

November 1973

Neighborhood Racial Transition and the Structuring of Service Evaluations

Roger Durand

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.coastal.edu/jops>



Part of the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Durand, Roger (1973) "Neighborhood Racial Transition and the Structuring of Service Evaluations," *Journal of Political Science*: Vol. 1 : No. 1 , Article 2.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.coastal.edu/jops/vol1/iss1/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Politics at CCU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of Political Science by an authorized editor of CCU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact commons@coastal.edu.

Neighborhood Racial Transition and the Structuring of Service Evaluations *

By ROGER DURAND

University of Missouri-Columbia

While popular accounts of the consequences of neighborhood racial transition in American cities have become commonplace, only minimal systematic attention has been devoted to such effects. Aside from studies of residential mobility and of property values, we have little cumulative knowledge concerning the orientations and behavior of inhabitant and in-migrant populations in racially changing areas. A particularly noteworthy omission is the lack of research into how evaluations of local government and municipal services are influenced by racial turnover. Such a void is distinctive both because of a sizeable professional literature on the evaluative impacts of racial composition *per se* and because of frequently heard complaints of service neglect in transitional neighborhoods.

The present paper seeks to partially correct this omission by examining the impacts of neighborhood racial change on the structuring of individuals' local service evaluations. One objective of this research is to explore some of the evaluative configurations of city dwellers. A second is to add to the increasing body of social science theory and evidence concerning the effects of contextual variables.

Existing Theory and Research

Since the advent of survey research, innumerable arrays of evidence concerning the actions, cognitions, and evaluations of Americans have been assembled. Recently, in an effort to understand the role of contextual variables in shaping individual behavior and orientations, survey records have been supplemented with aggregate materials in multiple files of cross-referenced data. Such multiple data files have already been pressed to reveal an understanding of the impacts of the social composition of various milieus on individuals' political lives and a growing

* The author wishes to thank John C. Bollens for generously making available the survey data employed in preparing this paper and for stimulating many of the ideas contained herein. Gregory Casey, Dennis R. Eckart, Michael Mansfield and Dean L. Yarwood provided invaluable comments on an earlier draft. A special acknowledgement is due to Charles G. Nelson for assistance above and beyond the collegial call. The author, of course, assumes full responsibility for any shortcomings.

body of literature has been developing under the general rubric of "contextual effects".¹

While studies of contextual effects have yielded important insights, nearly all such investigations have confined themselves to an examination of cross-sectional relationships and have only superficially considered the impacts of contextual change. Indeed, one of the limitations of the contextual model, as it has thus far developed, is that most studies assume the absence of on-going changes in individuals' milieus of significance to a relationship under investigation (i.e. a presumed contextual effect).² The particular void which invited this research is that no study known to the author has systematically considered the effects of changes in the racial composition of city residential areas (or other contexts) on individuals' political attitudes or structures of attitudes.

This lack of research into the effects of neighborhood changes is unusual since a number of investigations have examined cross-sectional relationships between political orientations and the racial composition *per se* of neighborhoods and other areal units. John M. Orbell, for example, studied the impact of "urban", "mixed", and "suburban" residence—a classification partially dependent on percent black in the neighborhood—on feelings of political effectiveness and personal demoralization.³ Employing an aggregate—survey data file on Columbus, Ohio, Orbell found that residence had no influence on political efficacy. However, residence was found to influence demoralization among low educated white persons; "urban" habitation increased demoralization while "suburban" dwelling decreased it.⁴

Using the same data file, Orbell and Kenneth Sherrill investigated interactive relationships between individual social status, area status, and

¹ Contextual analysis seeks to explain the behavior or orientations of the individual in terms of the social context or organized milieu in which that person lives when certain of his personal attributes or characteristics are held constant. For recent summaries of the contextual effects literature see Kevin Cox, "The Spatial Structuring of Information Flow and Partisan Attitudes", in M. Dogan and S. Rokkan, (eds.), *Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 157-185; and Roger Durand and Dennis R. Eckart, "Social Rank, Residential Effects, and Community Satisfaction", *Social Forces* (Forthcoming). For an excellent discussion of multiple data files, see Dwaine Marvick and Jane H. Bayes, "Domains and Universes: Problems in the Concerted Use of Multiple Data Files for Social Science Inquiries", in Dogan and Rokkan, *op. cit.*, 533-53.

² For an extended consideration of this problem see Durand and Eckart, *op. cit.*

³ John M. Orbell, "The Impact of Metropolitan Residence on Social and Political Orientations", *Social Science Quarterly*, 51 (1970), 634-48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 645.

physical proximity to Negro areas on racial attitudes among white persons.⁵ The investigators found that area status and racial composition interacted in their impact on white racial attitudes. Specifically, white hostility was found to increase in areas with a high proportion of blacks as areal status declined.⁶

Three studies have examined levels of satisfaction with municipal services in different city neighborhoods. Zvi Maimon investigated the impact of residence in Detroit's "inner city" on a range of attitudes and evaluations.⁷ In general, Maimon found that inner city life tended to elicit similarities in views and behavior on the part of individuals differing in income, education, race, and sex. However, blacks tended to evaluate "services and facilities" less favorably than whites.⁸ Unfortunately, these findings were neither systematically related to the social composition of the neighborhoods nor to changes in them.

Herbert Jacob studied contact with city government agencies and satisfaction with the services provided by the agencies among survey respondents in a "black ghetto neighborhood", a white working class neighborhood, and a white middle class area in Milwaukee.⁹ While dissatis-

⁵ John M. Orbell and Kenneth Sherill, "Racial Attitudes and the Metropolitan Context: A Structural Analysis", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 33 (1969), 46-54.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50. In addition to the studies discussed in the text, considerable evidence on the impact of areal racial composition is available in the following aggregate studies: V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949; Robert A. Schoenberger and David R. Segal, "The Ecology of Dissent: The Southern Wallace Vote in 1968", *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 15 (1971), 583-86; Werner F. Grunbaum, "Desegregation in Texas: Voting and Action Patterns", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 28 (1964), 604-614; Michael Rogin, "Wallace and the Middle Class: The White Backlash in Wisconsin", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 30 (1966) 98-108; M. Margaret Conway, "The White Backlash Re-examined", *Social Science Quarterly*, 49 (1968), 710-719; John Shelton Reed, "Percent Black and Lynching: A Test of Blalock's Theory", *Social Forces* 50 (1972), 356-360; Thomas A. Flinn and Harold L. Wolman, "Constituency and Roll Call Voting: The Case of Southern Democratic Congressmen", *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 10 (1966), 192-99; and Ira Sharkansky, "Voting Behavior of Metropolitan Congressmen: Prospects for Changes with Reapportionment", *Journal of Politics*, 28, (1966), 774-793.

⁷ Zvi Maimon, "The Inner City Impact", *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, December 1970, 233-47.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁹ Herbert Jacob, "Contact with Government Agencies: A Preliminary Analysis of the Distribution of Government Services", *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 16 (1972), 123-46. Jacob also reports that responses to a question tapping diffuse satisfaction with neighborhood services were related to satisfaction with service agency contacts except in the white middle class area where virtually all respondents were satisfied with the general quality of neighborhood services (pp. 141-42).

faction with a range of service contacts was generally rare, discontent was found to be more concentrated among blacks¹⁰ than among whites. Because of the quasi-experimental nature of Jacob's survey, however, it is impossible to know how neighborhood characteristics or changes in them influenced the reported relationships.

The additive and interactive effects of city residence, neighborhood racial composition, and individual race on dissatisfaction with city services were studied by Howard Schuman and Barry Gruenberg.¹¹ Principally deriving their conclusions from cross section surveys of blacks and whites in 15 American cities, the authors found blacks to be more dissatisfied than whites with a number of municipal services. An analysis of these contrasting assessments revealed, however, that *neighborhood racial composition* rather than individual race explained the findings, with service dissatisfaction showing a steady increase as proportion white in the neighborhood declined.¹² Finally, though lacking objective service data, Schuman and Gruenberg speculated that black-white differences more likely derived from objective differences in the delivery of municipal services to residential areas than from attitudinal or ideological factors.¹³

Neighborhood studies aside, research on the structuring or organization of individuals' local government and service evaluations exists, however fragmentary, and does provide additional insight into the problem addressed here. Probably the most comprehensive investigation of evaluative configurations or structures to date is that conducted by Kirkpatrick and Morgan in the Oklahoma City, SMSA.¹⁴ Factor analyzing the survey responses of public officials (city council members, mayors, and city managers), Kirkpatrick and Morgan found three dimensions of service evaluation, recreation, planning, and transportation were found interrelated along one dimension; police, fire, and refuse collection clustered on a second while education was assessed apart on a separate, third dimension.¹⁵ As valuable as this research is, unfortunately, it neither concerned

¹⁰ Unfortunately, Jacob does not report whether all of the respondents interviewed in the "black ghetto neighborhood" were themselves black. One would surmise that they are from the conclusions.

¹¹ Howard Schuman and Barry Gruenberg, "Dissatisfaction with City Services: Is Race an Important Factor?" in Harlan Hahn, (ed.), *People and Politics in Urban Society*, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews Volume 6, Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage Publications, 1972, pp. 369-92.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 380.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

¹⁴ Samuel A. Kirkpatrick and David R. Morgan, "Policy Support and Orientations Toward Metropolitan Political Integration Among Urban Officials", *Social Science Quarterly*, 52 (1971) 656-71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 662.

itself with evaluative structures held by mass publics nor with variables shaping clusters of service assessment.

To recapitulate briefly, there is evidence suggesting that the racial composition of city neighborhoods influences a variety of individual attitudes, including satisfaction with municipal services. To date, however, no known study has systematically considered the impacts of changes in neighborhood racial composition. Furthermore, while studies by Maimon, Jacob, and Schuman and Gruenberg consistently reveal greater service dissatisfaction among blacks than whites, none of these investigations has focused on the ways service evaluations are structured or organized in the minds of these groups. Thus one neither knows how the various evaluations cohere nor how neighborhood variables affect the interdependence of such evaluations. Finally, no study has progressed far in either explaining or in interpreting black-white differences in service satisfaction. The analysis below seeks to partially correct these deficiencies by testing the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. Evaluations of streets, parks and playgrounds, and libraries will cluster together on one evaluative dimension; police services will be evaluated on a second while schools will be assessed on a separate, third dimension.

This prediction is derived from the Kirkpatrick-Morgan findings on public officials in the Oklahoma City SMSA and will be tested here in order to determine the generality of their results.¹⁶

Hypothesis 2. Blacks who reside in stable black neighborhoods will display more highly structured (i.e. directly related) evaluations of municipal services than blacks who reside in neighborhoods in either early or later stages of racial transition.

Hypothesis 3. Whites who reside in stable white neighborhoods will evince more highly structured or directly related evaluations of services than whites residing in neighborhoods in either early or later stages of racial turnover.

¹⁶ It should be stressed that hypothesis 1 is *derived* from the Kirkpatrick-Morgan findings but is not their exact findings. Lacking data on some of the services Kirkpatrick and Morgan examined, citizen evaluations of a slightly different set of services will be analyzed below. Differences in the set of service evaluations studied may help to account for the results reported below. However, I still seek to determine the generality of the Kirkpatrick-Morgan conclusion that schools are evaluated apart from other services and that satisfaction with police service is not closely related to evaluations of transportation and recreation.

As already noted, no systematic evidence seems to exist on which to base predictions concerning the impacts of neighborhood racial change. However, the findings of Jacob and Schuman and Gruenberg provide some assistance. Recall that Jacob found dissatisfaction with service contacts to be more concentrated among residents of a "black ghetto neighborhood" than among residents of two white neighborhoods. Similarly, Schuman and Gruenberg reported that dissatisfaction with a number of services steadily increased as proportion white in the neighborhood declined. If one makes the plausible assumptions that in both studies the predominantly black and white neighborhoods were racially unchanging at the time of investigation and that it was the *same individuals* who were positive (or negative) in their assessments of the range of services, hypotheses 2 and 3 are suggested.

Hypothesis 4. Evaluative differences between neighborhoods in varying stages of turnover will tend to diminish when objective variables are controlled.

Hypothesis 4 follows directly from the Schuman-Gruenberg speculation concerning the relative importance of objective service delivery over attitudinal or ideological factors in explaining differential service satisfaction. If objective performance variables do help to account for neighborhood differences in service satisfaction, controls for the effects of such variables should cause the differences to diminish.

Design

The data set employed to test these hypotheses combines survey, census tract, and local government service records. In the winter and early spring of 1956-57 the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey administered a questionnaire to 1285 suburban and 515 central city respondents selected by random sampling techniques.¹⁷ The questionnaire results were generously made available for the present research. Due to difficulties in securing government service data on all suburban municipalities in the St. Louis SMSA, however, only results from the central city are reported here.

Each survey respondent was "nested" in his (or her) neighborhood context by appending records containing census tract and local government performance evidence. The census tract data were drawn from the U. S. Census of Population and Housing for 1950 and for 1960 while the

¹⁷ For further information on the sampling design see John C. Bollens, (ed.), *Exploring the Metropolitan Community*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961, Appendix C.

service evidence was derived from official reports of St. Louis City government agencies for the fiscal year 1956-57.¹⁸

Though dated, this data set should be well-suited to exploring the evaluative consequences of neighborhood racial transition. The decade of the 'fifties witnessed unparalleled neighborhood racial turnover in St. Louis. As the Taeubers have documented, a larger proportion of the city's census tracts underwent "invasion" or "succession" in this decade than in any preceding one.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the Taeubers' study did not include the decade of the 1960s, and technical problems preclude precise computation here. *Estimates* of invasion and succession for 1960 to 1970, however, report a lower figure.²⁰ Thus this data set appears to afford maximum variance in the independent variable under investigation here.

Findings

Following definitions and procedures employed by Duncan and Duncan and by Taeuber and Taeuber in their studies of residential transition, census data for 1950 and 1960 were used to categorize tract areas in St. Louis into stable black, stable white, penetration, influx, and succession neighborhoods.²¹ The criteria for categorization are summarized in Figure 1. Thus, for example, "stable white" neighborhoods consist of those cen-

¹⁸ The service evidence was gathered from the official reports of the following St. Louis City agencies for 1956-57: Department of Police, Board of Education, Department of Streets and Sewers, Public Library, and Parks and Recreation Division.

¹⁹ Karl and Alma Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965, p. 117. The Taeubers report that 73% of St. Louis tracts underwent racial invasion or succession during the decade 1950-60 compared to 53.8% and 45.8% for the two preceding decades, respectively. Absolute figures are employed by the Taeubers to categorize tracts as either invasion or succession. Thus invasion tracts are those in which the white population decreased over the decade while the nonwhite population increased from fewer than 250 to more than 250. The succession category consisted of those tracts in which the non-white population numbered 250 or more at the start of the decade and increased in the succeeding ten years while the white population decreased. (p. 105). For other categories in their typology the Taeubers employ a combination of absolute figures and percentages.

²⁰ The estimated percentage for the decade 1960-70 was 62.1%. This estimate was calculated by the author employing the regression equation derived by the Taeubers. Unfortunately, the Taeubers' equation was computed on the basis of change patterns in 10 U. S. cities and not on St. Louis alone. The technical problems alluded to in the text amounted to changes in census tract boundaries over the decade 1960-70 which made it next to impossible to calculate a precise percentage of invasion and succession tracts.

²¹ See Taeuber and Taeuber, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-105 and Otis Dudley and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, pp. 180-32. An effort was made to replicate as exactly as possible the procedures employed by Taeuber and Taeuber and by Duncan and Duncan. However,

sus tracts in which five percent or less of the population was black in both 1950 and 1960. These types are not inclusive of the universe of neighborhoods. Other neighborhood types existed (e.g. stable interracial neighborhoods) but did not contain sufficient numbers of survey respondents for analysis and were, therefore, excluded along with their resident respondents.

Each survey interviewee was asked to evaluate various municipal services including schools, police, libraries, streets, and parks and playgrounds.²² Table 1 reports the means and standard deviations of these evaluations according to race and residence.²³ While this paper is concerned with the *structuring or clustering* of evaluations and not satisfaction *levels per se*, a close examination of Table 1 is instructive. As the results indicate, blacks were significantly ($P < .05$)²⁴ less satisfied

FIGURE 1. Types of Racial Residential Transition

Neighborhood Type	1950	1960
Stable white	less than .05 *	less than .05
Stable black	greater than .90	greater than .90
Penetration	0	greater than 0
		less than .05
Influx	less than .05	greater than .05
Succession	greater than .05	change of greater than .10 over 1950

NOTES: * Figures indicate proportion black.

both of these studies were concerned with tracing historical patterns of residential transition. Consequently, both employed absolute figures and percentages as criteria for classifying neighborhoods. A different research focus and a desire to considerably simplify computations led to exclusive reliance on percentages to form the categories employed here. Yet, given the size of St. Louis census tracts, the categories employed here are probably not too dissimilar from those used by the Taeubers and Duncans. Finally, the more neutral "influx" label was chosen over the term "invasion" used in the other studies.

²² The questions posed were as follows:

"First, how satisfied are you with schools in this area?"

"And how do you feel about police protection around here?"

"How do you feel about the condition of your own street . . .?"

"How do you feel about library service in this area?"

"How do you feel about parks and playgrounds around here?"

Responses to these items were coded very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, fairly satisfied and very satisfied.

²³ In this and all succeeding tables missing data (refusals to answer, no answers) were recoded to the neighborhood category mean of the respective variable. Only one missing response was found on any single variable. A "don't know" response was considered to be a "Neutral" or "undecided" answer.

²⁴ Throughout this paper the .05 level is employed in testing for statistical significance. In testing for statistical significance in Table 1, the difference of means and one way analysis of variance tests were employed.

TABLE 1. Satisfaction With City Services by Race and Neighborhood Type

<i>Individual Race: Neighborhood Type:</i>	<i>White</i>					<i>Black</i>			
	<i>City- Wide</i>	<i>Stable</i>	<i>Penet.*</i>	<i>Influx</i>	<i>Succ.**</i>	<i>City- Wide</i>	<i>Stable</i>	<i>Influx</i>	<i>Succ.</i>
Service:									
—									
x	3.987	4.066	4.214	3.746	3.625	4.228	4.208	4.533	4.204
S.D.	.981	.926	.802	1.107	.970	.978	1.103	.516	1.035
Police									
—									
x	3.938	4.014	4.214	3.726	3.375	3.368	3.333	4.067	3.167
S.D.	1.130	1.102	.893	1.174	1.313	1.332	1.341	.961	1.328
Streets									
—									
x	3.382	3.458	3.643	3.079	3.333	2.965	2.542	3.267	3.222
S.D.	1.329	1.382	1.336	1.311	1.318	1.363	1.318	1.280	1.410
Libraries									
—									
x	4.012	4.073	4.000	4.095	3.292	3.930	3.750	4.067	3.852
S.D.	.990	.994	.961	.911	.955	1.232	1.452	1.100	1.295
Parks									
—									
x	3.655	3.762	3.571	3.238	3.708	3.246	3.500	3.333	3.111
S.D.	1.271	1.254	1.342	1.254	1.160	1.430	1.532	1.532	1.436
N	399	286	14	63	24	114	24	15	54

NOTES: Higher scores indicate satisfaction

* "Penet." in this and succeeding tables indicates "Penetration".

** "Succ." in this and succeeding tables indicates "Succession".

Because of too few cases, the black penetration category is omitted in this and all succeeding tables.

than whites with police service, streets, and parks and playgrounds ("parks"). However, Negro respondents professed significantly greater satisfaction with schools. There were no statistically significant racial differences in evaluations of library service.

Next, consider service evaluations according to neighborhood type within each racial category. As Table 1 reveals, no differences were found at statistically significant levels. Levels of satisfaction with all five services are apparently independent of neighborhood type for both blacks and whites.

In order to determine the structuring of these service evaluations, the (positive) assessments of black and white respondents were factor analyzed separately according to the respective neighborhood type in which each resided. The factor solutions presented in Table 2 are the results of oblique rotations of principal-factor solutions according to the direct "oblimin" criterion.²⁵

Table 2 reveals that the number of factors or dimensions of service evaluation remains the same regardless of individual race or neighborhood type. No matter what the neighborhood of residence, the evaluations of blacks and whites cohere into two clusters. However, there is variation in the extent to which these two clusters or factors are correlated²⁶ with each other. Hypothesis 3 predicted that the evaluations of whites who reside in stable white neighborhoods would be more directly related than those of whites who reside in racially changing neighborhoods. The between-factors correlation coefficients demonstrate support for this prediction. Thus moving from the stable white category to penetration to influx and, finally, to succession neighborhoods in the table, the correlations grow increasingly negative.

Among black respondents, on the other hand, the resulting between-factors correlations were unanticipated. Contrary to hypothesis 2, the

²⁵ For an extended discussion of these procedures see R. J. Rummel, *Applied Factor Analysis*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970, and Harry Harman, *Modern Factor Analysis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. In essence, factor analysis is a procedure which enables one to reduce a set of variables to a smaller set of factors or clusters, the reduction being derived from correlations among the variables. Oblique rotation is a simplifying procedure in which the initial factor axes are allowed to rotate freely to best summarize any clustering of variables.

²⁶ In oblique rotation the factor axes are allowed to rotate freely thereby permitting the resulting factors to be correlated with one another. In orthogonal rotation, which is more commonly employed, the factor axes are required to be independent or uncorrelated. Oblique rotation is more "realistic", then, since the theoretically important underlying factors are not "forced" to be independent.

TABLE 2. Structuring of Service Evaluations

<i>Individual Race: Neighborhood Type:</i>	<i>White</i>				<i>Black</i>		
	<i>Stable</i>	<i>Penet.</i>	<i>Influx</i>	<i>Succ.</i>	<i>Stable</i>	<i>Influx</i>	<i>Succ.</i>
Number of Factors	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Correlations between factors . . . . .	.31	.15	.07	-.28	-.005	-.11	.21
Factor Structure	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
Loadings	Lib. -.64	Lib. -.89	Lib. .32	Lib. 1.00	Lib. -.79	Lib. .92	Parks .87
	Schools	Schools	Streets	Schools	Parks	Schools	Streets
	-.47	-.56	.31	.42	-.68	.79	.38
	Police	Streets	Schools	Streets	Police	Police	Lib.
	-.42	.17	.16	.31	-.55	.34	.22
	Parks	Parks	Police	Parks	Schools	Streets	Schools
	-.33	.11	-.14	.17	-.49	-.01	.15
	Streets	Police	Parks	Police	Streets	Parks	Police
	-.17	-.08	-.05	.02	.004	.000	.02
	(64.8)	(61.4)	(82.3)	(55.3)	(75.6)	(63.2)	(56.8)
	II	II	II	II	II	II	II
	Streets	Police	Streets	Police	Streets	Streets	Police
	-.77	1.13	.61	-.1.14	-.51	-.1.10	.77
	Police	Parks	Police	Streets	Police	Police	Schools
	-.34	.52	.56	-.40	-.38	-.56	.30
	Parks	Streets	Schools	Parks	Schools	Schools	Streets
	-.31	.49	.43	-.31	.34	-.25	.22
	Schools	Schools	Parks	Schools	Parks	Parks ;	Lib.
	-.17	-.14	.37	-.20	.08	-.25	.05
	Lib. -.04	Lib. -.06	Lib. .02	Lib. .15	Lib. -.08	Lib. .11	Parks .02
	(35.2)	(38.6)	(17.7)	(44.7)	(24.4)	(46.8)	(43.2)
N	286	14	63	24	24	15	54

NOTES: Numbers in parentheses indicate percentage of variance explained.
 "Lib." is abbreviation for libraries.

clusters held by black residents of succession neighborhoods were more positively related than were those held by residents of stable black areas. Finally, it is worth noting that the correlation coefficients differ between blacks and whites within the same neighborhood types (i.e. influx and succession). The greater correlational difference appears in the succession category where the coefficient is a moderate to weak, positive one for blacks (.21) and a moderate to weak but negative one for whites (— .28).

Turning to a consideration of the structure loadings²⁷ at the bottom of Table 2, it is immediately apparent that the dimensions or clusters of service evaluation found among these St. Louis respondents depart from the expectations derived from the Kirkpatrick-Morgan findings. Contrary to hypothesis 1, schools do not load on a separate, third dimension while streets, libraries, and parks and playgrounds ("parks") cluster together only among black residents of succession neighborhoods. Comparing the loadings among blacks and whites across neighborhood types, there appears to be substantial similarity in service clusters. In all but one category (black succession) library service tends to load most heavily on one factor while police and streets tend to dominate a second in all but two categories (white penetration and black succession). Note that in these latter two instances, however, that police service but not streets loads most heavily on one of the two factors.

On the basis of the evidence presented in Table 2, it would seem that changes in the racial composition of neighborhoods evoke some alterations in the ways blacks and whites order their evaluations of municipal services. If neither the number of clusters nor the service loadings, at least the strength and direction of the relationship between evaluative dimensions seem to vary as a function of neighborhood turnover. However, objective service delivery has not yet been considered. Variations in the actual provision of services according to neighborhood type may be responsible for the reported differences between residential categories.

In order to consider the effects of actual provision or performance variables on the relationships reported in Table 2, service evaluations were factor analyzed according to individual race and neighborhood type with "objective" neighborhood service variables controlled. This was accomplished by computing factor solutions from a matrix of partial correlations in which the effects of neighborhood service variables were partialled. For purposes of this analysis, the "objective" variables employed were district crime-rate, number of volumes in the nearest branch library, elementary school pupil-teacher ratio, dollars spent on parks and

²⁷ The structure loadings represent the direct contribution of a given factor to the variance of a variable as well as the indirect contributions of the factor through other correlated factors.

playgrounds in the neighborhood, and amount spent on neighborhood street construction and maintenance.²⁸ Following procedures outlined above, the factor solutions summarized in Table 3 are again the results of oblique rotations of principal-factor solutions.

The results presented in Table 3 demonstrate first that the number of factors or clusters, the correlations between factors, and the service loadings on each factor are virtually unchanged from those reported in Table 2 among whites residing in stable white neighborhoods. For whites residing in influx neighborhoods, on the other hand, the partialling caused the correlation between factors to become moderately negative while a third dimension appeared among whites who live in areas undergoing racial succession (compare Tables 2 and 3).

Among the black respondents, the effect of the partialling was to maintain the same number of factors in each neighborhood category but to change the correlations between the factors. Whereas the clusters held by blacks who reside in succession neighborhoods were the most positively related, after controlling for the objective variables they became the most negatively associated. In the other two Negro categories the correlational change was slight but consistently in the positive direction.

²⁸ The means and standard deviations, respectively, of these variables are as follows: crime rate (44 crimes per 1000 persons; 21.8); library volumes (69,785.5; 176,570.9); pupil-teacher ratio (42.9; 4.131); dollars spent on parks and playgrounds (51,813.34; 109,941.06); dollars spent on street construction and maintenance (1,607.60; 2,444.85). These means and standard deviations were computed across census tracts.

The crime rate of the police district in which the tract was located was assigned as the neighborhood or tract crime rate. The nearest branch library was that closest in air distance from the physical center of the census tract. This distance was calculated from a city map on which census tract boundaries were superimposed. The pupil-teacher ratio of the school or schools in the tract were assigned as the neighborhood value; the ratios were averaged if more than a single school existed in a tract. In the rare case when no elementary school existed in a tract, the ratio of the physically closest school was assigned. In the case of dollars spent on parks and playgrounds, the total spent on parks and playgrounds either completely contained within a tract or immediately adjacent to a tract was assigned as the neighborhood value. The amount spent on streets was the most difficult variable with which to deal since maintenance and construction work was often done on streets which bordered or traversed several tracts. A cost per mile ratio was calculated permitting dollars to be assigned to a tract on the basis of miles of work done in the tract. For streets which divided two tracts, the dollar amount was allocated to both tracts. It is, of course, possible that these objective variables tap service dimensions that are not the most psychologically salient to residents. Lacking the necessary data, my working assumption is that these objective variables are at least strongly correlated with those dimensions that are the most psychologically salient. Clearly, further work is needed in this entire area.

TABLE 3. Structuring of Service Evaluations with Objective Services Partialled

Individual Race: Neighborhood Type:	White			Black			
	Stable	Penet.	Influx	Succ.	Stable	Influx	Succ.
Number of Factors	2	...	2	3	2	2	2
Correlations between factors .....	.30	...	-.20	-.20 -.002 -.008	.07	-.006	-.25
Factor Structure	I	...	I	I	I	I	I
Loadings	Lib.		Police	Lib.	Lib.	Schools	Parks
	-.58		-.62	.91	.94	.93	.89
	Schools		Streets	Streets	Parks	Lib.	Streets
	-.48		-.55	.56	-.55	.92	.37
	Police		Schools	Schools	Police	Police	Lib.
	-.44		-.39	.38	-.51	.32	.22
	Parks		Parks	Parks	Schools	Parks	Schools
	-.31		-.33	.14	-.41	-.21	.20
	Streets		Lib.	Police	Streets	Streets	Police
	-.16		-.02	.10	-.10	-.007	.09
	(65.0)		(71.2)	(43.8)	(68.4)	(58.4)	(60.8)
	II		II	II	II	II	II
	Streets		Streets	Police	Schools	Streets	Police
	-.77		.54	-.92	-.85	.87	-.73
	Police		Lib.	Streets	Streets	Police	Schools
	-.34		.32	-.57	.36	.68	-.32
	Parks		Schools	Schools	Parks	Parks	Streets
	-.31		.27	-.17	-.27	.37	-.18
	Schools		Parks	Lib.	Lib.	Schools	Lib.
	-.17		.02	.09	.06	.15	-.11
	Lib.		Police	Lib.	Police	Lib.	Parks
	-.03		.01	.09	.04	-.14	.04
	(35.0)		(28.8)	(33.3)	(31.6)	(41.6)	(39.2)
				III			
				Parks	.77		
				Streets	-.34		
				Police	.21		
				Lib.	.16		
				Schools	-.001		
				(23.0)			
N	286	14	63	24	24	15	59

Notes: Numbers in parentheses indicate percentage of variance explained.

Finally, note the number of clusters or factors and the between-factors correlations for blacks and whites residing in comparable neighborhood types. In the influx category the correlation between clusters is more positive for blacks than whites, while in succession areas there are fewer factors among Negro respondents. Both of these results seem to suggest that service evaluations are more directly related to one another (i.e. more highly structured) in the minds of blacks than whites.

Considering the loadings at the bottom of the table, the dimensions found here again do not, by and large, conform to the predictions of hypothesis 1. Only among inhabitants of stable black neighborhoods does there tend to be a separate school factor. Furthermore, only among residents (both black and white) of succession areas does police service load heavily on the same factor. Finally, observe that among whites, police and streets load highest on a factor in all neighborhood types while schools dominate a dimension among black residents in two of three categories (stable and influx). These results may indicate matters of greatest import to these central city groups.

Hypothesis 1 aside, Table 3 also indicates important differences in service loadings across neighborhood types. Among whites the most visible differences in service grouping from neighborhood category to category concerns police service. Moving from the stable white to the influx and, finally, to the succession category in the table, the loading of police service tends to increase (in absolute value) on one of the factors. In both the influx and succession categories evaluations of police dominate a factor: a factor which is negatively related to the other(s) in both instances. The same pattern is replicated among blacks except that police service does not load most heavily on a factor in the influx category. These findings indicate that police service looms more prominently in the evaluative configurations of black and white residents of racially changing neighborhoods than in the configurations of inhabitants of stable black and stable white ones, respectively. This evaluative salience of police among both blacks and whites may well be induced by fears arising from racial turnover.

In sum, if these findings refute hypothesis 1, they do demonstrate support for hypotheses 2 and 3 since service clusters are more positively associated among residents of stable white neighborhoods and stable black ones²⁹ than among, respectively, white and Negro inhabitants of other neighborhoods. In addition these data disconfirm hypothesis 4. Rather than causing the original relationships to diminish, the effect of

²⁹ It is true that the factors found among residents of stable black neighborhoods are almost orthogonal to each other. Nonetheless, there is a more direct relationship between them than between the clusters found in the other two black categories.

partialling the objective variables was to dramatically shift the between-factors correlations in the case of blacks. In the case of whites the effect of the partialling was to increase the differences in the correlations as well as to produce an additional cluster in one instance.

These results suggest that blacks as well as whites mentally order their evaluations of municipal services in response to changes in the racial composition of their neighborhoods, albeit in quite different ways. And further, both groups appear to do so independently of the "objective" packaging or clustering of these services since neighborhood differences remain with the effects of such objective variables removed.

However, these observed neighborhood differences may actually derive from *selective migration* rather than from changes in the organization of evaluations in the minds of the resident populations. A general problem with contextual studies is that most do not demonstrate that it is in fact the context that is producing a presumed effect. This is because most such analyses do not examine subjects before and after exposure to the context. Without time series data on individuals it is difficult to discriminate between a contextual effect and a case of self-selection. What appears to be the conversion or reinforcement of behavior may not really be a function of the context. Prior factors may cause an individual with certain views to select himself for habitation in a particular residential area. Thus what appears to be a contextual effect may in fact be the operation of prior causal factors.³⁰

In the instant case, service evaluations may be quite unyielding to changes in neighborhood racial composition. Residential in- or out-migration of persons who possess distinct configurations of service evaluations may give the spurious appearance of contextual influence. The operation of other variables such as individual social class, which may largely determine both one's service attitudes and one's neighborhood choices, are obscured in the above tables. To assess the extent to which the reported relationships truly represent individual attitude adjustments to neighborhood changes, then, it is necessary to eliminate or isolate the impact of self-selection.

Since the evaluations of former residents and the prior configurations of recent in-migration have eluded our sample survey measurement, only crude consideration can be given here to the effects of selective migration. Consider the speculation that individual orderings of service evaluations are largely independent of changes in neighborhood racial compo-

³⁰ For extended discussion of this problem see Cox, *op. cit.*, and Marvick and Bayes, *op. cit.*

sition but instead are largely determined by one's social class. Furthermore, the previously reported neighborhood differences (according to this line of argument) derive from the residential mobility of varying social class individuals and their attendant evaluational organizations. Rather than residents' attitude adjustments to racial turnover, the variations revealed in Table 3 reflect changes in the class "mix" of the respective neighborhood types.

In order to test this explanation, the survey sample was first truncated by selecting only respondents from the stable white and white influx categories. These respondents were selected because the respective neighborhood types were virtually identical in racial composition in 1950. As Figure 1 (above) indicates, census tracts in both neighborhood categories were less than five percent black at the start of the decade.

Results from the cross-section survey (1956-57) were next employed in combination with 1950 census tract data to estimate neighborhood class composition and the organization of service attitudes in influx neighborhoods *prior to residential racial turnover*. In essence a hypothetical subsample of individuals residing in those 1950 neighborhoods which would become influx neighborhoods over the decade was created. This was accomplished by weighting the 1956-57 *stable white* survey subsample on the basis of income ("social class") with weights provided by the 1950 tract data corrected for changes in dollar value.³¹ (The stable white subsample was used to estimate the "to become" influx neighborhoods because, unlike other 1956-57 subsamples, it permitted an estimate of 1950 evaluations which was not "contaminated" by the effects of neighborhood racial change. This point will become clearer momentarily.)

The hypothetical subsample which resulted from the weighting was precisely like the 1950 white population of "to become" influx neighborhoods in two crucial respects: class (income) composition and minimal exposure to black neighbors. (Recall that in 1950 influx neighborhoods were less than five percent black.) According to the argument being tested, configurations of service evaluation are largely determined by an individual's social class. Consequently, the evaluative configurations of

³¹ I am grateful to Charles G. Nelson for suggesting this analytical procedure used in testing for selective migration. By way of illustration, the weighting was conducted in the following manner. Assume that the 1950 census revealed that of the population of "to become" influx neighborhoods, 20% earned less than \$2000 (family income). If 10% of the stable white subsample in 1956-57 earned less than that figure (in corrected dollars), that portion of the subsample was weighted by a factor of two. The same procedure was followed in predicting the 1956-57 evaluative configuration on the basis of class changes alone (see below).

the hypothetical subsample should faithfully reflect the configurations of that white population which would later be exposed to neighborhood racial influx.

Accordingly, the service evaluations of this hypothetical subsample were factor analyzed with objective performance variables partialled following procedures identical to those discussed above. Lacking actual performance data for 1950, the assumption was required that the objective packaging or clustering of services (but not the level) remained the same over the period 1950 to 1956-57.

Having thus estimated the evaluative configuration for the white influx category prior to racial turnover (i.e. 1950), the next step was a predictive one. Specifically, the next step was to predict that 1956-57 configuration would have resulted had only changes in neighborhood class composition but not racial change occurred over the period 1950 to 1956-57. In effect we were asking, "what would the 1956-57 structuring of service evaluations be like for the white influx category if we could somehow eliminate racial turnover and consider only the changes which occurred in neighborhood class composition?"

An answer to this question was supplied by weighting the 1950 hypothetical "to become" influx subsample on the basis of income with weights supplied by the *actual* 1956-57 white influx subsample. This procedure provided a subsample which was like the actual 1956-57 white influx subsample in income composition but differed from it in exposure to racial turnover. A factor analysis of the resulting service evaluations provided a "predicted 1956-57" configuration based only on changes in neighborhood class "mix" and not biased by the effects of racial influx. By thus eliminating the impact of neighborhood racial change, the selective migration argument could be tested by comparing the predicted and actual 1956-57 evaluation configurations.

If the selective migration of certain social class individuals explains the neighborhood differences reported above in Table 3, then there should be no differences between the predicted and actual service configurations for 1956-57. Table 4 reports the factor analytic solutions. For completeness, the hypothetical 1950 configuration is also included. As the table demonstrates, only one dimension or cluster of service evaluation was predicted ("1956-57 Predicted") on the basis of changes in neighborhood class composition alone. In actuality, however, two service clusters bearing a moderate to weak, negative correlation to each other ($-.20$) resulted from the factor analysis ("1956-57 Actual").

The existence of these differences between the predicted and the actual suggests that the selective migration argument previously advanced cannot explain the neighborhood differences in Table 3. Thus these results

TABLE 4. Structuring of Service Evaluations in Hypothetical, predicted and Actual, Influx Neighborhoods (Whites Only)

	<i>1950 Hypothetical</i>	<i>1956 Predicted</i>	<i>1956-57 Actual</i>
Number of Factors	1	1	2
Correlations Between Factors .....	. . .	. . .	-.20
Structure Loadings			I
	Police —.55	Parks —.50	Police —.44
	Parks —.51	Streets —.46	Streets —.34
	Schools —.50	Libraries —.46	Schools —.18
	Libraries —.44	Schools —.46	Parks —.17
	Streets —.40	Police —.45	Libraries .03
	(100)	(100)	(79.8)
			Streets —.52
			Libraries .22
			Police —.16
			Schools .13
			Parks —.03
			(20.2)
N	286	286	63

NOTES: Numbers in parentheses indicate percentage of variance explained.

make it possible to eliminate one competing explanation and, thereby, render more plausible the inference that black and white individuals adjust or order their evaluations of municipal services in response to changes in neighborhood racial composition.

It is important to note, however, that this analysis has assumed a constant relationship between social class and the organization of service evaluations over the period 1950 to 1956-57. Evaluational shifts *within* social classes over the period are possible, and, together with the process of selective migration, constitute still another plausible explanation of neighborhood differences in service structuring. Unfortunately, the measuring of such within-class changes lies beyond the domain of the present data file and is, therefore, left for future research.

Selective migration aside, the evaluational differences reported in Table 3 may represent black and white responses to *neighborhood class* changes rather than to racial changes. Since alterations in neighborhood class composition often accompany racial turnover,³² a class-evaluation relationship may be concealed. Of course, the status of American Negro tends to carry with it the additional social constraints of lower income, education and more menial job opportunities. This makes it difficult to isolate racial from class effects.

Nevertheless, possible class impacts on evaluative configurations were considered by controlling for *changes* in neighborhood income.³³ This was accomplished by first combining the penetration, influx, and succession categories for whites and the influx and succession ones for blacks into a single category ("changing" neighborhoods) for each racial group. Such a procedure was required by an insufficient number of cases in some of the cells. Racial categories were then subdivided according to changes in neighborhood income ("stable-increasing" vs. "decreasing") by selecting census tracts falling equal to or above and below the city-wide mean change in income from 1950 to 1960. The service evaluations of respondents in each of the resulting tabular cells were then factor analyzed with objective service variables partialled according to procedures already discussed. (See Table 5.)

Even with the racially-changing neighborhood categories combined, some of the cell sizes were too small to permit analysis. Nonetheless, in

³² For evidence on the extent to which class changes tend to accompany neighborhood racial turnover, see Taeuber and Taeuber, *op. cit.*, 169-73.

³³ In his survey study of the political socialization of black Americans, Marvick found it possible to match black and white respondents on the basis of income but not on the basis of education and occupation. See Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro", *The Annals* 361 (1965), 113-127. Income change was, therefore, chosen as the control variable for this analysis since it seemed to provide the best basis for isolating class and race effects.

the instances where there are sufficient cases to permit comparisons it is apparent that the control for neighborhood income change did not eliminate the influence of racial turnover. Omitting a detailed discussion, there are differences in both the correlations between clusters and the service loadings for whites residing in decreasing-income neighborhoods differentiated by racial turnover. Contrast also the three dimensions of evaluation found among black residents of income-decreasing but racially-changing neighborhoods with the two clusters found among their counterparts in racially stable locales. Although fragmentary, these data show that the findings previously reported in Table 3 are not due solely to changes in income which often accompany racial transition. Important differences remain in the structuring of service evaluations among residents (both black and white) of comparable income categories distinguished by racial alterations.

To understand that neither neighborhood class changes nor the selective migration of certain social class individuals explain the relationships reported above (Table 3) is to help unravel a complex causal process. But one is still left to wonder about the intervening mechanisms through which neighborhood racial turnover works its impact on individuals' structuring of service evaluations. Indeed, why *are* configurations of municipal service evaluations influenced by racial change? To speculate briefly, variables other than objective provision which may intervene between neighborhood turnover and individual evaluations are suggested by Murray Edelman's insightful, but largely untested, observations. Edelman argues that people expect their governments to provide them with a safe, stable environment securing both group status and physical security. For the vast majority of Americans, cues concerning status and security, and especially *future* status and security, derive mainly or only from governmental acts.³⁴ Edelman further suggests that a sudden change in established routines occasions anxieties about future threats and statuses. A rapid in-migration of blacks to a hitherto predominantly white neighborhood may be such a change evoking anxious uncertainties in the few resident blacks as well as whites.³⁵ Such a result seem especially likely where class differences exist, as they frequently do, between the incumbent and in-migrant populations. To the degree that neighborhood turnover does elicit status and security fears, one can expect residents to reorder their evaluations of government and governmental performance since safety and stability expectations are likely to be seen as unfulfilled. Regretably, these observations cannot be tested here.

³⁴ Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action*, Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1971. See especially pp. 101-104.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Conclusions

Through the concerted mobilization of survey, government performance, and time series census evidence, this paper has probed the influence of changes in neighborhood racial composition on individuals' structuring of municipal service evaluations. The findings reported here indicate that the number of clusters or dimensions along which city dwellers evaluate services, the associations between those dimensions, and the loadings of services along them are related to neighborhood racial turnover. In particular, service clusters were found to be more highly structured (i.e. directly related to each other) among residents of stable white neighborhoods and stable black ones than among, respectively, white and Negro inhabitants of other neighborhoods. Contrary to predictions, however, controls for objective performance variables intensified rather than reduced these neighborhood differences. Little support was also found for the prediction that evaluations of streets, parks and playgrounds, and libraries would cluster together on one dimension; police assessments would dominate a second while schools would be evaluated apart on a separate, third dimension. Finally, varying neighborhood service configurations were neither accounted for by the selective migration of certain social class individuals nor by residents ordering their assessments in response to neighborhood class changes accompanying racial turnover.

Social psychological research long ago sensitized us to the disjuncture which often exists between the reality seen by a detached observer and the same reality experienced by persons in daily contact with it. The findings of the present report seem to be quite in keeping with this tradition. Indeed, they strongly suggest that both blacks and whites mentally order their evaluations of municipal services in response to neighborhood racial turnover—"objective" service variables notwithstanding. In recording the impressive independent impact of neighborhood racial transition, the preceding tables serve to remind us of the extent to which our mental reconstructions of reality are coerced by our immediate social milieus. So also do they underscore the importance of the stability of one's personal environment in shaping psychic configurations; one need only recall the evaluative contrasts between residents of stable and changing neighborhoods.

Finally, the dynamic perspective of this paper departs from most current studies of contextual effects. Even if the findings here prove to be no more than approximately correct, they argue strongly the implications of changes in contextual variables in shaping individuals' orientations as well as broader political fortunes. On the other hand, they should not cause us to neglect the possibility of self-selection processes in future inquiries.