

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

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CHAPTER 6.

Citizen Involvement In Local Affairs And Attitudes Towards The Urban Environment.

Introduction.

So far, the attitudes of different groups of residents towards varying aspects of their environment have been examined. It was noted that some groups have needs and wishes that are expressed more or less strongly than they are by others. The way in which decision-makers and the administration of local government respond to these varying preferences is considered here. The relations between the residents, decision-makers, and the agencies which implement those decisions might be seen to vary with the level of understanding of representative government, and the extent to which this process supplies what is demanded of it (Dahl, 1970; Almond and Verba, 1965). The degree of openness of this system to comments and criticisms and the expectation of a fair hearing also influence feelings towards it (Lucas, 1975).

Cross-national studies have revealed that the level of 'system affect' or feelings towards the political system and the administrative system vary (Almond and Verba, 1965). In some democracies, as in West Germany, the administration is regarded more highly by citizens than is the political system. In Almond and Verba's study it was found that the affect for the political system was higher, for example, in Mexico and the United States. These differences in feelings towards the political and administrative dimensions of government may be explained by historical differences in the evolution of these aspects of government, either at national, regional or city level. In some democracies the administrative system, or civil service, is popularly regarded as being

impartial, an idea developed from a long acceptance of the rule of law. On the other hand, the instability of political systems tends to lead to a lower level of affect for those systems (e.g. France under the Third Republic and post-war Germany; Almond and Verba, 1965). In Almond and Verba's cross-national study of political attitudes in Britain a relatively high level of affect was expressed for the political and administrative systems.

Almond and Verba's study, while illuminating variations in attitudes between different countries towards government, paid little attention to the affect for local government. Neither were many variations in demographic and socio-economic factors taken into account. These criticisms can, in part, be answered by referring to the constraints of their particular study. The relatively small samples taken in each country made problematic any analysis of the national samples on a sub-group basis. However, other studies such as those of Buttell and Flinn (1978) look at political attitudes of a sufficiently large sample to make comparisons between different sub-groups in the population. In this American study system affect was influenced most by variations in the level of education and the degree of involvement in local affairs by respondents. The study here will examine the attitudes of respondents who are involved in neighbourhood and other concerns to a varying extent. This may illuminate any differences in attitudes between the urban environments in Britain and the United States. The Linked Research Project into public participation in structure planning revealed that those residents who were more active in the planning programmes studied tended to be different from the average citizen on a number of socio-economic variables. They did not, however, consider the variations in outlook of these residents against those of other groups towards the political and administrative systems

and of their own environment whether it be urban or rural (D.o.E, 1978).

The Nature Of Citizen Involvement In Camden. The analysis presented here attempts to examine the level of affect for the political and administrative system within an urban environment. It seeks to analyse the characteristics of the participants and looks at the variation in attitudes and preferences according to the level of involvement. Cole, in his study of citizen participation in a sample of American cities found a curvilinear relationship between expectations and the level of satisfaction with the rewards of participation (Cole, 1974). The personal effects of participation will be examined here, although the expectations of what might be achieved by participating in the planning process is not considered as this question was not included in the questionnaire on residents' attitudes. In this study stress is laid on the environment as perceived by residents according to their level of involvement in neighbourhood affairs. The present study is not, however, comprehensive in this respect in that no analysis of elected representatives' attitudes towards their environment was carried out (cf. Field, 1975a). Elected representatives may be considered to be representative of one end of a participatory continuum extending from no involvement at all to control over the allocation of goods and services (Arnstein, 1969). The data available for analysis, unfortunately, does not include this group. However, it is possible to construct a scale of participation from questions in the questionnaire relating to respondents' contact with the local authority. This is examined in more detail later.

As in all democratic systems, a balance has to be established between efficiency in decision-making and the degree of involvement together with the length of discussion (Dennis, 1972; Mill, 1970).

If there is a desire for a greater amount of citizen involvement in decision-making then the problem for the political and administrative system is one of adaptation or adjustment. There may be a resultant redistribution of power along the lines that Arnstein suggests or merely an improved legitimization of the existing policy-making process (Coit, 1978). Local government officials may make themselves more amenable to different citizen groups. They may devolve some of their administrative power to neighbourhood groups such as through the Model Cities and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) programmes in the United States (Cole, 1974). In the political system, devolution of decision-making power may take the form of neighbourhood councils with varying levels of control over services previously carried out by a higher tier of local government.

The evidence from empirical studies like that of Almond and Verba (1965; Cole, 1974; Dahl, 1970) indicates that the higher the level of non-participation, or apolitical behaviour, the higher is the level of dissatisfaction with the administrative and political system. This alienation from the institutions of government may lie in structural problems of that system and with individual personality. With regards to personal characteristics, the more self-confident the individual is the greater are his feelings of control and, generally, greater affect for the institutions of government (Pateman, 1970; Dahl, 1970). Levels of education also influence the feelings of support for the political system (Almond and Verba, 1965). The political history of institutions may also influence attitudes, while protest within the citizenry against the 'remoteness' of government may result in cosmetic or more thorough-going reforms of these institutions. Dahrendorf, in his analysis of industrial society, cites the tendency of the desire for stability within industry and government to be

characterized by the incorporation of conflicts by these organisations (Dahrendorf, 1975). In industry, this process is examined under the heading 'industrial democracy'. Various techniques have been adopted to bring into management members and representatives of workers. Worker directors and delegation of management functions are some of the more common methods employed (Bullock, 1977; Elliot, 1978). In the urban planning field participation programmes may be adopted to improve the flow of information about the varying needs of different groups within a neighbourhood. It is the extent to which the perceptions of the environment vary between those who are more involved and those who are less active which is examined here. Firstly, the characteristics of the participants in the London Borough of Camden are analysed.

The Social And Spatial Characteristics Of Neighbourhood Participation In Camden.

This section of the analysis provides a background to the study of environmental attitudes according to varying degrees of involvement in local affairs. To the extent that the socio-economic characteristics of respondents are looked at, this part might be considered a replication of other studies looking at these aspects of participation (D.o.E, 1975; Dahl, 1970; Cole, 1974). An attempt is made to identify the variation between those features which are characteristic of the participant and non-participant. This is essentially an arbitrary division as individuals are involved in local affairs in varying ways and to varying degrees. There is a continuum of citizen involvement ranging from the non-involvement of the apathetic individual to the full-time involvement of the elected representative. As there is no data available here for the attitudes of elected representatives in Camden, the study is forced to concentrate on those individuals who are involved in local affairs to a lesser degree.

1. Sex Differences. Studies carried out in Britain show that men, particularly middle aged men, are more likely to participate in local affairs than are women (Goldsmith and Saunders, 1976). Here, variables measuring interest in local activities and involvement in community affairs are examined in relation to the number of contacts made with local government, that is 'the council'. From the Camden data it was found that women take a similar interest in local events to that of men (Table 6.1). 51 per cent of males and females in the sample showed some degree of interest. 14 per cent were undecided and 35 per cent were not interested.

The questionnaire is concerned primarily with borough-wide and local services, infrastructure and building (Appendix B). From this orientation it might be deduced that the male respondents would take a greater interest in local affairs and also be more involved in them. Women being culturally more home-centred might be expected to have less wide-ranging interests (Wilmott and Young, 1976). There is no evidence for this assertion here. On the contrary, men and women appear to be equally interested in the events in their neighbourhood (Table 6.1).

With regards to understanding the local political and administrative system the male respondents show a marginally greater knowledge of its workings. 79 per cent (Table 6.2) of the male respondents claim knowledge of how to contact the local authority if they have some problem. 75 per cent of the females claim this knowledge. For the borough as a whole this high level of knowledge of the basic workings of the administrative system is reflected in the feelings shown towards the council (cf. Chapter 7).

Males and females are equally likely to contact the local

The Influence Of Gender On Citizen Involvement

Table 6.1:

		<u>SEX</u>		<u>Row Total</u>
		Male	Female	
<u>Interest In Local Affairs</u>	Very Interested	97 (19)	105 (16)	202 (17)
	A Little Interested	167 (32)	226 (35)	393 (34)
	Neither	83 (16)	78 (12)	162 (14)
	Not Interested	104 (20)	127 (20)	231 (20)
	Not at all Interested	67 (13)	103 (16)	170 (15)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)		518 (45)	639 (55)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.12

Table 6.2:

		<u>SEX</u>		<u>Row Total</u>
		Male	Female	
<u>Knowledge Of How To Contact The Local Authority Over Any Problem</u>	YES	421 (79)	494 (75)	915 (77)
	NO	95 (18)	148 (22)	243 (20)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)		516 (44)	642 (55)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.28

Table 6.3:

		<u>SEX</u>		<u>Row Total</u>
		Male	Female	
<u>Contact Made With The Local Authority</u>	YES	220 (42)	272 (41)	491 (41)
	NO	291 (55)	360 (54)	651 (55)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)		511 (44)	632 (56)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.94

Table 6.4:SEX

		Male	Female	<u>Row Total</u>
<u>Attendance At Public Meetings</u>	YES	131 (25)	126 (19)	257 (22)
	NO	383 (72)	510 (77)	893 (75)
<u>Column Total</u>		514	636	
<u>(Percentage)</u>		(44)	(56)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.18

Table 6.5:SEX

		Male	Female	<u>Row Total</u>
<u>Membership Of Neighbourhood Group</u>	Tenants' Association	59 (11)	85 (13)	144 (12)
	Residents' Association	51 (10)	50 (8)	101 (9)
	Other Group	17 (3)	17 (3)	34 (3)
	None	386 (73)	484 (73)	870 (73)
<u>Column Total</u>		513	636	
<u>(Percentage)</u>		(44)	(56)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.97

authority over a problem that they may have. It is not possible at this stage to say what the nature of those contacts was. Housing, being one of the more important functions of this local authority, is likely to figure prominently in this list especially as it is regarded as a problem area by the majority of residents. 41 per cent of the residents communicated with the administration about some problem that they had. It is not clear how indicative this figure is of the problems which face Camden residents. It may be that it includes an element of high expectations on the part of residents for the services which the borough provides.

Although similar proportions of male and female respondents show an understanding and interest in local affairs a difference emerges at the level of greater involvement. A larger proportion of men attended public meetings (25 per cent) than did women (19 per cent, Table 6.4). Equal proportions are likely to be members of tenants' and residents' associations (Table 6.5). Small differences occur here. For example, slightly more women are likely to be members of tenants' associations, while male members are likely to be in the majority in residents' associations. Tenants' associations are more characteristic of public rented housing while residents' associations are more common in areas of owner-occupation.

These observations of the data indicate that sex differences have only a very limited influence on participation. Involvement in local affairs and knowledge of the political and administrative system do not appear to be so different between the sexes as other studies have indicated (Lipset, 1963). The differences in participation rates for working and middle class suburbs by sex do not appear to have been picked up on the indicators used here. The similarity

in attitude and behaviour of male and female residents with regards to participation may suggest a more egalitarian atmosphere in Camden. Studies in other urban areas would have to be carried out to test this hypothesis.

2. Age Differences. The relationship between age and citizen involvement has been well reported (Frankenberg, 1969; Long, 1975). It generally reaches a peak in middle-age falling away as old age approaches. A similar pattern is found in the Camden sample. Interest in civic affairs increased fairly uniformly with age reaching a peak in middle-age and then somewhat declining as the retirement years become closer (Table 6.6).

The least amount of interest in local affairs is shown by the teenage respondents, 23 per cent of whom show some or a great deal of interest (Table 6.6). 52 per cent of this group showed little or no interest. In the 25-34 year old age group 56 per cent showed some interest and this increased to a maximum of 67 per cent in the 35-44 year old age group. The elderly residents, those aged 65 years and more, take less interest in local affairs than those in middle age, but still more interest than was shown by teenagers and by those in their early twenties (Table 6.6).

Involvement with the political and administrative system by teenagers is minimal. Only 14 per cent of the 15-19 year old age group mentioned that they had contacted the council about a problem which they had. As with the level of interest and knowledge of local government, there is a corresponding increase in involvement with age and a similar fall off in participation levels as residents become elderly. Knowledge of the local government system, once achieved,

Table 6.6: Age And Citizen Involvement

Age (Years)

	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
Very Interested	6 (8)	12 (9)	34 (13)	37 (22)	31 (19)	42 (27)	40 (20)
A little interested	12 (15)	43 (34)	109 (43)	77 (45)	53 (32)	43 (27)	56 (28)
Neither	19 (24)	24 (19)	37 (15)	19 (11)	23 (14)	16 (10)	24 (12)
A little disinterested	22 (28)	33 (26)	49 (19)	26 (15)	29 (18)	38 (24)	33 (16)
Not at all interested	19 (24)	16 (13)	27 (11)	11 (7)	29 (18)	19 (12)	49 (24)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)	78 (7)	128 (11)	256 (22)	170 (15)	165 (14)	158 (14)	202 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 6.7:

Age (Years)

	15-19	20-24	25-34	34-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
YES	39 (48)	89 (66)	197 (76)	146 (85)	140 (84)	136 (81)	168 (80)
NO	39 (48)	42 (31)	55 (21)	24 (14)	25 (15)	26 (16)	32 (15)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)	78 (7)	131 (11)	252 (22)	170 (14)	165 (14)	162 (14)	200 (18)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Interest In Local Affairs

Knowledge Of How

To Contact The
Local Authority

Best Copy Available

Print bound close to the spine

Local Authority

Table 6.8:

Age (Years)

	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Row Total
YES	11 (14)	37 (28)	110 (43)	100 (58)	72 (43)	83 (49)	78 (37)	491 (41)
NO	66 (82)	90 (67)	138 (53)	69 (40)	91 (55)	77 (46)	121 (57)	652 (55)
Column Total	77	127	248	169	163	160	199	
(Percentage)	(7)	(11)	(22)	(14)	(14)	(14)	(18)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL = 0.01

Attendance At
Public Meetings

Table 6.9:

Age (Years)

	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Row Total
YES	5 (6)	14 (10)	61 (24)	53 (31)	37 (22)	44 (26)	43 (20)	257 (22)
NO	75 (93)	115 (86)	189 (73)	115 (67)	124 (74)	118 (70)	157 (74)	893 (75)
Column Total	80	129	250	168	161	162	200	
(Percentage)	(7)	(11)	(22)	(14)	(14)	(14)	(18)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL = 0.01

Membership Of
Neighbourhood
Group

Table 6.10:

Age (Years)

	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Row Total
Tenants' Association	2 (3)	7 (5)	20 (8)	34 (20)	26 (16)	24 (14)	31 (15)	144 (12)
Residents' Association	1 (1)	3 (2)	36 (14)	24 (14)	16 (10)	8 (5)	13 (6)	101 (9)
Other Group	2 (3)	6 (18)	6 (18)	6 (18)	5 (15)	5 (15)	4 (12)	34 (3)
None	75 (93)	114 (85)	187 (72)	103 (60)	117 (70)	122 (73)	152 (72)	871 (73)
Column Total	80	130	249	167	164	159	200	
(Percentage)	(7)	(11)	(22)	(16)	(14)	(14)	(18)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL = 0.01

tends to be maintained. Teenagers appear to be the most ignorant of how to make contact with the local authority with an equal proportion (48 per cent, Table 6.7) claiming knowledge and ignorance. Knowledge of the workings of local government may increase with exposure to them. This is certainly correlated with length of residence and is examined more fully below. In the late twenties and early thirties respondents' knowledge increases still further and levels off in the mid-thirties (35-44 years old) with 85 per cent claiming knowledge of how to contact the local authority about some problem that they may have had. This knowledge diminishes only gradually after this with 80 per cent of those aged 65 years and more having this information (Table 6.7).

Taking part in local activities, membership of community organisations, and attendance at public meetings is characteristic of those residents in middle-age. Nearly four times as many middle-aged respondents (45-54 years old) are likely to attend public meetings as are teenagers. Active interest in community affairs is more clearly demonstrated by the proportions of the different age groups that are members of local groups such as tenants' and residents' associations. Fewer people are active than are interested in local affairs. 77 per cent of the respondents showed a knowledge of local government (Table 6.7), 51 per cent showed an interest in local affairs (Table 6.6), 41 per cent had contacted the local authority during the previous year (Table 6.8), 22 per cent had attended public meetings (Table 6.9) and 24 per cent of the respondents were members of neighbourhood groups (Table 6.10). Only a small proportion of teenagers (7 per cent, Table 6.10) are members of community groups. The proportion increases to a maximum in the 25-34 year old age group and tapers off slowly in late middle-age and with the elderly.

From the data presented here it appears as though age is an important variable in explaining differences in the level of interest, involvement and knowledge of civic and local affairs. The extent to which these involvement rates can be associated with feelings for local government or alienation from it are examined later. Other empirical studies (Almond and Verba, 1965; Dahl, 1970) have shown that participation rates are positively correlated with affect for the political and administrative system. However, there may be a number of other influences on the level of information held by respondents, their interest, and their involvement in the neighbourhood.

3. Level Of Education And Citizen Involvement. The influence of education on participation in civic affairs is also apparent from the data, but not so clearly as with age. More than half of the respondents that finished their school education at an early age (14 years old and under) showed some interest in events occurring in their neighbourhood (49 per cent, Table 6.11). Of that part of the sample which had received some form of higher education only a slightly higher proportion showed an interest in neighbourhood activity (60 per cent, Table 6.11). With regards to knowledge of the workings of the local government structure no clear pattern emerges. For those residents who have a complaint about a local authority function the amount of education received does not appear to have much influence. It seems as though the level of education received bears little relationship to the knowledge of civic affairs. This result may be peculiar to Camden and to this tier of government. The studies by Hill (Hill, 1970) and Almond and Verba (1965) suggest a greater influence of the education variable.

Nearly one in five (22 per cent, Table 6.12) of those respondents

Table 6.11: Education And Citizen Involvement

Level Of Education

Age At Which Full Time Education Ceased (Years)

Interest In Local Affairs

	14 or under	15	16	17	18	19	20	21-23	24 or over	Still Studying	Row Total
Very Interested	70 (20)	35 (21)	22 (17)	13 (17)	16 (19)	1 (0)	2 (0)	15 (11)	17 (2)	10 (10)	202 (17)
A Little Interested	101 (29)	62 (37)	41 (32)	23 (30)	29 (34)	12 (1)	8 (1)	66 (49)	23 (39)	27 (26)	393 (34)
No Opinion	45 (13)	19 (11)	20 (16)	11 (14)	13 (15)	1 (0)	5 (0)	20 (15)	7 (12)	21 (20)	162 (14)
A Little Disinterested	69 (20)	24 (14)	34 (26)	11 (14)	19 (22)	7 (1)	6 (1)	24 (2)	5 (0)	31 (30)	231 (20)
Not at all Interested	60 (17)	28 (17)	12 (9)	19 (25)	9 (11)	6 (1)	2 (0)	10 (1)	7 (1)	14 (14)	170 (15)
Column Total	345 (30)	168 (15)	129 (11)	77 (7)	86 (7)	27 (2)	23 (2)	135 (12)	59 (5)	103 (9)	

(Percentages in Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 6.12: Level Of Education

Age At Which Full Time Education Ceased (Years)

To Contact The Local Authority

	14 or under	15	16	17	18	19	20	21-23	24+	Still Studying	Row Total
YES	290 (81)	130 (76)	103 (77)	60 (77)	62 (71)	19 (70)	21 (91)	114 (83)	50 (83)	63 (59)	912 (77)
NO	57 (16)	36 (21)	29 (22)	17 (22)	22 (25)	8 (30)	2 (9)	21 (15)	9 (15)	40 (37)	241 (20)
Column Total	347	166	132	77	84	27	25	135	59	103	
(Percentage)	(30)	(14)	(11)	(7)	(7)	(2)	(2)	(12)	(5)	(9)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 6.13: Level Of Education
Age At Which Full Time Education Ceased (Years)

Local Authority

	14 under	15	16	17	18	19	20	21-23	24+	Still Studying	Row Total
YES	163 (45)	78 (7)	50 (38)	39 (50)	30 (35)	15 (56)	10 (43)	57 (41)	29 (48)	18 (17)	489 (41)
NO	182 (51)	87 (51)	80 (60)	36 (46)	50 (58)	12 (44)	12 (52)	77 (56)	30 (50)	85 (79)	651 (55)
Column Total	345	165	130	75	80	27	22	134	59	103	
(Percentage)	(30)	(14)	(11)	(7)	(7)	(2)	(2)	(12)	(5)	(9)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL=0.01

Table 6.14: Level Of Education
Age At Which Full Time Education Ceased (Years)

Attendance At
Public Meetings

	14 under	15	16	17	18	19	20	21-23	24+	Still Studying	Row Total
YES	73 (20)	40 (23)	23 (17)	13 (17)	15 (17)	5 (19)	5 (22)	44 (32)	25 (42)	10 (9)	253 (22)
NO	269 (75)	126 (74)	106 (80)	62 (80)	70 (81)	22 (81)	17 (74)	91 (66)	34 (57)	95 (89)	892 (78)
Column Total	342	166	129	75	85	27	22	135	59	105	
(Percentage)	(30)	(14)	(11)	(7)	(7)	(2)	(2)	(12)	(5)	(9)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL = 0.01

Table 6.15:

Level Of Education

Age At Which Full-Time Education Ceased (Years)

Neighbourhood Group

	14 under	15	16	17	18	19	20	21-23	24+	Still Studying
Tenants' Association	62 (17)	37 (22)	12 (9)	5 (6)	6 (7)	2 (7)	1 (4)	10 (7)	5 (8)	2 (2)
Residents' Association	17 (5)	7 (4)	9 (7)	11 (14)	10 (12)	4 (15)	2 (9)	21 (15)	14 (23)	4 (4)
Other Group	2 (1)	4 (1)	4 (3)	1 (1)	4 (5)	1 (4)	2 (9)	5 (4)	4 (7)	7 (7)
None	121 (71)	262 (73)	106 (78)	60 (77)	65 (75)	18 (67)	18 (78)	95 (69)	34 (57)	191 (85)
Column Total (Percentage)	202 (18)	310 (27)	131 (11)	77 (7)	85 (7)	25 (2)	23 (2)	131 (11)	57 (5)	204 (18)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Cont.

Row Total

Neighbourhood Group

Tenants' Assoc.	142 (12)
Residents Assoc.	99 (9)
Other Group	34 (3)
None	970 (85)

who had finished their secondary education at the age of 16 did not know how to approach the local authority about a problem that they might have. This proportion decreases to around 15 per cent for those that had received some higher education (21-22 years, Table 6.12). In addition to the variation in knowledge of local government with level of education, there is a fairly even likelihood of contact with the local administrative system. Those residents that said that they left school at an early age (14 years or under) showed nearly as much interaction with the local authority (45 per cent, Table 6.13) as did those who had some higher education (48 per cent of those studying till the age of 24 years). This similarity of outlook and behaviour by residents, according to length of education, is not reflected so markedly in the more overt forms of public involvement such as attendance at public meetings and membership of neighbourhood groups.

Although the level of knowledge of local government may not vary very significantly between those who are more educated and those who have had less schooling, the amount of active involvement in the neighbourhood does appear to vary with the level of education. Almost twice as many of these with some form of higher education attend public meetings (42 per cent, Table 6.14) as do those with a minimum amount of secondary education (20 per cent). As with attendance at public meetings those members of residents' and tenants' associations are likely to have had more education than the non-members or non-joiners (Table 6.15). A difference in the nature of the members of residents' and tenants' associations can be discerned. As with Willmott and Young's study of Bethnal Green and Woodford (Willmott and Young, 1976) tenants' associations tend to be characterised by residents with higher levels of education. Residents' associations are much more likely to

be organised by people with a higher level of education than are tenants' associations. 47 per cent of the members of residents' associations had some higher education. In tenants' associations 19 per cent of the members can claim to have had this type of education. They are much more likely to have had a minimal level of schooling (39 per cent left school at age 15 or below, Table 6.15). For both types of local organisation the membership is likely to be unrepresentative of the population, at least in terms of the amount of education received.

Education, like age, is a factor which influences the level of participation in local affairs and local government. But, unlike age, the level of education appears to influence the level of active involvement rather than knowledge of the political and administrative system. Knowledge of the workings of local government does not seem to vary with length of education. However, more positive participation in the form of attendance and membership of neighbourhood groups is associated with the amount of education received. This may be because higher levels of education are associated with self-confidence, motivation and understanding (Dahl, 1970; McKechnie, 1978).

4. Household Status. Knowledge of, interest in, and participation in neighbourhood groups may vary with housing status. Those residents who have a greater investment in monetary and personal terms in their house might be considered to be more active in safeguarding that interest. Property values may be maintained by preserving or improving the social and physical environment surrounding the home. From this hypothesis it would be expected that owner-occupiers take a greater interest in, and are more active in, neighbourhood groups which have influence or control over their immediate environment.

Table 6.16: Housing Status And Citizen Involvement

		<u>Housing Status</u>				<u>Row Total</u>
		Owner-Occupied	Hostel	Private Landlord	Council	
Interest In Local Affairs	Very Interested	38 (18)	3 (5)	70 (18)	75 (20)	186 (18)
	A little interested	83 (40)	16 (25)	145 (36)	116 (32)	360 (35)
	No Opinion	26 (13)	13 (20)	53 (13)	44 (12)	136 (13)
	A little dis-interested	39 (19)	25 (39)	72 (18)	75 (20)	211 (20)
	Not at all interested	21 (10)	7 (11)	61 (15)	57 (16)	146 (14)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)		207 (18)	64 (6)	401 (35)	367 (32)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL = 0.01

Table 6.17: Housing Status

		Owner-Occupied	Hostel	Private Landlord	Council	<u>Row Total</u>
Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority	YES	173 (82)	35 (52)	304 (73)	317 (83)	829 (80)
	NO	32 (15)	30 (44)	96 (23)	54 (14)	212 (20)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)		205 (20)	65 (6)	400 (38)	371 (36)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL = 0.01

Table 6.18:

Housing Status

Contact with
Local Authority

	Owner- Occupied	Hostel	Private Landlord	Council	Row Total
YES	106 (52)	6 (9)	141 (36)	208 (55)	461 (45)
NO	98 (48)	59 (91)	252 (64)	161 (44)	570 (55)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)	204 (20)	65 (6)	393 (38)	369 (36)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 6.19:

Housing Status

Attendance At
Public Meetings

	Owner- Occupied	Hostel	Private Landlord	Council	Row Total
YES	75 (36)	5 (7)	76 (18)	85 (22)	241 (23)
NO	129 (61)	61 (90)	323 (78)	281 (74)	794 (77)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)	204 (20)	66 (6)	399 (39)	366 (35)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 6.20:

Housing Status

Membership Of
Neighbourhood
Group

	Owner- Occupied	Hostel	Private Landlord	Council	Row Total
Tenants' Association	9 (1)	0 (0)	27 (7)	103 (27)	139 (13)
Residents' Association	50 (24)	0 (0)	27 (7)	14 (4)	91 (9)
Other Group	13 (6)	6 (9)	7 (2)	6 (2)	32 (3)
None	132 (63)	61 (90)	333 (80)	245 (64)	771 (75)
<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)	204 (20)	67 (7)	394 (38)	368 (36)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Both type of tenure and household size appear to have an influence on the nature and extent of citizen involvement in neighbourhood affairs. A marginally greater proportion of owner-occupiers express an interest in local affairs (58 per cent, Table 6.16) than do residents in publicly rented accommodation (52 per cent). Residents in the private rented sector are also likely to show an interest in local affairs (54 per cent). Those respondents living in hostel accommodation are the least likely to show an interest in local issues. The generally lower standard of housing in the private rented sector and hostel-type accommodation may be of such importance to those residents that it over-rides any latent interest in local affairs (cf. the priorities of this group, Chapter 5). Also, the high turnover rate in private rented accommodation and hostels may preclude the development of ties and understanding of the political and administrative system. This transient nature of the residents in this type of accommodation is reflected in the variable measuring knowledge of how to contact the local authority. Equal proportions of residents in owner-occupied dwellings (82 per cent, Table 6.17) and in council houses claim to have some knowledge of local government. Those in the private rented sector are less well-informed (73 per cent), and those in hostels and halls of residence are the least well informed (52 per cent).

The difference in the level of interest shown in local affairs by different housing groups is reflected in the behaviour of these groups in their neighbourhoods and towards the local authority. This is most clearly illustrated when the amount of contact with the local authority is considered. Respondents living in public sector housing (council housing) are most likely to have contacted the administration over some problem which they had (55 per cent; Table 6.18). This figure is only slightly larger than that for owner-

occupiers (52 per cent). A greater difference might have been expected as public housing, being a function of this tier of government, might have had many queries about its management and upkeep from its residents. Respondents in the private rented sector, in contrast, are much less forthcoming. 36 per cent of these contacted the local authority in the previous year (Table 6.18).

Active involvement in the neighbourhood reflects this pattern of contact with the local authority but to a lesser extent. The distorting influence of council tenants making many contacts as a result of housing problems is not apparent when attendance at public meetings and membership of local groups is examined. Owner-occupiers are much more likely to attend a public meeting (36 per cent, Table 6.19) than are tenants in either private or public housing (18 and 22 per cent respectively, Table 6.19). Participation in neighbourhood groups seems to vary with housing tenure. Residents in hostel accommodation and in the private rented sector are less likely to be actively involved in a neighbourhood group (90 per cent and 80 per cent of these residents claim non-membership, Table 6.20). Residents in publicly rented housing appear to be as active in local groups. Residents in council housing tend to become members of tenants' associations (27 per cent) while owner-occupiers become members of residents' associations (24 per cent). Respondents living in privately rented accommodation are equally likely to join a residents' association (7 per cent) or a tenants' association (7 per cent, Table 6.20).

From this analysis of the knowledge of, and interest in, local affairs, it appears that housing status is at least a component variable in measuring the totality of citizen involvement. Knowledge of the workings of local government does not vary greatly between the

occupiers (52 per cent). A greater difference might have been expected as public housing, being a function of this tier of government, might have had many queries about its management and upkeep from its residents. Respondents in the private rented sector, in contrast, are much less forthcoming. 36 per cent of these contacted the local authority in the previous year (Table 6.18).

Active involvement in the neighbourhood reflects this pattern of contact with the local authority but to a lesser extent. The distorting influence of council tenants making many contacts as a result of housing problems is not apparent when attendance at public meetings and membership of local groups is examined. Owner-occupiers are much more likely to attend a public meeting (36 per cent, Table 6.19) than are tenants in either private or public housing (18 and 22 per cent respectively, Table 6.19). Participation in neighbourhood groups seems to vary with housing tenure. Residents in hostel accommodation and in the private rented sector are less likely to be actively involved in a neighbourhood group (90 per cent and 80 per cent of these residents claim non-membership, Table 6.20). Residents in publicly rented housing appear to be as active in local groups. Residents in council housing tend to become members of tenants' associations (27 per cent) while owner-occupiers become members of residents' associations (24 per cent). Respondents living in privately rented accommodation are equally likely to join a residents' association (7 per cent) or a tenants' association (7 per cent, Table 6.20).

From this analysis of the knowledge of, and interest in, local affairs, it appears that housing status is at least a component variable in measuring the totality of citizen involvement. Knowledge of the workings of local government does not vary greatly between the

housing groups. At the behavioural level owner-occupiers are much more likely to become involved in neighbourhood groups than are those residents living in either public or privately rented accommodation. Hostel residents, who are, perhaps, the most transient of all residents show less knowledge of local government and neighbourhood affairs and low participation rates. The relatively low level of involvement of tenants, especially those in the private sector, suggests that there may be a lack of interest or lack of opportunities for greater involvement by this group. Although this sector of the population is unrepresented on the indicators of participation it is not clear whether their interests vary significantly from those who are either more knowledgeable, involved, or both. This affect for the system of local government is examined later. So far, variations in knowledge of, interest in, and participation in local affairs have been influenced by education, household status and to a lesser extent by age and very little by sex differences.

5. Length Of Residence In Camden And Involvement In The Neighbourhood.

The greater the length of time spent living in an area the greater is the awareness of local problems and features (Frankenberg, 1969; Gould and White, 1974). Experience of the social and physical environments tends to place the longer standing residents in a more authoritative position. Friendship patterns and social and work place networks take time to become established (Frankenberg, 1969; Willmott and Young, 1976). As the length of residence increases so does the amount of personal investment in the area. This investment may take the form of the residents' house and garden and extend to an interest in the surrounding social and physical environment. In order to safeguard this investment it may be that involvement in neighbourhood affairs increases. As with age, interest and involvement tend to increase with length of residence.

Table 6.21:

Length Of Residence In Borough And Citizen Involvement

Length Of Residence (Years)

Interest In Local Affairs		Less than 1 year	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-19 years	20 years or more	Row Total
	Very interested	17 (9)	57 (16)	42 (17)	47 (22)	38 (22)	202 (17)
	A little interested	57 (31)	123 (35)	90 (37)	68 (32)	55 (32)	393 (34)
	Not sure	35 (19)	52 (15)	30 (12)	24 (11)	20 (12)	162 (14)
	Dis- interested	37 (20)	78 (22)	48 (20)	33 (16)	35 (20)	231 (20)
	Not at all interested	36 (20)	38 (11)	31 (13)	38 (18)	25 (15)	170 (15)
Column Total (Percentage)		182 (16)	348 (30)	241 (21)	210 (18)	173 (15)	

(Percentages In Brackers) SL = 0.01

Table 6.22:

Length Of Residence (Years)

Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority		Less than 1 year	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-19 years	20 years or more	Row Total
	YES	114 (62)	280 (78)	204 (84)	164 (75)	151 (84)	913 (77)
	NO	66 (36)	68 (19)	38 (16)	47 (22)	23 (13)	242 (20)
Column Total (Percentage)		180 (16)	348 (30)	242 (21)	211 (18)	174 (15)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL = 0.01

Table 6.23: Length Of Residence

Contact With Local Authority		Less than 1 year	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-19 years	20 years or more	Row Total
	YES	53 (29)	159 (44)	115 (47)	85 (39)	77 (43)	489 (43)
	NO	120 (65)	185 (52)	123 (50)	126 (58)	97 (54)	651 (57)
Column Total (Percentage)		173 (15)	344 (30)	238 (21)	211 (16)	174 (15)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL=0.01

Table 6.24: Length Of Residence

Attendance At Public Meetings		Less than 1 year	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-19 years	20 years or more	Row Total
	YES	28 (15)	69 (19)	72 (30)	43 (20)	44 (25)	256 (22)
	NO	152 (82)	276 (77)	164 (67)	168 (77)	131 (73)	891 (78)
Column Total (Percentage)		180 (16)	345 (30)	236 (21)	211 (18)	175 (15)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL=0.01

Table 6.25: Length Of Residence

Membership Of Neighbourhood Group		Less than 1 year	1-4 years	5-9 years	10-19 years	20 years or more	Row Total
	Tenants' Association	6 (3)	41 (11)	43 (18)	32 (15)	20 (11)	142 (12)
	Residents' Association	13 (7)	32 (9)	26 (11)	9 (4)	20 (11)	100 (9)
	Other Group	7 (4)	10 (3)	7 (3)	6 (3)	4 (2)	34 (3)
	None	152 (82)	260 (72)	165 (68)	163 (74)	130 (73)	870 (76)
Column Total (Percentage)		178 (16)	343 (30)	241 (21)	210 (18)	174 (15)	

(Percentages In Brackets) SL=0.01

Of those residents that had been living in their present house for one year or less, only 9 per cent were particularly interested in local affairs (Table 6.21) and 31 per cent were quite interested. Of the residents who had been living in their present house for ten or more years 44 per cent were very interested in events in their neighbourhood and 64 per cent were moderately interested. Besides having a greater desire to know what is going on in their areas, longer term residents are likely to have a better knowledge of local activities and of how to contact the local authority.

This knowledge of knowing how to approach the council soon develops in respondents after a few years. Of the residents that had been living in their house for less than one year, 36 per cent did not have this knowledge and were unable to contact the council if they had a problem (Table 6.22). After living in a house for one year the proportion of residents uncertain of how to communicate falls to 20 per cent. Having lived in their house for more than five years this proportion drops to 16 per cent. This level of understanding of the neighbourhood social system and knowledge of the workings of local government reaches a peak after about five years of living in one area. It increases marginally after this and may decrease a little in old age. The coarseness of the categories used here does not make it possible to say whether this level of knowledge decreases but the evidence from the data regarding age suggest that knowledge of, and interest in local affairs, tends to decline in the elderly.

Knowledge of, and interest in local affairs, seems to precede involvement. Active participation in the neighbourhood reaches a maximum after five years of residence in the respondent's house or flat and declines somewhat for those of twenty years residence or more

(Tables 6.24 and 6.25). 15 per cent of the respondents that had lived in their present house claimed to have attended a public meeting in the previous year (Table 6.24). This proportion increased to 30 per cent of residents who had been living in their house or flat from between five and nine years. After twenty years this level of involvement falls slightly. This period may coincide with late middle-age and the onset of thoughts about retirement. Participation in neighbourhood groups declines more rapidly for residents of lower social status than it does for more middle class respondents. Membership of residents' associations tends to fall off slightly more sharply with age than it does for membership of tenants' associations and other groups (Table 6.25). However, this variation is not so marked as for age itself. Although age and length of residence are correlated, age has a greater influence on the involvement of the individual in neighbourhood affairs.

6. Social Status And Participation. Social status is referred to here in terms of the respondent's occupational status as defined in Census data (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1971). Although social status, educational attainment and income are all positively correlated, they are examined here separately to assess the relative influence of each. Studies elsewhere in Britain, e.g. Linked Research Project (D.o.E, 1978) and in the United States (Buttel and Flinn, 1978) demonstrate the influence of social status and citizen involvement. These studies tend to divorce cognition of the local government system with actual involvement both in the neighbourhood and with the local authority. The data examined so far shows that attitudes towards the institution of local government are quite widespread and not too dissimilar. Behaviour, on the other hand, is more easily related to the variables examined here. It may be that a certain threshold of

Table 6.26: Social Status And Citizen Involvement

		<u>Socio-economic Group</u>					
<u>Interest In</u> <u>Local Affairs</u>		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Row <u>Total</u>
	Very Interested	48 (18)	55 (16)	45 (20)	16 (15)	41 (18)	205 (19)
	A little interested	105 (40)	115 (35)	66 (30)	40 (37)	67 (29)	393 (34)
	Uncertain	28 (11)	56 (17)	33 (15)	13 (12)	32 (14)	162 (14)
	Disinterested	46 (17)	63 (19)	49 (22)	27 (25)	45 (19)	230 (20)
	Not at all interested	38 (14)	41 (13)	30 (14)	13 (12)	48 (21)	170 (15)
	<u>Column Total</u> (Percentage)	265 (23)	327 (28)	223 (19)	109 (9)	233 (20)	

Table 6.28: Socio-economic Group

	One (%)	Two (%)	Three (%)	Four (%)	Five (%)	Row Total
Contact With Local Authority						
YES	115 (43)	132 (40)	109 (48)	51 (45)	85 (34)	492 (43)
NO	145 (54)	188 (56)	114 (50)	56 (50)	148 (59)	651 (57)
Column Total (Percentage)	260 (23)	320 (28)	223 (20)	107 (9)	233 (20)	

SL = 0.07

Table 6.29: Socio-economic Group

	One (%)	Two (%)	Three (%)	Four (%)	Five (%)	Row Total
Attendance At Public Meetings						
YES	72 (27)	72 (22)	53 (24)	16 (14)	44 (17)	257 (22)
NO	192 (72)	253 (76)	168 (74)	90 (80)	190 (76)	893 (78)
Column Total (Percentage)	264 (23)	325 (28)	221 (19)	106 (9)	234 (20)	

SL = 0.05

Table 6.30: Socio-economic Group

	One (%)	Two (%)	Three (%)	Four (%)	Five (%)	Row Total
Tenants' Association	26 (10)	39 (12)	36 (16)	23 (20)	20 (8)	144 (13)
Residents' Association	41 (15)	22 (7)	19 (8)	4 (4)	15 (6)	101 (9)
Other Group	13 (5)	7 (2)	2 (1)	3 (3)	9 (4)	34 (3)
None	181 (68)	257 (77)	165 (73)	81 (72)	186 (74)	870 (76)
Column Total (Percentage)	261 (23)	325 (25)	222 (19)	111 (10)	230 (20)	

SL = 0.01

knowledge about the political and administrative system is necessary for active involvement in neighbourhood affairs. In addition, a number of attributes such as age, housing status and income influence the individual into being more or less active in the neighbourhood.

The level of knowledge of how to approach the local authority appears to be quite widespread. Three out of four respondents (79 per cent, Table 6.27) claimed to know how to contact the council if they had a problem. A slightly higher proportion of the professional and managerial respondents (81 per cent) are likely to have this knowledge than do the unskilled workers (71 per cent) in the sample.

The interest shown in local affairs tends to rise as social status increases. 40 per cent of unskilled manual workers (Social Class 5, Table 6.26) show little or no interest in neighbourhood affairs while 31 per cent in social class one think this way. The influence of social status becomes clearer when the proportion of residents who are more active is considered. The poorest group, social class 5, is least likely to contact the local authority over any problem it might have. It is likely to have more problems than other groups when the housing status and location of this group is considered. Professional workers are more likely to make contact (43 per cent, Table 6.28) while skilled and partly skilled manual workers have a slightly higher tendency to contact the local authority (48 and 45 per cent respectively). This group of workers tends to be resident in public housing and, as a consequence, likely to have more contacts with the local authority over housing matters than other groups.

The influence of education on involvement was noted above. Social status is positively correlated with the level of education.

Likewise, participation rates vary with status. 27 per cent of social class 1 are likely to have attended one or more public meetings in the previous year (Table 6.29), 14 per cent of partly skilled workers and 17 per cent of unskilled workers are likely to have acted in this way. Membership of a neighbourhood group requires time and commitment, and so it is to be expected that participation levels fall off regarding this type of behaviour. 43 per cent of the sample had contacted the local authority (Table 6.28) while 22 per cent had attended a public meeting (Table 6.29) and 24 per cent were a member of a local group of some kind (Table 6.30). Nearly three times as many members of residents' associations are middle class residents (15 per cent, Social Class 1, Table 6.30), and 6 per cent are unskilled workers. Thus, at this level of involvement there is a greater distinction between the characteristics of those who are active and those who are less active. No evidence is available here for the social background of the officers of these groups. However, the work of Frankenberg and others has found that in rural and urban areas the officers of voluntary and other groups tend to be of higher social status than the membership as a whole (Frankenberg, 1969). Occupational status is correlated with education and with income, and it is the effect of income that is examined next.

7. Personal Income And Neighbourhood Involvement. It was noted above that education and social status influence the levels of involvement in local affairs. Although knowledge of the political and administrative system appears to be widespread except amongst new residents and the young, several other factors influence the level of participatory behaviour. Here, the effect of income on knowledge of, interest in, and involvement in local affairs is examined. Income, like education, is correlated with social status so it may be expected that involvement

rates will increase as personal income increases. The concept of the 'threshold of poverty' (Townsend, 1979) suggests that below a certain level of income there is an accelerated withdrawal from all forms of social interaction. The data is examined to see if such a threshold can be identified.

The data analysed here refer to personal income rather than family income. Some of the respondents were not heads of households and some were students or teenagers dependant on their families for sustenance. These factors need to be borne in mind when the low incomes are considered. From the data it can be seen that variation in income has an effect on the awareness of the workings of local government. Those respondents with low incomes are less likely to have a knowledge of the workings of local government than are those with higher incomes (Table 6.32). However, the majority of residents have some knowledge. About one in four of the respondents with an income below £1,000 p.a. claim no knowledge of how to contact the local authority if they have some problem while about 15 per cent of those respondents earning over £2,500 p.a. are as likely to be as ignorant (Table 6.32). In addition to this trend one anomalous figure results. Those respondents who claim no personal income, for example, the spouse, teenagers, and institutional residents, have a greater awareness of the workings of local government than might be expected. 88 per cent of this group claim such knowledge while 77 per cent of the whole sample does. This group at the bottom of the income list is that group most likely to be receiving social assistance of one kind or another. As was noted above, this group has more contact with social workers than other income groups. From this contact they may derive a knowledge of the workings of the different service departments of local government which is unavailable to other groups.

Table 6.31: Personal Income And Citizen Involvement.

<u>Interest In Local Affairs</u>						
	Very interested	A little interested	Uncertain	Not interested	Not at all interested	Row Total
No Income	5 (13)	15 (38)	5 (13)	9 (23)	6 (15)	40 (4)
Less than 500	11 (13)	24 (28)	15 (18)	14 (17)	21 (25)	85 (7)
500-749	16 (14)	37 (33)	18 (16)	24 (21)	17 (15)	112 (10)
750-999	13 (17)	23 (30)	8 (10)	19 (25)	14 (18)	77 (7)
1000-1249	10 (16)	22 (35)	5 (8)	12 (19)	14 (22)	63 (5)
1250-1499	13 (20)	20 (31)	11 (17)	15 (23)	6 (9)	65 (6)
1500-1749	15 (18)	31 (37)	12 (14)	17 (21)	8 (10)	83 (7)
1750-2249	22 (18)	42 (35)	19 (16)	24 (20)	14 (12)	121 (10)
2250-2299	18 (17)	30 (28)	20 (19)	27 (25)	13 (12)	108 (9)
3000-4999	22 (18)	48 (40)	13 (11)	23 (19)	15 (12)	121 (10)
5000 plus	8 (15)	22 (42)	8 (15)	8 (15)	6 (12)	52 (5)
Refused	29 (23)	45 (35)	13 (10)	21 (16)	21 (16)	129 (11)
Column Total (Percentage)	182 (17)	359 (34)	147 (14)	213 (20)	155 (15)	

SL = 0.86

Table 6.32:

Behaviour

Personal Income (£ p.a.)	Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings		
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	
	No Income	36 (88)	5 (12)	17 (42)	24 (59)	7 (17)	34 (83)
	Less than 500	61 (70)	23 (26)	28 (32)	54 (62)	16 (18)	67 (77)
	500-749	87 (74)	24 (20)	34 (29)	76 (64)	24 (20)	87 (74)
	750-999	60 (73)	19 (23)	31 (38)	46 (56)	15 (18)	63 (77)
	1000-1249	43 (64)	22 (33)	32 (48)	33 (49)	10 (15)	54 (81)
	1250-1499	49 (74)	14 (21)	22 (33)	42 (64)	11 (17)	54 (82)
	1500-1749	65 (77)	20 (24)	42 (49)	37 (44)	16 (19)	66 (77)
	1750-2249	94 (77)	28 (23)	45 (37)	75 (61)	20 (16)	99 (81)
2250-2999	88 (82)	19 (18)	45 (42)	61 (57)	21 (19)	85 (79)	
3000-4999	108 (89)	13 (11)	60 (49)	60 (49)	39 (32)	82 (67)	
5000 plus	45 (81)	8 (15)	28 (53)	24 (45)	24 (45)	28 (53)	
Refused	78 (84)	13 (14)	77 (58)	53 (40)	35 (27)	92 (70)	
Column Total (Percentage)	814 (77)	208 (20)	461 (41)	585 (55)	238 (22)	811 (75)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.03

Table 6.33: Personal Income And Citizen Involvement

Membership Of Neighbourhood Group

Personal Income (£)		Tenants' Association	Residents' Association	Other Group	None	Row Total
	No Income	2 (5)	7 (17)	2 (5)	30 (73)	41 (3)
	Less than 500	7 (8)	3 (3)	1 (1)	71 (82)	82 (7)
	500-749	12 (10)	8 (7)	3 (3)	88 (75)	111 (10)
	750-999	13 (16)	2 (2)	3 (4)	60 (73)	78 (7)
	1000-1249	7 (10)	3 (4)	1 (2)	54 (81)	65 (6)
	1250-1499	8 (12)	4 (6)	2 (3)	50 (76)	64 (6)
	1500-1749	9 (11)	4 (5)	2 (2)	69 (81)	84 (7)
	1750-2249	26 (21)	5 (4)	4 (3)	85 (69)	120 (10)
	2250-2299	16 (15)	7 (6)	4 (4)	81 (75)	108 (9)
	3000-4999	11 (9)	18 (15)	3 (3)	87 (71)	119 (10)
	5000 plus	5 (9)	14 (26)	4 (8)	28 (53)	51 (4)
	Refused	15 (11)	23 (17)	2 (1)	87 (66)	127 (11)
Column Total (Percentage)		131 (12)	98 (9)	31 (3)	790 (75)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Generally, however, the trend is for those with greater income to have a greater knowledge of the political and administrative system.

The influence of income on interest is not noticeable from the data here. No significant difference between income and interest in local affairs was observed (Table 6.31). Income, it appears, does not prevent or hinder the resident from being curious about events in his or her neighbourhood. Residents are less interested than they are knowledgeable about neighbourhood affairs. But they are more interested (51 per cent; Table 6.31) than they are disinterested (35 per cent). 15 per cent of the residents had an unclear idea of their position. This uniform interest in local affairs does not extend as far as to include behaviour. As with the level of knowledge of the workings of local government the amount of personal income influences the extent to which residents are actively involved in their neighbourhood.

Those residents with higher incomes are more likely to contact the local authority, for whatever reason, than are the poorer residents. About 35 per cent of those earning £1,000 p.a. or less are likely to have contacted the council in the previous year while more than 45 per cent of those earning more than £2,500 p.a. did so (Table 6.32). More than half of those earning over £5,000 p.a. contacted the local authority. It is not possible, from the data here, to know what the reasons for these contacts were. But, the disproportionate interaction of the higher income earners with the local authority may suggest a greater weighting given to their preferences. The extent to which the local authority weights the preferences of different groups is considered later (Chapter 10).

More active neighbourhood involvement is a feature of a smaller

percentage of the population. Only 22 per cent of the respondents attended public meetings (Table 6.32) and 24 per cent were members of a local community or pressure group (Table 6.33). An even greater difference between income groups is noticed here. Less than twenty per cent of those residents earning £1,000 p.a. or less attended a public meeting within the previous year while more than 40 per cent of those earning more than £5,000 p.a. attended (Table 6.32). The picture for group membership is slightly more complex. Higher income respondents are only slightly more likely to be a member of a local group than are poorer residents (Table 6.33). Members of residents' associations, as has been noticed, are better educated than the majority of residents and are more likely to be of higher social status and owner-occupiers. 26 per cent of those earning more than £5,000 p.a. are likely to be members of residents' associations while one in twenty of those earning under £1,000 p.a. are members. The picture for tenants' associations is not so contrasting. Those residents in the middle income groups are most likely to be members. 10 per cent of the respondents earning on average £725 p.a. are likely to be members of a tenants' association while 21 per cent of those earning £2,000 p.a. were members (Table 6.33). There were fewer high income earners in these groups than for the residents' associations. The high income earners, in addition to being more likely to join a neighbourhood group, are also likely to join more than one group, association or society.

Income, like the amount of education, social status and age, is a variable which appears to have a positive and, perhaps, reinforcing effect on citizen involvement in this London borough. These variables might be thought of conceptually as income which the individual can spend on participation in the neighbourhood and in local government.

As the level of involvement increases from interest to involvement, a greater expenditure is required by the participant. Those residents with the greatest accumulated 'income' in the sense referred to here are those who are most likely to become involved in an active way. For they may be able to afford the cost of involvement more readily than others. Yet, throughout all groups there is a relatively high level of interest shown in local affairs. Slightly less people know how to do anything about their environment while a minority of residents are active in any way in trying to change their environment. The degree to which involvement in local affairs represents differences in accumulated 'income' and variations in the quality and quantity of the provision of goods and services throughout Camden can be examined by looking at participation rates for the different wards in the borough.

8. The Spatial Variation Of Neighbourhood Involvement In Camden.

Camden has a variety of social and physical environments within its boundaries. Residents' knowledge of their neighbourhood and local government was seen to vary with length of stay in the borough, age, type of housing, income and social status. As the residents with these attributes are distributed unevenly throughout the borough it is to be expected that there will be some variation in the level of knowledge of the workings of local government throughout the borough. Interest in neighbourhood affairs and more active involvement also varied with these variables, but to a greater extent than for knowledge alone. Thus, it might be suggested that involvement rates vary to a greater extent than does the level of cognition about local affairs. Secondly, the extent to which participation rates vary throughout the borough may be interpreted in terms of varying levels of satisfaction with the provision of services in those areas. For example, high

interest and involvement rates may be indicative of local concern for some aspect of the environment which is causing concern or potential suffering such as a road-widening scheme (Archway Road) or the expansion of a shopping centre (Wood Green). These interpretations of differing involvement rates are considered in greater detail below.

The level of cognition of the workings of local government vary spatially and reflect the uneven distribution of different social groups and patterns of housing. Those more southerly wards such as Holborn, Bloomsbury and King's Cross have higher proportions than average of residents who have little or no knowledge of the workings of the local authority (Table 6.34). 38 per cent of the respondents in Bloomsbury ward claimed that they did not know how to contact the local authority if they had some problem. This relatively high level of ignorance might be explained by the social and physical environments of these wards. They are occupied by large numbers of transient residents who occupy institutional and private rented accommodation. Another ward, Priory, which has 25 per cent of the residents aged over 65 years and a high proportion of single person households also shows a relatively low level of cognition (30 per cent, Table 6.34). The wards with residents of middle class status and owner-occupation show above average levels of knowledge of the workings of local government. Highgate ward, for example, has 86 per cent of its residents with this knowledge. Camden ward which is fairly typical in social composition of the borough as a whole has residents expressing an above average knowledge of local affairs (86 per cent). This level of knowledge does not extend, however, as far as a greater amount of involvement in local affairs.

Interest in the neighbourhood is not so widespread as knowledge

Table 6.34:

Knowledge Of And Involvement In Local Affairs

Wards	Knowledge Of How To Contact The Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Holborn	31 (67)	12 (26)	16 (35)	26 (57)	12 (26)	30 (65)
Bloomsbury	43 (59)	28 (38)	17 (23)	54 (74)	11 (15)	61 (84)
Kings Cross	56 (74)	19 (25)	29 (38)	45 (59)	18 (24)	56 (74)
St. Pancras	49 (83)	8 (14)	24 (41)	33 (56)	14 (24)	42 (71)
Regents Park	66 (85)	12 (15)	37 (47)	37 (47)	21 (27)	56 (72)
Priory	47 (68)	21 (30)	27 (39)	40 (58)	13 (19)	55 (80)
Kilburn	40 (71)	10 (18)	22 (39)	30 (54)	11 (20)	40 (71)
West End	70 (74)	24 (25)	34 (36)	59 (62)	12 (13)	80 (84)
Swiss Cottage	75 (77)	17 (17)	40 (41)	49 (50)	16 (16)	77 (79)
Adelaide	67 (82)	15 (18)	35 (43)	46 (56)	17 (21)	65 (79)
Hampstead	52 (84)	9 (15)	22 (36)	38 (61)	12 (19)	49 (79)
Belsize	62 (79)	15 (19)	39 (49)	39 (49)	26 (33)	51 (65)
Chalk Farm	25 (81)	6 (19)	12 (39)	19 (61)	1 (3)	29 (94)
Camden	67 (86)	10 (13)	36 (46)	38 (49)	15 (19)	61 (78)
Grafton	61 (75)	14 (17)	39 (48)	35 (43)	18 (22)	57 (70)
Gospel Oak	19 (83)	3 (13)	9 (39)	14 (61)	4 (17)	16 (70)
Highgate	48 (86)	8 (14)	34 (61)	20 (36)	26 (46)	30 (54)
St. Johns	37 (74)	12 (24)	19 (38)	30 (60)	10 (20)	38 (76)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

(Percentages In Brackets)

Table 6.35: Citizen Involvement In Camden (Breakdown By Ward)

Interest In Local Affairs

wards	Very interested	A little interested	Uncertain	Not interested	Not at all interested
Holborn	7 (16)	19 (44)	4 (9)	5 (12)	8 (19)
Bloomsbury	6 (9)	22 (31)	15 (21)	14 (20)	13 (19)
Kings Cross	16 (22)	20 (27)	10 (14)	19 (26)	8 (11)
St. Pancras	12 (21)	17 (29)	6 (10)	14 (24)	9 (16)
Regents Park	12 (15)	22 (28)	7 (9)	16 (21)	21 (27)
Priory	8 (12)	21 (31)	8 (12)	20 (29)	11 (16)
Kilburn	8 (15)	18 (35)	13 (25)	10 (19)	3 (6)
West End	16 (17)	31 (33)	9 (10)	15 (16)	23 (25)
Swiss Cottage	9 (10)	44 (47)	13 (14)	23 (25)	4 (4)
Adelaide	16 (20)	32 (39)	11 (13)	13 (16)	10 (12)
Hampstead	16 (26)	18 (30)	11 (18)	5 (8)	11 (18)
Belsize	16 (21)	26 (33)	10 (13)	17 (22)	9 (12)
Chalk Farm	4 (13)	12 (39)	7 (23)	6 (19)	2 (7)
Camden	19 (27)	25 (35)	8 (11)	12 (17)	7 (10)
Gospel Oak	4 (17)	6 (26)	4 (17)	4 (17)	5 (22)
Highgate	11 (20)	27 (48)	6 (11)	7 (13)	5 (9)
St. Johns	13 (26)	10 (20)	10 (20)	11 (22)	6 (12)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 6.36:

Citizen Involvement In Camden (Breakdown By Wards)Membership Of Neighbourhood Group

Wards	Tenants' Association	Residents' Association	Other Group	None
Holborn	10 (22)	1 (2)	0 (0)	29 (63)
Bloomsbury	1 (1)	5 (7)	6 (8)	60 (82)
Kings Cross	12 (16)	4 (5)	4 (5)	54 (71)
St. Pancras	10 (17)	2 (3)	1 (2)	43 (73)
Regents Park	27 (35)	3 (4)	1 (1)	46 (59)
Priory	9 (13)	1 (1)	0 (0)	55 (80)
Kilburn	5 (9)	3 (5)	0 (0)	43 (77)
West End	8 (8)	14 (15)	1 (1)	69 (73)
Swiss . Cottage	6 (6)	7 (7)	2 (2)	78 (80)
Adelaide	13 (16)	12 (15)	3 (4)	54 (66)
Hampstead	2 (3)	5 (8)	5 (8)	48 (77)
Belsize	4 (5)	10 (13)	4 (5)	60 (76)
Chalk Farm	2 (7)	7 (23)	1 (3)	21 (68)
Camden	6 (8)	4 (5)	0 (0)	67 (86)
Grafton	10 (12)	3 (4)	0 (0)	61 (75)
Gospel Oak	7 (30)	3 (13)	0 (0)	13 (57)
Highgate	7 (13)	11 (20)	5 (9)	33 (59)
St. Johns	5 (10)	6 (12)	1 (2)	36 (72)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

of the local authority. Those wards with a greater than average proportion of private rented accommodation, of new and transient residents, show less interest in local affairs than do those residents of longer standing in publicly rented accommodation and owner-occupation. 31 per cent of the respondents in Holborn ward and 39 per cent in Bloomsbury showed little or no interest in local events (Table 6.35). In Regents Park ward where the main wage earner is in manual or unskilled work an even higher amount of disinterest is shown (48 per cent). In those wards with residents further up the social scale, more interest is shown in the neighbourhood (Adelaide, 59 per cent; Belsize, 54 per cent; Table 6.35). These different rates of interest become more extreme when participatory behaviour is examined. Those wards which showed greater interest have higher proportions of citizens actively involved in local affairs. In addition to this, medium status residents may be more active in a ward of lower average social status than they are in one of higher status.

Residents of those wards in the north of the borough and of higher social status are more likely to belong to neighbourhood groups than in other wards. This is to be expected when the social and physical characteristics of these wards are considered. However, not all the wards have the participation rates that might be expected from the preceeding analysis of the influence of age, income and social status on involvement rates. 26 per cent of the residents in King's Cross were actively involved in local groups (Table 6.36) and 22 per cent in St. Pancras. Bloomsbury, with its high proportion of transient residents, showed less interest with 16 per cent of the residents being active locally. Adelaide with 35 per cent and Highgate with 42 per cent of its residents as members of a neighbourhood group are the involvement rates that might have been expected from the

socio-economic analysis of these wards. St. Pancras ward with its high proportion of council tenants has a greater than average membership of tenants' associations (17 per cent), Regents Park which contains a high proportion of manual workers has a very large number of residents involved with tenants' associations (35 per cent). Hampstead ward is anomalous in this situation. The residents here show more interest in local affairs and a greater knowledge of the workings of local government but are less likely to be members of residents' associations (8 per cent) than are other comparable wards such as Highgate (20 per cent) and Adelaide (15 per cent). However, Hampstead residents are more likely than the majority of residents to be members of other groups whose concern is that other than housing. These environmental groups attract fewer residents in other wards except for Bloomsbury (8 per cent) and Highgate (9 per cent).

An analysis of the political participation in the years leading up to the survey show a similar distribution of participation rates. For this analysis of involvement, the electoral turnout at the borough council elections for 1971 and 1974 were examined. Data beyond these dates were incompatible because of local government reorganisation and boundary changes. Of the two years studied there was a 38.2 per cent turnout in 1971 and a slightly lower turnout of 37.1 per cent in 1974 (Table 6.37). During this period there was a shift in political allegiance away from the Labour party to minority parties and to the Conservative party. Overall, the proportion of the electorate in each ward reflected the degree of citizen involvement in that ward. The ward with the highest turnout in 1974 was Highgate ward (48 per cent). This was also the ward with the greatest neighbourhood involvement in terms of attendance at public meetings and membership of local groups and societies. In both years

ELECTORAL TURNOUT, PERCENTAGES.

COEFFICIENTS OF THE TREND SURFACE (ORDER 1), SYMAP AXIS SYSTEM

THE VALUE OF THE FUNCTION AT COORDINATES X AND Y IS

$$Z = + 0.43751191640E+02 - 0.10570110685E+01 X \\ - 0.21689470230E+00 Y$$

ERROR MEASURES

STANDARD DEVIATION	4.75
VARIATION EXPLAINED BY SURFACE	0.15922580E+03
VARIATION NOT EXPLAINED BY SURFACE	0.38298510E+03
TOTAL VARIATION	0.54221090E+03
COEFFICIENT OF DETERMINATION	0.29366030
COEFFICIENT OF CORRELATION	0.54190430

Table 6.37: London Borough Of Camden. Political Participation.

Percentage Turnout At London Borough Council Elections 1971/74.

Ward	Electorate 1971 1974	<u>1971</u> Votes Cast (%)				<u>1974</u> Votes Cast (%)			
		Poll(%)	Cons.	Lab.	Lib.	Poll(%)	Cons.	Lab.	Lib.
Adelaide	10,980 11,110	39.5	48.1	45.2	6.6	41.6	47.7	4.32	9.1
Belsize	10,454 11,203	40.3	43.3	48.4	5.3	41.4	44.5	47.7	6.2
Hampstead	9,546 10,236	39.0	53.7	40.1	4.6	40.3	52.7	30.6	14.4
Kilburn	7,466 8,343	40.3	26.8	68.6	3.8	33.3	28.4	61.5	10.1
Priory	6,646 7,520	45.7	32.0	66.6	-	43.3	28.7	62.1	4.9
Swiss Cottage	9,245 10,578	38.8	45.7	50.4	3.9	38.3	48.5	45.6	5.9
West End	9,603 10,557	36.8	49.7	50.3	-	41.8	47.2	49.2	3.0
Bloomsbury	7,793 9,017	27.8	44.2	55.8	-	27.1	42.8	57.2	-
Holborn	5,887 6,345	39.9	37.6	62.4	-	37.0	26.2	64.4	9.4
Kings Cross	8,979 10,026	36.0	41.7	58.3	-	36.9	34.7	53.3	12.0
Regents Park	8,966 10,284	40.1	32.7	67.3	-	37.0	34.6	65.4	-
St. Pancras	7,451 8,359	32.3	10.8	89.2	-	30.6	14.5	85.5	-
Camden	10,211 11,337	36.1	24.0	73.7	-	28.9	34.8	55.4	9.8
Chalk Farm	5,116 5,491	37.8	42.0	58.0	-	37.9	34.8	55.4	9.8
Gospel Oak	3,803 3,582	46.5	28.8	68.5	-	42.3	24.0	69.7	3.8
Grafton	9,483 10,334	35.8	17.1	80.8	-	30.3	16.8	74.6	4.3
Highgate	6,785 7,631	46.9	49.1	48.4	-	48.4	42.2	47.0	8.6
St. Johns	6,114 6,655	35.8	24.8	75.2	-	34.6	18.8	73.4	7.8
Total	144,528 158,608	38.2	37.7	59.5	1.8	37.1	37.1	54.7	7.0

Bloomsbury had a very low turnout (27.8 and 27.1 per cent respectively; Table 6.37). Gospel Oak ward had a higher than average turnout in both 1971 (46.5 per cent) and in 1974 (42.3 per cent). This ward had a high level of neighbourhood involvement with 43 per cent of the residents being members of local groups. This high participation score is not reflected in the socio-economic characteristics of this ward. It may be that there are environmental problems here which have brought about such a large neighbourhood response. Housing was mentioned as being one of those areas which was particularly worrisome to this ward.

Low turnouts appear in Kilburn (33 per cent), Holborn (37 per cent) and Camden (29 per cent). These low figures, rather than reflecting limited involvement in neighbourhood or borough-wide affairs, reflect the political composition of these wards. As with Grafton ward they have large proportions of manual workers. These wards have traditionally returned councillors of one party (the Labour Party) and the perceived effectiveness of voting has been diminished. At one extreme, Grafton had a low overall turnout in 1974 of 30 per cent, 17 per cent of whom voted for the Conservative Party and 75 per cent for the Labour Party (Table 6.37). In none of the wards held by Conservatives was the difference between the votes of the two major parties so great. Thus, in those wards with residents of higher social status there was more competition than in wards in the south of the borough. It is, perhaps, this reason that partially explains the higher participation rates in those wards in the north of the borough, at least for these borough elections.

Citizen involvement in neighbourhood affairs and local government appears to vary according to socio-economic and demographic variables

and partly with the distribution of locally perceived problem areas within the borough. As with other studies of public participation, length of residence, age, personal income, length of education, housing status and social status were found to have a significant influence on the activity rates of individuals. Age, housing status and social status were found to be the most influential variables. The influence of these was found to change with the nature of the of involvement.

Knowledge of the local authority and how to contact it was possessed by the majority of residents. This level of cognition of the administrative and political system exceeded the level of interest shown in that system. Lastly, behaviour or active participation in the neighbourhood, whether in the form of political participation or membership of a local group, appeared to be influenced by the variables mentioned above, but to even greater effect than for knowledge or interest in local affairs.

Those areas of Camden which were characteristic of certain groups had those participation rates that could be deduced from the nature of those groups. Wards which had above average proportions of long stay residents tended to have higher involvement rates than wards that did not. Those areas which had a high turnover of population had respondents showing less interest and involvement in local affairs. They were also less likely to have any knowledge of the workings of local government. In addition, some wards had involvement rates beyond that which might have been expected from the characteristics of the respondents themselves. To explain these deviations other attributes of the environment need to be examined. It may have been that there was one or more aspects of the environment causing stress. This may also have resulted in greater resident involvement in local

affairs. The influence of external variables on the individual and how they affect the residents' feelings towards involvement with the local authority is the subject of the following analysis.

Citizen Involvement And Environmental Preferences.

The attitudes which residents have towards their environment were distinguished by their similarity across different groups. On the whole, residents have a shared perception of the borough. Some attributes such as housing and education are the cause of concern for those not only in distress, but also for other more privileged residents. Citizens who were of varying social status, age, location and housing type expressed similar preferences for alternative environments. Residents, when presented with a trade-off game, expressed uncommonly similar preferences for changes in those aspects of the environment which were covered by the game. From this it might be hypothesized that not only the attitudes but the preferences of participants and non-participants are similar. However, it has been noted that the demographic and socio-economic aspects of the more involved citizens vary from those of the less interested and non-participating groups. The differences in feelings towards the environment between the involved and the disinterested resident has been noted to be very small (see above). This, too, suggests that preferences like attitudes do not vary significantly between the involved resident and the less involved or apathetic one.

Studies of participation in politics frequently emphasise the characteristics of the activists and non-activists. On the other hand, there is a pre-occupation with attitudes towards political institutions. The feelings citizens have for the institutions of the state whether at the national or local government level is offered as an important causal factor in the stability of those institutions. In Almond and Verba's classification of political cultures the British political

system is regarded as a 'participant culture' (Almond and Verba, 1965, p.16). That is, attitudes are expressed towards both the input and output sides of government. The individual, in that system, sees himself as being active in that system though not necessarily effective. This empirical study of Almond and Verba, like that of Cole (1974, p.108), demonstrates the relationship between feelings for the political institutions in which they are taking part and the level of activity. Generally, residents' sense of trust and feelings for the institution in which they are participants increases up to a certain point and then falls (Cole, 1974, p.109). This relationship is curvilinear. There appears to be a cut-off point where attitudes towards the political or administrative system decrease with increased involvement. In other words, diminishing returns set in. However, when attitudes towards the environment are considered against involvement in local affairs a similar relationship does not appear to hold, at least not in Camden. It has been noted elsewhere that the difference in attitudes towards varying parts of the environment between groups is not very large. For some sub-groups in the population there is, nevertheless, a tendency to have either more positive or more negative attitudes than the average for the borough.

Similar findings are cited in the geographical literature. Gould in his analysis of place preferences has sampled students in the United States and school children in the United Kingdom. The most striking feature of these 'mental maps' is a commonly held perception or ranking of different places within a country. In the United States, California was ranked, almost universally, as the most desirable state in which to live (Gould, 1966). In Britain the south coast is viewed by the majority of school children as the place they would ideally like to migrate to (Gould and White, 1974). Yet,

in all of these studies, beyond the general ranking of preferences or trend surface, there are peaks and troughs of preferences illuminating the specific desires or needs of certain groups and certain locations. These 'cognitive' or 'mental' maps reflect the findings outlined here. The environmental attitudes of different groups in the population tend to overlap. Differences occur when the attitudes of particular groups are examined in isolation. In this study it was noticed that there was a variation in feelings for the environment between different social groups, between residents of different age, location, housing status and educational attainment. In Yi-Fu Tuan's cross-cultural survey of environmental attitudes and values a correspondingly similar range of attitudes was encountered. However, he noted that differences between the sexes and other variables were influenced by culture and the level of economic development (Tuan, 1974). The more separated and segregated the life styles or roles that individuals perform the greater is the tendency for attitudes, preferences and values to differ.

As this part of the study is concerned with the preferences for different environments according to participation levels it may be expected that there will be less variation in attitudes than there is when attitudes towards institutions are considered. Preferences for different environments, it has been noted (Chapter 4), vary little between different social groups. From this evidence and that of other studies of place preferences it is suggested that these preferences do not vary very much between the participant and non-participant.

The importance of this assertion lies in its relation to the trust residents have in the institution of local government, or, rather, for any form of participatory behaviour. For this trust or 'civic trust', which Almond and Verba call it, there needs to be a

congruence in outlook between the more and the less involved residents. It is this congruence in attitudes which may help to preserve the stability of any system. This stable state, participatory democrats argue, is achieved by openness and access to positions of influence. Followers of the representative school argue, on the contrary, that too much citizen involvement is likely to be disruptive to the established political order. The attitudes of the traditionally non-active, they suggest, tend to be authoritarian and anti-democratic. That is, they are likely to disrupt the very institution that they are urged to take part in (Pennock and Chapman, 1975). This distinction rests on the importance of attitudes or predispositions towards the system of government rather than to environmental attitudes. Yet, in some studies (Wright Mills, 1956, and Parry, 1969) the differences in perceptions of those in influential positions both in and out of government varies from the commonly held attitudes towards institutions and certain modes of behaviour. Neither of these studies look in detail at the varying attitudes of the elite and non-elite towards their environment. They emphasise instead the techniques by which elite and participating groups maintain their positions of authority in the face of competition from elsewhere (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970).

It is here that the attitudes of participants are examined. By looking at the priorities for environmental change according to the level of involvement in local affairs it is hoped that some light might be shed on the questions outlined here. Do the more active residents, for example, vary in their preferences for alternative environments? An elitist view might suggest that they do. Yet the geographical studies of place preferences identified a common 'cognitive map' of preferred locations. Here concern is not for the desirability of different places but rather for aspects of the environment which contribute to an image of desirability or avoidance.

Participatory Behaviour And Environmental Preferences.

Participatory behaviour is considered here, as elsewhere, as a continuum from being completely ignorant of local affairs to taking an active part in a local group or society. By examining the attitudes towards the environment at different places along this continuum it was noted (see above) that the attitudes of the non-participants did not vary very much from those of the participants. When it came to examining the preferences of different groups there was even less variation in attitudes. This may, in part, be explained by the coarseness of the technique used (a ten category trade-off game). On the other hand it supports work on locational preferences (cf. Gould and White) where commonly held cognitive maps exist.

1. Preferences And Knowledge Of The Local Authority. Residents with enough civic knowledge to contact the local authority over some problem which they have do not differ very much in their environmental preferences from those that are ignorant of the workings of the administrative system (Table 6.38 and Table 6.39). As for the analysis of participatory behaviour by demographic and social characteristics, participants and non-participants alike have a common schedule of preferences. In all cases, housing is allocated more counters than any other category. Both the disinterested and active residents are aware of this deficiency in their neighbourhood or in the borough as a whole. The special needs of certain groups such as the elderly, the handicapped and single parent families are obvious to most residents. And, of the priorities for change, this category ranks second in importance to housing (Table 6.38 and 6.39). Also, residents who are knowledgeable are slightly more likely to allocate more counters (2.81, Table 6.38) than are the unknowledgeable (2.75). It was noted earlier (Chapter 4) that the more educated and higher status residents

Participatory Behaviour

Priorities	Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority	
	Very Interested	Interested	Undecided	Not interested	Not at all interested	YES	NO	YES	NO
Housing	3.63	3.52	3.39	3.42	3.35 SL=0.20	3.48	3.54 SL=0.93	3.56	3.44 SL=0.17
Helping People In Need	2.93	2.70	2.95	2.88	2.64 SL=0.19	2.81	2.75 SL=0.02	2.77	2.84 SL=0.74
Education	2.69	2.89	2.78	2.75	2.73 SL=0.79	2.80	2.76 SL=0.53	2.79	2.77 SL=0.07
Health	2.44	2.43	2.57	2.56	2.43 SL=0.27	2.50	2.53 SL=0.75	2.50	2.52 SL=0.79
Child Facilities	2.42	2.30	2.39	2.51	2.28 SL=0.83	2.36	2.41 SL=0.99	2.39	2.38 SL=0.98
Street Cleansing	2.16	2.06	1.87	2.11	1.83 SL=0.09	2.07	1.88 SL=0.62	2.09	1.88 SL=0.68
Transport	2.14	2.03	1.93	2.02	2.10 SL=0.05	2.10	1.87 SL=0.52	2.06	2.02 SL=0.9
Jobs	1.86	1.93	2.0	1.99	2.04 SL=0.11	1.92	2.06 SL=0.10	1.86	2.03 SL=0.04
Shopping	1.82	1.83	1.62	1.85	1.71 SL=0.75	1.84	1.62 SL=0.96	1.80	1.78 SL=0.86
Leisure	1.83	1.62	1.72	1.72	1.60 SL=0.70	1.70	1.67 SL=0.67	1.73	1.66 SL=0.78

Table 6.38: Environmental Preferences And Citizen Involvement (1)

Participatory Behaviour

Priorities	Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority	
	Very interested	Interested	Uncertain	Not interested	Not at all interested	YES	NO	YES	NO
Housing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Helping People In Need	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	2
Education	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3
Health	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Child Facilities	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Street Cleansing	6	6	8	6	8	7	7	6	8
Transport	7	7	7	7	6	6	8	7	7
Jobs	8	8	6	8	7	8	6	8	6
Shopping	10	9	10	9	9	9	10	9	9
Leisure	9	10	9	10	10	10	9	10	10

Table 6.39: Environmental Preferences And Citizen Involvement (1)

showed a greater awareness or, at least, a willingness to allot a larger proportion of their income to these groups. The only other significant difference in resource allocation is between the jobs and transport categories. In the table of rankings, knowledgeable residents rate the category 'jobs' (Table 6.39) more highly than less knowledgeable people. Also, in the ranking system as a whole, the less knowledgeable residents allot significantly more counters to this category (2.06) than do the better informed (1.92). Thus, at this level of the involvement continuum, a greater interest is shown in some aspects of the environment (jobs and deprived groups) by some groups than it is by others. Yet, the differences between the knowledgeable and less knowledgeable are small. Overall, there is a common perception of problems facing the borough. Yet, within this common view there are local or group-specific preferences for changes in those aspects of the environment which are of most concern to a specific group. The immobile may express a preference for transport improvements while the unemployed may rank changes in the employment structure more highly.

2. Interest In Local Affairs And Environmental Preferences.

Residents who show more interest in local affairs do not vary very much in their preferences for changes in the environment from those who are less interested or disinterested in them. The ranking of environmental changes for both the interested and less interested resident is topped by the housing category. This is awarded 3.63 counters by the most interested residents (Table 6.38) and 3.35 counters by the most disinterested. Although the difference between them is not very significant (Table 6.38). The second most important category for the majority of residents is helping people in need, closely followed by the education category. Residents who show more

interest in their neighbourhood tend to allocate more to the 'helping people in need' trade-off topic than do the less interested. This reflects the findings outlined above where knowledge of local government was associated with this preference. When the category of jobs is considered it becomes apparent that there is greater concern for this category by the less interested citizen, yet in the list as a whole it ranks only seventh out of ten. The reasons for this apparently low rating of an otherwise important aspect of people's lives are explained elsewhere (Chapter 4). The variation in counter allocation for jobs does, however, reflect the greater concern of the less interested residents for the more essential things in their lives. The very interested residents, like the more active participants in general, tend to take greater interest in the amenity of an area. Elsewhere (Chapter 4) it was noted that leisure and recreation figured more prominently in the lives of higher status individuals and of the more active residents. With regards to preferences for alternative environments it appears as though these more interested residents also rate leisure more highly than the less interested residents (Table 6.39). For the less interested the 'shopping' category ranks higher. But for both the more and the less interested residents leisure and shopping, as trade-off categories, receive the lowest allocation of resources. Interest in local affairs like knowledge of local affairs has only a marginal influence on preferences for alternative environments. It now remains for the preferences of those residents who are located further along the participatory continuum to be analysed.

3. Neighbourhood Participation And Environmental Preferences.

The indicators used here to measure interaction with the local authority and involvement in the neighbourhood include attendance at public meetings, membership of neighbourhood groups, contact with the

local authority and contact with a social worker. By looking at the attitudes of those citizens who are contacted by a social worker it is hoped that the feelings or preferences of an otherwise non-participating group can be analysed. These residents who are in need of special attention include the elderly, the poor, and those in conflict with local agencies for whatever reason. Varying levels of direct involvement as with interest and knowledge of local affairs, as measured by the indicators used here, do not appear to have very much influence on the preferences of citizens for changes in their environment.

A limited amount of interaction with the local authority is demonstrated by the frequency of contacts with officers. Here, the indicator measures at least one such contact during the year prior to the survey. Local government officers are not likely to get a false impression of the problems facing the borough from those who contact them because their preference rankings are almost identical to those who made no contact (Table 6.38). Those who make contact rank education more highly than do others (Table 6.39). While those who had no reason to, or did not have any dealings with local government, rated the 'helping of people in need' category as more important than did those who went to the local authority. The non-contactors like the uninformed and disinterested rate the jobs category two places higher than those who communicated with the council (Table 6.39). Likewise with other forms of participatory behaviour, the preferences which the more involved residents show tend to reflect the interests of the social groups to which they belong.

People who attend public meetings, or are members of neighbourhood or amenity groups have, on the whole, the same preference structure as the non-involved residents. There is a common perception of the

Participatory Behaviour

Priorities	Contact With Social Worker		Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Groups			
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Tenants' Association	Residents' Association	Other Group	None
Housing	3.52	3.49 SL=0.81	3.64	3.45 SL=0.60	3.30	3.54	3.64	3.51 SL=0.74
Helping People In Need	3.03	2.78 SL=0.65	2.82	2.81 SL=0.90	2.69	2.47	2.93	2.81 SL=0.89
Education	2.98	2.78 SL=0.46	2.99	2.73 SL=0.70	2.93	3.14	2.67	2.73 SL=0.95
Health	2.56	2.51 SL=0.95	2.60	2.49 SL=0.95	2.57	2.29	2.50	2.53 SL=0.99
Child Facilities	2.35	2.37 SL=0.96	2.39	2.36 SL=0.93	2.31	2.28	2.50	2.39 SL=0.99
Street Cleansing	2.25	2.01 SL=0.64	2.06	2.02 SL=0.49	2.06	2.11	2.52	1.99 SL=0.10
Transport	2.22	2.03 SL=0.20	2.15	2.02 SL=0.81	2.03	2.25	2.31	2.01 SL=0.03
Jobs	1.82	1.96 SL=0.66	1.90	1.97 SL=0.79	1.95	1.72	1.85	1.93 SL=0.99
Shopping	2.07	1.77 SL=0.37	1.74	1.79 SL=0.96	2.02	1.90	1.88	1.74 SL=0.82
Leisure	1.75	1.69 SL=0.32	1.71	1.69 SL=0.99	1.75	1.70	1.83	1.67 SL=0.01

Table 6.40: Environmental Preferences And Citizen Involvement (2)

Participatory Behaviour

Priorities	Contact With Social Worker		Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Groups			
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Tenants' Association	Residents' Association	Other Group	None
Housing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Helping People In Need	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	2
Education	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	3
Health	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	4
Child Facilities	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	5
Street Cleaning	6	7	7	6	6	7	4	7
Transport	7	6	6	7	7	6	7	6
Jobs	10	8	8	8	9	9	9	8
Shopping	8	9	9	9	8	8	8	9
Leisure	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

Table 6.41: Environmental Preferences And Citizen Involvement (2)

problems facing different groups and the borough as a whole. This is expressed by preferences for alternative environments (Table 6.41). Yet, the more active residents tend to rate education below helping people in need. The non-joiners, rate 'helping people in need' second only to 'housing' (Table 6.41). Further down the list of priorities variations occur between the preferences of the local groups. Non-members rate 'jobs' more highly than do members of either tenants' or residents' associations. Along the continuum of participation there has been this general preference or greater concern with employment by the less knowledgeable and less involved residents. When the priorities of the different groups examined in the study are analysed, it becomes apparent that the rankings, to a limited degree, reflect the varying interests of these groups. The environmental interests of the groups, particularly the 'other groups' category, are noticeable in the higher ranking of 'street cleaning' (Table 6.41). This category includes amenity societies, groups more concerned with the visual appearance of the neighbourhood than are the tenants' and residents' associations, and certainly more so than non-members of neighbourhood societies and groups.

When the preferences of those residents who are so incapacitated that they require the help of a social worker are recorded a similar picture emerges. Those who are the non-joiners, as defined by this form of local authority assistance, rank environmental changes on the whole like everyone else. Yet transport and employment are ranked slightly higher than the average ranking (Table 6.41). It seems from this analysis that as one moves along the continuum of citizen involvement from non-participation to membership of a local group there is hardly any variation in the ranking of the ten environmental trade-off categories.

Summary.

As was hypothesised, there appears to be no significant relationship between involvement in local affairs and preferences for alternative environments. As respondents' interest in neighbourhood affairs moves along a continuum from knowledge of local affairs towards an expressed interest to active involvement in local groups no appreciable difference in priorities for environmental change was noticeable. Those residents who are most interested, or most involved in local affairs, rank housing as the most important aspect of the environment in need of change. Helping people in need and education are marked second and third by the vast majority of residents. Of lower priority are employment, shopping, and leisure. The reasons for the low ranking of employment are discussed elsewhere (Chapter 4) and may be attributed to the limited powers the local authority possesses over this aspect of people's lives. One priority, leisure, although ranked at the bottom of the list of the ten priorities examined, reflects, in part, the differing circumstances of the more involved citizen. There is a tendency, though very weak, for participating citizens to rank leisure and shopping more highly than less involved residents. The more disinterested and uninvolved have a slight tendency to put more weight on employment and minority groups' interests.

The crudeness of the priority categories may, in certain circumstances, have made it difficult for the respondent to apply his or her allocation of counters in a meaningful way. The limited number of categories put forward meant that a wide variety of possible environments were subsumed under one heading. However, this problem is outweighed by the simplicity of the approach adopted here and the resulting data which showed an ability to differentiate between manifestly broad categories.

The findings of this part of the study suggest that, in Camden at least, there is little difference in outlook between the participant and non-participant. The more involved and less interested citizen appear to have a common perception of the need for change in the environment as was expressed by the imaginary allocation of resources to a number of broad environmental categories. If this common outlook on problems can be extended to include officials of local government and political representatives then there will be a fairly high consensus of opinion on environmental change. However, this is a conjecture and it remains for another study to examine in detail the preferences of representatives and officials along the dimensions examined here. What studies that there are in this area of research (Lester, 1980) suggest that there is a greater polarization of attitudes and preferences at the decision-making level than elsewhere. From the Camden data it is not possible to make such an assertion. However, the data described here suggests that the preferences of participants and non-participants are not dissimilar.

CHAPTER 7.

System Affect : Demographic Characteristics.

The involvement of residents in neighbourhood affairs appears to vary both spatially and with the socio-economic characteristics of the individual (Chapter 6). Theories of political participation explain the level of involvement as a compromise between the two extremes of 'political alienation' on the one hand and 'political efficacy' on the other (IULA, 1971). It is the personal aspect of involvement that is assessed here. The attitudes of residents towards the political and administrative system are cited as contributing to an explanation of political behaviour in relation to systems of government (Almond and Verba, 1965). It is the outputs of the administrative system which are most likely to influence the individual's environment and it is those which are considered below. But to what extent can residents' feelings towards the political and administrative system be explained by personal characteristics? According to Dahl (1970, p.92) this is the individual's 'personality or character, the political culture of his neighbourhood, and city, personal experiences; that is his political socialization.' The nature of this political socialization is important for any form of government for it is through this process that the institutions of government are legitimised (Crouch, 1977).

Those dimensions of political orientation which are considered important for the stability of the administrative and political system include attitudes towards the input into the political system, the outputs of the administrative system, and feelings for oneself (Almond and Verba, 1965). In their empirical cross-national study Almond and Verba found that attitudes towards government at the

national level were influenced by the sex of the respondent, educational attainment, and to a limited degree by occupational status. Differences emerged between countries reflecting different political cultures. It is against this evidence that the following analysis was carried out.

From the Camden survey data it was possible to identify a number of questions relating to attitudes towards local government within the borough of Camden (Appendix B). Those questions which included an attitudinal component towards the local authority are considered in the first part of this section of the study dealing with affect for local government. Residents' attitudes towards local government are considered alongside demographic and socio-economic features of the residents. From this it is hoped that a profile of those residents with particular attitudes will emerge. In the second section of this part of the analysis feelings towards local government are examined alongside participatory behaviour.

From other studies like those of Dahl (1961), Almond and Verba (1965), Hampton (1970) and Dennis (1972) some insight has been given into the attitudes of residents towards government. These studies have examined government at different levels yet not systematically at any one particular level. Almond and Verba differentiate between the political or input of government and the output or administrative side while examining only a small range of personal characteristics. Hampton's study examined the awareness of local government or political cognition and environmental attachment together with affect for the local government system in Sheffield. The most comprehensive of these studies relating to the feelings of residents towards local government was that carried out by the Royal Commission on Local

Government in England (Redcliffe-Maud, 1968). In this national survey it is possible to identify the attitudes of residents living in urban areas although the sub-samples for each city are small. The analysis of the data from Camden with its relatively large sample for an urban area overcomes some of the difficulties in inference of urban based attitudinal studies of a much smaller sample size (Moser and Kalton, 1971).

The Selection Of Variables Measuring Feelings Towards Local Government.

In order to test the hypothesis that affect for local government is a function of socio-economic status and location a number of variables were selected which measured some of these factors. As with the analysis of attitudes towards the environment, a list of social and demographic characteristics was examined (Chapter 4). It was noted there that age, location, social status, housing status, length of education, sex, and length of residence had varying degrees of influence on environmental attitudes as well as on involvement in neighbourhood affairs. These variables are considered here alongside the attitudes respondents express towards the institution of local government.

It is more difficult to isolate variables measuring feelings towards the political and administrative systems. Hampton in his Sheffield study considered feelings towards the output side of government rather than the input side. He measured feelings towards the provision of a number of services and noticed a difference between the affect shown by more active residents and those of the less involved residents (Hampton, 1970). Less attention was given to the flow of information into the decision-making framework. Citizen feelings for this side of government are better treated in Almond and

Verba's study (1965). Although dated, this study has been one of the few attempts to measure feelings towards the framework of citizen involvement in decision-making, i.e. the political system. In that study attitudes towards the effectiveness of pressure groups, voting and representatives were considered.

Unfortunately, the variables included in the Camden questionnaire do not lend themselves to being indicators of affect for the political system. As with Hampton's studies the attitudes measured relate principally to the output side. The allocation of goods and services to different groups and areas within the borough is the context for the feelings towards local government which are considered here. Two variables measure this 'output' of the administrative system. Firstly, the feelings towards the allocation of resources by the local authority to groups within the borough is examined (Appendix B). Secondly, a general attitude towards the local authority as a whole is considered. As residents are normally more concerned with the effect of government rather than its internal organisation this attitude might be seen to measure affect for the administrative system. But, at the same time, it is sufficiently broad to include some part of the political system which is also an aspect of the local government system.

It was noted above (Chapter 6) that participation in neighbourhood activities was positively correlated with attitudes towards the home environment. It appeared as though satisfaction or contentment with that part of the environment which is most basic to the well-being of the individual is a prerequisite for activity in other more distant environments. For some individuals dissatisfaction with this part of their lives may lead to a motivation for

involvement in, or contact with, those agencies which have some influence over that part of their surroundings. Here the hypothesis that attitudes towards local government are influenced by the individual's sense of satisfaction with the environment as a whole is examined. As with housing, it might be expected that those residents who are satisfied with this part of their environment have more time to be interested and involved with other facets of their surroundings. In this section the personal characteristics of respondents holding this attitude are examined. This is followed later by a consideration of this attitude alongside indicators of political cognition and participation.

Sex Differences And System Affect. The attitudes of male and female respondents were observed to vary little over a number of environmental facets. Women tended to be more concerned with those aspects of the environment close to the home and based on the family. Men showed more concern for employment and leisure activities. These findings, on the whole, reflect findings reported in the literature (Onibokun, 1976; Wolff, 1978). With regards to citizen involvement and attitudes towards local government this study found a slightly greater interest, and more extreme attitudes, towards this system by women than by men. This contrasts with the findings of studies like those of Almond and Verba where 'men showed higher frequencies and higher intensities than women in practically all the indices of political orientation and activity that were employed' (p. 325, op. cit.). However, these attitudes were aimed at national political systems. They found that the attitudes of women were more parochial and that they were more actively engaged in social activities at the local level than at the national level.

Attitudes															
Allocation Of Resources By Local Authority To Groups					Behaviour Of Local Authority					Personal Well-being Environmental Satisfaction					
	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very dis- satis- fied	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very dis- satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very dis- satis- fied
Male	76 (15)	118 (23)	165 (32)	81 (16)	76 (15)	181 (35)	170 (33)	125 (24)	21 (4)	21 (4)	165 (32)	155 (30)	37 (7)	79 (15)	82 (16)
Female	90 (14)	169 (27)	178 (28)	78 (12)	122 (19)	257 (40)	226 (35)	120 (19)	19 (3)	17 (3)	239 (37)	193 (30)	44 (7)	62 (10)	101 (16)
Column Total (Percent- age	166 (14)	287 (25)	343 (30)	159 (14)	198 (17)	438 (38)	396 (34)	245 (21)	40 (4)	38 (3)	404 (35)	348 (30)	81 (7)	141 (12)	183 (16)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.06

SL = 0.21

SL= 0.17

Table 7.1: Sex Differences And Attitudes Towards Local Government

Table 7.2:

Contact With Local Authority		
		Dissatisfied
Sex	Male	112 (21)
	Female	91 (17)
Column Total (Percentage)		163 (25)
		110 (17)
		201 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.20

Table 7.3:

Contact With Social Worker		
		No
Sex	Male	34 (6)
	Female	478 (46)
Column Total (Percentage)		44 (7)
		571 (86)
		78 (7)
		1050 (88)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.09

Sex Differences And Contact With The Administrative System

It is at the local level in an urban environment in which these differences are considered.

Of those residents who were motivated to contact the local authority, for whatever reason, very little difference in outlook can be discerned according to sex. If anything, females tended to be slightly happier with the response they received (25 per cent, Table 7.2) than were the men in the sample (21 per cent). A higher proportion of men were undecided. This may be because men are more critical or less easily satisfied with the output of services in their area.

More generally speaking, affect or attitudes towards the institution of local government do not differ markedly between men and women. There is a positive attitude shown for the work of local government as a whole. 72 per cent (Table 7.1) of respondents were content with the local authority. Yet, of this proportion, women were slightly more likely to express a positive attitude (75 per cent) towards it than were men (68 per cent). Although the affect for this institution is generally high there are occasions and policies which are not viewed so favourably. When the council's allocation of resources to different groups (council tenants, immigrant and handicapped families) is considered both male and female respondents express more dissatisfaction than support. 31 per cent (Table 7.1) of residents feel unhappy about the council's distribution of resources to other groups. 39 per cent were satisfied and 30 per cent were uncertain of their feelings. Virtually no difference in attitudes could be attributed to sex differences on this indicator. The marked difference in feelings expressed towards the council as a whole and its policy

towards certain groups suggests an overriding tolerance of, or acceptance of, the local government system as it is. It is debatable as to whether the affect shown for the administrative and political system at this level varies with changing policies. It remains to be seen whether the present level of affect will, or can be, maintained if there is continual dissatisfaction of a sizeable proportion of the residents with the allocation of resources to certain groups.

From the attitudes towards local government examined here the differences between men and women do not appear to be very significant. What variation there is lies with a tendency for women to have a higher regard for the institution of local government, yet at the same time being slightly more concerned about the allocation of resources to some groups within the borough. These attitudes towards the local government system are not dissimilar to those which the individual has of himself. 70 per cent of Camden residents feel satisfied with their present life style. Once again there is no major difference between the feelings of men and women about the lives they lead (Table 7.1). Women seem to be marginally more content with their lives (67 per cent) than are the men in the sample (62 per cent). As with other empirical evidence, voting behaviour, participation, feelings of personal effectiveness and positive attitudes towards the political system tend to be correlated (Crewe, et al., 1977). Attitudes towards the political and administrative system from the data analysed here reflect a similarity of outlook between men and women. From the literature, and from the under-representation of women on local councils, it might have been expected that a slightly less favourable attitude towards

local government would be expressed (Hampton, 1970, p.188). However, no evidence for this view was found.

Age And Attitudes Towards Local Government. The analysis of attitudes towards different aspects of the environment and the characteristics of the more involved residents showed that age was an important independent variable. Participation is characterized by the middle-aged. The under-representation of the young and elderly and other deprived groups in the political system may result in a greater hostility, or at least apathy, by these groups to this institution. Some indication for this hypothesis comes from the attitudes of those in poverty towards government (Townsend, 1979, p.431). In that study the young tended to be more conscious of their 'relative deprivation' than the elderly although the proportion of the aged who were in poverty was increasing.

The degree to which the young are apathetic or alienated from the local government system can be considered in the light of the data from Tables 7.4 and 7.5. Far fewer young people contact the local authority for whatever reason than do older residents. The least represented group consists of teenagers (15-19 years old, Table 7.5). Those in middle-age make the most contacts (35-44 years old). This level of involvement declines with age but is still higher for elderly people (aged 65 years and more) than it is for those under 25. Although these participation rates vary with age the attitude of those residents who contacted the local authority do not vary with age. Young people, it seems, are equally likely to be satisfied as are middle-aged and elderly respondents (Table 7.5). Overall, residents are more satisfied (23 per cent) than they are dissatisfied (17 per cent) with their contact with local government.

Table 7.5:

	Contact With Local Authority	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Age (Years)	15-19	6 (7) 6 (7)
	20-24	19 (14) 18 (13)
	25-34	64 (25) 43 (17)
	35-44	52 (30) 44 (26)
	45-54	42 (25) 25 (15)
	55-64	43 (26) 37 (22)
	65 and over	48 (23) 28 (13)
Column Total (Percentage)		275 (23) 201 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 7.6:

	Contact With Social Worker	
	YES	NO
Age (Years)	15-19	2 (3) 75 (93)
	20-24	3 (2) 122 (91)
	25-34	10 (4) 239 (92)
	35-44	16 (9) 148 (86)
	45-54	10 (6) 147 (88)
	55-64	6 (4) 154 (92)
	65 and over	31 (15) 164 (78)
Column Total (Percentage)		78 (7) 1050 (88)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Age And Contact With The Administrative System

The relationship between age and affect for local government is much clearer than it is with sex. Young people are not necessarily more unhappy with local government. They are more likely to be uncertain and less satisfied than other age groups (Table 7.4). 56 per cent of teenagers expressed satisfaction with local government as a whole, while 82 per cent of the elderly (65 years and over) felt this way. Young people in the 20-24 year age range were less content than the average resident (72 per cent). There appears to be a positive correlation between age and affect for local government with much less support coming from younger people. This lower level of support by the young can in part be explained by their greater lack of knowledge of the workings of local government (Chapter 6). They are much more likely to be unclear in their feelings towards it (37 per cent for teenagers) than are the middle-aged (21 per cent) or the elderly (11 per cent). From this data it appears as though there may be less justification for saying that the young are any more alienated from local government than are other age groups in Camden.

When the institution of local government is viewed in terms of its assistance to different groups within the borough a more complex picture of attitudes amongst different age groups emerges. At the time of the survey a smaller proportion of the respondents were likely to view the council's current allocation policies with support than it was for the institution itself (Table 7.4). Those groups which have expressed strong negative attitudes towards the environment and non-involvement in local affairs (the young and the elderly) do not express a corresponding negative attitude towards local government. On the contrary, it is that group which is most engaged in local affairs (the middle-aged) that expresses most

dissatisfaction with the local authority. At one extreme, 26 per cent of the 45-54 year old group expressed strong dissatisfaction with the way that the local authority allocated its resources. On the other hand, only 9 per cent of teenagers and 19 per cent of the elderly felt this disenchanted. Yet, slightly fewer of the young people in the sample were satisfied with the council's allocation than were other age groups. As for the local authority as a whole, young respondents are more likely to have an unclear idea of the local authority's resource allocation. Young people, on the whole, are less satisfied with the workings of local government than other age groups. Yet, they do not appear to be more dissatisfied or alienated from it, at least in Camden. From the indicators used here they are certainly less aware or certain of local government's overall effect and, in particular, its influence on them (Almond and Verba, 1965).

Length Of Residence And Feelings Towards Local Government. Age and length of residence are correlated but they both have independent influences on the attitudes residents have for their system of local government. As with participation, feelings for different aspects of the environment varied with length of residence. The main differences were between newcomers and the longer established residents. With regards to involvement in local affairs Crewe, in his study of political participation, found that 'the level of turnout regularly only drops significantly amongst the most recent newcomers, i.e. within the preceeding three years' (Crewe, 1977, p.54). The reasons for this difference in voting behaviour he explains in terms of the special character of long term residents who '... are the most likely to have established a network of

Attitudes																
Allocation Of Resources By Local Authority To Groups							Behaviour Of Local Authority				Personal Well-being Environmental Satisfaction					
Length Of Residence	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very dis- satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very dis- satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very dis- satis- fied
Less than 1 year	21 (12)	48 (26)	78 (43)	23 (13)	12 (7)	46 (25)	65 (36)	64 (35)	3 (2)	4 (2)	60 (33)	15 (8)	26 (14)	31 (17)		
1-4	39 (11)	97 (28)	104 (30)	51 (15)	55 (16)	127 (37)	119 (34)	76 (22)	15 (4)	10 (3)	112 (32)	26 (8)	49 (14)	56 (16)		
5-9	37 (15)	64 (27)	65 (27)	27 (11)	47 (20)	94 (39)	85 (35)	47 (20)	5 (2)	10 (4)	78 (32)	13 (5)	24 (10)	38 (16)		
10-19	45 (21)	49 (23)	47 (22)	25 (12)	44 (21)	91 (43)	71 (34)	31 (15)	8 (4)	9 (4)	88 (42)	16 (8)	23 (11)	34 (16)		
20 years or more	24 (14)	29 (17)	47 (27)	33 (19)	39 (23)	78 (45)	56 (32)	26 (15)	9 (5)	5 (3)	66 (38)	10 (6)	18 (10)	23 (13)		
Column Total	167	287	343	159	198	439	396	245	40	38	405	81	141	183		
(Percent- age)	(15)	(25)	(30)	(14)	(17)	(38)	(34)	(21)	(4)	(3)	(35)	(7)	(12)	(16)		

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

Table 7.7: Length Of Residence And Attitudes Towards Local Government

Table 7.8:

Length Of Residence (Years)	Contact With Local Authority	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Less than 1 year	35 (19)	16 (9)
1-4	88 (25)	66 (18)
5-9	59 (24)	52 (21)
10-19	48 (22)	35 (16)
20 years or more	44 (25)	30 (17)
Column Total (Percentages)	275 (23)	201 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.06

Table 7.9:

Length Of Residence (Years)	Contact With Social Worker	
	YES	NO
Less than 1 year	4 (2)	170 (16)
1-4	25 (7)	317 (88)
5-9	18 (7)	218 (89)
10-19	14 (6)	188 (86)
20 years or more	17 (10)	154 (86)
Column Total (Percentage)	78 (7)	1050 (88)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Length Of Residence And Contact With The Administrative System

friends and acquaintances and to have joined voluntary associations, which in turn reinforce the social pressures to vote' (op. cit., pp. 54-55). The greater mobility of the young may partly explain their lower rates of participation. From the behavioural data noted here (Chapter 6) it might be expected that attitudes towards local government, as expressed by the young, are different from those of other groups.

The attitudinal evidence from the survey data supports the idea that longer term residents have feelings which vary somewhat from those of the newcomer to the borough (Lynch, 1960). As with age, residents of long standing, who will very frequently be older residents, tend to regard the local authority more favourably than short term residents. 77 per cent (Table 7.7) of long-term residents (20 years or more) expressed satisfaction with the institution of local government. New residents (less than one year) felt positively towards local government, though to a lesser extent (61 per cent). This difference in feeling between the longer term residents and the newcomers is not explained by greater dissatisfaction with local government, but rather by a greater ignorance of the workings of the local authority and its impact in their area. More than twice as many of the new residents expressed uncertainty in their affect for local government (35 per cent) than did residents of ten years standing (15 per cent). This pattern of variation resembles that of the different age groups. There the young were as undecided as the new arrivals when seen alongside older and long term residents.

At a more detailed level new residents are less likely to have a knowledge of the present policies of the council. More new

residents expressed ignorance or uncertainty about the local authority's allocation of resources to various groups than it did to the local authority as a whole. 43 per cent of new arrivals and 30 per cent of residents of one to four years expressed doubt or uncertainty about the council's policies while 35 per cent and 22 per cent of these two groups felt the same about the institution of local government. In addition to being less well-informed about local government than longer term residents short-term residents are likely to be less pleased with any contact they make with the local administration (Table 7.8). This lower level of satisfaction might be accounted for in part by a less well developed knowledge of the workings of local government, or, perhaps, because of too high expectations of the local authority in those areas of concern to the new residents.

Feelings towards the local authority are associated with feelings about the residents' own well-being. Longer term residents, like older people, feel slightly more contented with their lot than do the young and new residents (Table 7.7). The more mobile residents make up that section of the population that is more likely to be in stress, particularly when it includes newly married couples with children (Townsend, 1979, p. 297 and 392). Although there is a slight difference between the attitudes of newer residents and those of older residents the difference is too small to be given any weight, at least from this data. This is surprising when the evidence of studies like that of Townsend is considered, although it is supported by Onibokun's findings (1976). Migrants to Camden, as has been noted earlier, are better able to compete for resources than the average citizen. These more mobile workers are predominantly professional and managerial in background and are thus more likely

to obtain access to different resources, particularly housing, than are other groups of workers (Parker, 1975).

Length of residence, then, like age is another variable that affects people's predispositions towards the institution of local government. Longer term residents and short-term residents take a positive attitude towards the political and administrative system. Longer term residents express a greater regard for it than do newcomers (Table 7.7). Newcomers are not more unhappy with it but rather more unaware of its workings and how to approach it if they have some grievance. There is some relationship between a sense of well-being and affect for local government though not nearly so strong as other studies have suggested and found. This difference might, in part, be accounted for by the vagueness of the indicator used in this case. It remains for another study to see whether other indicators of environmental satisfaction when considered alongside affect for local government produce a clearer relationship.

Education And Feelings Towards Local Government. Of several variables examined by political scientists when considering participation in politics, education has consistently been one of a small number that has had a significant influence (Lipset, 1964; Crewe, et al., 1977). As with attitudes towards the social and physical environment residents' feelings towards local government also appear to vary with length of education (Table 7.10). Those residents who have received some form of higher education tend to regard the political and administrative system more favourably in the studies carried out by Lipset (1963) and Almond and Verba (1965). This has been linked by Dahl (1970) and Crewe (1977) to the idea of political efficacy. Those individuals with higher social status and a greater length of

education were found to experience a greater sense of control over the environment and particularly over the political system. It is the enhanced feelings of influence in these areas by people with these attributes that contribute to a higher regard for political institutions, these writers suggest. However, the data from Camden, taken from a second tier of local government, suggests that this relationship is not so evident as studies of national political systems have shown (Lipset, 1963; Almond and Verba, 1965).

The feelings which residents express for the local authority are generally positive. 38 per cent (Table 7.10) were very satisfied with its work as a whole; 34 per cent were satisfied; 21 per cent were uncertain and only 7 per cent were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. Residents with the least amount of education, interestingly show the most favourable feelings for local government. The more educated residents are, on the whole, less satisfied with it. 78 per cent of the residents with a low level of schooling (14 years or less) express the greatest satisfaction while those with 20 years of education express less satisfaction (65 per cent). However, those with less schooling are a little more likely to be dissatisfied than are those with more education (Table 7.10). As was noticed with attitudes towards the social and physical environment (Chapter 4) residents with less education tend to be more extreme in their attitudes (Bass, 1955). Here, more minimally educated residents choose extreme attitudes. They tend to be either 'very dissatisfied' or 'very satisfied' and rarely in between (Table 7.10). It may be that these groups have greater difficulty in using this particular technique. They may be less able to discriminate between attitudinal categories. A future study would have to take account of, or make allowances for, varying abilities in using the Lickert scale (Moser and

Table 7.10: Education And Attitudes Towards Local Government

Attitudes																
Age At End Of Education	Allocation Of Resources By Local Authority To Groups					Behaviour Of Local Authority					Personal Well-being Environmental Satisfaction					
	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied	
14 or under	63 (18)	64 (19)	74 (21)	56 (16)	88 (26)	171 (49)	99 (29)	46 (13)	13 (4)	18 (5)	123 (36)	106 (31)	18 (5)	42 (12)	57 (17)	
15	34 (21)	31 (19)	30 (18)	26 (16)	45 (27)	73 (44)	49 (29)	26 (16)	10 (6)	9 (5)	61 (37)	39 (23)	14 (8)	22 (14)	31 (19)	
16	16 (12)	34 (26)	43 (33)	15 (12)	21 (16)	47 (36)	51 (40)	26 (20)	3 (2)	2 (2)	42 (33)	41 (32)	7 (5)	17 (13)	22 (17)	
17	11 (15)	19 (25)	24 (32)	8 (11)	14 (18)	20 (26)	32 (42)	19 (25)	4 (5)	2 (3)	16 (21)	29 (38)	5 (7)	8 (10)	19 (25)	
18	5 (6)	25 (29)	31 (37)	13 (15)	11 (13)	27 (32)	31 (37)	25 (29)	1 (1)	1 (1)	26 (30)	37 (43)	7 (8)	3 (4)	13 (15)	
19	2 (7)	8 (30)	9 (33)	4 (15)	4 (15)	7 (26)	13 (48)	6 (22)	1 (4)	0 (0)	6 (22)	5 (19)	4 (15)	8 (30)	4 (15)	
20	3 (13)	4 (17)	11 (48)	3 (13)	2 (9)	8 (35)	7 (30)	7 (30)	1 (4)	0 (0)	8 (35)	8 (35)	4 (17)	1 (4)	2 (9)	
21-23	16 (12)	51 (38)	49 (36)	12 (9)	7 (5)	45 (33)	55 (41)	30 (22)	2 (2)	3 (2)	56 (42)	37 (27)	9 (7)	15 (11)	18 (13)	
24 or more	4 (7)	21 (36)	22 (37)	9 (15)	3 (5)	22 (37)	19 (32)	14 (24)	2 (3)	2 (3)	26 (44)	17 (29)	5 (9)	5 (9)	6 (10)	
Still Studying	11 (11)	29 (28)	49 (48)	12 (12)	2 (2)	17 (17)	38 (37)	45 (44)	3 (3)	0 (0)	37 (36)	28 (27)	7 (7)	20 (19)	11 (11)	
Column Total	165	286	342	158	197	437	394	244	40	37	401	347	80	141	183	
(Percentage)	(15)	(25)	(30)	(14)	(17)	(38)	(34)	(21)	(4)	(3)	(35)	(30)	(7)	(12)	(16)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

Table 7.11:

	Contact With Local Authority	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
14 or under	90 (25)	66 (18)
15	38 (22)	39 (23)
16	32 (24)	15 (11)
17	25 (32)	13 (17)
18	19 (22)	11 (13)
19	8 (30)	6 (22)
20	6 (26)	3 (13)
21-23	25 (18)	30 (22)
24 or more	19 (32)	10 (17)
Still Studying	11 (10)	7 (7)
Column Total (Percentage)	275 (23)	201 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 7.12:

	Contact With Social Worker	
	YES	NO
14 or under	41 (11)	296 (82)
15	13 (8)	148 (87)
16	9 (7)	116 (87)
17	4 (5)	72 (92)
18	2 (2)	81 (93)
19	0 (0)	27 (100)
20	1 (4)	22 (96)
21-23	4 (3)	127 (92)
24 or more	3 (5)	55 (92)
Still Studying	0 (0)	102 (95)
Column Total (Percentage)	78 (7)	1050 (88)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Kalton, 1971).

At a more specific level individuals with less schooling tend to be more dissatisfied with particular policies of the council towards certain groups in the borough. The more lowly educated take greater offence at the council's allocation of resources to some groups than do the more educated residents. The more educated residents are more likely to express uncertainty than other groups (Table 7.10), or less extreme attitudes. Perhaps, if more indicators measuring affect for local government were chosen it might have been possible to identify those parts of the local government system which were causing the most concern. This can, in part, be inferred from the attitudes of residents towards those aspects of the environment over which the local authority has some control. These attitudes will be measuring the 'output' side of government rather than the 'input' or political aspect of local government.

A sense of well-being and environmental satisfaction appears to be related to length of education. Individuals who have experienced a longer than average period of education are rather more satisfied with their life styles than are those less well-endowed (Table 7.10). As with studies of political efficacy (Crewe, et al., 1977) a sense of personal adequacy is found to be associated with the level of education received. The difference between those residents with higher education and those without is small but noticeable. Overall, respondents express personal well-being (65 per cent, Table 7.10), but those with higher education (24 years or more) are the most content (73 per cent). The least happy are those with the minimal level of education (14 years or less, 67 per cent; 15 years, 60 per cent). This particular finding is not so surprising

when seen against data from other surveys of political participation (Dahl, 1970; Cole, 1974). What is different is the surprisingly greater positive affect shown by those with a lower level of education. This may be tentatively explained by the greater ability and tendency of Camden Council to assist the more deprived and distressed groups over which it has some influence (Camden, 1979a).

Social Status And Feelings Towards Local Government. Both income and education are correlated with social status and, like education, it might be expected that similar feelings are expressed towards local government. It has been noted elsewhere (Lipset, 1963; Crewe, 1977) that social status is correlated with higher rates of political participation, sense of political efficacy and affect for the political and administrative system (Almond and Verba, 1965, p. 167). Here residents' feelings towards the output of the administrative system, local government as a whole, and the policies of the local authority towards different groups are considered.

Of those residents who have some contact with the local authority over some problem that they have, neither low status nor high status individuals vary very much in their opinion of the results of their contact. Of the individuals who had made contact 25 per cent of professional and managerial workers (SEG 1, Table 7.14) and 20 per cent of unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers (SEG 5) were satisfied with the treatment that they received. On average, 17 per cent of residents were dissatisfied but no significant difference could be found between the attitudes of the different status groups on this indicator.

The allocation of resources by the local authority to different groups is viewed slightly more positively than negatively (Table 7.13).

Attitudes

Allocation Of Resources By Local Authority To Groups										Behaviour Of Local Authority					Personal Well-being Environmental Satisfaction				
	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied
One	30 (11)	80 (30)	88 (33)	34 (13)	32 (12)	82 (31)	99 (38)	73 (28)	6 (2)	4 (2)	102 (39)	88 (33)	18 (7)	31 (12)	102 (39)	88 (33)	18 (7)	31 (12)	26 (10)
Two	46 (14)	91 (28)	98 (30)	41 (13)	49 (15)	123 (38)	125 (38)	63 (19)	9 (3)	8 (2)	109 (33)	111 (34)	17 (5)	36 (11)	109 (33)	111 (34)	17 (5)	36 (11)	54 (17)
Three	36 (16)	42 (19)	48 (22)	37 (17)	59 (27)	99 (45)	63 (28)	38 (17)	11 (5)	11 (5)	83 (37)	56 (25)	14 (6)	32 (14)	83 (37)	56 (25)	14 (6)	32 (14)	38 (17)
Four	21 (19)	16 (15)	29 (27)	15 (14)	28 (26)	43 (39)	36 (33)	19 (17)	3 (3)	8 (7)	33 (30)	31 (28)	12 (11)	11 (10)	33 (30)	31 (28)	12 (11)	11 (10)	22 (20)
Five	33 (14)	58 (25)	80 (34)	32 (14)	30 (13)	92 (39)	72 (31)	52 (22)	11 (5)	7 (3)	78 (34)	61 (26)	20 (9)	31 (13)	78 (34)	61 (26)	20 (9)	31 (13)	43 (19)
Column Total (Per- cent- age)	167 (15)	287 (26)	343 (30)	159 (14)	198 (17)	439 (38)	396 (34)	245 (21)	40 (4)	38 (3)	405 (35)	348 (30)	81 (7)	141 (12)	405 (35)	348 (30)	81 (7)	141 (12)	183 (16)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.17

Table 7.13: Social Status And Attitudes Towards Local Government

Table 7.14:

	Contact With Local Authority	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Social Group	One 68 (25)	44 (16)
	Two 69 (21)	60 (18)
	Three 63 (28)	40 (18)
	Four 26 (23)	26 (23)
	Five 49 (20)	31 (12)
Column Total (Percentage)		275 (23) 201 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.36

Table 7.15:

	Contact With Social Worker	
	YES	NO
Social Group	One 6 (2)	249 (93)
	Two 14 (4)	303 (91)
	Three 15 (7)	203 (89)
	Four 7 (6)	100 (89)
	Five 36 (14)	194 (77)
Column Total (Percentage)		78 (7) 1050 (88)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Social Status And Contact With The Administrative System

41 per cent of residents find the council's distribution satisfactory and 31 per cent find it dissatisfying. Slightly more manual workers than non-manual workers find the allocation disturbing, 27 per cent of skilled manual workers and supervisors (SEG 3) and 26 per cent of semi-skilled workers and personal service workers (SEG 4) felt very dissatisfied with the council's policies towards other groups. It will be remembered that it is these groups that tend to be suffering most from the polarization in the housing market and loss of industrial employment (Camden, 1977a, p.12). Attitudes towards the local authority as a whole can be seen to resemble the feelings of groups when examined in terms of education. Respondents of lower occupational status tend to have more extreme attitudes towards local government. They are both more satisfied and more dissatisfied than professional and managerial workers. Manual and unskilled workers, unlike those with a minimum of schooling, tend to express rather similar attitudes towards the local authority. Unskilled and professional workers express a positive regard for this institution. The differences in attitudes that were noticed for different education groups does not correspond with occupational groupings as might have been expected (cf. Budge, 1965; Lipset, 1963).

Similarly, the feelings of residents towards themselves tends not to vary significantly between different occupational groups. The majority of residents are quite content with the lives they lead (65 per cent, Table 7.13). Of those that are not so content, a slightly higher proportion is to be found in the less skilled and manual occupations. 22 per cent of professional workers (SEG 1) express concern over their life styles while 32 per cent of unskilled manual workers and the unassigned workers felt this way. Thus, the

influence of social status, as measured by occupational status does not appear to be nearly so important an influence on attitudes as might have been expected (Onibokun, 1976). Low status and high status workers are likely to be equally complementary about the institution of local government. Within this overall framework the influence of education has only a marginal effect. This is surprising because education is normally highly positively correlated with social status on behavioural indicators (Crewe, 1977, p.53). However, Almond and Verba in their cross-national survey found that the influence of education on system affect was stronger than that of occupational status (Almond and Verba, 1965, p. 165). Of the other determinants of attitudes, housing status is often cited as one which contributes much to any form of variation and is seen as partially independent from those already examined here.

Housing Status And Affect For Local Government. Housing status like social status, education and length of residence have been identified elsewhere as variables influencing attitudes towards various aspects of the environment (Chapter 4). Lipset, in his empirical study of participatory behaviour overlooks this important variable in the British context (Lipset, 1963). Those which he found relevant in explaining voting behaviour partly reflect the behaviour described in this study. In his study age, length of residence and marital status had the most explanatory power. Crewe (1977) in a more recent study of political behaviour associated four factors with irregular turnout at elections; being young, having recently moved home, being unmarried or no longer married and housing tenure. 'The variables intercorrelate but each has an independent and depressive effect on regularity of turnout' (Crewe, 1977, p. 63). From the

participatory data obtained in this study it was noted that there was a correlation between housing status and participation. That group which was under-represented contained those who were living in privately rented accommodation. It was this group that also expressed the most negative attitudes towards the environment (Chapter 4). From these observations it might be expected that the residents in privately rented accommodation are less sympathetic towards, or alienated from, local government. The evidence from Camden supports this view.

Feelings for the institution of local government vary according to housing type (Tables 7.16-7.18). Owner-occupiers and council tenants are more satisfied with the contact they have with the local authority (Table 7.17). Residents in all categories of housing tenure express positive feelings over their contact with the local authority. Owner-occupiers (29 per cent) and council house tenants (29 per cent) express the greatest positive feelings. These groups tend to be more satisfied with the council's approach to their problems. This variation in response by different types of tenure might, in part, be related to the greater control which owner-occupiers have over their immediate environment and the greater influence of the council over its tenants when compared with the less privileged position of some tenants in privately rented accommodation (Wilkinson and Sigsworth, 1972). The policy of the council towards different groups is given varying levels of support. Council tenants express the most extreme attitudes but also tend to be more favourably disposed towards the council's policy (Table 7.16). 42 per cent of council tenants express satisfaction with the council's allocation of resources while 39 per cent are unhappy. Other groups are much

Attitudes															
Allocation Of Resources By Local Authority To Groups					Behaviour Of Local Authority					Personal Well-being: Environmental Satisfaction					
Housing Status	Very Satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very Dis- satis- fied	Very satis- fied	Satis- fied	Uncer- tain	Dis- satis- fied	Very dis- satis- fied
Owner- Occupied	20 (10)	62 (30)	62 (30)	31 (15)	30 (15)	65 (31)	75 (36)	53 (26)	9 (4)	5 (2)	102 (49)	67 (32)	9 (4)	16 (8)	13 (6)
Hostel	6 (9)	23 (36)	29 (45)	3 (5)	3 (5)	15 (23)	21 (33)	25 (39)	2 (3)	1 (2)	24 (38)	17 (27)	5 (8)	12 (19)	6 (9)
Private Landlord	48 (12)	99 (25)	142 (36)	60 (15)	50 (13)	138 (35)	156 (39)	31 (20)	11 (3)	14 (4)	114 (28)	124 (31)	35 (9)	53 (13)	75 (19)
Council	77 (21)	77 (21)	67 (18)	49 (13)	97 (26)	190 (52)	103 (28)	45 (12)	15 (4)	15 (4)	129 (35)	97 (26)	23 (6)	46 (13)	72 (20)
Column Total (Percentage)	151 (15)	261 (25)	300 (29)	143 (14)	180 (17)	408 (39)	355 (34)	204 (20)	37 (4)	35 (3)	369 (35)	305 (29)	72 (7)	127 (3)	166 (16)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

Table 7.16: Housing Status And Attitudes Towards Local Government

Table 7.17:

Housing Status	Contact With Local Authority	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Owner-Occupied	61 (29)	44 (21)
Hostel	4 (6)	2 (3)
Private Landlord	80 (19)	56 (14)
Council	111 (29)	89 (23)
Column Total (Percentage)	256 (23)	191 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 7.18:

Housing Status	Contact With Social Worker	
	YES	NO
Owner-Occupied	9 (4)	188 (90)
Hostel	3 (4)	62 (91)
Private Landlord	19 (5)	370 (89)
Council	43 (11)	319 (84)
Column Total (Percentage)	74 (7)	939 (93)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Housing Status And Contact With The Administrative System

less clear in their feelings. 45 per cent of hostel dwellers, 36 per cent of tenants in privately rented accommodation, and 30 per cent of owner-occupiers express uncertainty or ignorance over this issue. The relatively greater awareness or predisposition of council tenants to express a feeling may be associated with their closer dependence on council policy. Being tenants of the local authority they are both more aware and more susceptible to changes in its policy (O'Malley, 1977).

The attitudes of residents towards the local authority taken as a whole reflect, in part, the dependence of some groups on decisions of the council. Council tenants tend to have clearer views about local government than do other housing groups (Table 7.16). 52 per cent of Council tenants express very positive feelings while 23 per cent of hostel residents feel this way. All types of residents are only minimally dissatisfied. The main difference in attitudes towards local government by housing groups lies in the amount of uncertainty about the role or influence of government on their lives. Tenants view local government slightly more favourably than owner-occupiers and hostel dwellers. Council tenants express the most favourable attitudes. When these attitudes are compared with a sense of well-being a contrasting picture emerges. Owner-occupiers are most satisfied with their style of life though least happy about local government. Council tenants and tenants in privately rented accommodation are less happy with their life styles (Table 7.16). Thus, in some ways the local authority compensates for an unpleasant environment. The more depressed, deprived, or unhappy residents have greater expectations of the local authority in that they express a higher regard for it than do owner-occupiers.

The influence of the demographic and socio-economic variables on attitudes towards local government that are analysed here, in part, support some of the empirical work carried out by other researchers (Budge, 1965; Crewe, et al., 1977). Attitudes were found to be influenced by age, length of residence, and by education most of all and only insignificantly with sex and social status. The influence of housing status was not as strong as was found by Crewe (1977). However, the influence of education was stronger than that found by Crewe but, perhaps, less important than in the Almond and Verba study. The differences between males and females in this study were virtually non-existent and certainly less so than in the studies of Almond and Verba (1965), Frankenberg (1969) and Wolff (1978). When the attitudes of residents towards other aspects of the environment are considered alongside the feelings residents have for local government similar socio-economic and demographic variables appear to be important. Age, length of residence, education and type of tenure are the more important variables while occupational status, sex, marital status and location are less influential. The distribution of attitudes throughout Camden is considered next in the context of the distribution of variables which have been identified as contributing to the affect shown for local government.

The Spatial Distribution Of Affect For Local Government. The majority of studies that have examined the problem of attitudes towards systems of government have been preoccupied with the social-structural determinants of those attitudes (Lipset, 1963; Almond and Verba, 1965; Redcliffe-Maud, 1968; Cole, 1974). At the national level Almond and Verba's study looked at differences between nations. This perspective did not enter Crewe's analysis at all (Crewe, 1977). Hampton's study of

democracy in Sheffield noted variations in attitudes of different wards to council policies, but attributed these differences to factors other than location such as social status and political party affiliation (Hampton, 1970). Bolan, in his study of urban politics in the United States, found that variations in attitudes and resulting urban policy could only be explained adequately by looking at the unique features of the four locations which he studied (Bolan and Nuttall, 1975). The tendency to ignore the uniqueness of certain locations in the political science literature is matched by the omission of studies in environmental psychology of attitudes towards institutions as part of the social, political and economic environment (Saarinen, 1976; Downs and Stea, 1977). It is here that some attempt is made to study the attitudes towards local government at different places within the borough. As has been noticed above (Chapter 4), attitudes and behaviour vary with location. Attitudes and behaviour were correlated with some areas, and in others feelings for some aspects of the environment could only be related to the uniqueness of their location.

When the distribution of affect for local government in Camden is examined a complex pattern reveals itself. Those wards which are characterised by high social status, owner-occupancy and longer term residents are not exclusively those areas which express the most contentment with the local authority (Table 7.19). Hampstead ward, which scores highly on most socio-economic variables and participation indicators, is characterised by low levels of affect for local government in Camden. Hampstead residents, though on the whole favourably disposed towards the council, are as content as the more deprived residents in the wards of Gospel Oak and Adelaide (Figures 7.1 - 7.8). Those wards which score highly on deprivation

EFFECT FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT.RESOURCE ALLOCATION.

ISS LING TON

[illegible]

WESTMINSTER

LEVEL, OF AFFECT

LOW

HIGH

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM	2.57	2.72	2.88	3.03	3.19
MAXIMUM	2.72	2.88	3.03	3.19	3.36

Figure 7.3

COEFFICIENTS OF THE TREND SURFACE (ORDER 1), SYMAP AXIS SYSTEM

THE VALUE OF THE FUNCTION AT COORDINATES X AND Y IS

$$Z = + 0.30233411399E+01 - 0.44735443804E-02 X \\ + 0.43698437489E-02 Y$$

ERROR MEASURES

STANDARD DEVIATION	0.22
VARIATION EXPLAINED BY SURFACE	0.57290790E-02
VARIATION NOT EXPLAINED BY SURFACE	0.81501940E+00
TOTAL VARIATION	0.82154850E+00
COEFFICIENT OF DETERMINATION	0.00697351
COEFFICIENT OF CORRELATION	0.08350754

AFFECT FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

ISLINGTON

[illegible]

B A R N E T

WESTMINSTER

LEVEL OF AFFECT

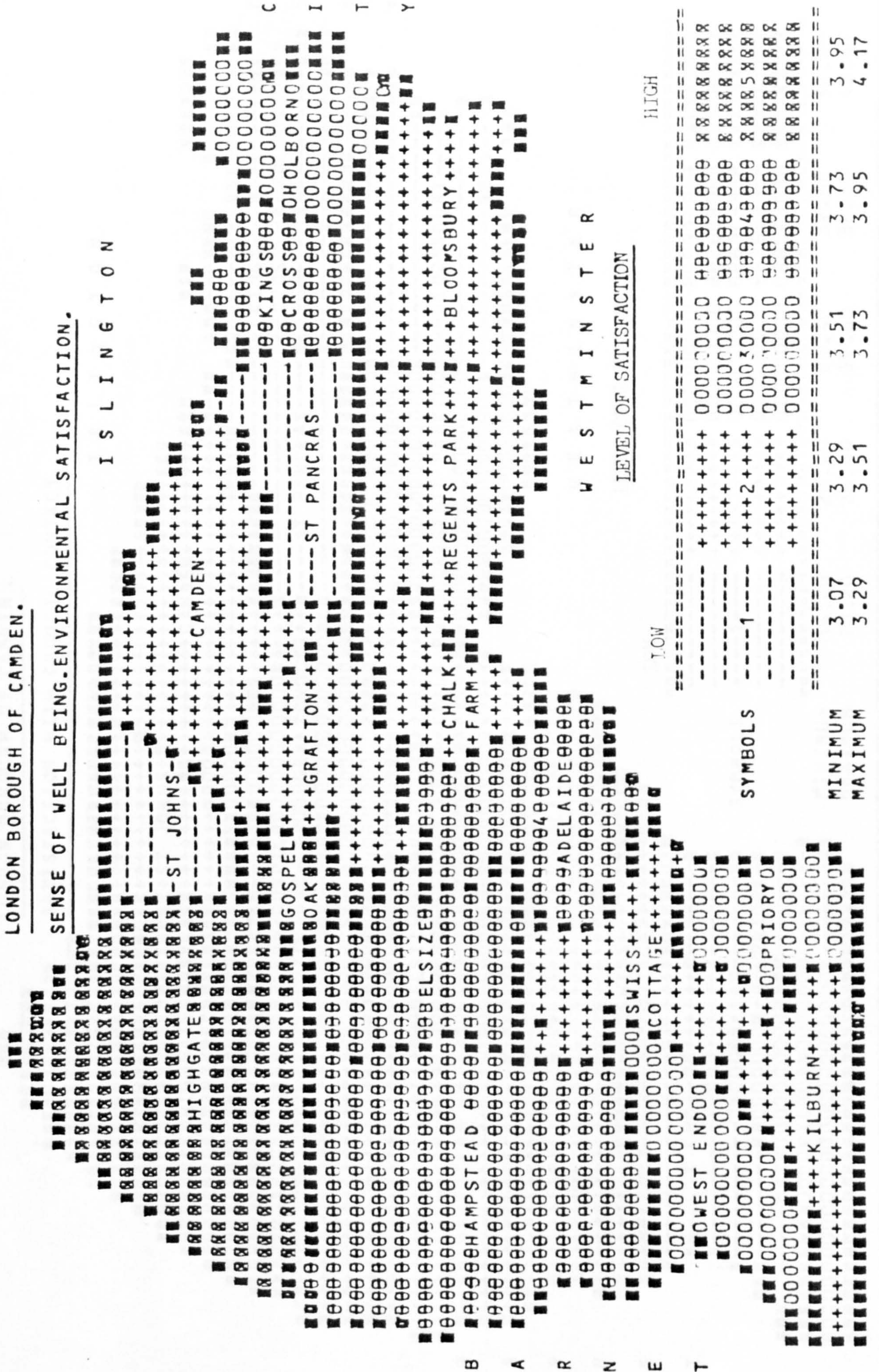
MOT

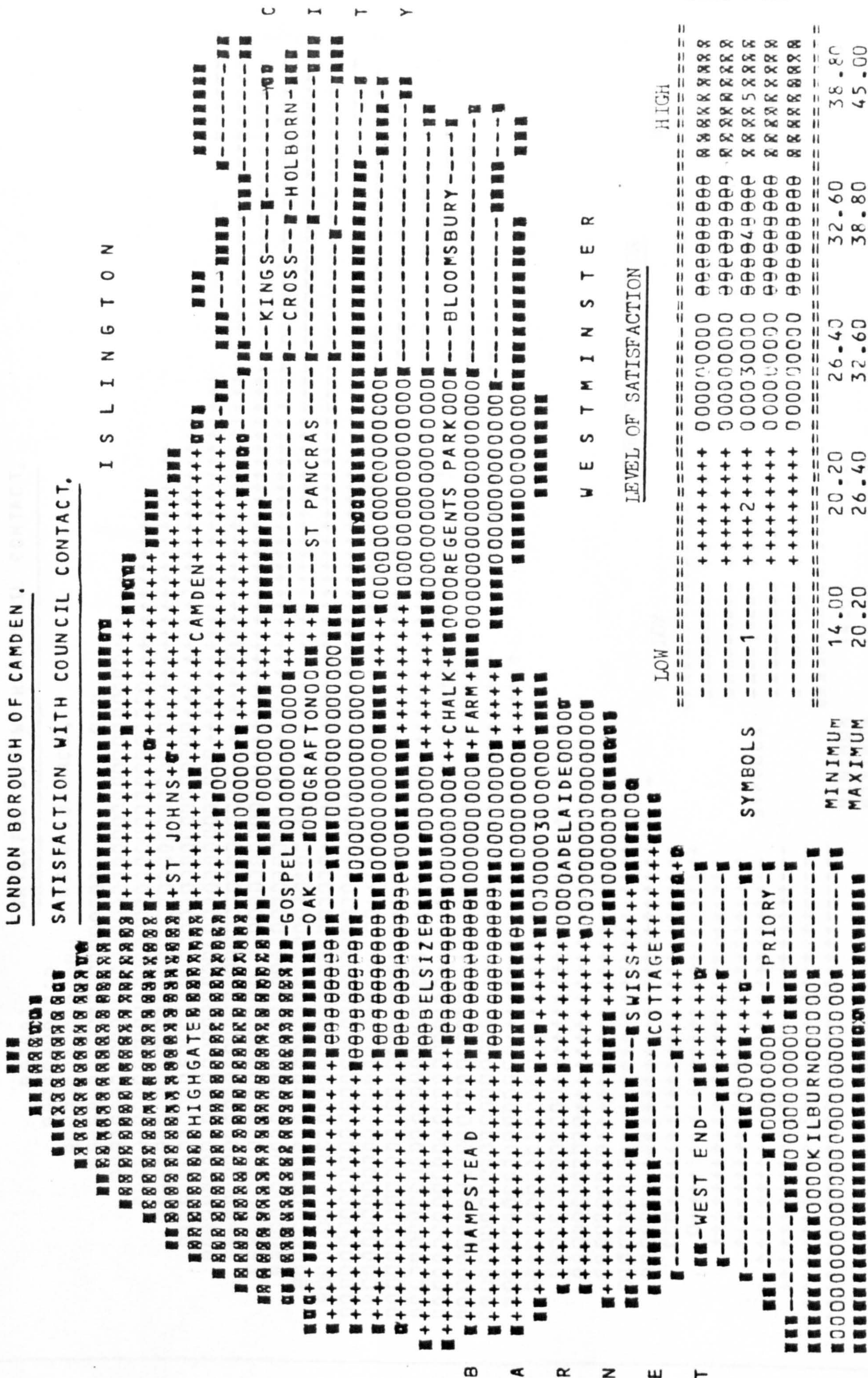
HIGH

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM
MAXIMUM

4-12 4-21
4-21 4-31





SATISFACTION WITH COUNCIL CONTACT.

MAXIMUM	20-20	26-40	32-60	38-80	45-110
1	100	100	100	100	100
2	100	100	100	100	100
3	100	100	100	100	100
4	100	100	100	100	100
5	100	100	100	100	100
6	100	100	100	100	100
7	100	100	100	100	100
8	100	100	100	100	100
9	100	100	100	100	100
10	100	100	100	100	100
11	100	100	100	100	100
12	100	100	100	100	100
13	100	100	100	100	100
14	100	100	100	100	100
15	100	100	100	100	100
16	100	100	100	100	100
17	100	100	100	100	100
18	100	100	100	100	100
19	100	100	100	100	100
20	100	100	100	100	100
21	100	100	100	100	100
22	100	100	100	100	100
23	100	100	100	100	100
24	100	100	100	100	100
25	100	100	100	100	100
26	100	100	100	100	100
27	100	100	100	100	100
28	100	100	100	100	100
29	100	100	100	100	100
30	100	100	100	100	100
31	100	100	100	100	100
32	100	100	100	100	100
33	100	100	100	100	100
34	100	100	100	100	100
35	100	100	100	100	100
36	100	100	100	100	100
37	100	100	100	100	100
38	100	100	100	100	100
39	100	100	100	100	100
40	100	100	100	100	100
41	100	100	100	100	100
42	100	100	100	100	100
43	100	100	100	100	100
44	100	100	100	100	100
45	100	100	100	100	100
46	100	100	100	100	100
47	100	100	100	100	100
48	100	100	100	100	100
49	100	100	100	100	100
50	100	100	100	100	100
51	100	100	100	100	100
52	100	100	100	100	100
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61	100	100	100	100	100
62	100	100	100	100	100
63	100	100	100	100	100
64	100	100	100	100	100
65	100	100	100	100	100
66	100	100	100	100	100
67	100	100	100	100	100

M		02-20	26.97	38.80	25.14'
M					

HIGH

MINIMUM

74.00

02.02

26.45

32.60

•

Figure 7.8

COEFFICIENTS OF THE TREND SURFACE (ORDER 1), SYMAP AXIS SYSTEM

THE VALUE OF THE FUNCTION AT COORDINATES X AND Y IS

$$Z = + 0.37563089417E+02 - 0.15515761664E+01 X \\ - 0.15579251608E+01 Y$$

ERROR MEASURES

STANDARD DEVIATION	6.40
VARIATION EXPLAINED BY SURFACE	7.31207920E+03
VARIATION NOT EXPLAINED BY SURFACE	0.69732030E+03
TOTAL VARIATION	0.10100030E+04
COEFFICIENT OF DETERMINATION	0.30958330
COEFFICIENT OF CORRELATION	0.55640210

Table 7.19: Attitudes Towards Local Government In Camden

Wards	Allocation Of Resources By Local Authority To Groups				
	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatis- fied
Holborn	6 (14)	7 (17)	13 (31)	8 (19)	8 (19)
Bloomsbury	3 (4)	20 (29)	32 (46)	8 (11)	7 (10)
Kings Cross	11 (15)	18 (25)	27 (38)	7 (10)	9 (13)
St. Pancras	9 (15)	8 (14)	19 (32)	7 (12)	16 (27)
Regents Park	17 (22)	15 (20)	18 (23)	10 (13)	17 (22)
Priory	10 (15)	19 (28)	16 (24)	15 (22)	8 (12)
Kilburn	3 (6)	13 (25)	13 (25)	13 (25)	10 (19)
West End	18 (19)	23 (25)	27 (29)	14 (15)	11 (12)
Swiss Cottage	9 (10)	29 (31)	37 (40)	13 (14)	5 (5)
Adelaide	11 (13)	17 (21)	24 (29)	11 (13)	19 (23)
Hampstead	5 (8)	17 (28)	25 (41)	8 (13)	6 (10)
Belsize	13 (17)	19 (24)	30 (39)	9 (12)	7 (9)
Chalk Farm	6 (19)	8 (26)	9 (29)	5 (16)	3 (10)
Camden	12 (16)	23 (30)	16 (21)	5 (7)	20 (26)
Grafton	12 (17)	20 (29)	8 (11)	7 (10)	23 (33)
Gospel Oak	3 (13)	3 (13)	6 (26)	3 (13)	8 (35)
Highgate	13 (23)	18 (32)	10 (18)	5 (9)	10 (18)
St. Johns	6 (12)	10 (20)	13 (26)	11 (22)	11 (22)
Column Total (Percentage)	167 (15)	287 (25)	343 (30)	159 (14)	198 (17)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 7.19(Cont.): Attitudes Towards Local Government In Camden

Wards	Behaviour Of Local Authority				
	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatis- fied	Very Dissat- isfied
Holborn	12 (29)	18 (43)	9 (21)	2 (5)	1 (2)
Bloomsbury	20 (29)	26 (37)	20 (29)	3 (4)	1 (1)
Kings Cross	30 (41)	22 (30)	17 (23)	2 (3)	2 (3)
St. Pancras	22 (37)	19 (32)	10 (17)	2 (3)	6 (10)
Regents Park	28 (36)	23 (30)	17 (22)	6 (8)	4 (5)
Priory	24 (35)	33 (49)	8 (12)	2 (3)	1 (2)
Kilburn	21 (40)	22 (42)	7 (14)	2 (4)	0 (0)
West End	42 (45)	24 (26)	19 (20)	3 (3)	5 (5)
Swiss Cottage	20 (22)	52 (56)	20 (22)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Adelaide	26 (32)	30 (37)	23 (28)	0 (0)	3 (4)
Hampstead	18 (30)	22 (36)	20 (33)	1 (2)	0 (0)
Belsize	34 (44)	23 (30)	20 (26)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Chalk Farm	12 (39)	10 (32)	4 (13)	2 (7)	3 (10)
Camden	35 (46)	21 (28)	15 (20)	3 (4)	2 (3)
Grafton	36 (50)	13 (18)	16 (22)	5 (7)	2 (3)
Gospel Oak	9 (39)	9 (39)	2 (9)	1 (4)	2 (9)
Highgate	28 (50)	16 (29)	9 (16)	2 (4)	1 (2)
St. Johns	22 (43)	13 (26)	9 (18)	4 (8)	3 (6)
Column Total (Percentage)	439 (38)	396 (34)	245 (21)	40 (4)	38 (3)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 7.20: Personal Well-being And Feelings Of Efficacy

Ward	Personal Well-being: Environmental Satisfaction				
	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissat- isfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Holborn	14 (33)	16 (37)	4 (9)	1 (2)	8 (19)
Bloomsbury	16 (23)	23 (33)	9 (13)	13 (19)	9 (13)
Kings Cross	30 (41)	21 (29)	5 (7)	7 (10)	10 (14)
St. Pancras	17 (29)	11 (19)	3 (5)	15 (25)	13 (22)
Regents Park	29 (37)	21 (27)	3 (4)	10 (13)	15 (19)
Priory	22 (32)	27 (40)	3 (4)	7 (10)	9 (13)
Kilburn	18 (35)	12 (23)	6 (12)	5 (10)	11 (21)
West End	42 (45)	20 (21)	3 (3)	8 (9)	21 (22)
Swiss Cottage	21 (23)	38 (41)	5 (5)	15 (16)	14 (15)
Adelaide	27 (33)	37 (45)	4 (5)	5 (6)	9 (11)
Hampstead	21 (34)	23 (38)	7 (12)	8 (13)	2 (3)
Belsize	31 (40)	23 (30)	10 (13)	6 (8)	7 (9)
Chalk Farm	8 (26)	9 (29)	4 (13)	5 (16)	5 (16)
Camden	28 (37)	19 (25)	3 (4)	13 (17)	13 (17)
Gospel Oak	14 (61)	5 (22)	0 (0)	2 (9)	2 (9)
Highgate	28 (50)	15 (27)	3 (5)	4 (7)	6 (11)
St. Johns	12 (24)	16 (31)	5 (10)	6 (12)	12 (24)
Grafton	27 (38)	12 (17)	4 (6)	11 (16)	17 (24)
Column Total (Percentage)	405 (35)	348 (30)	8 (7)	141 (12)	183 (16)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

Table 7.20 (Cont.): Personal well-being And Feelings Of Efficacy

Ward	Personal Contact With Local Authority		Contact With Social Worker	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Yes	No
Holborn	8 (18)	7 (16)	4 (9)	37 (80)
Bloomsbury	11 (15)	5 (7)	2 (3)	67 (96)
Kings Cross	11 (15)	15 (20)	5 (7)	71 (93)
St. Pancras	8 (14)	15 (25)	8 (14)	47 (80)
Regents Park	21 (28)	14 (18)	6 (8)	68 (88)
Priory	13 (19)	12 (17)	1 (1)	67 (97)
Kilburn	15 (28)	7 (13)	3 (5)	40 (71)
West End	16 (17)	18 (19)	8 (8)	83 (87)
Swiss Cottage	25 (26)	13 (14)	6 (6)	85 (87)
Adelaide	22 (27)	13 (16)	4 (5)	75 (92)
Hampstead	13 (21)	8 (13)	1 (2)	58 (94)
Belsize	25 (33)	11 (15)	7 (9)	68 (87)
Chalk Farm	7 (23)	5 (16)	2 (7)	28 (90)
Camden	18 (24)	17 (22)	3 (4)	74 (95)
Grafton	22 (28)	18 (23)	8 (10)	64 (80)
Gospel Oak	4 (17)	3 (13)	1 (4)	21 (91)
Highgate	25 (45)	11 (20)	5 (9)	51 (91)
St. Johns	11 (22)	9 (18)	4 (8)	46 (92)
Column Total (Percentage)	275 (24)	201 (17)	78 (7)	1050 (89)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.02

SL = 0.01

indices in the south of the borough are generally the least happy with local government. Holborn, Bloomsbury, St. Pancras and Regents Park wards score the lowest on this indicator of affect (Table 7.19, Figure 7.4). When the attitudes of residents are seen across the borough a gently rising slope appears (Figure 7.2). The central city wards of Bloomsbury, Holborn and Kings Cross appear at the lower end of the scale (Figure 7.2). These wards have residents who are less content with local government on this indicator than are those more suburban wards of Belsize, Highgate and Swiss Cottage. Despite local variations in feelings for the council, such as Kings Cross in the south of the borough and Hampstead in the north, there is an increase in the level of positive affect with local government in the suburbs. Conversely, those wards in the south of the borough which are peripheral to the central business district tend to be less happy with the role played by local government. At this broad level of analysis feelings towards local government reflect the positive attitudes shown by residents towards the environment. It also reflects the generally higher levels of involvement in local affairs in those areas more distant from the centre.

The policy of the council towards the provision of services for different groups receives less support from the majority of citizens. As with affect for local government as a whole the spatial variation in attitudes is quite similar. Wards in the south of the borough show less satisfaction than do those in the north. There are anomalies, however, in this trend. Kings Cross ward (Figure 7.1, Table 7.19) shows a higher level of satisfaction than might be expected for a ward in this area. This may, in part, be explained by the higher proportion of council tenants in this ward who have a more immediate interest in council policy than other groups (O'Malley, 1977). Gospel Oak and Hampstead wards express lower than average

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levels of satisfaction with the council on this indicator. Gospel Oak ward, it may be recalled (Chapter 4), scored relatively highly on both objective and subjective indicators of stress. Hampstead ward, in contrast, does not suffer from such negative features. However, even in this area some groups, particularly housewives, would like greater access to neighbourhood employment. Table 7.19 shows that the less positive feelings expressed by Hampstead residents can be explained, not by dissatisfaction or resentment, but simply because of a lack of knowledge and uncertainty about the role of the council in its relationship with minority, deprived and dependent groups.

A sense of personal well-being and an ability to live the sort of life the resident wishes is strongly correlated with type of tenure, subjective and objective indicators and location (cf. Lipset, 1963; Dahl, 1970). Owner-occupiers and residents in council rented accommodation express greater levels of satisfaction than do those in privately rented accommodation as can be seen from the spatial distribution of this attitude (Table 7.20, Figure 7.5). Some wards, particularly St. Johns and Swiss Cottage, have lower values than might have been expected. These wards score above average on environmental satisfaction and participation yet their residents feel that they are less able to pursue those things that residents in wards of similar character feel able to pursue. There may be characteristics of these wards, or of their residents, that the indicators used here do not pick up. Some wards such as Holborn and Kings Cross score more highly than surrounding wards. Residents express greater satisfaction with their life styles in these wards than might have been predicted from the general trend in attitudes across the borough. The more positive feelings in Kings Cross and Holborn may, in part, be explained, as elsewhere, by the relative stability of residents in

publicly rented accommodation. Secondly, these wards are the most accessible to the recreation and employment centre of the West End (Lansing, et al., 1964). These advantages apparently outweigh the negative effects of a high density of living and a visually less appealing environment (cf. Greenbie, 1974).

It is apparent that the attitudes that residents have towards the local authority have a spatial component. Part of this variation, as with attitudes towards aspects of the physical and social environment, can be explained by the spatial variation in 'objective' indicators like social status, housing tenure, accessibility, and length of residence (Saarinen, 1976). However, such variables are insufficient in some places to explain either a particularly high or unusually low level of affect for local government. Of the trend that was noticeable, it can be said that the level of contentment with the institution of local government tends to increase with distance from the city centre. This trend is paralleled by a greater level of personal and environmental satisfaction. Variations, nevertheless, occur within this framework reflecting the trade-offs some residents make. Greater access to the employment and leisure facilities of the central area, for some, outweigh the negative aspects of this area (Tabb and Sawers, 1978; Smith, 1980).

Summary. The feelings which residents in Camden express towards local government reflect, only to a limited extent, the work of studies like those of Crewe, Almond and Verba, Lipset, and others. Age, length of residence, housing status and education were the variables which were found to have the greatest influence on

attitudes towards local government in Camden. Unfortunately, it was not possible to discriminate clearly between the input side or political aspect of local government as distinct from the output or administrative side. This was partly resolved by assessing respondents' feelings about the contact they had with the local authority.

Of secondary importance for explaining the variation in affect for local government were location and social status. Differences between male and female respondents were not significant. In comparison with other studies (Lipset, 1963; Onibokun, 1976; Crewe, 1977) housing status appeared more significant than was expected. By including a locational variable it was possible to identify some areas which could not be identified by other indicators alone. This suggests that some spatial variation in attitudes can only be explained by a more detailed examination of the areas in question and, perhaps, by a more wide-ranging use of indicators.

Overall, affect for local government as a political and administrative system is high. This contrasts with the attitudes to be found in some of the other London boroughs (Beresford and Beresford, 1978). In Camden the majority of residents are happy with the state of things as they are. Only a small proportion of residents were dissatisfied with local government as an institution. With regards to attitudes towards the council's policies less satisfaction is expressed. This is not generally because of antagonism towards certain groups, but as a result of a lack of knowledge of a sizeable proportion of residents about the council's relationship with many groups.

CHAPTER 8.

Environmental Attitudes And Participatory Behaviour.

The attitudes of respondents in the Camden sample as in other studies vary according to location, demographic, and socio-economic variables. It has been noted that these variables influence feelings towards the physical and social environment of the urban area to varying degrees. Also, the involvement of residents in neighbourhood affairs tends to be associated, in part, with the individual characteristics of respondents, and also with the nature of the environment, that is, whether it is stress increasing or stress reducing. It was in the analysis of neighbourhood involvement that some groups and some areas had a greater representation than might have been expected. For some groups the costs of participation limit the extent and the nature of the involvement. The importance for the urban policy process of this variation is that the over-representation of some interests may mean that other groups and interests receive less weight than their numbers indicate. The attitudes towards different facets of the urban environment of the more involved and the less involved residents are examined here.

Feelings towards the social and physical environment were found to vary spatially and with the social status, age, and housing status of the respondent (Chapter 4). The level of involvement in neighbourhood affairs also varies with these variables. Although the level of interest in local affairs appeared to be quite uniform throughout the borough and in different social groups, a distinct difference was observed for the degree of knowledge of the workings of the local authority and for active involvement in the neighbourhood (Chapter 6). As the costs of involvement increase the proportion of residents who are active decreases. It may be that those who are more knowledgeable

and more active in neighbourhood affairs inadequately express the perceptions of problems of other residents who may be less knowledgeable or less active in their respective neighbourhoods.

The respondents, whose attitudes towards different aspects of the environment varied, were identified above as having certain distinguishing characteristics (Chapter 4). Manual and unskilled workers are likely to value housing and employment as more important variables in their lives. Professional and managerial workers show greater concern for the visual aspects of the environment and the opportunities for leisure and recreation. The varying turnover rates in Camden make some areas seem more neighbourly than others. Residents in privately rented accommodation are less likely to be as friendly with their neighbours as are residents who live in publicly rented or owner-occupied housing. These attitudes towards different facets of the urban environment are reflected, it is hypothesised, in varying aspects of participatory behaviour.

Selection Of Variables. Those aspects of the urban environment which are of most concern to the residents of Camden were selected for the questionnaire (Chapter 3). A number of aspects of these different topics was included and a selection of these more important aspects of the environment was made. It has been noted that housing, education, deprived groups, employment, transport, shopping and leisure are some of the more important facets of the environment which contribute towards the residents' feeling for the environment as a whole (Chapter 4). Here, as in the section on environmental attitudes (cf. Chapter 4) a single attitude for each of the main topic areas is examined in some detail.

Feelings towards the social environment in this analysis are represented by one indicator. In this case the attitude towards the helpfulness of neighbours is considered. Ideally, a multivariate analysis of the several variables measuring attitudes towards the neighbourhood would be undertaken. From the attitudes towards a broad aspect of the environment one is chosen and analysed. The extent to which one attitude can be regarded as indicative of the more general attitude towards that aspect of the environment is considered below.

1. Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards The Social Environment.

A sense of community and neighbourliness are important aspects of the social environment which contribute to the quality of life. The amount of interaction between residents in times of need and in times of leisure influences the level of satisfaction with the environment. A pleasant social environment may outweigh an ugly physical environment in the eyes of some residents (Frankenberg, 1969; Willmott and Young, 1976). Generally, studies such as those by Dahl (1961) and Pateman (1970) show that citizen involvement is a function of the degree of satisfaction with the environment. Those respondents who spend most of their time and energy on meeting their basic needs for housing, heating and eating are less likely to show an interest, or at least a less strong interest, in the environment beyond the household and the workplace (Townsend, 1979). It is even more likely, therefore, that those residents who are more preoccupied with domestic matters are less likely to be knowledgeable and active in local affairs. The evidence from the Camden data suggests that participation is directly related to the level of satisfaction with the environment.

A majority of residents in the borough show an interest in local affairs (52 per cent, Table 8.1). A sizeable proportion (14 per cent) are uncertain and 35 per cent were not interested. Those that were interested in events and organisations within the neighbourhood might be expected to find their neighbours more helpful than those who are not so involved. The respondents who are most interested in local affairs tend to be those residents who also find their neighbours the most helpful. It is not possible to be more specific about what type of help is implied here. It may be a small matter involving the loan of a garden implement, or it may involve greater effort when a neighbour is ill and needs a certain amount of assistance and attention. Extreme forms of help are most frequently found amongst neighbours of long standing and most especially between kin (Willmott & Young, 1960). Conversely, those residents who find their neighbours unhelpful are also likely to show the least interest in neighbourhood activities (15 per cent, Table 8.1). This difference in the level of interest with feelings for the social environment seems to extend to other aspects of participation.

More residents claim knowledge of how to contact the local authority if they have some problem than have an interest in local affairs. 77 per cent claim to have knowledge of the workings of the local government (Table 8.1). Of those with such knowledge a higher proportion find their neighbours helpful. From this one indicator of the social environment it might be said that a friendly or neighbourly social environment is more conducive to a greater interest in, and knowledge of, local affairs. 63 per cent of those respondents who had knowledge of the local authority found their neighbours helpful, while 52 per cent of those who did not have this knowledge claimed to live in a friendly environment. Interest and

knowledge of the administrative and political system thus seem to be influenced by the social environment as is active involvement in local affairs.

The respondents who have friendly neighbours are much more likely to be active in some way than are those residents who find their neighbours unpleasant, difficult to know, or unfriendly. Here the relationship between the social environment and the degree of involvement is most striking. 35 per cent of those residents who were members of a tenants' association found their neighbours very helpful (Table 8.1), while 9 per cent found them very unhelpful. This interest of mainly council house tenants is reflected in the response of more middle class residents who were members of residents' associations and other groups. 64 per cent of the members of residents' associations found their neighbours either helpful or very helpful, while 8 per cent found their neighbours to be unhelpful or very unhelpful (Table 8.1). As with membership of local groups, attendance at public meetings is correlated with attitudes towards the social environment. However, this relationship is very weak as it is with the amount of interaction with the local authority. The trend is for those who find their neighbours helpful to be more involved in local affairs. It is not certain at this stage whether an agreeable social environment can be seen as a precondition for interest and involvement in local affairs. An examination of other aspects of the environment and their relation to citizen involvement may support this assertion.

2. Neighbourhood Involvement And Feelings Towards The Physical Environment.

Residents' attitudes towards the appearance of their neighbourhood tend to be related to involvement in neighbourhood issues. Those respondents who find the physical environment most attractive are

likely to be those who are more interested and involved with local groups and the local authority. It is not clear how this relationship develops. It may be that satisfaction with the environment is a precondition for involvement in local affairs. On the other hand, those that are more active in the neighbourhood will be of higher social status, with better housing and of longer standing in the borough. Thus, attitudes and behaviour may be correlated more strongly with one of these demographic or socio-economic variables rather than with one another. Attitudes, rather than being a determinant of behaviour, may be a function of the social situation of the individual. Here, however, the relationship between citizen involvement in neighbourhood affairs and feelings for the appearance of the neighbourhood are considered.

The majority of residents find that the area in which they live attractive (68 per cent, Table 8.2). Only a small proportion are undecided (4 per cent) and nearly a third of Camden residents appear not to be happy about the appearance of the area around their home (29 per cent). A higher proportion of residents are unhappy with this aspect of the environment than they are with the social environment. 29 per cent of the respondents found the physical environment unattractive (Table 8.2) while 17 per cent found the social environment on the helpfulness indicator unattractive (Table 8.1). But, in both cases those residents who find their neighbourhood very appealing visually are those respondents who show the greatest interest in local affairs (48 per cent). A third of the residents who live in an area perceived to be attractive are not interested in events taking place in the neighbourhood (32 per cent). Attitudes towards the physical environment appear to be much more clear cut than those towards the

Participatory Behaviour												
	Interest In Local Affairs				Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority				Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings	
	Very inter- ested	A little inter- ested	Uncer- tain	Not inter- ested	Not at all inter- ested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Very Attractive	98 (48)	151 (39)	54 (34)	73 (32)	54 (32)	353 (39)	75 (31)	179 (36)	245 (38)	116 (45)	311 (35)	
Attractive	47 (24)	125 (32)	53 (33)	74 (32)	57 (34)	274 (30)	81 (33)	143 (29)	208 (32)	68 (26)	288 (32)	
Uncertain	6 (3)	16 (4)	5 (3)	13 (6)	4 (3)	35 (4)	9 (4)	16 (3)	28 (4)	7 (3)	37 (4)	
Unattractive	24 (12)	54 (14)	29 (18)	44 (19)	23 (14)	139 (15)	37 (15)	69 (14)	104 (16)	32 (12)	140 (16)	
Very Unattractive	27 (13)	46 (12)	21 (13)	27 (12)	31 (18)	114 (12)	41 (17)	85 (17)	66 (10)	34 (13)	116 (13)	
Column Total (Percentage)	202 (18)	392 (34)	162 (14)	231 (20)	169 (15)	915 (77)	243 (20)	492 (41)	651 (55)	257 (22)	892 (75)	
<div> <div>SL = 0.02</div> <div>SL = 0.14</div> <div>SL = 0.01</div> <div>SL = 0.06</div> <div>SL = 0.01</div> </div>												
<div> <div>SL = 0.01</div> <div>SL = 0.06</div> <div>SL = 0.01</div> </div>												

(Percentages In Brackets)

Table 8.2: Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards The Physical Environment

social environment. Only four per cent of the respondents were uncertain of the direction of their attitude towards the physical environment while twenty-three per cent of the residents were unsure of their feelings towards their neighbours. These differences may be due to the relative difficulty of conceptualising the 'degree of helpfulness of neighbours' in the 'social environment'. The physical environment is more obvious, yet even the perception of this will vary according to social status and patterns of activity within the urban area (Lynch, 1960). The varying level of interest in neighbourhood issues is reflected, in part, in the amount of knowledge respondents have about the running of local government services.

Residents who live in areas which they find visually appealing tend also to have a greater awareness of the workings of local government. 39 per cent of the respondents who find their neighbourhood very attractive know how to contact the local authority if they are seeking information or have some criticism to make. This compares with 31 per cent of those who live in 'attractive environments' and do not have this knowledge. Those residents who live in 'unattractive areas' are more likely to be less well-informed than knowledgeable. 17 per cent of the respondents claiming ignorance lived in areas perceived as 'unattractive' and 12 per cent of those who had knowledge of the workings of local government saw their neighbourhood in this way. This relationship between the feelings for the physical environment and knowledge of the workings of the local authority is not as significant as that between interest and attitudes. The same relationship holds for attitudes towards the physical environment and more active involvement in neighbourhood affairs.

Within Camden, those residents who find their neighbourhood to be visually appealing tend to be more active in local affairs than are

people who live in less attractive areas, or those places which are perceived as being unattractive in some way. It would be interesting to determine those aspects of the physical environment which are particularly denotative or connotative and thereby produce a richer description of this environment (Canter, 1977; Wolff, 1978). Yet, not all residents who live in pleasant neighbourhoods are active in some way. For example, those residents in areas which are perceived as being very unattractive are more likely to be in contact with the local authority (56 per cent; Table 8.2) than are those who live in very attractive environments (42 per cent). Thus, although a higher proportion of residents in unattractive areas contacted the local authority than did those in the more pleasant areas, more contacts overall were made by people in those pleasant areas. It may be that in those areas perceived to be less appealing there is more scope for local government intervention, or perhaps a greater reliance on the services of local government. This is certainly true in those wards with higher than average proportions of council house tenants who, on the whole, use such services as social work and housing management more often than the average resident. The major service users are found in wards with high proportions of the elderly and children in environmentally poor areas such as Holborn, Camden and Kings Cross (Camden, 1977a). This interaction with the local authority by the residents living in the unattractive areas is not reflected to the same extent by membership of local groups or involvement in local affairs.

Most people find, or say, that their neighbourhood has an attractive appearance; and those that are active in the area in which they live are more likely to think so than those who are not active. Variations exist between the interests of the groups and their social

composition. Members of residents' associations, who tend to have more professional or managerial status than other groups, are more satisfied with the visual aspects of their environment. Members of tenants' associations are more critical of their physical environment. 66 per cent of the members of tenants' associations expressed a favourable attitude towards their environment. Members of other groups (76 per cent) and members of residents' associations (80 per cent) were much more likely to express positive attitudes towards this aspect of their environment. Here the different attitudes of the various groups may reflect not only the social status of the respondents but also their interest in the physical environment. Higher status respondents were more interested in the visual aspects of the environment together with leisure and recreation facilities. Manual workers were more concerned about housing and employment (Chapter 4). This variation in the social composition of neighbourhood groups may account for this difference in attitudes towards the physical environment. As a result of that relationship attitudes towards the physical environment correlate with a number of socio-economic and environmental variables such as housing status and the amount of open space. It is noticeable that members of tenants' associations have attitudes towards the environment most similar to those of the non-members and those of the average Camden resident.

The level of involvement in local affairs, interest in, and knowledge of the neighbourhood and local government varies with attitudes towards the environment. The social environment and the physical environment are regarded favourably by the majority of residents, although the physical environment is seen as being attractive by a greater proportion of residents. Those residents who are more interested in and active in local affairs tend to have a higher

regard for the appearance of their neighbourhood. This, in part, may be explained by the fact that the more active residents tend to be middle class and live in the more attractive wards in the borough. White-collar and professional workers have a greater interest in the visual aspects of the environment than do other groups. This may partially explain their greater involvement in groups whose main interest lies with the physical environment. Manual workers who are more likely to be members of tenants' associations than other local and amenity groups have attitudes towards the physical environment very similar to those of the average resident. They are more representative of the feelings of the people in Camden as a whole than are those attitudes of members of other groups towards this facet of the environment.

3. Attitudes Towards Public Transport And Citizen Involvement.

The majority of residents use one form of public transport or more several times a week. Many of these trips will be towards the employment centre in the south of the borough. Several will be to entertainment centres and to the local shopping centres throughout the borough. It is one of the aspects of the environment that contributes to, or detracts from, the quality of life of those residents who rely on it to a great extent. Here the study is concerned with the attitudes of residents towards this aspect of the environment. Are those people who are more active in local affairs more exposed to public transport than other residents? Secondly, do involved citizens have different feelings for public transport than others? The examination of residents' attitudes towards the physical and social environment showed that involvement was correlated with positive feelings for the environment. The influence of participation on attitudes towards public transport is viewed in this light.

Participatory Behaviour															
Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group				
	Very Inter- ested	Inter- ested	Uncer- tain	Not Inter- ested	Not at all inter- ested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None
Never	13 (6)	18 (5)	10 (6)	7 (3)	12 (7)	52 (6)	9 (4)	30 (6)	30 (5)	18 (7)	42 (5)	7 (5)	3 (3)	0 (0)	50 (6)
Hardly Ever	30 (15)	48 (12)	23 (14)	43 (19)	21 (12)	138 (15)	25 (10)	80 (16)	82 (13)	37 (14)	126 (14)	17 (12)	16 (16)	8 (24)	121 (14)
Less than Once a	13 (6)	24 (6)	11 (7)	17 (7)	13 (8)	65 (7)	15 (6)	37 (8)	41 (66)	19 (7)	59 (7)	12 (8)	7 (7)	5 (15)	56 (6)
1 or 2 times	34 (17)	81 (21)	28 (17)	40 (17)	24 (14)	162 (18)	43 (18)	86 (17)	113 (17)	56 (22)	148 (17)	20 (14)	21 (21)	7 (21)	156 (18)
3 or 4 times	31 (15)	67 (17)	23 (14)	28 (12)	29 (17)	135 (15)	41 (17)	66 (13)	108 (17)	41 (16)	133 (15)	24 (17)	17 (17)	7 (21)	127 (15)
Every Day	80 (40)	154 (39)	67 (41)	95 (41)	71 (42)	360 (39)	110 (45)	192 (39)	275 (42)	85 (33)	384 (43)	64 (44)	37 (37)	7 (21)	358 (41)
Column Total (Percent- age)	202 (17)	393 (34)	162 (14)	231 (20)	170 (15)	916 (77)	243 (20)	492 (41)	652 (55)	257 (22)	894 (75)	144 (12)	101 (9)	34 (3)	871 (74)

Frequency Of

SL = 0.76

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

(Percentages In Brackets)

Table 8.3: Neighbourhood Involvement And Experience Of Public Transport

Participatory Behaviour

Participatory Behaviour																
	Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority					Contact With Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group			
	Very Inter-ested	A little inter-ested	Uncer-tain	Not inter-ested	Not at all inter-ested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None	
Satis-factory	33 (16)	52 (13)	18 (11)	39 (17)	28 (16)	133 (15)	38 (16)	70 (14)	98 (15)	36 (14)	136 (15)	21 (16)	12 (12)	5 (15)	133 (15)	
Partly Satis-factory	43 (21)	91 (23)	49 (30)	66 (29)	37 (16)	216 (24)	68 (28)	102 (21)	179 (28)	58 (23)	222 (25)	35 (24)	26 (26)	8 (21)	214 (25)	
Un-decided	16 (8)	27 (7)	21 (13)	15 (6)	12 (7)	72 (8)	18 (7)	30 (6)	59 (9)	23 (9)	67 (7)	6 (4)	4 (4)	1 (3)	77 (9)	
A little Unsatis-factory	40 (20)	103 (26)	37 (23)	61 (26)	45 (26)	229 (25)	58 (24)	123 (25)	160 (25)	56 (22)	231 (26)	39 (27)	28 (28)	10 (29)	210 (24)	
Very Un-satis-factory	69 (34)	119 (30)	36 (22)	50 (22)	48 (28)	264 (29)	59 (24)	166 (34)	154 (24)	83 (32)	236 (26)	43 (30)	31 (31)	10 (29)	234 (27)	
Column Total (Percentage)	201 (17)	392 (34)	161 (14)	231 (20)	170 (15)	914 (77)	241 (20)	491 (42)	650 (55)	256 (22)	892 (76)	144 (12)	101 (9)	34 (3)	868 (74)	

Table 8.4:
Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards Public Transport

More than half of the respondents used the public transport system several times each week. 40 per cent used it every day and seventy per cent used it at least once a week. Limitations of time prevent a breakdown of the public transport system into buses, underground and railway services. Bus and underground transport are used by the majority of residents using public transport. There seems to be little relationship between the use made of public transport and participation in neighbourhood affairs. Those residents who are very interested in local affairs are likely to have the same attitudes towards public transport as are those respondents who take little interest in local affairs. 40 per cent of the respondents who were very interested in their neighbourhood used public transport every day as did 42 per cent of those who were not at all interested in local events (Table 8.3). When attitudes towards the quality of the service provided are considered a similar pattern emerges. Those residents who are interested in local affairs and have a favourable attitude towards public transport (bus services, 37 per cent; Table 8.4) are like those who show no interest in local affairs and have this attitude (32 per cent). However, unlike attitudes towards the physical and social environment feelings for this aspect of the environment are generally negative rather than positive.

Nearly three-quarters of the respondents said that they knew how to contact the local authority (77 per cent; Table 8.3), and a smaller proportion (41 per cent) had actually done so in the previous year. Those who use public transport facilities less frequently than other residents, or not at all, are likely to be better informed about the workings of the local authority than are those who through need, or choice, make more frequent use of public transport. 84 per cent of those residents who use public transport less than once a week

claim knowledge of the workings of the administration of public services. This compares with 77 per cent of those respondents who use public transport at least once a week. For effective feedback between the users and the operators of this service it might be expected that the users would have a greater knowledge of the workings of public transport. The data here suggests that users are less well-informed than non-users. It is not possible to go beyond this and say that fewer comments are made by non-users than by users as these figures suggest. The frequency of contact variable does not discriminate between different types of contact, some of which may concern housing and others transport.

Involvement with the local authority appears to be correlated with the level of experience with public transport. Of the residents who contact the local authority the majority are likely to make frequent use of public transport. 69 per cent of residents who approached the local government used one or more types of public transport at least once a week (Table 8.3). Also, experience is related to attitudes. Those respondents who contact the local authority are more likely to find public transport very unsatisfactory than are those who make no contact. It may be that dissatisfaction with this aspect of the environment is, in fact, the cause of the greater involvement of citizens with the local authority. The influence of attitudes towards housing and schools, which are also aspects of concern for many residents, is examined more fully below. The degree of interaction with the local authority and the attitudes towards public transport is reflected to a slight extent by active involvement in local affairs.

Those residents who either attend public meetings or are members of community and amenity groups are likely to have a stronger negative attitude towards this aspect of the environment than are those residents

who are not so involved. However, the difference in attitudes between participant and non-participant towards this environmental facet is not so clear as it is with attitudes towards the physical and social environment. 32 per cent of those residents who attended public meetings found public transport to be very unsatisfactory (Table 8.4); 26 per cent of non-participants felt this way. 30 per cent of the members of residents' associations found this aspect very unsatisfactory as did 31 per cent of the members of residents' associations. 27 per cent of the non-joiners expressed this attitude. The attitudes expressed by residents towards public transport services varied from those expressed towards the social and physical environment. Feelings for public transport in its various forms are generally negative but not quite as negative as attitudes towards the social environment is positive. As with the other aspects of the environment examined here, those residents who are more involved and interested in neighbourhood affairs tend to have more extreme attitudes. In this case the more active residents are likely to be more critical of public transport than are the non-joiners. In this respect they are unrepresentative of the feelings of those not so active. Also, those who express these negative attitudes are less likely to be frequent users of this service. It is not certain whether this strong feeling of participants against this aspect of the environment is influenced by the inadequacy of the provision in those areas or merely by a particular interest of this group of active residents.

4. Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards Shopping.

Since the mid 1950s there have been great changes in the nature of retail distribution. On the supply side, as a result of pressure to improve efficiency, there has been a growth in the number of supermarkets and self-service operations. Higher rents in the central areas have meant that increased turnover has been necessary to maintain the

Participatory Behaviour													
	Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority				Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings	
	Very Inter-ested	A little inter-ested	Uncer-tain	Not inter-ested	Not at all inter-ested	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Improve Provision Consider-ably	55 (27)	90 (23)	33 (20)	50 (22)	41 (25)	202 (22)	72 (30)	119 (24)	153 (24)	58 (23)	212 (24)	43 (30)	40 (40)
Improve Provision	46 (23)	71 (20)	40 (25)	44 (19)	28 (17)	175 (19)	62 (26)	86 (18)	147 (23)	53 (21)	180 (20)	47 (33)	18 (18)
Uncertain	11 (5)	36 (9)	22 (14)	21 (9)	14 (8)	8 (10)	17 (7)	35 (7)	64 (10)	17 (7)	86 (10)	9 (6)	14 (14)
Too Many	41 (20)	120 (31)	41 (25)	62 (27)	47 (28)	258 (28)	49 (20)	143 (29)	162 (25)	75 (30)	234 (26)	21 (15)	13 (13)
Far Too Many	48 (24)	68 (17)	26 (16)	53 (23)	36 (22)	187 (21)	43 (18)	106 (22)	123 (19)	51 (20)	179 (20)	24 (17)	15 (15)
Column (Percentage)	201 (17)	393 (34)	162 (14)	230 (20)	166 (14)	910 (77)	243 (21)	489 (42)	649 (55)	254 (22)	891 (76)	144 (12)	100 (9)
						SL = 0.04		SL = 0.05		SL = 0.83		SL = 0.42	

(Percentages In Brackets)

Table 8.5: Neighbourhood Involvement And Shopping Attitudes

profitability of shops. The result of this increased efficiency has been lower prices in the central areas and closures of small local shops elsewhere. The reliance on local shops has been further reduced by the increase in car-borne shopping (Camden, 1977a, p.75). This concentration of shopping activity in certain centres has benefited the more mobile residents but for other groups who make small purchases and are less mobile, such as the aged (17 per cent of Camden's population), working wives, and single person households, the decline in the number of small and local shopping outlets has made shopping more difficult. Although shopping is one of the less important aspects of the environment for the majority of Camden residents it is a source of hardship for certain groups. The extent to which those residents who are involved in local affairs express attitudes towards this aspect of the environment is compared here with those who are less active. It is these less active groups that are those who are most likely to suffer from changes in retail distribution.

Those residents who are interested in local affairs do not differ very much in their attitudes towards shopping facilities from those who are not so interested (Table 8.5). Those who are very interested in local affairs are likely to have a slightly more favourable attitude towards the provision of local shops (50 per cent) than are those respondents who were not at all interested in local issues (42 per cent). It may be that those individuals who are more interested happen also to be more aware of the needs of the elderly and less mobile groups than are the residents as a whole. This is more evident for attitudes towards housing and employment which are examined below. When knowledge of the workings of local government is considered a somewhat different picture emerges.

Residents who were more interested in local affairs wanted to improve shopping facilities more than those who are not so interested. Those who are more knowledgeable about local government appear to have slightly less favourable attitudes towards local retailing. 56 per cent of the respondents who did not know, or were uncertain of how to contact the local authority, expressed a need for more local shops, while 41 per cent of those who had this knowledge expressed this attitude (Table 8.5). Those who tend to be less knowledgeable, like those who are less active in neighbourhood affairs, are generally more concerned about the facilities for shopping locally than are those who are more involved. The degree of interest in local affairs is anomalous to this pattern in that the more interested residents show greater concern with local shops. The significance levels for the majority of the tables regarding shopping are very low and thus any meaningful relationship of any significance cannot be demonstrated. However, from those relationships which are strong, it can be seen that the more active residents or participants have a slightly different perception of this facet of the environment to the non-joiners'. The non-participants are more likely to regard the provision of shopping facilities, particularly local shops, as inadequate. However, shopping represents a priority which is near the bottom of the list of priorities for most residents. The most important priorities examined so far have been over-estimated by the participants. Other aspects of the environment which contribute to the total image are also viewed in this way.

5. Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards Employment.

Residents' attitudes towards employment rank among the most important attitudes towards the environment. The level of economic activity, although mainly influenced by Central Government and the GLC in employment matters, can also be influenced through the use of

development control powers, policy statements in the land-use plan and the provision of land and premises for the development of new economic activities (Camden, 1979a). Thus, the decision-makers have some control over this aspect of the environment. Here, the attitudes of the involved and less involved citizen are examined to see whether there are variations between them.

Although the majority of residents show an interest in local affairs, no significant differences in attitudes can be found between those who are more interested and those who are less interested (Table 8.6). Of those residents who would like to 'greatly improve' local job opportunities 38 per cent felt that they were very interested in local affairs and 31 per cent interested. 37 per cent of those who were very disinterested expressed this desire for change (Table 8.6). This aspect of economic activity is one that is regarded as being important by a large proportion of respondents. For the borough as a whole, people feel more strongly about job opportunities than they do about local affairs. 63 per cent of Camden residents expressed a desire for more local employment while 51 per cent showed an interest in local affairs. One in five (20 per cent) were undecided and 15 per cent felt that there was either enough or too much in the way of employment opportunities locally. Although there is a widespread interest in employment matters, as this indicator suggests, those residents who are more interested in local affairs do not appear to have attitudes very different from those of the residents taken as a whole.

As with the level of interest shown in local affairs those residents with a knowledge of the workings of local government are not likely to have attitudes varying very much from those of residents without this knowledge. This indicator only measures job opportunities

Participatory Behaviour															
	Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group			
	Very Inter-ested	Inter-ested	Uncer-tain	Dis-inter-ested	Very dis-inter-ested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None
Greatly Improve	77 (38)	120 (31)	46 (28)	70 (30)	63 (37)	290 (32)	89 (37)	161 (33)	214 (33)	79 (31)	294 (33)	60 (42)	25 (25)	7 (21)	281 (32)
Improve	53 (26)	117 (30)	67 (41)	75 (32)	46 (27)	280 (31)	78 (32)	142 (29)	211 (32)	73 (28)	282 (32)	38 (26)	32 (32)	14 (41)	275 (32)
Uncert-ain	35 (17)	87 (22)	31 (19)	45 (19)	35 (21)	181 (20)	49 (20)	88 (18)	138 (21)	52 (20)	181 (20)	17 (12)	29 (29)	4 (12)	180 (21)
Reduce	23 (11)	47 (12)	16 (10)	31 (13)	19 (11)	117 (13)	20 (8)	74 (15)	63 (10)	35 (14)	101 (11)	21 (15)	11 (11)	7 (21)	96 (11)
Greatly reduce	14 (7)	21 (5)	2 (1)	10 (4)	5 (3)	45 (5)	7 (3)	26 (5)	25 (4)	18 (7)	33 (4)	7 (5)	4 (4)	2 (6)	37 (4)
Column (Percent-age)	202 (17)	393 (34)	162 (14)	231 (20)	170 (15)	916 (77)	243 (20)	492 (41)	652 (55)	257 (22)	894 (75)	144 (12)	101 (19)	34 (3)	871 (73)

Local Job Opportunities

SL = 0.06 SL = 0.01 SL = 0.01 SL = 0.01 SL = 0.01

(Percentages In Brackets)

Table 8.6: Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes To Employment

as one indivisible unit. The loss of jobs has been mainly in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories (Camden 1977a). So it is not possible from this attitude alone to determine the attitudes towards jobs lost in different sectors. In this context jobs lost in industry may be less welcome than those lost in office employment, for example. It was noticed above that those in the semi-skilled and manual occupations were less knowledgeable about the workings of local government than were other workers. It is this group that has suffered most from industrial decline in inner-city areas. This may partly explain why a higher proportion of residents with little or no knowledge of the workings of local government express a very strong desire for the improvement of local job opportunities. 37 per cent of those residents with no knowledge of how to contact the local authority would like to greatly improve job opportunities locally while 32 per cent of those with this knowledge expressed that attitude (Table 8.6). Conversely, the respondents who would most like to keep to the status quo on employment matters are likely to have some knowledge of the workings of local government (13 per cent). This compares with a smaller proportion of residents who express this attitude and are relatively less knowledgeable (8 per cent). These statistics indicate a slight difference in attitude between the more knowledgeable and less well-informed residents. The differences in attitude, although not large, are noticeable and are likely to be exaggerated when it is considered that the less skilled worker is likely to be less involved in local affairs than are other groups of workers.

When the behaviour of residents is examined, it becomes noticeable that the respondents who are more active in local affairs tend to have similar attitudes to those who are less involved. Generally, residents who make contact with the local authority over some problem

they have are less likely to want to improve job opportunities than are those residents that made no contact. 20 per cent of those residents who had contacted local government during the previous year wanted no change or a lessening of employment activities in their neighbourhood. 14 per cent of the respondents who had not been in touch with the local authority expressed this feeling (Table 8.6). This slight tendency of the more active residents not to want more local employment is also reflected in the public meeting attendance figures. 21 per cent of the sample who attended public meetings in the preceeding year expressed no desire to improve employment opportunities while 15 per cent of those who did not attend felt this way. The social and economic background of the participants shows that they are less likely to suffer from the industrial decline of inner-cities than are those who are less active. This under-representation of an interest in employment, although manifest in the participant group as a whole, is not characteristic of all local groups.

Residents who are members of local pressure groups vary in their attitudes towards this aspect of the environment. Although only a limited range of groups is analysed here, the interests of the groups and their social composition are reflected in the varying weights put on this attitude. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers were more likely to be members of tenants' associations than other types of neighbourhood associations. These characteristics of the groups included in the analysis here suggest why some pressure groups express a greater concern for employment opportunities than do others. 42 per cent of the members of tenants' associations felt very strongly about the need for more economic activity in their neighbourhood. In contrast, there is a less than average interest shown by residents' associations in this part of the environment. 25 per cent of the members of

residents' associations expressed a strong positive attitude. Of the uninvolved residents, 32 per cent showed a strong interest in improving job opportunities (Table 8.6). The attitudes of participants towards local job opportunities reflects a knowledge of, and interest in, local affairs. Generally, the more active residents, such as those members of residents' groups, tend to have a lower regard for change in employment opportunities than do the less knowledgeable and involved residents. However, those groups which represent or encompass individuals whose experience is of job loss or blocked opportunities, such as tenants' associations, are more likely to express a demand for greater control over, and improvement of, this facet of the environment.

The attitudes to employment activities as represented by job opportunities do not appear to vary very much between those who are interested and those who are disinterested in local affairs. The differences between the residents who are knowledgeable of local government and actively engaged in neighbourhood activities and the residents who are not so knowledgeable and less involved are slight. The differences that were noticeable include attitudes towards employment. These were more positively expressed by the non-joiners than by the joiners. Participants, therefore, under-represent in their expressed attitudes the feelings of the residents towards this facet of the environment. As employment activity is one of the more important aspects in residents' rankings of problem areas it is interesting to note that the difference between participant and non-participant attitudes is slight.

6. Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Leisure Facilities.

The provision of leisure and recreation facilities in Camden is

met, in part, by the local authority and partly by private enterprise. The area of influence of Camden council is with the control of open space, control over the provision of sport and recreational facilities, and the location and size of entertainment and leisure facilities. Some of these activities are characteristic of a capital city and are used by residents together with other facilities which meet more local community needs (Camden, 1979a). Although there is this wide range of services available to residents and non-residents some areas of the borough, particularly the north-west and some groups such as the elderly and young, have special needs which are unmet by existing standards (GLC, 1969). The analysis of environmental attitudes examined above found that feelings towards leisure and recreation facilities varied between social groups and between areas. Here, the degree to which participants' and non-participants' attitudes towards leisure and recreation vary is considered.

The physical constraints on the development of land within some areas frequently preclude a change in land-use. In the southern part of the borough where competition for land and buildings by different users is intense, the opportunity for new uses such as more open space is limited (Camden, 1977a, p.99). With these pressures there is a demand from residents for more open space, recreational facilities and for those activities which can be carried on indoors such as swimming, squash and badminton (Camden, 1977a, p.104). Within Camden a majority of the respondents felt that there was an inadequate supply of these facilities (44 per cent, Table 8.7). A third of the sample was undecided (33 per cent) and a quarter of Camden's residents (22 per cent) thought that there was sufficient or too many facilities in their neighbourhood. When the data for participation in local affairs is

Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority				Contact With Attendance Local Authority		At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group			
	Very Inter- ested	A little inter- ested	Uncer- tain	Not Inter- ested	Not at all inter- ested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Tenant Assoc.	Resid- ent Assoc.	Other Group	None	
Strongly approve of more provision	50 (25)	85 (22)	36 (22)	43 (19)	50 (30)	194 (21)	74 (31)	122 (25)	145 (22)	62 (24)	202 (23)	39 (27)	23 (23)	8 (24)	192 (22)	
Moderately approve of more provision	44 (22)	75 (19)	38 (24)	54 (23)	37 (22)	192 (21)	55 (23)	90 (18)	152 (23)	50 (19)	195 (22)	27 (19)	12 (12)	9 (26)	198 (22)	
Uncertain	55 (27)	134 (34)	57 (35)	81 (35)	57 (34)	311 (34)	69 (29)	151 (31)	223 (34)	76 (30)	305 (34)	40 (28)	42 (42)	3 (9)	297 (34)	
Disagree	20 (10)	63 (16)	23 (14)	30 (13)	17 (10)	127 (14)	26 (11)	70 (14)	82 (13)	39 (15)	112 (13)	15 (10)	13 (13)	8 (24)	117 (13)	
Disagree Strongly	33 (16)	35 (9)	7 (4)	23 (10)	8 (5)	89 (10)	18 (7)	58 (12)	48 (7)	30 (12)	77 (9)	23 (16)	11 (11)	6 (18)	97 (9)	
Column	202	392	161	231	169	913	242	491	650	257	891	144	101	34	868	
(Percent- age)	(18)	(34)	(16)	(20)	(15)	(77)	(21)	(42)	(55)	(22)	(76)	(12)	(9)	(3)	(74)	

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.09

SL = 0.02

SL = 0.67

SL = 0.02

Table 8.7: Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards The Provision Of Leisure Facilities

examined the differences in attitudes, as with employment attitudes, tend to be marginal.

The majority of residents would like to see an improvement in this aspect of the environment yet those who are more actively engaged in local affairs, those who might be expected to take a greater interest in this aspect of the environment, given their social background, tend to have similar attitudes to those who are less involved. This unexpected result might be explained by the location of those residents who tend to be more involved in their neighbourhood. Those wards which are characterized by higher participation rates, i.e. the northern wards, tend also to be those with better access to leisure and recreational facilities. 47 per cent of the residents who are very interested in local events would like to see an improvement in the provision of these facilities and 52 per cent of those who show no interest in local affairs express this attitude. Those residents showing greater interest in their neighbourhood appear to be less demanding than the non-joiners with regards to the provision of sports' facilities. This may be, as has been suggested, a result of the much more extensive provision of sports' facilities in areas of greater citizen involvement. Those residents who take less interest in local affairs are likely to be more uncertain in their attitudes towards the provision of recreational facilities. 34 per cent of the respondents who were uninterested in local affairs were unsure of the quality and quantity of provision of sports facilities; whereas a smaller proportion of those who were very interested in local affairs (27 per cent) expressed this attitude. This slight difference in outlook of those with a varying degree of interest in local affairs is reflected in the respondents' level of knowledge of local government and with more active involvement in the neighbourhood.

Those residents who are more aware of the workings of local government tend to show less need for greater provision of these facilities than do those residents who are not so knowledgeable. 54 per cent of the respondents who claim not to know how to contact the local authority would like to see an improvement in the level of provision of sports facilities. 42 per cent of those who were knowledgeable expressed this preference. Yet, of those residents who made contact with local government a similar proportion expressed a desire for more facilities. Interest and knowledge of local affairs influence attitudes towards this aspect of the environment to a limited degree. When more active participation is considered a slightly different picture emerges. No significant difference in attitudes was found between those residents who attended and those who did not attend public meetings within the borough. However, members of local groups are likely to rank recreational facilities and open space more highly than non-joiners. 46 per cent of the members of tenants' groups and 50 per cent of the members of other groups are unsatisfied with this aspect of their environment. This compares with 45 per cent of the non-joiners (Table 8.7). These percentage differences, it should be remembered, are small and any interpretation can only be regarded at this stage as tentative.

Leisure and recreation was one of the priorities that was ranked very low down in the list of ten environmental categories examined above. There is general dissatisfaction with this aspect of the environment but it is less unsatisfactory than employment and housing. Attitudes towards recreational facilities tended to be similar for those active in the community and those who were less active. Interestingly, those residents who showed less interest and knowledge of the workings of local government expressed a stronger demand for

change than did those who were less interested and knowledgeable. For those who were more actively involved in local affairs, a greater concern was shown for recreation and leisure than was expressed by the non-participants. In the previous analyses of the relation between environmental attitudes and participation a correlation between interest in, knowledge of, and involvement in local affairs was identified. This does not hold for leisure attitudes. This difference can, in part, be explained by the satisfaction of participants with recreational provision in their neighbourhoods. The proportion of higher status residents who are members of groups is high and their greater interest in this aspect of the environment is reflected in the slightly greater demand for improvement in the level of provision of recreational facilities. Overall, the attitudes of joiners and non-joiners towards leisure and recreation within Camden is similar, though there is a slight tendency for participants to put more weight on changes in this aspect of the environment than are the not so active residents.

7. Housing Attitudes And Neighbourhood Involvement. Of all the facets of the environment examined here feelings for the home environment are the most strongly and most widely held. Housing is that category which is the cause of most concern to Camden residents. Although there has been a decline in the population of the borough (16 per cent between 1961 and 1971) there is still severe overcrowding. In 1971 5.4 per cent of Camden's households were living at a density of more than 1.5 persons per room (Camden, 1977a, p.17). This is combined with housing stress and multiple deprivation which is found most commonly in areas of privately rented accommodation. Housing stress and negative attitudes towards housing were identified as being characteristic of this type of tenure and by all groups within the

borough, reflecting a demand for changes in housing, both in location and size of dwelling (Chapter 4). The attitudes of residents to housing is considered here in the light of their involvement in their neighbourhoods. A reason for involvement in local affairs may be dissatisfaction with some aspect of the environment. However, the data here, reflecting the empirical work of Cole and Bolan, suggest that interest and active participation in local affairs is correlated with a satisfactory or congenial home environment. The influence of the feelings for the home environment on participatory behaviour is considered here.

To explore the relationship between that environment which is closest to the individual and citizen involvement one particular housing attitude was used as an indicator. Here, the attitude towards housing is represented by the respondent's level of contentment with his home environment. It was noted earlier that respondents are generally aware of the needs of other groups (Chapter 5), and that these public needs were often expressed before their own. By choosing an attitude measuring feelings towards the home it was hoped that a more individual or self-oriented attitude would be expressed.

The majority of residents in Camden regard housing as being that aspect of the environment most in need of improvement. Yet, nearly three-quarters of residents are satisfied with their home environment. Housing, because it contributes so much to the individual's sense of well-being, may be seen as an indicator of the feelings for other aspects of the environment. If a respondent is unhappy with his house he may be less concerned with matters which are remote in comparison. The house provides the most basic of needs such as shelter and privacy but also a means of personal expression and a symbol of status.

Those residents who express the most interest in local affairs tend to be those citizens who show the greatest level of contentment with their home. 73 per cent of the respondents who were very concerned with local issues felt that they were satisfied with their housing (Table 8.8). 54 per cent of those residents who were least interested in things outside the home expressed contentment with their present housing situation. It seems as though a stable and pleasing home environment is a determinant of interest in affairs beyond that environment.

Interest in local affairs, like knowledge of the workings of local government, seems to vary with attitudes towards housing. Those residents who are content with their home are more likely to know how to approach the local authority about some problem which they have. 70 per cent of the respondents who claimed to know how to approach the local authority were either content or very content with their home (Table 8.8). 60 per cent of those who said they were unsure of where to go felt this way about their housing situation. Those who may be more knowledgeable of local government are, however, not necessarily so likely to make contact over some housing problem which they may be experiencing. Contacts with the local authority are most likely to come from its own tenants than from tenants in privately rented accommodation or from those in owner-occupation. In this respect the housing department and the administration as a whole may get a slightly distorted view of the attitudes of residents towards housing. 71 per cent of those residents who had no reason to approach the local authority, or merely did not do so, were satisfied with this aspect of their environment. A slightly lower proportion, 64 per cent, of those who contacted the local authority were as content. This figure is one which might be expected when it is considered that

Interest In Local Affairs						Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority				Contact With Local Authority				Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group		
	Very Inter- ested	A little inter- ested	Uncer- tain	Not inter- ested	Not at all inter- ested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None			
Very Content	103 (52)	187 (48)	73 (45)	128 (55)	65 (38)	459 (50)	97 (40)	226 (46)	325 (50)	142 (56)	413 (46)	63 (44)	58 (58)	19 (56)	415 (48)			
Content	41 (21)	81 (21)	35 (22)	43 (19)	28 (16)	181 (20)	48 (20)	90 (18)	134 (21)	51 (20)	177 (20)	38 (27)	26 (26)	4 (12)	157 (18)			
Undecid- ed	15 (8)	24 (6)	11 (7)	9 (4)	22 (13)	56 (6)	23 (10)	29 (6)	50 (7)	13 (5)	69 (8)	4 (3)	2 (2)	3 (9)	71 (8)			
Discont- ent	14 (7)	44 (11)	25 (15)	22 (9)	24 (14)	100 (11)	30 (12)	46 (9)	80 (12)	20 (8)	106 (12)	16 (11)	8 (8)	4 (12)	101 (12)			
Very Dis- content	26 (13)	56 (14)	18 (11)	29 (13)	31 (18)	117 (13)	44 (18)	99 (20)	61 (9)	29 (11)	127 (14)	21 (15)	7 (7)	4 (12)	125 (14)			

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

Table 8.8: Neighbourhood Involvement And Housing Attitudes

housing is the most important of the local authority's functions and that contact with it is likely to result from some negative aspect of that service.

Involvement in local affairs such as attendance at public meetings and membership of local groups is also significantly associated with attitudes towards the home. Those residents who find this aspect of their environment satisfying or pleasant tend to be more active in their neighbourhood than are those who are dissatisfied with their present housing. 76 per cent of the residents who were sufficiently interested in local affairs to attend public meetings in their locality were content with their housing conditions while 66 per cent of those who did not attend felt this way. A rather more complicated picture emerges with regards to involvement in local pressure groups. Members of residents' associations and other groups tend to have a higher regard for their home (84 per cent and 68 per cent respectively) than does the non-joiner (66 per cent; Table 8.8). Members of tenants' associations are more content with their housing (71 per cent) than are the non-joiners but less so than the members of residents' associations. This may be because residents are more likely to be owner-occupiers than are tenants. They are more likely to have higher incomes, to be of higher social status, and to have more control over this aspect of their environment, and as a result be more content with it. In this respect it reflects the attitudes of those residents who are both more interested in, and knowledgeable of, local affairs.

The relationship between attitudes towards housing as measured by feelings for the home environment and participatory behaviour appears to be a positive one. Residents who take more interest in local affairs, who are more aware of the workings of local government,

and who are members of local groups, tend to come from a home environment which is pleasant. It is not possible at this stage to say how far the physical, the familial and social aspects of the home contribute to this attitude. For this part of the housing environment participants appear to express a much greater positive attitude than do non-joiners. But within the group of active participants those who represent the interests of one household status group, namely council tenants, a lower regard for the home environment is expressed. The attitudes of residents in privately rented accommodation appear to be under-represented by the participants. This group is most likely to express dissatisfaction and it is that group which is least represented. As with other environmental attitudes there is a general consensus amongst residents for this aspect of the environment. The majority are reasonably content. It is within this context that variations in attitudes have been discussed. In this section the remaining environmental attribute to be examined is education. This, as with the facets examined above, is considered alongside the participatory behaviour of residents.

8. Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes Towards Education Services.

The fall in population of the borough has meant that the numbers of children of school age has declined. However, many primary and secondary schools continue to have facilities and space which do not meet the standards of the Department of Education and Science (Camden, 1977a, p.81). Greatest pressure has come from parents with the desire for more facilities for pre-school aged children. A large proportion of nursery education tends to be in the private sector but the increase in demand and lengthening waiting lists, as a result of a growing number of working mothers and recognition that children may benefit from pre-school education, has developed a local authority response to this

Participatory Behaviour

Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of How To Contact Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group		
	Very Inter-ested	A little inter-ested	Uncer-tain	Not Inter-ested	Not at all inter-ested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group
Improve Greatly	80 (40)	136 (35)	51 (31)	64 (28)	37 (22)	302 (33)	71 (29)	188 (38)	180 (28)	104 (41)	50 (35)	41 (41)	14 (42)
Improve	33 (17)	73 (19)	17 (10)	39 (17)	24 (14)	149 (16)	39 (16)	81 (17)	101 (16)	45 (18)	25 (17)	9 (9)	7 (21)
Uncer-tain	69 (35)	150 (38)	82 (51)	101 (44)	97 (57)	378 (41)	117 (48)	179 (37)	311 (48)	77 (30)	41 (28)	46 (46)	9 (27)
Disagree	6 (3)	20 (5)	10 (6)	17 (7)	4 (2)	48 (5)	8 (3)	21 (4)	35 (5)	15 (6)	15 (10)	1 (1)	1 (3)
Disagree Strongly	12 (6)	13 (3)	2 (1)	10 (4)	7 (4)	35 (4)	8 (3)	20 (4)	24 (4)	14 (5)	13 (9)	4 (4)	2 (6)
Column	200	392	162	231	169	912	243	489	651	255	144	101	33
(Percent-age)	(17)	(34)	(14)	(20)	(15)	(77)	(21)	(41)	(55)	(22)	(12)	(9)	(3)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.44

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.02

SL = 0.06

Table 8.9: Neighbourhood Involvement And Attitudes To Education Services

problem. The influence of the local authority over this aspect of the environment is as an advocate to outside agencies such as the Inner London Education Authority, by assisting voluntary and private organisations, and by making provision in its own housing estates. Here the analysis involves an examination of residents' feelings towards this part of their neighbourhood and their involvement with local affairs. So far it has been found that residents who take a more active part in their neighbourhood tend to have more strongly held views about different aspects of their social and physical environments.

In examining the attitudes of residents towards education the indicator that was chosen to measure this educational attitude was the feeling people have towards the provision of nursery schools and play groups. This particular attitude is used here because it is that part of the education service that is most in need of change, as expressed by the residents themselves (Chapter 5). Residents who are interested in local affairs are much more likely to be aware of the problems of pre-school education than are the less interested. 57 per cent of those residents who expressed a strong interest in neighbourhood matters felt this was one aspect of the environment that needed to be improved. 54 per cent of the interested residents expressed this attitude (Table 8.9). The residents who are not very interested in local affairs are less likely to rank highly the needs of pre-school children (36 per cent). Those who are more interested have a clearer idea of the needs of this group, or are at least able to express their feelings about it.

For this education attitude there seems to be little correlation between a knowledge of the working of local government and respondents'

predispositions towards nursery school provision. Only marginally more residents, who have strong positive attitudes, are knowledgeable in this area. When involvement data is examined a clearer picture emerges. Those people who are more active in the neighbourhood tend to show greater concern for nursery schools and play space than do the non-active. Those residents who attend public meetings are very likely to want an improvement in this part of their environment (59 per cent), while a smaller proportion (46 per cent) of the non-attenders felt this way. Members of residents groups, tenants' associations and other groups are much more aware of this need (50 per cent, 52 per cent, and 63 per cent respectively) than are non-joining residents (47 per cent). Here, as for interest, the non-joiners are more likely to be ignorant of the needs of parents with children of pre-school age. 46 per cent of the non-joiners felt that they were uncertain as to whether this part of the education environment should change while the more active residents were more certain in their feelings. 28 per cent of the members of tenants' associations expressed uncertainty. The relationship between participatory behaviour and attitudes towards this aspect of education appears to be stronger than for some other aspects of the environment examined above.

Residents in Camden who are more interested in local affairs and who participate more actively within their neighbourhood tend to have attitudes towards education, as measured by the indicator used here, which vary from those of the less interested and involved residents. These more active residents tend to be more aware of the problems of mothers who want to go out to work, and, perhaps, of the value of pre-school education. They certainly express stronger attitudes towards this aspect of their environment than do other groups. Like housing, health care, and shopping facilities, education is a neighbourhood

concern especially at the nursery, primary and secondary levels. It was noted above that families with young children took particular interest in those aspects of the environment that contributed to the well-being of the family (Chapter 4). A further analysis would reveal the extent to which the participants in local affairs are parents and the degree to which they rate these aspects of the environment. The data suggests that they are influential and their interests are expressed as the members of neighbourhood groups.

Participatory Behaviour And Environmental Attitudes In Camden:
A Summary.

The analysis of the data presented here shows that the perception of the environment by participants in local affairs does not, on the whole, vary very much from that of the non-joiner. However, differences in attitudes do exist and these are more pronounced with respect to some aspects of the urban environment than for others. These differences can, in part, be associated with the socio-economic background of the more active residents. It is also evident that there is a relationship between the form of participatory behaviour examined here and the strength of attitudes towards the environment. These variations can be explained to a limited extent by the costs of involvement. The greater the individual involvement with neighbourhood affairs the more likely is the resident to be of higher socio-economic status than are his neighbours. The mores and attitudes of this group tend to be over-represented in the participant group.

The types of participatory behaviour examined here can be thought of as lying on a continuum. At one end there is the non-joiner and disinterested person. At the other extreme there is the local activist who is a member of one or more neighbourhood pressure groups. The majority of residents show an interest in local affairs, a smaller

proportion is knowledgeable, while one in ten is active by being a member of a neighbourhood group. Attitudes towards the environment tend to polarize as the level of citizen commitment increases. The difference between the activists' view of his environment and that of the non-joiner is much greater than that between the more interested respondent and the less interested resident.

Over this continuum of participatory behaviour it was observed that those residents who were more interested, knowledgeable, and active in local affairs held attitudes towards the environment which varied by differing degrees. Participants tended to see things in extremes. They had either more positive or more negative attitudes towards the different facets of the environment. More active residents viewed the physical environment more favourably than did non-joiners. This, in part, reflects the socio-economic and locational background of these residents, i.e. the more northerly wards. The social environment engendered a less strong response from both the interested and disinterested residents. The difficulty of conceptualising the 'social environment' in comparison with the more observable 'physical environment' may be significant here. Employment activity and shopping facilities, while being generally regarded as in need of change, were seen as being of more importance to the non-participating residents, or, at least to those who represented groups whose interests concerned the needs of these non-joiners, tenants and unemployed. The variation in attitudes towards those aspects of the environment considered here is, however, complicated by the existence of pressure groups with competing interests.

The attitudes of residents towards housing was seen as a major attitude towards the environment in that other studies have shown

that a stable and pleasant home environment is conducive to citizen involvement (Dahl, 1970). The data here tend to support this work in that those residents who have a positive attitude towards this aspect of their environment are more active than those residents who express dissatisfaction with their home. It is not certain as to which of these variables is the determinant of the other. A pleasant home environment may be conducive to citizen involvement. Yet, both variables are correlated with social status. Housing attitudes generally reflect a consensus of concern with this part of the environment. The analysis above shows that those residents who live in housing need express stronger negative attitudes towards housing than do other housing status groups.

The relationship between housing attitudes and participatory behaviour is complex. Those residents who are living in housing that is perceived as being stable and pleasant tend to be greater participants than are those residents living in unpleasant housing. From this it might be thought that the attitudes of those residents who found their housing disagreeable would be under-represented in local pressure groups and thus in the representational or political system within the borough. However, one housing group, notably local authority tenants, have over-representation in the administrative system, this group being more likely to contact the local authority than are others. From these observations, it becomes apparent that the relationship between environmental attitudes and participatory behaviour is complex. Overall, there is a consensus of attitudes towards different facets of the environment. However, those who participate in the political system are likely to have more extreme attitudes than the non-joiners over a number of those facets.

However, the under-representation of some groups in the political system is partly offset by an awareness of the problems of these groups by the administrative system, i.e. by local government services.

Within Camden the nature of participants has been described together with their attitudes towards the environment. Participants tend to vary from non-joiners by their social status, type of housing, age, and location. They differ only slightly in their attitudes towards the environment from less interested and involved groups. They are more likely to express these attitudes through the political system than the administrative system within the borough. More active citizens have a tendency to perceive their homes in a positive way, or at least to be content with that part of the environment. It has been noted that participants have a tendency towards more extreme feelings than other residents. It is not clear whether these feelings are also directed at the institutions which control change within the environment. Do participants have a higher regard for local government than others? Cole, in his empirical study of participation, found that there was a correlation between involvement and affect for the system of local government (Cole, 1974). Those people who were more involved in local affairs tended to see the rewards of participation as being higher than those who were not so involved. The nature of residents feelings towards the institutions of local government are now considered in this context.

CHAPTER 9.

Affect For Local Government And Neighbourhood Involvement.

Introduction.

So far the influences of socio-economic and demographic variables on feelings for local government have been considered. This Chapter attempts to extend that analysis to include involvement in local affairs. Many studies in the political science literature (Dahl, 1970; Cole, 1974; Bolan and Nuttall, 1975) relate greater or more positive feelings for the institutions of government, both at the local and national level, with increasing interest and involvement with political issues. It is suggested by the structural-functional school that the stability of local and national governments in the liberal democracies is secured by consensus rather than by coercion together with a subtle balance of participation which has helped to legitimize these structures (Crouch, 1977). Even Almond and Verba in their largely empirical study found a relationship between the affect shown towards the political and administrative systems of government and the stability of those regimes (Almond and Verba, 1965).

Not all critics belong to the representational theory school. Adherents of the elitist school, like Wright Mills and Parry, suggest that the key decision-makers are drawn from a limited number of social groups and that their attitudes towards changes in the environment are at variance with those of the majority of citizens (Wright Mills, 1956; Parry, 1969). Cole, in his study of participant attitudes found that a curvilinear relationship existed between the degree of involvement and the level of trust in local government (Cole, 1974).

The affect for the political and administrative system increased, in Cole's study, with the degree of involvement in the projects studied. But, for some activists, especially those with high expectations, there developed a negative or less strong positive feeling towards the institution or organisation in which they were taking part.

The evidence for a consensus of attitudes amongst participants towards the local government system appears to be inconclusive. Some studies (cf. Wright Mills) suggest that the more active residents or citizens have their own value system which is different from that of non-elite groups. Students of the representational-pluralist school (cf. Dahl and Cole) suggest that there is greater access to the areas of key decision-making than the elitists maintain. Secondly, feelings for local government institutions are assumed to be felt more strongly and favourably by the more interested and involved citizens (Dahl, 1970; Pennock and Chapman, 1975).

It has been mentioned earlier (Chapter 1) that one of the explanations or causes for the more widespread demand for participation in local government has been the process of centralisation of the administration. As Crouch says, the 'processes of centralisation and concentration in decision-making, largely a result of the changing nature of the industrial process and of the role of the state in them, had rendered existing means of influencing the state decreasingly useful' (Crouch, 1977, p.10). This process has had its effects at the individual level. The cultivation of involvement in community activity might be seen, in this light, as a means of preventing alienation from the existing system (ibid., p.11). It has been observed by Bachrach and others that there is a direct correlation between the incidence of violence and criminal behaviour and lack of

citizen involvement in community institutions and programmes (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970). It is hypothesised here that the more uninvolved and disinterested citizen will also be that citizen who is most alienated from the administrative and political institutions of local government.

Elsewhere (Chapter 7) it was noted that there was very little difference between residents' feelings for local government. Across a number of socio-economic, demographic and locational variables the affect for the system of local government was seen to vary only marginally. From this evidence and the results of the participatory data examined so far it might be suggested that here, also, the affect for local government does not vary with involvement in neighbourhood affairs. Yet, from the political science literature we should expect to find a gradually increasing level of satisfaction with local government as the level of involvement increases. From this standpoint the non-joiners would be expected to be least content while the most interested and active residents would express the highest or higher levels of satisfaction.

Selection Of Variables. Almond and Verba in their study of participant cultures looked at both the input and output side of government. They considered citizens' attitudes towards both the political and administrative sections of government. Here, because the survey of residents' attitudes was aimed principally at the output side of government, residents' feelings for the input or political side can only be inferred from very general attitudes towards local government as a system. In the Camden questionnaire only one specific and two general questions can be considered to measure affect for local government. The first is concerned with the level of satisfaction expressed

by residents with the contact they have made with the council during the previous year. This is more likely to measure residents' assessment of the outcome of a meeting with a local government officer than a general appraisal of the effectiveness of local government in Camden. Secondly, a more general question is included. This covers the attitudes of residents to the treatment of special groups within the borough by the local authority. These groups include immigrants, single parent families, the disabled, and so on. Like the first attitude it is concerned primarily with the output or administrative part of government. The allocation of resources to these different groups reflects a particular political input. The third attitude considered here is a little more general than the last but still the emphasis is on the effectiveness of the administration rather than on the political system. This question examines the attitude of residents towards the behaviour of the local authority in all its aspects. Taken together these attitudes measure some of the feelings which residents have towards the local authority in Camden.

Affect For Local Government In Camden. The data from the Camden survey reveals that the majority of residents are satisfied with the institution of local government and that those who are generally more involved tend to have a slightly higher regard for it than do those residents who are neither so interested nor so involved in local affairs. Of those residents who had made contact with the local authority within the preceeding year a greater proportion of those with some knowledge of the workings of local government expressed satisfaction with their contact than did those residents who were less knowledgeable (Table 9.1). Similarly, as with interest in local affairs, those residents who express greater interest in the events around about them in the neighbourhood are also likely to express a higher level of satisfaction

Participatory Behaviour

Contact With Local Authority	Interest In Local Affairs				Knowledge Of Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Contact With Social Worker	
	Very Interested	Inter-ested	Uncertain	Not inter-ested	Not at all inter-ested	YES	NO	YES	NO	
Satisfied	61 (31)	104 (27)	27 (17)	49 (21)	30 (18)	264 (30)	11 (5)	271 (58)	-	233 (23)
Dissatis-fied	45 (23)	75 (20)	15 (20)	32 (14)	30 (18)	178 (20)	23 (10)	194 (41)	-	185 (18)
Column Total (Percentage)	106 (23)	179 (38)	42 (9)	81 (17)	60 (13)	442 (93)	33 (7)	465 (40)	45 (9)	418 (91)
(Percentages In Brackets)										
SL=0.01						SL=0.01		SL=0.01		SL=0.01

Cont.

Contact With Local Authority	Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group			
	YES	NO	Tenants' Association	Residents' Association	Other Group	None
Satisfied	85 (35)	187 (21)	50 (36)	33 (34)	12 (36)	176 (21)
Dissatis-fied	53 (22)	144 (16)	32 (23)	24 (25)	7 (21)	129 (15)
Column Total (Percentage)	138 (29)	331 (71)	82 (18)	57 (12)	19 (4)	305 (66)
(Percentages In Brackets)						
SL=0.01			SL=0.01			

with any contact they may have had with local government than are the less interested.

Interestingly, those residents who had been put in contact with a social worker were very likely to have an improved disposition towards the local authority, or rather to the contact with the social worker. Of those residents who had seen a social worker 43 per cent expressed contentment and 13 per cent dissatisfaction with the outcome of their meetings (Table 9.1).

When more active involvement in the neighbourhood is examined a similar pattern emerges. Those residents who have had some contact with the local authority, whether it be with a social worker or other official, tend to be satisfied with this aspect of local government, i.e. the interface between the administrative system and the resident. This interface is usually the local government officer. The more active residents who are members of local groups and societies tend to be more satisfied with any contact they may have with the local authority than are those who are not involved. From this cursory analysis of attitudes to local government, as measured by the level of satisfaction experienced when the resident has been in contact with the local government, it might follow that attitudes towards the local authority as a multi-faceted institution reflect varying levels of interest and involvement in local affairs.

The attitudes which residents express towards their contact with the council are not the same as those feelings towards the local authority in relation to resource allocation. Residents seem to be evenly divided when it comes to considering the local authority's policy towards minority groups. Obviously some groups are seen as undeserving or over-provided for (Table 9.2). On this particular

Participatory Behaviour

Table 9.2: Affect for Local Government And Neighbourhood Involvement (2)

Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Contact With Social Worker		Attendance At Public Meetings	
	Very Interested	Interested	Uncertain	Disinterested	Not at all interested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Very Satisfied	48 (24)	51 (13)	14 (9)	28 (12)	25 (15)	149 (17)	18 (8)	79 (16)	83 (13)	14 (18)	144 (14)	49 (19) 115 (13)
Satisfied	27 (13)	128 (33)	46 (29)	57 (25)	29 (17)	233 (26)	51 (21)	118 (24)	165 (26)	21 (27)	257 (25)	75 (29) 208 (24)
Uncertain	47 (23)	100 (26)	56 (35)	78 (34)	62 (37)	245 (27)	92 (39)	117 (24)	214 (33)	13 (17)	317 (31)	56 (22) 283 (32)
Dissatisfied	22 (11)	56 (14)	25 (16)	39 (17)	17 (10)	127 (14)	30 (13)	71 (15)	84 (13)	13 (17)	142 (14)	34 (13) 122 (14)
Very Dissatisfied	57 (28)	57 (15)	19 (12)	29 (13)	36 (21)	150 (17)	47 (20)	99 (21)	97 (15)	16 (21)	177 (17)	41 (16) 153 (17)
Total	201	392	160	231	169	904	238	484	643	77	1037	255 881
(Percent- age)	(17)	(34)	(14)	(20)	(15)	(79)	(21)	(42)	(56)	(7)	(90)	(22) (77)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.03

Cont.

	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other	None	
Very Satisfied	29 (20)	9 (9)	6 (18)	122 (14)	23 (16)	10 (10)	6 (18)	117 (14)	Dissatisfied
Satisfied	32 (22)	29 (29)	10 (30)	211 (25)	39 (27)	16 (16)	2 (6)	138 (16)	Very Dissatisfied
Uncertain	21 (15)	37 (37)	9 (27)	269 (31)	144 (13)	101 (9)	33 (3)	857 (76)	Column Total (Percentage)

SL = 0.01

indicator the more knowledgeable residents are more

likely to be satisfied (43 per cent) than they are dissatisfied (31 per cent, Table 9.2). As with the previously studied indicator the more interested and knowledgeable residents are more likely to have formed some opinion whether it be either positive or negative. One of the characteristic responses of the less interested citizen is his uncertainty in answering these types of questions. 37 per cent of the disinterested residents expressed uncertainty or ignorance of the council's allocation of resources to groups while only 23 per cent of the very interested residents said this (Table 9.2).

The residents who attend public meetings and who are members of local groups are as likely as not to be satisfied with Camden's allocation of resources to minority groups. 42 per cent of the members of tenants' associations express support for the council's policies while 43 per cent were unhappy about them. 15 per cent were unsure (Table 9.2). Non-members, like the uninterested and unknowledgeable, show greater uncertainty in answering this question.

The findings here suggest that on this attitude, at least, there is little difference between the proportion of residents who are satisfied and those who are dissatisfied. It may be that this attitude is measuring current council policy rather than feelings for the institution of local government. This hypothesis seems plausible when the attitude towards the local authority as a whole is considered.

The attitudes which residents express towards the local authority as a large institution reflect the feelings that were mentioned above with regards to individuals' personal experiences with the local authority. When the local authority is viewed as a totality, which it appears to be here, different attitudes are expressed when compared

Table 9.3: Affect For Local Government And Neighbourhood Involvement (3)

Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Contact With Social Worker		Attendance At Public Meetings	
	Very Interested	Interested	Uncertain	Not interested	Not at all interested	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Very Satisfied	123 (61)	142 (36)	46 (28)	70 (30)	58 (35)	372 (41)	65 (27)	204 (42)	229 (36)	45 (58)	121 (47)	313 (36)
Satisfied	31 (15)	175 (45)	57 (35)	90 (39)	43 (26)	310 (34)	79 (33)	150 (31)	233 (36)	20 (26)	84 (33)	304 (35)
Uncertain	35 (17)	54 (14)	52 (32)	57 (25)	46 (27)	163 (18)	79 (33)	84 (17)	154 (24)	5 (7)	35 (14)	204 (23)
Dissatisfied	5 (3)	15 (4)	4 (3)	8 (4)	8 (5)	36 (4)	4 (2)	26 (5)	14 (2)	3 (4)	10 (4)	30 (3)
Very Dissatisfied	8 (4)	7 (2)	3 (2)	6 (3)	13 (8)	27 (3)	11 (5)	22 (5)	15 (2)	4 (5)	7 (3)	31 (4)
Column Total (Percentage)	202 (18)	393 (34)	162 (14)	231 (20)	168 (15)	908 (79)	238 (21)	486 (42)	645 (56)	77 (7)	1040 (90)	882 (76)
						SL = 0.01		SL = 0.01		SL = 0.01		SL = 0.06

Cont.

	Membership Of Neighbourhood Group			
	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None
Very Satisfied	78 (54)	37 (37)	14 (42)	305 (35)
Satisfied	41 (29)	35 (35)	7 (21)	302 (35)
Uncertain	16 (11)	23 (23)	12 (36)	193 (22)
Dissatisfied	3 (2)	4 (4)	0 (0)	32 (4)
Very	6 (4)	2 (2)	0 (0)	29 (3)
Column Total (Percentage)	144 (13)	101 (9)	33 (3)	861 (75)
SL = 0.01				

Residents Attitudes Towards The Behaviour Of Local Authority

Neighbourhood Involvement

to the previous attitude which reflected a more ephemeral aspect of local government. Camden Council, as a whole, is viewed favourably by the majority of residents.

The local authority as an institution is seen in a favourable light by the majority of respondents. Those residents who show the greatest knowledge of local affairs tend to be those who express more positive feelings towards the local authority (Table 9.3). 75 per cent of the respondents who claimed some knowledge of the workings of local government expressed satisfaction while 60 per cent of the less knowledgeable did so. Similarly, those residents who showed greater interest in the life and appearance of their neighbourhood tend to be more content with local government (76 per cent, Table 9.3) than are those who are not so interested (61 per cent). The less knowledgeable and less interested residents, although less satisfied with local government, are not more dissatisfied than the more interested residents. As with the previous two attitudes measuring affect for local government the less interested tend to be less knowledgeable and less certain of the role or the work that the local authority is doing. This is particularly so for certain groups such as the newcomers to the borough and the young. Greater affect for the council is not limited to the more interested and knowledgeable citizens, however.

Those residents who have been in contact with, or had been contacted by, a local government officer have a higher regard for the local authority than do those who have not had this experience. The difference is more marked in the case of contact with a social worker. 84 per cent of those contacted registered satisfaction with the behaviour of local government and 71 per cent of those who were not so contacted expressed this feeling (Table 9.3). This level of feeling extends

to those who are more active in the community. The people who attend public meetings and become members of neighbourhood groups have a slightly higher regard for the council than do the less active residents. Of the groups categorized in Table 9.3 the members of tenants' associations appear to express the most positive attitudes towards local government (83 per cent) while 70 per cent of non-members feel this way. Tenants also show a lower incidence of ignorance or uncertainty about the role of local government (11 per cent), while the average non-member is nearly twice as likely to be uncertain of the local authority's role (22 per cent; Table 9.3).

The data from Camden presented here gives an insight into the relationship between the feelings residents have for their local authority and their level of involvement in local affairs. As Dahl (1970) and Cole (1974) suggest, there is a positive association between the feelings residents have for local government and the degree to which they are involved in civic affairs. No evidence for a linear relationship was found. Those who were most active in local affairs did not, for example, show greater positive affect than those who were merely interested in local affairs. Also, the diminishing returns of involvement which Cole noticed in his study could not be discerned here. His study was primarily concerned with the effectiveness of short-run participation programmes where a limited amount of dissatisfaction with the outcome from a great deal of personal input might be expected. Where there are more established methods of citizen involvement, such as the local amenity society or resident association both of which exist in Camden, there is less likelihood of spontaneous participation of the type that Cole found. More importantly, the data suggest that citizen involvement in local affairs has a stabilizing or reinforcing

effect on the institutions of local government. Those residents who are more knowledgeable, interested and involved in local affairs and have had contact with the local authority regard it more favourably than do those who have not. It follows that greater involvement or contact may enhance the local authority's standing within the borough, or at least make residents more aware of the role of the local authority.

Knowledge Of Local Government And Neighbourhood Involvement. The affect shown towards local government varies with interest and participation in local affairs. Here, the level of knowledge of local government, interest in, and involvement with local groups is considered. Theorists such as Lipset (1963) and Dahl (1970) put forward a cumulative causation model of participation. Those citizens who are most active, they say, are those who have the most 'political capital'. They are the more highly motivated, interested and knowledgeable citizens. They are also likely to be more highly educated, and of higher social status. On the continuum of participation it has been assumed that knowledge of, and interest in local affairs have been further down the scale than contact with the local authority or involvement with a neighbourhood group (cf. Cole, 1974, p.31). The extent to which these variables are associated with one another is the subject of the following analyses.

Residents who know something of the workings of local government are more likely to be interested and involved in neighbourhood events than are the less knowledgeable. 85 per cent of those residents claiming to know how to approach the local authority were very interested in local affairs while 70 per cent of those who were not at all interested had this knowledge (Table 9.4). Those citizens who show little interest in local government, not surprisingly, show less knowledge of its workings.

Form Of Activity

Knowledge Of Local Government

Interest In Local Affairs					Contact With Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group				
	Very Inter- ested	Inter- ested	Uncertain	Disinter- ested	Not at all interested	YES	NO	YES	NO	Tenant Assoc.	Residents' Assoc.	Other Group	None
YES	171 (85)	325 (83)	122 (76)	173 (76)	116 (70)	457 (93)	450 (70)	239 (93)	664 (75)	127 (88)	89 (88)	32 (94)	652 (76)
NO	31 (15)	66 (17)	38 (24)	55 (24)	49 (30)	35 (7)	194 (30)	17 (7)	221 (25)	17 (12)	12 (12)	2 (6)	209 (24)

Column Total (Percentage) 202 (18) 391 (34) 160 (14) 228 (20) 165 (14) 492 (42) 644 (55) 256 (22) 885 (75) 144 (12) 101 (9) 34 (3) 861 (73)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

Table 9.4: Knowledge Of Local Government And Neighbourhood Involvement

People who are less knowledgeable about local government and how to contact one of its officers if the need arises are less likely to contact local government, less likely to attend public meetings, and are less likely to be members of neighbourhood groups or societies. Thus, as hypothesised, a certain cognitive level or understanding of local government appears to be a precondition, or at least a correlate, of greater involvement in civic affairs.

Interest In Local Affairs And Neighbourhood Involvement. As with an understanding of the workings of local government, an interest in local affairs appears to be correlated with neighbourhood participation. Residents who show more interest in civic affairs tend to be those residents who are also more likely to have contacted the local authority, been to a public meeting, or are members of neighbourhood groups. One of the difficulties of this type of analysis is determining the independent and dependent variables. It is not possible to say, from the data used here, whether interest in local affairs leads to a greater awareness and understanding of the functioning of local government, or whether a greater knowledge of local affairs is a determinant or major cause of a greater interest in these matters.

In Camden, residents who show some knowledge of the workings of local government also express a greater interest in neighbourhood affairs (55 per cent, Table 9.5) than do the less informed residents (41 per cent). Also, those residents who have contacted the local authority express a greater interest in neighbourhood concerns (61 per cent) than do those who had made no approach (45 per cent). When more active behaviour is considered a slightly greater difference in the level of interest can be perceived. People who attend public

Form Of Activity

	Contact With Local Authority		Knowledge Of Local Authority		Attendance At Public Meetings		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group			
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None
Very Interested	109 (23)	90 (14)	171 (19)	31 (13)	83 (32)	118 (13)	38 (27)	19 (19)	16 (49)	121 (14)
Interested	185 (38)	198 (31)	325 (36)	66 (28)	117 (46)	269 (31)	58 (41)	44 (44)	8 (24)	278 (32)
Uncertain	47 (10)	112 (17)	122 (14)	38 (16)	19 (7)	137 (16)	14 (10)	11 (11)	4 (12)	131 (15)
Disinterested	83 (17)	143 (22)	173 (19)	55 (23)	26 (10)	203 (23)	23 (16)	13 (13)	5 (15)	186 (22)
Very Disinterested	60 (12)	104 (16)	116 (13)	49 (21)	11 (4)	156 (18)	10 (7)	14 (14)	0 (0)	145 (17)
Column Total (Percentage)	484 (42)	647 (56)	907 (79)	239 (21)	256 (22)	883 (76)	143 (12)	101 (9)	33 (3)	861 (75)

Level Of Interest

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

(Percentages In Brackets)

Table 9.5: Interest In Local Affairs And Neighbourhood Involvement

meetings, for example, are much more likely to express an interest in civic affairs (78 per cent) than are those residents who do not have the inclination or the opportunity to attend (44 per cent). This greater interest shown by people who attend public meetings is also shown by those people who belong to a neighbourhood group or society. 68 per cent of the members of tenants' associations express an interest in neighbourhood affairs (Table 9.5) as do 63 per cent of those in residents' associations and 73 per cent in other local societies. This compares with a lower level of concern or interest (46 per cent) by those people who are not members of any local group.

From the analysis of the data illustrating the relationship between an interest in local affairs and neighbourhood involvement one trend is most apparent. Above, it was noticed that more knowledgeable residents were more interested and involved in local affairs. Here, it can be seen that contact with the local authority and participatory behaviour vary with the level of interest shown in local affairs. But, the difference between the more interested and less interested is greater than that between the more knowledgeable and less well-informed. The joiners of local groups are more interested in local affairs than non-joiners and they are comparatively more interested than they are knowledgeable when set alongside the non-joiners.

Contact With The Administrative System And Neighbourhood Interest. This section and the following section look at limited forms of interaction with the administrative and political system. Here, the relationship between an individual's contact with the local authority is considered together with his interest and knowledge of civic affairs. So far, it has been observed that knowledge and interest in local affairs are both positively correlated with one another. And both of these

Neighbourhood Interest

Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of Local Government		Membership Of Neighbourhood Group				
	Very Inter- Ested	Inter- ested	Uncertain	Disinter- ested	Not at all interested	YES	NO	Tenants' Association	Residents' Association	Other Group	None
YES	109 (54)	185 (47)	47 (29)	83 (36)	60 (36)	457 (50)	35 (15)	86 (60)	62 (61)	20 (59)	311 (36)
NO	90 (45)	198 (51)	112 (70)	143 (62)	104 (62)	450 (49)	194 (80)	56 (39)	38 (38)	14 (41)	538 (62)
Column Total	199	383	159	226	164	907	229	142	100	34	849
(Per- centage)	(18)	(34)	(14)	(20)	(15)	(78)	(21)	(12)	(9)	(3)	(73)

(Percentages In Brackets)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.01

Table 9.6: Contact With The Administrative System And Neighbourhood Involvement

correlate positively with more active forms of neighbourhood involvement.

Those people who approach the local authority may do so for one of many reasons. They may seek information or right of redress. They may seek to improve one particular service and change one aspect or many of their surrounding environment. The variable considered here does not allow for such a detailed breakdown of reasons for contacting the local authority though they need to be kept in mind when this variable is considered. In the sample 54 per cent of the people who claimed to be very interested in local affairs approached the local authority (Table 9.6) while only 36 per cent of the uninterested residents did so. This difference in contact rates may suggest that the frequency of approaches to the local authority is influenced by factors other than the obvious ones of service breakdown and poor quality of service. Knowledge plays a significant role when it comes to considering whether a resident should approach the local authority or not. While more of the informed residents (50 per cent, Table 9.6) approach the council only 15 per cent of the less well-informed do so. Lack of knowledge of the workings of local government may well be a barrier to any form of communication between resident and administration. Indeed, the complexity of the institution of local government has been noted elsewhere (Beresford and Beresford, 1978), and attempts to simplify its structure, at least in terms of its presentation to the public, has been the source of area management approaches to service provision (D.o.E., 1974). In addition to being more aware of local government those residents who make contact are also likely to be members of local associations. 60 per cent of those people who were members of tenants' associations made some sort of approach to the local authority as did 61 per cent of the people in residents'

associations and 59 per cent in other groups (Table 9.6). This contrasts with the 36 per cent of the non-members who approached the local authority.

Those residents who become sufficiently motivated to contact the local authority have attributes which differentiate them from other citizens. The people who approach the council for whatever reason are both more knowledgeable and interested in civic affairs. They are also likely to be members of local groups and societies. Most strikingly, they are much more aware of how to contact the local authority if they have some problem or if they are just seeking information than are the less knowledgeable residents. But, as has been noticed above, the attitudes and preferences of these more active people do not differ very markedly from the less active and involved residents (cf. Chapter 8).

Participation In The Local Political System And Neighbourhood Interest.

The involvement of residents in neighbourhood groups is considered here as a form of involvement in the local political system. Political participation might be defined as involvement in the public decision-making framework. This traditionally includes taking an interest in civic affairs, being a member of a political party, voting at elections and lobbying of local representatives (Crewe, et al., 1977). The only indicator of political participation that might be used here is membership of local groups, especially those which typically make representations to local councillors and also to local government officers.

As with the level of interaction with the administrative system, membership of local pressure groups is associated with a number of participatory variables. These are different from those of the non-joiners. Members of local groups have a greater knowledge of the

Neighbourhood Interest										
	Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of Local Government		Contact With Local Authority		
	Very Interested	Interested	Uncertain	Disinterested	Not at all interested	YES	NO	YES	NO	
Pressure Group Membership	Tenant Assoc.	38 (19)	58 (15)	14 (9)	23 (10)	10 (6)	127 (14)	17 (7)	86 (18)	56 (9)
	Resident Assoc.	19 (9)	44 (11)	11 (7)	13 (6)	14 (8)	89 (10)	12 (5)	62 (13)	38 (6)
	Other Group	16 (8)	8 (2)	4 (3)	5 (2)	0 (0)	32 (4)	2 (1)	20 (4)	14 (2)
	None	121 (60)	278 (71)	131 (81)	186 (81)	145 (85)	652 (71)	209 (86)	311 (64)	538 (83)
	Column Total (Percentage)	194 (18)	388 (34)	160 (14)	227 (20)	169 (15)	900 (78)	240 (21)	479 (41)	646 (55)
SL=0.01						SL=0.01		SL=0.01		
Attendance At Public Meetings	Yes	83 (41)	117 (46)	19 (12)	26 (11)	11 (7)	239 (26)	17 (7)	148 (30)	104 (16)
	No	118 (58)	269 (69)	137 (85)	203 (88)	156 (92)	664 (73)	221 (91)	337 (69)	537 (83)
	Column Total (Percentage)	201 (18)	386 (34)	156 (14)	229 (20)	167 (15)	903 (78)	238 (21)	485 (41)	641 (55)
SL = 0.01						SL=0.01		SL=0.01		

(Percentages In Brackets)

Table 9.7: Participation In The Political System And Neighbourhood Involvement

workings of local government. They are more likely to have approached the local authority. They show greater interest in local affairs and are more likely to have attended a public meeting than are non-members (Table 9.7). 36 per cent of residents who are very interested in local affairs claim to be a member of a neighbourhood group while only 14 per cent of those who are not at all interested are members (Table 9.7). The more knowledgeable are more likely to be members (28 per cent) than are the less well-informed (13 per cent). From this data it appears as though people who interact with the political system have characteristics similar to those participating in the administrative system.

Members of local groups, whether they are active in lobbying local representatives or not, differ from the non-joiners. Members are more interested and better informed about local events and local government than are the non-joiners. The more involved residents, it has been pointed out above, tend to differ from other residents more in their interest in local affairs than in their attitudes towards the environment. More active residents tend to be rather more interested in neighbourhood affairs than they are knowledgeable, as measured by the indicators used here. At this stage it is perhaps worth remembering that non-joiners although possessing similar environmental attitudes to the joiners differ in other respects. They will be, on the whole, young, have moved home recently, be in privately rented accommodation, be unmarried or no longer married (Crewe, et al., 1977).

Sense Of Well-being And Neighbourhood Involvement. The individual's sense of well-being can be seen as a function of his feelings towards his environment in its broadest sense and of his interaction with it. For some people a greater involvement in decisions which affect their

environment leads to a sense of control and satisfaction which is denied to the alienated citizen who sees his actions having little or no influence on events and the neighbourhood around about him. For Dahl, feelings of self-confidence and self-worth are positively correlated with active involvement in political affairs (Dahl, 1970, p.80). Conversely, 'a person is less likely to get involved in politics (civic affairs) if he thinks that what he does won't matter because he can't significantly change the outcome any way'(ibid, p.81). Other commentators have also emphasised the psychological rather than the social differences between the more and less involved citizen. People vary in their level of involvement not because of differences in status but rather because of varying levels of motivation and interest in the political system which is just one of many aspects of the environment influencing the individual's life chances (Crewe, et al., 1977).

Sense of well-being and sense of efficacy in civic affairs appear to be correlated in other studies. In Camden it has been noted that environmental satisfaction is positively associated with feelings of well-being (Chapter 8). From the evidence of the above sections it might also be expected that feelings of self-worth, like environmental contentment, are associated with involvement in local affairs. A sense of well-being is, however, a summation of a great number of feelings towards many objects at a particular point of time. This very general attitude is strongly influenced by basic needs. It has been shown to be highly correlated with attitudes towards the home and immediate neighbourhood (Chapter 4). Personal well-being is here measured by the indicator of people's ability to lead the sort of lives they want to lead. In this sense it is a normative indicator in that it does not rely on objective criteria of satisfaction but rather

Table 9.8:

Sense Of Well-being And Neighbourhood Involvement

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Participatory Behaviour

	Interest In Local Affairs					Knowledge Of Local Authority		Contact With Local Authority		Contact With Social Worker		Attendance At Public Meetings	
	Very Inter-ested	Inter-ested	Uncer-tain	Not Inter-ested	Not at all inter-ested	YES	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Very Satisfied	95 (47)	123 (31)	53 (33)	74 (32)	60 (36)	324 (36)	79 (33)	156 (32)	240 (37)	22 (29)	371 (36)	110 (43)	285 (32)
Satisfied	33 (16)	141 (36)	51 (32)	83 (36)	39 (23)	278 (31)	64 (27)	140 (29)	195 (30)	13 (17)	323 (31)	76 (30)	270 (31)
Uncertain	12 (6)	24 (6)	22 (14)	10 (4)	13 (8)	63 (7)	15 (6)	30 (6)	48 (7)	7 (9)	69 (7)	13 (5)	67 (8)
Dissatis-fied	23 (11)	54 (14)	18 (11)	33 (14)	13 (8)	107 (12)	33 (14)	58 (12)	82 (13)	11 (14)	123 (12)	21 (8)	118 (13)
Very Dis-satisfied	39 (19)	51 (13)	18 (11)	31 (13)	44 (26)	135 (15)	48 (20)	100 (21)	82 (13)	24 (31)	154 (15)	36 (14)	143 (16)
Column Total	202	393	162	231	169	907	239	484	647	77	1040	256	883
(Percent-age)	(18)	(34)	(14)	(20)	(15)	(79)	(21)	(42)	(56)	(7)	(90)	(22)	(76)

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.47

SL = 0.01

SL = 0.03

Cont.

	Membership Of Neighbourhood Group			
	Tenant Assoc.	Resident Assoc.	Other Group	None
Very Satisfied	54 (38)	53 (53)	14 (42)	280 (33)
Satisfied	45 (31)	28 (28)	11 (33)	257 (30)
Uncertain	8 (6)	6 (6)	2 (6)	64 (7)
Dissatisfied	15 (10)	3 (3)	3 (9)	118 (14)
Very Dissatisfied	22 (15)	11 (11)	3 (9)	141 (16)

SL = 0.07

Column Total 144 101 33 860
(Percentage) (13) (9) (3) (74)

(Percentages In Brackets)

on the individual's own perception of his needs and his ability to realise his expectations.

In the study area personal well-being appears to be related to involvement in local affairs. However, this relationship is weak. It is certainly not as strong as active participation is with an interest in local affairs. Those residents who claim to be better informed about the workings of local government are not significantly happier people than those without this knowledge (Table 9.8). However, those residents who show a greater interest in neighbourhood affairs (63 per cent) were more likely to be very content with the lives they were leading. A smaller proportion of the disinterested residents (59 per cent) were as happy (Table 9.8). Respondents who had to contact a local authority department were slightly less happy than were those who made no contact. It might be conjectured here that these contacts from the more dissatisfied residents may be ones of complaint or disapproval for some aspect of the environment or service over which the local authority has some control. When other forms of behaviour are considered a slightly different picture emerges. Residents who attend public meetings or are members of local groups have a slightly greater sense of self-worth than do those who are non-attenders or non-joiners. For some groups the satisfaction rate is higher than it is for others. 53 per cent of the members of residents' associations express feelings of strong satisfaction. Members of tenants' associations are less content (38 per cent). Non-members are the least likely residents to express strong feelings of contentment with their present life styles (33 per cent, Table 9.8). These findings tend to accord with those found by Rent in his study of low income housing (Rent, et al., 1978). There a 'positive life orientation' was associated with home ownership (cf. resident

association membership) and positive sentiments towards neighbours (social participation).

A sense of well-being or satisfaction with one's current mode of living does not seem to be so strongly related to neighbourhood involvement as is interest in local affairs and knowledge of the local authority. Residents who are reasonably content are only slightly more likely to be interested and engaged in civic affairs than are the less contented residents. Residents who for one reason or another make contact with the local authority are more likely to be dissatisfied or upset with their current mode of living. This may be because of some negative change in their environment over which the local government may have some control. Or, it may in part be explained by a proportion of the population who are more prone to complain than others. However, there is no way of distinguishing between these groups from the data derived from the Camden study. Support is given to those studies of Dahl, Cole and Rent, by the evidence found here. Residents who are more actively interested and involved in neighbourhood affairs are also those who express greater feelings of self-worth or a more positive life orientation than the less interested and involved residents.

Summary.

The feelings citizens have for the institutions of government represent part of a state's political culture (Almond and Verba, 1965). In Britain that culture is described as a participant culture. Its stability is assured by the affect which is given to it. The feelings which residents have for the political and administrative parts of government vary from culture to culture. In Camden, the affect shown for the institution of local government by the majority

of residents is positive. Unfortunately, it has not been easy to differentiate between the attitudes felt towards both the input and output sides of government. For several indicators of affect the two parts have been regarded as one. In another study greater care would be taken to distinguish between these parts. Despite this drawback some indication of the feelings residents have for local government in the study area was obtained.

In Camden affect for the administrative and political system can be regarded as positive. Of those residents that interacted with the local authority the more aware, interested, and active of them expressed a higher regard than did those who were less well-informed, interested, or involved. Similarly, with regards to the political system, the more active residents expressed more positive attitudes than did the non-joiners. To measure affect for the political system effectively the researcher would have to include such indicators as the frequency of voting, lobbying, membership of pressure groups and political parties. Here, being a member of a local pressure group was the only overt indicator of involvement in the political system. Yet, even with this rather weak indicator a positive correlation existed between it and interest in local affairs together with knowledge of the local authority.

One of the possible problems of any form of representative organisation is the relation between the interests of those actively engaged in decision-making and the interests of the non-joiners or less involved residents. Already in the study it has been noted that the attitudes and priorities of active residents do not vary greatly from those of the less active. In this section it has been shown that the participants in neighbourhood affairs do differ from other residents in a number of ways. Participants tend to be generally

more knowledgeable of the workings of local government. They are more likely to have approached the local authority for whatever reason. They are more interested in their environment and the community around about them and they tend to be slightly more satisfied with their style of living than are the non-participants. Importantly, however, there is no indication from these data of the trends in the relationships. From the data here only a short-lived picture is presented. More recently, the obvious difficulties of local government in controlling the metropolitan economy may have eroded some of the affect shown for both the political and administrative parts of local government. Such a hypothesis might be tested by a logitudinal study of system affect within Camden.

CHAPTER 10.

Attitudes, Participation And Planning In Camden.

Introduction.

The analysis so far has examined the attitudes and feelings which residents have for their environment and for the institution of local government. This data was obtained through the medium of a participation exercise. And it is this data together with attitudinal data collected from other groups and bodies that is the focus of attention here. As a tool of local government administration, the value of data obtained through programmes of participation and consultation lies in their ability to be used in the urban policy-making process. By considering the ways in which this 'soft' data is interpreted and used by the local authority some measure of its value in policy formation may be gained. This can be achieved to some extent by examining the ways in which a local authority actually used the data obtained from its participation programme. The influence of the data obtained from the participation programme carried out in Camden is reflected in the policy document for the local authority. This is its land-use plan. The extent of this influence on this policy document is the subject of the analysis here.

One of the more important reasons for undertaking an extensive participation and consultation programme was to identify need as perceived by the consumers of local government services. Through a variety of techniques the London Borough of Camden attempted to involve a wide range of individuals and groups in the borough (Camden, 1977b). It was through such techniques that the local authority hoped to get some measure of the variety of feelings towards a number of

facets of the environment over which it had some control, as well as quantifying the intensity of preferences for changes in that environment. The Likert-type scales provided some indication of the variety and direction of preferences while the trade-off game (Chapter 5) was in some ways superior in that it imposed a more realistic budget constraint (Clark, 1976). However, the greater representativeness of survey data was seen to contrast with that from other sources. The homogeneity of the preference rankings from one technique, the attitude survey, were different, for example, to the preferences of specialists and borough-wide pressure groups. The extent to which varying weights are applied to the responses from different individuals and groups is considered here. It might be expected that the more established organisations and 'representative' bodies of trade and business would be given greater weight in the deliberation of responses by the local authority. In American studies of urban policy formation (Bolan and Nuttall, 1975; Bachrach and Baratz, 1970) the weight given to established bodies frequently overwhelmed intense pressure from more localised interests. In Camden, however, such a conflict was hardly apparent. The variations in attitudes, like the preference structure of participants and non-participants, are very similar. Correspondingly, it might be expected that the weights put on the comments made by large institutions and neighbourhood groups by the local authority would be similar.

With the reform of local government (Local Government Act, 1972) the administration of services has become more streamlined. In consequence, policy-making has tended to shift away from the elected representatives to the paid officials of the local authority (Hill, 1974). The land-use plan can be seen as a prime example of this

process where the input from representatives was small in the case of Camden. The land-use plan is an important policy document for it lays down how development of land should proceed in the following ten to fifteen year period. In the London Boroughs, the functions over which the boroughs have control is limited. Education, health, transport and police are city-wide functions under the control of the Greater London Council or part of central government. As a result, many of the comments made to the local authority during the consultation stage of the plan-making period were inappropriate. The body that they were directing their comments to, that is the Borough of Camden, had little influence over many of the topics. Nevertheless, this does not mean to say that comments and proposals were rejected. All those who put forward suggestions concerning the draft plan, for example, were told how their comments had been received. In some cases changes were made to the draft plan while others were referred to other departments of the local authority or to more relevant bodies. Some were rejected because they were in conflict with established council policy. The final outcome of this feedback from residents was the borough plan, the land-use policy document for the borough. It came into effect in January, 1979 (Camden, 1979a).

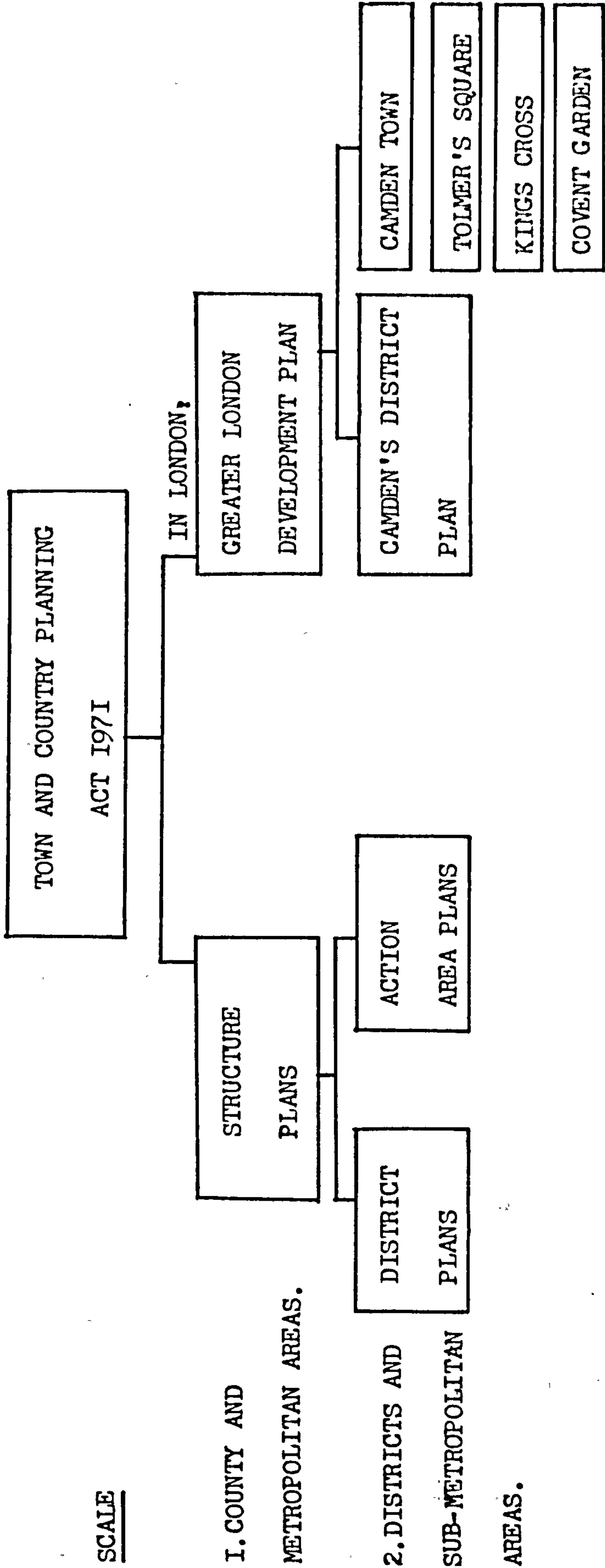
By looking at the ways in which attitudes are transmitted via participation programmes to local authorities some idea of the function of local government may develop. On the one hand, the liberal democratic tradition sees local government as the administration of services on an areal basis by those who are most closely connected with problems and issues (Hill, 1974). This approach is exemplified by the consensus approach to plan-making. Objective data supplemented by attitudinal data will more adequately identify areas of stress (Hatry and Blair, 1976). The market economy, under this approach is not

regarded as problematic. Poverty, for example, is seen to have individual, or specific, rather than structural causes (Townsend, 1979). In their study of policy-making in urban planning in the United States Catanese and Farmer (1978) found that rather than giving greater weight to more established interests more weight was put on ameliorating the conditions of those in stress and those areas characterised by it. Neuber and associates (1980) have developed a standard tool which a local government agency might use to assess objective and subjective need. This instrument has so far been employed only in test settings. These approaches represent a movement towards the minimisation of stress in policy-making, a feature of administration at both the local and the national level (Dahrendorf, 1975). The second major approach to the role of local government involves conflict. Here the local authority is seen as a local state (Cockburn, 1978) where national forces between classes make themselves manifest in towns and cities (Castells, 1978). The urban crisis, from this perspective, is a manifestation of the inability of democratic local government to significantly influence economic development (Harvey, 1973). It is against this background that the behaviour of the local authority in relation to weighting resident preferences is considered.

A Programme Of Participation And Consultation: Public Consultation In Camden.

Here are described the methods adopted by the London Borough of Camden in its participation programme. This, however, is really consultation rather than participation since the established representative structure is not changed significantly or expanded by this programme (cf. Arnstein, 1969). It is incumbent on local authorities to prepare development plans for their area and these local plans consist of a map and written statement which 'formulates in such detail as the

Figure IO.I: The Development Plan System In England And Wales.



(Source: Camden, 1976c; Town and Country Planning Act 1971).

authority think appropriate the authority's proposals for the development and other use of land in that part of their area' (Town and Country Planning Act, 1971, Section 11; Figure 10.1). And, in doing this they have to publicize adequately their intentions and to provide facilities for the making of representations to the local authority (ibid., section 12). These very broad requirements have given great scope for local initiative. As a result a variety of methods have been used by different authorities with varying levels of success.

In Camden as in other district authorities two stages of consultation were undertaken. The first stage began in 1974 and was designed to publicise the preparations of the plan and its purpose. Another function was to stimulate interest in Borough Planning issues and to gather responses on the problems and priorities the plan should be concerned with (Camden, 1977). The second stage of the consultation exercise was designed to elicit feedback about the draft plan produced after the first stage (Figure 10.2). This second stage began in September, 1976. This programme of consultation can be seen as means of widening the scope of existing feedback structures. Formerly, interested bodies and local groups participated regularly in discussions on future policy. But, these represented only certain interests within the borough and frequently only made contact when a topic of relevance to them was being discussed by the local authority. This participation has to be set against the substantial majority of Camden's 200,000 residents who could not or did not voice their opinions. Thus, the consultation programme aimed at continuing the involvement of local groups and interested bodies, and obtaining the attitudes of those who rarely contact the local authority or one of its representatives (Camden, 1977b, p.2).

Figure 10.2: Timetable Of Events Leading To Camden's District Plan.

- 1971 Town and Country Planning Act.
- 1973 October: Commencement Order By Secretary Of State.
- 1974 Commencement of Plan Consultations.
- First Round of Consultations -
- (a) Public discussions.
 - (b) Consultations with Local Organisations.
 - (c) Attitudes Survey.
 - (d) Borough Plan.
- Report of Survey: Synthesis of background data. Land-use surveys. Demographic, social and economic characteristics of the borough.
- 1975 Attitudes Survey completed.
- 'Camden Scene' published report of the main features and trends affecting the borough.
- Synthesis of consultation data and data from other sources.
- 1976 Draft Plan published.
- Second Stage of Consultation—
- (a) Distribution of Plan Documents.
 - (b) Publicity and Exhibitions.
 - (c) Residents' Working Parties.
 - (d) Specialist Panels.
 - (e) Borough Forum.
- Changes made to the draft plan as a result of the second stage of consultation .
- 1977 Public Inquiry.
- 1978 Modifications made to plan in light of inspector's and objectors' comments.
- 1979 'A Plan for Camden' came into effect. This is the borough's written statement of its land-use policies for the following 10-15 year period.

One of the guidelines for the production of the District Plan as outlined in the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 was that it should cover all the main activities and land-uses with local, more detailed policies, only for those areas subject to more immediate pressures for change (Figure 10.1). Thus, policies were sought within a borough-wide framework. For those areas of greatest need as identified by the objective and subjective surveys special action area plans were produced. These included the areas around King's Cross, Camden Town, Covent Garden and Tolmers Square. Covent Garden, King's Cross and Tolmers Square were designated by the next tier of local government, the Greater London Council (1969). Both levels of government will be instrumental in executing policies in these areas. The objectives of the participation programme, in consequence of these administrative constraints, were tailored to meet the needs of producing a policy document relating principally to land-use rather than a corporate document referring to the goals of all the functions of the local authority. Though the Borough Plan is the nearest policy document to a corporate plan that exists at present (Eddison, 1978).

The First Stage Of Consultation. The public response to the first stage of consultation was largely constrained by the open-ended nature of the exercise. It was at this stage that the local authority was collating data from traditional sources such as from demographic, social and economic surveys together with information about how residents perceived their environment, paying particular attention to those facilities and services over which Camden Council had some control. Unfortunately, during this first part residents were asked to respond to parts of the environment to which they may not have given much thought. Later, it was found that residents more easily responded to concrete proposals. Another problem encountered in this preliminary

stage was the generally disappointing response and the not necessarily representative nature of the information collected. This difficulty was in some way counteracted by the use of the attitudes survey. The techniques which were used to assess residents' feelings are outlined here together with some of the problems that were encountered with their use.

The first stage of consultation began in 1974 and was designed to stimulate discussion on the Borough's problems and possible solutions (Camden, 1977b, p.3). The main approaches consisted of a survey of residents' attitudes together with meetings of local and specialist groups. As mentioned above, a survey, based on a sample of 1200 residents, was undertaken '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' (ibid., p.3). The attitude survey can be regarded as being successful only in part. It did to some extent find out the views of those residents not represented by local groups and organisations or who attended public meetings. The small size of the sample (0.6 per cent) meant that many of the sub-samples could not be regarded as being statistically representative of the Borough. Nevertheless, it did provide a valuable source of information on the priorities which local residents, including special groups, such as the elderly and single people, attach to various topics. The findings of the survey were surprising to many officials in that residents' priorities for such items as employment were quite different from the priorities of the council who, for example, tended to rank employment more highly. The decision to undertake the attitudes survey by the local authority was felt to be

justified by the local authority because of the comprehensive insight which it would give about residents' opinions and also because of the up-to-date information it would supply on such matters as shopping centre catchment areas, and incomes, data which was not available from any other source at that time.

Secondly, a programme of public discussions was carried out. This was based on a door-to-door distribution of newspaper leaflets summarising the planning issues affecting different parts of the borough. This groundwork was followed by a series of 27 public meetings, held throughout the Borough in the first half of 1975. The format of these meetings, like those elsewhere (Stringer and Ewens, 1974), involved a video film illustrating planning problems within the Borough. Following this the problems outlined were examined in greater depth by ward councillors and officers who attended the meetings. For each topic raised, time was allowed for comment. And, inevitably with this technique, some issues were of far greater interest to residents than others.

Altogether, some 980 residents attended these meetings. Together with the number of written contributions and organisations which were consulted less than one per cent can be said to have been involved in the programme of consultation. This figure almost matches that of the number of residents who were interviewed for the attitudes survey. But, although nearly 1,000 attended the meetings only about three to four hundred spoke. Their comments were generally restricted to a limited range of topics (Camden, 1977b). Residents who attend public meetings are self-selected and generally unrepresentative of the residents in any particular area. Those who attend are the older, more established, long-term residents (cf. Goldsmith and Saunders, 1976). The unrepresentative nature of the participants at meetings is reflected in the topics they raised for discussion (Figure 10.3). Many of the

Figure 10.3: Environmental Priorities And The Use Of Different Instruments.

Priorities For Change In The Environment.

Method 1 - The Attitude Survey.

1. Housing.
2. Helping people in need.
3. Education.
4. Health Facilities.
5. Facilities for Children.
6. Looking after the streets.
7. Transport.
8. More jobs.
9. Leisure.
10. Shopping.

Method 2 - Public Discussions.

1. Housing.
2. Transport, particularly through traffic and parking.
3. Open space, and play space.
4. Local shops and services.
5. Changing character of the Borough.
6. Local meeting places.
7. Other community facilities.
8. Employment.

(Source: attitude survey data (Chapter 5) and 'A Plan for Camden': Report on Public Consultation, 1977).

differences between the responses made at public meetings and those in the attitude survey may be explained in this way. The traditional 'joiners' are more pre-occupied with environmental issues and transportation, while the traditional silent majority emphasises more basic needs such as housing, helping needy groups, education and health (Figure 10.3). The bias in participants could also explain some of the more obvious omissions in the problems identified. Very little time was given over to discussing employment problems and unemployment, bad housing conditions, and the amount of open space and play space in the central area (Camden, 1977b). Another difference between the responses made in the attitudes survey and those from the discussions was that the latter group showed a greater awareness of the context within which views were being collected. They also saw the public meeting as a means by which they could comment on proposals for the borough plan as well as other aspects of the council's activities (Camden, 1977b).

Thirdly, local organisations were contacted during this first stage of consultation. Local organisations were encouraged to inform the Council of their views on local planning problems by the distribution of leaflets similar to those issued to residents. They were also provided with information explaining the planning process and an open invitation to set up meetings and invite officers or councillors to attend, or write in. In total, 478 groups were contacted and of these 35 replied. They included residents' and tenants' associations, amenity groups and sports clubs. And, as with attendance at public meetings participants were self-selected. The nature of the responses made by these groups is discussed more fully below (Tables 10.1 - 10.11). The local nature of many of these groups resulted in a greater emphasis being put on problems within the neighbourhood. There were more views about recreation, leisure and amenity than might

have been expected from a more representative response.

The more innovative of the techniques adopted by the local authority, but one recommended by Skeffington (1969), was the Borough Forum. This was a committee made up of representatives of major interest groups, particularly those with a borough-wide or Central London focus. In all some forty groups or organisations were represented on this body. They included the Inner London Education Authority, the National Union of Public Employers, London Transport and the Metropolitan Police. This forum was to act as an independent advisory body with its own elected chairman to comment on all aspects of the plan in its various stages of preparation. The forum was asked to comment on the draft plan and the implications it might have on their own organisations. The forum's first report suggested three aims for the District Plan. These were:

- (a) to reverse population decline if possible.
- (b) to preserve diversity on a local scale by allowing mixed uses in an area, and mixed developments on individual sites.
- (c) to solve movement problems particularly by traffic restraint (Camden, 1977b, p.5).

In general, the larger scale organisations produced a more wide-ranging approach to problems facing the borough. Taking employment as one example, the Attitude Survey revealed little interest beyond some desire for more employment and opportunity for local work. The responses from the local meetings produced similar feelings. On the other hand, the forum came to the conclusion that the Plan's influence on employment would be marginal, but nevertheless it was seen as important for the Council to have a more welcoming attitude to private firms with a view to maximising local employment especially in skilled manual work (Camden, 1977b, p.9). On another topic, transport, the Forum together

Figure 10.4: Composition Of Groups Consulted During The Participation Programme.

Official Bodies. Those bodies contacted and issued with draft plan included the Greater London Council, neighbouring local authorities, Post Office, British Rail, Thames Water Authority. In total 24 of these bodies responded.

Other Organisations. These include organisations with a borough wide interest and business organisations. It includes Camden Sports' Council, Church Commissioners, Holborn Chamber of Commerce and London University. 28 such bodies replied.

Borough Forum. Consisted of representatives of important borough-wide organisations and trade and professional organisations with major employers. It included ILEA, NUPE, NUR, London Transport, Metropolitan Police, for example.

Specialist Panels. The shopping and employment panels consisted of representatives from firms and organisations together with Councillors and officers. The employment panel included ILEA, the Careers Office and the Employment Services Agency.

Local Groups. This category includes those groups which were contacted and who invited officers and councillors to meetings, e.g. Residents' Associations, Tenants' Associations, Amenity Groups, Sports' Clubs. 37 of these groups responded.

Residents' Discussion Groups. Public meetings held at various locations in the borough took place at the second stage of consultation. Members chosen at random to include at least some 'non joiners'.

Individuals. Self-selected individuals communicated to the council mainly in writing at the second stage, i.e. after production of the draft plan—includes questionnaires completed at exhibitions.

with those people that participated in the consultation exercise attached a higher priority to transport than was found in the attitudes survey. It may be that traffic is of particular interest to the longer established residents who attend such meetings. The Forum suggested that so much movement should be reduced by a better distribution of land-uses in the long term and by a general policy of restraint on traffic.

An analysis of the responses made by groups, the forum, and from the attitudes survey reveal differences in priorities with regards to the needs of particular groups. 'Helping people in need' was placed second in importance to housing in the first general question of the attitudes survey (Figure 10.3), while the elderly, disabled, handicapped and homeless received considerable support. In general, the public discussions were less concerned with needy individuals; the homeless, in particular, were regarded as less important. However, there were many similarities between the responses. For example, most found that Camden Council was too 'soft' towards undeserving groups (Camden, 1977b, p.38). Immigrants were also given a low priority by most groups as were the unemployed and lowly paid. This fact could possibly be explained by the nature of participants in public discussions and correspondence who are a self-selected group, consisting of more articulate middle-class, long-term residents, and including few of the minority groups with particular problems (Goldsmith and Saunders, 1976; Hampton and Walker, 1978). However, the consultations in this stage of the programme only involved residents and, consequently, it is not surprising that their needs should be most dominant in the responses. A general unawareness of the council's obligations to house those in 'need' was discerned as were the feelings of users of Camden's services such as the working population, visitors and tourists.

The second stage of consultation attempted to elicit views from these groups and reactions to the first draft plan which followed the first consultation phase.

The Second Stage Of Consultation. The responses of the first stage of consultation indicated that some of the techniques used were of limited value as data sources. Also, confusion over the role of some of these instruments meant that they were used in places where some other method of information dispersal or gathering might have been employed. For example, in the second stage less emphasis was placed on the use of public meetings which were seen to produce a biased view and often antagonistic reaction to the local authority. Since the second phase was primarily concerned with obtaining reactions to the draft plan public meetings may have been better used here than at the first stage where residents were wanting information about the local authority and a structure within which they could respond. The methods used by Camden in its effort to consult residents and groups is discussed here.

The draft plan for Camden was published in September, 1976. Summaries of the initial phase of consultation together with an explanation of the proposed policies were distributed to organisations, groups and interested residents. In order to maximise the circulation of the summary of policies a publicity campaign was organised by the borough. A criterion of success for any publicity campaign might be the extent and intensity of response. For this to happen, several methods can be used to communicate information (Stringer and Plumridge, 1974). The techniques vary from the simple display of posters to the more elaborate and costly television programme. In order to give the draft plan publicity in Camden posters (1,000) and leaflets (30,000) were widely distributed to local groups, schools, chambers of commerce,

public libraries and to all those who commented during the first round of consultations. The local press was invited to produce articles relating to the draft plan and this was supplemented by regular advertisements in the press. In addition to the information about the draft plan which was publicised in these ways exhibitions were used.

The groundwork of publicity seems to have been more effective than in the first stage. Of the eight public meetings and exhibitions that were organised nearly 3,500 residents attended, of whom 150 filled in and returned questionnaires recording their views. The first round of consultation employed public meetings as a means of developing feedback between residents and officials. This was relatively unsuccessful and in the second stage this method was used, principally, to present information together with providing an opportunity to respond to it (Goldsmith and Saunders, 1976). The exhibitions throughout the borough consisted of a series of illustrations and diagrams discussing the main issues and policies as outlined in the draft plan together with a section dealing with the implications of the policies on the area in which the exhibition happened to be. Typically, video and tape-slide presentations were used to add visual interest to the information displayed (Stringer and Ewens, 1974). Unfortunately, the number of locations that were used was severely limited by the costs of mounting the exhibitions and the difficulty of hiring suitable sites such as units on main shopping streets (Camden, 1977b, p.40). The problems that this distribution caused affected the less mobile most of all. Some residents who attended the exhibitions complained of the distance that they had to travel. Those in the south of the borough probably had the least access to the exhibitions. The responses which residents made at the exhibitions or in the form of written statements are considered alongside the views obtained from other groups.

The second stage of consultation attempted to include a more diversified response from local interest groups. In the first stage it was noted that minority groups generally responded less frequently than other groups. The attitude survey, in some ways, presented a more representative view. In the second stage, in order to get the opinions of at least a few 'non-joiners' such as those who would not normally be active in local groups and who would not go to exhibitions, working parties were set up with members recruited partially from the Attitude Survey sample and partially on a random basis. Five such groups were established in King's Cross, Camden Town, Kentish Town and Kilburn. Each comprised about ten members and met two or three times to discuss how far the plan policies tackled local planning issues (Camden, 1977b, p.41). The responses of these groups were specifically local in character. It was expected that the responses from these groups would not be so extreme as the views of some local interest groups.

Although employment as such was not one of the more important topic areas in residents' rankings of problem areas it is instrumental in affecting much of the life of the borough. The selective out-migration, particularly of manufacturing industry, has left a relatively polarised job market. To obtain the reactions of those individuals and bodies most concerned with employment a specialist panel was established. It consisted of between twelve and fifteen members drawn from the professions, organisations, or firms with a particular interest in the problems of employment. The employment panel included representatives from the planning department, the Inner London Education Authority Careers Office, the Employment Services Agency, and Camden Trades Council. The comments made by these groups might be regarded as a minor elitist view of the situation in the borough (Bolan and Nuttall,

1975). The employment panel was, however, one of three such panels created to review the draft plan. The others examined shopping and design criteria. Both of these were composed of individuals representing professional and borough-wide interests in these matters. The extent to which the local authority attaches weight to the views of these groups is considered below alongside that given to the other techniques employed in the second stage of consultation.

The borough forum which was set up during the first round of consultations continued to meet during the second stage. Five meetings were held during which the draft plan and supporting documents were commented on. These comments which were made are examined in the context of those from other organisations. As with the first round, a number of official bodies were contacted and asked to respond to the draft plan. The comments and suggestions that these bodies made may be compared with the views of those from other sources. The costs of obtaining this data or feedback varies with the technique. It needs to be balanced against the desire for widespread feedback from a variety of interests with a certain depth of analysis of a number of different topics. Some techniques are clearly better at reaching some groups than others. The more representative survey frequently lacks depth on any one topic. And the use made of these consultations by the local authority will determine their worth. It is generally the case that the cost of making provision for a continuing dialogue with organisations and groups is more easily calculated than the cost of not doing so. Such a dialogue, apart from its effects in particular instances, may lead to a growing co-operation between officials and the public, or at least a growing understanding of each others' perceptions of problems.

Participation And Influence On Decision-Making. In their study of urban decision-making in the United States Bolan and Nuttall (1975)

attempted to identify the influence various organisations had over important development decisions. The criterion of evaluation which they used can be derived from a simple index of power (Riker and Ordeshook, 1973). However, the Nuttall and Bolan study depended on interviews with key actors in the process. This approach can be compared with Cole's study of participation (Cole, 1974) which emphasised the characteristics of organisations such as size, type of internal organisation and range of interests. Catanese and Farmer (1978) took as their focus of interest the attitudes of administrators, particularly urban planners, as a key variable affecting the outcome of decisions about urban development. In Britain, Dennis in his study of planning decisions in Sunderland noted the influence of the planning department with regards to a particular piece of redevelopment. There the influence of officials was especially strong (Dennis, 1972). With the data presented here, Cole's approach to the analysis of decision-making is adopted in part. But, instead of looking at a number of groups' attitudes towards specific aspects of redevelopment the study here looks at the responses of various groups to the several topic areas covered by the draft plan.

Examining, first of all, the nature of the responses from the various interest groups and bodies it became apparent that the replies from some groups were more easy to deal with by the planners. Although most policy areas were covered by the groups engaged in the programme of consultation comments were frequently pitched at a very high level of generality concerning problems of London frequently outside planning control. Comments from individuals, for example, concerned Council policy in general rather than those matters directly relating to planning as covered by the draft plan (Camden, 1977b, p.42). Many local groups also responded in a way which was relevant only to their specific neighbourhoods. This was what was of importance to

them but not what had been expected by the planners or indeed what was wanted by them. However, in this second stage of consultation far fewer comments were made concerning the detailed administration of particular services. This may be because of a developing awareness of the district plan's borough-wide focus on different topics. Those residents that did make highly specific comments may have been using this stage of the consultation programme to let off steam on planning matters or Council policy generally. This might be regarded as one of the unintended consequences of the consultation procedure.

The comments which residents and local groups made about the draft plan can be analysed in two ways. From the data which was made available by Camden Council (1977b) it is possible to measure the incidence of interest in certain topics covered by the plan. Secondly, by noting whether the comments made have been either rejected or accepted some indication of the weight given to the views of different interests can be obtained. A relatively crude device was employed by Camden Council to analyse the responses it received. This consisted of a simple content analysis. Topics mentioned in correspondence were coded by topic and then categorized (Stankey, 1972; and Clark et al., 1974). From this initial content analysis some impression of the concern felt by residents for certain areas in the draft plan became clear.

Figure 10.5 shows the general distribution of comments across the main topic areas. They emphasise a relatively wide range of interest by both individuals and organisations. At the first stage of consultation housing as a topic was ranked the highest. Here, transport received the greatest incidence of comment. This may reflect two things. Housing in the draft plan, as a topic, may have been given adequate prominence. Secondly, transport may have been given

Figure 10.5: Responses To Draft Plan By Group And By Topic.

	Source Of The Response				
	Individuals		Local Groups		Official Bodies And Other Organisations
	Questionnaires,	Letters	Meetings	Letters	
Main Policy Areas.	Resources	51 (34)	1 (5)	3 (21)	1 (2)
	Housing	115 (76)	6 (29)	14 (100)	16 (47)
	Employment	77 (51)	6 (29)	6 (43)	18 (53)
	Transport	161 (106)	8 (38)	8 (57)	27 (79)
	Leisure & Tourism	99 (65)	7 (33)	4 (24)	14 (41)
	Shopping	94 (62)	2 (10)	4 (29)	14 (41)
	Environment	124 (82)	7 (33)	7 (50)	24 (71)
	Education	91 (60)	3 (14)	1 (7)	7 (21)
	Health & Social Serv.	73 (48)	- -	1 (7)	7 (21)
	Other Local Issues	57 (38)	6 (29)	3 (21)	13 (38)
	Total From Source (Percentage)	152 (100)	21 (100)	14 (100)	34 (100)

(Percentages In Brackets)

(Source: London Borough of Camden, 1977b, p.43).

inadequate coverage in the draft plan. Also of more relevance at this stage is a wide range of general environmental matters. On this topic individuals, local groups and official bodies made more comments than on all the other topics with the exception of transport (Figure 10.5). Employment received much greater attention here than at earlier stages of plan preparation especially from individuals. Half of those individuals who commented on the draft plan made some comment about employment (0.51 comments per individual, Figure 10.5). This greater concern for employment matters might, in part, be explained by the worsening economic situation and perhaps because of a greater awareness of the local authority's role in influencing the location of employment which accompanied the publicity of the draft plan. As with the first stage, official bodies and other organisations, like the planning department itself, rank employment more highly than do local groups and individuals. As will be seen below, the comments made by the larger bodies tend to be given slightly more weight in decision-making. Regarding employment, the greater convergence of views between official bodies and the officials of the local authority may be due to a greater appreciation of the implications of employment on other aspects of life in Camden. In general, the larger bodies tended to rank employment and transport more highly than more local groups. But, these differences between groups are not so great as the difference in priorities between the two stages of consultation. It is as a result of the feedback during the first stage that the priorities have changed. As some topics have been adequately or more adequately dealt with other topics have arisen to take their place. With regards to more specific issues some aspects of the policies outlined in the draft plan were the cause of hostility from certain groups. These included the local authority's

policies on private education and local implementation of the road network plan, density, and the decline of local shops (Camden, 1977b, p.47). Few major amendments to the plan resulted from this exercise but where they did so the individual or organisation was informed of the action taken by the local authority.

A breakdown of the treatment given by the local authority towards comments made might be used as an indicator of the degree of convergence between the local authority's attitudes and those of local groups. It is the weight which urban planners give to the comments made by the consultees which is indicative of the relative standing of those groups, whether it be in terms of representativeness or expertise (Bolan and Nuttall, 1975) which together can be considered as indices of power (Riker and Ordeshook, 1973). In Camden, this approach is used to study the response of the local authority to comments made by different groups and towards different topics. Some groups which were consulted, such as the Borough Forum and the Specialist Panels (Figure 10.4) were established to produce 'expert' criticism of a number of aspects of council policy. These were complemented by official bodies like the Greater London Council and London Transport, and at a more local level with residents' associations, amenity groups and individuals.

Housing as a topic did not rank so highly in the second stage of consultation (Figure 10.5). The majority of these comments came from individuals (Table 10.1). Local groups and official bodies made the second and third most frequent number of comments. The issues which were raised were generally clear cut and did not relate to specific borough plan policy, but rather to general council housing policy. For example, a reiterated emphasis on rehabilitation and conservation was made clear as was concern over densities in the south of the borough.

Table 10.1: Residents' Comments And Council Reactions.

Housing Topic	Type of Response To Comments Made By Individuals And Groups.			
	Number of Comments	Accepted	Responsibility of Others	Rejected
Official Bodies	8	5	2	1
Other Organisations	3	3	-	-
Borough Forum	-	-	-	-
Specialist Panels	6	5	1	-
Local Groups	21	11	4	6
Residents' Discussion Groups	9	8	1	-
Individuals	171	96	19	56
Total (Percentage)	218 (100)	128 (59)	27 (12)	63 (29)

Table 10.2:

Resources Topic	Type of Response To Comments Made By Individuals And Groups.			
	Number of Comments	Accepted	Responsibility Of Others	Rejected
Official Bodies	2	1	-	1
Other Organisations	3	3	-	-
Borough Forum	-	-	-	-
Specialist Panels	-	-	-	-
Local Groups	5	-	2	3
Residents' Discussion Groups	-	-	-	-
Individuals	58	4	21	33
Total (Percentage)	68 (100)	8 (12)	23 (34)	37 (55)

In the responses, people suggested that some kind of balance of population both in the borough as a whole, and in local areas, should be achieved (Camden, 1977b, p.59). It was the local groups and individuals who were most likely to have their comments rejected (Table 10.1). In several cases the responses made by individuals were specific in nature and related to the administration of other departments or agencies. In contrast, the residents' discussion groups, which were generally representative of local opinion, had a higher proportion of their suggestions accepted than either local groups or individuals. The criterion of acceptance that is used here is whether the comment is incorporated into the final plan or whether it has been included in the draft plan. Some specific comments could be subsumed under more general headings in the draft plan. Although several comments were received from official bodies and individuals alike no major policy changes resulted from these. Overall, as with the first stage, there was a general consensus of opinion as to the priorities facing the borough. What changes that were made to the draft plan consisted mainly of changes in emphasis and rewording so as to overcome ambiguity. Some sections which were more controversial such as education were reworded or modified to produce a more consensus-type of presentation.

The second category of responses can be related to concern with the finance of proposed projects. Although not dealt with in detail in the questionnaire in the first stage, it was an area which was of interest to a limited number of groups. Most comments centred around the local authority's justification for its proposals in the draft plan which were published in a supporting document (Camden, 1976c). Two local groups, South End Green Association and King's Cross Community Association, expressed concern over the level of future expenditure. Westminster City Council, an official body, thought the plan was realistic

but suggested a clearer statement of priorities in financial terms in order to make the plan's implications clear (Camden, 1977b, p.58). As with housing, local groups and individuals tended to make more comments which were not directly related to the plan or were based on insufficient knowledge of the financing system of the local authority. Consequently, more of the responses made by the less informed tended to be rejected (Table 10.2). Most comments were, nevertheless, concerned generally with keeping rate levels down, criticising the high level of council expenditure, together with details of the costs involved in producing the plan.

Employment and economic activity received more attention from the specialist groups and organisations. Overall this topic area generated the most comments (Table 10.3). The most substantial replies came from the Employment Specialist Panel (Figure 10.4), the Borough Forum, the Greater London Council and a number of political parties. Many comments were received from local groups and individuals, but proportionately less from local groups than from the larger organisations. Of the responses, the majority were generally in favour of the objectives as expressed in the draft plan. Overall, there was a strong feeling that the local authority should take a more positive role in the employment field and to improve its image to the potential employer and investor (Camden, 1977b, p.60). Respondents frequently mentioned the need to diversify opportunities as well as attract more skilled workers. This came out in the first stage but is re-emphasised here suggesting that it should have been given more coverage in the draft plan. Strong support was given to the suggestion of encouraging the provision of accommodation for small businesses, both light industrial and office based, throughout the borough. A higher proportion of comments by all groups were accepted on this

Table 10.3:

Employment And Economic Activity Topic	Type of Response Made By Individuals and Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	13	13	-	-
Other Organisations	11	7	-	4
Borough Forum	9	9	-	-
Specialist Panels	21	21	-	-
Local Groups	25	20	-	5
Residents' Discussion Groups	10	9	-	1
Individuals	95	87	1	7
Total (Percentage)	184 (100)	166 (90)	1 (1)	17 (9)

Table 10.4:

Transport Topic	Type of Response Made By Individuals and Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	17	15	1	1
Other Organisations	2	2	-	-
Borough Forum	3	3	-	-
Specialist Panels	-	-	-	-
Local Groups	36	36	-	-
Residents' Discussion Groups	13	13	-	-
Individuals	71	58	10	3
Total (Percentage)	142 (100)	127 (89)	11 (8)	4 (3)

topic (Table 10.3). Many of those that were accepted were frequently in the form of statements of approval of policies outlined in the draft rather than any new perspectives on this topic. The positive support given to residents proposals in these areas suggests that more scope for discussion of employment and economic activity might have been given during the first stage, particularly with local groups and residents.

The transport policies outlined in the draft plan provoked a large and relatively well-informed response from both individuals and local groups (Table 10.4). Only a small proportion of the comments were either rejected or were the responsibility of another department or agency. None of the statutory bodies which were consulted raised any major reservations. Indeed, London Transport and the London Transport Passenger Board expressed considerable support for the emphasis on public transport in the plan. This is not surprising since these groups have a vested interest in promoting public transport. There was not a consensus on every issue but with regards to public transport the majority gave it a high rating (142 responses, Table 10.4). Those aspects of the system which residents found particularly in need of improvement were cross-borough public transport services and traffic restraint. However, some private motorists disagreed with this policy. Another aspect of this topic which caused concern was traffic management. Part of the plan proposals included the streamlining of traffic flows so that some roads would take more while residential areas would experience less through traffic. Several individuals disagreed with this policy and advocated a more even distribution of flow. Their views were rejected (Camden, 1977b, p.61). Another aspect of general concern was the policy towards cyclists. Residents and groups would have preferred a greater priority given to provisions made for cyclists and pedestrians in the plan. Generally, comments made by

different interests in Camden were in line with the draft plan policy. Residents and local groups tended to be more aware of the functioning of this service than they were of housing and finance, for example.

Responses made by individuals and groups concerning shopping achieved less consensus than those regarding transport (Table 10.5). Local groups and individuals made the most comments. Local groups had proportionately more of their suggestions rejected than did individuals. Official bodies and the borough forum had all of their comments accepted or adopted. Of the comments made by individuals, many were concerned with the problems of loss of local shops and changes or deficiencies in particular centres. Thus, many of the responses were similar to those received after the first round of consultation where attitudes towards the loss of local shops was strong. The specialist panel looking at shopping (Figure 10.4) generally supported the policies though they expressed reservations about the implementation of some of them. Some of the comments made by the specialist panel represented particular interests of members of the panel and concerned specific developments. These tended to be rejected by the local authority in preference to more wide-ranging policies affecting large areas of the borough but centred on five major centres.

The comments made by residents and groups over the draft plan's environmental objectives and policies were generally in agreement with those of the local authority (Table 10.6). Although some local groups had reservations about the council's intentions of implementing these aspects of the plan. This in part can be explained by the limited control the council has over environmental quality. Only in a few areas, such as conservation areas, can minimum standards be applied. In total, the number of replies made by local groups and others on this

Table 10.5:

Shopping Topic	Type of Response Made By Individuals and Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	3	3	-	-
Other Organisations	5	4	1	-
Borough Forum	4	4	-	-
Specialist Panels	9	6	2	1
Local Groups	39	21	7	11
Residents' Discussion Groups	5	2	3	-
Individuals	102	70	17	15
Total (Percentage)	167 (100)	110 (66)	30 (18)	27 (16)

Table 10.6:

Urban Design, Conservation and Environment Topic	Type of Response Made By Local Individuals and Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	6	6	-	-
Other Organisations	7	4	1	2
Borough Forum	1	1	-	-
Specialist Panels	-	-	-	-
Local Groups	43	33	3	7
Residents' Discussion Groups	13	13	-	-
Individuals	73	56	5	12
Total (Percentage)	143 (100)	113 (79)	8 (6)	21 (15)

topic was fairly high (143, Table 10.6) indicating widespread interest in urban design, conservation and the environment; a concern that may well be greater than the importance given to it in the draft plan. It was acknowledged by many that although environmental matters have a low priority when compared with other issues it was felt that Camden was experiencing a decline in the quality of life, when measured in terms of visual and noise standards. Strong criticism was directed at the council's past record in housing design and layout (Camden, 1977b, p.62). The majority of the comments which were rejected concerned details of administration such as the frequency of street cleansing and the repair of footpaths. These come from individuals and neighbourhood groups like residents' and tenants' associations. Some comments made by business interests were also rejected. These concerned the establishment of conservation areas and restricted access to residential areas. On the whole, a higher than average proportion of comments made about conservation, urban design and the environment were accepted. Where there was conflict between residents and other interests, the interests of residents tended to be given priority.

Leisure and tourism as topics mentioned by respondents did not arouse as much interest or controversy as those that have been considered above. Sixty replies concerned leisure and thirty-four dealt with aspects of tourism (Tables 10.7 and 10.8). There was very little consensus in the comments made under the leisure heading. Several comments dealt with specific local schemes and some suggested that leisure provision should not be the concern of the local authority. These individual comments were rejected (Table 10.7). In the first stage a greater concern for leisure was expressed by the residents of higher socio-economic status. In the second stage the joiners and professional workers who made up the borough forum argued for a higher

Table 10.7:

Leisure Topic	Type of Response Made By Individuals and Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	9	8	—	1
Other Organisations	5	4	—	1
Borough Forum	5	5	—	—
Specialist Panels	—	—	—	—
Local Groups	5	5	—	—
Residents' Discussion Groups	5	5	—	—
Individuals	31	27	—	4
Total (Percentage)	60 (100)	54 (90)	— (0)	6 (10)

Table 10.8:

Tourism Topic	Type of Response Made By Individuals and Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	2	2	—	—
Other Organisations	1	1	—	—
Borough Forum	1	1	—	—
Specialist Panels	—	—	—	—
Local Groups	2	2	—	—
Residents' Discussion Groups	—	—	—	—
Individuals	28	27	1	—
Total (Percentage)	34 (100)	33 (97)	1 (3)	— (0)

priority for leisure provision, especially open space. Few residents groups agreed with this and the policies outlined in the draft plan were not altered because of these comments. Tourism received even less comment than leisure. Thirty-four responses were made regarding tourism in the plan (Table 10.8). The vast majority of these were made by individuals who visited the exhibitions, part of the publicity stage of the consultation procedure. Few of the comments received were specific to the draft policies but related to aspects of the topic over which the Council had little control. What opposition there was referred to the policy of encouraging tourists out of the Central Area and into Hampstead and Highgate. Overall, the bulk of replies both for leisure and tourism agreed with the Draft policies. There was little difference between the actions of the local authority towards the comments made by different bodies. Replies from individuals and from groups and organisations, at least on this topic, received fairly even treatment.

The responses to the education policies were considerable. Although not as many comments were made about education as there were for employment, housing and transport, the intensity of those that were made was greater than for any other topic. The majority of these came from individuals though some local groups also made some comments (Table 10.10). A large proportion of residents expressed satisfaction either with the policies generally, or with specific policies, for example, those concerning nursery education and community use of school facilities out of school hours. The greatest response, however, related to the council's proposals concerning the private sector in education. This attracted a hostile reaction from societies, local groups and individuals alike, and also from the head teachers in many of these schools. The response of the local authority was to reject

Table 10.9:

Social and Health Service Topic	Type of Response Made By Individuals And Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	1	1	-	-
Other Organisations	3	2	1	-
Borough Forum	3	1	2	-
Specialist Panels	-	-	-	-
Local Groups	6	5	1	-
Residents' Discussion Groups	-	-	-	-
Individuals	24	12	12	-
Total (Percentage)	37 (100)	20 (54)	16 (43)	- (0)

Table 10.10:

Education Topic	Type of Response Made By Individuals And Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Others' Responsibilities	Rejected
Official Bodies	2	1	1	-
Other Organisations	-	-	-	-
Borough Forum	-	-	-	-
Specialist Panels	-	-	-	-
Local Groups	16	6	4	6
Residents' Discussion Groups	2	1	-	1
Individuals	104	46	14	44
Total (Percentage)	124 (100)	54 (44)	19 (15)	51 (41)

much of this criticism but in doing so it also altered the phrasing of its education policy so as to be less controversial. In the final written statement no explicit mention of policies towards the private sector occurs (Camden, 1979a). The intentions of the local authority are clear in that they are implicit rather than explicit. The resulting plan, as a consequence, has attempted to gloss over those areas of controversy and thus leaves the council to decide on cases as they arise. The large number of comments made by individuals on this topic is as remarkable as the shortage of comments made by groups and organisations (Table 10.10). This lack of response from organisations may reflect a more detached view of Camden's role in the education field.

The comments that were made relating to social and health services were very few and mostly from individuals (Table 10.9). Health like education is an area over which the local authority has very limited control. Consequently, many of the comments were not about matters of planning control, but about the type of services desired. For example, some respondents wanted more health centres and clinics (Camden, 1977b, p.159). Had health services been a function of this tier of local government these comments may have been properly directed. But, since the provision of health services is the responsibility of the Area Health Authority these responses would need to be directed towards this body. Table 10.9 shows that although the number of comments received was low none of those comments made was overtly rejected. On the other hand, there seems to be some misunderstanding or ignorance of the local authority's role in this field. Comments made by groups and individuals were more properly the responsibilities of other agencies such as the Area Health Authority. It is this difference in the locus of responsibility that individuals were most likely not to see. Even larger more 'informed' bodies like the borough forum misperceived the

role of the local authority in two cases (Table 10.9). In one of these, comments were made about the economies of scale of large hospitals. The councils response to this comment was in general to ignore it and say that it was the responsibility of the Regional Health Authority and Central Government (Camden, 1977b, p.161). This illustrates the limited control the local authority has over organisations which have a considerable influence over the lives of its residents and that even the more informed groups over-rate the council's powers in some areas.

The responses which were made during the second stage of consultation differed from those made early on in the plan-making process. In the first phase it was noticed that housing, helping people in need and education were amongst the most important priorities. These preferences were derived from the council's own assessment of need and that of the residents themselves from the various participation techniques used. The analysis of attitudes revealed a common consensus between the more and less involved residents. And it was these priorities which were incorporated into the draft plan. The breakdown of replies made by individuals and groups to the draft plan constituted the framework for the second stage of consultation. It was those topics which were given inadequate or controversial coverage in the draft plan that aroused the most comment. On the whole, comments were in support of the council's outline of policies in the draft plan. But the number and intensity of remarks made about transport, housing, employment and the environment suggest that these topics were poorly or unsatisfactorily covered in the draft plan. No major alterations were made to the draft plan although changes in emphasis and rewording of ambiguous and controversial passages took place. It was hypothesised earlier that the comments made by the more informed and representative bodies would be given more weight in the decision-making process

Table 10.11:

All Topics	Council Response to Comments Made By Individuals And Groups			
	Number of Comments	Number Accepted	Responsibility Of Others	Rejected
Official Bodies	62	55(89)	3 (5)	4(16)
Other Organisations	40	30(75)	3 (8)	7(18)
Borough Forum	26	24(92)	2 (8)	0 (0)
Specialist Panels	36	32(89)	3 (8)	1 (3)
Local Groups	198	139(70)	21(11)	38(19)
Residents' Discussion Groups	57	51(89)	4 (7)	2 (4)
Individuals	757	483(64)	100(13)	174(23)
Total (Percentage)	1176 (100)	814 (69)	136 (12)	226 (19)

(Percentages In Brackets).

(Source: London Borough Of Camden, 1977b).

(Bolan and Nuttall, 1975). Because these bodies have more regular dealings with the local authority it has been found that they are more able to present criticisms of a type which the local authority can respond to (Stringer and Plumridge, 1974). Evidence for both of these positions was found in the data described here. Surprisingly, however, individual and local group responses were more relevant to the policies outlined in the draft plan than either of these two studies would suggest. Individuals and local groups were more likely to make specific comments about services which were not the direct responsibility of the planning department or of the local authority. These comments were more likely to be rejected (Table 10.11). But, the difference between the proportion of comments made and accepted by the local authority and incorporated into the plan from the less well-informed and from the better informed was noticeable but not great. Those bodies which claimed greater representation such as the borough forum and the residents' discussion groups had slightly more of their comments accepted than did the more partisan individuals, local groups and other organisations (Table 10.11). Thus, although the comments resulting from the consultation resulted in changes in the housing, employment and transport sections, there were topics over which there was widespread concern such as health and education, topics which fall outside the scope of the plan. Many people thought that the plan should take a much broader view. However, it is constrained in this field in that it is essentially a land-use document. The trend, in local government, however, seems to be towards a greater integration of service and financial planning (Eddison, 1975). The problems that have arisen in the preparation of the district plan suggest that some moves towards a more corporate approach to planning would help to solve some of them (Hambleton, 1978).

Continuing Citizen Involvement In Camden. One of the functions of the programme of participation adopted by the council might be seen as feedback in the decision-making process. By increasing the quantity and quality of data, whether this be objective or subjective in nature, the likelihood of unforeseen circumstances tends to diminish. This 'analytic' approach to decision-making contrasts with decisions which are taken in crisis situations. One method is deliberate and rational and the other more spontaneous and idiosyncratic (Steinbruner, 1976). The former method better describes the participatory approach adopted by British local government planning departments. However, each local authority must decide on the scope of the analytic framework that it adopts. Citizen involvement in decision-making is a cost which has to be added to the final cost of plan production. It is a cost to the local authority not only in terms of man-hours used and money spent but in time which has an inevitable blighting effect (Dennis, 1972). The time taken to complete the first district plan in Camden, for example, was just over five years (Figure 10.2). As the effective life of the plan is only to be between ten and fifteen years the time taken to produce the plan appears excessively long, especially when important variables have changed in that time making the original forecasts seem overly optimistic. In the case of Camden the participation programme was relatively unconstrained because of the lack of any formal directives about the methods and procedures adopted. The time-consuming part of the plan involved the formal requirements of the public inquiry which was in essence a lengthy judicial approach to the justification of the plan's priorities. This procedure can be seen as another opportunity for residents and local interests to express their reservations (Wraith and Lamb, 1971), but in practice adds little new material to the decision-making process. The costs in terms of delays

and inefficiency are regarded by some as outweighing the benefits to democracy of more lengthy discussions (Senior, 1972; Self, 1970).

Participation is an umbrella word which includes the provision of information at its most minimal through consultation to full participation which is the direct involvement of citizens in decision-making. Participation in planning in Britain only goes so far as to have an information and consultation function. Only in rare cases have attempts been made to co-opt residents to council meetings (Craddock, 1976). Direct involvement would presume continuous communication between Council members and the public through regular meetings. Here participation is seen, not as a stage in decision-making, but as an integral part of the decision-making process. This feeling came across in the comments made to the local authority in both stages of consultation. Ad hoc attempts to involve local groups and individuals unnecessarily aroused false expectations. What was wanted was a more continuous framework through which attitudes and observations could be passed. This was in addition to the established system of representative democracy.

Drawing on the borough plan experience, the objectives on which future public participation activity depend include a greater flow of information and a medium on which better and more informed consultations can develop. It is recognised that there will always be some residents who wish to express their views and will do so through the medium of established groups and organisations. The non-joiners in contrast need special help to get their attitudes expressed. Residents tend to want to know the outcome of any involvement they have with the local authority so there needs to be continuity of contact with the public and feedback. However, some topics will inevitably arouse more interest

than others and so the framework for consultation may have to continue in times of low interest (Camden, 1977c, Director's Report).

The comments that were made during the periods of consultation which were of most value to the local authority were of a specialist nature. Some of the participation instruments used provided additional data which was new and which put a new perspective on data collected elsewhere. Those groups which represented specialist knowledge, such as the borough forum and specialist panels, were seen to make a useful contribution to the plan's modifications. Certainly, more of their comments were accepted by the local authority (Table 10.11). It was proposed by the council that these panels should be continued (Camden, 1977c). They are convened by the Planning and Communications Committee of the local authority on a periodic basis. They consist of 'experts' in the field, local interests, and consumers of the particular service or topic being considered. The borough forum which consisted of a wide range of interests and which examined several topics was disbanded after the consultation exercise. This was mainly because it was difficult to maintain the interest of members over several topics. The specialist panels on the other hand examined those topics which were of interest to its members and thus a high level of continuing interest was sustained.

The attitude survey which was undertaken in the early stages of consultation provided a relatively representative presentation of residents' feelings over a number of topics. The use of this technique on a periodic basis would provide comparative data on attitudes which is unavailable elsewhere. It may also be used as a monitoring device to see how residents are responding to changes in council policy or changes in the environment. Costs of this technique may well be a

constraining factor in the extent and frequency of their use (Soaden and Walker, 1976). In Camden, it was suggested that these might be carried out every five years though there are no definite plans for one at present.

Public meetings and publicity continued to be used to ensure that residents who were not necessarily members of groups had the opportunity to comment if they wished to do so. But, the self-selecting nature of those who attend public meetings suggests that only a small part and an unrepresentative part of the population is provided with information through this medium (Goldsmith and Saunders, 1976). They do give those who attend, nevertheless, an opportunity to publicly express their feelings. And, it is at the local level where public interest in planning matters is most forthcoming. The analysis of comments made by groups and individuals demonstrated the greater concern for borough-wide issues by official bodies and large organisations. Local groups are more interested in the implications of policy at the neighbourhood level. To meet this need Camden Council established a mechanism for receiving local views on planning on a systematic basis. These local consultative groups consist of representatives of a defined area meeting regularly to discuss local planning issues under consideration within the planning department. Representatives tend to be drawn from existing local organisations and meet every one to three months. The disadvantage of this method so far is that those members who are more interested in planning matters attend these meetings and they are generally unrepresentative of interests as a whole in their area. An extension of the idea of the consultative group would be the neighbourhood forum or community council as they are called in Scotland (Liggett, 1978) where meetings would be open to all residents or local interests of a defined neighbourhood. So far, these have not been established in

Camden. The success of any of these types of mechanisms depends on a certain level of community development. In many areas this is lacking and as a consequence the organisation of participation is inevitably organised from above. In this context the question of cost begins to shift from the local authority to those who are required or requested to participate.

Summary.

The programme of consultation carried out by the London Borough of Camden represents the link between residents' perceptions of their environment and urban policy. Through the various mechanisms of participation that were used a subjective image of the environment was presented which did not vary much from that of the local authority itself. The first stage of consultation was remarkable in that the preferences for change of residents were very similar. But, as a result of both consultations modifications were made to the draft list of policies. It was the nature of this feedback mechanism that led to changes in the land-use plan for the borough. As a result of the techniques used in this experimental way the local authority decided to continue to use some of them to help monitor the implementation of its policies and as a means of continuing the involvement of interested and informed individuals and groups.

Participation techniques have been categorised on a continuum ranging from manipulation to direct involvement (Arnstein, 1969). As no attempt has been made to alter the representative nature of local government, participation only went as far as consultation. Final decisions over urban policy options remained with the elected ward representatives. However, it became apparent from an analysis of the input from the consultation programme that the comments made from some

quarters were given more weight than those from others. This is what might have been predicted by applying an index of power to the various bodies and groups involved in the participation exercise (Riker and Ordeshook, 1973). In the example studied here it was noticed that the differences in influence between individuals and official bodies, or between the less well-informed and the 'expert', were not as great as have been found elsewhere (Bolan and Nuttall, 1975). Camden is just one case study and may be unique in this respect. In one county authority, Gloucestershire, for example, the preferences for change between elected representatives and residents varied quite markedly (Field, 1975a) although it is not known what weights the officials apportioned to the representatives and residents in the preparation of their plan.

One of the results of the consultation programme was to change the emphasis given to certain topics included in the draft plan. Generally, there was agreement with the priority given to housing and helping people in need in the first round. In the second stage, transport and employment were given added emphasis because they were perceived to have been given inadequate treatment in the draft plan. Comments made by the larger organisations and public bodies tended to be accepted more frequently than were those by local groups and individuals who were more concerned with the implications of policy at a local level. All individuals and groups, though individuals to a greater extent, saw the local authority as all embracing. Many comments which were made were more properly the responsibility of other agencies and bodies over which Camden had little or no influence. This illustrates the widespread uncertainty about the council's functions and a need for more information about the working of local government. However, these comments would have been more acceptable to the local

authority if the policy document had been a corporate plan rather than a land-use plan (Hambleton, 1978), and if the local authority had had more influence over those agencies operating in the borough but outwith the responsibility of the council (Eddison, 1975).

To continue this feedback into urban policy-making more established mechanisms of consultation needed to be developed. To improve on the rational or 'analytic' approach to decision-making (Steinbruner, 1974) more wide-ranging and detailed data would be necessary. To achieve legitimacy and usefulness of soft data the local authority decided to use mechanisms which would tap 'expert' comment when it was needed. In order to achieve representative feedback by residents of their reactions to policy implementation and changes in the environment regular attitude surveys were to be conducted. In the short term, costs have precluded the use of this technique. A more economical way of sounding out local feelings towards planning matters has been the local consultative group. Yet, these remain essentially elitist in character and may well be seen as illegitimate sources of influence in controversial areas of decision-making.

In essence, participation programmes might be seen as a method of applying the study of environmental preferences to the policy-making process (Hatry and Blair, 1976). The various studies undertaken by environmental psychologists of the perceptions different sub-groups have of their environment reveal a variety of determining variables (Proshansky et al., 1970; Tuan, 1974). However, the random selection of environmental facets for study is inappropriate to a decision-making framework. However, the work on the standardised measure of environmental attitudes such as the Environmental Response Inventory represents a preliminary tool for identifying important dimensions of the

environment (McKechnie, 1974; Kaplan, 1978). But, policy formation involves the selection of competing goals. Those tools which have been developed to quantify attitudes are being extended to measure preferences for alternative environments (Robinson, et al., 1975). And the focus of these approaches seems to be in stress reduction (Catanese and Farmer, 1978) and needs assessment (Neuber, 1980). These techniques are being developed within a political system, usually at the lower level tiers of government, and to understand the outcomes of the analytic mode of decision-making of which these instruments are becoming a part, a certain understanding of the nature of influence or power within a community is essential (Castells, 1978).

CHAPTER 11.

Synthesis. Commenting on the state of participatory democracy in the mid 1970s Fagence (1977) has noted that the bureaucracies of central and local government in many Western nations are fundamentally undemocratic in the sense that the ordinary citizen has little voice in determining the policies that emanate from them. In place of the centralized administration of welfare, methods of citizen participation have been advocated (Pateman, 1970) to make people, on the one hand, more self-governing and, on the other, the recipients of an improved allocation of public goods. In various countries this movement has resulted in different approaches. In Yugoslavia and West Germany, for example, workers have formed councils designed to provide them with a greater share of management activities (Pateman, 1970; Hegedus, 1976). In Britain, the Bullock Report advocated a similar extension of industrial democracy (Elliott, 1978; Cockerton, et al., 1980). In other fields such as transport planning (Abbiss and Lumsdon, 1979), and public housing (Craddock, 1976) attempts have been made to allow for greater consumer involvement and greater sensitivity to consumer demands. Participation and needs assessment can be seen as two efforts by public administrations to overcome the inherently alienating aspects of the increasing scale and scope of bureaucratic operations (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). The orientation of the analysis described here emphasises the importance of the consumers and their feelings in public decision-making.

Although the feedback model which was outlined in Chapter 2 fitted some of the gaps in other models of man-environment relations and the planning process, it has been only partially tested here. It was found

that much of the literature, especially that regarding citizen involvement, was normative in character and lacking empirical foundation. The studies of environmental perception, in contrast, were mainly empirical in content but lacking in application to models of the urban system or to models of decision-making. The framework for the empirical analysis as outlined in Chapter 2 relates the manner in which the environment is perceived to the urban decision-making process. Here, environmental perceptions and preferences were treated as inputs to the planning process; and inputs to that process as mediated by techniques of public participation. Though the model has a consumer orientation the results of the study showed quite clearly that there was a similarity between the assessment of need according to traditional indicators of stress and the subjective feelings of residents for their surroundings.

Chapter 3 examined the objective indicators of need while Chapter 4 considered subjective indicators of need in the London Borough of Camden. The attitudes of residents towards different aspects of the environment were considered alongside those indicators which are more frequently used to measure need (Knox, 1975). Interestingly, those aspects of peoples' surroundings which were frequently the source of comment tended to be those features, services, and areas which come up with low scores on the objective indicators. These objective measures of the environment included demographic, social, and economic indices derived mainly from census sources and from surveys carried out by Camden Council for its own use. The subjective indicators were measures of residents' perceptions of the environment. These measures were chosen by the initiating local authority and have a slight bias towards those functions over which the local authority had some control. They tend also to have a locational or land-use bias. Housing and helping people in need

were two aspects which were of concern to the majority of residents. Housing came up on the objective indicators as an aspect of the environment in need of attention. Though there was an overlap between the residents' perceptions of the environment with the perceptions of the planners there were some local exceptions to this pattern. In some places and for some services need was objectively perceived but not subjectively expressed. Elsewhere, it was noticed that certain groups in the borough were more likely to be dissatisfied with some aspects of their environment than the objective indicators suggested. Special needs were identified for the less mobile and elderly immigrant groups, unskilled and semiskilled workers and those living in the private rented sector (Chapter 4). Also, on a spatial basis some wards were perceived to be pleasanter places in which to live than some of the objective indicators suggested. The analysis showed that the environment, as perceived by residents, or the consumers of public services, can be used as an indicator of need or stress alongside those indicators which are more usually employed to assess need.

In the environmental psychology literature it was noted that there was a general lack of tools suitable for the urban decision-maker (Chapter 5). Although there are many techniques devised to quantify residents' attitudes to one facet of the environment or another, few of them are applicable to the field of policy and priority evaluation. For attitudes and preferences to be of value in the decision-making process they need to be tempered or constrained by the relative costs of alternative decisions (Hoinville, 1975; Michelson, 1975). However, it is still considered by some (Clark, 1976) that most policy issues are simply so complex that it is meaningless to ask, or to expect, an informed response from the majority of citizens. But, in practice, surveys of residents' attitudes and preferences have addressed themselves

to issues of immediate concern to citizens and about which they are reasonably competent to judge (Hatry and Blair, 1976). Chapter 5 describes such an evaluation of residents' preferences for changes in their environment. Most of the topics included in the analysis were concerned with services over which the local authority had some influence. From the results it was noticed that there was a common outlook on problems facing the borough. Different social groups, people of varying ages and different areas expressed similar preferences. And, as with attitudes, minor variations were apparent between different groups and in different wards. In a comparison between environmental preferences and environmental attitudes it was observed that there was a large amount of overlap (Chapter 5). From this it was deduced that either preferences or attitudes might be used as indicators of need within the borough. The advantage of the trade-off game approach to identifying preferences over attitudinal scales was that it allowed a quantitative ranking of priorities which can be of more immediate use to the decision-maker. In the feed-back model described in Chapter 2 it is the function of methods of participation to communicate environmental preferences to the decision-makers. By using survey methods there is a direct input of citizens' perceptions to the planning process. The difficulty for planners is in the evaluation of data from these different sources.

Residents' perceptions of their environment can be measured directly by means of a survey or indirectly such as through elected representatives. Chapter 6 looked at the influence participation had on the transmission of perceptions and preferences of residents to the planners in Camden. It has been suggested that those residents who were more actively engaged in local affairs were less like their

neighbours and less likely to have the same perception of need (Almond and Verba, 1965; Dahl, 1970; Crewe, et al., 1977). The findings of these studies were not supported by the data analysed in Chapter 6. In contrast, there was a generally widespread consensus of feelings towards different aspects of the environment. On the scale of participation that was developed those who were more knowledgeable, interested, and involved in local affairs tended to have not dissimilar attitudes from those residents who were less well-informed, less interested and less involved in neighbourhood affairs. What variations in outlook that were observed could be explained by length of residence, social status, age, type of housing tenure and by the location of responding residents. As with studies of political participation (Crouch, 1977) it was noticed that the participants, or those further along the participation scale, were different in a number of respects from their peers. There were both low and high social status residents who participated in local affairs but those who were more active locally tended to be of slightly higher social status than the majority of residents in the ward from which they came. Longer stay residents, and those in middle-age, scored highest on the participation indicator while the young and elderly, newcomers and those in privately rented accommodation tended to be under-represented amongst those who were more actively involved in local affairs. Although these sub-groups were less actively involved they expressed strong interest in some aspects of the environment of particular concern to them. Mobility was of special interest to the very young and the elderly while manual workers expressed difficulty in finding suitable housing. While these groups varied in their circumstances from those who were more active in local affairs their views were not entirely misrepresented or under-represented by those who were more involved in neighbourhood affairs. There was variation from topic to topic and

between one ward and the next with regards to participant attitudes but a commonly held view of the problems facing residents seemed to emerge from the analysis. Some groups, while being less knowledgeable about local affairs and the workings of local government and less involved in the neighbourhood, were not similarly less interested in their surroundings. It may simply have been that they were less well-equipped or had fewer opportunities for taking part in neighbourhood affairs (Beresford and Beresford, 1978). It may have been that the non-participants were more disaffected with the role of local government. The feelings of residents towards the council were also considered to test the rather normative approaches to this subject expressed by Dahl (1970), Kavanagh (1972) and Milbrath (1965) where political participation is correlated with feelings of efficacy in public affairs.

The analysis of residents' feelings towards the local authority was described in Chapters 8 and 9. In the literature of political attitudes a distinction is frequently made between the administrative and political parts of government (Almond and Verba, 1965; Reynolds, 1969). It was not possible, using the data available, to differentiate between peoples' feelings in this way. However the data did enable a comparison between levels of involvement and feelings for the local authority taken as a conceptual unit. A higher than expected affect was realised. The vast majority of residents in Camden regard the local authority in a positive light. These results contrast with the findings of other studies looking at residents' attitudes in urban areas (O'Malley, 1977; Dennis, 1972) where the role of the local authority is seen as that of an adversary. Those residents who scored highly on the participation index tended to express slightly more positive feelings towards the local authority. The difference in attitudes between those residents who expressed some knowledge of the workings of local government and

those who showed some interest in local affairs was not very large. A greater difference emerged between these groups and those who were actively involved in neighbourhood affairs. The more active residents expressed greater levels of satisfaction with local government as an institution than did the less interested residents. With respect to council policy residents' attitudes were less favourable. A significant proportion of respondents showed less satisfaction with the distribution of goods and services than they did with the concept of local government. The disparity between the attitudes expressed towards the structure of local government and local government in practice may be a source of some concern. It may, however, reflect contemporary restrictions on the local authority's services or the policy of the borough at the time of the survey. Both attitudes taken together might be seen as an ability by residents to distinguish between structure and policy. The positive light in which most people see the local authority might enable it to carry out less pleasant policies. Though it may be that if current policies are seen in a negative light then the affect shown for the institution of local government might also decrease.

This affect for local government, it was suggested in Chapter 10, might vary with the extent to which residents' views are incorporated into the borough plan. If people see that their feelings for different aspects of the environment are taken into account in the decision-making process then their sense of efficacy might also increase. Associated with feelings of political influence are positive attitudes towards government. In Almond and Verba's cross national study (1965) it was noted that political participation and feelings of effectiveness as well

as positive feelings towards government were all positively correlated. The results in Chapter 9 pointed to similar conclusions. Feelings of effectiveness in local government can be judged subjectively and objectively. Participants might feel that they have had some influence on decision-making while in reality they have had none. One measure of effectiveness that was examined in Chapter 10 concerned the weight given to the responses of individuals and groups by the planners. In any analysis of influence a number of variables emerge which account for a particular decision or policy. Typically, those individuals or groups who have more knowledge, better organisation, social status and wealth have greater influence over decision-makers than do those who have less or none of these attributes (Dahl, 1970; Riker and Ordeshook, 1973). The inputs from individuals and groups which were part of the participation programme were analysed to see what weights were attached to them by the planners. The larger organisations, employers, public agencies and neighbouring authorities had a greater proportion of comments accepted than did the neighbourhood groups or individuals. The comments which were made by residents were more likely to be irrelevant or inappropriate. They were more properly the concern of another department or agency (Chapter 10). For this reason more of the inputs from individuals and local groups were rejected. In some cases the decisions or priorities of the officials preparing the plan were changed because of comments made by high status groups of experts. This was so particularly with matters relating to employment which ranked less highly in the comments made by individuals than it did in the comments made by representatives of the major institutions and employers in the borough. Overall, the comments made by organised institutions and groups were not much more likely to be accepted than those made by neighbourhood groups or individuals. These results differ from the

empirical study made by Bolan and Nuttall (1975) where the influence of established agencies in urban renewal decisions was much more obvious. Residents and local groups did relatively less well because they had less knowledge of the workings of local government and its locus of influence in the environment. Established bodies tended to be better informed and knew those areas of the environment over which the local authority had some control.

The final product of the planning process was the land-use plan for the borough outlining the policies for land-use in the following decade. Two stages in the process involved inputs from consumers. At the stage of plan preparation citizen input was considered alongside data from established sources. The result of this first stage was a draft plan which was circulated to individuals and groups (Chapter 10, Figure 10.2). During the second stage of consultation it became clear that there was a widespread acceptance of the proposals outlined in the plan as seen by individuals and organisations. This similarity of outlook was confirmed during the second stage of consultation. What differences that there were in the responses made by groups and individuals related to the greater knowledge of local government by established bodies and agencies. And, if any influence can be ascribed to one interest rather than another it is to those individuals or groups with special knowledge, or to those areas of policy which appear most controversial. In the draft plan one topic in particular, namely education, aroused much public comment though this was taken account of by a rewording of the policy in the land-use plan (Camden, 1979a). No special interest or group of interests seem to be given more weight than others in the final decision-making process. However, political conflicts are not necessarily removed because of the impartiality of the language used in the plan. As this is the first

step of the new development plan process since local government re-organisation it remains to be seen whether the consumer orientated planning process described here takes account of changing resident perceptions and preferences. The data described in the analysis here suggests that for Camden, at least, public policies are not greatly out of tune with residents' feelings for their environment.

Limitations Of The Research. The literature review carried out in Chapter 1 pointed out the development of a greater interest and attention to citizen demands by public agencies and local government. The model developed in Chapter 2 attempted to describe a more consumer oriented approach of the planning process. However, the testing of the conceptual framework outlined at the beginning of this study relied on an in depth evaluation of one particular local authority, namely Camden. The major drawback of this case-study approach to research is that the data collected from one local authority can provide only limited support for the model. It may well be that, even within other parts of inner London, the feedback model of the planning process described here is inappropriate. It remains to be seen whether other districts, towns and cities have a planning process orientation similar to the one described in Camden. The case-study approach provides neither the grounds for constituting valid generalizations nor for proving or disproving established models or theories (Popper, 1972). Consequently, the conceptual framework can only be viewed as a kind of qualitative theory which was tested only to the extent of using data from one local authority. As the analysis has indicated this has shown some general relationships which only further research can identify as significant.

The method of analysis employed to examine the relationships between the variables in the framework was determined not by the

researcher but by the specific needs of the initiating local authority. One technique used in Camden's programme of participation, a questionnaire-type survey, was used for much of the research. Although this provided an extremely valuable source of information its orientation was practical in nature and this presented difficulties in data analysis. For example, the local authority was principally concerned with identifying residents' perceptions of those aspects of the environment over which it had some influence. And, although topics of relevance to citizens, but outwith the control of the local authority such as health services, were included, the number of questions relating to these extra-local authority services were fewer in number (Appendix B). The implications of this bias in the data meant that the analyses of environmental perceptions and preferences were not as valid as they would have been if a less spatially orientated questionnaire had been used.

The format in which the data was made available placed further restrictions on the research. The nominal format of some of the attitudinal data made comparisons with ordinal and ratio data difficult. This limited the analyses of variables to direct correlations between variables. Normally, with attitudinal data of the type used here, multivariate methods of analysis would be used. Here these powerful techniques were inappropriate except in the case of the preference profiles where a canonical correlation analysis was undertaken. The description of residents' perceptions of the environment and the socio-economic and demographic variables associated with them was discussed in Chapter 4. The correlations that were noted there simply related attitudes to personal characteristics. Ideally, partial correlations between attitudes and personal factors would have been undertaken. In this way the determinants of environmental attitudes could be associated with a variety of interacting demographic and social variables,

that is by treating personal characteristics as independent variables. However, the research here only provided a cursory investigation of these correlations but was sufficient to illuminate certain overlapping relationships between objective needs, as measured by census type variables, and subjective needs as identified by residents' perceptions and preferences for their surroundings.

The measurement of preferences by the use of a trade-off game had limitations. The particular technique used in the Camden study (Chapter 5) had only a limited range of topics. This method of assessing consumer priorities was quite simplistic in comparison with that of Hedges (1975), Robinson et al. (1975) and Hoinville (1977). The disadvantages of the method used in this study limit its usefulness. Firstly, the method failed to establish residents' existing level of service delivery but instead attempted to measure an idealized future level of service provision. Secondly, the trade-off game made no attempt to place estimated or actual costs against any of the policy options or different trade-off profiles. In consequence, residents were making choices which bore little relationship to the costs that either they or the local authority would incur if they were implemented. It must be admitted that the aim of the local authority in using this method of needs assessment was not to identify residents' preferences for different policies but the relative strengths of feelings towards those aspects of the environment which were regarded by residents as being important as well as those services over which the local authority had some influence.

Another aspect of the data which constrained the analyses was that relating to citizen involvement and feelings for local government. On the participation scales developed by Cole (1974), Bolan and Nuttall (1975), the attitudes of the more involved citizens were given emphasis.

In Catanese and Farmer's study (1978) the comments of only key actors in the decision-making process were considered. In all of these studies the influence of personality, functional position, and the social and political environment were important variables influencing both the intensity and scope of decision-making. In the attitudes survey carried out by the London Borough of Camden it was not possible to identify any decision-makers and even if they had been isolated it is unlikely that the sub-sample of this group would be at all significant in any statistical tests. Nor was a sample of decision-makers taken at the time of the survey. When this research was undertaken some years had passed since the survey took place. It was not considered feasible to carry out a retrospective study of politicians' and officials' attitudes on a systematic basis. However, personal comments were received from officials responsible for the analysis of the participation programme. Attempts were made to overcome these drawbacks in the data. It was possible from the variables included in the attitude survey to construct a simple scale of participation ranging from less to more involved. At one extreme there were residents who took no interest in local affairs while at the other extreme there were residents who were knowledgeable, interested and involved in local affairs (Chapter 7). Had elected representatives or key officials been included in this part of the analysis different results might have emerged. In Gloucestershire, for example, it was found that elected representatives and citizens varied quite considerably in their attitudes towards various aspects of the environment and priorities for change (Field, 1975a). Such a disparity in attitudes seems unlikely in Camden where a large majority of residents accepted the priorities for change as outlined in the draft plan for the borough (Chapter 10).

On a methodological point, the validity of a consumer oriented approach as described in Chapter 2 is open to question. The difficulty centres around the notion of an attitude as an indicator of need. Chapter 3 describes how stress can be identified using relatively objective indicators including demographic, social and economic indicators. The subjective indicators outlined in Chapter 4 included residents' perceptions of their environment as well as preferences for alternative surroundings. Although there was a certain amount of internal consistency in the techniques used to measure perceptions and preferences it is uncertain as to how enduring these feeling states are. Here the analysis stumbles across the difficulties of attitude change. Ideally, a longitudinal analysis of people's attitudes might be taken to give some indication of the stability of feelings for the environment with changes in time. In the literature of environmental psychology some evidence exists to support the idea that environmental attitudes are relatively enduring, however, they are susceptible to, and reflect, gross environmental changes (Clark, 1976; Craik and McKechnie, 1978).

Research Needs. In addition to these limitations in approach and methodology, the findings derived from analysing one local authority's experiences indicate a number of areas where more work on the conceptual framework of the model is required. These include a more rigorous handling of the perceptual data which formed the input to the model. Secondly, a clearer analysis of the relations between the variables might be undertaken. A comparison between the nature of the variables examined here and those which operate elsewhere may go some way towards explaining the variation in the delivery of urban services in different towns and cities. The relatively short time scale of the study, in comparison with the planning system, precluded any assessment of the model in terms of reactions to changes in the output of local government

services as a consequence of the subjective input. However, the district plan can be seen as an indicator of the local authority's intentions. In any model of this type the output of the planning system is influenced by a number of external factors over which the variables in the model have relatively little effect. Of particular relevance is the influence of the containing political and economic system of which the planning system is just one part (Allison, 1975; Bolan, 1973).

One area that needs additional development has implications of a practical and theoretical importance. The analysis described the use of both subjective and objective indicators in the formation of policy. It was noticed that those areas of need which were identified by the objective indicators corresponded fairly well with the areas of perceived need as expressed by residents. Ideally, both of these types of indicators might be included in a single instrument of needs assessment (Neuber, 1980). Although such a technique might be useful from an agency's point of view it does not offer the client group or potential client group much opportunity for expressing their own feelings or for being involved in change in their environment. Neither does such a technique offer the decision-maker any means of resolving conflict. Where there are competing goals or preferences it will be the established structure of power relations that will influence the eventual outcome (Bolan and Nuttall, 1975).

In the analysis of residents' perceptions of their environment it was observed that there was a close connection between attitudes towards different aspects of residents' surroundings and their preferences for changes in their environment. A rather unsophisticated technique was used to measure residents' priorities for different services and goods. A more realistic approach might have been to compare idealized

demands with actual circumstances. Secondly, some attempt could have been made to assess the relative costs of different choices for the local authority and for those groups who might be expected to incur those costs. In trade-off games and priority evaluator techniques realism has to be balanced against the need to be comprehensible. The more realistic the technique the more complex and difficult to operate it is likely to be (Robinson, et al., 1975; Hoinville, 1977). For a priority evaluating instrument to be of any use to a local authority it should be relatively easy to implement and the data simple to evaluate. A standard instrument along the lines of the Environmental Response Inventory (McKechnie, 1974) and Neuber's Community Oriented Needs Assessment (CONA) Model (1980) could well be developed to identify resident preferences in a number of settings. But, in using any such technique the implementing authority should ask questions which citizens are competent or reasonably able to answer. This may then provide information which will help in the interpretation of survey findings on the classification of respondents (Hatry and Blair, 1976). For the purposes of regularly assessing the quality of services and obtaining data relevant to planning, these surveys might be undertaken at regular intervals. These surveys could include similarly worded questions so that changes and trends over time can be identified.

The flow of information from citizen to decision-maker can be almost direct as with the social survey. Data about residents' feelings can also be mediated through the political system or via methods of participation. The analysis of citizen involvement in Camden showed that there was a positive relationship between the intensity of involvement and attitudes towards the local authority. The more active residents had a generally higher regard for the local

authority but they did not vary very greatly from the less interested residents with respect to their attitudes towards the environment and their preferences for change. It may be that the generally high level of affect for local government can be explained by the high degree of congruence between citizen and official attitudes towards the environment. Such a relationship might be revealed by a comparative study of different local authorities. The case-study approach that was adopted here may mean that the findings which have been described are unique to one authority. However, with regard to the study of system affect, evidence from cross-national surveys of central governments (Almond and Verba, 1965) suggests that a congruence in attitudes between citizens and government officials leads to greater stability and greater affect for the institutions of government.

A number of external factors that could not be specifically dealt with by the model come into play. This was most noticeable with respect to residents' attitudes towards health services and employment. Over both of these topics the local authority had little direct influence. Health services, like education in this particular borough, are the responsibility of higher tiers of government and of public agencies such as the National Health Service. They were seen by respondents as important services contributing to the quality of life in Camden. Employment on the other hand was given a relatively low rating by residents. This may have been because people saw the influence of the local authority on this aspect of the environment as limited. This is more likely now that the economic recession is having effects on even the more enterprising industries and areas. In the context of the model, it is not clear what the perceived influence of these external factors is or how residents relate attitudes towards the political and economic environment with the

allocation of goods and services by the local authority. By pursuing this research need some indication of the place of planning and local government in the schema of citizen's attitudes towards the world in its more general sense may be achieved.

The Implications Of The Analysis For Urban Planning. Even though this analysis represents an area of research that is in its early stages some implications can be suggested. These range from immediate practical concerns of planning and management of social change in urban settings to the wider implications of the study for theories of planned social change. The needs oriented approach of the planning process described in the analysis might be described as both a model in planning and a model of planning (Faludi, 1973). On the one hand it outlines the techniques and procedures used by one local authority in the preparation of its land-use plan. Secondly, the conceptual framework linking perception, participation and planning represents a description of a citizen orientated planning system (Neuber, 1980). By including the study of environmental perception and methods of citizen involvement the model provides a means of communicating information at the same time as giving citizens an opportunity of becoming involved, if only to a limited degree, in the plan-making process.

One of the drawbacks of the development plan system as it affects Camden and other lower tiers of local government is the restricted locus of responsibility for environmental change. The London Borough of Camden is not an all-purpose local authority. Education is, for example, under the control of the ILEA; while London Transport has control over public transport. Even in the area of land-use Camden has only limited control. Major developments and strategic planning are the responsibilities of the GLC. Three parts of Camden have been

designated in the Greater London Development Plan as Action Areas. They include Covent Garden, King's Cross and Camden Town. There has been some conflict in these areas, particularly Covent Garden, between the interests of residents and central city services. Although the borough has its own preferences for change in these areas these have been compromised to a certain extent by a need to maintain metropolitan functions in the borough.

Studies of the planning process in Britain as elsewhere have frequently found variations in the perceptions of problems by residents and officials. Dennis (1972) in his study of urban renewal in Sunderland and Field (1975b) in her study of elected representatives' attitudes in Gloucestershire found quite different outlooks and perceptions of need between residents, planners and representatives. In the United States similar differences have been studied (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970). Saarinen (1976) refers to this as a communication gap. It might be likened to the differences in outlook of the urban designer and the urban planner or decision-maker. One may use a language which is essentially visual in its terminology and content while the other may be more semantic or functional. As a result these two groups of professionals might well talk past one another and at most misunderstand each other. By using a programme of participation as the one described in the analysis the likelihood of decision-makers being unaware of the feelings and preferences of citizens is less. The data analysed here showed that there was little discrepancy in outlook between the planners and the planned. It is not certain whether this is a particularly unusual result but it suggests that the communications between residents and planners before the periods of consultation were adequate. The analysis confirms that, at least in Camden, the planning officials have a reasonably accurate conception of citizen needs. This is not to say

that this will always be the case. It demonstrates that a programme of consultation of the type described in Chapter 10 is able to provide a medium through which information about citizen's perceptions can be input into the decision-making process. It also provides a check or a counterweight to information obtained from more traditional sources.

The methods by which environmental perceptions are communicated to decision-makers are various. As Glass (1979) points out some techniques are more appropriate for some tasks than for others. The usefulness of any one instrument will depend on the goal which is to be achieved. There are two basic functions which citizen involvement performs. Firstly, it acts as a medium through which information is passed. This is its instrumental value from the point of view of the initiating authority (Castells, 1978). Secondly, it has value for the participants. Cole (1974) in his study of participation and political attitudes found that involvement in neighbourhood affairs was linked to feelings of self-worth and positive feelings towards the local authority. The research carried out here supports these findings but not to the same degree. Although participants and non-participants vary in their attitudes towards the local authority the disparity observed in Camden was not so great as that observed by Cole (1974) or by Bolan and Nuttall (1975). It was also found that residents tend to have a higher regard for the institutions of local government than for the policy of the administration in power at the time of the survey. The affect shown for local government was generally quite high. This may indicate the importance people attach to the role of the local authority in influencing their lives together with their feelings for it. Boaden (1971) in his study of different local authorities noted the relevance of the social and political environment to the outcome of planning decisions. It would be interesting to study this relationship

between affect for local government and the perceptions residents have of the output of local government. It may be that this affect for the planning system is influenced by the orientation of the local authority to incorporate, or at least take account of, citizen preferences.

One criticism of the consultation programme adopted by Camden is the time it took to complete. From the time the public was first involved in the participation exercise to the end of the examination in public was three years. Two stages of involvement took place. While data was being collected from established sources residents' preferences and attitudes were being measured. After this first stage a draft plan was produced which was the object of the second round of consultations. Part of this second stage involved an examination in public which took almost a year to complete and added very little to the plan. It gave objectors a further opportunity to publicly express their reservations (Camden, 1978). And, evaluating the techniques used in the programme of public involvement the examination in public is likely to be one of the more costly undertakings in terms of staff time and cost, and one with very few benefits. Most of the comments that were raised at the hearings had been mentioned before and included or taken account of in the district plan. The presence of this stage in the plan-making process created a sense of finality which seemed inappropriate to a mechanism that is essentially continuous (Centre for Environmental Studies, 1975). Those methods of securing citizen involvement which Camden used can be employed on a regular basis though not so intensively as was the case during the first and second stages of the exercise. What emerged was a need for continuous monitoring of environmental preferences which could best be done by an attitudes survey.

The attitude survey used by Camden in its programme of participation was similar to that used in some other London boroughs. Waltham Forest is one example (Field, 1975b). It resembled in structure the surveys carried out in some of the new towns (Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 1975) and in some of the shire counties and metropolitan authorities (Courtenay, 1974). However, some of the data collected by Camden, for example, was not used in its analysis of residents' attitudes and might be regarded as being redundant. Information on participation is not so relevant for the identification of consumer preferences though it may be of background interest. Resources would be saved if a standard instrument were developed along the lines of the Environmental Response Inventory (McKechnie, 1978) or the needs assessment model of Neuber et al. (1980). This would save each local authority from having to prepare and train its own staff to develop an attitude measuring instrument. It would also obviate the need to bring in consultants. Once a standard questionnaire has been developed periodic surveys such as on a five yearly basis (Camden, 1977b) would provide feedback on the implementation of policy. This longitudinal approach may also be used to pick up changing environmental preferences and life styles. It was also felt that there was a need for a structure to allow interested residents to become more acquainted with planning matters and to act as a centre of exchange for information relating to the functioning of local government. Neighbourhood councils might provide this role if they were established as they are in Scotland, for instance (Liggett, 1978). In their place a limited number of consultative groups have been established with broadly similar aims to those of community councils. The extent to which they act as a medium of exchange and a platform for interested individuals remains to be seen. There is the danger that the inevitable self-selection of members to

these groups makes them elitist in outlook. These drawbacks may, in part, be overcome by a regular survey of a representative cross-section of residents.

The analysis of the weights applied to the comments of the different participants suggests that some groups are more likely to have their comments taken account of in the plan-making process than are others. Generally speaking there appeared to be no overt bias towards one particular interest or group with respect to the responses of individuals and groups. What was noticeable was that those bodies which claimed to have a professional interest in a particular field, such as employers with respect to industrial activity, were less likely to have their suggestions rejected. The method of analysis used here can only give a cursory insight into the relative power or influence of different bodies. A better test of the power of some groups would be to analyse a particular decision outcome where two or more interests were in direct conflict (Bolan and Nuttall, 1975). Where individuals had their suggestions discounted it was because they tended to be less relevant to the level of policy-making which the plan dealt with. This difficulty might be overcome by better environmental education and a greater understanding of the functions of local government (Hammersmith, 1978).

Implications Of The Research For Democratic And Social Theory. The demands for greater citizen involvement which were described in Chapter 1 have been met by a variety of methods to improve communications between planners and the planned as well as providing some opportunities for citizens to have a greater say over those forces which influence their lives. A number of democratic theorists challenge what has become known as the 'contemporary' theory of democracy. That theory is not focused on the participation of the average man in political affairs but rather

on a small elite group (Parry, 1969). Participatory democrats, in contrast, see the participation movement as a response, not to instability in the political system, but to a desire for the psychological and educational benefits to be derived from citizen involvement in local affairs. In the context of social theory there are two broad approaches to social change. One model emphasises consensus and stability while the other is based on continual conflict between groups. A middle ground might be seen as the institutionalised containment of conflict as advocated by Dahrendorf (1959, 1975). The data provided by this study cannot, of course, prove that any one of these models is correct. What the data allows is an examination of some of the implications or results that participation has had on those involved and on the decision-makers.

The participatory democrats are concerned with the psychological benefits of involvement. Those qualities which are supposed to derive from this include a greater sense of well-being and a greater sense of political effectiveness, that is influence over the decisions affecting one's life and environment (Pateman, 1970). The evidence from this study suggests that those who are more interested, knowledgeable, and involved in local affairs tend to be those with a greater sense of effectiveness, at least with respect to influencing the local authority (Chapter 9). But, it has long been known that those citizens who see themselves as more effective are more likely to become involved in political activities in the first place (Lipset, 1963). Reviewing the literature concerned with participation in the work place, Pateman (1970) concluded that feelings of efficacy were strongly linked with feelings of increased involvement. Thus, although one of the criteria of the participatory theory is supported the second is given much less support. Much publicity was given to the participation programme in

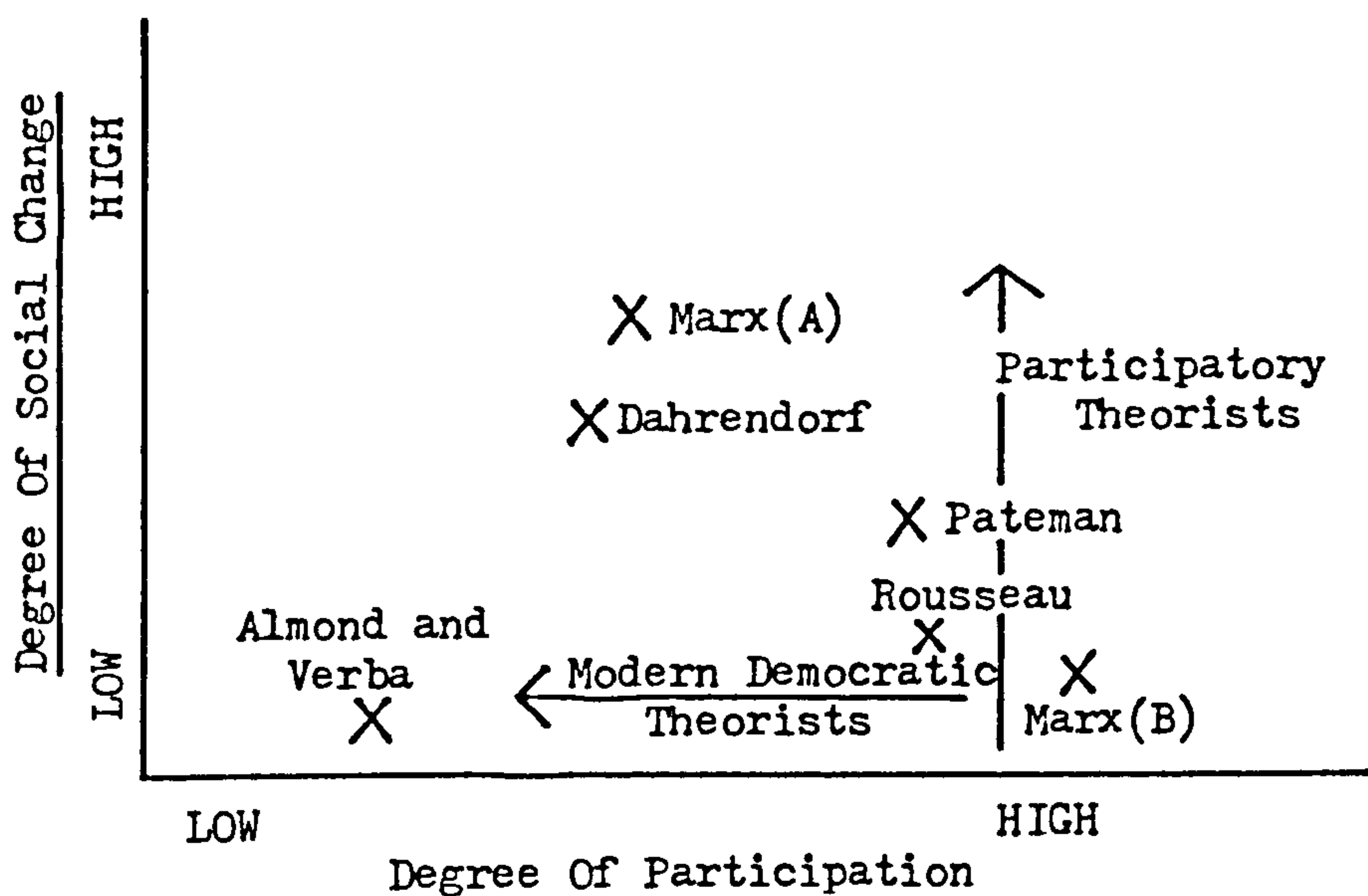
Camden yet probably no more than three thousand residents out of a population of 200,000 were actively involved in some way. This generally low level of interest tends to support the 'contemporary' or representative theory of democracy. The majority of residents have to contend with very basic problems affecting themselves and their families. Attempts to organise these people will have little success unless people can see tangible results of their efforts (Cole, 1974). What the participation exercise did achieve, from the participatory democrats point of view, was to allow a few more individuals into the consultations with decision-makers. And, as no power was delegated to any of the participating bodies as in many American programmes (Pennock and Chapman, 1975) the result for the participants has been mainly educative.

This is not the place to consider, in depth, other areas to which the principles of participation may be extended, however, it may be appropriate to indicate at least some alternatives. Two aspects of participation that can be applied to different settings are its instrumental and psychological functions. It can act as a medium of information exchange and it can benefit the individual by increasing his sense of control and power over the environment. Industrial democracy and workers participation in industry are popular ideas but are only being introduced cautiously (Bullock, 1977; Elliott, 1978). A widely cited participatory theorist (Bachrach, 1969) argues that it is in industry-related positions that programmes of participation are most likely to succeed. For many individuals political issues seem either trivial or remote whereas work situations are more immediate and more comprehensible. Direct involvement in spheres of activity other than local government politics might include housing management. Tenants participation in housing management (Craddock, 1976)

and tenants' cooperatives (Scottish Office, 1979), like participation in the work place, are perhaps of more relevance to citizens than involvement in neighbourhood politics. This would, at least, extend the opportunity of participation to greater numbers of people and give support to a participatory theory of democracy.

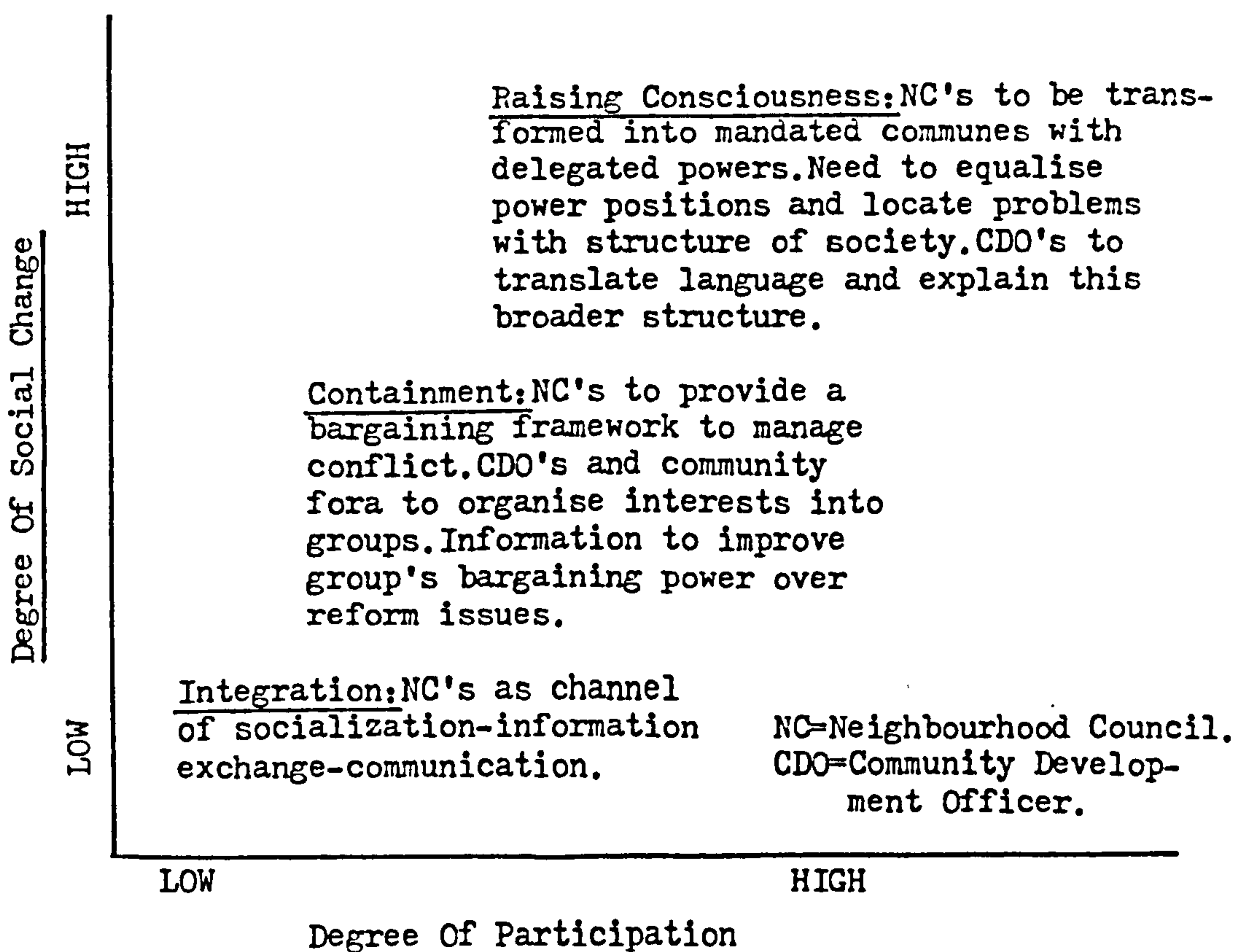
Amongst theories of social change one perspective is to see the model outlined in the context of consensus and stability. Within the systems approach of Parsons (1960), to which the 'contemporary' theory of democracy may be placed, stability is achieved through the adaptability of the system to its environment. Modern society is very complex and seen to be made up of interacting sub-systems. As changes in the environment occur feedback and adaption are necessary to maintain the equilibrium of the system, or to shift it to a new state of balance. The emphasis on the flow of information in the model and in the participation programmes in Britain suggests that these programmes might contribute to the adaptability of the social system (Thornley, 1977). This function of information exchange is described on dimensions of participation as being at one end of a continuum (Arnstein, 1969). Maximum participation involves the two-way flow of information and the involvement of citizens in decision-making affecting their neighbourhood. In Britain, the programmes of participation, like the one described here, only go as far as consultation and are without any effective form of delegated power. In the context of Thornley's schemata of social change and participation the programmes of participation adopted in Britain and the model described here might be placed between the democratic theorists Almond and Verba, on the one hand, and Dahrendorf on the other (Figure 11.1; Thornley, 1977, p.28). This approach to participation, at least in Camden as well as elsewhere, can be seen partly as 'integration' and

Figure II.I: Social Change And Participation.



(Source: Thornley, 1977, p.28).

Figure II.2: Alternative Attitudes To Participation.



(Source: Thornley, 1977, p.50).

partly 'containment' (Figure 11.2). The various techniques adopted in the participation programme allow for the exchange of information while neighbourhood councils might be seen as a filter for information as well as a means of co-opting possibly antagonistic groups. This may give the participating individuals the appearance of a voice without any real influence over decisions affecting their lives (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970). Thus, integration and containment of conflict might be seen as part of a socialisation process towards the established values and norms of the system (Thornley, 1977, p.45).

The other approach to social change sees conflict, increased consciousness, and participation as means for achieving this (Cohen, 1975). The problems of society are not seen in terms of individual problems but with a fault in the system or structure of society itself. And, this fault, the conflict school argues, cannot be remedied by adaptation. This is the Marxist perspective and it sees the structural problem as that of the restricted ownership of production processes (Harvey, 1973; Castells, 1978). If participation is to be genuine and successful inequalities between those who are involved needs to be lessened. It was noticed in the research that those who were more involved tended to be of higher-social status with a greater awareness of the workings of local government. Yet, they did not vary very much in their perceptions of problems or their priorities for change from those who were less interested and active in local affairs. The evidence from this study suggests that a greater involvement of citizens is unlikely to improve on the flow of information between the consumers and producers of public services. However, the participatory theorists like those of Pateman and Rousseau see the benefits of involvement not merely as a more effective delivery of urban services but in terms of human development. The evidence put forward here suggests that although

the instruments of participation may improve the quality of decision-making the benefits accruing to the participating individual may be greater. For an enhanced citizen involvement to become a reality it may be necessary to remove those conditions which produce the inequalities between the participants and non-participants. For this to happen, the radical school suggests, the power relations in society need to be altered. This may be achieved by a greater consciousness of the individual's role in society and the distribution of power within it (Thornley, 1977, p.47).

A third approach to social change recognises that conflict is inevitable in complex industrial societies and that mechanisms should be established to reconcile one competing claim with that of another. This perspective is propounded by Dahrendorf (1959). Although his work deals mainly with conflicts in industry between organised labour and organised capital his method can be adopted by any institution intending to pre-empt or control conflict. The existence of conflict within this perspective arises, not because of structural problems in society which need radical solutions, but as the result of a lack of balance within democratic systems whether at the local or state level. A solution to this imbalance would be to have greater representation or involvement of minority or under-represented groups in the political system. The traditional theory of representative democracy sees this inclusion of non-participating groups as threatening to the democratic system because of the basically undemocratic attitudes of the typical non-joiners (Pennock and Chapman, 1975). This approach to social change recognises the conflict of interests in a local community and recommends that they should be 'institutionalised' to prevent society from major upheavals which the conflict model advocates. One of the necessary requirements for conflict regulation is the acceptance

of an arbitrating or mediating structure by those groups or interests who are in conflict. The model of the planning process described in the analysis, perhaps, best fits in with the approach towards social change by the institutionalised regulation of conflict. Many of the techniques of participation that were used can be seen as contributing to gradual reform. By identifying need or stress before it becomes organised or violent, steps may be taken to relieve it by altering the level of delivery of public services (Ostrom, 1976), or by improving the levels of personal incomes (Parker, 1975), or feelings of isolation and powerlessness (Townsend, 1979).

Conclusion And Evaluation: Toward A Citizen Orientated Model Of Planned Social Change.

As indicated at the start, the purpose behind this study was to analyse how residents' perceptions of their environment were incorporated into the planning system. The medium through which this was accomplished was a programme of citizen involvement. It was suggested that the reason for the spread of greater citizen involvement in local government in most of the western industrialised nations was because of the growing insensitivity of public service delivery systems to meet the varying needs of different groups in the population (Chapter 1). Social and political theorists have attempted to explain this phenomenon and have tried to determine whether it is functional or dysfunctional to established social systems. The evidence collected for one particular local authority does not give unequivocal support to either a representative or participatory theory of democracy. However, some of the findings suggest that the planning system, with opportunities for public participation, is more likely to contain conflict and produce social change on an incremental basis within a representative system of government.

The needs assessment approach of the model of the planning system can be seen as part of the system of man-environment relations. The inputs for this feedback model were the perceptions of the environment as expressed by the residents in the study area. It was noticed that there was little variation in the perceptions of the environment between different areas and different groups. Although this was true for Camden, it is by no means the case for all local authorities. It was also noticed that the priorities for change in the environment were similar across the study area and between groups indicating, perhaps, a common awareness of the problems facing the local authority. Contrary to some other studies on participation the analysis showed that there was little difference either in the perceptions or preferences of the participants in local affairs when compared with the attitudes of those residents not so interested or involved. Little bias was shown in the weighting of attitudes of different groups. What differences there were could be attributed to a lack of knowledge of the workings of local government rather than a favouring of any one institution or group. These findings might have been predicted from the similarity in outlook of residents and planners. From the analysis of residents' subjective feelings and the comparison with the local authority's objective indicators of need it was evident that there was a high degree of congruence between the two. But, in some areas and for some groups what was described as need by one group was not necessarily described in the same way by others. This empirical part of the study illustrates the importance of having greater citizen input into the decision-making process. Firstly, it improves the quality of information available to the local authority. And, to a limited extent, it allows some of the more interested and active residents to become involved in the planning system. From the research

it became apparent that the quality of information about residents' needs was not likely to be improved by a participation programme more extensive than the one adopted in the study area. However, the opportunities for consultation, which were made available to residents, were welcomed.

Although the model is cyclical in nature it was not possible to identify in practice the outcome of the development plan system in terms of a changed environment. It was possible, however, to observe how residents' feelings for their surroundings were incorporated into the district plan which can be seen as some type of output but not the type which most residents are likely to comment on. By orientating the planning process from objective measures of need to those which are more subjective it is more likely that experienced stress or felt need will be noticed and taken account of by the delivery system of urban services. Such a model, it is argued, is likely to contain conflict and manage change in an incremental fashion resulting in a more stable adaptation of the social system to environmental changes.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

Demographic Aspects Of The London Borough Of Camden.
(Derived From The Borough Survey).

Table A.1: Sex Characteristics Of Sample By Ward

Wards	Sex (Number) (Percentage)		Total (Percentage)
	Male	Female	
St. Johns	24 (47)	27 (52)	51 (4)
Highgate	19 (34)	37 (66)	56 (5)
Priory	25 (36)	44 (64)	69 (6)
Kilburn	27 (48)	29 (52)	56 (5)
West End	48 (51)	47 (49)	95 (8)
Swiss Cottage	47 (48)	51 (52)	98 (8)
Adelaide	34 (42)	48 (59)	82 (7)
Belsize	37 (47)	42 (53)	79 (7)
Holborn	22 (48)	24 (52)	46 (4)
Bloomsbury	35 (48)	38 (52)	73 (6)
Kings Cross	33 (43)	42 (55)	76 (6)
St. Pancras	25 (42)	34 (58)	59 (5)
Regents Park	33 (42)	45 (58)	78 (7)
Chalk Farm	13 (42)	18 (58)	31 (3)
Camden	37 (47)	41 (53)	78 (7)
Grafton	41 (51)	40 (49)	81 (7)
Gospel Oak	11 (48)	12 (52)	23 (2)
Hampstead Town	19 (31)	43 (69)	62 (5)
Total (Percentage)	530 (44)	662 (56)	1193 (100)

Table A.2:

Marital Status Of Respondents

Ward	Marital Status				
	Widowed- Divorced- Separated (Percentage)	Cohabiting (Percentage)	Married (Percentage)	Single (Percentage)	Total (per- cent- age)
St. Johns	9 (18)	0 (0)	24 (47)	18 (35)	51 (4)
Highgate	6 (11)	1 (2)	34 (61)	15 (27)	56 (5)
Priory	15 (22)	0 (0)	23 (33)	31 (45)	69 (6)
Kilburn	5 (9)	1 (2)	30 (54)	20 (36)	56 (5)
West End	19 (20)	3 (3)	38 (40)	35 (37)	95 (8)
Swiss Cottage	18 (18)	1 (1)	31 (32)	48 (49)	98 (8)
Adelaide	14 (17)	0 (0)	38 (46)	30 (37)	82 (7)
Belsize	10 (13)	3 (4)	30 (38)	36 (46)	79 (7)
Holborn	8 (17)	0 (0)	23 (50)	15 (33)	46 (4)
Bloomsbury	8 (11)	0 (0)	12 (16)	53 (73)	73 (6)
Kings Cross	16 (21)	0 (0)	26 (34)	34 (45)	76 (6)
St. Pancras	9 (15)	0 (0)	36 (61)	14 (24)	59 (5)
Regents Park	11 (14)	0 (0)	48 (62)	19 (24)	78 (7)
Chalk Farm	5 (16)	4 (13)	15 (48)	7 (23)	31 (3)
Camden	8 (10)	3 (4)	39 (50)	28 (36)	78 (7)
Grafton	13 (16)	3 (4)	41 (51)	24 (30)	81 (7)
Gospel Oak	2 (9)	0 (0)	17 (74)	4 (17)	23 (2)
Hampstead Town	5 (8)	2 (3)	31 (50)	24 (39)	62 (5)
Total (Percentage)	181 (15)	21 (2)	536 (45)	455 (38)	1193 (100)

Table A.3: Household Size By Ward

Ward	Household Size (Persons) (Percentages In Brackets)				
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or More
St. Johns	12 (24)	18 (35)	8 (16)	5 (9)	8 (16)
Highgate	8 (14)	18 (32)	7 (13)	10 (18)	13 (23)
Priory	25 (36)	19 (28)	13 (19)	6 (9)	6 (9)
Kilburn	14 (25)	15 (27)	10 (18)	12 (21)	5 (9)
West End	23 (24)	38 (40)	13 (14)	17 (18)	4 (4)
Swiss Cottage	36 (37)	28 (29)	17 (17)	11 (11)	6 (6)
Adelaide	23 (28)	25 (31)	16 (20)	11 (13)	7 (9)
Belsize	22 (28)	28 (35)	16 (20)	7 (9)	6 (8)
Holborn	15 (33)	14 (30)	8 (17)	8 (17)	1 (2)
Bloomsbury	44 (60)	18 (25)	1 (1)	7 (10)	3 (4)
Kings Cross	41 (54)	17 (22)	7 (9)	8 (11)	3 (4)
St. Pancras	9 (15)	13 (22)	16 (27)	10 (17)	11 (19)
Regents Park	12 (15)	31 (40)	17 (22)	6 (8)	12 (15)
Chalk Farm	8 (26)	8 (26)	3 (10)	6 (19)	6 (19)
Camden	20 (26)	22 (28)	12 (15)	9 (12)	15 (19)
Grafton	14 (17)	25 (31)	15 (19)	11 (14)	16 (20)
Gospel Oak	3 (13)	8 (35)	3 (13)	7 (30)	2 (9)
Hampstead Town	12 (19)	20 (32)	10 (16)	6 (10)	14 (23)
Total (Percentage)	341 (29)	365 (31)	192 (16)	157 (13)	138 (12)

Table A.4: Household Size And Type Of Tenure

		Number Of People Per Household				
		One (%)	Two (%)	Three (%)	Four (%)	Five Or More (%)
Type Of Tenure	Owner-Occupied	24 (11)	73 (35)	33 (16)	41 (20)	39 (19)
	Private Landlord	133 (32)	133 (32)	72 (17)	53 (13)	23 (6)
	Council	71 (19)	120 (32)	73 (19)	50 (13)	67 (18)
	Hostel	63 (93)	1 (2)	1 (2)	0 (0)	3 (4)
	Total (Percentage)	291 (27)	327 (30)	179 (17)	144 (13)	132 (12)

Table A.5:Mean Dwelling Size Per Ward

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Mean Number Of Rooms (Excluding Kitchen and Toilet)</u>
Hampstead Town	4.3
Belsize	3.0
Adelaide	3.3
Swiss Cottage	2.8
West End	3.6
Kilburn	3.3
Priory	3.0
Highgate	4.4
St. Johns	3.0
Gospel Oak	3.5
Grafton	3.3
Camden	3.3
Chalk Farm	3.0
Regents Park	3.4
St. Pancras	3.4
Kings Cross	2.4
Bloomsbury	1.9
Holborn	2.6

TENURE TYPE 1_OWNER OCCUPIED(1975 PERCENTAGES).

PERCENTAGES

WESTMINSTER

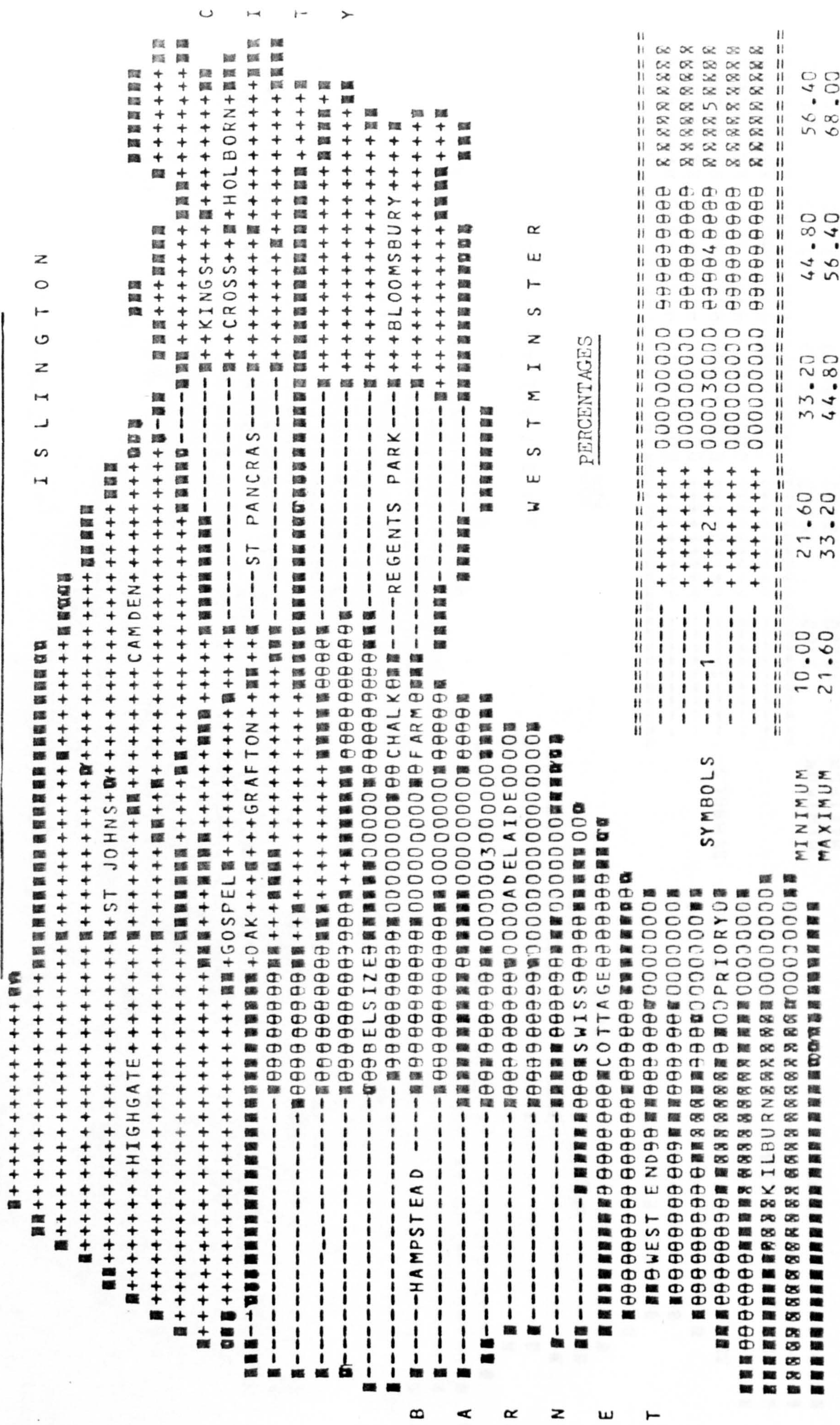
SYMBOLS

MINIMUM	0.00	11.40	22.80	34.20	45.60
MAXIMUM	11.40	22.80	34.20	45.60	57.00

Figure A.4

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

TENURE TYPE 2.PRIVATE LANDLORD(1975 PERCENTAGES).



LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

TENURE TYPE 3. LOCAL AUTHORITY (1975 PERCENTAGES).

		I S L I N G T O N		W E S T M I N S T E R		PERCENTAGES	
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
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B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		
B	A	R	N	E	T		

Table A.6: Pattern Of Tenure In Camden

Ward	Type Of Tenure (Percentages In Brackets)			
	Owner-Occupied	Private Landlord	Council	Hostel
St. Johns	13 (26)	17 (33)	16 (31)	0 (0)
Highgate	20 (36)	14 (25)	18 (32)	2 (4)
Priory	7 (10)	28 (41)	26 (38)	2 (3)
Kilburn	6 (11)	38 (68)	10 (18)	0 (0)
West End	28 (30)	50 (53)	11 (12)	1 (1)
Swiss Cottage	14 (14)	55 (56)	22 (22)	2 (2)
Belsize	25 (32)	36 (46)	10 (13)	6 (7)
Holborn	1 (2)	13 (28)	21 (46)	4 (9)
Bloomsbury	0 (0)	16 (32)	8 (16)	25 (51)
Kings Cross	1 (1)	21 (28)	28 (37)	16 (21)
St. Pancras	2 (3)	6 (10)	43 (73)	0 (0)
Regents Park	9 (12)	12 (15)	44 (56)	0 (0)
Chalk Farm	4 (13)	15 (48)	4 (13)	1 (3)
Camden	16 (21)	19 (24)	35 (45)	6 (8)
Grafton	6 (7)	23 (28)	46 (57)	1 (1)
Gospel Oak	2 (9)	6 (26)	14 (61)	0 (0)
Adelaide	21 (26)	34 (42)	22 (27)	1 (1)
Hampstead Town	35 (57)	11 (18)	3 (5)	1 (2)
Total (Percentage)	210 (18)	414 (35)	381 (32)	68 (6)

Table A.7: Type Of Tenure And ThePresence Of Amenities

		Type Of Tenure (Percentages In Brackets)				
		Owner-Occupied		Private Landlord	Council	Hostel
Amenity	Telephone	With	196 (93)	323 (78)	234 (61)	48 (71)
		Without	13 (6)	89 (22)	144 (38)	20 (29)
		Total (Percentage)	219 (20)	412 (39)	378 (35)	68 (6)
	Television Set	With	188 (90)	350 (85)	359 (94)	50 (74)
		Without	22 (11)	63 (15)	19 (5)	18 (26)
		Total (Percentage)	210 (20)	413 (39)	378 (35)	68 (6)

Table A.8: Household Amenities

		Household Amenity (Percentages In Brackets)			
		Telephone		Television Set	
		With	Without	With	Without
Ward Name	St. Johns	38 (75)	13 (25)	44 (86)	7 (14)
	Highgate	47 (84)	8 (14)	49 (88)	7 (12)
	Priory	52 (75)	17 (25)	62 (90)	7 (10)
	Kilburn	34 (61)	22 (39)	47 (84)	9 (16)
	West End	80 (84)	15 (16)	84 (88)	11 (12)
	Swiss Cottage	91 (93)	7 (7)	89 (91)	9 (9)
	Adelaide	71 (87)	11 (13)	74 (90)	7 (9)
	Belsize	71 (90)	7 (9)	66 (84)	13 (16)
	Holborn	31 (67)	15 (33)	36 (78)	18 (22)
	Bloomsbury	42 (58)	31 (42)	43 (59)	30 (41)
	Kings Cross	49 (65)	25 (33)	66 (87)	9 (12)
	St. Pancras	36 (61)	23 (39)	56 (95)	3 (5)
	Regents Park	51 (65)	27 (35)	76 (97)	2 (3)
	Chalk Farm	21 (68)	9 (29)	26 (84)	5 (16)
	Camden	54 (69)	24 (31)	69 (89)	8 (10)
	Grafton	41 (51)	38 (47)	76 (94)	4 (5)
	Gospel Oak	17 (74)	6 (26)	22 (96)	1 (4)
	Hampstead Town	57 (92)	5 (8)	54 (87)	8 (13)
	Total (Percentage)	883 (74)	303 (25)	1039 (87)	150 (13)

Table A.9:Housing Amenity

			Household Facilities (Presence of toilet and kitchen) (Percentages In Brackets)	
			Present	Lacking One Or More Facilities
Amenity	Telephone	With	708 (76)	165 (66)
		Without	213 (23)	87 (35)
		Total (Percentage)	921 (78)	252 (21)
	Television Set	With	836 (90)	192 (76)
		Without	89 (10)	60 (24)
		Total (Percentage)	925 (78)	252 (21)

Table A.10:Household Amenity And Type Of Tenure

	Type Of Tenure (Percentages In Brackets)				
		Owner- Occupied	Private Landlord	Council	Hostel
Level Of Amenity (Presence Of Toilet and Kitchen)	Present	199 (95)	288 (70)	359 (95)	9 (14)
	Absent	10 (5)	122 (30)	19 (5)	56 (85)
	Total (Percentage)	209 (20)	410 (39)	378 (35)	65 (6)

Table A.10(a):Household Amenity And Length of Residence

	Length Of Residence In Present Home (Years)					
		Less than One Year	One to four	Five to nine	Ten to nineteen	Twenty or more
Level of Amenity (Presence Of Toilet and Kitchen)	Present	102 (56)	277 (77)	213 (88)	188 (86)	142 (79)
	Absent	79 (43)	81 (23)	29 (12)	26 (12)	36 (20)
	Total (Percentage)	181 (15)	358 (31)	242 (21)	214 (18)	178 (15)

Table A.11:

Personal Income By Ward

		Personal Income Per Annum (£)					
		Less than 1000	1000 to 1749	1750 to 2999	3000 to 4999	5000 and over	Re- fused
Ward Names	St. Johns	16 (32)	7 (14)	15 (29)	3 (6)	1 (2)	6 (12)
	Highgate	22 (39)	5 (9)	7 (13)	3 (5)	9 (16)	7 (13)
	Priory	19 (28)	12 (17)	12 (17)	9 (13)	1 (1)	5 (7)
	Kilburn	15 (27)	5 (9)	10 (18)	1 (2)	0 (0)	18 (32)
	West End	19 (20)	22 (23)	14 (15)	13 (14)	3 (3)	13 (14)
	Swiss Cottage	27 (28)	20 (20)	17 (17)	16 (16)	6 (6)	7 (7)
	Adelaide	26 (31)	9 (11)	12 (15)	8 (10)	4 (5)	17 (21)
	Belsize	9 (11)	7 (9)	20 (25)	17 (22)	7 (9)	13 (17)
	Holborn	13 (28)	11 (24)	9 (20)	3 (7)	2 (4)	3 (7)
	Bloomsbury	30 (41)	22 (30)	10 (14)	4 (6)	2 (3)	2 (3)
	Kings Cross	25 (32)	19 (25)	15 (20)	6 (8)	0 (0)	7 (9)
	St. Pancras	16 (27)	12 (20)	16 (27)	3 (5)	0 (0)	5 (9)
	Regents Park	18 (23)	25 (32)	18 (23)	3 (4)	1 (1)	9 (12)
	Chalk Farm	11 (35)	3 (10)	3 (10)	4 (13)	3 (10)	2 (7)
	Camden	21 (27)	11 (14)	22 (28)	10 (13)	3 (4)	6 (8)
	Grafton	24 (29)	15 (19)	19 (23)	8 (10)	0 (0)	3 (4)
	Gospel Oak	5 (22)	5 (22)	5 (22)	1 (4)	2 (9)	3 (13)
	Hampstead Town	12 (19)	8 (13)	7 (11)	10 (16)	9 (15)	6 (10)
	Total (Percentage)	328 (27)	218 (18)	231 (19)	122 (10)	53 (4)	132 (11)

Table A.12:Age And Personal Income

		Age (Years) (Percentages In Brackets)					
		15-19 years	20-24	25-34	35-64	65 and over	Total
Personal Income (£)	Less than 1000	39 (56)	41 (32)	46 (18)	105 (22)	123 (65)	354 (32)
	1000 to 1749	21 (30)	38 (32)	42 (17)	86 (18)	30 (16)	217 (20)
	1750 to 2999	7 (10)	33 (26)	76 (30)	110 (23)	5 (3)	231 (21)
	3000 to 4999	0 (0)	8 (6)	54 (21)	59 (13)	1 (1)	122 (11)
	5000 and over	1 (1)	0 (0)	12 (5)	36 (8)	4 (2)	53 (5)
	Refused	2 (3)	9 (7)	23 (9)	73 (16)	25 (13)	132 (12)
	Total (Percentage)	70 (6)	129 (12)	253 (23)	469 (42)	188 (17)	1109 (100)

Table A.13: Type Of Tenure And Personal Income

		Type Of Tenure (Percentages In Brackets)			
		Owner-Occupied	Private Landlord	Council	Hostel
Personal Income (£)	Less than 1000	36 (20)	97 (25)	118 (35)	34 (51)
	1000 to 1749	25 (14)	59 (15)	82 (24)	21 (31)
	1750 to 2999	28 (15)	97 (25)	82 (24)	10 (15)
	3000 to 4999	29 (16)	61 (16)	17 (5)	1 (1)
	5000 and over	34 (19)	13 (3)	2 (1)	0 (0)
	Refused	29 (16)	54 (14)	41 (12)	1 (1)
	Total (Percentages)	181 (19)	381 (39)	342 (35)	67 (7)

Table A.14: Housing Amenity And Personal Income

		Personal Income Per Annum (£) (Percentages In Brackets)					
Level of Amenity (Presence Of Kitchen and Toilet		Less than 1000	1000 to 1749	1750 to 2999	3000 to 4999	5000 and over	Re- fused
	Present	194 (68)	167 (78)	179 (79)	106 (87)	51 (96)	109 (83)
	Absent	91 (32)	46 (22)	48 (21)	16 (13)	2 (4)	22 (17)
	Total Percentages	285 (100)	213 (100)	227 (100)	122 (100)	53 (100)	131 (100)

Table A.15:

Educational Attainment

		Age At Which Full time Education Ceased (years) (Percentages In Brackets)			
		14 or under	15-19	20 or more	Still Studying
Ward Name	St. Johns	14 (28)	24 (47)	9 (18)	4 (8)
	Highgate	14 (25)	23 (41)	15 (27)	4 (7)
	Priory	24 (35)	24 (35)	15 (22)	4 (6)
	Kilburn	24 (43)	24 (43)	7 (13)	1 (2)
	West End	27 (28)	38 (40)	18 (19)	12 (13)
	Swiss Cottage	20 (20)	44 (45)	29 (30)	5 (5)
	Adelaide	18 (22)	40 (49)	20 (25)	4 (5)
	Belsize	10 (13)	32 (41)	34 (43)	3 (4)
	Holborn	15 (33)	23 (50)	6 (13)	0 (0)
	Bloomsbury	11 (15)	21 (29)	12 (16)	28 (38)
	Kings Cross	23 (30)	31 (41)	6 (8)	15 (20)
	St. Pancras	29 (49)	26 (44)	2 (3)	2 (3)
	Regents Park	42 (54)	31 (40)	4 (5)	0 (0)
	Chalk Farm	9 (29)	14 (45)	7 (23)	1 (3)
	Camden	28 (36)	29 (37)	8 (10)	13 (17)
	Grafton	33 (41)	39 (48)	5 (6)	2 (3)
	Gospel Oak	13 (57)	9 (39)	1 (4)	0 (0)
	Hampstead Town	6 (10)	24 (39)	23 (37)	9 (15)
	Total (Percentage)	360 (30)	496 (42)	221 (19)	107 (9)

Figure A.6

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

CHANGE IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE 1961-1971.

SOCIAL GROUP ONE PERCENTAGES.

ISLINGTON

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.
CHANGE IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE 1961-1971.

[illegible]

Table A.16:

Social Status

		Socio-economic Group				
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five
Ward Name	St. Johns	10 (20)	13 (26)	18 (35)	3 (6)	7 (14)
	Highgate	21 (38)	14 (25)	9 (16)	4 (7)	8 (14)
	Priory	11 (16)	24 (35)	8 (12)	6 (9)	20 (29)
	Kilburn	11 (20)	16 (29)	15 (27)	4 (7)	10 (18)
	West End	24 (25)	28 (30)	17 (18)	10 (11)	16 (17)
	Swiss Cottage	19 (19)	47 (48)	12 (12)	5 (5)	15 (15)
	Adelaide	33 (40)	14 (17)	18 (22)	3 (4)	14 (17)
	Belsize	29 (37)	27 (34)	8 (10)	3 (4)	12 (15)
	Holborn	9 (20)	16 (35)	9 (20)	4 (9)	8 (17)
	Bloomsbury	10 (14)	25 (34)	2 (3)	9 (12)	27 (37)
	Kings Cross	8 (11)	22 (29)	10 (13)	7 (9)	29 (38)
	St. Pancras	9 (15)	10 (17)	20 (34)	11 (19)	9 (15)
	Regents Park	9 (12)	17 (22)	23 (30)	19 (24)	9 (11)
	Chalk Farm	8 (26)	6 (19)	5 (16)	3 (10)	9 (29)
	Camden	14 (18)	24 (31)	21 (27)	3 (4)	16 (21)
	Grafton	11 (14)	14 (17)	19 (24)	15 (19)	22 (27)
	Gospel Oak	1 (4)	9 (39)	11 (48)	1 (4)	1 (4)
	Hampstead Town	31 (50)	8 (13)	1 (2)	3 (5)	19 (31)
	Total (Percentage)	268 (23)	334 (28)	226 (19)	113 (10)	251 (21)

Table A.17: Social Status And Type Of Tenure

		Socio-economic Group				
		One (%)	Two (%)	Three (%)	Four (%)	Five (%)
Type Of Tenure	Owner-Occupied	108 (40)	40 (19)	32 (15)	8 (4)	22 (11)
	Private Landlord	106 (26)	142 (34)	73 (18)	24 (6)	69 (17)
	Council	30 (8)	90 (24)	110 (29)	64 (17)	87 (23)
	Hostel	3 (4)	22 (32)	0 (0)	4 (6)	39 (57)
	Total (Percentage)	247 (23)	294 (27)	215 (20)	100 (9)	217 (20)

Table A.18: Social Status and Employment

		Socio-economic Group				
		One (%)	Two (%)	Three (%)	Four (%)	Five (%)
Employment Status	Employed	249 (93)	299 (90)	209 (93)	104 (92)	74 (30)
	Unemployed	10 (5)	26 (8)	13 (6)	6 (5)	168 (67)
	Total (Percentages)	259 (22)	325 (28)	222 (19)	110 (9)	242 (21)

Table A.19:

Employment And Tenure

		Type Of Tenure			
		Owner- Occupied (%)	Private Landlord (%)	Council (%)	Hostel (%)
Employment Status	Employed	185 (90)	339 (84)	295 (81)	29 (43)
	Unemployed	21 (10)	64 (16)	71 (19)	39 (57)
	Total (Percentages)	206 (20)	403 (39)	366 (35)	68 (6)

Table A.20:

Employment Status

		Full time Employment (Percentages In Brackets)	
		Employed	Unemployed
Ward Name	St.Johns	45 (88)	6 (12)
	Highgate	45 (80)	11 (20)
	Priory	53 (77)	14 (20)
	Kilburn	47 (84)	8 (14)
	West End	71 (75)	18 (19)
	Swiss Cottage	80 (82)	17 (17)
	Adelaide	65 (80)	14 (17)
	Belsize	67 (85)	12 (15)
	Holborn	41 (89)	4 (9)
	Bloomsbury	47 (64)	26 (36)
	Kings Cross	49 (65)	24 (32)
	St. Pancras	51 (86)	7 (12)
	Regents Park	64 (82)	10 (13)
	Chalk Farm	25 (81)	6 (19)
	Camden	64 (82)	12 (15)
	Grafton	57 (70)	15 (19)
	Gospel Oak	19 (83)	4 (17)
	Hampstead Town	46 (74)	15 (24)
	Total (Percentage)	936 (79)	223 (19)

Table A.21:

Age Of Respondents By Ward

		Age (Years) (Percentages In Brackets)				
		15-19 years	20-24	25-34	35-64	65 and over
Ward Name	St. Johns	2 (4)	4 (8)	18 (35)	19 (37)	8 (16)
	Highgate	2 (4)	4 (7)	15 (27)	21 (38)	14 (25)
	Priory	3 (4)	10 (15)	18 (26)	21 (30)	17 (25)
	Kilburn	1 (2)	5 (9)	18 (32)	20 (36)	12 (22)
	West End	8 (8)	9 (10)	25 (26)	40 (42)	13 (14)
	Swiss Cottage	6 (6)	8 (8)	30 (31)	32 (33)	22 (22)
	Adelaide	4 (5)	9 (11)	14 (17)	45 (55)	10 (12)
	Belsize	1 (1)	9 (11)	27 (34)	33 (42)	9 (11)
	Holborn	1 (2)	5 (11)	9 (20)	22 (48)	9 (20)
	Bloomsbury	15 (21)	21 (29)	11 (15)	20 (27)	5 (7)
	Kings Cross	8 (11)	12 (16)	9 (12)	30 (40)	17 (22)
	St.Pancras	3 (5)	5 (9)	7 (12)	35 (59)	9 (15)
	Regents Park	2 (3)	7 (9)	9 (12)	43 (55)	17 (22)
	Chalk Farm	1 (3)	2 (7)	9 (29)	12 (39)	7 (23)
	Camden	11 (14)	6 (8)	13 (17)	38 (49)	10 (13)
	Gospel Oak	1 (4)	1 (4)	6 (26)	11 (48)	4 (17)
	Hampstead Town	6 (10)	8 (13)	11 (18)	28 (45)	9 (15)
	Grafton	6 (7)	9 (11)	10 (12)	37 (46)	19 (24)
	Total (Percentage)	81 (7)	134 (11)	259 (22)	507 (43)	211 (18)

Table A.22:

Length Of Residence And Age

		Length Of Residence In Camden (Years) (Percentages In Brackets)					
		Less than one year	One to four	Five to nine	Ten to nineteen	Twenty years or more	Total
Age Of Respondent (Years)	Fifteen to nineteen	28 (15)	14 (4)	18 (7)	17 (8)	- -	81 (7)
	Twenty to twenty-four	55 (30)	51 (14)	8 (3)	16 (7)	4 (2)	134 (11)
	Twenty-five to thirty-four	68 (37)	129 (36)	44 (18)	13 (6)	4 (2)	259 (22)
	Thirty-five to forty-four	15 (8)	60 (17)	54 (22)	33 (15)	8 (5)	172 (14)
	Forty -five to fifty-four	8 (4)	39 (11)	42 (17)	47 (22)	30 (17)	167 (14)
	Fifty-five to sixty-four	1 (1)	35 (10)	40 (16)	39 (18)	51 (29)	168 (14)
	Sixty-five and over	10 (5)	31 (9)	37 (15)	54 (25)	78 (44)	211 (18)
	Total (Percentage)	185 (16)	359 (30)	244 (21)	219 (18)	179 (15)	1193 (100)

Table A.23:

Length Of Residence

		Length Of Residence In Present House (Years)				
		Less than One Year	One To Four	Five To Nine	Ten To Nineteen	Twenty years or more
Ward Name	St. Johns	5 (10)	19 (37)	10 (20)	9 (18)	8 (16)
	Highgate	6 (11)	9 (16)	13 (23)	12 (21)	16 (29)
	Priory	9 (13)	26 (38)	20 (29)	7 (10)	6 (9)
	Kilburn	7 (13)	19 (34)	9 (16)	8 (14)	12 (21)
	West End	22 (23)	23 (24)	10 (11)	18 (19)	21 (22)
	Swiss Cottage	17 (17)	27 (27)	18 (18)	22 (22)	13 (13)
	Adelaide	7 (9)	32 (39)	26 (32)	9 (11)	8 (10)
	Belsize	12 (15)	25 (32)	15 (19)	12 (15)	15 (19)
	Holborn	12 (26)	10 (22)	7 (15)	9 (20)	8 (17)
	Bloomsbury	27 (37)	26 (36)	11 (15)	5 (7)	4 (5)
	Kings Cross	20 (26)	26 (34)	12 (16)	10 (13)	7 (9)
	St. Pancras	4 (7)	19 (32)	10 (17)	11 (19)	15 (25)
	Regents Park	8 (10)	14 (18)	24 (31)	20 (26)	11 (14)
	Chalk Farm	5 (16)	10 (32)	7 (23)	7 (23)	2 (7)
	Camden	5 (6)	22 (28)	17 (22)	25 (32)	9 (12)
	Grafton	7 (9)	25 (30)	15 (19)	18 (22)	15 (9)
	Gospel Oak	0 (0)	11 (48)	5 (22)	5 (22)	2 (9)
	Hampstead Town	12 (19)	16 (26)	15 (24)	12 (19)	7 (11)
	Total (Percentage)	185 (16)	359 (30)	244 (21)	219 (18)	179 (15)

Table A.24: Length Of Residence And Type Of Tenure

		Type Of Tenure			
		Owner- Occupied (%)	Private Landlord (%)	Council (%)	Hostel (%)
Length Of Residence (Years)	Less than one year	13 (6)	74 (18)	26 (7)	38 (56)
	One to four	63 (30)	122 (30)	110 (29)	23 (34)
	Five to nine	47 (22)	74 (18)	105 (28)	2 (3)
	Ten to nineteen	34 (16)	72 (17)	93 (24)	3 (4)
	Twenty years or more	52 (29)	71 (17)	42 (11)	2 (3)
	Total (Percentage)	209 (18)	413 (35)	376 (32)	68 (6)

Table A.25: Provision Of Household Facilities In Camden

		Household Facilities	
		Self-Contained	Not Self-Contained
Ward Name	St. Johns	51 (82)	11 (18)
	Highgate	56 (71)	22 (28)
	Priory	66 (82)	14 (17)
	Kilburn	79 (81)	18 (18)
	West End	75 (79)	19 (20)
	Swiss Cottage	31 (55)	25 (45)
	Adelaide	58 (87)	9 (13)
	Belsize	49 (88)	7 (12)
	Holborn	39 (77)	11 (22)
	Bloomsbury	19 (83)	3 (13)
	Kings Cross	65 (80)	16 (20)
	St. Pancras	64 (82)	13 (17)
	Regents Park	23 (74)	8 (26)
	Chalk Farm	76 (97)	2 (3)
	Camden	55 (93)	4 (7)
	Grafton	53 (70)	22 (29)
	Gospel Oak	29 (40)	43 (59)
	Hampstead Town	40 (87)	5 (11)
	Total (Percentage)	928 (78)	252 (21)

LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN.

HOUSING CONDITIONS 2.SHARED FACILITIES.

SHARED BATHROOM AND/OR KITCHEN.PERCENTAGES.

I S L I N G T O N

C A M D E N

W E S T M I N S T E R

P E R C E N T A G E S

S Y M B O L S

M I N I M U M

M A X I M U M

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

MAXIMUM

3.00

14.20

14.20

25.40

36.60

47.80

59.00

PERCENTAGES

SYMBOLS

MINIMUM

Table A.26: Overcrowding in Camden

		Number Of Households With More Than One Person Per Room (excluding toilet, bathroom and kitchen).		
		Number of households	Percentage	Total in Sample
Ward Name	St. Johns	11	22	51
	Highgate	6	11	55
	Priory	7	10	67
	Kilburn	7	13	55
	West End	11	12	95
	Swiss Cottage	15	16	92
	Adelaide	9	11	79
	Belsize	9	12	77
	Holborn	8	17	46
	Bloomsbury	11	16	67
	Kings Cross	6	8	75
	St. Pancras	13	23	57
	Regents Park	11	15	76
	Chalk Farm	7	23	31
	Camden	11	14	78
	Grafton	18	23	78
	Gospel Oak	3	14	22
	Hampstead Town	6	10	60

APPENDIX B.

Questionnaire Used By The London Borough Of Camden.

(Camden, 1975b).

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. (cols. 2/3/4/5)

BLOCK CAPITALS, PLEASE:-

Name (Please state Mr., Mrs. or Miss and give initials)

Full postal address

Ward

Polling District

AREA CODE

(6.) (7.)

ADDRESS

SERIAL NUMBER

(8.) (9.)

Interviewer Code no.

Supervisor Time of interview: From to

Date of interview 1975

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

FAMILY UNIT (related by blood, marriage or adoption)

Line no.	Relationship to respondent	SEX		Age last birth- day WRITE IN	NORMAL occupational status					Marital Status				
		M	F		Has paid job		No paid job			S	M	Cohab	Wid./ Div./ Sep.	
					Full time 30 +	Part-time 8-29	under 8	Ret. from F/T job	Others					
1	RESPONDENT	10	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2		11	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3		12	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4		13	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5		14	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6		15	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7		16	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8		17	12	11		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

OFFICE USE
AGE CODE
26.
27.
28.
29.
30.
31.
32.
33.

OTHER MEMBERS OF HOUSEHOLD (not related to respondent)

9		18	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10		19	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
11		20	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
12		21	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13		22	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14		23	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
15		24	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
16		25	12	11	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

34.
35.
36.
37.
38.
39.
40.
41.

S.G. A 42.12
B 11
C1 0
C2 1
D 2
E 3

(i) At what age did you finish your full time education?

14 or under 46. 12
15 11
16 0
17 1
18 2
19 3
20 4
21 - 23 5
24 or more 6
Still studying 7
Refused 9

(iv) Do you (or some other member of your household whom you have mentioned) own this house/flat, or rent it, or do you live here rent-free?

Owned 48. 12
Rented 11
Rent free 0

IF 'Owned'

Is it owned outright or is it being bought with a mortgage or loan?

Owned outright (48.) 1
Mortgage/loan 2
Don't know 3

IF 'Rented'

Council (48.) 4
Private landlord 5
Hostel etc. 6
Housing Association 7
Other (STATE) 8

(v) How long have you (or your family) been living in this house/flat?

Less than 1 year 49. 1
1 - 4 years 2
5 - 9 years 3
10 - 19 years 4
20 years or more 5

(ii) Do you have a telephone here at home?

Yes 47. 12
No 11

(iii) Have you a TV set in your home?

Yes (47.) 1
No 2

OFFICE USE

CHILDREN BY AGE Under 1 year 43. 4
1 - 4 years 5
5 - 9 years 6
10 - 15 years 7
None 8
RESPONDENT - Yes (43.) 9
HEAD OF No A
HOUSEHOLD
HOUSEHOLD SIZE One 44. 12
Two 11
Three 0
Four 1
Five or more 2

SEG. 45.

DON'T FORGET TO CODE S.G.

via. Which member of your household living here:

 Actually owns it?

 Is responsible for the rent? (i.e. has his/her name on the rent book)

 Is responsible for this household having it rent free?

☐

☐

☐

STATE LINE NUMBER (FROM HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BOXES) OF THE PERSON CONCERNED

 IF THE PERSON IS A MARRIED WOMAN WHOSE HUSBAND IS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD ENTER HIS LINE NO.

IF LINE NUMBERED IN Xa IS ANY NUMBER FROM 9-16 ASK:

vib Which member of your family (i.e. respondent and relatives) living here is actually responsible for your having this accommodation?

☐

STATE LINE NUMBER
 FROM HOUSEHOLD COMP. BOX

The person whose number is mentioned at via above or at vib (if such a person) is termed the HEAD OF THE FAMILY UNIT.

(vii)

RING X, Y or Z below, whichever is relevant.

EMPLOYMENT CODE

HEAD OF FAMILY UNIT IS

FULL-TIME EMPLOYED X

PART-TIME EMPLOYED/UNEMPLOYED/SICK/RETIRED/WIDOWED/ETC./PENSIONER

With means other than state pension, supplementary benefit, etc. Y

UNEMPLOYED/SICK/RETIRED/WIDOWED/ETC./PENSIONER

With no means other than state pension, supplementary benefit, etc. Z

C.W.E. NO.

☐

If X or Y coded take occupational details of head of family unit.

If Z coded and a chief wage earner exists obtain the occupational details of the chief wage earner.

If no chief wage earner exists code social grade E.

Code C.W.E. line no. in box.

Definition of C.W.E.

Take oldest full-time working male aged 21+. If none, take oldest full-time working female aged 21+. If none, code E.

(viii)

OCCUPATION DETAILS

Head of Household or Chief Wage Earner

What type of firm or organisation does/did (this person) work for? STATE: Type of firm, etc. (including what the firm makes/does, etc.)				
What job does/did (this person) actually do?				
IF IN CIVIL SERVICE, FORCES, POLICE, ETC. What is his/her rank/grade?				
IF OTHER Does/did (this person) hold any particular position in the organisation? (e.g. foreman, typing supervisor, office manager, company secretary, etc.) IF SELF-EMPLOYED -STATE THIS				
IF PROPRIETOR OF BUSINESS OR MANAGER OR SUPERVISOR OR FOREMAN (i.e. RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORK OF OTHER PEOPLE)	(a) Total at this place INCLUDE THIS PERSON & STATE NO. IN ALL CASES		(b) No. for whom responsible STATE NO.	
(a) Roughly how many people work at the place where (this person) works - INCLUDE THIS PERSON. ENTER ACTUAL NUMBER IF POSSIBLE, OR NEAREST APPROXIMATION.	200 +		200 +	
	25-199		25-199	
	10-24		10-24	
	Less than 10		Less than 10	
(b) For how many is he/she responsible?				
ASK FOR ALL: Has (this person) any qualifications? (such as apprenticeships, professional qualifications, university degrees, diplomas, etc.) STATE WHAT QUALIFICATIONS HELD.				

NOW ASSESS SOCIAL GRADE AND CODE ON FRONT

DON'T FORGET EXTRA CLASSIFICATION

[EXTRA CLASSIFICATION]

(ix) How long have you lived in Camden?

STATE:

50.	51.

yrs.

52.	53.

mtis

SHOW CARD E

(xa) I would like you to look at this list and tell me which letter describes your own total income from all available sources before tax.

WRITE IN LETTER

--

OFFICE USE

54.

ALL EXCEPT ONE PERSON HOUSEHOLDS

(xb) Now I would like you to tell me which letter describes the total income of all members of your household, from all available sources, before tax.

WRITE IN LETTER

--

OFFICE USE

55.

(xi)

OBTAIN THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION AT YOUR DISCRETION:

Nationality: English A Other (STATE) _____

Caucasian: A Non-Caucasian: B

IF NOT BRITISH OR IF BRITISH BUT NON-CAUCASIAN

Where were you born? (STATE country) _____

56.

57.

58.

(xii)

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

Camden Council are very anxious to try and improve those things that people want to see improved. Would you have any objection if they got in touch with you again at some future time to see whether you feel things have got better or worse?

Respondent has no objection

Respondent refused

Other answers

(STATE): _____

59. 1

2

3

INTRODUCTION

I am from the British Market Research Bureau. We are making a study of what people feel about living in Camden.

Code here if Camden Council mentioned: 60. 1

1. Why did you choose to live in this area?

What other reasons? PROBE FULLY

NOTES:

61.
62.
63.

2. What do you like most about living in this area?

What else? PROBE FULLY

NOTES:

64.
65.
66.

3. What do you like least about living in this area?

What else? PROBE FULLY

NOTES:

67.
68.
69.

4. Is there anything you would like to see changed or improved in this area?

What else? PROBE FULLY

NOTES:

70.
71.
72.

73. to 76.

CARD 1

77. ①

NEW CARD

5. Thinking now about this part of London, here is a selection of subjects that people have mentioned as being the sorts of things that money needs to be spent on in the future. (SHOW CARDS).

As you know there is only a limited supply of money to spend on things. Would you please imagine that these counters represents all the money available and show me how you think the money ought to be spent. You may place as many counters as you like next to any particular subject; If you place none next to a subject it means that no money should be spent on it. Please try to use up all of the counters. GIVE RESP. 20 YELLOW COUNTERS.

AFTER RESPONDENT HAS COMPLETED THE TASK FILL IN THE GRID BELOW.

SUBJECT	NUMBER OF COUNTERS	OFFICE USE	
EDUCATION	_____	26.	27.
LEISURE	_____	28.	29.
HOUSING	_____	30.	31.
TRANSPORT	_____	32.	33.
HEALTH FACILITIES	_____	34.	35.
SHOPPING	_____	36.	37.
HELPING PEOPLE IN NEED	_____	38.	39.
PROVIDING MORE JOBS	_____	40.	41.
LOOKING AFTER THE STREETS	_____	42.	43.
FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN	_____	44.	45.

NOTES:

STILL SHOWING CARDS

6. Is there any subject not included amongst these ten that you feel ought to be included?

Is there anything else?

46.

47.

NOTES:

HOUSING

7. Is you house/flat self contained?

Yes48. 12
No11
Don't know0

8. How many rooms do you have apart from the kitchen and bathroom/toilet?

NOTES:

WRITE IN :-

49.

- 9.(a) Thinking about your present accommodation. What do you like about it? What else? PROBE FULLY

1.
2.
3.

50.

51.

52.

- (b) Is there anything that you dislike about it? What else? PROBE FULLY

1.
2.
3.

53.

54.

55.

NOTES:

SHOW CARD A

10. I would like you to tell me which of the phrases on this card comes closest to your feelings about each of the following statements:

	Agree Strongly	Agree a little	Neither Don't know	Disagree a little	Disagree Strongly
(a) I would be very content to remain in my present home	56.1	2	3	4	5
(b) There is not enough housing for young couples	57.1	2	3	4	5
(c) The Council is not interested in my housing problems	58.1	2	3	4	5
(d) More housing should be provided for single people	59.1	2	3	4	5
(e) There should be more control over how private landlords treat their tenants	60.1	2	3	4	5
(f) Private landlords are not as bad as they are made out to be	61.1	2	3	4	5
(g) It is the Council's responsibility to ensure that everyone is housed adequately	62.1	2	3	4	5
(h) The Council houses too many people who don't deserve it	63.1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

PEOPLE FOUND HERE

11. Do you know your next door neighbour(s)?
 Yes 64. 12
 No 11
 Don't know 0
12. Do you have many friends living locally?
 Yes 65. 12
 No 11
 Don't know 0
13. Do you have many relatives living locally?
 Yes 66. 12
 No 11
 Don't know 0
14. Is this an area where people tend to stay for some time or one where people come and go?
 Stay 67. 12
 Come and go 11
 Both 0
 Don't know 1
15. Do you get mainly the same type of people round here or a mixture of all sorts of people?
 Same type 68. 12
 All sorts 11
 Don't know 0

16.(a) Thinking about the sort of people that live in this area. What do you like about them?

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____

71.
72.
73. to 76.

CARD 2	77. (2)
--------	---------

SHOW CARD A

NEW CARD

17. Please indicate how you feel about the following:

	Agree Strongly	Agree a little	Neither Don't know	Disagree a little	Disagree Strongly
(a) There's always a lot going on around here	26.1	2	3	4	5
(b) This is an area where people can feel lonely	27.1	2	3	4	5
(c) People round here are very helpful	28.1	2	3	4	5
(d) In this area it is not safe to walk around on your own after dark	29.1	2	3	4	5
(e) This area is not as friendly as it used to be	30.1	2	3	4	5
(f) The police round here are not very effective	31.1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

NEIGHBOURHOOD

18. Thinking about the area from the point of view of whether it is clean, tidy and attractive. What improvements would you like to see?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

32.

33.

19. Is the street lighting satisfactory around here?

Yes34. 12

No11

Don't know0

20. Is the refuse collection satisfactory?

Yes35. 12

No11

Don't know0

21. Is the street cleaning satisfactory?

Yes36. 12

No11

Don't know0

22. Are there enough litter bins round here?

Yes37. 12

No11

Don't know0

23. Are there enough seats on the pavements for people to rest on?

Yes38. 12

No11

Don't know0

24. Are there enough trees around here?

Yes39. 12

No11

Don't know0

NOTES:

SHOW CARD A

25. How do you feel about the following:

	<u>Agree strongly</u>	<u>Agree a little</u>	<u>Neither D/K</u>	<u>Disagree a little</u>	<u>Disagree strongly</u>
(a) This is an attractive area	40. 1	2	3	4	5
(b) This is a quiet area	41. 1	2	3	4	5
(c) There is a lot of vandalism round here	42. 1	2	3	4	5
(d) This area is getting worse	43. 1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

APPEARANCE OF THIS AREA

26. In some areas the houses and other buildings are spaced well apart and in others they are relatively close together. How would you describe this area?

Spaced apart 44. 12
In between 11
Close together 0
Don't know 1

27(a) Thinking about the local streets are there any buildings - whether houses, shops, or whatever that you think look attractive?

Yes 45. 12
No 11 } GO TO
Don't know 0 } Q.28

IF 'Yes'

- (b) Which ones are they? (RECORD FIRST THREE ONLY)
FOR EACH
- (c) Why do you think it looks attractive?
- (d) Would you say it is an old or a new building?
(NEW = 'Post War')

Building	Why attractive	Old	New	D/K
1. _____	_____	46. 12	11	0
2. _____	_____	47. 12	11	0
3. _____	_____	48. 12	11	0

NOTES:

49. _____
50. _____
51. _____
52. _____

28(a) Are there any buildings in your local streets that you think look unattractive or ugly?

Yes 53. 12
No 11 } GO TO
Don't know 0 } Q.29

IF 'Yes'

- (b) Which are they? (RECORD FIRST THREE ONLY)
FOR EACH
- (c) Why do you think it looks unattractive?
- (c) Would you say it is an old or a new building?
(NEW = 'Post War')

Building	Why unattractive	Old	New	D/K
1. _____	_____	54. 12	11	0
2. _____	_____	55. 12	11	0
3. _____	_____	56. 12	11	0

NOTES:

57. _____
58. _____
59. _____
60. _____

29. Are there any buildings in this area which you would like to see replaced? Which?

61.
62.
63.
64.

30. Are there any new buildings in this part of London that you particularly like? Which?

65.
66.
67.
68.

31(a) If the future of Camden housing was up to you would you demolish old houses or would you restore them?	Demolish	69. 12
	Restore	11
	It depends	0
	Don't know	1

(b) Why do you say that?

NOTES:

70.
71.

32(a) Under what circumstances would you demolish houses and build new ones?

72.
73.

(b) Under what circumstances would you restore them?

NOTES:

CARD 3	77: ③
--------	-------

NEW CARD

33. Thinking about your area, would its appearance be <u>improved</u> or <u>spoilt</u> by new housing?	Improved	26. 12
	Spoilt	11
	It depends	0
	Don't know	1

NOTES:

34. And would its appearance be <u>improved</u> or <u>spoilt</u> by other types of new buildings?	Improved	27. 12
	Spoilt	11
	It depends	0
	Don't know	1

35. If you go for a Sunday afternoon stroll where do you like to go?

NOTES:

28.
29.
30.
31.

WORK

36. Does anyone in this household (including yourself) have a full time or part time paid job? (IF TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED ASK ABOUT USUAL JOB).

Yes 32. 12 - CONTINUE
No 11 } GO TO Q.43
Don't know/not stated 0 }

ASK FOR EACH PERSON WHO HAS A JOB

37. What does he/she do for a living?

PERSON (STATE RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT)	JOB
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	

33.	34.
35.	36.
37.	38.
39.	40.
41.	42.
43.	44.

IF R. HAS FULL OR PART TIME JOB CONTINUE; .OTHERS GO TO Q.43
SHOW CARD B

38. Which of these is the main form of transport that you usually use in travelling to and from work? (that is for the majority of your journey)
(MULTICODE IF NECESSARY)

On foot 45. 12
By private car/van 11
Taxi 0
Motor bicycle/scooter 1
Pedal bicycle 2 } CONTINUE
Bus 3
Train/tube 4
Other 5
Respondent lives at place of work 6
Not applicable (eg if R. works freelance at different locations 7 } GO TO Q.40

IF APPLICABLE

39(a) How long on average does it take you to get to work, from door to door (using this form of transport?)

STATE _____ hrs. _____ mins.

46.
47.

(b) Do you think this journey time is reasonable?

Yes 48. 12 - GO TO Q.40
No 11 } CONTINUE
Don't know 0 }

IF 'No'

(c) Why do you say that? STATE

_____	49.
-------	-----

40. How long have you worked in your present Trade or Profession?

Yrs. _____

Months _____

OR

Days _____

50.

51.

41. How long have you been with your present employer?/been freelance?/had your own business?

Yrs. _____

Months _____

OR

Days _____

52.

53.

SHOW CARD C

42(a) Which of the phrases on this card comes closest to describing where you work?

Near home	54. 12
Central London	11
Outer London	0
Other	1
Don't know	2

(b) And which of the phrases best describes where you would prefer to work?

Near home	55. 12
Central London	11
Outer London	0
None/Don't know	1

GO TO Q. 44

NOTES:

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT HAVE A FULL OR PART TIME JOB AND IS NOT A STUDENT

43. Would you like to go out to work if suitable work were available locally?

Yes	56. 12
No	11
Don't know	0

ASK ALL

SHOW CARD A

44. Please indicate how far you agree or disagree with the following:

(a) People who live in a big city shouldn't expect to be able to work near where they live.

(b) More jobs should be available locally

(c) It's important to have local craftsmen in the area

(d) I would like to get all my household repairs carried out locally

ASK ONLY IF R. HAS FULL OR PART TIME JOB

(e) It's best to work near where you live

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree a little</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>	<u>Disagree a little</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
57.	1	2	3	4	5
58.	1	2	3	4	5
59.	1	2	3	4	5
60.	1	2	3	4	5
61.	1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

45(a) Are you registered with a general practitioner? Yes 62. 12
No 11
Don't know 0

IF 'Yes'

(b) Is his surgery within reasonable travelling distance? Yes 63. 12
No 11
Don't know 0

NOTES:

46(a) Which is your nearest hospital for emergencies?

STATE

64.
65.

Don't know (65.) 9 - GO TO Q.47

(b) Is it within reasonable travelling distance? Yes 66. 12
No 11
Don't know 0

NOTES:

47(a) Bearing in mind your own personal state of health, would you say that the provision of hospitals, doctors and so on is satisfactory? Yes (66.) 1 - GO TO Q.48
No 2 - CONTINUE
Don't know 3 - GO TO Q.48

IF 'No'

(b) Why do you say that?

67.

NOTES:

EDUCATION

48. Thinking about the provision of nursery schools and play groups in this area. What improvements would you like to see?

1. _____
2. _____

68.

49. And thinking about primary schools in the area. What improvements would you like to see?

1. _____
2. _____

69.

50. And thinking about secondary schools, what improvements would you like to see?

1. _____

2. _____

70.

51. And thinking about night schools and evening classes - what improvements would you like to see?

1. _____

2. _____

71.

52(a) Do you go to night school or evening classes?

Yes
No
Don't know

72. 12 - CONTINUE
11 - GO TO Q.53
0 - GO TO Q.54

IF 'Yes'

(b) Where do you go?

73.

74.

(c) Is this within reasonable travelling distance?

Yes
No
Don't know

75. 12 } GO TO
11 } Q.54
0 }

IF 'No' AT Q.52

53. Why do you not go to evening classes?

76.

ASK ALL

SHOW CARD A

CARD 4

77. (4)

NEW CARD

54. How far do you agree or disagree with these statements?

- (a) More nursery schools and play groups are needed round here
- (b) More primary schools are needed around here
- (c) More secondary schools are needed around here
- (d) Better schools are needed in this area
- (e) More evening classes should be provided locally

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree a little</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>	<u>Disagree a little</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
26.	1	2	3	4	5
27.	1	2	3	4	5
28.	1	2	3	4	5
29.	1	2	3	4	5
30.	1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

SHOPPING

55.(a)Where is your nearest main shopping centre? 31.
32.
STATE _____ 33.

SHOW CARD B

(b)When you go there what is the main form of transport that you use? (MULTI CODE IF NECESSARY)

On foot	34. 12
Private car/van	11
Motor cycle/scooter	0

Pedal bicycle	1
Bus	2
Tube/Train	3
Other	4
Don't know	5

(c)on average how long does it take you to get there (using that form of transport)? STATE _____ hrs. _____ mins.

35.
36.

NOTES:

56 Do you have any local shops other than in this shopping centre? Yes 37. 12
No 11
Don't know 0

57. Do you tend to have one main weekly shopping trip or do you go shopping nearly everyday?

One main	38. 12	} CONTINUE 0 - GO TO Q.58 1 } GO TO 2 } Q.59
Two main trips a week	11	
Nearly everyday	0	
Does not shop	1	
Don't know	2	

IF 'One or two main trip(s)'

(b) Where do you usually do that shopping?

Same as Q.1	39. 12	} Q.59
Same as Q.2	11	
Different place	0	
STATE _____		
Don't know	9	

IF 'Nearly everyday'

58. Where do you usually go to do your everyday shopping?

Same as Q.1	40. 12
Same as Q.2	11
Different place	0
STATE _____	
Don't know	9

NOTES:

59. Thinking about the shops in this area are there any improvements you would like to see?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

41.
42.
43.

60. How do you feel about the following:-

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree a little</u>	<u>Neither don't know</u>	<u>Disagree a little</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
(a) I prefer to shop in a supermarket if possible	44.1	2	3	4	5
(b) We need more shops locally	45.1	2	3	4	5
(c) There aren't enough shops staying open late at night	46.1	2	3	4	5
(d) It's up to the Council to ensure that we have adequate shopping here	47.1	2	3	4	5
(e) It's important that people can park their cars near where they shop.	48.1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

PRIVATE TRANSPORT

61. (a) Do you or any other member of your household have the use of any of the following: (ASK ABOUT (i) - (iv) BELOW)

(b) ESTABLISH WHO HAS THE USE OF EACH

(c) ESTABLISH HOW MANY THERE ARE OF EACH OF (i) - (iv)

(d) ASK FOR (i) to (iii) Where is it usually kept?

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
	<u>Car or van?</u>	<u>Lorry?</u>	<u>Motor bicycle?</u>	<u>Pedal bicycle?</u>
(a) <u>Is there one?</u>	49.	52.	55.	58.
Yes	1	1	1	1
No	2	2	2	2
(b) <u>Who has use?</u>				
Respondent	3	3*	3*	3*
Other H/hold Member	4	4	4	4
(NB YOU MAY CODE BOTH)				
(c) <u>How many?</u>				
STATE	50. _____	53. _____	56. _____	59. _____
(d) <u>Where kept?</u>				
<u>VEHICLE 1</u>	51.	54.	57.	
On street	1	1	1	
Garage in house or garage	2	2	2	
Off street - elsewhere	3	3	3	
<u>VEHICLE 2</u>				
On street	4	4	4	
Garage in house or block	5	5	5	
Off street - elsewhere	6	6	6	
<u>VEHICLE 3</u>				
On street	7	7	7	
Garage in house or block	8	8	8	
Off street - elsewhere	9	9	9	

60.

62. How often do you personally ever travel by car or van?

Every day	61. 12
3 or 4 times a week	11
1 or 2 times a week	0
Less than once a week	1
Hardly ever	2
Never	3
Don't know	4

ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT HAS USE OF LORRY/MOTOR BICYCLE/PEDAL BICYCLE
(* IN GRID)

63. How often do you personally ever travel by:-

	<u>Every Day</u>	<u>3 or 4 times a week</u>	<u>1 or 2 times a week</u>	<u>less than once a week</u>	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
- lorry	62.1	2	3	4	5	6	7
- motor bicycle	63.1	2	3	4	5	6	7
- pedal bicycle	64.1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NOTES:

ASK ALL

64. What improvements would you like to see for users of private means of transport in this area?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

65.

66.

NOTES:

SHOW CARD A .

65. Would you please tell me how far you agree or disagree with each of the following:

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree a little</u>	<u>Neither Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree a little</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
(a) It ought to be easier for people to use their cars	67.1	2	3	4	5
(b) It's quite possible to use a bicycle in this area.	68.1	2	3	4	5
IF R. HAS USE OF CAR/VAN, LORRY, MOTOR BICYCLE, PEDAL CYCLE AT Q.1. (b) ASK					
(c) I am forced to use private transport because public transport is so poor	69.1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

PUBLIC TRANSPORT

66. How often do you use any kind of local public transport?

Every day	70. 12
3 or 4 times a week	11
1 or 2 times a week	0
Less often than once a week	1
Hardly ever	2
Never	3
Don't know	4

NOTES:

67. What improvements would you like to see to local public transport? What others?

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____

71.
72.
73.
74. - 76.

CARD 5	77. 5
--------	-------

NOTES:

SHOW CARD A

NEW CARD

68. How do you feel about these statements:

- The local bus service is satisfactory
- The local tube line is satisfactory
- It is easy to travel by public transport to the centre of London
- It is easy to travel ACROSS Camden by public transport
- If the standard of public transport were to be improved than I would definitely use it more often

<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree a little</u>	<u>Neither/ don't know</u>	<u>Disagree a little</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
26. 1	2	3	4	5
27. 1	2	3	4	5
28. 1	2	3	4	5
29. 1	2	3	4	5
30. 1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

TRAFFIC AND PARKING

SHOW CARD A

69. How do you feel about the following:

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree a little</u>	<u>Neither/ Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree a little</u>	<u>Disagree Strongly</u>
(a) There is very little traffic in this area	31. 1	2	3	4	5
(b) It is very dangerous to cross the road round here	32. 1	2	3	4	5
(c) It's difficult to find a place to park round here	33. 1	2	3	4	5
(d) You get a lot of traffic noise and fumes in this area	34. 1	2	3	4	5
(e) Parked cars ruin this area	35. 1	2	3	4	5
(f) Too many commuters park their cars on the streets round here while they are at work	36. 1	2	3	4	5
(g) There is too much lorry traffic round here	37. 1	2	3	4	5

NOTES:

OPEN SPACE

70(a) Do you have a local park or public garden?

Yes
No
Don't know

38. 12 CONTINUE
11
0 } GO TO Q.71

IF 'Yes'

(b) Which is it? STATE NAME _____

(c) How often do you go there? STATE _____

39.

40.

41.

42.

SHOW CARD B

(d) When you go there which form of transport do you usually use?

On Foot	43. 12
Private car/van	11
Motor bicycle/scooter	0

Bus	1
Pedal bicycle	2
Tube/Train	3
Other	4
Don't know	5

(e) On average how long does it usually take to get there (using that form of transport)?

STATE _____ hrs _____ mins 44.

71. Do you go to any (other) parks or gardens regularly? Which?

STATE _____

45.
46.
47.

72. Do you have access to a private or shared garden?

Yes	48. 12 — CONTINUE
No	11 } GO TO Q.73
Don't know	0 }

IF 'Yes'

(b) Is it adequate for your needs?	Yes	49. 12 — GO TO Q.73
	No	11 } CONTINUE
	Don't know	0 }

IF 'No'

(c) Why do you say that?

50.

73(a) Do you have a private balcony?	Yes	51. 12 — CONTINUE
	No	11 } GO TO Q.74
	Don't know	0 }

IF 'Yes'

(b) Is it adequate for your needs?	Yes	52. 12 - GO TO Q.74
	No	11 } CONTINUE
	Don't know	0 }

IF 'No'

(c) Why do you say that?

53.

74. Do you have an allotment?	Yes	54. 12
	No	11
	Don't know	0

LEISURE

SHOW CARD A

- 79(a) How do you feel about the following statement: Local entertainment facilities such as pubs, cinemas and restaurants are very satisfactory.

Agree strongly	70. 12	} GO TO Q.80
Agree a little	11	
Neither/Don't know	0	
Disagree a little	1	} GO TO (b)
Disagree strongly	2	

IF 'Disagree a little or strongly'

(b) Why do you say that?

71.
72.

- 80; Is there any (other) kind of entertainment facility that you would like to see locally?

73.
74.

81. Do you make use of your local public library? Yes 75. 12
 No 11
 Don't know 0

76.

NOTES:

CARD 6 77. (6)

SHOW CARD A

NEW CARD

82. Would you please tell me how far you agree or disagree with each of the following:*

- (a) Watching TV is my main source of entertainment
- (b) When I go out for entertainment I prefer to go to the centre of London
- (c) There is not enough round here for teenagers to do in the evening
- (d) There is not enough for adults to do round here in the evening
- (e) There should be more pubs in this area
- (f) It is important to have some entertainment facilities locally
- (g) There is not enough provision for local street festivals and the Arts
- (h) There are not enough local places where you can eat out
- (i) There are not enough places locally where you can buy food to take away

	<u>Agree</u> <u>Strongly</u>	<u>Agree</u> <u>a little</u>	<u>Neither</u> <u>Don't know</u>	<u>Disagree</u> <u>a little</u>	<u>Disagree</u> <u>Strongly</u>
26. 1	2	3	4	5	
27. 1	2	3	4	5	
28. 1	2	3	4	5	
29. 1	2	3	4	5	
30. 1	2	3	4	5	
31. 1	2	3	4	5	
32. 1	2	3	4	5	
33. 1	2	3	4	5	
34. 1	2	3	4	5	

SHOW CARD D

83. Thinking now about Camden as a whole what are your impressions about how much attention is paid to the groups I'm going to read out to you. Are they paid too much attention, about the right amount of attention, or too little attention? (START AT BEGINNING OR AT END OF LIST IN ALTERNATE INTERVIEWS)

	<u>Too much</u>	<u>About right</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>No Opinion/Don't know</u>
Children	35. 1	2	3	4
The Elderly	36. 1	2	3	4
Immigrants	37. 1	2	3	4
Large families	38. 1	2	3	4
Mentally ill/Handicapped	39. 1	2	3	4
Physically Disabled	40. 1	2	3	4
Single People	41. 1	2	3	4
Students	42. 1	2	3	4
Teenagers	43. 1	2	3	4
Tourists	44. 1	2	3	4
Young married couples	45. 1	2	3	4

INDICATE HERE WHETHER YOU STARTED AT BEGINNING OR END OF LIST

Beginning 46. 12
End 11

84. What group of the population would you say you belong to?

RECORD VERBATIM _____

(46.)
47.
48.

85. Are there any other groups of people, that I haven't mentioned to which you feel too little attention is paid? Which?

No/Don't know 49. 12

1. _____ 3. _____
2. _____ 4. _____

(49.)
50.

86. Are there any other groups which you feel have too much attention paid to them? Which?

No/Don't know 51. 12

1. _____ 3. _____
2. _____ 4. _____

(51.)
52.

NOTES:

Hand self completion section to Respondent (BELOW)

87. Could you please place a tick to indicate what you feel about these pairs of statements.
If you have no opinion either way, then tick the middle box.

DRAW RESPONDENT'S ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE STATEMENTS ARE
ARRANGED IN PAIRS OF OPPOSITES.

		Very Quite		Quite Very		
		True True	Neither	True True		
I take a great deal of interest in what goes on in this borough	53.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	I tend not to take much interest in what goes on in this borough	
Camden Council spends too much money on people who don't deserve it	54.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Camden Council spends its money fairly on all kinds of people	
At the moment I am able to live the sort of life that I want to live	55.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	At the moment I am not able to live the sort of life I want to live	
Overall, Camden Council is a very <u>good</u> Council	56.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Overall, Camden Council is a very <u>poor</u> Council	
		1	2	3	4	5

88. If you had a problem would you know how to get in touch with the Council?

Yes

No

Don't know

57. 12

11

0
- 89.(a)Have you contacted the Council at all, for any reason, during the past year?
(CONTACT = WRITE LETTER, PHONE CALLS TO ANY OFFICE CONNECTED WITH THE COUNCIL)

Yes

No

Don't know

58. 12

11

0

IF 'Yes'

(b) (On the last occasion) who did you contact? STATE: _____

59. _____
60. _____

- (c) Were you satisfied with the results?

Yes

No

Don't know

61. 12

11

0
90. Have you ever attended a public meeting on local matters?

Yes

No

Don't know

62. 12

11

0
91. Do you belong to a residents association, tenants association or any other local group? Which?

Tenants Assoc.

Residents Assoc.

Other (STATE)

63. 12

11
- No/None

Don't know

8

9
92. Do you or anyone else in your household receive regular visits from a Council Social Worker?

Yes

No

Don't know

64. 12

11

0

65 - 76

CARD 7	77. ⑦
--------	-------

PRIORITIES

93. At the start of the interview I asked you to think about some broad subjects on which money might or might not need to be spent.

Here are some cards which have the same sort of subjects on them spelt out in a little more detail HAND CARDS TO RESPONDENT.

94. ARRANGE 'IMPORTANCE CARDS' ON TABLE

Please would you go through these cards and arrange them under these headings to indicate how important you personally think each of them is. RECORD ANSWERS OVERLEAF.

95. Are there any topics that are not mentioned that you feel ought to be?

IF THERE ARE MAKE UP SOME BLANK CARDS TO REPRESENT THESE TOPICS AND WRITE IN THEIR TITLES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE GRID

96. CONTINUE ONLY WITH CARDS PLACED UNDER 'VERY IMPORTANT' OR 'IMPORTANT' HEADINGS PLUS ANY NEW TOPICS FROM Q.95.

Once again I would like you to think about these topics in terms of what you personally feel ought to be spent on them

Please imagine that these counters (HAND R. 30 RED COUNTERS) represent the total amount of money and other resources now available. Please use the counters to show which topics you feel money and resources ought to be spent on. You may place as many counters as you like on any particular topic. If you put no money by a topic it means that nothing will be spent on it. Please try and use up all the counters.

RECORD ANSWERS IN RIGHT HAND SIDE OF THE GRID OVERLEAF

TOPICS		Q.94 IMPORTANCE					Q.95 COUNTERS
		Very Imp.	Imp.	Not Very Imp.	No Imp. at all	D.K. No Op.	(WRITE IN NO.)
1.	Housing for young people	26. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>1</u>
2.	Providing more jobs	27. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>2.</u>
3	Providing more sports facilities	28. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>3.</u>
4.	Play space for children	29. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>4.</u>
5.	Refuse collection	30. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>5.</u>
6.	Providing day nurseries and play groups	31. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>6.</u>
7.	Helping the private motorist	32. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>7.</u>
8.	Facilities for teenagers	33. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>8.</u>
9.	Dealing with vandalism	34. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>9.</u>
10.	Street cleaning	35. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>10.</u>
11.	Helping the elderly	36. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>11.</u>
12.	Providing more entertainment facilities	37. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>12.</u>
13.	Helping the disabled and handicapped	38. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>13.</u>
14.	Improving shopping facilities	39. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>14.</u>
15.	Helping immigrants	40. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>15.</u>
16.	Planting trees	41. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>16.</u>
17.	Improving schools	42. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>17.</u>
18.	Helping people with large families	43. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>18.</u>
19.	Building more houses	44. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>19.</u>
20.	Improving public transport	45. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>20.</u>
21.	Parks & gardens	46. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>21.</u>
22.	Evening classes	47. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>22.</u>
23.	Public libraries and the Arts	48. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>23.</u>
24.	Restricting traffic and parking	49. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>24.</u>
25.	Providing community halls	50. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>25.</u>
26.	Building more flats	51. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>26.</u>
27.	Cleaning buildings	52. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>27.</u>
28.	Making the neighbourhood more attractive	53. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>28.</u>
29.	Providing more footpaths	54. 1	2	3	4	5	<u>29.</u>
30.	_____	1	2	3	4	5	<u>30.</u>
31.	_____	1	2	3	4	5	<u>31.</u>
32.	_____	1	2	3	4	5	<u>32.</u>

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