Downtown Redevelopment and Public Opinion:

A Survey of Citizen Attitudes for the Downtown Improvement Committee

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Summary of Findings

There is widespread and strong affection for downtown Lawrence among Douglas County residents. The most highly rated aspects of the downtown focuses on its appearance and ambiance, though such characteristics as merchandise quality, consumer service, and safety are also highly regarded. Those living outside of Lawrence are positive about the downtown, but they are less positive than Lawrence residents. Persons who voted in the April 1987 referendum tend to be more positive about the downtown than non-voters.

The most negative aspect of the downtown appears to be its parking. Other aspects of the downtown that are rated as relatively poor are the price of merchandise and the variety of restaurants and entertainment.

Shopping is the most common use of the downtown. But respondents reported shopping on 23rd Street and South Iowa Street at least as often as downtown. In addition, 31 percent of the respondents shopped in Kansas City during a one-week period.

Preserving the historical, aesthetic, and unique qualities of the downtown are among the most important concerns that respondents have for the downtown. However, respondents also indicated their support for a variety of changes including more parking, campus shuttles to the downtown, more public facilities, riverfront development, and efforts to stimulate economic growth.

Attracting new department stores is an important goal to 53 percent of the respondents. Dillards, Sears, and the Jones Store would be the most popular additions.

The results of the April 1987 referendum cannot be well explained by public preferences for minimizing public financing of downtown improvements. Nevertheless, most citizens believe voters must approve future downtown redevelopment projects, and 45 percent of all respondents view minimizing public funding as a very important goal. To succeed in a future referendum, a downtown plan must appeal to a wide variety of citizens who have diverse views regarding new shopping developments, downtown preservation, economic growth, as well as public funding.

Introduction: Historical Context

Since the fall of 1978, various large-scale shopping development proposals have preoccupied Lawrence. One reason the mall issue remains unresolved is the differences in public preferences in the community. As shown by previous public opinion surveys (see Appendix D), no solution to the issue has commanded the support of a majority of Lawrence citizens. A substantial minority have supported a suburban mall. Other sizable minorities have supported various downtown projects. And another minority have preferred no mall.

Thus, those citizens preferring downtown redevelopment and those preferring no mall have accurately and effectively argued that a suburban mall would violate majority preferences. Similarly, those preferring a suburban mall or no mall have been able to argue that a downtown mall is opposed by a majority. By responding to majorities that oppose either suburban or downtown malls, Lawrence has, in effect, pursued a no mall policy, an option that has also been opposed by a majority.

To better understand the scope and depth of citizen preferences in hope of developing a viable downtown development plan, the Downtown Improvement Committee (DIC) commissioned the Institute for Public Policy and Business Research (IPPBR) of the University of Kansas to develop and analyze a survey of Douglas County households. IPPBR has an established reputation in the field of survey research and certifies the accuracy of the data provides in this report. The authors assume responsibility for the interpretation of the findings.

The technical details of this research, including information about the survey sample, are discussed in Appendix A. The survey instrument and the basic descriptive findings are shown in Appendix B. Appendix C reports differences between residents living within Lawrence and those outside the city and between voters and non-voters in the April, 1987, referendum. Appendix D provides information about the shopping issue derived from previous surveys. The body of this report examines the findings of particular relevance to the deliberations of the DIC.

Current Attitudes about Downtown Lawrence

In the 1987 DIC survey, respondents were asked in an open-ended manner those things that they liked and disliked about the downtown. One of the most important survey findings is the wide-spread and strong affection of Douglas County residents for downtown Lawrence. This affection may contribute to resistance to change.

The most positive aspect of the downtown appears to be its ambiance, as 46 percent of the respondents said that they liked its appearance while only 2 percent said that they disliked it. Although Table 1 reveals a few categories of respondents that are especially inclined to like or dislike the appearance of downtown, the more general finding from the survey is that the appearance of the downtown is regarded positively by all types of citizens in the community.

The most negative aspect of the downtown appears to be its parking, as 39 percent of the respondents indicated that they disliked its parking while only 3 percent liked it.

These findings were replicated and extended in another portion of the survey (Question 6 in Appendix B) where respondents were asked to rate a number of aspects of the downtown on a scale ranging from "poor" to "excellent." Table 2 shows that 86 percent of the respondents rate the general appearance of the downtown to be good or excellent. Among other positive aspects of the downtown are the quality of merchandise, safety, and customer service.

Table 2 also shows that parking is the least positively regarded aspect of downtown. Sixty-seven percent of the respondents noted downtown parking is poor or fair. Other aspects of the downtown with relatively

Table 1

Liked and Disliked Aspects of the Downtown

	Percent Liked	Percent Disliked
Appearance	46.7 (191)[a]	2.4 (17)
Non-Lawrence[b]	37.5	5.2
Suburb	52.5	0.6
Center	46.4	2.6
Lower status	38.3	6.4
Middle status	50.0	10.4
Upper status	58.2	16.3
Voters in April 1987	51.9	2.5
Nonvoters	44.1	1.5
Convenience	23.5 (96)	9.2 (38)
Resides outside of Lawrence	20.8	10.3
Resides in suburban Lawrence	21.0	10.3
Resides in central Lawrence	27.8	7.3
Less than 25 years old	17.6	10.8
25 through 50 years old	23.6	8.7
More than 50 years old	31.6	9.5
Voters in April 1987	33.3	7.4
Non-voters	18.8	10.2
Selection	26.2 (107)	11.1 (46)
Women	29.9	11.5
Men	21.8	11.2
Less than 25 years old	37.0	4.2
25 through 50 years old	23.6	14.7
More than 50 years old	16.8	12.6
Nonstudents	24.8	12.6
Students	31.8	7.9
Quality of Services	1.5 (6)	1.0 (4)
Quality of Goods	0.5 (2)	0.5 (2)

Table 1 Continued

	Percent Liked	Percent Disliked
Price of Goods	0.7 (3)	5.1 (21)
Congestion	--	4.1 (17)
Parking	2.9 (12)	39.2 (162)

Some people indicated that there was nothing that they liked about the downtown in response to question 1 and/or that there was nothing that they disliked about the downtown in response to question 2. These percentages are as follows:

	Liked Everything	Disliked Everything
All respondents	17.2 (71)	9.3 (38)
Non-Lawrence	17.5	16.7
Suburb	18.2	8.6
Center	15.9	5.3
Less than 25 years old	16.7	5.0
25 through 50 years old	15.2	7.7
More than 50 years old	22.1	15.8

Notes to Table 1:

[a] Numbers are percentages (numbers in parentheses are actual number of respondents).

[b] In order to see whether certain kinds of people had particular likes and dislikes about the downtown, assessments were broken down on the following bases:

--place of residence: (a) outside Lawrence; (b) "suburban Lawrence" (West of Iowa Street or South of 23rd St.); (c) Central Lawrence.
--age: (a) less than 25 years old; (b) 25 to 50; (c) more than 50 years old.
--Socioeconomic status (education and income levels)
--Student vs. Nonstudent status
--Years lived in Lawrence: (a) Less than 2; (b) 3 to 10; (c) greater than 10.
--Voters vs. Nonvoters in April 1987 election.

When particular variables are unreported above, this is because there were no significant differences.

Table 2

Respondent Ratings of Various Aspects of Downtown: Ranked From Most to Least Positive[a]

Downtown Characteristic	Percentage Responding			
	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
General appearance	2.9	11.1	46.4	39.6
Merchandise quality	2.2	13.5	67.8	16.5
Safety	6.6	15.0	57.7	20.6
Customer service	4.4	19.8	59.5	16.3
Merchandise variety	12.3	25.8	43.5	18.4
Accessibility of Downtown	10.0	27.0	48.5	14.5
Restaurant quality	7.3	31.4	51.1	10.1
Restaurant price	5.1	39.2	50.1	5.6
Business hours	14.7	35.5	41.9	7.8
Entertainment quality	12.2	38.6	42.8	6.4
Entertainment price	9.6	45.7	39.9	4.8
Restaurant variety	17.4	39.0	34.8	8.8
Merchandise price	16.5	45.7	35.4	2.5
Entertainment variety	22.7	43.3	29.3	4.7
Downtown parking	33.0	34.0	26.6	6.4

[a]In order to rank these characteristics, mean ratings were calculated when "poor" was scored as "1," and "excellent" was scored as "4." Thus, the mean score for general appearance was 3.23, while the mean score for downtown parking was 2.07.

poor ratings are the price of merchandise and the variety of restaurants and entertainment. These findings suggest that citizens might support shopping developments that increase price competition among retailers in the community and that add to the diversity of uses in the downtown.

Appendix C (Q1, Q2, and Q6) shows that there are some differences between city and county residents in their evaluations of the downtown. Those living outside of Lawrence are positive about the downtown, but they are less positive than Lawrence residents. Equally interesting are those differences between voters and non-voters reported in Appendix C. Overall, voters tend to be more positive about the downtown than non-voters; voters rate the accessibility, parking, business hours, and safety of the downtown at significantly higher levels than do non-voters.

Shopping Patterns of Douglas County Residents

Downtown Lawrence is widely used by Douglas County residents. As show in Table 3, shopping was the most common use of the downtown, as 32 percent of the respondents indicated that they shop downtown frequently (about once a week), or daily; 96 percent indicated that they shop downtown at least occasionally (about once a month). After shopping, respondents indicated that the second most frequent use of downtown was its public facilities. Thirty-one percent of the respondents reported using the post office, city hall, and the county buildings on a frequent or daily basis.

Downtown Lawrence is not, however, the only major shopping center in the community. As shown in Table 4, more respondents shopped on South Iowa Street and on 23rd Street during a single week than downtown. These differences, however, are not large enough to be statistically significant.

Perhaps more important is the finding that 31 percent of the respondents shopped in Kansas City and 10 percent shopped in Topeka during a one-week period. Many of these respondents also dined in these communities. To explore the basis of this lost business, downtown shoppers were compared to those who shop in Kansas City and Topeka. Table 5 shows that the downtown was most frequently used by those persons with higher education levels, those living in proximity to the downtown, and students. But the best predictor of who used the downtown is a positive rating of its various aspects.

Although the survey does not provide any strong explanations of why Douglas County residents tend to shop elsewhere, persons who work outside of Lawrence are most likely to shop in Kansas City and Topeka. As shown in Table 6, these relationships between where one works and where one shops are statistically significant but relatively weak. For example, while 43 percent of those who work outside of the community shopped in Kansas City, 27 percent of those who work in Lawrence also shopped in Kansas City. Table 5 also shows that those who shopped in Kansas City are likely to be relatively well-educated, students, and newcomers to the community. And Kansas City shoppers have lower overall evaluations of the downtown. Those who shopped in Topeka are likely to be older, non-students, and persons living at a greater distance from the downtown.

Table 3

Various Uses of Downtown: Ranked from Most to Least Frequent[a]

Uses	Never	Occasionally	Frequently	Daily
Shopping	3.9	64.3	31.1	0.7
Use Public Facilities	23.2	46.0	27.1	3.7
Eating	29.8	55.5	13.0	1.7
Services	41.6	41.8	14.4	2.2
Entertainment	38.4	50.1	11.5	0.0
Work-Related	64.1	15.4	10.3	10.3
Recreation	51.3	38.1	10.5	0.0
Other	91.5	5.7	2.5	0.2

[a] In order to rank these uses, mean scores were calculated where "never" equals "1" and "daily" equals "4."

Table 4

Percentage of Respondents Shopping and Dining at Various Locations During One Week

Location	Shopping	Dining or Seeking Entertainment
Downtown	46.6	28.8
Hillcrest	14.7	16.6
South Iowa Street	51.0	17.5
23rd Street	48.3	45.4
6th Street	16.8	22.8
Topeka	10.1	4.8
Kansas City	31.3	25.7
Elsewhere	7.2	6.5

Table 5

Correlates of Shopping
Downtown, in Kansas City, and in Topeka

	Downtown Use Index[a]	Shop CBD Last Week[b]	Shop KC Last Week[b]	Shop Topeka Last Week[b]
Socioeconomic Index[c]	.11*[e]	.13**	.15**	.00
Education level	.17**	.13**	.17**	.05
Income level	-.03	.06	.01	.06
Gender (male)	-.06	.01	-.06	.03
Age	-.11**	.05	-.05	.10*
Student status	.02	.09*	.13**	-.09*
Years of residency	.08	.09*	-.13**	-.01
Proximity to CBD	.16**	.12**	-.08	-.09*
Live in Lawrence	.11*	.12**	.00	-.10*
Work outside Lawrence	-.05	-.07	.15**	.13**
Positive rating of CBD[d]	.45**	.28**	-.16*	-.06
Adjusted R^2	.22	.12	.09	.01

[a]This index sums the extent to which respondents indicated that they used the downtown for shopping, dining, entertainment, and business-related services.

[b]These measures are based on whether or not respondents shopped downtown, in Kansas City, or in Topeka last week.

[c]The Socioeconomic Index is based on a simple combination of the levels of formal education and income of respondents.

[d]This index is based on respondent ratings of the various aspects of downtown presented in Table 2.

Table 5 continued

[e]The numbers reported in this table and in Tables 9 and 10 are Pearson correlation coefficients (r). These coefficients indicate the degree to which two variables are inter-related. Pearson correlation coefficients approach "0" when two variables are unrelated. If there is a perfect positive relationship among two variables, Pearson's r equals 1.0. If there is a perfect negative relationship between two variables, Pearson's r equals -1.0. The following rules-of-thumb can be applied for interpreting samples having 400 cases. When Pearson's r is between -.1 and +.1, relationships are negligible. When Pearson's r is between -.2 and -.1 or between .1 and .2, relationships are "weak." However, even weak relationships can be statistically significant. For those relationships marked with an asterisk (*), we can be at least 95 percent confident that a relationship exists among the entire Douglas County population. For those relationships marked with a double asterisk (**), we can be at least 99 percent confident that a relationship exists among the entire Douglas County population.

Pearson correlations do not indicate that there are causal relationships among variables. To examine the possibility that significant correlations were spurious or non-causal, regression analysis was performed. There were no instances when the resulting standardized regression coefficients differed significantly from the correlation coefficients; thus we report only the more interpretable correlation coefficients. The regression analyses did provide an additional important statistic: the coefficient of determination (R^2). This statistic reports the percentage of variation in the dependent variables (e.g., downtown use) that is explained by all the independent variables in the analysis (e.g., the respondents' socioeconomic status, their gender, their age, etc.). In general, these coefficients of determination indicate the weakness of relationships reported in Tables 5, 9, and 10.

Table 6

Respondents Who Leave Lawrence for Shopping or for Dining and Entertainment

Destination and Place of Work	Purpose: Shopping	Purpose: Dining and Entertainment
Kansas City (all respondents)	31.3%	25.7%
Those who work in Lawrence	26.9%	22.3%
Those who work outside Lawrence	42.6%*	34.8%*
Topeka (all respondents)	10.1%	4.8%
Those who work in Lawrence	7.6%	3.0%
Those who work outside Lawrence	16.5%*	9.6%*

*We can be 95% confident that those respondents who work outside of Lawrence are more likely than those who work in Lawrence to shop or to dine or seek entertainment in Kansas City or Topeka.

Public Preferences about Proposed Changes

The 1987 DIC survey also measured public support for a wide range of proposed changes in downtown. This involved two multidimensional questions. Question 9 asked about the desirability of 14 proposed changes and question 10 about the importance of ten goals. The responses on the first are reported in Table 7 and the second in Table 8. In this section, we focus on a few of the most noteworthy findings.

Preservation of the Downtown

Table 7 reveals that historical preservation is the most desired "change" for the central business district, as 83 percent of the respondents view historical preservation as either desirable (72%) or very desirable (11%). Table 8 reveals that preserving historical buildings and maintaining the uniqueness of the downtown are very important goals to most citizens. Indeed, the central theme that recurred on several survey questions was that citizens prefer to maintain the unique, historical, and aesthetic character of the downtown (see Questions 1, 2, 6, 9, and 10 in Appendix B).

Preservationist values are widespread in the community and shared by various kinds of citizens. While Column 1 of Table 9 shows that women are somewhat more committed to historical preservation than men, a clear majority of men also share these values. Of course, historical preservation is especially important to those who most like the existing downtown.

Clearly the lesson of the failures of previous downtown proposals and the major finding from the DIC survey are similar: public support for a downtown redevelopment project hinges on its causing minimal disruption to the existing downtown and on its ability to blend in with the existing architectural features of the downtown. The importance of aesthetic and historical values to Lawrence citizens suggests that extraordinary sensitivity to the existing character of the downtown must be exhibited in all aspects of the design and implementation stages of a redevelopment project. While designing a project that is compatible with the current downtown provides the DIC with its greatest opportunity to generate widespread citizen support for downtown redevelopment, citizen reactions to these designs are highly subjective and thus unpredictable (at least on the basis of available data).

Table 7

Distribution of Support for Various Changes in the Central Business District: Ranked from Most to Least Popular[a]

Proposed Change	Desirable	Unsure	Undesirable
Historical preservation	83.0	10.6	5.4
More surface parking	76.8	13.5	9.6
KU and Haskell campus shuttles to downtown	72.6	18.3	9.1
More community events	67.3	23.2	9.6
More public facilities, like youth centers and museums	66.5	18.0	15.5
Public transportation	64.0	24.4	11.6
Riverfront development	61.1	21.9	17.0
More restaurants	62.5	16.5	21.0
Open-air pedestrian plazas	53.2	32.3	14.5
Massachusetts Street Shuttle	34.5	50.7	14.7
Decked parking	45.1	22.4	32.5
More professional services	33.5	39.9	26.6
Climate controlled enclosed shopping malls	42.9	20.0	37.1
Increased availability of downtown housing	31.5	36.9	31.5

[a]To rank the changes, mean ratings were calculated when "very undesirable" was scored as "1," "undesirable" was scored as "2," "unsure" was scored as "3," "desirable" was scored as "4," and "very desirable" was scored as "5."

Table 8

Goals of Citizens Regarding Downtown: Ranked from Most to Least Important

Goals	Percentage Responding: Unimportant	Somewhat Important	Very or Most Important
Ensuring Public Referendum	4.9	15.1	80.0
Ensuring Aesthetic Character of CBD	5.4	18.2	76.4
Stimulating Economic Growth	8.2	19.6	72.2
Preserving Historical Buildings	6.4	23.6	70.0
Providing for Citizen Participation	7.7	22.2	70.1
Maintaining Uniqueness of CBD	8.6	26.4	65.1
Protecting Neighborhoods	10.8	29.1	60.1
Attracting Department Stores	17.5	29.6	53.0
Minimizing Public Funding	11.9	43.5	44.7
Encouraging Shopping Developments	32.4	34.4	33.1

Department Stores

Many Lawrence citizens want additional department stores in the community. As part of the survey, respondents were asked "What types of retail business would you like more of downtown?" and 41 percent volunteered that they want more department stores. In addition, as shown in Table 8, 53 percent of the respondents said that attracting new department stores to the downtown is a very or most important goal, and another 30 percent said that it is a somewhat important goal.

Column 2 of Table 9 provides an analysis of the kinds of citizens that support having more department stores downtown. In general, such support is most pronounced among women, non-students, and long-term residents in the community, though each of these relationships is relatively weak.

Question 8 provides a closer look at citizen preferences regarding department stores in the community generally (see Appendix B). In this question, respondents were asked to indicate which three department store chains they would most like to see locate in Lawrence. All but 12.5 percent of the respondents mentioned at least one store. The most popular addition would be Dillard's, mentioned by 62 percent of the respondents and the first choice of 30 percent. The next most popular choice is Sears, mentioned by 46 percent of the respondents and the first choice of 20 percent. The clear third choice is the Jones Store, which was mentioned by 39 percent of the respondents.

There was only limited mention of more "up-scale" stores such as Halls, Saks, Bloomingdale's, and Neiman-Marcus. More frequently mentioned were Montgomery Ward and J.C. Penny, and a variety of discount stores (like Venture and Richmond-Gordon). Arguably, there is more consensus about which department stores would be desirable additions to the community than about any other aspect of the retail development issue. Securing commitments from Dillard's, Sears, and the Jones Store to anchor a redevelopment project would clearly enhance citizen support for that project.

Additional Retail Stores

The survey did not directly ask respondents about additional speciality stores that would be part of a downtown redevelopment project. However, two questions indirectly addressed citizen perceptions about the desirability of such additional retail development. Question 10 asked respondents to indicate the importance of "encouraging the building of more shopping developments." Table 8 shows that this is the least important goal of respondents. Because there is more support for attracting department stores than for encouraging shopping developments generally, it can be inferred that there is limited support for such shops. Indeed, in response to question 7, relatively few respondents indicated in an open-ended question that they would like to see the kind of shops that typically accompany department stores in major retail developments (see Appendix B).

Nevertheless, it might be recalled that some aspects of the existing downtown having relatively low citizen ratings might be improved by addi-

Table 9

Correlates of Support for Particular Changes in the Downtown

	Historical Preservation	Dept. Stores	Decked Parking	Public Funding
Socioeconomic Index	.04[a]	.02	.04	.06
Gender (male)	-.11*	-.11*	.01	.10*
Age	.01	.05	-.08	-.10*
Student status	.03	-.15**	-.02	.16**
Years of residency	.00	.12**	.01	-.02
Proximity to CBD	.00	.02	-.07	.15**
Work outside Lawrence	.05	.04	-.01	-.07
Positive rating of CBD	.18**	.00	-.10*	.10*
Adjusted R^2	.03	.01	.01	.03

[a]See Table 5, footnote e, for an interpretation of these correlation coefficients.

tional shops. Presumably more shops would increase retail competition downtown, resulting in lower prices. Also, some speciality shops within a downtown redevelopment project may indeed be restaurants or offer various kinds of entertainment, addressing the lack of variety in these areas that was noted by many respondents.

Parking

As noted in the previous section on "Current Attitudes about the Downtown Lawrence," the least-liked aspect of the downtown is inadequate parking. However, the survey indicates the difficulty that the DIC faces in solving downtown parking. While there is widespread support for more surface parking, Table 7 shows that 32.5 percent of the respondents view decked parking as undesirable. Such opposition to decked parking is most pronounced among those who are most satisfied with the existing downtown, as shown in column 3 of Table 9. Nevertheless, only a small number of persons (1%) view decked parking as "very undesirable", suggesting that such parking facilities may be an acceptable, if less preferred, component of an otherwise desirable project.

Public Financing

In the April, 1987, referendum, 75 percent of the voters cast ballots against spending public money for an enclosed downtown shopping mall. Of great interest is whether this vote indicates a rejection of <u>all</u> public funding for downtown projects or merely a rejection of the specific Towncenter project. Since most changes in downtown require some level of public financing, this is a difficult and divisive issue.

The survey does help interpret the April, 1987, referendum. Respondents were asked if and how they voted (questions 20, 21, and 22), and their answers can be related to other responses they gave on the DIC survey. Table 10 examines the correlates of voter turnout, of support for public funding, and of support for closing streets to facilitate a downtown mall.

The data in column 1 of Table 10 are consistent with conventional wisdom about voter turnout in local elections. In comparison with non-voters, voters in the April referendum tended to be older, long-term residents of the community, non-students, and persons with more education and higher incomes. Interestingly, those persons who are most concerned with preserving the unique, historical, and aesthetic qualities of the downtown were most likely to vote, while those persons who are most interested in encouraging shopping developments were least likely to vote. Such a pattern of voter turnout probably contributed to the magnitude of the anti-mall vote.

Column 2 in Table 10 examines the correlates of support for public spending on downtown redevelopment. There are statistically-significant, but relatively weak, tendencies for long-term residents, upper-status citizens, and those living closer to the downtown to have voted in support of public funding. There are also weak relationships between a few

Table 10

Correlates of Voter Turnout
and Support for Public Spending
and Closing Streets in the CBD

	Voter Turnout	Support Public Spending	Support Street Closing
BACKGROUND VARIABLES			
Socioeconomic index	.21**[a]	.12*	.14**
Education level	.17**	.06	.13*
Income level	.12**	-.02	.03
Gender (male)	.02	.08	-.00
Age	.41**	.08	.06
Student status	-.24**	-.04	-.03
Years of residency	.54**	.19**	.16**
Proximity to CBD	.31**	.08*	.08
Live in Lawrence	.36**	.14*	.13*
Work outside Lawrence	-.13**	-.11*	-.10*
Positive rating of CBD	.05	.01	-.04
Adjusted R^2	.41	.05	.03
ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES			
Ensuring Public Referendum	.01	-.14*	-.06
Aesthetics	.10*	.06	.01
Stimulating Economic Growth	.00	.03	.12*
Preserving Historical Buildings	.14**	.04	-.02
Citizen Participation	.06	-.13*	-.10*
Maintaining Uniqueness	.11**	.00	-.06
Protecting Neighborhoods	.04	-.08*	-.09*
Attracting Department Stores	.08*	.09*	.12*
Minimizing Expenditures	.00	-.14*	-.06
Encouraging Shopping Developments	-.13**	-.02	.08
Adjusted R^2	.03	.04	.03

[a]See Table 5, footnote e, for an interpretation of these correlation coefficients.

attitudinal variables and support for public funding. For example, persons who attach greater importance to minimizing public funding were less likely to support public funding in the referendum (r=-.14).

What is surprising and important, however, is not the existence of this relationship, but its weakness. Statistically, less than 2 percent of the variation in how people voted on the public funding referendum question is explained by present attitudes about minimizing public funding on the downtown. To be sure, other background and attitudinal variables also provide weak explanations of voting on the public funding question. For example, there are no significant relationships between people's attitudes about protecting the unique, historical, and aesthetic qualities of downtown and supporting public funding in the referendum. This suggests that those with preservationist attitudes are divided on whether public funding for Towncenter would have furthered their values ("only by supporting public funding can the downtown be saved from the disruptive effects of a suburban mall") or diminished their values ("public funding of the Towncenter proposal would have destroyed the downtown in order to save it").

As shown in column 3 of Table 10, the correlates of support for street closings are much like those for support of public funding. This is because people who voted to close streets were usually the same people who voted for public funding (r = .58). These findings strongly suggest that voters were less concerned with the specific questions on the ballot than they were concerned with whether the Towncenter project should have been supported or rejected.

Table 11 reports the concerns of those voters who both supported and opposed public funding in the referendum. It also reports the concerns of all persons who said they supported or opposed public funding even if these respondents lived outside of Lawrence or did not vote in the referendum. The data show that for most opponents of public funding in the referendum minimizing public expenditures on downtown redevelopment is only a "somewhat important" (48%) or "unimportant" (7%) goal. Much more important to those people who rejected public funding in the referendum are a variety of concerns about preserving the unique, historical and aesthetic qualities of the downtown and providing adequate opportunities for citizen participation.

In short, while the DIC survey cannot explain why people voted as they did in the April election, it does provide strong evidence that concerns about public financing were not the determining factor. In general, the survey suggests that citizens were more concerned about preserving the downtown than with questions of public finance.

This is not to suggest that public funding does not constitute a significant hurdle to future downtown redevelopment proposals. The survey indicates that 45 percent of the respondents view the goal of minimizing public funding as at least "very important" to them. Minimizing public funding is an especially important goal to those living outside of Lawrence (see Appendix C, Q10). Column 4 of Table 9 shows that men, younger people and students, and those who were most satisfied with the existing downtown are less concerned about public funding than are their counterparts. Unfortunately, the survey does not provide any data about the kinds of funding that might be most supported by citizens.

Table 11

Concerns of Opponents and Supporters of
Public Funding in April 1987 Referendum

Percent indicating the following is **very important** or **most important** to them	Voters (N = 130)[a] Public Funding Supporters	Voters (N = 130)[a] Public Funding Opponents	All Respondents (N = 416) Public Funding Supporters	All Respondents (N = 416) Public Funding Opponents
Ensuring Public Referendum	54%	84%*[b]	54%	82%*
Ensuring Aesthetic Character of CBD	79%	78%	79%	75%
Stimulating Economic Growth	75%	69%	75%	72%
Preserving Historical Buildings	75%	79%	75%	69%
Providing for Citizen Participation	50%	79%*	50%	72%*
Preserving Uniqueness of CBD	67%	74%	67%	64%
Protecting Neighborhoods	42%	65%*	42%	61%
Attracting Department Stores	71%	53%	71%	51%
Minimizing Public Funding	21%	45%*	21%	46%*
Encouraging Shopping Developments	29%	24%	29%	33%

[a]Although a 57 percent voter turnout was reported in the April referendum, only 31 percent of those surveyed report having voted. There are two reasons for this apparent discrepancy. First, 24 percent of those surveyed live in Douglas County outside of Lawrence and these were ineligible to vote. Second, the 57 percent voter turnout figure is based on registered voters, and not all Lawrence residents who were surveyed are registered to vote.

[b]The asterisk indicates that supporters and opponents attach different levels of importance to these goals that are statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level.

Different Views and Different Groups

Throughout the decade of controversy over downtown development, many groups have claimed to speak for the public. But the public has been neither unified nor one dimensional. The 1987 DIC survey permits us to sort citizens into various groups or citizen-types according to attitudes that are most likely to affect their support of downtown redevelopment. Figure 1 indicates the breakdown of citizen types, which are briefly described below.

"Redevelopers" are those people who have probably been most supportive of downtown mall proposals. They are those 16 percent in the sample who responded that they liked downtown, were most willing to expend public funds for its redevelopment, sought enhanced shopping opportunities and economic growth, and had weak preservationist values. Redevelopers have no clear demographic characteristics.

"Preservationists" represent the 28 percent of the sample whose responses were that they liked the downtown, were willing to expend public funds for its redevelopment, and firmly valued historical preservation and aesthetics. Preservationists have mixed feelings about economic growth and the need for more shopping developments. In comparison with most Lawrence residents, Preservationists tend to have high levels of formal education, live near the downtown, and have lived longer in the community.

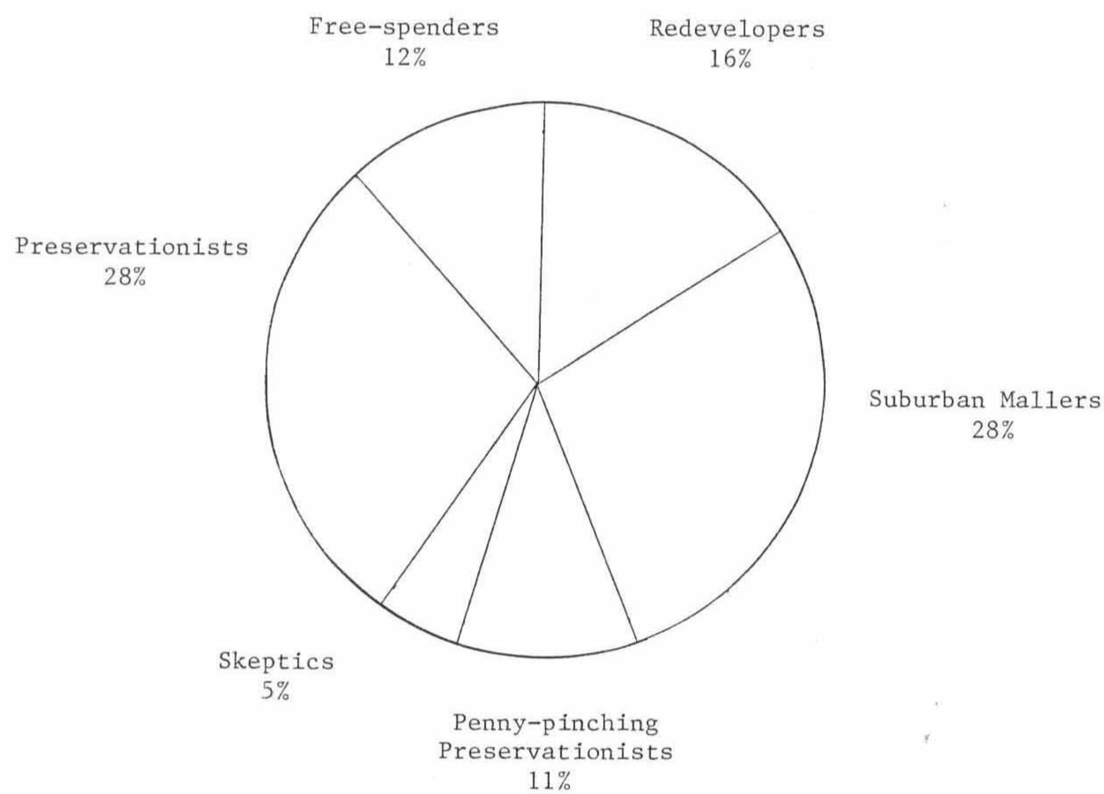
Another 11 percent of the community is composed of "Penny-pinching preservationists"--these are people who share the values of Preservationists except for their greater reservations about public funding. "Skeptics" are much like Penny-pinching preservationists, except that they did not show strong preservation values. They liked the downtown, but they did not view it in aesthetic or historical terms. Almost all Skeptics--who comprise five percent of the sample--wanted more shopping opportunities. But they were skeptical of the view that the downtown is so unique that it deserves to be supported by public funding and they are probably skeptical that building a suburban mall will damage the downtown. Neither Penny-pinching preservationists nor Skeptics have unique demographic characteristics.

"Suburban-mallers" showed no great affection for the downtown and responded that it is highly important to minimize public expenditures downtown; they comprise 28 percent of the sample. Almost all Suburban-mallers supported either economic growth or more extensive shopping developments. Suburban-mallers are also demographically diverse, but there are statistically significant tendencies for Suburban-mallers to live and work outside of Lawrence and have less formal education.

Finally, 12 percent of the sample are characterized as "Free-spenders." They were not highly concerned about public funding and they tended to like the downtown, but they had no clear goals regarding it. They did not show strong preservation values and they were not highly interested in new shopping developments. Overall, Free-spenders appear to be less involved in the redevelopment controversy, as indicated by their significantly lower levels of participation in the April referendum.

Figure 1

A Classification of Citizens According to Their Attitudes on Shopping Development Issues



The existence of such diverse groups presents a challenge for downtown redevelopment. Proposals that appeal to only a single point of view are unlikely to succeed in a community like Lawrence where citizens insist on having widespread opportunities for participation. As shown in Table 8, 70 percent of the respondents consider citizen participation very important. In addition, 80 percent believe that ensuring a public referendum is very important. The public wants to have a voice in the development and approval of any redevelopment project. Moreover recent history indicates that proposals lacking majority support fail. The 1987 DIC survey indicates that proponents of redevelopment projects must build a coalition of support composed of diverse citizen-types.

Nevertheless, the diversity of citizen attitudes presents the proponents of redevelopment with opportunities. While particular proposals may not be all that anyone wants, they may nevertheless have certain aspects that appeal to almost everybody. For example, the "Suburban-mallers" are unenthusiastic about public spending downtown, but they are very interested in new shopping developments and economic growth. The "preservationists" are less concerned with new shopping developments and economic growth but are committed to maintaining the vitality of downtown Lawrence. The "redevelopers" care little about historical and aesthetic values, but they are willing to spend public money for a major new retail complex. Creating a project that legitimately appeals to such diverse values provides the DIC with its greatest difficulty and its greatest opportunity.

Appendix A: Technical Information

The Downtown Improvement Committee (DIC), which was appointed in June, 1987, by the Lawrence City Commission to develop a downtown plan, commissioned the Institute of Public Policy and Business Research (IPPBR) of the University of Kansas to conduct this survey of citizen attitudes regarding the downtown.

The survey questions were developed by Steven Maynard-Moody (Director the Survey Research Center of IPPBR and Associate Professor of Public Administration), Paul Schumaker (Associate Professor of Political Science who has conducted biannual surveys of Lawrence issues), and a sub-committee of the DIC chaired by Mary Giese.

The sample was drawn using a random-digit-dialing program developed by IPPBR. This program generates random telephone numbers within Douglas County. The University of Kansas exchange (864) was not included in the sample. Businesses were also excluded from the sample. These sampling procedures assure that each residential household in Douglas County having telephone service had an equal chance of being included in the survey.

A sample of 416 respondents was achieved. Thirteen of these interviews were terminated prior to completion of the entire survey. Unanswered questions and ambiguous responses were treated as missing data throughout the analysis.

Random samples permit estimations of population characteristics. When 40 to 60 percent of a random sample of 400 persons provide a particular response (e.g., when 47 percent indicated that they shopped in downtown Lawrence during a one week period), the standard error is between 0.020 to 0.025. This means that one can be 95 percent confident that the "true" proportion of all Douglas County residents is 1.96 standard errors--about 4 to 5 percentage points--from the sample statistic (e.g., one can be 95 percent confident that between 42 and 52 percent of all Douglas County residents shopped in Lawrence during the one week period). Standard errors become smaller as sampling proportions approach "0" or "1", resulting in smaller confidence intervals for such distributions.

Sixty-one percent of those contacted agreed to be interviewed. This response rate is considered to be minimally acceptable to ensure lack of bias in the sample. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents were women. This over-representation of women in the sample is typical of phone surveys because of gender differences in availability. Because there were few differences between men and women in their responses, the sample was not stratified to estimate population parameters.

The actual interviewing was performed by Entertel, Inc. Entertel is a subsidiary of Entertainment Publications, Inc., and is a nationally recognized outbound telephone marketing firm. It has offices in Lawrence, KS, and Liberty, MO. Entertel provides its clients with quality assurance procedures, stringent management techniques, and professional supervision. All interviewers were adequately trained prior to working on the DIC survey. Entertel certifies that 100 percent of the data were provided by those contacted through the random-digit-dialing procedures.

APPENDIX B Version 1

Survey Instrument with Frequencies

==

[When someone answers the phone, begin with:]

"Hello, my name is __________. Is this a residential address?" [If NO, end interview.]

"The University of Kansas is conducting a survey for the City of Lawrence regarding downtown development. The survey takes about 10 minutes. Your phone number was selected randomly, and you answers are anonymous."

"Are you at least 18 years old? Do live at this address?" [If No to either question, ask for someone who meets these criteria. If you get a new respondent, reread the above statement.]

==

[Code the gender of the respondent:

58% (171) 1--Female

42% (236) 0--Male]

1. First, generally what do you like most about downtown Lawrence. [Ask open ended. Mark with "1" each characteristics (a. through h.) that best match the respondent's own words. When none fit, write respondent's answer after "other."]

23.1 (96) a. Convenience/Accessibility

25.7 (107) b. Selection (variety of stores and/or merchandise)

2.9 (12) c. Parking

1.4 (6) d. Quality of services

.5 (2) e. Quality of goods 1--Yes

.7 (3) f. Price of goods

45.9 (191) g. Appearance/Ambiance

16.1 (67) h. Other, specify 9.3 (38) Nothing

2. And what do you like least about downtown Lawrence? [Ask open ended. Mark with "1" each characteristics (a. through h.) that best match the respondent's own words. When none fit, write respondent's answer after "other."]

9.1 (38) a. Inconvenience/Not accessible

11.1 (46) b. Selection (variety of stores and/or merchandise)

38.9 (162) c. Parking

1.0 (4) d. Quality of services 1--Yes

.5 (2) e. Quality of goods

5.0 (21) f. Price of goods

2.4 (10) g. Appearance/Ambiance

23.3 (97) h. Other, specify 17.2 (71) Nothing

4.1 (17) i. Congestion

3. When you shopped last week for non-food items did you shop at: [Read each answer category. Place a "1" to mark each place where they shopped. Place a "0" to mark each place where they did not shop.]

46.6 (194) a. Downtown Lawrence
14.7 (61) b. Hillcrest
51.0 (212) c. South Iowa Street — 1--Yes
48.3 (201) d. 23rd Street — 0--No
16.8 (70) e. 6th Street
10.1 (42) f. Topeka
31.3 (130) g. Kansas City
7.2 (30) h. Somewhere else, ________________

4. Last week when you went out to a restaurant or paid for entertainment, did you go to: [Read each answer category. Place a "1" to mark each place where they ate. Place a "0" to mark each place where they did not eat.]

28.8 (120) a. Downtown Lawrence
16.6 (69) b. Hillcrest
17.5 (73) c. South Iowa Street — 1--Yes
45.4 (189) d. 23rd Street — 0--No
22.8 (95) e. 6th Street
4.8 (20) f. Topeka
25.7 (107) g. Kansas City
6.5 (27) h. Somewhere else, ________________

5. Please use the following scale to indicate your use of downtown: Never; occasionally; frequently; or daily [Read each activity, and mark answer with the number associated with the scale.

1--Never
2--Occasionally (less once a week)
3--Frequently (once a week)
4--Daily]

How often do you go downtown for ... [shopping, etc.]?

Mean
2.28 3.9 a. Shopping
1.87 29.8 b. Eating
1.73 38.4 c. Entertainment (such as movies)
1.67 64.1 d. Work related reasons
2.11 23.2 e. Use of public facilities like library or post office
1.77 41.6 f. Services such as legal, financial, cosmetic services.
1.59 51.3 g. Recreation
1.12 91.5 h. Other (please specify, ________________________)

6. We would now like you to rate some aspects about downtown Lawrence on the scale: poor, fair, good, or excellent. [Read each quality, and mark answer with the number associated with the scale.

1--Poor
2--Fair
3--Good
4--Excellent]

(Mean)	
2.67	a. Accessibility of Downtown
2.07	b. Downtown parking
2.43	c. Business hours
2.88	d. Customer service
3.23	e. General appearance
2.92	f. Safety
2.67	g. Merchandise variety
2.99	h. Merchandise quality
2.24	i. Merchandise price
2.35	j. Restaurant variety
2.64	k. Restaurant quality
2.56	l. Restaurant price
2.16	m. Entertainment variety
2.43	n. Entertainment quality
2.40	o. Entertainment price

7. What types of retail businesses would you like more of downtown? [Ask open ended. Mark with "1" each type of business (a. through r.) that best match the respondent's own words. When none fit, write respondents answer after "other."]

1--Mentioned

40.6	(169)	a. Department stores
11.1	(46)	b. Women's clothing
10.3	(43)	c. Men's clothing
4.1	(17)	d. Children's clothing
1.0	(4)	e. Furniture
1.9	(8)	f. TVs and appliances
1.7	(7)	g. Shoes
.2	(1)	h. Drug stores
2.9	(12)	i. Hardware
.2	(1)	j. Home repair (building materials)
2.6	(11)	k. Arts and crafts
2.4	(10)	l. Books
1.4	(6)	m. Gifts
.2	(1)	n. Gas stations
6.0	(25)	o. Restaurants
2.6	(11)	p. Entertainment
3.1	(13)	q. Grocery stores
27.4	(114)	r. Other, e.g., (sporting goods (7) and discount stores (6))

8. Some people think that there is a need for additional department stores in Lawrence. Which three department store chains would you most like to see locate in Lawrence?

[Allow respondent to give open-ended responses, then ask:]

Which of these would be your first choice?

[Code each of the department store responses using the following scale:

1--Mentioned, but not first choice,[put in right column
11--First choice
Write in others if necessary.]

Mentioned		First Choice	
61.6	(256)	30.3	a. Dillards
.5	(2)	.5	b. Halls
38.7	(161)	14.2	c. Jones' Store
12.6	(53)	2.6	d. Montgomery Wards
17.8	(74)	4.3	e. J.C. Penny's
4.7	(19)	1.2	f. Saks
45.7	(190)	19.5	g. Sears
5.8	(24)	2.7	h. Other, specify up-scale
13.7	(57)	2.4	i. Other, specify mid-scale
13.0	(54)	4.3	j. Other, specify low-scale
12.5	(52)		k. None

OTHERS with 2 or more citations:
Bloomingdales (6)
Neiman Marcus (2)
Wolff Brothers (2)
- - - - - - - - - -
Macy's (7)
Stix (4)
- - - - - - - - - -
Richmond-Gordman (5)
Venture (12) KMart (5) Walmart (4)
Best (2)

9. How would you rate the following changes concerning Lawrence's downtown? Please use the following scale: very desirable, desirable, unsure, undesirable, or very undesirable.

[Read each of the changes, and mark answer with the number associated with the scale.
1--Very desirable
2--Desirable
3--Unsure
4--Undesirable
5--Very undesirable]

Mean (inverted scale)

3.22 a. Massachusetts Street Shuttle
3.42 b. Open-air pedestrian plazas
3.07 c. Climate controlled enclosed shopping malls
3.76 d. More surface parking
3.15 e. Decked parking
3.64 f. More community events
3.50 g. Riverfront development
3.53 h. Public transportation
3.44 i. More restaurants
3.57 j. More public facilities, like youth centers and museums.
3.08 k. More professional services
3.69 l. KU and Haskell campus shuttles to downtown
3.00 m. Increased availability of downtown housing
3.89 n. Historical preservation

10. We would like to get a sense of the goals which you think the Downtown Improvement Committee should emphasize as it plans for the future of the downtown. I will read to you several goals that have been expressed concerning downtown. Would you say that each goal is: unimportant to you, somewhat important, very important, or most important to you.

[Read each of the goals and mark each with the following code:
1--Unimportant to you
2--Somewhat important
3--Very important
4--Most important to you.]

Mean
2.62 a. Maintaining the unique quality of downtown.
2.68 b. Preserving historically important buildings.
2.77 c. Ensuring that the downtown is aesthetically pleasing.
2.39 d. Attracting one or more major department stores to the downtown.
2.54 e. Protecting nearby residential neighborhoods from congestion arising from downtown activity.
2.36 f. Minimizing public expenditures for downtown improvements.
2.68 g. Giving citizens the opportunity to participate in the downtown planning process.
2.02 h. Encouraging the building of more shopping developments.
2.84 i. Ensuring that citizens can vote on major downtown projects.
2.70 j. Stimulating local economic growth.

11. Do you live in Lawrence?

76.4% [Use the following code: 1--Yes
0--No [If no, skip to Q14]

12. Do you live East of Iowa Street?

50.2% [Use the following code: 1--Yes; 0--No]

13. Do you live North of 23rd Street?

55.8% [Use the following code: 1--Yes; 0--No]

14. Do any members of your household work outside Lawrence?

27.6% [Use the following code: 1--Yes; 0--No]

15. What was your age on your last birthday?

$\bar{x}$=38.9 years old

16. Are you a student at a college or university?

____ [Use the following code: 2--Yes, full time 21.4%
1--Yes, part time 3.6%
0--No] 75.0%

17. What is the last grade of school you completed?

__|__ grade [Ask open ended. Use year for grades 1 through 12, 13 for for some college, 14 for bachelors, 15 for masters or professional degree; and 16 for doctorate or equivalent.]

18. What was your total family income before taxes in 1986?

[Read the incomes brackets listed below. Mark answer with appropriate code.]

10.5%[1]--Under $5,000	16.6% [5]--$30,000 up to 40,000
10.0 [2]--$5,000 up to 10,000	8.9 [6]--$40,000 up to 50,000
17.2 [3]--$10,000 up to 20,000	8.1 [7]--$50,000 to 75,000
24.0 [4]--$20,000 up to 30,000	4.8 [8]--Over $75,000
	(12%) [9---Refused to Answer]

19. How long have you lived in Lawrence?
x=11.1 [Code number of years.]

[Ask Questions 20 to end of Lawrence residents only (code "1" on question 11. Otherwise end interview.]

If you don't mind we have a few questions on last April's city election.

20. Did you vote in the April, 1987, city election? [If uncertain, mention that that election included the mall referendum.]

33.1% [Code 1--Yes; 0--No; 9--Refuse: If "no," end interview.]

21. Did you vote in favor of the city government spending public funds to permit an enclose shopping mall downtown, or against it?

18.5% [Use the code: 0--Oppose public spending;
1--Favor public spending; 9--Refuse]

22. How did you vote on the question of whether any street in downtown area should be vacated to permit major downtown redevelopment?

17.9% [Use the code: 0--Voted not to close any street
1--Voted to allow closing streets
9--Refuse]

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix C

Breakdowns Based on Place of Residence
and Participation in April Referendum

	County	City	S.L.[a]	Non-Voters	Voters	S.L.[a]
Q1 Likes About Downtown						
Convenience	20.4	23.9		18.4	32.8	.00
Selection	24.5	26.1		26.7	24.1	
Parking	3.1	2.8		2.2	4.4	
Service Quality	2.0	1.3		1.1	2.2	
Good Quality	0.0	0.6		0.4	0.7	
Price	0.0	0.9		0.4	1.5	
Appearance	36.7	48.7	.05	43.3	51.1	
Q2 Dislikes about Downtown						
Inconvenience	10.2	8.8		10.1	7.3	
Selection	9.2	11.6		7.9	17.5	.00
Parking	40.8	38.4		40.8	34.3	
Service Quality	1.0	0.9		1.1	0.7	
Good Quality	0.0	0.6		0.0	1.5	
Price	4.1	5.3		4.0	7.3	
Appearance	5.1	1.6	.10	2.5	1.5	
Q3 Shopped last week for non-food items						
Downtown	35.7	50.0	.02	41.5	57.7	.00
Hillcrest	9.2	16.4		11.6	21.2	.01
South Iowa St.	48.0	51.9		50.2	52.6	
23rd Street	54.1	46.9		48.7	47.4	
6th Streetl	6.3	17.0		13.7	23.4	.02
Topeka	15.3	8.5	.08	9.4	11.7	
Kansas City	31.6	31.1		35.4	23.4	.02
Other	14.3	5.0	.00	7.2	7.3	
Q4 Places respondent went last week to dine and for entertainment						
Downtown	24.5	30.2		28.5	29.9	
Hillcrest	6.1	19.8	.00	15.9	18.2	
South Iowa St.	25.5	15.1	.03	19.5	13.9	
23rd Street	40.8	46.9		46.9	41.6	
6th Street	20.4	23.6		21.3	26.3	
Topeka	6.1	4.4		4.7	5.1	
Kansas City	27.6	25.2		30.0	17.5	.01
Other	12.2	4.7	.02	7.6	4.4	.30

	County	City	S.L.	Non-Voters	Voters	S.L.
Q5 Percentages of persons who use downtown frequently or daily for:						
Shopping	28.3	33.8		27.4	40.2	.02
Eating	16.3	14.2		14.5	15.3	
Entertainment	7.6	12.6	.02	12.2	10.2	
Work related reasons	16.3	21.8		17.9	24.8	
Public facilities	18.5	34.4	.00	20.8	50.4	.00
Services	7.6	19.2	.03	12.6	24.8	.00
Recreation	8.7	11.0		10.0	11.7	
Other	--	3.4		1.9	4.5	
Q6 Percentages of persons who rate the Downtown **Good** or **Excellent** regarding:						
Accessibility	47.8	67.3	.01	56.1	75.9	.00
Downtown parking	28.9	34.1		25.7	48.1	.00
Business hours	43.4	51.6	.07	45.0	59.1	.03
Customer services	71.1	77.1		77.1	73.7	
General appearance	84.3	86.5		84.7	89.0	
Safety	70.0	81.0		75.0	85.4	.03
Merchandise Variety	70.0	59.6		65.3	54.8	
Merchandise Quality	87.7	83.2		84.3	84.7	
Merchandise Price	35.5	38.5		36.5	40.1	
Restaurant Variety	50.0	41.7		45.8	38.3	
Restaurant Quality	60.3	61.5		62.2	59.7	
Restaurant Price	50.6	57.2		51.8	63.4	.00
Entertainment Variety	31.8	34.7		32.9	36.8	
Entertainment Quality	44.4	50.5		50.6	47.2	
Entertainment Price	33.8	47.7	.03	42.2	50.0	
Q7 Percent people volunteering that they want more department stores downtown	29.6	44.0	.02	30.0	61.3	.00
Q9 Net support for various changes downtown[b]						
Mass. St. Shuttle	12.5	21.7		18.5	23.4	
Pedestrian plazas	30.7	40.8		43.5	29.9	
Mall	21.6	1.3	.09	17.3	-15.3	.00
More surface parking	71.6	66.1		75.0	52.2	.00
Decked parking	13.6	12.3		16.1	5.8	
Community events	46.6	61.7	.04	61.4	51.8	.08
Riverfront development	36.4	46.2	.03	48.7	37.2	
Public transportation	42.1	55.4		49.8	57.7	
More restaurants	19.3	47.8	.01	43.8	39.4	
More public facilities	55.6	49.6		60.3	32.1	.00
More professional services	-2.7	9.8		13.8	-6.7	.03
Campus shuttles	56.8	65.3		63.5	64.3	
Increase housing	-12.5	4.3	.07	4.5	-8.1	
Historical preservation	79.5	78.3		77.8	79.6	

	County	City	S.L.	Non-Voters	Voters	S.L.
Q10 Percent of persons rating following goals as **Very important** or **Most important**:						
Maintaining uniqueness	54.5	67.9	.04	60.3	73.7	.03
Preserving historical bldg	62.5	72.0		64.7	79.6	.02
Aesthetics	71.6	77.7		74.5	79.6	
Attracting dept. stores	46.6	54.7		50.5	56.9	
Protecting neighborhood	65.8	58.7		59.1	61.3	
Minimizing public spending	60.9	40.2	.01	46.2	40.9	
Citizen participation	67.8	70.8		68.0	73.7	
More shopping developments	26.4	35.0		36.8	26.8	.08
Ensuring a referendum	82.8	79.2		80.8	78.1	
Promoting economic growth	74.7	70.6		72.5	71.5	

[a] These columns report significance levels when differences between county and city residents or differences between non-voters and voters are statistically significant. One minus the indicated significance levels specifies the probability that the observed differences in the sample would persist among all persons in the community. For example, because the difference between city and county respondents in their ratings of the appearance of the downtown is statistically significant at the .05 level, one can be 95 percent confident that persons in the city are more positive about the appearance of the downtown than those in the county.

[b] Percentages viewing change as **Very desirable** or **Desirable** minus the percentage viewing change as **Very undesirable** or **Undesirable**.

Appendix D: A Summary of Public Opinion About Previous Mall Proposals

The DIC survey discussed in this report is not the first effort to gauge public opinion in Lawrence regarding various shopping development proposals. In October, 1980, a Lawrence Redevelopment Survey was commissioned by the Lawrence City Commission and conducted by the Center for Public Affairs at the University of Kansas. That report is available from the Lawrence-Douglas County Planning Department. In addition, Paul Schumaker, Associate Professor of Political Science, has conducted biannual surveys of Lawrence citizens that have included questions about citizen support for various mall proposals. He has submitted a report, Downtown Redevelopment and Pluralist Politics, to the Planning Department that incorporates data from these surveys into an analysis of the resolution of four previous mall proposals. This appendix summarizes the public opinions of Lawrence citizens about downtown redevelopment as revealed by these earlier surveys.

The Lawrence Redevelopment Survey was conducted in October, 1980. Using random digit dialing sampling techniques, 310 Lawrence residents were interviewed.

The "Lawrence Polls" were conducted by University of Kansas students enrolled in a course, "Power in American Communities", during the months of March and/or April of 1980, 1982, 1984, and 1986. These surveys also employed random digit dialing techniques to ensure that all residents of Lawrence had an equal chance of being surveyed. The following sample sizes were obtained: in 1980, n=532; in 1982, n=239; in 1984, n=406, and in 1986, n=611.

Table D1 summarizes the principle findings of these surveys. The first column in that table provides the percentages of all respondents giving the indicated answers to each question. To simplify these data, the second column recalculates the percentages of opposition and support for various mall proposals by excluding those persons who indicated that they were unaware of issues or who had ambiguous responses such as "other" or "mixed feelings."

The surveys indicate that about 80 percent of Lawrence residents have been aware of downtown redevelopment and mall issues since 1980. And these polls show considerable differences of opinion about the preferred outcome of these issues among the public. In general, the data suggest that the community has been split among those who want a suburban mall, those who support a downtown mall, and those who want no mall. None of these positions has been able to sustain majority support over time and using a variety of question formats.

Proposals for various downtown malls have attained limited and unstable levels of public support. Prior to the unveiling of the proposed location and design of the JVJ-Massachusetts Street Mall in the summer of 1980, 46 percent of those with unambiguous preferences supported the idea of a downtown mall. But the Downtown Redevelopment Survey conducted in the fall of 1980 suggests that some erosion of support for a downtown mall had already begun to occur. The Treska-Sizeler Mall, proposed in 1982, seems to have been supported by about 40 percent of those with unambiguous preferences. The 1984 and 1986 Lawrence polls show that there was slightly more support than opposition for the Towncenter project among those with unambiguous preferences, but support for that project collapsed when the developer revealed a more intrusive, suburban-style mall subsequent to these polls. Throughout this period there has been significant, though minority, support for a suburban mall.

The analysis of citizen-types made possible by the 1987 DIC survey suggests the basis for such distributions of support for various redevelopment options. Suburban-mallers and Skeptics have probably comprised the bulk of support for a suburban mall, but other citizen-types are likely to support either no mall or a downtown project. Redevelopers probably constituted the major base of support for the JVJ-Massachusetts Street project. Some Preservationists probably joined Redevelopers in supporting the Treska-Sizeler project. But both the initial JVJ and Treska-Sizeler projects probably attained little support from other citizen-types. Similarly, the Towncenter proposal probably enjoyed the support of Redevelopers and various types of Preservationists in its formative stages. But when a more extensive and disruptive footprint was revealed and when public costs seemed uncertain but escalating, support from Preservationists and Penny-pinching preservationists probably declined. In short, none of the previous shopping development options have been able to sustain majority support by building a coalition comprised of various citizen-types.

Table D1
Public Attitudes Toward Shopping Developments
As Revealed in Previous Surveys
(Percent indicating various responses)

	All Responses	Unambiguous and Aware responses
Lawrence Poll: March 1980		
Are your familiar with the issue of building a mall and (if so) which of the following is closest to your preference regarding a mall?		
No mall	17	25
Suburban mall	20	29
Downtown mall	32	46
Unsure	14	--
Unfamiliar with issue	17	--
Downtown Redevelopment Survey: October 1980		
Do you think that Lawrence needs an enclosed mall?		
Yes	29%	31%
No	64	69
Other, don't know	6	--
Where should a new mall be located?		
A suburban location	30	60
Downtown	20	40
Don't know and other	50	--
How desirable is a climate controlled mall for downtown?		
Very desirable	9	
Desirable	23	38
Unsure	14	--
Undesirable	33	62
Very undesirable	20	

Lawrence Poll: 1982

Are you familiar with the downtown plan and integrating new developments into the downtown and (if so) which of the following is closest to to your view about CBD redevelopment?		
Redevelopment is undesirable	16	23
Redevelopment is desirable but should be privately funded	23	31
Redevelopment is desirable and should be funded by such means as federal grants and IRBS but not local tax dollars	26	34
Redevelopment is desirable and should be stimulated by local tax dollars if necessary	8	11
Don't know	3	--
Unfamiliar with issue	24	--
Should a downtown redevelopment project include an enclosed mall?		
No	48	68
Yes	22	32
Unfamiliar and don't know	30	--
Should a suburban mall be prohibited?		
No	35	51
Yes	34	49
Unaware and don't know	31	--

Lawrence Poll: 1984

Are you familiar with the Town-Center proposal and (if so) do you support it?		
Support	33	51
Mixed feelings	12	--
Oppose	32	49
Don't know, other	5	--
Unfamiliar	17	--
Are you familiar with the Sizeler proposal and (if so) did you support it?		
Support	24	42
Mixed feelings	12	--
Oppose	34	58
Don't know, other	8	--
Unfamiliar	23	--

Are your familiar with the concept of issuing $4 Million in G.O. bonds to support a downtown redevelopment project, and (if so) do you support issuing such bonds		
Support	20	50
Mixed feelings	7	--
Oppose	20	50
Don't know, other	3	--
Unfamiliar	51	--
Are you familiar with the concept of building a suburban mall and (if so) do you support it?		
Support	24	43
Mixed	8	--
Oppose	32	57
Don't know, other	6	--
Unfamiliar	31	--

Lawrence Poll: 1986

Are you with familiar with the Towncenter proposal and (if so) do you support it?		
Support	37	57
Mixed feelings	12	--
Oppose	28	43
Unfamiliar	23	--
Are you familiar with the idea of issuing $4 Million in GO bonds to support the Towncenter Mall and (if so) would you support issuing such bonds even if taxes must be increased?		
Support	21	43
Mixed feelings	6	--
Oppose	27	57
Unfamiliar	46	--
Are you familiar with the idea of a suburban mall and (if so) do you support such a mall?		
Support	25	48
Mixed feelings	6	--
Oppose	27	52
Unfamiliar	42	--
How satisfied are you with the decision to abandon the "Treska-Sizeler mall?"		
Very or somewhat dissatisfied	18	39
Mixed feelings	5	--
Very or somewhat satisfied	27	61
Do not recall project	50	--