

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

PUBLIC REFORMIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS
URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN WINNIPEG

by

Albert William Pyke

submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of Master of Arts

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CHAPTER I

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND OVERVIEW

Basic Purpose

The basic purpose of this research is to determine, empirically, the extent to which Winnipeggers hold "reformist" attitudes towards "urban development".¹ In doing so some evidence will be provided about the basic ideas and ideals of contemporary urban reformers (as defined below) at least as they apply in one setting. Secondary purposes of this research are to determine how consistent Winnipeggers are in holding these views; the degree to which their views vary in terms of their basic social and demographic characteristics; and the degree to which their views correlate with their political knowledge and voting behavior.

The problem confronted by this research is that the literature provides few, if any, attempts to determine what the basic tenets of reformism are, to show the degree to which public officials and/or the general public hold such views, or the degree to which their political behavior might be affected by such views. Since the reformers expect and encourage citizen activity (such as electing reform candidates), a crucial question is the degree to which the public holds reformist views, and/or is amenable to understanding and acting on reform ideas.

This thesis attempts to address this inadequacy in order to advance the understanding of contemporary urban reform in Canada as an

¹Both "reformism" and "urban development" are explained and defined in this and the next Chapter.

important political phenomenon. Concomitantly, it contributes to the development of political methodology by the creation and testing of a "reformist" attitude scale, by the application of particular survey research methods, and by the use of only-recently available computer programmes.

Problem Context And Basic Concept

The rapid growth of Canada's metropolitan areas in the postwar period has been accompanied by considerable and growing opposition to the nature, direction, and underlying assumptions of urban government -- particularly as it effects the physical development of these metropolitan areas. This opposition does not have any overall organization, but rather is dispersed among journalists, citizen groups, active politicians, and academics. It is further dispersed among urban centers, a fact which leads to distinctly local orientation and activities. This opposition can be broadly referred to as "reformist" and its ideas and ideals as "urban reformism".²

The central ideas and ideals of the reformists are epitomized by the general orientation of the periodical, City Magazine³, as well as by such books as Lorimer's Real World of City Politics and Gutstein's Vancouver Ltd.⁴ The basic tenets of this literature are that

²These terms are used in some of the literature, especially by Toronto writers such as J. Lorimer and Jon Caulfield, cited below.

³[Discontinued from late 1979 to summer, 1980] but published 8 times yearly by The Charlottetown Group Pub. Co. in Toronto, from 1974 to 1979.

⁴James Lorimer, The Real World of City Politics (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1970); Donald Gutstein, Vancouver Ltd. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1975).

city councils operate in the interests of major property owners and the property industry, to the severe disadvantage of most citizens, and that this is basically and fundamentally wrong.⁵

The reform literature contains a complex and varied assortment of ideas and ideals as to what constitutes needed reform. This research study focuses on what could be called the "moderate reform" position -- a position which predominates in the literature and which is clearly its central or, at least, its most widely-supported orientation.⁶ The core ideas and ideals of this central reform position could be summarized as follows:

- (a) the protection and/or improvement of neighborhoods.
- (b) the protection and/or provision and/or improvement of accessible parks and recreational facilities.
- (c) opposition to freeways and support of mass transit.
- (d) opposition to grandiose cultural and sports projects and support of local or "mass" cultural and sports activities.
- (e) opposition to high-rises and skyscrapers, and high-density zoning.
- (f) opposition to the destruction of older buildings for historical and/or economic and/or social reasons.
- (g) opposition to growth for growth's sake.
- (h) support for positive social action to assist the poor, and/or undertrained and/or impoverished.
- (i) support for more comprehensive planning and control approaches.

⁵James Lorimer and Evelyn Ross (eds.), The City Book: The Politics and Planning of Canada's Cities (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1976), p. 6.

⁶For documentation, please see Chapter II, as well as the urban reform bibliography.

- (j) participatory democracy in lieu of special political ties to the property industry.
- (k) support for public housing.
- (l) protection of the physical environment.⁷

In general, moderate reformists have sought to bring an end to the service-oriented approach to urban government with its emphasis on property, property values, and property interests; and to replace it with a people-oriented approach to urban government with an emphasis on their needs, their homes and communities, their environment, and their wants.⁸

On the other hand, of the "radical" solutions, the least radical would greatly de-emphasize the role of the car in shaping the city, and would scatter and mix in a balanced way industry, commerce, shopping and residences.⁹ The more radical solutions would end the influence of international and multi-national corporations on the development of the city¹⁰, and/or would replace a capitalist economy with citizen-owned and operated businesses and industries.¹¹ The moderate, less-radical, and more-radical approaches overlap and complement each other to varying degrees.

⁷A detailed justification of this summary is provided in Chapter II.

⁸An overall impression of the reform literature is found in the Bibliography under "Reform Literature".

⁹See, for example, Lewis Mumford, The Urban Prospect (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1968), and Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Vintage, 1961).

¹⁰Henri Aubin, City For Sale (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977).

¹¹Murray Bookchin, The Limits of the City (New York: Harper Row, 1973).

This current reform movement is considerably different from that of the 1880-1920 reform period. While high principle and great dissatisfaction with the existing order characterize both reform movements, the essential or core aspects of the two reform periods are different. Then, the emphasis was on efficient government structured along City-Manager forms, on non-partisan politics and elections, and the ending of corruption.¹² Today, the emphasis has come full cycle in the first two instances with citizen participation in decision-making and partisan politics ascribed as solutions to localized problems (within the city) and non-responsive government, respectively.¹³ Additionally, while corruption is not a current issue of any major proportions, there is a major concern with the "special privileges" accorded the property industry.¹⁴

Urban Reformism will be defined as "an interrelated set of ideas and ideals designed to improve urban government by reorienting it around its citizens instead of its major property owners and businesses".

¹²See, for example, the urban reform section in A.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter (eds.), The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History, 2nd publication (Toronto: MacMillan, 1979); and B.A. Brownell and W.E. Stickle (eds.), Bosses and Reformers: Urban Politics in America 1880-1920 (Boston: Houghton Miffler Co., 1973).

¹³See, for example, John Sewell, Up Against City Hall (Toronto: Lewis and Samuel, 1975), especially Chapter 3.

¹⁴Ibid., especially p. 168; and James Lorimer, A Citizen's Guide to City Politics (Toronto: Lewis and Samuel, 1972), especially pp. 4-5.

Related Concepts

(1) Urban Development

"Urban development" is used here in its broad sense, that is, including its social, cultural, economic, and political aspects. The literature sometimes uses it in the more restricted sense of economic or property development (that is, the physical development of the city),¹⁵ but it is probably more commonly used in the broader sense.¹⁶ One of the essential assumptions of the reform movement is that the different aspects of development are inseparable, and that therefore, the "politics" of urban development is inherent in the operations of urban government.¹⁷

Urban development will be defined as "an interdependent, multiple-faceted concept of social, political, cultural and economic change in urban centers".

(2) Attitudes

The concept of attitude has been the most important concept in social-psychology since the 1920's and has been an important concept in political psychology and political behaviour since the 1950's. Despite this, the concept is still considered to be too variable and too complex

¹⁵ See, for example, R.W. Collier, Contemporary Cathedrals: Large Scale Developments in Canadian Cities (Montreal: Harvest House, 1974).

¹⁶ See, for example, N.H. Lithwick, Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects (Ottawa: C.M.H.C., 1970).

¹⁷ See, for example, Christopher Leo, The Politics of Urban Development: Canadian Urban Expressway Disputes (Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1977).

to enable general agreement on its exact nature.¹⁸ However, widespread consensus does exist on a number of the most important aspects of the concept as follows:

- (a) It is a latent process which mediates between a stimulus (object, aspect, or symbol) and a response (behaviour) and as such is covert, abstract, and necessarily inferred (from cognitions, affections, and conative responses).
- (b) It is learned.
- (c) It is essentially evaluative, although it is affected by cognitive and conative perceptions and is *virtually inseparable from them*.
- (d) It is probably synonymous with "feelings", and is closely linked to "beliefs" and "opinions" (basically cognitive concepts) and to "values" (which have additionally the property of social sanction).
- (e) Attitudes change with time in response to new cognitions, experiences and values.
- (f) They are easier to measure than they are to define.¹⁹

Basically, then, attitudes are seen as a mediating process, with cognitive and motivational components, which predispose a person to evaluate some symbol, or object or aspect of his world in a favourable or unfavourable way.

¹⁸ See especially, W.J. McQuire, "The Nature of Attitude and Attitude Change", in G. Lindsay and E. Aronson (eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 3, 2nd ed. (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969; Robyn M. Dawes, Fundamentals of Attitude Measurement (New York: John Wiley, 1972); and J.M.F. Jaspars, "The Nature and Measurement of Attitudes", in Henri Tajfel and Colin Fraser, Introducing Social Psychology (Middlesex: Penguin, 1978).

¹⁹ McQuire, Dawes, Jaspars, Ibid., and also, William A. Scott, "Attitude Measurement", in G. Lindsay and E. Aronson (eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1968).

Attitude will be defined as "a mediating process, with cognitive and motivational properties, by which an individual is predisposed to evaluate some symbol, or object or aspect of his world in a favourable or unfavourable manner".

(3) Consistency

The concept of consistency emerged from and is closely linked with the concept of attitude and attitude change. Research on consistency has become so widespread since the late 1950's, and so heuristically significant, that its importance is not really in question.²⁰ The core idea is simple enough -- individuals strive to achieve consistency among their cognitions (knowledges).²¹ The core meaning of consistency is also straightforward -- consistency exists when two cognitions (knowledges) "follow logically" one from the other.²² That is, one does not hold beliefs, attitudes, opinions, etc., or behave in ways which are logically contradictory one to the other.

There are both *intrapersonal* and *interpersonal* theoretical approaches, with emphasis on the first in the social-psychology literature.²³ Consistency in political research appears to stress the latter -- that is, the extent to which an individual is consistent across

²⁰Shel Feldman (ed.), Cognitive Consistency: Motivational Antecedents and Behavioral Consequences (New York: Academic Press, 1966), pp. 1-2.

²¹Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), Chapter 1.

²²Festinger, Ibid., Chapter 1.

²³Feldman, Cognitive Consistency, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

multiple aspects of an idea, or concept, or ideology.²⁴ The two appear to be inseparable, and a person's attitudes would appear to be affected by both. *Internally*, a person strives for consistency between what he values, believes and does. *Externally*, he will try to some extent to adhere to socially-accepted norms, and to the components of the political ideology to which he is committed.

In this research, one's "consistency" is measured in terms of an external ideology, reformism; . . . an ideology which that person may have never heard of. Hence, interpretation must always be tempered by the potential illogic of this. Chapter V treats this in more detail.

Consistency will be defined as "the tendency to think or behave in ways that minimize the internal inconsistency among one's interpersonal relations, among one's intrapersonal cognitions, or among one's beliefs, feelings and actions".

Conceptual Framework

This research attempts to operationalize and then test, the concept of reformism on a mass public -- in this case the public of Winnipeg.

The main research question, and the second research question, are descriptive, and relate to the public's reformist attitudes. The essential questions are, "*What* are reformist attitudes?" and "*How consistent* are they?"

²⁴ See, for example, Norman H. Nie, S. Verba, and J.R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

The subsequent two research questions explore relationships between reform attitudes and properties on the one hand; and reform attitudes and behavior on the other. This is depicted in Figure 1.

Attitudes are viewed as dispositions, and intervene between socio-demographic variables (properties) and behavior.²⁵

Research Questions and Hypotheses

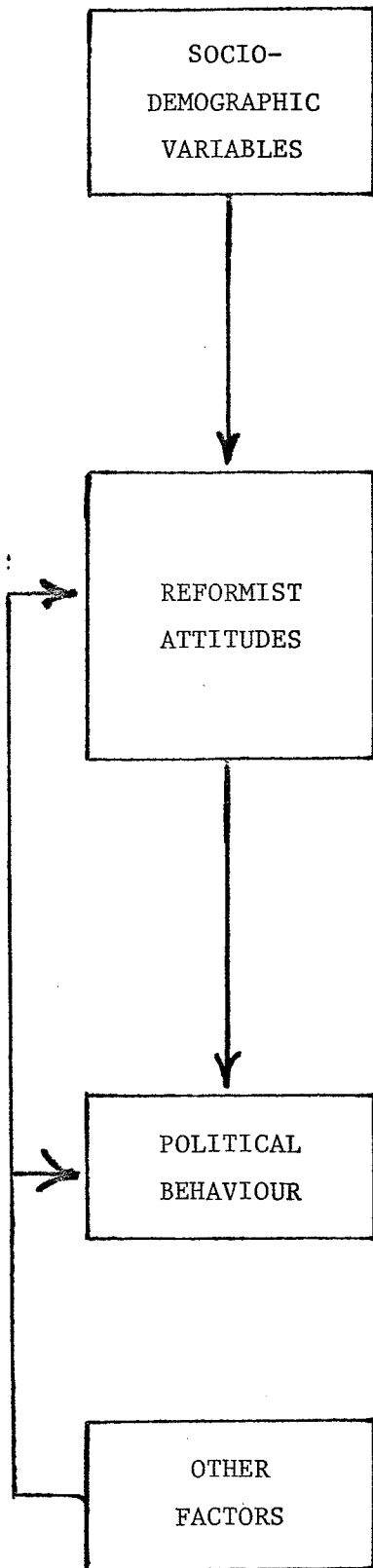
The hypotheses listed below tend to arise more from all of the readings in general, than from any particular research. The urban articles in the two Winnipeg daily papers, the attitude surveys, the studies on attitudes and consistency, and the literature on political participation all contributed to the formation of the hypotheses about the Winnipeg public's attitudes concerning urban reform and urban development. Each hypothesis, however, does tend to come from one particular segment of the literature more than the rest.

H1 was particularly influenced by the attitude surveys. The Vancouver Urban Futures Project, the C.M.H.C. National Study, and the Winnipeg Public Attitude Survey were particularly significant.²⁶ H4 was also partially the result of this literature.

²⁵ Morris Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1968).

²⁶ W.G. Hardwick, J.B. Collins, et al., Vancouver Urban Futures Project, 1 to 6 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1973), especially Appendix "A"; Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Public Priorities in Urban Canada: A Survey of Community Concerns (Ottawa: C.M.H.C., 1979), especially pp. 17-19; and Winnipeg Development Plan Review, Winnipeg Public Attitude Survey (Toronto: Ruston/Tomony and Associates, 1979).

Figure I-1. Graphic presentation of the relationship of the variables under study and the related research questions.



RQ#3 - To what extent are there differences in the reform views of various sub-groups?

RQ#1 - To what extent does the Winnipeg Public hold reformist attitudes towards urban development?

RQ#2 - To what extent are the Winnipeg Public's reform attitudes towards urban development consistent?

RQ#4 - To what extent are the Winnipeg Public's reform attitudes reflected in their reported civic voting behavior?

Other factors which are outside the scope of this study will influence the development of reformist attitudes. This involves such factors as rate of growth, specific issues or problems, degree of party competition, and reform leadership.

H2 and H3 were mostly the result of the consistency literature. Within this body of literature, the Nie, Verba, and Petrocik study was most influential.²⁷

The remaining hypotheses arose out of both the reform literature and the political participation literature. Voting studies were particularly significant for H5 and H6.²⁸

(1) Main Research Question

To what extent does the Winnipeg Public hold reformist attitudes towards urban development?

H1 - The Winnipeg Public is slightly reformist in its attitudes towards urban development.

(2) Second Research Question

To what extent are the Winnipeg Public's reformist attitudes consistent?

H2 - The Winnipeg Public tends to be consistent in its reformist attitudes across issue categories.

H3 - There are significant differences in consistency between sub-groups of the population, particularly sub-groups of income, education, occupation, and political involvement.

(3) Third Research Question

To what extent are there differences in the reform attitudes of sub-groups of the population?

²⁷ Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, Changing American Voter, op. cit., all of the results presented throughout the book.

²⁸ See, for example, David E. Repass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice", in American Political Science Review, LXV (1971), pp. 389-400.

H4 - There are significant differences in the reform attitudes of sub-groups of the population, particularly sub-groups based on income, education, occupation, political involvement, and area of residence.

(4) Fourth Research Question

To what extent are the Winnipeg Public's reform attitudes reflected in their reported civic voting behavior?

H5 - Voters tend to be less reformist than non-voters.

H6 - Supporters of the ICEC tend to be less reformist than supporters of the NDP and LEC.²⁹

Assumptions

The assumptions underlying this research are as follows:

- (a) That public political attitudes in general, and urban reform attitudes in particular, are an important aspect of the urban political process.
- (b) That a population's attitudes can be assessed through the use of a random sample of that population.
- (c) That attitudes intervene between properties and behaviors.
- (d) That "urban development" is a multi-faceted concept.

²⁹For an analysis of political groups in Winnipeg politics, see P.H. Wichern, "Winnipeg Elections: More of the Same, But Different", City Magazine, May-June, 1978, Vol. 3, Nos. 4 and 5.

The Importance of This Research

Urban government is increasingly recognized as a critical and fruitful area of research. Urbanization continues unabated both in Canada and throughout the world. Problems in urban centers are reaching critical levels, thrusting themselves into federal and provincial politics. The dynamics of urban centers create fruitful situations for the study of political attitudes and political behavior.

In Canada, there are relatively few non-governmental research studies around, and the ones that are available tend to be institutional, and about Toronto.³⁰ Studies are needed on other centers both for comparative purposes and for generating new insights arising out of local cultures and traditions.

Canadian urban politics are becoming more partisan and more issue-oriented, a fact which the reform movement reflects. At the moment, the few studies that are empirical or attitude-oriented tend to reflect the traditional, property and service-oriented nature of urban government.³¹ This study, which analyzes public attitudes towards the major issues of the day is, hence, both relevant and timely to the study of government and politics in Canada, particularly in its local urban manifestation.

³⁰ Donald C. Rowat (ed.), Urban Politics in Ottawa-Carleton: Research Essays (Ottawa: Dept. of Political Science, Carleton University, 1974), p. 5.

³¹ One of the exceptions is C.M.H.C., National Urban Priorities, op. cit., a study which suffers from other serious limitations.

Thesis Organization

Chapter II will provide a justification for the selection of the urban issues and the reform position on each.

Chapter III will provide the approach and methodology used in drawing the public sample and in analyzing the results.

Chapters IV to VII will provide the results of the four research questions in the order presented.

The final chapter presents a summary of the results, and the implications of the findings.

CHAPTER II

URBAN ISSUES AND URBAN REFORM

Large urban centers are beset by numerous major problems. Some of these problems, such as the deterioration of the downtown core area, are peculiar to the city, while others, such as unemployment and manpower training, are part of a much larger socioeconomic system.¹

The problems of the city have been viewed from a number of perspectives. Some take an anti-urban or anti-city bias. They see the city as an exploitive, dehumanizing wasteland berift with smog, blight, crime and impoverishing experiences.² For others, at least in Canada, the problems of the city can be traced to the fragmentation of authority into a number of competing and uncooperative Boards, Commissions, Agencies, and Councils.³ For still others, the problems of the city can be traced to the incredible political and financial power of a relatively small number of development companies around whom the fortunes of the city turn.⁴

¹For a fuller discussion of city-specific problems, see N.H. Lithwick, Problems and Prospects, op. cit., Chapter 1.

²For a summary, see Alan Shank and Ralph Conant, Urban Perspectives, Politics and Policies (Boston: Holbrook, 1975), p. 2.

³See, for example, Stephan Clarkson, City Lib (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), Chapter 1.

⁴See, for example, R.W. Collier, Contemporary Cathedrals: Large Scale Developments in Canadian Cities (Montreal: Harvest, 1974), especially pp. 108-133; and Henri Aubin, City For Sale, op. cit.

The approach used here views the problems of the city as simply a series of problems arising out of the structure and makeup of the city. These problems, though numerous and critical, are seen as amenable to political resolution given the necessary human will and the necessary resources. The best approach to understanding and resolving these problems is seen as a matter of choice between alternatives . . . a matter of *how* these problems are to be resolved. Taken together, these solutions to particular problems provide the overall direction which the development of the city takes.⁵ The critical questions, of course, are which alternatives are chosen!

The Urban Issues

There is considerable agreement as to what constitutes the central problems (or issues) of the larger cities. This is evident from the re-appearance of these issues in study after study.⁶ This does not, of course, apply to the more radical solutions. Several comprehensive studies, references to which follow, provide the basis for initially selecting the central issues.

(1) Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation National Study

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation listed 21 local issues as well as 5 national issues in its most recent study of urban problems.

⁵This approach appears more as an unwritten basic assumption to a wide number of authors than as a specific position of any one author.

⁶The issues do not necessarily share the same components, however, and nor are they necessarily given the same emphasis.

The national issues were included as benchmark issues for comparing priorities, but only two -- inflation and unemployment -- were specifically identified as such.⁷ Presumably, "reducing income differentials between regions", "reducing crime", and "reducing energy consumption" were the others. The issues, combined into groups in the study itself, were as follows:

(a) Transportation

- reducing traffic congestion
- improving streets and sidewalks
- improving public transportation
- building more freeways

(b) Land Use and Urban Development

- protecting parks and open spaces in the city
- protecting agricultural land from urban development
- stopping the growth of the city
- attracting new industry
- improving downtown
- improving existing buildings and homes

(c) Pollution and Energy

- reducing air pollution
- reducing noise from traffic, etc.
- reducing energy consumption

(d) Social Services and Facilities

- improving medical and health care
- improving the education system
- improving recreational facilities
- improving entertainment and cultural facilities
- improving senior citizens' facilities
- improving day care facilities

(e) Economic

- reducing inflation
- reducing unemployment
- improving the income of the poor
- reducing income differentials across regions of Canada

⁷Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, National Public Priorities, op. cit., p. 3.

(f) Political

- improving the use made of property taxes
- involving people in government decisions

(g) Other

- crime

One area, not included in the list, was also given high priority. "Satisfaction with local neighbourhoods" was included as a separate section in the study and included a wide variety of items such as "desire to move", "satisfaction with neighbours" and a number of issues such as crime, included from the above list.⁸

The major problem with this grouping would appear to be the lack of rationale given for the wide range of issues grouped under "Land Use and Urban Development" and "Social Services and Facilities". For analytical purposes, it would be more useful to separate these issues along functional lines, just as the study itself tends to do when it provides brief results.⁹

(2) Ministry of State for Urban Affairs: Vancouver Study

The Ministry of State for Urban Affairs contributed 54 issues to the Vancouver Urban Futures Project which were treated separately in Report No. 1. These were reduced to the following 17 issues through a factoring program.¹⁰

⁸ C.M.H.C., National Public Priorities, op. cit., Table 1, p. 8, and Section 8, pp. 20 f.f.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 13 f.f.

¹⁰ W.G. Hardwick and J.B. Collins, et al., Vancouver Urban Futures Project, Reports 1-6, Report No. 1, pp. 1-16.

- (a) Regional Transportation (bridges, freeways)
- (b) Environmental Controls (pollution, construction)
- (c) Private/Public Control of Land
- (d) Hi-Rise Dispersion (desirability)
- (e) Hi-Rise Acceptability
- (f) Private/Public Transportation
- (g) Welfare Restrictions (basis for)
- (h) Growth - Limitations or Promotion
- (i) Public Awareness of Housing/Transportation Problems
- (j) Social Apathy
- (k) Income Mixing in Housing Projects (wisdom of)
- (l) Expert versus Public Decision-Making
- (m) Political Representation (concern about)
- (n) Density of Urban Core
- (o) Municipal Leadership Assessment (meaningful or not)
- (p) Tax Money Distribution
- (q) Utility of Personal Action on Pollution.

The major problem with this classification -- not readily evident from this abbreviated listing -- is the mixing of attitudinal dimensions. Consequently, "concern", "belief in personal effectiveness", "desirability", are compared, although they are not strictly comparable. Perhaps as a consequence of this, issues which appear to be related, for example, (l), (m), and (o) (all political) show no inter-correlations.¹¹

¹¹Hardwick, et al., V.U.F.P., Ibid., Report No. 1, pp. 13-14.

(3) Vancouver Urban Futures Project

Fifteen key urban issues were selected by the University of British Columbia research team responsible for the project. The list was intended to be comprehensive and exhaustive, with each issue being mutually exclusive.¹² The issues were:¹³

- (a) Housing (provision, quality)
- (b) Education (schools, all aspects)
- (c) Transportation (roads, parking, transit, etc.)
- (d) Health Services
- (e) Zoning (Urban Land Utilization and Controls)
- (f) Development (issues related to specific building projects)
- (g) Environment (quality of)
- (h) Employment (jobs, training, unions)
- (i) Recreation (galleries, theatres, cinemas, symphony)
- (j) Financing
- (k) Law and Order (police, courts, etc.)
- (l) Eccentricity (nude bathing, etc.)
- (m) Politics (representation, organization, administration)
- (n) General Urban (growth, life-styles, general development trends)

"Development" is used here in its narrow sense. The particular items of "General Urban" would appear to fit with some of the others (growth with employment; life-style with recreation and/or culture; development trends with development). No explanation was given for the

¹² Ibid., Report No. 3, p. 3.

¹³ Ibid., Summarized on pp. 43-44 of Report No. 3.

omission of "downtown development", "historical buildings", "urban renewal" or "neighborhoods". These omissions might be accounted for by the efforts of the research team to create mutually exclusive categories, however, they still are unusual in that these are common topics in the urban problems literature.¹⁴

(4) Community Attitude Assessment Scale

In this American study, 15 major issues were selected to determine public attitudes towards urban problems. The authors do not attempt to justify the selection, however, except to say that they are all locally, funded, program areas, and that each is subject to wide research.¹⁵ The issues are:

- (a) Education
- (b) Employment and Income
- (c) Economic Base
- (d) Welfare
- (e) Government Operations and Services
- (f) Law and Justice
- (g) Environment
- (h) Health
- (i) Social Services
- (j) Recreation and Leisure

¹⁴"Downtown Development" is a particularly unusual omission in that it is recognized as a major Vancouver problem. See Vancouver Planning Department, Downtown Vancouver, Part I, The Issues (Vancouver: Vancouver Planning Department, 1968).

¹⁵Stephan J. Fitzsimmons and Thomas E. Ferb, "Developing a Community Attitude Assessment Scale", in Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 41 (1977), p. 357.

- (k) Housing and Neighborhoods
- (l) Transportation
- (m) Communications
- (n) Religious Life
- (o) Family Life

Of particular note here is the separation of health, welfare and social services into three categories; and the combination of housing and neighborhoods into one. Unlike the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs' portion of the Vancouver Urban Futures Project, this study recognized and separately analyzed 4 major dimensions of attitudes (importance, satisfaction, influence, benefits).¹⁶ Both used 5-point Likert scales.

(5) Krueger and Bryfolgle

These authors edited a collection of essays which provides one of the most comprehensive treatments of Canadian urban problems.¹⁷ Problems are viewed as part of the broader context of creating a more livable urban environment, and are viewed in a developmental light. The major issues discussed are as follows:¹⁸

- (a) Environment (parks, land usage, pollution, parking, etc.)
- (b) Human Values (quality of life, aesthetic considerations, life styles, hopes, etc.)

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 359 f.f.

¹⁷ Ralph R. Krueger and R. Charles Bryfolgle (eds.), Urban Problems: A Canadian Reader (Toronto: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1971).

¹⁸ This summarized list is gleaned from both the content and the organization of the book, rather than from any specific listing.

- (c) Poverty (availability of jobs, effects of poverty, etc.)
- (d) Sprawl (growth and its effects)
- (e) Urban Renewal (central city, blight, crowding, historical buildings, pollution, residential conditions, etc.)
- (f) Transportation (freeways, transit, congestion, effect on neighbourhoods, etc.)
- (g) Housing (provision, type, condition)
- (h) Architecture and Design (building types, integration aesthetics, style)
- (i) Pollution (air, water, soil, residential)
- (j) Conservation (ecological balance, natural conditions preserved)
- (k) Planning (urban, regional)
- (l) Land Ownership (Public and Private)
- (m) Government (form, participation, partisanship)
- (n) Miscellaneous (social, cultural and recreational facilities; cars and their effects; parks; construction)

There is little attempt in this book to eliminate overlap between issues. This is partially the consequence, perhaps, of the fact that this is a reader, and is the product of a number of authors. As well, it is perhaps explained by the attempt to show the extensive interdependency and interaction between the issues. Regardless, the range of issues is evident.

(6) Other Studies

There are many other studies assessing the problems and prospects of the city, but two at least deserve mention because of the excellent assessments and comprehensive coverage. Lithwick's study of urban Canada's problems and prospects provides an excellent treatment of both

the major problems and their interaction.¹⁹ The study done on downtown Vancouver also presents an excellent coverage on the range of problems -- social, political, cultural and economic -- as they effect the downtown area, and how they interact with the rest of the urban area.²⁰ Additionally, a number of the reform studies provide an excellent coverage of these same issues.²¹

Summary of Urban Issues

There is much in common in the above studies, even though particular items are combined in different ways, and even though there are some orientations other than "problems" included. A review of what there is in common, combined with a desire to create mutually exclusive categories as much as possible, resulted in the following 12 issue categories.

- (a) Parks and Outdoor Recreational Areas - major parks, small parks, open space, outdoor recreation facilities, riverbanks, outdoor leisure activities, and the natural environment are increasingly important in a modern city.²²
- (b) Culture, Sports and Entertainment - art, theatre, symphonies, cinemas, libraries, museums, professional and amateur sports, elite and mass culture, entertainment, accessibility of culture, sports and entertainment are also increasingly important in a modern city.²³

¹⁹Lithwick, Problems and Prospects, op. cit.

²⁰Vancouver Planning Department, Downtown Vancouver, op. cit.

²¹See, for example, Boyce Richardson, Future Canadian Cities, op. cit.

²²Krueger and Bryfolgle, Urban Problems, op. cit., Chapters 2 and 4.

²³Ibid.

- (c) Transportation - includes streets and sidewalks, free-ways and expressways, bridges, underpasses, overpasses, mass transit, private versus public transportation, taxis, parking, traffic-free areas; basically, travel in and around the city, but this does not include inter-city transportation (airplanes, trains, buses). Transportation is a critical factor to a city's physical development.²⁴
- (d) Downtown Development - includes concentration of high-rise office and apartment buildings, density of development, support for downtown development projects, pedestrian malls and overhead walkways, urban renewal, traffic congestion and noise. The term is used here in the more restricted sense of the commercial and business development of the downtown core area.²⁵
- (e) Local Neighborhoods - includes the integrity of local neighborhoods, general conditions of neighborhood areas; community centers; neighborhood problems such as crime, welfare, etc.; access to local conveniences such as stores, recreation, open spaces, schools, etc.; in general, the integrity of neighborhoods, and the conditions that foster the essence of neighborhoods.²⁶
- (f) Housing - includes various types of housing (single-detached homes, duplexes, row-houses, low and high-rise apartments, co-operatives); the cost of housing; public versus private supply of housing; housing profits; control of profits from the building, sale or rental of housing; and the density and quality of housing. The type, supply and quality of housing is increasingly seen as one of the major problems of the city.²⁷
- (g) Historical Buildings - includes the protection and preservation of historical buildings versus their demolition; the use or abuse of historical buildings, the place of historical buildings in the overall scheme of things, the meaning and value of historical buildings.

²⁴ Collier, Contemporary Cathedrals, op. cit., stressed throughout.

²⁵ For a comprehensive interpretation, see Vancouver Planning Department, Downtown Vancouver, op. cit.

²⁶ Suzanne Keller, The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1968), provides an excellent assessment of neighborhoods and their meaning.

²⁷ See, for example, N.H. Lithwick, Problems and Prospects, op. cit., p. 19.

- (h) Growth - includes population growth; growth in the spread of the city and concern for the consumption of agricultural land; the rate of growth; addition of new business, commerce and industry to the city; the creation of jobs and job opportunities.²⁸
- (i) Environment - includes the extent of air, water and soil pollution; industrial smells, noises and physical appearance; residential conditions; quality of environment, especially urban decay and various types of pollution: In summary, the physical attractiveness of the city.²⁹
- (j) Political Representations - is basically a question of the degree to which citizens are involved and/or their views respected in local decisions and actions. It includes such things as conflict of interest, citizen participation, type of ward used, elected versus expert decision-making, partisan versus administrative government.³⁰
- (k) Land Usage and Planning - is basically a question of the control of land usage through zoning and other laws. It includes such things as the rights of property owners to develop/use their property; the location of commercial, residential, industrial, retail and other buildings; the interaction of a particular building with the various subsystems of the city; the location of hi-rises; design and other aesthetic considerations, power to expropriate; and the ability of the city to deal with the large development corporations.³¹

²⁸To some, growth is the essence of urbanization and urban development. See George Nader, Cities of Canada: Theoretical, Historical and Planning Perspectives, Vol. I (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 122 f.f.

²⁹Used here in a restricted sense. To some, such as Krueger and Bryfolgle, Urban Problems, op. cit., Chapter 1, it refers to all aspects of the physical environment including parks, design of buildings, etc.

³⁰Collier, Contemporary Cathedrals, op. cit., p. 153, sees a meaningful public participation as a really serious and difficult problem.

³¹The absence of planning and land usage controls is widely seen as one of the key sources of the major problems of the city. See, for example, Krueger and Bryfolgle, Canadian Urban Problems, op. cit., Chapters 4 and 14.

- (1) Health, Social Service and Welfare - includes health and medical and dental facilities; distribution of wealth and support of the needy; retraining, reeducating, and provision of jobs for the needy; the care and support of the handicapped; redress for the side effects of poverty, lack of jobs and limited education or training. Efforts and programs to resolve social and economic disparities.

Issues Excluded

For a variety of reasons, a number of important issues were excluded. The issues and the reasons are as follows:

- (a) Communications (media, telephones, etc.) - a major part of the city, but not viewed as a major developmental or urban problem. It is not a reform issue as well.
- (b) Crime (police and the courts) - is a major problem of the city, but it is not viewed as a major reform issue. (It is seen as part of the problem of the "slum" areas or as part of the problem of neighborhood safety.)
- (c) Education (public school system) - a major aspect of any city, but usually "outside" politics (via school boards) and only occasionally seen as a reform issue.
- (d) Finance (taxation, source of taxes, public debt, base of taxes) - a major problem and question in cities but no strong reform position has been developed on this.
- (e) Other - other important issues or concerns such as family life, religious life, energy, etc. are either not a particular urban problem *per se*, or are a national problem, or there is not a reform position on them.

Reform Position on Urban Issues

In each of the major issues outlined above, the central position of the reformists can be identified from the literature. This is a

general position which broadly reflects the movement as a whole, and is not a position which applies to each reformer or each particular reform group. As Caulfield, and Richardson point out about the Toronto and Montreal reform movements respectively, the opposition to the Developers and what they were doing to the city brought a lot of people together who would not normally be together.³² And as Caulfield points out about Toronto, the election of a reform majority in 1972 soon led to the splitting of the group over the type of programs to adopt and the type of policies to pursue.³³

This is not to say that there is not widespread agreement as to what the central issues are, or what generally the most socially-conscious positions would be. The differences -- outside of the extreme reform ideologies -- would appear to be more a matter of emphasis, priorities, means, and urgency; rather than issues or attitudes.

Three of the most comprehensive studies by or about reformers -- Caulfield's, The Tiny Perfect Mayor; Lorimer's, A Citizen's Guide to City Politics; and Sewell's, Up Against City Hall -- show considerable agreement as to what the central reform positions are.³⁴ Each sees the development industry as the main villain, and each sees a group of related issues such as the need to control and regulate development, protect neighborhoods, preserve open space, protect historical buildings, increase public participation, etc. . . . as the most pressing

³² Jon Caulfield, The Tiny Perfect Mayor (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1974), pp. 1-3; and B. Richardson, Future of Canadian Cities, op. cit., p. 14.

³³ Caulfield, Ibid., p. 139 f.f.

³⁴ Caulfield, Ibid.; James Lorimer, Citizen's Guide, op. cit.; and John Sewell, Up Against City Hall (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1972).

issues.³⁵ Richardson's study of the reform movement in Montreal covers virtually the same range of issues although there is much less reference to the development industry, and much more reference to Drapeau's Civic Election Committee.³⁶ Similarly, the concern with the effects of the development industry on neighborhoods, open space, and historical buildings, and the lack of concern for the public are the major thrust of Parnell et al.'s, Rape of the Block, on Edmonton; and the Vancouver Urban Research Group's, Forever Deceiving You: The Politics of Vancouver Development, on Vancouver.³⁷

The reform positions on each of the urban issues, as outlined above, are seen broadly as follows:

(1) Parks and Outdoor Recreation

The main concerns are that parks and recreational facilities be locally accessible to all groups, and that the facilities provided and/or programs offered be a response to locally expressed needs.³⁸ They need to be provided in all parts of the city, and are especially important to children and families, the poor, and the elderly. All develop-

³⁵ Caulfield, Ibid., especially pp. 4-12; Lorimer, Citizen's Guide, op. cit., especially pp. 215-216; and Sewell, Ibid., all. Basically, the issues as outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

³⁶ Richardson, Future of Canadian Cities, op. cit., especially pp. 12-14.

³⁷ Missy Parnell, et al., Rape of the Block: Or Everyperson's Guide to Neighborhood Defence (Edmonton: Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1973); Vancouver Urban Research Group, Forever Deceiving You, op. cit., especially pp. 12-38.

³⁸ Donald Keating, The Power to Make it Happen (Toronto: Greentree, 1975), pp. 144, 166-168.

ment plans should respond to the desire for more open space. This issue is seen as one of the key issues in making the city more livable and more humane.³⁹

(2) Culture, Entertainment and Sports

This issue category is more widely emphasized in the attitude studies than it is among reform writers. However the FRAP program in Montreal stresses locally-controlled, popular culture, sports and entertainment, and opposes the grandiose schemes of Mayor Drapeau.⁴⁰ Mumford, as well, writes of the importance of culture and entertainment to local communities and stresses that wherever possible, such as with libraries, pubs, theatres, and the like, these facilities be locally available.⁴¹ Elsewhere, it is usually spoken of as part of some other issue such as downtown development.

(3) Transportation

The central position of the reformers is that they are opposed to the almost total orientation of the design and shape of the city to the car, and strongly support a greatly increased emphasis on mass public transit. Closely linked to this position is their opposition to the business mentality which predominates in transportation decisions and the need instead for emphasis on the needs of the public in the deci-

³⁹ Caulfield, Tiny Perfect Mayor, op. cit., pp. 4-12.

⁴⁰ Richardson, Future of Canadian Cities, op. cit., pp. 12-14, 142-172.

⁴¹ Lewis Mumford, Urban Prospect, op. cit., pp. 70 f.f.

sion-making process.⁴² Freeway construction is particularly opposed as it destroys and divides neighborhoods and vital parts of the city, and causes overloading and noise in the downtown area. Instead, mass transit systems need to be greatly improved, and heavily subsidized, in order to attract more people as well as provide inexpensive transportation for those who are less well off (especially students, the poor, and the elderly).⁴³

(4) Downtown Development

Of central concern to the reformists is the excessive catering to developers by city officials. The usual consequence of this is seen as high-density, monotonous, no-frill projects due to the desire of developers to maximize profits and hence maximize the use of space. The reformers are opposed not only to this type of project, but also to the city's subsidization of these projects via studies, alterations to transportation and sewer systems, and sometimes expropriation costs. What the reformers want instead is the allocation of real costs to the developer, and the balancing of developer and citizen needs. The latter would be represented by more openness, lower densities, parks and recreational facilities, and more attention to aesthetics in design as well as preservation of historical buildings.⁴⁴

⁴²Vancouver Urban Research Group, Forever Deceiving You, op. cit., pp. 14-23.

⁴³Richardson, Future of Canadian Cities, op. cit., pp. 12-14, and 137.

⁴⁴See, for example, Jon Caulfield, Tiny Perfect Mayor, op. cit., pp. 95 f.f.; and James Lorimer, The Developers (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1978), especially pp. 161-162.

(5) Local Neighborhoods

The protection of local neighborhoods from developers and pro-developer Councils, and their improvement in terms of quality, safety, and facilities, lies at the heart of this issue to reformers.⁴⁵ In some cases, neighborhoods need protection from high-rises, from block-busting, from freeways and from deterioration. In other cases, neighborhoods need improving in terms of safety, quality, planning, parks, recreational and cultural facilities, and commercial outlets.⁴⁶

(6) Housing

The central issue with respect to housing, is its provision to all citizens at reasonable costs. This entails the preservation of the city's stock of older, less-expensive, homes and apartments; rent controls; support for co-operative and other forms of non-profit housing; and the provision and/or subsidization of decent housing for the poor and/or needy. Closely related to this central issue are tenants' rights; renovation and restoration housing programs; control of all forms of profits in the housing industry; the preference for houses over apartments; and the deconcentration of lower-income homes.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See, for example, John Sewell, Up Against City Hall, op. cit., Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Missy Parnell, et al., Rape of the Block, op. cit., especially pp. 1-4.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Jon Caulfield, Tiny Perfect Mayor, op. cit., pp. 51 f.f.

(7) Historical Buildings

The central concern here is to stop the destruction of historical buildings that is taking place as a prelude to new developments (which are usually modern, higher, more glass). Many buildings have historical significance in that they represent political, cultural, religious, commercial or architectural links to the past. They give a city a sense of its heritage, and a sense of depth or strength. Hence, reformers wish to preserve historical buildings from the onslaught of "mindless" developers through laws, recycling schemes, tax incentives, integration schemes and the like.⁴⁸

(8) Growth

The essence of this issue is the preference for a steady and moderate rate of growth, as opposed to a concept of growth for its own sake. The major concern in regard to growth is with its effect on neighborhoods, services, school systems, transportation systems, and the city in general. The opposition is to rapid, uncontrolled growth, rather than to growth itself.⁴⁹ Growth should take place in a planned and controlled way such that it is integrated smoothly with the existing social and physical structure and does not overload particular services or facilities.

⁴⁸ Taken from a variety of sources, but see James Lorimer, The Developers, op. cit., pp. 243-244; and Jon Caulfield, Tiny Perfect Mayor, op. cit., pp. 4-12 and 95 f.f.

⁴⁹ Lorimer, Ibid., p. 243.

(9) Environment

Generally speaking, reformists are concerned with making the urban environment a better and more livable place. The concern is widely voiced in the literature usually in conjunction with other issues such as parks, planning, neighborhoods and architecture.⁵⁰ As used in the more restricted sense here, the concern is for clean air, water and soil; less noise; more aesthetically pleasing industrial areas; cleaner lower-income areas; and the preservation of the natural features of an area such as river banks, lakefronts, creeks, etc.

(10) Political Participation

The basic concern of reformists is that City Councils act on behalf of the citizen's interests, respect and work for citizens, and involve citizens in local (meaning neighborhood) decisions which affect them.⁵¹ To some this is the real issue, and social and economic reform is dependent mostly on the ability of organizers and leaders to broaden citizen participation in politics.⁵² As a consequence, reformers seek to expand council-citizen dialogue; to rely less on "expert" decisions; to increase partisan politics; to create larger-sized councils; to emphasize issues in elections; to see Councillors as representatives

⁵⁰ See, for example, Walter Hardwick, Vancouver, op. cit., pp. viii-x, and pp. 27-28.

⁵¹ See, for example, John Sewell, Up Against City Hall, op. cit.; Don Keating, The Power to Make It Happen, op. cit.; and Jack Masson and J.D. Anderson, Emerging Party Politics in Urban Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972).

⁵² Edward Schwartz, "Neighborhoodism: A Conflict in Values", in Social Policy, March/April, 1979, Vol. 9, No. 5, p. 10.

and not trustees; and in general to increase channels of communication with citizens.⁵³

(11) Land Use and Planning

To reformers, reform of the urban system and protection of citizen interests are not possible without the introduction of extensive land use restrictions and overall planning.⁵⁴ This is the only way to stop excessive development within particular areas which leads to overcrowding, overuse, traffic snarls, etc.; to preserve neighborhoods and keep them segregated from unsightly or smelly industry; and to allow for open space, sensible density ratios, sensible location of housing, commerce, business, industry, and cultural, recreational and educational facilities.

(12) Health, Social Services and Welfare

The central concern, to reformers, of this issue of health, social services, and welfare is equity.⁵⁵ In general, this means redistributing some of the city's wealth to lower-income and non-income groups via a variety of programs. In practice, it means ensuring health and medical treatment by operating clinics in needy areas; providing social services such as family and job counseling; and providing money for food,

⁵³ See, for example, Walter Hardwick, Vancouver, op. cit., pp. 179-185.

⁵⁴ See, for example, James Lorimer, Citizen's Guide, op. cit., pp. 12-36 and 164-173.

⁵⁵ Richardson, Future of Canadian Cities, op. cit., p. 28 f.f.

clothing and other necessities.⁵⁶ Ideologically, this is closely linked to the provision of free or cheap mass transit, and public housing.

Summary

The review presented in this chapter shows that most of the problems of urban development can be grouped into 12 major issue categories, each of which is constructed to be distinct from the others, and each of which is treated as being roughly equal in importance. The definition of each issue category has been given under Urban Issue. Under the section reviewing the reform position, while the focus remains the same, the interdependencies and overlap between issue categories are sometimes shown.

On each of the 12 issue categories, the reformists show considerable agreement in terms of both the origins of the problem, and the nature of the needed reform. The origins can be traced to self-interested Developers who enjoy City Council backing, while the solution can be seen in the organization of citizens to both protect their neighborhoods, and to elect public officials with "reform" orientations and commitments represented by the particular stands on issues identified in this chapter.

⁵⁶Richardson, Ibid., pp. 28 f.f.; and Don Keating, The Power to Make It Happen, op. cit., especially Chapter 6.

CHAPTER III

APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

Basic Approach

The basic approach to the research comprised three steps:

- (a) the design and testing of a questionnaire to measure reformist attitudes.
- (b) the completion of a survey of Winnipeggers to determine their attitudes towards reformism.
- (c) the statistical analysis of the data obtained.

The Measurement of Attitudes

Attitudes are usually measured by asking people to respond or react to a number of verbal statements about their affinities for and aversions to some identifiable aspect of their environment.¹ Usually, this means the use of Likert-type scales which combine aspects of the two most important dimensions of attitudes -- magnitude and direction.² In practice, absolute responses should be avoided, with 5-7 scale points the optimum.³

Attitudes cannot be measured directly, and must be inferred from their properties. To achieve this, clear and unambiguous statements which reflect cognitive, affective or conative components of the concept

¹J.M.F. Jaspars, "Nature of Attitudes", *op. cit.*, p. 258. Likert scaling is used here rather than Guttman scaling or Semantic Differential techniques because it is more widely accepted, and more appropriate for the type of information sought.

²Wm. A. Scott, "Attitude Measurement", *op. cit.*, pp. 206-208.

³Vancouver Urban Futures Project, *op. cit.*, Report No. 2, p. 6.

are used as indices.⁴ This study corresponds to this, and as a result, what a person thinks, feels, and sees as desirable are used as indices to measure his attitudes towards urban development.

The indices chosen as the operational definition of the concept must necessarily reflect variance with consistency. The more useful measures are those which do so the most.⁵ Hence, indices are sought which not only reflect variance, but do so, strongly.

Attitudes derive from past cognitions and experiences, and change in response to new ones. As a consequence, attitude stability is linked to the extent of a person's knowledge and experience about the concept.

Questionnaire Construction and Item Testing

Because of its fundamental importance to the outcome, an exhaustive approach was used in designing and testing the questionnaire. The major steps were as follows:

(1) Literature Search

The primary emphasis in the literature search was placed on determining what the major urban issues were, and what the reform position on each was. Chapter II summarized this in detail. This step basically ensures that the concept as operationalized represents realistically the concept that exists, that is, that it reflects the purpose

⁴W.M. McQuire, "Nature of Attitudes", op. cit., pp. 155-156; and J.M.F. Jaspars, "Nature of Attitudes", op. cit., p. 263.

⁵McQuire, Ibid., p. 149; Jaspars, Ibid., p. 260.

of the research. Additionally, the issue categories constructed were designed to be exhaustive; mutually exclusive, independent, and based on a single classification principle.⁶

Secondary emphasis in the literature search was placed on selecting the political and socio-demographic variables to be used. Simplicity and usefulness were the basic orientations in selecting these variables.

(2) Questionnaire Format

The resulting questionnaire format included the following:

- (a) Issue Categories - Because of the complexity of the concept of "reform attitudes towards urban government", a large number of scale items were used. Three items for each of the 12 issue categories were chosen as a balance between length on the one hand, and validity on the other. This would enable both a reasonable measure of each issue category as well as a highly reliable overall measure of reformism. As well, measures of the respondent's "satisfaction" with, and his feelings about, the "importance" of each of the issue categories were created. Five "benchmark" items were also included.
- (b) Additional Reform Measures - Two additional measures of reformism were included for comparative purposes. The first, relating to the extent or amount of government, was an urban adaptation of three of the measures used in the Nie, Verba and Petrocik study.⁷ The second was developed from the concepts of "open-city" and "corporate-city".⁸

⁶The criteria used in W.G. Hardwick and J.B. Collins, et al., V.U.F.P., op. cit., Report No. 3, p. 3.

⁷Nie, Verba, and Petrocik, Changing American Voter, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

⁸Used in Len Gertler and Ron Crowley, Changing Canadian Cities, op. cit.; James Lorimer, The Developers, op. cit.; respectively.

- (c) Socio-Demographic Variables - The following socio-demographic variables were included in order to examine relationships: length of residency, electoral ward, age, mode of travel around city, home ownership, housing type, industrial and residential conditions, gender, education, ethnic and racial background, religion, family income, occupation, and full- or part-time occupation.
- (d) Political Variables - Several variables were included to give political scope and perspective. These were: two indices of "voting likelihood" (past voting record and future voting intent); "political group preference" in urban politics; and the respondent's reasons for voting for the candidates they do vote for.⁹
- (e) Knowledge Questions - Five questions were included to measure a respondent's knowledge of urban issues. These included identification of respondent's ward, councillor, size of city budget, number of city employees, and responsibility for business promotion.

For the full text of the questionnaire, please see Appendix "F".

(3) Preliminary Check

A preliminary check of the initial outline of the questionnaire was completed by five people from outside of the Department. Included were two city planners, a city councillor, an outside student in urban government, and a Professor from another Department within the University. Emphasis was placed on simplicity and clarity of wording, item content and coverage, general approach, and reduction of response set. The two additional measures of reformism were added at this stage to act as criterion in assessing the scale.

⁹ Chosen from voting behavior literature, see, for example, David E. Repass, "Comment: Political Methodologies in Disarray: Some Alternative Interpretations of the 1972 Election", American Political Science Review, Vol. LXX, Sept., 1976, No. 3, pp. 814-831.

(4) Panel of Judges

A Panel of Judges (who were assured anonymity) was selected to test the directional validity of the measuring instrument. Three Professors of Political Science, one medical Doctor with good research technique, and one graduate student in urban government with a knowledge of reformism, were selected for this purpose. The Panel also assessed content, wording, and general approach.

The correlations between the individual judges and the intent of the instrument ranged between 83% and 100%. Those more knowledgeable of the reform literature provided the higher scores. The issue categories which caused the most difficulties were "Growth" (the nature of the reform position), "Historical Buildings" and "Local Neighborhoods" (the reform position on these latter two is very close to classical conservatism). Table III-1, included at the end of the chapter, gives the results of the ratings.

(5) Cross-Section of Council

A cross-section of the City Council of Winnipeg was selected to test the validity of what the scale was measuring. This was achieved by comparing the ideology of the Councillor with the score he/she was given by the scale.

The following criteria were used in selecting Councillors:

- (a) at least one per Community Committee.
- (b) at least one from each Council Committee including the Executive Policy Committee.
- (c) proportional representation of the political groups on Council.

- (d) at least two from each of the inner zone, transitional zone, and outer zone of the city.
- (e) election in 1977 or earlier.
- (f) at least one of the Alderwomen.
- (g) preferably not those holding leadership positions (Mayor, Deputy Mayor and Committee Chairman).

These criteria resulted in the selection of 8 City Councillors, who represented (in effect) a random sample of City Council.¹⁰

The political ideology of the Councillors was determined by the following methods: their self-identification; their scores on the two alternative reform measures; their party group; their "inter-group agreement" score¹¹; as well as an overall impression from the interview.¹²

The complete scores of Councillors (names withheld) are provided in Table III-1. An assessment of the best indicators of reformism, using the Councillor's political ideology as a guide, is given in Table III-2.

¹⁰All 8 Councillors who were selected agreed to answer the questionnaire in person, and to comment on its content and wording. In the end, one questionnaire could not be completed in person and had to be completed by mail and telephone.

¹¹John Fedorowicz, "Inter-Group Agreement on Winnipeg City Council: 1978-1979", unpublished paper, 1980.

¹²These findings closely parallel the ideology "assigned" them by my advisor, Dr. P.H. Wichern, who is a close observer of the Winnipeg urban political process.

(6) Public Pre-Test

A public pre-test of the questionnaire was completed with 14 people. Two of these were also judges. All persons were selected through friends or acquaintances and represented a good cross-section by age, gender, income and occupation. While this did not constitute an unbiased sample, it did provide participants who were willing to comment at length. The emphasis in the pre-test was on clarity of wording and meaning. However, the political ideology of each participant was also obtained during the interview, and was used as a further check on the validity of the scale. The scale scores of the public pre-test participants are also included in Table III-1.

(7) Final Questionnaire Draft

The pre-test draft of the questionnaire was revised based on the comments received from all participants. As well, the ambiguous areas which the three types of testing highlighted (summarized in Table III-1) were clarified. Of the 36 scale items, 8 were basically unchanged, 19 were subjected to minor redrafts, and 9 were given major redrafts or replaced. These changes were based on comments made, and insights provided by the extensive pre-testing carried out. As a final check, however, five persons (three working class, two graduate students) completed the final questionnaire with minor revisions resulting. One of the graduate students, from the Department of City Planning, identified the ideological direction of all 36 items without difficulty.

(8) Minimization of Response Set

Response set is a serious problem with questionnaires, particu-

larly lengthy ones, and its minimization was achieved as follows:

- (a) the adoption of a serious manner during the initial telephone calls.
- (b) the use of introductory paragraphs to introduce each issue category (they also educate and set parameters).
- (c) item reversals (roughly half of the scale items are worded in one direction, and half in the opposite direction).
- (d) changes in question format and methods of answering -- to maintain interest and attention.

The Winnipeg Survey

The survey was conducted between May 15 and July 1, 1980. The sampling method as well as information about response rates and sample statistics are as follows:

(1) Sampling Method

A random sampling of 500 was aimed for as this would provide a good cross-section of the public and allow for an acceptable significance level of approximately $\pm 5\%$.¹³ The large size of the sample (for one person) was the major reason for using a mailed questionnaire in lieu of personal interviews. The reasons for not doing a telephone interview were the length of the questionnaire and the variations in the question format, both of which would have created difficulties.

The 1979 federal voters' list was used as a sampling frame as it was the only current list of voters available. The federal franchise

¹³ Charles H. Backstrom and Gerald D. Hursh, Survey Research (Minneapolis: Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 33.

is almost exactly the same as the City's; and it lists people by location. Two of the seven federal ridings have rural portions, which were excluded. The 1980 update of the 1979 list was not used as it was only available for three of the ridings.

The sample was stratified by area, with the effects of stratifications maximized by making the number of areas to be used, equal to the size of the sample. This was accomplished by combining polling lists into groups of approximately 3, dependent on the number of electors listed. Polling lists were grouped in order of their numbers (to preserve areas stratification) with a maximum of 800 persons selected in any given group of polls. Respondents were then selected using a random numbers table. Area stratification was used because so many key urban variables such as population density, housing type, income levels, age of the housing stock, ethnic origin, etc. *tend to be* distributed into areas.¹⁴ A total of 497 respondent-areas were selected.

Each selected respondent was telephoned to ascertain if he/she would be agreeable to complete the survey. In cases of reluctance, fears, etc. efforts were made to promote the importance, simplicity, and/or confidentiality of the survey. Data on refusals were collected on income and voting preference in addition to the known data on gender and area.¹⁵

¹⁴ Both the Winnipeg Public Attitude Survey and the National Priorities Survey were weighted by area. The Winnipeg study was weighted also by housing type. See Winnipeg Development Plan Review, Attitude Survey, op. cit., p. D-2; and C.M.H.C., National Public Priorities, op. cit., p. 56.

¹⁵ in-person contacts were dropped after two weeks because of the excessive time (2½ hrs. per agreement) to make the contact. Non-response reasons were randomized and then dropped due to the obvious patterns which emerged.

Each questionnaire distributed was given a number to enable monitoring of returns as well as confirmation of answers on "ward" and "councillor".

A self-addressed, stamped, return envelope was included to encourage returns. The questionnaire was type-set to improve readability and appearance and took the finished form of Appendix F.

(2) Agreement and Response Rate

A total of 844 contacts were attempted, with 690 actual contacts made. Of these, 497 agreed to do the survey, with 342 actually returning the survey by July 21, the cut-off date. Appendices "B" and "C" provide detailed information with respect to all types of reasons for not obtaining completed questionnaires from selected respondents.

(a) Agreement rate:

Of the 685 people reached who were possible respondents, 497 or 75.53% agreed to do the survey. This high rate was due primarily to the approach developed to reduce a potential respondent's fears. Mostly this involved the restricting of calls to periods when the surveyor was in a very positive mood, and being prepared to deal with a respondent's concerns about the difficulty, confidentiality, length or personal nature of the questionnaire.

(b) Non-response:

Of the 497 who agreed to do the survey, 342 returned the survey by July 21. This represented 68.8% of those who agreed to do the survey, or 49.93% of those contacted. This was not as high as was antici-

pated or desired, but is comparable to the returns of the Winnipeg and National studies.¹⁶ Non-response as well as non-agreement, as well as "moved or out of service" respondents are clearly from certain groups. The elderly, especially females; the poor; and the less educated, clearly do not respond or participate at the higher rates of their opposites. Hence, either stratification by area, or weighting one or two critical variables, is considered to be essential. This will not eliminate bias, however, as weighting is usually restricted to one or two variables, and area-stratification only ensures proportional representation by area not by particular types of people. Such methods will, however, improve samples.¹⁷

(3) Population and Sample Comparisons

In terms of ethnic or racial origin, gender, and religion, the sample provided a close approximation to the known characteristics of city residents. In terms of home ownership and housing type, owners of single detached homes are overrepresented. In terms of education and age, the more highly educated and the middle-age groups are overrepresented. For population and sample comparisons, please see Appendix "A".

¹⁶ C.M.H.C., National Priorities, op. cit., p. 56; and Winnipeg Plan Review, Winnipeg Public Attitude Survey, op. cit., Appendix "D".

¹⁷ In Sisler and part of Mynarski, an estimated 30 polls are missing from the federal list obtained, resulting in approximately 7 or 8 fewer selections from Sisler, and 2 or 3 from Mynarski. In Sisler, a weight factor could be introduced by simply duplicating the 4 returns received.

In terms of wards, the results were good although the poorer, older areas are somewhat underestimated (the missing polls mentioned in Footnote 17 exacerbated this further). Joe Zuken's ward of Norquay returned 14 of 17, or 82.35% of the surveys distributed, as an example. These are comparable to the Winnipeg or National studies.¹⁸ For ward return rates, please see Appendix "D".

Overall, the sample is therefore biased in favour of "higher" status groups. For complete details, please see Appendices "A" to "D".

Statistical Analysis

(1) Processing the Data

The University of Manitoba Amdahl 470-V7 was used to process the data. Both SAS and SPSS were used in this regard; SAS for Frequency Distribution, Crosstabulations and Analysis of Variance; and SPSS for the Reliability program. MANTES was used to process input and to edit. Theoretical references are usually to the SPSS Manual as it is much more explicit, and, with the exception of Analysis of Variance, the programs are identical.

(2) New Variables Computed

A number of new variables were created for use in analysis.

These were as follows:

(a) Reformism:

A single measure of reformism for each issue category was created

¹⁸Winnipeg Plan, Ibid., p. D-2; National Priorities Plan, Ibid., p. 56.

by adding the scores of the three items of that issue. "Uncertains" were scored as "2's", the mid-point of each item scale.¹⁹ A single, weighted, overall measure of reformism was also created by multiplying each issue category score by its assigned importance (Question XIV) and then dividing by the sum of the assigned weights. This score was then recoded into a 12-point interval scale for crosstabulations and analysis of variance.

(b) Consistency:

"Deviance" was used to determine the consistency with which each respondent answered the 36 items of the reform scale. "Unknowns" were coded "2" (the mean score) and minus signs were ignored. This allowed a very simple measure of consistency which took full account of all variance and used mid-scores as well.²⁰ These scores were subsequently recoded into a 12-point interval scale representing a range from 0 to 4.0 for purposes of crosstabulations and analysis of variance.

(c) Voting likelihood:

Two measures of voting (past voting frequency in City elections and intent to vote in the October, 1980 City election) were combined to determine "voting likelihood". The scores of the two indices, which both ranged in value from 1-5, were added to give a range of 2 to 10.

¹⁹The number of "uncertains" averaged 3-4% with all but four, 6% or less. The use of the theoretical mean rather than the actual mean slightly biased the overall score (towards the theoretical mean).

²⁰See Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), pp. 64-74, for an explanation.

Two's, 3's, and 4's were called "Voters"; 5's, 6's, and 7's were called "Quasi-Voters"; and 8's, 9's, and 10's "Non-Voters". Nines in either indice were rescored as a 9 in the new measure.

(d) Knowledge:

"Right" answers to each of five questions about City politics were added to give a measure of knowledge. The five questions related to knowledge of ward; councillor's name; size of city budget; number of city employees; and promotion of new business in the city.

(e) Recodes:

Several multiple value variables were recoded into six or seven values for purposes of crosstabulations and analysis of variance. These were "length of residence in Winnipeg" (into 7); "age" (into 7); and "ward" (recoded into both "community committee", on the one hand, and "councillor's political affiliation" on the other). This created 6 values for community committee and 3 values for political affiliation.

Subsequently, due to the number of zeros and low values that appeared in the cells, both dependent variables (reformism and consistency) plus all variables used in the analysis of variance were trichotomized. This increased the confidence with which the measures of association and the analysis of variance can be interpreted. It also allowed the use of Chi-square as a test of significance.

(3) Statistical Techniques

(a) Means and frequency distributions:

Frequency distributions for all variables (including new variables)

were obtained to ensure accuracy and completeness of the data. Frequency distributions plus means and variance were particularly important in reviewing patterns of the main dependent variable, "reformism". Frequency distributions (plus statistics) were obtained for each of the 12 issue categories; for the overall weighted measure; and for the important political sub-groups. The latter are used in the assessment of voting behavior. A frequency distribution of the second dependent variable, "consistency", was also obtained to see the overall pattern.

(b) Crosstabulations:

Crosstabulations were obtained for "reformism" (the 12 category, weighted measure) and all socio-demographic and political variables. As well, measures of significance and association were also obtained. Crosstabulations for "consistency" and a number of selected socio-demographic and political variables were obtained. These were political groups, gender, education, income, occupation, voting likelihood, knowledge, length of residence, community committee, and age. Measures of significance and association were also obtained.

A crosstabulation of "Type of City Wanted" and "Importance of City Type" was obtained because of the unexpected number of people who felt the question of "City Type" was not important.²¹ Possibly an explanation would emerge.

²¹For an explanation of Crosstabulations, see N.H. Nie, et al., SPSS Manual, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), Chapter 16.

(c) Analysis of Variance

Originally, the analysis of covariance program was to be used because of the presence of both metric (interval) and non-metric (nominal and ordinal) variables.²² The intent was to analyze variance "caused" by hypothesized variables (such as occupation), controlling for such continuous variables (covariates) as age.

This strategy was dropped because of the low levels of association and the limitations of the program (too few cases),²³ as well as the decision to collapse the tables into trichotomized categories (eliminating all metric variables). Subsequently, a straight analysis of variance program was run without controls. The use of controls would likely reduce the already low levels of significance.

Reliability Check

The SPSS program, RELIABILITY, provides a means of evaluating multiple-item additive scales through the computation of widely recognized coefficients of reliability. Subprogram ALPHA provides a reliability coefficient for the overall scale which is roughly equivalent to a "split-half" reliability coefficient. Subprogram PARALLEL provides an estimated common inter-item correlation based on "true variance" which is very close to the average inter-item correlation.²⁴

²² SPSS Manual, Ibid., p. 399.

²³ SPSS Manual, Ibid., p. 411; SAS User's Guide, 1979 Edition (SAS Institute, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1979), pp. 237-244.

²⁴ SPSS, Update 7, pp. 58 f.f.

The two subprograms were applied to the 36 indices; to the 12 issue category scores; and to the 3 measures of reformism used by Nie, Verba and Petrocik, referenced earlier. The results were as follows:

Table III-3. Results of the Reliability Check.

	<u>Estimated Inter-Item Correlation</u>	<u>Alpha</u>
3 measures	0.3895	0.6569
12 measures	0.1670	0.7064
36 measures	0.0893	0.7793

It should be noted that while the estimated inter-item correlation of 8.9% for the 36 measures is low,²⁵ many theoretically-necessary items have negative correlations. This may indicate, however, the presence of more than one dimension, and/or of items which do not belong in the scale. Inter-item correlations within issues are, as a rule, much higher.

The correlations for all 36 items are provided in Appendix "G" (36 Item, Inter-Item Correlation Matrix). The Item to Scale Correlations are provided in Appendix "H", and were obtained using the Reliability program.²⁶ All items were positively correlated and ranged in value from 0.1897 (Growth, a; VAR20) to 0.50667 (Housing, b; VAR24).

²⁵Dr. B. Spinner of the University of Manitoba, Psychology Department, advises that inter-item correlations of .3 would be considered very good for a multiple-item scale (August 12, 1980, conversation).

²⁶SPSS Manual, Update 7, op. cit., p. 68.

Table III-1
PRE-TEST RESULTS

Measures	D.I	PANEL OF JUDGES					CITY COUNCILLORS										SAMPLE OF PUBLIC													
		P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	C ₈	C ₇	C ₆	C ₅	C ₄	C ₃	C ₂	C ₁	S ₁	S ₂	S ₃	S ₄	S ₅	S ₆	S ₇	S ₈	S ₉	S ₁₀	S ₁₁	S ₁₂	S ₁₃	S ₁₄		
I Parks	a	R	R	R	R	R	4	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	1	
	b	N	N	N	N	*	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	0	4	4	4	3	1	3	4	3	4	3	3	1	1	1		
	c	R	R	R	R	R	4	3	4	3	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	2	3	0		
II Local	a	N	N	N	N	*	1	1	2	3	3	4	3	1	2	3	4	4	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	2		
	b	R	*	R	R	*	3	3	4	3	0	4	2	3	0	4	0	3	3	3	1	2	3	1	1	3	2	1		
	c	R	*	R	R	*	3	2	3	3	3	4	3	3	0	0	2	3	3	1	2	3	1	3	3	1	1	0		
III Trans.	a	R	R	R	R	*	4	3	3	3	2	4	1	3	2	4	2	3	0	3	2	1	4	1	0	1	1	3		
	b	N	N	N	N	N	3	4	4	1	3	1	1	3	4	4	4	3	0	3	1	3	0	1	1	0	1	1		
	c	R	R	R	R	R	4	3	4	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	2	1	4	3	4	2		
IV Downtown	a	N	N	R/*	N	N	4	3	2.5	2	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	3	3	3	1	1		
	b	N	N	N	N	N	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	4	2	1	4	3	2	1	4	1	3	4	3	1	1		
	c	N	*	N/*	N	*	2	1	3.5	0	1	3	3	3	3	1	1	3	0	3	3	1	3	3	3	1	0	4		
V Culcure	a	R	R	N/*	R	*	1	1	1	3	1	4	2	1	1	2	2	0	4	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	0		
	b	N	*	R	R	*	2	3	3.5	3	1	3	1	3	3	3.5	3	1	4	3	3	1	0	3	2	1	1	3		
	c	R	R	R	R	R	3	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	4	3	3	4	1	3	1	4	1	2	3	2			
VI Hsq.	a	N	N	N	R	N	4	3	4	3	4	2	2	2	4	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	0	4	2	2	3	1		
	b	R	R	R	R	*	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	2	3	4	4	4	4	1	1	2	0	3	3	2	3	1		
	c	N	*	R	R	*	2.5	2	1	3	1	4	1	3	4	2	0	0	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	3	1	1		
VII Growth	a	R	*	N/*	R	R	4	1	3	3	3	2	1	2	4	4	1	0	0	2	0	2	4	1	1	3	1	0		
	b	N	*	R	R	N	3	3	1	3	1	3	1	0	4	4	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0		
	c	N	*	R/*	R	*	3	2	4	2	3	3	3	3	2	4	1	1	3	3	3	1	0	2.5	3	1	1	1		
VIII Hous.	a	R	R	R	R	R	4	3	4	3	1	0	3	1	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	2	4	3	1	3	3	0		
	b	N	N	N	N	N	4	3	3	1	1	4	2	1	4	4	2	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	0	1	0		
	c	R	R	R	N	*	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	4	1	1	3	2	1	3	3	2	1	1	3	2		
IX Enval.	a	N	*	N	N	N	2	4	3	4	2	2	1	3	2	3	4	4	3	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	0		
	b	R	R	R	R	R/*	4	3	4	3	0	3	3	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	2		
	c	R	R	R	R	R	4	2	4	3	3	2	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	2	4	0		
X Land	a	N	N	N	N	N	3	3	3	2	1	0	1	3	3	1	3	3	1	3	4	4	3	2	2	2	1	0		
	b	R	R	R	R	*	4	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	1	3	3	2	3	1	1	4	0		
	c	R	R	R	R	R	4	4	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	1	4	1	4	0		
XI Health	a	R	R	R	R	*	4	4	3	3	3	1	3	2	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	1	3	4	0			
	b	N	N	N/*	N	N	3	4	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	4	1	2	3	1	2	0	0		
	c	N	N	N	N	N	4	4	4	4	3	3	1	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	4	4		
XII Pol.riat.	a	N	N	N	N	N	4	4	4	3	1	3	1	1	4	3.5	3	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	3	2	4	0		
	b	R	R	R	R	R	4	4	3	1	1	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	1	3	2	3	4	3	0	1	1		
	c	N	R	N/*	N	*	4	4	4	0	1	0	3	1	4	3	3	3	0	3	4	3	3	2	4	1	1	2		
X	Avg		97%	86%	83%	100%	97%	3.4	3.0	3.2	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.0	2.1	3.2	3.3	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.9	1.0	
P.P.		4e	3e	2	"1"	"1"	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	0		
XVI		-	-	-	-	-	6	5	4	3	4	3	4	3	5	4	5	6	6	5	5	3	3	3	3	3	2	0		
XIII		-	-	-	-	-	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	2	4	3	3	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	0		

Code: D.I - Design Intent
 % - % correlation between panel member and D.I
 P.P - Political Philosophy (4 = reform, 0 = non-reform; e = estimate; "1" = unlikely self-identification)
 XVI - Sum of Question XIII a, b, c, of Questionnaire
 XIII - Answer to Question XVI of Questionnaire
 R - Reform; N - Non-Reform; * - ambiguity

Table III-2. A Comparison of Councillor Mean Scores of all 36 Scale Items versus Selected Items.

Items Included ¹	COUNCILLORS RANKED BY IDEOLOGY ²							
	C ₈	C ₇	C ₆	C ₅	C ₄	C ₃	C ₂	C ₁
All 36 items	3.4	3.0	3.2	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.0	2.1
19 best items, representing all 12 issue categories	3.5	3.4	3.2	2.5	1.9	2.1	1.8	1.6
17 best items, representing 10 issue categories	3.7	3.4	3.2	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.3

Notes: 1. Each issue category is weighted equally in determining scores.

2. Councillor C₁ is the most reformist, through to Councillor C₈, the most conservative. Possible scale scores ranged from 0 (most conservative) to 4 (most reformist).

CHAPTER IV

PUBLIC REFORMIST ATTITUDES IN WINNIPEG

Introduction

The primary research question of this thesis is the extent to which the Winnipeg public holds reformist attitudes towards urban development. A recent article on the reform movement in Winnipeg quotes several "reform" Councillors as saying Winnipeggers are complacent and apathetic as regards reform issues, and also quotes Don Higgins (a political scientist from St. Mary's University, specializing in urban government) as saying that Winnipeggers "are in another century" when it comes to reformism.¹ I have hypothesized (see Chapter I) that Winnipeggers are slightly reformist in their attitudes towards urban development. What do the results indicate? Figure IV-1, immediately below, gives the results of the overall, weighted measure of reformism.

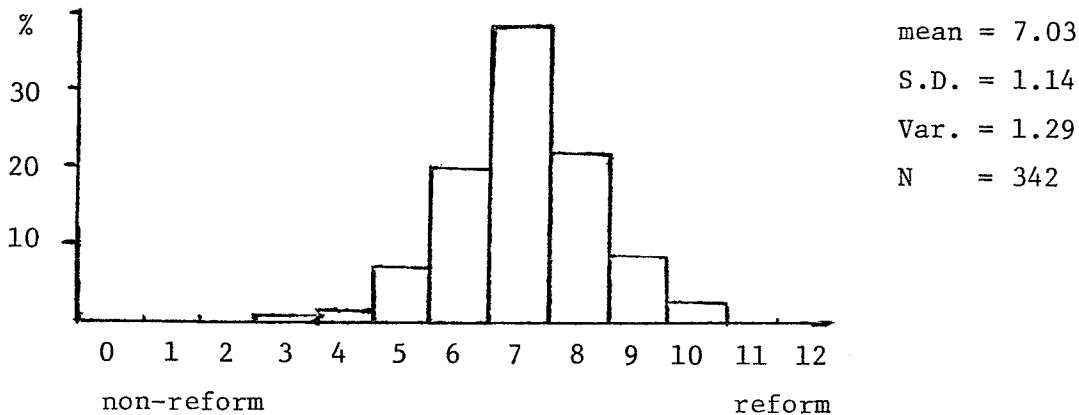


Figure IV-1. Frequency distribution of the Winnipeg Public's attitude towards urban development using the overall, weighted reform measure.

¹Ingeborg Boyens, "Winnipeggers Happy in Apathy", Winnipeg Free Press, November 29, 1979, p. 7.

This weighted measure of reformism was obtained by adding the scores of the three items of each issue category, and weighted by multiplying the issue category by its importance as given in Question XIV; divided by the total weights assigned; then grouped into single integer values. The theoretical mean was 6. If the 36 items selected to measure reformism are a valid scale, and if the above method of arriving at a weighted measure is also valid, then we can conclude that the Winnipeg public is slightly reformist. Interestingly, there is no evidence of a polarization of the electorate between non-reform and reform attitudes -- a phenomenon one might expect from reading the reform literature. Indeed, the distribution of public attitudes is about as nearly normal as could be expected with approximately equal numbers distributed (normally) around the overall weighted mean of 7.03. The high peakedness of the distribution (resulting in a low standard deviation and narrow range of scores) is also unexpected.

Frequency Distributions of the 12 Issue Categories

In order to provide a more detailed assessment of how reformist the Winnipeg public is, the frequency distributions of the 12 issues categories are given below. It will be of interest to see whether polarization or high deviation occur in any of the issue categories. The distributions were obtained by adding the scored responses on each of the three items comprising each issue category and hence can range in value from 0 to 12. The importance assigned to them by the respondent, does not affect the frequency distribution. For scoring reverse items, please see the Code Book VAR2 to VAR37.

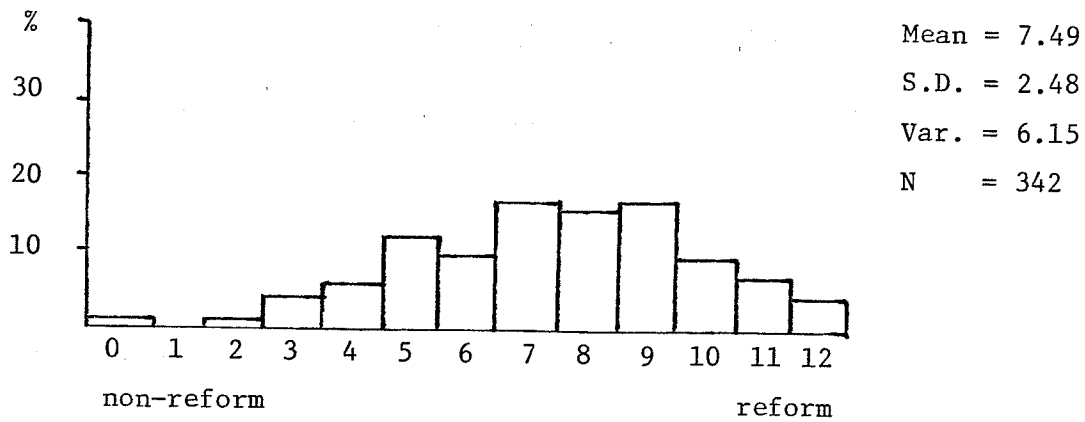


Figure IV-2. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards PARKS AND OUTDOOR RECREATIONAL FACILITIES.

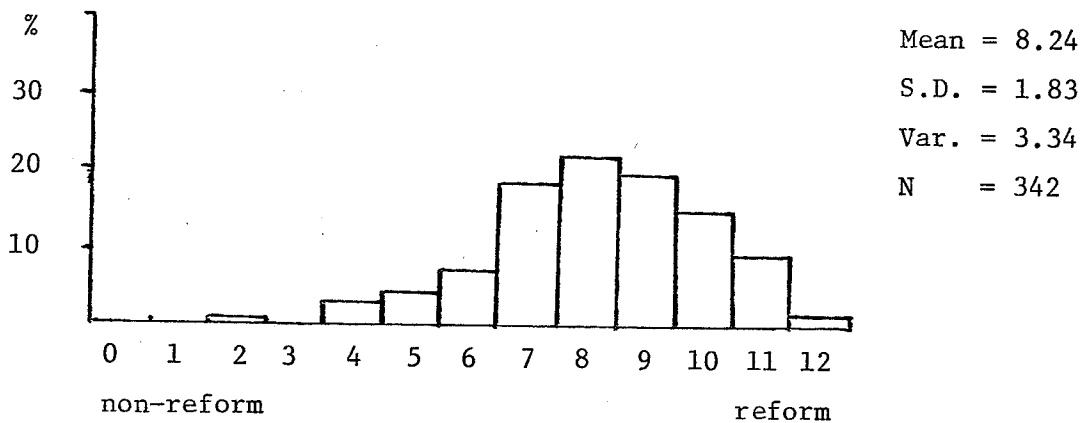


Figure IV-3. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS.

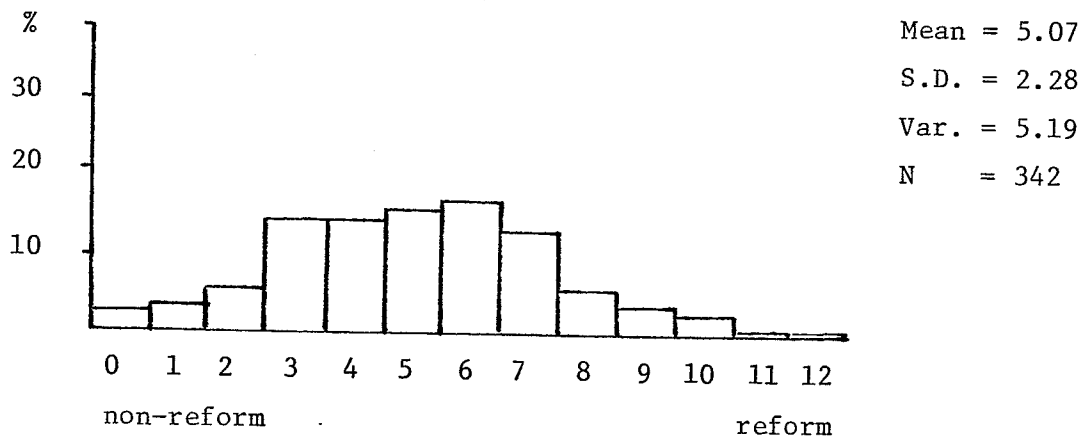


Figure IV-4. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards TRANSPORTATION.

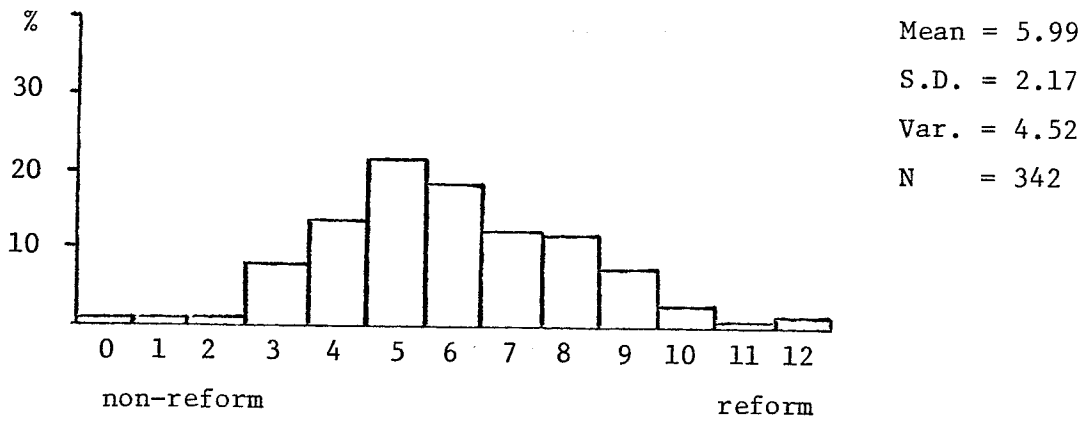


Figure IV-5. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT.

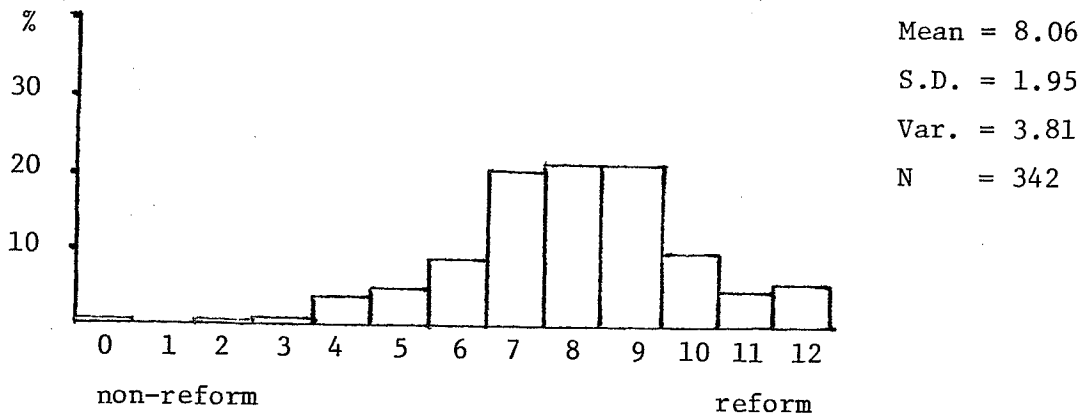


Figure IV-6. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards CULTURE, SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT.

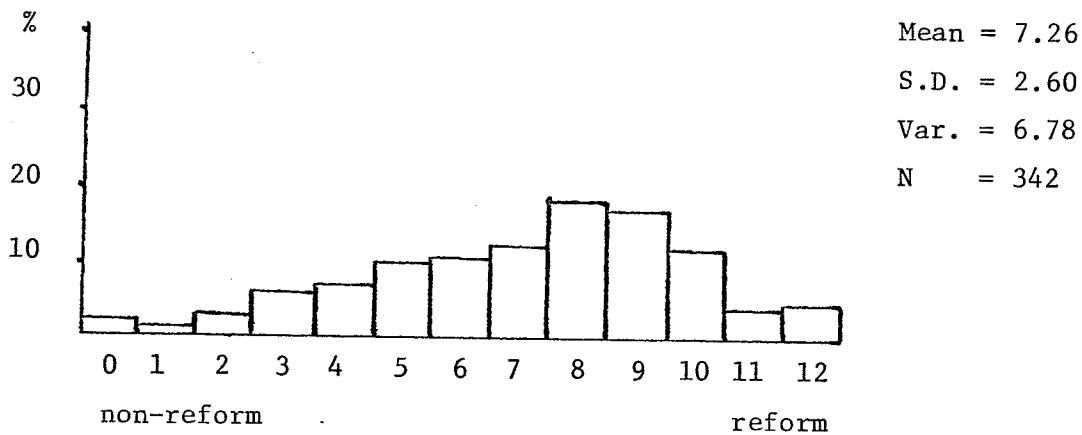


Figure IV-7. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards HISTORICAL BUILDINGS.

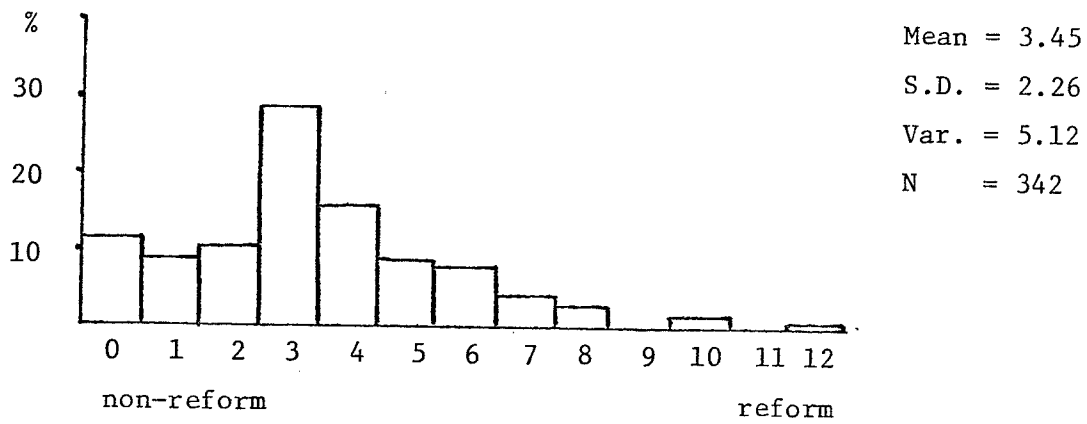


Figure IV-8. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards GROWTH.

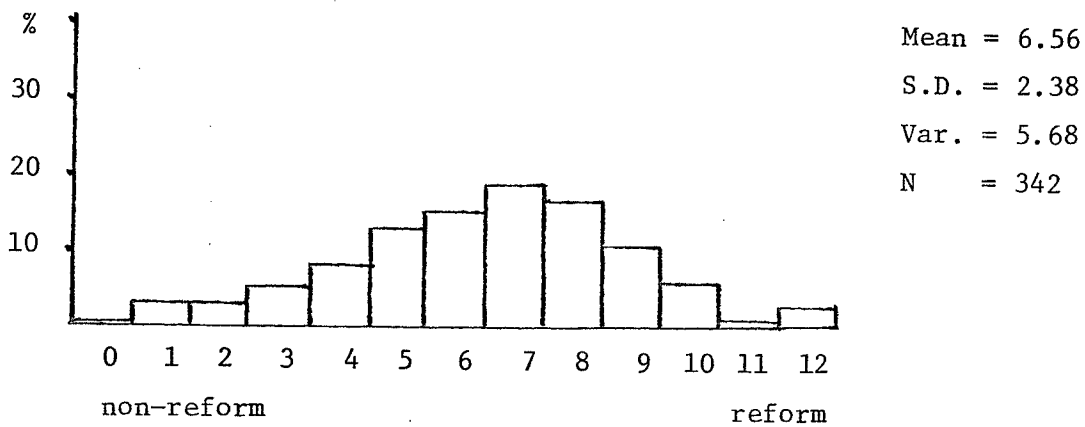


Figure IV-9. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards HOUSING.

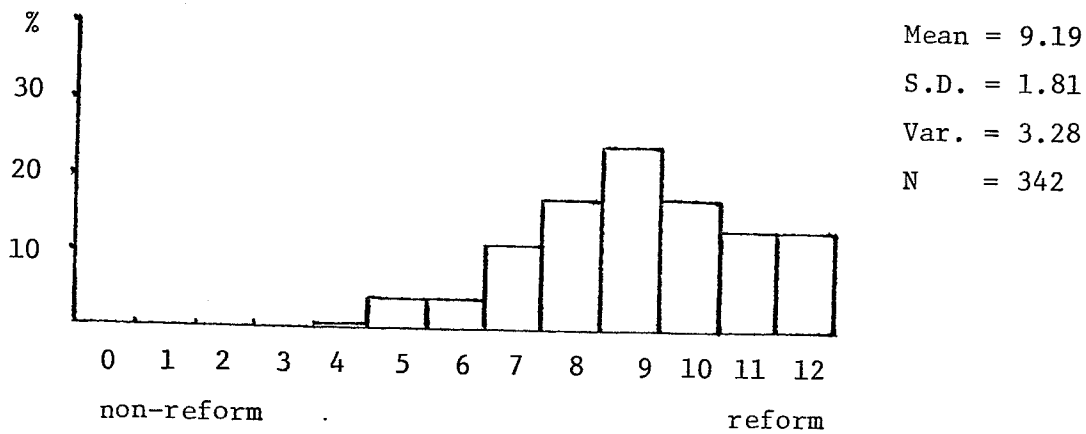


Figure IV-10. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards ENVIRONMENT.

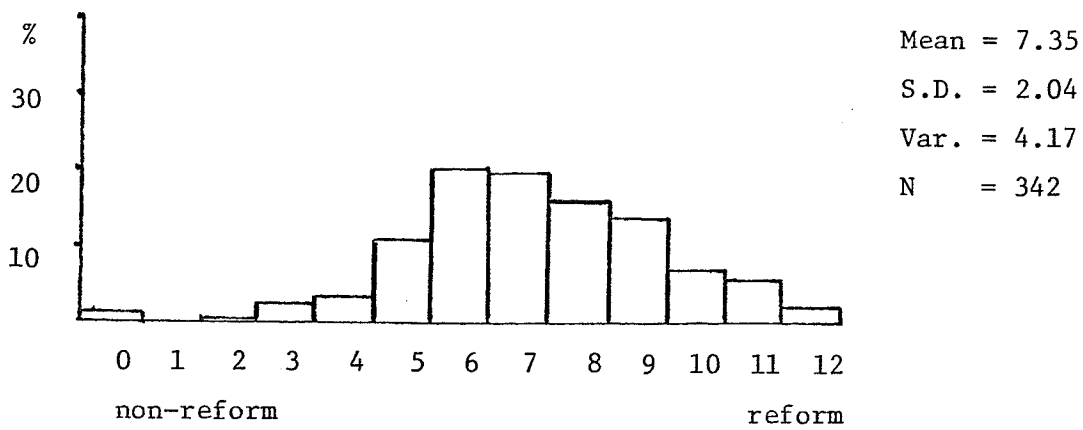


Figure IV-11. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards LAND USAGE AND PLANNING.

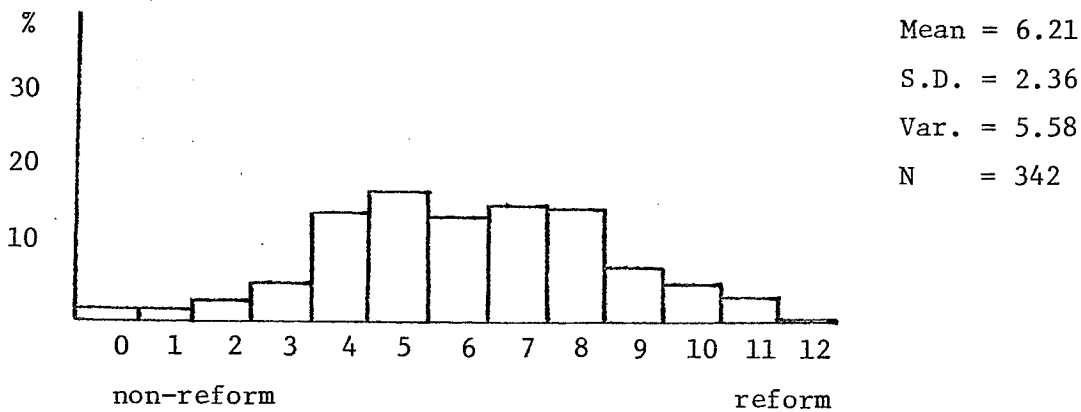


Figure IV-12. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards HEALTH, SOCIAL SERVICES AND WELFARE.

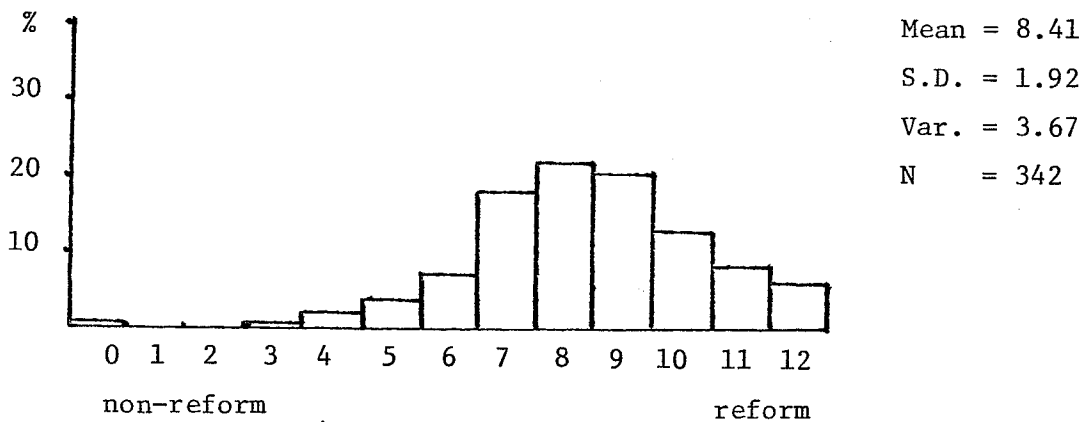


Figure IV-13. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public attitudes towards POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.

An analysis of the frequency distributions of the 12 issue categories shows that the public is reformist on 9 out of 12 of them, with the most reformist measures being "Environment" and "Political Representation". On two issue categories, "Growth" and "Transportation" they are not reformist, while on the remaining issue category "Downtown Development" they are neutral. All of the distributions tend to be normal, although there is more deviance, and more skew, than in the overall weighted measure. Only on one issue category, that of "Health, Social Services and Welfare", is there any indication of polarization, and this is very slight.

The RELIABILITY check on the 12 Issue Category scale produced negative correlations between "Growth" on the one hand, and "Local Neighborhoods", "Culture, Sports and Entertainment", "Land Usage and Planning" and "Political Representation" on the other. "Transportation" and "Political Representation" also negatively correlated. The REALIABILITY check also indicated that "Housing" was the best indicator of reformism, followed closely by "Environment" and "Historical Buildings". The worst indicator of reformism was "Growth", followed by "Transportation" -- these two being distinctly worse than any of the others. Hence, the RELIABILITY check confirms what the frequency distributions revealed in terms of which issue categories elicit the most reformist attitudes from the public.

Criterion Reform Measures

Analysis of the survey results regarding the two criterion measures of reformism provides further evidence that the Winnipeg public is slightly reformist in its attitudes towards urban development.

(1) Adaptation of American Reform Measures

(a) Measure No. 1 (VAR38)

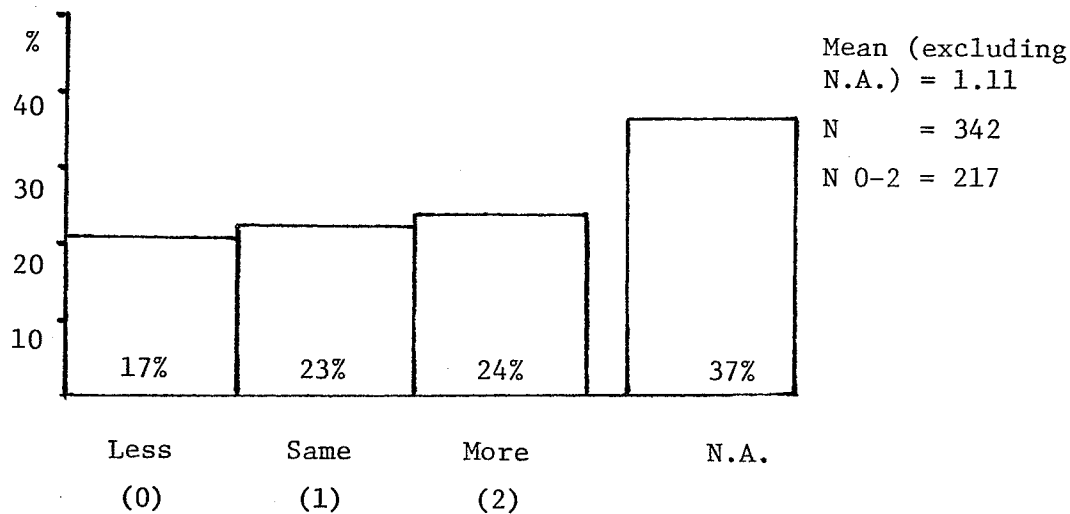


Figure IV-14. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public views about whether or not City Council "Should be spending more money to resolve problems and provide services."

(b) Measure No. 2 (VAR39)

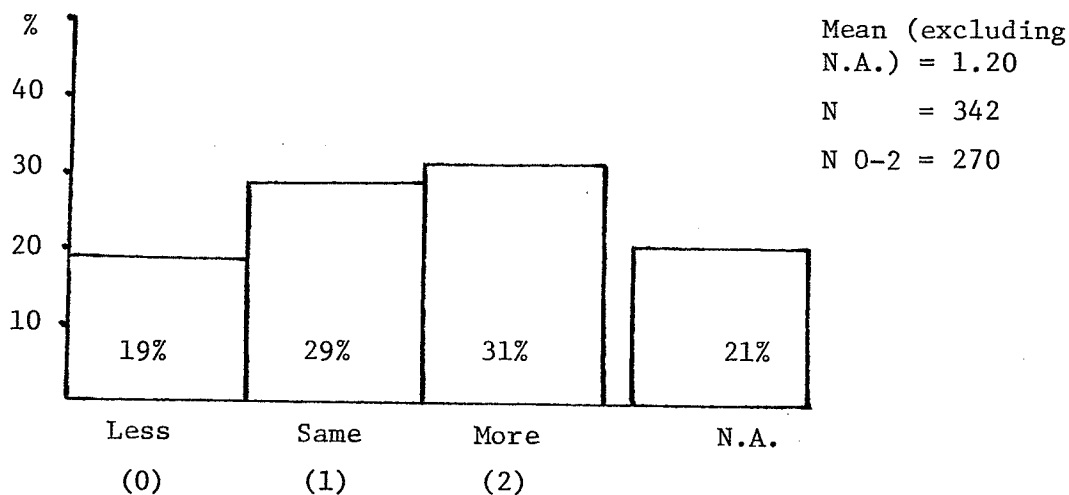


Figure IV-15. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public views as to whether or not City Council is "Doing the right amount in assisting less privileged people and lower income groups."

(c) Measure No. 3 (VAR40)

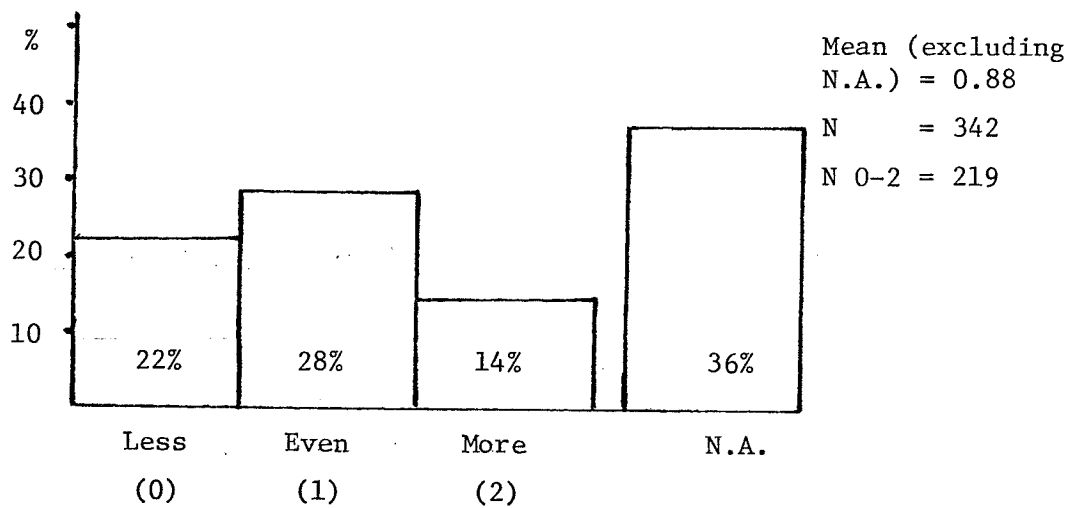


Figure IV-16. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public views as to whether or not City Council is "Trying to do too many things which should be left to individuals and private businesses."

(2) "Kind of City Desired"

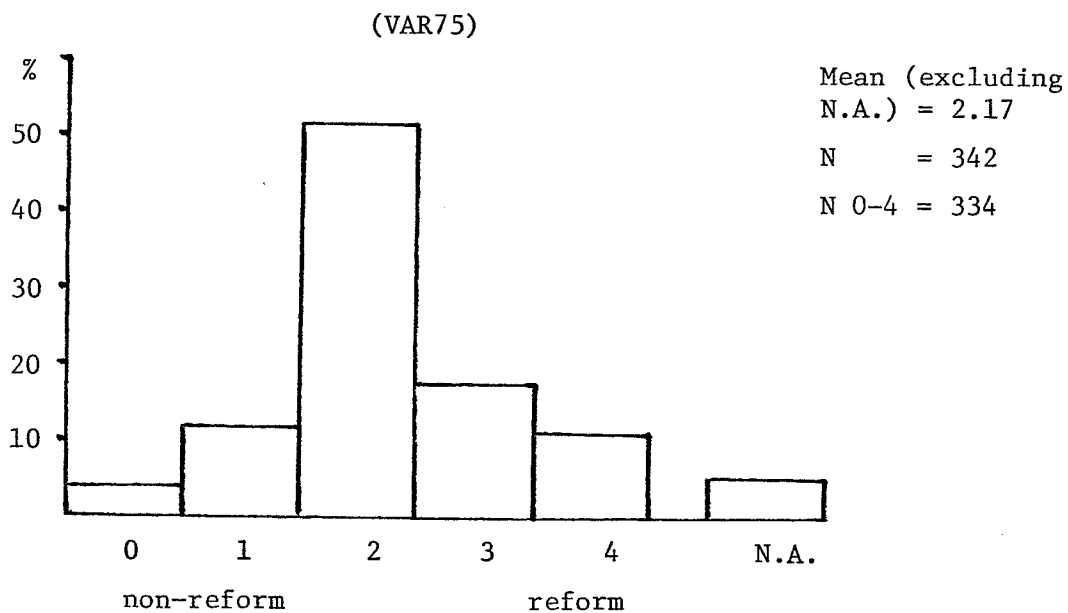


Figure IV-17. Frequency distribution of Winnipeg public views as to the "Kind of City" wanted.

The two criterion measures of reformism both indicate a slightly reformist public in terms of the development of the city. The high number of N.A.'s in the first measure (Adaptation of American Reform Measures) detracts somewhat from the confidence which can be placed in them. However, the fact that they parallel the findings of both the overall weighted measures, and the "Type of City" measures, suggests that the N.A.'s are probably equally distributed.

Whether non-reformers or reformers placed more emphasis on the importance of the kind of City we have, was a most interesting side question. The results are as follows:

Table IV-1. Crosstabulation of "Kind of City Wanted" and "Importance of This Issue" (VAR75 BY VAR76).

Frequency Col. Pct.		←————→					Totals No. %	
		Not Impt. 1	2	3	Very Impt. 4	9		
Growth	0	0 0.00	2 3.85	5 2.67	7 7.95	0 0.00	14 4.09	
	1	1 16.67	8 15.38	24 12.83	6 6.82	1 11.11	40 11.70	
	2	1 16.67	31 59.62	104 55.61	38 43.18	2 22.22	176 51.46	
	3	1 16.67	10 19.23	36 19.25	12 13.64	0 0.00	59 17.25	
Humane	4	0 0.00	0 0.00	16 8.56	23 26.14	0 0.00	39 11.40	
	N.A.	9	3 50.00	1 1.92	2 1.07	2 2.27	6 66.67	14 4.09
TOTALS		No. %	6 1.75	52 15.20	187 54.68	88 25.73	9 2.63	342 100.00

The above crosstabulation shows that there is a slight positive correlation between those who have the most reformist attitudes and those who feel that this issue is (more) important. Two measures of association were calculated to provide an indication of the strength of the association and were as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Tau-C} &= 0.114 \\ \text{Uncertainty Coefficient (Symetric)} &= 0.110 \end{aligned}$$

These tend to support the conclusion drawn above, that there is a slight tendency for those who feel that the issue "type of city" is important, to be more reformist than those who do not.²

Conclusions

Overall, assuming that the scale is valid, and the sample is representative, it can be concluded that the Winnipeg electorate is slightly reformist in its attitude toward urban development. This conclusion is supported by the results for all three measures. The distribution of these attitudes is normal with deviance and skew also normal.

There are issues where the public is non-reformist. These are "Growth", which the public strongly supports; and "Transportation",

²Tau-C is a measure of association for two variables of at least ordinal level, and ranges in value from 1 to -1 (positive to negative correlations respectively). It is based on whether pairs of cases are concordant or discordant and is used in lieu of Tau-B for rectangular tables. Uncertainty Coefficient (symmetrical) is a measure of association for two variables of nominal level or better and ranges in value from 0 to 1. It is based on the extent to which the knowledge of either variable's score results in the reduction in "uncertainty" about the score of the other. For a fuller discussion of both measures, see SPSS Manual, op. cit., pp. 226-228.

where they continue to think in terms of personal transportation. On one issue, "Downtown Development", they are basically neutral. These indications of non-reformism tend to be supported by the public's response to the question about whether City Council should be "doing more things which should be left to individuals and private businesses" -- a question on which they are slightly non-reformist.

On all other issues the public is reformist, and on some issues such as "Environment" and "Political Representation" they are strongly reformist.

The results would tend to indicate that there is more than one dimension to the scale. The inter-item correlations, and the frequency distributions suggest that there are two major dimensions -- one centering around growth and the physical development of the city, and the other centering around housing, environment and political representation. On the first, the public tends to be conservative, while on the latter they tend to be reformist.

Sample bias (please see Chapter III) would appear to effect the outcome only slightly. Most variables which are imbalanced in the sample -- such as housing type, home ownership, voting type -- correlate weakly with reformism, and are not significant at the .05 level (please see Chapter VI). In one case, that of education, there is a slight positive correlation, an imbalanced variable, and a significant relationship (please see Chapter VI).

There is virtually no evidence of a polarization along non-reform -- reform lines.

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC CONSISTENCY

Introduction

Whether or not the public is consistently reformist (or non-reformist) across the urban development issue categories is the second major research question of this study. Supplementary to this is the question of whether or not there are significant differences in consistency between sub-groups of the population.

The interpretation of the statistical data on consistency needs to be made with great caution. The "external" criteria (see Chapter I) by which we measure a person's consistency, may or may not have "internal" salience for them. It may be that inconsistency is the result of imperfect knowledge or lack of concern or awareness, or inconsistency may be the consequence of other attitudinal factors such as "civic pride", the area where one lives, or whether or not one is affiliated with one of the political groups on Council. Such factors may have more salience than the reformist orientations. The same applies to more immediate concerns such as "use of a car", "use of parks", attending "concerts" and the like. These immediate needs may override one's commitment to a particular orientation on urban development.

It was hypothesized (see Chapter I) that the Winnipeg public tends to be consistent in its attitudes across the urban development issue categories. It was also hypothesized that there would be significant differences in consistency between sub-groups of the population, especially those based on income, education, occupation and political

involvement. What do the results indicate?

Frequency Distribution of Consistency Scores

To measure a person's consistency, the deviance between their scores across the 12 issue categories was calculated. Total consistency would mean a score of zero, while total inconsistency would be a score of 6 (half the scale range). The distribution of individual scores is given below.

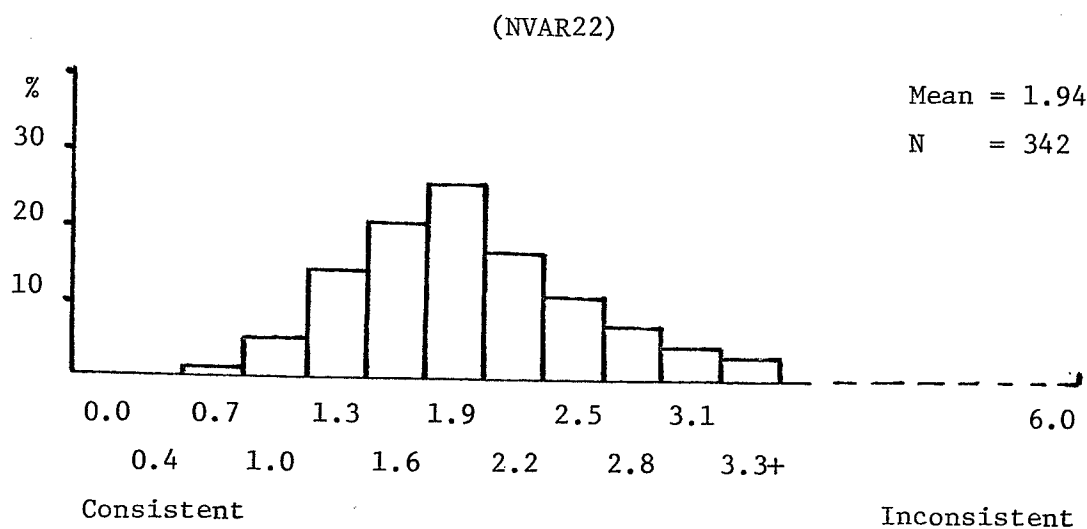


Figure V-1. Frequency distribution of the Winnipeg public's consistency scores (note that the X axis theoretically continues to 6).

This frequency distribution reveals that, *on average*, a person's scores will have a range of slightly less than + or - 2 around their mean. This can be interpreted as indicating that there is a tendency towards consistency among the Winnipeg public. This interpretation is supported by the "estimated interitem correlation" (which is based on variance) for the 12 issue categories of 16.7% (see Chapter II).

Strength of Association Between "Consistency" and Selected Socio-Demographic Variables

In order to establish the existence of significant relationships between sub-groups of the population and "consistency", tests of significance and association were obtained along with the crosstabulations. The measures of association chosen were Tau-C and Uncertainty Coefficient - R/C (see Chapter IV for an explanation).¹ In addition, Chi-square (as a test of significance), Gamma and Lambda (two further probability statistics) were included to reinforce the interpretation. The socio-demographic variables chosen are those with which "consistency" might logically show a relationship. The results are listed according to Tau-C because it is the stronger measure, and all but one (gender) of the variables are at least "ordinal".

Table V-1. Strength of Association Between "Consistency" and Selected Socio-Demographic Variables using Tau-C and Uncertainty Coefficient - R/C.

Independent Variable*	Tau-C	Uncertainty Coeff.	R/C	Reference Variable No.
Age	-0.130	0.017	(1)	NVAR20
Length of Residence	-0.092	0.008	(3)	NVAR18
Knowledge	-0.082	0.005	(5)	NVAR17
Income	-0.068	0.003	(8)	VAR99
Likelihood of Voting	0.054	0.005	(5)	NVAR16
Education	-0.032	0.005	(5)	VAR96
Occupation	0.019	0.003	(8)	VAR100
Party Affiliation	-0.010	0.011	(2)	VAR89
Gender	--	0.008	(3)	VAR95

*Note: The "sign" of Tau-C indicates the direction of the relationship when the independent variable is increased relative to an increase in the dependent variable (consistency).

¹Uncertainty Coefficient - R/C (Row from Column) is used as the dependent variable (consistency) and is given vertically in the crosstabulations. SPSS Manual, op. cit., p. 226.

The results would suggest that all the measures of association except "age" are very weak, perhaps to the point of non-significance. The three strongest, indicated relationships -- age, length of residence, and knowledge -- were not hypothesized. For all of the four hypothesized relationships -- voting likelihood, occupation, income, and education -- the relationships are extremely weak, contrary to expectation. Two of them show negative associations. Of special note is the fact that, contrary to verse, song, and established wisdom, females showed more consistency (however slight) than males.

Selected Crosstabulations

Crosstabulations between "consistency" and five of the socio-demographic variables are presented below. These show the relationships between the dependent and independent variables more clearly, and provide further statistics. "Age" was selected because it showed the strongest measure of association. "Income" and "education" were selected as examples of the hypothesized variables. "Likelihood of Voting" and "Political Affiliation" were selected because they are two key political variables of particular interest to political scientists.

A close analysis of the crosstabulations show what the measures of association suggested: there is, at best, a weak relationship between consistency and the socio-demographic variables selected. Only age shows a significant relationship, and it indicates that consistency decreases with age to a slight degree.

Table V-2. Crosstabulation of Consistency and Age (NVAR22 BY NVAR20).

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	AGE			Total
		18- 34 1- 2	35- 54 3- 4	55+ 5- 7	
Consistent					
0.7- 1.7	2 . .	60 46.15 44.78	42 32.31 34.71	28 21.54 34.57	130 38.69
1.8- 2.3	1 . .	58 42.03 43.28	51 36.96 42.15	29 21.01 35.80	138 41.07
Not Consistent					
2.4- 4.0	3 . .	16 23.53 11.94	28 41.18 23.14	24 35.29 29.63	68 20.24
TOTAL	. .	134 39.88	121 36.01	81 24.11	336 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 11.468 DF = 4 PROB = 0.0218

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.205 ASE1 = 0.073
 Stuart's Tau-C 0.130 ASE1 = 0.047
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.010
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.017

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that consistency decreases as age increases. (Please note that consistency decreases as you go down the table.)

Table V-3. Crosstabulation Between Consistency and Income (NVAR22 BY VAR99).

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	INCOME			Total
		Under 10,000 1- 2	10,000- 20,000 3- 4	Over 20,000 5	
Consistent					
0.7- 1.7	28 . .	18 17.31 45.00	39 37.50 43.33	47 45.19 37.30	104 40.63
1.8- 2.3	37 . .	16 15.69 40.00	35 34.31 38.89	51 50.00 40.48	102 39.84
Not Consistent					
2.4- 4.0	21 . .	6 12.00 15.00	16 32.00 17.78	28 56.00 22.22	50 19.53
TOTAL	. .	40 15.63	90 35.16	126 49.22	256 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 1.756 DF = 4 PROB = 0.7805

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.117 ASE1 = 0.090
 Stuart's Tau-C 0.068 ASE1 = 0.052
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.026
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.003

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that consistency decreases with income.

Table V-4. Crosstabulation of Consistency and Education (NVAR22 BY VAR96).

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	EDUCATION			Total
		Gde. 10 or Less 1-2	Gde. 11-12/ Post Second. 3-4	Some Univ./ Univ. 5-6	
Consistent					
0.7- 1.7	3 . .	29 22.48 47.54	55 42.64 34.81	45 34.88 38.46	129 38.39
1.8- 2.3	3 . .	22 16.18 36.07	66 48.53 41.77	48 35.29 41.03	136 40.48
Not Consistent					
2.4- 4.0	0 . .	10 14.08 16.39	37 52.11 23.42	24 33.80 20.51	71 21.13
TOTAL	. .	61 18.15	158 47.02	117 34.82	336 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 3.286 DF = 4 PROB = 0.5112

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.053 ASE1 = 0.078
Stuart's Tau-C 0.032 ASE1 = 0.047
Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.035
Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.005

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that consistency decreases with education.

Table V-5. Crosstabulation of Consistency and Likelihood of Voting
(NVAR22 BY NVAR16).

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING			Total	
	Missing Values	Voter 1	Quasi- Voter 2		Non- Voter 3
Consistent					
0.7- 1.7	4 . .	104 81.25 36.75	18 14.06 48.65	6 4.69 46.15	128 38.44
1.8- 2.3	4 . .	116 85.93 40.99	13 9.63 35.14	6 4.44 46.15	135 40.54
Not Consistent					
2.4- 4.0	1 . .	63 90.00 22.26	6 8.57 16.22	1 1.43 7.69	70 21.02
TOTAL	. .	283 84.98	37 11.11	13 3.90	333 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 3.509 DF = 4 PROB = 0.4765

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma -0.214 ASE1 = 0.121
 Stuart's Tau-C -0.054 ASE1 = 0.031
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.025
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.005

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that voters are slightly more consistent than non-voters.

Table V-6. Crosstabulation of Consistency and Party Affiliation
(NVAR22 BY VAR89).

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	PARTY AFFILIATION				Total
	Missing Values	ICEC 1	Ind. 2	NDP 3	
Consistent					
0.7- 1.7	78 . .	22 40.74 40.74	12 22.22 46.15	20 37.04 33.90	54 38.85
1.8- 2.3	83 . .	18 32.14 33.33	10 17.86 38.46	28 50.00 47.46	56 40.29
Not Consistent					
2.4- 4.0	42 . .	14 48.28 25.93	4 13.79 15.38	11 37.93 18.64	29 20.86
TOTAL	. .	54 38.85	26 18.71	59 42.45	139 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 3.378 DF = 4 PROB = 0.4966

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.017 ASE1 = 0.121
 Stuart's Tau-C 0.010 ASE1 = 0.074
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.072
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.011

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. No relationship between Consistency and Party Affiliation is evident.

Analysis of Variance

The results of the Analysis of Variance are given below and in Appendix "I". They provide a further check on the significance of relationships, as well as indicate the amount of explained variance (F).

Table V-7. Analysis of Variance Between Consistency and Socio-Demographic Variables Significant at the .05 Level.

Variable Name	Model SS	Error SS	Total SS	No. of Obsers.	DF	F	PR > F
Age				336	2	4.42	0.0127
	Model =	4.8247					
	Error =	181.7349					
	Total =	186.5595					
Home Ownership				342	2	3.48	0.0320
	Model =	3.8636					
	Error =	188.2563					
	Total =	192.1199					
Religion				292	2	3.13	0.0452
	Model =	3.5497					
	Error =	163.8887					
	Total =	167.4384					

Originally, only 63 cases were included in the analysis as all variables were included in the model and it rejected all cases where one or more values were missing.

The Analysis of Variance was subsequently rerun one variable at a time resulting in the number of observations as shown for each vari-

able. This resulted in figures that one could have confidence in, and in most cases, increased the significance levels, while leaving the amount of variance explained at approximately the same level.

In interpreting the results, the "F" indicates how well the model accounts for the behavior of the dependent variable. The SS values are included for clarity. The "Probability is Greater Than F" column, (PR > F), indicates the likelihood of making an error if the null hypothesis is rejected.² Hence, the lower the percentage, the greater the likelihood of there being a relationship.

As the results indicate, three variables -- Age, Home Ownership, and Religion -- are significant at the .05 level. All of the hypothesized relationships -- Voting Likelihood, Occupation, Income and Education -- are not significant at the .05 level. These results are given in Appendix "I". It is probable that introducing controls would reduce the significant levels even further.

Conclusions

The hypothesized existence of a tendency to be slightly consistent between issue categories is confirmed. Both the frequency distribution of consistency scores, and the RELIABILITY "estimated inter-item correlation" confirm this. This interpretation must be treated with caution, however, as the remarks at the beginning of the chapter indicate. The absence of stronger patterns of consistency may well indicate that there is more than one dimension to the scale. The remarks provided at the end of Chapter IV are equally applicable here.

²SAS User's Guide, op. cit., p. 238.

The hypothesized existence of significant differences between subgroups of income, occupation, education, and political involvement is not confirmed. No significant relationships were found between consistency and any of the socio-demographic variables. A slight possibility exists that there is a relationship between consistency and three variables -- age, length of residence, and knowledge. If there is, however, it is very slight. These findings are at odds with the Nie, Verba and Petrocik study which found "elites" (social elites based on income, occupation and education) to be more consistent than the "masses".³ Again, however, these results must be treated with caution.

³Nie, Verba and Petrocik, Changing American Voter, op. cit., p. 27.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS

Introduction

It is customary in social science research -- particularly in descriptive studies -- to seek relationships between the phenomenon under study on the one hand, and various characteristics of a population on the other.¹ It is usual, as well, to include socio-demographic variables which are pertinent to the particular study at hand.

In this study, the population characteristics chosen were occupation (and occupation type), education, income, ethnic origin, religion, and gender. The variables which were considered especially pertinent to this study of attitudes towards urban development were area of residence (wards, community committees), length of residence in Winnipeg, industrial and residential conditions (perceived as being offensive), travel mode, home ownership, and housing type. A "knowledge" check was also employed, and two political variables -- "political affiliation" and "likelihood of voting" -- enabled a linking of attitudes to the real world of politics.

The third research question asked if there were significant relationships between reformist attitudes and sub-groups of the population. It was hypothesized that there would be significant differences in reform attitudes between sub-groups based on income, occupation, educa-

¹See, for example, Claire Selltiz, L.S. Wrightsman, and S.W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, 3rd edition (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1976), pp. 90 f.f.

tion, area of residence, and political involvement (see Chapter I).

Strength of Association Between Reformist Attitudes and Socio-Demographic Variables

Tau-C and Uncertainty Coefficient R/C were selected as the best measures of association available for measuring the strength of the relationship between reformist attitudes and socio-demographic variables (see Chapters IV and V for explanations). In addition, Chi-square (as a test of significance), and Gamma and Lambda (as two additional probability statistics) were included to add insight to the basis for interpretation. As Tau-C cannot be used for nominal data, the variables were ranked in order of strength using the Uncertainty Coefficient R/C. The results are given in Table VI-1, on the following page.

Initially, data had been presented in 6-10 categories, resulting in many cells with zeros, and low confidence levels in the results. All the results here apply to the trichotomized data. As a general rule, the Tau-C coefficients are approximately the same as for the non-trichotomized data, while the Uncertainty Coefficients are much smaller. All measures of association indicate slight to non-existent relationships between reformism and the socio-demographic variables. Chi-square indicates that four variables have significant relationships -- education, religion, travel mode, and gender.

Before general conclusions are drawn, it is necessary to analyze the crosstabulations to confirm what the measures of association indicate. While all the socio-demographic crosstabulations are of interest, there are too many to justify reporting all of them. Six were selected for presentation: the two strongest hypothesized variables (education

and income); the two strongest non-hypothesized variables (religion and travel mode); community committee (also hypothesized), because of its particular relevance for Winnipeg politics; and industrial conditions, as an example of the remainder. Two political crosstabulations -- political affiliation and likelihood of voting -- will be provided in Chapter VII under Voting Behavior.

Table VI-1. Measures of Association Between "Reformism" and 18 Socio-Demographic Variables, Ranked by Uncertainty Coefficient.

Independent Variable*	Uncertainty		Tau-C (rank)	Variable Reference No.
	Coeff.	R/C		
Party Affiliation	0.031		--	VAR89
Religion	0.024		--	VAR98
Education	0.023		0.151 (1)	VAR96
Travel Mode	0.015		--	VAR82
Income	0.014		-0.041 (5)	VAR99
Gender	0.014		--	VAR95
Community Committee	0.011		--	NVAR19
Age	0.010		-0.108 (2)	NVAR20
Work Type	0.009		--	VAR101
Industrial Conditions	0.007		-0.089 (4)	VAR85
Length of Residence	0.007		-0.105 (3)	NVAR18
Occupation	0.005		--	VAR100
Likelihood of Voting	0.003		-0.015 (8)	NVAR16
Knowledge	0.003		-0.039 (6)	NVAR17
Housing Type	0.003		--	VAR84
Residential Environment	0.001		-0.030 (7)	VAR86
Ethnic Origin	0.001		--	VAR97
Home Ownership	0.001		--	VAR83

*Note: The "sign" of Tau-C indicates the direction of the relationship when the independent variable is "increased" relative to an increase in the dependent variable (reformism).

Table VI-2. Crosstabulation of Reformism and Education.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	EDUCATION			Total
		Gde. 10 or Less 1-2	Gde. 11-12/ Post Second. 3-4	Some Univ./ Univ. Degree 5-6	
Non-Reform					
2-6	3 . .	22 23.40 36.07	43 45.74 27.22	29 30.85 24.79	94 27.98
7	1 . .	26 19.70 42.62	72 54.55 45.57	34 25.76 29.06	132 39.29
Reform					
8-10	2 . .	13 11.82 21.31	43 39.09 27.22	54 49.09 46.15	110 32.74
TOTAL	. .	61 18.15	158 47.02	117 34.82	336 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 17.098 DF = 4 PROB = 0.0019

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.240 ASE1 = 0.075
 Stuart's Tau-C 0.151 ASE1 = 0.048
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.098
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.023

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that reformism increases with education and that it is clearly a significant relationship.

Table VI-3. Crosstabulation of Reformism and Income.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	INCOME			Total
		Under 10,000 1- 2	10,000- 20,000 3- 4	Over 20,000 5	
Non-Reform					
2-6	30 . .	8 11.94 20.00	18 26.87 20.00	41 61.19 32.54	67 26.17
7	32 . .	20 19.80 50.00	41 40.59 45.56	40 39.60 31.75	101 39.45
Reform					
8-10	24 . .	12 13.64 30.00	31 35.23 34.44	45 51.14 35.71	88 34.38
TOTAL	. .	40 15.63	90 35.16	126 49.22	256 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 8.007 DF = 4 PROB = 0.0913

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma -0.068 ASE1 = 0.088
 Stuart's Tau-C -0.041 ASE1 = 0.053
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.032
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.014

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that reformism decreases slightly with income.

Table VI-4. Crosstabulation Between Reformism and Religion.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	RELIGION			Total
		Roman Catholic	Protes- tant	Jewish	
		1	2	3	
Non-Reform					
2-6	14 . .	22 26.51 23.66	54 65.06 28.27	7 8.43 87.50	83 28.42
7	20 . .	35 30.97 37.63	77 68.14 40.31	1 0.88 12.50	113 38.70
Reform					
8-10	16 . .	36 37.50 38.71	60 62.50 31.41	0 0.00 0.00	96 32.88
TOTAL	. .	93 31.85	191 65.41	8 2.74	292 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 15.860 DF = 4 PROB = 0.0032

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma -0.222 ASE1 = 0.096
 Stuart's Tau-C -0.104 ASE1 = 0.046
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.039
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.024

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. Chi-square may not be a valid test as more than 5% of the cells have counts of less than 5.
 4. Catholics, however, appear to be the most reformist, with Jewish people the least.

Table VI-5. Crosstabulation Between Reformism and Travel Mode.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	TRAVEL MODE			Total
		Car 1	Bus 2	Both 3	
Non-Reform					
2-6	2 . .	68 71.58 34.34	6 6.32 15.00	21 22.11 21.00	95 28.11
7	0 . .	71 53.38 35.86	21 15.79 52.50	41 30.83 41.00	133 39.35
Reform					
8-10	2 . .	59 53.64 29.80	13 11.82 32.50	38 34.55 38.00	110 32.54
TOTAL	. .	198 58.58	40 11.83	100 29.59	338 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 10.796 DF = 4 PROB = 0.0290

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.198 ASE1 = 0.080
 Stuart's Tau-C 0.109 ASE1 = 0.045
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.000
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.015

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows the people who use the bus are more reformist than those who drive cars.

Table VI-6. Crosstabulation Between Reformism and Community Committee.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	COMMUNITY COMMITTEE			Total
	E.K.-Trans./ S.B.-S.V. 1-2	Assn. Pk.-F.G./ S.J.-Assin. 3-4	L.S.-W.K./ C.C.-F.R. 5-6	
Non-Reform				
2-6	22 22.68 20.37	34 35.05 27.87	41 42.27 36.61	97 28.36
7	48 36.09 44.44	44 33.08 36.07	41 30.83 36.61	133 38.89
Reform				
8-10	38 33.93 35.19	44 39.29 36.07	30 26.79 26.79	112 32.75
TOTAL	108 31.58	122 35.67	112 32.75	342 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 8.206 DF = 4 PROB = 0.0843

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma -0.166 ASE1 = 0.069
 Stuart's Tau-C -0.110 ASE1 = 0.046
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.000
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.011

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that E.K.-Trans./S.B.-S.V. is the most reformist, while L.S.-W.K./C.C.-F.R. is the least reformist. The relationship, however, is weak and may not be significant.

Table VI-7. Crosstabulation Between Reformism and the Frequency with which the Respondent Experiences Offensive Industrial Conditions.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	Missing Values	INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS			Total
		Everyday/ Frequently 1 - 2	Occassion- ally 3	Seldom/ Never 4 - 5	
Non-Reform					
2-6	1 . .	16 16.67 23.88	32 33.33 25.81	48 50.00 32.88	96 28.49
7	2 . .	28 21.37 41.79	44 33.59 35.48	59 45.04 40.41	131 38.89
Reform					
8-10	2 . .	23 20.91 34.33	48 43.64 38.71	39 35.45 26.71	110 32.64
TOTAL	. .	67 19.88	124 36.80	146 43.32	337 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 5.431 DF = 4 PROB = 0.2458

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma -0.140 ASE1 = 0.073
 Stuart's Tau-C -0.089 ASE1 = 0.046
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.019
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.007

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that those who experience offensive industrial conditions are more reformist than those who do not. However, the relationship is very weak.

Analysis of Variance

The analysis of variance between reformism and the socio-demographic variables was rerun variable by variable as was done for "consistency" (Chapter V). As a consequence, the number of observations was maximized and the confidence with which results could be interpreted was greatly increased. Six variables showed significant relationships as shown in the table below. The non-significant relationships are reported in Appendix "J".

Table VI-8. Analysis of Variance Between Reformism and Socio-Demographic Variables Significant at the .05 Level.

Variable Name	No. of Observers.	DF	F	PR > F
Model SS		Error SS		Total SS
Religion	292	2	6.64	0.0015
Model = 7.8422		Error = 170.5790		Total = 178.4212
Education	336	2	4.98	0.0074
Model = 5.9078		Error = 197.3303		Total = 203.2381
Gender	342	2	4.14	0.0167
Model = 4.9719		Error = 203.3702		Total = 208.3421
Work Type	286	1	5.20	0.0234
Model = 3.1888		Error = 174.3077		Total = 177.4965
Party Affil.	139	2	3.73	0.0265
Model = 4.2034		Error = 76.6167		Total = 80.8201
Travel Mode	338	2	3.22	0.0410
Model = 3.8584		Error = 200.4759		Total = 204.3343

The assessment of the crosstabulations suggests slightly stronger relationships than the Uncertainty Coefficient R/C does. In particular, education and religion show stronger relationships, and travel mode is shown to be slightly associated with reformism. Of the hypothesized variables, only education shows a significant relationship.

The Analysis of Variance results indicate similar strengths in the relationships, but show three additional variables -- gender, work type, and party affiliation -- produce significant relationships.

Conclusions

The statistical analysis of the survey results indicates that there are significant relationships between reformism and two of the five hypothesized variables (education and political involvement). It also shows that there are significant relationships between reformism and four of the non-hypothesized variables (religion, gender, work type, and travel mode). In all these cases, however, the strength of the relationship is slight to weak. All other relationships are weak to non-existent.

As indicated in earlier chapters (IV and V), these results may be affected by sample error, scale invalidity, and scale multi-dimensionality. The analysis of sub-group variation presented in this chapter indicates low or non-existent between-group variation. This suggests that reformism, as defined in this study, is not seriously affected by sampling error. However, the presence of more than a single dimension could be an alternate explanation for the low correlations. To the degree that the scale is invalid, the results would be further moderated.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC VOTING BEHAVIOR

Introduction

The fourth research question asked if there were implications for voting behavior in the Winnipeg Public's reformist attitudes. Attitudes are believed to intervene between properties on the one hand, and behavior on the other (see Chapter I). Are reformist attitudes therefore prominent in the electorate's mind, or influential in shaping their electoral decision -- at least as implied by the one study?

Two hypotheses were advanced. The first that the political group in power -- the ICEC -- would tend to be supported by people who were more non-reformist than those who supported Independent candidates or NDP or LEC candidates. The second hypothesis stated that non-voters were more reformist than voters -- a potential explanation for why the ICEC continues in power despite the belief that the public tended to be reformist (a proposition since supported by this study).

Together, these two hypotheses do not cover all the evidence that this survey provides. As a consequence, all the evidence about voting behavior that is available will be presented in order to explain as fully as possible the importance of reformist attitudes for voting behavior.

The tables below provide the crosstabulated results between reformism, and "Likelihood of Voting", "Political Affiliation", and "Party Affiliation of the Respondent's Councillor", respectively. These will be analyzed to see if relationships exist.

Table VII-1. Crosstabulation Between Reformism and the Likelihood of the Respondent to Vote.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING				Total
	Missing Values	Voter 1	Quasi- Voter 2	Non- Voter 3	
Non-Reform					
2-6	3 . .	83 88.30 29.33	8 8.51 21.62	3 3.19 23.08	94 28.23
7	5 . .	105 82.03 37.10	18 14.06 48.65	5 3.91 38.46	128 38.44
Reform					
8-10	1 . .	95 85.59 33.57	11 9.91 29.73	5 4.50 38.46	111 33.33
TOTAL	. .	283 84.98	37 11.11	13 3.90	333 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 2.202 DF = 4 PROB = 0.6987

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.058 ASE1 = 0.117
 Stuart's Tau-C 0.015 ASE1 = 0.030
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.000
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.003

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. Chi-square may not be a valid test as more than 5% of the cells have frequencies of less than 5.
 4. The crosstabulation shows that there is little or no relationship between the likelihood of voting and reformism.

TABLE VII-2. Crosstabulation Between Reformism and the Respondent's Reported Political Affiliation.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	POLITICAL AFFILIATION				Total
	Missing Values	ICEC 1	Ind. 2	NDP. 3	
Non-Reform					
2-6	59 . .	18 47.37 33.33	10 26.32 38.46	10 26.32 16.95	38 27.34
7	75 . .	25 43.10 46.30	8 13.79 30.77	25 43.10 42.37	58 41.73
Reform					
8-10	69 . .	11 25.58 20.37	8 18.60 30.77	24 55.81 40.68	43 30.94
TOTAL	. .	54 38.85	26 18.71	59 42.45	139 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 8.999 DF = 4 PROB = 0.0611

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma 0.295 ASE1 = 0.105
 Stuart's Tau-C 0.188 ASE1 = 0.068
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.025
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.031

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. The crosstabulation shows that those who claim to be affiliated with the NDP are more reformist than those who claim to be affiliated with the ICEC.

Table VII-3. Crosstabulation Between Public Reformist Attitudes and the "Party" Affiliation of their Councillor.

Frequency Row Pct. Col. Pct.	PARTY/GRP. OF WARD COUNCILLOR			Total
	ICEC	Ind.	NDP	
	1	2	3	
Non-Reform				
2-6	57 58.76 27.54	23 23.71 24.47	17 17.53 41.46	97 28.36
7	81 60.90 39.13	37 27.82 39.36	15 11.28 36.59	133 38.89
Reform				
8-10	69 61.61 33.33	34 30.36 36.17	9 8.04 21.95	112 32.75
TOTAL	207 60.53	94 27.49	41 11.99	342 100.00%

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE

Chi-Square 4.915 DF = 4 PROB = 0.2961

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

Gamma -0.072 ASE1 = 0.082
 Stuart's Tau-C -0.039 ASE1 = 0.045
 Lambda Asymmetric R/C 0.010
 Uncertainty Coefficient R/C 0.006

- Notes:
1. ASE1 is the asymptotic standard error.
 2. R/C means row variable dependent on column variable.
 3. Respondents from wards which elected "Independents" were the most reformist. Respondents from wards which elected NDP or LEC Councillors were the least reformist. The relationship, however, is very weak.

Table VII-1 indicates a very slight, but non-significant, relationship between likelihood of voting and reformism. As hypothesized, non-voters tend to be more reformist than voters. However, a Tau-C of .015 indicates a very slight relationship.

Table VII-2 indicates that NDP supporters are slightly more reformist than either ICEC supporters or Independent supporters. While the relationship is weak, it is one of the stronger ones found. However, the attitudes of the electorate, in general, in ICEC-represented wards compared to Independent- or NDP/LEC-represented wards indicate little difference. The least reformist "publics" are those in the NDP or LEC-represented wards. Overall, one has to conclude that the hypothesized relationship of ICEC supporters being less reformist than the other groups on Council is not confirmed.

Other Indications of the Significance of Reformist Attitudes for Voting Behavior

(1) Alternate Reform Measures

As reported in Chapter IV, the two alternate reform measures showed the public to be slightly reformist. The nature of the results are worth summarizing at this point. Fully 51% of the public believed the "Growth City" should be balanced with the "Humane City". Support for the humane city was slightly stronger than support for the "Growth City". In the other measure (the adaptation of three American measures of reformism) two of three showed slight support for reformist attitudes (more public spending, and more support for the needy, etc.). However, the third measure -- "support for more government activity" (a reform position) -- was opposed slightly more often than supported (see

Chapter IV for results).

(2) Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction with the Various Aspects of City Life

A further indication of voting behavior may be the expression of satisfaction-dissatisfaction with various aspects of city life. The results are as follows:

Table VII-4. Frequency distributions of the Winnipeg Public's Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction with Various Aspects of City Life, Plus 5 "Benchmark" Items.

Issue	Very Dissat. ← → Very Sat.					N.A.
	1	2	3	4	5	
12 Issue Categories						8
Parks and Outdoor Recr.	4	9	41	32	14	2
Local Neighborhoods	8	20	52	12	5	4
Transportation	11	22	42	16	6	2
Downtown Development	7	15	53	13	5	7
Culture and Sports	8	11	49	18	7	6
Historical Buildings	9	21	42	16	6	6
Growth/Business	6	20	46	16	5	8
Housing	11	26	40	14	4	6
Social Services & Health	5	15	40	24	11	5
Environment	11	21	40	16	6	7
Respect for Public Views	18	22	36	8	4	12
Land Use Planning/Zoning	12	20	40	9	5	15
5 "Benchmark" Items						
Crime Prevention	11	16	43	19	9	3
Employment Opportunities	9	25	41	11	5	9
Inflation Control	23	32	25	4	8	8
Primary/Second. Schools	6	11	41	24	9	9
Efficiency in Using Taxes	22	31	24	4	7	12

Note: 1. Figures are in percentages, rounded to the nearest whole number. N = 342 for all variables.

The results show that while the public's opinions are fairly balanced for most issues -- although slightly more critical in most cases -- two of the issue categories (Respect for Public Views and Land Use Planning/Zoning) show strong criticism. These results are at odds with the Winnipeg Public Attitude Survey which showed Winnipeggers to be happy in most respects.¹ Three of the "benchmark" issues showed strong public criticism as well, with one of them, Efficiency in Using Taxes, having implications for the local political process. The absence of strong "party" politics in Winnipeg makes it unlikely that this criticism would be translated into opposition to ICEC candidates to any extent.

(3) Reasons for Voting

The Respondents to this survey were also asked to indicate the importance of several possible reasons for supporting the candidate that they did (in City elections). An analysis of the frequency distributions of the responses -- given in the following table -- indicate that the most important reason was the candidate's past record. This was followed by the candidate's views on the urban issues, and then by the candidate's personality or character. Clearly last in importance was the candidate's political affiliation. "Other" reasons reported were very few.

¹Winnipeg Plan Development Review, op. cit., see "Executive Summary" which prefaces the findings.

Table VII-5. Frequency Distributions of the Importance Given to "Reasons for Voting" by the Winnipeg Public.

Voting Reason	←————→							N.A. 9
	Not Impt. 0	1	2	3	4	5	Great Impt. 6	
(a) Candidate's Personality or Character	2	5	6	22	19	21	16	10
(b) Candidate's Past Record	1	1	3	11	17	30	29	10
(c) Candidate's Political Group/Affiliation	11	14	12	15	14	12	12	11
(d) Candidate's Views on Urban Issues	2	2	3	14	20	27	22	11
(e) Other Reasons	4	2	1	2	2	2	4	84

Note: 1. Figures are expressed in percentages, rounded to the nearest whole number.

Conclusions

The data analysis reported in this chapter suggests that reformism, as defined in this study, has little or no relevance for the voting behavior reported by the Winnipeg public. Neither hypothesis is confirmed: the ICEC supporters are not less reformist than supporters of the other political groups, and non-voters are not more reformist than voters. If reformist orientations have significance for local voting behavior, it is only as strongly felt attitudes toward particular urban issues, and not as an overall reformist orientation. Certainly, reformism is not exclusively identified with any of the political groups on Council in the minds of the public.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This chapter summarizes the answers to each of the four research questions posed in Chapter I. It also gives, and briefly examines, the implications of the data and findings. A general summary is provided as a final comment.

The conclusions presented here are made within the limitations imposed by sampling and scale construction, issues introduced in Chapter III and discussed in Chapters IV, V and VI. The limitations of the sample were explained in Chapter III and details provided in Appendices "A" to "D". The effect of sample error on the general distributions is minimized somewhat by the low between-category variations. The problem is further reduced due to the effects of randomization. Considerable time and effort was expended in validating the scale. This was reported in Chapter III. For the most part, the inter-item correlations are positive, and are stronger within categories than between categories. Two items show within-category, negative correlations, suggesting an area for improving the scale. This was also reported in Chapter III.

Conclusions

- (1) Overall, the Winnipeg public was found to be slightly reformist in its attitudes towards urban development. On only 2 of the 12 issue categories (growth and transportation) was the public non-reformist. On one (downtown development) they were neutral, while

on the other 9 they were reformist (see Chapter IV).

- (2) The evidence strongly suggests that the scale is multi-dimensional with at least two major components -- one centered around "growth" and the other around "housing" and "environment". This appears evident from the negative inter-item correlations (please see Appendix "G") and from the contrasting frequency distributions of the issue categories (the mode of "growth" is 3, while the mode of "environment" is 9). This suggests, assuming the scale accurately reflects the reform literature, that the public of Winnipeg does not share the assumptions of the reformers. It also would account for the low correlations, as one part of the scale would cancel out the other part.
- (3) Overall, Winnipeggers tend to be slightly consistent in their reformist attitudes. That is, there is some structure to this complex concept, and it has some salience for them. However, differences in consistency between sub-groups of the populations were not found (see Chapter V). This, again, assumes randomized sampling error and a valid scale. The tendency to consistency exists despite multi-dimensionality, and suggests that consistency within the dimensions is much higher.
- (4) No clear patterns were found in the reformist attitudes of sub-groups of the population. Reformist attitudes were not more strongly held by the working class, the lower-income groups, the less-educated, and those least likely to vote. On the contrary, there are stronger, non-reformist attitudes among these groups

than among their "opposites" (see Chapter V). Given the "moderating" effect of the multi-dimensionality of the scale, it would be of major interest to explore the attitudinal patterns of sub-groups on the two major dimensions suggested above.

- (5) No significant relationship was found between reformist attitudes and voting behavior. While the public is generally reformist, it does not appear that any political group has been able to capitalize on it (see Chapter VII). If there is a strongly reformist public in Winnipeg, then it is on a more restricted group of issue categories than the 12 found in the literature. As such, it is possible that there is a relationship between the more restricted reform position and voting behavior. Again, as in (3) above, this would be worth exploring.

Implications

- (1) Potentially, Winnipeg public attitudes could support a moderate reform movement. The reasons why a viable reform alternative (to the ICEC) has not emerged cannot be answered by this study. It could be lack of credible leadership; it could be divided leadership; or it could be the publicity generated by the more radical elements of the movement. The study does indicate that moderate reformism could succeed, provided it included a strong growth component. The study also suggests that the N.D.P. involvement in city politics will not help the chances of the reform movement to establish itself in Winnipeg (see Chapter VII).

- (2) This study raises some questions which have implications for the reform literature and the movement it represents. In the first place, Winnipeggers are not "in another century" as regards reformism. It would be interesting to see how other urban populations compare relative to Winnipeggers. In the second place, no evidence of a polarized public was found. The distribution of attitudes towards urban reform was exceptionally normal. Even on the separate issue categories, the tendency was strongly towards normal distributions. This latter implication could, of course, be altered by a redefinition of reformism along the lines that the two major dimensions suggest. There may, in fact, be polarity along different lines than the literature suggests -- that is, along the lines of the two major dimensions suggested by this study.
- (3) The small size of the sample created some problems in analysis of the data (too many zeros in cells, number of cases in sub-groups, etc.). To fully utilize the model of this study, a sample of 2,000 or more would be necessary.
- (4) In drawing the sample, replacement seems essential, given the high "non-agreement", "non-response" and "not available" from some areas. Replacement by the next name on the list is suggested for simplicity in administration. Monitoring by ward is suggested to assist in getting equal returns from each area. This will still not eliminate sample bias, but it should reduce it.
- (5) The addition of the RELIABILITY subprogram to SPSS should be a major addition to the tools for constructing scales. In scale

building, at least 4 to 5 items should be included in the pre-test for every one that is going to be retained in the final scale. This would result in a greater capability in the scale to measure variance, and would lead to higher inter-item correlations. Overall, a much better idea of what the scale is capable of would be known before the sample is drawn.

Summary

This study was designed to empirically test some of the basic and critical tenets of the reform ideology, at least in the Winnipeg urban setting. In addition, it was designed to measure consistency in reform attitudes; to see the extent to which patterns were evident within important sub-groups of the population; and to determine if reform attitudes had any implications for voting behavior.

In order to determine the nature of public attitudes towards urban development, a multiple-item scale for measuring reformist attitudes was designed and tested. In addition, a Questionnaire, incorporating this scale, was designed and tested for obtaining the data on reformist attitudes as well as for obtaining related socio-demographic and political variables. A survey approach was used which incorporated some original variations of survey technique, and an area-stratified, random sample of Winnipeggers was successfully completed.

Overall, the survey shows that Winnipeggers are slightly reformist in their attitudes towards urban government, and that they tend to be consistent in the attitudes they hold. However, the data clearly suggests at least two major dimensions within the 12 issue categories surveyed. The survey also shows that there are only slight differences

in the attitudes of sub-groups of the population, and that reformism, as operationalized, has little significance for the voting behavior of Winnipeggers.

APPENDIX A

POPULATION PARAMETERS¹ AND SAMPLE STATISTICS

(i) ETHNIC GROUP (a)	POPULATION		SAMPLE	
	(1971)	Number	%	Number
Anglo-Saxon	232,125	42.97	146	43.45
Ukrainian	64,305	11.91	31	9.23
German	62,000	11.48	41	12.20
French	46,205	8.55	30	8.93
Polish	25,910	4.80	10	2.98
Other (b)	109,720	20.31	78	23.21
TOTALS	540,265	100.02	336	100.0

(a) The lower Polish and Ukrainian figures in the sample could be partially accounted for by the fact that the census did not provide for the category of "Jewish" while the sample did.

(b) There was only 1 Canadian Indian or Metis in the survey although there were a number under "mixed".

(ii) RELIGION	POPULATION		SAMPLE	
	(1971)	Number	%	Number
Catholic	140,125	25.94	93	27.76
Protestant	304,175	56.30	191	57.01
Jewish	18,315	3.39	8	2.39
Other	47,840	8.85	14	4.18
None	29,810	5.52	29	8.66
TOTALS	540,265	100.00	335	100.00

¹1971 and 1976 Canada Census - These figures are not strictly the "research population" because (a) with the exception of age and gender, they represent all ages, and (b) they represent residents and not the qualified electorate.

APPENDIX A Cont'd.../2

(iii) GENDER (18 & OVER)	POPULATION		SAMPLE	
	(1976)	Number	%	Number
Male	194,918	47.63	155	45.86
Female	214,325	52.37	183	54.14
TOTALS	409,243	100.00	338	100.00

(iv) HOME OWNERSHIP	POPULATION		SAMPLE	
	(1976)	Number	%	Number
Own	116,325	58.95	224	70.65
Rent	80,975	41.04	93	29.34
TOTALS	197,305	99.99	317	99.99

(v) HOUSING TYPE	POPULATION		SAMPLE	
	(1976)	Number	%	Number
Single-det. house	115,395	58.49	245	71.64
Apartment	61,325	31.08	67	19.60
Other	20,585	10.43	30	8.77
TOTALS	197,305	100.00	342	100.01

(vi) EDUCATION	POPULATION		SAMPLE	
	(1976)	Number	%	Number
Grade 8(-)	90,025	22.50	21	6.25
Grade 9-10	75,105	18.77	40	11.90
Grade 11-12	104,965	26.24	109	32.44
Post-Second.	59,495	14.87	49	14.58
Some Univ.	39,085	9.77	54	16.07
Univ. Degree	31,420	7.85	63	18.75
TOTALS	400,095	100.00	336	99.99

APPENDIX A Cont'd.../3

(vii) AGE	POPULATION		SAMPLE		
	(1976)	Number	%	Number	%
18-24 (a)		81,043	19.80	41	12.20
25-34		91,855	22.45	93	27.68
35-44		61,500	15.03	64	19.05
45-54		62,815	15.35	57	16.96
55-64		53,420	13.05	43	12.80
65+		58,610	14.32	38	11.31
TOTALS		409,243	100.00	336	100.00

(a) 18 and 19 year olds extrapolated from 14-19 age group.

APPENDIX B

RESPONSE TO ALL ATTEMPTED CONTACTS BY "QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNED" AND
 "QUESTIONNAIRE NOT RETURNED"

Type	Response	NUMBER OF CONTACTS								Totals
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Returned Question- naires	Agree	208	72	34	12	11	2	2	1	342
	Refuse	66	33	15	8	3	1			126
	7 Calls or More	19	12	4	3	1				39
	Moved or Out Serv.	36	13	6	5	1	2	1		64
	Language	2	2	1						5
	Other	11	2	2						15
	Subtotals	342	134	62	28	16	5	3	1	591
Question- naires not Returned	Agree	100	30	15	7	1		1	1	155
	Refuse	20	10	3	1		1			35
	7 Calls or More	7	5	1						13
	Moved or Out Serv.	20	7	5	2	2	1	1		38
	Language	1	0	1						2
	Other	7	3							10
	Subtotals	155	55	25	10	3	2	2	1	253
Totals	Agree	308	102	49	19	12	2	3	2	497
	Refuse	86	43	18	9	3	2			161
	7 Calls or More	26	17	5	3	1				52
	Moved or Out Serv.	56	20	11	7	3	3	2		102
	Language	3	2	2						7
	Other	18	5	2						25
	Totals	497	189	87	38	19	7	5	2	844

APPENDIX C

RESPONSE BY CONTACTS AND QUESTIONNAIRES DISTRIBUTED

- (i) Number of contacts who agreed to do the questionnaire compared to the number who refused to do it; by "questionnaire returned" and "questionnaire not returned".

Type	Response	NUMBER OF CONTACTS					Totals
		1	2	3	4	5	
Questionnaire Returned	Agree	254	70	14	2	2	342
	Refuse	88	18	4	2		112
Questionnaire Not Returned	Agree	124	25	5	1		155
	Refuse	31	6	1			38
TOTALS	Agree	378	95	19	3	2	497
	Refuse	119	24	5	2		150

- (ii) The number of questionnaires sent out which were returned, compared to the number which were not returned.

Type	Number	%
Returns	342	68.81
Non>Returns	155	31.19
TOTALS	497	100.00

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE RETURN RATES BY WARD

Ward	Code	Total Sent	Total Returned	Total Not Returned	% Return
Henderson	01	20	11	9	55.00
Miles Macdonell	02	17	9	8	52.94
Elmwood	03	15	9	6	60.00
Springfield Hts.	04	19	12	7	63.16
Transcona	05	20	16	4	80.00
Tache	06	20	13	7	65.00
Langevin	07	19	13	6	68.42
Glenlawn	08	19	13	6	68.42
Seine Valley	09	21	12	9	57.14
University	10	21	16	5	76.19
Pembina	11	17	15	2	88.24
Crescent Heights	12	17	12	5	70.59
Tuxedo Heights	13	18	15	3	83.33
Charleswood	14	20	15	5	75.00
St. Charles	15	15	11	4	73.33
Grant's Hill	16	16	12	4	75.00
Stevenson	17	19	17	2	89.47
Deer Lodge	18	16	9	7	56.25
Sisler	19	7	4	3	57.14
Jefferson	20	18	10	8	55.56
Kildonan Park	21	17	10	7	58.82
Norquay	22	17	14	3	82.35
Mynarski	23	12	5	7	41.67
Redboine	24	14	7	7	50.00
Notre Dame	25	13	6	7	46.15
Sargent Park	26	18	15	3	83.33
Memorial	27	17	14	3	82.35
Corydon	28	17	12	5	70.59
Riverview	29	18	15	3	83.33
TOTALS		497	342	155	68.81

APPENDIX E

CODE BOOK

Variable	Card/Column	Question*	Description
ID	1/1-3	Identification number	numbered consecutively from 001
	1/4	Card number	card # 1
VI	1/5	Contact number (number of persons contacted before agreement)	1 - one person 2 - two people 3 - three people through to 7 - seven or more
V2-37	1/6-41	Urban Issues - I b,c; II b,c; III a,c; V a,c; VI b,c; VII a; VIII a,c; IX b,c; X b,c; XI b; XII b.	4 - SA 3 - A 2 - AD 1 - D 0 - SD 8 - U
		Urban Issues - I a; II a; III b; IV a, b,c; V b; VI a; VII b,c; VIII b; IX a; X a; XI a,c; XII a,c.	0 - SA 1 - A 2 - AD 3 - D 4 - SD 8 - U
V38	1/42	XIII (a) - Urban Spending	2 - spending more 1 - spending about right 0 - spending less 8 - don't know
V39	1/43	XIII (b) - Urban Assistance	2 - should do more 1 - about right amount 0 - doing too much 8 - don't know

* For the full text of questions, see Questionnaire, Appendix D.

CODE BOOK Continued.../2

Variable	Card/Column	Question	Description
V40	1/44	XIII (c) - Urban Activities	2 - should do more 1 - doing about right 0 - doing too many 8 - don't know
V41-57	1/45-61	XIV (a to q) - Importance of issues	5 - very, very important 4 - very important 3 - quite important 2 - not so important 1 - not important at all 8 - don't know 9 - no answer
V58-74	1/62-78	XV (a to q) - Satisfaction—dissatisfaction with issues	1 - very dissatisfied 2 - dissatisfied 3 - neutral 4 - satisfied 5 - very satisfied 8 - don't know 9 - no answer
V75	1/79	XVI (a) - Kind of city wanted	4 - very humane 3 - humane 2 - neutral 1 - growth 0 - much growth 8 - don't know 9 - no answer
V76	1/80	XVI (b) - Importance of kind of city	4 - very important 3 - quite important 2 - not so important 1 - not important at all 9 - no answer
ID	2/1-3	Identification number	numbered consecutively from 001 card # 2
	2/4	Card number	

CODE BOOK Continued.../3

Variable	Card/Column	Question	Description
V77	2/5-6	XVII - Length of residence in Winnipeg	- number of years as given 97 - 97 or more 99 - no answer
V78	2/7-8	XVIII (a & b) - Constituency where presently reside	01 - Henderson 02 - Miles MacDonell 03 - Elmwood 04 - Springfield Heights 05 - Transcona 06 - Tache 07 - Langevin 08 - Glenlawn 09 - Seine Valley 10 - University 11 - Pembina 12 - Crescent Heights 13 - Tuxedo Heights 14 - Charleswood 15 - St. Charles 16 - Grant's Hill 17 - Stevenson 18 - Deer Lodge 19 - Sisler 20 - Jefferson 21 - Kildonan Park 22 - Norquay 23 - Mynarski 24 - Redboine 25 - Notre Dame 26 - Sargent Park 27 - Memorial 28 - Corydon 29 - Riverview
V79	2/9	XVIII (a & b) - Knowledge of name of own constituency	1 - right 2 - wrong 8 - don't know
V80	2/10	XVIII (c) - Knowledge of Councillor's name	1 - right 2 - wrong 8 - don't know

CODE BOOK Continued.../4

Variable	Card/Column	Question	Description
V81	2/11-12	XIX - Respondent's Age	- Respondent's age in years 97 - 97 or more 99 - no answer
V82	2/13	XX - Travel	1 - mostly by car 2 - mostly by bus 3 - both car & bus 4 - other 9 - no answer
V83	2/14	XXI - Home ownership	1 - own 2 - rent 3 - neither 9 - no answer
V84	2/15	XXII - Type of Housing	1 - single-detached home 2 - apartment 3 - other (duplex, etc.) 9 - no answer
V85	2/16	XXIII - Industrial environment	1 - everyday 2 - frequently 3 - occasionally 4 - seldom 5 - never 9 - no answer
V86	2/17	XXIV - Residential environment	1 - everyday 2 - frequently 3 - occasionally 4 - seldom 5 - never 9 - no answer

CODE BOOK Continued.../5

Variable	Card/Column	Question	Description
V87	2/18	XXV - Voting regularity	1 - always 2 - frequently 3 - occasionally 4 - seldom 5 - never 6 - not old enough 9 - no answer
V88	2/19	XXVI - Voting likelihood next city election	1 - very likely 2 - quite likely 3 - possibly 4 - unlikely 5 - will not vote 9 - no answer
V89	2/20	XXVII - Political affiliation	1 - ICEC 2 - Independents 3 - NDP 4 - LEC 5 - Other 6 - did not vote 8 - don't know 9 - prefer not to say or no answer
V90-94	2/21-25	XXVIII (a) - Personality (b) - Past record (c) - Political group (d) - Issues (e) - Other	0 - no importance 1 - 2 - 3 - average importance 4 - 5 - 6 - great importance 7 - did not vote 9 - no answer
V95	2/26	XXIX - Gender	1 - male 2 - female 9 - no answer

CODE BOOK Continued.../6

Variable	Card/Column	Question	Description
V96	2/27	XXX - Education	1 - grade 8 or less 2 - grade 9 or 10 3 - grade 11 or 12 4 - post-secondary 5 - some university 6 - university degree(s) 9 - no answer
V97	2/28-29	XXXI - Ethnic origin	01 - Anglo-Saxon 02 - Polish 03 - Ukrainian 04 - Scandinavian 05 - German 06 - French 07 - Indian/Metis 08 - Italian 09 - Dutch 10 - Jewish 11 - Other 12 - Mixed 99 - no answer
V98	2/30	XXXII - Religion	1 - Catholic 2 - Protestant 3 - Jewish 4 - other 5 - none 9 - no answer
V99	2/31	XXXIII - Family income	1 - \$5,000 or less 2 - \$5,001 to \$10,000 3 - \$10,001 to \$15,000 4 - \$15,001 to \$20,000 5 - \$20,001 or more 9 - prefer not to say or no answer

CODE BOOK Continued.../7

Variable	Card/Column	Question	Description
V100	2/32-33	XXXIV - Occupation	01 - professional 02 - manager/owner 03 - sales 04 - clerical 05 - skilled labour 06 - semi-skilled labour 07 - unskilled labour 08 - homemaker 09 - student 10 - retired, pen- sioned 11 - unemployed 12 - government assisted 13 - none of above 99 - no answer
V101	2/34	XXXVI - Full-time or part-time occupation	1 - full-time 2 - part-time 9 - no answer
V102	2/35	XXXVII (a) - Budget size	1 - right 2 - wrong 8 - don't know
V103	2/36	XXXVII (b) - Size of civil service	1 - right 2 - wrong 8 - don't know
V104	2/37	XXXVII (c) - Business promotion	1 - right 2 - wrong 8 - don't know

QUESTIONNAIRE

The University of Manitoba

Department of Political Studies

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
R3T 2N2**WINNIPEG PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY**

Dear

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this public opinion survey. It is not only essential to my MA Thesis on Urban Development, but it is also the kind of information that is needed and sought by City Councillors and City Planners.

Let me emphasize again that:

- * **The questionnaire is simple** to complete. In all cases, you need only check off your answer or write in one or two brief words.
- * **The information is important.** Here is an opportunity to express your views about the various issues which Winnipeg is facing. People seldom are able to get their views known to policy-makers in such detail.
- * **Your answers are confidential.** Your views will be treated in the strictest confidence. Results will be presented only as group opinions.
- * **Please call me if you need assistance.** If you have any questions, please feel free to call me, afternoons or early evenings, **Monday to Friday, at 269-0549.**

A pre-paid, self-addressed, return envelope has been enclosed for your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

Albert Pyke

URBAN ISSUES

This section contains twelve groups of statements about most of the important issues of urban development. Each group of statements is preceded by a short introductory comment about the general nature of the issue.

Please indicate how you feel about each statement by circling the letter group that best represents your opinion. (These follow each statement.)

The meaning of the letter groups is as follows:

- SA — Strongly Agree
 A — Agree
 AD — Agree and Disagree about equally
 D — Disagree
 SD — Strongly Disagree
 U — Uncertain (or do not know)

Please Note: There are no right or wrong answers. Just indicate how you feel about each statement.

- I. **PARKS AND OUTDOOR RECREATION AREAS:** Thinking about local as distinct from major parks and outdoor recreational areas thinking about the cost of developing and maintaining them thinking about the amount of leisure time that you have How do you feel about the following?
- a) "REALISTICALLY, LAND IS TOO VALUABLE WITHIN WINNIPEG TO USE MUCH OF IT FOR PUBLIC PARKS AND OUTDOOR RECREATIONAL AREAS."
 SA A AD D SD U
- b) "THE CITY SHOULD BE BUILDING PUBLIC PARKS AND OUTDOOR RECREATIONAL AREAS WITHIN WALKING DISTANCE OF EVERY HOME IN WINNIPEG."
 SA A AD D SD U
- c) "EVERY NEW COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO PROVIDE OPEN SPACE FOR PUBLIC PARKS AND OUTDOOR RECREATIONAL AREAS JUST AS NEW RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS ARE NOW REQUIRED TO."
 SA A AD D SD U
-
- II. **LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS:** Thinking about the immediate area where you live thinking about where children play or go to school thinking about the area of your local community centre How do you feel about the following?
- a) "THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE CITY MUST BE PLACED BEFORE THE INTERESTS OF LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS."
 SA A AD D SD U
- b) "THE PROTECTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS SHOULD BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR THE CITY."
 SA A AD D SD U
- c) "BLOCKBUSTING — A PROCESS WHEREBY DEVELOPERS BUY UP GROUPS OF HOUSES AND DO NOT MAINTAIN THEM, PRIOR TO REDEVELOPING THE AREA — SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED."
 SA A AD D SD U

III. **TRANSPORTATION:** Thinking about how you travel around the city to shop, visit, go to work thinking about the costs of roads and transit systems and about parking problems How do you feel about the following?

a) "LARGE AREAS OF THE CITY SHOULD BE DEVELOPED WHERE THE ONLY TRANSPORTATION WOULD BE WALKING OR PUBLIC TRANSIT, AND NO CARS OR OTHER PRIVATE VEHICLES WOULD BE PERMITTED."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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b) "WINNIPEG SHOULD BE BUILDING MORE FREEWAYS TO IMPROVE TRAFFIC FLOW IN AND AROUND THE CITY."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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c) "THE CITY SHOULD AT LEAST DOUBLE ITS EXPENDITURES ON MASS PUBLIC TRANSIT, AND REDUCE ITS EXPENDITURES ON ROADS AND BRIDGES IN ORDER TO PAY FOR IT."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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IV. **DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT:** Thinking about downtown Winnipeg about the tall buildings and crowded spaces about the people and traffic about the shopping and commercial facilities about the more hectic pace to life How do you feel about the following?

a) "NEW, MULTI-STOREY OFFICE BUILDINGS DOWNTOWN ARE A SIGN THAT THE CITY IS MAKING PROGRESS."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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b) "THE CITY SHOULD DO WHATEVER IT HAS TO, TO ENCOURAGE NEW COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE DOWNTOWN AREA."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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c) "TRAFFIC CONGESTION, HIGH DENSITY, AND MORE HECTIC ACTIVITY, ARE PART OF THE DOWNTOWN AREA AND IT IS UNREALISTIC TO TRY AND CHANGE IT."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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V. **CULTURE, SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT:** Thinking about both local and major cultural groups about both local and professional sports about entertainment of every kind How do you feel about the following?

a) "IF THE CITY IS GOING TO SUPPORT THE MAJOR CULTURAL GROUPS, SUCH AS THE WINNIPEG SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA AND ROYAL WINNIPEG BALLET, THEN IT SHOULD DO SO IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MAKE THEM EQUALLY AVAILABLE TO ALL INCOME GROUPS."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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b) "THERE IS REALLY LITTLE NEED FOR THE CITY TO AID AND ASSIST AMATEUR CULTURAL AND ENTERTAINMENT GROUPS AT THE LOCAL COMMUNITY LEVEL."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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c) "THE CITY SHOULD BE BUILDING LOCAL FACILITIES FOR LOCAL, AMATEUR SPORTS, INSTEAD OF BUILDING FACILITIES FOR THE WINNIPEG JETS AND THE WINNIPEG BLUE BOMBERS."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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VI. **HISTORICAL BUILDINGS:** Thinking about the older buildings in the city which represent cultural, political, or architectural links to the past thinking about homes, offices, warehouses, or churches which have historical significance How do you feel about the following?

a) "THE MAJOR BASIS FOR DECIDING TO KEEP A BUILDING SHOULD BE ITS CURRENT USE, NOT ITS HISTORICAL VALUE."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

b) "A CITY WHICH ALLOWS EXTENSIVE DEMOLITION OF ITS OLDER BUILDINGS IS A CITY WITHOUT HEART OR SOUL."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

c) "CITY COUNCIL SHOULD BUY UP HISTORICAL BUILDINGS, RENOVATE THEM, AND LEASE THEM OUT AT MARKET PRICES."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
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VII. **GROWTH:** Thinking about the size of the city, its conveniences and inconveniences, its rate of growth thinking about the cultural and sports activities which it supports the jobs and career opportunities which are, or are not, available How do you feel about the following?

- a) "THERE IS TOO MUCH CONCERN WITH GROWTH; WE SHOULD BE CONTENT WITH JUST KEEPING THE BUSINESS AND COMMERCE THAT WE HAVE."
SA A AD D SD U
- b) "CITY COUNCIL SHOULD TRY AND GET MORE INDUSTRY, MANUFACTURING, BUSINESS AND COMMERCE TO LOCATE IN WINNIPEG."
SA A AD D SD U
- c) "THE STIMULATION OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IS NECESSARY IF IMPROVEMENTS IN THE QUALITY OF LIFE ARE TO BE ACHIEVED."
SA A AD D SD U

VIII. **HOUSING:** Thinking about the house, duplex or apartment where you live about its quality and condition thinking about housing in other parts of the city about high-rise apartments, suburban areas, and run-down homes How do you feel about the following?

- a) "THE CITY SHOULD GIVE STRONG, FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATIVE AND OTHER NON-PROFIT HOUSING."
SA A AD D SD U
- b) "RENT IS A PRIVATE MATTER BETWEEN A TENANT AND THE LANDLORD — NOT A MATTER FOR THE CITY TO REGULATE."
SA A AD D SD U
- c) "WINNIPEG'S LOW-COST, OLDER HOMES AND APARTMENTS SHOULD BE PRESERVED, THAT IS, THEIR DEMOLITION AND REPLACEMENT BY NEW, HIGH-COST UNITS SHOULD BE STOPPED."
SA A AD D SD U

IX. **ENVIRONMENT:** Thinking about the physical condition of the area you live in, or of other areas in the city thinking about the state of our air and water thinking about the natural environment of the Red River Valley How do you feel about the following?

- a) "THE CITY SHOULD CONCENTRATE A LITTLE MORE ON BUILDING A MODERN AND DYNAMIC BUSINESS SECTOR AND A LITTLE LESS ON PROTECTING THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT."
SA A AD D SD U
- b) "BUSINESSES AND INDUSTRIES WHICH ARE DIRTY, SMELLY, OR UNSIGHTLY, SHOULD EITHER CLEAN UP THEIR ACT OR BE SEVERELY PENALIZED AND RIGIDLY CONTROLLED."
SA A AD D SD U
- c) "THE CITY SHOULD COMMIT THE NECESSARY FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO MAKE ALL UNSIGHTLY AND PHYSICALLY RUN-DOWN AREAS OF THE CITY MORE LIVABLE."
SA A AD D SD U

X. **LAND USAGE AND PLANNING:** Thinking about the good and bad effects of new developments on traffic, on the environment, and for people in general thinking about the planning difficulties in a city of the size and complexity of Winnipeg thinking about the effects of change in a changing city How do you feel about the following?

- a) "COMPANIES WHICH OWN OR PURCHASE PROPERTY IN THE CITY SHOULD BE ABLE TO DEVELOP IT AS THEY LIKE, PROVIDED THAT THEY ARE WITHIN BASIC USAGE AND HEIGHT REGULATIONS."
SA A AD D SD U
- b) "TOTAL PLANNING IS ESSENTIAL, AND NO NEW DEVELOPMENT SHOULD PROCEED UNTIL ITS IMPACT ON THE CITY'S SERVICES, TRANSPORTATION, HOUSING, ENVIRONMENT, ETC. IS KNOWN."
SA A AD D SD U
- c) "SHORT-TERM, PROFITS FROM PROPERTY SALES, AND PROFITS FROM DEVELOPMENT AND REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, SHOULD BE TAXED AT A MUCH HIGHER THAN NORMAL RATE."
SA A AD D SD U

XI. **HEALTH, SOCIAL SERVICES AND WELFARE:** Thinking about the many social problems such as nutrition, crime, alcoholism, etc. . . . thinking about the differences in income levels in this city thinking about the better quality of life enjoyed by people with higher education or skills How do you feel about the following?

a) "THE MOST A CITY SHOULD DO FOR PROBLEMS LIKE POVENTY AND LOW INCOMES, UNSKILLED AND UNTRAINED PEOPLE, ETC. IS TO ADVISE PEOPLE OF PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL PROGRAMS."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

b) "THE CITY SHOULD BUILD, RUN, AND FINANCE SMALL COMMUNITY HEALTH CLINICS TO ENSURE PROPER MEDICAL, DENTAL AND SOCIAL SERVICES TO LOW-INCOME FAMILIES."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

c) "THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF CRIME, DRUG ABUSE, ETC. IS TO STRICTLY ENFORCE THE LAWS."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

XII. **POLITICAL REPRESENTATION:** Thinking about the work (or role) of City Council and the Community Committees about the limited debate on issues in City Council about the major role of city administrators in making policy and running the city How do you feel about the following?

a) "CITY COUNCILLORS DO AN EFFECTIVE JOB IN REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE, HENCE IT IS REALLY UNNECESSARY TO HAVE POLITICALLY-ACTIVE CITIZEN GROUPS AND NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

b) "PEOPLE WHOSE MAIN OCCUPATION INVOLVES THEM IN THE BUYING AND SELLING OF REAL ESTATE SHOULD NOT BE ELIGIBLE TO SIT AS CITY COUNCILLORS."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

c) "THE BASIC PURPOSE OF CITY GOVERNMENT IS TO PROVIDE SERVICES, HENCE THERE ARE NOT MANY CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT."

SA	A	AD	D	SD	U
----	---	----	---	----	---

Section TWO

URBAN DIRECTIONS

XIII. People generally have different views as to how much government is needed, and the kind of things government should be doing. How do you feel about the following?

a) **SPEAKING IN GENERAL TERMS, SHOULD CITY COUNCIL BE SPENDING MORE MONEY TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS AND PROVIDE SERVICES; SHOULD THEY BE SPENDING LESS; OR ARE THEY SPENDING ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT?**

- spending more spending less spending about right don't know

b) **DO YOU THINK THAT CITY COUNCIL IS DOING ABOUT THE RIGHT AMOUNT IN ASSISTING LESS PRIVILEGED PEOPLE AND LOWER INCOME GROUPS; SHOULD THEY BE DOING MORE; OR ARE THEY DOING TOO MUCH NOW?**

- about the right amount should do more doing too much now don't know

c) **DO YOU THINK THAT CITY COUNCIL IS TRYING TO DO TOO MANY THINGS THAT SHOULD BE LEFT TO INDIVIDUALS AND PRIVATE BUSINESSES; ARE THEY DOING JUST ABOUT ENOUGH; OR SHOULD THEY BE DOING MORE?**

- doing too many doing about right should do more don't know

IN THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS, PLEASE CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ON EACH LINE. A "5" IS A VERY HIGH RATING; A "4" IS A HIGH RATING; A "3" IS AN AVERAGE RATING; A "2" IS A LOW RATING; AND A "1" IS A VERY LOW RATING. PLACE A CHECK (✓) IN THE BOX (□) IF YOU DO NOT KNOW.

XIV. IMPORTANCE OR UNIMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS CITY ASPECTS; How important, or unimportant to you personally are each of the following aspects of city life?

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|--------------------------|
| a) | The provision of parks and recreational facilities | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) | The prevention of crime | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) | Preserving and improving local neighborhoods | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) | Roads and public transit systems | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) | The creation of employment opportunities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) | The stimulation of downtown development | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) | Controlling inflation | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h) | Support for cultural and sports groups | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i) | The preservation of historical buildings | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j) | Primary and secondary schools | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k) | City growth and business promotion | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| l) | Adequate housing for everyone | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| m) | Social services and health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| n) | The environment and pollution control | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| o) | The efficient use of taxes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| p) | Council respect for public views | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| q) | Land-use planning and zoning by-laws | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

XV. SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION WITH VARIOUS CITY ASPECTS: How satisfied or dissatisfied are you personally with each of the following aspects of city life?

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|--------------------------|
| a) | The provision of parks and recreational facilities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) | The prevention of crime | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) | Preserving and improving local neighborhoods | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) | Roads and public transit systems | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) | The creation of employment opportunities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) | The stimulation of downtown development | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) | Controlling inflation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h) | Support for cultural and sports groups | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i) | The preservation of historical buildings | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j) | Primary and secondary schools | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k) | City growth and business promotion | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| l) | Adequate housing for everyone | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| m) | Social services and health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| n) | The environment and pollution control | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| o) | The efficient use of taxes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| p) | Council respect for public views | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| q) | Land-use planning and zoning by-laws | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

XVI. **WHAT KIND OF CITY DO YOU WANT?** Read the following paragraph, then answer the two related questions.

"There are two major, opposing concepts of cities which are emphasized by urban writers. The first, called the HUMANE-CITY, emphasizes things like pleasant neighborhoods, open space, parks and recreation facilities, equalizing of opportunities and incomes, and citizen involvement in planning decisions. The second, called the GROWTH-CITY, emphasizes the importance of providing basic services, such as police, roads, etc.; of providing jobs and increasing the tax base by promoting business, commerce and industry; and of working harmoniously with the development industry in building the city. Both sides believe that their views are in the best interests of the city."

a) **WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST REPRESENTS YOUR VIEW?**

- strongly support humane-city concept
- support humane-city concept
- neutral (support both about equally)
- support growth-city concept
- strongly support growth-city concept
- don't know

b) **HOW IMPORTANT IS THIS ISSUE TO YOU?**

- very important
- quite important
- not so important
- not important at all

Section THREE **INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF**

Each of the questions asked in this section is very important to this study. All information is treated in the strictest confidence. Please answer as completely and as accurately as you can.

XVII. **HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A RESIDENT OF WINNIPEG? (in years)**

XVIII. a) **IN WHICH OF THE CITY'S ELECTORAL WARDS DO YOU LIVE?**

b) **IF YOU ARE NOT SURE OR DO NOT KNOW WHICH ELECTORAL WARD YOU LIVE IN, GIVE THE NAME OF YOUR STREET AND YOUR NEAREST STREET INTERSECTIONS.**

street _____ intersections _____

c) **WHAT IS THE NAME OF YOUR CITY COUNCILLOR?**

_____ OR don't know

XIX. **WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT AGE? (in years)**

XX. **WHEN TRAVELLING IN AND AROUND TOWN, HOW DO YOU USUALLY TRAVEL?**

- mostly by car
- mostly by bus
- both car and bus
- other (walk, bike, don't travel)

XXI. **WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES THE PLACE WHERE YOU LIVE?**

- own it
- rent it
- neither own nor rent

XXII. **WHAT TYPE OF HOUSING DO YOU LIVE IN?**
 single-detached home apartment
 other (duplex, rowhouse, mobile, etc.)

XXIII. **HOW OFTEN DO YOU SEE, HEAR OR SMELL INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN WINNIPEG WHICH ARE OFFENSIVE TO YOU?**
 every day frequently
 occasionally seldom
 never

XXIV. **HOW OFTEN DO YOU ENCOUNTER RESIDENTIAL CONDITIONS IN WINNIPEG WHICH YOU FEEL ARE UNSIGHTLY OR RUN-DOWN?**
 every day frequently
 occasionally seldom
 never

XXV. **IN PREVIOUS CITY ELECTIONS (either in Winnipeg or elsewhere), HOW REGULARLY HAVE YOU VOTED?**
 always frequently occasionally
 seldom never wasn't old enough to vote before now

XXVI. **IN THE NEXT CITY OF WINNIPEG GENERAL CIVIC ELECTION (October 1980), HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT YOU WILL VOTE? (assuming that you are still living here)**
 very likely quite likely
 possibly unlikely
 will not vote

XXVII. **WHEN VOTING IN CITY ELECTIONS IN THE PAST (either in Winnipeg or elsewhere) WHAT WAS THE POLITICAL AFFILIATION (group or party) OF THE CANDIDATE YOU NORMALLY VOTED FOR?**
 ICEC Independents NDP
 LEC other (list _____)
 did not vote prefer not to say do not know

XXVIII. **IF YOU VOTED IN CITY ELECTIONS IN THE PAST (either in Winnipeg or elsewhere), HOW IMPORTANT WERE EACH OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS IN HELPING YOU TO DECIDE WHICH CANDIDATE TO VOTE FOR? (indicate by circling the number following each reason that best represents their importance to you)**

	no importance		average importance			great importance	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
a) CANDIDATE'S PERSONALITY OR CHARACTER (good family person etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
b) CANDIDATE'S PAST RECORD (of service to city or to community)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
c) CANDIDATE'S POLITICAL GROUP/ AFFILIATION (ICEC, Independent, NDP, LEC, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
d) CANDIDATE'S VIEWS ON URBAN ISSUES	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
e) OTHER REASONS (list _____)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

CHECK HERE IF YOU HAVE NEVER VOTED IN CITY ELECTIONS IN THE PAST (either in Winnipeg or elsewhere).

In closing, I thank you again for your cooperation in completing this survey. Such studies are a useful and important aspect of modern city government.

You have, as everyone does, the right to your own views and opinions. All views and information contained here will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Sincerely,

Albert Pyke



NO. _____

PLEASE RETURN THIS PORTION ALONG WITH YOUR COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE.

UPON RECEIPT, I WILL CALL OR WRITE YOU IF I HAVE ANY QUERIES.

IF THERE ARE NO QUERIES, I WILL CHECK YOU OFF MY DISTRIBUTION LIST, AND REMOVE THIS PAGE AND DISCARD IT.

APPENDIX G
36 ITEM, INTER-ITEM CORRELATION MATRIX

	VAR2	VAR3	VAR4	VAR5	VAR6	VAR7	VAR8	VAR9	VAR10	VAR11	VAR12	VAR13	VAR14	VAR15	VAR16	VAR17	VAR18	VAR19	
VAR2	1.00000																		
VAR3	0.36583	1.00000																	
VAR4	0.17877	0.34141	1.00000																
VAR5	0.12978	0.18503	0.07792	1.00000															
VAR6	0.12920	0.10099	0.20870	0.06008	1.00000														
VAR7	0.10635	0.03979	0.10628	0.10613	0.19507	1.00000													
VAR8	0.00011	0.04432	0.10774	-0.02723	0.13854	0.06994	1.00000												
VAR9	0.01505	-0.02920	0.04012	0.03327	-0.02008	0.02299	0.05877	1.00000											
VAR10	-0.12753	-0.05169	0.05410	-0.07337	0.05067	0.01558	0.34086	0.10393	1.00000										
VAR11	0.02609	0.04868	0.11769	0.08452	0.13890	0.08889	0.09444	0.09420	0.09786	1.00000									
VAR12	0.00896	-0.06151	0.01558	0.08527	-0.01908	0.00983	-0.06238	0.17735	0.01266	0.39522	1.00000								
VAR13	0.12867	-0.04195	0.05148	0.07586	0.15441	0.12282	0.12073	0.02247	0.14196	0.17211	0.13074	1.00000							
VAR14	0.04085	0.09583	0.14528	0.09978	0.09453	0.06511	0.07822	-0.05692	0.00301	0.05454	0.03510	0.03761	1.00000						
VAR15	0.17187	0.08902	0.11063	0.09452	0.03844	0.04569	0.08047	0.00665	-0.00123	0.06474	0.06848	0.13344	0.08140	1.00000					
VAR16	0.14075	0.10640	0.22166	-0.03903	0.14489	0.14863	0.17594	-0.11210	0.03583	0.15835	0.04250	-0.01145	0.21027	0.05739	1.00000				
VAR17	0.21358	0.14971	0.14371	0.25077	0.05174	0.05020	0.03279	0.05467	-0.02440	0.02046	0.08521	0.10252	0.05529	0.20671	0.05214	1.00000			
VAR18	0.16388	0.15371	0.22814	0.15028	0.08546	0.06749	0.11095	0.07735	0.08393	0.06228	-0.04949	0.03355	0.02381	0.07098	0.09541	0.58124	1.00000		
VAR19	0.07990	0.14120	0.11970	0.09089	0.05325	0.01621	0.07147	-0.07303	0.14208	0.06759	-0.05755	0.02436	0.14259	0.11140	0.10555	0.24684	0.36528	1.00000	
VAR20	-0.06063	0.06164	0.09025	-0.03016	-0.01580	-0.05389	0.11102	0.12458	0.18504	0.21967	0.22468	-0.07936	-0.07405	0.00294	0.13208	-0.04281	0.04577	0.12844	1.00000
VAR21	-0.05969	0.00416	-0.03384	-0.00035	-0.03491	-0.05297	-0.04955	0.26275	0.12622	0.22492	0.31868	0.00816	-0.08400	-0.02805	0.02477	0.07803	0.04520	0.03046	
VAR22	-0.02114	0.07788	0.01142	0.03088	-0.13073	-0.03360	0.01182	0.23120	0.11786	0.22525	0.28161	0.06982	-0.10644	0.03373	-0.04134	0.10771	0.06105	0.02190	
VAR23	-0.00516	0.13001	0.13189	0.10924	0.11567	0.15461	0.02401	-0.00333	0.14829	0.07793	0.00862	0.01404	0.21046	0.07016	0.06699	0.07956	0.19613	0.28059	
VAR24	0.12534	0.10044	0.14888	0.20251	0.12084	0.22094	-0.04465	-0.02074	-0.01976	0.11096	0.10248	0.16613	0.13393	0.12704	-0.00141	0.32557	0.25503	0.19154	
VAR25	-0.07295	0.09295	0.09280	0.06461	0.11928	0.10905	0.19502	0.13901	0.23297	-0.10475	0.00248	0.02009	0.07689	0.01399	0.22326	0.14472	0.33824	0.24119	
VAR26	0.31254	0.14403	0.11253	0.09687	0.13963	0.15412	-0.01458	0.11825	0.01215	0.12245	0.19315	0.19944	0.05096	0.23709	0.04591	0.37673	0.26921	0.00064	
VAR27	0.14234	0.11316	0.12729	0.05184	0.18135	0.29523	0.21842	-0.07247	0.04127	0.07864	0.02248	0.08434	0.06178	0.05565	0.14989	0.24913	0.19268	0.13522	
VAR28	0.02863	0.05314	0.19256	-0.05283	0.13450	0.14793	0.12578	-0.12098	0.14269	0.08526	-0.02226	0.08188	0.25958	0.12738	0.16585	0.16894	0.18238	0.22373	
VAR29	0.15698	-0.07075	0.05149	0.09411	0.08826	0.11601	0.01523	0.14049	0.04665	0.06888	0.05788	0.19399	0.09329	0.17077	-0.00064	0.21296	0.09643	0.02182	
VAR30	0.10526	-0.00949	0.14595	0.05004	0.17573	0.20133	0.15073	0.02878	-0.05461	0.13671	0.08335	0.12219	0.20783	0.13550	0.11628	0.17606	0.15308	0.07426	
VAR31	-0.00039	0.02773	0.19849	-0.02881	0.09960	0.14236	0.18529	0.07094	0.16990	0.18374	0.02963	0.08255	0.08828	-0.08495	0.08071	-0.05681	0.06020	0.09226	
VAR32	0.24164	0.13288	0.10752	0.14835	-0.00233	0.02025	0.02426	0.07663	0.04958	0.10305	0.15324	0.13135	0.03619	0.21352	-0.03307	0.17234	0.01699	-0.01911	
VAR33	-0.00886	0.17269	0.17710	0.05336	0.10415	0.05388	0.00514	-0.15250	0.11587	-0.00061	0.01943	-0.03011	0.16019	0.04624	0.07417	0.05133	0.10234	0.23494	
VAR34	0.21679	0.11385	0.00787	0.21536	-0.08382	-0.05754	0.02400	0.13296	0.00020	0.13539	0.13230	-0.00772	-0.04528	0.14487	-0.03747	0.15682	0.03471	0.01299	
VAR35	0.19042	0.08026	0.06865	0.08335	0.08422	0.10790	0.00836	0.05751	-0.02049	0.03432	0.09865	0.16155	0.11383	0.24972	-0.01890	0.19568	0.08444	0.06455	
VAR36	-0.03861	-0.00859	0.17314	0.03856	0.17582	0.20243	0.19831	-0.07475	0.09989	0.13473	0.03630	0.11701	0.18506	-0.04522	0.15443	-0.03241	0.00746	0.02551	
VAR37	0.16596	0.05761	0.03676	0.15777	0.08168	0.18463	-0.16704	-0.10598	-0.17035	0.07995	-0.04531	0.12933	0.09167	0.21824	-0.00992	0.20769	0.09428	0.14636	

36 ITEM, INTER-ITEM CORRELATION MATRIX ... Cont'd 2

VAR20	VAR21	VAR22	VAR23	VAR24	VAR25	VAR26	VAR27	VAR28	VAR29	VAR30	VAR31	VAR32	VAR33	VAR34	VAR35	VAR36	VAR37	
VAR20	1.00000																	
VAR21	0.44235	1.00000																
VAR22	0.40096	0.60898	1.00000															
VAR23	-0.02144	-0.00069	-0.03759	1.00000														
VAR24	-0.08106	0.03613	0.08782	0.30421	1.00000													
VAR25	0.11720	0.05632	0.03753	0.22775	0.12729	1.00000												
VAR26	0.06651	0.16886	0.18417	0.03176	0.22627	0.09912	1.00000											
VAR27	-0.03612	-0.05412	-0.06765	0.18652	0.15670	0.12111	0.21195	1.00000										
VAR28	0.00836	-0.03662	-0.00639	0.39300	0.23704	0.21292	0.14353	0.31306	1.00000									
VAR29	-0.05749	0.04467	0.10058	0.02667	0.18043	-0.01898	0.23363	0.13012	0.01627	1.00000								
VAR30	-0.12444	-0.11127	-0.11130	0.15729	0.14271	0.09815	0.18800	0.36953	0.25489	0.25976	1.00000							
VAR31	0.11097	-0.00979	0.04623	0.22863	0.11603	0.14501	0.01840	0.19713	0.18570	0.16946	0.18993	1.00000						
VAR32	-0.08037	0.11814	0.14514	0.06316	0.17321	-0.01052	0.21723	0.00045	-0.01293	0.20285	0.00017	-0.10235	1.00000					
VAR33	-0.02384	-0.01492	-0.03428	0.35379	0.28311	0.14278	0.05253	0.08192	0.33142	-0.00228	0.08006	0.05622	0.15517	1.00000				
VAR34	-0.05752	0.13824	0.16535	0.04657	0.09741	-0.04355	0.04011	-0.07489	-0.02306	0.13171	-0.04188	-0.06827	0.37505	-0.00414	1.00000			
VAR35	-0.16256	-0.07282	0.07334	0.10558	0.25942	0.07029	0.20837	0.10577	0.14157	0.16741	0.13898	0.02158	0.30875	0.10603	0.14261	1.00000		
VAR36	0.07742	-0.06096	-0.07486	0.04957	0.11600	0.10707	0.02232	0.23596	0.05447	0.15154	0.16497	0.39389	-0.13176	0.04622	-0.13807	0.03228	1.00000	
VAR37	-0.15233	-0.03217	0.00091	0.13452	0.38405	-0.02563	0.18209	0.05107	-0.00172	0.22693	0.18557	-0.01969	0.32212	0.11709	0.16100	0.42286	-0.04586	1.00000

APPENDIX H

ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS

Items	Item-Scale Correlations*	Items (Cont'd)	Item-Scale Correlations (Cont'd)
PARKS a VAR2 b VAR3 c VAR4	0.34534 0.33668 0.42823	GROWTH a VAR20 b VAR21 c VAR22	0.18970 0.23489 0.27897
LOCAL a VAR5 b VAR6 c VAR7	0.31095 0.29541 0.32827	HOUS. a VAR23 b VAR24 c VAR25	0.42037 0.50667 0.37794
TRANS. a VAR8 b VAR9 c VAR10	0.28979 0.19380 0.25072	ENVIR. a VAR26 b VAR27 c VAR28	0.46120 0.38653 0.41007
DWNTWN a VAR11 b VAR12 c VAR13	0.39154 0.27982 0.30725	PLANNG. a VAR29 b VAR30 c VAR31	0.36528 0.36900 0.32892
CULTURE a VAR14 b VAR15 c VAR16	0.29376 0.33352 0.29224	HEALTH a VAR32 b VAR33 c VAR34	0.36532 0.32280 0.26549
HIST. a VAR17 b VAR18 c VAR19	0.48338 0.46268 0.37658	POL. PART. a VAR35 b VAR36 c VAR37	0.37678 0.26990 0.32352

* Inasmuch as the scale score includes the item to which it is being correlated, it may be that the "corrected item-total correlation", provided in SPSS Sub-program RELIABILITY, is a better measure of item-scale correlations. The "corrected" correlations are from 5 to 9 percentage points lower, with most being 7 to 9 percentage points lower.

APPENDIX I

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN CONSISTENCY AND
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES NOT SIGNIFICANT AT THE .05 LEVEL

Variable Name	No. of Obsers.	DF.	Model	Error	Total	F	PR > F
Industrial Conditions	337	2	2.8424	185.1161	187.9585	2.56	0.0785
Length of Residence	339	2	2.7376	187.2860	190.0236	2.46	0.0873
Gender	342	2	2.2760	189.3489	192.1199	2.03	0.1327
Ethnic Origin	336	2	2.0498	186.5097	188.5595	1.83	0.1620
Knowledge	342	2	1.8515	190.2683	192.1199	1.65	0.1937
Education	336	2	1.7260	188.2621	189.9881	1.53	0.2188
Voter Type	333	2	1.6528	186.2451	187.8979	1.46	0.2327
Occupation	339	2	1.1760	189.4848	190.6608	1.04	0.3537
Income	256	2	0.9522	141.6571	142.6094	0.85	0.4285
Community Committee	342	2	0.9232	191.1966	192.1199	0.82	0.4420
Residential Conditions	340	2	0.6433	190.1184	190.7618	0.57	0.5660
Travel Mode	338	2	0.5546	188.7946	189.3491	0.49	0.6118
Party Affiliation	139	2	0.5232	77.9804	78.5036	0.46	0.6346
Housing Type	342	2	0.5135	191.6064	192.1199	0.45	0.6353
Work Type	286	1	0.0353	158.5101	158.5455	0.06	0.8015

APPENDIX J

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN REFORMISM AND
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES NOT SIGNIFICANT AT THE .05 LEVEL

Variable Name	No. of Obsers.	DF.	Model	Error	Total	F	PR > F
Community Committee	342	2	3.6125	204.7296	208.3421	2.99	0.0516
Age	336	2	3.2656	203.2315	206.4970	2.68	0.0704
Length of Residence	339	2	3.1887	204.2331	207.4218	2.62	0.0741
Industrial Conditions	337	2	2.7691	202.6494	205.4184	2.28	0.1037
Occupation	339	2	1.3022	204.2731	205.5752	1.07	0.3439
Knowledge	342	2	1.1543	207.1878	208.3421	0.94	0.3900
Housing Type	342	2	0.7672	207.5749	208.3421	0.63	0.5351
Income	256	2	0.6821	152.5952	153.2773	0.57	0.5688
Ethnic Origin	336	2	0.4036	205.0131	205.4167	0.33	0.7208
Residential Conditions	340	2	0.2384	207.0086	207.2471	0.19	0.8237
Voter Type	333	2	0.1919	203.9402	204.1321	0.16	0.8563
Home Ownership	342	2	0.1277	208.2144	208.3421	0.10	0.9013

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Winnipeg Free Press and Winnipeg Tribune, Articles on urban politics, August, 1978 to December, 1979.

Pre-Test Interviews, Approximately 30 interviews with City politicians, planners, academics and the public.

Random Sample of Winnipeg, Data from an area-stratified, random sample of the Winnipeg CMA.

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