

NEIGHBORHOOD INTEGRATION, RACE RELATIONS, AND THE QUALITY-OF-LIFE

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Abstract

About one thousand adults (1,030) in a major city in Michigan, USA were interviewed about their city experience, including their levels of satisfaction with neighborhood quality of life and with the quality of race relations in the city generally. One hundred ten (110) variables were included in the questionnaire to examine satisfaction with the quality of life (QOL) in the neighborhood and the city-at-large. Race relations in the city were found to be important intervening variable of satisfaction with overall quality of city life among White residents, but not among Blacks. Also, satisfaction with racial mix of neighborhood was found to be a significant intervening variable between satisfaction with various aspects of neighborhood life and overall satisfaction with neighborhood QOL for the White sample, but not the Black. Satisfaction with neighborhood QOL was found to be a significant intervening variable between conditions in the neighborhood and satisfaction with the QOL in the city at-large for both Blacks and Whites. Interpretations of these findings are offered.

Keywords: Race Relations, Neighborhood Integration, Quality of City Life, Quality of Neighborhoods, Community Indicators

JEL classification: J15, J17

Introduction

The Brown v. Board of Education decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 set in motion the “civil rights” movement in the United States. Their decision stated that, “Segregation of White and Negro children in the public schools of a State solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies to Negro children the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment -- even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors of White and Negro schools may be equal.”

Since this decision America has experienced more than 40 years of strife, struggle, change – change in laws and change in the attitudes of Whites. A sea change has occurred among the average American citizens toward Blacks. Nothing illustrates this better than the election of Barack Obama, as the first Black President. Despite this landmark event, prejudice and racism towards Blacks still persists among many Whites. Despite this giant step for

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racial tolerance, race relations and full social and economic integration are still on America's agenda of unfinished business. In most major cities having large Black populations, segregation of neighborhoods and public schools is typical. Moreover, poverty, unemployment, crime, poor educational and career opportunities typify these communities.

In the years since the civil rights open housing laws have enabled Blacks to integrate formerly all-White neighborhoods. This has led to the phenomenon of White-flight, Whites moving from their neighborhoods to places further out from the city to create White-suburbs, leading to urban sprawl, and leaving their old communities Blacker, poorer and less capable of generating local taxes needed for essential services. The challenge for local governments is to cope with this dynamic. The leaching of wealth from many cities in the States has forced economic development strategies to create jobs and the restoration of the tax base. But to attract new businesses or foster entrepreneurial activity, there is a concurrent need to strengthen the social fabric of the community. This calls for community development strategies more broadly conceived than just economic development. Making a community attractive to organizations in an expansion mode requires a type of social strategy. Communities bathed in racial tension will be less likely to draw their interest.

Prior research on race relations and satisfaction with the quality-of-city-life addressed the variables of concern in some consistent ways. In many of the studies, questions were raised as to whether perceptions of QOL are directly tied to racial mix of the neighborhood (Hughes and Thomas, 1998; Patterson, 1998 ; Wilson, 1996; Thomas and Hughes, 1986). Other researchers (Flax, 1972; Lui, 1976; Becker, et al, 1987; Blomquist, et al, 1985; Berger, et al, 1987; Blomquist, et al, 1987; Money Magazine, 1987; Myers, 1988; Galster, 1989) have assumed that "actual" physical conditions under which people live can provide planners and policy makers with valid life quality measures. Some researchers (Bradburn, 1969; Schneider, 1975; Andrews, et al, 1976; Campbell, et al, 1976; Widgery, 1982) have tried to explain the QOL on the basis of subjective measures – attitudes, beliefs, trust, optimism, etc. This study has chosen the subjective track, examining multiple dimensions of satisfaction, beliefs and perceptions of city life. (See Table 2.)

This research deals with the issue of neighborhood integration and what can be learned about the resulting psychological experiences for those involved, how it effects the way they experience life in their neighborhoods – and city life in general. For instance, how is the city experience changed for those whose neighborhoods undergo racial succession? This phenomenon has become a continuing process in most major urban areas in America. Figures 1 thru 8 show path models of the relationships between various aspects of the city and neighborhood experience and *satisfaction with race relations* and *racial mix of neighborhood* and *city life* in general. An examination of this path model can shed light on the dynamics of how residents experience city life. At the center and right of the models are four important dependant variables, *race relations*, *racial mix of neighborhood* and *satisfaction with the quality of city and neighborhood life*. The predictor (exogenous) variables are those factors presented in a semicircular fashion to the left of the hypothesized intervening variables.

The examination of racial issues such as those under consideration here are many. During the height of the civil rights movement numerous studies centered on "White flight," and what factors accounted for White out-migration in transitional neighborhoods (Molotch, 1969; Guest and Zuiches, 1971; Frey, 1979; and Wurdock, 1981). Other studies concentrated on the impact of succession on property conditions and values (Schietinger, 1951; Gillette, 1957; Palmore and Howe, 1962; and Downs, 1968). A third line of investigation

examined the attitudes and relationships of White neighborhood residents toward their new Black neighbors (Morris, 1973; and Rossell, 1978).

Like these latter studies, this one is concerned with dimensions of satisfaction – especially satisfaction with community *race relations* and neighborhood *racial mix*. However, the interest here is in both Black and White residents and how they respond to one another in the neighborhood and the community-at-large. In this examination there are four key dependent satisfaction variables of concern: *racial mix of the neighborhood*, satisfaction with the quality of *race relations* in the city, *QOL in the neighborhood*, and the *QOL in the city generally*.

Several studies done earlier, have attempted to find a link between different community conditions and satisfaction with the *quality of city life*. More often than not, the most important determinants of perceived quality of life are subjective in nature, i.e. satisfaction with income (Schuessler and Fisher 1985). The question that should be asked now is, how is the satisfaction with *race relations* and the *racial mix of neighborhood* going to affect the satisfaction with the quality of one's neighborhood and/or city life. It may be assumed that the White population will respond negatively by showing a lower satisfaction with the QOL if the neighborhood has a mix of Whites and non-White population – thus “White flight.”

There have been several studies based on the general response of the Black and White population. Bracy (1976), in a study of differences that Whites and Blacks experience with respect to the quality of life, showed that Blacks overall report lower happiness and satisfaction levels than do Whites. In reviewing four such studies done from 1957 to 1972, it is clear that under given circumstances, such as a common racial mix in the neighborhood, Blacks consistently have shown a lower satisfaction and happiness levels than the Whites. The analysis presented by Clemente and Sauer 1976 is consistent with that of Bracy (1976). Using the General Social Survey for 1973, they found that race was a very important predictor of personal life satisfaction and perceived quality of life. Their analysis showed that Blacks were less satisfied than Whites even after controls were introduced into the analysis for demographic and socioeconomic status variables.

Using race as a control variable Herzog et al. (1982), studied the subjective well-being (happiness) in old age and predicted life satisfaction and happiness. Using data originally collected as part of Andrews and Withey's (1976) study, Herzog and her colleagues showed that Blacks were significantly less happy than Whites. This was true even after controls were introduced for gender, marital status, age, income, education and employment status.

According to Campbell (1981), low-income Blacks suffer a double bind of being non-White and poor. In comparison to poor Whites, who also scored low on indicators of subjective well-being (happiness), low-income Blacks score even lower. In fact, Campbell (1981, pp. 232-233) points out that within all income groups, Blacks were generally less positive about their lives than Whites. Even Blacks with high incomes were not as well off as Whites with similar incomes. According to Campbell (1981, p. 233), “Black people lack what income alone won't give them: equal social and political status.” In concluding this discussion, Campbell (1981, p. 233) states: “Being Black does not bring the disadvantages it once did in this country, but they are still sufficient to depress the psychological sense of well-being among the Black population.” Supporting this supposition, Thomas and Hughes (1998) found that Black's “social life feelings” were considerably less positive than those of Whites.

In spite of these findings mentioned above, the authors feel that the result of this survey with respect to QOL will reflect a different experience in society. The reason for this

might be as follows: Over the last 25 years, US society has changed greatly in its treatment of and attitude towards Blacks. Laws have made most forms of discrimination and *dejure* segregation illegal. Studies have shown (Schuman et al., 1985) a decline in expression of racist ideologies and racist attitudes towards Blacks. There has been significant improvement in the economic position of Blacks (Collins, 1983; Freeman, 1976), including the growth of the Black middle class. Politically, Blacks now have the power to elect Black politicians to key offices (Blackwell, 1985). To sum it up, the situation of Blacks has improved significantly over the last few years – culminating in the election of Barack Obama to the Presidency.

This may have lead to a psychological change in how Blacks feel towards society and their quality of life. In relative terms, Blacks are now in a better society than they were a few decades ago. They may be more positive about the racial mix in society and about the “social life feeling” as compared to the White population, whose social condition may not have improved proportionately. According to Hughes and Demo (1989), Black’s racial self-esteem is very positive and their tendency to reject negative racial stereotypes and embrace positive ones is associated with higher self-esteem. Hence, there is a possibility that the racial mix in the neighborhood and satisfaction with race relations generally is a determining factor among Whites, but not among the Blacks. The latter may place greater importance on certain criteria for determining neighborhood quality like the availability of recreational facilities, the quality of public schools, and levels of public safety for which neighborhood racial composition may serve as a proxy.

This assumption has also been stated in many papers earlier. Holmes (1992) studied the responses given by White and Black samples from 1971 to 1978 and found that the Whites’ satisfaction tends to decrease over time, while the satisfaction of Blacks rises during the same period. Wilson (1987) and Massey and Denton (1993), found that close proximity to Whites is linked to high quality neighborhood amenities, while on the other hand close proximity with Blacks is associated with poor quality amenities and neighborhood decay. Given these associations, it can be expected that members of “high-status groups” (Whites and Asians) with a high stake in their neighborhoods will prefer fewer “low-status group” neighbors (Blacks and Latinos) and more same-race or other high-status-group neighbors.

Of all the studies conducted, the most notable is the one conducted by Charles (2000). He observed that among all groups, Whites most prominently preferred a neighborhood that was dominated by co-ethnics. Charles’ statistics state that the ideal neighborhood among White respondents approaches 50% “same-race” as compared to a mean of roughly about 41% among Latinos and Asians and about 37% for Blacks. To add to this, it was observed that, Whites were the group that most likely preferred “entirely same-race” neighborhoods (11.6 %), a statistics that is more than one and half times that of Latinos (6.6 %) and Asians (7.1 %), and four times that of Blacks (2.8 %). It has been observed that, Blacks are always the least preferred out-group neighbors. This is observed in two different ways. Blacks are most likely to be completely excluded from the “ideal neighborhood” by Whites, Latinos, and Asians. The analysis shows that, nearly one-fifth (18.9 %) of Whites express integration preferences that completely exclude Blacks. So do roughly, one-third of Latinos and 40% among Asians.

Despite all the statistics of least preferred neighbors, Blacks appear to have the least resistant to integration. Blacks have the lowest mean percentage of *same-race* neighbors (37.4 %). Blacks are more comfortable as the numerical minority in an integrated neighborhood (*all out-group*, 62.7 %). Blacks are significantly less likely than all other groups to

create *all-same-race* neighborhoods (2.8 %). These results support the research result of Farley, et al. (1978) that Blacks prefer integrated neighborhoods for reasons of racial harmony. Finally, all minority groups prefer integration with Whites to other-race minorities.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this research is to probe various attitudes toward neighborhood integration and to explore how attitudes might affect perceived satisfaction with race relations and community quality of life. Of special interest is the question of how satisfaction with race relations and the racial mix of neighborhood may affect satisfaction with the quality of one's neighborhood and city QOL in general. The specific hypotheses are these:

- Hy1: Satisfaction with community race relations *is* a significant intervening variable between perceived city and neighborhood conditions and perceived satisfaction with city QOL among the White sample.
- Hy2: Satisfaction with community *race relations* is *not* a significant intervening variable between perceived city and neighborhood conditions and perceived satisfaction with *city QOL* among the Black sample.
- Hy3: Satisfaction with the *racial mix* of one's neighborhood *is* a significant intervening variable between perceived neighborhood conditions and overall satisfaction with *neighborhood QOL* among the White sample.
- Hy4: Satisfaction with the *racial mix* of one's neighborhood *is not* a significant intervening variable between perceived neighborhood conditions and overall satisfaction with *neighborhood QOL* among the Black sample.
- Hy5: Satisfaction with the *neighborhood QOL* *is* a significant predictor of satisfaction with *city QOL* for both White and Black samples.
- Hy6: Both *racial mix* of neighborhood and satisfaction with *race relations* significantly effects satisfaction with the *neighborhood QOL* and subsequently the perceived *city QOL* among the White sample.
- Hy7: Both *racial mix* of neighborhood and satisfaction with *race relations* significantly effects satisfaction with neighborhood QOL and subsequently the perceived *city QOL* among the Black sample.

Method of Research

A sample of 3,700 households within Flint, Michigan was stratified by 37 neighborhood school districts (100 per neighborhood). Telephone numbers were selected by using random digit dialing. Experienced, supervised interviewers conducted telephone interviews. The questionnaire was designed to measure citizen satisfaction with specific aspects of community life, involvement in city life, and other behavioral and demographic dimensions designed to assess the quality of city life. (See the questionnaire factor structure in Table 1. Average interview length was approximately 25 minutes. Only those who were at least 18 years old qualified to be interviewed.

Sample

Because the objective was to select a roughly equal number of White and Black households, a sample of 1,030 of the original 3,700 households was randomly drawn for this

research – not necessarily proportionally representative of the city’s racial population split. There were 491 Black respondents and 539 White respondents selected.

Variables Measured

There were 110 variables included in the general population survey. These included 56 measures of satisfaction with various aspects of city life, including a measure of satisfaction with *race relations* within the city, and satisfaction with the *racial mix* of the respondent's neighborhood. Also included were questions related to *trust in community institutions*, as well as other questions pertaining to *community interest, involvement, empowerment, optimism and demographic characteristics*.

To make this data more manageable, a factor analysis was performed to reduce the 110 variables to 23 independent factors, plus various demographic variables. (See Table 1.) Analyses were made with both variables and factors. Factor scores were used as independent variables when regressed against *satisfaction with overall city life (QOL)*, a dependent variable. Specific variables defining neighborhood conditions were used when *satisfaction with neighborhood (QOL)* was the dependent variable. The three dependent variables that have been reported as variables (not as factors) are *satisfaction with race relations, satisfaction with racial mix of neighborhood, satisfaction with neighborhood, and satisfaction with overall quality of city life*.

Satisfaction Scores. Satisfaction with fifty-six (56) community characteristics was measured, using a six-point scale. Note in this scale there is no neutral position. If respondents had no response to a particular characteristic, the interviewer gave the item a missing data code. Three of the four dependent variables are satisfaction scores: *race relations* in the city, *racial mix of neighborhood, quality of life in the neighborhood* and in the *City of Flint* generally.

Strongly Dissatisfied	Moderately Dissatisfied	Slightly Dissatisfied	Slightly Satisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied
1	2	3	4	5	6

Results

Using twenty-three (23) independent factors defined by factor analysis (See Table 1), *race relations* was examined as a product of various aspects of city and neighborhood life and as an important influence on how people felt about (were satisfied or dissatisfied with) city or neighborhood life. Path analysis was used to test the role of *race relations* and *racial mix of neighborhood* as possible intervening variables between various predictors (causal variables) and *satisfaction with the QOL in neighborhood and city life* – the dependent variables. (See Figures 1 and 2.) In the case of the racial mix of the neighborhood (Figures 3 and 4), conditions within the neighborhood were viewed as the exogenous variable, those variables being predictors of the degree of *racial mix*, predicting the endogenous variable, satisfaction with *neighborhood QOL*. In Figures 5 and 6 the intervening variable is satisfaction with *neighborhood QOL*, showing its predictive value toward satisfaction with *city QOL*. Figures 7 and 8 are presented isolating the four dependent variables into single models for both White and Black samples.

The Role of Satisfaction with Race Relations

While an examination of the strength of coefficients is not proof of a causal linkage between predictor (determinant) variables and the dependent variables (i.e., satisfaction with *city life* and *race relations*), it is a useful way of identifying what may be probable linkages. One method of expressing these relationships (probable causal linkages) is with path analysis or structural equation analysis. Path analysis is used to describe the direct dependencies among a set of variables and can lead on to a type of multiple regression analysis focusing on causality. Path analysis enables us to measure the direct and indirect effects of one variable on the other. The magnitude of these direct and indirect effects identifies the characteristics of the process. Path analysis also enables us to decompose the correlation between any two variables resulting in information about the causal processes. It's better than the ordinary regression analysis since it allows moving beyond the estimation of direct effects. It allows to examine the processes underlying the observed relationships and also to estimate the relative importance of the alternative paths. Model testing permitted by path analysis offers an explicit approach towards the phenomenon under investigation. It can be viewed as structural equation modeling, where only single indicators are used for each variable in the causal model.

The path approach allows the examination of multiple linkages between predictor variables and more than one dependent variable, one possibly being an intervening variable. To the extent that the beta (path) coefficient is larger between satisfaction with *race relations* and *city life* than is the coefficient between the predictor variable and *city life*, we may assume (according to path logic) that satisfaction with *race relations* acts as a mediating variable between the exogenous predictors and satisfaction with *city life* in general. The path models in Figure 1 indicates this dynamic among the White sample: that *race relations* acts as a significant mediator between *city QOL* and various causal predictors (*community aesthetics, security, government leadership, trust in local government, optimism for the future of the city, economic conditions, motivation to get involved, and leisure activities*). For the Black sample in Figure 2, *race relations* does not act as a significant mediating or intervening variable. Note that the linkage between *race relations* and *city life* is not statistically significant. **By this analysis it may be said that Hypotheses 1 and 2 are supported.**

The Role of Neighborhood Racial Mix

In order to get a better overview of the interaction of satisfaction with *racial mix* (neighborhood integration) and *neighborhood* satisfaction, and overall satisfaction with *city life*, path models are reported in Figures 3 and 4. Among those in the White sample (Figure 3) *racial mix* has a significant linkage to *neighborhood* (beta = .159). While the beta between racial mix and *neighborhood QOL* is significant, there are likely multiple causal influences at work. The racial mix linkages to *neighborhood QOL* is roughly the same as the linkages from *appearance of homes* (beta = .170) and *neighbors* (beta = .231) to *neighborhood QOL*. In the case of the Black sample (Figure 4) *racial mix* is not a significant intervening predictor of *neighborhood QOL* (beta = .010). All of the exogenous variables have greater influence on the dependent variable: *neighbors* (beta = .164), *number of children in the neighborhood* (beta = .110), *safety in the neighborhood* (beta = .065), and *race relations* (beta = .052). **By this analysis it may be said that Hypotheses 3 and 4 are supported.**

The Role of Satisfaction with the QOL of the Neighborhood and the City

Perhaps the strongest finding from this research is the profound effect that *neighborhood QOL* experience has on the satisfaction citizens feel with the *quality of city life* in general. Figures 5 and 6 report the extent of this relationship for both White (beta = .501) and Black (beta = .441) samples. Because the coefficients between *neighborhood* and *city life* for both groups are higher than the coefficients between the exogenous variables and *city life*, *neighborhood* satisfaction is demonstrated to be a major intervening variable toward *city life*.

In the path analysis for the White sample (Figure 5) there are seven significant determinants of *neighborhood* satisfaction: satisfaction with *appearance of homes* and *neighbors*, *racial mix*, *neighborhood safety*, *neighborhood schools*, *behavior of children*, and *police protection*. There are also seven significant determinants of *neighborhood* satisfaction among Blacks (Figure 6): *appearance of homes*, *neighbors*, *respondent's home exterior*, *family income*, *police protection*, *number of neighborhood children*, and *neighborhood safety*. Note that several of these determinants are identical for both groups: *appearance of homes*, *neighbors*, *neighborhood safety*, and *police protection*. The differences are instructive. Whites (Figure 5) believe *racial mix*, *neighborhood schools*, and *behavior of children* are important determinants of *neighborhood QOL*. Blacks (Figure 6) are more concerned with *home exterior*, *family income* and the *number of children in the neighborhood*. This group shows concern with their own *family* experience (*home exterior* and *family income*), while Whites show greater concern for conditions outside the home (*racial mix*, *schools*, and *behavior of children*). It is important to note that the role of *racial mix* (level of neighborhood integration) is operative for Whites as a determinant (beta = .159) of *neighborhood* satisfaction, while this is not true among Blacks. However, among both races satisfaction with *neighborhood QOL* is the dominant predictor of *city QOL*. **By this analysis it may be said that Hypotheses 5 is supported.**

Race and QOL

The foregoing analyses support the importance of *race relations* and *racial mix of neighborhood* as key ingredients in forming attitudes toward *QOL in the neighborhood* and *city*.

Figures 7 and 8 illustrate all four of these dependent variables in path models. Among Whites (Figure 7) the influence on *city QOL* flows from *racial mix* of neighborhood through satisfaction with *neighborhood QOL* (beta = .159) to *city QOL* (beta = .501). *Racial mix* also flows through *race relations* (beta = .165) on to *city QOL* (beta = .082), but to a lesser degree. **By this analysis it may be said that Hypotheses 6 is supported.** The route of causality is more circuitous for the Black sample (Figure 8). *Racial mix* flows through *race relations* (beta = .193) then to *neighborhood QOL* (beta = .052) and on to *city QOL* (beta = .441). **By this analysis it may be said that Hypotheses 7 is supported.**

Conclusions

Neighborhood Integration and Race Relations

Of the 35 neighborhoods identified by community (elementary) school districts, all but a very few were racially integrated. Because a major interface between Black and White

citizens within the context of city life takes place at the neighborhood level, it is believed that an important key to understanding the dynamics of *race relations* focuses on the quality of *neighborhood life*. Underlying this approach is the assumption that satisfaction with the *racial mix of the neighborhood* (level of integration) may impact upon the satisfaction residents feel about the quality of *race relations* citywide and the quality of the *neighborhood* in general.

A closer examination of these relationships seen in Figures 3 and 4 report the results of path analyses for the White and Black samples, respectively. However, these analyses use the original 110 variables, not the factors, as elements within these path models. As in the path models presented earlier, only the statistically significant independent, exogenous variables are presented with the two dependent variables, *racial mix of neighborhood* and *satisfaction with neighborhood*. The most notable finding in these two models is the significant coefficient ($\beta = .159$) that links satisfaction with racial mix of neighborhood to satisfaction with *neighborhood QOL* among Whites. By contrast, this same relationship for the Black sample ($\beta = .010$) is not significant.

Because the coefficient between *racial mix* and *neighborhood QOL* is greater than the coefficients between the determinant (predictor) variables and *neighborhood QOL*, it is likely that *racial mix* is acting as an intervening variable between the determinants and dependent variables among Whites.

For instance, among the White sample (Figure 3) racial mix of neighborhood acts as an intervening variable for neighborhood safety, race relations in the city, and number of children in neighborhood. Appearance of homes and the neighbors have their own causal linkage to neighborhood QOL. In other words, for Whites the number of neighborhood children, sense of neighborhood safety, and general satisfaction with race relations impact upon satisfaction with racial mix, which in turn influences satisfaction with the neighborhood. In the case of the Black sample (Figure 4), this dynamic does not appear to operate. In this analysis among the Black sample, the determinant variables appear to interact directly with both dependent variables - racial mix and neighborhood satisfaction. The hypothesized intervening variable (racial mix) does not directly influence neighborhood QOL.

Although satisfaction with *race relations* has a significant role to play as a determinant of satisfaction with *city life* among the White population specifically, it is **not** as important a determinant among Blacks (Figures 2 and 4). This observation from the survey may be explained. It may be that Whites view the city through the prism of racial harmony or inharmony, while Blacks evaluate the city directly through their experience with various social, political, economic, and physical realities constituting *city life*. For instance, Whites may see the determinant problems of security (crime), economic conditions (poverty), and aesthetics (urban decay) as directly linked to the Black population. By contrast to Whites, Blacks may not make these types of associations. Without such perceived linkages between city conditions and White people, no significant correlation between *race relations* and *city QOL* can be expected for Blacks.

Neighborhood Integration

A similar phenomenon can be seen when examining the function of *racial mix* in neighborhoods (Figures 3 and 4). Whites interpret the quality of *neighborhood life* by the extent of *racial mix* (neighborhood integration). Whites view the city as a whole through both the neighborhood experience and perceptions of *race relations* prevalent citywide. It

may be that Blacks' perceptions of *race relations* in the city are importantly influenced by their degree of satisfaction with the level of *neighborhood integration*. But, the linkage of *race relations* to satisfaction with *neighborhood* and *city QOL* is not strong (Figures 4 and 8) among Blacks.

The role of racism in this dynamic discussed is not accounted for in this research. No doubt racism exists in the city. And it exists among both Blacks and Whites. If it is assumed that Whites are more racist than Blacks, this may heighten, for Whites, the influence that perception of *racial mix* and *race relations* has, on satisfaction with both *neighborhood* and *city life*. An alternative explanation may be that Whites believe that conditions prevalent in the neighborhood and the city-at-large are the direct effect of the presence of Blacks within the community. This association may not necessarily be the product of conscious White racism, but just a subconscious linkage based on Whites' perceptions of contributors to various conditions in the community – poverty, crime and blight. It might be argued that this is evidence of latent racism.

Policy Implications

The implications of this line of research reflect importantly on community and economic development policies. Approaching issues of community development solely as a matter of economic growth and diversification may be too narrow and short sighted. Widgery, et.al. (2003) found that both satisfaction with *neighborhood and city QOL* as strong predictors of tendency of citizens to move away from the community. However, community health may be rooted as strongly in the social fabric and interracial dynamic of city life as in economics or perceived QOL. Money spent on interracial communication strategies may be as well justified as spending on community marketing strategies. Strengthening ties between racial groups may go far in making the community more attractive to expanding organizations, thus creating and keeping jobs. Moreover, it may stanch the outflow of middle and upper income families – both Black and White.

This research also illustrates the need to examine the role of race relations generally within the context of city life. Are direct strategies to improve race relations (e.g., media campaigns, training workshops, and community forums) as likely to be effective as indirect strategies (improving various aspects of city life, i.e., aesthetics, security, and governmental leadership)? For instance, in the city of the authors' research, perceptions of prevailing crime, general ugliness, and urban neglect are especially repugnant to White and Black citizens alike. Whites are, however, more likely to associate these conditions with race relations and subsequently jade their satisfaction with the quality-of-city-life. Shifts in policies and spending priorities are far easier to change than changing the hearts and behaviors of citizens.

This research stimulates several important questions about how Blacks and Whites differ in their response to community conditions. Why do Blacks appear to experience satisfaction with the quality of city life, independently of their perceptions of race relations prevailing in the community? Since predictors of satisfaction with race relations shared by both Blacks and Whites are *aesthetics* (attractiveness and cleanliness of the city), *security* (freedom from fear of crime), and *government leaders* (quality of government), is it reasonable to expect that race relations will improve as progress is made on these dimensions of city life?

What determines a person's sensitivity to race relations in the community? Are those who have greater *motivation* to involve themselves in community activities more cognizant

of the quality of race relations citywide? What is the role of local and national media in affecting inter-racial goodwill? These, and many more issues, may hold the keys to our society's ability to realize improved amity and understanding among racial groups.

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Table 1

Factor Analysis
(* = satisfaction scores)

Factors	Loadings	Factor
Aesthetics		
*Appearance of public places		.68
*Appearance of residential areas		.67

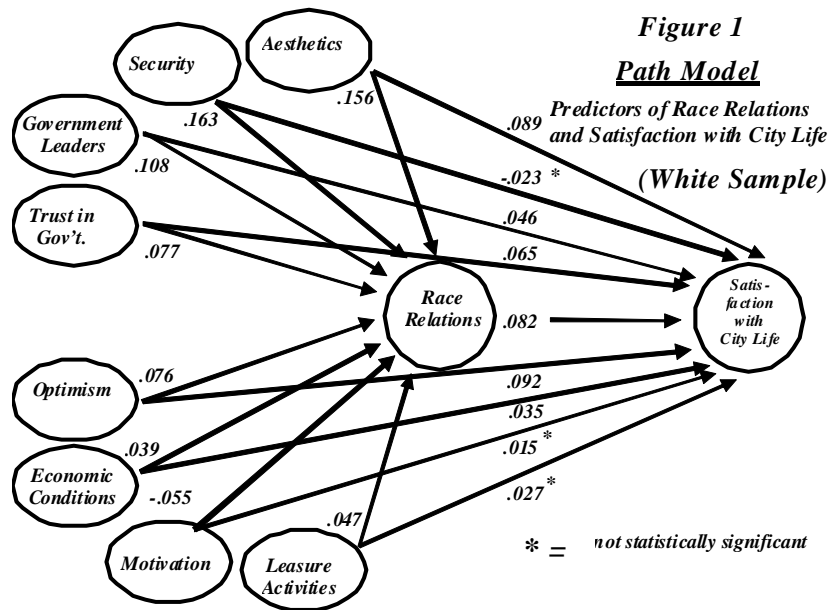
	*Appearance of Flint area generally	.65	
	*Appearance of commercial and business	.62	
Motivation			
	Chance of involvement	.71	
	Interest in neighborhood	.63	
Trust in Government & Politics			
	Trust in county government	.70	
	Trust in local government	.67	
	Trust in unions	.50	
	Trust in schools	.48	
Security			
	*Personal safety in neighborhood	.69	
	*Security against break-ins	.63	
	*Personal safety in public places	.37	
	*Police protection	.34	
Employment			
	*Your own job	.71	
	*Family income	.67	
	*Spouses job	.63	
Leisure			
	*Recreational activities	.92	
	*Recreational facilities	.91	
	*Entertainment facilities	.65	
	*Parks		.45
Economics			
	*Property taxes	.65	
	*Cost of living	.64	
	*Job opportunity	.36	
Conditions in Flint			
	Conditions in Flint -- now?	.73	
	Conditions in Flint -- future?	.71	
	Enjoy life in Flint -- now?	.70	
Government & Leaders			
	*Local government	.76	
	*Local government services generally	.66	
	*Community leaders	.42	
	*Public schools	.26	
Longevity			
	Age	.56	
	Years in Flint area	.55	

Table 1 (Continued)

Medical Services		
	*Doctors	.64
	*Dentists	.62
Neighbors		
	*Number of children in neighborhood	.69
	*Behavior of children	.65
	*Neighbors	.49
Church, Family & Friends		
	*Church activities	.71
	*Friends and acquaintances	.54
	*Family life	.49
Potency		
	Influence on schools	.72
	Influence on government	.71
Children		
	Number of children at home	.71
	Children in school	.61
Trust in Business		
	Trust in General Motors	.64
	Trust in Mott Foundation	.64
	Trust in banks	.37
Transportation		
	*Public transportation	.65
Overall Satisfaction		
	*Overall satisfaction with neighborhood	.46
	*Overall satisfaction with City	.42
	*Enjoy living in City?	.30
Trust in Media		
	Trust in TV	.85
	Trust in radio	.82
	Trust in Daily Paper	.53
Security Services		
	*Police protection	.58
	*Fire protection	.48
	*Crime prevention	.30
Traffic & Streets		
	*Traffic conditions, generally	.57

Table 1 (Continued)

	*Amount of traffic on own street	.39
	*Conditions of streets	.36
Hospitals		
	*Hospitals	.62
	*Trust in hospitals	.52
Education		
	*Colleges and universities	.56
	*Libraries	.51
	*Schools	.28



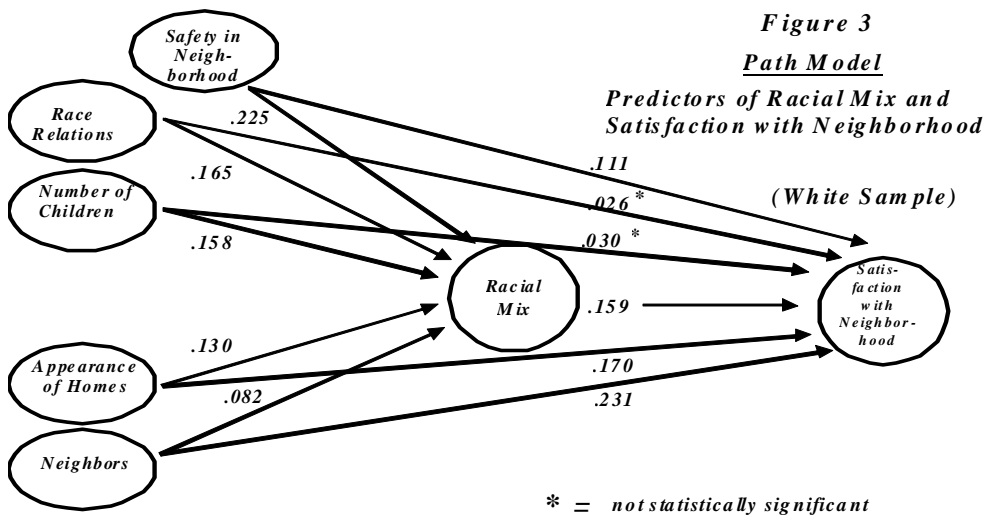
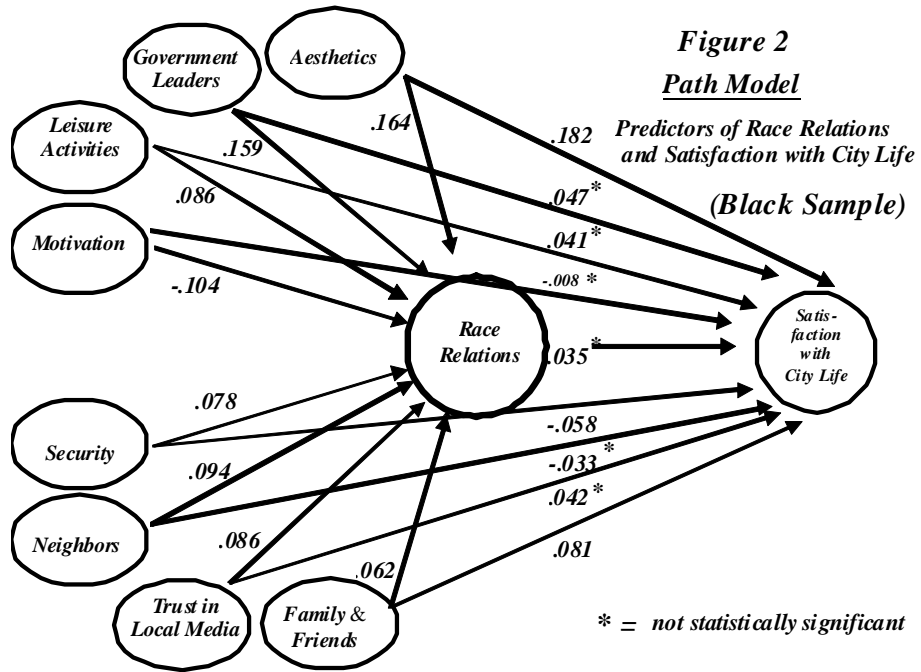


Figure 4

Path Model

Predictors of Racial Mix and Satisfaction with Neighborhood

(Black Sample)

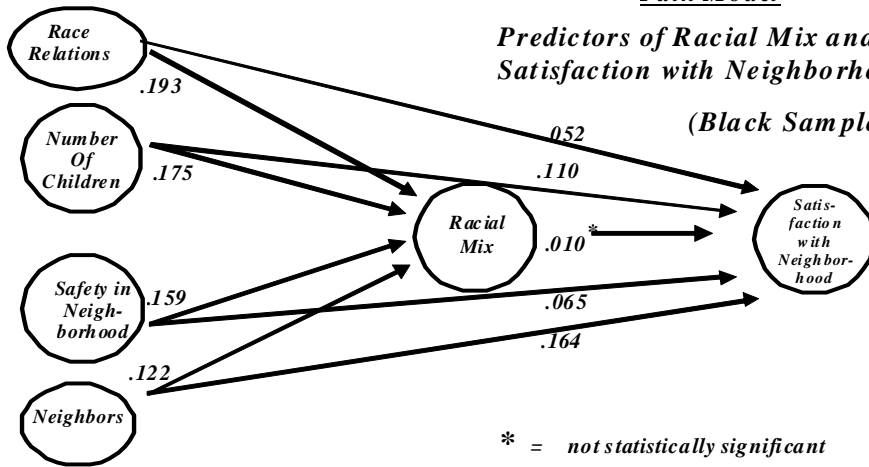


Figure 5

Path Model

Predictors of Satisfaction with Neighborhood and City Life

(White Sample)

