Agricultural Economic Report No. 206

Governmental Units

Governmental Units–
Consolidation

V-F

IMPACT of City-County Consolidation of the Rural-Urban Fringe:

NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENN.

ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

ABSTRACT

This report analyzes the effect of consolidation of city and county governments in Nashville, Tenn., on local public finance and the availability of public services in the rural areas of the county. Comparisons were made between governmental costs and functions before and 3 years after the Metropolitan district was formed. About 300 voters in the rural-urban fringe of the metropolitan area were interviewed to determine their attitudes toward tax changes, services, and political access of the Metropolitan government, compared with the previous city and county governments. In general, the Metro district produced improved services and higher taxes in rural areas, but a majority of the people were satisfied with the change.

KEY WORDS: Attitudes, efficiency, finance, rural-urban fringe, urbanization, access, taxes.

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PREFACE

As our society becomes increasingly urbanized, more and more farmers and other rural residents feel the impact of city expansion. With increasing urbanization come increasingly complex governmental problems, and innovations are needed in local government. One of these innovations has been the consolidation of cities with the counties surrounding them. To find out more about city-county consolidations and their effect on rural residents, the Economic Research Service contracted with Vanderbilt University for a study of the Nashville-Davidson County consolidation; this bulletin reports the results of that study. The author was on the university staff at the time of the study. Daniel Grant supervised the study.

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HIGHLIGHTS

The establishment of a metropolitan government--Metro--in Nashville, Tenn., significantly strengthened services to urban and rural residents. The rural resident, especially in the rural-urban fringe area, obtained better schools, and additional police and fire protection. The central city resident obtained better schools through an enlargement of the system and a vast improvement in his access to recreational and park facilities.

The most significant improvement was in the school system. The quality of education was equalized throughout the county. Higher per capita expenditures for education occurred within the city and in the county. Expenditures for textbooks increased fourfold. Curricula were enlarged. Teachers' standards were improved, additional administrative and supervisory staff were added, teachers' salaries were raised, and the pupil-teacher ratio decreased. A central warehouse for financial and inventory control of materials and equipment was established, making supplies and aids more readily available to all teachers. Metropolitan consolidation made possible centralized school health and pupil personnel services.

Consolidation of law enforcement took place rapidly. City and county patrols were merged and many actions were undertaken to improve the image of municipal law enforcement. Law enforcement became a county-wide professional police operation. Major crime decreased 7 percent in Nashville, under a Metro police force in 1965, compared with a 5-percent increase nationally.

The administration of road maintenance was improved. The Metro Department of Public Works was able to purchase specialized equipment which neither the city or county alone could have justified before consolidation. General service expenditures increased markedly in the rural areas.

Parks and recreational facilities became a general service to be provided throughout the Metro area. A park board was established with authority to acquire parkland in advance of urban development. Priority systems were established, and park and school facilities were combined to provide optimum recreational facilities to all residents of the area.

Metro expenditures the first year after formation were about 7 percent higher than the total expenditures of the separate city and county governments the previous year. Although this modest increase might have occurred without consolidation, Metro's major impact on taxes resulted from a marked shift in taxes from urban to rural residents. Property tax rates for the city resident decreased about 1 percent the first year, whereas those for the rural resident increased more than 34 percent.

The second year, Metro expanded its sources of revenue by adopting a 1-percent sales tax and a user charge for sewer and water financing. Property tax rates were reduced.

Analysis of fringe voters' opinions concerning the tax situation under

the metropolitan districts showed 61 percent thought taxes were too high. About 46 percent were less satisfied with taxes under Metro than before. However, almost three-fifths of the fringe dwellers agreed with the statement that "the tax burden is more fairly distributed under Metro than it was before Metro was adopted."

Even though their taxes increased markedly, more than one-half of the fringe residents were satisfied with each type of service under a metropolitan government. When asked to rate all services as a whole, more than four-fifths said they were satisfied. Furthermore, more than two-thirds of the fringe residents agreed that the metropolitan districts were generally more efficient than the city-county governments were before Metro was adopted.

Nearly 70 percent of the residents of the rural-urban fringe believed they received as much or more attention from their councilmen under Metro as they received from their magistrates under the previous county government.

IMPACT OF CITY-COUNTY CONSOLIDATION OF THE RURAL-URBAN FRINGE: NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY, TENN.

by

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INTRODUCTION

Urban America has become increasingly aware of "the metropolitan problem," a collection of ills which affects every metropolitan area in the Nation and seems to grow more pressing each year. In recent years, city-county consolidation has been proposed often--but almost never adopted--as a remedy for the difficulties created by metropolitan expansion and the accompanying fragmentation of local government.

In 1962, city-county consolidation was adopted in Nashville and Davidson County, Tenn., in an effort to achieve unified area-wide government for an entire metropolitan community, including a large rural fringe surrounding the central city. Under the "Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County," a new structure replaced the former city and county governments; legislative power was vested in a 40-member Metropolitan Council; 35 members being elected from single-member districts, and 5 members chosen at large; the metropolitan mayor was elected by the county-wide electorate. Rural voters, greatly outnumbered in any governmental scheme based on population, displayed widespread opposition to this consolidation, just as they had to an earlier attempt in 1958. They expressed considerable apprehension concerning the potential effect of this "Metro" on their welfare.

What happens to rural residents when they are incorporated into a municipal type of metropolitan government? Does the actual operation of the new government allay or reinforce the fears of fringe residents? Is the degree of satisfaction with the new system related to governmental performance or primarily to other factors? What is the impact of adopting a metropolitan form of government on services, taxes, and political access in the rural-urban fringe? The Nashville experience made it possible to examine these and related questions which have thus far been largely speculative.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to gage the impact of Metro upon the residents of a fringe area which included not only farmers, but also

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long-time rural residents with urban occupations, and thousands of new arrivals in the fringe subdivisions. The report was based upon the experience of the rural portion of Davidson County during the first 3 years of Metro operation, from 1963 through 1965. An effort was made to study both the performance of Metro and citizens' perceptions of that performance, recognizing that the two are not necessarily the same.

Method of Study

A search was made of the relevant social science literature in an effort to discover what writers have predicted would happen when rural areas come under the political jurisdiction of municipal-type government. This search resulted in the formulation of three propositions concerning the actual performance of Metro in the fringe.

These were as follows:

Propositions:

1. Metropolitan government extended and strengthened significantly the services of the residents of the rural-urban fringe.

2. Metropolitan government increased the tax responsibility of the residents of the rural-urban fringe.

3. Metropolitan government diluted the representation of rural-urban fringe residents and their access to local government decisionmaking.

The propositions concerning Metro's governmental performance were tested by comparing effects on four public services--schools, police protection, streets and roads, and parks and recreation. Services and revenue before Metro and 3 years after Metro were compared. Background material was obtained from informed observers and government officials, newspaper reports, and previous research in the Nashville area. Major reliance was placed on the use of government records and the responses of citizens to questions in a sample survey in the summer and fall of 1965.

To test the citizens' perception of Metro operations, a survey of a sample of the residents in the rural-urban fringe area was conducted. The sample was drawn from the official list of registered voters in the rural-urban fringe precincts of the county, an area containing approximately 22,500 voters in 1964. Every seventieth voter was selected, providing an original sample of 321 persons. Twenty-two could not be interviewed, reducing the sample to 299 voters. Interviews were conducted from August through November 1965.

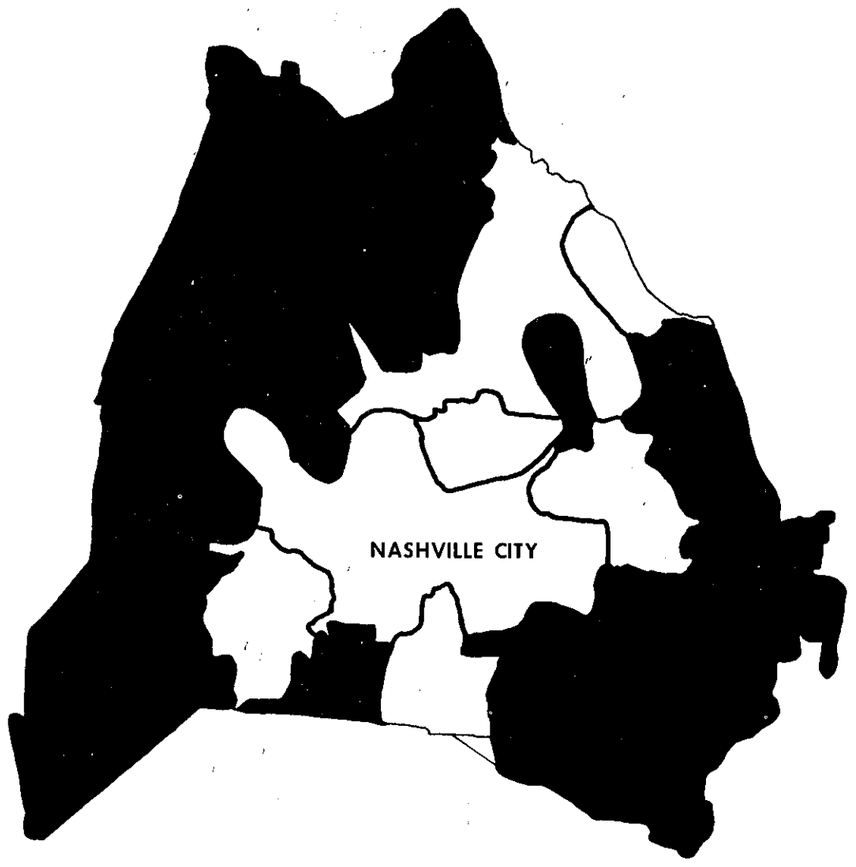

FIGURE 1.--THE DAVIDSON COUNTY RURAL-URBAN FRINGE, 1966

THE STUDY AREA

The Nashville rural-urban fringe consisted in 1966 of the territory in Davidson County which lay outside the "urbanized area" of the county. 2/ It comprised more than half the area of the county (fig. 1).

An examination of this area revealed that the Nashville periphery possessed the major traits of the typical fringe area: booming population growth, inconsistent land use, and mixed economic activity.

Prior to World War II, population growth in Davidson County was generally concentrated along the major roads and transportation routes. Growth took place in areas contiguous to territory already densely populated. In the postwar period this pattern of growth shifted, as in most other metropolitan areas, from "sector type" to "concentric zone" development, and concentration along major highways gave way to great dispersion in outer areas. The central city tended to decrease in population or to stagnate, while growth rates increased as distance from the central city increased. The growth rates were greatest in the large subdivisions which sprang up in previously rural areas.

The Davidson County fringe has been characterized for some time by a growing and diverse population. For over 60 years, the county has been growing at a rate greater than the State of Tennessee. It has surpassed the national rate of population growth for the past 40 years. This process has increased the area's population density and has steadily decreased the proportion of the population designated rural (table 1).

Table 1.--Rural and urban population of Davidson County, 1920-60

Year	Total	Urban	Rural	Rural
	Persons			Percent
1920	167,815	118,342	49,473	29.5
1930	222,854	153,866	68,988	31.0
1940	257,267	167,402	89,865	34.9
1950	321,758	258,886	62,871	19.5
1960	399,743	350,559	49,184	12.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

2/ In 1950, the Bureau of the Census adopted the concept of the "urbanized area" so that persons living in densely settled areas outside the legal limits of central cities could be more accurately included in the urban population of the Nation. In 1960 an urbanized area contained, in addition to its central city or cities, (1) incorporated places in the fringe with 2,500 inhabitants or more, (2) incorporated places in the fringe with less than 2,500 inhabitants but a densely settled area of 100 housing units or more, and (3) unincorporated territory with a population density of 1,000 inhabitants or more per square mile. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Tennessee, 1, xvii.

As the urbanized area expanded, the area in front of the urbanizing rings was thrown into typical land-use confusion. Land was taken out of agricultural use and either developed commercially or held for future profitable development when the wave of urbanization moved over the area. Highway sprawl, composed of service stations, curio shops, taverns, and roadside stands, surrounded the roadways, while subdivisions, farms, and abandoned buildings dotted much of the countryside.

The Davidson County fringe economy was similarly in transition. A large portion of the residents worked either in the central city or in the urbanized portion of the county. In 1960, for instance, from a total of 85,111 workers living in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area ring around the City of Nashville, 43,167 (50.7 percent) worked in the central city. Fewer and fewer fringe residents could be classified as farm population (table 2).

The evidence thus indicated a study area in which a constantly growing population lived in a zone of mixed land use and inconsistent development and tended to be employed in urban occupations. More and more fringe people worked in the city and farmed only to supplement their income or to gain products for home consumption. In 1960, the full-time farm population stood at 5,066 persons, only 10.3 percent of the rural population and 1.3 percent of the total county population. In 1966, there was no indication of a reversal of this decline; it appeared that the fringe will continue to present a mixture of agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits until it is finally absorbed into the urbanized area.

METRO'S EFFECT ON FRINGE SERVICES

Previous research findings in Nashville indicated that the expectation of service improvement was an important contributing factor to an individual's favorable attitude toward metropolitan governmental reorganization. Just as service expectations were high among pro-Metro voters, however, persons opposed to Metro were skeptical of the proponents' predictions of improved services. In the rural-urban fringe of Davidson County there was apparently a general feeling that many of the service benefits of consolidation would not

Table 2.--Farm and nonfarm population of Davidson County, 1920-60

Year	Total	Farm	Nonfarm	Farm
	Persons			Percent
1920	49,473	16,500	32,973	33.4
1930	68,988	18,105	50,883	26.2
1940	89,865	21,763	68,102	24.2
1950	62,871	12,010	50,861	19.1
1960	49,184	5,066	44,118	10.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

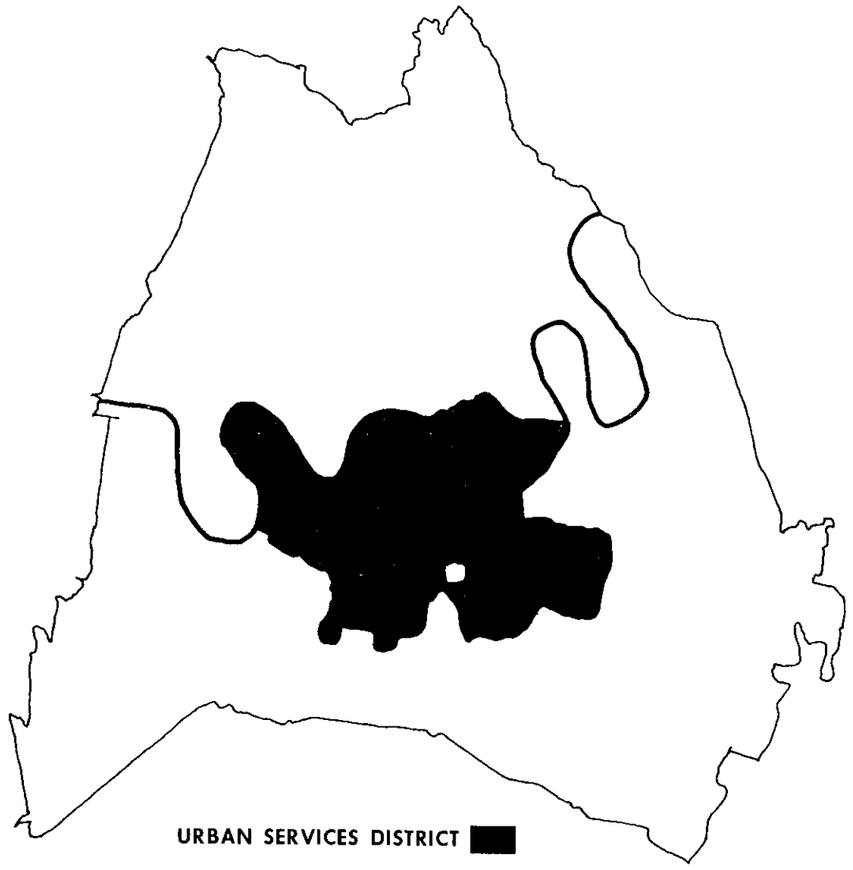

FIGURE 2.--METROPOLITAN SERVICE DISTRICTS, 1966

reach the fringe for some time. Above every other consideration, the fringe residents feared that Metro would bring higher taxes; they preferred the status quo rather than risk increased taxes with no appreciable improvement in service. 3/

Metropolitan Government in Nashville renders service to its citizens by means of an interesting service-taxation mechanism. The Metro charter set up two service "districts." The General Services District (GSD) consists of the entire county; the smaller Urban Services District (USD) consisted in 1966 of the area of the former city of Nashville (fig. 2). Each district has its own property tax rate to support the services which it provides. Residents of the USD pay both USD and GSD property taxes. Under the Charter, the USD may be expanded whenever the Metropolitan Council determines that a given area needs urban services and that such services can be provided in the annexed area within 1 year.

In 1966 the General Services District provided the following services:

General administration	Airport
Police	Urban redevelopment
Courts	Planning
Jails	Building code
Assessment	Housing code
Health	Transit
Welfare	Beer supervision
Hospitals	Fair grounds
Housing for the aged	Public housing
Streets and roads	Urban renewal
Traffic	Electrical code
Schools	Plumbing code
Parks and recreation	Electricity
Libraries	Refuse disposal
Auditorium	Taxicab regulation

These services, because they were offered to all residents of the county, were the ones of direct interest to the rural-urban fringe. It should be noted, however, that inhabitants of the Urban Services District received the following additional services:

Additional police protection	Storm sewers
Fire protection	Street lighting
Water	Street cleaning
Sanitary sewers	Refuse collection
	Wine and whiskey supervision

3/ Hawkins, Brett William. "Sources of Opposition and Support for Metropolitan Reorganization: The Nashville Experience." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 1964.

To test the proposition that Metro significantly extended and strengthened the services of the residents of the rural-urban fringe, four services were selected as representative--schools, police protection, streets and roads, and parks and recreation.

Public Schools

Nowhere was the pro-Metro charge of "duplication and waste" under divided government made more frequently than with regard to public education. In the campaign for consolidation, evidence was found showing that increasing percentages of Davidson County school children were living outside the city of Nashville. Yet the county was almost automatically prevented from providing an education for these children equivalent to the one provided city children, because the county revenue spent for schools had to be apportioned, on the basis of average daily attendance, between the county and city schools. This meant that school children in both the city and county systems shared proportionately in the county revenues. The city of Nashville could then use its taxing powers to gain additional revenue for its schools. The result was a considerably higher per capita expenditure for education in the city than in the county: in 1962-63, the expenditure per pupil in the city of Nashville was $350, compared with $262 in the Davidson County schools. The city schools were able to provide many services not available to county children.

The desire to equalize educational opportunity through the entire county was one of the main forces behind the movement for Metro. Its proponents claimed united government could remedy the inequities in divided school systems.

Under Metro, the per capita expenditure for the education of each child in the rural-urban fringe increased from the 1962-63 County average of $262 to a 1965-66 Metro average of $410.53. Some of the increase was probably attributable to inflation and to an increase in the cost of education, but these factors scarcely account for all the increase.

Teacher standards were improved, additional administrative and supervisory staff were employed, teachers received raises in base salary and were made eligible for more employee benefits. The raises were greatest for former county teachers, whose salaries were equalized with those of teachers in the former city system. In 1962-63, the county average annual salary for teachers was $4,865; in 1964-65, under Metro it was $5,694.

The pupil-teacher ratio decreased slightly throughout the system. Particular attention was given to the primary grades: the average class load of a first-grade teacher in 1962 was 32 pupils; in 1964-65 this was down to less than 28 pupils. Other factors such as teacher aids; clerical help to relieve teachers of much paperwork; more supervision; and additional supplies also contributed to improvements in the educational program.

Metropolitan consolidation made possible centralized health and pupil personnel services. The physical and psychological needs of the children were more closely watched. One out of every three Metro school children received the benefit of a special foundation or government program.

Under Metro, a central warehouse for financial and inventory control of materials and equipment was established, making supplies more readily available. A unified textbooks program increased the expenditures for textbooks from $235,043 in 1962-63 to $795,000 in 1965-66.

School attendance zones were also established for all Metro schools. As population shifted, these zones could be changed to facilitate the most efficient use of buildings and other facilities. There were no longer any boundaries between the city and county to obstruct this zoning operation. In addition, it was easier for a teacher or principal to transfer from one school to another, even to a distant portion of the county. Such staff transfers under the former divided school system were much more difficult for teachers and virtually impossible for principals.

It was clear that the major impact of Metro upon public education was equalization. In most cases this meant considerable upgrading of educational services in the fringe. Prior to consolidation, the city of Nashville contained the major concentration of revenue sources in Davidson County. Under Metro these sources were more readily available to the county as a whole. Teacher salaries were equalized and all schools offered the same basic curriculum. The enlargement of the system increased the amount of State and Federal funds available. One observer summarized the impact of Metro on public education:

> The larger the system, the more you can give the child in the way of education. . . . Metro provides for every child regardless of his residence or his economic status the best education he can take.

This was a significant achievement and represented what was perhaps the major service accomplishment of Metro during its first 3 years.

Police Protection

Before Metro, law enforcement in the rural-urban fringe was the responsibility of the constables and the sheriff. The election of constables for 2-year terms was required by the Tennessee Constitution. Two constables were chosen from Nashville and one in each of the other civil districts in the county. Their jurisdiction was county-wide, their powers were those set by common law, and they operated on a fee basis. A 1952 report indicated, however, that "most of these officials seem to be doing nothing which will earn fees for themselves." As law enforcement officials, the constables were of little importance.

The Davidson County sheriff was popularly elected for a 2-year term and could serve no more than three consecutive terms. His jurisdiction was the entire county for most purposes, but he confined his law enforcement work primarily to the territory outside Nashville.

After the adoption of Metro, the constables were retained because they were constitutional officers. However, their number was greatly reduced and, in the first election after the institution of Metro, three constables who pledged "to do nothing" in their positions were elected.

Under the Metropolitan Charter, the sheriff possessed custody and control of the Metropolitan Jail and Workhouse, but he was no longer the principal conservator of the peace. Responsibility for law enforcement throughout the county rested with the Metropolitan Chief of Police.

Under Metro, the consolidation of law enforcement took place rapidly. City and county patrol beats were merged, and many actions were undertaken to improve the image of municipal law enforcement in Davidson County.

There was a vastly increased area of responsibility for law enforcement. The police jurisdiction increased from 72 square miles (the area of the former city) to 533 square miles (the area of the entire county). At the time, Oklahoma City was the only city in the Nation territorially larger than Metro. The police jurisdiction was seven times the size of the former city, and the population was 67 percent greater.

With the advent of Metro, the Police Department underwent a complete reorganization which benefited the fringe. In the rural-urban area the three items of greatest change in police protection were personnel administration, patrol coverage, and professional standards.

Personnel Administration -- Under the pre-Metro system there was frequent personnel turnover in the Sheriff's office. No person could serve as Sheriff more than 6 years in succession. If the incumbent were succeeded by a close associate, the shakeup was not so drastic, but if a new political faction won the office, personnel changes were widespread. These resignations impaired continuity in county law enforcement. It was not that the Sheriff's office was inefficient; it was just that the direction of the law enforcement operation was greatly influenced by the outcome of the election every 2 years.

Under Metro, the entire Police Department was given a permanent career service, entirely responsible to an appointive Chief of Police. New professional training programs were undertaken. These personnel improvements were likely to affect the level of law enforcement throughout the county, including the rural-urban fringe.

Patrol Coverage -- As mentioned above, the Metro Police Department had a greater area to patrol than any other law enforcement agency in the country except Oklahoma City. The drastic increase in territory occasioned by city-county consolidation created great problems for law enforcement during the first months under the new system.

Prior to the adoption of Metro, the Nashville City Police employed 408 persons to police 72 square miles, for an average of 5.66 police employees per square mile. After Metro was inaugurated, 103 county police employees were added to the force, bringing total employment to 511. This was equivalent to less than one man per square mile. When this total employment was divided into three shifts, only 170 men were available at any one time to police 533 square miles. On an average shift, there was only one policeman on duty per 2,488 citizens. This total included not only patrolmen, but also traffic control personnel, bookkeeping employees, identification officers, radio dispatchers, and others.

Steps were taken to correct these patrol deficiencies. On January 1, 1965, the Department doubled the number of patrol cars in service and placed nearly 400 officers in the field. This was equivalent to approximately one officer per 1,000 citizens. The Department also increased the number of police zones to 58; this was more than twice the number used by the former city and county agencies.

The patrol system was further improved in 1965 with the establishment of two substations in the eastern and western parts of the county to serve patrol vehicles and to provide exchange points for patrol personnel. Patrol cars no longer had to go all the way to central headquarters to change shifts. More than 250 policemen worked out of the substations, making them even more accessible to fringe areas.

A 1966 improvement brought police protection closer to rural-urban residents. Two "mobile crime laboratories" operated by technicians were placed in operation in the county. Previous criminal investigators had to wait for technicians and equipment to arrive from central headquarters; the novel laboratories made the facilities available throughout the county much more quickly.

According to police officials, the rural fringe areas under Metro had the same coverage as the downtown sections. Under the Charter, "additional police protection" was a service of the USD, and the USD tax rate covered this additional protection. The rationale for this procedure was that the greater concentration of persons and businesses in the central portion of the county required additional police protection, and that persons living in the central urban area should bear the cost of this additional service. The protection afforded in the GSD, though not as concentrated, was considered "equal service" by police officials.

These improvements moved police protection closer to fringe residents. A police car could reach any location in the county in a matter of minutes. Before Metro it sometimes took hours for the Sheriff's office to respond. At the time of this study, it was the mayor's goal to continue to improve patrol coverage: "We will create even more zones so that an officer will be within 5 minutes of every home in the community."

Professional Standards -- Perhaps the principal impact of Metro upon rural law enforcement was the creation of a county-wide professional police operation. Under Metro, there is a unified system; officers in one part of the metropolitan area have at their disposal the specialized equipment and (through an extensive communication network) the support of the entire force in the prevention and solution of crimes.

There were no longer any lines of jurisdiction to impede this operation. Before Metro, there were five law enforcement layers in the county: Federal authorities, State officials, the Nashville police, the Davidson County sheriffs and constables, and the private police departments in the suburbs. Each of these agencies presumably knew its area of responsibility and the jurisdictional boundaries, but the average citizen often was confused in an emergency as to just where he should turn for help.

Metropolitan officials claimed that the expansion of police jurisdiction resulted in a more effective police operation. They cited as evidence the 1965 Annual Report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which noted that there was 7 percent less major crime in Nashville in 1965, compared with 1965, while the national crime rate increased by 5 percent.

These improvements were areawide in scope, and it was not always possible to quantify the changes in different parts of the county. It was evident, however, that police protection had been strengthened, and it seemed safe to assume that residents of the outlying areas were major beneficiaries of this improvement.

Streets and Roads

In the former government of Davidson County, the major item in the public works budget was highway and road construction. County roads and highways were the responsibility of the County Highway Commission, which was selected by the County's governing body, the Quarterly Court. The commission supervised the building and maintenance of an extensive road system in the rural-urban fringe. At the time of the government reorganization, there were about 1,200 miles of roads in the County jurisdiction, and only 60 miles of roadway were unsurfaced.

The City of Nashville maintained its own streets and performed no road service in the fringe. There was therefore little necessity for the city and county to work together in the performance of this function. In terms of actual operation, there was no real pressure to consolidate the public works function of the two jurisdictions.

Few changes were made in streets and roads in the fringe after the establishment of one consolidated Metropolitan Department of Public Works. Administratively, a measure of separation was retained between work in urban and fringe areas. There was a Streets Division which worked primarily in the urban area and a Roads Division which covered the remainder of the county. In the allocation of equipment and personnel to projects, the main criterion was traffic; this factor tended to place urban undertakings at the top of any list of priorities:

If one identified the GSD with the former county, however, it was evident that there was a reversal in the expenditures after the first year of Metro (table 3).

Table 3.--Street and road appropriations, Nashville and Davidson County, 1956-65

Year	Urban Services District (Nashville before 1963)	General Services District (Davidson County before 1963)
1959	$1,262,927	$1,378,805
1960	1,211,291	1,669,260
1961	1,603,687	1,614,600
1962	1,703,881	1,621,400
1963	1,684,117	1,494,768
1964	1,726,894	1,839,910
1965	1,425,000	2,107,800

Source: Metropolitan Department of Public Works, Nashville.

After 1963, the GSD spent more than the USD. One reason for this change was the equalization of salaries in the merger of the two former operations. The county employee pay scale was considerably lower than the city schedule in the former system. These differences were not adjusted during 1963, the first year of Metropolitan Government, but in the 1964 GSD appropriations, $371,000 was devoted to salary adjustments alone.

There was no startling change, however, in the approach to streets and roads in the fringe. The Roads Division performed about the same functions as the former county agency. The main change was the increased jurisdiction in which these functions were accomplished. The changes in the representational system brought about by Metro destroyed many of the old relationships through which County legislators were able to influence street and road work in their districts. These changes enhanced the power and authority of the professional civil servants in the Public Works Department. Although projects were still apportioned on the basis of district boundaries, the "professionals" had the knowledge and independence to implement programs of areawide importance; few members of the Metropolitan Council attempted to influence the actual programs, except in "matters of timing and details."

Administratively, metropolitan consolidation was very helpful. There were no longer jurisdictional lines which obstructed cooperation in the construction and maintenance operations. The Metropolitan Department of Public Works purchased specialized equipment which neither city nor county alone could have justified before consolidation.

Furthermore, the Department was able to present a "united front" to other Metro agencies, the State Government, and the Federal Government. Even before consolidation, the city and county agencies cooperated in seeking resources from higher levels of government, but this relationship was subject to rupture at any time. Under the Metro system, any disagreements could be worked out in establishing a departmental policy. Once such policy was determined, a unified public works plan could be presented to other agencies.

On the question of impact, it can be said that the change to Metro definitely improved the planning and administrative aspects of public works in the fringe. Very little change occurred, however, in the condition of rural-urban roads. As noted above, fringe roads were quite good before Metro, with only 5 percent unsurfaced. Under Metro, the major activity in the fringe was the maintenance of the good road system established by the former county government.

Parks and Recreation

Prior to Metro, the only parks in Davidson County were managed by the city of Nashville. The county did not provide this service. Most noncity dwellers used the city parks, often even more than city dwellers. The city operated two large parks in the southwestern portion of the county, but these parks were inconvenient to citizens in the northern and eastern portions of the city, and even more inaccessible to fringe dwellers in the northern and eastern portions of the country. The dearth of recreational facilities forced some suburban communities to establish privately financed recreational programs of their own.

Under the Metropolitan Charter, parks and recreation became a general service to be provided throughout the county. The service was to be rendered by a seven-member Board of Parks and Recreation appointed by the mayor with Council approval. The Board developed three policies which affected the fringe and promised to produce even greater impact in the future. These policies concerned (1) the acquisition of parklands in advance of full urban development to maximize selection, ensure proper location, and minimize land costs; (2) the establishment of a priority system of land acquisition providing for large urban parks, playfield parks, and playground-parks, procured in that order; and (3) the appropriate consolidation, to the fullest extent feasible, of park and school recreation facilities.

The planned schedule called for the purchase of the tracts for the large urban parks first, the acreage for the playfield parks second, and the land for the playground-parks last. This priority system seemed likely to affect the fringe more quickly than other areas because of the relative abundance of large tracts in the outlying areas, compared with the more urban portions of the country.

The acquisition and priority programs were planning policies, however, and their full impact in the fringe would not be realized for several years. A more immediate change in park service was the improvement of recreation for children in the fringe through the provision of recreational facilities through the schools. The Metropolitan Planning Commission recommended this consolidation:

> It would be to the advantage of the total community to utilize to the fullest extent feasible whatever existing public facilities are available and suitable for recreational activity. These facilities would be an especially valuable adjunct to community service when specialized play areas are not yet available. The public school plant probably is most suited to this kind of utilization. Although not all school sites will lend themselves appropriately to use as joint educational-recreational facilities, there are many that could. Keeping in mind that our total school plant serves foremost an educational function, some durality of use of the physical plant is no doubt practical.

In this way, Metro extended supervised recreation to the rural-urban fringe.

Each of these policies -- acquisition, priority, and school-park consolidation -- suggested that the major impact of Metro upon parks and fringe recreation was the elimination of boundaries between the former city and county. Insofar as general usage was concerned, these boundaries never existed; rural residents used city recreational facilities before Metro. But under divided government, there was no provision for parks in the fringe area itself, and citizens in that area frequently had to travel great distances to parks and organized recreational activities.

The elimination of boundaries under Metro also improved planning and administration. The relationships among local, State, and Federal agencies were strengthened, and planners could consider the needs of the entire county in purchasing open space and planning for its use.

METRO'S EFFECT ON PUBLIC FINANCE

We have previously considered the services provided by the two service districts, USD and GSD. This information made it clear that the consolidation involved a major shift in governmental functions to the county-wide GSD. Many functions which were former city services became GSD services. This was especially noticeable in parks and recreation, codes administration and inspection, and traffic regulation and control. In some enterprises such as roads and schools, where both the county and the city had provided parallel services, the Metro Charter transferred all responsibility to the GSD. Fire protection, sewerage, street lighting, and refuse collection were the only major services confined to the USD and thus denied to fringe residents.

Transfer of functions had an interesting effect both on expenditures and on each expenditure's percentage of the total budget. Expenditures for every service function except one increased the first year after consolidation (table 4). The sharpest increases were in law enforcement; welfare, health, and hospitals; public libraries; and debt service.

To pay for these service increases, the GSD inherited many of the revenues that were previously available only to the City of Nashville. Significantly, the property tax percentage of total revenues fell during the first year of Metro from 56.72 percent to 46.99. Increases were registered in revenue from other local taxes, charges for current services, and from fines, forfeitures, and penalties.

There was thus ample evidence that the transfer of services and revenues under Metro was considerable. The GSD received the bulk of expenditures from the consolidation, with the USD retaining only a small percentage of the expenses and revenues of the former city. By 1965, Metro was spending through both GSD and USD approximately $250,000 per day to perform about 1,000 different services for a working day population of about 500,000 persons.

Any change in the distribution of services is likely to influence the tax rate of the governments providing the services. And when the redistribution transfers most of the services from one city government to a more general countywide government, an increase in the tax responsibility of the county resident would seem inevitable. Such an increase occurred under Metro.

Changes in the Tax Rates

Through the years the assessments of Davidson County had been increasing at a steady rate, so that a moderate increase in property tax rates was sufficient to support country expenditures. In 1963, the first year of Metro, the total assessments of the County increased by a moderate 3.4 percent. This could not produce a tax base large enough to support the increased GSD responsibilities at the same tax rate. Thus, even though Davidson County possessed a per capita estimated property valuation higher than any other large county in Tennessee, an increase in the tax rate was necessary.

The first year's GSD expenditures were over $27,500,000 greater than the Davidson County expenditures for the last year before Metro, an increase

Table 4.--Percentage change in annual expenditures by type of service, from the last Davidson County fiscal year (1962-63) to the first fiscal year of the General Services District (1963-64)

Service	Change
	Percent
General government	68.4
Administration of justice	29.5
Law enforcement and care of prisoners	618.8
Codes administration and inspection	100.0
Conservation of natural resources	13.7
Welfare, health, and hospitals	135.0
Public libraries	314.4
Public works	59.9
Traffic regulation and control	100.0
Recreational and cultural	100.0
Employee benefits	18.6
Miscellaneous	-57.9
Debt service	135.8
Schools	59.4

Source: Annual financial reports of Davidson County and the Metropolitan Government.

Table 5.--General millage rates for Davidson County unincorporated areas and the city of Nashville, 1955-62, and for the general services district and the urban services district, 1963-65, per $100 assessed valuation

Year	Davidson County unincorporated areas	City of Nashville
	Rate per $100	Rate per $100
1955	$2.55	$2.50
1956	2.55	2.50
1957	2.55	2.50
1958	2.55	2.50
1959	2.78	3.00
1961	2.78	3.00
1962	2.76	3.00

Year	General Services District	Urban Services District
	Rate per $100	Rate per $100
1963	$3.70	$2.00
1964	3.70	2.00
1965	3.50	1.80

Source: Planning Commission of the Metropolitan Government, Local Government, Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee, Fact Book Series, Volume II (February, 1966).

of over 90 percent. Although some city revenues were transferred to the GSD fund to meet part of the increase, more than $11 million had to come from a property tax increase.

During the first year of Metro, the property tax rate was increased from the 1962-63 county rate of $2.76 for residents in the fringe to a GSD rate of $3.70, a 34.1 percent increase for taxpayers in outlying areas (table 5). This increase gave Davidson County the highest per capita property tax among the largest counties in Tennessee. At the same time, the USD tax rate for the residents of the former city fell from $3 to $2. Therefore, the urban property owner's GSD-USD rate became $5.70 as compared with the city-county rate of $5.76 before consolidation.

It was argued that this increase in taxation was merely an equitable adjustment, whereby rural and suburban residents came to support the services they enjoyed for so long at the expense of the City of Nashville. But this in no way detracted from the fact that county taxpayers were paying more for government, a result which many feared when they voted against city-county consolidation.

The evidence was clear that appropriations for Metro's first year were greater than the combined expenditures for the two previous governments in 1962-63; the latter were $65,764,000 compared to the first-year Metro budget of $70,000,000. And the comprehensive consolidation of the Nashville metropolitan area certainly aroused the "booster spirit" of the new Government, a factor which may have encouraged excessive expenditures.

But observers of the financial situation both before and after the adoption of Metro were almost unanimous in the opinion that the expenditures for the governments in the metropolitan area would have increased even if the consolidation had not taken place. How great the increase would have been was open to question. It was true, however, that the former county had proposed a tax rate of about $3.15 before the approval of Metro, and that after approval of the Charter, the County Quarterly Court cut the budget to provide for a county tax rate of only $2.76.

The first Metro budget revealed two important changes related to the governmental change: a difference in the political environment which enabled the public schools to get in the first year an equilization of teachers' salaries, and a shift in financial responsibility from the core city to the entire metropolitan area. Other factors in the financial situation, including departmental confusion, assessment difficulties, and debts and responsibilities left over from the two former governments, were either transitional or completely unrelated to the change in governmental structure.

New Revenue Sources

Regardless of the reasons for the increased property tax rate, Metro attempted to cultivate two new sources of revenue after the first year of operation, largely to reduce dependence upon the property tax. These new sources were: service charges to users of Metro's water-sewer services, and a local 1-percent sales tax.

The shift in sewer-water financing from reliance on the USD tax rate to reliance on direct consumer charges resulted in higher consumer costs in the USD for the service, together with much discontent among residents of the

former city. But it allowed a reduction in the USD tax rate for 1965-66 from $2.00 to $1.80. While this did not affect many fringe residents at the time, it did assure that all future water-sewer services would be financed by users of the service and not be transferred to the GSD tax levy to be paid by all residents of the metropolitan area. And the change actually gave a sizable reduction in water rates to users in the GSD.

On July 1, 1965, a new 1 percent sales tax became effective, and Metro thus joined the other large Tennessee counties in availing itself of this added revenue source. On the day of its inauguration, tax officials estimated that about 20 percent of the money collected annually from the sales tax would come from people who lived outside Metro. On the basis of revenue estimates from this new source, the GSD property tax levy was reduced from $3.70 to $3.50 in the 1965-66 budget.

Thus, in its third year, the Metropolitan Government reduced both service districts' property tax levies, the first general tax cut for Davidson County in many years.

METRO AND THE RURAL CITIZEN

Attitudes Toward Services

An important factor in the evaluation of Metro services was the opinion of fringe citizens. To gage this opinion, several items relating to services, particularly the four functions selected for special attention, were included in the survey questionnaire administered to 299 voters in connection with this study. "Don't know" and "no answer" responses were discarded in each case, as were the answers of those interviewees who were undecided.

Table 6.--Attitudes toward selected services in the rural-urban fringe of Davidson County, 1965

Service	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
	Percent	Percent
Schools	85.7	14.3
Streets and roads	74.9	25.1
Parks and recreation	68.7	31.3
Police protection	66.9	33.1
All local services considered "as a whole"	83.2	16.8

More than two-thirds of the respondents were satisfied with each service. When asked to rate all services "considered as a whole," 83 percent said they were satisfied (table 6). Furthermore, 68 percent of the respondents agreed either strongly or mildly that Metro was generally more efficient than city and county governments were before Metro was adopted (table 7).

On the question of services under Metro compared with those before, however, 58 percent thought they were "about the same" (table 8). This was a significant indication that, for the majority of fringe respondents at least,

Table 7.--Responses to the statement: "Metro is generally more efficient than the city and county governments were before Metro was adopted"

Response	Number	Percent
Strongly agree	43	18.3
Mildly agree	116	49.4
Mildly disagree	45	19.1
Strongly disagree	31	13.2
	235	100.0

Table 8.--Responses to the question: "How would you say local services as a whole now compare with those before the adoption of Metro?"

Response	Number	Percent
Much better	23	8.3
Somewhat better	72	26.0
About the same	161	58.1
Somewhat worse	16	5.8
Much worse	5	1.8
	277	100.0

even though they were satisfied with their services, they believed these had not improved greatly under Metro. Of the 42 percent who thought services had changed, most of them, by a ratio of more than four to one, said services had improved. Even so, it must be concluded that there was little popular awareness of the marked improvement which Metro proponents claimed would follow consolidation.

There was evidence that distance played a part in shaping these attitudes, that is, that persons living farther from the central city (and thus presumably the last to receive service improvements) were less likely to feel Metro was more efficient than persons living nearer the central city (table 9).

Table 9.--Relationship between distance from the courthouse (interviewer's estimate) and response to the statement: "Metro is generally more efficient than the city and county governments were before Metro was adopted."

Distance	Responding	Agreed with statement	
	Number	Number	Percent
Less than 5 miles	3	3	100.0
5 - 9 miles	107	76	71.0
10 - 14 miles	103	69	67.0
15 - 20 miles	21	11	52.4
Total	234	159	67.9

A comparison of the results of a previous Metro-wide survey in 1964 with the attitudes of fringe residents in 1965 revealed similarities. Rural-urban fringe opinions were closest to those of all Metro voters on public schools and all services "considered as a whole," and, to some extent, on parks and recreation (table 10). It should be remembered that schools and recreation were two of the services which were most rapidly expanded in the fringe areas. The substantial equalization in these functions may account for the similarity between fringe and Metro-wide opinion concerning them, as well as the attitudes toward all services "considered as a whole." Although more than 60 percent of the fringe respondents were satisfied with police protection they were not as satisfied as residents of the county as a whole.

Attitudes Toward Taxes

As in the case of the service analysis, an important factor in the evaluation of Metro's impact upon rural-urban finance was the opinion fringe citizens expressed toward the situation. To gage this opinion, several questions relating to local taxes were included in the survey.

Table 10.--Attitudes toward selected services among residents throughout Metro, 1964, and in the rural-urban fringe, 1965

Service	Satisfied with services	
	1964 survey 1/ (Metro-wide)	1965 survey (Fringe)
	Percent	Percent
Public schools	87.6	85.7
Police protection	76.5	66.9
Parks and recreation	76.4	68.7
All services considered "as a whole"	85.6	83.2

1/ Survey of voters' attitudes towards Metro was conducted throughout the metropolitan area by students and faculty of the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University in the spring of 1964, unpublished manuscript.

The majority of respondents felt their taxes were too high, compared with the services they received; 38.9 percent believed taxes were "about right," and only 0.7 percent believed that they were too low (table 11). These opinions corresponded closely to tax attitudes throughout the metropolitan area as revealed in the survey conducted in the spring of 1964. In that sample, 57.5 percent thought taxes were too high, 41.6 percent said they were about right, and only 0.9 percent believed they were too low. So, in comparing their taxes with their services, fringe residents evidenced only slightly greater dissatisfaction than other metropolitan citizens.

About 46 percent of the respondents were less satisfied with local taxes under Metro than before its adoption (table 12). Less than 15 percent were more satisfied with Metro taxes than with pre-Metro levies. Those believing their attitude was "about the same" comprised about 40 percent; the size of this group corresponded closely to the number in the group believing local taxes were "about right" (tables 11 and 12).

Table 11.--Responses to the question: "Now, would you tell me how you feel about your local taxes compared to the services you receive?"

Response	Number	Percent
They are too high	172	60.4
They are about right	111	38.9
They are too low	2	0.7
Total	285	100.0

The survey results thus indicated that the majority of fringe respondents thought their local taxes compared with the services they received under Metro were too high. Furthermore, 85.7 percent were either less satisfied with

local taxes under Metro than before, or they felt about the same. There was only negligible feeling of greater tax satisfaction under Metro.

Table 12.--Responses to the question: "How would you compare your present attitude toward local taxes with your attitude toward local taxes before the adoption of Metro?"

Response	Number	Percent
More satisfied	38	14.3
About the same	105	39.5
Less satisfied	123	46.2
Total	266	100.0

Despite their dissatisfaction with local taxes, however, 57 percent of the fringe residents agreed that under Metro the tax burden was more fairly distributed than before its adoption (table 13). Apparently there was a greater realization in the fringe than generally acknowledged that rural residents were getting a "free ride" in the use of city facilities under divided government. Thus, the majority of fringe dwellers, while lacking great enthusiasm for their Metro tax rates, indicated a general belief that the new system was fairer in its shifting of a larger portion of the tax burden to residents of the rural-urban fringe.

Both in terms of citizen perception and empirical analysis, the proposition that Metro increased the tax responsibility of the residents of the rural-urban fringe was confirmed. Local taxes increased, with citizens of the outlying areas experiencing a considerable increase in their tax rate. It had been anticipated that dissatisfaction would therefore be greater than under the previous county government. The survey revealed this dissatisfaction.

Analysis of the budgets and tax rate of the new government indicated that the General Services District assumed responsibility for services which fringe and suburban residents had been using for some time at the expense of

Table 13.--Responses to the statement: "The tax burden is more fairly distributed under Metro than it was before Metro was adopted."

Response	Number	Percent
Agree	129	57.3
Disagree	96	42.7
Total	225	100.0

the City of Nashville. This shift of financial responsibility had been demanded by the urban supporters of Metro as the "fair thing to do." The survey results suggested that a large number of fringe voters agreed that the Metro shift had resulted in a fairer distribution of the tax burden. Rural-urban residents thus seemed to acknowledge that, although taxes were too high and less satisfactory to them personally under Metro than before, the redistribution of the tax load to force them to pay more to support general services was a fairer arrangement.

Political Access

Metropolitan reorganization may consolidate authority and responsibility; in so doing, it may give citizens a greater sense of belonging to a community which is both willing and able to deal with their governmental problems. On the other hand, it may create in the minds of some citizens, especially those in the fringe, a sense of alienation from the political process, a feeling that big government will not listen to their complaints.

In connection with this question, the third proposition examined in this study stated that Metro, while improving services and increasing taxes, diluted the political access of fringe residents. The validity of this proposition was tested by a consideration of the Metro representational system and the political knowledge and attitudes of fringe respondents.

The pre-Metro Davidson County government was more tradition-dominated than any of the other metropolitan counties in Tennessee. The other three large Tennessee counties had altered their basic Quarterly Court and County Judge arrangement, but Davidson County legislative and executive procedures were over a century old, and dominated by rural interests.

The County Court representation clearly favored the sparsely populated areas in the rural-urban fringe. In 1950, the average rural-urban district had one magistrate per 3,478 persons, compared with the county average of 6,846 and the City of Nashville average of 9,174. Subsequent increases in Quarterly Court membership did little to change this overrepresentation. It seemed likely that each of these fringe magistrates was able to give more attention to individual needs in his smaller constituency than magistrates in the more populous districts.

Rural power was drastically reduced by the new Metro representational system. The Charter established one county-wide legislative body, the Metropolitan Council, composed of five councilmen-at-large, and 35 councilmen elected from single-member districts based upon decennial reapportionment. Given the decided minority status of rural-urban residents in the metropolitan area, it was highly unlikely that a fringe resident would capture an at-large post. Moreover, the "one-man, one-vote" apportionment of the single-member constituencies removed the previous overrepresentation which fringe voters enjoyed in the former Davidson County Quarterly Court.

Of the 10 single-member districts including fringe territory, only two were dominated by rural residents; eight contained significant areas of densely populated subdivisions. It could be assumed that in most of the districts the subdivisions equaled or surpassed the fringe residents in voting power, diluting rural ability to elect and influence members of the council.

Moreover, the metropolitan mayor under the Charter headed an extensive administration which was responsible to him rather than to the council. Elected by a metropolitan electorate, the mayor presumably tended to favor the interests of the majority of the voters; in Metro, that meant urban voters. In addition, the mayor headed an urban bureaucracy with even more influence in consolidated government than before. Citizens increasingly turned from legislators to civil servants in attempts to solve their day-to-day governmental problems.

It thus appeared on the surface that, in terms of representation and administrative reorganization, Metro had resulted in the dilution of the access to decisionmakers which rural-urban voters possessed in the former county system.

Analysis of Metro's impact upon formal structure, however, was not enough to evaluate the access which fringe residents had to their new government. The amount of political access is also closely associated with personal attitudes. Structural changes might be made which impeded or facilitated access, yet the opinions concerning access might remain substantially the same among voters. In the final analysis, these "feelings" of political access by fringe residents were probably more important in the context of democratic government than any quantitative manipulation of single-member districts.

For this reason, questions concerning access were included in the questionnaire administered to the voter sample. To measure the personal attitudes of voters toward political access under Metro, respondents were asked three main questions:

1. Who gave you the most attention, your magistrates (before Metro) or your councilman (under Metro)?

2. Now how do you feel about the effect of Metro on your personal ability to get an attentive hearing (from the responsible officials when you feel a problem exists in the community)?

3. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Under Metro it is easier to know whom to call or see when you have a problem than it was under separate city and county governments."

In response to the question concerning attention from magistrates before Metro, compared with attention from councilmen under Metro, 66 of the respondents felt their councilmen gave them more attention than their magistrates did, whereas 64 preferred the attention of the magistrates. The largest number of interviewees thought there was no difference between attention from magistrates and councilmen (table 14). These results were unexpected because redistricting reduced fringe mathematical representation. An important finding was that 69.1 percent of those answering the question thought either that attention under Metro was better than before or that governmental change had made no difference in attention from their legislative representative.

Table 14.--Responses to the question: "Who gave you the most attention, your magistrates (before Metro) or your councilman (under Metro)?"

Response	Number	Percent
Magistrates	64	30.9
Councilman	66	31.9
No difference	77	37.2
Total	207	100.0

In table 15 is shown the division in the sample on the question of individual ability to get an attentive hearing from government officials when a problem was thought to exist in the community. Half of those answering the question felt that Metro had made it easier to get an attentive hearing, while 30 percent believed Metro had brought no change in their ability to get an attentive hearing. Only one respondent in five felt that Metro had made it harder to get a hearing from the responsible officials. Four out of five respondents believed that Metro had either made a hearing easier or had brought no change.

Table 15.--Responses to the question: "Now, how do you feel about the effect of Metro on your personal ability to get an attentive hearing (from the responsible officials when you feel a problem exists in the community)?"

Response	Number	Percent
Metro made it easier	135	50.0
Metro brought no change	81	30.0
Metro made it harder	54	20.0
Total	270	100.0

Well over half the respondents agreed that it was easier to know whom to contact concerning a problem under Metro than under the previous system of divided government (table 16). Only slightly over one in three respondents disagreed.

The responses to these questions suggested that a large proportion of the residents of the rural-urban fringe felt their access was the same or better under Metro than it had been under the previous system. Nearly 70 percent of those responding believed either that they received more attention from their magistrates or that there was no difference. Half the respondents felt Metro had improved their personal ability to get the attention of officials in matters concerning the community; 30 percent felt Metro had brought no change. Over 60 percent agreed that under Metro it was easier to establish contact with the "right person" than under separate governments.

Table 16.--Responses to the statement: "Under Metro it is easier to know whom to call or see when you have a problem than it was under separate city and county governments."

Response	Number	Percent
Agree	144	63.7
Disagree	82	36.3
Total	226	100.0

APPENDIX. FACTORS AFFECTING RESPONDENTS' OPINIONS OF METRO

In the three preceding sections, the impact of metropolitan reorganization upon the services, taxes, and political access of the fringe was discussed. In each case, the characteristics of Metro's operation in the outlying area were reviewed, and the performance was compared with the attitudes of respondents toward their services, taxes, and access.

In a democratic polity, however, mere "objective" indices are usually insufficient. A government may perform its functions smoothly and still fail to satisfy its citizens, for any number of reasons. In the case of the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, it may be that certain citizens simply disliked the idea of areawide, centralized government. Or they might have generalized from one contact with the government or one of its officials to a general disapproval of Metro.

It was hypothesized that certain characteristics had an influence on satisfaction with the new government, independent of the specific achievements or aims of Metro.

Socioeconomic Status

One of the hypotheses to be tested was that respondents with higher socioeconomic status (higher income, more education, more prestigious occupation) were more likely to be satisfied with Metro than those with lower socioeconomic status.

There was a significant association between education and satisfaction with Metro (appendix table 1). As level of education increased, satisfaction tended to increase. There was no consistent relationship between occupation and satisfaction, although the highest prestige grouping (professional and technical) was most satisfied with Metro. There was some apparent association with Metro, satisfaction tending to increase as income increased, but the correlation did not meet the statistical test of significance.

Appendix table 1.--Relationship between level of education and satisfaction with Metro

Education attained	Interviewees	Satisfied with Metro	
	Number	Number	Percent
11 grades or less	108	49	45.4
High school graduate	93	57	61.3
Some college	36	24	66.7
College graduate	29	19	65.5
Postgraduate	13	12	92.3
Other	1	1	100.0
Total	280	162	57.9

Majority satisfaction with Metro was found in all socioeconomic categories except persons with less than a high school education, businessmen and proprietors, retired and unemployed persons, and persons earning less than $3,000 annually.

Knowledge of Local Government

Knowledgeability in this study was tested by questions relating to mundane but important information which the average informed citizen might be expected to know: (1) the name of his councilman, (2) the number of his councilmanic district, and (3) the name of his magistrate before Metro. In addition, homeowners were asked to give the effect of Metro upon the property tax rate and the amount of the tax rate.

The responses revealed no support for the hypothesis that voters who were more knowledgeable concerning local governmental affairs were more likely to be satisfied with Metro than those who were less knowledgeable (appendix table 2). A majority in each classification were satisfied with Metro, regardless of their level of local political knowledge. No pattern emerged which would indicate that this satisfaction varied in relation to knowledge of local government as measured by the questions. Indeed, satisfaction was greater among those completely ignorant of local government (59 percent) than among those answering all three questions correctly (55 percent).

Appendix table 2.--Relationship between knowledge of local government and satisfaction with Metro (all voters)

Accuracy of response to three questions 1/	Interviewees	Satisfied with Metro	
	Number	Number	Percent
No answer correct	74	44	59.5
One answer correct	86	55	64.0
Two answers correct	77	40	51.9
Three answers correct	44	24	54.5
Total	281	163	58.0

1/ Voter knew (1) name of his councilman; (2) number of his councilman's district; (3) name of his magistrate before Metro.

Geographic Location

It was hypothesized that the distance factor would be an important influence upon satisfaction with Metro. As distance increased, the affinity for the central city was expected to decrease. Residents in the periphery of the metropolitan area were expected to be less satisfied with consolidation than those near the central city.

There was considerable apparent support for the hypothesis, for satisfaction with Metro did indeed increase as distance from the central city decreased, but the relationship between distance and satisfaction did not meet the statistical test (appendix table 3), and the hypothesis could not be accepted.

Rurality

It was hypothesized that rural values and attitudes influenced satisfaction with metropolitan consolidation, and that voters with weak rural characteristics (as measured by several variables) were more likely to be satisfied with Metro than those who possessed strong rural attachments and characteristics.

The variables selected to measure rurality were: (1) whether the respondent preferred to name the new government "Metropolitan Nashville" or "Metropolitan Davidson County," (2) whether the respondent felt he lived in the "city" or the "country," (3) length of residence in the fringe, (4) land use, and (5) rural values, as measured by a "rurality score." It was expected that a person with strong rural attachments would favor "Davidson County" as the name for the new government, to say he lived "in the country," to have lived in the fringe a relatively long time, to live on a farm, and to have strong rural values; he was also expected to be dissatisfied with Metro. The weaker a citizen's rural attachment as measured by these variables, the stronger his support for Metro was predicted to be.

All measures concerning this hypothesis strongly supported the relationship between rurality and attitudes toward Metro. Persons most satisfied with Metro tended to prefer "Metropolitan Nashville" as the name for the government, to perceive themselves as city dwellers, to have lived in the fringe less than 5 years, and to live in a subdivision (appendix tables 4 to 7).

Appendix table 3.--Relationship between distance to the courthouse (interviewer's estimate) and satisfaction with Metro

Distance to courthouse	Respondents	Satisfied with Metro	
	Numbers	Number	Percent
Less than 10 miles	129	80	62.0
10 - 14 miles	120	70	58.3
15 - 20 miles	31	12	38.7
Total	280	162	57.9

In connection with the measure of rural values, respondents were asked to state their agreement or disagreement with six statements concerning rural and urban living:

1. Other things being equal, a political candidate who grew up in the city will understand the problems of Davidson County better than one who grew up in the country.

2. Country people are generally more friendly than those living in the city.

3. Generally speaking, the country is the best place to rear children.

4. Thomas Jefferson was right when he said that America should remain a nation of farmers and not be overrun with cities.

5. Rapid urbanization is good for the United States.

6. Moral standards are generally higher in the country than in the cities.

These statements were scattered through a much longer list of statements relating to many subjects. Each respondent was given five possible answers to each statement: strongly agree, mildly agree, undecided, mildly disagree, and strongly disagree. Each answer was weighted, and, on the basis of his answers to the six statements, each respondent was given a "rurality score." A "rural" respondent was one with a score ranging from +3 to +12 on the rurality scale, while a respondent who scored between -3 and -12 on the scale was considered "urban."

There was a clear differentiation between respondents who could be classified "rural" and "urban" on the rurality scale. Among the 170 respondents so classified, there was a clear relationship between the rurality score and Metro satisfaction (appendix table 8). While "urban" people were satisfied with Metro by nearly two to one, less than half the "rural" respondents were satisfied. There was a definite association between possession of rural values (as measured by the rurality score) and dissatisfaction with Metro.

All five measures of rurality thus strongly supported the hypothesis. Respondents with weak rural characteristics were more likely to be satisfied with Metro than those who had strong rural characteristics. Of the four hypothetical variables discussed in this section as possible influences on satisfaction with Metro--socioeconomic status, knowledge of local government, geographical location, and rurality--rurality, together with education, exerted the strongest influence.

It is interesting to note that education and rurality are closely related to the "innermost sentiments and values" which many believe to be of crucial importance in determining an individual's political behavior. On the basis of the data presented in this section, it can certainly be said that these values strongly influenced respondent attitudes toward the performance of Metro.

Appendix table 4.--Relationship between preference for name of the new government and satisfaction with Metro

Name Preference	Respondents	Satisfied with Metro	
	Number	Number	Percent
Metropolitan Nashville	149	97	65.1
Metropolitan Davidson County	100	56	50.9
Total	259	153	59.1

Appendix table 5.--Relationship between city-county residence perception and satisfaction with Metro

Residence perception	Respondents	Satisfied with Metro	
	Number	Number	Percent
"City"	150	86	64.0
"Country"	120	58	48.3
Total	270	144	53.3

Appendix table 6.--Relationship between length of residence and satisfaction with Metro

Length of residence	Respondents	Satisfied with Metro	
	Number	Number	Percent
Less than 5 years	119	79	66.4
5-10 years	93	52	55.9
More than 10 years	69	32	46.4
Total	281	163	58.0

Appendix table 7.--Relationship between land use and satisfaction with Metro

Land use	Respondents	Satisfied with Metro	
	Number	Number	Percent
Farm	38	14	36.8
Isolated nonfarm	67	38	56.7
Subdivision	168	107	63.7
Total	273	159	58.2

Appendix table 8.--Relationship between rurality score and satisfaction with Metro

Rurality score	Respondents	Satisfied with Metro	
	Number	Number	Percent
Rural (+3 to +12)	138	61	44.2
Urban (-3 to -12)	32	21	65.6
Total	170	82	48.2