GROUP ACTION IN LOCATIONAL CONFLICT

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by

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ABSTRACT

Existing approaches to the analysis of participation in community groups have adopted either a *social-psychological* view or a *structural-political* view of the impetus for participation. This paper attempts to integrate these two approaches, through analysis of the nature of the link between the *impact* of the issue, which serves as a source of conflict (a psychological view) and the *organizational characteristics* of the community group (a structural view). Using Dahrendorf's model of latent and manifest interests, research propositions are generated, focussing on four sets of factors conditioning the selection of group participation as a response to conflict. These are: psychological factors, technical conditions of organization, social conditions of organization, and political conditions of organization.

Results of an empirical application of these propositions, using a questionnaire, show that the impetus for participation in a community group is a two stage process, depending on the existence of two separate sets of conditions: the impact of the issues, which is dependent upon the individual's distance from the source of conflict; and the social organization of the group. Based on analysis and interpretation of these results, hypotheses are generated, and are used to modify and expand Dahrendorf's model,in order to make it more applicable to the analysis of community group participation in locational conflict.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historically, the task of designing the urban environment has
been relegated to professional planners. Urban residents, as recipients
of the planning good, have accepted a largely insignificant role in
determining the future of their environment. Recently, however, there
has been a change in the nature of planning. Citizens are increasingly
demanding a right to voice in the planning of their cities, and are
intervening in the actual planning process. One of the means by which
citizens are exercising their collective voice in planning disputes is
through community action groups. These are groups that have formed
outside the formal decision-making arena, and whose members seek to
influence planning decisions regarding issues which concern them.

The basic concern of this paper lies in determining the reasons
for formation of community groups, as an alternative to the formerly
accepted professional and political channels of decision-making. The
purpose of research is to explain the causes, nature and implications of
community group formation with reference to specific planning conflict
situations.

The situations to be considered are those in three central city
neighbourhoods in Hamilton. The issues which form the basis of conflict
are:

1.   Provision of adequate parkland and open space.

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2. Highrise redevelopment of the neighbourhoods.

3. Traffic congestion in residential areas.

In each of the three neighbourhoods, a community group has been created in response to these specific issues, as well as other broader social and economic concerns.

The framework of analysis to be used is based on conflict theory. The premise of this theory is that conflict within social systems is productive, rather than disruptive of social order and development. Conflict in planning situations may be regarded as a product of the distribution of scarce resources; accessibility to open space, proximity to undesirable highrise development, and proximity to heavily travelled streets. Potential responses to the conflict thus generated include formation of, and participation in community groups in order to achieve the desired resource distributions. Thus the activities of groups arise from, and have consequences for, the spatial distribution of resources and activities in the city.

Along with analysis of the overt manifestations of conflict, a secondary concern of research is that of the inherently political nature of the conflict. Participants in the policy and planning discussions may be divided into two groups: a select few with formal access into decision-making; and a large disenfranchised population. The former group is primarily composed of politicians and planners, the latter of neighbourhood residents. According to this view of the conflict situation, the formation of community groups is a response to the powerlessness of the disenfranchised population, in an attempt to gain power.

In order to fulfill the general purpose of research, several specific research objectives may be identified. These define the content of the remainder of this paper.

1. *Discussion of the concepts of locational conflict theory* (Chapter 2): This includes both a discussion of conflict theory in general, and the specification of the major elements of this theory relevant in geographical and planning analysis.

2. *Generation of a set of propositions regarding community group participation* (Chapter 3): First, a general model of participation is derived from the conflict paradigm. From this, a range of conditions for group activity may be generated.

3. *Empirical application of the propositions* (Chapter 4): This is comprised of translation of the hypothesis into a questionnaire, the basic tool of research, and administration of the questionnaire in a locational conflict setting.

4. *Analysis of the questionnaire results* (Chapter 5): The responses are tabulated, and then analysed to determine which of the proposed conditions for group activity are salient attributes of the conflict situation.

5. *Summary and conclusions*, including considerations of the directions for future research in this area (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS OF CONFLICT THEORY

2.1 Concepts of Social Theory

Practical approaches to social research are necessarily guided
by the conception or theory of society which is adopted. There are two
basic theories, based on different characterizations of the means of
achieving social change, and incorporations of such change in theoretical
propositions (Morgan, 1975). These are consensus theory and conflict
theory.

2.1.1 Consensus Theory

The initial formulation of consensus theory by Talcott Parsons,
which has been termed *structuralist/functionalist theory*, takes as its
basic premise the belief that social change is accomplished through
interaction between four distinct components of society. These four
elements of control consist of economic, political, social and cultural
sets of values and mores (Morgan, 1975). The focus of research based
on this theory is on the relationships between these elements. Change
in social systems is believed to be achieved through agreement on goals
and aspirations by members of each element.

This narrow conception of the role of social relations in
achieving change may not be applied to situations in which the access
to decision-making is not equal for all members of society. Therefore,

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the consensus view of society has been extended through *exchange theory*.
This theory includes the nature of relations between the social centre,
those people in control of the four basic elements of society, and the
periphery, those excluded from direct participation in decisions
regarding social change (Jessop, 1969).

The basic assumption of exchange theory, as with structuralist/
functionalist theory, is that social interaction contributes to the
maintenance and growth of the social system, by means of agreement
on aspirations and goals by individual members of society. By the
inclusion of the concept of a periphery which is excluded from decision-
making, exchange theory may be applied to situations which are char-
acterized by relations between unequal sectors of society. The link
between these sectors is one of exchange of goods and products of
service from the periphery for social values and approval from the
centre (Morgan, 1975).

2.1.2 Conflict Theory

The second approach to understanding social change, the coercion
view of society, may be applied in situations where the goals of the
periphery are in opposition to those of the centre. The basic proposition
of the coercion view is that conflict, and not consensus, of goals leads
to social change. There are two approaches or theories within the
coercion view, differing in terms of their belief about the means of
conflict reduction or resolution.

The approach formulated by Marx, termed *dialectical materialism*,
views the means of production as the basis of conflicting goals. Social

structure is defined by the relation of social groups to the means of production. In industrial society, two broad social classes are produced; the capitalists and the labourers. The basis of social relations is the coercive power that the former group holds over the latter in the face of their conflicting goals. The advocated aim of social change is a reversal of the positions of authority in society through revolutionary means (Dahrendorf, 1959).

Dahrendorf (1959) presents a more liberal formulation of the concepts of conflict theory, in that it can be applied in situations where time and resources preclude drastic revolution and reversal of social relations. The aim of conflict regulation in social systems is achieved through various modes of social change. The mode of revolutionary change advocated by Marx is placed at one end of the spectrum. Less drastic responses to conflict include evolution of social systems, in which a partial exchange of roles occurs, and absence of change, due to incorporation of the interests of the opposition into the roles of the ruling party. Thus Dahrendorf describes modes by which conflict in social relations may be regulated by institutional means.

2.2 Urban Conflict

In urban social relations, revolution is extremely rare in Canadian society, but complete absence of an impetus to change is equally rare. The assumptions of a consensus view of society may not be applied without question to conditions in urban society, since the goals of the decision-makers (the societal centre) are not necessarily

in accordance with those of the urban residents (the periphery). The
insights provided by a conflict view of society may prove to be more
useful in attempts to understand the complex processes involved in
community response to locational conflict.

In empirical analyses of conflict situations, several types of
conflict may be identified, differing in terms of their participants,
the issues involved and the means of resolution or reduction employed.
Rapoport (1974) provides a typology of conflicts based on these char-
acteristics:

1. Conflict is either *endogenous* or *exogenous*. The former
type is conflict within a larger system which maintains a steady state,
while the latter is characterized by absence of such a super-system.

2. Conflict is *symmetric* or *asymmetric*, the distinction
between these types based on the participants degree of perceived
similarity.

3. Conflict is *issue oriented* or *structure oriented*, depending
on whether conflict resolution requires structural changes or not.

While it is clear that pure types of conflict do not occur,
conflict within urban systems may be discussed within this general
framework. Conflict within specific urban planning situations may show
characteristics of endogenous conflict, to the degree that it is
mediated by the wider social and political arrangements of society. As
previously discussed, conflict is asymmetric, as the decision-makers
and urban residents obviously do not have equivalent power resources.
The final differentiation between issue and structure oriented conflict
is unique to the specific situation, as it is dependent on the immediate

perceived sources of conflict. Within endogenous conflict situations, the specific sources are a general struggle for power and need for autonomy by individuals, and the allocation of resources. The first source may be discussed within the context of political and social theory, the second using concepts of locational conflict.

2.2.1 Political/Social Theory: Power Distribution

Within the conflict model of society, power relations between groups are determined by social structure, and by biases inherent in processes of decision-making (Saunders, 1974). Community power relations have been analysed through a pluralist approach, in which it is believed that power is dispersed within a set of issue-oriented elites (Dahl, cited in Debnam, 1975). However, this approach considers change occurring only as a result of citizen/leader co-operation and reflects a basic belief in the myth of supremacy of democratic processes.

In urban conflict analysis, a model of "segmented pluralism" may be used to describe power relations among social groups (Lorwin, 1971, and Lipjhart, 1969). The focus of analysis remains on inter-elite relationships, but no assumptions are made about the levels of communication between the elites and masses in society. The single assumption made about elite-mass relationships is that social stability and absence of overt conflict depend on the legitimacy attributed to the governing elites (Eckstein, 1960). It is this crucial concept of legitimacy in power relations that is at the base of conflict.

The existing power structure in decision-making is reinforced through a process which has been termed "mobilization of bias"

(Schattschneider, 1960). Decisions are consistently made with a bias in favour of the interests of the decision-making elite. The bias in decision-making inherent in the structure of power relations is further reinforced by a lack of opposition from those not in power. Thus bias is mobilized from the ranks of the decision-making elite to those without any formal decision-making power. In systems of decentralized power relations, such as exists in situations of segmented pluralism, the mobilization of bias is even greater than in a fully centralized, totally elite controlled system (Aiken, 1969). However, with a perceived loss of legitimacy of the decision-making elite, the consistent bias in decision-making is weakened. The meanings of social relations and institutions, and the expected behaviours attributed to participants in decision-making are changed, thus precipitating the evolution of social relations. As a result, the social structure is allowed to change, for the social structure is defined by the political environment and power relations within which decisions are made (Eisinger, 1973).

2.2.2 Locational Conflict Theory: Sources of Conflict

The spatial manifestations of the elite model of decision-making may be analysed through application of the propositions of locational conflict theory. The immediate sources of conflict are seen to be the impacts of planning decisions. Every plan, or planning decision has inherent within it a set of costs and a set of benefits. The differential incidence of these costs and benefits over space causes conflict between groups in society.

The differential impacts of planning decisions have both a structural and spatial pattern of occurrence. The occurrence of impacts within the social structure is relatively easy to define, as it arises from the distribution of power. The decision-making elite most often receives the benefit of decisions, as processes of mobilization of bias ensure that their interests are protected. The costs of decisions are borne by those whose interests are excluded from decision-making. Therefore, conflict arises within social relations between the decision-making elite and the disenfranchised population.

The spatial occurrence of impacts occurs as a result of the distribution of scarce urban resources. The resource that planning decisions are most frequently concerned with is allocation of land uses. The specification of controls on what activities may occur on any parcel of land has both positive and negative effects on the neighbourhood residents. Any land use or activity in the urban system carries with it a set of positive and negative impacts, or effects. Positive effects may be accessibility to a desirable land use or activity, or a lack of proximity to undesirable land uses. Conversely, negative effects may be lack of accessibility to desirable land uses, and proximity to undesirable ones (Harvey, 1971). For example, a desirable land use, such as a neighbourhood park, carries positive and negative accessibility effects, depending on an individual's location relative to the park. Similarly, an undesirable land use, an industry for example, carries opposite effects, negative proximity and positive non-proximity or distance from the site.

These positive and negative impacts have been called direct and indirect impacts of planning decisions (Levy, 1974). The direct impacts are those which are intended by the decision-makers, and enter into their policy discussion. The indirect impacts, called externality effects (Harvey, 1971) are those which are unintended by policy, but nonetheless occur. These externality effects are more difficult to predict, and in many cases, are greater sources of conflict than direct impacts.

The spatial incidence of impacts allows a spatial definition of impacted populations. The group of residents defined by a common location in relation to a specific land use, and thus subject to a common impact, may be seen as an impacted population. In planning decisions, when one impacted population receives high costs, such as distance from a desirable land use, and proximity to an undesirable use, without receiving benefits, conflict occurs. The interests of the negatively impacted population have not been protected in the decision, and so the legitimacy of the decision-makers may decline, precipitating an evolution of social power relations.

2.3 Individual Responses to Conflict

The response of an individual to alienation from decision-making may be classified as either an *individual activity*, or a *group activity*. These have been described by Dear and Long (1976). The responses open to an individual acting alone are exit, resignation, and illegal activity.

Exit: the individual chooses to move from the neighbourhood, and thus is no longer a member of the impacted population; thereby

removing himself from the particular conflict.

Resignation: the individual decides, for a variety of reasons, that overt participation in conflict is unnecessary, or will not be of benefit, and exit is an infeasible option. He thus decides to stay in the neighbourhood, and put up with the negative impacts.

Illegal Activity: if the individual decides that formal participation is not a feasible alternative, he may take it upon himself to undertake illegal action to draw attention to his cause. (This option may be adopted by single individuals or groups.)

The alternative strategies open to individuals acting in groups are formal participation and voice, either through a community group or a coalition group.

Formal Participation: this may be an alternative offered by decision-makers, in an attempt to include the interests or opinions of the impacted population in their decision. The individual is offered the option of joining a citizen participation program and thus have access to formal decision-making processes. This may be considered a group activity as the invitation to participate is dependent upon the individual's status as a member of the impacted group.

Voice: the distinction between community and coalition groups as voice options is based on the permanence of group organization, and the characteristics of the goals of the group (Williams, 1971).

Coalition Groups: the individual may choose to join a group whose goals are in accordance with his own. Such groups demand access to decision-making by virtue of their popular support.

Community Groups: these are similar to coalition groups in the

demands placed on decision-makers. However, a distinction occurs in goal definition. Unlike coalition groups, the goals of community groups are the collective goals of the entire impacted population. An individual may be seen to be a member of a community group simply because of his location in the community. This broad social base is the community group's mandate for access to decision-making.

The adoption of group participation as an alternative appears to depend on two sets of factors:

1. Individual attitudes toward, and perceptions of power relations in society, and the participation alternative. These factors may be discussed using the concept of relative deprivation.

2. Characteristics of the group participation strategy. These factors have been the focus of both social psychological and political science theory and research.

2.3.1 Relative Deprivation: Pre-conditions to Action

The concept of relative deprivation may be used to describe the relation between an individual's psychological state and his propensity for specific types of action. Relative deprivation has been defined as the perception by one group of individuals that they are not as well off as some reference group (Gurr, 1970). In urban planning, this concept may be interpreted as the realization by an impacted population that it is receiving higher negative impacts than some other group in the city (or it is receiving negative impacts while another group receives positive impacts). If the individual who is subject to negative impacts is alienated from society at large, and the decision-

making process in particular, then he may not feel deprived. This may be because he does not perceive a reference group, or a standard of influence to which he may aspire. The resultant action chosen would be resignation (Dear and Long, 1976).

The question of immediate concern in this paper, however, is not under what conditions the individual feels "relatively deprived", but rather, what are the factors or conditions of relative deprivation that lead to action. There are three stages in the translation of perception of impacts into action (Gurr, 1970).

a) Development of discontent: this is the process by which individuals who are impacted by a planning decision realize that there is a reference group which is better off than they are.

b) Politicization of discontent: this is the process by which the perceived deprivation is attributed by the impacted population to a common source.

c) Actualization of action: this is the decision by the individual to act, and is tempered by the nature of the impacts, and the nature of coercive control imposed by the decision-makers.

This conception of relative deprivation may be used to explain the adoption of any type of action by the impacted population, and does not apply solely to participation in community groups as the chosen alternative. A further set of conditions need to be fulfilled before an individual decides to join a group (Deutsch, in Gingell, 1976).

a) Existence of common interests: not only does the individual have to perceive his deprivation, there also must be a group of people who are subject to a common deprivation.

b) Awareness of interdependence of goals: the individuals who are subject to a common source of deprivation must realize that there are others who are similarly deprived.

c) Interaction among potential group members: the individual must have opportunity for contact and communication with others who are similarly deprived.

d) Perception as an entity: the individual must also feel that he is a member of the social group that his state of relative deprivation places him in. This may be in the form of a neighbourhood identity, or social class consciousness, depending on the perceived source of deprivation.

e) Pursuance of common goals: potential group members must agree on goals that they wish to achieve, or at least agree on what they wish to oppose, in order to undertake concerted action.

2.3.2 Research Applications

Research concerning the relation between individual characteristics, group characteristics, and group participation may be divided into two separate approaches; the volunteerism problem, and the association problem (Ross, 1974).

a) *Volunteerism Problem*: The question of interest in this area of research is why an individual may choose to join a community group, assuming that such a group exists. Ross (1974) explains the choice to participate in terms of ethnic solidarity, a concept further elaborated by Smith (1973) as demographic energy. The basic argument is that higher integration of the individual into the social fabric of the

community results in a higher propensity to participate in a community group, if the social leaders of the community are also the group leaders. More generally, the choice of an individual to participate in a community group is seen as a response to some basic psychological need for control over his environment (Gingell, 1976). This basic need for control, combined with the perception of political activity as a salient alternative, and a successful history of attempts at political activity will lead to a feeling of political efficacy on the part of the individual (Renshon, 1975) and supposedly lead to participation in group activity. Withdrawal from political activity may also occur if efficacy is reduced (Gingell, 1976).

The explanation of the impetus toward participation through social psychological concepts leads to generation of propositions for research. In general, a relationship may be observed between degrees of participation and the issues to which the group addresses itself, the socio-demographic characteristics of the impacted population, social integration into the community, perception of participation as a salient alternative, and a general belief in the legitimacy of democracy and political activity (Batley, 1972).

These psychological concepts have been combined in a model of group participation by Festinger (1950). He seeks to explain the formulation of group standards and interests from individual attitudes and concerns through concepts such as group cohesiveness, the range of issues and interests of the group, range of group activities, and general attractiveness of group participation as a means for achieving specific ends. The degree to which individual interests conform to

group standards is seen as a predisposition to group participation.

b) *Association Problem*: The focus of research in this area is on the relation between the individual's choice to participate in group activity, and the structural characteristics of such activity. The existence of an individual's propensity to participate, a result of the impact of a planning decision, is assumed. Specific questions are asked about the type of activity that group participation entails. Various modes of participation are seen to be: participation in social groups (the "voice" option), legitimate participation in political processes ("formal" participation), and illegitimate participation ("illegal activity") (Nachmias, 1974). In looking at community groups, the mode that is of interest is participation in social groups. This mode includes community groups as defined by Williams (1971).

Castells (1976) discusses the impetus for formation of social movements, and this may be applied to community group participation as a special case. The conditions giving rise to social movements are what Castells calls "structural contradictions". Basically, this refers to the power distribution discussed earlier as a basis for conflict. Once the impetus for group formation is present, the organizational characteristics of the group are seen as crucial factors determining the outcome of conflict between the social group and the decision-making elite. Castells indicates the general focus that research on social movements should adopt. The important elements for study are the stake, or participants' investment in the issues, identification of the participants, and organizational characteristics of the group.

The third component has been analysed under the broad heading of "pressure group politics". The elements of group organization which determine group action are: the functions of the group, the internal organization, group leadership arrangements, and psycho-political resources of group members (Presthus, 1973). These structural characteristics are related to the political climate as the context for group activity. The internal organization of the group is determined by the existing distribution of political power. The intensity and scope of group activity is related to the legitimacy of the group, and the socialization of conflict. Finally, the eventual effectiveness of the group is related to structural characteristics of the group, such as size, skills, and resources (Eckstein, 1960).

It is clear that group organization is affected by basic characteristics of legitimacy of the political process, and the existing power structure. Therefore, in any conflict situation, the group is the obvious focus of analysis, for the factor which produces conflict, perceived loss of legitimacy of the decision-making elite, has immediate effects on the nature and scope of group activity, and on the basic structure or organization of the group.

c) *An Alternative Approach*: To focus solely on either the psychological state of individuals, or structural imperatives of conflict situations does not produce a complete picture of community group action. In discussion of the volunteerism problem, it was assumed that groups existed. Conversely, in discussion of the association problem, the individual's propensity to participate was assumed. A third approach to research of community group activity is

to investigate the nature of the link between these two sets of conditions, asking questions about the nature of the relation between individual attitudes and perception of the group,and structural characteristics of the group itself. This is the approach inherent in Dahrendorf's (1959) conflict analysis. He proposes a link between the common interests of the *impacted* population, or potential group in conflict, and the overtly expressed interests of the community group. This link is mediated by both psychological factors and structural characteristics of the group. Dahrendorf's approach incorporates and explains the first two foci of research and analysis proposed by Castells; the stake or interests, and participants in conflict, as well as discussion of organizational characteristics.

Such an approach has obvious implications for understanding conflict in implementation of urban planning decisions since they have such precise spatial impacts. Olives (1976) has extended and interpreted the research foci of Castells' initial formulation. He sees the process of conflict over urban development as a progressive set of conditions, the fulfillment of which determines the eventual outcome. The primary factors giving rise to conflict are the stakes or vested interests, the social base or mobilization of the impacted population, and organizational characteristics, by means of which conflict may become a directed social force. These factors are the primary components of Dahrendorf's analytical approach. Olives extends the analysis to include opponents in the conflict, the demands made by the participants, actions adopted, response made by the decision-making elite, and both immediate and long term effects. Various stages in this conflict process

have been the focus of specific research.

2.4   Response of the Decision-Makers in Locational Conflict

The final determinant of the outcome of conflict is the manner in which the decision-makers respond to the situation. Olives (1976) characterizes the response as repression of conflict, the implication being that it is in the interests of the decision-makers to reduce the level of overt conflict in the easiest way possible, in order to maintain the status quo.

In empirical analysis, two modes of conflict repression have been observed. The decision-makers may choose to either integrate the interests of the opposition into the calculus of the planning decision (Ley, 1974; Gilbert and Specht, 1975) or to completely ignore the opposition group by means of a strategy of ambiguity (Seley and Wolpert, 1974).

2.4.1   Integration

There are two means of integration of opposing interests into the decision process: co-optation and concession.

a) Co-optation: In processes of co-optation, the leaders of the opposition groups are given positions by the decision-making elite which allow at least token access to decision-making channels. The end result is that either intentionally or inadvertently, the goals of the opposition group leaders tend to conform to the interests of the decision-makers (Ley, 1973).

b) Concession: As an alternative to co-optation, the decision-

makers may choose to pursue a strategy of concession as a means of reducing conflict (Wolpert, Mumphrey and Seley, 1972). If it is seen that potential opposition to a planning decision may result in overt conflict, the decision-makers may attempt to placate the opposition by granting concessions. The operation of this strategy may be seen most clearly through an example. In decisions about the location of noxious facilities, opposition may be expected to be generated as a response to the impact, or externality field of the facility. In order to placate the opposition, decision-makers may choose to offer benefits, in the form of side payments, as a trade-off for the negative impact. In this way, the opposition generated by the negative impact is reduced by the offer of a positive impact.

The strategy adopted in a particular situation, and the effectiveness of that strategy depend on the factors giving rise to conflict: the stake, the participants, the organizational characteristics of the group, and the nature of the community. Situations marked by high degrees of political integration lead to stability in social relations through power-sharing arrangements, and little evolution of social structure is achieved. In situations where more intense conflict is encountered, however, attempts at integration by decision-makers may not be a feasible response. Demands for change may be made outside the formal decision-making channels (Gilbert and Specht, 1975).

2.4.2 Ambiguity

If the goals or demands of opposition groups are not amenable to processes of political integration, the strategy adopted by decision-

makers may be one of intentional ambiguity. The opposition groups are not invited to participate in decision-making, but are excluded by means of misinformation and vagueness on the part of the decision-makers (Seley and Wolpert, 1974). In effect, the opposition groups are never informed of the true course of events, and so have no sound basis for opposition. As with integration strategies, the choice to adopt a strategy of ambiguity depends on goals sought by the groups, and their organizational characteristics.

It is now obvious that the relationship between conflict, response and change is an ongoing, circular process. The basis for conflict is the power distribution in society,which produces differential impacts of decisions. The impacted population has several alternative responses open to them, and may adopt any depending on the characteristics of the situation, and the structure of conflict. The response of the decision-makers determines the type of change in social relations which may be achieved. This change, or lack of it has repercussions on the nature of conflict, for it involves a new set of decisions and impacts. The whole process is one of group involvement, for the nature of impacts are such that groups are defined both socially and spatially. Therefore, one of the keys to understanding the process of social change is understanding the process of translation of individual perception of impacts into collective goals and values expressed by groups.

CHAPTER III

A MODEL OF GROUP PARTICIPATION IN LOCATIONAL CONFLICT

Community group participation as a response by individuals to locational conflict in urban planning may be analysed through the conflict paradigm formulated by Dahrendorf (1959). He defines *latent interests* as those interests which are common to groups of individuals by virtue of a common position in the social structure (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 178). *Manifest interests* are defined as those interests expressed as goals by groups involved in overt conflict or opposition (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.178). He then seeks to explain the manner by which an individual who is a member of a *quasi-group*, because of his common latent interests, may become a member of an *interest group*, with common manifest interests.

The limitations of this paradigm as a general theory of society do not present any great problems in its application to urban planning conflicts (cf. Seley, 1974):

1. The model only considers single sources of conflict. In urban analysis, the single source of conflict to be investigated is that of impacts of planning decisions.

2. It may only be applied in situations where the parties in conflict are polarized. In urban analysis, the division between the parties in conflict, the decision-makers and the urban residents, is very clear. The distinction may even be defined spatially, as conflict

occurs between neighbourhood residents, and planners and politicians who most likely do not reside in the particular neighbourhoods.

3. It does not consider dynamic aspects of change. The model does consider sources of change and conflict at a single point in time, and for purposes of this investigation, the static aspect of the model does not present a problem. The purpose of this paper is not to describe the course of social change precipitated by conflict, but rather to define specific aspects of the conflict situation.

Therefore, it can be seen that Dahrendorf's model may be applied to analysis of groups in urban planning conflicts. The quasi-group is the impacted population, defined by a common set of latent interests or impacts. The interest group is the community group with a specified set of manifest interests regarding planning decisions. Theoretical propositions arising from Dahrendorf's model may be applied to the analysis of community group formation, and individual participation in community groups.

3.1 Dahrendorf's Model of Conflict

The implicit assumption of the model is that if there were no reasons to the contrary, the quasi-group would remain unorganized and would not be a potential force to direct social change. The transformation of the quasi-group into an interest group is achieved through a set of four intervening factors.

1. Technical conditions of organization of the interest group.

2. Political conditions of organization of the interest group.

3. Social conditions of organization of the interest group.

Primary Factors in Conflict (from Olives, 1976)	Proposed Conditions for Group Formation (after Dahrendorf, 1959)	Focus of Existing Analyses in the Literature
Stake of Conflict	Quasi-Group	Alienation
		Relative Deprivation
Mobilization of Social Base	Psychological Factors	Volunteerism Problem
Organizational Chracteristics	Technical Conditions of Organization Social Conditions of Organization Political Conditions of Organization	Association Problem
Social Force	Interest Group	Poli. Sci./Sociology Pressure Group Theory
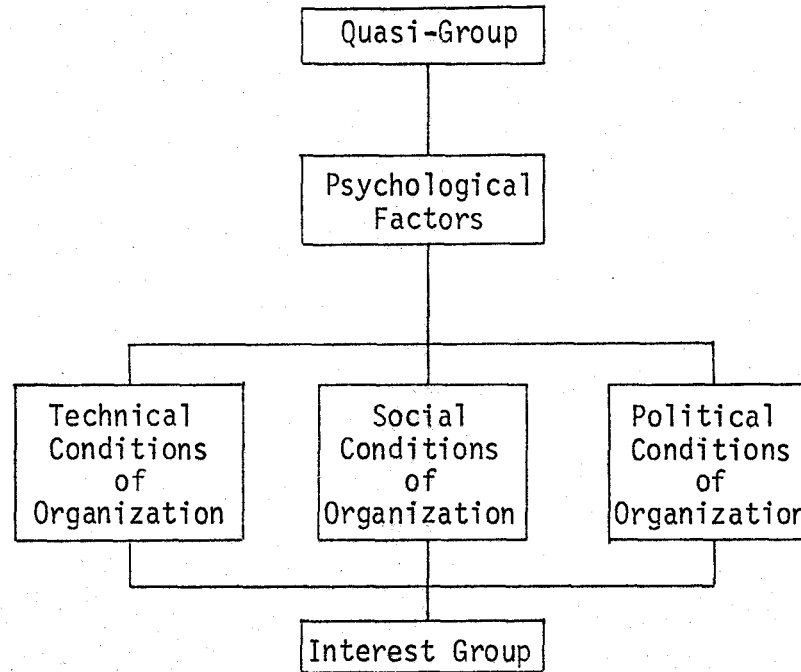
FIGURE 1: A Model of Interest Group Formation

4. Psychological factors (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 185-191).

Dahrendorf proposes that these are the crucial factors that may be used to describe the relation between general social behaviour or membership in quasi-groups, and membership in interest groups (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 193). However, he does not propose any explicit causal relationships among these factors. The framework of analysis proposed by Castells (1976) and applied by Olives (1976) in case studies may be used to further illuminate the nature of the relationship (see Figure 1).

3.1.1 The Quasi-Group

The quasi-group is defined by the nature of the impacts. Membership in the quasi-group may be determined spatially by the extent of the externality field of a planning decision. The group of people thus defined have a common interest, or latent interest in the conflict caused by the nature of the impacts. The different interests of various participants in the conflict have been called by Olives (1976) the 'stake' in the conflict.

3.1.2 Psychological Factors

Psychological factors determine the social base of the conflict described by Olives (1976). Dahrendorf (1959) identifies two psychological variables: the individual's awareness of the issues, and the importance attributed to the manifest interests of the group by the quasi group. He consequently dismisses the former as largely of secondary importance and discusses the latter within the context of

social conditions of organization. However, these psychological variables are important preconditions to further action (Castells, 1976 and Olives, 1976). It is only when the members of the quasi-group perceive their common interests that the social base of conflict may be mobilized into further action.

The psychological link between membership in the quasi-group and interest group may be explained using the concept of relative deprivation. As discussed earlier, the conditions to be fulfilled before group participation is realized are:

a) development of discontent

b) politicization of discontent

c) actualization of action.

Analysis of group participation solely in psychological terms falls under the rubric of the volunteerism problem.

3.1.3 Conditions of Organization

Conditions of organization are the factors which govern the mobilization of the social base toward directed social action (Castells, 1976; Olives, 1976). They all relate to the structure of the interest group, rather than the psychological characteristics of potential members. The investigation of these factors falls under the general heading of 'the association problem'.

a) Social conditions of organization include socio-demographic characteristics of the quasi-group (Dahrendorf, 1959), the level of integration of the quasi-group members into the social fabric of the community (Batley, 1972) and some measure of the level of demographic

energy within the quasi-group (Smith, 1973).

b) Technical conditions of organization include variables such as the function of the group, its degree of organization, its length of operation and the range of issues that it is involved in (Presthus, 1973).

c) Political conditions of organization consist of the efficacy of quasi-group members, the perception of group participation as a salient alternative, and a successful history of political participation (Renshon, 1975). These are not defined as abstract qualities possessed by individuals, but rather are defined as they pertain to, and are conditioned by, the specific participation alternatives available in the conflict situation.

3.1.4 The Interest Group

The interest group in the case of urban planning conflicts is the community group that is mediating the concerns of the quasi-group. The community group is formed on the basis of a set of manifest interests (Dahrendorf, 1959) and represents the direction of such interests as a social force (Olives, 1976)

3.2 Propositions for Empirical Testing of the Model

From the general discussion of the elements of the model, propositions about the nature of the relationship between various sets of variables may be generated. These propositions are tentative state-ments to guide research, with no attempt made to specify directions of explicit causal relationships (see Figure 2).

Intervening Conditions (from Dahrendorf, 1959)	Variables
1. Psychological Factors	Awareness of issue Importance of impact Response options
2. Technical Conditions of Organization	Function of group Degree of organization Range of issues Length of operation
3. Political Conditions of Organization	Legitimacy of executive Representativeness of group Salience of participation Ability of group to influence decision-making Expectation of success
4. Social Conditions of Organization	Access to the Group SES of potential group Integration into neighbourhood of individual and group

FIGURE 2: Variables for Analysis

1. The propensity of an individual to join a community group is related to his level of relative deprivation,influenced through the spatial aspects of the impact of an issue.

2. The propensity of an individual to join a community group is related to the technical conditions of organization of the group.

3. The propensity of an individual to join a community group is related to the social conditions of organization of the group.

4. The propensity of an individual to join a community group is related to the political conditions of organization of the group.

These propositions may be used to guide research and analysis in specific planning conflict situations in order to illuminate the nature of processes mediating community group activity. In order to determine if these propositions represent salient attributes of conflict, analysis of the relationship between community group membership and the specific variables relating to the general propositions will be conducted.

CHAPTER IV

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN AND ADMINISTRATION

4.1 The Issues

A questionnaire was designed to test the propositions in an empirical analysis of conflict in three central city neighbourhoods. In order to maintain some consistency and basis for comparison of individual responses, two specific planning issues were selected for investigation: the problem of provision of open space, and the problem of traffic congestion on residential streets. These specific issues were chosen because they have been the subject of varying degrees of controversy in the neighbourhoods in the recent past, and because the very different nature of the issues presents several implications for analysis of impacts and generation of conflict.

a) Provision of open space is a planning issue with easily definable spatial impacts. Neighbourhood residents receive benefits of accessibility to open space or parkland which are in direct relation to their distance from the site. Members of the impacted population who are the closest to the open space receive the highest positive benefits. The issue of open space carries with it the implication of a second issue: high rise development, which is seen by many to be the inevitable alternative to open space preservation. Positively and negatively impacted populations with respect to this issue may also be defined spatially according to their proximity to high rise sites.

b) Traffic congestion, rather than having distinct spatially defined externality fields, is a more diffuse issue. Positive and negative impacts do not emanate from one locationally specific source, but may be considered to be ubiquitous in the general vicinity of the street system. The traffic congestion issue is not caused by a single decision by planners regarding land uses within a specific neighbourhood, but may result from any number of decisions regarding land use through-out the city. As a result, the incidence of positive and negative impacts of traffic congestion is difficult to determine a priori, but the issue remains salient for further investigation.

4.2 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire is composed of two major areas of enquiry: the question of impacts of the issue, and organizational characteristics of the groups as factors which mediate group participation. The precise nature of the impacts for the individual is determined through questions concerning awareness of the issues, importance of specific impacts, and individual action responses considered. The individual's perception of organizational characteristics of the group is determined through questions relating to his awareness and knowledge of specific community groups, and evaluation of group activities. (The questionnaire form is reprinted in Appendix A.)

4.2.1 Identification of Impacts

The nature of impacts is investigated on three different levels, relating to the three stages of relative deprivation.

a) Awareness of impacts: (questionnaire items 6 and 7) The respondent is asked a free-response question about the existence of problems in the neighbourhood, and whether these problems affect him personally. The existence of a common interest within the neighbourhood, the necessary condition for existence of a quasi-group, may be determined by the common problems cited by various respondents.

b) Politicization of discontent: (questionnaire items 8, 9 and 10) Translation of this stage of relative deprivation into questionnaire items is based on two assumptions: (1) The specific issues are generally recognized as being under the jurisdiction of planning authorities, and (2) If the nature of the impacts is the same for all members of the quasi-group, this will lead to common goals. The respondent is asked questions about the importance of the specific issues and the manner in which the issues have an effect on him personally, and the neighbourhood in general.

c) Actualization of action : (questionnaire item 11) The respondent is asked which of a pre-determined set of actions he would consider in response to the issues, group action being one of the alternatives. It is assumed that if the respondent perceives group action as a viable alternative, then he is aware of a potential for interaction within the quasi-group.

4.2.2 Organizational Characteristics of the Group

a) The respondent's awareness of, and membership in, any community group is determined by a set of free-response questions (questionnaire items 12, 13 and 14). Awareness of groups that are active

in the neighbourhood is determined by a free-response question, and membership in groups thus identified is elicited.

b) Technical conditions of organization (questionnaire items 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 31, 34). These conditions are determined by free-response questions pertaining to the group's length of existence, objectives, and type and frequency of activity. The perceived functions of the group are measured in two ways. A free-response question about the type of benefits accorded to an individual by membership in a community group defines the individual's perception of the function of a community group. The functions of the specific groups may be determined from questions about activities. The perceived degree of organization, range of activities and effectiveness of leaders are also measured, using statements with Likert-scale responses.

c) Social conditions of organization (questionnaire items 1 to 5, 23, 25, 27, 29, 33, 35, 36 to 39). Several sets of questions are used to define the social conditions of organization. Items at the beginning and end of the questionnaire determine the respondent's socio-demographic characteristics. The presence of the condition of demographic energy (Smith, 1973) is determined simply by asking respondents if they know of any of the group's executive members, thus indicating if the social structure of the group parallels the social structure of the neighbourhood. Statements with Likert-scale responses are used to measure the access of individuals to the groups, and the level of social integration of the groups into the neighbourhood.

d) Political conditions of organization (questionnaire items 11, 17, 26, 28, 20, 32). Salience of the group participation alternative

HAMILTON: LOCATION OF STUDY AREAS

꒓꒓꒓ Mountain
      Brow
─ ─ City Limits

Strathcona

C.B.D.

Kirkendall (North) | Durand

N

35

MAP 1
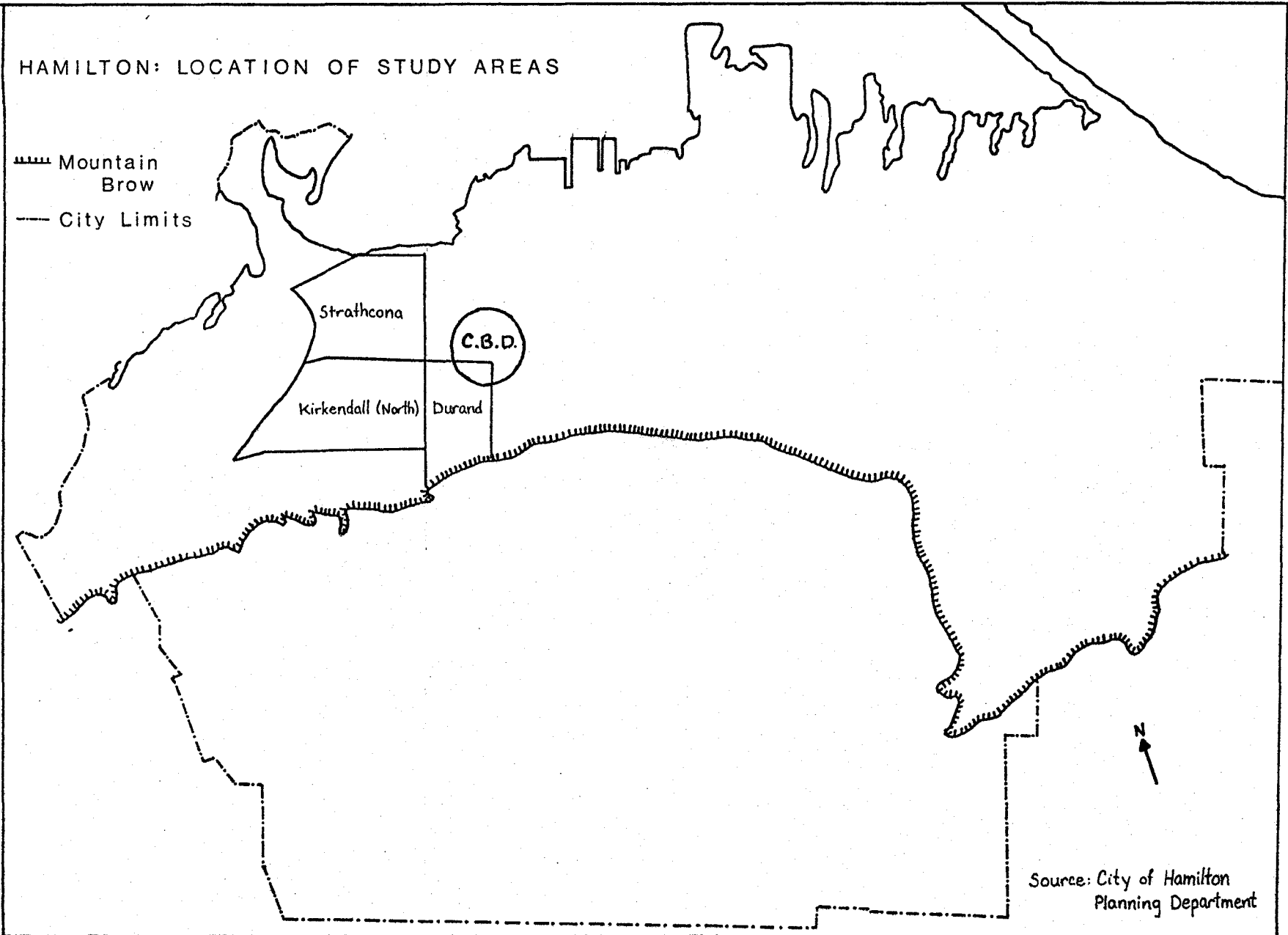
as a response to the issues may be determined from the action response question from the impact section. Present membership in other organizations is determined through a free response question. Statements with Likert-scale responses are used to determine the perceived legitimacy of group leaders, the ability of the group to influence decision-making, the expectation of success, and integration of the group into the political structure of the city.

4.3 The Study Areas

The areas chosen for analysis are three neighbourhoods in central Hamilton (see Map 1); the Durand neighbourhood, the Kirkendall neighbourhood and the Strathcona neighbourhood. Each of these three neighbourhoods has an active community group which has been more or less involved with the problems of open space, and traffic congestion. Because these three neighbourhoods are in the central area of the city, they are all subject to similar pressures for development and growth, and encounter many of the same problems. The neighbourhoods differ somewhat in their socio-economic mix, and in the way their respective community groups have handled the issues that have arisen over the years. Preliminary interviews with group leaders, and people involved with or familiar with the activities of the various groups were conducted, to obtain some background information about the history of the group involvement in various neighbourhood issues.

4.3.1 The Durand Neighbourhood

This neighbourhood contains some of the oldest houses in Hamilton.

Although it is part of the central city area that has traditionally been considered the zone of transition, the southern-most portion of the neighbourhood still retains much of the character associated with such old homes. The neighbourhood is made up of three distinct sectors. The north end is mainly composed of high rise apartment buildings, with extensive commercial development along major traffic arteries. The middle sector was originally an area of medium to large size single family homes on small lots, but has now had some redevelopment, and contains large areas with homes converted to rooming-houses. The southern sector contains many large single-family homes, and is generally regarded as an upper income area.

The Durand Neighbourhood Association was organized five years ago around a single issue, that of redevelopment. At the time of the group's formation, highrise development, which formerly had been strictly confined to the northern-most area of the neighbourhood, began to encroach on the low density residential areas. The issue was addressed from two angles, with hopes of gaining support from the neighbourhood as a whole. Highrise development was presented as a threat to much needed parkland, and as a threat to preservation of many of the historically significant homes in the area. The development of opposition to highrise development through the aegis of the Durand Neighbourhood Association has occurred mainly in the southern half of the neighbourhood. In attempts to retain the momentum of the early hey-day of activity, in the past year the group has expanded its concern to issues such as rent review and community services, and changed its character considerably. From the "knocking on doors" approach adopted

in the beginning, the group has evolved into a well organized
sophisticated venture with regular meetings, fund raising activities,
a regularly published newsletter, and considerable recognition from
neighbourhood residents.

4.3.2 The Strathcona Neighbourhood

The Strathcona neighbourhood presents a sharp contrast to
Durand. The majority of the housing is much newer, built mainly during
the wartime development boom. Homes and lots are smaller, and most of
the neighbourhood has remained as single family homes. The Strathcona
neighbourhood is one of the areas in the city acting as a focal point
for immigrant population, and this presents many problems in community
development which are very different from those faced in the Durand
neighbourhood.

The Strathcona Community Council has had a very troubled past.
Originally formed as the Victoria Park Tenants Association, its primary
objective was similar to that of the Durand Neighbourhood Association,
i.e., to stop redevelopment. The particular form of development in the
Strathcona neighbourhood was a road expansion scheme, and subsequent
renewal of the area to improve the visual effect of one of the major
access routes into the city centre. However, since its inception, the
group has been fraught with internal fracturing. Conflict within the
group about various organizational issues led to the eventual demise
of the Victoria Park Association, as the provincial government rescinded
offers of funding, intended to assist the group's activities. Recently,
the group was started again, as the Strathcona Community Council, with

the same leader, but addressing different issues. Rather than having
political activism as a base, the group's primary activity is as a
community service organization. Group activities and functions consist
of welfare counselling, legal aid service, rent review assistance and
other community services designed for the mainly immigrant population
using the services of the group.

4.3.3 The Kirkendall Neighbourhood

The Kirkendall neighbourhood in many ways represents the mid
point between the Strathcona and Durand neighbourhoods. Unlike either
of these, Kirkendall is very much a transient neighbourhood, housing
many students and other short term residents. The major issue facing
the residents of this area is the development of the Hamilton Amateur
Athletic Association (HAAA) grounds. An additional factor present in
controversy over development at this time is federally sponsored NIP
(Neighbourhood Improvement Program) money allocated to this neighbour-
hood to be used for development. Hamilton City Hall has sent permanent
planning staff to the neighbourhood to act as consultants and advisors
in the use of the money. A citizen participation program was set up
by the city as part of a comprehensive neighbourhood planning scheme,
and is being used as a model for future development in the city. However,
as in the Strathcona neighbourhood,this source of government funding
may soon end because of internal divisiveness in the committee responsible
for allocation of funding within the neighbourhood.

The Kirkendall Community Council was organized in the past two
years as an outgrowth and expansion of the previously existing South West

Ratepayers Association. There have been deliberate attempts by group organizers to learn from the experience of both the Durand and the Strathcona groups. The Kirkendall Community Council is much more an ad hoc association, not an on-going activist organization. Group members reach their peak of activity at times when there is a specific issue to oppose, and at other times the group remains relatively dormant. Issues which have been of concern to the group in the past have been provision of day care centres and playgrounds for children, and the development of the HAAA grounds. (Group members were selected to sit on the citizen's committee organized by the city to make decisions about allocation of NIP money.) In addition to the issue oriented activity of the group, this past summer it received a Local Initiatives Program grant to publish a community newspaper. As well as reporting local community news, the paper served to publicize the activities of the group in areas outside the boundaries of the Kirkendall neighbourhood; something that the other neighbourhood groups have been able to do with only limited success.

4.4 Questionnaire Administration

The objective of questionnaire administration was not a rigorous testing of the research propositions, but rather was intended as a pre-test to determine if the concepts defined in the model may be used as practical analytical dimensions of locational conflict. Preliminary analysis of the propositions through questionnaire results could then indicate the salient attributes to be tested in further research.

A total of thirty interviews were completed in the three neighbourhoods. Limitations of time and resources (one interview took,on average, 45 minutes to complete) prevented collection of a statistically significant representation of the neighbourhoods. The sample areas within each neighbourhood were designed so that potentially, each would have a different level of impact from the issues being considered. As previously discussed, the issue of traffic congestion is rather diffuse, and so a sample group could not be selected to control for spatial proximity to the incidence of impacts from this issue. The open space issue, however, has a locationally specific impact, defined by distance from the sites which have been the subject of controversy. The sample areas, therefore, were selected from the neighbourhoods so that spatial proximity to the open space/parkland sites was different for each neighbourhood, and thus the effect of different levels of impact could be investigated. With so few respondents it would not have been practical to attempt to define a distance decay of impacts, but this pattern may in fact occur.

The Durand neighbourhood sample was selected from an area which was several blocks away from the site of the park, which had been a controversial issue (see Map 2), and would be subject to low impacts. The Kirkendall neighbourhood sample was drawn from the area immediately surrounding the HAAA grounds (see Map 3), and would be a high impact sample. In the Strathcona neighbourhood, the open space issue is not currently a major issue of the group. However, within the neighbourhood, there is a mild controversy concerning a few local residents, over the prospective use of a plot of land. These residents

DURAND NEIGHBOURHOOD

High density

City Hall

High density

Medium density

Durand Park

Medium density

Low density
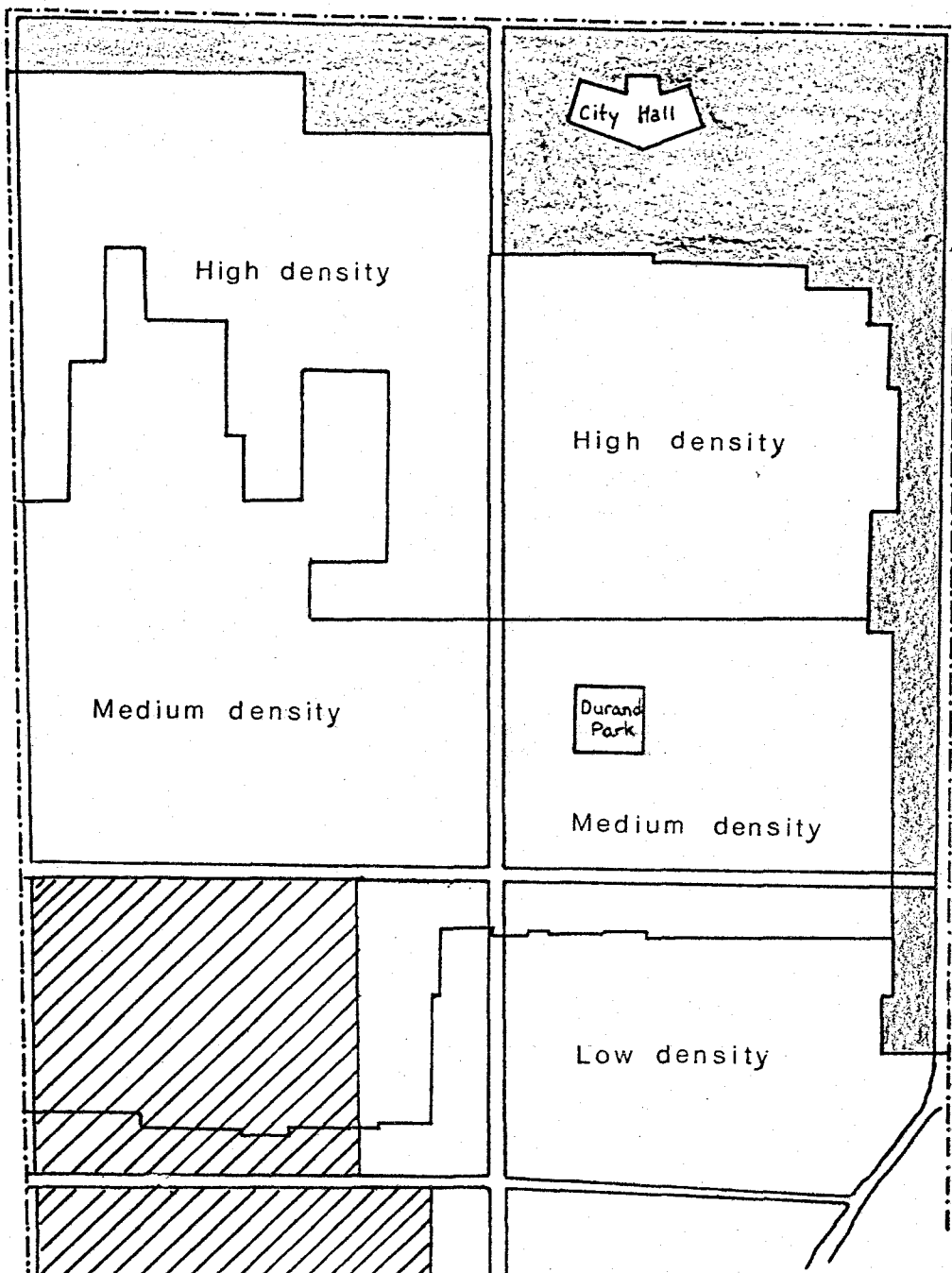
Sample area

Residential

Mixed comm./instit.

Neighbourhood boundary

N

MAP 2

KIRKENDALL
NEIGHBOURHOOD
(NORTH)

Sample area
Medium density resid.
Mixed resid./comm.
Open space
Neighbourhood boundary

HAAA
Grounds

Source: City of Hamilton Planning Department

MAP 3

would have a high impact from this local issue, but the impact could be expected to decrease very rapidly with distance from the site. Therefore, the sample was selected from areas throughout the entire neighbourhood (see Map 4), in order to balance this high local impact. This would produce a medium impact sample from the Strathcona neighbourhood.

In all three neighbourhoods, the selection of respondents was made on a door-to-door basis, with attempts to obtain one response from every block within the designated sample area.

STRATHCONA NEIGHBOURHOOD

- ⬚ Sample area
- ⬚ Mixed resid./comm.
- ⬚ Medium density resid.
- ⬚ Open space
- —·— Neighbourhood boundary

N

Victoria
Park

School

MAP 4

CHAPTER V

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF
GROUP PARTICIPATION IN LOCATIONAL CONFLICT

5.1 Analysis and Interpretation of Questionnaire Results

5.1.1 Membership in a Community Group

Membership in any of the three community groups may be defined
from the questionnaire in two ways: the free-response question asking
what groups the respondent was aware of, and/or a member of (question-
naire items 12 and 13); and the question eliciting specific knowledge
about the three groups (questionnaire item 18). From the free-response
questions, the respondents may be categorized into three groups:

1. Those who were not aware of any community groups in their
neighbourhood (16 respondents);

2. Those who were aware of one or more community groups, but
were not a member of any (8 respondents); and

3. Those who were members of one of the three community groups
(6 respondents).

In general, the respondents were very aware of neighbourhood
boundaries. No respondent was a member of a group from one of the other
two neighbourhoods. Further, when asked specific questions about groups
outside the neighbourhood, the typical response was:

*"I've heard of them, but they're on the other
side of Queen Street, aren't they?"*

or   *"Aren't they that group in the north end of
the city?"*

The question eliciting knowledge of specific groups showed a
similar division between respondents who were not aware of any community
groups, and those who were. In order to see if the perceived neighbour-
hood divisions were maintained, each respondent was asked the same set
of group specific questions for each of the three community groups.
This produces a sample of 90 responses (30 respondents x 3 groups) rather
than the 30 responses used in the free-response questions. Initial
tabulation produced an approximately equal division between respondents
who are not aware of any groups, and those who are aware of one or
more community groups (46 respondents not aware, 44 respondents are
aware). However, when the two sets of responses are compared by a
cross-tabulation, it appears that the categories of responses are not
entirely consistent (see Table 1a). There is a large percentage
(38%) of respondents who had not volunteered knowledge about any groups,
but when subsequently questioned in more detail, said that they knew
of the particular group (see Table 1b). A full 61% of the respondents
who were classified as aware of one or more groups from the group
specific questions had not initially volunteered awareness of any
community groups.

In deciding which measure to use in further analysis, two factors
must be considered:

1. Asking respondents questions about specific groups tends to

TABLE 1

VOLUNTEERED AND ELICITED AWARENESS OF GROUPS

1.a. Raw Data

		Awareness of Group (Volunteered)		
		Yes	No	Total
Awareness of Group	Yes	17	27	44
	No	1	45	46
(Elicited)	Total	18	72	90

1.b Row Percent

		Awareness of Group (Volunteered)		
		Yes	No	Total
Awareness of Group	Yes	39	61	100
	No	2	98	100
(Elicited)	Total	20	80	100

1.c Column Percent

		Awareness of Group (Volunteered)		
		Yes	No	Total
Awareness of Group	Yes	94	38	49
	No	6	62	51
(Elicited)	Total	100	100	100

bias their response. When a group is mentioned, the respondent may say that they have heard of it, but in fact may have no further knowledge of the group or group activities.

2. The free-response question response may be used to categorize the respondent by membership in the group, as well as familiarity with it. Although this may be done only with respect to the group in the respondent's neighbourhood, information is not lost, because there were no cases in which respondents were members of groups outside their own neighbourhood, or were even aware of outside groups when not aware of their own neighbourhood group.

Therefore, the classification used for further analysis is the one derived from the free-response question. The categories are:

Non-aware: the 16 respondents who did not know of any community groups;

Non-members: the 8 respondents who had heard of, but were not members of any groups;

Members: the 6 respondents who were members of community groups.

5.1.2 Proposition 1: Level of Impact

The impact may be translated into action through the three stages of relative deprivation: awareness, politicization and actualization. The first stage, awareness of the issues, is measured on two levels:

1. awareness of the issue in the neighbourhood (questionnaire item 7), and

2. awareness of the issue as it affects the individual (questionnaire item 6).

Awareness of Issues in the Neighbourhood (see Table 2.1)

1. There is a tendency for respondents who are not aware of any community groups (75%), and respondents who have chosen not to join such groups (63%), to be unaware of the issues that the groups have become involved in, the open space issue specifically (see Table 2.1.b). *Group membership is related to awareness of the issues that the group mediates.*

2. For respondents who are aware of the specific issues, very different patterns of response emerge for each issue. The problem of traffic congestion is mentioned most by respondents who are unaware of any community groups (75%), while the problem of open space is mentioned most by group members (60%). The issue of traffic congestion has not been a concern of the groups in the past, although it is quickly becoming important. The problem of open space has been a concern of all three groups since their inception (see Table 2.1.c).
Membership in groups creates an awareness of problems in the individual.

Awareness of Issues Affecting the Individual (see Table 2.2)

1. There is a much higher personal awareness of the traffic congestion issue than awareness of the same issue in the neighbourhood in general for non-aware and non-member respondents. There is no apparent increase in the awareness of the open space issue, but an increase in the percentage of respondents who cited both issues (13% vs. 7%) tend to indicate that overall, awareness of the issues affecting the individual is much higher than awareness of the issues in the neighbourhood as a whole (see Table 2.2.b).

TABLE 2.1

AWARENESS OF ISSUES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

2.1.a Raw Data

Issues

	Traffic	Open Space	Both	None	Total
Non-aware	3	1	0	12	16
Non-member	1	1	1	5	8
Member	0	3	1	2	6
Total	4	5	2	19	30

2.1.b Row Percent

	Traffic	Open Space	Both	None	Total
Non-aware	19	6	0	75	100
Non-member	13	13	13	63	100
Member	0	30	17	33	100

2.1.c Column Percent

	Traffic	Open Space	Both	None
Non-aware	75	20	0	63
Non-member	25	20	50	26
Member	0	60	50	11
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2.2

AWARENESS OF PERSONAL EFFECT OF ISSUES

2.2.a Raw Data

Issues

	Traffic	Open Space	Both	None	Total
Non-aware	7	2	1	6	16
Non-member	3	0	2	3	8
Member	1	3	1	1	6
Total	10	5	4	10	30

2.2.b Row Percent

Issues

	Traffic	Open Space	Both	None	Total
Non-aware	44	13	6	38	100
Non-member	38	0	25	38	100
Member	17	50	17	17	100

Potential members must feel that the issues have a common influence on the whole neighbourhood for awareness of these issues to lead to group membership.

2. Group members have the same level of awareness of the open space issue at both the individual/personal and neighbourhood levels (50% in both cases). For the issue of traffic congestion, personal awareness is much higher (17% for personal vs. 0 for neighbourhood). This adds strength to the argument that group membership is based on a common awareness of the issues, because the "member" respondents were the only ones for which the personal awareness of the issue was not higher than neighbourhood awareness.

The second stage of relative deprivation, beyond simple awareness of the issues, is the degree to which the issue has an impact on the individual. The individual must feel that the issue is caused by an identifiable single source, and is important to him before he will undertake any remedial action regarding the issue. The existence of a common perceived source is assumed, as both of the issues chosen for analysis are generally recognized as planning issues. The level of personal and neighbourhood impact is defined as whether the respondent felt that either of the issues would have any one of the mentioned effects on him, or on the neighbourhood in general (questionnaire items 9 and 10).

Impact of the Issues (see Table 2.3)

1. In contrast to results of the preceding analysis, the number of respondents who feel that the issues have an impact on the neighbourhood

TABLE 2.3

IMPACT OF THE ISSUES

	Personal Impact			Neighbourhood Impact		
	Raw Data	N	Row Percent	Raw Data	N	Row Percent
Non-aware	7	16	44	9	16	56
Non-member	4	8	50	6	8	75
Member	4	6	67	5	6	83
Total	15	30	50	20	30	67

TABLE 2.4

SPATIAL DIMENSION OF IMPACT

	PERSONAL IMPACT						NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPACT					
	Traffic			Open Space			Traffic			Open Space		
	Raw Data	N	Row Percent	Raw Data	N	Row Percent	Raw Data	N	Row Percent	Raw Data	N	Row Percent
Durand	3	10	30	1	10	10	5	10	50	1	10	10
Strathcona	5	10	50	1	10	10	8	10	80	2	10	20
Kirkendall	1	10	10	5	10	50	1	10	10	4	10	40
Total	9	30	30	7	30	23	14	30	47	7	30	23

is higher than the number who feel a personal impact (67% vs. 50%). This may occur because although people may be aware of the issues that affect them, they do not know, or are reluctant to specify the precise ways in which the issues have an effect on them.

2. There is a strong relationship between the level of impact of the issues, on both the personal and neighbourhood levels, and membership in community groups. For an individual to be a member of a group, then, not only does he have to be aware of the issues mediated by the group, he must also feel that they are important to him. *Potential group members must feel that they are impacted by the issue before they will become group members.*

Spatial Proximity (see Table 2.4)

The incidence of impacts may be disaggregated spatially by looking at responses for the three neighbourhoods separately. In the case of the open space problem, the sample was selected such that the Durand neighbourhood respondents were furthest from the source of conflict, Kirkendall neighbourhood respondents were close and the Strathcona neighbourhood residents were at varying distance between.

1. Impacts may be seen to be related to these distance effects, for the degree of impact at both the personal and neighbourhood level was highest in the Kirkendall neighbourhood, and lowest in the Durand neighbourhood.

Impact of the issue depends on the spatial relation to the source of conflict.

2. For the issue of traffic congestion, the impact at both
personal and neighbourhood levels was highest in the Strathcona
neighbourhood. This may be a result of the sample being selected from
areas near a major roadway, and near a high school, thus verifying the
hypothesized relationship between impacts and distance.

3. In general, for responses aggregated for all three neighbour-
hoods, the neighbourhood impact was higher than personal impact. This
pattern was not maintained within each neighbourhood. In the Kirkendall
neighbourhood, the personal impact of the open space issue is higher
than the neighbourhood impact (50% vs. 40%). This may reflect the effect
of distance as well, as the Kirkendall neighbourhood respondents who are
close to the source of conflict may feel that they bear higher impacts
than the rest of the neighbourhood does.

The final stage of translation of relative deprivation into
group action, the actualization of action, is measured on two levels.
First, the individual's consideration of a range of possible action
responses is analysed, and then, the selection of the group action
alternative is analysed in depth, by looking at the various group
activities that the individual has been involved in.

Alternative Action Responses (see Table 2.5)

1. For all respondents, the "move" alternative was the one
considered the least often, probably because those who would consider
moving have already left the neighbourhood. For the "non-aware"
respondents, the majority of the responses (55%) were in the no action
category. This may be because they have never been presented with an

TABLE 2.5

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVE CONSIDERED

2.5.a <u>Raw Data</u>

Alternatives

	Move	Contact Representative	Attend Meeting	Join a Group	Do Nothing	Total
Non-aware	0	2	4	4	12	22
Non-member	1	2	2	1	4	10
Member	1	3	4	4	1	13
Total	2	7	10	9	17	55

2.5.b <u>Row Percent</u>

	Move	Contact Representative	Attend Meeting	Join a Group	Do Nothing	Total
Non-aware	0	9	18	18	55	100
Non-member	10	20	20	10	40	100
Member	8	23	31	31	8	100

2.5.c <u>Column Percent</u>

	Move	Contact Representative	Attend Meeting	Join a Group	Do Nothing
Non-aware	0	29	40	44	71
Non-member	50	29	20	11	24
Member	50	43	40	44	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

option of action, and so would not consider it as a feasible alternative. The "non-member" respondents show a similar pattern of response, weighted in the no-action alternative (40% of the responses). It is only the group members who would consider attending a group meeting or joining a group as a feasible response (62%), possibly because they are familiar with group activity in general, and are aware of what can be accomplished. This response may be related to other factors, such as level of impact, which influence the respondents need to take action (see Table 2.5.b).

2. Closer examination of the specific alternatives shows several trends in patterns of action.

a) There is no difference between group members and non-members in responses on the 'move' or exit alternative.

b) There is a higher propensity for group members to consider contacting representatives at city hall, possibly explained in terms of personal efficacy.

c) For the group related activities, attending a meeting and joining a group, the "non-aware" and "member" respondents have a higher propensity to select these alternatives than do "non-members". This indicates that there is some basic difference in "non-members" and "members" in how they perceive the feasibility of group action. This may be explained by other factors, such as efficacy, past experience, or individual characteristics. The similarity in responses between "non-aware" and "member" respondents indicates that the "non-aware" group may represent potential community group members (see Table 2.5.c).

Type of Group Actions Taken (see Table 2.6)

1. In general, signing a petition is the much preferred group sponsored activity (50% of all the respondents have signed a petition). Attending meetings is almost as popular, as 40% of the respondents have taken this action. Other activities, such as writing reports, distributing literature, or activities associated with organization of the group are not activities considered by most of the respondents (see Table 2.6.b).

2. For "non-aware" respondents, the much preferred activity is signing petitions (50% of the respondents chose this activity). "Non-member" respondents choose to attend meetings (75% of the respondents) over signing petitions (only 38% of the respondents). This seems to indicate that non-membership in groups is by choice, as they have attended group meetings and seen how the community group operates. It may also indicate the presence of "free riders", i.e., people who support the group's motives but do not feel a need to express this support in active group membership (Dear and Long, 1976). At least 50% of all group member respondents have participated in each of the activities.

3. Examination of the activities separately indicates a type of action orientation of each respondent category. The passive action of signing a petition was mostly done by the "non-aware" respondents (53% of all respondents who had signed a petition). Attending meetings was mostly done by "non-member" respondents (50%) which indicates that group members are not in the forefront of group organized activity. The choice of other activities by group members (75%) supports this

TABLE 2.6

TYPE OF GROUP ACTION TAKEN

2.6.a <u>Raw Data</u>

TYPE OF ACTION

	Sign Petition			Attend Meeting			Other		
	Row Data	N	Row Percent	Row Data	N	Row Percent	Row Data	N	Row Percent
Non-aware	8	16	50	1	16	6	0	16	0
Non-member	3	8	38	6	8	75	1	8	13
Member	4	6	67	5	6	83	3	6	50
Total	15	30	50	12	30	40	4	30	13

2.6.b <u>Column Percent</u>

	Sign Petition	Attend Meeting	Other
Non-aware	50	8	0
Non-member	20	50	25
Member	30	42	75
Total	100	100	100

characterization of group members as behind the scenes organizers. *Group members participate in active, organizational activities, while non-members participate in passive activities.*

The action orientation hypothesis may be further illuminated by looking at the number of actions taken by each respondent category.

Number of Actions Taken (see Table 2.7)

1. The "non-aware" respondents in general take no action, or only one action (which from the preceding analysis was seen to be signing a petition). The "non-member" respondents take only one action (which was seen to be attending a meeting). The group members take two or more actions (see Table 2.7.b).
Group membership is characterized by both type and number of actions taken.

2. The choice to take no action is made by "non-aware" respondents (89% of respondents taking no action are "non-aware"), because of individual characteristics, non-existence of impacts or lack of knowledge about group activities. The choice to take only one action is made predominantly by "non-aware" respondents as well (58%), although some "non-member" respondents also choose this level of action. The choice to take two actions is split equally between group non-members and members, indicating that the differences between these two respondent groups lie not in their propensity to act, but in their propensity to engage in specific activities (as seen in preceding analysis). The most active respondents, engaging in three or more group activities, are the group members (see Table 2.7.c)

TABLE 2.7

NUMBER OF GROUP ACTIONS TAKEN

2.7.a Raw Data

	None	1	2	3 or more	Total
Non-aware	8	7	1	0	16
Non-member	1	4	3	0	8
Member	0	1	3	2	6
Total	9	12	7	2	30

2.7.b Row Percent

	None	1	2	3 or more	Total
Non-aware	50	44	6	0	100
Non-member	13	50	38	0	100
Member	0	17	50	33	100

2.7.c Column Percent

	None	1	2	3 or more
Non-aware	89	58	14	0
Non-member	11	32	43	0
Member	0	8	43	100
Total	100	100	100	100

5.1.3 Proposition 2: Technical Conditions of Organization

Functions of the Group

For purposes of measurement and analysis, functions of the group are interpreted as the perceived benefits of membership in a community group. Responses were categorized as personal or political benefits, or both. Personal benefits include responses such as

> *"You get a chance to meet people".*
>
> *"It's a good idea for senior citizens to get out once in a while".*

Political benefits include responses such as

> *"You get a voice in what happens".*
>
> *"You can keep informed about things around the neighbourhood".*

Benefits of Membership in Community Groups (see Table 3.1)

1. The majority of "non-aware" respondents see no benefit from group membership (i.e., the group does not perform a function that they are interested in). "Non-member" respondents perceive both personal and political benefits, although no single respondent in the "non-member" category mentioned both. However, the response in either of these two categories is not very high, again indicating that the group offers little benefit that is useful to non-members. Most "member" respondents do perceive political benefits (67%) and not personal benefits (see Table 3.1.b).

TABLE 3.1

PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF GROUP MEMBERSHIP

3.1.a Raw Data

	None	Personal	Political	Both	Total
Non-aware	9	3	4	0	16
Non-member	2	3	3	0	8
Member	0	1	4	1	6
Total	11	7	11	1	30

3.1.b Row Percent

	None	Personal	Political	Both	Total
Non-aware	56	19	25	0	100
Non-member	25	38	38	0	100
Member	0	17	67	17	100

3.1.c Column Percent

	None	Personal	Political	Both
Non-aware	82	43	36	0
Non-member	18	43	28	0
Member	0	14	36	100
Total	100	100	100	100

The political functions of a community group are important for attracting members.

2. The pattern of responses for specific benefits suggests that there is a potential for increasing group membership. The "no-benefit" response was made mostly by "non-aware" respondents, indicating a lack of information about the function of community groups. Personal benefits are perceived equally by "non-aware" and "non-member" respondents, but not by a "member" respondent, indicating that the group may gain membership by offering personal or social functions. The political benefits are perceived equally by "non-aware" and "member" respondents, again suggesting that a lack of information about specific groups among the "non-aware" respondents may be the factor limiting their membership (see Table 3.1.c).

Group membership may be increased by increasing the amount of information available about the functions and benefits of the group.

Knowledge about the Groups

The manner in which the level of information is related to group membership may be seen by analysing the respondents' knowledge of specific facts about the groups. The sample size for these tables is 90, rather than 30, as the same set of questions was asked of each respondent three times; once for each group. The high number of "non-aware" respondents falling in the "don't know" response category for each of these tables is not surprising, as these are the respondents who by definition do not know about community group activity. The few responses in the "non-aware" category who do have some knowledge of

specific facets of group activity may be merely guesses, such as

> *"Well, they want to preserve the neighbourhood,*
> *don't they?"*

Therefore, the important trends to look for in these tables are the

differences between group members and non-members.

Length of Existence of the Group (see Table 3.2)

Group non-members either did not know the length of existence

of the group, or under-estimated the time. Group members, for the

most part, did know the correct length of existence. No respondents in

either category overestimated the length of existence of the group.

This suggests that the groups have maintained a rather low profile in

the neighbourhoods (see Table 3.2.b).

Group non-membership may result from a lack of knowledge about the

group's existence.

Knowledge of the Group's Objectives (see Table 3.3)

Some of the objectives of the group were known by both "non-

member" and "member" respondents. All of the "member" respondents

knew of some objectives, as did most of the "non-member" respondents.

This indicates that *group non-membership may not be attributed to an*

individual's lack of knowledge of what the group is trying to achieve

(see Table 3.3.b).

Knowledge of the Group's Activities (see Table 3.4)

A pattern of response similar to that for knowledge of objectives

TABLE 3.2

KNOWLEDGE OF THE GROUP:

LENGTH OF EXISTENCE

3.2.a Raw Data

	Don't Know	Under Estimate	Correct	Over Estimate	Total
Non-aware	66	2	1	1	70
Non-member	5	6	0	0	11
Member	1	1	3	0	5
Total	72	9	4	1	86

3.2.b Row Percent

	Don't Know	Under Estimate	Correct	Over Estimate	Total
Non-aware	94	3	1	1	100
Non-member	45	55	0	0	100
Member	20	20	60	0	100

TABLE 3.3

KNOWLEDGE OF THE GROUP: OBJECTIVES

3.3.a Raw Data

	Don't Know Any	Know 1 or More	Total
Non-aware	57	15	72
Non-member	3	9	12
Member	0	6	6
Total	60	30	90

3.3.b Row Percent

	Don't Know Any	Know 1 or More	Total
Non-aware	72	21	100
Non-member	25	75	100
Member	0	100	100

TABLE 3.4

KNOWLEDGE OF THE GROUP: ACTIVITIES

3.4.a Raw Data

	Don't Know Any	Know 1 or More	Total
Non-aware	64	8	72
Non-member	3	9	12
Member	1	5	6
Total	68	22	90

3.4.b Row Percent

	Don't Know Any	Know 1 or More	Total
Non-aware	89	11	100
Non-member	25	75	100
Member	17	83	100

3.4.c Column Percent

	Don't Know Any	Know 1 or More
Non-aware	94	36
Non-member	4	41
Member	2	23
Total	100	100

emerges for knowledge of the group's activities. Both "member" and "non-member" respondents know of at least one activity of the group. Again, this indicates that *group non-membership may not be attributed to lack of knowledge of the group's activities* (see Table 3.4.b).

Responses to Statements

"Neutral" responses are people who didn't know, or were indifferent, and so may be treated in the same way as a "no-response". Because of the small sample, for not all of the 30 respondents answered these questions, the two "agree" and two "disagree" categories at each end of the response scale were each collapsed into one for analysis.

a) "The group is not very well organized" (see Table 3.5) Patterns of response indicate that "member" respondents disagree, and "non-member" and "non-aware" respondents agree. The large number of "non-member" respondents who were neutral occurred because they were wary of making judgement on the group. A typical response would be "That really would not be fair for me to say, I don't really know enough about the group".

The choice to join a group depends on the perceived degree of organization of the group.

b) "Group activities centre primarily around local interests" (see Table 3.6) Most respondents in all three categories agree with this statement, which indicates that *the range of interests of the group is not a factor determining (non) membership.*

c) "The group executive provides effective leadership" (see Table 3.7) "Member" respondents agree with this statement, and "non-

TABLE 3.5

"THE GROUP IS NOT VERY WELL ORGANIZED"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	4	1	1	6
Non-member	2	4	0	6
Member	1	1	3	5
Total	7	6	4	17

TABLE 3.6

"GROUP ACTIVITIES CENTRE PRIMARILY AROUND LOCAL INTERESTS"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	3	2	1	6
Non-member	4	2	0	6
Member	4	0	1	5
Total	11	4	2	17

TABLE 3.7

"THE GROUP EXECUTIVE PROVIDES EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	2	3	1	6
Non-member	2	3	1	6
Member	3	1	1	5
Total	7	7	3	17

members" respondents don't know. This indicates that perceived effectiveness of the executive may be a factor differentiating group members and non-members. Some "non-aware" respondents do see the leaders as effective, although most are neutral, or don't know. This indicates that there may be a potential for group membership among non-aware respondents.

Membership in groups is related to the perceived effectiveness of the group leaders.

5.1.4 Proposition 3: Social Conditions of Organization

Knowledge of the Group's Executive (see Table 4.1)

Knowledge of the group's executive indicates the degree of integration of the group into the social network of the neighbourhood. If a respondent knows the group's executive, then it may be possible to say that the group is part of the social structure, and according to the concept of demographic energy (Smith, 1974) this would account for at least part of the group's membership. The results are analysed for each neighbourhood separately, because of the vast differences in the group executive in each neighbourhood.

For all three neighbourhoods, the "non-aware" respondents did not know any executive members. Of the "non-member" respondents, those in the Durand neighbourhood did know executive members, but those in the Strathcona and Kirkendall neighbourhoods did not. The "member" respondents in both the Durand and Strathcona neighbourhoods knew executive members, but those in the Kirkendall neighbourhood did not. This reflects the organizational character of the three groups. The

TABLE 4.1

KNOWLEDGE OF THE GROUP EXECUTIVE MEMBERS

4.1.a Raw Data

	Durand		Strathcona		Kirkendall		Total
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Non-aware	0	4	1	6	0	5	16
Non-member	2	1	0	2	1	2	8
Member	3	0	1	0	0	2	6
Total	5	5	2	8	1	9	30

4.1.b Row Percent

	Durand		Strathcona		Kirkendall		Total
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Non-aware	9	25	6	38	0	31	100
Non-member	25	13	0	25	13	25	100
Member	50	0	17	0	0	33	100

Durand Neighbourhood Association has been a rather high profile group, gaining much of its new membership through personal contact, so new incoming members, and even those who are contacted but do not join, know the names of members of the group's executive. The Kirkendall Community Council has adopted a much more passive approach, and does not go out on massive membership drives. Rather, the group relies on the few members that it does have, and is run more as a "grass roots" organization than the Durand group which receives direction from the executive. The Strathcona Community Association at present has a policy of not recruiting new members, but just waiting, offering service when it is requested. Therefore, people who are involved in the group know many of the leaders very well, but people outside the group do not. There is a difference between neighbourhoods in the degree of integration of the group into the social structure of the neighbourhood, however, this difference does not seem to be consistently related to group membership

Knowledge of the group's executive is not a factor sufficient to determine group membership.

Socio-Demographic Variables

a) Income (see Table 4.2): The mode of the income distribution for all three categories of respondents is the same (10,000 to 20,000). *Group membership for this sample is not related to income.*

b) Occupation (see Table 4.3): Because of the high proportion of housewives, and retired people in the sample (over 50%), no conclusions can be drawn about the relationship between occupation and

TABLE 4.2

INCOME

4.2.a <u>Raw Data</u>

	Income (in $'000)				
	Less than 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	More than 30	Total
Non-aware	2	5	1	2	10
Non-member	2	2	1	0	5
Member	0	2	0	0	2
Total	4	9	2	2	17

4.2.b <u>Row Percent</u>

	Income (in $'000)				
	Less than 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	More than 30	Total
Non-aware	20	50	10	20	100
Non-member	40	40	20	0	100
Member	0	100	0	0	100

TABLE 4.3

OCCUPATION

4.3.a Raw Data

	Managerial Professional	Clerical/ Service	Labourer	Housewife	Retired	Total
Non-aware	3	2	2	3	6	16
Non-member	2	1	1	1	3	8
Member	1	1	1	1	2	6
Total	6	4	4	5	11	30

4.3.b Row Percent

	Managerial Professional	Clerical/ Service	Labourer	Housewife	Retired	Total
Non-aware	19	13	13	19	38	100
Non-member	25	13	13	13	38	100
Member	17	17	17	17	33	100

group membership. However, for the sample available, *there does not seem to be a consistent relationship between occupation and group membership.*

c) Level of Education (see Table 4.4): In general, "non-aware" respondents have a high school education or university education and "member" respondents have a university education.

There is a positive relationship between membership in a community group and level of education.

Responses to Statements

a) "Group members share common interests" (see Table 4.5) Both "non-aware" and "non-member" respondents give a predominantly neutral response, but with more responses in the agree category than the disagree category. For "member" respondents, the predominant response is to agree.

There may be a tendency for group members to perceive the group as a more closely knit social unit than non-members.

b) "Group members come from a small area in the neighbourhood" (see Table 4.6) "Non-aware" respondents agree with this statement, and "member" respondents disagree. The response of "non-member" respondents is largely neutral, but with some tendency toward the agree category. The trend seems to be for group members to see the group as recruiting members from the whole neighbourhood, and for non-members to see group members as coming from a selected area.

Group membership is related to patterns of recruitment.

c) "The group is receptive to ideas and suggestions from

TABLE 4.4

LEVEL OF EDUCATION

4.4.a Raw Data

Education Status: Current or Completed

	Public School	High School	University or College	Total
Non-aware	3	9	4	16
Non-member	2	3	3	8
Member	2	1	3	6
Total	7	13	10	30

4.4.b Row Percent

	Public School	High School	University or College	Total
Non-aware	19	56	25	100
Non-member	25	38	38	100
Member	33	17	50	100

TABLE 4.5

"GROUP MEMBERS SHARE COMMON INTERESTS"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	2	3	1	6
Non-member	2	3	1	6
Member	3	1	1	5
Total	7	7	3	17

TABLE 4.6

"GROUP MEMBERS COME FROM A SMALL AREA IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	3	2	1	6
Non-member	2	4	0	6
Member	1	1	3	5
Total	6	7	4	17

TABLE 4.7

"THE GROUP IS RECEPTIVE TO IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS
FROM NEIGHBOURHOOD RESIDENTS"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	3	1	2	6
Non-member	3	3	0	6
Member	4	1	0	5
Total	10	5	2	17

neighbourhood residents" (see Table 4.7) "Non-aware" respondents agree
for the most part, but there are some who disagree. This may reflect
their basic lack of knowledge about the operations of the group. "Non-
member" and "member" respondents also agree, but with a stronger agree
response from "member" respondents.

*Group membership is related to the individual's perception of his access
to the group.*

      d) "There is a lot of disagreement among group members" (see
Table 4.8) Both "non-aware" and "member" respondents agree with this
statement, while "non-members" give a neutral response. This pattern
indicates that the internal organization or harmony of the group is
not necessary to attract members. Even though groups must be perceived
as social units to attract members, they do not necessarily have to
have internal agreement on methods of operation.

*Agreement on ends or goals is necessary to attract members, but agree-
ment on means to achieve the ends is not necessary.*

      e) "I feel a part of my neighbourhood" (see Table 4.9) For all
categories of respondents, the overwhelming response is to agree with
this statement.

*Group membership is not dependent upon the individual's integration
into the neighbourhood.*

5.1.5 Proposition 4: Political Conditions of Organization

Responses to Statements

      The political conditions of organization all relate to the
integration of the community group into the political decision-making

TABLE 4.8

"THERE IS A LOT OF DISAGREEMENT AMONG GROUP MEMBERS"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	4	2	0	6
Non-member	0	6	0	6
Member	4	0	1	5
Total	8	8	1	17

TABLE 4.9

"I FEEL A PART OF MY NEIGHBOURHOOD"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	4	0	2	6
Non-member	5	1	0	6
Member	4	0	1	5
Total	13	1	3	17

structure, and to the legitimacy ascribed to the group as representative of the neighbourhood.

a) "I expect the group to be successful" (see Table 5.1) "Non-aware" respondents show no direction in response toward either agreement or disagreement, perhaps reflecting a lack of specific knowledge about the group's goals or the issues that it mediates. "Non-member" respondents agree, or are neutral, and "member" respondents all agree. As the only respondents to disagree with this statement were those with little specific knowledge about the group, the pattern of response seems to indicate that expectation of success is not an important dimension differentiating group members and non-members. A person may choose not to join the group even if he expects it to be successful. This indicates that it is the immediate benefits that the individual may gain from membership that determines whether or not he will join, and not the gains that the group makes as a collective voice.

There is no clear relation between group membership and expectation of success.

b) "The group executive shares common interests with city hall officials" (see Table 5.2) "Non-aware" respondents disagree with this statement. (This may be a normative judgement, i.e., the executive shouldn't share interests with city hall officials.) Most "non-member" respondents are neutral, but with more respondents who disagree than those who agree. "Member" respondents are split between agree and disagree.

Co-optation of group leaders is not a deterrent to group membership.

TABLE 5.1

"I EXPECT THE GROUP TO BE SUCCESSFUL"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	2	2	2	6
Non-member	3	3	0	6
Member	5	0	0	5
Total	10	5	2	17

TABLE 5.2

"THE GROUP EXECUTIVE SHARES
COMMON INTERESTS WITH CITY HALL OFFICIALS"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	1	1	4	6
Non-member	1	3	3	6
Member	2	1	2	5
Total	4	5	8	17

c) "The group represents the whole neighbourhood" (see Table 5.3) All categories of respondents have the majority of their responses in the agree category. There is, however, a slight tendency for "non-member" and "non-aware" respondents to disagree with this statement. This may be interpreted as the perceived legitimacy of the group. If the individual feels that the group is representative of the whole neighbourhood, then he may feel that the group has a mandate for action. However, if the individual feels that the group is not representative, then he may choose not to join.

Group membership is related to the individual's perception of the representativeness of the group.

d) "The group works well with other groups in the city" (see Table 5.4) "Non-aware" respondents are mostly neutral, possibly because of a lack of information. Disagree responses outnumber agree responses for this category of respondents. "Non-member" respondents are all neutral, possibly due to caution about passing judgement on the group. "Member" respondents mostly agree with this statement.

Group membership is related to the degree of integration of the group into the political structure of the city.

5.2 Neighbourhood Scenarios

In summarizing the tentative findings from the survey, it may be useful to proceed by describing brief scenarios of events in each of the three sample neighbourhoods. These scenarios focus upon a chronology of events in neighbourhood change, and highlight the varying conditions which have influenced group involvement in locational conflict.

TABLE 5.3

"THE GROUP REPRESENTS THE WHOLE NEIGHBOURHOOD"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	3	1	2	6
Non-member	3	2	1	6
Member	4	1	0	5
Total	10	4	3	17

TABLE 5.4

"THE GROUP WORKS WELL
WITH OTHER GROUPS IN THE CITY"

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Total
Non-aware	1	3	2	6
Non-member	0	6	0	6
Member	3	2	0	5
Total	4	11	2	17

5.2.1 The Issues

The issues that are important to each of the community groups differ. The Durand Neighbourhood Association has been very active in the high-rise/open space issue. The group has recently expanded interests into areas of tenants rights and other community services. The conclusions about the relationship between impact and group membership indicate that this should be a successful attempt to gain membership, as it is issues that are of significance to individuals that act as an impetus for membership.

The Strathcona Community Association, in one form or another, has been involved in various issues over the years. They started out with welfare rights, and other 'politically oriented' activities, moved to direct protest about land use and planning in the neighbourhood, and are now involved in community service activities. It is difficult to say for sure what effect this variety of concerns has had on group membership, for each new venture has the potential for attracting new members. However, in the case of the Strathcona community, it is likely that political and organizational problems have overridden the effects of issues and impacts.

In Kirkendall neighbourhood, the group organizers have made deliberate attempts to learn from the experience of both of the other groups. As a result, they have chosen areas of concern that have been proven effective in gaining members. The NIP intervention in the neighbourhood has also had some effect as it has made the neighbourhood residents generally more aware of the issues. However, as this group has not emerged as a 'grass roots' movement, but on the deliberate

intervention by a group of politically conscious individuals, it would seem that the issues do not have as great an impact as in the other neighbourhoods. It is not possible to determine this from the present study, however, because the sample in each neighbourhood was selected from a very small area.

5.2.2 Conditions of Organization

The responses to the statement scales indicate several areas in which the neighbourhoods differ widely.

a) Level of Organization: The Durand neighbourhood respondents see the group as well organized. There is no clear trend for Kirkendall neighbourhood respondents. Strathcona residents feel that the group is disorganized. These indications have clear implications for the success of groups in these neighbourhoods. As group membership is related to level of organization, it would seem that Durand would be most success-ful in recruiting members, and Strathcona least successful.

b) Effectiveness of Leadership: The Durand respondents feel that the group leaders are effective, while Strathcona respondents feel that they have been ineffective. Again, Kirkendall responses indicate no clear trend.

The differences in perceptions of the leaders may be a result of individual personalities. In the Durand neighbourhood the person who undertook the initial organization of the group was Diane Dent. She has lived in the neighbourhood for several years, and is well known in the area. The original executive, and active members of the group were also neighbourhood residents. Many of the issues that the group attacked

were brought to the attention of the neighbourhood residents by door-to-door canvassing.

In contrast, the Strathcona group has had a very controversial past with leaders. The original organizer, Gary Quart, was a semi-professional neighbourhood organizer, with experience in Chicago. Unlike the Durand Neighbourhood Association executive, the executive of the Strathcona group have been in many cases paid as employees of the organization. This fact, combined with the intense controversy over the rights of representation of the group, has lead to the group executive's gradual alienation from the community. As a result, the neighbourhood residents no longer feel (if they ever did) that the group leadership is very effective.

c) Social Integration: The Durand neighbourhood residents are in agreement that group members share common interests, possibly as a result of the length of existence of the group, for it has become a well established venture in the neighbourhood. For both the Strathcona and the Kirkendall neighbourhoods, the predominant response is neutral. This variation in response indicates that on the basis of perception of the group as a social entity, the Durand Neighbourhood Association would have more success in attracting new members. This greater degree of success may also be a reflection of the manner in which the group was initially organized,as it has had a very strong social base.

d) Patterns of Recruitment: The Kirkendall neighbourhood residents do not have a censensus on the pattern of recruitment to the group. Durand residents are mostly neutral, but with more respondents feeling that recruitment is not from a small area than those who feel

that it is. In the Strathcona neighbourhood, most of the respondents feel that recruitment does occur within a small area.

In terms of predictions about success of the groups, these trends would seem to suggest that the Durand group is more successful at recruiting members than Strathcona, as they have a wider social base. This may be a result of the types of activity that the Strathcona group has been involved in, since the major battle of the group, concerning a political issue rather than a social one, was that of the York Street widening. However, this was a very localized issue, as the only neighbourhood residents to become involved were those immediately in the York Street area. As a result, if the Strathcona group is generally associated with this localized type of issue, they would have only limited neighbourhood wide appeal.

e) Social Access to the Group: There are no Durand or Kirkendall neighbourhood respondents who feel that the group is not accessible to everybody. In the Strathcona neighbourhood, although more respondents feel that the group is accessible,there are some who feel that it is not. This again may be a result of the political controversy and alienation of the neighbourhood residents from the groups executive. This carries with it the implication that the Strathcona group will have trouble recruiting new members, and possibly also have trouble keeping the old ones.

f) Political Integration: The predominant response of both Durand and Kirkendall respondents was no opinion, although there were no people in either neighbourhood who thought that the group did not work well with other groups. In the Strathcona neighbourhood, the predominant

response was neutral, but in this case there were more respondents who felt that the group was not well integrated than who thought that it was. This may also be explained by looking at the history of the group, as the varieties of conflict the group has been involved in act as a deterrent to further membership.

Finally, a general picture of the groups may be drawn. The Durand Neighbourhood Association has had a history of success, and all signs indicate that it should continue this way in the future. This is a result of a fortuitous choice of issues (the right ones at the right times) and generally good organization. It remains to be seen however, if the new executive can maintain the momentum built up over the past few years.

In the Kirkendall neighbourhood, the organizational potential is there, but it remains to be seen how effective the group's choice of issues will be. If they can achieve some of the social base that is evident in the Durand neighbourhood, there seems to be no reason why they cannot begin to grow.

The Strathcona group has a very different prognosis. They have not had success in choosing issues that have a wide appeal to the neighbourhood residents, and the history of the group has been fraught with conflict and controversy. It would seem then that the future of the group is not bright. They have survived mainly through massive injection of funds from various agencies in the city, and it seems reasonable to suggest that if and when these funds cease, the group will also.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to identify the conditions
influencing an individual to join a community group. Some elements
derived from the literature on general conflict theory, and locational
conflict in particular, provided an initial conceptualization of the
structural dimensions of the problem. Community group activity was
conceived as a response made by an individual to his perception of an
issue, which was considered to be the initial impetus for conflict.
The conflict model formulated by Dahrendorf (1959) provided initial
propositions for the analysis of locational conflict. Four factors
influencing the choice of group membership by an individual were:

1. Psychological factors

2. Technical conditions of organization

3. Social conditions of organization

4. Political conditions of organization.

These four components of community groups involved in conflict were
examined empirically, to generate a fuller set of hypotheses relating
to the individual's choice of community group activity as a response to
conflict. These hypotheses could then be used to indicate the direction
of future research.

6.1 Summary of Findings

From the various conditions which were found, through analysis of the propositions to be related to group membership, several hypotheses may be derived. These hypotheses relate group membership to the impact of the issues, the function of the group, the level of integration of the group into the neighbourhood, and the level of knowledge about group activities.

6.1.1 Spatial Dimensions of Impact

The initial pre-conditions for membership in a community group were found to be related to the issues that the group mediates. The basis for the importance of an issue is proximity of the individual to the source of the impact.

1. The impact of an issue depends on spatial proximity to its source. The impact of the issues is related to group membership in two ways;

2. The individual must be aware that the issue affects him personally; and

3. The individual must feel that this effect is important to him for the impact of the issues to lead to group membership. Therefore, an individual's proximity to the source of an impact may be a determining factor in his propensity to join a community group. Group membership may cause an increase in awareness of the issues for those individuals who choose the group membership alternative, thus strengthening the membership/awareness link.

6.1.2 Individual Characteristics

Not every person who is close to an impact will have the same propensity to join a group, due to several intervening factors.

1. Group membership is related to higher levels of education, but group membership is not related to income or occupation.

2. Group members are characterized by both the number and the type of activities in which they become involved: (a) Group members participate in active, organizational activities, while non-members participate in passive activities, (b) Group members participate in more activities than do non-members.

Group membership is related to the particular action orientation of the individual.

6.1.3 Functions and Objectives of the Group

Knowledge about different aspects of the group is related to group membership in different ways.

1. Group membership is related to the individual's knowledge of the group's existence, and knowledge of the specific benefits that the individual may gain from group membership.

2. Group membership is not related to knowledge about the group's global objectives, or range of activities initiated to achieve these objectives.

These conclusions suggest that a group may be more successful in recruiting members by publicizing the immediate benefits that an individual may gain, but not necessarily by publicizing

the wider demands of the group. Not only is knowledge of functions and objectives important in determining group membership, so also is the individual's perception of them.

     1. The perception of political functions of the group is a factor determining membership.

     2. The perception of a wide range of activities of the group is not related to group membership.

It has been shown that the issues the group is involved in act as initial incentives for membership. However, it now becomes clear that the breadth of activities initiated by the group in order to achieve goals related to these issues is not important. Rather, it is the immediate political benefits perceived by the group that determines group membership. This argument is supported by a third condition for membership:

     3. Agreement on the goals of group activity is necessary, but the means to achieve these goals are not important.

The manner in which the group attempts to achieve goals is only important insofar as the group activities offer immediate benefits to group members.

6.1.4 Organizational Characteristics of the Group

     The attractiveness of a group for membership is affected by the internal organization of the group, as well as the external benefits offered to group members.

     1. The propensity of an individual to join the group is dependent on the perceived degree of organization of the group, and the perceived effectiveness of the group executive.

2. Membership in a group is not related to perceived expectation of success.

This suggests that the long-range goals of the group for the most part are left to the group leaders, as it is only the day-to-day operation of the group that is important. The eventual success of the group is not an important concern for group members. The nature of the day-to-day operation of the group may be explained by looking at social conditions for group membership.

It was shown that characteristics of the executive are related to group membership. However, beyond simple effectiveness, the manner in which the group executive operates to achieve the objectives of the group is not important in determining group membership.

1. The individual's knowledge of executive members does not affect his propensity to join the group.

2. Perceived co-optation of the group executive does not act as a deterrent to group membership.

The organizational factors that are related to group membership are the factors relating to the social character of the group, and its integration into the structural relations in the city.

1. Group membership is related to the individual's perception of the group as a social unit.

2. Group membership is related to the social patterns of recruitment of new members.

3. Group membership is related to the individual's perception of his access to group members and services.

These conclusions present a picture of the successful group as a closely

knit social unit, with open channels of communication for neighbourhood residents. However, although group membership depends on integration of the group into the social structure, it is not necessarily related to integration of the individual into the social structure. The function of representation and political activity which may have been assumed by the individual, when taken over by the group allow the social and political organization of the group to act as a surrogate for individual initiative. The macro-characteristics of the group, both representativeness and integration into the decision-making structure, then act as determinants for group membership, as they are indicators of the legitimacy and effectiveness of the group.

6.2 Conclusions and Implications for Analysis of Conflict

A major implication of this research is that group involvement in locational conflict is not rational or easy to predict. On the one hand, the propensity of an individual to join a group is highly related to the impact of the issues, which is dependent upon distance of the individual from the source of the impact. On the other hand, when consideration of specific attributes of groups is made, it is not the group's objectives or success in relation to specific issues that are important, but rather the group's organizational characteristics. An overriding factor for both of these conditions is the *individual's* propensity to take any action.

Therefore, membership recruitment must be considered as a two stage process:

1. There must be a sufficient impact from a specific issue to

enlist initial membership

2. The group must have a high enough degree of organization to maintain membership thus recruited.

It is not the existence of these two separate conditions that is surprising, but rather their apparent degree of separability. This indicates that over time, the decrease in impact of issues that served as the initial impetus for group formation is not important as an explanation of the viability of groups. Rather, the effectiveness of groups may be attributed to their specific organizational characteristics.

These general conclusions may be expressed by four specific hypotheses, derived from the summary of results in the previous section:

HYPOTHESES 1: The propensity of an individual to join a community group is inversely related to his distance from the source of an impact.

HYPOTHESES 2: The propensity of an individual to join a community group is directly related to his level of education, and his willingness to participate in a variety of activities.

HYPOTHESES 3: Group membership is directly related to the immediate benefits offered to potential members, but is not related to the wider political concerns and objectives of the group.

HYPOTHESES 4: Group membership is directly related to the level of the group's integration into the social structure of the neighbourhood, and to the perceived legitimacy and effectiveness of the group.

The conclusions of this research shed some new light on the salience of the conditions specified in Dahrendorf's model for explaining the phenomenon of community group formation. These conclusions may also be

integrated into the locational conflict analytical approach, to further illuminate the role of community group activity in conflict regulation.

Dahrendorf's model of conflict seeks to explain group formation and general social behaviour of individuals in structural terms. He largely ignores psychological factors in analysis, and uses the structural characteristics of the group (i.e., organization, function, membership patterns, etc.) and structural characteristics of the conflict situation (i.e., generation of latent and manifest interests) to explain interest group formation. However,he does not consider the important pre-condition for group membership, the impact of the issues. He assumes that the quasi-group has a common interest, and his model, without consideration of impacts, may be applied in analysis where impacts do not vary. However, it has been shown that impacts do vary greatly over space, and so for the model to be applicable to a wide range of situations, level of impacts must be included.

Of the three sets of conditions of organization described by Dahrendorf, the social conditions are the most important. Individuals join groups because of the immediate benefits that they may gain, and the wider political concerns and objectives are secondary. Therefore, technical and political conditions of organization of the groups play a minor role when compared with social conditions. Factors such as access of the individual to the group, patterns of recruitment, and social integration of the group, determine the type of benefit that an individual may gain from the group membership, and so these conditions are by far the most important.

Using the four hypotheses generated from the results of research,

Elements of the Model   Objects of Analysis

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│     Quasi-Group     │              distance
│ Impacted Population  │              awareness of issues
└──────────┬──────────┘
           │
           │
┌──────────┴──────────┐
│     Individual      │              socio-demographic char-
│   Characteristics   │                   acteristics
└──────────┬──────────┘              action orientation
           │
           │
┌──────────┴──────────┐
│  Social Conditions  │              representativeness
│   of Organization   │              integration
└──────────┬──────────┘              access
      ┌────┴────┐
┌─────┴────┐ ┌──┴───────┐
│Technical │ │Political │
│Conditions│ │Conditions│          legitimacy
│    of    │ │    of    │          effectiveness
│Organization│Organization│
└─────┬────┘ └──┬───────┘
      └────┬────┘
           │
┌──────────┴──────────┐
│   Group Membership  │
└─────────────────────┘
```
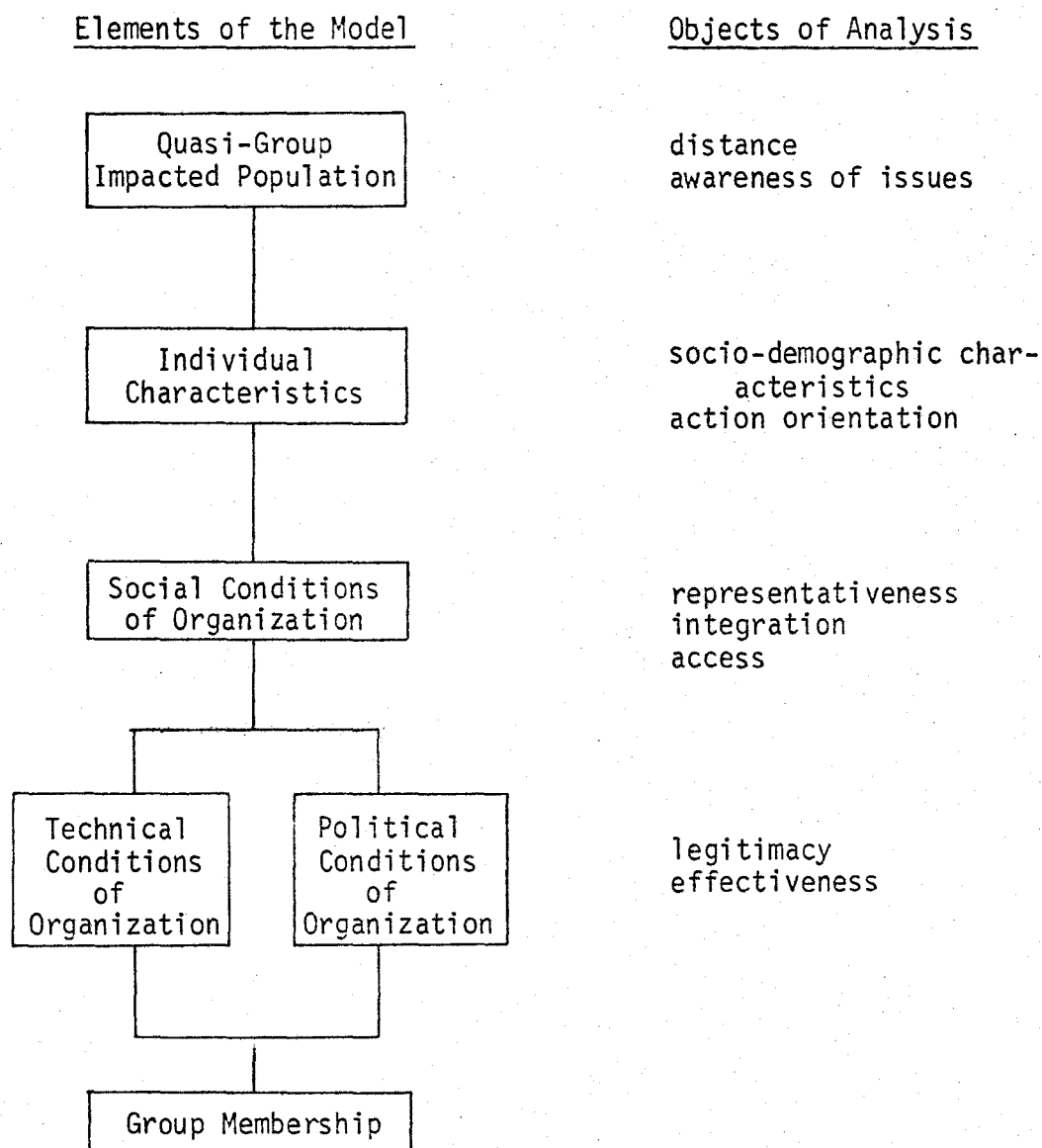
FIGURE 3: Modified Model of Interest Group Participation

Dahrendorf's model may be modified and expanded, and sets of factors for analysis at each stage in the model may be specified (see Figure 3). The intention of this model formulation is not to explain the initial conditions for group formation, but to explain the factors that determine membership in a group that already exists. The factors leading to the initial formation of a group may not be determined conclusively from this analysis. However, evidence seems to suggest that the initial impetus for group formation lies in the motivation of a single person, or group of people who are willing to put forth the required effort.

Within the wider context of locational conflict theory, the conslusions and hypotheses provide an insight into the response of an individual to conflict. In a model of response to conflict (cf. Dear and Long, 1976), the link between the impact of an issue and the adoption of a particular response was assumed. The focus of the model was on characterizing the various alternative response options, and discussing the implications of each. Using the modification of Dahrendorf's model based on evidence provided by this research, it is now possible to evaluate the nature of impacts, and their effect on the selection of the group action alternative, as well as providing a detailed analysis of the effect in variations in the structural characteristics of the group action alternative. Thus, the reasons for selection of the group action alternative as a response to conflict by the individual may be more fully investigated.

6.3 Direction for Future Research

Problems encountered in this study, and recognized limitations of

the conclusions reached may be used to direct future research in the area of community group activity in locational conflict.

1. A simpler less time consuming questionnaire would allow collection of more responses,and a statistically significant sample. Such a questionnaire may be designed from all of the four hypotheses derived from this research, or from any of them in isolation. This would exclude elements from analysis which proved to be unnecessary for explanation of community group activity, and would allow a more detailed investigation of several specific areas, such as:

a) a fuller investigation of the relationship between the level and the effect of impacts and the distance variable;

b) a more detailed examination of an individual's reasons for deciding upon a particular response to conflict (factors determining the action orientation of the individual);

c) a deeper investigation of the various social conditions related to group membership. Use of a larger sample would permit the specification of the relative importance of the various conditions, through statistical analysis.

2. Investigation of changes in the characteristics and structure over time would allow definite conclusions to be drawn about the "issue-impact"/"social benefit" dichotomy. It is anticipated that over time, the relative importance of issues in determining group membership will decline, and importance of social benefits increase, as the community group becomes more highly integrated into the social fabric of the community.

3. Extension of research beyond identification of the reasons

for group participation may eventually lead to the development of a paradigm for evaluation of the effects of conflict on the social structure of the city. Existing analyses (cf. Olives, 1976 and Castells, 1976) indicate that there is a relation between the adoption by urban residents of a particular response to conflict, and the eventual response of decision-makers. The full implications of this type of investigation for the nature of urban planning and urban form are only now beginning to be realized.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Community Groups Survey

Introduction

      I'm from the Geography Department at McMaster University, and
I am doing a project about community groups in this neighbourhood. Could
you spare about 10 minutes to answer a few questions?

General Personal Data

1. How long have you lived in this house/apartment?

2. Do you rent, or own your residence?

3. How many people are in your household?

4. What is your main occupation?

5. What are the occupations of the other adult members of your household?

6. Is there anything that you don't like about living in this neighbour-
   hood?

7. Do you know of any problems that other people in the neighbourhood
   are concerned about?

View of the Issues

      There are two problems that other people have mentioned to me,
and I am interested in your reaction to these. They have indicated that
there has been some controversy over the amount of open space provided

in the neighbourhood. Also, some people have expressed some concern about traffic in the area.

8. Are these problems important to you?

9. If YES: Why are they important?

What kind of effect will they have on you?

10. Are other people you know affected by these problems? In what way?

Response to the Issues

11. Which of the following actions would you consider taking in response to these problems?

Perception of the Group

12. Do you know of any community groups in this neighbourhood?

13. Have you ever been a member of any of these groups?

If YES: Why did you join the group?

14. Are you still a member?

If NO: Why are you no longer a member?

15. How do you think a person might benefit from being a member of a community group?

16. Which community group activities have you participated in?

17. Are you a member of any other political, social or recreational groups?

Knowledge about the Groups

18. Have you ever heard of the Durand Neighbourhood Association, the Kirkendall Community Council, or the Strathcona Community Association?

19. How long has the group been in existence?

20. What do you think the objectives of the group are?

21. What sort of activities does the group organize around these objectives?

22. How often do these activities take place?

23. Can you name any of the members of the executive of the group? Do you know their position?

Evaluation of the Group

The next set of questions are a series of statements. I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them, according to this scale. (Ask these questions for the group that is active in each particular neighbourhood.)

24. The group is not very well organized.

25. Group members share common interests.

26. I expect the group to be successful.

27. Group members come from a small area of the neighbourhood.

28. The group executive shares common interests with city hall officials.

29. The group is receptive to ideas and suggestions from neighbourhood residents.

30. The group represents the whole neighbourhood.

31. Group activities centre primarily around local interests.

32. The group works well with other groups in the city.

33. There is a lot of disagreement among group members.

34. The group executive provides effective leadership.

35. I feel a part of my neighbourhood.

Personal Data

Finally, I would like to ask you some questions about yourself.

36. What is your marital status?

37. What is your age?

38. What level of education have you completed?

39. What is the total income of this household?

Community Groups Survey: Response Form

1. Length of residence.

2. Own _____   Rent _____

3. Number of members in household _____

4. Occupation _____

5. Other occupations _____

    _____

    _____

6. No _____   Yes _____   _____

7. Problems in neighbourhood _____

    _____

    _____

Issues		Open space	Traffic
8. Importance (yes or no)		_____	_____
9. Personal:	Property value	_____	_____
	Neighbours	_____	_____
	Dirt and pollution	_____	_____
	Noise	_____	_____
	Danger to children	_____	_____
	Force relocation	_____	_____
10. Neighbourhood:	Property values	_____	_____
	Neighbours	_____	_____
	Dirt and pollution	_____	_____
	Noise	_____	_____
	Danger to children	_____	_____
11. Response:	Move away	_____	_____
	Contact rep.	_____	_____
	Attend meeting	_____	_____
	Demonstrate	_____	_____
	Join a group	_____	_____
	Do nothing	_____	_____

12. Community Group   13. Membership   14. Why or why not a member

                          Past   Present

_____   ___ ___   _____

_____   ___ ___   _____

_____   ___ ___   _____

15. Benefits

16. Activities: 1. Signed a petition
               2. Attended a meeting
               3. Distributed literature
               4. Canvassed door-to-door
               5. Represented group at meeting
               6. Organized group meeting
               7. Written a report
               8. Negotiated with officials
               9. _____

17. Other organizations

_____

_____

18. Group   D.N.A.   K.C.C.   S.C.A.

19. Length of existence

20. Objectives

21. Activities

22. Frequency

23. Executive

24. _____   30. _____

25. _____   31. _____

26. _____   32. _____

27. _____   33. _____

28. _____   34. _____

29. _____   35. _____

36. Marital status _____

37. Age _____

38. Education: Some public school   _____
               Public school graduation   _____
               Some High School   _____
               High school graduation   _____
               Some university or college   _____
               University or college graduation   _____
               Post-graduate work   _____

39. Income: less than $5,000   _____ $20,000 to $25,000 _____
             $5,000 to $10,000   _____ $25,000 to $30,000 _____
             $10,000 to $15,000   _____   More than $30,000 _____
             $15,000 to $20,000   _____

Interview Observations

Sex _____

Address _____

Neighbourhood _____

House Type: Detached   _____
             Townhouse   _____
             Multiple family   _____
             Low-rise apartment   _____
             High-rise apartment   _____

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