

The Metropolis Speaks

A Report to the New York Region on Its Mass Media Town Meetings, CHOICES FOR '76

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Background reading: *How To Save Urban America*, William Caldwell, ed., (\$1.50), available on many paperback racks or from Regional Plan Association, 235 East 45th Street, New York, New York 10017. Bulk rates available.

Films may be rented (\$20 each) or bought (\$285 each) from Sterling Educational Films, Inc., (attn: Doris Weiss), 241 East 34th Street, New York, New York 10016, phone: (212) 683-6300. (*How To Save Urban America* given with each rental or purchase.)

Listening to the Metropolis, An evaluation of the New York Region's CHOICES FOR '76 Mass Media Town Meetings and a Handbook on Public Participation in Regional Planning, available from Regional Plan Association. (\$5.00)

Additional data on ballot responses may be obtained at cost from Mid-Hudson Information Services, (attn: Allen Davis), 4 Cambridge Court, Larchmont, New York 10538, phone: (914) 834-8575.

WHY CHOICES? WHAT RESULTS?

Contradictions Confronted

Through CHOICES* FOR '76, a series of television town meetings in the spring of 1973, some 10 percent of the 20 million people of the New York Urban Region were confronted with 51 critical issues on the Region's living conditions. Then they had a chance to choose among the hard trade-offs, using ballots available in newspapers, banks and libraries and distributed by several large employers.

People made choices between existing policy contradictions such as these:

- The federal government is investing millions in renewing the Region's old downtowns, but most other government and business decisions work against renewal success;
- Citizens are stopping most new highway construction, while they buy more and more autos--and drive them;
- People demand better transit, but almost all new offices, shopping, higher education and apartments are scattered so they cannot be served by transit;
- There is clamor against rising welfare rolls, but no jobs are offered to some 300,000 in the Region who are permanently out of work;
- There is a severe shortage of adequate housing while local governments prohibit housing types that many families could afford and builders want to construct.

And many more.

Regional Plan Association, a 45-year-old citizen research organization, presented these dilemmas to the public along with arguments for and against the possible solutions. Presentations were made on every television channel in the Region, in newspapers and in a paperback book, *How To Save Urban America*. Small discussion groups met throughout the Region. (All this is described below.)

Public Response

Those who took part fully--read the book, watched television, discussed the issues and voted--substantially supported this set of policies (by at least 3-2):

Stop growth. To keep down the Region's population growth, government policies should aim at reducing the birth rate and should induce jobs to leave the Region.

Build communities, not just facilities. Put the offices, department stores and colleges that are going to be built either in renewed downtowns of old cities or, where suburbanizing areas have no central cities, into new downtowns. Then relate housing to the centers, with highest density

* Style note: In this publication, CHOICES (all caps) refers to the project, Choices (initial caps) refers to specific questions on ballots distributed to the public, and choices (no caps) means the word as ordinarily used.

near the center and room for low-density around the urban edges. Where there is enough land, build new housing in complete communities, with public open space and local and neighborhood centers planned from the start.

Build and save more housing. Change suburban zoning to allow more attached housing that middle-income families can afford. Continue building low-income public housing and provide more money to rehabilitate solid but deteriorating older apartments, particularly in New York City.

Subsidize middle-income apartments in cities so those who want to live in a city are not drawn to the suburbs just because middle-priced housing is much better there.

State school tax. Shift all school taxes to the states so taxes are fairly distributed even though some school districts get mostly housing and others get mostly non-residential rate-payers.

More transit and expressways. The Region should depend more on transit, which should be subsidized but not to the point of free transit; traffic-free malls should be built in downtowns. Nevertheless, expressway construction should continue in urban areas not now well served by limited access highways.

Attack poverty, which is distorting the shape of the Region, by:

- helping youngsters start more equally: (1) providing more money to school districts for children lagging educationally, (2) providing day care with pre-school education, and (3) desegregating schools, at least by redrawing school district lines (though not by busing);
- providing more government jobs for the unemployed;
- supplementing the income of workers not able to support their families and those who cannot work in order to achieve a guaranteed annual income;
- getting more taxes from the rich and less from the poor.

Buy all the parkland desired for the ultimate population of the Region, expected to stop growing in about 50 years. To buy it, issue a very large bond issue over the next few years.

Improve the environment. Establish a tri-state regional waste management agency to establish policies on cleaning the air and water and handling solid wastes.

Spend more of our income to improve the environment.

In summary, the New York Region envisioned by the full participants in CHOICES (distinguished from those who only voted and had no TV, reading or discussion input) would be a more compact Region than it is now becoming, but with more public open space in and around the urban areas. (There was, however, a significant minority--perhaps a sixth of the voters--who reacted against proposals they felt might force them to live at higher density.) Major activities would center in renewed and new downtowns served by good low-cost transit but also by expressways. Everyone would have a choice of attractive city or suburban living at a full range of densities, undeterred by concentrations of poverty--since poverty would be decreased and its concentration diluted by more families of all income levels living and working in the older cities.

What Do These Opinions Mean?

These people took some trouble to consider the issues and know much more about them than most people do. The sample included many more persons with college de-

grees than the public as a whole, and on most issues, those with college degrees were more favorable to policy change than those without. However, on almost all the policies listed above, just about every demographic and geographic category had a majority in favor.

In short, the answers do not tell where the general public stands right now. But they do tell where politicians and civic organizations can make a break-through if they exercise leadership. For example, on shifting school taxes to the state, few political leaders had thought there was much support out there at all until CHOICES voters supported the idea 2-1. (For other surprises, see pages 12 and 13.) CHOICES also alerted citizens to issues their governments were overlooking which the citizens might want to organize to deal with.

Some of this civic and political leadership on CHOICES issues is taking place; some of this citizen organization to deal with CHOICES issues is beginning. And the value of CHOICES has been convincing enough to launch similar projects in more than half a dozen other urban regions in the United States and stimulate great interest in foreign nations. (See below.)

HOW CHOICES WORKED

Information Media

The issues and arguments pro and con were presented in five films, each shown on every single television channel covering New York City, Newark, New Haven, Bridgeport, Paterson, Trenton and Long Island, plus two channels in Hartford (outside of the New York Region)--19 in all. Showings were spread over Saturday-Sunday-Monday periods beginning March 17-19, 1973, then every two weeks until May 15-17. An average of 600,000 of the Region's households was tuned in to each one--one household of every 11.

CHOICES did "astonishingly well," according to the TV stations' liaison to the project. Network documentaries shown in prime time tend to get only about half as many viewers as CHOICES programs did. While the number of households tuned to CHOICES dropped from the 700,000 households or more tuned into the first program to slightly below half a million tuned to the last one, the drop appeared to be caused by a general drop in television watching as winter turned to late spring. In fact, throughout the series, CHOICES programs kept about the same percentage of the households tuned in to television at the hours it was being shown--about 5%. Furthermore, its audiences were more stable through the four 15-minute quarters than audiences for television programs as a whole.

Ballots to register people's Choices on the issues were widely available. An average of 26,500 ballots was submitted after each of the five presentations, 41,000 after the first--following considerable organizing effort and publicity--tapering to 14,500 after the fifth. Three-fourths of the ballots came from persons who had watched the television presentations.

Some 20,000 persons took part in at least one discussion of the issues following the TV shows, meeting in small groups in homes, churches and offices. Two out of five ballots came from those who had discussed the issues first.

Written background information was available in a paperback, *How To Save Urban America* (Signet), in book stores and on newsstands and sent free to all social studies teachers in the area. Several companies distributed copies or sold them at a discount to interested employees. About 100,000 copies have been distributed; but only one ballot in eight came from persons who had read the book first.

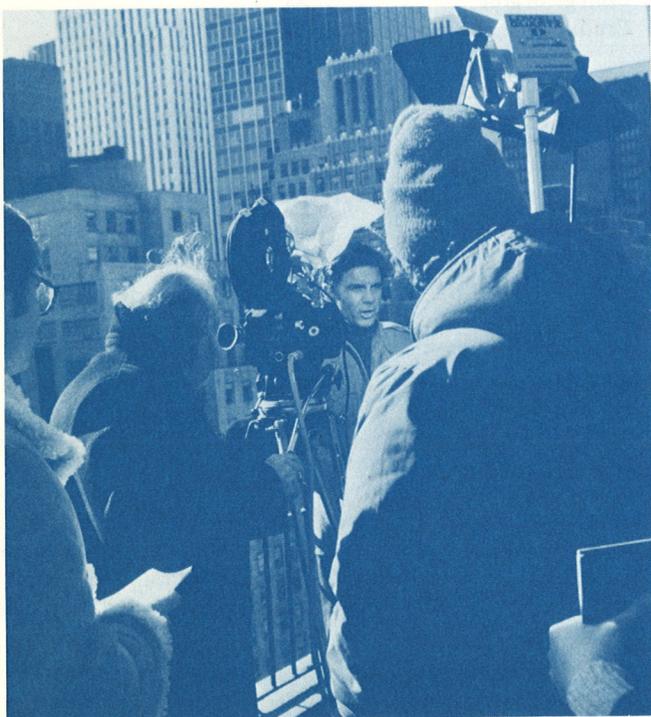
All 46 daily newspapers in the Region publicized the project; 36 ran at least one article or editorial on CHOICES every week, on the average, over the 13 weeks just before and during the project. Twenty-six ran at least four of the five ballots as a public service, thirteen published background information on the issues before people voted and six publicized the ballot results extensively.

Whose Project?

Principal agents. Regional Plan Association sponsored the project and developed the background for the films and the book, which was edited by a Pulitzer-prize-winning columnist for *The Record* (Hackensack, New Jersey), William A. Caldwell. The films were made by a team put together by Albert C. Waller, winner of numerous film prizes. Michael J. McManus was executive director. The George Gallup organization carried out a scientific survey of the Region's opinion on 11 Choices and on the project itself as a check.

Advisers. Government, civic and research organizations contributed information and comments on the background material and the Choices. The George Gallup organization was consulted on the question wording.

A 137-person Citizen Advisory Committee, composed mainly of local and neighborhood leaders reasonably representative of the Region geographically, demographically, and philosophically, commented on a draft of the Choices and background material, resulting in substantial changes.



Filming one of the CHOICES film narrators, Cliff Robertson. The other narrators were Eli Wallach, Kevin McCarthy and Ruby Dee.

Financing. The \$1.6 million cost was provided in nearly equal parts by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 80 corporations and 22 foundations, listed at the end.

Participation was encouraged by staff and volunteer organizers, assisted by: a few newspaper ads, a few TV spots, three television programs describing CHOICES, radio programs and announcements, and the extensive newspaper coverage. The six major organizing efforts centered on: (1) church membership, (2) employees of contributing corporations, (3) schools and colleges, (4) civic and political groups already interested in urban and planning issues, (5) in New York City, the borough presidents' offices and their community planning boards, (6) the black and Puerto Rican communities, which were organized by a separate Committee on Minority Affairs that also commented on the films as they were developed and produced their own ballots and background reading for two of the Town Meetings. (The Committee's ballot results are reported below.)

Follow-up surveys indicate that civic organizations were most influential in getting discussion groups going—particularly Regional Plan Association directly, the League of Women Voters and Common Cause, followed by churches, newspapers, employers and TV in that order.

Among the specific recruiting efforts that got measurable results: the Woodbridge (N.J.) Chamber of Commerce, Southern New England Telephone Company, Banker's Trust, Stamford Area Commerce and Industry Association, Rockland County Association, Bell Labs, the Episcopal Church in Westchester, Somerset County (N.J.) schools—but much of the participation could not be traced to its source so this honor roll is incomplete.

Participation by County (or Planning Region)

The 28 counties in New York and New Jersey and six Connecticut planning regions of the New York Urban Region are listed below in the order of their participation in CHOICES, from the highest ratio of participants to population to the lowest.

- Southwestern (Conn. Planning Region)
- Westchester
- Rockland
- Morris
- Union
- Somerset
- Housatonic Valley (Conn. Planning Region)
- Middlesex
- Monmouth
- Dutchess
- Orange
- Bergen
- Essex
- Suffolk
- South Central (Conn. Planning Region)
- Richmond
- Hunterdon
- Putnam
- Nassau
- Manhattan
- Mercer
- Sullivan
- Greater Bridgeport (Conn. Planning Region)

Queens
 Valley (Conn. Planning Region)
 Brooklyn
 Hudson
 Sussex
 Central Naugatuck (Conn. Planning Region)
 Ocean
 Warren
 Ulster
 Bronx

However, since participation was far higher among those with higher incomes, the recruitment effort of each county can be judged only after differences in income are extracted out. When we do that, we find the following counties had above average participation for their income level, that must be attributed to organizing or publicity efforts made there (listed from highest participation vis-a-vis income):

Somerset (mainly school children)
 Middlesex
 Morris
 Dutchess
 Union
 Bronx
 Brooklyn
 Rockland
 Southwestern (Conn. Planning Region)

The following had well below the participation their incomes would imply (listed from lowest participation vis-a-vis income):

Nassau
 Bergen
 Queens
 Greater Bridgeport (Conn. Planning Region)
 Manhattan
 Suffolk
 Putnam

The rest of the counties were in the middle.

Altogether, George Gallup, Jr. said of CHOICES, "To my knowledge, there has never been such a widespread response to a discussion of a set of hard planning issues that most people leave to their elected officials."

Gallup's survey indicates that a fairly representative cross-section of the Region watched the television films--a little high on those with some college, considerably low on those without any high school but almost the right proportion of those with only a high school education watching. However, those who sent in ballots had considerably more education and income than the Region's population as a whole--though there were plenty of ballots from those without college degrees, with lower than average incomes and others not represented in proportion to their population in the Region so their opinions by demography and geography are indicated for each Choice.

Committee on Minority Affairs (COMA) ballots are slightly different from CHOICES ballots and so are reported separately. The 2,870 ballots came almost entirely from black and Puerto Rican residents with somewhat less than the average income and education that CHOICES voters had.

Table 1. Ballot Response
 Detailed Demography

	CHOICES Voters (%)	N.Y. Region Population (%)
Age		
14-17	11	9
18-21	7	8
22-29	16	15
30-34	12	8
35-44	20	16
45-54	18	17
55-64	11	14
65 and over	7	14
Income		
Under \$4,000	4	21
\$4,000-\$8,500	10	24
\$8,500-\$13,000	20	23
\$13,000-\$20,000	29	17
\$20,000-\$35,000	27	11
Over \$35,000	10	4
Race		
White, non-		
Puerto Rican	92	80
Black	5 *	14
Puerto Rican	2 *	5
Other	2	1
Education		
No H.S. diploma		
18 or over	9	47
H.S. diploma only	13	31
Some college	24	9
College degree	25	
Graduate degree	24	13

Participation

Watched TV: 75%
 Read news articles on the issues: 40%
 Read *How To Save Urban America*: 12%
 Discussed issues: 39%
 Did none of these (except fill out ballot): 16%

Was the Sample Too Special to Believe?

At first, we thought that the people who took the trouble to find and deposit a CHOICES ballot would have a more "regional" view or be more public spirited or more concerned about the Region's problems than most people. This turned out to be untrue. We deduce this by comparing the CHOICES votes of those who did nothing but turn in a ballot**with a scientific sample of the Region's opinion

* Does not include separate ballots of the Committee on Minority Affairs, analyzed below.

** They were demographically almost exactly like those who watched television, discussed and read the book before voting.

conducted by Gallup. (Very, very few of the Gallup respondents had watched, discussed or read either.)

We found that the CHOICES sample was no more accepting of new policy proposals than the general public. On some Choices, Gallup respondents were more favorable to proposed policies than CHOICES voters who had no input (statewide school taxes, paying more for a better environment, more government jobs for the unemployed, housing allowances, higher density buildings near transit stops); on some, CHOICES non-participant voters were more favorable than Gallup's sample (public transportation subsidies, rebuilding downtowns into modern metropolitan centers, more highway construction). On three others, the opinion was very similar in the net (constructing low-income public housing and whether it should go in or out of the old cities, and school integration).

In almost all cases, the groups underrepresented in CHOICES—blacks, Puerto Ricans, those without college education, city residents—voted in Gallup more like CHOICES votes than the Gallup sample as a whole.

The Impact of Information

CHOICES voters who did get information on the issues from the film or book—particularly those who got information from both—were significantly more favorable to policy proposals than those who only voted. On more than a third of the Choices, there was a difference of at least 30 points in the responses of those who read and/or watched TV (some of whom also discussed the issues and read newspaper accounts) compared to the responses of those who did none of these. For example, those who only voted



Regional Plan Chairman Morris D. Crawford, Jr., Chairman of The Bowery Bank, receives an "Emmy" for the CHOICES FOR '76 television town meeting concept from the New York chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

were 51%-34% in favor of shifting school taxes to the state while those who read the book and watched TV voted 71%-24% in favor, a 30-point difference. (One might consider that 10% of the respondents changed their vote as a result of reading and watching, and 10% made up their minds in favor after being undecided.) On re-zoning the suburbs for more townhouses and garden apartments, those who only voted were 39%-46% against. Those who read the book and watched TV voted 62%-34% in favor, a 35-point difference.

On a third of the Choices, the difference in voting was 20-30 points between votes of those who had no CHOICES information and those who read the book and watched. On almost another third, there were at least 10 points between the vote of the nonparticipants and those who read and watched TV. On two issues, the book and/or TV influenced participants **against** the proposal—housing allowances (the TV influenced slightly against, the book slightly in favor) and charging higher tolls and transit fares during peak hours (both the TV and book turned people off that).

Were opinions really changed? Three bits of evidence suggest that it was the effect of added information that changed the opinions, i.e., that the kind of people who watched and read were not very different to start with from those who just voted:

1. Demographically, there was little difference.

2. Participants told us the information changed their votes. On a survey of discussion hosts taken by Regional Plan (750 of the 6,500 host registrants who chose to respond), of those who saw the film, 27% said the Housing film changed their opinions, 24% the Transportation, 13% Environment, 15% Poverty and 19% City and Suburbs. Voting differences between those who had no information and those who had information varied about in accordance with these figures—the greatest differences coming in Housing and Transportation, the least in Environment and Poverty.

3. The effect on voting varied with the quality and comprehensiveness of the films. For example, on only two Housing Choices was the film not associated with a change of 29 points or more compared to votes of those who did not read or watch. On one of the two Choices, the issues were presented by a monologue of one person rather than illustrated and dramatized in film; on the other, the issue was scarcely argued. A similar relationship of effective film with ballot results can be shown on Environment—with one exception, whether to try to induce jobs out of the Region to slow the Region's population rise. On that Choice, the quality of the film presentation was among the best, but the effect on voting was relatively small.

Was it education or brainwashing? One basis for arguing that it was not brainwashing is that voters of all educational levels were influenced to about the same degree—sometimes one educational level a little more, sometimes another, but the differences by education varied in both directions (for and against policy changes) and generally not very much. The book tended to influence slightly more of those with less education, the film slightly more of the highly educated.

A few may have been only temporarily swayed by the presentations: those who discussed the issues in addition to reading and/or watching TV voted slightly less in the direction that the book and TV influenced voters—an apparent "cooling off" process for a few. There is evidence that it

was simply the nature of group discussion that made people cautious about policy change because discussions without any book or TV input often tended to turn a few people in the net against policy proposals compared to those who only voted.

Gallup's scientific surveys before and after CHOICES suggest that public opinion generally—not just of those sending in ballots—may have been influenced by the first two television programs, seen in about 10 percent of the Region's households. On three of the questions Gallup asked, the replies after the CHOICES project were sufficiently different from the replies before so that sampling differences could not have caused it. (Whether CHOICES caused the change cannot be proven, of course.) The answers moved more in favor of three policy proposals: statewide rather than local school taxes, clustering new apartments near transit stops to support transit service rather than scattering them and subsidizing transit fares but not providing free fares. On all three, CHOICES input seemed to have effected a strong shift in opinion of CHOICES voters, also.

In sum, it appears to Regional Plan that information conveyed by book and television had a strong effect on opinions about regional issues, nearly all in favor of policy change.

What Should Happen Next?

If more information on the Region's dilemmas helped participants arrive at policy preferences that might resolve the dilemmas, clearly such information should be brought to more people. But one further step is needed. Most efforts to solve urban problems are being blocked by a minority fearing the worst for themselves. Therefore, it is necessary not only to inform but also to organize the majority who might be concerned about the general good. They must demonstrate to their officials that they are as interested in these issues as the minority who oppose change.

CHOICES results suggest that political and civic leadership could mobilize majorities in favor of several policies that are now blocked by vocal minorities. Officials seem to have no sense of the strength of the potential support on such issues as:

- more government jobs for the unemployed (almost unanimously supported in CHOICES);
- statewide school tax (2-1 support);
- subsidies of transit fares (almost unanimous support--two-thirds said from state or regional taxes);
- continued expressway construction in urban areas now poorly served (3-1);
- more reliance on income taxes for state and local governments and less on property and sales taxes (2-1);
- continued construction of low-income public housing (4-1);
- rebuilding old downtowns rather than scattering offices, colleges and department stores (9-1);
- planned unit development (or "cluster") subdivisions (3-1);
- huge long-term bond issue for parks (2-1);
- regional waste management agency (5-1).

There was even a 3-2 majority among those who read, watched and discussed for the complicated notion of shift-

ing air and water quality controls to a pay-for-damages (or effluent charges) basis.

Civic groups and politicians who consider themselves strong leaders should, then, try to put together a "coalition for an effective majority" on the policies on which the informed of all demographic characteristics indicated substantial support. On the other hand; such concepts as housing allowances and higher peak-hour fares and tolls did not win acceptance, and the arguments decreased rather than increasing support.

The analysis below helps the political-civic leaders develop a strategy for achieving change by identifying those groups in the population most and least receptive and the degree of influence of the information provided. For example, groups concerned about increasing the housing supply by opening more vacant land for moderate-cost housing types can see that information on the problem strongly influenced opinions but perhaps the most fruitful approach would be to mobilize the people of the cities and inner suburbs to work for state legislation rather than trying to persuade local officials where the vacant land exists to change their zoning. Responses on the next Choice suggest that if you intend to approach the municipalities with vacant land directly to get more housing there, it appears to be easier to get them to allow a well-designed mobile home park than garden apartments.



John P. Keith, Regional Plan President, receives the 1974 Architecture Critics' Citation of the American Institute of Architects for CHOICES FOR '76, which was described as "a multi-media approach to solving urban problems...an imaginative and far-reaching program to inform citizens and give them an opportunity to participate in the problem-solving process."

The Effect of CHOICES

This kind of coalition is slowly forming, in part as a result of CHOICES. The beginnings of a Connecticut Committee and a first-time association of four County-wide civic agencies in Westchester are direct aftermaths.

The effects also are personal. We have had many reports that the CHOICES process and some of its ideas have changed attitudes and stimulated involvement.

As to policies, it may have added to the observable current flowing in this Region toward such new policies as statewide school taxes, subsidies for transit, more school aid for the educationally deprived, cutting down on disposable products, and more government-provided jobs for the unemployed.

Finally, the process has been admired and is being imitated. CHOICES won an Emmy award from the New York chapter of the Television Academy of Arts and Sciences for "an unprecedented concept and a unique use of the television medium." It also won an Architecture Critics' Citation from the American Institute of Architects.

It stimulated somewhat similar projects in Chicago, Roanoke, Hartford, Milwaukee and New Orleans and planning for such projects in Washington D.C., Columbus, Ohio, and Corpus Christi. The format also is being explored for use on national issues via national networks and magazines. The Brazilian Cabinet saw the films and explored the applicability of the project to their country.

Continuing Use of the Information

CHOICES book and films are being used in high schools and colleges as well as by civic groups (e.g., several League of Women Voters meetings) around the country. For example, a Florida visitor to New York during the Environment Town Meeting week-end bought the film and has been showing it all over his State. The films also have been seen by groups working with the public or related issues, including the Trenton Transit Study and the Commission on Minnesota's Future. One film was shown at the national conference of the American Society for Public Administration. Two are being circulated around the world by the U.S. Information Agency, and several were shown at international conferences in Copenhagen and Vancouver.

In Sum, What Significance?

The CHOICES project should be seen as an effort to improve the kind of pluralistic political process that now shapes policies in our large urban areas but not to replace it and not to try to structure civic activities through one frame. The attempted improvements are in five directions:

1. Enlarging the number and broadening the type of people involved in the civic-political process;
2. Providing positive options--citizen groups are adept at stopping proposals but not at finding solutions;
3. Providing better information on which people can base their views;
4. Giving more people practice in the processes of civic-political action, practice absorbing the background information, discussing the issues in small groups, facing the hard trade-offs and making the yes-or-no choice that finally has to be made; and
5. Stimulating a sense of community both by the process of discussing serious issues with colleagues or neighbors and by seeing the reality of a regional community.

VOTE ANALYSIS

What is Provided?

For each of the 51 Choices asked the public, we show (below):

1. The total vote,
2. The Gallup survey results for the questions he asked that were similar to Choices,
3. A summary of the points made in the background book and film,
4. Any significant differences in the vote by (a) education and income, (b) geography in the Region--i.e., county or Connecticut planning region, state, city or suburb, (c) race, (d) age, (e) sex, (f) number of children in household, (g) participation in CHOICES--i.e., watched TV, read the book, discussed the issues.

Four notes on the analysis:

1. We used the word "majority" strictly--above 50%. Where 50% or less, the leading side is called a "plurality."
2. On most of the Choices, support for policy change increased with increased education but with one frequent exception: those without a high school diploma over 17 often were slightly more favorable than those with a high school diploma. We cannot explain this phenomenon. Since the differences almost always were small, we will not mention this exception when the generalization otherwise holds that the more education, the higher support--though when percentages are given for high and low votes, the lowest category will be indicated (i.e., either high school diploma or over 17 with no diploma).
3. Those who watched television and/or read the book almost always voted significantly different from those who only voted. With two exceptions, they were more favorable to proposed policy changes. The evidence noted above strongly suggests that the information input was the cause of that difference, and in the analysis below we shall assume it was. Discussion groups had a very mixed effect on the vote. Questionnaires and discussion observers indicate that the discussion changed the minds of a significant minority, but ballot evidence suggests that the changes were in both directions because the net opinion change after participating in a discussion was almost always small. The opinion change was calculated by comparing the vote of those who discussed the issues with the vote of those who did everything else the discussants did except join a discussion group, i.e., the vote of those who did nothing but submit a ballot was compared to the vote of those who only discussed and then voted; the vote of those who watched television was compared to the vote of those who watched and discussed, etc. Generally, in the analysis below, we compared the opinions of those who only voted with those who watched, read and discussed--which was conceived as the Regional Town Meeting process.
4. Only significant opinion differences among categories are indicated below. If the vote of a particular category (e.g., age or race or geography) is not reported, the voting differences were not large.

Ballot Results

HOUSING	8
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Who Should Pay Transit Subsidies?	15
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Rationing Peak-Period Space	17
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Population Growth	18
Growth Policies	19
More Money For Environment	19
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Open Space Acquisition	22
Outdoor Recreation For City Residents	22
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Money for Educationally Handicapped	23
Day-Care and Pre-School Education	23
More Private-Sector Jobs	24
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College Location	29
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Housing

CHOICE 1. School Taxes

* **Question and answers.** Would you favor or oppose replacing local school taxes with some form of a statewide tax?

Favor: 61% Oppose: 31% No opinion: 8%

Gallup survey. Would you like to see the portion of local property taxes that goes for public education replaced by some form of a statewide tax for education, or not?

Yes: 58% No: 22% No opinion: 19%

Background information. This is the first question on housing because the school property tax is a major obstacle to construction of more housing in the Region. The film and book pointed out that localities have used their zoning powers to keep school taxes from skyrocketing. By prohibiting on almost all vacant land the construction of homes on small lots and attached houses and apartments large enough for families with children, these municipalities collectively have substantially slowed total housing construction. In addition, we pointed to school tax inequities--that much more school money is going with less tax effort to the new suburbs, which have used "defensive zoning," than to older middle-income suburbs which allowed a large number of moderate-priced homes to be built before the school tax impact was discerned. However, we warned that a state school tax would limit the amount each local school district could spend--and in the film, one resident of an old suburb being squeezed badly by school tax rate hikes nevertheless said he didn't want to lose any of the local school boards' discretion.

Voter differences. A majority of every demographic and geographic group favored a statewide school tax except those under 18 (almost a majority, 49%-38%) and Greater Bridgeport planning region (49%-44%).

Education-income: The more education, the more favorable (high school diploma 53-38, graduate degree 72-24). For people of the same education attainment, the lowest income was most favorable, higher incomes least favorable.

Geography: Most differences in vote by county are explainable by differences in education of the voters, but Rockland, Essex, Hudson, Suffolk, Orange, Dutchess and Mercer are unusually favorable for their educational level and Westchester and all the Connecticut planning regions were less favorable than the average. Different types of areas, ranging from old cities to exurbia, were not much different in their support.

Age and children: Those most involved in the schools now were more skeptical of a statewide tax--i.e., school age participants and those with school-age children. But even they were far more favorable than opposed.

Sex: Women were a little more favorable than men.

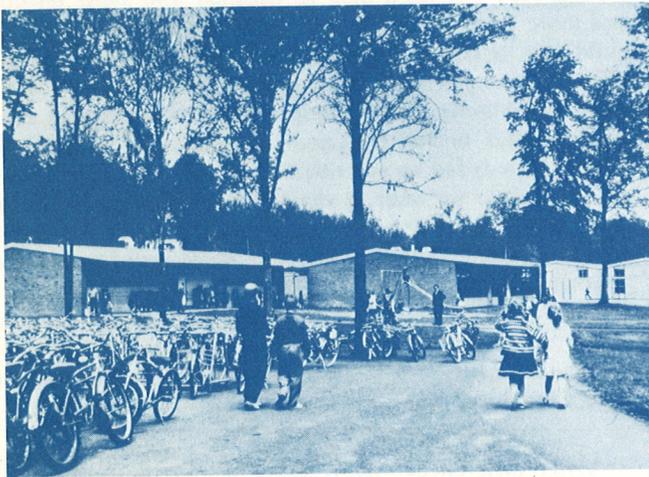
Participation: Those who did nothing but vote favored the proposal 51-34; those who read the book, saw the film and voted, but nothing else, favored the proposal 71-24. Discussion groups swayed a small percentage against the

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

proposal, in the net, both those who did nothing but discuss and vote and those who read and watched as well as discussed.



The television film and book explained that right after World War II, suburbia was built up in homes on small lots, which about half the the Region's households could afford.



But when those suburbs were overwhelmed with rising school taxes because so many children came with the new houses, localities that still had vacant land zoned for large lots almost exclusively. This raised the cost of new housing so only about 20 percent of the Region's families could buy it. A large majority of CHOICES voters who saw the film favored changing school taxes and suburban zoning to allow less expensive housing to be built.



CHOICE 2. Zoning

Question and answers. To allow the construction of more private housing, would you favor or oppose zoning more vacant land for less expensive housing (attached or on small lots), even if some zoning responsibility were shifted to county or state governments?

Favor: 48% Oppose: 44% No opinion: 8%

Background information. While school tax pressures initiated the almost universal large-lot zoning of vacant land in the Region, elimination of a statewide tax now would not necessarily result in zoning changes covering enough vacant land to meet new housing needs. It may be necessary, also, to change the level of government ultimately responsible for zoning. Municipalities have the last word now. The people who need housing and the people who control the use of large tracts of vacant land are not in the same municipality. So those who need housing have no voice. Regional Plan estimated a need for constructing about two-and-a-half times as many housing units annually for the next dozen years as were constructed in the previous five years in order to provide a housing unit for each household, gradually replace substandard housing and bring the vacancy rate up from 2% to a more normal 5%. On the other hand, giving the county or state the last word on zoning leaves those living in a municipality with less control over their own area. Whose rights are more important? we asked. The rights of local people to control completely what is built in their general area? Or the rights of people in the Region as a whole who need better housing, which private builders would produce if zoning were changed?

Voter differences. This Choice divided people primarily by geography: the places with the vacant land opposing zoning changes, the places with the housing-short population favoring. Exurbanites voted 41-52 against and those in the outer suburbs 43-51; Newark residents voted 68-23 in favor and Manhattan 63-26. Only Mercer, of the non-urban counties, was strongly in favor, 58-34.

Education-income: Holding income stable, the higher the education, the more favorable to the proposal; holding education stable, the lowest-income respondents were most favorable, those with incomes between \$13,000 and \$20,000 least favorable.

Race: Blacks were by far most favorable, 64-23, other nonwhites, 58-32, and Puerto Ricans, 51-37; other whites were evenly split, 48-47.

Age: Those just setting up new households, 22-29 years old, and those over 65 were most favorable (54-39 and 54-36). Least in favor were those aged 35-44 who voted 44-55. As with geography, it appeared to be the housing have-nots vs. the haves.

Sex: Women were in favor, 52-40; men were opposed, 45-48.

Children: Those with two or more children under 18 were somewhat opposed; those without children or with only one were somewhat in favor.

Participation: Those who only voted opposed the change 39-46. Those who watched the film and read the book favored it 62-34. Discussion without any other input increased support (49-44); discussion in addition to watching and reading had no effect on the vote.

CHOICE 3. Mobile Homes

Question and answers. Do you favor or oppose allowing more mobile home parks in this Region, providing they conform to high design standards?

Favor: 48% Oppose: 44% No opinion: 8%

Background information. We noted that a family with an income of \$8,500 could (at that time) afford a new mobile home large enough for four, compared to an income of over \$15,000 then needed to buy the lowest cost new homes being constructed. We also showed that mobile home parks, if landscaped and well-maintained, look much like any other neighborhood. On the other hand, the mobile homes themselves are not considered permanent structures and may not be as good a buy over the long run.

Voter differences. While the total vote was the same as for zoning change, different people favored and opposed. For example, the 14-17 year olds were most opposed to zoning changes and most in favor of more mobile home parks (58-31). Puerto Ricans, strongly in favor of zoning change, opposed more mobile home parks (43-51). While the cities favored more mobile homes, support was not as great as for zoning change; but the outer suburbs and exurbia, which had a majority against the zoning change, were evenly split on mobile homes (47-46 and 49-45). In sum, fewer of those in categories needing housing were favorable and fewer of those who controlled the vacant land were opposed.

Education and income: Support went up with education, but only among the less affluent. Among those with incomes above \$20,000, more education did not make them more favorable to mobile homes. Holding education stable, the higher the income, the more opposition, so the greatest opposition came from the most wealthy and educated, the greatest support from the most educated with incomes under \$8,500 and from the youngsters.

Participation: Those who only voted opposed it 37-49. Those who read the book, watched the film and discussed the issues favored the proposal 60-34. Generally, discussion slightly increased support.

CHOICES 4 and 5. Saving Deteriorating Apartments

Questions and answers. 4. Do you favor or oppose public programs which encourage the transfer of management responsibility for deteriorating housing from private owners to tenant groups and community organizations?

* Favor: 77% Oppose: 17% No opinion: 7%

5. Do you favor or oppose greater public investment in rehabilitating and maintaining older city housing?

* Favor: 69% Oppose: 24% No opinion: 7%

Background information told people that despite the need for more housing, some 150,000 New York City apartment units have been abandoned in recent years--many sound buildings identical in construction to buildings that remain highly attractive in other neighborhoods. Apart-

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

ments have been abandoned in other cities of the Region, too. New York City Housing experts estimate that some 300,000 structurally sound apartments now in use are threatened with abandonment if maintenance is not improved; many need rehabilitation right now.

What causes abandonment? New York RAND Institute said: a war between tenants and landlords. Since many owners had shaky financing, they could not afford the extra costs of tenant difficulties. Many tenants came from rural areas and did not know how to live in an apartment without damaging it. Many landlords were indifferent to tenant needs. Often they could not understand each other's language. Drug addicts, criminals and vandals from outside the apartment made some buildings uninhabitable.

Examples are shown in the TV film of (1) tenants taking over management of their apartment and rehabilitating it, working with the owner; (2) tenants taking ownership with a cooperative; (3) a neighborhood association taking responsibility for rehabilitation and building new apartments, selecting tenants, helping them become good neighbors and maintaining the buildings.

Any one of these approaches might save many of the apartments now threatened, the Association suggested. But local groups will need help to organize and assist tenants, and more government money will be needed to rehabilitate buildings. If it works, this will be the cheapest way to get satisfactory housing. But can enough tenants in these shaky neighborhoods take responsibility for building management and tenant selection? Won't some buildings or neighborhoods fail to avert abandonment despite the investment? And do we want to change the real estate system in many parts of the cities so much--from private ownership to co-ops or community operation or some new form of tenant-owner negotiation?

On the other hand, what will become of substantial parts of the cities if we cannot save these buildings? And where will their tenants live--at least 300,000 households in New York City alone?

Voter differences. Differences among types of voters were not significant; all provided substantial majorities for the proposal.

Education-income: On both Choices, support went up with education. On Choice 4, income--when divorced from education--did not affect opinion in any systematic way. On Choice 5, those with incomes between \$13,000 and \$20,000 were most skeptical of rehabilitation, those with the highest incomes most willing to take a chance.

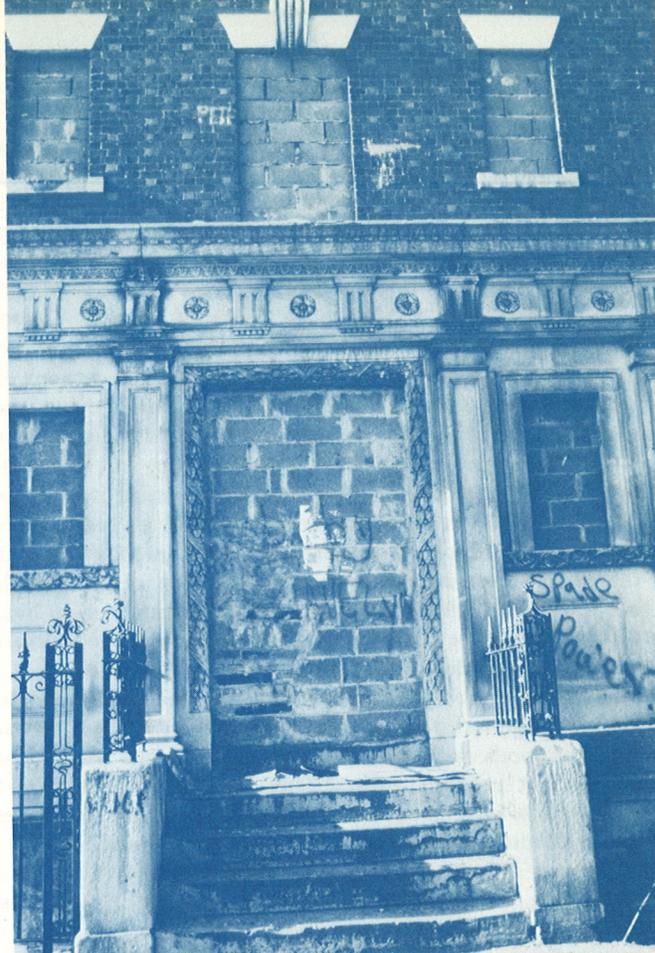
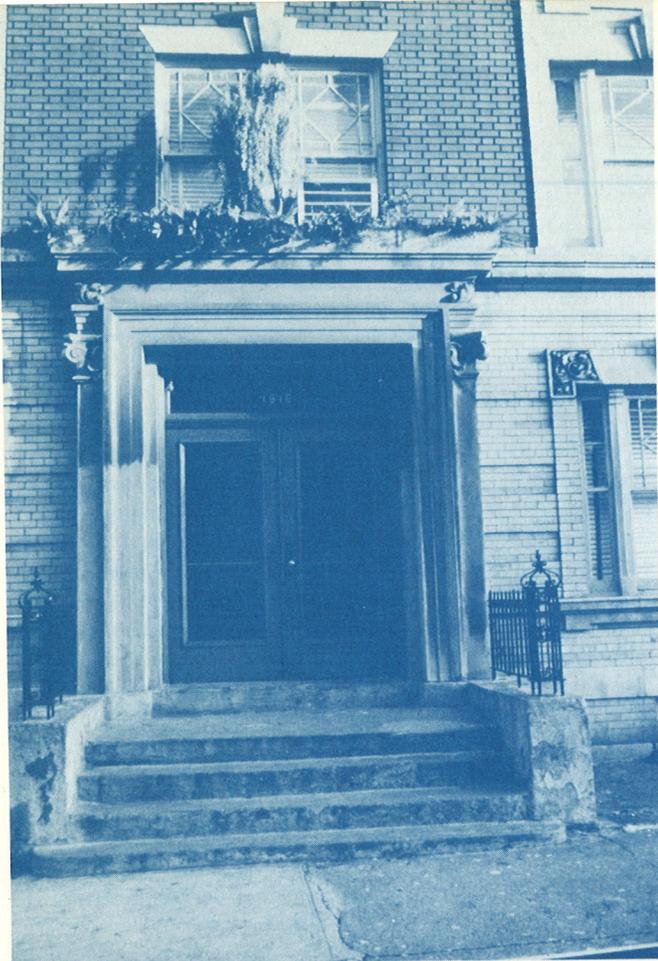
Geography: Generally the cities were slightly more favorable than the suburbs and beyond.

Race: There was little difference on Choice 4; on Choice 5, blacks were most in favor (71-18), Puerto Ricans least (61-30), other whites in between (69-24).

Age: Again, those just forming new households--respondents aged 22-29--were most in favor on Choice 4; those over 65 were most in favor of rehabilitation, followed by the 22-29 year olds.

Sex: More women were favorable than men.

Participation: On Choice 4, those who only voted: 63-24 compared to those who watched the film and discussed issues (86-10). The film had more impact than the book. Discussion did not change views, either of those who had no other input or of those who did.



On Choice 5, those who only voted: 60-29; those who watched, read and discussed: 77-17; discussing generally slightly decreased support.

CHOICES 6 and 7. Locating Low-Income Housing

Questions and answers. 6. Where should most new subsidized (government assisted) housing for low-income people be built?

* {Predominantly in ghetto areas:	34%
{Outside ghetto areas:	37%
No more subsidized housing should be built:	16%
No opinion:	13%

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

Even as new housing construction lagged while demand grew, some 300,000 structurally sound New York City buildings were slipping toward abandonment due, in large part, to what New York RAND Institute called a war between tenants and landlords. An overwhelming percentage of CHOICES voters favored government aid to tenant and neighborhood groups to become more involved in building management. They also voted for more government money to rehabilitate apartments.

7. If low-income housing were to be located away from ghetto areas, what principle should govern site selection?

Require each municipality, regardless of location, to accept a "fair share" of new low-income housing:	22%
Place low-income housing only near job and public transportation:	62%
No opinion:	16%

Gallup survey. a. Would you favor or oppose having the federal government provide funds to help cities and towns **BUILD MORE** public housing projects for low-income people in this overall region?

Yes: 57%	No: 37%	No opinion: 7%
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b. Where do you think **MOST** of this new low-income housing should be located—in the cities of the overall region, or outside the cities?

In cities:	19%
Outside the cities:	17%
Both:	17%
No opinion:	3%

Background information. One of the main obstacles to building new subsidized housing for low-income families has been political battles over sites.

On the one hand, the federal government has been saying: Don't put low-income housing in the ghettos where nearly all the poor families already live. New York City's Housing Authority Chairman at that time, Simeon Golar, pointed out in the film that concentrating poor families in one area often compounds their problems. But we showed that middle-income neighborhoods--like Forest Hills and nine Westchester communities chosen for subsidized housing by the New York State Urban Development Corporation (UDC)--have strongly resisted. One result is that the New York Region has not received its share of federal subsidy money compared to other parts of the country. Furthermore, construction often costs more in the denser old neighborhoods where most of the poor of our Region live, so the money we have received does not produce as much housing as it could.

But can low-cost public housing mix well with middle-income neighborhoods? Can't people who work hard escape neighborhoods with low-income people? many ask. And what about property values? One man in the film, threatened with a subsidized housing project next door to his new \$90,000 house, asked: "Would you buy my house?"

What if every community in the Region had to accept a "fair share" of low-income subsidized housing? Would resistance be less intense if every community knew that all communities would have to find room for some low-income housing?

On the other hand, that would put a great deal of housing for poor families far from services, public transportation and jobs. Might it not be better to treat low-income families like all other families and require municipalities to accept housing on the basis of where it is most appropriately located--in relation to jobs, transportation and services?

Or perhaps low-cost subsidized housing should not be built at all? There were nearly one-half million persons on the waiting list for low-cost public housing in New York City, some 20,000 in Newark, and many low-income families live outside these cities in substandard housing that cannot be rehabilitated satisfactorily. With the low housing vacancy rate in the Region and apparent large-scale doubling up, and with the high construction cost now, it would be a very long time before new unsubsidized construction would result in less expensive older housing "trickling down" to low-income persons living in unsatisfactory housing. On the other hand, the federal public housing program is expensive to the taxpayers--units are little different from many new unsubsidized apartments for which people pay high rents.

Voter differences.

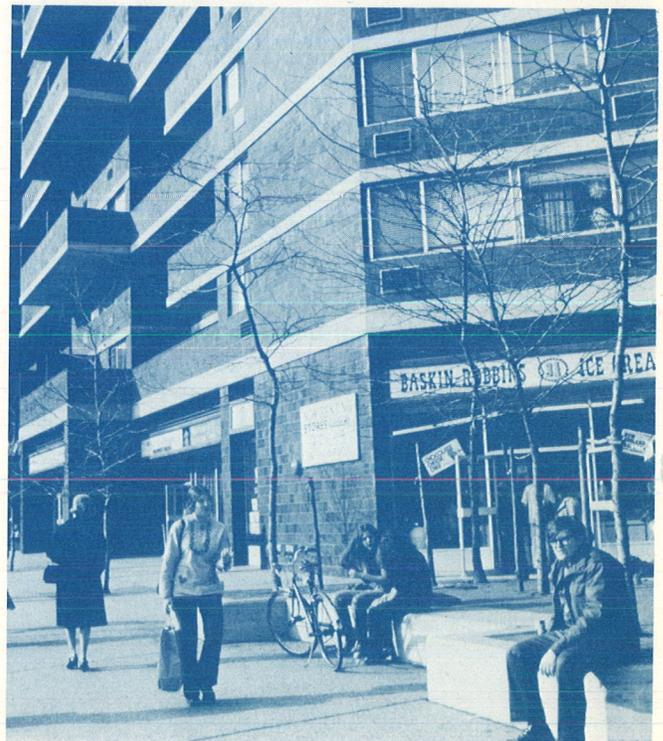
Education-income: Looking just at votes for putting low-income housing outside the ghettos, support rose with education. Holding the education level constant, those with incomes under \$4,000 were most favorable (they might have been eligible for such housing or live in ghettos where public housing now is usually built); those with incomes between \$13,000 and \$35,000 were least favorable (they probably were living in neighborhoods where a change in policy would put public housing)--but there was only about a 10% spread between the most favorable and least favorable income categories. Education did not uniformly affect the vote on fair shares. Income did: the higher the income, the less support for fair shares.



The third housing issue was where low-income public housing should be located--primarily in the neighborhoods where the poor already live or primarily outside the ghettos. CHOICES respondents were evenly split. If low-income housing were built outside, should it be distributed by some "fair share" formula or should it be closely related to jobs, services and transportation along with housing for all other income levels? Most CHOICES voters said it should relate to jobs and transportation. (Both these photos show housing subsidized for low-income families.)



If suburban zoning is changed, housing in the suburbs for families with children will be less expensive than city housing. A majority of CHOICES voters favored subsidizing middle-income housing in cities to keep more middle-income families living there.



Geography: Several older cities outside New York City had majorities in favor of putting public housing outside the ghettos, including Paterson, Bridgeport and White Plains—all with a great deal of public housing. Areas of New York City outside the ghettos were opposed—41-33; all suburban areas voted about 34-37 in favor of putting public housing outside ghettos. New York City was least opposed to “fair shares”: 30-50.

Race: For housing outside the ghettos: blacks 51%; whites (including Puerto Ricans) 37%. Blacks were the only category with a plurality for “fair shares”: 43-39.

Sex: Female: 42%; male: 33% for housing out of the ghetto.

Participation: On housing outside the ghettos: only voting: 28%; watched, read and discussed: 47%. On fair shares: only voting: 25-49 against; watching, reading and discussing: 18-69 against.

CHOICE 8. Housing Allowances

Question and answers. Would you favor or oppose a shift away from building public housing projects for low-income families toward providing them with a “housing allowance” that enables them to purchase or rent moderate-income housing in the private market?

Favor: 40% Oppose: 50% No opinion: 10%

Gallup survey. Instead of having the federal government provide money to cities and towns to help them BUILD housing projects for low-income families, it has been suggested that the federal government give low-income families an allowance of money to be used only for housing, which would enable them to buy or rent MODERATELY priced housing anywhere they choose. In general, do you think this would be a good idea or a poor idea?

Good idea: 44% Poor idea: 47% No opinion: 9%

Background information. If the government gave low-income families certificates worth money which they could add to their money, they could rent or buy standard housing. Many more low-income families could be helped for the amount of money spent constructing new housing because they would find older housing. Governments would not have to find sites; each family would find its own. In theory, at least, these families could decide whether they want to stay in the kind of neighborhood they already were living in or try a new neighborhood. In practice, they might find it hard to move to a neighborhood of mixed income and races. Housing allowances would not extend the government's present involvement in housing construction and management, for better or for worse. If unsubsidized housing construction did not increase substantially, however, substituting housing allowances for continued public housing construction could mean sharply rising costs for all moderate-priced housing, for those with and without the allowances.

Voter differences. Blacks gave housing allowances a majority (53-35), the only demographic category to do so. White non-Puerto Ricans opposed 51-59; Puerto Ricans opposed 44-46; other races were in favor, 47-42.

Education-income: Those with graduate degrees favored allowances 48-43 compared to those with only a high school diploma who opposed 33-57. Lowest-income people were

most in favor (44-40), those with incomes between \$13,000 and \$20,000 most opposed (38-53).

Geography did not have a simple impact. In all types of areas outside the cities, opposition was about average. Some city areas were in favor, some opposed. New York City opposed 42-49.

Sex: Women were less unfavorable than men: 42-47 vs. 38-53.

Participation: Those only voting: 40-45. Every form of participation increased opposition to housing allowances; those who watched, read and discussed voted 18-69.

CHOICE 9. Subsidies For City Housing

Question and answers. To encourage middle-income people to live in cities, would you favor or oppose greater subsidies for middle-income housing in cities?

Favor: 52% Oppose: 37% No opinion: 11%

Background information. The film gave little time to this issue, showing only some examples of recent subsidized middle-income apartments in New York City and explaining that if zoning were changed in the suburbs so that more moderate-priced unsubsidized housing were built there, middle-income people would get such a superior housing buy outside the cities that even city lovers might find it hard to resist a suburban home. So this proposal is really to subsidize the city to keep middle-income families rather than favoring the middle-income family. The purpose is not only to have a demographically balanced city but also to keep in the cities those jobs needing a middle-income labor pool. Should this goal take precedence over putting as much housing subsidy money as possible into improving conditions for lower-income families?

Voter differences. Most city residents strongly favored middle-income housing subsidies in the cities (e.g., New York City 66-26, White Plains 64-28 and Newark 66-25), while those in the outer suburbs and exurbia were evenly split.

Education: Support went up somewhat as education increased.

Race: Blacks were most in favor, 58-28; white non-Puerto Ricans were least in favor, 51-38.

Sex: Women were much more favorable than men: 55-33 vs. 49-41.

Children: The more children, the less support: no children, 55-34; five or more, 44-42.

Participation: Only voting: 48-35; those who read the book, saw the film and discussed: 56-33. Discussion had only little effect, and it was slightly negative.

Transportation

CHOICE 1. More Public Transportation?

Question and answers. Should public policy in the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Region encourage more reliance on public transportation?

* Favor: 89% Oppose: 6% No opinion: 5%

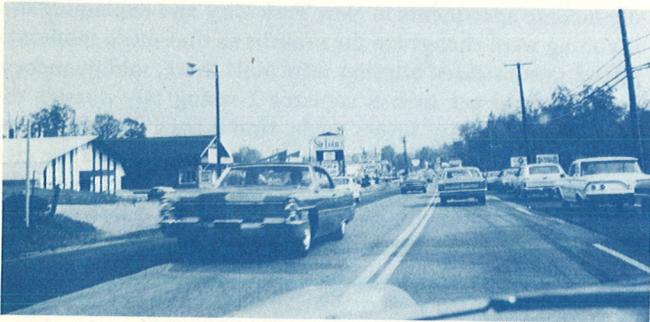
* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

Background information. The automobile has allowed us to spread out recent development; it is more convenient and faster than other forms of travel in the Region, except to large downtowns during rush hour. However, its air polluting characteristics have not been solved; it uses large amounts of energy and induces people to travel more than they otherwise would. It uses a great amount of space, making easy interchange more difficult throughout the day. Our reliance on the auto limits opportunities for those who cannot drive, and it is the most dangerous mode of travel. More reliance on the public transportation would require more compact organization of the Region, both neighborhoods and work places.

Voter differences. All voter categories provided large majorities.

Education-income: Support increased a small amount with higher income and more education.

Participation: Those who only voted favored the idea 81-8; those who watched, read and discussed voted 93-4. Discussion slightly decreased support.



Outside the old cities, the recent pattern of development precludes satisfactory transit service. Everyone must travel everywhere by car (except to Manhattan—a declining share of all trips). CHOICES voters almost unanimously preferred more dependence on public transportation.



CHOICES 2A and 2B. Higher Density to Support Transit

Questions and answers. To encourage more public transportation use, do you favor or oppose:

A. Building more townhouses and apartments and fewer one-family houses:

Favor: 43% Oppose: 40% No opinion: 17%

B. Clustering higher density buildings near transit stops?

Favor: 58% Oppose: 26% No opinion: 16%

Gallup survey. Here is a proposal that has been made to encourage greater use of public transportation—trains, subways and buses. The proposal is that more apartment buildings be built in the vicinity of railroad stations, subway stations, and bus lines so that more people would be concentrated in those areas. Does this sound like a good idea to you or a poor idea? (Note: this is comparable to B but includes only housing, not higher density office buildings and stores.)

Good idea: 56% Poor idea: 33% No opinion: 11%

Background information. Transit cannot operate if housing is spread out or jobs and services scattered. On the contrary, the higher the density, the more people voluntarily use transit and the fewer auto trips they make. Only with five families to the acre is bus service possible; with 10 families to the acre, regular local bus service can be provided throughout the day. Recently, most new housing outside the cities has been built at one or two houses to the acre, and suburban apartments and offices generally are scattered so they do not create effective densities for transit.

Voter differences. All categories provided a plurality for concentrating higher-density buildings near transit stops but those without any college opposed increasing attached housing in place of one-family homes.

Education-income: Except among those with incomes below \$4,000 a year, support for more attached housing went up with more education. Education increased support for clustering high density buildings, too. Holding education constant, the voters most opposed to attached housing were those with incomes between \$13,000 and \$20,000 a year. Most in favor were those with incomes over \$35,000 a year, who also were most in favor of putting the high-density buildings near transit stops. The lowest-income categories were least favorable to clustering high density near transit.

Race: White non-Puerto Ricans were much less favorable to attached housing than others.



To get more transit, the film and book explained, development must be more compact than it has been lately, e.g., garden apartments like these rather than homes on large lots. A majority of those seeing the film and/or reading the book favored more attached housing to support better transit.

Participation: Those who only voted opposed more attached housing 31-45, while those who watched and read favored it 58-28. Discussion had a strong negative effect. Those who watched, read and discussed favored it 48-39. As to clustering the high density buildings, those who only voted had a plurality of 43-33; those who watched and read voted 76-16 in favor, with discussion having a strongly negative effect. Those who watched, read and discussed voted 67-23 in favor, but those who only discussed voted 40-41 against.

CHOICE 3. Subsidizing Transit

Question and answers. How should fares on public transportation be subsidized, if at all?

* { Enough to keep up with the cost of living:	33%
{ Enough to reduce them:	34%
Enough to have free transit:	16%
Not at all:	14%
No vote:	3%

Gallup survey. To what extent, if at all, do you think the government should help in paying for fares people pay for public transportation—should the government cover the total fare, part of the fare, or do you think it should cover none of these fares?

Total:	12%
Part:	42%
None:	38%
Don't know:	7%

Comparable CHOICES vote:

Total:	16%
Part:	67%
None:	14%
Don't know:	3%

Background information. In recent years, a decline in transit ridership has always followed a rise in fares—so that to maintain existing ridership, it seems necessary to keep fares



In addition, large apartments and office buildings should not be scattered; rather they should be clustered at transit stops, a large majority said. Also, almost everyone favored subsidizing transit.

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

from rising as fast as they have been, i.e., more than three times faster than the cost of living. That rise is due to the fact that productivity can only increase a limited amount—at least two men are needed on subways, one man on buses. So no relief is in sight—as productivity rises in goods production, the relative cost of services like transit cannot help but rise. And, if the past is indicative, that means a steady decline in passengers and more autos on the roads. We might prefer a government subsidy to slow the fare rise and ridership decline.

Against subsidies is the argument that when the price of some good is lower than its cost, people are encouraged to use it more than it is really worth to them. Also, transit subsidies are an inefficient way to help the poor since the average transit rider even in New York City has a \$10,000 income and the commuter railroad rider even higher.

Voter differences. All categories had substantial majorities for transit subsidies. Even those living in exurbia favored subsidies 78-18.

Education-income: Support for subsidies rose slightly with education (77% of adults without high school diplomas to 87% with graduate degrees). Abstracting education, those with incomes below \$13,000 were most favorable, those with incomes between \$13,000 and \$35,000 least favorable.

Participation: Those who only voted favored subsidies 76-18; those who watched, read and discussed 92-6.

CHOICE 4. Who Should Pay Transit Subsidies?

Question and answers. If public transportation is subsidized, who should pay?

The motorist:	24%
The municipality or county:	29%
* The State and/or Region:	62%
The Federal Government:	51%
No vote:	5%

Background information. The arguments for motorists paying part of the transit fare are that auto costs are rising far slower than the cost of living while transit costs are rising more, but—more important—transit handles the peak-period travel, very expensive because heavy investment and many employees are needed for only a few hours a week, while auto travel is spread much more evenly throughout the week. Yet the auto could not handle peak flow in many travel corridors without transit picking up high-cost peak riders. In other words, motorists are not paying a fair share of the total travel bill in certain corridors. However, most auto trips are not competitive with transit, so why should motorists generally pay for transit? If not motorists, who should pay the subsidy? One could argue that the federal government should because it has the most progressive form of taxation (i.e., the rich pay a higher portion than they do of state and local taxes). Or one could argue that only those living in areas served by transit should pay—but few such areas are covered by local governments joined together to arrange such a subsidy, and for most transit service in our Region, the whole Region is affected. Because there is no regional government, a Region-wide subsidy might be handled by the three states; or perhaps all levels of government should chip in. (We allowed voters to check all sources of funds they felt should contribute.)

Voter differences.

Education-income: The more education, the higher the percentage favoring a tax on the motorist (16% of those with only a high school diploma, 34% of those with graduate degrees).

Geography: New York City voters were much more favorable to federal subsidies. Persons living in Manhattan and working there were more favorable to taxing the motorist for transit.

Race: Blacks and Puerto Ricans were much more favorable to federal subsidies compared to regional/state subsidies (60-49 and 70-58 compared to the white non-Puerto Ricans' 51-64).

Participation: Reading the book strongly influenced participants to vote for motorists' subsidizing transit; the film, especially combined with the book, influenced people to favor the regional-state source of subsidies.

CHOICE 5. Next Rail Priorities

Question and answers. What new rail construction should get next priority?

Rebuild existing subways:	47%
Extend existing subways:	48%
Link up suburban railroads at the center:	45%
Extend suburban railroads into outer areas:	39%
No vote:	4%

Background information. By spending the next large public transportation investment within the existing subway and PATH-served area (e.g., eliminating elevated lines to improve the environment and accelerating the purchase of air conditioned cars to improve the ride), the improvement in living conditions in the core of the Region might stimulate families of all income levels to live there, probably increasing densities somewhat and certainly maintaining densities within the existing subway-PATH areas.

Extending subways and PATH would stimulate higher densities along the extensions. While trips would be long for a transit ride, less comfortable than a commuter railroad ride, it would be better than having to take a bus to the subway, as many people do now.

Similarly with commuter rail improvements: existing heavily-used lines (mainly those already electrified) could be further improved, and service could be added on little-used tracks in the inner suburbs. This would intensify housing demand in the older suburbs and probably increase densities in a few places along the new or improved rail lines. Also, rail service might be run right through Manhattan, from centers north and east (e.g., White Plains, Stamford, Hempstead, Jamaica) to centers south and west (e.g., Trenton, Paterson), strengthening large and small downtowns of the Region. Finally, frequent, fast rail service could be provided farther out than now--mainly by extending electrification. This would widen the housing choice of those working in Manhattan and Newark and keep densities and prices of housing close to the center from rising rapidly.

Voter differences. Those living in areas that would get the suggested transit improvements were not strongly more favorable than others, with a few exceptions: residents of New York City and those working there were far more favorable to subway improvements of both kinds--particularly extend-

ing the subways. And Paterson, Stamford and other suburban downtowns were more favorable to improvements in close-in suburban rail service.

Participation: Watching TV and reading the book persuaded a large number of participants to favor three improvements: (1) improving existing subway service and (2) extending it, and (3) improving close-in suburban railroad service. Watching and reading had little influence on the issue of extending frequent commuter rail service.

CHOICE 6. Auto-free Areas

Question and answers. Do you favor or oppose improving pedestrian amenities by:

A. Converting selected streets into pedestrian malls?

Favor: 72% Oppose: 15% No opinion: 14%

B. Banning cars from entire precincts in cities?

Favor: 48% Oppose: 33% No opinion: 19%

Background information. In many downtowns, pedestrians are crowded while motor vehicles use far more space per person. There are long-term ways to expand pedestrian space for greater walking pleasure, but for the short-term, the only way is to close off streets to motor vehicles. For the most part, this will not decrease the number of persons coming--experience in some 100 cities in Europe and North America indicates that malls generally increase retail sales. People simply switch to public transportation. So the issue is: should the pedestrian have greater freedom or the motorist continue to have the freedom he has now? To enlarge the area that would remain auto-free from a small to a whole downtown district would require heavy investment, too, e.g., for vehicle by-passes and new garages.

Voter differences. All categories provided a substantial majority for malls except Puerto Ricans, where perhaps the presentation in Spanish was confusing because nearly half had no opinion. The Puerto Rican vote was 41-14 in favor. But closing larger areas to automobiles failed to win a majority from most categories and was actually opposed slightly by a few important categories, including blacks, those without any



Traffic-free downtown malls also were favored by a substantial majority.

college education, those under 17 and residents of a few counties.

Education-income: Support for auto-free areas went up with education (on malls: 57-24 without a diploma to 79-11 with a graduate degree; on auto-free districts: 32-39 and 57-27.)

Geography: Though the example in both film and book was Manhattan, residents and workers in Manhattan were slightly less favorable to auto-free areas than the average voters. Most favorable were the Southwestern (Stamford) and South Central (New Haven) Connecticut planning regions and Mercer County (Trenton and Princeton), New Jersey; least favorable, the outer boroughs of New York City and Hudson County. Among those living in cities with potentially major downtowns (see section on Cities and Suburbs), Jamaica (Queens) and Newark were much less in favor than the average (though both provided substantial majorities for a mall); the others were more favorable than the average.

Race: Blacks were less favorable than whites.

Participation: Nonparticipant voters: 63-18 for malls, 43-33 for larger auto-free districts; those who read the book, watched TV and discussed voted 83-10 and 49-37 in favor. Discussion somewhat strengthened support for malls but decreased support for larger auto-free districts.

CHOICE 7. Rationing Peak-Period Space

Question and answers. Would you favor or oppose imposing higher prices, such as tolls and fares, during peak hours and lower prices during off-hours to reduce travel congestion?

Favor: 34% Oppose: 55% No opinion: 11%

Background information: When more people want to use a road, bus or train than can be comfortably accommodated, we can ration the service as we do now—by congestion, i.e., letting those who tolerate stop-and-go driving or crowded strap-hanging do their travelling during rush hours. Or we can ration space by price—raising the tolls or fares during peak periods. This would encourage people to travel during other times or not to travel at all; those who did travel would move faster and more comfortably. Adjustments might be made to protect the poor (e.g., raising tolls where white collar workers travel but excluding routes to factories where transit is not available); but on the whole, the rise in travel costs to work for the poor that this proposal might entail would have to be made up some other way if their work hours were not staggered.

Voter differences. Only among those who read the book and those with incomes over \$35,000 plus a graduate degree did more respondents favor than oppose this proposal.

Education-income: Support went up with education and was higher among those with incomes over \$35,000, but opposition was substantial among almost all categories.

Geography: Manhattan residents (but not workers) were evenly split. Otherwise, only Mercer was close to an even split.

Participation: The book won support, but television as well as discussion diminished support.

CHOICE 8. New Expressways

Question and answers. How many expressways should be built?

{ Just enough to keep up with additional cars:	36%
* { More than that:	19%
{ Less than that:	19%
None at all:	22%
No vote:	4%

And where should they be built?

* In developed areas, with heavy traffic:	61%
In open areas, with little traffic:	23%
No vote:	28%

Gallup survey. In planning for the future transportation needs of the overall region, covering the use of cars, buses, subways and trains—what do you think should be done about the present highway system—build highways to keep up with the increased number of cars or stop building new highways?

Keep up: 56% Stop: 33% Don't know: 11%

Background information: Limited access highways, i.e., expressways, are safer, use less land for the same traffic and allow much greater speed than other roads. Studies indicate that the value people appear to place on fast, safe auto travel would justify building expressways much faster than we are doing now. However, even investing \$25 billion, which would balance costs with estimated benefits, would only raise average auto speeds in the Region from 21 mph to 25. Just to keep up with expected increases in auto travel would require continuing expressway construction at least at the rate of the previous five years. Also, there are a number of areas in the Region that are particularly devoid of expressways, e.g., Brooklyn and inner Hudson County. Objectors say that expressways are too intrusive. They also say that good highways induce people to travel more than they otherwise would; expressway partisans point out that this is just another way of saying that expressways enlarge freedom and opportunities. Furthermore, in some areas where traffic chugs slowly along local streets (e.g., Lower Manhattan), an expressway would improve environmental quality by decreasing air pollution, noise, and obstructions and dangers to pedestrians.

As to where expressways should go, right now most mileage is being built where few people travel, on the outskirts of the Region. Expressways cause least disruption there and cost much less per mile—but because few cars use them, they cost more per vehicle-mile driven. Though dislocation is minimized by building highways before people are there to use them, that encourages development to spread and scatter.

Voter differences. Only two categories gave a majority to slowing or stopping expressway construction: Connecticut's South Central region and those with college degrees. All others gave a majority to building expressways at least as fast as we were then building them. The only demographic-geographic differences on where expressways should be located was by age: fewer older people wanted expressways in built-up areas—but even the over 65's had 47% in favor.

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.



A small majority favored continued expressway construction at least as fast as they were being built at that time—keeping up with added cars. Another quarter of the voters favored continued expressway construction but at a slower rate. A substantial majority favored putting the new expressways in the built-up parts of the Region now lacking expressways rather than outside the developed portion of the Region.

Education-income: Increasing education meant some decrease in support for the present rate of expressway construction or faster; income made no consistent difference, abstracted from education.

Geography: All the potential major centers of the Region were as favorable to continued expressway construction as the other parts of the Region except for Manhattan and downtown Brooklyn residents.

Race: Blacks were somewhat more favorable to increased expressways than whites.

Participation: Book and television somewhat increased opposition to continuing at least the present pace of expressway construction. On where expressways should be built, the book and television increased support for developed areas but did not increase opposition to building them outside developed areas.

CHOICE 9. New Technology

Question and answers. What should be the main objective of new transportation technology?

High-speed surface travel between urban centers:	58%
* High-speed underground travel within urban areas:	62%
Public transit for smaller cities:	42%
New power and guidance systems for private vehicles:	33%
No vote:	4%

Background information. A great deal of federal research money is going into Tracked Air Cushion Vehicles, a rail-less railroad which mainly will decrease maintenance-of-way costs for inter-city ground travel. But its energy requirements are large per passenger. Almost no government research dollars have been spent on an underground system, Gravity Vacuum Tubes, which uses both gravity and a vacuum to run trains underground at very high speeds—even with close station spacing. These could carry large numbers of people within large and dense urban regions. Money is also being spent to study automated, small-capacity systems for small urban areas. Finally, some research money is going into improving the automobile, to make it fume-less and allow it to operate faster, safer and yet closer together in corridors that have enough traffic to justify a guideway, making a train of the auto for part of its trip.

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

Voter differences. Naturally, New York City people were most interested in underground devices while some of the smaller centers were more interested than other areas in public transit for smaller regions.

Environment

CHOICE 1. Population Growth

Question and answers. Would you prefer the Region's population to:

* Stop growing in 15 years (an average of 1 child per family)	40%
* Stop growing in 50 years (2 children per family—present trend)	39%
Continue growing indefinitely (3 children per family—past trend)	10%
No opinion:	11%

Note: 40% want to slow population growth below its present rate; 49% want growth to continue at least at its present rate.

Background information. The radical changes in the nation's birth rate between 1939 and 1972—first sharply upward, then sharply downward—suggest that it could change sharply again, so population projections are uncertain; however, by 2000, the New York Region's population almost certainly will be between 22 million (and no more growth) and 28 million with continued growth. The 1970 population was 20 million. If the early 1970's birth rate continues, the Region will attain zero population growth about 2020 with 28 million. If the declining trend from 1957 to 1972 continues, zero population growth would be achieved by 1985 at about 22 million people. Most of the growth would occur on the fringes of urban development if present policies and trends continue.

But growth could be used to regenerate the older cities, with the added jobs and services going in large measure into their downtowns, attracting some of the new housing to the downtown areas. Properly planned, a last increment of population growth could reorganize the Region's pattern and improve living qualities for new and old residents.

Most people, though, think of added population as simply urbanizing more countryside, crowding more highways and beaches, polluting more air. They argue that, with present development policies, improvement of the Region by adding population is unlikely.

On the other hand, the damages of adding population may be exaggerated; added income more than added population has increased the cars on the road, the electricity demand that translates into unwanted generators, a flood of second homes in rural areas.

Voter differences. The black, poor and young were most reluctant to slow population growth further, but of all demographic categories, only those with college degrees had a plurality—very slight—for slower population growth than the Region had been getting, i.e., stop growing in 15 years. Four counties also had small pluralities for slower growth—all counties that could be expected to receive some of it: Mercer, Ocean, Orange and Rockland.

Education-income: Preference for slower growth increased with education (31-50 against, among those without col-

lege work to 49-43 in favor, among those with graduate degrees), but it did not increase with income.

Sex: Fewer men than women opposed slowing growth (44-47 compared to 36-53).

Race: Few blacks favored slowing population growth (21-54) compared to white non-Puerto Ricans (41-49). Other voters were close to the whites.

Children: Those without children split evenly 45-45; those with more than four children favored continuing growth 20-62; those with fewer were in between.

Geography: Most of the older cities were less favorable to slowing growth than the average, particularly New York City, Newark, Stamford, Bridgeport and smaller old cities. The older and newer suburbs were about at the average; ex-urbia was more strongly against continuing the present growth rate (45-45).

Participation: Discussion and television strongly influenced votes away from slowing population growth; the book influenced votes in favor of slowing growth. Those who only voted: 40-44%; those who read, watched and discussed: 32-61.

CHOICE 2. Growth Policies

Question and answers. Do you favor or oppose these policies to slow the Region's growth:

A. Take additional steps to reduce the birth rate?

Favor: 67% Oppose: 21% No opinion: 12%

B. Use federal aid to attract jobs and people to other parts of the country?

* Favor: 59% Oppose: 25% No opinion: 15%



An end to population growth in the Region within 15 years was favored by two-fifths of the voters; another two-fifths preferred the then current birth rate, which would gradually end growth in about 45 years. To slow population growth, large majorities of CHOICES voters favored (1) making birth control information and abortions more readily available and (2) federal inducements of jobs away from this Region to areas that want to grow.

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

Background information. More widespread information on and availability of birth control mechanisms and inexpensive abortions were the steps suggested to reduce the birth rate in A. For B, we showed Charleston, West Virginia, a small urban area that is losing population and would like to grow, contrasted with New York Region residents who want to see growth here stopped—but we warned that attracting jobs away from this Region with federal subsidies might mean families separated and poor people losing jobs they could not afford to follow to another region.

Voter differences. Every demographic category gave a majority to more efforts to reduce the birth rate except blacks who barely favored it (41-35) and youngsters under 14 (47-35). Every demographic category favored the proposal to induce jobs (and so population) to stop locating in the Region.

Education-income: The more education, the more support for policies to reduce births (no high school diploma: 55-28; graduate degree: 75-16). Similarly, the higher the income, the greater the support (under \$4,000: 54-29; over \$35,000: 77-15).

Age: Greatest support for birth rate reduction policies came from 22-29 year olds (74-18) and least from under 14 (47-35) and 14-17 (58-28).

Race: On inducing jobs out, blacks and Puerto Ricans were most favorable (63-17 and 67-18) though perhaps because they would like to find a job in a smaller region rather than because they oppose adding population here.

Sex: Women were far more favorable than men to shifting jobs to other regions.

Participation made respondents slightly more favorable to new birth rate policies (62-21 by those who only voted, 71-19 by those who read, watched and discussed); as to moving jobs: 53-26 and 57-29 in favor.

CHOICE 3. More Money For Environment

Question and answers. Would you be willing to spend more of your income—either in taxes or higher prices—to improve the public environment of the Region?

Yes: 64% No: 28% No opinion: 8%

Gallup survey. Would you be willing to pay ONE PER CENT more of your yearly income, either in the form of taxes or higher prices on goods and services, in order to improve the quality of the environment in this overall region, and deal with air, water and noise pollution?

Yes: 60% No: 32% No opinion: 7%

Background information. We showed on TV typical scenes of the Region's public places, pointing out that as public places become more shoddy, those who can afford to do so invest in their private environment—backyard swimming pools instead of polluted beaches, large yards instead of ill-kept parks, their own cars instead of rundown buses and trains. Should we attempt to reverse this cycle, we asked and make public places much pleasanter by investing more there?

Voter differences. The Gallup and CHOICES votes were very close. Every demographic group gave the proposal a majority on both Gallup and CHOICES, except two on each:



To get a better public environment, a substantial majority said they would be willing to spend more of their own income in taxes or higher prices.

adults without a high school diploma did not even give it a plurality: 39-48 Gallup, 44-44 CHOICES; those 50 and over on Gallup gave it only a plurality: 48-43; blacks in CHOICES only a plurality: 49-38.

Education-income: Education made the biggest difference—it is the only question Gallup asked in which greater education clearly increased support. On CHOICES, the spread was from 44-44 (over 17, no diploma) to 78-18 (graduate degree). Support also increased as income increased, from 51-33 (under \$4,000) to 76-19 (over \$35,000)—suggesting that an income tax would be appropriate for environmental improvements.

Age: 14-17 year olds were the least in favor (54-31), 30-34 year olds the most (70-25). With Gallup, the younger, the more support (but he did not interview anyone under 18).

Geography: City and New Jersey residents were less willing to pay more, according to Gallup; on CHOICES, the South Central planning region (New Haven area), Bergen and Morris Counties provided the greatest support and Middlesex, Ocean, the Bronx and Brooklyn the least.

Participation: Those who only voted: 53-35 in favor; those reading, watching and discussing: 75-19; discussion slightly decreased support.

CHOICE 4. Air-Water Quality Standards

Question and answers. Which approach to improve air and water quality should be stressed:

The present approach of enforcing pollution standards and subsidizing treatment facilities?	42%
An approach that achieves standards by charging for pollutants dumped?	50%
No opinion:	8%

Background information. Federal and state governments are investing in water treatment plants and federal tax deductions are available for air cleaning equipment. Industry is required to meet reasonable standards judged on the basis of technology already available. But priorities in waste treatment do not always promise to produce the greatest benefits; in some cases, costs appear very high compared to benefits; some industries must be prodded constantly to meet standards. Alternatively, charging for pollutants would put immediate and continuing pressure on both industry and localities to develop new technology and to explore recycling particularly where the air or water is dirtiest. On the other

hand, a lot of clean-up has been achieved in a relatively short time recently, and the three state governments are moving more strongly. The proposed new approach is complicated—perhaps we should just keep going as we are.

Voter differences. Those over 55 and those over 17 without a high school diploma had pluralities opposed to the proposed new approach; otherwise, there was not a wide variation in support.

Sex: Women were slightly more favorable than men: 40% for the present approach, 52% for the new; men voted 43-49.

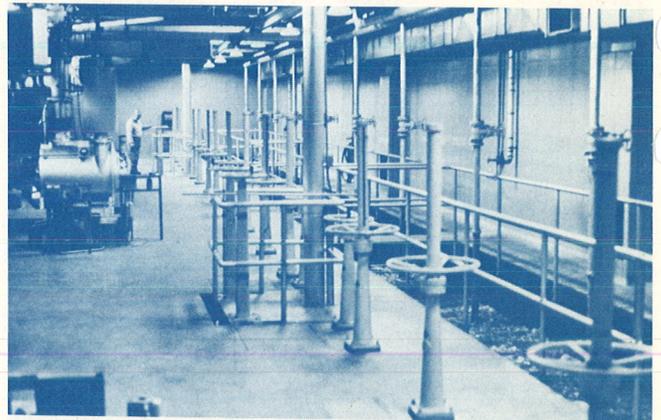
Race: White non-Puerto Ricans were slightly more favorable to the new approach than blacks: 42-51 vs. 43-44.

Participation: Those only voting: 43-45; those who read, watched and discussed: 36-54.

CHOICE 5. Meeting Electricity Demand

Question and answers. Would you:

Increase the cost of electricity either at peak times or across the board to reduce electricity consumption?	16%
* Require utilities to spend more for research and development (with higher electric rates) to seek cleaner, more efficient ways to produce electricity?	59%
Not allow environmental protection standards to impose an increasing burden on the costs and capacity of electric production?	14%
No opinion:	12%



New waste-management policies also were supported: effluent charges ("pay-for-damages") rather than fixed standards required for all. A large majority also favored a tri-state regional waste management agency.

Background information. Electric plant capacity was not keeping up with power demand even before the energy shortage. What should be done? we asked. We could simply raise rates sharply, particularly during peak periods, to try to get people to reduce the amount they use then. If rates for large users and small were equalized instead of heavily favoring large users, the small user's rate need not be increased. Alternatively, we could raise rates—not to discourage use during peak periods but to have added research money. Finally, we could ignore the environmentalists' warnings and let plant construction go ahead more rapidly.

Voter differences. Demographically, only the poor and

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

those without a high school diploma voted as much as 20% for ignoring environmental standards.

Education-income: Opposition to the environmentalists' delays of power production expansion goes down as education goes up (21% of those without a high school diploma, 10% of those with graduate degrees).

Age: Opposition goes up steadily with age (10% of those under 18, nearly 20% of those over 64).

Geography: Morris, Mercer, Bergen and Manhattan are the least opposed to the environmentalists' blocking electricity expansion (10% or under). Ocean, Greater Bridgeport and Staten Island are most opposed (20% or over).

Participation did not seem to affect the vote for increasing rates enough to curtail demand, but it did shift votes from opposing environmental obstacles to paying for more research. Those who only voted: 15 (raise rates to lower demand), 52 (raise rates for more research), 16 (ignore environmental protection). This compares to 15-63-8 among those who read, watched and discussed.

CHOICE 6. Convenience vs. Solid Wastes

Question and answers. To deal with the mounting problem of solid wastes, would you favor or oppose reducing the number of convenience packaging and other "disposable" consumer items?

* Favor: 87% Oppose: 9% No opinion: 4%

Background information. No one has yet shown a satisfactory way to dispose of the rapidly increasing solid wastes of the Region. One solution is not to generate so much waste. One source of waste that has been increasing very rapidly is packaging and convenience goods like paper towels. We showed the large amount of packaging on many products.

Voter differences. All demographic and geographic categories provided substantial majorities for this.

Education-income: Support went up somewhat with education and with income.

Race: Slightly fewer blacks and Puerto Ricans provided support, compared to the total.

Age: Those under 14 had less support.

Participation: 78-12 (only voted) and 92-5 (read, watched and discussed).

CHOICE 7. Regional Waste Management Agency

Question and answers. Would you favor or oppose the creation of a single governmental waste management agency setting policies and enforcing disposal standards for air, water and land throughout the three-state Region?

* Favor: 70% Oppose: 13% No opinion: 17%

Background information. We showed examples of fragmented responsibility now, both for the different but closely related forms of waste--liquid (sewage), gaseous (air pollution) and solid (refuse)--and for the territories of 775 separate municipalities--how one area's decisions affect an adjoining area, even across state borders. However, we pointed out that a regional agency would be making decisions which many municipalities would not like (e.g., where incin-

erators and water treatment plants should be located) and that since the three states had just begun to move into dominant decision-making positions, perhaps we should see whether they couldn't remedy most of today's waste management inadequacies without setting up a new level of government.

Voter differences. All demographic groups gave majority support to a regional waste management agency.

Education-income: Support increased with education (54-13 for non-high school graduates to 76-12 for those with graduate degrees). Support also increased with income, generally, but less than with education.

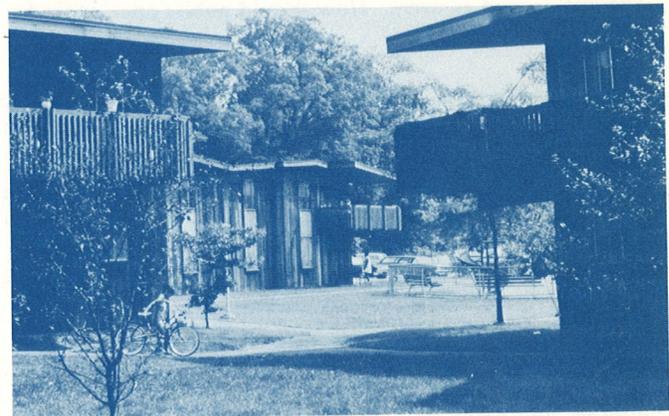
Race: Somewhat fewer blacks and Puerto Ricans than other whites supported a regional waste management agency.

Participation: 60-13 (only voted); 78-11 (read, watched, discussed).

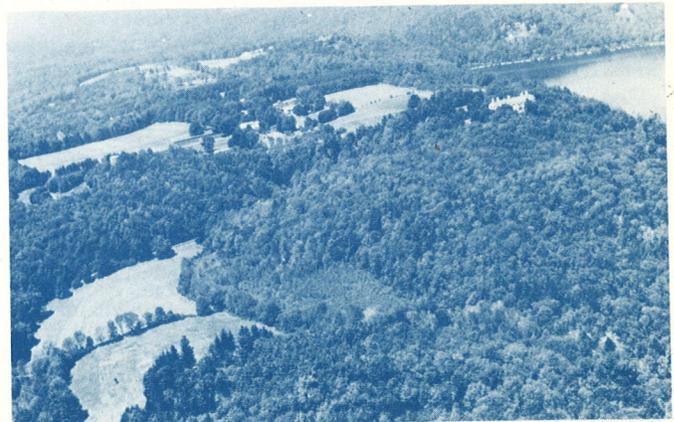
CHOICE 8. Cluster Subdivisions

Question and answers. Given the same number of people to be housed on a tract of land, how should most new neighborhoods in the Region be built?

* Clustered, with some land left open for neighborhood or public use:	66%
Completely divided into private yards, with no open land shared by the whole neighborhood:	22%
No opinion:	11%



To assure the right amount and location of public open space--for aesthetics, conservation, community borders and recreation, CHOICES voters supported cluster subdivisions (or Planned Unit Development). They also voted to purchase right away all the open space that otherwise would be bought year by year over the next 50 years.



* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

Background information. One way to get public open space without paying tax money for it is to build into each new or renewed neighborhood. Cluster zoning or Planned Unit Development is the legal technique. We pointed out that it does offer as safe a protection of the established density as large lots; the issue is only whether people want public open space in their neighborhoods or prefer that all the land be privately owned and used.

Voter differences. Only those under 18 did not provide a majority, and they had a plurality in favor. Fewer 18-21 year olds were favorable than older people.

Education-income: Education made the most difference: 50-34 in favor among adults without a high school degree and 81-13 among those with a graduate degree. Support also went up with income but nowhere near as sharply.

Race: Fewer blacks and Puerto Ricans than other whites were favorable.

Participation: Watching television and reading the book had the greatest influence on the vote on this Choice among the Choices on the Environment. Those who only voted: 57-26; those who read, watched, discussed: 78-13. Discussion depressed the favorable vote: those who only discussed voted 48-34.

CHOICE 9. Open Space Acquisition

Question and answers. How should public open space be purchased?

From bond issues and annual appropriations, choosing land to be purchased each year:	29%
From a large long-term bond issue, purchasing all the open space desired for the next 50 years:	54%
No opinion:	17%

Background information. In the past dozen years, the three states have voted park funds every few years, but frequently an important piece of land was bought by a builder first and either was lost as open space or was sharply increased in price; further, green borders have been lost around communities, and many new developments have been left without adequate open space. Since the interest rate on government bonds has been lower than the annual rise in land prices in the Region, it is likely that buying a half-century supply of open space now with a bond issue is less expensive than buying the same land year by year. But should open space purchases take primary attention from governments now?

Voter differences. Several groups did not have a majority in favor of a large open space bond issue, though they all provided strong pluralities. The lowest pluralities came from those with only a high school diploma: 33% (present method)-45% (large bond issue); those aged 14-17: 28-42; non-whites and Puerto Ricans: 30-44.

Education-income: Support went up with education (33-45 with only a high school diploma to 26-63 with a graduate degree).

Geography: Only three counties did not provide majorities: Somerset and Union (with nearly half their ballots from school age participants) and Middlesex.

Participation: 29-43 (only voted), 27-58 (read, watched, discussed).



City residents should have small city parks in preference to large outlying parks to which subsidized public transportation would be provided, according to a large majority.

CHOICE 10. Outdoor Recreation For City Residents

Question and answers. Which policy should be emphasized to improve recreation for city residents?

* Buy more city parks and maintain them better:	74%
Provide large parks outside cities with subsidized rail, bus or boat service to them:	16%
No opinion:	10%

Background information. City parks cost around 100 times as much per acre as suitable land for parks 35-50 miles away. Large natural parks could be purchased for city residents and transportation subsidized from the cities to outlying areas. On the other hand, city parks add green and allow youngsters to go by themselves every day, not just on week ends. On TV, black youngsters raised the issue of whether people are ready for racially integrated parks; if not, they felt city people should stay in the cities for their outdoor recreation.

Voter differences. All categories had strong majorities in favor of giving priority to buying and maintaining city parks, but among those whom the parks were most aimed at serving—the young, blacks, lower-income people and city residents generally—there were more than the average in favor of large far-out parks. Their vote was still about 3-1 for giving city parks priority, but that compared to 4½-1 among all participants.

Participation: 67-17 (only voted); 80-14 (read, watched, discussed).

Poverty

CHOICE 1. School Integration

Question and answers. Should public schools become more integrated, and if so, how? (Circle as many as desired.)

No:	33%	
* {	Yes, house more low-income families in middle-income neighborhoods:	27%
	Yes, change school attendance boundaries for more integration within walking distance:	52%
	Yes, use buses to achieve more integration over wider areas:	15%
No vote:	2%	

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

Gallup survey. Which if any of these ways do you think would be best to achieve integration in public schools in terms of different economic and racial groups?

Create more housing for low-income people in middle-income neighborhoods:	20%
Change school boundaries to allow more persons from different economic and racial groups to attend the same schools:	27%
Bus school children from one school district to another:	6%
Do something other than those three to integrate schools:	24%
I oppose the integration of schools:	20%
No opinion:	12%

Only one of the 163 blacks interviewed opposed integration and twice as large a percentage of blacks as whites favored each of the first three remedies.

Background information. Poverty is shaping development in the New York Urban Region perhaps more than any other force. This chapter looks at ways to eliminate poverty, beginning with three Choices on giving youngsters a more even start in life, two on providing more jobs, two on more income for those employed and not employed, and two (under one number) on leaving lower-income families with more money after taxes.

While evidence is mixed, almost all studies indicate that when educationally disadvantaged children are integrated in school with educationally motivated children, the latter do not suffer; several studies also show significant gains by the educationally disadvantaged. On the other hand, long-distance busing would be needed to integrate a large segment of this Region's educationally disadvantaged. In the film, we showed a school system where carefully drawn boundaries maintained racial integration with almost no busing. Even there, some parents expressed opposition.

Voter differences. No category had a majority against school integration in principle. The number of school-age children in the family had no effect.

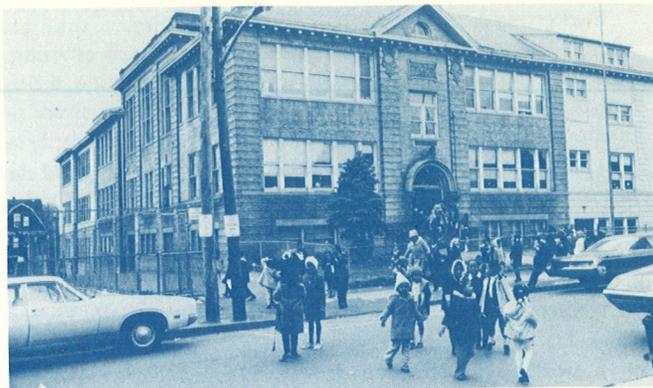
Education-income: Education had an unusually large effect—the more education, the more support for all three ways of integrating schools. Opposition to integration dropped from 48% (no high school diploma) to 25% (graduate degree) and support for integrated neighborhoods went up from 19% to 39%, for changing boundaries from 36% to 60%, for busing from 10% to 22%. Opposition was greatest—extracting education—between \$8,500 and \$20,000 a year.

Race: Only half the percentage of blacks and Puerto Ricans as other whites opposed integration (14% and 17% vs. 35%) and more than twice as many supported busing (29% and 28% vs. 14%). There was substantial but less difference on integrating neighborhoods: 40% black, 32% Puerto Rican, 27% other whites favored more neighborhood integration; there was no difference on changing district boundaries.

Sex: Fewer women were opposed to integration than men (27% vs. 39%), though they were scarcely more favorable to busing.

Participation: Reading, watching and discussing cut opposition to integration from 41% to 16%, raised support for integrated neighborhoods from 23% to 42%, for school

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.



Poverty is one of the strongest forces shaping this Region. Several ways of trying to eliminate poverty were offered as Choices, beginning with giving youngsters a more even start. A strong majority favored more school integration, but not by busing; almost everyone felt that pupils with lagging test scores should have at least as much money spent on their education as others. Now most of them get less.

boundary change from 42% to 70% and for busing from 13% to 21%.

CHOICE 2. Money for Educationally Handicapped

Question and answers. How much money should be spent to educate children whose reading and math scores lag seriously behind the national norms?

The same as is spent on other children:	30%
* More than is spent on other children:	63%
Less than is spent on other children:	2%
No opinion:	5%

Background information. School financing methods (local school districts paying most of the bill and setting the budget result more often than not in the least money for those needing schooling the most. While studies do not demonstrate a general correlation between money spent on schools and educational achievement, there are some examples of expensive programs that have worked. (One in Connecticut was shown in the film.) Should educational effort be more focused on those who have a harder time learning even if it means more involvement of higher levels of government in school finance?

Voter differences. All categories had a majority in favor of more money for the educationally disadvantaged, except those without a high school diploma, who voted 46% for more, 43% for spending the same amount.

Education: Support for more money went up substantially with education (46% to 70%).

Participation: Reading, watching and discussing raised support for more money from 57% to 73%.

CHOICE 3. Day-Care and Pre-School Education

Question and answers. Do you think that pre-school education and day-care for children of working mothers should be more widely available, with the charge varying from nothing to full cost, depending on income, or not?

* Yes: 81%	No: 15%	No opinion: 5%
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Background information. There is evidence that pre-school education boosts educational competence of youngsters from homes where parents are not well-educated, though the results often fade if special educational programs are not continued. Also, by freeing mothers for work, many families could be freed from poverty; but the cost for a good day-care program would be as much as welfare payments if otherwise unsupported mothers did not work. A recent survey in New York City indicated most mothers would prefer to work if their children were well cared for.

Voter differences. All categories substantially favored more day care.

Education: Support went up with education (67% to 87%).

Participation: Reading, watching and discussing raised support from 77-16 to 88-9.

CHOICE 4. More Private-Sector Jobs

Question and answers. In the Fall of 1972, the inflation rate was 3.6%, and there were 4.5 million unemployed in the nation. Suppose that a 2 percent higher inflation rate reduces the number of unemployed by an additional 1 million, would you be willing to accept this increased inflation, or not?

Yes: 29% No: 54% No opinion: 18%

Background information. Over the past quarter-century, unemployment has been closely related to inflation--the higher the inflation, the faster the economy was running and the fewer were unemployed. Since unemployment is a major cause of poverty, one attack on poverty would be to stimulate the economy to run faster and absorb some of the unemployed. It would get more people producing and earning without more government involvement in the economy. However, economists are not sure that the past relationship between inflation and unemployment will continue nor that increased inflation will not begin to feed on itself and get out of hand.

Voter differences. No group supported this proposal.

Education-income: Support increased somewhat with education (24-55 without diploma, 35-51 with graduate degree). Abstracting education, most support came from those with incomes between \$4,000 and \$8,500.

Race: Blacks voted 33-44 against the proposal while white non-Puerto Ricans voted 29-55, Puerto Ricans and other races voting in the middle.

Age: More of those over 45 than under (those who had lived through the depression?) supported the proposal, but still only about 35-50.

Participation: The book had some influence in favor--those who only voted: 28-52; those who only read the book and voted: 39-50.

CHOICE 5. Government Jobs for Unemployed

Question and answers. Should the government provide jobs for the unemployed?

Not at all:	10%
* { Yes, for some of the unemployed:	36%
* { Yes, and guarantee a job for all who want to work:	50%
No opinion:	4%



More government jobs for the unemployed were favored by almost all voters, but only a minority was willing to tolerate more inflation to get additional private sector jobs for the unemployed.

Gallup survey. Would you favor or oppose having the federal and state governments provide jobs, and, if necessary, create jobs, for persons out of work who wish to work?

Favor: 89% Oppose: 7% No opinion: 4%

Comparable CHOICES vote:

Favor: 86% Oppose: 10% No opinion: 4%

Background information. If the 300,000 adults in the Region who are permanently out of work could find jobs paying \$3 an hour, poverty as officially defined would be cut in half. And there are thousands of jobs they could do from which all of us would benefit, e.g., hospital and school aides, park, street and apartment maintenance, housing construction and rehabilitation. This might be done with little inflationary push (compared to trying to employ more people in the private economy). However, it is difficult to absorb hard-to-employ persons without waste and even more difficult to adjust their work and wages to private sector pay scales.

Voter differences. Every category was close to unanimous in supporting more government jobs for the unemployed.

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

As to guaranteeing a job for all who want one, solid majorities were provided by those under 22; by blacks, Puerto Ricans and other non-whites; by those with incomes below \$8,500; and by those with graduate degrees. And over 45% of all categories favored guaranteed jobs.

Education-income: This was one of the few questions on which education and income had little consistent effect.

Race: Blacks were far more in favor of guaranteed jobs than white non-Puerto Ricans: 69% compared to 49%, with the vote of Puerto Ricans and other races in between.

Participation: All forms of participation had about the same effect: those only voting--11% for no more government jobs, 31% for some added jobs, 51% for guaranteed jobs; those who read, watched and/or discussed voted 8%-38%-51%.

CHOICE 6. More Income for Workers

Question and answers. What, if anything, should be done to raise the incomes of the working poor?

Nothing:	13%
* { Raise minimum wages and provide public service jobs for everyone laid off as a result:	35%
* { Support low wages with federal cash supplements varying with family size ("negative income tax"):	38%
No opinion:	13%

Gallup survey. If incomes of the working poor are to be raised, which one of these two ways do you think would be better--raise minimum wages or add to low wages with federal cash payments?

Raise minimum wages:	72%
Federal cash payments:	15%
Other:	3%
No opinion:	10%

Background information. A quarter of New York City's work force was then earning under \$5,200, defined as hard-core poverty for a family of four. To raise the economic condition of those working fulltime who nevertheless remain in poverty, we could either raise their wages by requiring that jobs pay more or supplement their income as needed. Higher minimum wages would be likely to eliminate many jobs which are not worth the higher prices that the new wage level would entail, so more government jobs would be needed to absorb the increased unemployed. Furthermore, workers without a family would not need as much money as those with a family to rise above the poverty level. Government income supplements could be adjusted to family size. But that, in effect, would subsidize low-wage employers and perpetuate the production of goods and services for which people are not willing to pay the full cost. It may be better to raise the minimum wage so all jobs pay enough to support a family and employ the work force left over on government jobs, i.e., work the general public chooses to have done.

Voter differences. More than 70% of almost every demographic category favored doing something to help low-income workers, the lowest support being from those without a high school diploma who favored one or the other action by only 64-19. Though there was a slight plurality for income supplements over higher minimum wages, more demographic

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

categories had a plurality for higher minimum wages--those without a college degree and those with incomes below \$13,000 a year, blacks, the young and the old.

Participation: The book and television and to a slightly lesser degree discussion somewhat decreased the vote for doing nothing and for higher minimum wages and increased the vote for income supplements. Those who only voted: 15% do nothing, 37% minimum wage, and 30% income supplements; those who watched, read and discussed: 6%-37% supplements; those who watched, read and discussed: 6%-37%-46%.

CHOICE 7. Guaranteed Income

Question and answers. Should the government guarantee a minimum income for everybody in need, and, if so, what should it be for a family of four?

\$2,400 with supplements up to an income of \$4,800:	11%
\$4,200 with supplements up to an income of \$8,400:	21%
\$5,000 with supplements up to an income of \$10,000:	11%
\$6,500 with supplements up to an income of \$13,000:	7%
No guarantee of minimum income:	35%
No opinion:	15%

Background information. A national guaranteed minimum income, it is argued, should replace the welfare system because it would be fairer and more efficient and would be less burdensome on those parts of the country now paying high welfare rates and thereby perhaps attracting the unemployed from states where low welfare payments are made. In addition, welfare rules encourage a man who is earning too little to support his family to leave home so his family can collect



For those who cannot work because they must take care of children or for other reasons, nearly two-thirds of those who watched TV and read the book favored a guaranteed annual income.

welfare, and welfare provides very little financial incentive to work. Guaranteed annual incomes can be adjusted to help the family whose head is earning too little without his leaving home. It can be adjusted to encourage recipients to work by not reducing payments almost one dollar for every dollar earned, as aid welfare payments are.

Opponents feel that an automatic system creates a sense that the government owes everyone a minimum income and that many people simply would not work if guaranteed an income. (Most evidence indicates this is not true.)

As to the income level to be guaranteed, \$2,500 was the sum proposed in the first federal bill that passed the House of Representatives. This is too low to become a uniform national system; 45 states already pay more in welfare and would be likely to supplement the \$2,500 federal income maintenance payments. Nationally, it could redistribute about 1 percent of all money income from families in the highest-income fifth to the bottom fifth. The National Urban Coalition proposed a \$4,200 guarantee, which would eliminate poverty as defined by one agency of government. A federal income guarantee of \$4,200 would mean little added income for the New York Region's welfare recipients, but it would shift the tax burden entirely from state and local governments to the federal government and raise payments received by poor families in other parts of the country. It would shift about 5% of all money income from the top two-fifths to the bottom two-fifths of the nation's income recipients.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics says that \$7,300 is the minimum needed for "maintenance of health and social wellbeing, the nurture of children, and participation in community activities." The National Welfare Rights Organization based its recommendation for \$6,500 minimum income on the BLS figure. It would redistribute about 10% of all money income from the top two-fifths to the bottom two-fifths. Some economists warn that such a substantial shift in income could disrupt the economy.

Voter differences. The lowest vote for some level of guaranteed income was 47% (those with some college but no degree); the highest 70% (Puerto Ricans). Of those favoring some guaranteed income, every demographic category gave more votes to the \$4,200 level than to any of the others.

Education-income: Only 49% of those with incomes of \$13,500 to \$20,000 favored a guaranteed income, the lowest support from any income category. That is the category just above the level that would benefit from the highest guaranteed income. Those who would gain the most—families with incomes below \$4,000—favored guaranteed incomes by 57%, which is really little difference. Also there was little difference among income groups on the suitable level of guaranteed income. Support for guaranteed income did not go up with education as regularly as on most questions. Holding income stable, support went up with education only in the \$4,000-\$20,000 income groups.

Race: Many more blacks, Puerto Ricans and other non-whites were in favor of \$6,500 and \$5,000 guaranteed income levels than were other whites.

Participation: Watching and reading appeared to shift votes from opposing guaranteed income to favoring one of the two lowest income levels. Those who only voted favored the four income levels 9%-16%-11%-9%, with 37% against any; those who read and watched voted: 16%-29%-12%-9% with 23% against.

CHOICE 8. Tax Changes

Questions and answers. Do you favor or oppose any of the following tax policies:

A. Making people with higher income pay more federal income tax?

* Favor: 68% Oppose: 23% No opinion: 9%

B. At the state and local level, relying less on sales and property taxes and more on income taxes?

Favor: 57% Oppose: 29% No opinion: 14%

Background information. A national analysis in 1968 indicated that all income groups below \$25,000 paid almost the same percentage of their income in taxes to all levels of government—between 25% and 31%—and those over \$25,000 income paid little more, only 39%. Eliminating special exemptions (sometimes called loopholes) from federal income tax would increase the tax take far more than enough to eliminate poverty if the addition were shifted to the poor. State and local taxes take a larger percentage from lower income families than from higher. In New Jersey, for example, families with incomes under \$3,000 pay, on the average, 19% of their incomes in state and local taxes while families with incomes above \$25,000 pay only 5½%. On the other hand, "loopholes" were devised for specific purposes and must be unravelled carefully to assure that important goals are not lost and that the economy remains in balance, particularly offering enough incentives to work hard and to invest.

Voter differences. On 8A, a majority of every demographic group favored federal income tax changes. On 8B, those without any college, those under 22, blacks and Puerto Ricans and those with more than four children failed to give a majority to a shift from state and local sales and property taxes to income taxes (perhaps because many of them are renters and failed to see that they would gain from a cut in property taxes). However, all categories gave pluralities to the proposal.

Education-income: Support for both proposals went up with education, particularly on state-local tax change. Getting more income tax money from higher-income people was, not surprisingly, favored by somewhat fewer high-income respondents, but even those with incomes over \$35,000 gave a 51-38 majority to income tax reform that would hit them directly. A substantial majority of those with incomes over \$35,000 favored shifting state taxes from sales and real estate to income, 57-32.

Age: Support for federal income tax changes went up with age, from 50-34 among those under 14 to 74-17 among those over 64.

Geography: The strongest support for shifting state and local taxes more to income taxes was in New York State outside New York City (63-26); the lowest was in New York City (54-29)—again, perhaps the renters were objecting to a shift away from property taxes. Counties most in favor were: Rockland, Suffolk, Morris, Essex, Bergen and Connecticut's South Central planning region; counties least in favor: Somerset (because school children were about half

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

their vote) and Middlesex, and Housatonic and Greater Bridgeport planning regions.

Participation: On 8A, those who only voted: 63-24; those who watched, read and discussed: 72-21. Discussion slightly depressed support. On 8B, those who only voted: 48-33; those who read, watched and discussed: 68-19. Discussion depressed support.

Cities and Suburbs

CHOICE 1. Old Cities' Future

Question and answers. What should be done with the Region's older cities (outside Manhattan)?

* Rebuild them as major centers of economic activity and housing:	83%
Subsidize them as residential areas for minorities:	6%
Abandon them over time:	3%
No opinion:	8%

Gallup survey. Many of the older cities in this overall region are having serious economic and housing problems. Which of these three approaches do you think would be best for dealing with these older cities (not including Manhattan)?

Rebuild them as major centers of economic activity and housing:	54%
Subsidize them as residential areas for minorities:	21%
Abandon them over time:	16%
No opinion:	13%

Background information. The Region's large facilities like office buildings, colleges and department stores will nearly double by 2000, enough growth to renew a dozen or more older downtowns into modern metropolitan centers and provide new downtowns for counties like Suffolk or Monmouth that otherwise will have no focus. To do this, present trends will have to be reversed--most of these facilities are now locating along highways and on separate campuses. That is far easier initially--little coordination or government involvement; no older-city problems of crime and congestion. "Spread city" is shaped to the automobile, and everyone seems to want to travel that way. People aren't thrown together. But putting major facilities into downtowns has advantages. It saves open countryside from random penetration; gives good public transportation--which scattered jobs and services do not; renews the cities, saving valuable investment; brings opportunities to lower-income people, most of whom do not have cars and are confined to the cities where the older housing is; keeps the two halves of our society together at least during eight hours of the day; provides convenient links for many activities (e.g., college students can work more easily; allows workers to shop easily and attend continuing education classes; allows shoppers to go to museums; encourage people to do more generally because activities are convenient and visible; provides a focus for community creating a greater sense of belonging than when housing and jobs are scattered in unrelated fashion; saves energy.

Voter differences. At least 70% of each demographic category favored rebuilding the older cities as metropolitan centers. A few cities were unusually favorable: Paterson

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

(97%), Stamford (89%) and Bridgeport (93%); fewer from the smaller cities were favorable (72%); the percent of suburbanites and exurbanites favorable was about average.

Education-income: Support for rebuilding the cities went up with income and education (under \$4,000--71%, over \$20,000--87%; those over 17 with no diploma--70%, graduate degrees--89%).

Race: 17% of Puerto Ricans and 12% of blacks wanted old cities subsidized as residential areas for minorities--by far the largest vote for that option. But 72% of Puerto Ricans and 76% of blacks chose rebuilding cities into metropolitan centers. On Gallup's survey, Puerto Ricans favored subsidizing cities to be residential areas for minorities 48% to 32% for cities as metropolitan centers, the only group that did favor that option. Blacks voted 53-45 for cities as metropolitan centers rather than just for minorities.

Age: Fewer of CHOICES respondents under 22 were favorable, only 70% of the 14-17 year olds.

Children: Those with over four children were less favorable than the average voter (71-12).

Geography: Dutchess County and Southwestern Connecticut planning region were most in favor of rebuilding old downtowns (94% and 90%); Middlesex County was least in favor (72%). Looking at where people worked, those working in Hudson County, Southwestern Connecticut and Greater Bridgeport planning region were most in favor (91%, 91%, 90%), those working in Middlesex least favorable (76%).

Participation: Those who only voted: 75-6-5; those who read, watched and discussed: 90-3-1. Discussion was slightly depressing to support for rebuilding cities into major centers.

CHOICE 2. Locating Activities Outside the Cities

Question and answers. What should be the dominant pattern for economic and cultural activities in the suburbs?

* Grouped in tight clusters, where walking is encouraged?	70%
Grouped in loose clusters, or dispersed, with most movement by auto:	18%
No opinion:	12%

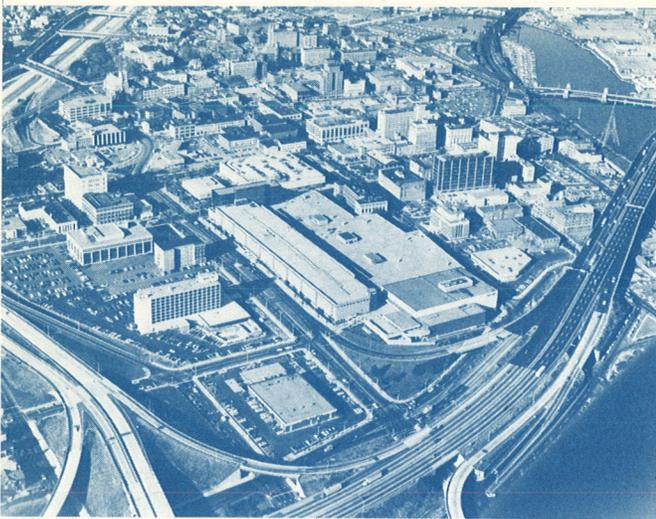
Background information. Where no older downtowns are nearby, the arguments for and against building new downtowns, i.e., tight clusters of activities instead of spreading and scattering development, include many of those for rebuilding old downtowns but there are differences: the social arguments are less important, and there is no development to preserve; on the other hand, the obstacles to rebuilding old places, with their social problems, are no longer arguments against. This Choice also refers to smaller local centers, not just large centers with their large office buildings and department stores.

Voter differences. A substantial majority of all demographic groups voted in favor.

Education-income: Support went up with education (58% of those over 17 without a diploma to 79% of those with graduate degrees), but it did not go up with income.

Age: Fewer of those under 22 and particularly those under 18 were favorable.

Race: Fewer blacks and Puerto Ricans were favorable than other whites (57-17 and 57-24 compared to 72-18).



Should the Region's old cities be renewed as centers of jobs and activities for suburbs as well as city residents—rather than continuing to scatter jobs and services outside the cities? Or should the old cities become increasingly the home of blacks and Puerto Ricans? Almost everyone preferred rebuilding them as metropolitan centers.



Sex: Women were more favorable than men (74-14 vs. 68-21).

Children: Fewer of those with over four children were favorable (62-22).

Geography: Again, suburbanites and exurbanites voted about the same as the sample as a whole; fewer small-city residents were favorable and somewhat more large-city residents. Mercer and Dutchess were unusually favorable (both 82-11); Middlesex much less favorable than the average (60-19).

Participation: Those who only voted: 61-21; those who read, watched and discussed: 81-12. Discussion particularly cut support of those who read the book. Those only reading and voting: 75-20; those reading, discussing and voting: 60-29.

* Indicates that virtually every demographic-geographic group provided a majority in support.

CHOICE 3. Office Locations

Question and answers. Should large office buildings be located:

* In old city downtowns?		
Yes: 66%	No: 16%	No answer: 18%
In new downtowns on vacant land?		
Yes: 48%	No: 27%	No answer: 25%
Along highways and on campus sites?		
Yes: 26%	No: 45%	No answer: 29%

Background information. Office space in the Region will almost double between 1970 and 2000; if the 1960's trend continues, over two-fifths will line the highways or dot the countryside on their own campuses. With their large parking fields and low profiles, these buildings would use the equivalent in vacant land—if recent trends continue—of a half-mile wide swath 54 miles long—for example, from the Battery to Princeton, New Jersey. In large and small downtowns—where buildings are higher, parking is in structures and more people come by transit (the larger the center, the more come by transit), a twentieth as much land would be used. Isolated sites, as noted in Choice 1, have many advantages, though some of the advantages are diminished as more offices move into the same general area (e.g., clerical labor force is soon absorbed, and ease in driving to work gives way to congestion). As one executive on a suburban campus made clear in a questionnaire on site satisfaction: "we're very satisfied, but I would not recommend that any other corporation come near here." Furthermore, average trip lengths to work are growing due to scattered offices and are shifting from transit to auto—in an energy-short world. Still, until the alternative is provided of well-designed downtowns which attract to them the kind of labor force corporations want, where transportation is good and there are amenities, campuses cannot help but appear advantageous for corporations.

Voter differences. A majority of every geographic-demographic group favored old downtown office sites, and no more than a third of any group was opposed, except those under 14.

On new downtowns as office sites, every geographic-demographic group provided a strong plurality but only a few had majorities.

About office campuses, a plurality in each category opposed.

Education-income: Support for old-city office sites went up substantially as education increased (54-19 among those without a diploma to 75-11 with graduate degrees); it went up considerably less for new downtown sites (42-23 to 52-26) and against campus sites (26-32 to 28-47). Support for city downtowns went up with income, but not for new downtowns or campuses.

Geography: On offices going to old city downtowns, New York City voters, outside of those living and working in Manhattan, were slightly less favorable than the average. So were residents of small old cities. Among potential large office centers of the Region, most were above average in support, with Paterson highest (85-10).

Residents of Downtown Brooklyn, however, had slightly below-average support (62-23) and residents of the Jamaica Center area—used in the film to illustrate efforts to rejuvenate older downtowns—were only average in support for offices

locating in old downtowns and were above average in support of their locating elsewhere--an actual plurality for campuses. Both residents and persons working in Monmouth, Morris, and Rockland, where new downtowns are conceivable, gave majorities to the idea of offices in new downtowns. Residents of Rockland, Dutchess and Passaic, and those working there and in Monmouth and Somerset gave substantial majorities against campus offices, though many are being built in those counties.

Age: Support for old and new downtown office sites peaked at age 30-34 and went down in both directions from there, but opposition to office campuses was highest among the youngest group and went down from there (26-61 to 17-31)--the 30-34 year olds being more favorable to offices wherever located.

Race: White non-Puerto Ricans were the group most favorable to old downtown sites (68-15, Puerto Ricans 45-32, other groups between); about other sites, differences among different races were small.

Participation strongly shifted opinion in favor of old downtowns and against campuses but affected the choice of new downtowns very little. On old downtowns--those who only voted: 57-17; those who watched, read and discussed: 76-14. On campuses--29-36 and 27-55 against. On new downtowns--46-23 and 54-29.

CHOICE 4. College Location

Question and answers. Where should new universities and colleges in the Region be located?

Near urban centers:
 Most: 36% Some: 45% None: 5% No vote: 14%
 Away from urban centers:
 Most: 19% Some: 55% None: 6% No vote: 19%

Background information. Colleges are expected to expand even faster than offices over the next three decades. Two-thirds of the Region's four-year or graduate college students are enrolled in or near urban centers. Particularly for part-time students and those who cannot afford a car and for those working their way through school, a near-downtown site is valuable. Also, such colleges tend to work on community problems. But colleges usually want more space than is readily available near downtowns (though with transit available, some of the huge spaces needed for parking are unnecessary). Many people prefer a more contemplative atmosphere for academia than downtowns provide. And building in a downtown is slower and more expensive.

Voter differences. The only category with more than a 10% vote against locating any colleges in downtowns was Somerset County; the only groups with more than 10% against any colleges away from downtowns were residents of Paterson, downtown Brooklyn and Manhattan below 59th Street, and Puerto Rican voters. The only majority for putting "most" colleges in a downtown was Dutchess County. There was no majority for putting most colleges outside a downtown.

Education-income: Preference for downtown colleges goes up with education (27-most, 37-some, 7-none among those without a diploma to 44-43-3 for those with graduate degrees) and vice versa on out-of-downtown colleges.

Age: Support for downtown colleges peaks with 30-34 year olds.

Participation shifted preferences toward downtown locations. Those only voting--on downtown sites: 28 (most), 44 (some), 6 (none); those who watched, read and discussed: 49-42-4; away from downtown sites: 22-48-7 compared to 15-59-11.

CHOICE 5. Department Stores

Question and answers. Where should new department stores predominantly be located?

In old and new downtowns:
 Most: 41% Some: 40% No opinion: 19%
 In single-purpose shopping centers:
 Most: 22% Some: 50% No opinion: 28%

(NOTE: By mistake, the answer "none" was omitted.)

Background information. There is less new department store space than office and college space to be located over the rest of the century, but department stores generate more trips per square foot. Again, ease of construction and ease of access by car, the way most people prefer to shop, favor one-purpose shopping centers. Contrarily, the links to other activities, e.g., allowing office workers to shop, allowing shoppers to go to the dentist or a museum, and the possibility of good transit favor multi-purpose centers, i.e., old and new downtowns.

Voter differences. Only two groups were more favorable--slightly--to one-purpose shopping centers than to downtowns for major shopping: Somerset County residents and Puerto Ricans.

Education-income: Preference for downtowns went up with education and only a little less so with income.

Age: Preference for downtowns peaked between ages 22-44.

Sex: Women were slightly more favorable than men to shopping downtown.

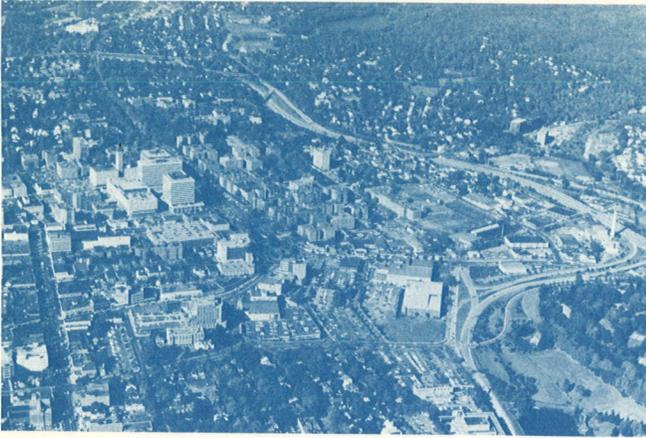
Geography: Residents of Paterson, White Plains, Manhattan below 59th Street, Newark and Stamford were particularly favorable to downtown shopping; the rest of New York City and the smaller old cities of the Region were somewhat less favorable compared to other participants.

Participation strongly shifted preferences toward downtowns. Those who only voted: for downtowns--30 (most), 41 (some); those who watched, read and discussed: 54-38; for shopping centers: 26-44 and 16-54.

CHOICE 6. Housing vis-a-vis Centers

Question and answers. Should housing be tied to centers of urban activity by:

Higher density zoning around urban and suburban centers?
 Yes: 45% No: 26% No opinion: 29%
 Building complete residential communities with mixed housing types and price ranges on vacant land, in lieu of traditional subdivisions?
 Yes: 55% No: 20% No opinion: 25%



A majority of those who read and watched felt that housing should relate to these metropolitan centers as iron filings relate to a steel magnet, with high apartments downtown, then lower apartments and room on the urban edges for those who want more space.

Background information. Centers of activity (downtowns) are magnets which used to attract housing to them as a steel magnet attracts iron filings, so that housing was dense in and near the center and density tapered off as distance from the center increased. Everyone had a choice of giving up space in and around one's home to have easy access to the place one went frequently or having a lot of space and longer trips. Recently, we have not developed that way. First, expressways offered mile-a-minute speeds, so the extra mile or two didn't mean much. Then jobs and services began to be scattered along expressways, making many places in suburbia almost equally accessible. Finally zoning often prevents housing from coming near the large magnets that do exist so that apartments are scattered and homes on large lots often are mandated close to downtowns.

When the choice of higher-density housing is rewarded by shorter trips and good transit or walking as an alternative to driving, more people are likely to choose to live on less land, strengthening transit and saving natural countryside from urbanization. Also, allowing apartments in and near downtowns provides the Region's increasing older households with housing from which they can travel in any direction without a car. On the other hand, following this principle probably would mean significant change for many areas near downtowns, both an increase in density and a shift from lower-income to mixed-income housing.

As to complete residential communities, they can be built as local communities and relate to an existing downtown for most jobs and services, i.e., they can be attached to outlying cities like Trenton or Poughkeepsie but have a wide range of housing types and local shopping and services in community and neighborhood centers. Complete residential communities can be designed for greater convenience, for transit, for better appearance and stronger sense of community. However, building new communities as distinct from separate subdivisions probably requires public coordination and possibly financial aid.

Voter differences. Only those under 18 and those with more than four children in the house did not give a plurality to relating housing to activity centers, but few categories provided a majority. On complete residential communities, every category provided substantial pluralities and all but a

few provided majorities: the very young and old, the poor and those without any college education.

Education-income: These were subtle issues, and a large percentage of those without any college experience had no opinion; the more education, the higher percentage supported these proposals, but there was little change in the small percentage opposing them. On housing and centers, those without a diploma: 32-26; those with a graduate degree: 57-23. On new communities: 42-19 and 65-18. Similarly, support rose with income, but on new communities not as much as on housing related to centers.

Age: Those under 22 were substantially less favorable on housing and centers; those under 18 and over 64 were substantially less favorable on new communities than other voters.

Race: Blacks were somewhat more favorable to new communities than others.

Geography: The places new communities might be fit in the outer suburbs and exurbs, provided only average support for the idea, with only Morris County, New Jersey and Connecticut's Housatonic planning region strongly in favor. Of the cities that are potential metropolitan centers, the following had a majority for housing related to centers: Paterson, White Plains, Manhattan below 59th Street, and Stamford. Downtown Brooklyn and Jamaica were much less favorable than the average.

Participation: Those who only voted on housing and centers: 35-27; those who also watched, read and discussed: 59-20. On new communities: 49-18 and 68-14.

CHOICE 7. Poverty Costs

Question and answers. Should the federal government take over all poverty-related costs of municipalities and counties?

Approve: 40% Disapprove: 47% No opinion: 13%

Background information. A major obstacle to renewing the older downtowns into metropolitan centers and attracting housing to them is the inability of city governments to provide high-quality services. In large part, this is because they have had to concentrate on poverty problems and devote a large share of their budgets to poverty-related services, including public health, compensatory education, welfare (New York City), housing, crime. Since poverty is a national problem, the national economy might be expected to carry the cost of trying to mitigate it. On the other hand, more federal involvement might mean less direct accountability for anti-poverty programs or full federal operation of these programs.

Voter differences. Only one demographic group had a majority against: those with bachelors' degrees (38-52). The poor, Puerto Ricans and non-whites and those with graduate degrees provided pluralities for the proposal. Geographically, about half the counties and planning regions had majorities against, while the Bronx and Brooklyn had majorities for.

Participation: The television had little effect; the book had a large effect, but it appears that some of those who read the book and later discussed the issues lost some of the support the book might have instilled. Those who only read the book voted 47-44; those who read the book and discussed the issues voted 37-51; those who watched TV as well as

reading voted 51-40; those who watched, read and discussed voted 42-48.

CHOICE 8. State Action: For Compactness or Spread?

Question and answers. Should the state, through its own investments in buildings and transportation, through land use control and guidance and taxation, encourage:

Spread urban development:	31%
Compact urban development:	52%
No opinion:	18%

Background information. The states' decisions strongly affect the development pattern, but they are usually not made, with that impact in mind—particularly their decisions on college locations, highway routes and priorities, housing subsidies, taxes and state aid, water and waste management, as well as the states' delegation of all zoning to municipalities even where the facilities zoned served many municipalities which have no voice in the decisions. Should the states consciously design their decisions to achieve a preferred urban pattern, either more compact or more spread development than we otherwise would get? The arguments on previous questions apply.

Voter differences. Those under 14, blacks and Puerto Ricans, and the poor all gave pluralities to spread development. So did all New York City boroughs except Queens. On the other hand, the most spread part of the Region gave the highest majority to compact development policies—exurbia (22-63).

Education-income: Preference for compact development went up strongly among those with college degrees (33-34 no diploma, 27-61 those with college degrees). It went up even more as income rose: 35-34 under \$4,000, 25-63 over \$35,000.

Age: The most support for compact development came from 30-34 year olds; support declined almost to an even split among the very young and very old.

Race: Blacks favored more spread development 48-28; Puerto Ricans 40-32; other non-whites were slightly in favor of compact development (38-44) and whites who are not Puerto Rican substantially favored compact, 30-54.

Geography: The most compact places preferred more spread, the most spread places more compactness. The older suburbs voted about at the average. Exceptions are residents



When building housing on vacant land, a majority felt it should not be scattered, a patch here and a subdivision there. Rather, it should be organized into whole communities, with a wide range of housing types and prices.

of White Plains, Stamford, Paterson, Manhattan below 59th Street, and Bridgeport, which were strongly for more compact development; and Middlesex and Somerset, which were much less favorable to compact development, than the average.

Children: More of those with over four children were favorable to spread than the average.

Participation: Those who only voted: 36-37; those who read, watched and discussed: 22-66.

APPENDIX

Ballots of the Committee on Minority Affairs

Following are the results of the special ballots of the Committee on Minority Affairs, which worked with Regional Plan Association on CHOICES.

About the Committee. The Committee Chairman was H. Carl McCall, President, Inner City Broadcasting Corp.; the Executive Director was Junius Williams, Esq., a Newark attorney. A full Committee list is available from Regional Plan.

The Committee on Minority Affairs was established to strengthen the CHOICES project by providing black and Puerto Rican viewpoints on the films and book and to work for wide participation of the black and Puerto Rican communities. It was independent of Regional Plan Association. Although many of those recruited by the Committee took part in CHOICES in the usual manner, Committee members and staff felt they could recruit a much more representative group of participants if they provided their own background reading and questionnaires on the two issues most important to these communities, housing and poverty. While most of the Committee questions were similar to those asked on the regular CHOICES ballots, many are not sufficiently comparable to include the Committee votes with the CHOICES ballots. Furthermore, we have no cross tabulation of Committee votes telling whether voters read the background material, saw the film, or took part in discussions or which ballots came from the half of the Committee sample with income below \$8,000, which came from the 56 percent who were black or the 32 percent Puerto Rican, which came from the 26 percent who had no college experience or the 50 percent with a college degree. We therefore present the Committee ballot results separately.

Ballot Results

HOUSING (Number of ballots: 2,065)

- The source of money for schools should be from:

A - Property taxes	10.1
B - State taxes	64.4
C - Other	9.3
D - No opinion	16.2
Total	100.0
- Which governing body should decide how much to spend on educating your children?

A - Local government	31.6
B - State government	48.2
C - Other	7.3
D - No opinion	12.9
Total	100.0

3. To provide housing for low-income families in the suburbs:	
A - Zoning laws (laws which say how and where to build houses) should be changed so that less expensive (but high quality) homes can be built.	46.3
B - Other forms of racial and economic discriminations should be outlawed.	49.3
C - Other	4.4
Total	100.0
4. Should the power to change these zoning laws be left with:	
A - Local government	30.4
B - County government	10.9
C - State government	48.7
D - Other	10.0
Total	100.0
5. Would you consider living in a mobile home as an alternative for less expensive housing?	
A - Yes	40.7
B - No	59.3
Total	100.0
6. Would you consider mobile homes on a temporary basis until other homes are provided;	
A - Yes	59.6
B - No	40.4
Total	100.0
7. Would you object to others living in mobile homes in your neighborhood?	
A - Yes	27.7
B - No	72.3
Total	100.0
8. To encourage well maintained housing, who do you feel would be most responsible?	
A - Tenant groups	52.8
B - Community organizations	23.9
C - Private owners	19.7
D - Other	3.6
Total	100.0
9. Do you think the government and private institutions, like banks, should invest (put up) money for rehabilitation of housing in inner city?	
A - Yes, government	37.7
B - Yes, private institutions	4.9
C - Yes, both	54.0
D - No	3.4
Total	100.0
10. Where should most new subsidized (government-assisted) or privately built housing for low-income people be built?	
A - Mainly in the inner cities	18.3
B - Outside the inner city	14.5
C - Inside and outside the city	61.6
D - No more low-income subsidized housing should be built	3.2
E - Other	2.4
Total	100.0

11. If low-income housing were to be located away from the inner city, what should determine the location?	
A - Adequate day-care and school facilities	27.1
B - Nearby jobs or public transportation	43.3
C - Sufficient commercial businesses	5.8
D - Adequate public safety (police and fire departments)	3.7
E - Require each municipality to accept a "fair share" of new low-income housing	15.2
F - Other	4.9
Total	100.0
12. To encourage middle income people to live in cities, there should be housing built with:	
A - Greater subsidies (government-assistance) to make city rents cheaper	50.5
B - More security (better police and fire)	22.1
C - Nearby jobs and public transportation	14.7
D - Adequate day-care and school facilities	5.5
E - Other	7.2
Total	100.0
13. To enable low-income families to have adequate housing:	
A - Public low-income housing should be built	37.3
B - Provide low-income families with a "housing allowance" used to purchase or rent moderate-income housing	62.7
Total	100.0

POVERTY (Number of ballots: 805)

1. What can be done to solve the problem of poverty?	
A - Nothing, there will always be poor people	4.8
B - Create a self-awareness and/or motivation among low-income groups	21.7
C - Improve educational opportunities and/or provide an incentive for the poor to finish high school and go on to college	37.0
D - Improve employment opportunities through programs such as training and loans to small businesses	18.0
E - Boost low incomes through supplementary programs such as food stamps and medicaid	3.1
F - Redistribute money in our society by reforming taxes	11.3
G - No opinion or other	4.1
Total	100.0
2. Should the public schools become more integrated, and if so, how?	
A - No	13.6
B - Integrate more low income families into middle income neighborhoods	30.5
C - Change school attendance boundaries for more integration within walking distance	32.4
D - Use buses to achieve more integration over wider areas	10.3
E - No opinion or other	13.2
Total	100.0

3. How much money should be spent to educate children whose reading and math scores lag seriously behind national norms?

A - The same as is spent on other children	31.1
B - More than is spent on other children	63.6
C - Less than is spent on other children	4.5
D - No opinion or other	0.8
Total	100.0

4. Are you currently employed or looking for employment?

A - Yes	76.9
B - No	23.1
Total	100.0

5. To be answered by women with children under six years of age. Do you use or would you consider pre-school educational facilities for your children?

A - Yes	93.1
B - No	6.9
Total	100.0

6. Should pre-school education and day-care for children of working mothers be more widely available, with the charge varying from nothing to full cost, depending on income?

A - Yes	93.8
B - No	6.2
Total	100.0

7. In the fall of 1972, the inflation rate was 3.6 percent with 4.5 million unemployed (5.6% unemployment rate) in the nation. Which of the following would you be willing to accept?

A - Ways to maintain or reduce the inflation rate	26.2
B - Ways to reduce the unemployment rate	59.8
C - Neither, I am satisfied with the current unemployment and inflation rates	4.6
D - No opinion	9.4
Total	100.0

8. Should the government provide jobs for the unemployed?

A - No, private industry should	3.3
B - No, these would be token jobs	1.3
C - Yes, for some of the unemployed	25.8
D - Yes, and guarantee a job for all who want to work	67.6
E - No opinion	2.0
Total	100.0

9. What should be done to raise the incomes of the working poor?

A - Raise minimum wages and provide public service jobs for everyone laid off as a result	43.0
B - Support low wages with federal cash supplements varying with family size ("negative income tax")	24.0
C - Provide public service jobs for everyone who wants to work	25.1
D - Nothing	2.8
E - No opinion	5.1
Total	100.0

10. Should the government guarantee a minimum income for everybody in need? (Need is defined by government standards)

A - Yes	81.3
B - No	10.2
C - No opinion	8.5
Total	100.0

11. Do you favor or oppose any of the following tax policies?

A - Making people with higher incomes pay more federal income tax	
Favor	76.2
Oppose	14.2
No opinion	9.6
Total	100.0
B - At the state and local level, relying less on sales taxes and more on income taxes	
Favor	48.7
Oppose	36.4
No opinion	14.9
Total	100.0
C - At the state and local level, relying less on property taxes and more on income taxes	
Favor	45.1
Oppose	35.7
No opinion	19.2
Total	100.0

The Committee also asked the following questions of importance to planners:

Where do you live?		Where do you work?	
New York	15.4	New York	16.5
New Jersey	20.5	New Jersey	27.2
Connecticut	0.3	Connecticut	0.2
Manhattan	9.0	Manhattan	11.6
Bronx	8.4	Bronx	5.7
Brooklyn	17.0	Brooklyn	14.7
Newark	27.6	Newark	22.0
Other	1.8	Other	2.1
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

Where would you like to be living five years from now?

A - New York City	22.1
B - Nassau, Suffolk or Westchester County	6.4
C - Suburban community in Connecticut	3.4
D - New Haven, Hartford or another city in Connecticut	13.0
E - Suburban community in New Jersey	11.8
F - Newark or another city in New Jersey	19.6
G - Puerto Rico	15.1
H - Other	8.5
Total	100.0

Where do you think you will be living in five years?

A - New York City	29.5	E - Suburban community in New Jersey	11.0
B - Nassau, Suffolk or Westchester County	4.8	F - Newark or another city in New Jersey	21.0
C - Suburban community in Connecticut	2.0	G - Puerto Rico	10.8
D - New Haven, Hartford or another city in Connecticut	12.0	H - Other	8.3
		Total	100.0

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— Copies of *How To Save Urban America*, (Signet), background reading for the CHOICES project (please enclose \$1.50 for one to 10 copies, \$1 for 11-50, 75¢ each over 50).

— Information on renting or purchasing one or more of the films:

- Housing Transportation Environment
 Poverty Cities and Suburbs

Rental, \$20 each; purchase, \$285 each.

(Note: if in a hurry, telephone Doris Weiss, Sterling Education Films, 212 683-6300.)

— Additional data from ballot response computer tapes.

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REGIONAL PLAN NEWS

Number 95

August 1974

CHOICES FOR '76

by Robert A. De... Good News for All You Stay-at-Home Activists

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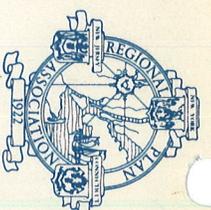
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