., 1975). Such a technique is the trade-off game or budget pie; both involve the respondent having to rank his or her preferences or attitudes in some constrained situation, usually limited income (McIvor and Ostrom, 1976). In comparison with these pencil and paper tests there is direct observation. Unfortunately, this can be a rather expensive and time consuming way of collecting behavioural information. Difficulties emerge when trying to project existing behavioural states into preferred or expected future states (As, 1975). Behavioural data is, however, extensively collected in the form of economic, social and demographic data (Knox, 1975). Analysed in the form of time series, trends may become apparent which describe future patterns of behaviour. It is the analysis of attitudes, in so far as they are indicators of existing and future behaviour, which is considered here. The degree to which they indicate end or preferred states is looked at and this is compared with data from traditional sources to see if there is any congruence between 'subjectively' and 'objectively' described end states.

The ability of the individual to envisage desirable future states of the environment will vary according to a number of factors. Experience of and interaction with the neighbourhood tend to increase levels of awareness (Allport, 1945; Bachrach and Baratz, 1970; Rowe, 1978). The level of educational attainment and social status also

have an effect on the way in which people articulate their present style of living and any future desired style which they may have (Downs and Stea, 1973). However, it may be that aspirations for future environments are unconstrained by the relative and absolute costs to the individual and society of achieving that change, even if it were possible (Hedges, 1975; Robinson, et al., 1975). If subjective judgements about the environment are to be of any use in a planning context it is necessary for them to be tempered by the constraints of reality such as the existing social and political systems as well as restraints on finance. The limited resources generally available for changing the urban form mean that individuals and groups have to make choices between a number of policy options affecting varying aspects of city life. One desirable change has to be weighed against some other desirable proposal. For example, a demand for a greater proportion of open space has to be balanced against the consequences and costs of that plan. These costs might include the removal of existing land-users which may be factories or houses. In practice, it is unlikely that any individual will know even a fraction of the implications of his choice on the very complex systems which operate in the city. He will certainly be in a more difficult position when it comes to estimating the likely costs and benefits of a number of different future states. However, it is these types of choice that the decision-maker is looking for even if they are in an aggregated form (Hoinville, 1975; Milton Keynes, 1975). These trade-off games can portray various futures which can be the plan of a neighbourhood or the design of a house or a school (Watts and Hirst, 1979). In this method the respondent is asked to select an arrangement of goods, services, or parts of the environment under constrained conditions. Participants are usually given a notional income which is limited and which is to be allocated

to those goods and services that are rated as important by the individual according to his ranking of preferences. One of the disadvantages of using a notional income is that by using simple amounts such as counters realism is lost. It is, however, difficult for relative costs of different choices to be estimated with any degree of accuracy (Hoinville, 1975; Hedges, 1975). In spite of these methodological disadvantages variations of the trade-off game have been used by a number of local authorities (Field, 1975b).

Trade-off games, or priority evaluation games as they are sometimes called, have been used at both tiers of local government in Britain. Those county and metropolitan areas which have made use of them include South Hampshire and Stoke on Trent. New towns such as Runcorn and Milton Keynes have employed trade-off procedures to evaluate preferences for alternative styles of housing and layout. The London Boroughs of Waltham Forest and Camden and the city of Nottingham are district authorities which have made use of this method in their plan-making process. The major difficulty encountered is estimating the costs of different choices so that participants can realistically choose between competing options (Hedges, 1975). With the development of a corporate approach to planning, programming and budgeting it may become technically easier to make financial forecasts of different strategies (Eddison, 1975). In the case of Camden, for example, the respondents who took part in the trade-off game were given a fixed income in the form of a number of counters and were then asked to allocate the counters according to the priorities they had for changing certain aspects of the environment which were included in the categories provided. By aggregating the lists of preferences some indication of the relative importance of different topics is obtained. Unlike the scores from Lickert scales, which are not directly

comparable across attitudes, the scores obtained from a trade-off game give the relative importance of each topic to the individual. In the analysis of attitudes described above (Chapter 4) it was found that housing aroused the strongest feelings in residents. When the trade-off game was applied to this same group of respondents housing as a category received the highest allocation of counters. This indicated that there is some similarity between the findings of the attitude scales and the trade-off approach. It also shows that respondents are prepared to spend relatively more of their 'income' on this topic than on other topics which were also included in the presentation. Unexpectedly, employment did not appear to be such a major issue as housing. This difference might be explained by a realistic evaluation by the respondent of the local authority's power to influence this aspect of people's lives. If this is so, and it is only possible to make a conjecture at this stage, it suggests that the respondents' expectations of future events, as expressed in the type of survey which Camden used, do not necessarily represent a desired outcome but a compromise between what would be liked ideally and what is seen to be actually happening.

The extent to which the allocations of money or counters vary reflects differing levels of satisfaction with the environment. The more counters that are allocated to one service the greater may be the demand for that service. Each distribution of counters represents an individual's personal evaluation of the priorities for change. However, the results of this type of technique have to be considered in the light of the respondent's perception of realistic change. This is especially relevant in a time of severe pressures on local government finances. Variations in priorities for change between different groups and across the borough may be influenced by a number

of factors including age, social status, type of housing tenure and length of residence. From the planners' point of view such information may be of help in identifying the subjective needs of different client groups. The evaluation of preferred futures and of the respondents present relations with the surrounding environment is complex and the techniques employed by local authorities such as Camden can only give a cursory impression of residents' priority profiles. The various methods which have been used in Camden are explored in more detail here, firstly with regards to validity and, secondly, with regards to reliability. Later these priorities are examined with respect to the weight placed on them by the data analysts, i.e. by the urban planners and elected representatives. The value placed on a strategy or judgement profile may be, at the policy-making level, modified by technical considerations and political influence (Cockburn, 1978). The desirability and, or, inevitability of administrative interpretation of resident preferences is considered with the various weights applied as a result of pressures from interest groups within and without the local authority.

The Measurement Of Environmental Preferences. The quantification of residents' desires for changes in the surrounding neighbourhood might be considered to be one of the aims of a participation programme (England, 1974; Hedges, 1975). The attempt to aggregate personal preferences so as to maximise the level of satisfaction is an essentially utilitarian approach to public affairs (Fagence, 1977; Allison, 1975). The use of attitudes as indicators of residents' responses to their environment has been examined in some detail already (Chapter 4). The attitude scales which were used there related to specific aspects of the environment such as the availability of open space and the reliability of public transport. Some indication of the strength of feeling towards these different aspects was obtained. This approach

tended to make parts of the environment into discrete categories without seeking to identify any sort of relationship between the many parts. The difficulty of the attitude scale in identifying priority profiles for each individual is that it is spurious to link one attitude measure with another. In practice a respondent may have a high positive feeling towards two distinct objects. When respondents are asked to rank objects, pairs of objects which previously scored equally on attitude scales are evaluated more rigorously by the individual, and, as a consequence, tend to reflect more accurately the underlying motivations or goals which the individual has (Peterson, 1967; Menchik, 1977; Kaplan, 1978). It is these judgement or preference profiles that are of interest to the planner. However, they have disadvantages when seen against attitude scales.

Both attitude measures and preference ranking techniques suffer from the difficulty respondents have in quantifying their own feelings towards some object (Hoinville, 1975). Various scales have been used with numbers, polar adjectives, and levels of agreement or satisfaction with the object (Bechtel, 1975). The number of divisions on these scales may vary but on average 5 are used. This is typical of the Lickert scale where the adverbial phrases 'agree strongly', 'agree', and so on are intelligible to a wide range of respondents. More units present difficulty and are harder to discriminate between (Moser and Kalton, 1971). In addition to this technical problem of measurement problems of application have arisen. Much research has concentrated on identifying the structure of attitudes towards the environment. This has followed the multivariate analyses of Osgood (et al., 1957), McKechnie (1978), Gärling (1976) and in personality research by Eysenck (1953). Multivariate analysis developed out of

the need to make comprehensible the responses from a great number of attitudinal scales. Some of the methods employed to simplify this data include principal components analysis and factor analysis, two of the most widely used techniques (Rummel, 1970). Even though these statistical methods have the virtue of synthesising a great deal of data they leave the researcher with the problem of interpretation of the factors or dimensions which result from the analysis. Depending on whether many or few scales are used this interpretation may be difficult and speculative (Blalock, 1960, p.383). The value of the attitudinal data which results from this type of work can be improved in terms of validity if standardised scales, such as the Environmental Response Inventory (Kaplan, 1978), are more widely used. This would then make cross-cultural, urban-rural, and time series analysis of environmental attitudes possible.

Behavioural Data. The more objective data from census, social and economic surveys are typically those which are examined first when a decision-maker wants a description of the state of an urban system (Knox, 1975). This data is relatively discrete and thus is easier to quantify. It is more often observable and useable. Houses, shops, places of employment and frequencies of bus services are relatively easy to measure. From this type of descriptive and behavioural data it is possible, over a period of time, to notice trends and to simulate patterns using such techniques as linear programming and model simulation. This approach to the prediction of future patterns of behaviour relies on existing trends and observations as inputs. Economists have been particularly interested in improving predictions by including motivations in the forecasting of future demands rather than relying solely on past trends. This area of interest with individual and group motivations and predispositions

comes under the heading of 'market research'. Increasingly this approach to identifying preferences has been taken over by the public sector for assessing future demands for public goods. In the United States this is epitomised by the work of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan and in Britain by the more recently established Social and Community Planning Research organisation (1980), both of which conduct research into consumer demands for public goods and services.

The data from traditional sources, like the census, economic and social surveys, have been used for a greater length of time and are perhaps treated with more authority than data from other less tried and tested sources. Attitudinal data is relatively new and untested, at least in the public sector. Although market research into preferences for consumer goods has an established history it has only recently developed in the public sector. However, attitudinal data, because of the difficulty of accurate scaling and measurement, will never be as valid from a statistical point of view as is discrete and observable data. Also, attitudes are susceptible to change for a variety of reasons. These can include the interview format, the desire to impress, variations in social status between interviewer and respondent in addition to more influential processes such as learning and cognitive dissonance (Tittle and Hill, 1967; Fishbein, 1967; Warren and Jahoda, 1973). Another disadvantage of attitudinal data is that changes in attitudes are not so noticeable as changes in behaviour. Although attitudes and behaviour are correlated, changes in peoples' feelings towards some good or service may change before their behaviour does. On the other hand, slight changes in behaviour may accompany changes in attitudes. The

problem here is one of association. The difficulty is of using behavioural data as an indicator of attitudinal data. Ideally, both types would be used to produce a fuller explanation of some behavioural act or process.

One criticism of traditionally employed data is its under-emphasis of felt or perceived need. Indicators used to measure deprivation, for example, commonly use a series of housing, employment, educational and demographic data (Knox, 1975). This type of data can usually be collected at relatively less cost than can 'soft' or attitudinal-type data. It may already be in existence or produced by some other agency or organisation. This is not usual for the attitudes of residents towards their environment. In such cases it is likely that the local authority alone will have the interest and resources to assess the demands of its consumers for changes in its allocation of goods. Preferences for consumer goods are normally expressed as demands in the market place in the normal supply and demand situation. Demands for public goods are frequently of a type different to those for consumer goods. Public goods may be indivisible such as equity or defence. The benefits can be had by all, in the case of defence, or by some special group such as home care by the disabled. These types of goods can be divided into basically three types: those provided in response to an income-elastic demand, such as highways; those provided by some arbitrary sense of need such as refuse collection; and those with a specifically redistributive or compensatory aim such as housing (Kirwan, 1973). The provision or delivery of urban services can be described by two different perspectives of how the public economy works. Both have implications for the type of data that may be useful to a local authority.

One approach is to see the local authority providing its services as if it were a supplier in the market place. This is an extreme position but it helps to show one end of a continuum along which local authorities can be placed. The market surrogate model accepts that local authorities are charged with the provision of certain services for various institutional or historical reasons but proposes that as far as possible they should aim to satisfy individual preferences on the basis of what people would be willing to pay for the services enjoyed (Kirwan, 1973). The difficulty with this approach is that it is virtually impossible to estimate who the beneficiaries are and by how much they are benefiting. With true public goods everyone benefits such as with an unpolluted atmosphere. The alternative model puts forward a reversal of the emphasis on the relationship between distribution and revenue raising. In this model the distribution of services is predominantly based on need, while the distribution of costs should be based on ability to pay (Kirwan, 1973; Hirsch, 1970). The difficulty with the latter approach lies with the assessment of need. The most significant differences between these two models are the relations between the use of urban public services and payment for them and between the market-based concept of benefit and the non-market concept of need. It is this latter approach which has tended to dominate the planning of urban public expenditure and it can be represented by the growth in the demand for ever more sophisticated indicators of need (Neuber, 1980; Knox, 1975).

Environmental Preferences And Trade-Off Games. Behavioural data has been used most frequently as an indicator of need. Here, however, the value of consumer preferences as an indicator of perceived need

is explored. Criticisms of the insensitivity of urban planners to the feelings of those for whom they have planned have hastened this trend (Dennis, 1972; Jowell, 1975). Studies of attitudes as indicators of need have realised that attitudinal data, if it is to be applied in a decision-making setting, needs to be constrained by the realities of planning. These constraints involve limits on resources, time and manpower. One of the techniques developed to take account of aspirations and constraints is the trade-off game or priority simulation game (Hedges, 1975). The concept of trade-off implies a compromise between competing goals. It reflects a need to give up something in order to gain something else which is more highly valued. Typically, the choice is not an either/or situation but rather one in which a varying number of desired goals have to be weighed against one another. Trade-off games are seen by some authorities as an alternative way of estimating client preferences for their services (Ostrom, 1976; Clark, 1976).

Traditional social and economic research has interpreted individual, group and class preferences in terms of behaviour. The market research approach to identifying consumer preferences is to identify opinions and attitudes. The basic assumption underlying the 'preferences as expressed by behaviour' approach is that the choices users of services actually make are the best indicator of how one good or service is traded-off with another. It follows from this behavioural approach that what people do reflects what they think they will do. The difficulty of this market-type of approach is that it tends to ignore felt need by some groups while putting the emphasis on expressed need in the form of overt behaviour (Houthakker, 1961). In the market research approach which is need orientated the attitude survey is one technique for identifying user feeling or preferences for different

aspects of the environment as well as for future environments. If a wide range of items is included in the list about which feelings are sought it may emerge that some aspects of the urban form or delivery of public services are more satisfactory than others. Attitude scales, while giving a first indication of the range of feelings for different aspects of the environment, do not give a very accurate indication of how one feature relates to another in the preferences of the respondent. The relationship between the demand or preference for one goal at one level of provision with that of another goal at perhaps some other level of provision can be complex. Rarely is the relationship a linear one. It is more likely to be a curvilinear relationship tending towards some level of optimality or satisfaction for the respondent (Houthakker, 1961; Redding and Peterson, 1970; Hedges, 1975).

The essential characteristic of the trade-off game is the opportunity it gives the respondent to choose between a number of competing and complementary alternatives. These preferences can be for consumer goods, public goods, levels of service provision and design layout (Robinson, et al., 1975; McIver and Ostrom, 1976; Watts and Hirst, 1979). These methods have most frequently been employed by public agencies as ways of involving residents and client groups in the formative stages of decision-making. The use of this technique can be used to identify the varying needs of different groups (Camden, 1975b). From such studies it is possible to identify particular areas of stress for different groups. For example, the greater preferences expressed for one service or good may be interpreted in several ways. It may illustrate a local deficiency in the delivery of a service, high aspirations of a group, or a particular difficulty facing one group which may be the elderly, immigrants or some other group at risk. By

constraining preferences by estimated costs some approach to realism is achieved. However, estimating the costs of various future environments is a complex task. This also makes the instrument more difficult and complicated to use.

The games which are described here are not 'games' in the literal sense of the word as it is used in the gaming literature. In trade-off games there is only the player, the respondent being interviewed or playing the game. In each game trade-offs occur in which the player incurs a loss to achieve a greater gain. Early attempts to develop games to quantitatively identify and measure user trade-off preferences for different environmental attributes were designed and employed by Wilson (1962), Redding and Peterson (1970), and by Hoinville (1971). These instruments are briefly reviewed here because they provide a background to the study of environmental trade-offs in Camden.

One of the first attempts to measure user trade-offs was made by Wilson (1962). In his game respondents were allocated an imaginary house which met their needs as a unit. The services provided in the neighbourhood were variable. In total thirty-four services and local facilities were included in the list. Each item was given a cash price in multiples of US \$50, the cost rising with the level of service. Subjects were given an allotment of play-money and told to purchase the quality levels they desired. As the total sum of money provided was insufficient to purchase the best quality for each environmental attribute the respondent had to trade-off one service with another. This basic approach has since been modified to include the costs of access and housing density. The problem with increasing the complexity of the game was that it became increasingly difficult to estimate costs of different levels of delivery. In Britain similar

models to Wilson's have been employed by housing agencies both in the design and layout of housing (Milton Keynes, 1975; Berthoud and Jowell, 1972). At a time of spiralling fuel costs, housing density and accessibility will become increasingly important variables to be taken into account in trade-off games of this type.

In an attempt to measure the value of access to different services by different client groups Redding and Peterson (1970) devised a method that quantitatively measures trade-off preferences for alternative levels of access to four neighbourhood facilities. These could be a shopping centre, a hospital or a playground. In their study they found that two groups in particular, the elderly, and families with young children, prefer to have these facilities at contrasting distances from their homes. They are seen by the different groups as either 'satisfying' or 'nuisance generating'. The usefulness of this type of game is that it finds a threshold distance for the location of various facilities. For some groups this threshold will be low and for others it will be high. Both the Redding and Peterson, and the Wilson models allow the user or potential user to express choices and need. This is necessary if they are to maximise their level of satisfaction between alternatives. However, in both of these games and in most trade-off simulations the range of options is frequently decided by an agency whose selection of items for analysis may be at variance to those of the client. To overcome this drawback trade-off choices should reflect, as far as possible, the exchanges that different user groups are likely to make.

The games devised by Hoinville (1971 and 1975) and by the University of Southern California (Robinson, et al., 1975) are representative of the trend in trade-off approaches to simulate more accurately the costs

of alternative preferences. As with previous approaches, respondents are given fixed amounts of play money sometimes in proportion to the respondent's income. This 'income' is then allocated to the various expenditures which the respondent makes. In this way the counter allocation reflects the respondent's present preference pattern. This 'base-line' reflects the preference ordering before the actual trade-off exercise begins. To measure this base-line both the Hoinville and USC model make records of the quality level that the attribute has in the respondent's neighbourhood. Then the respondent is asked to show on a scale (usually between five and seven points) whether the topic in question is for him pleasing or unpleasant. Then for each attribute included in the game the respondent is shown a number of quality levels. To improve one of these he will necessarily have to make do with a poorer level of service elsewhere. In order to make these choices the participant has to consider a number of trade-offs. Once the participant has identified the attributes desired for improvement the next step is to specify the desired levels of change and the corresponding levels of satisfaction expected with the new allocation. In this way the relative costs of different preferences for the individual are obtained. And at the same time they bear some relationship to the respondent's existing situation.

One of the advantages of this type of game is that it illustrates the propensity of the attribute to be given up in exchange for another. These propensity values can be determined for different groups and can be seen as probabilistic in character. This is perhaps one of the attractions of the Hoinville and USC game over a series of attitude scales. Trade-off games have their limitations, however. It is not practical in many cases to have too many categories for the participant to choose from. A large number leads to difficulty in evaluation.

If only a few categories are included the method might be attacked for gross over-simplification. The respondent's ability to organise trade-offs has to be balanced against the desire for a realistic categorisation of the respondent's environment. Another serious drawback of the trade-off game approach is the difficulty of estimating the costs of different trade-off positions. This may be hard for the respondent in the game situation but it is perhaps a more complicated task for the planner who has to estimate the running costs of the public service at some other quality level. The expense involved in producing a multitude of tables showing costs at various levels of output and quality makes realistic trade-off games difficult to achieve. This has, nevertheless, been achieved where the units involved have been relatively small such as the design of housing (Berthoud and Jowell, 1972; Milton Keynes, 1975). Trade-off approaches have been used in urban planning but here the emphasis has been on measuring preferences rather than on estimating costs of alternative strategies (Hedges, 1975; Field, 1975b; Courtenay, 1974).

Trade-off games can be seen to occupy a midway position between the open-ended attitudinal scales in unconstrained situations and behavioural data which reflect existing rather than future patterns of preferences. In addition to being used as a tool for identifying future preferred states of the environment the trade-off game allows participants a limited role in the process of public consultation (Clark, 1976). With the generally pluralistic nature of society and with the history of demands for citizen participation the planners' and environmental designers' response has been to conduct surveys of public preferences so as to no longer rely upon what may have been a false impression of the public interest (Michelson, 1975). With the trade-off technique the urban expert can at least know what the

preferences of his clients are. From the planners' point of view some of the burden of decision-making involving choice can be shifted towards the user. The trade-off game in this way allows the citizen to enter more fully into the decision-making process and as a consequence it provides the planner with more information about consumer and client needs. In addition to giving participants a sense of involvement in decision-making it provides a learning experience (Cole, 1974). It provides a subject with the opportunity to fine tune preferences, something that is not likely to happen in an attitude questionnaire (Michelson, 1975). It is this aspect of weighting preferences in the light of constraints that characterises the trade-off game. The urban planner who has this data about preferences may wish to assess its value. He may want to know how valid it is in measuring trade-offs of different groups. Reliability is another aspect of the instrument that will have to be considered. The decision-maker is, however, constrained by the availability of resources with which the environment can be changed. The preferences of residents as measured by attitudes may be quite different from the preference profiles which emerge from the trade-off game approach. The dilemma of choosing between sets of preferences, of course, remains. The range of preferences between what is acceptable to the respondent and feasible in practice is what the decision-maker might wish to identify and limit to what is practical and acceptable. The attitude survey might identify what is desirable while the trade-off game may produce a compromise between the idealistic and the realistic.

Environmental Attitudes And Preferences In Camden.

Residents' attitudes towards their environment and preferences for different deliveries of public goods were two of the main components

of the attitude survey carried out by the London Borough of Camden in its programme of consultation (Camden, 1975b). Firstly, the range of feelings for different aspects of the environment was measured by a series of attitude scales (Lickert scales). Secondly, a limited number of topics were chosen to identify those areas of most concern to residents, and over which the local authority had some control (Appendix B). Here the relationship between attitudes and preferences is examined. The two instruments are compared from the point of view of identifying areas of demand or need for different levels of service provision, and for changes in the urban fabric.

1. Attitude Scales. During the pilot stage of the preparation of the attitudes questionnaire a preliminary list of topics was developed (Camden, 1975b). These early stages involved open-ended questioning, and as a result many of the topics raised were outwith the influence of the local authority. In spite of this, that range of interests which was expressed by residents was included, in a more structural format, in the final questionnaire (Appendix B). However, greater emphasis has been put on including those aspects of the environment over which Camden did have some control. The list of topics that were presented to residents included:

1. Housing for young people.
2. Providing more jobs.
3. Providing more sports' facilities.
4. Play space for children.
5. Refuse collection.
6. Providing day nurseries and playgroups.
7. Helping the private motorist.
8. Facilities for teenagers.
9. Dealing with vandalism.
10. Street cleaning.
11. Helping the elderly.
12. Providing more entertainment facilities.

13. Helping the disabled and handicapped.
14. Improving shopping facilities.
15. Helping immigrants.
16. Planting trees.
17. Improving schools.
18. Helping people with large families.
19. Building more houses.
20. Improving public transport.
21. Parks and gardens.
22. Evening classes.
23. Public libraries and the Arts.
24. Restricting traffic and parking.
25. Providing community halls.
26. Building more flats.
27. Cleaning buildings.
28. Making the neighbourhood more attractive.
29. Providing more footpaths.

This list contains goods and services, minority groups and buildings. The degree to which some topics were preferred to others was examined by use of a polar adjective scale. Each respondent was asked to rate each topic according to the level of importance that he attached to it ranging from 'very important' to 'important', 'not very important', and 'not important at all', and a residual category of those with 'no opinion' or no knowledge.

2. The Trade-Off Approach. One of the principal aims of Camden's attitude survey was to determine the priorities given to different issues by residents and their willingness to trade-off one or more priorities with others (Camden, 1975b). In operational terms, the questioning technique involved the presentation of a range of topics which were subject to some degree of influence over expenditure by the local authority. These ten topics were:

1. Education,
2. Leisure,
3. Housing,

4. Transport,
5. Health Facilities,
6. Shopping,
7. Helping People In Need,
8. Providing More Jobs,
9. Looking After The Streets,
10. Facilities For Children.

These topics were presented to residents on cards in random order. Each respondent was then given twenty counters which were to be allocated to those categories which were regarded as important for the respondent. These counters, it was indicated to the participants, were to be considered as the total resources available. To place a lot of counters on one category meant that other categories would have less. By allocating counters to the ten different topics the respondents were making trade-offs according to their own needs and preferences. This instrument is relatively simple when compared with either the Hoinville (1975) model or the USC (Robinson, et al., 1975) model. Firstly, it did not attempt to produce an estimated cost of various strategies suggested by respondents. Secondly, it did not start by identifying respondents' present positions so it is not possible to produce the marginal preferences for goods and services with different groups. However, the attitude scales themselves give some indication of the respondents' present feelings, if not of his present circumstances. It is this relationship between attitudes and preferences that is considered here.

The ten categories included in the trade-off game appeared to cover the requirements of most residents. When asked if there were any categories not covered by the ten topics and which were thought important enough to be included, the only topics mentioned were law enforcement (2 per cent), planning (1 per cent), and pollution (1 per cent) (Camden, 1975b). This small number of topics included in the

game suggests a relatively unrealistic division. Each category or topic includes a variety of different subjects. Education, for example, includes nursery through primary to secondary education as well as adult and continuing education. In the respondents' allocation of counters any one or all of these different aspects of education may be uppermost in the mind. One of the reasons for having only ten topics was that in the pilot survey it was found that older and less literate participants had difficulty in making trade-offs if there were more categories; and they also had problems with more than twenty or so counters (Camden, 1975b).

When the scores for the two instruments are compared, it appears as though the results are quite similar. The attitude scales and the trade-off game produced similar areas of need and satisfaction.

Table 5.1 : Resident Priorities.

<u>Priorities From Attitudinal Scales.</u> <u>(Percentage Of Respondents Rating</u> <u>Topic As Important Or Very Important).</u>		<u>Priorities From Trade-Off Game.</u> <u>(Allocation Of Counters</u> <u>Per Head).</u>	
Helping the elderly	95		
Helping the disabled and handicapped	95	Housing	3.2
Housing for young people	89		
Street cleaning	88	Helping people in need	2.6
Refuse collection	88		
Dealing with vandalism	86	Education	2.4
Play space for children	84		
Building more houses	83	Health Facilities	2.2
Improving schools	82		
Providing day nurseries and play groups	79	Facilities for children	2.0
Improving public transport	75		
Building more flats	74	Looking after the streets	1.7
Facilities for teenagers	73		
Public Libraries and the Arts	70	Transport	1.5
Making the neighbourhood more attractive	70	Providing more jobs	1.3
Parks and gardens	69		
Restricting traffic and parking	68	Leisure	1.1

Resident Priorities (contd).

<u>Priorities from Attitudinal Scales.</u> (Percentage of Respondents Rating Topic As Important Or Very Important).		<u>Priorities From Trade-Off Game.</u> (Allocation of Counters Per Head).	
Helping people with large families	65		
Providing more jobs	63	Shopping	1.0
Cleaning buildings	63		
Evening classes	57		
Providing community halls	51		
Providing more sport facilities	48		
Improving shopping facilities	48		
Helping immigrants	48		
Planting trees	46		
Providing more entertainment facilities	43		
Helping the private motorist	32		
Providing more footpaths	27		

A cursory glance at Table 5.1 shows that housing and helping people in need are the more important categories for the majority of residents. And, interestingly, the difference in ratios between the high and low scores for both techniques is similar (i.e. 3:1). Nearly three times as many residents regard helping people in need as important or very important than they regard the private motorist. And nearly three times as many counters are allocated to housing and helping people in need as there are towards leisure and shopping. It will be noted that some categories such as transport appear in different positions in the list. To determine the relationship between attitude scores and resident preferences a technique known as canonical analysis was employed. This is discussed in more detail below but can be omitted by the reader who may wish to refer to the summary of results following the analysis.

Canonical Correlation Analysis Of Attitude Scores And Environmental Preferences.

The aim at this stage is to compare the results of the attitude scales with the list of residents' trade-offs. A straight forward correlation analysis would have been undertaken had there been a direct

correspondence between the variables of one set with those of the other. However, the category 'health' in the trade-off game has no corresponding variables in the list of attitude scales. Secondly, it was hoped that it would be possible to identify any variation in the topics of the trade-off game with those from the list of priorities. In this way the researcher might have been able to say whether variation in the education variable was correlated with the demand for nursery school education, facilities for teenagers and the provision of play space, for example. Rather than making use of a single correlation analysis between pairs of variables which would, in addition to producing only a partial picture of the relationships, be a time consuming undertaking, a multivariate analysis was undertaken. The simplest approach to adopt with such data is to make use of a multivariate mode of analysis. As the data from one set can be intuitively deduced from that of the other set canonical correlation analysis was used. A canonical variate can be regarded as a measure of the strength of the relationship between the variables in the two data sets (Nie, et al., 1975). These canonical variates are essentially equivalent to the principal components produced by principal components analysis (Anderson, 1958). As with principal components analysis, canonical analysis produces linear combinations of the original variables. Canonical analysis can be seen to attempt to account for the maximum amount of the relationship between two sets of variables (Nie, et al., 1975, p.517). The essential point of canonical correlation analysis is that canonical variates from each subset are meant to correspond, that is to say, the first canonical variate from the first set of variables and the first canonical variate from the second set of variables are chosen so as to maximally correlate with each other. A similar procedure applies to the second and all successive pairs of canonical variates. In brief,

a canonical variate will be an expression of those variables in one set as they vary with those variables in the other set about the canonical variate.

Canonical Variate 1. This canonical variate, being the first variate produced by the analysis, explains the most variation in the two data sets. In this case $\lambda = 0.29$ (Table 5.4) which indicates that 29 per cent of the variation in the two sets of variables is explained by this factor or variate. The canonical variate attempts to represent the correlation between those variables which co-vary in both data sets, that is between attitudes and trade-offs. On this variate the jobs priority attitude correlates highly (-0.52, Table 5.2) as does the trade-off category 'jobs' (-0.45, Table 5.3). Transport as measured by the attitude scale (0.43) is also correlated quite strongly with this variate as is the transport category from the trade-off game (-0.57). In the set of canonical variables of priorities, as measured by the attitude scales, only those correlation coefficients above 0.2 are included except where a variable is not correlated with any canonical variate at or above this arbitrary cut-off point in which case the highest correlation coefficient for the variable is included. In the table of attitude scales (Table 5.2) only one variable 'dealing with vandalism' (0.19) and 'parks and gardens' (0.10) have coefficients below 0.2. This cut-off point of 0.2 for the attitude scales (Table 5.2) and 0.4 for the trade-off categories (Table 5.3) were chosen because they are sufficient to show at least one correlation between variables in the two variable sets and the canonical variate. Had a lower cut-off been included weaker relationships would emerge. This would lead to the difficulty of comparing one set of values with those from the other set and at the same time increase the likelihood of spurious and random correlations being picked up.

Table 5.2 (Contd.):

Attitude Scores (Priorities)

	Canonical Variates									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Evening Classes						-0.21	-0.27	-0.27		0.27
Public Libraries							0.30	0.37	-0.43	0.24
Restrict- ing Traffic										-0.54
Community Halls						-0.22		0.39		0.31
More Flats			-0.25		0.21		-0.23			
Cleaning Buildings						0.27			0.23	-0.26
Neighbour- hood More Attractive								0.21		
More Foot- Paths						0.22				0.51

Table 5.3: Canonical Correlation Coefficients.

	Canonical Variates									
	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		-0.43					-0.60			0.30
Education								-0.71		
Leisure								-0.56		
Housing				-0.63						
Transport	-0.57			-0.52		0.51				
Health Facilities										-0.85
Shopping			0.53	-0.74	-0.25					
Helping People In Need				0.32	-0.41		0.67		0.27	
Providing More Jobs	-0.45				0.78					
Looking After The Streets						-0.66	-0.44			
Facilities For Children			0.40						-0.73	

Table 5.4: The Proportion Of Explained Variation In The Canonical Variates.

	Canonical Variates									
	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Eigenvalue	0.29	0.27	0.20	0.20	0.18	0.12	0.11	0.09	0.05	0.03
(λ)										

Canonical Variate 2. This variate seems to be measuring a shopping dimension. On the trade-off game the canonical correlation coefficient is 0.53 (Table 5.3) and for the attitude scales it scores on the variable 'improving shopping facilities' -0.73 (Table 5.2). In addition to these coefficients an education component is also apparent. Providing day nurseries and play groups loads positively (0.23) as does the trade-off category 'education' (-0.43). In the list of priorities (Table 5.2) 'providing more jobs' scores moderately highly (-0.58), but there is no correspondingly high correlation coefficient for the 'jobs' category in the trade-off set of variate coefficients (Table 5.3).

Canonical Variate 3. This canonical variate also has shopping highly correlated with it, more so than with the previous variate. There the trade-off category 'shopping' has a coefficient of -0.74 (Table 5.3) while the priority 'improving shopping facilities' has a high coefficient on this variate with a score of 0.62 (Table 5.2). 'Facilities for children' is quite highly correlated with this variate (-0.40, Table 5.3). It is also more highly correlated with canonical variate 9 which is discussed below. The priority 'helping immigrants' scores -0.34 (Table 5.4) and can be correlated with the high value on this variate with 'helping people in need' (-0.32, Table 5.3). 'Improving public transport' on the attitude scale set scores -0.55. This is only moderately correlated with the trade-off category 'transport' which scores 0.2 (Table 5.3) on this variate.

Canonical Variate 4. On this canonical variate 'housing' as one of the trade-off categories has a high coefficient of -0.63 (Table 5.3). Other high scoring trade-off categories include 'transport' (-0.52) and 'helping people in need' (-0.41). For the attitude scale set, transport comes out more highly with a coefficient of 0.26. 'Providing

entertainment facilities' scores -0.25 , 'facilities for teenagers' (-0.21) and 'street cleaning' (-0.43 , Table 5.2).

Canonical Variate 5. Only one coefficient on this canonical variate rates highly for the trade-off game. 'Providing more jobs' has a score of 0.78 (Table 5.3). This high coefficient from the trade-off set is marked by an equally high score from the coefficients of attitude scales where the priority 'providing more jobs' scores -0.76 (Table 5.2). This indicates that there is a strong correlation between the output of the attitude scales, at least on this variable, and the scores from the trade-off game. On this variate shopping scores quite highly but not as much as on canonical variates 2 and 3. There is again a similarity between the attitude and trade-off scores. 'Improved shopping facilities' scores 0.55 (Table 5.2) while the trade-off 'shopping' has a coefficient of -0.25 (Table 5.3).

Canonical Variate 6. The highest value on a trade-off category appears for the variable 'looking after the streets' which has a coefficient of -0.66 (Table 5.3). Secondly, 'transport' has a correlation coefficient of 0.51 (Table 5.3). Priorities as measured on the attitude scales have high scores on 'dealing with vandalism' (0.19), 'street cleaning' (0.53), 'cleaning buildings' (0.27) and 'providing more footpaths' (0.22). On the transport dimension only one priority 'improving public transport' scores highly (-0.51 , Table 5.2). These coefficients suggest that the variation in the results of the trade-off game regarding 'looking after the streets' corresponds quite closely with those variables measuring aspects of this variate from the attitude scale set.

Canonical Variate 7. Three of the trade-off categories have high coefficients on this variate. 'Helping people in need' scores most highly with a value of 0.67 (Table 5.3) on this canonical variate.

Secondly, there is 'education' with -0.60 and 'looking after the streets' with -0.44 (Table 5.3). The priorities which score highly on the variate include 'education', 'play space for children' (-0.34), 'improving schools' (0.83), 'evening classes' (-0.27) and 'public libraries and the arts' (0.30 , Table 5.2). Under the heading of helping people in need 'helping the elderly' scores -0.24 and 'helping people with large families' has a value of -0.42 (Table 5.3). Under the heading of 'looking after the streets' those attitude scales which have a high coefficient include 'street cleaning' with a score of 0.27 . This is a weaker relationship than was identified for canonical variate 6. From these correlation coefficients on this variate it appears that there is a fair degree of similarity between the variation in education and helping people in need and with what might be described as the facets or elements of those topics that are measured by the attitude scales.

Canonical Variate 8. Of the categories from the trade-off game which score highest on this variate 'leisure' comes out with a canonical coefficient of -0.71 and housing with a score of -0.56 (Table 5.3). From the attitude scale set, 'providing more sports facilities' has a value of 0.33 (Table 5.2), 'providing more entertainment facilities' (0.31), 'evening classes' (-0.27), 'public libraries and the arts' (0.37), and 'providing community halls' (0.39). The attitude scales which can be associated with the 'education' topic include 'providing day nurseries and playgroups' (-0.21 , Table 5.3), 'improving schools' (-0.41) and the variable 'evening classes' (-0.27 , Table 5.2).

Canonical Variate 9. The highest correlation coefficient for a trade-off category for this canonical variate is with 'facilities for children' (-0.73 , Table 5.3). Those attitude scales which also have high loadings on this variate include 'play space for children' (0.52), 'providing day nurseries and playgroups' (0.28), 'helping the disabled and handicapped'

(0.59), 'helping immigrants' (0.37), 'improving schools' (-0.32), 'helping people with large families' (-0.42), and 'public libraries and the arts' (0.43, Table 5.2). This list suggests that the category 'facilities for children' is too narrow and that a dimension including those people in need ought also to be included. However, the trade-off category 'helping people in need', although not scoring highly overall on this variate, has a coefficient score of 0.27 (Table 5.3), a value higher than five other trade-off coefficients on this variate. The trade-off category 'providing facilities for children' can be seen to include those variables that might be expected under this heading. For example, high scores were noted for the variables measuring those groups in need; children might be considered to be a sub-group of this category.

Canonical Variate 10. The highest canonical correlation coefficient on the trade-off variables is with 'health facilities' (-0.85, Table 5.3). The communality for this variate is the lowest of the ten. Here $\lambda = 0.03$ which indicates that only 3 per cent of the variation in the trade-off set and the attitude scale set is explained by this variate (Table 5.4). As not one of the twenty-nine attitude scales relates to health facilities a comparison between the coefficients of the two sets may seem erroneous. But, as this is the last variate to be extracted it accounts for only a small fraction of the total variation, the preceding variates absorbing the bulk of the variation. Those coefficients from the attitude scales which have high values on this variate include 'restricting traffic and parking' (-0.54, Table 5.2), 'helping the private motorist' (0.45), and 'providing more footpaths' (0.51). These coefficients suggest that the canonical variate is picking up a motoring factor in addition to the health factor from the trade-off set. No association can intuitively be made to explain these

relationships. It may, therefore, be assumed that these variables are merely associated because they are residuals left over from the previous canonical variates.

Interpretation. The results of the two approaches to identifying consumer preferences appear to be quite similar. The difference in the number of topics included in each set made a direct variable to variable correlation analysis problematical. The use of canonical correlation analysis in some ways overcomes the problem of comparing two unequal data sets. Unfortunately, the method is not particularly rigorous in a statistical sense. It produces only an impressionistic image of the variation between the two data sets. The common dimension to which variables in both sets relate is the canonical variate, those variables with the highest coefficients in either set are those with the strongest relationship with the canonical variate and thus with each other.

The category 'housing' from the trade-off category, while scoring highly with 'building more flats' and 'building more houses', does not correlate very well with 'housing for young people'. In this context the attitude scale for this variable appears to be more discriminating in that it identifies a need not included in the housing topic variable. The larger number of attitude scales than trade-off categories makes this result possible. The trade-off game, while producing a weighted list of preferences, lacks specificity. The second most important trade-off category was 'helping people in need'. As with housing, there is a close association between the counters allocated towards this trade-off topic and residents' feelings towards helping different sub-groups in the population. 'Helping people in need' is strongly associated with 'helping people with large families' and 'helping the elderly' but not at all strongly with 'helping immigrants' and only slightly with 'helping

the disabled and handicapped'. The trade-off category 'helping people in need' has a degree of similarity with attitudes towards those groups though not to all.

The topic which ranked third in residents' lists was 'education'. This category overlaps with 'helping people in need'. The coefficients produced when these variables were examined correspond well with residents' attitudes to 'improving schools' and less well to 'play space for children' and 'evening classes'. With regards to the topic 'helping people in need', there is a corresponding relationship between attitudes towards 'helping the elderly' and 'helping people with large families'. The fourth category includes health facilities. Unfortunately, no attitude towards health facilities was specifically included in the attitude scales. This raised a problem of trying to compare the results of the two data sets. Health facilities are regarded as being relatively important to Camden residents in that this category was placed fourth in the list of trade-off groups. The reason why specific questions about health facilities were not included was because it was seen by the local authority as a central government function and outwith the sphere of influence of a local authority such as Camden (Camden, 1975b). Consequently, no meaningful comparison could be made between this trade-off preference and attitudes towards health services.

The rating of the topic 'facilities for children' is quite highly associated with feelings towards 'providing day nurseries and play groups', 'improving schools' and 'helping people with large families'. Surprisingly, the attitude towards 'providing facilities for teenagers' and its equivalent trade-off category do not correlate particularly well here, neither did an attitude towards sports facilities, both of which might be considered relevant to the needs of children. As with the trade-off 'education' discussed above, the category 'facilities for

children' is a wide-ranging topic encompassing several attitudes.

In some cases those attitudes which might be thought of as representing aspects of this topic are represented by high coefficients while others, which are intuitively related, are not so highly correlated at all.

'Looking after the streets' is one aspect of life in the borough that is regarded as being important by many residents. Several attitudes correlate with this category though none more so than the attitude towards 'street cleaning'. 'Dealing with vandalism', 'cleaning buildings' and 'providing more footpaths' are attitudes which are correlated with this category. It is, however, not all inclusive. Some attitudes which might be expected to correlate with this category do not do so to any great extent. These attitudes include 'planting trees' and 'refuse collection'. The topic 'looking after the streets', in consequence, only partly covers those attitudes which might at first sight be placed under this heading.

The number of residents who favour the 'transport' trade-off category varies with only one coefficient from the attitude scale set. 'Improving public transport' as measured by the attitude scale is the only variable from that data set which bears any similarity with the preference for the 'transport' topic. Attitudes towards helping the private motorist and restricting traffic and parking do not appear to be strongly related to the 'transport' priority. In the trade-off game, 'transport' ranked as the seventh preference while on the attitude scales 'public transport' ranked proportionately higher at eleventh out of twenty-nine (Table 5.1). 'Helping the private motorist', on the other hand, was given a relatively low score on the attitude scale. This may be associated with its relatively low coefficient value on the canonical variate measuring 'transport', the trade-off topic.

With regards to the employment topic similar results as with transport emerge. Amongst the trade-offs, the category 'providing more jobs' is one topic out of ten. Amongst the attitude scales, the variable 'providing more jobs' is only one priority out of twenty-nine. Only one of the attitude coefficients was at all strongly related to employment and this, too, was the variable 'employment'. As only one of the attitude scales referred to employment it might be considered that this category was under-represented in terms of the number of attitude scales employed. As with health facilities, employment, as an activity, is seen by residents as not being entirely within the control of this level of local government. This may partially explain the relative lack of attitude scales measuring this otherwise important determinant of residents' life chances.

Residents' feelings towards different aspects of leisure are closely associated with the trade-off preference 'leisure'. 'Providing more sports facilities', 'providing more entertainment facilities', 'parks and gardens', 'public libraries and the arts' and 'providing community halls' are all attitudes which correlate highly with the leisure priority. Had such a wide range of attitudes been included for the category 'health facilities' and 'employment' a more balanced impression of people's attitudes may have been obtained. As with any questionnaire of this type, the data which results is strongly influenced by the questions asked. Had the attitudinal questions as measured by Lickert scales been more representative of the trade-off categories this may have been achieved. For the attitude scales at least, the questions were orientated towards providing information on matters over which Camden Council had some influence rather than what was of more importance to the residents.

The tenth trade-off category which received the lowest ranking was 'shopping'. This is strongly associated with the attitude towards 'improving shopping facilities', and, interestingly, with 'public transport' perhaps indicating that shopping cannot be divorced from access to shopping facilities. As this is the lowest of the residents' priorities it has been suggested that it is one category which might be left to private enterprise rather than one to which the local authority should allocate resources (Camden, 1975b, p.34).

From this analysis it is apparent that the categories from the trade-off game correspond fairly well with the list of priorities as measured by the attitude scales. This correspondence might have been deduced from the idea that a trade-off approach implies that the respondent has a collection or structure of attitudes against which those aspects of the environment which are of more importance to the respondent are evaluated or weighted. Those aspects which are weighted more highly may be those that enable the respondent to reduce levels of stress or maximise some criterion of satisfaction (Neuber, 1980). This can be seen as goal directed behaviour (Cohen, 1975). The two techniques examined here, that is the trade-off game and the attitude scale, despite the methodological difficulties involved in comparison, illuminate some advantages and disadvantages of both techniques. The attitude scales, as measured by Lickert-type scales, while covering a wider range of topics, help to make the priorities as expressed as environmental attitudes more specific and therefore of greater utility to the urban planner. In the analysis described here the rather restricted list of priorities presented a rather distorted list of priorities in that health services were ignored and employment as a topic was rather under-represented. The trade-off game, while being relatively simple in comparison with other similar priority evaluating techniques

(cf. Michelson, 1975; Hoinville, 1977), allows the respondent to express his attitudes in terms of the goals which he has, not in a haphazard fashion, but with weights applied to those categories which are regarded as more important. The small number of categories used here and the absence of any attempt at costing different trade-off patterns severely limits the usefulness of this particular technique. It does, nevertheless, give an indication of the relative strengths of preferences for different goods and services by different groups at varying locations in the borough.

The Socio-Economic And Spacial Variation Of Trade-Off Preference Profiles.

The results of the study of attitudinal data gives some indication of the feelings of residents for various aspects of their surroundings. These expressions are relatively unconstrained by either the perceived or real costs of carrying out the proposed changes. An analysis of residents' preferences from the trade-off game gives a picture of how one aspect of the environment is balanced against another according to each individual's value system. These preference and judgement profiles represent an allocation of income to a number of different priority areas. By limiting the respondent's expenditure, a selection or trade-off has to be made so that the individual maximises his level of satisfaction or, at least, reduces the level of need (Hedges, 1975). By examining the trade-off preference profiles of different groups and between different wards some indication of varying need and priorities for change may emerge.

In Chapter 4 it was noted that some groups valued more highly some aspects of their surroundings than others. Variations in attitudes towards different facets of the social and physical environment were observed to vary with age, gender, housing status, income, and location. To some extent these variables are interdependent. In this section the

emphasis is placed on identifying the extent to which one category or priority is traded-off with another. It may be that some groups allocate a higher proportion of their counters towards employment or transport. Trade-offs may vary with income and social status or age and location. It might be that some people can be identified who have complementary or conflicting interests in terms of the resources they allocate to the different categories. Some of these variables and their influence on environmental preferences are considered here.

Table 5.5 : The Influence of Gender On Residents' Preferences.
(Average Expenditure)

<u>Priority Category</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Housing	3.27	3.15
Helping People In Need	2.65	2.56
Education	2.55	2.36
Health Facilities	2.23	2.13
Facilities For Children	2.08	1.99
Looking After The Streets	1.57	1.69
Transport	1.48	1.51
Providing More Jobs	1.33	1.27
Shopping	0.89	1.15
Leisure	1.21	1.05

The general impression of the trade-off preferences of the male and female respondents is one of similarity. Both men and women agree that housing and helping people in need are the most important categories. Leisure, shopping, and providing more jobs are those categories which are allocated the least counters. Although shopping is not a high priority it is regarded more highly by women (1.15, Table 5.5) than by men (0.89). Conversely, men allocate more counters to leisure (1.21) than do women (1.05). Shopping is thought to be more important than the leisure category by women while the reverse is true for the male respondents. This interesting variation may reflect the different roles that men and

women adopt in our society. The women's priorities reflect a slightly more domicentric existence than that of the men. The slightly greater importance given to shopping and transport and looking after the streets reflects the attitudes that were noticed in Chapter 4. The women in the more northerly wards were particularly concerned about access to shopping facilities, local employment, and facilities for children. These attitudes, although scoring highly on the attitude scales, do not rate so well when compared with other priorities. In this context the trade-off of priorities is of possibly more value to the urban planner in that it becomes possible to order attitudes which scored similarly on the attitude scales. By forcing the respondent to choose between different categories an ordering of priorities may be obtained (Hoinville, 1977).

Table 5.6 : Age And Environmental Preferences.

<u>Priorities</u>	<u>Age (Years)</u>						<u>65 and over</u>
	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-64</u>	
Housing	3.14	3.40	3.39	3.30	3.25	3.23	2.58
Helping People In Need	2.48	2.42	2.46	2.63	2.76	2.70	2.59
Education	2.72	2.27	2.83	2.74	2.25	2.05	1.96
Health	2.14	2.17	2.14	2.12	1.98	2.42	2.24
Facilities For Children	2.28	2.33	2.26	2.26	1.90	1.56	1.61
Looking After Streets	1.42	1.37	1.47	1.65	1.53	1.79	2.08
Transport	1.42	1.44	1.38	1.61	1.48	1.49	1.58
Jobs	1.75	1.64	1.20	1.18	1.18	1.37	1.16
Shopping	0.96	0.95	0.83	0.92	1.27	1.05	1.21
Leisure	1.37	1.25	1.19	1.07	0.92	1.10	0.98

The allocation of counters towards different areas of expenditure by age is, overall, very similar to the allocation according to gender.

Housing is still regarded as the most important priority; leisure and shopping the least. This similarity of priorities of the different age groups suggests a common or borough-wide outlook on the needs of the different groups within Camden. When Table 5.6 is examined it becomes

apparent that one age group in particular, the elderly, although resembling the order of priorities of the borough as a whole, has its own special needs. For example, those respondents aged sixty-five years and over are significantly less likely to allocate resources to education, facilities for children, and jobs. On the other hand, the aged are more likely to express a need for greater health care, helping people in need, and looking after the streets. These latter priorities are considered more important than education by this group.

Those residents who are between forty-five and sixty-four years of age express the same concerns as the elderly but to a lesser degree. Looking after the streets and shopping are allocated more counters by this group than are allocated by the young (Table 5.6). Conversely, the young show a greater need for education, leisure and jobs. The teenagers (15 to 19 years old) were that age group which gave more counters to leisure (1.37, Table 5.6) than any other group. Also, the concern with employment by teenagers appears to be greater than with any other age group. 1.75 counters were allocated, on average, by teenagers to employment while the middle-aged (35-54 years old) allocated 1.18 counters (Table 5.6).

The older residents appear to be more concerned with accessibility than are other age groups. They give a higher proportion of their counters to transport than does the average resident. The quality of life of residents depends to a great extent on their access to different goods and services. If mobility is restricted in any way then there may be varying levels of deprivation experienced by this group. The young also show a concern for transport. The 25-34 year old age group is more concerned with education. This age group is the cohort that is most likely to contain young married couples with families whose

concern, as shown by the attitudes of these respondents, is for nursery schools, play space, primary and secondary school education (Chapter 4). Since this group contains the majority of the parents of school age children (Chapter 3), the self-interest of this group is revealed as it was for the young with their preferences for jobs, and the elderly with their preferences for mobility and health care. Although respondents are aware of borough-wide problems, and this awareness dominates the list of priorities, residents are not averse to expressing their own personal desires for different environments.

Table 5.7 : Housing Status And Environmental Preferences.

<u>Priority</u>	<u>Housing Status.</u>				
	<u>Owned</u>	<u>Housing Association</u>	<u>Hostel</u>	<u>Private Landlord</u>	<u>Council</u>
Housing	3.01	2.39	3.15	3.38	3.12
Helping People In Need	2.58	2.83	2.75	2.85	2.58
Education	2.52	2.06	2.53	2.50	2.33
Health Facilities	1.84	1.44	2.47	2.16	2.19
Facilities For Children	1.80	2.06	2.18	2.02	2.05
Looking After The Streets	1.76	1.89	1.46	1.66	1.66
Transport	1.63	0.83	1.43	1.54	1.36
Providing More Jobs	1.10	1.44	1.47	1.25	1.39
Shopping	0.94	0.89	0.98	0.95	1.16
Leisure	1.21	0.83	3.53	2.50	2.33

An examination of the attitudes of different housing groups (Chapter 4) revealed a variation between the three main groups. Owner-occupiers, for example, tended to be far more satisfied with their home environment than were those residents living in rented accommodation or institutions. The owner-occupied group also expressed stronger attitudes towards the provision of recreational and leisure facilities. However, from the attitudinal analysis it would be difficult and arbitrary to produce an ordering of feelings for different aspects of the environment. Respondents were not asked, when expressing their

attitudes, to keep in mind their preferences for other aspects and to weight them accordingly. From Table 5.7 it is evident that some housing groups regard some parts of their surroundings as more important than others.

The distribution of counters according to housing status is, in terms of rankings, almost the same as for the distribution of counters by the average resident. Within the lists of priorities for change there are variations between one housing group and another (Table 5.7). Housing is regarded as the category most in need of resources by owner-occupiers and rent-payers alike. People in need and education follow in second place and third place. Slightly more resources are given over to improving housing by those in the private rented sector. On this priority, most is allocated by those living in privately rented accommodation (3.38, Table 5.7), less by those in public housing (3.12) and least by the owner-occupiers (3.01). This distribution can be seen to reflect, in part, the attitude of residents to their home environment. Tenants in privately rented accommodation appear to experience the worst physical conditions (Chapter 3) and hold attitudes towards housing more strongly and in a negative direction than do other housing groups.

Health facilities are seen as being more deserving of resources by tenants than by owner-occupiers. 2.16 counters (Table 5.7) are allocated by residents in privately rented housing to this category, while 1.84 counters, on average, are allocated by owner-occupiers. This may be because residents in the former group have less access to health facilities, or, perhaps, that they are of a poorer quality in those areas with higher proportions of respondents in the private rented sector. It may be that some groups, such as those in this housing group, like

manual workers, are more susceptible to accidents related to their work (Townsend, 1979, p.170) and, as a consequence, have more contact with these services than other groups do. Owner-occupiers who tend to be of higher social status and educational attainment than residents in other housing groups may be more aware of the division of functions of the local authority. The provision of health services in Camden, for example, is a function of Central Government and the National Health Service and not a responsibility of the local authority. This greater awareness of the limited power of the local authority in this field by the owner-occupiers may help to explain the lower allocation of resources to this priority. This idea is examined more fully below under the social status variable. Residents of higher social status who are owner-occupiers are more likely to rely on private medicine than are other groups (Camden, 1977a). This factor may also account for the lower allocation of counters to the health category by owner-occupiers.

Residents who live in privately owned accommodation give a larger proportion of their resources to leisure than to employment (Table 5.7). Owner-occupiers allot 1.21 counters to the leisure category while council tenants only allocate 1.06 counters. The provision of jobs is regarded more highly by residents in public and privately rented housing (1.06 and 1.07 respectively) than it is by owner-occupiers (1.21). The residents of lower social status, those who tend to live in rented accommodation, give an above average priority to the provision of jobs (Table 5.7). It might be noted that these variations in priorities between one housing group and the next may be indicative of an underlying variable, namely social status. However, the difference in allocation of counters to the category housing may relate specifically to the effect of tenure. The owner-

occupier, for example, is responsible for the repairs carried out on his home while the tenant, in public or privately rented accommodation, is responsible for only a few of the repairs. The owner-occupier is able to manipulate his home environment more than other groups and is more likely to be satisfied with it (Chapter 4). The elderly and those on fixed incomes are much less likely to manipulate their homes in this way. Also, home ownership in this society has a status which accrues to the owner. This, too, may lead to greater satisfaction of the owner. Of the differences between public and privately rented accommodation those in privately rented housing tend to be more concerned with helping people in need and with housing while residents in council housing, who tend to be slightly older and living in better physical conditions, express a greater demand for improved shopping facilities (Table 5.7).

Table 5.8 : Social Status And Environmental Preferences.

<u>Priority</u>	<u>Status Group.</u>				
	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>Five</u>
Housing	3.12	3.10	3.04	3.19	2.67
Helping People In Need	2.62	2.65	2.57	2.67	2.51
Education	2.63	2.51	2.54	2.26	2.25
Health Facilities	2.11	2.11	2.20	2.34	2.22
Facilities For Children	2.02	2.13	2.12	2.01	1.84
Looking After The Streets	1.75	1.67	1.58	1.64	1.71
Transport	1.68	1.49	1.22	1.32	1.56
Providing More Jobs	1.07	1.26	1.49	1.39	1.37
Shopping	0.95	0.99	0.94	1.21	1.17
Leisure	1.30	1.17	1.13	0.88	1.07

The priorities of respondents as shown by their housing status is, in part, reflected in the breakdown of the sample by social status. There, owner-occupiers allocated more resources to the leisure topic and education. Here, the picture is even clearer. It is those

people higher up the scale of social status who show more concern for leisure; 1.30 counters (Table 5.8) are allocated to this category by social class one. The residents in social classes four and five (unskilled and manual workers) rate leisure less highly (0.88 and 1.07 counters respectively). The middle classes show proportionately less concern with employment than do lower social classes. 1.07 counters are given over to the jobs category by social class one compared with 1.49 counters for social class three and 1.37 counters for social class five (Table 5.8). Again, it is not possible to say whether this variation can be explained by a vested interest by manual and unskilled workers with employment or, on the other hand, by a greater awareness of residents of higher social status of the limitations of the local authority to influence this aspect of people's lives. Probably both of these perspectives make up part of the explanation for this difference in priorities.

Each social group, while having more or less the same list of priorities, expresses a certain amount of self-interest in its allocation of resources. For the service workers, the manual workers, and the unskilled in social classes four and five, employment opportunities are more highly desired than they are by the professional and executive workers in social class one. Secondly, the manual workers in the sample allocate a higher proportion of their counters towards the shopping priority. With the steady loss of jobs from Camden, especially in the unskilled and semiskilled manual sectors (Camden, 1977a), the ability of those areas to support a range of shops is likely to decrease. The development of, and expansion of shopping centres such as Wood Green and Brent Cross, means that other local centres will suffer. These new centres, being dependent on the private motorist and good access by public transport, are likely to

be less accessible to the elderly, the young, and those on low incomes.

Education is one topic which received a greater allocation from middle class respondents than from those of lower social status. As was mentioned above, those respondents in the lower age groups (forty-five and under), those most likely to be parents of children of school age, are the residents who tend to allocate a higher proportion of their income towards education. This variation in the preferences of the different social groups can to some extent be explained by self-interest. Indeed, there seems to be a gradation in the way that the priority schedules change with social status. From this it might be assumed that individual social mobility would be reflected in varying priority profiles corresponding to the social status group in which the individual finds himself. Likewise, a changing social composition of the borough may result in a greater or lesser proportion of residents with a particular set of priorities. As the borough is experiencing a polarization of the population into high and low status groups (Camden, 1977a), the spatial manifestation of this change may have implications for the distribution and allocation of public services.

Location And Environmental Preferences. The distribution of counters by ward reflects a spatial imbalance. This variation across the borough may be due to an unequal provision of public goods and services. It reflects the varying environments in which the respondents live and also their perceptions and cognitions of those surroundings. But, as with the sub-samples already examined, the ordering of priorities is characterised by a general consensus in outlook. In every ward housing, helping people in need and education receive the greatest allocation (Table 5.9), while at the bottom of the list of priorities are shopping, leisure and transport.

As wards can be categorised to a certain extent by the social status of their residents and their location with respect to the central employment district (Chapter 3), it is not surprising that those middle class wards in the north-east of the borough such as Highgate and Hampstead are relatively satisfied with their home environments (Table 5.9). The residents in those wards, on average, allot fewer counters (2.84 and 2.72 respectively) to housing than do other wards. The residents here, as in St. Johns and Belsize, are relatively more interested in leisure than residents in other areas. In comparison, the working class areas of Priory, Camden and Grafton express more interest in providing jobs. These priorities reflect the generally greater uncertainty of unemployment for semiskilled and unskilled workers especially at a time when many small factories have moved elsewhere or have closed down (Camden, 1975a). Helping the needy and improving health facilities together with a demand for facilities for children get a higher proportion of counters in these wards than they do elsewhere. These basic goods and services may be regarded as being of more concern to the residents in these wards than in the middle class wards where the appearance of the neighbourhood and leisure are given a proportionately greater allocation of resources.

The more remote wards in the north and north-east express a greater demand for more transport facilities or a better provision of services. As with the analysis of attitudes towards this aspect of the environment (Chapter 4) the suburbs in the north of the borough tend to be less well provided with public transport services. Or, rather, that this is the perception of those residents living in these wards. Residents in Highgate allocate 2.21 counters to the transport category (Table 5.9) and Hampstead residents give 1.76 counters. The unique topography of the area around Highgate, it is situated on a

Education	2.45	2.51	2.62	2.32	2.15	2.57	2.15	2.55	2.53	2.70	2.27	2.46	2.97	2.50	2.47	2.43	2.10	2.39
Leisure	1.19	1.22	1.20	1.01	1.20	0.73	1.07	1.46	1.33	1.22	0.96	1.02	1.29	0.91	0.93	1.16	1.14	1.37
Housing	2.72	3.11	3.12	3.38	3.08	3.64	3.41	2.84	2.95	3.13	3.37	3.10	3.00	3.06	3.42	3.17	3.40	3.07
Transport	1.76	1.78	1.52	1.50	1.63	1.25	1.64	2.21	1.63	1.35	1.56	1.62	1.45	1.01	1.02	1.24	1.47	1.11
Health Facilities	1.79	2.18	2.35	2.10	2.05	2.29	2.23	1.82	2.14	2.13	2.25	2.27	2.13	1.95	2.07	2.37	2.22	1.80
Shopping	1.29	1.23	1.02	0.82	1.14	0.55	1.01	1.04	0.86	1.13	0.99	0.91	0.87	1.12	0.98	1.07	1.29	0.70
Helping Needy	2.35	2.71	2.37	2.88	2.37	2.39	2.71	2.46	2.61	2.26	2.79	2.71	2.13	2.56	2.81	2.59	2.63	2.28
Jobs	1.11	1.08	1.33	1.17	1.24	1.25	1.61	1.05	1.27	1.35	1.32	1.40	1.39	1.45	1.34	1.29	1.38	1.43
Street Cleaning	1.55	1.59	1.61	1.94	1.63	1.61	1.80	1.66	1.63	1.48	1.59	1.95	1.48	1.62	1.47	1.86	1.34	1.43
Children's Facilities	2.21	1.92	2.13	1.90	1.85	1.79	1.93	1.80	2.12	1.70	2.32	1.96	1.87	1.91	2.27	2.29	2.10	2.07
wards	Hampstead	Belstze	Adelaide	Swiss Cottage	West End	Kilburn	Primry	Higgate	St. Johns	Gospel Oak	Grafton	Camden	Chalk Farm	Regents Park	St. Pancras	Kings Cross	Bloomsbury	Holborn

Priorities

Table 5.9: Location And Environmental Preferences

hill, may help to produce this feeling of relative isolation in terms of a less than satisfactory transport service. Also, the road system around Highgate is severely congested at times, particularly along the Archway Road (Camden, 1977a). The wards in the south of the borough appear to be more adequately provided with transport facilities. King's Cross and St. Pancras wards are major rail and underground railway interchanges. They are also the foci of major roads along which much public transport moves. These areas are, as a result, more accessible to central London and the suburbs. However, transport brings its own problems of congestion, pollution and conflict with other road users and services. Those wards that have the best access to transport facilities are also seen to be the noisiest and less attractive wards such as Grafton, Holborn, St. Pancras and Gospel Oak (Chapter 4).

From the table of environmental preferences (Table 5.9) it appears as though nearly every ward is unusual in some way. The chief variation appears to be related to social status and all that that includes. Location is another explanatory variable. But, overall the priorities of different sub-groups and the different wards have similar rankings. Even where the sub-samples were small, as in the analysis by wards, the allocation of resources reflected the average allocation for the borough as a whole. Higher status groups tend to value leisure and appearance of their surroundings as being more important than other groups do. On the other hand, the wards with predominantly working class residents express proportionately greater concern for employment and housing. The elderly rank shopping and transport as important while the young are preoccupied with employment. But, what is the extent to which these priorities are traded-off one with another? Although the ranking of priorities gives an indication of the importance of the different categories for the respondents, it does not show clearly

Table 5.10: Correlation Matrix Of Priorities.

<u>PRIORITY</u>	Leisure	Housing	Transport	Health Facilities	Shopping	Helping People In Need	Employment	Street Cleaning	Facilities For Children
Leisure	.01								
Housing	.10	-.09							
Transport	-.01	.21	-.01						
Health Facilities	.09	-.09	.04	-.03					
Shopping	-.10	.15	-.07	.26	-.06				
Helping People In Need	.09	.04	.15	-.12	.20	.14			
Employment	.07	-.04	.11	.08	.02	.03	.12		
Street Cleaning	-.09	.13	-.02	.25	.08	.23	.22	.00	
Facilities For Children	.15	.13	-.09	-.03	.00	.08	.18	.06	.19

Education	Leisure	Housing	Transport	Health Facilities	Shopping	Helping People In Need	Employment	Street Cleaning
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PRIORITY

the extent to which one category is likely to change in its ranking if there is a change in the allocation to one or other priorities. The extent to which a respondent gives up some or all of one category will be dependent on his initial position or income and his own list of priorities (Hoinville, 1977).

One way of identifying the extent to which one priority is related to another is to carry out a correlation analysis of the ten priorities. This can identify those topics which are grouped together and those which are traded-off one with another. Table 5.10 shows these relationships between the priorities. The coefficients are derived from Pearson product-moment correlations with pairs of variables (Nie, et al., 1975, p.280). The coefficients represent the strength of the relationship between any two variables. A positive value indicates that the two variables vary in the same direction. For example, as expenditure on education increases there is a rise in the number of counters allocated to facilities for children. Conversely, a negative value indicates the trade-off preference between two categories. For example, shopping is negatively correlated with education (Table 5.10), and expenditure on education increases as the allocation of resources to shopping decreases and vice versa. Where the correlation coefficient is greater than or equal to ± 0.1 in the analysis here it can be taken to be significant at the 0.01 level of significance. Consequently, coefficients above this level are less likely to have occurred by chance.

The correlations in Table 5.10 have, in part, been examined above. In the analysis of the allocation of counters by different sub-groups it was noticed that education and facilities for children were regarded as important by young married respondents with families (cf. Chapter 4). The elderly in their attitudes linked shopping and

transport while working people regard the allocation of resources to employment and housing, and employment with helping people in need more highly than do other groups. Middle class respondents tend to link leisure with transport, leisure with street cleaning, and leisure with facilities for children. Thus, it appears that these sub-groups in the population have characteristic trade-off patterns which differ from those of other groups. While taking these patterns into account, there appears to be an overall level of consistency in the rankings of priorities.

The negative correlation coefficients in Table 5.10 represent a degree of conflicting interest between groups within the borough. The small number of negative coefficients shows that the incidence of disagreement over priorities is not large and that the consensus for the borough is maintained. Education and leisure are negatively correlated ($r = -0.10$, Table 5.10). This coefficient reflects the contrasting interests of the less mobile and elderly and the needs of respondents with families. Helping people in need and transport are also topics which are negatively correlated ($r = -0.12$). This points to a conflict between the more affluent groups and those that are less mobile. The elderly would like greater mobility to overcome their infirmity, perhaps. Other groups such as the immigrants and respondents with large families are more likely to need help themselves than are other groups. They show a demand for the basic categories of employment and housing. The difference between housing and leisure ($r = -0.09$, significance level = 0.01) tends to reflect the social status of the respondent. Working class residents appear to be more concerned with housing and associated issues. Leisure to them is seen as being of less importance. The middle classes are relatively satisfied with

housing and employment and allocate proportionately more of their resources to recreation and leisure. Finally, the relationship between street cleaning and education is a negative one ($r = -0.09$, Table 5.10). There the interests of parents, with regards to the education of their children, is contrasted with the interests of the elderly, and the residents of high social status, which is likely to include a concern for the physical appearance of their neighbourhood.

Summary.

The negative and positive correlation coefficients express in a quantitative manner the tendency for some priorities to be grouped together by residents while others are traded-off one with another. The negative coefficients illuminate areas of competing or conflicting interest between different sub-groups in Camden. The correlation matrix, while identifying competing interests in this way, does not show those groups for whom there is conflict. This was achieved, to a limited extent, from the analysis of priorities by sub-groups within the borough. It is from this more detailed analysis that meaning is given to the correlation matrix. From this, the areas of conflicting interests become more clear. From the analysis of the priorities from the trade-off game it has been possible to provide an insight into the relative strengths of competing interests of different groups. The elderly and parents have different needs and allocate their resources with their respective needs in mind. Similarly, those residents in the higher social status groups have different life styles and interests from manual and unskilled workers. Their different life styles and desires are reflected in the allocation of counters to the different goods and services included in the trade-off game. On a spatial basis, those wards more distant from the central city functions

express a desire for greater improvement in transport. Yet, the important fact which emerges from this analysis is that there is really not very much conflict of interest among different groups even at ward level. The evaluation of priorities shows to some extent that the residents have a generally held view of the problems and needs of the borough as a whole while, at the same time, expressing their own individual interests.