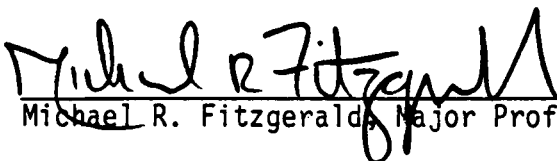
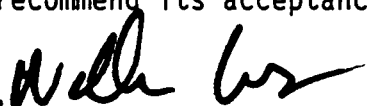
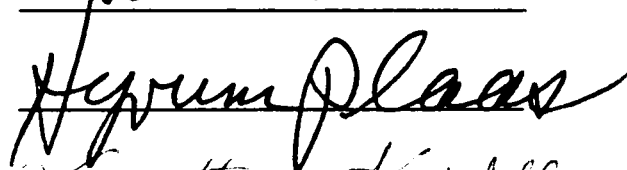
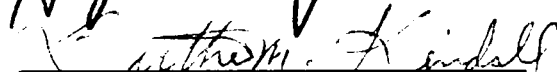


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Floydette Colden Cory entitled "A Social Psychological Model of Citizen Satisfaction with Local Services." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.


Michael R. Fitzgerald, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Vice Provost
and Dean of the Graduate School

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF CITIZEN SATISFACTION
WITH LOCAL SERVICES

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Floydette Colden Cory
August 1988

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to the members of my doctoral committee who made my dream a reality: Dr. Michael R. Fitzgerald, my chairperson, who has truly been a mentor and friend; Dr. William Lyons, who has always been patient when I needed "another explanation"; Dr. Luther Kendall, who has always given me another perspective; and Dr. Hyrum Plaas, who has been supportive throughout my graduate career.

I sincerely thank my family--you have always been supportive. I never could have made it without your words of encouragement and prayers. Most of all, I appreciate God's compassion--He rekindled the vision, which made it possible.

To my friends and relatives--thank you. To Mrs. Margaret Garrett, who did a superb job typing the manuscript--and keeping her sense of humor--thank you.

ABSTRACT

This research examines citizen attitudes toward local public services. Further, it investigates the antecedents of these service attitudes, as measured by service evaluations, so as to explore the way in which citizen attitudes about public services are shaped. Nine public service areas are indicators of the major dependent variable, citizen service attitudes.

In examining citizen attitudes toward local services, this research develops, applies, and tests a model of the citizen evaluation process. The model seeks to explain how differences in service attitudes arise and prevail across the mass public. The model postulates that background and social psychological factors affect an individual's attitudes.

Social psychological factors are hypothesized to intervene between the background factors and the dependent variable, citizen service attitudes toward local services. Stronger relationships are expected to exist among the social psychological factors and citizen service attitudes. The ultimate test of the model's contribution lies in the degree of contribution the social psychological factors make in explaining citizen attitudes toward local services. The model is tested by Multiple Regression Analysis.

The data for this research are from a national opinion poll conducted in 1977 by Louis Harris and Associates for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Multiple regression results indicate the model is weak in predicting social psychological factors, but more powerful in explaining service satisfaction. Based on these results certain adjustments are recommended for future research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY FOCUS IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH	1
	From Herson's "Lost World" to "Privatization"	1
	Research Directions and Findings in the Service Delivery Area	5
	An Integrated Model of Satisfaction with Local Services .	34
	Subsequent Chapters	37
2.	A SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF CITIZEN SERVICE EVALUATION . .	39
	The Local Service Crunch	39
	Theoretical Background	42
	The Social Psychological Model of Citizen Satisfaction with Local Services	68
	Research Propositions	77
	Data and Methodology	79
	Strengths and Weaknesses	81
	Significance of the Study	82
3.	A PROFILE OF AMERICANS AND THEIR VIEWS OF THE COMMUNITIES IN WHICH THEY LIVE	84
	Demographic Component	85
	Environmental Component	91
	Political-Governmental Component	95
	Intervening Factors: Community Perceptions	100
	Dependent Factors: Local Service Satisfaction	114
	Chapter Summary	117
4.	ASSESSING THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF LOCAL SERVICES .	118
	Introduction	118
	The Correlates of Community Perceptions	118
	The Correlates of Service Satisfaction	123
	The Predictors of Community Perceptions	127
	The Predictors of Service Satisfaction	130
	Chapter Summary	135
5.	CITIZEN PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR COMMUNITIES: THE NEXT GENERATION OF RESEARCH	136
	Recapitulation	136

CHAPTER

PAGE

5. (Continued)

Assessment of the Research Model	141
Suggestions for Further Research	142

REFERENCES	146
----------------------	-----

VITA	158
----------------	-----

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
3.1. Life Cycle Stage (LCS)	87
3.2. Length of Residence	89
3.3. Neighborhood Racial Composition	93
3.4. Civic Activity to Solve Local Problems	96
3.5. Weighted Index of Recent Civic Activity	98
3.6. Impressions of Local Government	98
3.7. Domicile Perceptions	104
3.8. Community Perceptions	104
3.9. Retrospective View of Community	107
3.10. Prospective View of Community	110
3.11. Reactions to Community Change	112
3.12. Local Public Service Ratings	115
4.1. Pearson Correlations for Hypothesized Relationships: Community Perceptions	120
4.2. Pearson Correlations for Hypothesized Relationships: Service Satisfaction	124
4.3. Standardized Regression Coefficients (Beta Weights) for Community Perception Variables in the Model	129
4.4. Standard Regression Coefficients (Beta Weights) for Service Satisfaction Variables in the Model	131

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
2.1. Marlowe's Model of Citizen Satisfaction	45
2.2. Modified Brown and Coulter Model	46
2.3. A Model of the Citizen Evaluation and Response Process . .	51
2.4. Model of Determinants of Satisfaction with the Residential Environment	56
2.5. A Social Psychological Model of Citizen Service Satisfaction	69
5.1. A Modified Social Psychological Model	143

CHAPTER ONE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY FOCUS IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

1. FROM HERSON'S "LOST WORLD" TO "PRIVATIZATION"

City politics and government have long concerned political reformers and social scientists. The development of local government scholarship, however, has been given to fits and starts and by mid-century had virtually disappeared as a subfield within Political Science. Thus, in an article calling for a renaissance in local government scholarship, Lawrence Herson observed that:

Indeed, if the pages of the American Political Science Review are taken as an index of the research concerns of our discipline, then municipal government would seem to be a stagnated area of political science, for not one article on this subject has appeared in this journal for over six years (1957: 330).

Two decades later urban scholars remained concerned with the status of empirical research in this field as shown by the observation of Masotti and Lineberry that "change in the city politic and in urban political analysis have not kept pace with each other" (1976 1).

The paucity of research into, and systematic knowledge of, municipal government and politics remains a serious concern of thoughtful observers of local government scholarship as seen in Peterson's recent critique of the field (1981).

The varying degree of inattention to urban affairs has ranged from virtually no research at all to a problem of a failure to match research with political reality and developments. It is argued here that the municipal field ceased being a moribund area in social science by the mid-sixties, and has in recent years closed the gap between reality and research. Beginning with the community power studies in the sixties urban research increasingly became a focus in political science. Eventually, this focus melted into a concentration on the putative "urban crisis" as a dimension of the political struggles and social unrest that came to define America in the late sixties and early seventies. As the seventies progressed, urban scholarship rediscovered the fundamentals of municipal governments--as did mayors and city councils around America; the organization and delivery of services became the focus of research and a lively scholarly debate.

For many social scientists, the initiation into urban research was a countervailing force to the traditional, and highly respected, reformist paradigm, with its strict emphasis on governmental form and structure. Commenting upon this conflict, Masotti and Lineberry observed that "the attack on the reform paradigm effectively inaugurated the contemporary study of urban politics" (1976: 4). In the forefront of change was a volume which ran completely against the reformist paradigm. Who Governs?, by Robert Dahl, was a work on community power published in 1961; its appearance signaled the commencement of research into urban government/politics and

precipitated the reformist model's initial erosion.

As the reform paradigm waned and community power was avidly studied, numerous other approaches to urban government vied for ascendancy. With the sudden eruption of violence in many of the nation's cities, the metropolitan plight captured the attention of scholars throughout the country, and the titles of various works mirrored the perception of America's explosive urban landscape. There was, for example, Edward Banfield's well known and oft cited treatise The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis (1968). Thus, the ashes of riot-torn cities gave birth to significant and controversial research on the "urban crisis."

Since the "urban crisis," researchers have, for example, studied urban policy making, fragmentation and consolidation of power, and fiscal scarcity. These areas represent the different avenues taken by scholars to further their understanding of urban politics and government. Additionally, many scholars began to recognize service delivery, animated through public policy, as the hub of urban political operations (Yates, 1974). In so doing, a systematically rigorous analysis of local services was initiated to provide a methodological framework for evaluating urban responses to the changing demands and needs that had grown from the crisis. Implementation of a rigorous methodology permitted the researcher to analyze the interrelationships between the development of local service policies and their daily operation. In short, it provided necessary access to the interface between process input and output.

Public services are essentially policy outputs which bring to life local recommendations and decisions (input) with the services themselves being generated by and through local governmental systems (output). To the researcher of local politics, the import of public services is based upon their pervasiveness and impact upon daily routine; as Lineberry and Welch have noted:

Today's city is unquestionably a service dependent environment. Its viability as a social unit depends directly upon the continuous provision of such services as police and fire protection, water supply, sanitation and waste disposal, health care, and public transportation. Other public services such as paved streets, sidewalks, and street lights; parks and recreational facilities; museums, zoos, and libraries; and education--while not essential to everyday life--are major sources of comfort, convenience, enjoyment, and wealth to those who benefit from them. In short, municipal services are collectively a key determinant of the quality of urban life (1974: 701).

Accordingly, the growing awareness of public services and their influence upon the quality of life makes the evaluation of service policy and delivery vital to the understanding of local politics and government. In consequence, local services research has evolved in its own right as an independently viable subfield of political science.

The service delivery focus in local government research has developed over time, with the trend in studies progressing longitudinally over the past decade from little or no systematic analysis to the widespread, virtually universal, adoption of various quantitative research methods. Today the focus of local service delivery studies ranges from the municipal bureaucracy to the private

sector. Privatization, the private delivery of public services, is a major area for municipal scholars and has been so since Savas first called attention to the phenomenon in 1972 (Savas: 1972, 1977).

Much has been learned since Herson's "lost world" of municipal government was rediscovered. The reform paradigm's demise resulted in the development and maturation of local politics/government as a viable research area in political science, and, concomitantly, the importance of service delivery has been acknowledged and accepted as the "central issue." In this regard, it has been noted that "students of politics and government are studying the actual allocation of valued public goods and services in such a way as to cast light upon its implications for the social order" (Plaas, Hicks, and Fitzgerald, 1982: 1).

2. RESEARCH DIRECTIONS AND FINDINGS IN THE SERVICE DELIVERY AREA

There are two dominant elements which characterize research directions in the service delivery area. One is herein identified as delivery agent/process while the other is termed delivery recipient/outcome. Further, the principal goals and major issues identified by researchers are also placed in one of these two categories.

Service delivery is a manifestation of administrative action and as such has four particular goals: effectiveness, efficiency, equity, and responsiveness (Morgan, 1984: 141). These goals, in turn, reflect various bureaucratic performance, ethics, and approaches. Effectiveness is defined by an orientation toward results, based

on and measured by objectives that attempt to answer one fundamental question: "Are the goals being met?" Efficiency, as a service delivery goal, is represented by an emphasis upon inputs and outputs. While examining the efficiency of a service delivery effort, one would, for example, consider whether the greatest output was gained from a specified input. The first two goals, effectiveness and efficiency, thus concentrate on the service delivery agency by addressing performance as measured by internal standards, which are symbolized in specific objectives and processes.

The two remaining goals, equity and responsiveness, reflect performance ethics which are externally focused. Equity addresses the distributive and redistributive impact of service delivery upon the citizen and community as a whole, and it has been observed by Fried that "[p]ublic organizations are not designed to be autonomous states within the state, but instruments of the political community, whether national, regional or local" (Fried, 1976: 48). This democratic tenet is echoed in the service delivery goal of responsiveness, which concerns itself with "the degree to which citizen preferences and demands are met" (Morgan, 1984: 144). These four goals, individually and collectively, thus provide a means of direction to evaluate the status and merit of local service delivery.

Simultaneously, these goals are reflected in research issues which have evolved from the nature of service delivery and its impact upon the citizen. For example, in reference to service delivery research, Lineberry argues that there are four interlocking

issues: "jurisdictional size, institutional arrangements, responsiveness, and equity" (1977a: 268). The first two, like Morgan's initial pair, address the concerns primary to the delivery agent or process while the latter two, equity and responsiveness, are more associated with the delivery recipient or outcome. Moreover, not only do the several approaches to the study of local service delivery reflect a dichotomy of agent/process versus recipient/outcome, but they also mirror a similar bifurcation in the measurement issues.

Brown and Coulter summarize the research in service delivery over the past decade as having taken two thrusts in measuring service level. One is characterized by the use of objective indicators; the other is associated with citizen evaluation of services and is termed "subjective." Within the measurement indicators themselves, one set focuses on the agent/process and the other on recipient/outcome. Research into these dimensions is summarized below.

The Agent/Process Component in Service Delivery Research

The provision and delivery of services are implicitly linked, and evaluation of the delivery agent/process is comprised of four research dimensions: the bureaucracy's role; alternative delivery mechanisms; coproduction; and performance/output.

The study of the bureaucracy in its service delivery role is absolutely essential, and a review of the literature indicates that the bureaucracy plays numerous roles. It is simultaneously the delivery agent, possessor of inherent sources of influence, contractor

for institutional arrangements, and creator of decision rules which, for instance, affect the development and implementation of public service policies (Jones and Kaufman, 1974; Levy, Meltzner, and Wildavsky, 1974; Jones, 1977; Viteritti, 1979; Jones, Greenberg, and Drew, 1980; Nardulli and Stonecash, 1982; Robbins, 1983). Researchers seek to identify whether any of these bureaucratic aspects affect service delivery policy. For example, in a study of street quality in Houston, Texas, one of the predictive variables used was bureaucratic practice and decision rules (Antunes and Plumlee, 1977). This study concluded that the quality of Houston streets was attributed principally to random factors rather than bureaucratic bias.

The second dimension of the delivery agent/process addresses alternative delivery mechanisms (Bish and Warren, 1972; Smith, 1975; Sonenblum, Kerlin, and Reis, 1977; Sharkansky, 1980; Morgan, Meyer, and England, 1981; Kaplan, 1982; Coyle, 1983). At the municipal level, a need for economy is the major impetus for local governments to seek alternative service delivery mechanisms. Research on these mechanisms has two primary foci: municipal contracting with the private sector, i.e., privatization (Savas, 1972, 1977; Albrandt, 1974; Fitch, 1976; Fisk, Kiesling, and Muller, 1978; Mehay, 1979; Florenstano and Gordon, 1979, 1980) and intergovernmental agreements (Warren, 1966; Zimmerman, 1973). Included in this dimension of alternative delivery mechanisms research is a relatively neoteric variation, namely, the role of nonprofit and voluntary agencies in public service delivery (Plaas and Zuzak, 1979; Kettl, 1981; Plaas et al., 1982).

Another critical dimension of the delivery agent/process is coproduction, which has characteristics highly similar to the alternative delivery mechanisms dimension. Coproduction also represents an option to the traditional concept of service delivery and receives its impetus from the necessity for greater economy in municipal government. In like fashion to various alternative mechanisms, coproduction also increases the potential number of participants in actual service delivery, but despite this similarity, coproduction possesses a distinguishing feature: the direct involvement of citizens in planning and providing public services (Bjur and Siegal, 1977; Percy, 1979; Rich, 1979, 1981; Kiser and Percy, 1980; Parks et al., 1981; Sharp, 1980; Whitaker, 1980, Parks et al., 1981, 1982; Brudney and England, 1983). Citizen participation in service delivery is the true core of this dimension, and a juxtaposition of these first three dimensions indicates the major actors in the provision of public services: the bureaucracy, para-statal organizations, the private sector, and the citizen.

Performance and output define the fourth research dimension (Ostrom, 1973, 1976; Ostrom and Bish, 1977; Hatry et al., 1977; Staudohaur, 1975; Whorton and Morgan, 1975). This last area emphasizes the notion of "how well" services are delivered. Though a qualitative tenor is posited on performance and output, the attention is still on the delivery agent and process of delivery as measured by efficiency and effectiveness.

To summarize, four fundamental dimensions comprise the research on agent/process: bureaucracy, alternative delivery mechanisms, coproduction, and performance/output. The study of the delivery agent/process includes a basic shift from purely traditional concepts of service delivery, e.g., local government as the sole provider of services, and the literature reflects different configurations of service agents. For instance, many local governments contract with private non-profit and/or private for profit sectors; they also include citizens in identifying options and participating to provide better and more cost effective services.

The performance of the service delivery agent is also an issue. Consequently, associated with the operations subcategory are two of service delivery's four acknowledged goals: efficiency and effectiveness. Furthermore, importance is placed upon input and output. Collectively, studies in this aspect of service delivery agent/process represent a major facet of research on urban service delivery.

The Recipient/Outcome Component in Service Delivery Research

Lineberry contends "that the most serious problem in the analysis of urban public services is neither empirical nor methodological. . . . The real difficulty, however, is normative" (1977: 26). The second research area examines the normative issues occasioned by the delivery of public services. Criteria which "ought" to be considered by policy makers in planning and implementing service

delivery policies are reflected in the particular research dimension labeled service delivery recipient/outcome. While still attentive to service delivery, these studies inject the reality of the service's subjective impact into the ideal realm of delivery agent/process objectives. Research dimensions of the recipient/outcome approach to service delivery concentrate on the distributional and redistributive consequences of public services. As public policies and policy outputs, services are examined in light of their impact upon the recipient's quality of life, and accordingly, equality is the first means by which services and their outcomes are examined.

Equality was a dominant issue in America's political environment during the 1960s and 1970s. During this tumultuous period, America witnessed much social and political unrest. This unrest was most prevalent among Black Americans. The cry "equality" was animated in concern for equal protection and rights based on constitutional guarantees. Research on service delivery during this period reflected the political nature of public services, but as Lineberry observed:

What has never been clear enough, though, is that service delivery patterns contribute not only to immediate life satisfactions and need fulfillment, but also affect the pattern of race and class segregation in the metropolis (1977: 58).

In developing an interpretation of the urban riots and their underlying causes, the Kerner Commission noted dissatisfaction with local government and services, and this discontent was not limited

to urban America (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders Report, 1968: 81-83). The call for equal public services was, for instance, heard from tiny, rural Shaw, Mississippi, because Blacks were not receiving an equal share of public works. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals required that services be provided equally in compliance with constitutional guarantees of equal protection under the law (*Shaw v. Mississippi*, 437 F. 2d. 1268 (5th Cir. 1971)).¹

Court battles were not limited to any particular service policy area; for example, education experienced many legal battles regarding equality in service provision (Lineberry, 1977: 41). Equality emerged as a legal issue in the delivery of public services (Abascal, 1969; Anderson, 1975; Graham and Kravitt, 1972; Lineberry, 1974; Bond, 1976; Merget and Wolff, 1976).

Additionally, judicial activity and research indicated many service disparities. While legal issues were generated primarily by those of minority and lower socioeconomic status, research did not consistently illustrate that pattern of service discrimination. For example, low income areas in Detroit received the greater benefit of recreational expenditures and facilities (Gold, 1974). When Weicher investigated the relationship between police protection and neighborhood income, he found inequitable service provision (1971). Police protection was most pronounced in high and low income neighborhoods and least prevalent in the middle class neighborhoods. In

¹Shaw was modified by *Washington v. Davis*, 426 U.S. 229 (1976).

this instance, police services to the middle class were inequitable. Sexton's well known Detroit study on the distribution of education services, Education and Income, revealed class preference, with greater resources being allocated to higher status neighborhoods (1961).

Given the reality of service provision inequalities, an underlying question is whether particular patterns do, in fact, exist. That is, are certain groups in society more often on the receiving end of service inequities? One means of discovering whether patterns of inequality exist in relation to group discrimination is by testing the "underclass hypothesis," which represents the combined effects of three different hypotheses. Namely, that race, socioeconomic status, or political influence is the basis of service inequality. For any of these factors to influence service policy or delivery would result in service distributions which are favorable to white, affluent, influential citizens and to the disadvantage of minority, lower income, and powerless citizens.

To test this "underclass hypothesis," Lineberry studied fire, library, park, and police services in San Antonio, Texas (1977) . He found no "patterned" inequality that could readily be attributed to the "underclass hypothesis," but he did uncover "unpatterned" inequality in San Antonio's service provision. Although there had been evidence of inequality in providing public services, such evidence was not found in all instances. For example, in an attempt to identify whether inequality was present in one service area, Blank et al. studied the distribution of specific library resources in New York City by

examining the relationship between the distribution of library expenditures, library holdings, neighborhood, income, and race (1969).

Blank et al. found no distinct relationships between resource distribution and neighborhood race or income. Additionally, Block studied the distribution of police manpower by neighborhood to identify any patterns of inequality (1974). Again, no clear patterns of service inequality across neighborhoods emerged.

Studies which address equality in local services delivery report mixed findings. Service inequality varies across cities and service areas. One feature associated with these studies is that equality is measured by service output. Researchers tended to use service expenditures and resources, for example, facilities and manpower, as the basis upon which to measure service distribution. Outputs were employed to investigate the consequences of service distributions (Martin, 1969; Mladenka and Hill, 1977).

With the standard of equality, the operating principle had been to allocate the same amount of resources throughout the particular jurisdiction. While assuring "equal protection," such a mode of operations failed to allow for varying individual or neighborhood needs and preferences. The standard appeared to assume uniformity in the service delivery area. A gap existed between the principle of equality and how citizens as recipients perceived those services in light of taxes paid or their own needs. Recognition of this disparity further changed the tenor of research on urban services, turning the focus even more from the provider/outputs towards the recipient/outcomes.

Evaluation of service outcomes is central to the study of equity. In examining the outcomes of service delivery, there are two general methods utilized to apply the equity standard. The proportion of taxes paid by the citizen in light of services received is one basis of application. The other is to assess the benefits of services by need, with the premise that allocations should address recipient needs. In support of this point, Merget and Berger have argued:

"Outcomes or social states . . . define the final good, or the objective function of public-sector services. The norm implicit in outcomes or social states is equity" (1982: 36, 37). Equity in public services thus addresses the impact of services upon the citizen's life conditions.

The study of equity has been approached in three ways. One way is through debate over metropolitan reorganization. Central to these debates and studies on institutional arrangements is the idea that governmental structure (i.e., polycentric versus monocentric) and institutional arrangements condition the equitable distribution of services (Hirsch, 1964; Newton, 1975; Ostrom, 1971, 1974; Yin and Yates, 1974; Campbell, 1976; Collins and Downs, 1977; Rich, 1977, 1979).

Equity has also been extensively analyzed in light of constitutional and legal principles. Studies here include the broader notion of justice and fairness and reflect judicial activity in the provision of public services (Hart, 1974; Rawls, 1971; Berke, 1974; Merget and Wolff, 1976; Merget, 1981).

Considering equity as a manifestation of bureaucratic decision rules is the third approach taken by researchers (Jones, Greenburg, and Drew, 1977; Lucy and Mladenka, 1978; Merget and Berger, 1982).

In this perspective,

[L]ocal service bureaucracies, in their role as implementors of policy, make the final determination of the incidence of burdens and benefits of services for the individual citizen. Administrative decision rules and professional norms thus become important determinants of policy (Antunes and Plumlee, 1977: 314).

These studies of equity present the theme that professional norms and bureaucratic processes are often animated in service outcomes.

Probably the most frequently cited work on the distribution and impact of public goods and services on the citizenry is that of Levy et al., 1974, Urban Outcomes. They studied decision rules leading to resource allocations in three service areas of Oakland, California: streets, libraries, and schools. The analysis, in turn, revealed three outcomes, each based on a different norm; one is equal opportunity. Using equal opportunity as a guide by which services are allocated allows for each citizen to receive the same amount of services. Another, market equity, uses the proportion of taxes paid by the citizen as the standard for service allocation. The last measure is equal results; namely that the condition of all citizens is equal once services are allocated.

Each of these standards requires greater redistribution of resources other than the preceding one. Levy et al. found that outcomes differ by service area and that the patterns of allocation

tended to favor the extremes of the economic strata. Very seldom did resource allocations have an impact upon services for the middle class.

The literature on equity broadens the study of local service delivery, both conceptually and in terms of application. For some researchers, the earlier standard of equality was problematic because it was static and assessed solely by outputs (Rich, 1979). That standard failed to allow for sufficient consideration of service recipient needs. Moreover, the dynamic quality of urban neighborhoods required a means by which varied service needs and preferences could be met. A focus on outcomes, rather than outputs, provided for greater attention not only to service inequality but also its impact. Attention given to those who make allocation decisions also provided greater understanding of the "why" behind disparate service distributions.

Another research dimension which provides commentary upon the recipient/outcome is responsiveness, which addresses the quality of the exchange relationship between the local government and the citizen. "Knowing the priorities of citizens and the sources of their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with local services provides one potentially important basis for decisions and policy" (Fowler, 1980: 4). The key to determining the service responsiveness lies with the citizens whose daily lives are affected. By definition, responsiveness is the extent to which the needs, preferences, and demands of the citizen are met by local government, and the literature reflects two general approaches to the study of responsiveness in urban service delivery.

Some urban scholars address public services as policy outputs and examine the congruence between policy outputs and citizen preferences (Curry, 1976; Clark, 1974; Hoffman and Clark, 1979). For example, using the preferences of the "median voter" as a standard, research indicates that there are times when services provided by urban governments are underproduced (Hoffman, 1976). Citizen service preferences are not always met. Responsiveness, then, is addressed in terms of the degree to which service policy parallels the citizen's desires or preferences. The other trend followed by those studying responsiveness examines the extent to which citizen service demands are met by concentrating on what is termed "citizen contacting."

Contacting is an "attempt to gain service representation" (Greene, 1982a: 61). As an attempt to acquire benefits or be heard regarding needs, contacting is also considered a form of nonelectoral participatory activity. Much of the research in the area of citizen contacting involves the use of socioeconomic variables to predict a citizen's propensity to contact elected officials. There is general consensus in the literature that few citizens engage in contacting. Research findings on citizen contacting are contradictory, and much of the disparity lies in the use of the socioeconomic variables. Black citizens tend to contact public officials to a lesser degree than do white citizens; and there is a positive relationship between socioeconomic status and contact tendency (Aberbach and Walker, 1970; Eisenger, 1972; Jacob, 1972; Vedlitz and Veblen, 1980). Yet when social well being is used to predict contacting tendencies, a negative

relationship is found (Vedlitz, Dyer, and Durand, 1980).

Most often, citizen contacting is problem specific, namely, citizens usually contact officials in reference to a definite problem, generally the lack of a certain service relevant to the particular citizen (Antunes and Mladenka, 1976; Mladenka, 1999). Furthermore, it has been observed that need is central to citizen contacts with public officials (Sharp, 1984). Jones, Greenberg, Kaufman, and Drew (1977) studied particularized citizen contacting in two Detroit bureaucracies. They tested a "need-awareness" theory, which posits that particularized contacts "are a multiplicative function of need for the service and awareness that government is relevant for the amelioration of the need" (1977: 164).

In lieu of the traditional socioeconomic model generally associated with studies on citizen participation, this analysis utilized social well being, a variable which is closely related to other variables of socioeconomic status. The results lucidly demonstrated both a parabolic relationship between contacting and social well being and a direct relationship between social well being and awareness. Also, the researchers found that in controlling for the effects of social well being, there was no difference in degree of contact between black and white citizens.

Concern about the socioeconomic model's disparate findings prompted Sharp to conduct a random sample telephone survey of Wichita, Kansas, citizens (1982). Further, she retested the Jones need-awareness model but did so by employing traditional socioeconomic variables

and including "general-referent" contacts. She found that the relationships posited by the Jones need-awareness model are consistent with the use of the socioeconomic variables rather than social well being, but she concluded that the model is limited to particularized contacts only. Sharp's results substantiated earlier work on the positive relationship between socioeconomic status and the likelihood of citizens contacting public officials.

Other studies on responsiveness and citizen contacting examined the results rather than the process. Jacob found that black citizens were more dissatisfied with the contacting results than were whites (1972). Finally, when the responsiveness of public officials was examined, the findings were inconclusive.

Mladenka, in his one city study, found no variation in public officials' responsiveness to citizen contacts on the basis of race or income, but Jones found variations in officials' responsiveness to citizen contacts. For instance, in areas of the city with citizens identified in the middle range of social well being (and who also tended to be the most particularized contactors), there was a tendency for no governmental response. In a study of fifty-one cities, using the Permanent Community Sample, elected officials were surveyed to identify the presence and degree of responsiveness bias toward group demands (Shumaker and Getter, 1983). The mail survey targeted groups, including public and private sector, civic, neighborhood, and religious organizations which interact most frequently with officials. It was found that "generally there is greater bias toward advantaged

groups than toward disadvantaged groups, and that such bias is particularly pervasive against substantially nonwhite groups" (1983: 26).

These studies definitely suggest a lack of responsiveness in both areas, citizen service preferences and citizen contacts with local officials. As a partial explanation, Greene posits that administrators' professional orientations and their "lack of resource flexibility" minimize their receptivity to contacts by citizens and elected officials (Greene, 1982: 61). The clear implication from research on responsiveness is that there is a need to observe bureaucratic autonomy and discretion more closely and provide a means for further citizen influence on local service policy.

The last major area of research which emphasizes the service delivery recipient/outcome is citizen evaluation of service delivery. This particular dimension is aimed directly at the citizen as service recipient and the generation of service outcomes in daily life. Citizens are consumers of urban services, and "the nature of municipal services is such that citizens can tell immediately whether a service has been delivered" (Yates, 1977: 18). From a study of Illinois cities with populations of 25,000 and above, Walzer and Fisher stated "[the] types of services provided and their level of quality are of major concern to residents" (1981: 9). Citizens, therefore, are acutely aware of the presence or absence of urban services, and they are also concerned about the kind and quality of services. It has been noted that "even if objective data show a policy to be highly

effective, the perception and ultimate evaluation of the policy by the citizen directly affected by it must be taken into account" (Caputo, 1973: 93).

Citizen evaluations of urban services allow for citizen appraisal of service quality, that is, whether satisfied or dissatisfied and also provide feedback relative to service needs and preferences.

Studies of citizen evaluation of services are based on survey data acquired through either interviews or questionnaires. These surveys are a source of citizen feedback on various facets of local government and policy (Ostrom, 1973; Fowler, 1974; Clark, 1974; Hatry and Blair, 1976; McIver and Ostrom, 1976; Rodgers and Friedman, 1978). Surveys are considered a primary means of citizen participation, serving to enhance "communication between city hall and the community [and] citizen involvement and participation in urban policy making" (Wassenich, 1976; Heiss, 1980: 9). Surveys are a tool by which the "public pulse [can be tested]--especially on citizen experiences and perceptions of government services" (Webb and Hatry, 1973: 1). Information obtained through surveys of citizen attitudes can, for instance, identify service areas which are incongruent with citizen requirements/preferences or need improvement. As Molnar and Smith rightly observed: "Improvements in service delivery systems are based on our knowledge of the inadequacies of existing activities" (1982: 479).

There are three general avenues of research which attend to citizen evaluation of urban services. One method is to compare individual evaluations of services with objective indicators of service

quality. Another compares changes in citizen service evaluations over time. Lastly, there are urban scholars who specifically address citizen satisfaction with services and identify dimensions of satisfaction or underlying sources of attitudes.

Studies comparing objective indicators of service quality and citizen evaluations generally report the absence of a relationship between objective performance indicators and citizen evaluations of service quality. In his study of Los Angeles County police, parks, and recreation, Stipak found no overt relationship between the objective service indicators and citizen evaluations of services (1974). Furthermore, in a later study, Stipak found no relationship between objective service indicators and citizen evaluations of police service in Los Angeles County (1979).

In another analysis of police services, Kansas City Preventative Patrol Experiment, it was found that three different patrol conditions had no appreciable effect on citizen satisfaction with police services (Kelling, Pate, Dieckman, and Brown, 1974). Also, there was no relationship between objective indicators of service and subjective evaluations done by citizens. Comparing objective indicators and citizen evaluations of police services in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Brown and Coulter developed and tested a model of citizen evaluations, and from their findings, argued that "citizen satisfaction with a particular domain of their lives is determined by their assessment of the different parts of that domain" (1983: 51).

Brown and Coulter examined a variety of hypotheses relative to citizen satisfaction with local police services. Variables employed

to represent parts of the domain standing between the independent variables and citizen satisfaction included citizen expectations, contact with police, victimization, and evaluation of service quality. Independent variables used were age, race, income, and education. It was found that education and income were significant predictors of citizen satisfaction with police services; blacks were more dissatisfied than whites; and expectations were important in understanding citizen evaluations of services. On the other hand, no relationship was found between the objective indicators and citizen evaluations of police services. Pondering the variance between objective measures and citizen evaluations, Brown and Coulter stated that

[p]erhaps one important reason why objective service conditions do not affect satisfaction levels is that citizens interpret objective service conditions through their subjective service expectations. Citizens may evaluate what they get in terms of what they expect (1983: 57).

These studies of police services indicated no relationship between citizen evaluations and objective measures of service conditions. A few studies do, however, suggest a relationship between objective indicators and subjective evaluations. Using "streets" as a service area, Carrol found that the evaluations by citizens reflected objective measures (Brown and Coulter, 1983: 51). Additionally, in an examination of four service areas, refuse collection, parks/playgrounds, police, and schools, Schuman and Gruenberg found a positive relationship between citizen evaluations and objective criteria (1972).

Nonetheless, the bulk of the findings support the principal contention that there is little relationship between objectively measured service conditions and citizen evaluations of those same conditions.

It has been argued that citizens are not sufficiently knowledgeable about services to assess their quality and that, as long as services are within "some adequate range," citizens pay little attention. Thus, differences in service quality might be obscured (Stipak, 1977; 1979: 48). Brudney and England examined the criticisms surrounding the comparisons of citizen evaluations with objective service measures (1982). They suggested that both measures are useful in forming a composite picture of service delivery quality in an urban environment. The role of the citizen as service recipient and consumer cannot, however, be discounted, and there is a definite need to further investigate citizen perceptions of service delivery and the determinants of those perceptions (Angrist, 1976).

Research by Durand (1976) and Hicks (1982) are examples of studies which examine changes in citizen evaluations of urban services over time. In his single city surveys, conducted in 1956 and 1968, Durand concentrated on three aspects of citizen evaluations: (1) satisfaction, (2) sources of satisfaction, and (3) levels of satisfaction (1976). Four service areas were investigated: parks, police, refuse collection, and schools. The major independent variables were race and social characteristics (age, class, region of upbringing, and neighborhood racial composition). Durand found that with the exception of schools,

variance in service satisfaction was associated with race. Whites, for instance, were more dissatisfied in 1956 than in 1968 (except with refuse collection service), and the opposite held for Blacks, who were more dissatisfied in 1968 than 1956 (1976: 702, 703). It was found that the listed associations (social characteristics and services) were moderately weak and that changes in sources of satisfaction with services were attributed to changes in attitudes. Race was also found to be a significant predictor of change in levels of satisfaction, with Blacks generally increasing their levels of dissatisfaction across services, particularly police services.

A similar study which examined patterns of change in citizen evaluations of service quality was done by Hicks (1982). Using data from the Dallas City Profile Survey, for 1974, 1976, and 1978, he analyzed service evaluations in five areas: police, fire, refuse, street, and library services, and also examined patterns of change within citizen subgroups, race/ethnicity (Anglo, Hispanic, Black), and housing tenure (renter/owner). In each of the service areas, service quality was evaluated as having declined. Within the subgroups, there was variation. Relative to street services, Blacks and homeowners stated that quality had improved between 1974 and 1976 then declined; citing Hispanic evaluators only, street service quality was assessed as higher among homeowners than renters. Hicks also found that subgroups evaluate services differently, with Blacks tending to be less satisfied than other subgroups. Overall, the findings illustrated that racial/ethnic minorities are generally not as satisfied as Anglos (1982: 92).

There are a number of studies which address citizen evaluations of services by focusing on attitudes of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

[S]atisfaction with municipal services constitutes a judgement in which citizens interpret the reality of service delivery; this according to individually defined satisfaction criteria (Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980: 586).

Campbell, Converse, and Rogers evaluated citizen satisfaction with services as an attribute of the general community (1976). Based on the model put forth in their work, the authors argued that

[s]atisfaction within a domain depends upon assessments of various attributes of that domain, which in turn, depend upon the perception of that attribute in relation to the standards of comparison by which an individual judges it (1976: 261).

Attributes of the community domain include, for example, public service, taxes, and climate. Using six individual service areas, streets/roads, public schools, refuse collection, parks/playgrounds, police, and public transportation, Campbell et al. (1976) solicited evaluation of services. Each of the services was, at minimum, rated "fairly good," with refuse collection receiving the highest rating and parks/playgrounds the lowest. Citizen satisfaction varied across services.

In the same vein, Louvrich and Taylor (1978) conducted a study of Denver County, Colorado neighborhoods. Also using income and

race/ethnicity as predictors, they examined: (1) general feelings toward neighborhood services; (2) evaluations of city operations; (3) whether citizens felt they were getting their money's worth for taxes; (4) police services; and (5) the impact of neighborhood conditions on perception of services. They found that ethnicity significantly impacts perceptions toward local government, with Blacks and Chicanos tending to evaluate government more negatively than whites. Relative to perceptions on neighborhood conditions, they found that the "effect of neighborhood condition on citizen satisfaction is largely independent of socioeconomic factors"; furthermore, the effect of neighborhood conditions on service delivery and government performance is uniform (Louvrich and Taylor, 1978: 214). Thus, the importance of ethnicity and neighborhood conditions cannot be underplayed, for both factors also affect perceptions of police services. Upon evaluating the results, Louvrich and Taylor reflected that

[i]n sum, the actual character of inequality of city conditions, in some sense a measure of relative need for services, appears to have a persistent effect on the perceptions of citizens in their analysis of city performance (1978: 214).

Fitzgerald and Durant, in turn, developed a four component model of citizen satisfaction/response, and based on data acquired through a telephone survey of urban Tennesseans, four propositions were tested (1980). Essentially, they argued that citizen response (desire for additional influence) is conditioned by satisfaction with services, which is influenced by service exposure; and these three components

are affected by background characteristics. The characteristics that functioned as explanatory variables in their study were race, income, age, city size, municipal responsiveness, and assessment of municipal cost/benefit. The five service areas being evaluated (police, fire, education, sanitation, and streets), were the dependent variables. It was found that citizens were generally satisfied with municipal services, although some dissatisfaction existed. Again, as in other studies, satisfaction varied across services. To illustrate, sampled Tennesseans were most satisfied with fire services (87 percent) and least satisfied with streets (47 percent). Similarly, citizens varied in the degree to which they desire additional influence and that desire also shifts across services. The predictive patterns suggested by the model are statistically founded. Satisfaction with services is a good predictor of desire for additional influence. Additionally, there are particular findings which warrant mention for herein lies the uniqueness of the research. When examining correlates of satisfaction and desire for additional influence, Fitzgerald and Durant noted that assessment of cost benefit was the strongest predictor of satisfaction.

Clearly, one dimension of citizen satisfaction with urban services is whether citizens think they are receiving their money's worth in services. Other predictor variables, such as age and income, did not fare well. Moreover, the "limited explanatory role of responsiveness" suggests that citizens want additional influence to obtain more satisfaction with services" (1980: 591). Contrasting

the value of background characteristics such as race and income in other studies, these variables functioned as modest predictors in this model. This work's novelty lies in the assessment of municipal cost/benefit as a strong predictor variable and the relative weakness of such generally accepted predictors as race.

The results also have implications for the role of the citizen in a democratic polity because as Fitzgerald and Durant observed,

[o]ur data indicate that many urbanites do not feel that their views are sufficiently influential with administrators to assure a satisfactory level of services, and accordingly, citizens desire more say in how these services are delivered (1980: 592).

Brudney and England's "Analyzing Citizen Evaluations of Municipal Services" (1982a) explored interrelationships underlying citizen service evaluations. This study sought to address limitations of previous research by expanding the number of services investigated, using multivariate techniques to clarify apparent contradictory findings through comparison of attitudinal determinants across service types, and by examining interrelationships between services and evaluations. The data were based on evaluations of 540 Norman, Oklahoma residents and twelve service areas. Using factor analysis, they found three service dimensions: streets, health/safety, and amenities.

Once the dimensions underlying the citizen evaluations were delineated, Brudney and England then selected ten independent variables which are generally used as predictors. These variables were employed with the three service dimensions in order to uncover

the determinants of citizen attitudes. After utilizing both bivariate and multivariate techniques, they found that some of the relationships established through the bivariate analyses did not hold under multivariate analysis. Furthermore, different predictor variables were effective for particular service dimensions. Thus, the authors argued the need for multivariate techniques and variance in determinants of citizen attitudes toward services.

These findings suggest a more heterogeneous conception of citizen evaluations of services than adopted in previous research, and support the contention . . . that the determinants of service attitudes may not be uniform across various services (Brudney and England, 1982: 366).

In turn, Doh Shin posited that subjective indicators are underutilized in services problem-solving (1982: 99). Using ridit analysis on data from fifteen cities, Shin examined citizen satisfaction with four service areas and argued that an understanding of citizen satisfaction with services is predicated upon a need to examine levels and distributions of subjective indicators. Thus to Shin, urban service quality is a function of both characteristics, and he demonstrated variation in satisfaction across cities, services, and racial composition of neighborhoods. When comparing the two measures of satisfaction, service adequacy and service inequality, the cities were ranked differently; the findings suggested that although the majority of citizens in the fifteen cities were satisfied with delivered services, levels of satisfaction differ. Also, in a given city, citizens may be satisfied with the adequacy of services but

felt that their individual needs were not being met equally, and vice versa.

Marlow's study of citizen evaluation of refuse collection in Tucson, Arizona brought a new dimension to contemporary studies of citizen satisfaction (1985). She compared the levels of satisfaction between two groups of citizens, one which had services provided by the city and one that subscribed to the private sector for refuse collection services. The innovation in this analysis was the comparison of satisfaction levels based on two distinct delivery modes. Marlow found similar satisfaction levels among citizens using both delivery modes.

In summary, there are patterns found within the literature on citizen evaluation of urban services. These patterns also indicate several limitations in the research. First, most research focuses upon single or few services (generally four or five). Second, research tends to be, by and large, singular in focus, examining evaluations and service conditions in an individual city or state. Few comparative studies are available and even fewer national studies. Third, the findings tend to be contradictory. This specific limitation focuses on the import of demographic variables as strong predictors and even more so on the impact of subjective indicators upon service evaluations. Finally, the studies are predominantly atheoretical.

These limitations do not, however, suggest that there are no strengths in the research on citizen satisfaction with local service delivery. On the contrary, there are many instructive aspects as

well. To illustrate, there clearly is far more to be learned regarding citizen satisfaction. We have new methods of conceptualizing satisfaction, ways of measuring satisfaction, and we are beginning to sense the determinants of satisfaction. What remains to be done, however, is to articulate the determinants of satisfaction, particularly those elements which are perceptual in nature. Were this to be accomplished, some of the limitations might be minimized.

To summarize, there are four areas of research which concentrate on the recipient/outcome of local public services; these are equality, equity, responsiveness, and citizen evaluation. Common to these studies is attention to the recipient (i.e., the citizen), and the impact services have upon his/her social condition. At each step on the continuum from equality to evaluation, the citizen/recipient progressively becomes the focal point of the research. Ironically, the studies begin with the citizen calling attention to service needs and perceived disparities. Yet, at the end, it is found that some scholars feel that many citizens are insufficiently knowledgeable to assess the adequacy and quality of services (Stipak, 1977). Citizens are a crucial facet of the service delivery process, and it is herein argued that citizen evaluation of local services is an important dimension of the entire delivery process and not nearly enough is known about it.

3. AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF SATISFACTION WITH LOCAL SERVICES

Public opinion matters. Attitudes and opinions are the antecedents to actual behavior and participation. Moreover, in a democratic political culture and system, public opinion is "supposed" to matter. There are also practical reasons for valuing public opinion/Foremost is the fact that the opinions serve as feedback on system policy and outputs.

Political scientists are interested in the individual's attitudes and behavior relative to political objects. In this study, political objects are public services provided by local municipalities. To understand the individual's attitudes toward public services, an approach is needed which readily addresses those attitudes, allows political implications to be drawn, and furthers understanding of the attitudinal antecedents. Social psychology provides such an approach, for as Kirkpatrick and Pettit stated: "as a reference point for understanding attitudes and behavior [Its] focus is on the explanation of political attitudes and behavior" (1972: 3, 8). This research thus examines citizen attitudes toward public services as significant political objects. It also investigates the antecedents of citizen attitudes toward public services so as to explore the way citizen evaluations of public services are shaped by values, beliefs, and attitudes "over a set of life experiences characterizing the individual's socialization process and one's perceptions of objects in the political world" (Kirkpatrick and Pettit, 1972: 7). Thus, we contend that to understand citizen attitudes

toward local services, it is necessary to identify those values and beliefs which impinge upon service evaluations. This suggests that to interpret and ultimately account for a citizen's attitudes toward public services, one must conceive of that citizen in a contextual fashion; that is, within the local environment and within the confines of his/her own life experience. It has been argued that:

the relationship between objective conditions and the psychological states is very imperfect and that in order to know the quality of life experience, it will be necessary to go to the individual for his description of how his life feels to him. This obviously will take us into the subjective world of perceptions, expectations, feelings, and values and will involve us in excruciating problems of definition and measurement (Campbell et al., 1976: 4).

There are, then, three basic justifications for the further study of citizen attitudes toward local service delivery: one, the study is justified for democratic reasons; in a democratic policy what citizens think is supposed to matter. Two, there are practical motives for analyzing citizen attitudes and opinions; citizen evaluations give decision making a basis for adjusting policy. Three, an examination of the citizenry's entire attitudinal structure as it relates to service delivery will strengthen our understanding of how and why people make their decisions.

By taking the more subjective approach of "asking the citizens," it is anticipated that certain factors exist which influence service evaluations. It is also expected that some of these factors are unrelated to service delivery or the specific services under evaluation. Furthermore, it is expected that as individuals differ, distinctions

among them will be reflected in attitudes as illustrated by evaluations. Therefore, the basic research question for this study is: To what extent do citizens differ in their evaluations of local public services, to what effect, and why?

The research question has three fundamental aspects. The first part specifically addresses the idea that citizens differ in their attitudes toward public services as evidenced by their evaluations of particular services. One can identify the degree of variation in the evaluations within and across services. If there are underlying dimensions, these also can be recognized and analyzed. The effect of the evaluation differentials rendered by citizens may have consequences for or merit consideration by political decision makers. This aspect approaches the core of all things democratic.

Secondly, if evaluations indicate gross dissatisfaction or show that needs/preferences are not being met through current services, the results could have implications for municipal service delivery policy. Finally, as one's thoughts turn to the question of why citizens differ in their evaluations of public services, the heart of this research surfaces. Factors which may act as confounding influences upon citizens' public service evaluations need to be identified. Once these elements are defined, major reservations that some scholars have regarding citizen evaluations can, to a degree, be alleviated.

The uniqueness of the research lies in the development and application of a more elaborate model of citizen satisfaction with local

service delivery than has previously been developed. This model consists of three components that are operationally defined and tested. The model posits that influences of various and distinctive factors act as determinants of citizen attitudes toward urban services. Specifically, it is hypothesized that demographic characteristics, environmental characteristics, and the political environment may influence how citizens feel about themselves and their lives in general. This in turn affects their evaluation of public services.

This study of citizen satisfaction with urban service delivery addresses some of the limitations found in the literature on citizen evaluations of local services. First, the number of service areas under consideration exceeds that generally found in the literature by examining nine areas: fire, police, education, parks/playgrounds, refuse collection, street lighting, road repair/maintenance, transportation, and public health. Second, the data utilized are based on a national poll conducted by the Harris organization. Third, the research tests a more comprehensive model of citizen attitudes toward local services. As a result, key unresolved issues about the use of citizen evaluations, and the role of perceptions as they affect evaluations, are brought to bear through rigorous testing of the model.

4. SUBSEQUENT CHAPTERS

Chapter Two consists of three major areas. The first part is the theoretical background which forms the model's basis. The next

section presents the proposed model. Since the movement is from a verbal model to a mathematical one, all of the principal components, variables, and relationships are set forth. The last point of consideration is a discussion of the relevant data and methods employed to test the model. Chapter Three presents the descriptive statistics, and a complete array of the data is provided therein. Chapter Four sets forth the actual testing of the model, and a detailed data analysis is presented relative to the model. Chapter Five presents the summary, conclusions, and implications for further research of this study.

CHAPTER TWO

A SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF CITIZEN SERVICE EVALUATION

1. THE LOCAL SERVICE CRUNCH

American cities continue to face a changing world over which they exert little control but which affects them greatly. In the past two decades the Federal Government has created a tenuous fiscal and policy climate for local decision makers. More and more, cities feel the wane of federal funds and sufficient local tax revenue. The dearth of federal funds and tax revenue is felt most in the provision of public services to local citizens. One example of the fiscal impact of public services is fire protection. "Fire protection represents one of the largest categories of local government expenditures" (Coe, 1983: 72). This uncertain climate portends grave implications. Basic services are pressed by the reality and tension of growth and scarcity. In a crescendo, cities are finding themselves unable to provide services solely at their own expense. These characteristics of the local polity highlight the issue of urban services for both municipal decision makers and urban scholars, as, increasingly, they examine the level and quality of services available to local communities.

One aspect of this expanded attention toward local services is citizen assessment of service quality. The study of citizen evaluation of public services is complex, and occasions policy

implications. Debate continues about the import and use of citizen service evaluations in making policy decisions. At issue is whether the subjective evaluations of citizens actually reflect objective indicators of service performance and quality (Parks, 1984, 1982; Brown and Coulter, 1983; Brudney and England, 1982; Stipak, 1980, 1979a, 1979b). Disparate findings and conclusions have not been resolved. A primary step in developing a clear understanding of the importance and usefulness of citizen service evaluations will be the delineation of attitudinal determinants. Building on previous research, this chapter intends to develop a model of the citizen evaluation process relative to local services.

Of particular importance is the use of models in citizen service evaluation research. The development of this conceptual framework will merit the testing of these and subsequent data. In examining citizen attitudes toward local services, this research develops, applies, and tests a model of the citizen evaluation process. Nine public service areas are designated for study: fire protection, police services, education, parks and playgrounds, refuse collection, street lighting, road repair and maintenance, transportation, and public health. These nine public service areas are indicators of the major dependent variable, citizen service attitudes. In order to investigate the determinants of citizen service attitudes, the major factors hypothesized to condition them are analyzed.

Specification of Key Relationships in the Proposed Model

Service attitudes function as the dependent variable. The model examines satisfaction levels across services. The explained variance in levels of satisfaction will be determined by statistically manipulating two distinctive types of variables, titled Background and Social Psychological. The background category consists of indicators of demographic, spatial, and political-governmental characteristics. The social psychological category contains two components of variables. The first is comprised of indicators of dwelling unit perceptions and, perceptions of the resident community define the second component. These indicators tend to be perceptive.

The key relationships predicted in this model hinge upon the influence and behavior of the social psychological variables. These are expected to depend upon the more background variables and to operate independently in relation to the attitudes citizens hold about services as measured by service evaluations. Essentially, then, two factors are being explored as conditioning the evaluations of local public services: background and social psychological. The descriptive factors are predicted to condition the perceptual social psychological factors.

This chapter thus presents a more elaborate model of citizen satisfaction than is currently found in the urban literature. With emphasis on the intervening social psychological category, this model addresses the determinants of citizen attitudes toward services as

the determinants of citizen attitudes toward services as indicated by evaluation of nine public services.

Prior to presenting the model, we first outline the theoretical background upon which the model is based and which provides a context for the relationships depicted by and hypothesized in the model. Included in this initial section are the use of theory and models in social science and how models have been used in studying citizen satisfaction with local service delivery. Models which form the foundation for this study are examined, and then the proposed model is presented and elaborated. As a result, the context for this study and the nature of the relationships being tested form the whole of the chapter.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The Use of Theory in Social Science

The role of theory is to predict and explain relationships between propositions about significant social phenomena. Theory construction is a building process which aims toward generalization. Theory seeks the broader application of facts. Theories provide the patterns by which data are interpreted and allow studies to be linked to each other (Hoover, 1980: 39). Theory is important to this research as it links hypotheses and findings from different studies and in its ability to expand the present knowledge of citizen satisfaction with local services by applying what is known to a larger set of events.

Studies pertinent to this research are based on models of citizen evaluations of local services. The selected models serve as both a means to identify types of studies and to provide order within the overall conceptual framework of the model being developed and tested. Accordingly, the models then fulfill the role articulated by Hoover, who observed that, "[s]cientists use the term 'model' to convey an implication of greater order and system in a theory" (1976: 65).

Several research models of citizen satisfaction with local services are closely examined in this chapter. Their concepts, significant variables and relationships and subsequent findings function as important building blocks for the model applied in this study. The first model to be introduced is that developed by Marlowe in 1985.

Theoretical Models of Citizen Evaluation of Service Delivery

Marlowe (1985) developed a model to predict differences in levels of citizen satisfaction with refuse removal service. Specifically, the aim of her research was to identify variations in satisfaction levels among citizens, by comparing service evaluations of residents who subscribe to (pay for) private service and those who receive publicly delivered refuse removal service. The research is based on a single city, Tuscon, Arizona. Marlowe tested her research question by comparing citizens' evaluations of specific refuse removal characteristics.

The model is simple, consisting of two components. The components treat only service associated variables. There is a predictor component, "facets of service"; and a dependent component, "overall satisfaction." "Facets of service" consists of twelve variables. Each of these variables represents an aspect of refuse removal. The twelve variables are: day of pickup, hour of pickup, pickup frequency, cleanliness after pickup, noise during pickup, pickup site, size/weight limits, pickup failure, pickup cost, pickup as scheduled, kinds of refuse picked up, holiday pickup schedule, and overall satisfaction (Marlowe, 1985: 359).

In this model, the researcher targets the objective characteristics of the service and the citizen's evaluation of those characteristics. The demographic characteristics of the citizens and neighborhoods were not included as variables in the model. A modified version of the model is shown in Figure 2.1.

An analysis of the results indicated citizen satisfaction with both public and private refuse removal services. There was no significant difference in satisfaction level for any of the refuse removal factors, whether provided publicly or privately. An examination of the multiple regression on overall satisfaction shows that four of the twelve variables are statistically significant at least at the .05 level. The four variables are noise during pickup, pickup failure, holiday pickup schedule, and cleanliness after pickup. Cleanliness after pickup ranked as the strongest predictor of overall satisfaction with refuse removals. It explains 39% of the

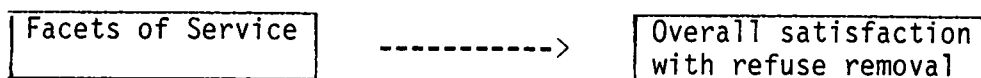


Figure 2.1. Marlowe's Model of Citizen Satisfaction
(Marlowe, 1985: 359)

variance. With this exception, however, the relational strength of the other three variables to overall satisfaction appears rather weak.

Marlowe's work expands the contemporary literature on alternative service delivery mechanisms by comparing private subscription to public provision of refuse removal and testing levels of citizen satisfaction. The research findings do, however, have subtle implications. Regarding the four significant predictors of overall satisfaction, the most salient is a type which requires the greatest amount of subjectivity by the citizen/evaluator, cleanliness after pickup. The citizen sets the standard by which cleanliness is defined and consequently compared. The strongest predictor represents an area in which the citizen's perception of objective reality weighs heavily.

The research by Brown and Coulter (1983) addresses two issues. One, the disparate findings and conclusions of earlier studies regarding the usefulness of certain variables as predictors of citizen satisfaction with public services. They also examine the contested issue of whether subjective, i.e., citizen, evaluations of service level of service and quality reflect objective indicators of service level and quality. The study is of a single service in a single

city, police protection, in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Drawing from earlier modeling of satisfaction developed by Marans and Rogers (1975), Campbell, et al. (1976), and Campbell (1981), Brown and Coulter develop a model consisting of two explanatory and one dependent factor. Using their model, Brown and Coulter argue that satisfaction with a particular area of domain of life is contingent upon assessments of its different segments. Further, characteristics of the citizen, service, and neighborhood act to condition the appraisal of the parts of the domain in question. Police service is the domain of life for which satisfaction level is being predicted. A modified version of the model is depicted in Figure 2.2.

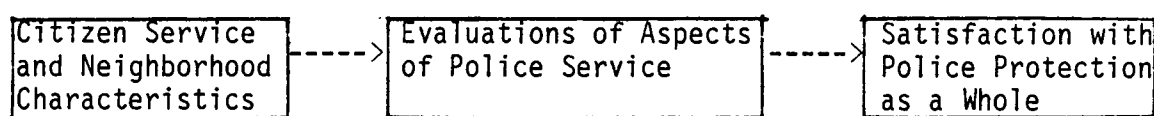


Figure 2.2. Modified Brown and Coulter Model (1983: 51)

The first portion of the model addresses citizen, service, and neighborhood characteristics. It consists of five distinct components, each of which generates its own hypothesis. Component one, demographic characteristics of the citizen, is comprised of variables representing the age, race, income, education, and sex of the respondent. Component two, political attitudes, is measured by the citizen's assessment of the quality of local government and their sense of efficacy. Service delivery is the next component. Variables used here identify the objective service conditions within the respondent's neighborhoods.

The objective service indicators are: number of arrests/number of serious crimes; officers dispatched; zone crime rates/population; and response time. Component four, service experience, another objective service indicator, identifies and measures both the respondent's actual contact with the police and victimization. The last component of this first major part of the model is expectations, based on a single measure, feeling of safeness.

The next part of the model is titled assessments of parts of the service domain. Six indicators are used. Two of these relate to "satisfaction" and four relate to the respondent's "perception of equity" in terms of the services received and degree of crime. These four indicators provide a frame of reference and comparative value to the model. The parts of the domain being assessed are: satisfaction with police response time and treatment of police, perceived equity of police protection, response time, treatment of people, and amount of crime.

Based on earlier research, Brown and Coulter expected that demographic characteristics would predict satisfaction, with age, income, and education being positively related to satisfaction. It was hypothesized that a positive relationship would be found between political/attitudinal indicators and police service satisfaction, while service experience was expected to be negatively related to satisfaction with these services (1983: 52).

Citizen evaluations of aspects of police service account for .55% of the variance in explaining satisfaction with service.

Satisfaction with response time and treatment by police and perceived equity of police protection are the three aspects of the police service domain which prove to be statistically significant contributors to citizen satisfaction with police service. The amount of variance explained by these variables is .45%, .30%, and .43%, respectively.

Having established a relationship between assessments of parts of the police domain and satisfaction with police service as a whole, next, Brown and Coulter examine the relationships between the respondent, service and neighborhood characteristics and the three aspects of police service which predict citizen satisfaction. The first aspect of police service tested is satisfaction with response time. Demographic characteristics, age, race and income tested as expected and are statistically significant predictors of satisfaction with response time. Both political-attitudinal variables and feeling of safeness tested positively and significantly with police response time. Victimization exhibited a negative and statistically significant relationship with this aspect of police service satisfaction. Collectively, the variables in the equation explain .15% of the variance in predicting satisfaction with response time. Of all the statistically significant variables, age, income, and victimization proved to be the strongest contributors to understanding this aspect of police service satisfaction. Perceived equity in how the police treat people is the second aspect of service tested. The independent variables explain .21% of the variance in this relationship. The same variables which made statistically significant contributions to understanding

satisfaction with response time contribute also to understanding this aspect of police service satisfaction. Additionally, sex emerges as statistically significant in this equation. Other distinctions of this aspect of police service include a positive relationship between perceived equity in police treatment and victimization, and an overall .21% of variance explained. The independent variables account for only .04% of the variance in explaining the last of the three service aspects, perceived equity of police protection. Age, perceived equity of crime rates and contact with police emerge as the highest contributors in this equation. Four variables, quality of local government, victimization, feeling of safeness, and income, were statistically significant predictors to each of the three service aspects.

Using eight objective service indicators as predictors, Brown and Coulter again analyze the three sources of citizen satisfaction. The independent variables used are mean police response time, mean numbers of officers dispatched, percent slow response time, number of arrests per number of serious crimes, burglaries, and vandalisms per population. None of these objective service predictor variables was statistically significant in explaining satisfaction with response time, police treatment, nor perceived equity in police protection. Satisfaction with aspects of police service is independent of objective measures of service.

Brown and Coulter's hypotheses were generally supported by evidence. Satisfaction with particular aspects of police service

influenced satisfaction with police service as a whole. Demographic characteristics, income, age, race, and in one instance, education, are related to satisfaction with particular characteristics of police service. Attitudes toward local government and an individual's sense of efficacy are predictors of specific sources of satisfaction with police. Service expectations influence evaluations but not as anticipated; the idea that greater expectations lead to greater dissatisfaction was not supported. Victimization is a significant contributor to understanding citizen satisfaction with police service, but contact with the police is not. Lastly, there is no significant relationship between service quality and quality as objectively measured and citizen satisfaction with police service.

The Fitzgerald and Durant model (Figure 2.3) consists of four components, (1) service exposure, (2) background characteristics, (3) citizen evaluations, and (4) citizen response. Each component is predicted to be affected by the second component, background characteristics. The model rests on the relationships existing among components two, three, and four; the first component is not tested by the model. Specifically, the independent variables lie in the background characteristics component, which is defined by race, income, age, city size, municipal responsiveness, and assessment of municipal cost benefit (1981: 587). The citizen evaluation component functions in an intervening capacity, while citizen response operationalizes the dependent variables in the model. These latter two components are defined by five municipal service variables, police, fire,

sanitation, education, and streets. The model is a multi-service model tested across one state, Tennessee.

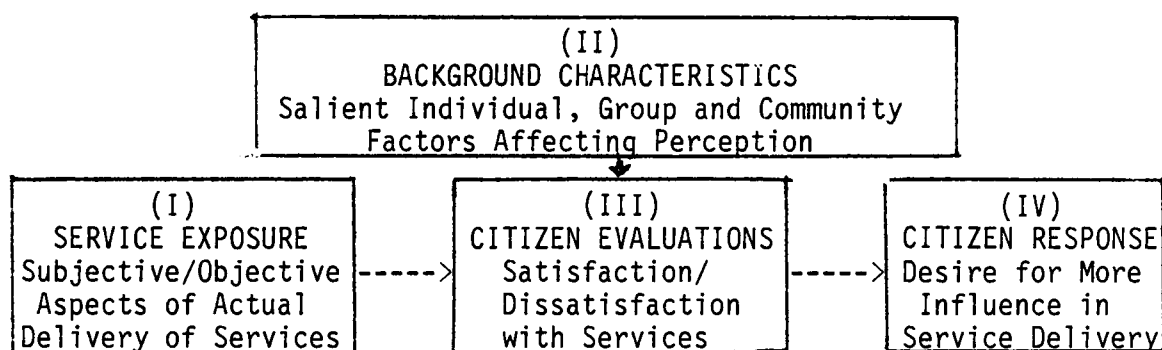


Figure 2.3. A Model of the Citizen Evaluation and Response Process (Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980: 586)

The authors present four propositions with the model. First, that citizens who feel discriminated against are less likely satisfied with services, and therefore want more service influence to increase their level of service satisfaction. Second, the citizen who is more service dependent is expected to be more critical of service delivery and concomitantly desires more service influence. Third, a feeling that public officials are unresponsive brings about less satisfaction with services and therefore, a desire for additional service influence. Last, a feeling among citizens that they are not getting their money's worth for their tax dollars is associated with a tendency to be less satisfied with public services and consequently, a desire for additional influence over services. Worth noting is the relationship between background characteristics and citizen evaluations and the relationship between citizen evaluation and response.

This model suggests that the relationships among the components operate in tandem, rather than independently. Further, each proposition asserts a resultant inverse relationship between citizen evaluations and response, as measured by the desire for additional influence in service delivery. Thus, low levels of service satisfaction generate a desire for more influence in service delivery. The argument is that the condition of the citizen, as he/she defines it (real, i.e., dependent on services, or perceived, i.e., feels discriminated against) affects service evaluations. Service dependency or perceived social conditions affect evaluations of services. Greater dependency and feeling discriminated against lead to less satisfaction and critical evaluations of services, resulting in a desire for additional influence in service delivery.

Three of the four propositions (1, 3, and 4) treat the perceptions citizens hold of themselves. These perceptions are, for example, feeling discriminated against, sense of efficacy, and feeling they are not getting their money's worth in services in return for tax dollars. This idea of citizens' self perceptions is linked to individual background characteristics, such as race, income, and age. Each of these perceptions results in a negative effect upon service evaluations. Proposition Two asserts a relationship between the actual social condition of the citizen and his/her service attitude. Thus, the greater a citizen's service dependency the more likely one finds a more critical attitude toward the provided services.

Each of the propositions is confirmed by the data; and service satisfaction and desire for additional influence are found to vary

across the five services examined. The independent variables, race, income, age, city size, responsiveness, and cost benefit, are each significantly related to citizen satisfaction. Of the background characteristics, it is shown that black respondents appear more dissatisfied than do white respondents; and that residents of smaller Tennessee cities are more likely to be satisfied with services than residents of larger cities. With two exceptions, the relationships of these independent variables are somewhat weak in strength. The strongest contributors of the background characteristics are municipal responsiveness and municipal cost benefit. Additionally, each of the above variables, except income, is significantly related to citizen response. Similarly, as in the case with citizen satisfaction, the predictor, cost benefit, shows the greatest strength. There is a surprising finding in the data regarding the age variable and citizen response. It is younger citizens, rather than older ones, who desire additional influence over services.

In examining the predictive power of the model, the six independent variables explain approximately one-third ($1/3$) of the variance in understanding citizen satisfaction with the five services tested. Under statistical control, age, city size, municipal responsiveness, and municipal cost benefit are significant predictors of overall service satisfaction. Municipal cost benefit is by far the strongest predictor of citizen satisfaction with the services being evaluated.

Next, using the six independent variables and citizen satisfaction to predict overall desire for influence, approximately one-third

(1/3) of the variance is explained by these seven variables. Under statistical control, the configuration of variables differs from those found to be relevant predictors of citizen satisfaction. In the model, race, age, municipal cost benefit and citizen satisfaction are statistically significant in explaining desire for overall service influence. In contrast to overall service satisfaction, in which race was not a significant predictor, race is a significant predictor of desire for additional influence. City size and municipal cost benefit surface again as significant predictors. Relative to desire for additional influence, however, municipal cost benefit is, as are race and age, very limited in its contribution as a predictor. The strongest relationship to desire for additional influence is associated with the variable, service satisfaction.

One contribution of the Fitzgerald and Durant model for the model to be presented lies in the statistically significant independent variables which predict citizen satisfaction with public services. Drawing from the Fitzgerald-Durant model, it can be assumed that city size, municipal responsiveness, age, and in particular, municipal cost benefit serve as useful predictors in models of citizen satisfaction with urban service delivery. Specifically, municipal responsiveness and cost benefit add a new dimension to the research on service satisfaction. Against the more "objective" demographic characteristics of age and city size, the model suggests a need for researchers to be cognizant for 22 perceptions of local government, its responsiveness, and whether local government is seen as giving a

fair return on the tax dollar. Citizen perceptions of their local government, particularly cost benefit, are to be considered in furthering the knowledge of citizen satisfaction with urban services.

Another major significance of this study is that it takes the logical step beyond citizen satisfaction with services. This research addresses the implications service satisfaction by making satisfaction a predictor of something else, namely, desire for influence. This additional step beyond predicting service satisfaction to testing desire for influence. This additional step beyond predicting service satisfaction to testing desire for additional influence carries implications for the role of citizens in local government.

The last model included as a contributor to the theoretical framework for this study is one developed by Campbell et al. in their study, The Quality of American Life (1976). The model is hereafter referred to as QOL. Campbell et al. identify specific areas of life that can be thought of as separate areas of experience, called "domains." They argue that satisfaction with a domain depends on evaluations of various attributes of the given domain, and that the empirical question becomes, which of the attributes serves as the most relevant predictors? (1976: 14). The residential environment consists of the community (a local politically defined unit), neighborhood, and dwelling unit domains. The aim of this portion of their research is to explain differences in the degree of satisfaction reported by survey respondents for each of the three residential domains; and how these assessments are formed. This study is based

on a national sample. A sense of the relationships to be tested is gained from a modified version of the QOL model (Figure 2.4).

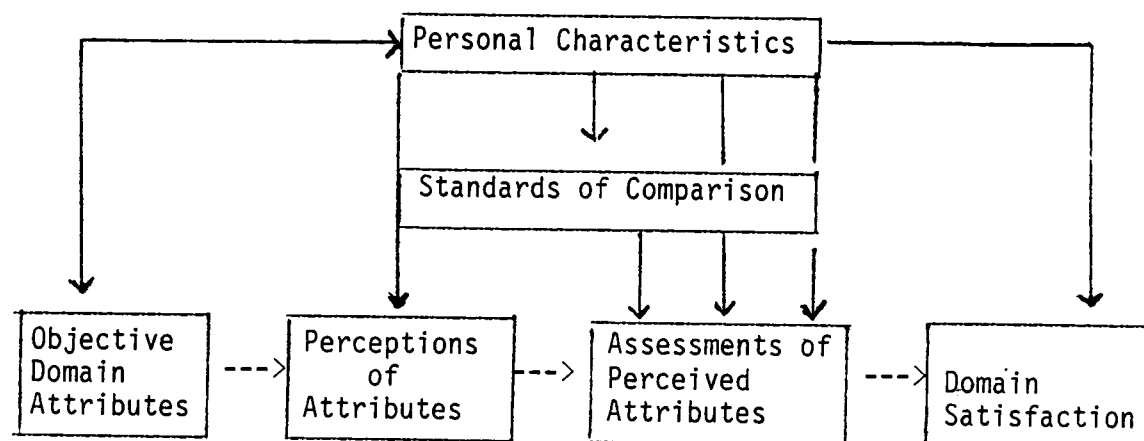


Figure 2.4. Model of Determinants of Satisfaction with the Residential Environment (Campbell, Converse, and Rogers, 1976: 220)

The examination of community satisfaction consists of three steps. The first step involves the assessments of domain attributes, i.e., public services, and using these assessments to predict community satisfaction. Second, respondents' personal characteristics are used as predictors of community satisfaction. The last step ascertains the amount of variance explained by personal characteristics versus assessments and personal characteristics in predicting community satisfaction.

The QOL model employs nine (9) attributes in its determination of community satisfaction: streets and roads, public schools, refuse collection, parks and playgrounds, police protection, police-community relations, climate, public transportation, and local taxes.

The assessments of the nine services/attributes reflect a general sense of satisfaction. Most services are rated as being at least "fairly good." Refuse removal is the service receiving the highest rating, with 56% of the respondents assessing it as "very good." At the other end of the scale, parks and playgrounds represent the service area respondents were most likely to consider as "not good at all." Thus, in applying the model it is apparent that the public is generally satisfied with the services provided by its community, and that respondents appear more satisfied by community provisions of routinized and technical services, such as refuse collection and streets and roads, and least satisfied by the provision of amenity/aesthetic services such as parks and playgrounds. Given these service attitudes, the next question becomes, how do these patterns translate into predictions of community satisfaction?

Using the nine attributes to predict community satisfaction, the multiple classification analysis reveals relationships which are not very strong. This is reflected in the eta coefficients, which range from .15 (public transportation) to .27 (public schools). Other modest predictors of community satisfaction are police-community relations (.25), climate (.23), streets and roads (.22), and police protection (.21). The remaining attributes have eta coefficients of less than .20. An examination of the beta coefficients, which gives an indication of the import of each variable, shows patterns similar to those of the eta coefficients. Public schools and climate carry the most weight in predicting community satisfaction, each

having a beta coefficient of .17; streets and roads and parks and playgrounds follow, with coefficients of .13. When taken together, the nine attributes explain approximately 19% of the variance in predicting community satisfaction.

Personal characteristics, as a component, reflect population subgroups. Some of the characteristics expected to be influential in testing the model are age, educational attainment, race, life cycle stage, family income, job status, and length of residence in the area. Regarding age, for instance, the authors note that age appears to be a useful variable. Further, "some of the most noteworthy demographic variations in all satisfactions are associated with age" (Campbell et al., 1976: 227). Findings regarding race appear consistent with other studies, in that nonwhites express more dissatisfaction than whites. "Blacks are also positive in their evaluation of most of their community services" except transportation, which they rate more positively than whites (Campbell et al., 1976: 226).

Campbell et al. use the six personal characteristics to predict community satisfaction. By far, the relationship between personal characteristics and community satisfaction is strongest when the stage of life cycle variable ($\eta = .22$) is included. While the relationships exhibited are modest, the role of the life cycle stage as a predictor in this nonlinear equation can not be underplayed. Race, level of education, and job status play a secondary explanatory role as predictors of community satisfaction, each with an η coefficient of .15. When examining the beta coefficients, the data

appear more discriminating. Again, however, the life cycle stage variable is that with the most import (.16), followed by race (.13), and educational attainment (.12). Collectively, the impact of the six personal characteristics is minimal. They explain 7% of the variance in community satisfaction responses.

When only assessments of objective characteristics are used, 17.9% of the variance in community satisfaction responses is explained. At the same time, personal characteristics explain 7.3% of the variance. When the two sets of factors are combined, they account for 21% of the variance in community satisfaction responses. The primary contributors to the equation appear to be found in the variables public schools, climate, police-community relations, local taxes, life-cycle stage, and educational attainment. These findings suggest that citizens vary in their assessment of services across services, and therefore support arguments that there are different dimensions of services. When used to predict community satisfaction, the set of assessments of objective attributes explains approximately 19% of the variance. The strongest and most important variables in the relationship between community satisfaction and assessments of attributes are public schools and climate.

When personal characteristics are entered as a factor in explaining community satisfaction, the data show that the use of the variable "life cycle stage" is important. It is a primary contributor to the prediction of community satisfaction both when personal characteristics are considered alone and when used in tandem with assessments

of community attributes. Although race functions as an important variable when personal characteristics are considered alone, its strength diminishes when used with variables representing assessments of objective characteristics. These two findings are indicative of a clear pattern in the data: personal characteristics lose predictive power when considered with the set of assessments of community characteristics.

Campbell et al. (1976) sought to establish a relationship between perceptions and assessments and the objective environment. They argue that the objective environment influences perceptions and assessments of it. Testing this portion of the model is facilitated by the use of multiccluster sampling (although not all of the designated respondents were interviewed). Two empirical questions are raised. One, do residents within the same cluster hold similar perceptions and assessments of community attributes, and two, are they similarly satisfied with their community?

The residents' agreement on "perceptions" was tapped through the question, "Is public transportation available?" The resulting adjusted correlation ratio, which represents the extent of agreement and proportion of variance explained by cluster, is .83. Relative to the availability of public transportation, there is a high degree of similar perception. In ascertaining agreement of objective attributes by residential cluster, the proportion of explained variation in individual assessments of attributes ranged from .20 to .40. The second point to be assessed, overall community satisfaction,

reflects the least amount of agreement (.16).

Campbell et al.'s (1976) argument that perceptions are anchored in objective reality is supported by the data. Since perceptions are associated with objective reality, a high degree of agreement among persons sharing a common reality is anticipated. With each subsequent analysis of the assessment of attributes and community satisfaction, there is a further extraction from the anchor of the objective environment. It is as though an exchange process were taking place. As movement proceeds away from the objective environment, that objective reality is supplemented by the effect of personal characteristics. Each step reflects less agreement than the preceding one because it is less dependent on the objective environment and more dependent upon personal characteristics and other factors. Given the import of objective characteristics as anchors for perceptions, the question becomes, how important are they? Are objective characteristics the sole standard by which evaluations are made? To what degree should subjective influences be considered important? Unfortunately, direct measurement of objective characteristics is limited to a single variable, size of community. Fairly consistently, the data show community size to be a distinguishing factor in assessing community attributes. More precisely, residents of areas other than SMSA central cities tend to evaluate attributes, e.g., services, as "very good," with the exception of public transportation, with ranks highest in largest central city areas.

In testing size of place and personal characteristics to predict the assessment of one attribute, public schools, the data show that size of place accounts for 7.4% of the variance in predicting the assessment of public schools. Personal characteristics alone explain 2.4% of the variance in the prediction. The two sets of variables have a combined explanatory effect of 8%. Knowing size of place is more important than knowing personal characteristics in predicting the assessment of public schools.

Thus, the relationships posited in the QOL model of the Residential Environment fare well when tested. Respondents are generally satisfied with their community and assess routine and technical community attributes highly. In contrast, attributes associated with aesthetics or amenities are assessed less favorably. Collectively, six of the nine attributes explain approximately 18% of the variance in predicting community satisfaction. Public schools, followed by police-community relations, are most strongly related to community satisfaction. Personal characteristics variables command only 7% of the explanatory power relative to community satisfaction. Life cycle is the most important of these variables, followed by age.

Together, the assessments of community attributes and personal characteristics explain 21% of the variance in predicting community satisfaction. The amount of combined explained variance is less than the sum of the assessments and personal characteristics. Each set of variables is not a full contributor to the equation. More direct effects come from the set of assessments alone (17.9%).

Indirect effects are brought to bear by the set of personal characteristics (7.3%). There were no "systematic differences in the strength of the relationship between the assessments of a particular community attribute and overall community for different segments of the sample" (Campbell et al., 1976: 231).

When the perception of the common environment is tested, agreement is considerably high (.83%) among residents within a given cluster. Significant agreement exists among some cluster residents on the perception of available public transportation, as was expected. In contrast, as was also expected, the respondents' assessments of specific community items, such as services, taxes, and climate, reveal less agreement.

[L]ess agreement would be expected among residents of a shared environment on their assessments than on their perceptions. Overall satisfaction depends even less directly on the objective environment and is affected as well by personal characteristics, so even less agreement would be expected (Campbell et al., 1976: 233).

The size of place variable, the single objective characteristic, shares a significant relationship with community satisfaction. Residents of the largest cities tend to be least satisfied with their communities but more satisfied with specific community attributes. In contrast, residents of rural areas report the highest levels of community satisfaction but less satisfaction with specific attributes. When assessments and size of place are combined, the net effect indicates a significant amount of influence comes from the explanatory power of the set of assessments of community attributes (17.9%).

But there also is an overall impact from size of place, with a total combined explained variance of 18.9%. Thus, objective attributes do influence community satisfaction.

Thus, from this portion of the QOL model, it appears that the Set of Assessments of Community Attributes plays the most significant role in predicting community satisfaction. Further, respondents discriminate among the various attributes/services. Personal characteristics are not strong predictors of community satisfaction, but generally exert an indirect influence in the equation. Some variables are particularly useful, namely, life cycle stage, race, and educational attainment. Perceptions of a common reality are important, and high agreement exists because the perceptions are linked closely with the objective environment. Moving further away from the objective environment, as in the case of assessments and overall satisfaction, the amount of agreement declines correspondingly.

The set of assessments of neighborhood attributes accounts for 32.4% of the variance in predicting neighborhood satisfaction. External factors are the most important contributors to neighborhood satisfaction. Attention is turned toward those things which are seen, i.e., the condition of the housing, and the persons with whom they interact, the neighbors themselves. Both factors far outdistance the significance of locking one's doors, or the feeling of safety one has living in the neighborhood. Beta coefficients confirm the priority given to neighbors and housing condition as primary predictors of neighborhood satisfaction.

Personal characteristics explain approximately 8% of the variance when used to predict neighborhood satisfaction. This set of variables tells little about neighborhood satisfaction, but does reveal patterns within itself. The life cycle stage variable bears the strongest relationship to neighborhood satisfaction and is the most important variable in the prediction equation. Knowing a respondent's race is slightly more important than knowing the length of residence in the area when the import of these variables is considered. Joining the assessments of attributes with personal characteristics predicts a combined explanatory power of 34.7%. The primary influence, therefore, comes from the set of assessments of neighborhood attributes.

The individual objective measures, upkeep of neighboring structures, community size, and racial composition of neighborhood show equal weight attributed to upkeep and community size. Racial composition of neighborhood trails in weight. Collectively, this set of variables has an explanatory power of 14.3%.

Adding the objective attributes to the set of assessments results in a predictive power of 34.5% in understanding neighborhood satisfaction. Again, as a trend in the data, preeminence is given to the power of the set of assessments of attributes over that of the objective attributes. The set of assessments alone, has a explanatory power of 32.4%. With the objective attributes, the combined effect is only an additional 2.1% in explanatory power.

The set of assessments of housing attributes possesses an explanatory power of 34.5% in predicting housing satisfaction. Of

the variables used in the equation, structural quality bears the strongest relationship and stands as the most important. While on the other hand, knowing housing costs is least important relative to strength of relationship or import.

Among the set of personal characteristics, the life cycle stage is the most important variable and bears the strongest relationship to predicting housing satisfaction. These variables explain 9.7% of the variance in predicting housing satisfaction. Combined with the set of assessments, the effect of the personal characteristics upon housing satisfaction appears to wane. The two sets of variables have a joint explanatory power of 35.5%. Assessments of housing attributes are the major contributor to understanding housing satisfaction even when personal characteristics are considered.

The last set of factors used to predict housing satisfaction is objective characteristics. Rooms per person is the most significant variable. Objective characteristics have an explanatory power of 12.1% in predicting housing satisfaction.

Used in tandem with the assessments, the explanatory power of both sets of variables is 37.8%. The dominant power in the equation to predict housing satisfaction comes from the set of assessments of housing attributes, with indirect effects brought to bear by the objective characteristics.

Thus, Campbell et al. (1976) report that each component has variables that play major roles in predicting domain satisfaction. For example, knowledge of community satisfaction is enhanced if

the assessment of schools and climate and police community relations and community size are considered. Useful variables in predicting neighborhood satisfaction include an evaluation of neighbors' and housing conditions and upkeep of neighboring structures (as an objective measure) and community size. Lastly, housing satisfaction is best predicted using assessments of structural quality and room size and the number of rooms per person. Consistently, the life cycle stage variable, of the set of personal characteristics, is the strongest and most important of the variables. The life cycle stage variable is generally followed in strength and importance by the race variable.

In each domain, community, neighborhood, and housing, the strongest predictors of satisfaction come from the set of assessments of attributes. Further, the primary effect of the explanatory power generated by the set of assessments is maintained when they are added to either personal characteristics or objective measures of the environment. Thus,

[c]onsistent with the original model, most of the linkages for the personal and objective characteristics are to assessments of environmental characteristics, rather than direct links to the satisfaction measures. The implication of this finding is not . . . that such characteristics of the person and his environment are unimportant in relationship to his satisfaction. They are in fact the initial terms in the causal process being described (Campbell et al., 1976: 259).

The set of Assessments of Residential Environmental characteristics are important predictors of domain satisfaction; three domains

are related and it appears "that people do not clearly differentiate between their housing, their neighborhoods, and their communities" (Campbell et al., 1976: 256). When the set of assessments is used to predict satisfaction in each domain, this finding holds across domains. For example, the strength and nature of the relationship between police-community relations, community domain attribute, and community satisfaction is very similar to that with neighborhood and housing satisfaction.

3. THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF CITIZEN SATISFACTION WITH LOCAL SERVICES

This section presents a model of citizen satisfaction with local services. This is accomplished by building upon earlier models and studies which focus on local service delivery. A general description of the model will be presented first, followed by a discussion of the individual components. Specific propositions to be tested are presented separately.

Four major points can be argued from the models discussed earlier in this chapter. One, variables can be useful predictors of service satisfaction. Two, social psychological variables are relevant to understanding the complex nature of attitude formation. Three, major contributions can be anticipated from political attitudinal variables in predicting service satisfaction. Four, satisfaction can be expected to vary across services. These four points are reflected in the model's components and testing.

Of major interest for the present study is the individual's satisfaction with his/her community. The relevance of community satisfaction to this research lies in the use of public services as indicators or objective attributes of a community. In keeping with the general model presented in Figure 2.5, it is expected that satisfaction with local services is conditioned by background and social psychological factors in citizens' lives.

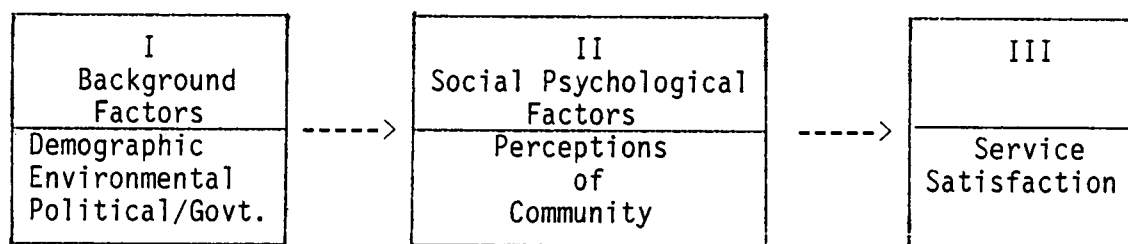


Figure 2.5. A Social Psychological Model of Citizen Service Satisfaction

Figure 2.5 presupposes individual exposure to actual services; it does not test the relationship between objective indicators of service quality and subjective service evaluations of citizens. What is accomplished in the model's design, however, is a testing of the relationship between background and social psychological variables as they affect citizens' attitudes toward local services. It is hypothesized that two sets of factors, background and social psychological, affect a citizen's attitude toward public services. Attitudes, here, are represented in each citizen's evaluation of public services.

The first set of factors is entitled background. The variables within each component of this portion of the model are representative of variables used in urban studies research which identify demographic characteristics. Such variables include respondent, population, and political identifiers. One feature of the model, then, is that these background characteristics are predicted to have an indirect effect on citizen attitudes toward urban services.

The second set of factors expected to be associated with service attitudes is labeled social psychological. Perceptions, the fashion in which individuals interpret objective reality, are shown as intervening between the background components and service evaluations. As intervening factors, they are hypothesized to have an independent and direct influence upon citizens' attitudes regarding services. These two sets of factors comprise the model's explanatory and predictive thrust.

The individual citizen's attitude toward services, positive/favorable, or negative/unfavorable, represents a culmination of factors and is a matter of complex judgment. "Satisfaction implies a judgmental or cognitive experience [and] measures of satisfaction/dissatisfaction [are] easier to translate into policy terms than measures of positive or negative affect" (Campbell et al., 1976: 8, 9). These attitudes, conditioned by the background and social psychological components of the model, are represented by the individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with services. The components and their predicted relationships are discussed below, beginning with the model's background portion.

Many studies include the respondent's background or demographic characteristics among factors expected to affect citizen evaluation of services. Typically, race and ethnicity have contributed to understanding attitudes pertaining to services. Age, income, sex, and level of education are common demographic variables included in prediction equations. In addition to the use of the general demographic variables, length of residence (dwelling unit and community) and the life cycle stage variable, which examines family structure, will be included in the Demographic Characteristics Component. The Demographic Characteristics Component is predicted to affect directly the remaining background components and the Social Psychological Components as well. Of the background components, it is expected that the Demographic Characteristics Component will be useful. Due to the presence of the life cycle stage, race, and length of residence variables (which can aid in evaluating community attachment), expectations for the performance of this particular background component are moderately high.

The next background factor, Environmental Characteristics, includes variables which identify the respondent's physical environment, which includes the immediate dwelling unit, the neighborhood, and the broader community (i.e., a politically defined unit). These three areas provide a context in which the respondent can be studied and in which services are provided. Further, it permits the finding that these areas or "domains" of existence are interrelated. Consequently, this contextual environment is expected to impact the

formation of service attitudes. Population data, such as city size, and a surrogate measure of urban density are predicted to affect service satisfaction (Campbell et al., 1976; Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980; Wasserman, 1982). Further, results from previous research indicate that neighborhood characteristics and conditions affect citizen evaluations of services (Schuman and Gruenberg, 1972; Rossi and Berk, 1974; Campbell et al., 1976; Lovrich and Taylor, 1976; Brudney and England, 1982). Dwelling unit characteristics, operationalized as age and type of housing, are also included to complete the contextual development of the physical environment. These Environmental Characteristics are predicted to affect each of the social psychological components directly, as a result, and indirectly impact service satisfaction.

The final background component is Political Involvement. In prior research efficacy proved valuable to understanding citizen evaluations of local services (Rossi and Berk, 1974; Stipak, 1974; Williams, 1977; Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980; Rosentraub and Thompson, 1981; Brown and Coulter, 1983). Although these data have no variable titled "efficacy," it is possible to characterize citizens in terms of their political involvement. Such involvement is represented by political activity. This component depicts and measures the degree and nature of the respondent's political activity. The nature of political activity is measured by a scale (high, moderate, low) developed specifically for this research. Variables used in this component are expected to be related to particular demographic and

environmental characteristics (e.g., race, income, neighborhood composition). It is predicted that political involvement impacts perceptions of the resident community. The converse relationship is also true: community perceptions affect political involvement.

These first three sets of components provide the objective portrayal of the individual respondent demographically, environmentally, and politically. Collectively, these components comprise the background facet of the model, and their operationalization is representative of the general literature which addresses service delivery and service attitudes. The next group of components, oriented toward individual perceptions and subjectivity, aims at addressing the antecedents of service attitudes.

Social psychological components of the model are depicted as intervening between the background characteristics and the final dependent component, Service Attitudes. The model here posits that a "filtering" process is underway in which a person's attitudes toward their community directly shape their degree of satisfaction with local services. These perceptions are shaped directly by the background factors in Component I.

The first social psychological component is Dwelling Unit Perceptions. This component is operationalized by variables characteristic of the individual's most immediate physical environment. Variables in this component differ from those descriptive

characteristics of the dwelling unit contained in the Spatial Characteristics Component. Although only two indicators are used, these variables address the feelings about and response to the immediate environment. Allowance is made for the possibility that an individual might project from his immediate conditions onto other aspects of his environment (Campbell et al., 1976). It is expected that immediate environmental conditions may impact an individual's feelings about community, which, in turn, can have a spillover effect on service evaluations. Demographic and Environmental Characteristics are hypothesized to influence Dwelling Unit Perceptions. Perceptions of one's dwelling unit are anticipated to influence perceptions of the resident community and ultimately, service attitudes.

The "hub" of these intervening components, and of the model itself, is expected to be the Perceptions of the Resident Community. Community perceptions are affected by each explanatory component and the other two social psychological components. Concepts within the component provide a picture of how the individual views his/her community. Evaluative, retrospective, and prospective opinions about the community and local services are operationalized. Further, a political attitudinal indicator is included. Fitzgerald and Durant found that "citizen assessment of municipal cost/benefit proves the most substantial factor in predicting satisfaction levels and no other predictor approaches its contribution" (1980: 591). A surrogate measure of Fitzgerald and Durant's "municipal cost/benefit" has been developed. In lieu of municipal cost/benefit, "political

orientations" is used. Political orientations operationalizes the individual's perspective of local government. A scale is developed which measures the respondent's rating of local government responsiveness and wastefulness, as well as the financial condition of the county.

The model postulates that background and social psychological factors affect an individual's attitude toward services. Thus, the model depicts three distinctive parts. The first, the background components, gives a description of the individual, his/her environment, and political demeanor within the environment. These components allow an observer to measure and characterize the individual, the context in which he/she exists, and one aspect of his/her behavior. The background components provide a largely objective facet for the model. The second part, the social psychological components, represents the subjective-psychological aspect of the individual within the same parameters as the model's first portion but these elements are presented through the eyes and mind of the individual, thus allowing for individual interpretation of reality. The model culminates by reflecting citizen attitudes toward services, and it is here that the interaction of the first two parts manifests itself most vividly.

Stronger relationships are expected to exist among the social psychological components and the dependent variable, citizen service attitudes. The services considered for testing are: police protection, fire protection, refuse collection, street lighting, public schools,

parks and playgrounds, road and street maintenance, public transportation, and public health services in hospitals and clinics.

The services being tested present different policy areas. Levels of citizen satisfaction with services are expected to vary across services (Campbell et al., 1976; Stipak, 1979; Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980; Brudney and England, 1982; Wasserman, 1982). In addition, dimensions among services, based on citizen service attitudes, can be further identified to help address the question of how individuals differ in their evaluations. Researchers have been able to categorize dimensions among services after factor analyzing citizen service evaluations. Service dimensions may be "experience based" or "communication based" (Angrist, 1976). Or, services may be delineated along the lines of street, health and safety, and amenity dimensions (Brudney and England, 1982). Additionally, there may be a different dimension of services, as suggested by Fitzgerald and Durant (1980) technological/routine vs. nontechnological controversial.

In summary, it is predicted that two types of factors affect an individual's attitude toward services. It is argued that background factors, namely, demographic, environmental, and political-governmental characteristics, affect social psychological factors. The perceptual components act as intervening variables

that mitigate the effects of the background components of the model. Through the model, it is argued that the social psychological factors are explained directly by, and therefore depend upon, the background factors. Further, social psychological factors directly influence citizen attitudes regarding local services. Thus, these perceptual components function as both dependent and independent variables in the model. The ultimate test of the model's contribution lies in the degree of contribution the social psychological factors make to our knowledge and understanding of citizen attitudes toward local services, as measured by service satisfaction.

Levels of satisfaction with services, as reflected in citizen evaluations, are the result of the relationships among and between these components. The model also suggests future implications. It is anticipated that attitudes toward services will affect future perceptions of one's own community and political involvement within the community. Thus, the goal of this research is not limited to a reporting of findings--but to use the findings to show the developing role of citizens in a democratic polity.

4. RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

From this model of citizen satisfaction with local service delivery, the predicted relationships among and between each

component are stated, in summary form, as propositions. As this research develops, these propositions will be included in appropriate chapters.

Proposition 1

An individual's demographic characteristics affect the environmental characteristics of the residential environment, political governmental characteristics, the dwelling unit, and community of residence.

Proposition 2

Environmental characteristics of community influence an individual's perceptions of his/her own residence and the community itself.

Proposition 3

An individual's political attitudes and evaluations determine perceptions of his/her community.

Proposition 4

An individual's perception of his/her dwelling unit influences his/her view of the community and attitudes toward the public services to which he/she is exposed.

Proposition 5

An individual's perception of his/her community determines attitudes toward the public services to which he/she is exposed.

5. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This research is based on a national random sample survey conducted in 1977 by Louis Harris and Associates for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. A questionnaire was administered to either a male or female (depending upon whether the quota had been met) minimally 18 years of age in selected households. The total number of respondents in the sample is 7,074. The questionnaire focuses on the nature of urban life, seeking to identify aspects of and attitudes toward urban existence.

Survey respondents were asked various questions regarding themselves and their communities, including local public services. There were no direct, i.e., "are you satisfied with local services?" questions. There were close-ended questions, e.g., "how would you rate the [service] in this town or community?" with ordinal response choices ranging from excellent to poor (including "not available" and "not sure"). These questions form the basis for the dependent variable component of attitudes toward services. Other service-related questions are interspersed throughout the questionnaire. The use

of these varied questions expands the context in which citizen attitudes toward services can be understood.

The use of the survey as a data gathering tool is appropriate and consistent with other research on citizen evaluation of services (for example, Durand, 1976; Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980; Brown and Coulter, 1983). Surveys are a mainstay for researchers with interests in citizen attitudes. Thus, not only is it a data collection method by which representative input is solicited and acquired, "Community surveys can be a useful way to obtain direct information on citizens' perceptions, preferences, and needs for a variety of urban services" (Morgan, 1979: 168).

To determine what citizen evaluations of service delivery are, and how these citizens vary in their evaluations, descriptive statistics will be used. Descriptive statistics allow us to see the extent to which our survey respondents vary in their attitudes towards service delivery. The model, as it predicts citizen attitudes towards public services, suggests that certain relationships exist among components and that some of these relationships are direct and others are indirect. It is through the model that an answer is sought to the second part of the research question: why do citizens vary in their service evaluations? Multiple regression will be used to determine the strength of these predicted relationships. It is assumed that the relationships among variables within the model are linear and additive. Multiple Regression allows us to analyze a broad perspective of relationships. The dependence of citizen

satisfaction upon other components of the model can be tested while also considering the impact of particular variable components. In addition, order among the contributing variables can be identified (Kim and Kohout1, 1975: 322). The model treats multivariate relationships, and assumes the influence of the conditional-intervening variable components. Accordingly, it is necessary to establish time order and relationships between: (1) the background components and citizen attitudes, (2) the background and social psychological components, and (3) the background components and attitudes.

6. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

The research has several inherent strengths. One, the data upon which conclusions will be based are representative of the adult population across the United States. Two, by virtue of the size of the data base, a greater number of municipalities are included in this research than in earlier research on citizen evaluations of urban service delivery. Similarly, the research is not limited to a single state. Three, much of the previous research in this area is further expanded due to the availability of a large number of policy areas for consideration and analysis. Four, the model is sensitive to why citizens vary; that is, it investigates determinants of attitudes, perceptions, filling a major void of earlier research on citizen evaluations of public services. Finally, in this work an alternative model is proposed: the conceptualization evidenced by the model has not been previously offered. The model

and its testing are a significant contribution to research on citizen attitudes regarding services. The approach offered by this model is substantiated by its foundation of earlier research patterns in the subject area.

There are also weaknesses associated with the research. One deficiency is the lack of direct "are you satisfied with your local services?" type questions. Such a deficiency is probably inherent in any questionnaire that is not designed by the researcher for his own specific purposes. Yet, the range of service-related questions diminishes the impact of the questionnaire's limitation in this regard. Another area of vulnerability in this research is the lack of objective measures of actual services. Under investigation, however, is how citizens vary in their attitudes, thus the comparison of objective and subjective indicators is of little usefulness. Finally, the data are somewhat dated. Findings will accurately reflect the data as they are, but times have changed--so may have these attitudes. This should not detract from the usefulness or reliability of the model as a tool of understanding attitudes about service, however.

7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study suggests an alternative means of conceptualizing how perceptions affect the attitudes citizens hold toward services provided them by municipalities, as evidenced by citizen evaluations.

Further implications for the developing role of citizens in a democratic polity are anticipated.

CHAPTER THREE

A PROFILE OF AMERICANS AND THEIR VIEWS OF THE COMMUNITIES IN WHICH THEY LIVE

This chapter describes the survey results with which the model described in Chapter Two is tested in Chapter Four. It is useful to have a composite picture of the sample so as to establish a sense of who, and what, form the basis of the findings and conclusions drawn in this research.

This section concentrates upon the model's independent variables, which are divided into three major components: (1) Demographic Characteristics, (2) Environmental Characteristics, and (3) Political-Governmental Characteristics. Each component and its variables is hypothesized to have a direct effect on the intervening social-psychological component variables. Further, each component is predicted to have an indirect effect upon the dependent component variable, Citizen Service Attitudes. Distributional characteristics of the population sample are presented below, and with each characteristic a research hypothesis is provided. These research hypotheses are based on the two fundamental assumptions: (1) that certain types of individuals/groups are more likely than others to establish "roots" in their communities; and (2) that, all things being equal, these roots produce a more "critical" attitude about the environment because "rooted individuals/groups have a greater stake in it. In Chapter Four these hypothesized relationships are measured with

Pearson's product-moment correlation analysis and tested for statistical significance.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC COMPONENT

Approximately 80% of the respondents are Caucasian Americans and Minorities make up 20% of the sample. Of the 7,074 respondents, 53% are female and 47% are male. Almost three-fourths (74%) of the respondents are married, while singles comprise approximately 15% of the sample. The remainder are either divorced or separated. With regard to these variables it is hypothesized that:

- H1: Race is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; minorities tend to be more negative and critical than whites.
- H2: Gender is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; women (who on average are more likely than men to work in the home and operate daily within the neighborhood) tend to be more negative and critical than men.
- H3: Marital status is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; married people are more likely than singles to have established community roots and will tend to be more negative and critical

In terms of educational levels we find that 14% of the respondents have less than a high school education, 47% have attended or graduated high school, and 39% have gone beyond high school to the college

level. With respect to education, it is hypothesized that:

H4: Education is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; people with more education will have higher expectations regarding their communities and will be more negative and critical than their less educated counterparts.

Three variables taken from the survey describe the respondents' families: life cycle stage (LCS), type of school attended by children, and family income. The first variable, life cycle stage, is a combination of the respondent's age, marital status, and ages of his/her children. The life cycle stage distribution is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 indicates a relatively even distribution of respondents within the first three life stages. The initial two stages reflect individuals who are in an early period of adulthood in terms of age and responsibility, either as being without children or single. The next two most prominent groups are married with rather young children (LCS = 3) and those with children whose ages suggest they are about to leave or have left home (LCS = 5). Each of these two groups accounts for approximately 13.0% of those sampled. The next largest groups are married, with their youngest child's age ranging from 5 to 13 (12%) and widows (11%). Those respondents over 30 years of age, both married and single, and those who are divorced or separated complete the variable and represent approximately 18% of the sample. With regard to life cycle stage it is hypothesized that:

TABLE 3.1
LIFE CYCLE STAGE (LCS) (N = 7,044)

Life Cycle Stage	Percent
LCS = 1 Single	14
2 Married, 18-29, no children	18
3 Married, youngest child is LT/EQ 4	13
4 Married, youngest child is 5-15	12
5 Married, youngest child is 16+	14
6 Married, 30+, no children	9
7 Single, 30+	1
8 Divorced or Separated	8
9 Widowed	11
	100

H5: Life cycle stage is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; people as they proceed along the life cycle are likely to establish roots in the community and will be more negative and critical than those at earlier stages.

In considering whether respondents' children attend public or private schools, it is found that in the national sample 80% of the children attended public schools. Thus, about one-in-five respondents reports having children in either church and/or private schools. In that sending one's children to non-public schools often reflects a lack of confidence and/or commitment to community schools. It is hypothesized that:

H6: The type of school attended by respondents' children is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; people with children in non-public schools tend to be more negative and critical of their community and its services.

With regard to family income we find that in the national sample just under one-third (32%) of the respondents fall into the middle income category from \$14,000 to \$24,999. About one-fourth of those surveyed have low incomes, under \$3,000 to \$7,999; another fourth report moderate incomes, from \$8,000 to \$13,999. As expected, the smallest number of respondents, 18%, report high incomes, from \$25,000 to in excess of \$100,000. Regarding income, it is hypothesized that:

H7: Income level is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; because people with lower incomes can exercise less choice over where, and how they live, they tend to be more negative and critical of their community and its services.

It turns out that over one-third of the respondents are between 30 and 49 years of age. Approximately one-fourth of those surveyed are between 18 and 29 years of age. Thus, respondents who are less than 50 years of age account for about 60% of the sample. The remaining 40% of the sample is generally evenly divided between those whose ages range from 50 to 64 (22%) and those aged 65 years and above (18%). It is hypothesized that:

H8: Age is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; because as people age they have the opportunity to establish deeper ties in the community we expect that they tend to become more negative and critical of their community and its services.

Two variables are used to measure the extent to which individuals have extensive experience with, and are likely to have established an attachment to, their neighborhood and community; length of residence in the community and length of residence at the present domicile. Table 3.2 shows a pattern of very substantial stability relative to the residential community (just under two-thirds of Americans report living more than ten years in their present community) and mobility as to place of residence (only less than one-half have lived in the present domicile longer than ten years). With regard to residential stability, it is hypothesized that:

TABLE 3.2
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (N = 7,023)

	Community	Residence
	-----Percent-----	
1-3 years	16	33
4 to 10 years	19	23
More than 10 years	65	42
	100	100

H9: Residential stability is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those living longest in a given community and/or home are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

This survey indicates that about 70% of Americans report owning their own homes, leaving a substantial minority who rent. It is hypothesized that:

H10: Home ownership is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those who own their own domiciles are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

Summary Demographic Profile

As captured by the Harris survey, demographically Americans are predominately white, with a slight majority being female; we find them in the early stages of the adult life cycle, both as married and single individuals. Of those with youngsters, they tend to educate them through the public school system. As expected, their incomes tend to fall into middle and moderate levels. Almost two-thirds have pressed forth and made the dream of owning their own home a reality. The respondents exhibit substantial stability regarding length of residence in their communities.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL COMPONENT

This component describes the respondents' residential milieu and is comprised of three areas, housing, neighborhood, and community. Community is functionally defined as a political geographical unit, comparable to a city or town, and thus more expansive than one's neighborhood. Variables used in this section provide a picture of the respondents' physical environment. The discussion begins by addressing their most immediate and intimate surroundings, Housing Characteristics.

The survey indicates that about one-fifth of the respondents live in units that were constructed between 1964 and 1977. These structures are no older than 13 years. Approximately another fifth of the respondents live in housing built between 1954 and 1963, with a structural age range of 14 to 23 years. The next group of respondents, almost 20%, live in houses that were built between 24 and 38 years ago. More than one-quarter (28%) of the respondents live in dwelling units that are more than 38 years old. Thus, nearly one-half of those surveyed live in homes more than a quarter century old. It is hypothesized with respect to this variable that:

H11: Age of dwelling unit is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those living in older dwellings are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

One major "environmental" characteristic dividing Americans regarding their housing situation is whether or not they reside in government subsidized housing. In addition to providing an indication of socioeconomic standing (with those in subsidized housing representing the lowest strata), the surroundings inherent in "public" housing projects are usually very distinctive from non-subsidized areas. The vast majority (93%) of Americans surveyed live in non-subsidized housing with a mere 7% residing in government subsidized housing. It is hypothesized that:

H12: Subsidized housing residence is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those living in subsidized housing are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

Neighborhood is the second major descriptor of the respondents' residential environment. Two variables are used to form a picture of the physical character of the neighborhoods. One characteristic of a neighborhood is its racial composition. Values on this characteristic range from "all-white" to "all-minority." Another characteristic of a neighborhood is its structural upkeep. Ratings on structural upkeep range from "very well kept" to "very poorly kept or dilapidated," and were provided by the interviewer (as an outside, and thus independent observer) rather than the respondent. In Table 3.3 it is seen that the plurality of respondents surveyed report living in "all-white" neighborhoods, and over one-third (35%) state their neighborhoods are "mostly white." Just under 15% live in equally

integrated neighborhoods (i.e., half-white and half-minority).

At the other end of the spectrum, approximately 8% live in neighborhoods they consider to be "mostly minority," and just under 5% live in "all minority" neighborhoods. It is hypothesized that:

H13: Neighborhood racial composition is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those residing in minority "enclaves" are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

TABLE 3.3
NEIGHBORHOOD RACIAL COMPOSITION (N = 6,977)

Racial Composition	Percent
All white	39
Mostly white	34
Half-white, half-minority	14
Mostly minority	8
All minority	5
	100

With respect to neighborhood upkeep, nearly two-thirds of respondents (63%) were considered to live in areas where the structures were considered well kept; another 29% were found to reside in mixed

conditions areas, and only about 8% in "poorly kept or dilapidated" conditions. It is hypothesized that:

H14: Neighborhood upkeep is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those living in mixed and worse conditions are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

According to the Harris survey, Americans distribute themselves evenly into small (31%), medium (30%), and large (31%) cities, with only 8% living in rural areas. It is hypothesized that:

H15: City size is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those living in larger communities (where congestion and other social/environmental problems tend to be greatest) are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

Summary Environmental Profile

The 1977 Harris survey reveals that Americans reside in diverse environments. They are equally dispersed in large, medium, and small cities, tending to live predominately in the city rather than rural areas. Few live in government subsidized housing and they are relatively evenly divided in terms of residences that are less than 38 years old. Just under one-third live in buildings approximately 38 years old and older. In their neighborhoods Americans

tend to live in predominantly white or minority areas, with relatively few residing in racially balanced situations. The majority of Americans reside in areas in which the surrounding structures are well kept.

3. POLITICAL-GOVERNMENTAL COMPONENT

The last background component of the research model is comprised of political and governmental factors and describes respondents' actions and attitudes about civil matters. This set of variables measures, in part, the nature and degree of the respondents' political participation. Further, these measures evaluate the issue of the respondents' approach to solving problems which can be addressed through the political arena. The options selected by the respondents, such as forming groups, working with others, contacting officials, or inactivity, provide a clue to the type and extent of participatory activity.

In Table 3.4 the percentages of Americans who engaged in different basic forms of activity to resolve a community problem are presented. Civic activity, as measured by these indicators, is relatively limited. For instance, around three-fourths of the respondents indicate they have not worked recently with others to solve community problems. The lack of civic involvement is further substantiated by the 82% who state they have not recently sought to organize groups to solve local problems. Similar patterns are present regarding contact with local public officials. Two-thirds of the respondents reported

that they have not recently contacted public officials about local problems. While there is a solid trend among the vast majority of respondents to refrain from assuming roles as either problem solvers, initiators, or contactors, there is nevertheless an activist "core" of about one-in-three Americans that does get political involved. This group speaks with local officials about problems. Additionally, while those sampled are not initiators who will form groups, about three out of ten will participate in a collaborative manner to solve problems. Thus, the data on political involvement suggest that while on the whole, individuals tend not to be involved in civil matters (either in a collaborative, initiatory, or contacting sense), there is a substantial minority who do act, in some way, to communicate with government regarding local problems.

TABLE 3.4

CIVIC ACTIVITY TO SOLVE LOCAL PROBLEMS (N = 7,002)

Civic Activity	Percent
Formed group (weight = 3)	10
Worked with a group (weight = 2)	28
Contacted county, state, or federal officials	29
Contacted city/town officials	33
	100

To measure the overall extent of political involvement, a weighted Index of Civic Activity was created; the greatest weight was assigned to those activities least engaged in by Americans--the weight values for each activity are presented in Table 3.4. The range of the index thus runs from 0 (none of the activities reported) to 7 (all of the activities reported). As would be expected, the mean level of civic activity is low (1.7), but there is substantial variation around the mean (standard deviation = 2.3). As Table 3.5 shows, of the 48% of Americans who report any involvement in local civic affairs, only a limited proportion engage in more than three types of activities--about one in five (22%). With respect to civic activities on behalf of local problems, it is hypothesized that:

H16: Political activism is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those who are active are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

This next set of variables measure respondents' impressions of local government. Two primary areas are examined: (1) governmental responsiveness and (2) financial management. The results are displayed in Table 3.6.

The large majority (64%) of Americans appear to feel that their local government is at least "somewhat" responsive to them, and one-in-five find it "very" responsive. Still, just over one-third of those surveyed report finding local government only "slightly"

TABLE 3.5
WEIGHTED INDEX OF RECENT CIVIC ACTIVITY (N = 7,005)

Weighted Index	Percent
0	32
1	9
2	11
3	5
4	7
5	4
6	3
7	8
	100

TABLE 3.6
IMPRESSIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT (N = 6,180)

	Responsive	Wasteful
	-----Percent-----	
Not at all	11	12
Only slightly	25	21
Somewhat	45	41
Very	19	26
	100	100

responsive at best. Citizens appear to be somewhat more critical of local government when it comes to the efficiency of its operations. One-in-four rate it as "very" wasteful, and another four-in-ten as "somewhat" wasteful--for a clear two-thirds (67%) having this negative image of local government operations. It is hypothesized for these variables that:

H17: Local government responsiveness is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those who find local government less responsive to them are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

H18: Government wastefulness is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those who find government wasteful are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

Respondents were asked to evaluate the financial condition of their county government and a majority (51%) rated it as "good" or "excellent." Just about one-out-of-three (32%) judged their county's financial condition as "fair," while the remaining 17% considered it "poor." It is hypothesized that:

H19: County financial condition is related to community perceptions and service satisfaction; those who judge the county to be in poorer condition are more likely to be negative and critical of their community and its services.

Summary Governmental Profile

The Harris survey establishes a profile of citizen civic activity that is limited for most Americans; most do not form or join groups to solve a local problem, and relatively few bother to contact public officials for such a purpose. Although not highly involved politically, the citizens report definite impressions of local governments. In each instance, about two-thirds of the respondents describe local government as "somewhat" to "very responsive," but at the same time "somewhat" to "very" wasteful. Similarly, county government receives a mixed review regarding its financial condition. The sample is about evenly divided in impressions of the county's financial condition. About one-half of those surveyed extended their county a financial condition rating of "poor" to "only fair." In contrast, the other half describes the situation as "pretty good" to "excellent."

4. INTERVENING FACTORS: COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

Public services are one attribute of the overall community environment. For instance, many studies addressing either the quality of life, community satisfaction, or community attachment, include public services as community attributes (Marans and Rodgers, 1975; Campbell et al., 1976; Wasserman, 1982; Hughey and Bardo, 1984). Attention in this section is given to those factors which form the context in which service evaluation takes place. The underlying assumption here is that opinions regarding local public services

do not occur in a vacuum, nor--given the limited direct experience most citizens have with many crucial services (such as fire or police protection)--are they simply reflections of actual service performance; service satisfaction is directly tied to individual perceptions of their neighborhoods and community, and can only be explained within that context.

Each of the theoretical models examined earlier depicts some type of perceptual factor as impacting upon attitudes, with the exception of Marlowe (1985). Further, in two of the models, Campbell et al. (1976) and Brown and Coulter (1983), one's expectations, for example, mediate the final assessments of the attributes in question. Were there an overlay of the models, Marlowe's (1985) would be consonant with Brown and Coulter's "assessments of part of domain" and the Campbell et al. (1976) "evaluated attributes" as predictors of domain satisfaction. Still, these models have in common the view that the feeling about the parts determines feelings toward the whole.

The present research model follows the same general line of reasoning; in it we propose that: (1) personal and demographic characteristics are useful in studying citizen service evaluations (Campbell et al., 1976; Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980; Brown and Coulter, 1983); (2) political attitudes are significant predictors of citizen service satisfaction (Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980; Brown and Coulter, 1983); (3) objective service characteristics are relevant to the study of service evaluations (Campbell et al., 1976; Fitzgerald

and Durant, 1980; Brown and Coulter, 1983; Marlowe, 1985); (4) environmental characteristics affect service attitudes (Campbell et al., 1976; Fitzgerald and Durant, 1980; Brown and Coulter, 1983); and that (5) individual perceptions of community and domicile impact service attitudes (Campbell et al., 1976)..

Since urban services are political objects, at issue is how individuals differ in their attitudes about these services. The model seeks to explain how these differences in service attitudes arise and prevail across the mass public. One possible explanation is that when particular political objects are in question, "citizens may tend to evaluate specific urban services based on more evaluative orientations toward local government" (Stipak, 1977: 51). Thus, broader orientations may impact attitudes toward urban services. Stipak's proposition, based on his own service evaluation research, is not in opposition to some of the findings used as the theoretical basis for the present model. For example, in the Tennessee study, the Fitzgerald and Durant (1980) results indicate that an individual's sense of efficacy serves as a strong predictor of service satisfaction. Brown and Coulter's research affirmed this finding (1983). Thus, to argue that political objects impact upon service attitudes or evaluations is neither an exceptional nor unsubstantiated point of view.

What this research does, as both a point of departure and theoretical contribution, is to investigate and expand the impact of

the concept of an individual's broader orientations--not just toward government, but in particular, orientations or perceptions toward the neighborhood and community in which he/she lives; the milieu in which local service delivery takes place.

Two variables are used as indicators of how respondents view their most intimate environment, their home. Table 3.7 contains the data reflecting respondents' dwelling unit perceptions. Clearly, most Americans, based on the Harris survey, are satisfied with their domicile and are not planning on moving in the near future. For these variables we hypothesize that:

H20: Residential satisfaction is related to service satisfaction; those who are dissatisfied with their domiciles are more likely to be dissatisfied with community services.

H21: Planned residential change is related to service satisfaction; those who plan to change domiciles within three years are more likely to be dissatisfied with community services.

Individual perceptions of their communities are viewed as being directly affected by each facet of the model: demographic, environmental, and political/governmental. Three measures are used to examine community perceptions. One measure reflects a direct approach to identifying an overall evaluation of the community. The other two measures approach the community from physical security and social-psychological perspectives. The results associated with these measures of community perception are presented in Table 3.8.

TABLE 3.7
DOMICILE PERCEPTIONS (N = 7,057)

Feelings About House/Apt		Likely to Move within 2-3 Years	
Satisfied (Percent)	Dissatisfied (Percent)	Yes (Percent)	No (Percent)
86	14 (100)	31	69 (100)

TABLE 3.8
COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS (N = 6,789)

	General Evaluation	Feeling of Security	Acceptance by Others
	-----Percent-----		
Terrible	1	5	2
Unhappy	2	5	2
Mostly dissatisfied	4	8	3
Mixed feelings	10	16	11
Mostly satisfied	27	24	25
Pleased	37	30	42
Delighted	19	11	15
	100	100	100

It is apparent from Table 3.8 that a substantial majority of Americans feel at least "mostly satisfied" with their communities and proportionately very few feel either "terrible" or "unhappy" about them. Insofar as citizens report feeling dissatisfied (and worse) about their neighborhoods and communities it is primarily their concern for physical security. Almost one-in-five (19%) felt mostly dissatisfied or worse regarding security--two and one-half times the percentage feeling this way about the general state of the community or their acceptance within it. This leads us to expect that law enforcement is especially likely to draw citizen dissatisfaction in comparison to other services.

To capture fully the degree of community satisfaction, a summary measure is also used. Citizen reactions to six aspects of their community are included in this measure: overall feelings about the community; feelings about local recreation; feelings about local scenery; feelings about local safety; feelings about local child raising; and feelings about local acceptance. Following the same code scheme reported in Table 3.8, for each variable a person could receive a score of 1 (felt "terrible" about that aspect of the community) to 7 (felt delighted). By combining responses across these categories a more global definition of community satisfaction is created that theoretically ranged from 6 (felt terrible about all aspects) to 48 (felt delighted with all aspects).

The range of scores actually assigned was 6 to 42 with a mean of 31--well toward the satisfied end of the scale. There was, however,

substantial dispersion about this average as shown by the standard deviation of 6. It is hypothesized that:

H21: Overall community satisfaction is related to service satisfaction; those citizens who are less satisfied with their community in general are more likely to be dissatisfied with community services.

Citizen Perspectives on Community Change

The last feature of community perceptions with which we are concerned is how citizens feel about changes in the quality of their environment, and what they will do if these changes prove negative. The Harris survey asked Americans about what they thought had happened in the community in the past two years, what would happen in the next two years, and what they would do if specific conditions worsened in the next two years. For convenience we label these views **Retrospective**, **Prospective**, and **Reactive**. The next three tables report citizen perspectives on community change. Table 3.9 contains data which reflect what the respondent thinks has happened to various aspects of his/her community. One of the most obvious features of the data arrayed in Table 3.9 is that respondents feel little change in these community attributes has taken place over the past two years. This sense of constancy is even more pronounced relative to the community's social environment. There are, however, some perceived changes. For example, public services and leisure facilities have become "much better," according to some (8% apiece). A greater percentage

TABLE 3.9
RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF COMMUNITY

	Public Service %	Public Schools %	Leisure %	Housing %	Physical Environment %	Social Environment %
Much worse	3	8	2	8	7	2
Slightly worse	9	18	7	15	21	6
Same	56	49	57	47	50	76
Slightly better	24	19	26	24	18	12
Much better	8	6	8	6	4	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100

of respondents view the positive change that has occurred with more reserve. One-fourth of those surveyed say leisure facilities have become "slightly better" in the past two years. Simultaneously, approximately the same number say public services and housing conditions have become "slightly better." Just under one-fourth of the respondents, in each case, feel there has been a slight improvement in public schools and in the physical characteristics of the community.

One-third of the respondents feel leisure facilities have improved over the past two years. Simultaneously, about 30% feel public services have gotten better and almost another 30% say housing conditions have improved. One-fourth of those surveyed indicate that advancements have been made in the area of public schools, and just over one-fifth say the community's physical characteristics have been enhanced over the past two years; somewhat fewer, about 15%, feel the social environment has changed for the better. This is understandable because the greatest degree (76%) of continuity is perceived in this area. Thus, respondents attest to some improvements in each of these community facets. On the other hand, a significant proportion of respondents note signs of physical deterioration in the community. Thus, when individuals take a retrospective view of their communities, the majority tend to see little change, especially in the social milieu. When change is seen, the change tends to be positive rather than negative. That is, people tend to see more improvements than deterioration in their communities. There are, however, notable exceptions: the community's physical

characteristics and its public schools--roughly one-in-four Americans report that conditions in these areas have deteriorated in the past two years. With respect to these variables it is hypothesized that:

H22: Retrospective views of changing community conditions are related to service satisfaction; those individuals with more negative views of change are more likely to be dissatisfied with services.

Table 3.10 summarizes citizen expectations regarding prospective community conditions. The most salient feature in the table is the expectation by at least half of the respondents, in most cases, that things will stay the same, and this sense of constancy is quite prevalent. Almost 60% say public services and leisure facilities will stay the same. Moreover, three-fourths of those surveyed feel that the social environment will remain as they know it. Some do, however, anticipate change: just under a third consistently expect improvements in public services, schools, leisure facilities, and housing conditions; while substantially fewer expect these to worsen. Overall, there is a tendency toward not seeing much deterioration in these attributes of the community, with the possible exception of its physical characteristics. It is hypothesized that:

H23: Prospective views of community conditions are related to service satisfaction; those who are pessimistic about future community conditions are more likely to be dissatisfied with services.

TABLE 3.10
PROSPECTIVE VIEW OF COMMUNITY

	<u>Public Service %</u>	<u>Public Schools %</u>	<u>Leisure %</u>	<u>Housing %</u>	<u>Physical Environment %</u>	<u>Social Environment %</u>
Much worse	4	7	2	7	6	2
Slightly worse	9	13	6	14	18	8
Same	57	50	59	50	52	75
Slightly better	25	25	27	24	20	12
Much better	5	5	6	5	4	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100

How do these respondents feel they would react to worsening conditions in any of these facets of their communities? Would they consider relocating as a response to deteriorating conditions of public services, public schools, leisure facilities, housing conditions, the physical characteristics of the community or the social environment in the near future? Table 3.11 presents the answers to these questions.

Generally, moving is not the anticipated response to declining aspects of communities. Roughly two-thirds of those surveyed consistently indicate that they would not consider moving because of a decline in specific community attributes. Respondents discriminate among aspects of communities, however, when moving is considered as a response. A larger proportion of individuals would consider moving because of deteriorating public services than due to a decline in quality of public schools. One-third of the respondents would consider moving in response to a wane in either housing conditions or the physical environment, but fewer would consider moving because of declining social conditions or leisure facilities. Clearly, not all aspects of community existence impinge equally upon community satisfaction. It is hypothesized that:

H24: Reaction to community deterioration is related to service satisfaction; those people who would move in reaction to declining community conditions are more likely to be dissatisfied with services.

TABLE 3.11
REACTION TO COMMUNITY CHANGE

	Public Service %	Public Schools %	Leisure %	Housing %	Physical Environment %	Social Environment %
Would not move	65	71	81	66	66	71
Would move	35	29	19	34	34	29
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Summary Community Perceptions Profile

This component of the model describes the respondents' attitudes toward their communities. Respondents were asked a variety of questions about their communities, including items regarding change and their reaction to it. Overall, the respondents are satisfied with their communities and their aspects. The data reveal this in two ways: first, the highest level of positive sentiment is attributed by more respondents to the community as a whole; and second, the most sentiment is associated with a social-psychological factor, feelings of acceptance by others.

Communities are animated because of the people who live in them. As time progresses, people change; so do their communities. Respondents were queried about changes in aspects of their communities. They were asked how their communities had changed, if at all, and how they would anticipate change, if at all. Generally, most people think that things have stayed the same, and in the future will continue to do so. Where change has occurred in any of the community attributes, it typically was viewed as being for the better--particularly regarding public services. Respondents anticipate some degree of improvement in aspects of their communities, especially leisure facilities. Should their communities deteriorate rather than improve in the future, most respondents would remain where they are rather than relocate. Moving, generally, would not be the response to declining community conditions in the future. For those who would consider moving as a response to waning conditions,

poorer services, housing conditions and physical characteristics would prompt them to do so.

5. DEPENDENT FACTORS: LOCAL SERVICE SATISFACTION

This portion of the chapter reports American attitudes toward local public services as reflected in the Harris survey. These opinions are taken to be measures of citizen satisfaction with community public services and as a group constitute the final component of the research model. In the following chapter the explanatory power of the model is tested by using citizen ratings of nine separate services, and an overall service satisfaction index, as dependent variables in multiple regression analysis. The specific local services rated by Americans in the survey are: police protection, refuse collection, street lighting, fire protection, public schools, parks and playgrounds, road maintenance, public transportation, and public health services.

In evaluating their local services citizens were allowed to rate them on a four-point scale ranging from "Poor" to "Excellent." For purposes of this research the response set is also taken to indicate a "satisfaction continuum" on which individuals who rate a service "poor" are considered "very dissatisfied" and those extending an "excellent" rating are considered "very satisfied"; those rating a service as "fair" are considered "dissatisfied," and those giving a service a "good" rating are defined as "satisfied. Table 3.12 presents the actual distribution of ratings for each local

TABLE 3.12
LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICE RATINGS

	Police (6780)	Refuse (6647)	Lights (6504)	Fire (6559)	Schools (6029)	Parks (5974)	Roads (6901)	Trans. Health (4999) (5769)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Poor	10	6	10	3	14	15	26	23 11
Fair	20	13	19	8	18	24	26	23 18
Excellent	19	28	18	31	21	15	8	12 18
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100 100

service category. As the table shows, citizens are the most dissatisfied with road maintenance (52% dissatisfied), public transportation (46%), and parks (39%). They are the most satisfied with fire protection (89% satisfied), refuse collection (81%), street lighting (71%), health services (71%), police protection (70%), and the public schools (69%). Thus, with the exception of road maintenance and public transportation, a majority of citizens (in most cases a substantial majority of 61-89%) are satisfied with the public services provided in their community. There consistently is, however, a minority of dissatisfied citizens of 11-39%.

When the ratings for the nine separate service areas are transformed into a single index of service satisfaction, the variation in citizen evaluations becomes all the more apparent. The Overall Service Satisfaction Index (OSSI) was calculated by assigning: a value of zero (0) to those individuals who rated a given service as poor; one (1) to a fair rating; two (2) to a good rating; and three (3) to an excellent rating--and then summing the individual's ratings for all nine services. The OSSI therefore ranges from zero (very dissatisfied with all services) to twenty-seven (very satisfied with all services). The mean OSSI score of 16 falls on the satisfied end of the scale, as would be expected given the results reported in Table 3.12. But there is substantial dispersion around this mean as indicated by the standard deviation of 5; i.e., Americans vary substantially in their degree of satisfaction with local services.

Summary Service Satisfaction Profile

It is clear from Table 3.12 that Americans are generally pretty satisfied, and in the case of fire protection and refuse collection very satisfied, with most of their local public services. But, there is considerable variation in their ratings across categories of services--between one-in-ten and one-in-two Americans are in some degree dissatisfied with one of the specific local services. This pattern is also apparent in the Overall Service Satisfaction Index which shows substantial variation around the average. It is the explanation of this variation in service satisfaction that the present research model was developed to explain.

6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter described the summary data for the model to be tested. It examined the independent and dependent variables by component. The components are Demographic, Environmental, Political-Governmental, Dwelling Unit Perceptions, Perceptions of Resident Community, and Service Evaluations. It is clear from the analysis that Americans profoundly differ in the characteristics organized by the research model. Most especially, they perceive their community and evaluate its services differently. To what extent, then, can these differences be explained by the Social Psychological model under study? Chapter Four provides the answer to this crucial question.

CHAPTER FOUR

ASSESSING THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL OF LOCAL SERVICES

1. INTRODUCTION

Based on the theoretical and applied work of earlier urban scholars, this study presented in Chapter Two an integrated model of the citizen community evaluation process. In Chapter Three the results of the 1977 Harris national survey which contained pertinent information about the attitudes of Americans toward their communities were presented. In this chapter, the Harris data are subjected to multiple correlation analysis to determine whether the relationships hypothesized among key variables empirically exist. The Social Psychological Model is then applied to the Harris data using multiple regression analysis. Based on the regression results the unique power of each variable as a predictor within the model can be measured, as can the overall predictive potency of the model. In the next two sections the correlates of community perceptions and service satisfaction are presented. In sections four and five the predictors of community perceptions and service satisfaction are discussed. The chapter summary constitutes the final section of the chapter.

2. THE CORRELATES OF COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

What variables used to operationally define the Background Component of the Social Psychological Model are related to community

perceptions? An answer to this question can be derived by applying the results of simple correlation analysis presented in Table 4.1.

In Chapter Three a series of research hypotheses were developed for each key relationship between the variables in the model. Hypotheses H1 to H18 pertained to the variables in the Background Component (I) of the model. With the exception of county financial condition, all of the demographic and environmental variables relate to overall community satisfaction at a statistically significant level, thereby confirming the hypotheses in these instances. Because of the large size of the sample ($N = 7,044$), however, even a very weak relationship is "statistically" significant, and most of the correlation coefficients are indeed small. The three closest correlates of community satisfaction are city size, neighborhood racial composition, and race: citizens living in small communities tend to be more satisfied with them than those from larger cities-confirming the direction of H10. Contrary to H1 and H13, however, minorities and those residing in neighborhoods with a larger concentration of racial minorities tended also to be more satisfied with their communities. It may be that a stronger sense of community is emerging within minority neighborhoods that is translating into better perceptions of their environment. Perhaps the greater mobility available within and between predominantly white communities prevents the development of attachment and more positive perceptions of the area. Still, given the very modest correlations involved, it is best not to place too much emphasis on this finding; obviously further research into this issue

TABLE 4.1

PEARSON CORRELATIONS FOR HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIPS: COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

	COMPONENT II				
	Community Satisfaction	Retrospective on Services	Prospective on Services	Reactive on Services	Domicile Satisfaction
COMPONENT I					Likelihood of Move
Race	.10	-.05	-.03	.03	-.13
Gender	.03	.00*	.01*	-.01*	-.03
Education	-.07	-.02	.01*	.07	.04
Income	-.08	-.01*	.01*	.04	.13
Life Cycle Stage	.06	.01*	-.02	-.09	.01*
Age	.09	.02	.00*	-.20	.10
Length Residence Domicile	.04	.00*	-.03	-.14	.12
Length Residence Community	.06	-.01*	-.05	-.12	.05
Owner-Occupant	-.06	.10	.10	-.14	.26
City Size	-.17	.12	.16	-.09	.10
Govt. Subsidized Housing	.04	-.04	-.05	.04	-.05
Neighborhood Upkeep	.02*	-.03	-.04	.09	-.26
Neighborhood Racial Composition	.12	-.05	-.05	.07	-.17
Age of Domicile	.03	-.07	-.08	-.04	-.08
Index of Civic Activism	-.05	.04	.03	.00*	.04
Local Govt. Responsiveness	.05	.21	.19	-.10	.17
Local Govt. Wastefulness	.02	-.15	-.16	.07	-.09
County Financial Condition	.00*	.20	.20	-.06	.10

*Not statistically significant using the F-Test at the .05 level of probability.

is required. None of the relationships between governmental variables and community satisfaction seem strong enough to warrant discussion.

Fewer of the hypothesized relationships emerge in the correlations between Component I variables and citizen perceptions of whether community services have recently improved or declined (Retrospective). Five variables (gender, income, life cycle, length of domicile residence, and length of community residence) are not related to a statistically significant level, and most of the others are so weakly related as to be irrelevant. The strongest correlates here are local government responsiveness ($r=.21$), county financial condition ($r=.20$), local government wastefulness ($r=-.15$), city size ($r=.12$), and owner-occupant ($r=.10$). As hypothesized: those who view local government as more responsive, as well as those perceiving the county in better financial straits, also tend to perceive city services as having improved in the past two years, and those who find it wasteful tend to see services as having deteriorated. Contrary to the hypotheses: home owners and people in larger cities tend to perceive services as having improved. A virtually identical pattern of relationships defines the relationship between Component I variables and citizen perceptions of future trends in community services.

Whether or not citizens will move if community services were to deteriorate manifests a somewhat different pattern of relationships than those found for service retrospective and prospective views. Here the closest correlates are demographic including age ($r=.20$), length of domicile residence ($r=-.14$), home ownership ($r=.14$), length

of community residence ($r=.12$). This makes sense in that those with the greatest investment, in time and/or money, in a home and neighborhood, undertake the greatest costs when they move. Obviously, factors beyond service decline must affect such people before they will move from a home they own and have lived in for a long time.

Only life cycle stage is unrelated, at a statistically significant level, to domicile satisfaction. The strongest relationships between background variables and domicile satisfaction include: home ownership ($r=.26$), neighborhood upkeep ($r=-.26$), local government responsiveness ($r=.17$), race ($r=-.13$), and income ($r=.13$). Those feeling the most satisfied with their homes tend to be those who own them, find the neighborhood being kept up, and their local government responsive. Minority and low income citizens tend to be less satisfied with their white, higher income counterparts in the community.

Finally, how does the prediction that an individual actually will move within the next two years relate to background variables. Table 4.1 shows that this is almost purely related to demographic factors. Moving expectations relate strongly to age ($r=-.37$), home ownership ($r=-.29$), length of domicile residence ($r=-.28$), and life cycle stage ($r=-.21$). Clearly, those who are the most established in their homes/communities are not inclined to move. There is a modest relationship between government responsiveness ($r=-.11$) and wastefulness ($r=.10$) and the expectation that a person will move: those who find local government unresponsive and wasteful are more inclined to move than those who do not. But, demographic factors

are more related to this decision than political as indicated by their higher correlation coefficients.

3. THE CORRELATES OF SERVICE SATISFACTION

What variables used to operationally define the Background and Social Psychological Components of the research model are related to local public service satisfaction? An answer to this question can be derived by using the results of simple correlation analysis presented in Table 4.2.

In Chapter Three a series of research hypotheses were developed for each key relationship between the variables in the model. Hypotheses H1 to H18 pertained to the variables in the Background Component (I), and H19 to H24 to the Community Perception Component (II) of the model. All of the variables in Components I and II are related, at a statistically significant level, to satisfaction with police protection. Community satisfaction is unrelated statistically to refuse collection satisfaction; otherwise all of the variables are related to refuse collection. Education, income, city size, civic activism, and community satisfaction are statistically unrelated to satisfaction with street lighting. Fire service satisfaction is unrelated only with length of community residence and community satisfaction; while only gender is not related to satisfaction with public schools. Fewer variables are related at a statistically significant level with parks/recreation and public transportation satisfaction than with other areas. Gender, length of domicile

TABLE 4.2
PEARSON CORRELATIONS FOR HYPOTHESED RELATIONSHIPS: SERVICE SATISFACTION

	COMPONENT III									
	Police	Refuse	Lights	Fire	Schools	Parks	Roads	Trans.	Health	Index
COMPONENT I										
Race	-.15	-.11	-.10	-.12	-.11	-.06	-.07	.02*	-.09	-.16
Gender	.02	-.02	.03	.03	-.01*	.00*	.01*	.05	.03	.02*
Education	.07	.07	.01*	.09	-.02	-.04	.04	-.07	.02*	.02*
Income	.09	.07	.02*	.11	.04	.05	.05	-.09	.03	.08
Life Cycle Stage	.04	.03	.06	.02	.05	.04	.06	.05	.03	.06
Age	.10	.11	.12	.06	.12	.11	.14	.04	.09	.19
Length Residence Domicile	.03	.04	.10	.06	.05	.01*	.06	-.02*	.07	.09
Length Residence Community	-.05	-.04	.06	.01*	-.05	-.04	-.03	.02*	.03	-.02*
Owner-Occupant	.14	.13	.08	.13	.13	.00	.13	-.08	.06	.17
City Size	.11	.11	.01*	.04	.23	.03*	.12	-.09	.00*	.14
Govt. Subsidized Housing	-.07	-.06	-.04	-.05	-.03	-.01*	-.04	.03	-.06	-.07
Neighborhood Upkeep	-.16	-.14	-.10	-.12	-.13	-.10	-.11	.08	-.10	-.18
Neighborhood Racial Comp.	-.19	-.14	-.10	-.13	-.18	-.09	-.10	.06	-.08	-.21
Age of Domicile	-.05	-.04	.02	.04	-.05	-.01*	-.02	.14	.04	.00*
Index of Civic Activism	.02	.04	.02*	.08	.03	.01*	.00*	-.06	-.01*	.01*
Local Govt. Responsiveness	.30	.25	.19	.20	.27	.24	.29	.11	.21	.40
Local Govt. Wastefulness	-.21	-.18	-.12	-.12	-.22	-.12	-.23	-.07	-.11	-.29
County Financial Condition	.21	.18	.12	.18	.22	.20	.22	.06	.14	.30

TABLE 4.2 (Continued)

	COMPONENT III									
	Police	Refuse	Lights	Fire	Schools	Parks	Roads	Trans.	Health	Index
COMPONENT II										
Community Satisfaction	-.05	-.02*	-.01*	-.01*	.06	.16	.04	.11	.07	.07
Retrospective on Services	.18	.23	.11	.12	.18	.15	.16	.10	.12	.27
Prospective on Services	.14	.13	.07	.08	.18	.11	.11	.04	.09	.19
Reactive on Services	-.07	-.05	-.06	-.04	-.11	-.06	-.07	-.02*	-.07	-.13
Domicile Satisfaction	.17	.14	.12	.13	.15	.13	.14	.04	.14	.24
Likelihood of Move	-.10	-.06	-.08	-.07	-.14	-.10	-.11	-.01*	-.05	-.15

*Not statistically significant using the F-Test at the .05 level of probability.

residence, city size, subsidized housing, domicile age, and civic activism are unrelated at a statistically significant level with parks. Race, domicile and community residence length, reaction to service decline, and likelihood of moving, are all statistically unrelated to public transportation satisfaction. Education, subsidized housing, and civic activism are unrelated to health service satisfaction. Finally, gender, education, community, residence length, domicile age, and civic activism are not related to the service satisfaction at a statistically significant level.

For the most part, however, the independent variables in the analysis are related to the service satisfaction variables that constitute the dependent measures. And, for the most part, the observed relationships are in the hypothesized direction. A comparison of the correlation coefficients in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 reveals that background variables are typically more closely related to service satisfaction than to community perception factors. This fact held true even under statistical control in the regression analysis later. Thus, it turns out that, contrary to the assumption of the model, these background variables are not largely being "filtered" through those variables contained in the Social Psychological Component.

Exactly which variables are the closest correlates of service satisfaction? Using a correlation coefficient of $\geq .10$ as a cutoff, it is apparent that gender, education, income, life cycle stage, length of residence in either domicile or community, government subsidized housing, domicile age, and civic activism have a negligible

relationship to service satisfaction ratings. Race is the demographic factor, and racial composition of neighborhood the environmental factor, that most consistently correlate with service satisfaction--minorities, and those living in predominantly minority neighborhoods, tend to be less satisfied with local services. The government variables, especially responsiveness, in Component I relate consistently with strength to service satisfaction. Those people who find local government more responsive and less wasteful tend to be more satisfied with its provision of services across the board. Similarly, people seem to be affected by whether they perceive or anticipate changes in public service quality: citizens who have seen recent improvements in services tend to rate them higher, and those who anticipate improvements tend to be more satisfied. Satisfaction with one's home appears to carry over into service satisfaction, those with higher domicile satisfaction also tend to give more approving public service ratings. Finally, those people who are most likely to move in the next two years tended to be less satisfied with their public services. It appears then that local service satisfaction is, as hypothesized, part and parcel of a variety of background and social psychological factors.

4. THE PREDICTORS OF COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

Do the relationships discerned in Table 4.1 (page 120) hold up under statistical control, and what is the overall explanatory power of the background variables with regard to community perceptions?

The answer to these questions is provided in Table 4.3 which presents the results of multiple regression analysis. To avoid potential problems with multicollinearity, two variables originally included in the correlation analysis were dropped from this stage of the study, life cycle stage and length of domicile residence. This was done because each correlated quite highly with another variable in the analysis: life cycle with age ($r=.67$) and domicile with community residence length ($r=.59$).

The research model is the least powerful in predicting overall levels of community satisfaction. The independent variables only account for 6% of the variance in this dependent variable. Only slightly better results occur with respect to service retrospective, prospective, and reactive where 7-8% of variance is explained. Insofar as the model predicts variation in city satisfaction it is due to race ($B=.12$) and city size ($B=-.16$) as predictors. The explanation of citizen differences in perceiving past or future changes in public services is largely produced by the predictors local responsiveness and county financial condition; people see improvements, or anticipate them, where they find government responsive and the county in sound financial condition. In explaining differences between those who say they would, or would not, move if local public services deteriorated, only age has any real predictive power ($B=-.13$); it is the younger members of the population who seem ready, or are perhaps able, to "vote with their feet" in this way.

The model is best at predicting variation in domicile satisfaction ($R^2=.12$) and likelihood of moving within two years ($R^2=.20$). The

TABLE 4.3
STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (BETA WEIGHTS) FOR COMMUNITY PERCEPTION VARIABLES IN THE MODEL

	COMPONENT II					
	Community Satisfaction	Retrospective on Services	Prospective on Services	Reactive on Services	Domicile Satisfaction	Likelihood of Move
COMPONENT I						
Race	.12	*	*	*	*	-.05
Age	.04	-.05	*	-.13	.04	-.27
Gender	*	*	*	*	-.03	-.04
Education	.06	-.05	*	*	*	.06
Income	*	-.06	-.05	-.06	*	*
Length Residence Community	*	*	*	.07	*	-.09
Owner-Occupant	*	.06	.07	-.08	.17	-.20
City Size	-.16	.04	.09	-.06	*	-.04
Govt. Subsidized Housing	*	*	*	*	*	*
Neighborhood Upkeep	*	*	*	.07	-.19	.06
Neighborhood Racial Composition	.05	*	*	*	-.05	*
Age of Domicile	*	-.05	-.04	-.03	*	*
Index of Civic Activism	*	.04	*	*	*	*
Local Govt. Responsiveness	.04	.15	.11	-.06	.11	*
Local Govt. Wastefulness	*	-.05	-.07	*	*	.06
County Financial Condition	*	.14	.13	*	*	*
MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT	.23	.29	.29	.26	.35	.45
EXPLAINED VARIANCE (R ²)	.06	.08	.08	.07	.12	.20

*Not statistically significant using the T-Test at the .05 level of probability.

best predictor variables are neighborhood upkeep ($B = -.19$), owner occupant (.17), and local government responsiveness; those people least satisfied with their homes tend to rent, find their neighborhoods ill-kept, and local government unresponsive to them. The best predictors for likelihood of moving are age ($B = -.27$) and owner-occupant ($B = -.20$); it is the younger, non-owners who are inclined to move. These results provide interesting clues for local decision makers concerned for maintaining socioeconomically balanced populations in their communities. Attention to neighborhood maintenance services (e.g., refuse collection, street lighting, and road maintenance) and public outreach programs might help keep younger, upwardly-mobile, segments of the population in the community.

5. THE PREDICTORS OF SERVICE SATISFACTION

Do the relationships discerned in Table 4.2 (page 124) hold up under statistical control, and what is the overall explanatory power of the background and social psychological variables with regard to local service satisfaction? The answers to these questions are provided in Table 4.4 which presents the results of multiple regression analysis. The most striking feature here is that the explanatory power of the model is greater for service satisfaction than for community perceptions earlier; whereas the model explained a mere 6% of the variance in overall community satisfaction, it explains 30% of the variance in overall service satisfaction. For the most part demographic variables washout as predictors of service

TABLE 4.4

STANDARD REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (BETA WEIGHTS) FOR SERVICE SATISFACTION VARIABLES IN THE MODEL

	COMPONENT III									
	Police	Refuse	Lights	Fire	Schools	Parks	Roads	Trans.	Health	Index
COMPONENT I										
Race	-.03	*	-.04	-.04	*	*	*	*	-.05	*
Gender	*	*	*	.04	*	*	*	-.05	.03	*
Education	.03	.05	*	.05	-.05	.03	.05	-.05	*	*
Income	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	.04
Age	.07	.09	.07	.03	.05	.08	.12	*	.03	.12
Length Residence Community	-.05	-.04	.03	*	-.05	-.07	-.04	*	*	-.06
Owner-Occupant	*	*	*	.03	*	*	*	-.07	*	*
City Size	*	*	-.06	-.04	-.13	-.04	-.04	-.08	-.06	*
Govt. Subsidized Housing	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-.04	*
Neighborhood Upkeep	-.07	-.06	-.05	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.06	-.07
Neighborhood Racial Comp.	-.08	-.07	-.05	-.03	-.08	-.05	*	*	*	-.10
Age of Domicile	*	*	.03	.05	*	*	*	.11	.06	*
Index of Civic Activism	*	*	*	.03	*	*	-.04	*	*	-.05
Local Govt. Responsiveness	.18	.13	.12	.08	.13	.14	.16	.09	.13	.20
Local Govt. Wastefulness	-.07	-.06	-.04	-.03	-.07	*	-.11	-.06	-.03	-.12
County Financial Condition	.09	.07	.06	.08	.11	.12	.11	*	.07	.15
COMPONENT II										
Community Satisfaction	-.05	*	*	*	.08	.16	.03	.08	.06	.08
Retrospective on Services	.09	.16	.06	.07	.06	.09	.08	.09	.06	.17
Prospective on Services	*	*	*	*	.06	*	*	*	*	*
Reactive on Services	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-.04

TABLE 4.4 (Continued)

	COMPONENT III							
	Police	Refuse	Lights	Fire	Schools	Parks	Roads	Trans. Health Index
Domicile Satisfaction Likelihood of Move	.07 *	.06 *	.06 *	.12 *	.06 -.05	.07 -.04	.06 *	.07 * .12 *
MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT (R)	.40	.36	.27	.31	.42	.36	.38	.21 .29 .54
EXPLAINED VARIANCE (R ²)	.16	.13	.07	.10	.17	.13	.15	.04 .09 .30

*Indicates not statistically significant using the F-Test at the .05 level of probability.

satisfaction under statistical control. The only consistently strong predictor among this type of variable is age; the elderly consistently are more satisfied with local services than their younger counterparts.

Among environmental characteristics subsidized housing and domicile age are of negligible value as predictors of service satisfaction; except in the case of public transportation when domicile age is actually the best predictor ($B=.11$). It seems that those in the oldest housing are the most satisfied with public transportation. Presumably this housing stock is at the urban core, which can most efficiently be serviced by public transport. The very low explained variance (4%) for this service category suggests there is a lot to be learned before we can begin to understand its citizen evaluations. City size turns up as a modest predictor of several service areas, but contributes nothing significant to the prediction of overall service satisfaction. People in larger cities, as expected, were consistently less satisfied with services than those living in smaller areas. Neighborhood upkeep and racial composition prove to be modest predictors of most services: those manifesting the greatest satisfaction with services tend to come from predominantly white and well maintained areas. Overall, environmental characteristics proved more important elements in the explanatory than did demographic ones. Measurement refinements and additional variables in this area might well improve the power of the model.

Within Component I, the most successful predictor variables are found in the activism/government characteristics segment. As

had been found by Fitzgerald and Durant (1980), local government responsiveness is a major predictor of service satisfaction; in every service area its predictive weight ranked first or second compared to all other variables. It is the best predictor of overall service satisfaction ($B=.20$). Government wastefulness and the county's financial condition also tend to be strong predictors of service satisfaction. Citizens who perceive their local government as responsive, efficient, and financially well managed, consistently manifest the highest levels of satisfaction with public services.

The Social Psychological component of the predictive model contains two reasonably strong predictors of service satisfaction, retrospective on services and domicile satisfaction. Individuals appear strongly affected in present service evaluations by their perception of recent changes in public services; i.e., if they think services have improved recently they tend to be satisfied, and if they think things have worsened, they tend to be dissatisfied. The relationship here is quite strong and service retrospective is the second best predictor of overall service satisfaction ($B=.17$). It is pretty clear that people are strongly affected by their feelings for their present domicile. Those who express negative feelings about their home tend to be more dissatisfied with services. As had been hypothesized, individuals seem to project feelings about their most immediate environment onto the larger community and the services it provides.

5. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, the Harris national public opinion survey was analyzed using correlation analysis to determine whether the relationships hypothesized among key variables in the Social Psychological model could be empirically verified. Correlation analysis revealed that, indeed, most of the variables were related to community perceptions and local service satisfaction, although not always in the hypothesized direction. The Social Psychological Model was then applied to the Harris data using multiple regression analysis. Based on the regression results it was found that demographic variables did not appear to filter through social psychological characteristics in the fashion expected.

The model proved quite limited in explaining differences in citizen perceptions of their environment and community, but more powerful in accounting for variance in local service satisfaction. This difference was largely accounted for by the power of local government responsiveness, efficiency, and financial condition as predictor variables. As will be discussed in the next chapter, a revision of the model and refinement of its operational definitions is required based on this empirical application of the model.

CHAPTER FIVE

CITIZEN PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR COMMUNITIES : THE NEXT GENERATION OF RESEARCH

1. RECAPITULATION

This study has systematically analyzed the status of empirical research on the citizen evaluation process. Based on this body of knowledge, and the theoretical models that have informed it, a new model was posited and tested. In this chapter the Social Psychological Model is evaluated, conclusions are drawn, and suggestions for future research are put forward.

Summary of the Basis and Nature of the Research Model

Four areas of research concentrate on the recipient/outcome of local services. The service recipient (i.e., the citizen) and the impact services have upon his/her social condition are common themes within these studies. From early studies focusing on equity and equality in service distribution, to more recent research concerned with citizen evaluations, the citizen/recipient progressively becomes the focal point. Earlier researchers had been sensitive to individuals' service needs and perceived disparities. Later researchers, however, began to raise questions about using citizens as service evaluators. Citizens, thought some, are not sufficiently knowledgeable about services to evaluate them in any meaningful fashion. Research was needed that further addressed how citizens formed their attitudes

about local public services. To expand knowledge of citizen attitudes about public services further, both the number of service areas and the size of the sample studied needed to be broadened. This study represents exactly that kind of effort with its incorporation of nine separate services into an unusually rich and detailed national opinion survey.

Earlier empirical studies, including several that offered innovative theoretical models to guide the work, led to four considerations shaping the present study: first, background variables can be useful predictors of service satisfaction. Because levels of service satisfaction reflect individual attitudes and decisions it is necessary to appreciate, and in empirical research measure, the complex nature of attitude formation. Second, social psychological variables are relevant to understanding attitude formation and must be incorporated into empirical work in the area. Third, political attitudinal variables should make major contributions to predicting and understanding service satisfaction; specific evaluations of governmental performance, such as the provision of local services, are likely to be based in some degree upon general perspectives upon local government and its operations. Fourth, satisfaction can be expected to vary across services, and may well be cumulative in its effect; i.e., citizens are likely to form "satisfaction bundles" based on their cumulative evaluations in all service areas. These four points are reflected in the research model's assumptions, organization, and operational definitions.

The model operationally defines and tests relationships between background (demographic, environmental, and political-governmental) variables and social psychological variables, described broadly as "community perceptions." The model also tests the relationships of these background and social psychological variables to the dependent variable, service attitudes.

Summary Demographic Findings

As captured by the Harris survey, Americans are predominately white, with a slight majority being female; most are in the early stages of the adult life cycle, both as married and single individuals. Those with children tend to send them to the public schools, although a substantial minority avail themselves of private education. Incomes tend to fall into middle and moderate levels, and the large majority of Americans own their own home. There is substantial stability regarding length of residence in domiciles and communities--with the majority of Americans disinclined to move--even in response to deteriorating environmental conditions.

Summary Environmental Findings

The 1977 Harris survey reveals that Americans reside in diverse environments. They distribute themselves pretty evenly among large, medium, and small sized communities--with a small minority in rural areas. Few live in government subsidized housing and most reside in homes that are well under thirty years of age. Americans tend to live in neighborhoods that are predominately white or minority,

rather than in integrated areas. Most Americans reside in areas in which the surrounding structures are well maintained.

Summary Political/Governmental Findings

The Harris survey reveals very limited civic activism on the part of most citizens: relatively few form or join groups to solve a local problem; while larger percentages of people report contacting public officials at some level of government about local problems--this is still a minority. Although not highly involved politically, citizens nevertheless have opinions regarding general local government operations: roughly two-thirds of the public consider local government as responsive to people such as themselves--such people also tend to manifest distinctive community and service perceptions from those who see government as unresponsive. Local government is viewed as wasteful by two-thirds of the public, and these people tend to view the community in general, and services in particular, more negatively than the minority of individuals who see government as efficient.

Summary Community Perceptions Profile

This study determined that, based on the Harris survey, Americans are generally satisfied with their communities. By a large majority the public indicates satisfaction with the community as a whole and with their acceptance within it. Generally, most people think that things around them have changed little in recent years and anticipate that little will change in the near future. Apparently, insofar as Americans felt "malaise" in the late seventies--it was not with

their immediate surroundings or with the general operation of local governments. This finding suggests how Ronald Reagan was able to win public support for his "New Federalism" initiative: he was shifting responsibility in a direction with which people at the time were comfortable--their more immediate communities. Should their communities deteriorate rather than improve in the near future, most respondents would remain where they are rather than relocate; "exit" does not appear to be a viable option for most Americans--most especially those with roots in their communities--homeowners and the elderly. That is, moving is not the way most Americans would respond to declining community conditions.

Summary Service Satisfaction Profile

Americans are generally pretty satisfied with their local public services. But, there is considerable variation in degree of satisfaction across categories of services; moreover, there is consistently a core of dissatisfied citizens ranging in size between 10% and 33%. Citizens are most satisfied with police protection, refuse collection, street lighting, fire protection, and health services. They are the least satisfied with public schools, road maintenance, and public transportation. Thus, while the Overall Service Satisfaction Index manifested a national average well toward the satisfied end of the scale, there was substantial dispersion around the mean. It was determined, then, that Americans greatly varied in most of the characteristics framed by the research model. Most especially, they

perceive their community and evaluate its services differently. How well, accordingly, did the model actually explain this variance?

2. ASSESSMENT OF THE RESEARCH MODEL

The Model Results

Based on the regression results it was found that demographic variables did not appear to filter through social psychological characteristics in the fashion expected, nor did they carry the explanatory power expected. The model proved quite limited in explaining differences in citizen perceptions of their environment and community, but more powerful in accounting for variance in local service satisfaction. This difference was largely accounted for by the power of local government responsiveness, efficiency, and financial condition as predictor variables. As is discussed in the next section, a revision of the model, and refinement of its operational definitions, is required based on this empirical application of the model.

Adjusting the Model

Based on these results there are certain adjustments that need to be made in the model. First, it is now apparent that the civic activism and government variables need to be moved from a background element into an intervening component. The results of correlation and regression analyses seem to indicate that background demographic and environmental variables work through general government assessments

to evaluations of specific public services. Second, the perceptions of government responsiveness and efficiency--along with service retrospective, prospective, and reactive variables--should also be moved to an intervening component; they too appear to work more directly upon service evaluations than was originally expected. Third, a "standards of comparison" element needs to be added to the model as per Converse et al. (1976). A better sense of the extent to which individuals have "ideals" regarding the nature of their environment, and the distance of their present living conditions from those ideals, needs to be taken into account. The Harris survey did not lend itself readily to operationalizing such a component, but its inclusion might well improve the explanatory power of the model. A modified model should look something like Figure 5.1 which adds a standards of Comparison Comparison Component as well as a rearrangement of the causal order. This research indicates that general assessments of governmental status and performance indeed intervene between community perceptions and specific service evaluations.

3. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Several suggestions for future research on citizen attitudes toward their communities, and evaluations of services emerge from the results of this study and its model testing exercise. First, the limited explanatory power of the research model requires that steps be taken to discover additional variables that might explain variation in service satisfaction. An obvious addition to the model

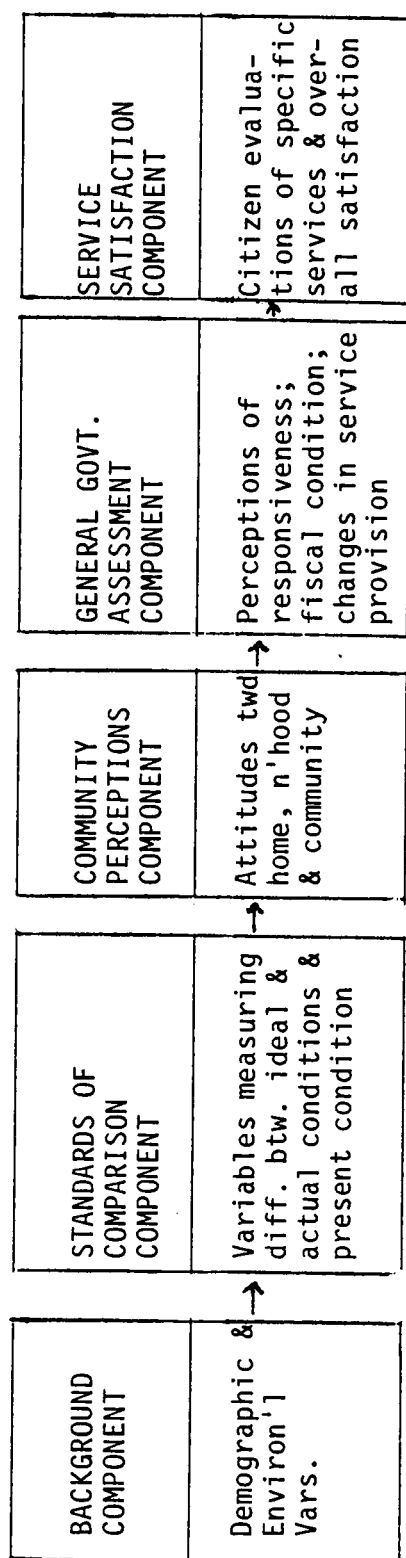


Figure 5.1. A Modified Social Psychological Model

in future work would be measures of objective service distribution. The present model is, quite intentionally, based on the attitudinal dimension of evaluation formulation. Perhaps the major strength of this study is its use of a rare national survey that allowed a penetrating and detailed analysis of the attitudinal dimension of service delivery evaluations. But, its major weakness is that the Harris survey did not include any objective indicators of actual service experience or distribution. Until such time as objective service measures can be merged into the same analysis with subjective service indicators, work in this area will remain limited. Additional national surveys that include objective indicators of actual service performance are desperately needed if we are to progress in this field.

Second, the research model did not incorporate any measures of the extent to which citizens reported being exposed to, and their evaluation of that exposure, with local services. That is, future research needs to include information regarding the extent to which citizens themselves feel they are familiar with particular services, and the nature of that familiarity. It may well be that those individuals who report recent and/or regular use of particular services tend to have different evaluations than those who do not use them.

Third, the real--but limited--predictive power of environmental variables such as city size, neighborhood conditions, and area racial composition, suggest that further efforts to gather additional neighborhood/community condition information might well bear

substantive explanatory "fruit." The results of this study suggest that citizens do not develop their opinions about local services in a vacuum; they seem to some degree to be projecting feelings about their immediate environment onto the performance of local government. This putative phenomenon needs to be measured more carefully and tested thoroughly.

Fourth, there may well be more to the relationship between demographic characteristics and community/service satisfaction than the present analysis reveals. Given the unusual size of the sample we had a rare opportunity to divide Americans into a variety of demographic subgroups for purposes of testing for group effects. Unfortunately, this was not appreciated until too late in the research effort to undertake such activity. Future research ought to use analysis of variance, and multiple analysis of variance, in the hope of "teasing" more subtle relationships among independent and dependent variables than emerge from correlation and regression techniques. That is, we suspect that some relationships are actually being masked by our analysis technique and this possibility needs to be fully explored by applying alternative techniques.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- Aberbach, J., and J. Walker. (1970). "The Attitudes of Blacks and Whites Toward Public Policy," in J. Crecine (Ed.), Financing the Metropolis. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Abscal, R. (1969). "Municipal Services and Equal Protection: Variations on a Theme by Griffin v. Illinois." Hastings Law Journal 20 (May):1367-1391.
- Ahlbrandt, R., Jr. (1974). "Implications of Contracting for a Public Service." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 9 (Mar.):337-358.
- Anderson, J. (1975). Public Policy Making. New York: Praeger.
- Angrist, S. (1976). "Subjective Social Indicators for Urban Areas: How Useful for Policy?" Sociological Focus. 6:218-230.
- Antunes, G., and K. Mladenka. (1976). "The Politics of Local Services and Service Distribution," in L. Masotti and R. Lineberry (Eds.), The New Urban Politics. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.
- _____, and J. Plumlee. (1977). "The Distribution of an Urban Public Service: Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Status, and Bureaucracy as Determinants of Neighborhood Streets." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 12 (Mar.):313-332.
- Banfield, E. (1968). The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Berke, J. (1974). Answers to Inequality. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing Corp.
- Bish, R., and V. Ostrom. (1974). Understanding Urban Government. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.
- _____, and R. Warren. (1977). "Scale and Monopoly Problems in Urban Government Services." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 8 (Sept.): 97-122.
- Bjur, W., and G. Siegel. (1977). "Voluntary Citizen Participation in Local Government: Quality, Cost and Commitment." Midwest Review of Public Administration. 11 (June):135-149.
- Blank, B. et al. (1969). "A Comparative Study of an Urban Bureaucracy." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 4 (Mar.):343-354.

- Bloch, P. (1974). Equality of Distribution of Police Services: A Case Study of Washington, D.C. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- Boots, A., et al. (1972). Inequality in Local Government Services: A Case Study in Local Roads. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- Brown, K., and P. Coulter. (1983). "Subjective and Objective Measures of Police Service Delivery." Public Administration Review. 43 (Jan./Feb.):50-58.
- Brudney, J., and R. England. (1982a). "Analyzing Citizen Evaluations of Municipal Services: A Dimensional Approach." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 17 (Mar.):359-369.
- _____. (1982b). "Urban Policy Making and Subjective Service Evaluations: Are They Compatible?" Public Administration Review. 42 (Mar./Apr.):127-135.
- Campbell, A. (1976). "Approaches to Defining, Measuring, and Achieving Equity in the Public Sector." Public Administration Review. (Nov./Dec.):556-562.
- _____, P. Converse, and W. Rodgers. (1976). The Quality of American Life. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Caputo, D. (1973). "The Citizen Component of Policy Evaluation." Policy Studies Journal. 2 (Winter):92-97.
- Carrol, S. (1978). "An Analysis of the Relationship Between Citizen Perceptions and Unobtrusive Measures of Street Conditions." (Unpublished paper.) Cited in K. Brown and P. Coulter, "Subjective and Objective Measures of Police Delivery." Public Administration Review. 43 (Jan./Feb.):50-58.
- Clark, T. N. (1974). "Can You Cut a Budger Pie?" Policy and Politics. 3 (Dec.):3-33.
- Collins, J., and B. Downs. (1977). "The Effects of Size on the Provision of Public Services. The Case of Solid Waste Collection in Smaller Cities." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 22 (Mar.):333-347.
- Curry, C. (1976). "Utility and Collectivity: Some Suggestions on the Anatomy of Citizen Preferences," in T. N. Clark (Ed.), Citizen Preferences and Urban Public Policy. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Dahl, R. (1961). Who Governs? New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Durand, R. (1976). "Some Dynamics of Urban Service Evaluations Among Blacks and Whites." Social Science Quarterly. 54 (Mar.): 698-706.
- Eisenger, P. (1972). "The Pattern of Citizen Contacts with Urban Officials," in H. Hahn (Ed.), People and Politics in Urban Society. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Fisk, D., H. Kiesling, and T. Muller. (1978). Private Provision of Public Services. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- _____, and R. E. Winnie. (1974). "Output Measurement in Urban Government: Current Status and Likely Prospects." Social Science Quarterly. 54 (Mar.):725-740.
- Fitch, L. (1976). "Increasing the Role of the Private Sector in Providing Public Services," in W. D. Hasley and D. Rogers (Eds.), Improving Urban Management. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Fitzgerald, M., and R. Durant. (1980). "Citizen Evaluations and Urban Management in an Era of Protest." Public Administration Review. (Nov./Dec.):585-594.
- Florestano, P., and S. Gordon. (1979). "Private Provision of Public Services: Contracting by Large Local Governments." International Journal of Public Administration. 1(3):307-321.
- _____. (1980). "Public vs. Private: Small Government Contracting with the Private Sector." Public Administration Review. 40 (Jan./Feb.):29-34.
- Fowler, F., Jr. (1974). Citizen Attitudes Toward Local Government Services and Taxes. Cambridge, MA: Ballenger Publishing.
- Getter, R., and P. Schumaker. (1978). "Contextual Basis of Responsiveness to Citizen Preferences and Group Demands." Policy and Politics. (6):249-278.
- Gold, S. (1974). "The Distribution of Government Services in Theory and Practice: The Case of Recreation in Detroit." Public Finance Quarterly. 2 (Jan.):107-129.
- Graham, R., and J. Kravitt. (1972). "The Evolution of Equal Rights Protection in Education, Municipal Services, and Wealth." Harvard Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Law Review. 7 (Jan.):102-213.
- Greene, K. (1982a). "Service Representation and Municipal Administrators' Receptivity to Citizen Contacts," in R. Rich (Ed.), Analyzing Urban Service Distributions. Lexington: Lexington Books.

- Greene, K. (1982b). "Municipal Administrators: Receptivity to Citizens and Elected Officials Contacts." Public Administration Review. 42(July/Aug.):346-353.
- Hart, D. (1974). "Social Equity, Justice, and the Equitable Administrator." Public Administration Review. 34 (Jan./Feb.): 3-11.
- Hatry, H. (1974). "Measuring the Quality of Public Services," in W. Hawley and D. Rogers (Eds.), Improving the Quality of Urban Management. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- _____, and L. Blair. (1976). "Citizen Surveys for Local Governments: A Copout, Manipulative Tool, or a Policy Guidance and Analysis Aid?" Policy and Politics. 4 (June):129-140.
- _____, R. Winnie, and D. Fisk. (1977). How Effective are Your Community Services? Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.
- Hawkins, v. Shaw. 424 F. 2d. 1286 (5th Cir., 1971).
- Heiss, W. (1980). "Listening to the City: Citizen Surveys." Urban Affairs Papers. 2 (Summer):1-10.
- Herson, L. (1957). "The Lost World of Municipal Government." American Political Science Review. 51 (June):330-345.
- Hicks, D. (1982). "Monitoring Shift Patterns in Municipal Service Outcomes Over Time," in R. Rich (Ed.), Analyzing Urban Service Distributions. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Hirsch, J. (1964). "Local versus Areawide Urban Government Services." National Tax Journal. (Dec.):331-339.
- Hoffman, W. (1976). "The Democratic Response of Urban Governments: An Empirical Test with Simple Spatial Models," in T. N. Clark (Ed.), Citizen Preferences and Urban Public Policy. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- _____, and T. N. Clark. (1979). "Citizen Preferences and Urban Policy Types," in J. Blair and D. Nachmias (Eds.), Fiscal Retrenchment and Urban Policy. Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 17. Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications.
- Hoover, K. (1976). The Elements of Social Scientific Thinking. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- _____. (1980). The Elements of Social Scientific Thinking (2nd ed.). New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Hughey, J., and J. Bardo. (1984). "The Structure of Community Satisfaction in a Southeastern American City." Journal of Social Psychology. 123:91-99.
- Jacob, H. (1972). "Contact with Government Agencies: A Preliminary Analysis of the Distribution of Government Service." Midwest Journal of Political Science. 16 (Feb.):123-146.
- Jones, B. (1977). "Distributional Considerations in Models of Government Services Provision." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 12 (Mar.): 291-312.
- _____, S. Greenberg, and J. Drew. (1980). Service Delivery in the City. New York: Longman, Inc.
- _____, S. Greenberg, C. Kaufman, and J. Drew. (1977). "Bureaucratic Response to Citizen Initiated Contacts: Environmental Enforcement in Detroit." American Political Science Review. 71 (Mar.):145-165.
- _____, and C. Kaufman. (1974). "The Distribution of Public Services." Administration and Society. 6 (Nov.):337-360.
- Kelling, J., R. Pate, F. Dickman, and J. Brown. (1974). Kansas City Preventative Patrol Experiment. A Technical Report. Washington, D.C.: The Police Foundation.
- Kettl, D. (1981). "The Fourth Face of Federalism." Public Administration Review. 41 (May/June):366-371.
- Kim, J., and F. Kohout. (1975). "Multiple Regression Analysis: Subprogram Regression," in N. Nie et al. (Eds.), Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Kirkpatrick, S., and L. Pettit (Eds.). (1972). The Social Psychology of Political Life. Belmont, CA: Duxbury Press.
- Levy, F., A. Meltsner, and A. Wildavsky. (1974). Urban Outcomes: Schools, Streets, and Libraries. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lineberry, R. (1974). "Mandating Urban Equality: The Distribution of Municipal Public Services." Texas Law Review. 53 (Dec.): 26-59.
- _____. (1975). "Equality, Public Policy, and Public Services: The Underclass Hypothesis and the Limits to Equality." Policy and Politics. 4 (Dec.):67-84.

- Lineberry, R. (1976). "Who is Getting What? Measuring the Distribution of Urban Services." Public Management. 58 (Aug.):13-18.
- _____. (1977a). "On the Politics and Economics of Urban Services." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 12 (Mar.):267-272.
- _____. (1977b). Equality and Urban Policy. The Distribution of Municipal Public Services. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- _____, and R. Welch, Jr. (1974). "Who Gets What? Measuring the Distribution of Urban Public Services." Social Science Quarterly. (Mar.):700-712.
- Louvrich, Jr., N., and G. T. Taylor, Jr. (1976). "Neighborhood Evaluation of Local Government Services: A Citizen Survey Approach." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 12 (Dec.):197-222.
- Marans, R., and W. Rodgers. (1975). "Toward an Understanding of Community Satisfaction," in A. Hawley and V. Rock (Eds.). Metropolitan America in Contemporary Perspective. New York: John Wiley.
- Marlowe, J. (1985). "Private vs. Public Provision of Refuse Removal Service." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 20 (Mar.):355-363.
- Masotti, L., and R. Lineberry. (1976). "The New Urban Politics," in L. Masotti and R. Lineberry (Eds.), The New Urban Politics. Cambridge, MA: Ballenger Publishing Co.
- McIver, J., and E. Ostrom. (1976). "Using Budget Pies to Reveal Preferences: Validation of a Survey Instrument," in T. N. Clark (Ed.), Citizen Preferences and Urban Public Policy. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Mehay, S. (1979). "Intergovernmental Contracting for Municipal Police Services: An Empirical Analysis." Land Economics. 55 (Feb.):59-72.
- Merget, A., and R. Berger. (1982). "Equity as a Decision Rule in Local Services," in R. Rich (Ed.), Analyzing Urban Service Distributions. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- _____, and W. Wolff, Jr. (1976). "The Law and Municipal Services: Implementing Equity." Public Management. 58:2-8.
- Mladenka, K. (1977). "Citizen Demand and Bureaucratic Response: Direct Dialing Democracy in a Major American City." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 12 (Mar.):285-297.
- _____, and K. Hill.

- Mladenka, K., and K. Hill. (1977). "The Distribution of Benefits in an Urban Environment: Parks and Libraries in Houston." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 13:73-94.
- Molnar, J., and J. Smith. (1982). "Satisfaction with Rural Services: The Policy Preferences of Leaders and Community Residents." Rural Sociology. 47:496-511.
- Morgan, D. (1979). Managing Urban America. North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press.
- _____, M. Meyer, and R. England. (1981). "Alternatives to Municipal Service Delivery: A Four State Comparison." Southern Review of Public Administration. 5 (Summer):184-199.
- Nardulli, P., and J. Stonecash. (1982). "Toward a Theoretical Framework for Analyzing Urban Service Distributions," in R. C. Rich (Ed.), Analyzing Urban Service Distributions. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Ostrom, E. (1976). "Size and Performance in a Federal System." Publius. 6 (Spring):33-73.
- _____. (1974). "Exclusion, Choice, and Divisibility: Factors Affecting the Measurement of Urban Agency Output and Impact." Social Science Quarterly. 54 (Mar.):691-99.
- _____. (1973). "The Need for Multiple Indicators in Measuring the Output of Public Agencies." Policy Studies Journal. 3 (Winter):85-92.
- _____. (1971). "Institutional Arrangements and the Measurement of Policy Consequences." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 6:447-475.
- _____, and F. Bish. (Eds.). (1977). Comparing U.S. Delivery Systems: Structure and Performance. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Parks, R. (1982). "Citizen Surveys for Police Performance Assessment: Some Issues in Their Use." The Urban Interest. 4 (Spring):17-26.
- _____. (1984). "Linking Objective and Subjective Measures of Performance." Public Administration Review. 44 (Mar./Apr.): 118-127.
- _____, et al. (1981). "Consumers as Coproducers of Public Services: Some Economic and Institutional Considerations." Policy Studies Journal. 9 (Summer):1001-1011.

- Percy, S. (1979). "Citizen Coproduction of Community Safety," in R. Baker and F. Meyer, Jr. (Eds.), Evaluating Alternative Law Enforcement Policies. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Peterson, Paul. (1981). City Limits. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Plaas, H., G. Hicks, and M. Fitzgerald. (1982). "Non-profit and Voluntary Agencies in the Provision of Local Public Services: A Theoretical Perspective." Unpublished Paper.
- Plaas, H., and C. Zuzak. (1979). "Quasi-governmental and Quasi-nongovernmental Organizations in the Planning, Implementing, and Evaluating of Public Policy in Tennessee." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civic Disorders. (1986). Washington, D.C.
- Rich, R. C. (1982). "Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Urban Service Distribution," in R. C. Rich (Ed.), Analyzing Urban Distributions. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- _____. (1981). "Municipal Services and the Interaction of the Voluntary and Governmental Sectors." Administration and Society. 13:59-76.
- _____. (1979). "The Role of Neighborhood Organizations in Urban Service Delivery." Urban Affairs Papers. 1:81-93.
- Robbins, B. (1983). "Policy Outputs and Bureaucracy." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 18 (June):485-509.
- Rodgers, T., and N. Friedman. (1978). "Decentralizing City Government: Citizen Survey as a Guide for Planning and Implementing Institutional Change." Administration and Society. 10 (Aug.):177-202.
- Rosentraub, M., and L. Thompson. (1981). "The Use of Surveys of Satisfaction for Evaluations," cited in K. Brown and P. Coulter (1983), "Subjective and Objective Measures of Police Service Delivery." Public Administration Review. 43 (Jan./Feb.):50-58.
- Rossi, P., and R. Berk. (1974). "Local Roots of Black Alienation." Social Science Quarterly. 54 (Mar.):741-758.
- Savas, E. (1974). "Municipal Monopolies Versus Competition in Delivering Urban Services," in W. Hawley and D. Rogers (Eds.), Improving the Quality of Urban Management. Vol. 8. Urban Affairs Annual Reviews. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

- Savas, E. (1977). "Policy Analysis for Local Government: Public and Private Refuse Collection." Policy Analysis. 3 (Winter): 49-74.
- Schuman, H., and B. Gruenberg. (1972). "Dissatisfaction with City Services: Is Race an Important Factor?" in H. Hahn (Ed.). People and Politics in Urban Society. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Sharp, E. (1982). "Consequences of Citizen Perceptions of Police Service Delivery," in R. C. Rich (Ed.), Analyzing Urban Service Distributions. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- _____. (1980). "Toward a New Understanding of Urban Services and Citizen Participation: The Coproduction Concept." Midwest Review of Public Administration. 14:105-118.
- _____. (1984). "Exit, Voice and Loyalty Within the Context of Local Government Problems." Western Political Quarterly. 37 (Mar.):67-83.
- Shin, D. (1982). "Subjective Indicators and Distributional Research for the Quality of Public Services," in R. C. Rich (Ed.), Analyzing Public Service Distributions. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Shumaker, P., and R. Getter. (1983). "Structural Sources of Unequal Responses to Group Demands in American Cities." Western Political Quarterly. 36 (Mar.):7-27.
- Sonenblum, S., J. Kerlin, and J. Reis. (1977). How Cities Provide Services: An Evaluation of Alternative Delivery Structures. Cambridge, MA: Ballenger Publishing Co.
- Stipak, B. (1980). "Local Government's Use of Citizen Surveys." Public Administration Review. (Sept./Oct.):521-525.
- _____. (1979a). "Citizen Satisfaction with Urban Services: Potential Misuse as a Performance Indicator." Public Administration Review. 39 (Jan./Feb.):46-52.
- _____. (1979b). "Are there Sensible Ways to Analyze and Use Subjective Indicators of Urban Service Quality?" Social Indicators Research. 6 (Oct.):421-438.
- _____. (1977). "Attitudes and Belief Systems Concerning Urban Services." Public Opinion Quarterly. 41 (Spring).

- Stipak, B. (1974). "Citizen Evaluations of Municipal Services in Los Angeles County," referenced in K. Brown and R. Coulter (1983), "Subjective and Objective Measures of Police Service Delivery." Public Administration Review. 43 (Jan./Feb.):50-58.
- Staudohar, P. (1975). "An Experiment in Increasing Productivity of Police Service Employees." Public Administration Review. 35 (Sept./Oct.):518-522.
- Vedlitz, A., and E. Veblen. (1980). "Voting and Contacting: Two Forms of Political Participation in a Suburban Community." Urban Affairs Quarterly. 16 (Sept.):49-63.
- _____, J. Dyer, and R. Durand. (1980). "Citizen Contacts with Local Governments: A Comparative View." American Journal of Political Science. 24:50-60.
- Viteritti, J. (1979). Bureaucracy and Social Justice. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press.
- Walzer, N., and G. Fisher. (1981). Cities, Suburbs, and Property Taxes. Cambridge: Oelgeschlager, Gunn, & Hain, Publishers.
- Warren, R. (1966). Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Reappraisal of Fractionated Political Organization. Davis, CA: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California.
- Washington v. Davis, 426 U.S. 229 (1976).
- Wasserman, I. (1982). "Size of Place in Relation to Community Attachment and Satisfaction with Community Services." Social Indicators Research. 11:421-436.
- Webb, K., and H. Hatry. (1973). Obtaining Citizen Feedback: The Application of Citizen Surveys to Local Governments. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute.
- Wercher, J. (1971). "The Allocation of Police Protection by Income Class." Urban Studies. 8:207-220.
- Whitaker, G. (1980). "Coproduction: Citizen Participation in Service Delivery." Public Administration Review. 40:240-246.
- _____. (1974). "Who Puts the Value in Evaluation?" Social Science Quarterly. 54:759-761.
- Whorton, J., and D. Morgan. (1975). Measuring Community Performance: A Handbook of Indicators. Norman, OK: Bureau of Government Research, University of Oklahoma.

Wilbern, T., and L. Williams. (1971). "City Taxes and Services: Citizens Speak Out." Nation's Cities. 9 (Aug.):9-24.

Williams, I. (1977). Citizens' Evaluations of Local Government Services in a Southern Community: Determinants of Support, cited in J. Brudney and R. England (1982), "Urban Policy Making and Subjective Evaluations: Are They Compatible?" Public Administration Review. 42 (Mar./Apr.):127-135.

Yates, D. (1974). "Service Delivery and the Urban Political Order," in N. Hawley and D. Rodgers (Eds.), Improving the Quality of Urban Management. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

_____. (1977). The Ungovernable City: The Politics of Urban Politics and Policy Making. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.

Yin, R. (1977). "Goals for Citizen Involvement in Community Development," in P. Marshall (Ed.), Citizen Participation Certification for Community Development. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials.

_____, and D. Yates. (1975). Street Level Governments. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co.

Zimmerman, J. (1973). "Meeting Service Needs Through Intergovernmental Agreements," in The Municipal Yearbook, 1973. Washington, D.C.: International City Management Association.

VITA

Floydette Colden Cory was born in Live Oak, Florida on April 24, 1951. Prior to beginning elementary school, she and her parents moved to Fort Lauderdale, Florida. She attended schools there, and graduated from St. Thomas Aquinas High School in June 1969. In the fall, she enrolled at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville and completed studies for a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Philosophy in June 1975.

In the fall of 1975 she entered the Graduate School of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The following summer, she received a Master of Public Administration degree.

She was employed by the state of Florida, Broward County, Florida and the University of Georgia before returning to The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the fall of 1979. She received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Political Science in August 1988.

She is married to Kenneth W. Cory and they have one son. She is an Assistant Director in the Liberal Arts Advising Center at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.