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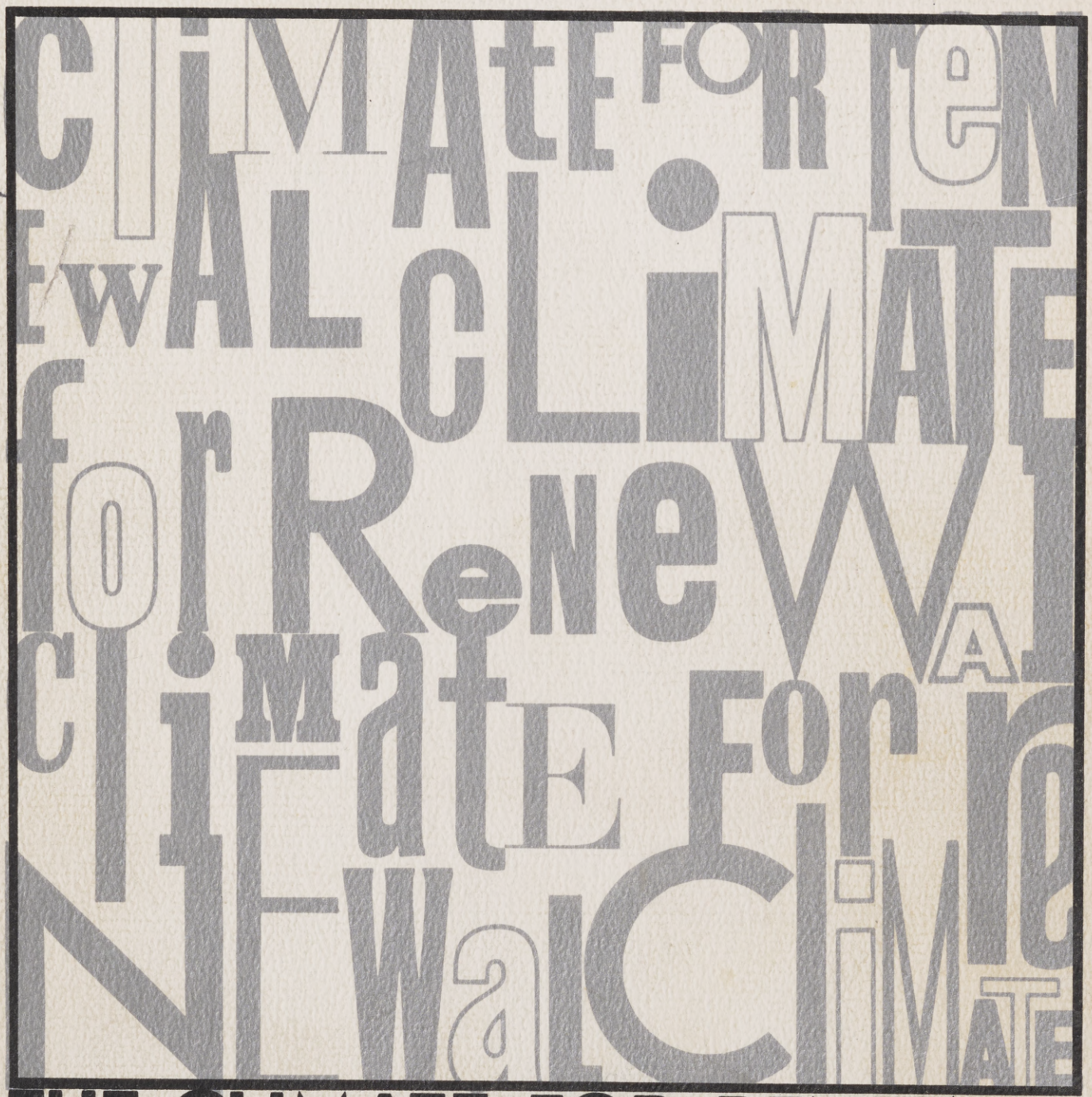

THE CLIMATE FOR RENEWAL

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THE CLIMATE FOR RENEWAL

IN

AUSTIN, TEXAS

A Sociological Study

for the

Community Development Program

Department of Planning

City of Austin

A Sociological Study for the Community Development Program

THE CLIMATE FOR RENEWAL
IN
AUSTIN, TEXAS

A Sociological Investigation of
Attitudes Toward Urban Renewal
and Community Development

by

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March, 1966

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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Acknowledgements

This sociological analysis of the "climate for renewal" in Austin is the first study of its type in Texas or the Southwest generally. The study was initiated in 1964 as part of the newly formed Community Development Program of The City of Austin. The Program also encompasses evaluations of the Austin environment by economists, architects, city planners, and engineers who are now conducting semi-independent studies under the aegis of the Austin Planning Department and City Planner Hoyle Osborne, and the Community Development Program, under the administrative guidance of Mrs. Helen Mitchell. Much of the data gathering and field direction of these research projects has been carried out by staff members of the Community Development Program.

The present study was conceptualized by Dr. William Hazard, formerly Associate Professor of Sociology and Journalism at The University of Texas and more recently the Director of Sociometric Research, TRACOR, Inc., of Austin. Dr. Hazard was hired as a full-time consultant for the study in the summer months of 1964 after being approached by Mr. Osborne and Mrs. Mitchell about the feasibility of conducting a large-scale investigation of attitudes toward urban renewal and community development. Where credit is due, it should be given to these two persons for their foresight and genuine interest in the future of Austin and in problems of the poor in the decayed parts of the city. But they are in no way responsible for faults, omissions or inadequacies of the study.

Two staff members of the Community Development Program were major contributors to this research effort. Mrs. Martha Kelsey Smith served as field supervisor in the interviewing phases of the research and assisted in preliminary data analysis. Mr. James Strickland gave invaluable assistance in data reduction and analyses for the study and served as liaison between the Community Development Program and The University of Texas Computation Center, where computer analyses of the data were conducted.

The author is indebted to The University of Texas and to Mr. C. B. Williams of the computation center staff for making these services available. Mr. James Downing, formerly a computer

programmer for the University and now an engineer-scientist with TRACOR, Inc., was the chief architect for the computer procedures used in data reduction. Mr. J. David Moriaty of the Community Development Program, now with the United States Marines, also assisted in computer analysis and helped in determining social area profiles based on census data. Mr. Donald McClain, draftsman for the Community Development Program, conceptualized and developed the socio-economic area and sampling maps used in the study.

The author also wishes to thank the secretary-typists who have cheerfully given long hours to this project, including Mrs. Ida Malina, his own secretary while at the University; Miss Mary Craft of the Community Development Program; and Mrs. Julia Lilly of TRACOR, Inc.

The Research Task

This investigation was initially charged with three major research tasks:

(1) to determine the sociological status characteristics of slum families as compared to other socio-economic groups in the city;

(2) to identify social consequences of planning, community development and urban renewal in Austin; and

(3) to reveal cracks in the picture of the community held by its citizens and to expose some of the myths surrounding low income and minority groups in the city.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The basic facts on social status and attitudes of the Austin population are reported in the following full report under carefully defined confidence limits and without unsubstantiated generalization.

This research demonstrates three major sociological and psychological clusters around which the interview schedules were organized: segregation and ethnic discrimination, family deprivation and disorganization, and dissatisfaction with community environment. The task has been one of fact-finding in these areas to allow the planners of Austin's future to predict likely sociological and psychological consequences of one course of community renewal, as opposed to another.

The implications of these facts are many. How they are viewed depends on one's own built-in biases and notions of what might constitute a "good life" in Austin. Interpretation thus will depend on more than the facts themselves; it depends also on editorial conclusion.

Given the value position that a healthy and happy community is dependent on direct democracy, where the opinions and attitudes of every citizen have equal validity in the determination of the future, the following summary conclusions of the research are offered for consideration and discussion. More detailed findings are presented in the full version of the study and are summarized in Chapter VIII.

Conclusion 1

The study shows that Austin's middle socio-economic areas[1] are characterized by apathy toward community affairs, avoidance of cultural activity, and political withdrawal. In many respects these "life styles" are similar to patterns of living already existent in the city's slum areas.

Conclusion 2

The cultural climate in Austin was found to be inviting, then limiting for newcomers who live in the city's downtown and University areas. These persons tend to stay in the city for less than three years and then move on in their search for a better life.

Conclusion 3

Persons who participate in community and cultural activities in Austin were found to be more dissatisfied with selected public groups[2] than the noninvolved.

---

[1]"Socio-economic area" designations were determined by average neighborhood house values. See Chapter III, "Neighborhood Profiles," for a full description of the socio-economic categories used in this study, and Chapter VIII for a summary description.

[2]"Selected public groups" refers here to city and related community agencies used in a "power satisfaction index." For a full description of this measure see Chapter VI, "Correlates of Dissatisfaction With the Community Image."

Conclusion 4

Persons of above average social position and with long time residence in the city were found to be dissatisfied with selected public groups to a greater extent than newcomers of lower social position.

Conclusion 5

An analysis of data on community leaders in Austin shows top University of Texas administrators are unknown in the city as a whole (with the exception of the football coach and the president of the university), and there is a widespread belief that Texas legislative policy forces the university faculty to be narrowly institutionally oriented and prohibits active participation in community affairs.

Conclusion 6

The study shows the housing market favors persons of middle and upper-middle socio-economic status. Although some realtors are openly in favor of private development of new, low-cost, single-family dwellings in blighted areas, the record shows that little has been done privately in this regard; and decay and high rentals or high home payments in these blighted areas are the rule rather than the exception. As a result, the lower the socio-economic area, the fewer the available homes.

Conclusion 7

The city has expanded its renewal action markedly over the past several years to accomplish various city goals, however the data from this survey indicate that the areas of greatest blight and dissatisfaction with selected public groups are not the areas receiving current high priority in renewal efforts.

Conclusion 8

The lower the socio-economic position of residents of Austin, the greater the belief that Austin is moving too slowly in its urban renewal program.

Conclusion 9

The lower the socio-economic status of Austin's residents, the greater is their desire to own a home of their own.

Conclusion 10

Residents of the city's blighted areas are generally unaware of innovations in urban renewal in other cities, such as "town house" developments. Public housing is thought of as consisting of high-rise apartments and overcrowded "slab" towers.

Conclusion 11

The family income for nearly one-third of the residents of blighted areas is between $2,000 and $4,000, and one out of five families in these areas earn less than $2,000 a year. Thus about one out of eight residents of the city live at or below subsistence levels and are located in areas where over the past 16 years there has been a steady increase in population without a corresponding increase in area size, leading to overcrowding and health problems.

Conclusion 12

More than two out of three of all the families living in blighted areas include at least one child under 18 years of age, and the delinquency rate of these children of poverty is more than double that of other socio-economic groups.

Conclusion 13

The lower the socio-economic status, the greater the dissatisfaction with selected public groups.

Conclusion 14

The longer the period of residence in Austin, the greater the tendency to be dissatisfied with selected public groups.

Conclusion 15

The study shows that residential stability is characteristic of Negro and Latin ethnic minorities in blighted areas. These are also the areas of social unrest, contagion, and an intolerance of ambiguity in regard to urban renewal planning.

Conclusion 16

Negroes and Latins who live in segregated areas of East and South Austin are significantly more dissatisfied with selected public groups than are Negroes and Latins who live in integrated areas of Austin.

Conclusion 17

The effects of dissatisfaction with selected public groups were found to carry over into avoidance of welfare services, avoidance of sociable organizations, and a manifest lack of interest in community affairs generally.

This study, dealing primarily with the problems and reception of urban renewal and community development, should be supplemented with a more exhaustive "status mapping" of the poor in Austin with particular emphasis on the effects of urban renewal on housing and life styles of persons displaced from their homes by the renewal program. The study reported in the following pages also does not determine in depth the causes of prejudice and racial discrimination nor all of their insidious effects. In this sense our analysis has been explorative and opens up dimensions of social and family decay, dissatisfaction with the community environment, and racial discrimination. Further "depth" studies in these areas are clearly called for in Austin. Changes in the following characteristics of families in urban renewal areas should be determined: unemployment or underemployment; alcoholism; drug addiction; marital problems; incohesive family resulting from divorce, separation, or illegitimacy; poor housekeeping; criminal records; psychological, psychiatric, or other health problems; or prejudice and discrimination due to race, religion, nationality, language, age, or family size.

In addition, a more extensive study should obtain information on project residents' attitudes toward urban renewal activities -- for example, their feelings about moving or leaving the neighborhood, attitudes and suggestions about specific renewal actions, aspirations and desires for rehousing, and perceptions of their own socio-economic problems.

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH SETTING

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH SETTING

Demographic Characteristics of Austin

There were a quarter of a million persons living in Travis County in January, 1965, 90 percent of whom resided in the corporate limits of Austin. Because the urban renewal program is restricted to this heavy concentration of the population within the corporate limits of Austin, this analysis is concerned with the City Planning Department's 74 "planning areas," and especially with the low-income and high-population density areas in East Austin's census tracts 8, 9, and 10.

The city as a whole has a rapidly expanding population; it increased over 50 percent--from 87,930 in 1940 to 132,459 in 1950. The rate of increase was not as great during the decade 1950-1960, but the population of 186,545 in 1960 represented a 40.9 percent increase over that in 1950. A similar rate of growth is noticed between 1960 and 1965--an increase to 225,000. Although the population of Austin will continue to increase, current population forecasts indicate a slightly decreasing rate of growth at approximately 3 percent a year for the next 15 years with a population of 260,000 in 1970 and 347,946 in 1980.[1]

The major ethnic or minority groups accounted for approximately one-fourth of the city's population in 1960. Negroes comprised 13.1 percent of the population; Anglos with Spanish surnames, 12.8 percent.[2] These ethnic groups are concentrated in approximately one-ninth of the city's area. In 1960, 88 percent of the Negroes in Austin were residing in five census tracts with the heaviest concentration in Tract 8. Five tracts, including two with a slight concentration of Negroes, contained 76 percent of the Latin-American population. These areas, lying to the south and east of the central business district, are generally characterized by low income and low educational attainment. Also, the

---

[1] For data on past and future population growth, see: Basic Data About Austin and Travis County (Austin, Texas, Department of Planning, August 1966).

[2] U. S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960, Census Tracts, Texas: (Washington, D.C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962) p. 14.

labor force in these tracts is concentrated in the less prestigeful occupations such as private household, service, and laboring work.

The general occupational composition of Austin appears in Table II-1. About one in every three persons in the total labor force is employed by a governmental agency. The largest male occupational category is that of "Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers," numbering 7,506. Only 5,249 (both men and women) were engaged in manufacturing in Austin in 1960.[3]

TABLE II-1

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF AUSTIN, TEXAS, 1960

Occupational Category	Number
Private wage and salary workers	41,459
Government workers	21,370
Self-employed workers	6,422
Unpaid family workers	507
Total	69,758

Source: U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Census Tracts, Austin, Texas, pp. 26-27.

There were 27,909 females in the labor force in 1960 in Austin. This number represents 40.5 percent of all females 14 years of age and over.[4] Such is somewhat higher than the national and statewide percentages.[5] Over 14 percent of the women in the

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[3] Ibid., p. 26

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Working Mothers and Day Care Services in the United States," U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau. Washington, D. C., 1962.

labor force in Austin (with husband present) had children under six years of age in 1960.[6]

Although Austin in 1959 had a median family income of $5,119,[7] in 1950 it ranked among the ten American cities with a population of 50,000 and over having the highest inequalities in income. That is, the range of income between the lowest 25 percent and the upper 25 percent of families (technically, the inter-quartile range) was greater in Austin than in the vast majority of large urban communities in the United States.[8]

Interpretative Remarks on the Demographic Data

Austin, capital of Texas, seat of Travis County, and site of the State's major educational institution, is a governmental-educational center. These functions have profound influence in all areas of community life. A large percentage of Austin's population consists of faculty members, staff, and students of The University of Texas, state government officials, and employees of various state agencies. In addition, many professional, commercial, and civic organizations have their headquarters in this city. These characteristics establish Austin's claim as a major governmental and educational center. Conversely, a large industrial base is lacking, a condition which seems to be associated with the considerable inequality of income (discussed above).

The city is divided by the Colorado River into north and south Austin, with the central business district and state capitol building lying just north of the river. The majority of the city's population reside to the north of what we have designated as the "functional center" of the city--the state capitol building, situated between the central business district and the university community. The continuing growth of the city northward is linked to the important role that north-south traffic arteries play in the community. A more detailed description of the characteristics of particular census tracts and sub-areas is included in the section on social areas.

Social Area Analysis

In order to relate the general problems of urban renewal in the broader community setting, we deemed it necessary to utilize

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[6] U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing, op. cit., p. 26.

[7] Ibid. pp. 14-15.

[8] "A Social Survey of Day Care Facilities in Austin and Travis County," Gideon Sjoberg, Kenneth Benson, Paul Miller and Ted Vaughn, Community Council of Austin and Travis County, 1964, p. 10.

a technique that would permit the analysis of similarities among various parts of the city. Knowledge of these broad similarities and differences allows an objective evaluation of socio-economic areas of the city.[9]

Many students of human society have shown an interest in the variations within urban and metropolitan areas. The task of analyzing these areas has been greatly facilitated by the development of census enumeration and data collection on a tract basis. Census tracts are relatively small geographical areas, usually containing several contiguous city blocks. The average track has about 4,000 residents. Ideally the tracts are laid out so that each is relatively homogeneous with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions. Census tract data thus provide information on rather small areas within a larger urban or metropolitan community.

Austin is part of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (or SMSA). An SMSA is a county which contains at least one city with 50,000 or more inhabitants, or "twin cities" with a combined population of 50,000 or more. The Austin SMSA is composed of 24 census tracts lying wholly or in part within the city limits of Austin. In 1960, the population in the tracts of this SMSA ranged from 3,196 to 18,662.[10] It appears that the differences in the population figures, and presumably also in homogeneity, among the tracts in Austin's SMSA are greater than what would seem to be the ideal. Moreover, because we used only those sections of tracts that lie within the city for our analysis of social areas, the population range between the smallest and the largest tract was even greater--from 958 to 18,622.

Data on more than 20 variables are collected for all census tracts. In addition to the information pertaining to the size and age and sex composition of the population within the tract, data are collected on economic, familial, and ethnic characteristics. The comparability of data for individual tracts makes it possible to compare two or more tracts with respect to a single variable. It is difficult, however, to make a composite comparison of census tracts. The need has long existed for some method that would facilitate such comparisons--i.e. for a typological scheme that would permit us to group census tracts in terms of their similarity with respect to several variables.

---

[9]We wish to thank Professor Gideon Sjoberg and the Community Council of Austin and Travis County for permission to reproduce the social area analysis published in "A Social Survey of Day Care Facilities in Austin and Travis County," op. cit. pp. 12-22.

[10]U. S. Census of Population and Housing, op. cit., p. 1.

Shevky, Williams and Bell[11] have developed an instrument which makes it possible to determine the similarities among "social areas" within an urban or metropolitan community. However, it should be observed that the grouping of census tracts into social areas tends to obscure the geographical or spatial dimension. Although the main emphasis of social area analysis is upon the structure of the urban or metropolitan community and not upon its spatial characteristics, in Austin similar social areas tend to be spatially contiguous.

For purposes of our analysis we utilize Shevky and Bell's 1955 formulation,[12] which is a refinement of the earlier Shevky and Williams study. Although there are still difficulties in employing social area analysis,[13] it seems to be the most useful technique available at the present time.

The Theoretical Basis of Social Area Analysis

Social area analysis attempts to integrate organizational, demographic, and, to a degree, spatial variables. Although we could employ this method without accepting all of Shevky and Bell's theory, it is helpful if we understand their line of reasoning.

Shevky and Bell rely heavily upon the concept of "increasing scale." This modern urban society is characterized by growing interdependency; moreover the scope of social interaction among individuals has been extended not only to the broader society but also to the world scene. National consciousness has increased and neighborhood consciousness has lessened. And the increase in scale has also meant increased heterogeneity of the population included in a society; for as the society increases in scale it encompasses many local variations--economic, ethnic, regional, and other.

These social changes are examined by Shevky and Bell in terms of three dimensions--social rank, urbanization, and segregation. The idea of social rank is conceptualized in terms of "increased rates and intensities of social interaction." Such in turn is indicated by the declining importance of manual occupations in the labor force and concomitantly the increasing

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[11]Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, The Social Areas of Los Angeles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application, and Computational Procedures (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955).

[12]Shevky and Bell, op. cit.

[13]For criticisms of this method see, for example, the Pacific Sociological Review, V (Spring, 1962).

importance of clerical, supervisory, and managerial positions. Also, the amount of education required to meet the changing needs of the industrial order has increased.

Urbanization is seen as the increase in functional differentiation in the society. Three indicators are used to measure this increase in functional differentiation: 1) the decline in importance of primary production; 2) the increase in the number and variability of relations centered in the city; and 3) the decrease in the importance of the family as an economic and production unit.[14]

As the society increases in scale, the size of its organizations expands and functions become centralized in cities because of the need for coordination, control, and promotion. The city's dominance within the society has thus been increasing.

The third aspect of functional differentiation (or urbanization) concerns changes in the family organization. The household has become less and less important. In rural areas the family served as a key economic unit (in terms of production, distribution, and consumption). The family was a crucial determinant of status, and so on. Today the family is dependent upon other organizations for carrying out many of these traditional functions.

Finally, a comment concerning the idea of segregation. Shevky and Bell observe that modern society is characterized by a high degree of mobility. Occupational mobility, in particular, is reflected in changing patterns of social rank and urbanization. But another important aspect of increased mobility in American society affects the relative social isolation of persons with similar ethnic origins. Such ethnic sub-groupings as Negroes, Latin Americans, and Chinese have rather distinctive cultures, their life chances are different, and their efforts to acquire certain social and economic benefits are restricted by the norms of the larger society. The idea of segregation is associated with this kind of mobility.

The Techniques of Social Area Analysis

In computing the three indexes of social rank, urbanization, and segregation, we need information on the general economic, family, and ethnic characteristics of the population of each census tract. The composition of each index is as follows:

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[14] Shevky and Bell, op. cit., p. 11.

Social Rank	Urbanization	Segregation
Occupation	Fertility Ratio	Relative concentration of
Education	Women in the labor force	specified ethnic groups
	Single-family dwelling units	

1. The index of social rank. By social rank is meant the differential social positions of groups of people in a social system. Occupation and education are the two variables used in this index. Most sociologists regard occupation as the chief indicator of social rank in modern industrial society. It is a characteristic by which people can be readily evaluated and accorded varying degrees of prestige.

In the computation of the index, the level of occupation is measured by the number of craftsmen, operatives, and laborers per 1,000 employed persons. These occupational statutes are considered to stand in the lowest position in the occupational hierarchy.

Their distribution, therefore, may be utilized as an indicator of the occupational level of each census tract. The number of craftsmen, operatives, and laborers per 1,000 workers moreover, provides us with an occupation ratio. The occupation ratio for each census tract is converted into an occupational standard score. The higher the occupational standard score, the higher the level of occupation.

Educational attainment is the second indicator of social rank. In American society, education is associated with increasing occupational specialization within the social system. A high level of education is thus important as an element of social distinction. Here the level of education is measured by the number of persons who have completed grade school or less for every 1,000 persons 25 years of age and over in the population. The education ratio for each census tract is converted into a standard score. The higher the educational standard score the higher the level of education.

The index of social rank is the average of the combined occupational and educational standard scores for each tract. The higher the index score, the higher

the social rank. These scores, indicating the comparability of Austin's 24 census tracts, are presented in Table II-2.

2. The index of urbanization. The degree of urbanization of an area is an important differentiating factor in modern society. The following variables are used in the construction of the urbanization index: fertility ratio, women in the labor force, and single-family dwelling units.

The level of fertility indicates changes in the relation of the population to the economy and also changes in the structure and function of the family unit. The level of fertility is measured by the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women aged 15-44 in the population.

The fertility ratio of each tract is converted to a standard score. The higher the fertility standard score, the lower the degree of urbanization.

The level of women in the labor force also indicates changes and comparative differences in the function and structure of the family. The level of women in the labor force is measured by the number of women in the labor force per 1,000 women 14 years of age and older in the population. This ratio is also converted to a standard score. The higher the standard score, the higher the degree of urbanization.

As a third measure of urbanization, census data on housing accomodations are used. Home ownership is usually correlated with residential stability. The number of single-family dwelling units is used as a measure of urbanization. Where there are fewer single-family dwelling units than in the past, there is likely to be increasing dependence on outside services for many household functions. The level of single-family dwelling units is the percentage of occupied dwelling units characterized as "single-family detached." A ratio for single-family dwelling units is derived for each census tract. These ratios are then converted to standard scores. The higher the standard score, the higher the degree of urbanization.

The composite urbanization index is the average of the three standard scores. The higher the index, the higher the degree of urbanization. The scores for the 24 census tracts are presented in Table II-3.

Table II-2

SOCIAL RANK BY CENSUS TRACT

Census Tract	Occupational Standard Score	Educational Standard Score	Index of Social Rank	Rank Order of Census Tract
1	87.1	108.3	97.7	2
2	68.1	61.8	65.0	15
3	66.5	72.6	69.6	13
4	74.9	80.7	77.8	9
5	86.9	97.3	92.1	6
6	88.9	104.2	96.5	3
7	79.3	84.7	82.0	8
8	59.8	47.7	53.8	20
9	29.5	20.6	25.0	22
10	23.4	14.9	19.2	23
11	61.6	55.4	58.5	19
12	69.8	49.7	59.7	18
13	55.4	65.5	60.5	17
14	75.9	94.4	85.2	7
15	64.2	89.9	77.0	10
16	91.3	100.5	95.9	4
17	73.3	114.0	93.7	5
18	55.1	70.4	62.8	16
19	87.0	110.0	98.5	1
20	54.5	79.8	67.2	14
21	64.6	83.8	74.2	11
22	37.8	56.0	46.9	21
23	8.4	16.5	12.4	24
24	78.1	74.2	76.2	12

Table II-3

URBANIZATION BY CENSUS TRACT

Census Tract	Fertility Score	Women in Labor Force Score	Single-Family Dwelling Units Score	Index of Urbanization	Rank Order of Census Tracts
1	27.4	64.0	10.3	34.0	10
2	40.3	52.1	6.4	32.9	11
3	27.0	78.8	13.1	39.7	9
4	24.4	87.8	24.3	45.5	5
5	58.7	91.0	48.0	65.9	2
6	93.9	39.2	61.0	64.7	3
7	70.3	114.0	62.9	82.4	1
8	- 5.0	93.8	9.1	32.6	12
9	-29.5	54.3	8.7	11.2	23
10	-33.0	55.8	14.1	12.3	22
11	30.3	92.8	52.0	58.4	4
12	11.8	82.6	27.6	40.7	8
13	- .8	68.0	8.0	25.1	16
14	39.2	82.0	14.6	45.3	6
15	9.0	73.1	.5	27.5	14
16	38.8	64.8	21.2	41.6	7
17	17.1	34.7	a	17.3	19
18	-17.7	71.4	1.3	18.3	17
19	17.4	60.2	a	25.8	15
20	-16.5	69.5	1.6	18.2	18
21	-23.2	69.2	2.9	16.3	21
22	4.9	46.6	a	17.2	20
23	-65.6	45.1	.6	- 6.6	24
24	3.3	77.5	2.0	27.6	13

[a]Less than 00.1

Table II-4

SEGREGATION BY CENSUS TRACT

Census Tract	Segregation Index	Rank Order of Tracts	Census Tract	Segregation Index	Rank Order of Tracts
1	4.8	15	13	19.4	10
2	10.8	13	14	1.4	24
3	2.7	22	15	2.8	19
4	19.9	8	16	3.1	18
5	2.8	20	17	1.6	23
6	3.8	16	18	25.7	7
7	15.1	11	19	3.1	17
8	91.7	1	20	2.8	21
9	83.7	2	21	29.8	6
10	64.3	4	22	11.0	12
11	31.7	5	23	70.4	3
12	19.8	9	24	5.4	14

3. The index of segregation. (Table II-4) American society is characterized as a "melting pot" of persons of diverse origins and backgrounds. People of similar origin and background frequently remain grouped together and somewhat isolated from the larger community setting. Ethnic isolation of groups of people presents unique problems and needs. The degree of isolation or segregation of certain groups is another structural determinant of the configuration of modern American society. In this study the level of segregation was measured by combining the population of Negro and White persons with Spanish surnames in each tract and dividing the sum by the total population of the tract. These quotients have been standardized, providing us with the segregation index. A census tract was considered segregated if the proportion of Negro and/or Latin persons, as indicated by the standard, was greater than the combined ethnic group proportion in the total population of Austin. The higher the index, the higher the degree of segregation.

The Social Areas of Austin

After the computation of index scores for each census tract, Austin's 24 census tracts were grouped into "social area" types on the basis of a similar configuration of scores with respect to social rank, urbanization, and segregation. Employing the concept of attribute space, we constructed a two-dimensional space with the index of social rank as the base and the index of urbanization as the vertical axis. The axes are quartered, providing a 16-cell table. Tracts close to one another in attribute space have similar patterns of scores on the indexes of social rank and urbanization. The relative similarity of census tracts is observable in Chart II-1. The numbers in parentheses indicate segregated census tracts.

While the Shevky-Bell scheme permits distinction of 32 rather finely differentiated types, we have simplified the typology somewhat; thus there are four types of tracts, depending on their location by quadrants:

Type I: tracts low in social rank, high in urbanization.

Type II: tracts high in social rank, high in urbanization.

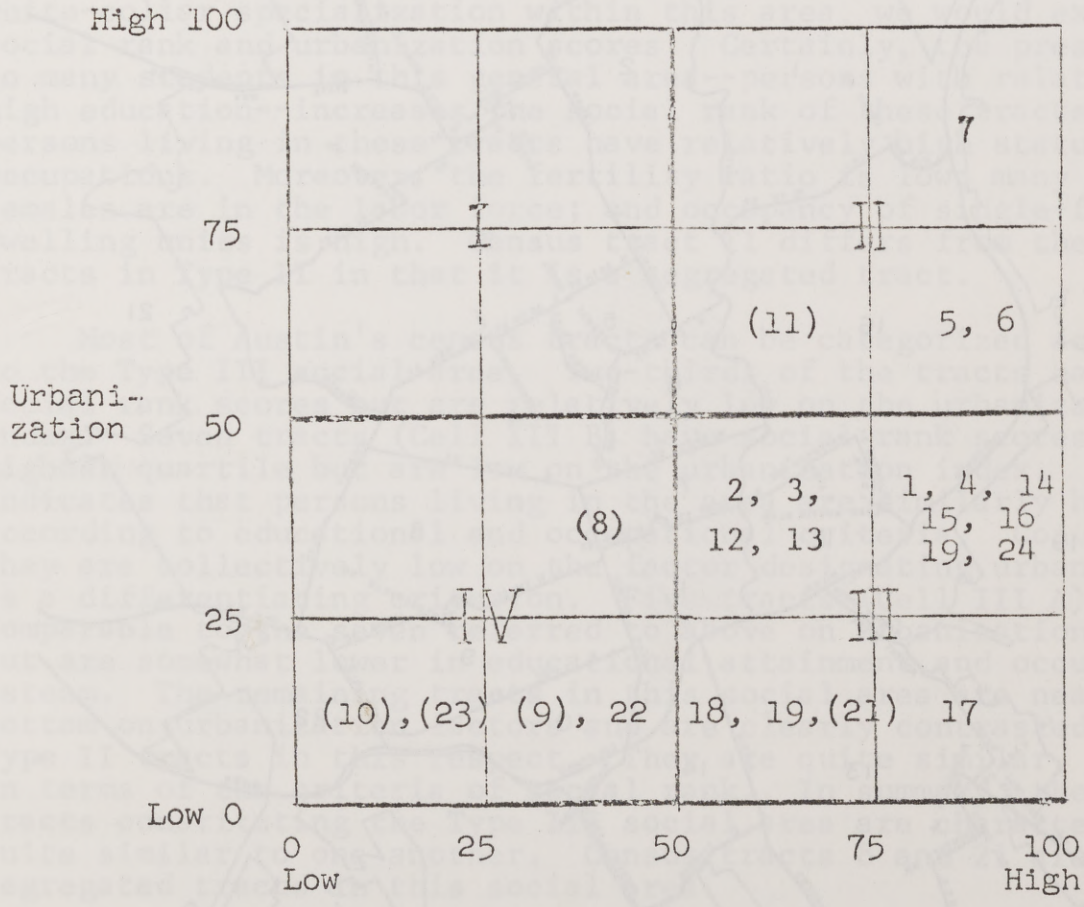
Type III: tracts high in social rank, low in urbanization.

Type IV: tracts low in social rank, low in urbanization.

In addition, we have examined the segregation patterns by type of social area.

Chart II-1

CENSUS TRACTS OF AUSTIN ARRANGED BY SOCIAL AREAS

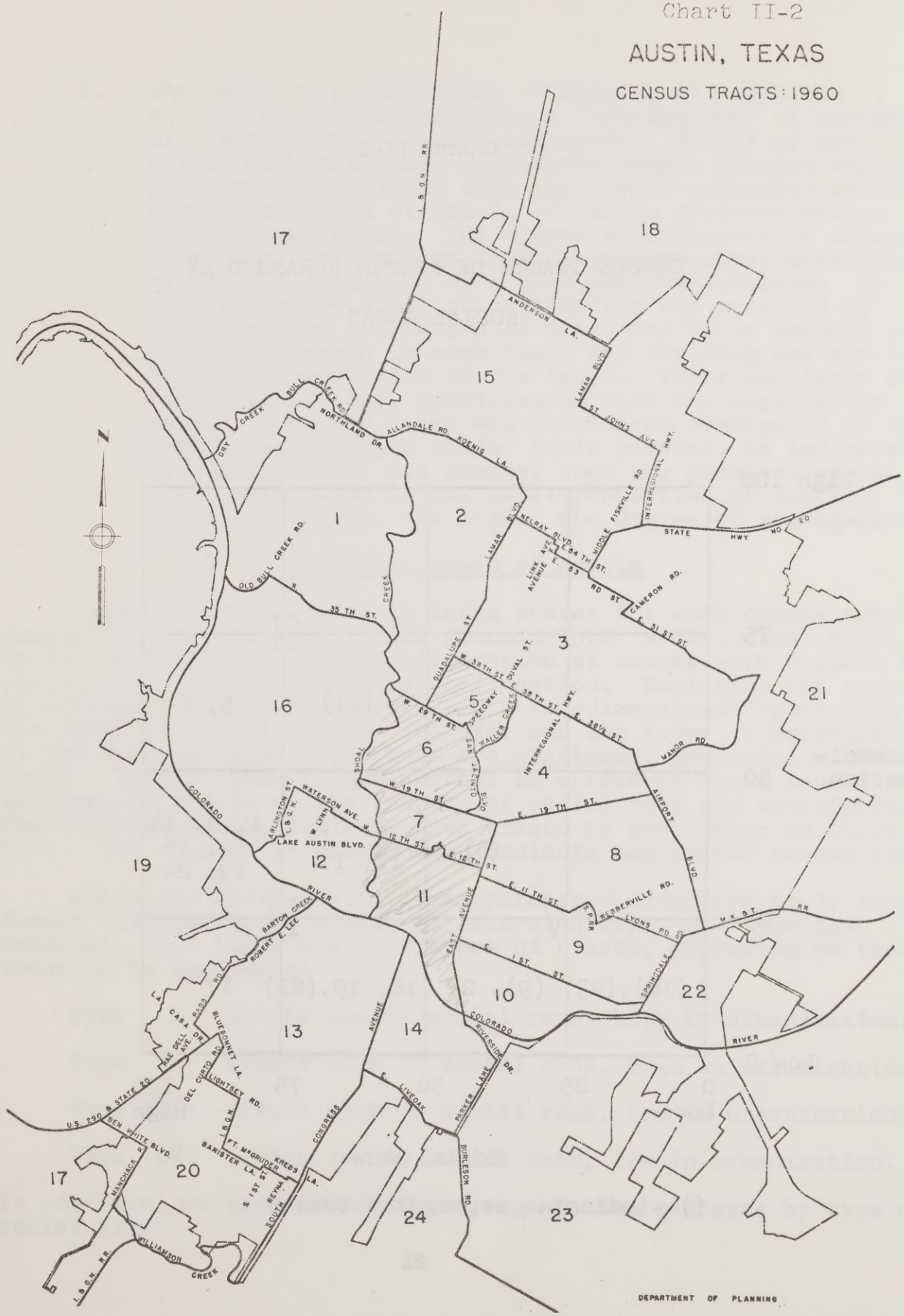


()--indicates segregated tracts

Chart II-2

AUSTIN, TEXAS

CENSUS TRACTS: 1960



Here our purpose is to broadly describe the social areas of Austin. We assume that each social area contains persons who share certain ethnic and/or socio-economic characteristics. In turn, these divisions provide a framework within which to analyze the need for urban renewal in Austin.

Austin has no census tracts of the Type I category. That is, no tracts have both low social rank scores and high urbanization scores. The relative lack of industry may be related to this pattern.

Four contiguous tracts (5, 6, 7, 11) can be categorized as a Type II social area with persons having roughly the same standard of living. Briefly described, this area represents the heart of the city, including the downtown area, the State Capitol complex, and the University community. From the relatively high degree of white-collar specialization within this area, we would expect high social rank and urbanization scores. Certainly, the presence of so many students in this general area--persons with relatively high education--increases the social rank of these tracts. Also, persons living in these tracts have relatively high status occupations. Moreover, the fertility ratio is low; many of the females are in the labor force; and occupancy of single-family dwelling units is high. Census tract 11 differs from the other tracts in Type II in that it is a segregated tract.

Most of Austin's census tracts can be categorized as belonging to the Type III social area. Two-thirds of the tracts have high social rank scores but are relatively low on the urbanization index. Seven tracts (Cell III B) have social rank scores in the highest quartile but are low on the urbanization index. This indicates that persons living in the area are similarly high according to educational and occupational criteria. Conversely, they are collectively low on the factor designating urbanization as a differentiating criterion. Five tracts (Cell III A) are comparable to the seven referred to above on urbanization factors, but are somewhat lower in educational attainment and occupational esteem. The remaining tracts in this social area are near the bottom on urbanization factors and are clearly contrasted with Type II tracts in this respect. They are quite similar, however, in terms of the criteria of social rank. In summary, the 16 tracts constituting the Type III social area are characteristically quite similar to one another. Census tracts 8 and 21 are the segregated tracts in this social area.

The remaining tracts fall into Quadrant IV. These southeast and east Austin tracts are typically segregated and low in all factors relating to social rank and urbanization. This is the most destitute area of the city. Low educational attainment and menial occupational pursuits are mirrored in a very low median family income. Only the non-segregated tract has a median family

income in excess of $3,500 and it is well below the median for the entire city. In other words, although we have not discussed income explicitly in terms of the Shevky-Bell scale, it is correlated with various measures that are employed in the measurement tool. Type IV area is further characterized by a high fertility ratio and a relatively small number of families residing in single-family dwelling units.

Families in sectors of these Quadrant IV areas are now involved in the city's urban planning effort. Several hundred Negro families are being brought face to face with the problems of deciding where to move as the urban renewal and rehabilitation programs gain in momentum. As with other programs throughout the nation, urban renewal and community development in Austin are predicated on the rehabilitation of existing housing as well as on extensive demolition, and these programs have disproportional impact on families in the low socio-economic strata.

It was decided, within time and budget limitations, to plan a sample for this study of attitudes toward community development so as to more than adequately represent families living in areas of scheduled renewal, and at the same time to include a cross-section of the population from other socio-economic quadrants so as to provide a basis for interpretation of these attitudes.

Sampling Plan

A plan to reflect social areas of Austin was first formulated in June, 1964. Budget and time limitations dictated a sample of not more than 800 respondents, and an interview schedule to last not more than one hour in length. In actuality, the final form of the interview schedule took from 45 to 90 minutes to administer, depending on the education of the respondent and on other factors. The first full wave of interviewing in September, October, and November of 1964 netted 706 usable protocols. Subsequent over sampling of areas of East Austin scheduled for urban renewal eventually brought in 51 additional interviews, for a total of 706. This does not include 30 pre-test interviews, 15 of whom were opinion leaders selected on the basis of involvement in community affairs.

The sampling plan suggested a multi-stage procedure in which the city would be divided into 74 areas corresponding to "planning" or "action" areas of the City Planning Department. These areas are somewhat more homogeneous in respect to socio-economic variables than are census tracts used in social area analysis. Planning areas were implicitly selected on the basis of real estate values, land use, age, education, sex, occupation of residents, and degree of urbanization.

The sample for the study was achieved as follows:

1. The proportion of the total adult population in each planning area was first determined. (Table II-5)

2. The proportions of persons in different age groupings and the proportions of males and females in each area were calculated. (Table II-5)

3. Using statistics available from the Planning Department, the proportions of persons residing in apartments in each planning area were estimated.

4. Interviewer quotas reflecting these combined proportions were drawn so that sample subdivisions would accurately reflect the total population, the number of apartment residents, age, and sex of adults in each area.

5. An up-to-date wall map, in which each block in the corporate limits of the city was outlined, was subdivided into planning areas. Blocks were then consecutively numbered within each planning area.

6. Blocks in which interviewing was to be conducted were then drawn randomly, using a table of random numbers for the selections.

7. Apartments in each planning area were identified according to size, and chosen randomly. A second stage in this part of the plan was to weigh the sample so that accurate proportions of apartment dwellers were chosen within each planning area. The sample was then adjusted so that residents of both large and small apartment complexes would be included in the interviewing.

8. Sampling assignment sheets were then written for each interviewer, indicating reference points at which block sampling would begin and the nature and number of quotas to be completed in each block. (Chart II-3) In general, interviewers were to begin canvassing at the northwest corner of each randomly chosen block and were to proceed in a clockwise direction around the block until quotas were filled. Precise interviewer instructions, including methods to be followed for replacement and for interviewing in apartment houses, were specified in detail. (Appendix B)

The sampling plan employed here theoretically gave each adult resident of the city an equal chance of being chosen for an interview, with certain exceptions.

Table II-5

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION BY CENSUS TRACT AND PLANNING AREA *

	Census Tract 1	% of Total	Planning Area 1	% of Total	Planning Area 2	% of Total	Planning Area 3	% of Total
Total Population	6,859		1,107		3,144		1,144	
Males over 21	1,876	47.3	304	48.4	876	47.4	315	48.5
Females over 21	2,091	52.7	324	51.6	972	52.6	334	51.5
Total over 21	3,967		628		1,848		649	
20-24	302	7.5	24	3.8	99	5.3	44	6.7
25-34	887	22.1	98	15.7	484	26.1	106	16.1
35-44	1,231	30.6	215	34.3	612	33.0	236	35.7
45-60	1,164	28.9	218	34.8	505	27.2	202	30.6
Over 60	436	10.8	71	11.3	156	8.4	72	10.9
No. of Households	2,015		298		917		323	

	Census Tract 2	% of Total	Planning Area 8	% of Total
Total Population	2,258		2,258	
Males over 21	676	45.9	676	45.9
Females over 21	796	54.1	796	54.1
Total over 21	1,472		1,472	
20-24	280	18.1	280	18.1
25-34	287	18.6	287	18.6
35-44	216	14.0	216	14.0
45-60	351	22.7	351	22.7
Over 60	413	26.7	413	26.7
No. of Households	835		835	

* Based on U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960, Census Tracts, Austin, Texas, and on data compiled by the Austin Planning Department, 1964.

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 3	% of Total	Planning Area 9	% of Total	Planning Area 10	% of Total	Planning Area 11	% of Total
Total Population	11,764		5,538		4,011		2,215	
Males over 21	3,599	45.5	1,696	47.0	1,251	42.8	652	47.5
Females over 21	4,304	54.5	1,913	53.0	1,671	57.2	720	52.5
Total over 21	7,903		3,609		2,922		1,372	
20-24	1,038	12.8	520	14.0	342	11.5	179	12.7
25-34	1,316	16.3	677	18.3	362	12.2	277	19.6
35-44	1,438	17.8	687	18.5	419	14.1	332	23.5
45-60	2,234	27.6	959	25.9	836	28.1	439	31.1
Over 60	2,064	25.5	865	23.3	1,013	34.1	186	13.2
No. of Households	4,034		1,834		1,496		704	

	Census Tract 4	% of Total	Planning Area 13	% of Total	Planning Area 14	% of Total	Planning Area 15	% of Total
Total Population	8,474		2,801		3,620		2,003	
Males over 21	2,643	49.0	1,053	58.3	1,075	45.3	502	43.1
Females over 21	2,748	51.0	753	41.7	1,298	54.7	662	56.9
Total over 21	5,391		1,806		2,373		1,164	
20-24	1,350	23.7	915	45.3	326	13.3	109	9.1
25-34	1,171	20.6	402	19.9	509	20.7	260	21.8
35-44	852	15.0	158	7.8	441	18.0	251	21.1
45-60	1,288	22.6	295	14.6	668	27.2	323	27.1
Over 60	1,033	18.1	249	12.3	511	20.8	248	20.8
No. of Households	2,771		961		1,215		591	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 5 (Planning Area 16)	% of Total	Census Tract 6 (Planning Area 17,18)	% of Total	Census Tract 7 (Planning Area 19)	% of Total
Total Population	3,507		11,072		3,594	
Males over 21	1,281	50.6	2,757	57.3	1,183	47.9
Females over 21	1,253	49.4	2,055	42.7	1,286	52.1
Total over 21	2,534		4,812		2,469	
20-24	925	33.8	4,580	69.1	845	31.2
25-34	525	19.2	839	12.6	489	18.0
35-44	240	8.8	228	3.4	295	10.9
45-60	467	17.1	357	5.4	463	17.1
Over 60	575	21.0	628	9.5	619	22.8
No. of Households	1,398		1,756		1,442	

	Census Tract 8	% of Total	Planning Area 20	% of Total	Planning Area 21	% of Total
Total Population	15,764		8,510		7,254	
Males over 21	3,763	43.5	2,170	42.3	1,593	45.2
Females over 21	4,887	56.5	2,958	57.7	1,929	54.8
Total over 21	8,650		5,128		3,522	
20-24	991	11.2	520	9.9	471	13.0
25-34	2,046	23.1	1,106	21.1	940	26.0
35-44	1,805	20.4	969	18.5	835	23.1
45-60	2,290	25.9	1,421	27.2	869	24.0
Over 60	1,713	19.4	1,212	23.2	501	13.9
No. of Households	4,335		2,568		1,767	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 9	% of Total	Planning Area 22	% of Total	Planning Area 23	% of Total
Total Population	12,962		6,691		6,271	
Males over 21	2,936	46.6	1,604	45.3	1,332	48.4
Females over 21	3,357	53.4	1,937	54.7	1,420	51.6
Total over 21	6,293		3,541		2,752	
20-24	984	15.1	571	15.5	413	14.5
25-34	1,458	22.3	769	20.8	689	24.2
35-44	1,155	17.7	564	15.3	591	20.8
45-60	1,573	24.1	906	24.6	667	23.5
Over 60	1,362	20.9	879	23.8	483	17.0
No. of Households	2,985		1,679		1,306	

	Census Tract 10	% of Total	Planning Area 24	% of Total	Planning Area 25	% of Total	Census Tract 11 (PA 26)	% of Total
Total Population	6,756		3,197		3,559		3,196	
Males over 21	1,610	48.0	756	47.8	853	48.3	1,161	52.7
Females over 21	1,741	52.0	827	52.2	914	51.7	1,044	47.3
Total over 21	3,351		1,583		1,767		2,205	
20-24	477	13.8	226	13.9	251	13.8	302	13.3
25-34	724	21.0	334	20.5	390	21.5	318	14.0
35-44	661	19.2	316	19.4	345	19.0	345	15.2
45-60	882	25.6	419	25.7	463	25.5	543	23.9
Over 60	703	20.4	334	20.5	368	20.2	766	33.7
No. of Households	1,582		754		827		1,278	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 12	% of Total	Planning Area 27	% of Total	Planning Area 28	% of Total
Total Population	4,546		2,615		1,931	
Males over 21	1,880	59.0	1,277	67.7	603	
Females over 21	1,305	41.0	609	32.3	696	
Total over 21	3,185		1,886		1,299	
20-24	365	11.2	115	6.0	250	18.5
25-34	418	12.8	205	10.7	213	15.8
35-44	395	12.1	213	11.2	182	13.5
45-60	813	24.9	528	27.6	285	21.1
Over 60	1,268	38.9	849	44.5	419	31.1
No. of Households	1,317					

	Census Tract 13	% of Total	Planning Area 29	% of Total	Planning Area 30	% of Total	Planning Area 31	% of Total
Total Population	14,485		(Est.) 350		4,097		363	
Males over 21	3,854	46.8	- - -

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 13 (cont.)	% of Total	Planning Area 32	% of Total	Planning Area 33	% of Total	Planning Area 34	% of Total
Total Population	14,485		5,932		2,070		2,023	
Males over 21	3,854	46.8	1,423	46.7	530	47.0	559	47.1
Females over 21	4,387	53.2	1,626	53.3	598	53.0	629	52.9
Total over 21	8,241		3,049		1,128		1,188	
20-24	1,132	13.4	491	15.6	135	11.77	167	13.8
25-34	1,936	22.9	688	21.9	362	31.6	294	24.3
35-44	1,676	19.8	545	17.3	266	23.2	235	19.4
45-60	2,113	25.0	790	25.1	222	19.3	288	23.8
Over 60	1,587	18.8	630	20.0	162	14.1	226	18.7
No. of Households	4,205		1,576		534		599	

	Census Tract 14	% of Total	Planning Area 35	% of Total	Planning Area 36	% of Total	Planning Area 37	% of Total
Total Population	4,395		878		3,048		469	
Males over 21	1,370	45.9	283	46.3	939	45.3	148	49.7
Females over 21	1,613	54.1	328	53.7	1,135	54.7	150	50.3
Total over 21	2,983		611		2,074		298	
20-24	383	12.6	110	17.4	250	11.8	23	7.6
25-34	451	14.8	114	18.0	292	13.8	.45	14.9
35-44	570	18.7	76	12.0	413	19.5	81	27.0
45-60	956	31.4	177	28.0	676	32.0	103	34.2
Over 60	689	22.6	156	24.6	484	22.9	49	16.3
No. of Households	1,598		345		1,105		148	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 15	% of Total	Planning Area 38	% of Total	Planning Area 39	% of Total	Planning Area 40	% of Total
Total Population	16,494		1,084		2,030		5,568	
Males over 21	4,490	48.8	281	47.9	536	47.9	1,565	49.9
Females over 21	4,715	51.2	306	52.1	582	52.1	1,572	50.1
Total over 21	9,205		587		1,118		3,137	
20-24	1,021	10.9	24	4.1	40	3.5	405	12.7
25-34	2,960	31.6	174	29.4	246	21.8	1,189	37.2
35-44	2,767	29.5	233	39.4	456	40.4	824	25.8
45-60	1,821	19.4	115	19.4	310	27.4	547	17.1
Over 60	811	8.6	45	7.6	77	6.8	232	7.2
No. of Households	4,637		287		543		1,594	

	Census Tract 15 (cont.)	% of Total	Planning Area 41	% of Total	Planning Area 42	% of Total	Planning Area 43	% of Total
Total Population	16,494		4,729		1,809		1,274	
Males over 21	4,490	48.8	1,262	47.5	492	49.3	354	50.1
Females over 21	4,715	51.2	1,397	52.5	506	50.7	352	49.9
Total over 21	9,205		2,659		998		706	
20-24	1,021	10.9	288	10.7	155	15.0	106	14.6
25-34	2,960	31.6	753	27.9	377	36.4	221	30.4
35-44	2,767	29.5	873	32.3	246	23.8	135	18.6
45-60	1,821	19.4	520	19.2	169	16.3	166	22.8
Over 60	811	8.6	267	9.9	88	8.5	99	13.6
No. of Households	4,637		1,328		522		363	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 16	% of Total	Planning Area 44	% of Total	Planning Area 45	% of Total	Planning Area 46	% of Total
Total Population	18,662		3,508		5,197		3,552	
Males over 21	5,439	45.7	734	43.4	1,523	45.0	1,123	44.7
Females over 21	6,460	54.3	956	56.7	1,860	55.0	1,391	53.3
Total over 21	11,899		1,690		3,383		2,514	
20-24	1,970	16.1	296	16.9	328	9.5	255	9.9
25-34	2,497	20.4	392	22.3	510	14.8	305	11.9
35-44	2,115	17.3	433	24.7	743	21.5	399	15.6
45-60	3,496	28.5	474	27.0	1,236	35.8	929	36.2
Over 60	2,185	17.8	160	9.1	635	18.4	676	26.4
No. of Households	5,872		449		1,768		1,296	

	Census Tract 16 (cont.)	% of Total	Planning Area 47	% of Total	Planning Area 48	% of Total	Census Tract 17 PA 49,50	% of Total
Total Population	18,662		3,926		2,479		1,024	
Males over 21	5,439	45.7	1,235	49.4	824	45.4	272	47.8
Females over 21	6,460	543	1,263	50.6	990	54.6	297	52.2
Total over 21	11,899		2,498		1,814		569	
20-24	1,970	16.1	663	25.7	428	22.8	27	4.7
25-34	2,497	20.4	982	38.1	308	16.4	161	28.1
35-44	2,115	17.3	306	11.9	234	12.5	219	38.3
45-60	3,496	28.5	401	15.6	420	22.4	127	22.2
Over 60	2,185	17.8	227	8.8	486	29.9	38	6.6
No. of Households	5,872		1,327		1,032		272	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 18	% of Total	Planning Area 52	% of Total	Planning Area 54	% of Total	Planning Area 55	% or Total
Total Population	4,993		1,162		1,116		1,661	
Males over 21	1,284	48.6	303	47.0	305	50.2	445	48.8
Females over 21	1,356	51.4	342	53.0	302	49.8	466	51.2
Total over 21	2,640		645		607		911	
20-24	357	13.3	82	12.6	86	13.8	128	13.8
25-34	898	33.4	267	41.0	186	29.9	352	37.9
35-44	599	22.3	166	25.5	130	20.9	193	20.8
45-60	503	18.7	74	11.4	149	24.0	160	17.2
Over 60	333	12.3	62	9.5	70	11.3	96	10.3
No. of Households	1,317		306		306		453	

	Census Tract 18 (cont.)	% of Total	Planning Area 56	% of Total	Census Tract 19 (PA 57)	% of Total
Total Population	4,993		1,040		1,312	
Males over 21	1,284	48.6	226	48.3	387	48.7
Females over 21	1,356	51.4	242	51.7	408	51.3
Total over 21	2,640		468		795	
20-24	357	13.3	61	12.7	51	6.3
25-34	898	33.4	90	18.7	180	22.4
35-44	599	22.3	108	22.5	267	33.2
45-60	503	18.7	117	24.4	237	29.5
Over 60	333	12.3	104	21.7	69	8.6
No. of Households	1,317		247		393	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 20	% of Total	Planning Area 58	% of Total	Planning Area 59	% of Total	Planning Area 60	% of Total
Total Population	5,326		795		2,768		1,763	
Males over 21	1,450	49.6	252	49.8	704	48.9	494	50.5
Females over 21	1,476	50.4	254	50.2	737	51.1	485	49.5
Total over 21	2,926		506		1,441		979	
20-24	424	14.2	48	9.3	211	14.3	165	16.5
25-34	1,048	35.1	95	18.4	606	41.2	347	34.6
35-44	691	23.1	117	22.7	386	26.3	188	18.8
45-60	506	16.9	174	33.8	173	11.8	159	15.9
Over 60	318	10.7	81	15.7	94	6.4	143	14.3
No. of Households	1,474		260		743		471	

	Census Tract 21	% of Total	Planning Area 61	% of Total	Planning Area 62	% of Total	Planning Area 63	% of Total
Total Population	13,685		863		2,692		4,247	
Males over 21	3,475	48.8	248	50.5	689	48.9	1,114	48.5
Females over 21	3,639	51.2	243	49.5	720	51.1	1,182	51.5
Total over 21	7,114		491		1,409		2,296	
20-24	834	11.5	96	18.9	118	8.3	209	9.0
25-34	2,608	36.1	135	26.6	643	45.3	883	38.1
35-44	1,976	27.3	119	23.4	408	28.7	737	31.8
45-60	1,238	17.1	97	19.1	191	13.4	342	14.8
Over 60	571	7.9	61	12.0	60	4.2	144	6.2
No. of Households	3,512		257		704		1,128	

Table II- (continued)

	Census Tract 21 (cont.)	% of Total	Planning Area 64	% of Total	Planning Area 65	% of Total	Planning Area 66	% of Total
Total Population	13,685		356		674		2,087	
Males over 21	3,475	48.8	87	47.0	184	47.8	504	48.1
Females over 21	4,639	51.2	98	53.0	201	52.2	544	51.9
Total over 21	7,114		185		385		1,048	
20-24	834	11.5	9	4.8	58	14.8	162	15.1
25-34	2,608	36.1	75	40.1	143	36.6	303	28.2
35-44	1,976	27.3	66	35.3	89	22.8	232	21.6
45-60	1,238	17.1	34	18.2	64	16.4	256	23.8
Over 60	571	7.9	3	1.6	37	9.5	122	11.3
No. of Households	3,512		91		193		504	

	Census Tract 21 (cont.)	% of Total	Planning Area 67	% of Total	Planning Area 68	% of Total	Planning Area 69	% of Total
Total Population	13,685		1,666		523		577	
Males over 21	3,475	48.8	367	51.0	131	47.5	151	49.7
Females over 21	3,639	51.2	353	49.0	145	52.5	153	50.3
Total over 21	7,114		720		276		304	
20-24	834	11.5	116	15.7	30	10.7	36	11.6
25-34	2,608	36.1	241	32.6	83	29.6	102	32.8
35-44	1,976	27.3	170	23.0	68	24.3	85	27.3
45-60	1,238	17.1	146	19.8	50	17.8	58	18.6
Over 60	571	7.9	65	8.8	49	17.5	30	9.6
No. of Households	3,512		353		142		140	

Table II-5 (continued)

	Census Tract 22 (Planning Area 70, 71)	% of Total	Census Tract 23 (Planning Area 72, 73)	% of Total	Census Tract 24 (Planning Area 74)	% of Total
Total Population	973		3,369		958	
Males over 21	285	50.1	725	49.2	267	53.6
Females over 21	284	49.9	749	50.8	231	46.4
Total over 21	569		1,474		498	
20-24	86	14.6	275	18.0	124	23.4
25-34	105	17.8	429	28.0	110	20.8
35-44	120	20.3	318	20.8	112	21.2
45-60	152	25.7	299	19.6	125	23.6
Over 60	128	21.6	208	13.6	58	11.0
No. of Households	289		740		227	

* In three instances the design of the study dictated a sample of one respondent in a planning area. The planning area was not sampled in these cases, and one respondent was added to the sample in an adjacent planning area. Thus, planning area 12 was combined with 11, planning area 51 was combined with 52, and planning area 53 was combined with 54.

The exceptions were those persons residing in:

1. Institutions, such as jails, hospitals, monastaries, etc.

2. University of Texas dormitories, nurses homes, army barracks, fraternity and sorority houses.

3. Hotels.

4. Eastown Heights--a blighted area subdivision. This part of East Austin, in line for urban renewal, was to be over sampled to provide additional Negro respondents for comparative purposes. The result of this addition of 51 respondents was that the total percentage of Negroes in the study was 16.4 percent instead of the expected 13.1 percent as indicated by the 1960 Austin census.

With these exceptions in mind, a multi-stage, proportionate stratified sampling of households within planning areas was drawn, earmarking as many as 90 interviews in the largest census tract (tract 15) and as few as three interviews in the smallest tract (tract 24).[15] The achieved sample is shown in Table II-6.

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[15]Leslie Kish, "Selection of the Sample," in Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: The Dryden Press, 1953) p. 193.

Table II-6

ACHIEVED SAMPLE ENUMERATION DISTRICTS AND PLANNING AREA DESIGNATIONS

Census Tract	Enumeration District	Planning Area	Sample Size
1	1-1-A	1	5
	1-2-D	2	9
	1-3-B	3	3
	1-4-C	4	4
		T--	21
2	2-1-A	5	3
	2-2-D	6	12
	2-3-B	7	7
	2-4-C	8	9
		T--	31
3	3-1-B	9	16
	3-2-C	10	13
	3-3-A	11	8
	*3-4-D	12	1
		T--	38
4	4-1-B	13	11
	4-2-C	14	11
	4-3-A	15	8
		T--	30
5	5	16	14
		T--	14
6	6A	17	32
	6B	18	2
		T--	34
7	7	19	9
		T--	9
8**	8-1-B	20	31
	8-2-A	21	33
		T--	64
9**	9-1-A	22	23
	9-2-B	23	27
		T--	50
10	10-1-A	24	12
	10-2-B	25	14
		T--	26
11	11	26	12
		T--	12
12 *	12-1-A	27	5
	12-2-B	28	7
		T--	12
13	13-1-F	29	1
	13-2-C	30	13
	13-3-D	31	4
	13-4-E	32	22
	13-5-A	33	3
	13-6-B	34	8
		T--	51
14	14-1-C	35	2
	14-2-B	36	4
	14-3-A	37	2
		T--	8
15	15-1-F	38	17
	15-2-B	39	9
	15-3-D	40	35
	15-4-A	41	16
	15-5-C	42	8
	15-6-E	43	5
		T--	90
16	1-B	44	4
	2-A	45	22
	3-C	46	14
	4-D	47	18
	5-E	48	6
		T--	64
17	17-N	49	2
	17-S	50	4
		T--	6
18 *	1-D	51	3
	2-C	52	5
*	3-F	53	1
	4-A	54	6
	5-B	55	4
	6-E	56	5
		T--	24

Table II-6 (continued)

Census Tract	Enumeration District	Planning Area	Sample Size
19	19	57	4
		T--	4
20	20-1-A	58	5
	20-2-B	59	15
	20-3-C	60	7
		T--	27
21	1-B	61	3
	2-E	62	13
	3-C	63	21
	4-D	64	4
	5-A	65	4
	6-G	66	8
	7-F	67	7
	8-I	68	4
	9-H	69	5
		T--	69
22	1-A	70	4
	* 2-B	71	1
		T--	5
23	1-B	72	13
	* 2-A	73	1
		T--	14
24	24	74	3
		T--	3
		Total	706 (757)**

* Planning areas omitted from the sample due to insufficient density of population.

** An additional sample of 51 respondents was drawn from planning areas 20 and 22 in order to provide a reliable base for generalization about this next-scheduled urban renewal area.

Achieved Sample

Since this statistical study of a variety of attitudinal factors is based on a sample rather than upon a complete enumeration of the adult population of Austin, it is important to know how closely the chosen respondents resemble the parameter or population as a whole, and also how much variation in the values of the sample one might reasonably expect.

One clue as to the reliability of the sample is to compare sample statistics with known values of the parameter--in this instance with population characteristics independently gathered in the latest census. It is assumed that if the achieved sample adequately represents socio-economic variables reported in the census--such variables as age, sex, income, education, and the like--it will also mirror correlated attitudinal and behavioral characteristics of the population as a whole.

The following comparison of estimates of ethnicity, income, age, sex, and education from the 1960 Austin census and from the achieved sample, therefore, indicates the overall reliability of the sample as well as how much variation might be expected on attitudinal and other items on which we have no additional "outside" information.

TABLE II-7

ETHNICITY: SAMPLE VALUES AND 1960 CENSUS

(In Percentage)

	Sample	Census
Anglo	70.8	74.9
Latin-American	13.5	12.3
Negro	15.4	12.6
Other	.2	.3
Total	99.9	100.1
N	706	212,136

Table II-8

SEX: SAMPLE VALUES AND 1960 CENSUS

(in percentage)

	Sample	Census
Male	47.3	49.9
Female	52.7	50.1
Total	100.0	100.0
N	706	212,136

Table II-9

AGE: SAMPLE VALUES AND 1960 CENSUS

(in percentage)

	Sample	Census
20-29 years	29.6	28.7
30-39	20.2	20.8
40-49	20.4	18.3
50-59	12.9	14.6
60 and over	16.6	17.6
Total	99.7	100.0
N	757	128,628

Table-II-10

EDUCATION: SAMPLE VALUES AND 1960 CENSUS

(in percentage)

	Sample	Census
College Graduates	18.9	14.2
Partial College (or business school)	22.0	23.5 (estimate)
High School Graduates	21.7	20.7
Partial High School	11.8	10.7
Under 9 years school	25.0	26.9 (estimate)
Unclassified	7.6	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N	757	106,912 *

*Persons 25 years of age and older

Table II-11

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME: SAMPLE VALUES AND 1960 CENSUS

	Sample	Census
Under $2,000	11.9	13.3
$2,000-$3,999	20.8	23.8
$4,000-$5,999	20.2	23.7
$6,000-$7,999	14.7	16.8
$8,000-$9,999	7.8	9.1
$10,000 and over	13.3	13.2
Unclassified	11.3	00
Total	100.0	100.0
N	757	5,520

A perusal of Tables II-8 and II-11 shows remarkable agreement between the sample and the 1960 census on the variables of sex, age, and income, with no more than 3 percent fluctuation in any category.

Table II-7 shows a slight depression of the Anglo sample (4.1 percentage points) and an elevation of 2.8 percentage points for the Negro population. As explained earlier, this shift was expected since the "Eastown Heights" area was purposely over-represented in the sample, i.e., by 51 Negro respondents.

The least agreement appears to be in education categories. The sample included 18.9 percent college graduates, as compared to 14.2 percent as estimated in the 1960 census. This discrepancy is conceivably an artifact of the mis-match between census age-education categories and categories used in the questionnaire for this study. The census estimates were based on educational level reported by persons 25 years and older; the sample included persons 20 years and over, including married graduate students attending The University of Texas, but living in private homes. It should also be noted that it was necessary to estimate from the census those persons with a business or "vocational" school education, since these persons were not specifically categorized. In sum, Table II-10 shows the greatest variation between the sample and the 1960 census, but it is also the least reliable table in the group. Taking this into account, it is clear that the achieved sample is well within 5 percent reliability limits under a 95 percent confidence interval. That is to say, it is reasonable to assume that the answers given to questions in this study are representative of the adult population as a whole within 5 percentage points. In other words, we are 95 percent confident that sample will not fluctuate more than this on any one question--that our margin of error of 5 percentage points on any one question would not be exceeded more than one time out of 20.

Interviewing

Interviewing with the final form of the questionnaire was initiated on September 9, 1964, and the first wave was completed on December 7, 1964. A total of 711 schedules were completed. Of these, 5 were invalid--3 were with servicemen, and 2 were with businessmen in stores, and were discarded. The first wave of interviewing thus yielded 706 usable protocols. In order to provide additional information on attitudes of Negro families living in a prime urban renewal area--the 36-block area of "Eastown Heights" in East Austin--a second wave of interviewing was conducted in March, 1965, yielding 51 additional protocols. The total sample for the study was thereby increased to 757.

A total of 54 interviewers participated in the study. Of these, 34 were volunteers (8 from the League of Women Voters and

26 University of Texas students), 3 were from the staff of the Community Development Program, and 17 were paid on the basis of the number of interviews completed. Paid interviewers produced a median of 40 interviews per person, or 84.6 percent of the total number of usable interviews.

Volunteer interviewers produced 103 interviews, for 13 percent of the total. (League of Women Voters volunteers averaged 6 usable interviews per person in the first wave of interviewing; students from the University YWCA and YMCA averaged 2 interviews each in the second wave.) Staff interviewers averaged 6 interviews each.

Five Negro and one Latin American interviewer were assigned to areas predominantly Negro and Latin in ethnic composition in the first wave of interviewing. None of the volunteers in this phase of the study were male, all of the staff interviewers were male and three of the paid interviewers were male. Almost all of the paid interviewers had previous experience in survey research. Twelve of these 17 persons had worked previously on a survey of television viewing habits in Austin in 1963, under the auspices of the Communication Research Bureau, University of Texas.

Training of Interviewers

Volunteer interviewers were trained primarily in a series of group training sessions--two sessions for the first wave of interviewing; three for the second. At these sessions the functions of the Planning Department, the purposes of the survey, and interviewing methods were discussed. Each interviewer completed a sample schedule with a friend to familiarize himself with the survey, and the problems encountered were discussed. Interviewers were also given detailed specifications regarding the survey procedures to be used. (Appendix B).

The paid interviewers were trained primarily on an individual basis, each receiving aural and written instructions on the purposes of the survey and the methods of interviewing. Field supervisors for the field work also consulted with each interviewer after the first one or two schedules had been completed.[16]

All interviewers were given identification cards signed by the City Manager, and in only three known instances did prospective respondents call the Planning Department to check on the authenticity and legitimacy of the survey. Less than 2 percent of persons contacted refused to be interviewed, including cases where

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[16]Field supervisors were Miss Martha Kelsey and Mr. James Strickland of the Community Development Program staff.

the respondent was too belligerent, indisposed, or aged to continue after interviewing was begun. In these cases, interviewing was terminated and the interviewer moved on to the next dwelling unit. Interviewers recorded these instances and also nonproductive calls due to "not at home" and "not in quota" instances on special tally sheets. (Table II-7).

Questionnaire

The final questionnaire included 93 questions, and both precoded and open-ended answers were elicited. A pre-test version of the interview schedule had included 101 questions, 8 of which were deleted on the insistence of a member of the City Council on the basis that the questions were too controversial. These questions dealt with attitudes toward racial prejudice in Austin and attitudes toward equal opportunity in housing and urban renewal in Austin.

There were three sets of evaluations concerning the respondent's yard and house which were also eliminated from the questionnaire after it was found that they required subjective evaluation of interviewers and were difficult to code.

Most of the eliminations occurred as the result of pre-testing the interview schedule with persons of known socio-economic characteristics and with members of the City Council. Thirty pre-test versions of the interview were administered by Community Development Program staff members and by the chief investigator in August, 1964. (Appendix C).

CHAPTER III
NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES

CHAPTER III

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES

A characteristic of the Community Development Program in Austin has been its search for facts about the needs of the community in both economic and social-psychological spheres. This search for facts has been geared to Austin's "workable" program," a plan of action through which both private and public local resources are used to eliminate and prevent blight and slums and to foster local development. The original Workable Program certification was for one year. Annual recertification for Austin has followed a "Review of Progress" submitted each year by the community to show that it is taking effective action toward meeting the goals and objectives of the Workable Program, including the updating of building codes and zoning ordinances, the design of comprehensive community development plans, descriptive neighborhood analyses of blighted areas, the location of housing for persons displaced by urban renewal projects, and the establishment of citizen participation committees and commissions to aid in long range planning for the City.

The sampling plan for this study of attitudes toward the city and its services was designed to help the City of Austin estimate the likely impact of projected large scale urban renewal and community development programs on the life styles of persons living in the different socio-economic areas of the city.

As pointed out by Glazer,[1] in some cities the designation for urban renewal of any area, no matter how decrepit the housing, arouses a desperate resistance among the people living there. To locate and define the dimensions of this resistance to renewal and change is one of the goals of this analysis. For purposes of comparison we shall start with Austin's neighborhoods as they are defined objectively by the City Planning Department and subjectively by a cross-section of the population as a whole. Both within-neighborhood and between-neighborhood differences will be noted in regard to the image of urban renewal in Austin. That is, urban renewal may be seen as a "hardhearted banker" who designates areas as slums when they are seen as areas of good

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[1] Nathan Glazer, "The Renewal of Cities," in Scientific American, September, 1965.

housing by those who live there -- housing they prefer to any other in the city, and in neighborhoods that contain the people and places they know; or perhaps urban renewal is seen as a realtor whose primary interest is to increase absolute rents, or what is worse, increase rent as a proportion of total family income; or who mushrooms federal spending in order to reduce costs of police, welfare or other local services by simply moving people into other overcrowded areas, thereby shifting the burden of the costs.

Admittedly, the dimensions of these and other attitudes will not be easily located since they are partly intangible and have not been tapped in the interview schedule because of lack of rapport, faulty questionnaire design, or inadequate specification of the problems which are close to persons who live in renewal areas yet distant from the planners of the study.

In this sense the following evidence on neighborhood characteristics as they are related to community renewal and change can be thought of as part of a "pilot" study in which an attempt is made to specify some of the relevent dimensions of problems facing Austin planners without pretending to numerate them all.

Neighborhood Identification

Neighborhoods in Austin were initially identified by the boundaries of the City Planning Department's 74 Planning Areas described in the preceding chapter of this report and outlined in Chart III-I.

Planning Areas were based on census and city socio-economic criteria, adjusted so that boundaries coincided with those of the census; or "natural" or man-made boundaries such as rivers, arterials, thoroughfares, the city limits, or institutional boundaries, such as The University of Texas, the State mental hospital, etc. Planning areas have proven to be useful for the projection of certain city projects, such as schools and playgrounds, but are too numerous for useful socio-economic comparisons where gross features of the city are important, particularly when these features are related to attitudes toward urban renewal. It was also clear that planning area designations reflect physical correlates of social class more than social or psychological ones. Table II-5 demonstrates greater variation within than between census and Planning Areas on the crude demographic classification of age, sex and number of households, it will be

CHART III-1

AUSTIN PLANNING AREAS

CITY OF AUSTIN, TEXAS
AND SUBURBAN AREAS

recalled. As will be shown, this lack of homogeniety within planning areas also holds for social position and attitudinal characteristics as well.

These objections to the use of planning areas as our basic group level unit of analysis are overcome when we turn to "Neighborhood Recognition areas". These areas were identified by interviewees themselves in response to the question, "What is the name of this part of Austin?" and secondly, "What would you say are the boundaries of (the named area) here." In all, 175 areas were named -- some following (1) sub-division designations such as "Bryker Woods," or "Georgian Acres;" some by (2) street names, such as "North Loop," or "French Place;" some by (3) distance from the center of the city, such as "close to town," or "out in the country;" some by (4) gross geographical areas such as "East Austin" or "Lake area;" some by (5) nearness to an institution, such as "University area," or Woodward-St. Edwards;" some by (6) newness of the community, such as "the older sector," or "the newer development;" some by (7) political boundaries, such as "Tenth Ward," or "Second Ward;" some by (8) ethnic boundaries, such as "white neighborhood," or "colored area;" and some by (9) precise interaction areas within subdivisions, such as "Brackenridge Tract," or "Aldridge Place."

What can be said of this plethora of self-imposed classificatory systems?

The concept "neighborhood" apparently has a broad meaning which includes several "categories". To have a concept of a neighborhood means to be able to picture an area with unitary characteristics so that one can describe or represent it to oneself or to others, or grasp it intellectually. A concept is a way of thinking about something which means that it also is usually a way of talking about it. Thus the categories of "neighborhoods" and the concept of "neighborhood" are related to the life styles of our respondents to the degree that they (1) recognize their residences as being in geographic areas with distinct characteristics, and (2) value these residences in terms of how well they serve everyday goals or perceived needs, i.e., how they serve one to adapt to the personal, social or cultural pressures of everyday living.

In the first instance, only slightly more than half of the

respondents were able to correctly identify at least one boundary of their neighborhood.[2] The distribution of the city as a whole on this question was as follows:

Table III-1

Neighborhood Boundary Identification

	Number of Respondents	Percent
Totally Incorrect	316	44.7
1 Correct	85	12.0
2 Correct	113	16.0
3 Correct	120	17.0
4 Correct	72	10.2
Totals	706	99.9

This table indicates that the "neighborhood" concept has geographical meaning for slightly more than half of the residents of the city. Others presumably relate to either the city as a whole or to other features of their lives in Austin, such as social position (or lack of position), for example. These other types of identification will be examined later.

One question about boundary identification cannot be postponed, however. And that is the degree to which persons living in potential renewal areas identify their neighborhood boundaries as compared to those persons living in other socio-economic areas

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2 In the case of subdivisions or wards, the correctness of boundary responses were based on City Planning Department maps. In other instances a "correct" response was noted when a given boundary fell within two-blocks of the street named most often by other interviewees within the same planning area or census tract. See Page 54 for a listing of neighborhood recognition areas.

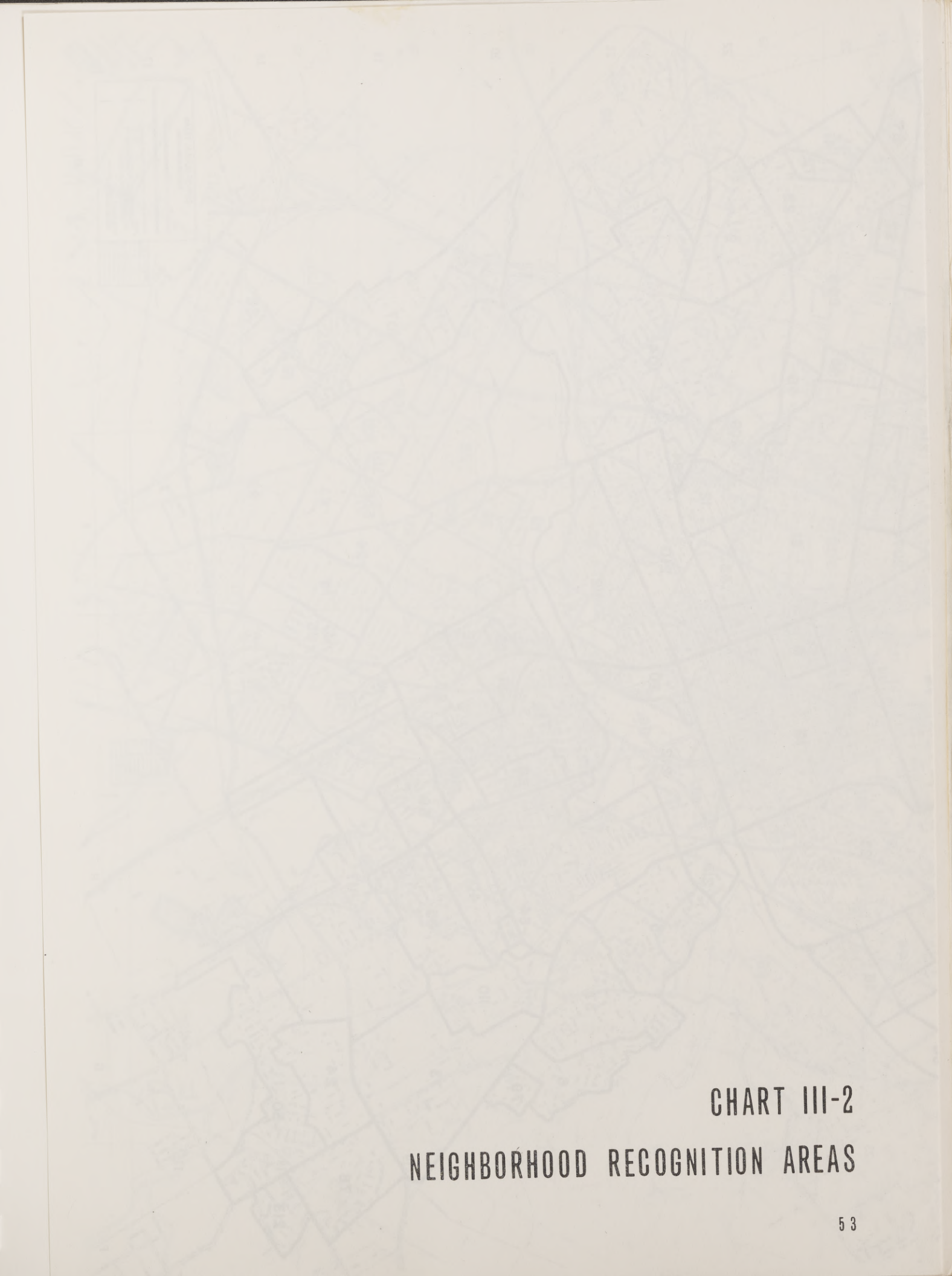

CHART III-2

NEIGHBORHOOD RECOGNITION AREAS

CITY OF AUSTIN, TEXAS
AND SUBURBAN AREAS

LEGEND

DEFINITE RECOGNITION AREAS

ALL BOUNDARIES DEFINITE

CODE	NAME	GRID
1	Allendale Park	J-29,30
2	Allendale Terrace	H-28,29 J-28-29
3	Allendale West	H,J-28
4	Balcones Park	G-27,H-27,28
5	Barton Heights	G21,H-21,22
6	Barton Hills	G-20,21
7	Bouldin Addition	H-20,21
8	Brackenridge Tract	J-22,23
9	Brookdale	L-22,M-22
10	Bryker Woods	H-24,25
11	Burnet Heights	J-28
7	Capital Heights	H-20,21
12	College Heights	K-22
13	Colorado Foothills	G-26,27,H-26
14	Crestview	J-29,K-28,29
15	Dean Terrace	L-29
16	Deep Eddy	G-23,H-23
17	Delwood 4-East	L-25,26,M-25,26
18	Delwood 4	L-25,26
19	Downtown Area	H-22,23,J-22,23
20	Driskill Addition	J-21,22
21	East Austin	J-22,23,K22-23 L-23
22	East Field	L-23,M-22,23
23	Enfield	H-22,23,24
24	Ford Place	G-18,19
25	French Place	K-24
26	Georgian Acres	L-29,30
27	Grant's Park	L-23,M-23
28	Green Acres	J-28,29
29	Grooms	J-24,25
30	Highlands	K-26,27
31	Highland Park	H-27
32	Highland Park West	H-27
33	Highland Village	H-27
34	Hollandale	K-28,29
35	Holly Cross Heights	K-23
36	Hutland Heights	K-27,28
37	Inwood Hills	G-20,21,H-20,21
38	Kirk Heights	K-27,28
39	Lamar Village	K-28
40	La Prelle Place	H-19,20
41	Lincoln Gardens	M-23
42	Manor Hills	L-23,24
43	Masontown	K-22
44	Marlton Addition	G-23,H-23
45	McKinley Heights	L-23
46	North Acres	M-30,31
47	North Gate	K-29
50	Park Forest	F-18,G-18,H-18
51	Parkinson Addition	J-20
52	Pemberton Heights	H-24
53	Puitt Duncan	K-30

DEFINITE RECOGNITION AREAS

ALL BOUNDARIES DEFINITE

CODE	NAME	GRID
54	Ridgetop	K-25,26
55	River Oaks	J-20
56	Rosedale	J-26
57	Rosewood Area (Park ,Addition & Terrace)	K-22
58	Shoalmont	J-27
59	Sherwood Oaks	H-19,J-19
60	Stillwood	J-30
61	St. Johns	L-27,28
62	St. Louis Heights	J-29
63	South Side	J-19,20
64	Southwood	H-20
65	South Park	H-19,20
66	Springdale Hills	M-24
67	St. Anthony Village	H-20,J-20
68	Swisher Addition	H-20,J-20
69	Tarrytown	G-24,25,26
70	Tempo North	K-28
71	Travis Heights	J-20,21
72	Truman Heights	M-23
73	Theodore Low Heights	G-19,20
74	University Area	H-24,J-23,24, K-23,24
75	University Hills	M-26,27,N-26
76	Violet Crown Heights	J-27,28,K-27,28
77	Walnut Hills	M-25,26
78	Western Trails	F-18,19,G-18,19
79	West Park	G-20
80	Willen Park	J-26,27
81	Windsor Park	L-25,26,H-24,25,26
82	Woodlawn Hills	J-20
83	Wooten Park	K-29,30
84	Zaragosa Park	K-21,22
85	Highland Hills	H-28,29,30
86	Brackenridge Apartments	G-23,24
87	Stone Gate	M-23,24
88	Vallejo	J-28

INDEFINITE RECOGNITION AREAS

ONE OR MORE BOUNDARIES INDEFINITE

CODE	NAME	GRID
100	Allendale	J-27,28
101	Breezy Hollow	J-27,28,K27
102	Delwood	K-24
103	Glenridge	J-25,26
104	Govalle	K-21,22,L-20,21 22,M-21,22
105	Holiday Hills	K-28,L-28
106	Hyde Park	J-25,26,K-25,26
107	Montopolis	L-18,19,20,M-20
108	Northway Crest	K-28,29,L-28,29
109	Oakwood Sub.	J-24,25
110	Ravey Addition	G-19,20
111	Skyview	K-27
112	Tenth Ward	J-21,K-21
113	Westfield	H-24,25,26
114	Willowbrook	K-24
115	Wilshire Woods	K-24,25
116	Pecan Springs	L-24,25,M-24,25
117	Woodward Industrial District	G-18,19,H-18,19 J-18,19

UNNAMED AREAS

200	J-30,K-29,30,31
201	K-28,29
202	K-27,28
203	H-28
204	J-26,K-26
205	J-24,K-24,25
206	K-25
207	K-23,24
208	L-23,M-23
209	K-22,L-22
210	J-21,22,K-21,22
211	H-22
212	H-21,22,J-21,22
213	F-18
214	K-23,24,L-23,24
215	H-27,J-26,27
216	H-20,J-19,20

for neighborhood identification and neighborhood attachment is to be a key in predictions of the likely effect of community development and urban renewal programs.

To answer this and subsequent questions about the extent and intensity of attitudes toward these programs, the city has been divided into four major socio-economic areas, following (1) the social area analysis presented in Chapter II; (2) the estimated real estate values, as determined in the 1960 census and by a panel of realtors who sub-divided a city map into socio-economic areas according to current real estate values; and (3) by application of criteria for urban renewal as outlined by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The four designations are as follows:

Upper and Upper-Middle Socio-economic areas:

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas in which the median value of homes is greater than $15,000, and where less than two percent of the homes are valued under $10,000 (1964 estimates). The planning areas so designated (See Table III-1) were 1, 3, 46 and 49. In addition to these planning areas were the neighborhood recognition areas of Pemberton Heights and Wilshire Woods, which are included in planning areas of middle class socio-economic characteristics.

Middle Socio-Economic Areas

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas where the estimated median value of the homes is between $10,000 and $15,000. Approximately one-third of the neighborhood recognition and planning areas in the city were placed in this category -- including all areas not designated in one of the other three classifications. Less than 20 percent of the homes in these areas would be considered "substandard" under city housing ordinances.

Local Action Areas

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas where the estimated median value of the homes is less than $10,000 and where individual housing unit improvements are needed under city housing ordinances. In these local action areas, from 20 to 50 percent of the homes are considered "substandard" in that they have one or more of the following characteristics:

(1) are in a deteriorated condition because of a defect not correctable by normal maintenance;

(2) have extensive minor defects which, if taken collectively, cause the building to have a deteriorating effect on the surrounding area;

(3) have unsafe construction;

(4) are deficient because of unsafe plumbing, heating or electrical facilities;

(5) are environmentally deficient because of dwelling unit density, or of obsolete building type or otherwise unsafe.

Local Action Areas which will be subject to Urban Renewal through "conservation and rehabilitation" assistance administered through the urban renewal agency. The planning areas that were placed in this category included 7, 10, 15, sections of 24 and 25, the northeast sector of 26, 28, 31, 32, 54, 55, 66, 67, and 68.

Blighted Areas

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas where more than 50 percent of the homes or environments are considered substandard. In these areas, obsolete platting, diversity of ownership and deterioration of structures and sites contribute to the deterioration of the neighborhood. All or part of blighted areas are subject to federal urban renewal, more specifically:

(1) demolition and removal of building and improvements;

(2) reconstruction of streets, utilities, parks, playgrounds, or other improvements;

(3) acquisition of property to prevent the spread of blight or to provide land for needed public facilities;

(4) the carrying out of plans for a program of voluntary repair and rehabilitation of buildings and other improvements;

(5) disposition of property acquired in the urban renewal area including sale or initial leasing or retention by the city.

Planning areas considered blighted and subject to renewal include parts of 20, 21, 22, 56, and 72. In addition to these blighted planning areas are the neighborhood recognition areas of the Driskill Addition in planning area 26; Glenridge in planning area 8; Oaksprings and Rosewood in planning area 21. Parts of the Tenth Ward in planning areas 24 and 25 were also classified as blighted.

The distribution of the four socio-economic divisions of the city and how they were represented in the sample for this study can be seen in the following chart.

It can be seen immediately in Chart III-3 that the areas designated as blighted (indicated by heavy cross-hatching) coincide with predominantly Negro and Latin zones of the city, in segregated Quadrant IV of the city, described in the social area analysis in Chapter II.

Although the areas designated here as blighted can be thought of as eligible for urban renewal, it was obvious that not all of these deteriorated districts would undergo improvement in the foreseeable future. It was also clear in early interviewing that renewal appeared to be psychologically distant for most persons living in Austin's blighted areas. It was decided for this reason to conduct a separate investigation in an area scheduled for early renewal in the predominantly Negro sector of the city. We will refer to the area by the fictitious name "Eastown Heights" to avoid any possible embarrassment for persons living there. Here, it was thought, residents would be aware of the city's plans to clear and rehabilitate their homes and land, and the impact of the renewal program would be known first-hand.

The ethnic composition of the Eastown Heights area as compared to the major socio-economic divisions of the city can be seen in Table III-2.

Table III-2 shows that most blighted areas of the city are predominantly Negro in composition -- ranging to 84.3 percent in Eastown Heights. It can also be seen that persons of Latin-American extraction account for nearly one-third of the residents in blighted areas, and nearly one-fifth of the residents of local action areas. By reading across the rows of Table III-2 it can be seen that Negroes and Latins together account for less than three percent of the population of upper and upper middle areas, and for less than 10 percent of the population of middle

TABLE III-2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS AND ETHNICITY

	Upper Middle Class		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights*	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Latin	4	2.8	13	5.7	34	18.1	45	30.4	6	11.8
Negro	0	0	7	3.1	17	9.0	85	57.4	43	84.3
Anglo	138	96.5	207	91.2	137	72.9	17	11.5	1	2.0
Other	1	.7	0	0	0	0	1	.7	1	2.0
Totals	143	100	227	100	188	100.1	148	100	51	100.1

*Note: Eastown Heights data are from a separate sample of 51 persons living in a blighted area which is scheduled for renewal. These respondents are not included in the main study sample of 706 persons.

CHART III-3

ATTITUDE SURVEY SAMPLING PLAN

LEGEND

BOX SIZE REPRESENTS PROPORTION OF TOTAL SAMPLE THAT WAS TAKEN FROM PLANNING AREA

0 – .99%

1 – 1.99%

2 – 2.99%

3 – 3.99%

4% +

N=706

PATTERNS WITHIN BOX REPRESENTS HOW THE PLANNING AREA SAMPLE WAS DISTRIBUTED BETWEEN DIFFERENT SOCIO - ECONOMIC GROUPS

UPPER & UPPER MIDDLE

MIDDLE

LOCAL ACTION

BLIGHTED

class socio-economic areas. Yet, one-quarter of the city's population is either Negro or Latin. Urban renewal in Austin will thus be of vital importance to the large ethnic minorities, and particular attention will be paid to the attitudinal syndromes of these persons in the analysis that follows.

It will be recalled that the concept "neighborhood" in this study was to be examined in terms of (1) recognized boundaries, and (2) the perception or "image" of neighborhood characteristics by their residents, particularly by persons living in areas subject to urban renewal. We can now proceed with survey data bearing on these questions.

Table III-3 shows a slight tendency for persons who live in Eastown Heights and in the high income areas of the city to be more cognizant of their neighborhood boundaries than persons who live in middle income, local action, and blighted areas other than Eastown Heights. The degree of knowledge of neighborhood boundaries is substantially higher for the high income upper and upper middle class areas than in Eastown Heights -- more than half of the residents of the high income areas were able to correctly identify two or more of their neighborhood boundaries, whereas less than half of the residents of Eastown Heights demonstrated this degree of precision. In this sense, Eastown Heights residents did not differ markedly from residents of other blighted areas. Where they did differ, however, was in the relatively low percentage of Eastown Heights respondents who were unable to identify any of their neighborhood boundaries. On the other hand, approximately half of the residents of middle and local action areas indicated they were unaware of any neighborhood boundaries.

This finding cannot be easily attributed to size of neighborhood. As Chart III-3 shows, there is a negative relationship between size of neighborhood and socio-economic class. This relationship is not simply monotonic -- there is a tendency for blighted, local action and middle class neighborhoods all to be larger than upper class ones, but as a whole it can be said that the poorer the neighborhood, the larger the area and the less well defined the boundaries by persons living there.

A more plausible explanation than size of neighborhood is length of residence. As can be seen in Table III-4, the persons who were least able to identify the boundaries of their neighborhood were the ones who lived there for less than six months.

TABLE III-3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARY RECOGNITION

Question: What would you say are the boundaries of (named area)?

Response	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Totally Incorrect	49	34.3	108	47.6	96	51.0	63	42.6	20	39.2
1 Correct	10	7.0	39	17.2	24	12.8	12	8.1	7	13.7
2 Correct	27	18.0	41	18.1	23	12.2	22	14.9	11	21.7
3 Correct	37	25.9	25	11.0	26	13.8	32	21.6	8	15.7
4 Correct	20	14.0	14	6.2	19	10.1	19	12.8	5	9.8
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.1	188	99.9	148	100	51	100.1

TABLE III-4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Question: How long have you lived in this part of town, that is in (named area) here?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 6 mo	27	18.9	32	14.1	47	25.0	7	4.7	4	7.8
Less than 9 mo	3	2.1	7	3.1	6	3.2	4	2.7	0	0
6-12 months	8	5.6	8	3.5	4	2.1	5	3.4	0	0
1-2 yrs	20	14.	35	15.4	23	12.2	10	6.8	2	3.9
2-3 yrs	12	18.4	21	9.3	10	5.3	9	6.1	0	0
3-5 yrs	22	15.4	25	11.0	15	8.0	10	6.8	3	5.9
5-8 yrs	17	11.9	22	9.7	13	6.9	7	4.7	5	9.8
8-12 yrs	13	9.1	22	10.6	16	8.5	17	11.5	11	21.9
More than 12 yrs	21	14.7	53	23.3	54	28.7	79	53.4	26	51.0
DK;NA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	143	100.1	227	100	188	100	148	100.1	51	100.3

TABLE III-5

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY HOME OWNERSHIP

Respondent's Present Circumstance	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Own Home	100	69.9	147	64.8	86	45.7	85	57.4	27	52.9
Rented House	19	13.3	45	19.8	27	14.4	48	32.4	13	25.5
Rented Duplex	9	6.3	9	4.0	15	8.0	7	4.7	6	11.8
Apt	6	4.2	22	9.7	49	26.1	7	4.7	5	9.8
Undetermined	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	143	100	227	100.1	188	100	148	99.9	51	100

These people were congregated in the large and old local action, socio-economic areas and represented the geographically mobile and job-switching middle income neighborhoods of Austin's society. Among the one-quarter of the local action area respondents who had been in their residences for less than six months at the time of interviewing, more than half were found in rooming house and apartment districts, particularly in the university and downtown areas. This tendency toward transiency is reflected also in the high proportion -- more than half -- of the residents in local action areas who were renters rather than owners. In fact, the local action areas were the only districts in the city where less than half of the residents were home owners, as demonstrated in Table III-5.

It should also be noted in Table III-5 that more than one-quarter of all persons in local action areas live in apartment houses -- by and far the largest proportion of apartment dwellers of all the socio-economic groups. In fact, of all of the apartment dwellers in the city, a total of 55.6 percent were found to live in local action areas. (Exclusive of University of Texas students, who were not interviewed for this study).

The tendency for local action area respondents to live for short periods in rented quarters, particularly apartments, compared to the population as a whole, can be seen in juxtaposition of Tables III-6 and III-7 with the "partial" associations shown in Tables III-4 and III-5.

TABLE III-6

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AUSTIN

	Number	Percent
Less than 6 months	113	16.0
Less than 9 months	20	2.8
6-12 months	25	3.5
1-2 years	88	12.5
2-3 years	52	7.4
3-5 years	72	10.2
5-8 years	59	8.4
8-12 years	70	9.9
More than 12 years	207	29.3
TOTALS	706	100.0

TABLE III-7

HOME OWNERSHIP IN AUSTIN

	Number	Percent
Own Home	418	59.2
Rent House	139	19.7
Rent Duplex	40	5.7
Apartment	84	11.9
TOTALS	706	100.0

The comparison indicates that persons who live in blighted areas, including Eastown Heights, have lived in Austin for longer periods of time than others, and own their own homes to a greater extent than persons in local action areas. The median number of years' residence for the population as a whole is three years; for persons in blighted areas, the median length of residence is 12 years. More than half of these persons in the city's blighted areas own their own homes -- 57.8 percent, as compared to 59.2 percent for the city as a whole. This indicates that persons from the city's poorest areas have invested their lives in Austin, yet do not own homes at a higher rate than persons who, on the average, have lived in the city no more than three years. There are two ways of interpreting these findings: either persons, particularly Negroes, in blighted areas are "stuck" in Austin because they have put their earnings in run-down housing and cannot find other housing, cannot afford to move, or else these persons remain in Austin because of choice. An examination of attitudes toward the neighborhoods in which they live will help us decide which of these alternative explanations is the most plausible, and why.

Characteristic Neighborhood Attitudes

One argument in favor of the proposition that persons live in blighted areas by choice is that these areas are not seen as "slums" by their residents, and are also not seen as particularly discriminatory or restrictive. It will be recalled that in the description of the sample, more than 84 percent of the residents of Eastown Heights were of Negro ethnic background and that 57 percent of the residents of other blighted areas were Negro. Yet when these persons were asked to name the ethnic groups they think of first when their own neighborhoods are mentioned, there was a tendency for Negroes to say "mixed," referring to Anglos, Latins and Negroes, indicating that Negro

ethnic minorities in Austin do not feel they live in segregated areas. The extent of this feeling is reflected in Table III-8 where it can be seen that in blighted areas of 57 percent Negro composition, only 48.0 percent of the population defined the area as Negro -- and approximately one-third of the residents saw their areas as mixed.

It should also be noted in Table III-8 there is a tendency for persons living in predominantly white local action areas to perceive their neighborhoods as of mixed ethnic background, even though Latins and Negroes represent only about one-quarter of the composition of the areas. That is to say, Table III-2, presented earlier, shows 72.9 percent of the population of local action areas to be of Anglo extraction. Table III-8, on the other hand, indicates that only slightly more than half of the respondents recognized "white" as the dominant ethnic group in these areas.

It is interesting to note that although there tends to be a disparity between ethnic composition and perceived ethnicity in neighborhoods, there is no evidence to suggest that residents perceive the "mixing" of ethnic groups in their areas as a particularly important characteristic. In response to the question, "Tell me a little about the (named area) as you see it. What kind of place is it? What makes it different from other areas in Austin?", only 1.5 percent of the respondents in local action areas and 5.4 percent in blighted areas mentioned ethnicity in their first reply to the question. Table III-9 shows, in contrast, that most persons in Austin see their neighborhoods as having distinct advantages over other places in which to live. There are no appreciable differences between socio-economic groups on this score. That is to say, approximately one-third of all respondents gave positive neighborhood identifications in reply to the question. In other respects, Table III-9 shows persons who live in upper and upper middle areas are more conscious of their socio-economic status than others in the city; that there is a slight tendency for persons who live in blighted areas to complain of poor city services, including bad streets, poor drainage, inadequate street lights and the like.

Table III-9 also shows that persons who live in Eastown Heights and in other blighted areas tend to regard their neighborhoods as "no different" from others in the city, except for a vague feeling about the "run down" condition of their homes. Eastown Heights persons, in particular, describe their neighborhood as having desirable qualities such as friendly, nice neighbors, quiet, a growing community, one of Austin's

TABLE III-8

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEIVED ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Question: When (named area) is mentioned, which of these groups do you think of first, Anglo, Negro, or Latin?

	Upper and Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglo	139	97.2	189	83.3	102	54.3	6	4.1	0	0
Negro	0	0	9	4.0	13	6.9	71	48.0	27	52.9
Latin	3	2.1	1	.4	17	9.0	18	12.2	1	2.0
Mixed	1	.7	23	10.1	51	27.1	52	35.1	23	45.1
NA:DK	0	0	5	2.2	5	2.7	1	.7	0	0
TOTALS	143	100	227	100	188	100	148	100	51	100

TABLE III - 9

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY NEIGHBORHOOD PERCEPTIONS

(First Response Only)

Question: "Tell me a little about (your neighborhood) as you see it. What kind of place is it? What makes it different from other areas in Austin?"

		UPPER AND UPPER MIDDLE				MIDDLE				LOCAL ACTION				BLIGHTED				EASTOWN HEIGHTS			
GENERAL FIRST RESPONSES		N		%		N		%		N		%		N		%		N		%	
	ADVANTAGES OUTWEIGH DISADVANTAGES	49		34.3		71		32.5		70		37.7		48		33.1		20		39.3	
	DISADVANTAGES OUTWEIGH ADVANTAGES	18		12.6		17		7.3		22		11.7		16		11.0		11		21.7	
	NO DISTINCTIVE QUALITIES	5		3.5		11		4.8		8		4.3		11		7.4		6		11.8	
	DON'T KNOW	2		1.4		10		4.4		13		6.9		25		16.9		3		5.9	
SPECIFIC FIRST RESPONSES				TOTALS				TOTALS				TOTALS				TOTALS				TOTALS	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	NEIGHBORS AND CHILDREN — Good	15	10.5	16	11.2	6	2.6	9	4.2	13	6.8	31	16.3	4	2.7	8	5.4	3	5.9	3	5.9
	NEIGHBORS AND CHILDREN — Bad	1	.7			3	1.6			18	9.5			4	2.7			0	0		
	LOCATION — Convenient	22	15.4	22	15.4	28	11.8	34	14.2	25	13.2	26	13.7	9	6.3	9	6.3	3	5.9	4	7.9
	LOCATION — Inconvenient	0	0			6	2.4			1	.5			0	0			1	2.0		
	SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS — High	11	8.4	28	20.3	4	1.7	29	13.8	0	0	9	4.7	1	.7	10	6.9	0	0	2	3.9
	SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS — Middle	17	11.9			23	11.2			8	4.2			4	2.8			0	0		
	SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS — Low	0	0			2	.9			1	.5			5	3.4			2	3.9		
	ETHNIC GROUP — Negro	0	0	0	0	41	17.9	46	19.6	0	0	.5	1.5	4	2.8	8	5.4	2	3.9	2	3.9
	ETHNIC GROUP — Anglo	0	0			1	.4			0	0			0	0			0	0		
	ETHNIC GROUP — Latin	0	0			3	1.3			1	.5			3	2.0			0	0		
	ETHNIC GROUP — Mixed	0	0			1	.4			2	1.0			1	.7			0	0		
	SPECIFIC INCONVENIENCES (Streets, Lights, Water, etc.)	2		1.4		0		0		6		3.2		13		8.9		0		0	
TOTALS		143		100.1		227		100.8		188		100.0		148		100.0		51		101.3	

"older" areas, which is "home owned."

In sum, persons living in upper and upper middle class areas can be described as class-conscious and fond of their neighbors; whereas persons on the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder in Austin can be described as satisfied with their neighborhood location and environment, as having pride in home ownership, but dissatisfied with routine city services such as street lighting and paving, and the general run-down conditions of the homes. The frequency and category of responses to Question 3, which are summarized in Table III-9 are given in Appendix E.

Persons who live in blighted areas, including Eastown Heights, do not perceive their neighborhoods as being radically different from others in the city, and do not differ in regard to perceived extent of neighborhood problems, as shown in Table III-10. The table is based on responses to the question, "What do you think are the main problems in your neighborhood here?" As can be seen, persons living in the upper and upper middle areas of town tend to be somewhat more aware of traffic problems than residents of other areas, and are also more cognizant of racial infiltration (primarily Latin) in their neighborhoods. Persons in middle income areas tend to be more satisfied than others with their neighbors. Residents of local action areas show no clear consensus about the nature of their neighborhood problems. Persons in blighted areas, not including Eastown Heights, name economic deprivation as a central problem. Persons in Eastown Heights show a diffuse dissatisfaction with their neighborhood, mirrored in the high response in the "general inconvenience" category. As pointed out before, "general inconvenience" includes perceived inadequacy of city services and poor bus services.

Detailed identification of the frequency of problems mentioned for each socio-economic group can be seen in Appendix F.

Also on the positive side of the ledger, Table III-11 indicates that with the exceptions of availability of a house, its price and its location, residents in various socio-economic areas do not differ importantly on the reasons why they choose to live in their present locations.

What differences there were is indicated by the low percentage of residents in blighted areas (between 15 and 16 percent) who found their locations "convenient," as compared to the near 50 percent from the other groups who found this to be so. It can also be seen that the lower the socio-economic area, the

TABLE III-10

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEIVED MAIN PROBLEMS

	Upper and Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
Problem	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Neighbors	27	18.9	25	11.2	40	21.3	30	20.4	15	29.6
Economic Situation	9	6.3	18	1.7	14	7.4	22	15.0	4	7.9
Traffic	28	19.6	40	17.5	24	12.8	2	1.4	3	5.9
Location	9	6.3	7	3.1	7	3.7	7	4.8	3	5.9
Racial Mixing	7	4.9	3	1.3	6	3.2	0	0	0	0
No Problems	30	21.0	59	25.9	35	18.7	33	22.3	8	15.7
General Inconvenience (no utilities, bus service, distance,etc.)	24	16.8	51	22.3	39	20.6	32	21.8	17	33.5
Reference to Respondent's own house	0	0	0	0	4	2.1	5	3.4	0	0
DK	9	6.3	24	10.6	19	10.0	17	11.5	1	2.0
TOTALS	143	100.0	227	99.6	188	100.3	148	100.6	51	100.5

TABLE III-11

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY REASONS FOR HOUSE CHOICE

	Upper		Upper and Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Location Convenient	76	53.2	107	47.0	87	46.4	22	15.1	8	15.8		
Answers Referring to features of House or Lot	31	21.7	38	16.7	38	20.1	27	18.4	10	19.7		
Neighbors	1	.7	1	.4	1	.5	1	.7	1	2.0		
Answers Referring to areas, i.e.,nicer, better, older,etc.	4	2.8	9	3.9	5	2.7	35	23.7	3	5.9		
Price	23	16.1	53	23.3	40	21.2	46	31.1	19	37.3		
Quiet	0	0	2	.9	3	1.6	4	2.7	0	0		
Avail-ability	6	4.2	15	6.5	12	6.3	13	8.9	8	15.7		
DK	2	1.4	2	.9	2	1.1	0	0	2	3.9		
Totals	143	100.1	227	99.6			148	100.6	51	100.3		

greater the tendency to claim the price of a house and its availability were determining factors in its choice. This relationship is monotonic, indicating that available income was a major determining factor of house location for all groups. Beyond this, however, residents tended to show satisfaction (or resignment) with their home locations.

Persons in all of the socio-economic areas tend to show positive attitudes and consistency of ego-involvement in their neighborhoods. Persons in high income areas identify with neighbors in the same or similar socio-economic positions. exhibiting a cliquishness not evident in the lower income areas of the city. Persons in local action and blighted areas point with pride to their long-term residence in Austin, and consider themselves "senior citizens" of the city. In this sense both groups -- the rich and the poor -- tend to de-emphasize the disadvantages of their surroundings. This is not to say, however, that persons living in local action and blighted areas are not aware of the physical inadequacies of their neighborhood environments. The following set of tables, III-12 through III-16 demonstrate that residents of blighted areas (1) are aware of the physical inadequacies of their homes and neighborhoods and (2) apply nearly the same criteria as do persons in higher income areas in evaluating the adequacy of their surroundings.

An analysis of responses to the questions, "What condition would you say the houses in this block are in, generally speaking: Good, fair or poor?" shows the higher the socio-economic class, the greater the tendency to evaluate surrounding homes as "good." Conversely, the lower the socio-economic class, the greater the tendency to evaluate surrounding homes as "fair." Perhaps because of the ego-neighborhood-involvement factor proposed above, only a few persons described houses in their blocks as "poor." It should be noted, however, that 15.7 percent of the residents of Eastown Heights gave the "poor" response to the query -- more than twice as many such responses than in any other of the socio-economic groupings.

The pattern of responses shown above can also be seen in Table III-13 relating socio-economic class with the perception of the condition of nearby yards. As can be seen, the higher the socio-economic class, the greater the tendency to evaluate yards in the block as "good." The lower the class, the greater the tendency to evaluate nearby yards as "fair." These relationships are not as pronounced as those shown in Table III-12, but are statistically significant in either case.

TABLE III-12

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEIVED CONDITION OF HOUSES

Question: What condition would you say the houses in this block are in, generally speaking: Good, fair, or poor?

	Upper		Upper and Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N		%		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Good	130		90.9		156	68.7	81	43.1	45	30.4	15	29.4
Fair	12		8.4		66	29.1	90	47.9	89	60.1	27	52.9
Poor	0		0		3	1.3	12	6.4	11	7.4	8	15.7
None of the above	0		0		0	0	2	1.1	2	1.4	1	2.0
DK:NA	1		7		2	.9	3	1.6	1	.7	0	0
Totals	143		100		227	100	188	100.1	148	100	51	100

TABLE III-13

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEIVED CONDITION OF YARDS

Question: How about the yards in this block? What condition would you say they are in generally: Good, fair or poor?

Good	120	83.9	149	65.6	79	42.0	46	31.1	7	13.7
Fair	19	13.3	70	30.8	92	48.9	85	57.4	34	66.7
Poor	2	1.4	5	2.2	15	8.0	15	10.1	9	17.6
None of above	2	1.4	2	.9	1	.5	1	.7	0	0
DK:NA	0	0	1	.4	1	.5	1	.7	1	2.0
	143	100	227	99.9	188	99.9	148	100	51	100

It is shown in Table III-13 that only 13.7 percent of the residents of Eastown Heights see the yards in their blocks as in "good" condition. But when these persons were asked to describe their own yards, 21.6 percent replied "good," as shown in Table III-14. In contrast, 83.9 percent of the residents of upper and upper middle areas perceived the yards of their neighbors as in "good" condition, whereas 74.8 percent thought their own yards were in equally good condition. Discrepancy in these perceptions is also shown in other socio-economic areas, leading to the tentative conclusion that the greater the socio-economic class, the greater the tendency for residents to see neighbor's home environments as "better off," and conversely, the lower the socio-economic class, the greater the tendency to see ones own surroundings as better than the neighbors.

It should be noted in the Table III-14 that the tendency for persons in Eastown Heights to psychologically upgrade the conditions of their yards as compared to that of their neighbors is not evident in other blighted areas, and among persons in all areas who perceived their neighbor's yards as "fair," there was a tendency to evaluate ones own yard as "fair." The above generalizations should thus be viewed with a jaundiced eye unless further supporting data are offered. One explanation which can be given, if the above generalizations are indeed true, is that persons living in upper and upper middle socio-economic areas are more class conscious than others, and as a corollary, are also more conscious of status symbols, such as the external appearance of house and yard. Inconclusive evidence of the validity of this notion is presented in Table III-15, relating socio-economic class to perception of needed home improvements.

Here it can be seen that residents of upper and upper middle areas who recognize the need for home repair, think external rather than internal improvements are needed, three to one. Eastown Heights residents are inclined to see the need for all types of repair. Persons living in the other socio-economic areas have perceptions of need similar to that of the upper and upper middle class residents. Thus value positions in regard to home repair and appearance do not differ markedly from one socio-economic area to another, with the exception of the very highest and lowest of the socio-economic classes.

Evidence that upper and upper middle groups attempt to keep their homes in regular repair lends further support for the tentative generalizations relating socio-economic areas and perception of neighborhood environments. This evidence is presented in Table III-16, where it is shown that the higher the socio-economic area, the greater the amount of recent major repair.

TABLE III-14

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEIVED CONDITION OF OWN YARD

Question: How about your own yard? What condition would you say it is in: Good, fair or poor condition?

	Upper and Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Good	107	74.8	132	58.1	81	43.1	50	33.8	11	21.6
Fair	27	18.9	75	33.0	82	43.6	78	52.7	30	58.8
Poor	8	5.6	13	5.7	20	10.6	20	13.5	10	19.6
None of Above	1	.7	5	2.2	5	2.7	0	0	0	0
DK	___	___	2	.9	___	___	___	___	0	0
Totals	143	100	227	99.9	188	100	148	100	51	100

TABLE III-15

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA AND PERCEPTION OF NEEDED HOUSE IMPROVEMENTS

Question: Can you think of any major repairs or additions that should be made to your house here? (If Yes) Which repair comes to your mind first? That is what most needs doing to your house?

None	97	67.8	128	56.4	106	56.4	51	34.5	13	25.5
Internal	9	6.3	19	8.4	20	10.6	14	9.5	16	31.4
External	31	21.7	64	28.2	42	22.3	66	44.6	16	31.4
Utilities heating, sewage	2	1.4	8	3.5	12	6.4	7	4.7	1	2.0
Lack of space	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.7	1	2.0
Gen. Overhead	2	1.4	0	0	3	1.6	5	3.4	3	5.9
Driveway, yard, fence	2	1.4	8	3.5	5	2.7	4	2.7	1	2.0
Totals	143	100	227	100	100	100	148	100	51	100

TABLE III-16

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA AND EXTENT OF HOME IMPROVEMENT

Question: When was the last major repairing or repainting done on your home here as far as you know?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than 6 months	49	34.3	60	26.4	50	26.6	25	16.9	8	15.7		
6-9 mos	7	4.9	11	4.8	10	5.3	11	7.4	1	2.0		
9-12 mos	6	4.2	30	13.2	11	5.9	16	10.8	0	0		
1-2 yrs	27	18.9	46	20.3	39	20.7	21	14.2	13	25.5		
2-5 yrs	15	10.5	36	15.9	23	12.2	16	10.8	17	33.3		
5-8 yrs	2	1.4	2	.9	3	1.6	12	8.1	4	7.8		
8-12 yrs	0	0	3	1.3	1	.5	1	.7	1	2.0		
More than 12 yrs	1	.7	1	.4	4	2.1	5	3.4	1	2.0		
DK:NA	36	25.2	38	16.7	47	25.0	41	27.7	6	11.8		
Totals	143	100.1	227	99.9	188	99.9	148	100	51	100.1		

It can be seen here that the modal time period for repair in Eastown Heights is from two to five years as compared to one to two years in other blighted areas and less than six months in local action, middle,and upper and upper middle socio-economic divisions of the city. It is also clear that more than one-third of the homes in upper and upper middle areas have undergone major repairing in the last six months.

Neighborhood and Home Preferences

It has been pointed out in the preceding pages that price and availability are determining factors in the purchase of homes in low income areas, but not necessarily in the higher income neighborhoods, and that preference and taste in housing and location are similar for persons living in different socio-economic groupings.

The consistency of housing preferences from one group to the next is reflected in Table III-17, where it can be seen that all residents of the city would prefer more floor space as compared to a different style of house, about three to one, in event they were to look for a new home. It is also apparent that from 10 to 20 percent of the residents of the city would look for a home just like the one now occupied -- indicating relatively few "satisfied" customers in the housing market.

A difference between the various socio-economic groups in home preference is that one-fifth of the residents in lower income strata would prefer a "better looking" home, whereas less than one out of 20 of the residents in upper strata would consider this of prime importance in the choice of a new home.

About one-fourth of the different socio-economic areas, when given a choice between good repair, cleanliness and plenty of room, indicated they would prefer plenty of room to the other alternatives if they were to look for a new home. The classes differ with respect to the other alternatives, however. Persons in the Eastown Heights area considered cleanliness as the most important factor in the choice of a new home. Persons in the three groupings -- blighted, local action and middle class areas -- regarded good repair as the most salient alternative, whereas upper and middle area residents preferred plenty of room to the

TABLE III-17

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY HOUSE PREFERENCE (A)

Question: If you started looking tomorrow for another house to live in what would influence most your choice of a home: (a) more rooms than you have now; (b) different style; and (c) better looking house?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
More Rooms	56	39.2	97	42.7	81	43.1	61	41.2	25	49.0
Different Style	16	11.2	30	13.2	22	11.7	29	19.6	8	15.7
Better Looking	6	4.2	14	6.2	33	17.6	23	15.5	11	21.6
Same as present	30	21.0	47	20.7	27	14.4	21	14.2	5	9.8
None	31	21.7	34	15.0	21	11.2	9	6.1	1	2.0
DK:NA	1	.7	4	1.8	2	1.1	4	2.7	0	0
Several or all of above	3	2.1	1	.4	2	1.1	1	.7	1	2.0
Totals	143	100	227	100	188	100.2	148	100	51	100.1

other alternatives, as demonstrated in Table III-18.

Given the above alternatives, residents of upper and upper middle and middle socio-economic areas exhibited a greater degree of satisfaction with their homes than did others -- a difference of approximately 10 percentage points between the upper and lower divisions of our socio-economic groupings. The fact that less than 15 percent of the residents in any one area volunteered the response "same" meaning the house they occupied at the time of interviewing, suggests again that there are relatively few homes in Austin which are completely satisfactory for their residents.

The near uniform dissatisfaction toward homes is not carried over to neighborhood to the same extent, however. Responses to the question, "What neighborhood would you look in first if you were to buy a new home here in Austin?" are given in Table III-19.

TABLE III-19

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY "SAME" NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCES

Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
99	69.2	79	34.8	61	32.4	57	38.5	12	23.5

Here it can be seen that more than two-thirds of the residents of the upper and upper middle areas would prefer to remain in their present neighborhoods in event they were to look for a new home, and less than one-fourth of the residents of Eastown Heights were so inclined. The differences between preferences of the other socio-economic groups are not as pronounced -- i.e., do not reach the level of between-group significance. About one-third of all residents of middle, local action and blighted areas indicated they would prefer to remain in their present neighborhoods if given a choice.

The role of ethnic influences in the choice of neighborhoods is disguised in the above table, particularly in regard to local action areas. When three types of local action areas are compared -- (1) those which include Negroes, (2) those which

TABLE III-18

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY HOUSE PREFERENCE (B)

Question: Let's imagine again that you started looking for another house to live in. Which of these three considerations would be most important to you: (a) Good repair; (b) clean, and (c) plenty of room?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Good Repair	32	22.4	63	27.8	61	32.4	73	49.3	11	21.6
Clean	19	13.3	55	24.2	48	25.5	27	18.2	20	39.2
Plenty of Room	43	30.1	61	26.9	46	24.5	28	18.9	12	23.5
Same as present	21	14.7	31	13.7	16	3.5	8	5.4	0	0
None of above	15	10.5	11	4.8	8	4.3	7	4.7	4	7.8
DK:NA	7	4.9	5	2.2	8	4.3	4	2.7	1	2.0
All of above	6	4.2	1	.4	1	.5	1	.7	3	5.9
TOTALS	143	101.1	227	100	188	100	148	99.9	51	100

contain persons of Anglo and Latin extraction only, and (3) those which are Anglo only -- the racially integrated areas are chosen by their residents, as "preferred neighborhoods" to a greater extent than are the segregated areas.

The patterns of association here are demonstrated in Chart III-4. The chart shows that upper and upper middle class areas are preferred by their residents to a greater extent than are other areas. Integrated local action areas, including Negroes, Latins and Anglos, are next in line of preference by their residents -- surpassing the all white middle socio-economic groupings.

This comparison was made possible by first noting the ethnic composition of neighborhood recognition areas (shown in Chart III-3) which were also classified according to socio-economic class. The percentage of responses for these various groups on the question of preferred neighborhood recognition areas were then correlated within socio-economic areas to yield the regression line shown in Chart III-4.

The effect of this procedure was to hold constant socio-economic characteristics of the neighborhoods while allowing ethnicity and preferred neighborhood choices to vary.

The observed tendency for persons in the upper income areas to prefer their present neighborhoods over new ones is reinforced in responses to the question, "In comparison to where you live now would you like this new neighborhood to be closer to a park or playground; closer to school or a particular school; closer to a closer to a shopping district?" As Table III-20 shows, modal responses for all groups except Eastown Heights were "same neighborhood" with upper and upper middle groups substantially in agreement and the other groups less so. Eastown Heights residents, on the other hand, were about equally divided between school and shopping area and to a lesser extent, "same neighborhood."

This finding suggests that Eastown Heights persons are not only dissatisfied with city services generally, but perceive a lack of school and shopping facilities to a greater extent than other persons in the city.

Respondents who gave "schools" as the primary consideration in the choice of a neighborhood were next asked in the interviewing

CHART III - 4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY PREFERRED NEIGHBORHOODS

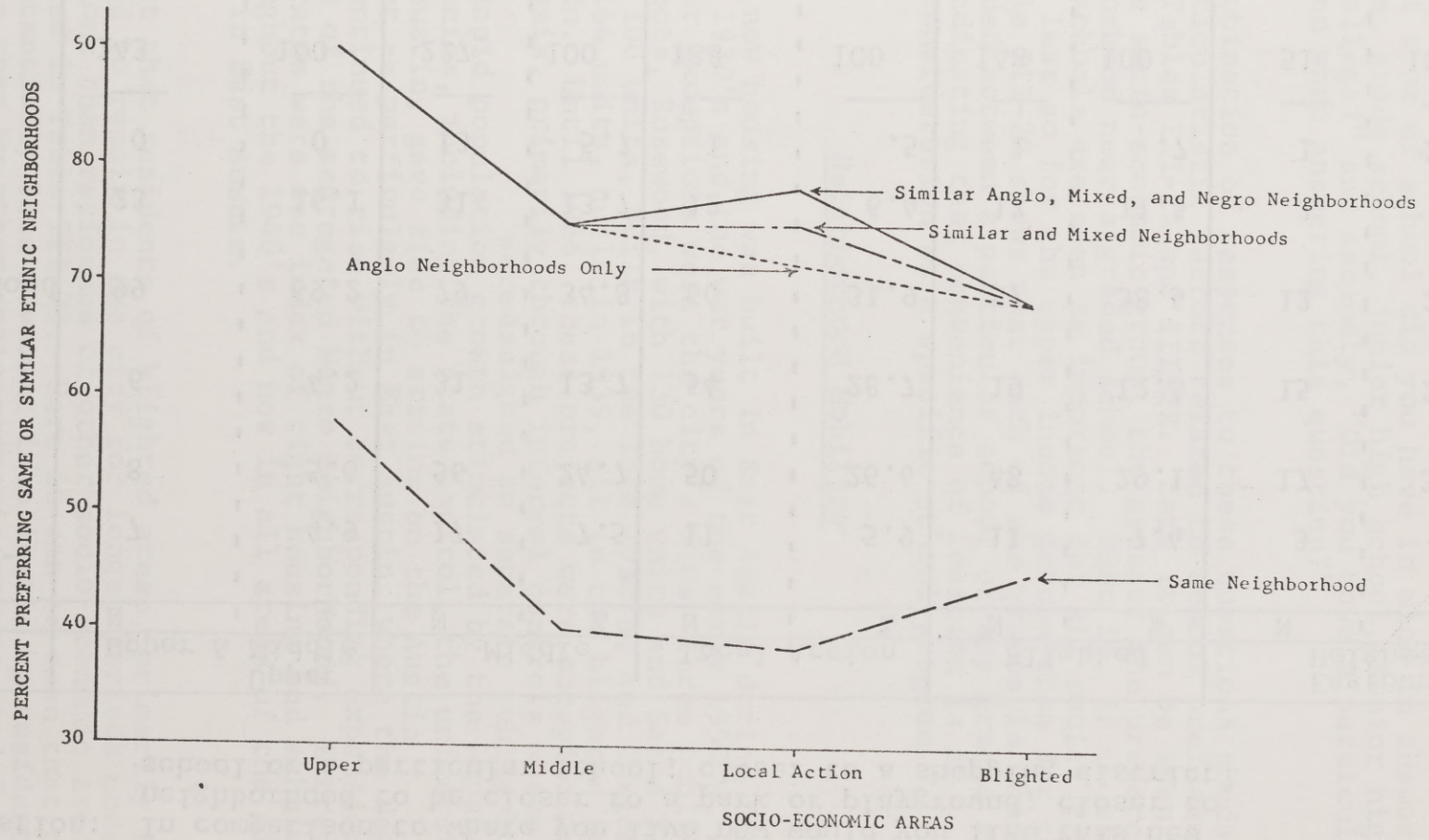

TABLE III-20

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCES

Question: In comparison to where you live now would you like this new neighborhood to be closer to a park or playground; closer to school or a particular school; closer to a shopping district?

	Upper Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Park-Play-ground	7	4.9	17	7.5	11	5.9	11	7.4	3	5.9
School	8	5.6	56	24.7	50	26.6	48	29.1	17	33.3
Shopping Area	6	4.2	31	13.7	54	28.7	19	12.8	15	29.4
Same Neighborhood	99	69.2	79	34.8	60	31.9	57	38.5	12	23.5
None of Above	23	16.1	31	13.7	12	6.4	17	11.5	3	5.9
DK:NA	0	0	13	5.7	1	.5	1	.7	1	2.0
	143	100	227	100	188	100	148	100	51	100

session "What type of school did you have in mind in answering this question, grade school, junior high school, senior high school, or college?" and secondly, "Did you have a particular school in mind when answering this question?"

The combination of responses to these questions sheds light on particularistic factors related to school preferences, as shown in Tables III-21 and III-22. Here it can be seen that the lower the socio-economic group, the greater the preference for a neighborhood near a graded school. That is, it is clear that graded schools are seen as important for all social groups, but somewhat less so for the upper income groups than for the others. Table III-22 shows that each of the groups is about equally divided between a particular school or any graded school in Austin, indicating that convenience of location is as important a consideration as a specific school program.

Neighborhood Mobility

Little new housing was built in East Austin during the depression of the 1930's and the war years of the early 1950's. About the only major exceptions were the city's first three public housing projects, Rosewood, with 130 home units and Santa Rita Courts, with 100 units, built in the late 1930's, and Chalmers Court, with 164 units, built in 1939, all in the blighted areas of East Austin. Until 1966, these projects were occupied on a segregated basis, primarily through informal controls where Negroes were assigned to separate public housing complexes. Rapid population growth stimulated by the expansion of state agencies, including the state capitol, the university and City of Austin, gave rise to strains on the Austin housing market -- particularly in East Austin, where the Negro population continued to rise without corresponding expansion of boundaries of the segregated Negro neighborhoods. Extremely low vacancy rates were one index of tight housing and ethnic control throughout the 1940's and now in all areas of the city, particularly in East Austin.

The fact that residents of blighted areas, primarily in East Austin, tended to remain in the city for longer periods under these conditions than residents of other socio-economic areas is demonstrated in Table III-23. Here it can be seen that there has been substantially less movement into Austin by residents of blighted areas than by other socio-economic groups, and further, it can be said that the lower the socio-economic class, the greater the probability of having lived in Austin since becoming

TABLE III-21

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY GENERAL SCHOOL PREFERENCES

Question: If school or a particular school, which type of school did you have in mind in answering this question: Grade school, junior high school, senior high school or college?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grade School	3	37.5	29	51.8	33	66.0	25	58.1	13	76.5		
Junior High	1	12.5	9	16.1	6	12.0	5	11.6	1	5.9		
High School	1	12.5	5	8.0	2	4.0	7	16.3	1	5.9		
College	1	12.5	6	10.7	5	10.0	0	0	1	5.9		
Several of Above	2	25.0	7	12.5	4	8.0	6	14.0	1	5.9		
	8	100	56	100	50	100	43	100	17	100.1		

TABLE III-22

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY SPECIFIC SCHOOL PREFERENCES

Question: Did you have a particular school in mind when answering this question?

Yes	2	1.4	22	9.7	21	11.2	11	7.4	6	11.8
No	4	2.8	35	15.4	25	13.3	23	15.5	7	13.7
NA	137	95.8	170	74.9	142	75.5	114	77.0	38	74.5
TOTALS	143	100	227	100	188	100	148	99.9	51	100

adult. The table also shows that approximately two-thirds of all adults of local action, middle,and upper and upper middle areas moved to Austin from other communities, whereas substantially less than half of the adults in blighted areas moved here from elsewhere. It is interesting to note, also, that residents of blighted areas were more inclined than others to return to Austin after having moved away.

When residents who have lived in Austin since becoming adults were asked, "What neighborhood did you live in before you moved to your present home here, was it less expensive, more expensive, or the same price?" persons living in Eastown Heights and upper and upper middle areas were more inclined than others to say "less expensive," indicating a general upward mobility within these areas, as shown in Table III-24. These differences are not striking, nor particularly surprising since it was shown earlier that residents of the city as a whole tend to prefer to live in the neighborhoods with which they have become accustomed.

Persons who moved to Austin from some other community, or who had lived in Austin at one time and returned, indicated a different pattern of responses than those who remained in the city since becoming adults. Persons in the upper and upper middle, middle and local action areas found house cost elsewhere to be somewhat more expensive than did persons of the same socio-economic groups who had lived in the city since becoming adults. On the other hand, residents of blighted areas who moved to the city from other communities reported their previous housing accomodations to be less expensive than their present accomodations. These differences, shown in Table III-25, indicate that (1) housing costs in Austin, in comparison to other communities, favor persons in medium and upper income areas and are discriminatory toward residents of blighted areas, or (2) persons who have moved to Austin from elsewhere are upwardly mobile. Which of these alternative explanations is the most plausible will be discussed later.

It can be seen in Table III-25 that among the persons who moved to Austin from elsewhere, nearly half who reside in upper and upper middle areas now live in more expensive homes than before, and a somewhat lower percentage of the residents of middle and local action areas made a corresponding upward jump in house cost. It is also shown that substantially more than half of the residents of Eastown Heights and other blighted areas are now paying more for their housing than they were before moving to the city.

TABLE III-23

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY INTER-COMMUNITY MOBILITY

Question: Have you lived in Austin since you were an adult, or have you moved here from elsewhere?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lived in Austin	42	29.4	66	29.1	63	33.5	80	54.1	26	51.0		
Moved here	99	69.2	155	68.3	122	64.9	63	42.6	20	39.2		
Returned	1	.7	6	2.6	3	1.6	3	2.0	5	9.8		
DK:NA	1	.7	0	0	0	0	2	1.4	0	0		
TOTALS	143	100	227	100	188	100	148	100.1	51	100		

TABLE III-24

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY INTER-CITY MOBILITY

Question: If you lived here in Austin: What neighborhood did you live in before you moved to your present home here? Was it less expensive, more expensive, same price?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less Expensive	27	62.8	35	53.0	34	54.0	46	56.1	13	65.0		
More expensive	7	16.3	10	15.2	13	20.6	17	20.7	2	10.0		
Same Price	4	9.3	17	25.8	4	6.3	12	14.6	5	25.0		
Not Comparable	0	0	1	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
DK:NA	5	11.6	3	4.5	12	19.1	7	8.5	0	0		
TOTALS	43	100	66	100	63	100	82	99.9	20	100		

TABLE III-25

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEIVED HOUSE COSTS

Question: If you moved here or returned: In comparison to your present house, would you say you lived in a less expensive house, a more expensive house, or a house in the same price range when you lived in some other community than Austin?

Less expensive	48	47.5	63	39.4	49	39.2	40	58.8	20	69.0
More expensive	22	21.8	46	28.8	43	34.4	17	25.0	2	6.9
Same price	27	26.7	47	29.3	32	25.6	9	13.2	7	24.1
Not comparable	2	2.0	3	1.9	1	.8	0	0	0	0
DK:NA	2	2.0	1	.6	0	0	2	3.0	0	0
TOTALS	101	100	160	100	125	100	68	100	29	100

Table III-26, showing the relationship of ethnic neighborhood composition within socio-economic areas and previous, present and preferred neighborhoods, indicates a strain for consistency of ethnic surroundings for persons living in upper and upper middle , middle and Eastown Heights areas. This can be seen by comparing percentage figures within each ethnic strata for the different socio-economic areas of the city. In general, slightly less than one-third of the persons in the three areas mentioned moved from previous Austin locations into segregated areas which mirror their own ethnicity. On the other hand, persons living in local action and blighted areas other than Eastown Heights have tended to move out of segregated areas elsewhere in Austin into more integrated neighborhoods.

The similarity between these two extreme socio-economic groups on area preference is striking in comparison to other groups in the city. Approximately nine out of every 10 persons in these two classes of residents indicated preference for segregated surroundings. On the other hand, less than one out of four of the residents of the middle, local action and general blighted areas demonstrated this degree of ethnic cliquishness.

TABLE III - 26
SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY ETHNIC GROUPS AND PREFERRED NEIGHBORHOODS

		UPPER AND UPPER MIDDLE						
		LATIN	ANGLO	NEGRO	MIXED	SAME	UNDETERMINED	TOTALS
PREVIOUS	N	0	23	0	5	0	7	35
	%	0	65.7	0	14.3	0	20.0	100.0
PRESENT	N	0	121	0	0	0	11	132
	%	0	91.7	0	0	0	8.3	100.0
PREFERRED	N	0	42	0	1	75	12	130
	%	0	32.3	0	.8	57.7	9.2	100.0

		MIDDLE						
		LATIN	ANGLO	NEGRO	MIXED	SAME	UNDETERMINED	TOTALS
PREVIOUS	N	3	18	3	14	0	17	55
	%	5.4	32.7	5.4	25.5	0	31.0	100.0
PRESENT	N	0	126	9	8	-	62	205
	%	0	61.5	4.4	3.9	-	30.2	100.0
PREFERRED	N	0	72	2	8	79	39	200
	%	0	36.0	1.0	4.0	39.5	19.5	100.0

		LOCAL ACTION						
		LATIN	ANGLO	NEGRO	MIXED	SAME	UNDETERMINED	TOTALS
PREVIOUS	N	4	15	22	4	1	11	57
	%	2.5	26.3	38.6	2.5	1.8	19.3	100.0
PRESENT	N	6	44	27	47	-	34	158
	%	3.8	27.8	17.1	29.8	-	21.5	100.0
PREFERRED	N	0	55	5	6	62	36	164
	%	0	33.5	3.0	3.7	37.8	58.0	100.0

		BLIGHTED						
		LATIN	ANGLO	NEGRO	MIXED	SAME	UNDETERMINED	TOTALS
PREVIOUS	N	2	4	48	7	0	4	65
	%	3.1	6.2	73.8	10.8	0	6.2	100.1
PRESENT	N	1	0	109	16	0	7	133
	%	.8	0	82.0	12.0	0	5.2	100.0
PREFERRED	N	0	8	30	7	57	25	127
	%	0	6.3	23.6	5.5	44.9	19.7	100.0

		EASTOWN HEIGHTS						
		LATIN	ANGLO	NEGRO	MIXED	SAME	UNDETERMINED	TOTALS
PREVIOUS	N	0	1	20	1	4	3	29
	%	0	3.4	69.0	3.4	13.8	10.3	99.9
PRESENT	N	0	0	51	0	0	0	51
	%	0	0	100.0	0	0	0	100.0
PREFERRED	N	1	0	21	1	12	3	38
	%	2.6	0	55.3	2.6	31.6	7.9	100.0

* Totals include respondents who have lived in Austin since becoming adult.

CHAPTER IV

SYMPTOMS OF BLIGHT

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SYMPTOMS OF BLIGHT

The Congressional presentation accompanying the bills for the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 points out that "in 1964 one needs an economic road map to find and recognize the American poor." The report goes on to say, "If the American economy can be compared to a 20-story luxury apartment house where even the ground floor tenants share the comforts, then one-fifth of our population inhabits a sub-basement, out of sight and almost out of mind."

Long-range community planning in Austin is primarily concerned with renewal of these areas in which one-third of the total number of families in the city reside, who have a family income of less than $4,000 per annum, and who, in other ways, are both "out of sight and out of mind."[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to present symptoms of blight in Austin - an "economic road map," along with certain social-psychological correlates of families living in blighted areas so that dimensions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the city can be understood clearly as they are presented in subsequent sections of this report.

Possible conditions of blight to be examined are (1) low socio-economic status, including low employment, income, occupational position and education; (2) old age; (3) dilapidated housing conditions, low vacancy, low home ownership, and high rental values; (4) crime and juvenile delinquency; and (5) the need for welfare services, including old-age assistance, AFDC and local welfare. It should be recalled that three other conditions of blight were discussed earlier: (6) low urbanization, (7) high segregation, and (8) low social rank. The overall look at social areas in Austin in Chapter II, in which these last three indicators of blight were presented, will now be supplemented in detail.

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[1]The War on Poverty. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. A compilation of materials relevant to S. 2642, 88th Congress, 2nd session. Prepared for the Select Committee on Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate. U. S. Government Printing Office 1964, p. 36.

Socio - Economic Status

An analysis of data obtained from the 1964 interview schedule shows that a total of 75.8 per cent of heads of households in the city were employed at the time of interviewing, and that in 28 per cent of the households, other members of the family were also employed. As Table IV-1 indicates, the level of employment of household heads was more than 80 per cent in upper and upper middle, middle, and blighted areas - and less than 65 per cent in local action areas, suggesting that the lower middle class Anglo workers in semi-skilled and unskilled categories were experiencing difficulties in the labor market in August and September, 1964, and/or that a relatively high number of retired persons were included in the sample of citizens in local action areas of the city. There is evidence to suggest that both factors were prevalent at the time of interviewing. For example, Table IV-2, showing standardized employment scores[2] for the city's 24 census tracts in 1960, suggests that employment of available workers was depressed in Tract 11, a local action area, then as now. Census information from 1960 also shows a disproportionately high number of persons over 60 years of age in Tract 11 (10.5 per cent) as compared to the city as a whole (5.1 per cent).

Other tracts which predominantly reflect local action area characteristics are 10, 6, and sections of 23. The high rate of unemployment in these areas, as well as that of Tract 11, is shown in Table IV-3. It can also be seen in Table IV-3 that blighted areas include many unemployed.

The blighted census tracts of the city, which can be thought of as gross indicators of blighted neighborhood recognition and planning areas, include the predominantly Negro tracts of 8 and 9 and the Latin tracts of 10 and 23 (Montopolis).[3]

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[2]A standardized score is a transformed distribution with mean zero and standard deviation one, as given by the formula $Z = \frac{X - \bar{X}}{s}$. The procedure allows us to make direct comparisons of the proportion of cases in the different census tracts that fall within a given interval, thus making the tracts comparable.

[3]A more precise comparison of socio-economic areas and census tract classifications was presented earlier, in Table II-6.

TABLE IV-1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT

Question: Is the head of your household employed now?

	Upper Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	117	81.8	183	80.6	121	64.4	120	81.1	39	76.5
No	14	9.8	22	9.7	45	23.9	9	6.1	4	7.8
Retired	12	8.4	20	8.8	22	11.7	18	12.2	8	15.7
NA	0	0	2	.8	0	0	1	.7	0	0
Totals	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.0	148	100.1	51	100.0

TABLE IV-2

STANDARDIZED EMPLOYMENT SCORES - 1960

Census Tract	Employment Score	Rank Order
1	87.4	5
2	85.3	9
3	80.0	12
4	77.1	13
5	80.0	11
6	56.0	20
7	63.3	18
8	63.7	17
9	52.7	21
10	42.0	23
11	42.9	22
12	60.8	19
13	71.8	16
14	73.5	15
15	85.7	7
16	88.6	4
17	100.0	1
18	86.5	6
19	95.9	3
20	75.6	14
21	84.1	10
22	100.0	2
23	0.0	24
24	85.7	8

TABLE IV-3

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT - 1960

Census Tract	Population	Total Civilian Labor Force	% Total	Male Unemp.	Female Unemp.	Total Unemp.	% of Labor Force
1	6,859	2,746	41.2	31	13	44	1.6
2	12,375	4,204	46.1	43	32	75	1.8
3	11,764	5,415	46.5	86	49	135	2.5
4	8,474	3,762	44.6	73	37	110	2.9
5	3,507	1,612	46.0	28	12	40	2.5
6	11,072	3,637	33.0	204	27	231	6.4
7	3,594	1,891	53.1	61	22	83	4.4
8	15,764	6,412	40.8	191	101	292	4.6
9	12,962	4,124	31.9	196	62	258	6.3
10	6,756	2,250	33.3	114	49	163	7.2
11	3,196	1,483	48.6	77	31	108	7.3
12	4,546	1,744	46.2	54	31	85	4.9
13	14,485	5,582	40.0	131	66	197	3.5
14	4,395	2,073	47.3	38	29	67	3.2
15	16,494	6,751	41.1	58	51	109	1.6
16	18,662	7,194	43.3	80	25	105	1.5
17	1,024	337	32.9	0	4	4	1.2
18	4,993	1,884	37.9	28	7	35	1.9
19	1,312	549	41.8	4	3	7	1.3
20	5,326	1,986	37.5	47	16	63	3.2
21	13,685	4,860	35.6	48	41	89	1.8
22	973	321	33.0	0	0	0	0
23	3,369	971	28.8	57	45	102	10.5
24	958	385	41.2	9	0	9	2.3

The information presented in Tables IV-2 and IV-3 indicates that the Latin areas of Montopolis and the city's old 10th ward experienced the greatest degree of unemployment, followed closely by the mainly Anglo local action areas in tract 11, surrounding Congress Avenue, where second-rate hotels and boarding houses are prevalent. Unemployment was also high in Negro tract 9 and to a lesser extent in the mixed white and Negro areas in tract 8 between East 19th and East 11th Streets.

The combined evidence from these two tables and Table IV-1, based on the 1964 survey, suggests that the depressed employment rates in local action areas were mainly found in the downtown section of the city, south of the capitol in transient boarding districts, and that in other areas unemployment was concentrated in the Latin and to a lesser extent Negro sections of south and southeast Austin. Since the Latin areas are classified both as local action and blighted areas, it can be said that the high association between blight and unemployment is somewhat dependent on the factor of ethnicity — that Latin enclaves tend to show high unemployment for heads of households regardless of the exact nature of the depressed socio-economic area in which they are located.

Further comparisons of the three tables suggest that unemployment was substantially more widespread in the city's blighted areas in 1960 than in 1964. In fact, Table IV-1 suggests that heads of households (primarily women in Negro blighted areas) were employed at the same rate as were Anglo heads of households in the upper and upper middle socio-economic areas of the city at the time of interviewing in late 1964.

The dependency of families in blighted areas on multiple sources of income is shown in Table IV-4. Here, in the blighted areas, a significant percentage of other members of families than heads of households are shown to be employed full-time, undoubtedly because of the necessity of supplementing low wages earned by the head. It should be noted here that this type of employment is directly associated with blight. Otherwise, families in local action areas are not importantly different from middle class families in terms of multiple sources of income.

TABLE IV-4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY MULTIPLE SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME

Question: Are there any other members of your household who are employed fulltime?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	22	15.4	70	30.8	50	26.6	56	37.8	20	39.2
No	119	83.2	143	63.0	112	59.6	83	56.1	30	58.8
Part time	1	.7	13	5.7	7	3.7	5	3.4	0	0
NA	1	.7	1	.4	19	10.1	4	2.7	1	2.0
Totals	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

Although there are multiple sources of income for more than two-thirds of the families in blighted areas, the total family income in these areas is at the bottom of the city's economic ladder, as can be seen in Table IV-5. The lowest income levels reported in the 1960 census were found in precisely the same Latin and Negro tracts in east and southeast Austin where unemployment of heads of households was prevalent. The distribution of standardized median family incomewas as follows:

TABLE IV-5

STANDARDIZED MEDIAN INCOME - 1960

Census Tract	Income Score	Rank Order
1	97.5	2
2	49.5	8
3	43.6	11
4	37.2	13
5	31.5	16
6	36.9	14
7	27.6	18
8	9.8	23
9	10.2	22
10	16.1	20
11	20.8	19
12	33.5	15
13	41.6	12
14	59.6	5
15	59.1	6
16	80.2	4
17	94.8	3
18	46.1	10
19	100.0	1
20	48.2	9
21	55.0	7
22	30.6	17
23	10.6	21
24	0.0	24

Here, the rank order of income scores in 1960 is mirrored exactly in the distribution of income reported in the 1964 survey. Median income in blighted and local action areas falls between $2,000 and $4,000 with but little variability around the median average. On the other hand, income in middle areas varies widely around the median of nearly $6,000. Upper and upper middle areas are characterized by median incomes of approximately $8,000 per family and with more than one-quarter of the families in the $10,000 and above bracket.

These distributions can be seen in Table IV-6 based on an interviewing technique which allowed respondents to indicate family income without mentioning a precise figure to the interviewer.

TABLE IV-6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY TOTAL FAMILY INCOME

Question: Will you look at this card please and choose the letter that most nearly represents your total family income now from all sources?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under $2,000	5	3.5	11	4.8	38	20.2	30	20.3	12	23.5
$2,000-4,000	7	4.9	39	17.2	57	30.3	43	29.1	22	43.1
$4,000-6,000	16	11.2	55	24.2	46	24.5	27	18.2	7	13.7
$6,000-8,000	26	18.2	43	18.9	24	12.8	11	7.4	4	7.8
$8,000-10,000	23	16.1	20	8.8	5	2.7	7	4.7	1	2.0
$10,000-12,000	19	13.3	11	4.8	2	1.1	5	3.4	0	0
$12,000-14,000	13	9.1	3	1.3	0	0	1	.7	1	2.0
$14,000-16,000	7	4.9	5	2.2	1	.5	0	0	0	0
$16,000 - over	16	11.2	7	3.1	1	.5	3	2.0	1	2.0
NA - DK	11	7.7	33	14.5	14	7.4	21	14.2	3	5.9
Totals	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

Thus we have seen that although there are multiple sources of income for families in blighted areas, these persons remain relatively poor, and there are not substantial total income differences between the families living in predominantly Negro blighted areas and predominantly Latin or white local action areas. The socio-economic area differences between these low income groups tends to be one of racial segregation: Negroes depend on multiple sources of income from members of the family and live in segregated blighted areas; Latins and poor Anglos also depend on multiple income sources, but to a somewhat lesser extent, and live in racially mixed blighted or local action areas. Although the total family income for these persons is <u>not</u> substantially higher than that of Negroes, they live in better surroundings.

It is also clear that workers who live in local action areas have jobs with more prestige than workers from blighted areas. The measurement of occupational position, or prestige, used in this study is that of August B. Hollingshead of Yale University.[4] The scale has seven categories of occupation, running from high to low. The categories are as follows:

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[4]"Index of Social Position," an unpublished mimeographed paper by August B. Hollingshead, 1964. The occupational position scale is scored in combination with measures of education to give an index of social position. The two factor index has been shown to be highly correlated with more complicated measures of social position and has gained wide acceptance in social stratification studies.

TABLE IV-7

SEVEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCALE POSITIONS

1. Higher Executives of Large Concerns, Proprietors, and Major Professionals

A. Higher Executives (Value of corporation $500,000 and above as rated by Dunn and Bradstreet)

Bank presidents
Vice presidents
Assistant vice presidents
Business: directors
presidents
vice presidents
Assistant vice presidents
Executive secretary
Research directors
Treasurer

B. Proprietors (Value over $100,000 by Dunn and Bradstreet)

Brokers
Contractors
Dairy Owners
Farmers
Lumber dealers

C. Major Professionals

Accountants (CPA)
Actuaries
Agronomists
Architects
Artists, portrait
Astronomers
Auditors
Bacteriologists
Chemical Engineers
Chemists
Clergymen (professional trained)
Dentists
Economists
Engineers (college graduates)
Foresters
Geologists
Judges (Superior courts)
Lawyers
Metallurgists
Military: Comm. officers, Major and above, Officials of the Executive Branch of Government, Federal, State, Local; e.g., Major, City Manager, City Plan Director, Internal Revenue directors
Physicians
Physicists, Research
Psychologists, practicing
Symphony conductor
Teachers, university, college
Veterinarians

2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium-Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals

A. Business Managers in Large Concerns (Value $500,000)

- Advertising directors
- Branch managers
- Brokerage salesmen
- Directors of purchasing
- District managers
- Executive assistants
- Export managers, Int. concern
- Govt. officials, minor; e.g., Internal Revenue agents
- Farm managers
- Manufacturer's representatives
- Office managers
- Personnel managers
- Police chief; sheriff
- Postmaster
- Production managers
- Sales engineers
- Sales managers, national concerns
- Store managers

B. Proprietors of Medium Businesses (Value $35,000 - $100,000)

- Advertising
- Clothing store
- Contractors
- Express Company
- Fruits, wholesale
- Furniture business
- Jewelers
- Farm owners
- Poultry business
- Real estate brokers
- Rug business
- Store
- Theater

C. Lesser Professionals

- Accountants (not CPA)
- Chiropodists
- Chiropractors
- Correction officers
- Director of Community House
- Engineers (not college grad.)
- Finance writers
- Health educators
- Labor relations consultants
- Librarians
- Military: comm. officers, Lts., Captain
- Musicians (symphony orchestra)
- Nurses
- Opticians
- Optometrists, D.O.
- Pharmacists
- Public health officers (MPH)
- Research assistants, univ. (full-time)
- Social workers
- Teachers, elementary and high school

3. Administrative Personnel, Owners of Small Businesses, and Minor Professionals

A. Administrative Personnel

Advertising agents
Chief clerks
Credit managers
Insurance agents
Managers, departments
Passenger agents -- RR
Private secretaries
Purchasing agents
Sales representatives
Section heads, Federal, State and Local governmental offices
Section heads, large businesses and industries
Service managers
Store managers (chain)
Shop managers
Traffic managers

B. Small Business Owners ($6,000 - $35,000)

Art gallery
Auto accessories
Awnings
Bakery
Beauty shop
Boatyard
Brokerage, insurance
Car dealers
Cattle dealers
Cigarette machines
Cleaning shops
Clothing
Coal businesses
Convalescent homes
Decorating
Dog supplies
Dry goods
Engraving business
Feed
Finance companies, local
Fire extinguishers
Five and Dime
Florist
Food equipment
Food products
Foundry
Funeral directors
Furniture
Garage
Gas station
Glassware
Grocery - general
Hotel proprietors
Jewelry
Machinery brokers
Manufacturing
Monuments
Music
Package stores (liquor)
Paint Contracting
Poultry
Real estate
Records and radios
Restaurant
Roofing contractor
Shoe
Signs
Tavern
Taxi company
Tire shop
Trucking
Trucks and tractors
Upholstery
Wholesale outlets
Window shades
Contracting Businesses

C. Semi-professionals

Actors and showmen
Army M/Sgt; Navy, CPO
Artists, commercial
Appraisers (estimators)
Clergymen (not prof. trained)
Physio-therapists
Piano teachers
Publicity and public relations
Radio, TV announcers
Reporters, court

Concern managers
Deputy sheriffs
Interior decorators
Interpreters, courts
Laboratory assistants
Landscape planners
Morticians
Oral Hygienists
Reporters, newspapers
Surveyors
Title searchers
Tool designers
Travel agents
Yard masters, RR
Dispatchers, RR
Photographers

D. Farmers

Farm owners ($20,000 - $35,000)

4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses - (Value under $6,000)

A. Clerical and Sales Workers

Bank clerks and tellers
Bill collectors
Bookkeepers
Business machine operators, offices
Claims examiners
Clerical or stenographic
Conductors, RR
Factory storekeepers
Factory supervisors
Post office clerks
Route managers
Sales clerks
Sergeants and petty officers, military services
Shipping clerks
Supervisors, utilities, factories
Supervisors, toll stations
Warehouse clerks

B. Technicians

Dental technicians
Draftsmen
Driving teachers
Expeditor, factory
Experimental tester
Instructors, telephone co., factory
Inspectors, weights, sanitary, RR, factory
Investigators
Laboratory technicians
Locomotive engineers
Operators, P.B.X.
Proofreaders
Safety supervisors
Supervisors of maintenance
Technical assistants
Telephone co. supervisors
Timekeepers
Tower operators, RR
Truck dispatchers
Window trimmers (stores)

C. Owners of Little Businesses ($3,000 - $6,000)

Flower shop
Grocery
Newsstand
Tailor shop

D. Farmers

Owners (10,000 - $20,000)

5. Skilled Manual Employees

Auto body repairers
Bakers
Barbers
Blacksmiths
Bookbinders
Boilermakers
Brakemen, RR
Brewers
Bulldozer operators
Butchers
Cabinet makers
Cable splicers
Carpenters
Foremen, construction, dairy
Gardners, landscape (trained)
Glass blowers
Glaziers
Gunsmiths
Gauge makers
Hair stylists
Heat treaters
Horticulturists
Linemen, utility
Linotype operators
Lithographers
Locksmiths
Loom fixers
Machinists (trained)
Maintenance Foremen
Linoleum Layers (trained)
Masons
Masseurs
Mechanics (trained)
Millwrights
Moulders (trained)
Painters
Paperhangers
Patrolemen, RR
Pattern and model makers
Piano builders
Piano tuners
Casters (founders)
Cement finishers
Cheese makers
Chefs
Compositors
Diemakers
Diesel shovel operators
Electricians
Engravers
Exterminators
Fitters, gas, steam
Firemen, city
Firemen, RR
Plumbers
Policemen, city
Postmen
Printers
Radio, TV maintenance
Diesel engine repair and maintenance (trained)
Repairmen, home appliances
Ripe splicers
Sheetmetal workers (trained)
Shipsmiths
Shoe repairmen (trained)
Stationary engineers (licensed)
Stewards, club
Switchmen, RR
Tailors (trained)
Teletype operators
Tool makers
Track supervisors, RR
Tractor-trailer trans.
Typographers
Upholsters (trained)
Watchmakers
Weavers
Welders
Yard supervisors, RR

Small Farmers

Owners (under $10,000)

Tenants who own farm equipment

6. Machine Operators and Semi-skilled Employees

Aides, hospital
Apprentices, electricians printers, steam fitters, toolmakers
Assembly line workers
Bartenders
Bingo tenders
Bridge tenders
Building superintendents (const.)
Bus drivers
Checkers
Coin machine fillers
Cooks, short order
Deliverymen
Dressmakers, machine
Elevator operators
Enlisted men, military services
Filers, sanders, buffers
Foundary workers
Garage and gas station attendants
Greenhouse workers
Guards, doorkeepers, watchmen
Hairdressers
Housekeepers
Meat cutters and packers
Meter readers
Operators, factory machines
Oilers, RR
Practical nurses
Pressers, clothing
Pump operators
Receivers and checkers
Roofers
Set-up men, factories
Shapers
Signalmen, RR
Solderers, factory
Sprayers, paint
Steelworkers (not skilled)
Stranders, wire machines
Strippers, rubber factory
Taxi drivers
Testers
Timers
Tire moulders
Trainmen, RR
Truck drivers, general
Waiters-waitresses ("Better Places")
Weighers
Welders, spot
Winders, machine
Wiredrawers, machine
Wine bottlers
Wood workers, machine
Wrappers, stores and factories

Farmers

Smaller tenants who own little equipment

7. Unskilled Employees

Amusement park workers (bowling alleys, pool rooms)
Ash removers
Attendents, parking lots
Cafeteria workers
Car cleaners, RR
Carriers, coal
Countermen
Dairy workers
Deck hands
Domestics
Farm helpers
Fishermen (clam diggers)
Freight handlers
Garbage collectors
Grave diggers
Hod carrier
Hog killers
Hospital workers, unspecified
Hostlers, RR
Janitors (sweepers)
Laborers, construction
Laborers, unspecified
Laundry workers
Messengers
Platform men, RR
Peddlers
Porters
Roofer's helpers
Shirt folders
Shoe shiners
Sorters, rag and salvage
Stage hands
Stevedores
Stock handlers
Street cleaners
Unskilled factory workers
Struckmen, RR
Waitresses ("Hash Houses")
Washers, cars
Window cleaners
Woodchoppers

Relief, public, private

Unemployed (no occupation)

Farmers

Share croppers

The effective use of this occupational scale was dependent on a precise knowledge of the head of household's occupation, obtained in the interview schedule by a series of "funnelled" questions, to wit:

" Is the head of your household employed now?"

	N	%
1. .. Yes	535	75.8
2. .. No	165	23.4
3. .. Retired	3	.4
0. .. NA	3	.4
TOTAL	706	100.0

IF YES: Where does he (she) work?

_____

IF YES: What is his (her) job title?

_____

IF YES: What kind of work does he (she) do on the job?

_____

IF NO: Is he (or she) retired?

_____

IF NO: What was his (her) job title where he (she) last worked?

_____

IF NO: What kind of work did he (she)do exactly?

_____

From knowledge of job title, place of employment and nature of work on the job, coders arrived at the following distribution of occupational positions in the major socio-economic areas under analysis:

TABLE IV-8

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

Scale Position	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	23	16.1	14	6.2	9	4.8	9	6.1	1	2.0		
2	30	21.0	22	9.7	9	4.8	11	7.4	0	0		
3	48	33.6	48	21.1	15	8.0	6	4.1	1	2.0		
4	17	11.9	36	15.9	22	11.7	13	8.8	3	5.9		
5	6	4.2	38	16.7	33	17.6	16	10.8	9	17.6		
6	3	2.1	27	11.9	21	11.2	22	14.9	16	31.7		
7	7	4.9	18	7.9	37	19.7	63	42.6	21	41.2		
Retired	6	4.2	15	6.6	32	17.0	0	0	0	0		
Students	3	2.1	9	4.0	10	5.3	8	5.4	0	0		
Totals	143	100.1	227	100	188	100	148	100	51	100.4		

This table confirms the suggestion made earlier that workers in blighted areas occupy low prestige, low paying positions and that occupational position is positively and monotonically related to socio-economic area. For example, nearly three-quarters of the heads of households in Eastown Heights were ranked in the lowest two categories of the occupational scale, covering unskilled and semi-skilled. Slightly more than half of the heads of households in other blighted areas were so classified. In local action areas, nearly two thirds of the occupational positions were scattered over the lower four categories of the scale, ranging from clerical, skilled manual, semi-skilled and unskilled classifications. It should also be noted that 17 percent of the heads of households in local action areas were classified "retired", which partially accounts for the low income reported in these old, slightly dilapitated areas of the city. Workers from the middle class socio-economic areas occupy the middle positions of the scale, covering such occupations as minor administration, small business, semi-professional and skilled manual work.

Upper and upper middle respondents were grouped in the top positions of the scale, including 16.1 percent who were classified as "higher executives" of large concerns, proprietors and major professionals. Thus the degree of relationship between blight and low occupational position and socio-economic area can be expressed by a symmetrical coefficient of association such as Goodman and Kruskal's "gamma," or an asymetrical measure such as Somers' "d".[5] In the first instance, the gamma coefficient between occupational position and socio-economic area is .400, a high value in tests of this type. The d values are d_{xy} = .302 (measuring the effect of blight on occupational position) and d_{yx} = .352 (measuring the effect of occupational position on blight).

The average of these measures suggests that 33 percent more residents of blighted areas are in the lowest occupational positions than are residents of non-blighted areas.

Taken together, this evidence suggests that, except for racial discrimination, occupational position has more to do with why Austin residents live in areas of blight than any other social or personality factor yet considered in this study. This is not to say, however, that other social-psychological conditions, such as educational attainment or age, do not, in turn, determine the type and level of occupation one pursues. Some of these related predispositional factors will now be examined.

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5 For a discussion of these measures of association, see Robert H. Somers, "A New Asymetric Measure of Association for Ordinal Variables, "American Sociological Review (December, 1962, pp. 799-811.

In response to the question, "How many years of school have you completed?", half or more of the residents in blighted areas reported they had not graduated from high school, and nearly one-quarter of the sample in these blighted areas indicated they had received less than a grade school education. In local action areas, more than half of the respondents reported high school graduation. The median educational level for persons in middle class areas was between one and three years of college (or some other form of post-high school educational attainment, such as business school). The same was true for upper and upper middle class residents, except that nearly one-quarter of these persons in high income districts claimed to be college graduates.

This evidence, which supports the proposition the higher the educational attainment, the higher the socio-economic place of residence, is shown in Table IV-9.

TABLE IV-9

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY EDUCATION

QUESTION: How many years of school have you completed?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	21	14.7	16	7.0	12	6.4	11	7.4	1	2.0		
4 yr. college graduate	32	22.4	22	9.7	18	9.6	8	5.4	2	3.9		
1-3 college or Bus. Schl.	46	32.2	60	26.4	46	24.5	11	7.4	4	7.8		
High School graduate	37	25.9	56	24.7	33	17.6	22	14.9	16	31.8		
10-11 yrs.	4	2.8	28	12.3	26	13.8	23	15.5	8	15.6		
7-9 yrs.	0	0	34	15.0	28	14.9	37	25.0	8	15.6		
under 7	2	1.4	11	4.8	24	12.8	33	22.3	12	23.5		
No answer	1	.7	0	0	1	.5	3	2.0	0	0		
Totals	143	100.1	227	99.9	188	100.1	148	100	51	100.2		

Table IV-10 shows sharp upswing in the level of grade school and high school education attained by current residents of blighted areas, as compared to that of their fathers; and a likewise trend for residents of upper and upper middle socio-economic areas to have finished a four-year college education, as compared to the lower educational levels attained by their fathers.

The upward mobility in educational attainment is not as pronounced for the residents of middle and local action areas of the city, which can also be seen by comparing Tables IV-9 and IV-10.

A comparison of the tables shows the modal educational level for respondents in blighted areas to be from seven to nine years; and that of their fathers to be under seven years. There is also a noticeable tendency toward at least some high school education for current residents of these areas, as compared to almost no high school for their patriarchal predecessors. Modal educational level for residents of upper and upper middle areas is shown in Table IV-9 to be partial college, as compared to a grade school education for the greatest percentage of their fathers, in Table IV-10. Less marked upward trends are noticeable in the other socio-economic areas.

TABLE IV-10

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY FATHERS' EDUCATION

QUESTION: How many years of schooling did your father complete?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	11	7.7	11	4.8	6	3.2	0	0	1	2.0		
4 yr. college degree	16	11.2	9	4.0	13	6.9	3	2.0	1	2.0		
1-3 yrs. college or Business Sch.	12	8.4	21	9.3	21	11.2	4	2.7	1	2.0		
High School	29	20.3	19	8.4	18	9.6	4	2.7	7	13.7		
10-11 yrs.	5	3.5	14	6.2	9	4.8	10	6.8	3	5.9		
7-9 yrs.	31	21.7	48	21.1	28	14.9	18	12.2	5	9.8		
under 7	16	11.2	46	20.3	34	18.1	32	21.2	19	37.3		
DK	23	16.1	59	26.0	59	31.4	76	51.4	14	27.5		
Totals	143	100.1	227	99.9	188	100.1	148	100	51	100.2		

We have now examined two components of social position - education and occupation. These variables have been consistently shown in sociological literature to be fundamental to a social "system," whenever a system is defined as a multi-dimensional phenomenon composed of different quantities of prestige, occupations, possessions, education, social interaction, class consciousness, value orientations or political power. That is to say, the system variables of occupation and education tend to have the greatest effect on recognized social class in current community research.

These variables have also been shown by Centers and others,[6] to be important contributors to perceived status by one's neighbors.

Occupation and education can be analytically combined in an "Index of Social Position," reflecting both prestige and economic status. Such an index based on the Hollingshead "Two-Factor" procedure, is presented here.

The two-factor index utilizes occupation and education. These factors are scaled and weighted individually, and a single score is obtained.

The educational scale is based upon the years of school completed by the head of the household. The scale values are as follows:

Years of School Completed	Scale Value
Professional (MA, MS, ME, MD, PHD, LLB, etc.)	1
Four-year college graduate (AB, BS, BM)	2
1-3 years college (also business schools)	3
High school graduate	4
10-11 years of school (part high school)	5
7-9 yeats of school	6
Under 7 years of school	7

The occupational scale was presented in Table IV-7. Its effective use is dependent on the precise knowledge of the head of the household's occupation. Occupational position has a factor weight of 7 and educational position a factor weight of 4. These weights are multiplied by the scale value for education and occupation of each individual or head of a household. The calculated weighted score gives the approximate position of the family on the overall scale. For example, John Smith is the manager of a Safeway Store; he completed high school and one year of business college.

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6 Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949) pp 28-29.

He would be scored as follows:

Factor	Scale Score	Factor Weight	Score x Weight
Occupation	3	7	21
Education	3	4	12
		Index of Social Position Score...	33

When the index of social position score is calculated, the individual may be stratified either on the continuum of scores or into a "class". In the case of John Smith, he would be rated Class III on the basis on the position he occupies on the continuum of scores, and the way the scores are grouped into classes.

The range of scores in each class on the two-factor index follows:

Class	ISP Scores
I	11-17
II	18-31
III	32-47
IV	48-63
V	64-77

The various combinations of scale scores for occupation and education are reproducible in scalogram analysis for there is no overlap between education-occupation combinations. If an individual's education and occupation are known, one can calculate his score. Conversely, if one knows an individual's score, he can calculate both occupational position and educational level. The index scores for Austin are presented in the rows of the following table:

TABLE IV-11

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY SOCIAL POSITION

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Class I & 2	101	70.7	48	21.2	31	16.5	20	13.6	1	2.0
Class 3	21	14.7	77	33.9	45	24.0	10	6.8	5	9.9
Class 4	11	7.7	71	31.3	54	28.7	36	24.3	20	39.3
Class 5	1	.7	21	9.3	43	22.8	72	48.6	25	49.0
Unclassified	9	6.3	10	4.4	15	8.0	10	6.8	0	0
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.1	188	100.0	148	100.1	51	100.1

Table IV-11 shows us that the ordering of designated socio-economic areas is in close agreement with the two factor index. Nearly three-fourths of the residents of upper and upper middle socio-economic areas are placed in class 1 and 2. About two-thirds of the persons living in Austin's middle class areas are of Class 3 and Class 4 make-up, labeled by Hollingshead as "lower" middle" and "working" class.

One fifth of the residents of middle class areas are placed in social position 1 or 2, probably due to the many professors of the University of Texas with Ph.D. degrees living in these areas, particularly in the north and western suburbs of the city, such as Allandale and Tarrytown. In these instances, professional and educational attainment would automatically place these persons in high social positions. Income levels for this group are not above that of lesser professionals and merchants, however, and the university faculty is thus proportionately under-represented in high socio-economic areas such as West Lake Hills and Balcones Heights.

Local action areas of the city, including the older districts surrounding the state capitol and the university, include about equal proportions of class 3, 4 and 5 residents. A total of 16.5 percent of the residents of these areas are of class 1 and 2 position. Thus local action areas are integrated both ethnically and in social positions.

Approximately half of the residents of blighted areas are of class 5, or "lower class" characteristics, according to the index of social position. Approximately one-quarter are of the class 4 "working class" designation.

Thus we have made three assumptions about the nature of social position in Austin which have been borne out in the preceding data. The assumptions were: (1) that social stratification exists in the community to a greater extent by socio-economic area than by education and occupation, (2) that status positions are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted cultural characteristics, and (3) that items symbolic of status may be scaled and combined by the use of statistical procedures so that a researcher can quickly, reliably and meaningfully stratify a population.

The three indicators of status we have used here - beginning with socio-economic areas, based on estimated house values, and ending with education and occupation, were cross-classified in Table IV-11 to reveal inter-relationships. We can now combine these indicators in an overall measure of status for the city. The resulting scores, presented in Table IV-12, refer to "class status", and should be thought of as general measures of social

categories that have relevance in everyday behavior. The procedures for this conversion are indicated by the example below:[6]

Factor Item	Scale Score	Factor Weight	Scale Score X Factor Weight
Socio-economic area	4 (Local Action)	6	24
Occupation	3 (Insurance Agent)	9	17
Education	3 (Business School)	5	15
	Index of Social Status Score		66

[6] August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, "The Index of Social Position," in Social Class and Mental Illness, Wiley, New York, Appendix Two, pp. 387-397, 1958.

TABLE IV-12

STANDARDIZED SOCIAL STATUS, 1960

Census Tract	Class Status Index	Rank Order
1	89.7	3
2	56.7	10
3	52.0	14
4	49.6	16
5	55.8	12
6	57.2	9
7	61.3	7
8	28.2	21
9	21.9	23
10	22.8	22
11	42.5	19
12	39.5	20
13	47.0	18
14	59.5	8
15	62.5	5
16	85.7	4
17	98.3	1
18	56.4	11
19	96.8	2
20	54.4	13
21	62.2	6
22	51.1	15
23	3.5	24
24	47.9	17

What, then, are the most "prestigeful" areas of the Austin area? A glance at Chart II-2, in conjunction with the above table, shows that the Highland Hills area of Northwest Austin tops the list, followed closely by the West Lake Hills area, west of the Colorado River. Balcones Heights and Balcones Park, in tract 1, is next, followed by the Colorado Foot Hills area, Tarrytown, and the Allandale sub-divisions. Taken together, these tracts circumscribe the North-west quarter of Austin's incorporated area. (West Lake Hills is not within the corporate limits of Austin).

On the other end of the social status ladder are the blighted areas of East Austin and Montopolis, lending further insight on the nature and location of deprivation in Austin.

Overcrowded Housing

Another important aspect of the social dynamics of Austin's blighted areas is that the homes are decayed, crowded and over-priced, considering total family income levels. Not only is housing poor, it is also scarce. Blighted census tracts 8, 9, and 10 show lower vacancy rates than for the city as a whole, where 5.4 per cent of all completed structures were vacant in 1960. As Table IV-13 shows, less than 3 per cent of the homes in East Austin's blighted tracts were reported vacant in the 1960 census. At the other extreme, more than 12 per cent of the homes in the Highland Hills area were reported vacant.

In general, Table IV-13 shows the lower the class status, the fewer the homes available for rent or for sale, and the greater the ethnic segregation. In interpreting these results, it should be remembered that residents in census tract 10 are of Latin origin, and are classified as "whites" for purposes of comparison with Negro groups. Although the vacancy rate in census tract 10 is low, this is not true for the other major Latin area in the city--Montopolis in census tract 23. In Montopolis the number of vacancies is close to the average for the city as a whole. It can thus be said that scarcity of houses is most likely to occur in East Austin rather than the poorer areas in the southern sections of the city.

TABLE IV-13

OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS IN AUSTIN - 1960

Census Tract	OWNER OCCUPIED				RENTER OCCUPIED							
	Total Owner Occupied	White	Non-white	Per cent Owner Occupied	Total Renter	White	Non-white	Total Occupied Units	Per cent Occupied Housing Units	Population Per Household	Vacancies Available Rent/Sale	Per cent Vacant
1	1,640	1,639	1	81.4	375	327	227	2,015	3.8	3.31	124	.62
2	1,900	1,897	3	62.6	1,135	1,133	48	3,035	5.7	3.00	156	5.1
3	2,533	2,533	0	62.8	1,501	1,499	2	4,034	7.7	2.86	212	5.3
4	1,437	1,184	253	51.9	1,334	1,147	2	2,771	5.2	2.86	174	6.3
5	485	485	0	34.7	913	909	187	1,398	2.7	2.31	98	7.0
6	352	348	4	20.0	1,404	1,347	4	1,756	3.3	2.50	123	7.0
7	269	266	3	18.7	1,173	1,124	57	1,442	2.7	2.12	164	11.4
8	2,160	403	175	49.8	2,175	195	1,980	4,335	8.3	3.57	104	2.4
9	1,336	988	348	44.8	1,649	1,231	418	2,985	5.7	4.17	95	3.2
10	832	830	2	52.6	750	750	0	1,582	3.0	4.27	42	2.7
11	231	228	3	18.1	1,047	1,022	25	1,278	2.4	2.31	116	9.0
12	561	500	61	42.6	756	697	59	1,317	2.5	2.86	62	4.7
13	2,603	2,519	84	61.9	1,602	1,560	42	4,205	8.0	3.30	170	4.0
14	941	938	3	58.9	657	656	1	1,598	3.0	2.74	87	5.4
15	3,716	3,709	7	80.1	921	913	8	4,637	8.8	3.54	245	5.3
16	3,532	3,531	1	60.1	2,340	2,333	7	5,872	11.18	2.83	326	5.6
17	264	264	0	97.1	8	8	0	272	.5	2.76	33	12.1
18	1,108	893	215	84.1	209	139	70	1,317	2.5	3.77	129	9.8
19	360	360	0	91.6	33	33	0	393	.7	3.34	23	5.8
20	1,241	1,239	2	84.2	233	230	3	1,474	2.8	3.59	86	5.8
21	2,963	2,429	534	69.2	549	441	108	3,512	6.7	3.88	189	5.4
22	176	176	0	60.9	113	113	0	289	.5	3.37	23	8.0
23	533	450	83	72.0	207	184	23	740	1.4	4.54	45	6.1
24	151	151	0	66.6	76	75	1	227	.4	3.21	17	7.5
Totals	31,324	27,960	3,364	59.7	21,160	18,066	3,094	52,484	99.5	3.22	2,843	5.4

Table IV-13 also shows that census tracts which were ranked low in social status tend also to fall below the median in regard to home ownership. Approximately half of the homes in blighted tracts are occupied by their owners; with the notable exception of the Montopolis area, where 72 per cent of the homes are owner occupied.

The lowest rates of home ownership can be seen in tracts generally classified as local action areas surrounding the downtown and university districts. Here, a high proportion of apartment and boarding house residents skew the distribution. The areas of greatest indigenous home ownership are, as might be expected, in the upper and upper-middle areas of Highland Hills, West Lake Hills, Balcones Park, Allandale, and in the southwestern sections of the city, including Rollingwood, Barton Heights, Inwood Hills, and Barton Hills in census tracts 19 and 20.

Data available on Austin's internal mobility, compiled by the Community Development Office for selected census tracts, show that fewer families living in upper and upper-middle areas of the city have remained in their present homes for 10 years or more than have low-income families living in blighted areas. This information on the older and somewhat more stable areas of the city is presented in Table IV-14. In general, the local action areas of census tracts 6, 7, and 11, and the middle class areas of tracts 4, 5, 13, and 15 show the highest turnover, followed by the upper and upper-middle areas of tracts 1 and 14.

TABLE IV-14

CONSTANCY OF RESIDENCE SINCE 1955
(in percentage)

Census Tract	Residence
1	40.7
2	47.8
3	48.6
4	40.2
5	30.6
6	7.7
7	26.4
8	53.3
9	50.6
10	46.2
11	34.2
12	48.3
13	37.7
14	44.7
15	36.7
16	45.0
17	00.0
18	30.1
19	16.4
20	30.0
21	28.2
22	46.8
23	50.8
24	17.7

A conclusion that can be drawn from these comparisons is that families living in blighted areas are below the average for the city as a whole in home ownership, although not markedly so; they have remained in their present homes longer than have residents of other sections of the city, and they do not have housing choice within their income areas. Thus, the ethnic minorities of the city, particularly the Negroes, are caught in a two-way squeeze: they are unable to find adequate housing within segregated areas and are also unable (or unwilling) to move into other areas of the city because of either low income or ethnic discrimination, or both.

The extent of unsafe and deteriorating housing in Austin was reflected in our original division of the city into four areas, including blighted zones where 50 percent or more of the homes were judged to be substandard. The value of these poorly constructed and dilapidated homes, in comparison to other homes in the city is shown in Table IV-15.

TABLE IV-15

STANDARDIZED HOUSE VALUES 1964

Census Tract	House Value	Rank Order
1	84.1	5
2	35.2	15
3	32.4	17
4	34.5	16
5	55.8	9
6	78.6	6
7	93.1	3
8	11.0	21
9	2.8	23
10	10.3	22
11	63.4	7
12	24.1	19
13	27.5	18
14	45.5	11
15	42.8	12
16	88.3	4
17	100.0	1
18	36.6	14
19	94.4	2
20	39.3	13
21	47.6	10
22	22.8	20
23	0.0	24
24	57.9	8

The standardized market value of homes in Austin, based on statistics available from the City Planning Department in 1964, is lowest in the Latin area of Montopolis in Census Tract 23. Next to the bottom are Negro tracts 8 and 9, and the predominantly Latin areas of Tract 10.

The extent to which these low-value homes have inadequate family space is indicated in Table IV-16, showing the ratio of persons to rooms.

TABLE IV-16

OVERCROWDING INDEX: PERSONS/ROOM RATIO, 1960

Census Tract	Persons/Room	Rank Order
1	.24	22
2	.75	15
3	.60	17
4	.82	14
5	.33	20
6	.39	18
7	.65	16
8	2.55	4
9	3.90	2
10	3.67	3
11	1.27	10
12	1.25	11
13	1.39	9
14	.36	19
15	1.00	13
16	.23	24
17	.26	21
18	1.65	5
19	.23	23
20	1.17	12
21	1.60	6
22	1.49	8
23	4.65	1
24	1.59	7

Here it can be seen that the overcrowded census tracts are precisely the areas of lowest house value, where family tenure is greatest. These are also areas of residence for the young; more than one-third of the families living in blighted areas include three or more children under 18 years of age. There are three or

more children in less than one-third of the homes in upper and upper middle and middle class areas in Austin, as can be seen in Table IV-17.

The local action areas in the city, particularly in Enfield, Winn School and Capital Heights districts in South Austin, are characterized by large, older homes and somewhat more yard space than in middle class suburbia. Half of the families living in these areas include three or more children, as can be seen in Table IV-17. The same is true for the families of the aged. As can be seen in Table IV-18, the percentage of persons over 65 years of age is highest in the local action areas located in Census Tracts 3, 11, and 12 (Planning areas 10, 19, 26, and 28). The average percent of the total tract population which is over 65 years in these areas is 16.1, as compared to the average of 7.91 percent for the population of the city as a whole.

Table IV-18 also shows that the percent of persons over 65 in the blighted tracts of 8, 9 and 23 is close to the median statistic for the city as a whole.

This consideration points to the conclusion that old age is not a striking characteristic of slum areas in Austin, but that persons over 65 are primarily scattered throughout the older zones of the city where from 20 to 50 percent of the housing has been rated substandard. In interpreting the above table, it should be remembered, however, that the proportions presented therein are based on the population of <u>each</u> census tract, and have not been standardized. The proportions do not refer to the distribution of the total number of persons over 65 in the city, but rather to the percentage of persons over 65 within the 24 tracts. These tracts vary in size and population density, with the blighted tracts being among the most heavily populated in the city. By standardizing on the number of persons receiving old age assistance in the city,the picture changes markedly. Table IV-19 shows, for example, that the blighted Negro tracts of 8 and 9 and the Latin tract 10 are areas of the greatest concentration of old age assistance in the city.

It can be said, therefore, that the presence of the elderly poor is an important characteristic of blighted areas, even though the number of persons over 65 is not out of proportion to other age groups.

TABLE IV-17

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Question: How many children are there living with you who are under 18 years of age?

	Upper Upper and Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	26	18.2	38	16.7	21	11.2	19	12.8	7	13.7
2	33	23.1	60	26.4	27	14.4	29	19.6	9	17.6
3	16	11.2	21	9.3	18	9.6	12	8.1	6	11.8
4	9	6.3	10	4.4	10	5.3	20	13.5	4	7.8
5	3	2.1	2	.9	3	1.6	5	3.4	2	3.9
6	0	0	2	.9	7	3.7	8	5.4	1	2.0
7	2	1.4	1	.4	5	2.7	2	1.4	1	2.0
8	0	0	0	0	1	.5	2	1.4	0	0
9 or more	0	0	0	0	1	.5	2	1.4	0	0
None	54	37.8	93	41.0	95	50.5	49	33.1	21	41.2
TOTALS	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.1	148	100.1	51	100.0

TABLE IV-18

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS OVER 65 YEARS OF AGE, 1960

Census Tract	Percent over 65	Rank Order
1	4.0	20
2	9.8	7
3	12.4	4
4	8.7	9
5	11.7	5
6	4.2	16
7	13.4	3
8	8.0	11
9	7.8	13
10	7.6	14
11	18.2	2
12	20.5	1
13	8.1	10
14	10.9	6
15	3.3	21
16	7.9	12
17	2.3	24
18	4.6	15
19	2.8	22
20	4.2	18
21	2.3	23
22	8.9	8
23	7,3	15
24	4.1	19

TABLE IV-19

STANDARDIZED OLD AGE ASSISTANCE, 1964

Census Tract	OAA Index	Rank Order
1	2.8	23
2	33.4	13
3	50.1	11
4	50.0	12
5	22.3	19
6	0.3	24
7	27.8	18
8	100.0	1
9	75.0	2
10	69.4	3
11	61.1	4
12	58.3	7
13	55.6	8
14	27.8	14
15	19.4	20
16	5.6	22
17	58.3	6
18	58.4	5
19	25.2	15
20	25.1	16
21	25.0	17
22	52.9	9
23	52.8	10
24	11.1	21

Crime and Juvenile Delinquency

One ramification of the high percentage of young people who live in Austin's overcrowded, blighted, and densely populated segregated areas is a high juvenile delinquency rate. More than two-thirds of the families living in Austin's blighted areas have children under 18 years of age. Based on information available from the Travis County Juvenile Court, the delinquency rate among these children of poverty is more than double that of the children of other socio-economic groups. The Court estimates that 80 per cent of all delinquency referrals in the city come from East Austin, and more particularly from the blighted census tracts of 8, 9, and 10, as reflected in Chart IV-1.

CHART IV - 1

RESIDENCE OF DELINQUENCY REFERRALS, 1963

(Austin referrals to Travis County Juvenile Court: 1,066. Out-of-town referrals: 124)

One of the paradoxes in attempting to understand the problem of juvenile delinquency in East Austin is not so much the obvious facts of the disproportionately high rate, but that even in a community of such obvious pathology as that reflected in the delinquency intake listings in Appendix G, so many--more than 90 per cent of the youth population in East Austin--do not come in direct conflict with the law. This is important in any real understanding of the power of youthful resiliency and social control. One must question, however, whether the city can afford the wastage of 10 per cent of the young people in blighted areas. No one knows, in addition to the delinquency statistics presented here, and with which we are currently preoccupied, how many other youths from the city's blighted areas lead lives caught up in a tangle of antisocial activity dominated by apathy and despair. The standardized delinquency rates presented in Table IV-20 may obscure rather than clarify, not only because of their unreliability in terms of the sources and definitions in Appendix G, but because their meaning is contaminated by such tangential problems as neglect and abandonment of children, and because they only hint at the real problem of segregation, poverty, and discrimination.

TABLE IV-20

STANDARDIZED DELINQUENCY REFERRALS PER 1,000 POPULATION - 1963

Census Tract	Delinquency Index	Rank Order
1	3.7	22
2	11.4	15
3	7.4	18
4	10.2	16
5	12.8	14
6	.9	24
7	16.1	12
8	20.4	9
9	64.0	2
10	100.0	1
11	39.3	4
12	17.7	10
13	16.9	11
14	7.3	19
15	5.8	20
16	1.7	23
17	15.7	13
18	20.6	8
19	36.8	7
20	5.4	21
21	9.8	17
22	39.7	3
23	39.1	5
24	36.9	6

Whereas apathy, despair, and poverty may account for the high proportion of delinquency referrals such as burglary, petty theft, and runaways in the Negro and Latin blighted areas of census tracts 9, 10, 22, and 23 in East and Southeast Austin, apathy, boredom, and indecisive parental control may be factors associated with the disproportionately high number of delinquency referrals from the West Lake Hills areas and Rollingwood in census tract 19. For whatever the reason, it is clear that the rate or referrals is substantially higher in these areas than in other upper and upper-middle tracts in the city.

Further interpretation of Table IV-20 suggests that juvenile delinquency is concentrated in the Negro and Latin areas of the city, followed by the downtown local action areas and also in upper and upper-middle tract 19. There is a noticeable drop in these rates in other upper and upper-middle areas and in middle class areas generally.

The rates presented here are based on case records maintained by the Travis County Juvenile Court. Equally reliable statistics on adult crime in Austin are not available. The Austin Police Department has, until this time, recorded crimes according to place of occurrence instead of by place of residence of the accused. Other invalidating factors include (1) the recording of all unclassified crimes as having occurred in census tract 11 (downtown area); (2) double entry of some individual offenses --once at the time of arrest, once when the suspect is arraigned; (3) uncertain punishment, due to failure of victims to report offense, or unsolved crimes, or overcrowded court dockets, or insufficient evidence to achieve conviction.

In view of the scarcity of reliable statistics on crime rates, it was decided not to estimate the extent of this hypothesized correlate of blight in Austin. It should be remembered, however, that crime and suicide have been shown in other definitive studies as part of the social pathology of blighted areas.[7]

Use of Health and Welfare Services

One of the inevitable results of the unemployment and menial job status of Austin's Negroes is family instability. Family breakdown occurs among the white poor in the city's local action areas, also, but inferior racial status that makes escape seem impossible and damages the core of personality adds impetus to

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[7]See, for example, Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) pp. 81-110.

the problem. Census statistics indicate that approximately one out of every eighteen men in Negro East Austin is separated from his wife, and about one out of every ten women is separated from her husband. In Latin blighted areas, less than three per cent of the families are living under separated conditions, which is two percentage points lower than for the city as a whole. Only about two-thirds of the children under 18 in blighted Negro areas are living with both parents, compared with less than one-fifth for the city as a whole. The child without a secure family life is often forced into aggression and delinquency, as indicated in the preceding tables of this report.

Broken families and poverty also usually mean reliance upon public assistance. In 1964, eight out of every 100 families in Austin's blighted areas were supported in part by aid-to-families-with-dependent children (AFDC) and by private welfare agencies such as the Salvation Army and St. Vincent de Paul, four times as many as in the city as a whole. The extent of AFDC and Salvation Army assistance, combined, to families in Austin's different census tracts is shown in the following table:

TABLE IV-21

STANDARDIZED AFDC AND SALVATION ARMY AID INDEX - 1964

Census Tract	AID Index	Rank Order
1	3.0	19
2	3.3	18
3	5.2	16
4	12.0	12
5	8.6	14
6	0.0	23
7	8.4	15
8	100.0	1
9	67.4	2
10	60.2	4
11	22.3	8
12	29.0	7
13	10.5	13
14	2.2	20
15	4.3	17
16	1.6	22
17	19.8	10
18	20.3	9
19	0.0	24
20	1.8	21
21	16.3	11
22	62.7	3
23	30.1	6
24	42.4	5

The extent of assistance in food, clothing, shoes, and lodging for the Negro and Latin populations of Austin is reflected in the AID Index in Table IV-21. In the census tract 8, the Index of 100.0 refers to the fact that one out of every 10 families received regular assistance from either AFDC or Salvation Army, or both, in 1964. Approximately seven per cent of the families in tract 9 received help, and six per cent in the outlying Negro district in tract 22. Latin areas were next in line, followed by local action areas in South Austin and in the downtown district, in tract 11.

The effects of unsafe, deteriorating, and overcrowded housing upon the physical health of persons living in Austin's blighted areas are well understood by "visiting nurses" in the City-County Health Department, and by social workers in city-operated Brackenridge hospital. The multiple use of toilet and water facilities (a total of 5.9 per cent, or 454 of the homes in Negro East Austin were equipped with "outhouse" toilet facilities in 1960), inadequate heating and ventilation, and crowded sleeping quarters increase the rate of acute respiratory infections and infectious childhood diseases. Poor facilities for the storage of food and inadequate washing facilities cause enteritis and skin and digestive disease. Crowded, poorly equipped kitchens, poor electrical connections, and badly lighted and unstable stairs increase the rate of home accidents and fires. As a result of all of these factors, operating together, families living in the city's blighted areas have extensive need for medical help and are the most frequent users of next-to-free services of Brackenridge hospital's medical clinic. The standardized index of medical services, based on 1964 information made available by the social service department of the hospital is presented in Table IV-22.

TABLE IV-22

STANDARDIZED INDEX OF MEDICAL SERVICES - 1964

Census Tract	Medical Index	Rank Order
1	3.6	22
2	11.0	18
3	13.6	16
4	15.9	13
5	7.8	21
6	3.5	23
7	16.4	12
8	52.3	4
9	58.0	2
10	58.7	1
11	44.6	6
12	27.4	7
13	24.6	9
14	9.2	20
15	10.3	19
16	2.4	24
17	14.9	14
18	26.0	8
19	12.1	17
20	14.1	15
21	16.9	11
22	49.0	5
23	53.1	3
24	18.4	10

The pattern here is as might be expected in view of the foregoing discussion. The lower the socio-economic area from which families come, the greater the use of clinic services. Although the above table does not reflect the absolute number of illnesses in the city, nor their type, incomplete information available from visiting nurses indicates that the downtown local action areas and the blighted areas of East and Southeast Austin lead in the rate of communicable disease, including tuberculosis. The extent of use of visiting nurses to combat these illnesses is not dependent entirely on the extent of the illnesses, but also on the amount of knowledge available in different sectors of the city about low-cost medical help that is available. The information about communicable diseases reported here is therefore subject to error and misinterpretation and should be viewed only as indicative.

Knowledge of Welfare Services

It is one of the paradoxes of Austin that the families who need public or private assistance the most are among those who know least about the services available. One family service agency worker has observed that the energy of "multiproblem" families of the lower socio-economic class seems directed almost entirely to giving social workers the "run-around." She attributed this to the fact that such persons are not "geared to talking," and do not know how to find help from social agencies, or how to make good use of the agencies that are known. Perhaps the tendency toward evasion by residents of blighted areas is in part due to the probing and questioning that individuals and families must undergo by the various welfare agencies concerned with their welfare.As pointed out by Miller, "The poor, thought of as being ignorant, illiterate, and unimaginative, have developed a variety of ways of coping with the welfare worker; evasion is frequent as recipients become "welfare-wise."[8] In these instances, welfare is not sought after but is viewed with a lack of respect on part of the recipients. A concomitant of this pervasive attitudinal position in blighted areas, particularly by persons who have not had first hand knowledge of welfare services themselves, is that the services are seen as poor or vaguely inadequate. For example, in Table IV-23, there is a higher percentage of persons who have had no direct contact with welfare services in the "inadequate" response categories than there are persons in like socio-economic areas who have personal knowledge of one or more service. It is interesting to note in this table that the lower the socio-economic group, the greater the tendency to classify services "inadequate," due to "hearsay."

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[8]S. M. Miller, Poverty, Race and Politics, Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1963.

In the same sense, there is a greater tendency for persons living in Eastown Heights, other blighted areas, and in local action areas to be of the opinion that "too little" money is being spent on welfare services than is the case with persons living in middle class and the upper socio-economic areas of the city, as shown in Table IV-24. That about the same proportion of persons in Eastown Heights see expenditures as "about right" as do persons living in local action, middle and upper and upper-middle areas might be due to a concentration of welfare work in this part of Negro East Austin, as compared to other blighted areas. This is documented by the relatively high proportion of persons living in Eastown Heights who claim to have first-hand knowledge of welfare services, as can be seen in Table IV-23.

TABLE IV-23

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEPTION OF WELFARE SERVICE ADEQUACY

Question: In your own words tell me why you think welfare services are (inadequate)(adequate).

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No statement given as to adequacy	35	24.5	48	21.2	37	19.7	21	14.1	8	14.7
By personal knowledge services are adequate	0	0	7	3.0	5	2.6	4	2.8	2	4.0
By personal knowledge services are inadequate	0	0	2	.9	3	1.5	2	1.4	2	4.0
By hearsay specific service or practice adequate	20	14.0	10	4.0	7	3.6	4	2.8	4	7.9
By hearsay specific service or practice inadequate	11	7.7	21	9.0	30	15.8	17	11.7	10	19.8
General positive statement (pleased with welfare program)	20	14.0	40	17.9	39	20.7	23	15.7	16	31.4
General negative statement (unpleased with welfare program)	2	1.4	19	8.4	6	3.2	21	14.3	3	5.9
DK	55	38.5	80	35.7	61	32.4	56	37.8	6	11.8
TOTALS	143	100.1	227	100.7	188	99.5	148	100.5	51	99.5

TABLE IV-24

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY EVALUATION OF WELFARE EXPENDITURES

Question: Do you think too much, about right, or too little money is being spent on welfare services for the people here in Austin?

	Upper Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Too much	13	9.1	15	6.6	10	5.3	6	4.1	3	5.9
About right	33	23.1	58	25.6	48	25.5	23	15.5	12	23.5
Too little	33	23.1	40	17.6	67	35.6	52	35.1	27	52.8
Don't know	50	35.0	55	24.2	36	19.1	14	9.5	6	11.8
NA	14	9.8	59	26.0	27	14.4	53	35.8	3	5.9
TOTALS	143	100.1	227	100	188	99.9	148	100	51	100.2

The high proportion of "don't know" and "no answer" totals in the foregoing table suggests a communication problem in Austin in regard to welfare services. To determine the degree of knowledge of several important services, a series of questions about where one would turn for help, based on hypothetical situations, were asked in the survey. An analysis of responses to these questions suggests that of the eight welfare services, the most widely known was Brackenridge Hospital, followed, in order, by Salvation Army (for transient lodging); Red Cross; Travis County Welfare Office; Salvation Army or St. Vincent de Paul (for financial aid); City-County Health Department; either the Home of the Holy Infancy, Lutheran Welfare Society of Texas, Lutheran Social Welfare Services of Texas or Child and Family Service (for adoption of babies), and the Community Guidance Center. The responses for the city as a whole in regard to these welfare agency questions are as follows:

Now I would like to ask you some questions about particular welfare services here in Austin. Very few people know the answers to all these questions, so please don't feel badly if you can't answer some or all of the questions.

In case of a disaster and you were obliged to leave your home, what community service would you turn to for food, housing and medicine?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
Red Cross	1...Correct	401	56.8
	2...Incorrect	139	19.7
	3...Partly correct	38	5.4
	0...DK; NA	128	18.1
	Totals	706	100.1

If you knew of a family here in the city whose children were hungry and the mother and father did not have enough money to buy food, where would you tell them to go for financial help?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
Travis County Welfare Office	1...Correct	344	48.7
	2...Incorrect	139	19.7
	3...Partly correct	74	10.5
	0...DK; NA	149	21.1
	Totals	706	100.0

Where else might a poor family go for financial aid here in Austin?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
Saint Vincent DePaul, Salvation Army	1...Correct	323	48.7
	2...Incorrect	103	14.6
	3...Partly correct	77	10.9
	0...DK; NA	203	28.7
	Totals	706	99.9

If you knew of a poor family of a father and mother and five children--all of whom became ill with a contagious disease like the mumps and could not afford to hire a private nurse, where would you tell them to turn for nursing help?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
City Health Department Visiting Nurse Department	1...Correct	228	32.3
	2...Incorrect	174	24.6
	3...Partly correct	100	14.2
	0...DK; NA	204	28.9
	Totals	706	100.0

Where could a poor family go for hospital care?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
Brackenridge Hospital	1...Correct	646	91.5
	2...Incorrect	10	1.4
	3...Partly correct	11	1.6
	0...DK; NA	39	5.5
	Totals	706	100.0

Where would a family with a disturbed child--a child who is having emotional problems--turn to for advice here in Austin?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
Community Guidance Center	1...Correct	92	13.0
	2...Incorrect	238	33.7
	3...Partly correct	122	17.3
	0...DK; NA	254	36.0
	Totals	706	100.0

Where would you go in Austin if you wanted to adopt a baby?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
Home of the Holy Infancy	1...Correct	145	20.5
Lutheran Welfare Society of Texas	2...Incorrect	86	12.2
	3...Partly correct	75	10.6
Lutheran Social Welfare Services of Texas	0...DK; NA	400	56.6
Child and Family Service	Totals	706	99.9

Where do tramps or transient persons go for food and a night's lodging here in Austin?

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY:		N	%
Salvation Army	1...Correct	421	59.6
	2...Incorrect	61	8.6
	3...Partly correct	14	2.0
	0...DK; NA	210	29.7
	Totals	706	99.9

In judging responses to these questions, interviewers coded answers as "correct" when the precise name of the agency was given. "Partly correct" credit was given when respondents identified the nature of the welfare agency correctly, or where it was located, but could not remember the correct name of the organization. Less than half of the sample as a whole were able to correctly name more than three welfare agencies. Approximately three-fifths of the respondents were either correct or partly correct on five of the eight questions, however. The distribution of "correct" answers for the sample as a whole are given in Table IV-25.

TABLE IV-25

DISTRIBUTION OF "CORRECT" RESPONSES TO WELFARE QUESTIONS

	Number Correct									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
N	15	52	114	145	177	97	64	27	15	706 N
%	2.1	7.4	16.1	20.5	25.1	13.7	9.1	3.8	2.1	99.9 %

The modal number of correct responses to the welfare questions, for the city as a whole, was four. However, when we look at the distribution of responses to these questions within

each socio-economic area in Table IV-26, it is clear that only about one-half of the persons in blighted and middle class areas were able to correctly identify four agencies. Approximately two out of every three individuals in local action and upper class areas were able to correctly identify at least four of the agencies. As can be seen in the series of tables in Appendix H about the same percentage of persons in local action areas answered all the questions correctly (with the exception of the question dealing with adoption), suggesting that some persons in these areas are consistently more knowledgeable than others. This constancy in response is not quite so noticeable in the other socio-economic groupings.

TABLE IV-26

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY "CORRECT" WELFARE RESPONSES

No. of Correct Responses	Upper & Middle		Upper		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	6	4.2	22	9.7	13	6.9	11	7.4	6	11.8		
2	25	17.5	35	15.4	33	17.6	21	14.2	13	25.5		
3	20	14.0	47	20.7	32	17.0	46	31.1	14	27.5		
4	42	29.4	53	23.3	52	27.7	30	20.3	11	21.6		
5	26	18.2	26	11.5	27	14.4	17	11.5	5	9.8		
6	15	10.5	18	7.0	19	10.1	12	8.1	0	0		
7	4	2.8	11	4.8	7	3.7	5	3.4	0	0		
8	2	1.4	10	4.4	1	.5	2	1.4	0	0		
0	3	2.1	5	2.2	4	2.1	4	2.7	2	3.9		
TOTALS	143	100.1	227	99.9	188	100	148	100.1	51	100.1		

Appendix H, showing the distributions of responses to each of the welfare questions, summarized in the foregoing table, indicates that persons living in blighted areas are more knowledgeable than others in affairs dealing with the basic necessities of life, such as food, housing, and medicine in case of hunger or disaster, but are less knowledgeable than others when it comes to such needs as adoption of children, psychiatric help, transient lodging or financial aid. This lends some support to the theory of emergent needs, which postulates that persons who live on the edge of poverty are preoccupied with problems of daily subsistence and do not define as immediately important some of the acquired values of middle-class culture. Additional support for these conclusions might be possible when adequate case records are kept by the Travis County Welfare Department, the major source of short-term assistance for permanent families in need of food, clothing, and housing in the Austin area. At the time of the survey, however, no systematic and reliable record keeping had been attempted by the agency.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL IDENTITIES AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL IDENTITIES AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Current sociological literature shows a preoccupation with attempts to construct systematic frames of reference for social roles and social identity, but these theoretical approaches are often vague or have not provided clean-cut directives for empirical investigations of problems of community sociology. Recent discussions of social role, for example, refer to orientations of people who occupy certain positions in a social system, such as a neighborhood. Gouldner remarks that despite frequent use, these notions of social position are obscure and often little more than a geometrical metaphor.[1] He points out that what is meant by "position" is the social identity which has been assigned to a person by members of his group, and that group members impute social position by:

(1) Observation of certain aspects of a person's appearance or behavior which reinforce stereotyped notions about his identity. That is to say, the observations are employed as perceptual clues which enable members of one's group (or groups) to answer the question, "Who is he?" in terms of sets of previously structured expectations.

(2) These culturally prescribed categories of observation, learned through socialization, focus attention on certain aspects of an individual at the exclusion of other aspects. The process by which an individual is classified by others in his group is the assignment of consensual social "identity." This classification is the most salient of all possible classifications as long as the individual maintains relations with that particular group, and is perceived as unchanged by the group.

(3) When this assignment of identity is verbally validated by the group, there is either an implicit or explicit mobilization of beliefs and behavior toward the individual in his role. That is, members of the group either "ask themselves" or discuss what they know about the assigned social type, and act correspondingly in terms of their more or less common definition.

[1] Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles, "Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (December, 1957), p. 282.

From this approach to social identity it is clear that differing sets of expectations lead to differing configurations of rights and obligations which are ascribed to the individual, and which he ascribes to himself. Thus a social role is a shared set of expectations directed toward people who are assigned or classified a given social identity. The perception and concurrence of this identity by the individual leads to reinforcement of the definition; the perception and non-concurrence lead to one or another form of deviance, apathy, isolation or despair.

In Austin's community life, as we have seen people in any one group have a variety of social identities. Persons living in large, excellently kept houses, with large lawns and expensive neighborhoods can be identified as belonging to the high socio-economic positions. But those same people are also identified as men, women, well educated, occupationally mobile, young, class-conscious, and so on. In terms of community prestige, it is primarily their identity on the socio-economic ladder that others in the community regard as central and properly salient. Expectations congruent with social identity also determine an individual's behavior, such as political apathy and cultural isolation in the city's Latin areas. But while the expectations congruent with socio-economic position or ethnicity are most relevant in community prestige or power, certain other identities operate to distinguish an individual, to affect the community's behavior toward him, and to affect an individual's attachment to his community, in turn.

From what has been said, "social identities" are not to be used synonymously with the concept of social status. Social identities refer to the way in which an individual is perceived by others, and also the way in which he perceives himself, in terms of a system of culturally prescribed categories in the community.

Social statuses have to do with a complex of more or less static or observably uniform patterns of relationships in a social system, i.e., social position and "social status" as presented earlier in this report. They sometimes are referred to as the "structural" or hierarchial position of the individual in relations to others, as in foregoing socio-economic classifications.

By focusing attention on aspects of social identities (not dependent on socio-economic position or status), it will be possible to locate individual and group relationships that have important bearings on the cultural life of the city, but

which are not culturally prescribed by manifest status. The social identities with which we will be concerned are those related to participation in community affairs -- more particularly with voluntary organizational involvement; regular voting behavior; "cultural" activity generally, including use of the mass media for purposes other than entertainment, theater going, classical or semi-classical musical taste, and positive attitudes toward museums; interests and activities both within and external to Austin's boundaries, including knowledge of urban renewal projects; recognition of neighborhood boundaries; knowledge of welfare services in Austin, and sociable activity, such as regular visiting with friends or neighbors. An examination will also be made of some of the structural or social status correlates of four major types of social identity in Austin. This typology will be achieved by cross-classification of two major axis of community identity -- "localism" and "cosmopolitanism."

The examination of these facets of community life and social-psychological orientations is presented under the explicit assumption that successful community development programs entail an increasing awareness of citizens generally and residents of renewal areas in particular, of community affairs. For it is this very participation and attachment to a community that leads to individual adaptive competence, social and economic stability and orderly social change. Before change can be measured; however, it is first necessary to describe the intensity and nature of community attachment and identities so that a base can be established for future comparisons -- after community renewal programs are put into effect. It is the purpose of this chapter to establish such a baseline.

Social Identities: Localism and Cosmopolitanism

Localism and cosmopolitanism have been previously investigated by Merton[2] and Gouldner[3] in different types of analyses. Merton used the terms to identify types of power relationships in communities, by focusing on internal or external community orientations of different types of influentials. Gouldner borrowed the local-cosmopolitan concept for use in his analysis of formal organizations and institutions. He applied localism and cosmopolitanism labels to role players apart from considerations of their influence.

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[2] Robert K. Merton, "Two Phases of a Qualitative Analysis of Influentials," in Communication Research, 1948-49, editted by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, (New York, 1949).

[3] Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy,(Glencoe,1957).

This study looks at local and cosmopolitan identities in a third way -- as community roles, apart from considerations of personal influence or institutional involvement.

The indicators of cosmopolitan community identities stem from the questions in the interview schedule dealing with cultural activity,knowledge of urban renewal in cities other than Austin, and the preference of national news from newspapers and radio newscasts.

Indicators of localism were based on knowledge of a local bond issue election, knowledge of welfare services in Austin, knowledge of the boundaries of neighborhood recognition areas, sociable interaction with friends and neighbors, and preference of local news from newspapers and radio newscasts.

The extent to which residents in Austin take part in symbolic cultural activities which transcend local organizations, activities and interests was indicated in responses to the following series of questions:

1. Do you try to read biographies of national leaders (other than entertainment personalities) in magazines fairly regularly?

	N	%
2... Yes	252	35.7
1... Sometimes	129	18.3
0... Seldom	325	46.0
0... No; NA		
Totals	706	100.0

2. Do you ever attend concerns, or other musical events? If YES, about how often do you attend this type of musical event in Austin, or when you visit other communities?

	N	%
3... More than once a month	41	5.8
2... About once every 1-3 mos	82	11.6
1... About once every 3-6 mos	86	12.2
0... About once every 6-12 mos	497	70.4
0... Less than once a year		
	706	100.0

3. Do you ever attend stage plays, such as that put on by the Broadway Theater League, the University, the Austin Civic Theater, or "stock" theater?

If YES: About how often do you attend this type of theater in Austin, or when you visit other communities?

	N	%
3... More than once a month	13	1.8
2... About once every 1-3 mos	62	8.8
1... About once every 3-6 mos	64	9.1
0... About once every 6-12 mos		
0... Less than once a year	568	80.4
	706	100.1

4. Do you think that taxpayers' money should be spent to support public museums?

	N	%
2... Yes	428	60.6
1... Qualified	106	15.0
0... No		
0... DK;NA	172	24.4
	706	100.0

5. What radio station do you listen to most often <u>for music</u> ?

	N	%
2... FM station mentioned (KHFI; KTBC-FM; KUT-FM)	199	28.2
1... AM station mentioned	415	58.8
0... None;NA	92	13.0
	706	100.0

6. Do you subscribe to any national news magazines?

Yes
No
DK;NA

If YES: Which ones do you subscribe to?
(PAUSE: DO NOT READ LIST OF MAGAZINES.
AFTER RESPONDENT REPLIES, ASK:)

6a Are there any other magazines you read most issues of, just as though you subscribed to them?

NOTE: IF RESPONDENT NAMES ANY ONE OF THE FOLLOWING MAGAZINES GIVE HIM A SCORE OF 2

	N	%
1	124	17.6
2	277	39.2
0	305	43.2
	706	100.0

Time
Newsweek
US News & World Report
Current
Progressive
Reporter
Saturday Review
Commonwealth
America
Nation
Business Week
New Republic
) 2

IF RESPONDENT NAMES ANY ONE OF THE FOLLOWING GIVE HIM A SCORE OF 1

Life)....1
Look)

b. IF NO: Are there any news magazines that you read most issues of, just as though you subscribed to them?

(NOTE: If ANY OF THE ABOVE MAGAZINES ARE NAMED RECORD AS ABOVE)

In ordinary speech, a man of culture is a man who can speak languages other than his own, who is familiar with history, literature, philosophy, or the fine arts. Anthropologists speak of culture as the total way of life of a people -- the social legacy an individual acquires from his group affiliations from early childhood on. In either definition, the technical term "culture" has a wider meaning than the mass culture of magazines, music, museums and the theater which we have attempted to measure here. The rationale for selecting these particular activities for an Index of Culture in Austin was based on likely variation rather than on theoretical constructs. It was thought to be desirable to select activities in which persons from all levels of the economic strata participate, i.e., which are not expensive. Even with pre-selection, it can be seen that between 70 and 80 percent of the city as a whole do not attend concerts or musical events, or the theater, many of which are offered free or for nominal cost by the university and the city. Substantially more persons use the mass media for "cultural" fare -- including approximately one-fourth of the population who listen to FM stations in Austin which are primarily devoted to classical or semi-classical musical programming. More than two-thirds of the sample indicated they read news-interpretive magazines, and 60 percent gave an unqualified "yes" to the expenditure of taxpayers' money for the support of public museums.

By totaling the scores, as indicated for the preceding responses for the four major socio-economic groupings in this study, it can be seen that nearly one-fourth of the persons living in local action areas are "high" users of culture, followed by persons living in the upper and upper middle areas.

TABLE V-1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY SELECTED CULTURAL ACTIVITY

Culture Index	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low Activity (0-3)	21	8.9 14.7	84	35.4 37.1	57	24.1 30.3	75	31.6 50.7	237	100.0
Med. Activity (4-8)	90	25.5 63.0	115	32.6 50.7	87	24.6 46.3	61	17.3 41.2	353	100.0
High Activity (9-13)	22	27.6 22.4	28	24.1 12.2	44	38.0 23.4	12	10.3 8.1	116	100.0
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	706	

NOTE: The percentages to the left in the percentage columns refer to the distribution of cultural positions between socio-economic groups, and are summed horizontally. The percentages that appear to the right in the percentage columns refer to the extent of cultural activity within each socio-economic group, and are summed vertically.

Persons living in upper and upper middle areas show a tendency toward "medium" positions on the cultural index. Persons living in middle class areas show tendencies toward medium and low positions on the index. Most persons living in local action areas show midway culture commitments, and persons living in blighted areas tend to be low or medium on the index.

Reading the table horizontally shows low cultural commitments, as measured here, by middle class persons and persons living in blighted areas. Residents of middle class areas are the most populus in the middle positions on the index, and high users of culture tend to be drawn from local action areas.

The use of the mass media other than magazines by persons in the various socio-economic areas has bearing on local and cosmopolitan identities. Cosmopolitans, because of their variety of interests which extend beyond the boundaries of the city, would presumably turn to national and foreign news in the daily newspaper, or would prefer national and foreign news on radio and television. Locals, on the other hand, would be primarily interested in community affairs and would seek out this type of information from the mass media.

The Austin daily newspaper reading habits of residents in the major socio-economic areas are indicated in Table V-2.

TABLE V-2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY READING PREFERENCES IN AUSTIN NEWSPAPERS

Question: Do you regularly read one of the Austin newspapers? If Yes - What do you like best about it?

Response	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't read it	22	15.4	33	14.5	47	25.0	39	26.4
Local	32	22.4	50	22.0	32	17.0	28	18.9
State	2	1.4	7	3.1	9	4.8	4	2.7
National	18	12.6	25	11.0	22	11.7	11	7.4
Foreign	4	2.8	1	.4	4	2.1	1	.7
Editorials	4	2.8	12	5.3	11	5.9	4	2.7
Sports	19	13.3	16	7.0	17	9.0	14	9.5
Comics	6	4.2	10	4.4	1	.5	1	.7
Local Features	3	2.1	6	2.6	6	3.2	2	1.4
Front Page	10	7.0	18	7.9	18	9.6	7	4.8
Entire Paper	16	11.2	31	13.7	12	6.4	22	14.9
Ann Landers	0	0	4	1.8	4	2.1	2	1.4
Politics	1	.7	2	.9	2	1.1	2	1.4
All News	0	0	5	2.2	1	.5	3	2.0
Want Ads	0	0	4	1.8	1	.5	2	1.4
Other	6	4.2	3	1.3	1	.5	5	3.5
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.1	188	99.9	148	99.8

The pattern of preferences for national and foreign news is as might be expected from our knowledge of other socio-cultural interests in Austin. Residents of local action and upper and upper middle areas tend to be heavy users of this news. Residents in the upper economic groups also show lively interest in sports news. Middle class persons show the most interest in local news. Their reading also tends to be diffuse, with nearly 14 percent indicating they prefer to scan the whole paper rather than to concentrate on any particular kinds of news. Residents of blighted areas show the same pattern of preferences -- they prefer local news first, and the whole newspaper secondly.

In general, the higher the socio-economic group, the greater the tendency to read the daily newspaper. More than one out of four residents of blighted areas reported they do not read either the morning American or the afternoon Statesman, whereas less than one out of 10 persons in the upper and upper middle areas said they do not read either of the newspapers.

Members of upper and upper middle and local action socio-economic groups are consistent in their preferences for radio news. Residents in these areas show a greater tendency than others to prefer national and foreign news, reinforcing their cosmopolitan tendencies. As Table V-3 shows, there is a greater inclination for persons in blighted areas to prefer local news than members of other groups, who are about equally in accord on these selections. In contrast to newspaper reading, it is clear that the lower the socio-economic group, the greater the tendency to listen to the radio.

Although the data are not included in this study, a previous analysis of television viewing behavior in Austin shows approximately the same patterns of preferences for television news and documentaries.[4] In this study, conducted in 1963, persons occupying high social positions indicated preferences for educational and documentary programs, although their actual viewing time for these programs was not substantially higher than other groups in the city as a whole.

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[4] William R. Hazard, "Tension and Television Tendency," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, sponsored by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health and CBS, Incorporated, Austin, 1964.

TABLE V-3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY RADIO NEWS PREFERENCES

Question: Do you regularly listen to the radio? If yes: What kind of news are you most interested in hearing about on the radio?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Local	19	13.3	34	15.0	27	14.4	30	20.3
State	0	0	0	0	2	1.1	3	2.0
National	27	18.9	30	13.2	31	16.5	15	10.1
Foreign	6	4.2	6	2.6	12	6.4	2	1.4
Sports	2	1.4	1	.4	3	1.6	4	2.7
All types	41	28.7	91	40.1	71	37.8	50	33.8
Other	2	1.4	5	2.2	2	1.1	6	4.1
Don't listen	46	32.2	60	26.4	40	21.3	38	25.7
Totals	143	100.1	227	99.9	188	100.2	148	100.1

To determine the relative effectiveness of the press or the electronic media in providing background information about issues of local importance, a series of questions was asked in connection with a recent referendum vote in Austin. These questions, and the responses, are presented here in Tables V-4 to V-8. Before the effectiveness of the media, or the nature of the diffusion of information about the bond issue can be ascertained, it is first necessary to know the extent of knowledge about the issue, from whatever source. The degree of knowledge in the major socio-economic areas is illustrated in Table V-4.

Here it can be seen that more than three out of four of the residents of the city could not correctly identify any one of the four capital improvements voted upon in the referendum.[5] Only 11.9 percent of the persons in upper and upper middle areas and 10.1 percent in the blighted areas could identify two of the four improvements. Residents in local action areas were the least knowledgeable of all in this regard. The pattern remains about the same in regard to interest in the referendum. As shown in Table V-5, about one in five residents in the upper and upper middle areas reported interest in the bond issue, followed by one in seven who reported they were very interested in the local action areas. The least amount of interest was reported by persons in the vast middle classes in the city.

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[5] The capital improvements which were approved in the referendum on August 22, 1964, included parks and recreation construction; an addition to Brackenridge Hospital; general improvements of streets and bridges, including additional money for MoPac Blvd., and Fire Department improvements.

TABLE V-4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY KNOWLEDGE OF BOND ISSUE

Question: Perhaps you remember that this last election had to do with a 14 million dollar Bond Issue for Capital Improvements in the City? Four major capital improvements were voted upon. Do you happen to recall what any of these improvements are?

Number Named	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	105	73.4	180	79.3	154	81.9	120	81.1	43	84.3
1	9	6.3	17	7.5	16	8.5	9	6.1	3	5.9
2	17	11.9	19	8.4	9	4.8	15	10.1	1	2.0
3	11	7.7	6	2.6	7	3.7	4	2.7	4	7.8
4	1	.7	5	2.2	2	1.1	0	0	0	0
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

TABLE V-5

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY INTEREST IN BOND ISSUES

Question: How interested would you say you were about the Bond Issue that came up for election on August 22? Very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, not interested at all?

Response	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very	28	19.6	15	6.6	14	7.4	20	13.5	6	11.8
Somewhat	38	26.6	56	24.7	43	22.9	38	25.7	17	33.3
Not very	38	26.6	81	35.7	59	31.4	38	25.7	7	13.7
Not at all	25	17.5	52	22.9	53	28.2	31	20.9	13	25.5
DK;NA	14	9.8	23	10.1	19	10.1	21	14.2	8	15.7
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	100.1	148	100.0	51	100.0

The use of mass media as sources of information about the bond issue is shown in Table V-6. The table supports the earlier contention that persons in the upper and upper middle areas of the city rely on the newspapers to a greater extent than on other media for news, and that persons living in blighted areas are more dependent on electronic media, particularly television, for information about current affairs. It is also clear that residents of middle class areas turned to newspapers for information about the bond issue, and that local action area persons were about equally divided between the newspapers and television.

Active interest in the bond issue referendum, as evidenced by attendance at public meetings, such as that conducted by The League of Women Voters before the elections, was shown by only one out of 19 persons in high economic districts, and by about one out of 11 persons in blighted areas -- the two leading groups in this respect, as indicated in Table V-7.

It is interesting to note that in total, almost one-third of the entire sample of respondents said they were "not very" interested in the bond issue -- an alarmingly high degree of disinterest in view of the fact that voting studies generally show professed interest in local elections outdistances turnout at the polls. Although voters approved the 14 million dollar bond issue in August at the rate of five to one, this was based on a turnout of only 6,095 voters, or approximately nine percent of the holders of 67,623 poll taxes in 1964.

Voter turnout was thus less than that reported by the respondents when they were asked if they had happened to vote in the election. In the city as a whole, 11.6 percent -- or slightly more than one person out of 10 -- claimed to have voted. Among these persons, residents of the upper and upper middle areas were more inclined to say they had voted than residents of the other areas, but the differences are not striking, as can be seen in Table V-8.

TABLE V-6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY SOURCE OF BOND ISSUE INFORMATION

Question: Did you read about the Bond Issue, or hear about it over the radio or television before it was voted upon?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Newspaper	61	42.7	93	41.0	47	25.0	30	20.3	10	19.6
Radio	10	7.0	29	12.8	22	11.7	24	16.2	9	17.6
T.V.	32	22.4	30	13.2	39	20.7	40	27.0	11	21.6
Other	3	2.1	1	.4	1	.5	3	2.0	0	0
No	21	14.7	57	25.1	53	28.2	39	26.4	11	21.6
All 3 equally	3	2.1	0	0	4	2.1	0	0	1	2.0
DK:NA	13	9.1	17	7.5	22	11.7	12	8.1	9	17.6
	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	99.9	148	100	51	100

TABLE V-7

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY SOURCE OF BOND ISSUE MEETINGS

Question: Did you attend any public meetings having to do with this Bond Issue or did you happen to hear a discussion of it at an organization of which you are a member?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	8	5.6	7	3.1	2	1.1	13	8.8	7	13.7		
No	119	83.2	206	90.7	160	85.1	129	87.2	37	72.5		
Informal Discussion	3	2.1	5	2.2	6	3.2	4	2.7	4	7.8		
DK:NA	13	9.1	9	3.9	20	10.6	2	1.4	3	5.9		
	143	100	227	99.9	180	100	148	100.1	51	100		

TABLE V-8

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PROFESSED VOTING

Question: Did you happen to vote in the last election just a few weeks ago on August 22?

	Upper and Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	25	17.5	22	9.7	17	9.0	18	12.2	5	9.8
No	114	79.7	195	85.9	165	87.8	118	79.7	42	82.4
Can't remember	3	2.1	7	3.1	0	0	7	4.7	2	3.9
DK;NA	1	.7	3	1.3	6	3.2	5	3.4	2	3.9
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

Voter apathy toward the bond issue was also shown in the fact that less than one out of 20 persons in the sample had heard discussions of the bond issue in a public meeting or special interest group, although several public forums had been widely advertised in the local newspapers and on television in the two-week period preceding the election. These considerations suggest that the relationship of the bond issue to Austin's urban renewal program was not known by voters, or that the urban renewal itself had not attracted interest. That the latter is the more plausible of the two explanations will be demonstrated in Chapter VI of this report.

Social Involvement

Numerous studies show that socio-economic status affects an individual's propensity to participate in or avoid involvement in politics or community affairs.[6] Whether the measure of status used is income, occupation, home ownership, rent, ethnicity, or a combination of these indices in measures of social class, or social position, such as that presented in Chapters III and IV of this report, the results point to the inescapable conclusion: the higher the status, the more likely to pay poll taxes, to vote, to be interested in politics, to discuss politics, to belong to politically relevant organizations, and to attempt to influence the political views of others. Although there has been no direct evidence showing the relationship of social class to attitudes toward urban renewal and community development, it can be assumed that this activity carries with it political overtones, and that social class indices will be similarly relevant.

Support for this notion comes from a second category of studies which shows that individuals who are involved in voluntary organizations, both formal and informal, tend to participate in community affairs more than those who are not, and that persons who are highly involved in formal organizations tend to participate more than those who are minimally involved, or whose activities are centered within informal, neighborhood groups.

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[6] For a listing of 38 such studies, see William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, 29, (Spring, 1964).

Among the measures used in this study to describe these two types of social involvement are, on the informal level, friendliness toward new neighbors, the number of families in the neighborhood who are visited with frequently, and number of relatives in the community. On the formal organizational level, studies that describe involvement include number of memberships, frequency of attendance at meetings, expressions of interest in organizational affairs, and participation in organizations as measured by committee memberships, office holding, and financial contributions.

Several combinations of the above measures were used in the current investigation to determine local or cosmopolitan identities, and their relationship to socio-economic areas and urban renewal.

On the informal social involvement level, Table V-9 shows that in general, the lower the socio-economic group, the greater the friendliness toward new neighbors. More than one out of two persons in blighted areas indicated they would offer to help new residents after they moved into the neighborhood, whereas less than two out of five residents in middle and upper and upper middle areas felt this behavior would be desirable, as shown in Table V-9. On the other hand, with the exception of residents of Eastown Heights, persons living in upper and upper middle socio-economic areas claimed the widest friendship with established families in their neighborhoods, as demonstrated in Table V-10.

Here it is evident that four out of ten persons in the upper income areas claimed to know seven or more families well enough to call on in their homes, as did residents of the Eastown Heights area. Approximately one out of four residents of the other socio-economic areas of the city indicated this extent of potential interaction with neighbors.

The extent of kinship ties in the city, as shown in Table V-11, suggests that the lower the socio-economic group, the greater the possibility of locally based visiting within one's own extended family. The relationship is nearly monotonic, with residents of blighted areas showing extensive familial ties in Austin.

TABLE V-9

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW NEIGHBORS

Question: In general, which, if any, of the following attitudes do you think a person should take toward new neighbors: (1) Go over to their house after they have moved in and offer to help; (2) Go over to their house and introduce yourself but don't offer to help unless they ask you for it; (3) Don't go over unless invited, but be friendly; (4) Stay away from all new comers and keep to lifetime friends; (5) None of the above?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Go over and Offer help	56	39.2	88	38.8	82	43.6	79	53.4	24	47.1
Go over & introduce self	66	46.2	97	42.7	40	21.3	30	20.3	8	15.7
Don't go over but be friendly	20	14.0	36	15.9	56	29.8	30	20.3	15	29.4
Stay Away	1	.7	1	.4	7	3.7	7	4.7	3	5.9
NA:DK	0	0	5	2.2	3	1.6	2	1.4	1	2.0
	143	100.1	227	100	188	100.1	148	100.1	51	100.1

TABLE V-10

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY BETWEEN FAMILY INTERACTION

Question: How many families in this neighborhood do you know well enough to call on or visit in their homes?

	Upper Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
DK	9	6.3	38	16.7	32	17.0	27	18.2	8	15.7
1-2	17	11.9	48	21.1	38	20.2	30	20.3	7	13.7
3-4	31	21.7	51	22.5	37	19.7	28	18.0	8	15.7
5-6	28	19.6	36	15.9	29	15.4	24	16.2	4	7.8
7-8	17	11.9	17	7.5	11	5.9	19	12.8	12	23.5
9-10	8	12.6	14	6.2	21	11.2	4	2.7	2	3.9
11-12	8	5.6	10	4.4	5	2.7	6	4.1	2	3.9
13-14	2	1.4	3	1.3	0	0	1	.7	0	0
15-16	3	2.1	3	1.3	3	1.6	4	2.7	0	0
17 or more	10	7.0	7	3.1	12	6.4	5	3.4	8	15.7
	143	100.1	188	100	188	100.1	148	100.1	51	99.9

TABLE V-11

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY KINSHIP TIES IN AUSTIN

Question: Do you happen to have any relatives living in Austin, not including members of your household?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	71	49.7	154	67.8	125	66.5	123	83.1	45	88.2
No	72	50.3	68	30.0	58	30.9	18	12.2	4	7.8
Outlying areas	0	0	4	1.8	5	2.7	1	.7	0	0
DK;NA	0	0	1	.4	0	0	6	4.1	2	3.9
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	99.9

The fact that more than four out of five residents in blighted areas have extended family ties in Austin lends further support to the conclusion drawn earlier that these persons are the most settled of all groups in the city. As demonstrated, these residents of the city have lived in their homes for longer periods than have others; they do not see themselves as living in slums or "ghettos"; they attend to local news, particularly by radio and television; they were about as knowledgeable as residents of middle class areas about a bond issue; and they are as inclined to stay in their present neighborhoods as are residents of middle class and local action areas, thus showing a propensity toward localism and positive community attachment in these regards.

The data presented in the preceding tables demonstrate a corollary of localism for residents of blighted areas; they are as sociably involved with neighbors, at least initially, and are likely to have greater stability of family ties, than are residents of the city who live in local action, middle class and upper socio-economic areas.

When we turn to formal organizational involvement, however, the picture changes somewhat. Here, class status is a correlate of involvement, with the implication that organizations in Austin recruit selectively from the class of high social participators in general. Total organizational involvement was determined in this study through a summation of involvement scores for both "issue interest" and "sociable" organizations, as determined by a measure of social participation developed by the Iowa Urban Community Research Center.

"Sociable" involvement includes memberships in all organizations considered to be primarily sociable in nature, oriented toward the satisfaction of the members' expressive needs. Into this category went involvement in all lodges and fraternal orders, businessmen's groups, church auxiliary groups, "community and neighborhood" groups, sports and athletic clubs, "social groups," and any other organization specified by the respondent as a context in which he "met friends," in a more or less formal setting, in answer to a general question on that point.

"Issue-interest" organizations are concerned primarily with the advancement of the members' economic or political interests, the expression of members' sentiments about the conduct of community affairs, or the protection of members' personal rights or privileges. In this category we include all veterans' organizations, the PTA and other education interest groups, political parties and clubs, business and professional associations (not including men's fraternal groups), and any other organization cited by the respondent as one to which he belonged

and sometimes took stands on political issues. Because of the inclusiveness of the two open-ended questions, a given organization may be included in both categories.

"Organizational involvement" itself was scored according to a modification of the Chapin Social Participation Scale, where each score represents the sum of all involvement scores for issue-interest or sociable organizations. The individuals who belonged to no such organizations are called "none," and the rest of the scores are grouped into "high," "medium," and "low," by dividing the remaining distribution into tertials.

The scores were determined as follows: for each organization reported, the interviewee was given one point for the simple fact of membership, and extra points as follows: (1) self-reported attendance at meetings--"always," three points, "most times," two points, "sometimes," one point; (2) level of interest in organization--"great deal," two points, "some," one point; (3) highest office ever held--officer or chairman of a committee, two points; committee member or equivalent, one point. An individual may thus make eight points for an organization in which he is maximally involved.[7]

The distribution of respondents in the various socio-economic areas who scored eight or more points, indicating maximal involvement in one or more organization, or partial involvement in several, is shown in Table V-12.

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[7]"Total organizational involvement" represents the sums of involvement scores for all organizations--each counted only once, and including churches, whether codable in the "sociable" or "issue-interest" classifications or not.

TABLE V-12

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY HIGH TOTAL ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Score of 8 or higher	93	69.9	89	39.3	53	37.7	52	34.4	18	35.5

The table shows a high positive association between socio-economic area and total organizational involvement. Approximately one-third of the residents of blighted areas show high involvement; whereas more than two out of three residents of upper and upper middle areas indicated involvement.

These distributions of high involvement scores should not be misconstrued as indicators of extensive localism in Austin. Many of the organizations for high status, high income families, are national in scope, with special interest goals which transcend community boundaries. Mens' fraternal or "luncheon" organizations, for example, may have yearly projects to raise funds for the blind, or to assist needy or orphaned children at Christmas or at other times in the year, but such projects are not the sole or even the chief purpose, of the organization.

No attempt was made in this study to determine the extent of involvement in issue-interest activities on strictly the local level, since this effort would have increased the length of interviewing beyond prudence. An indication of the degree to which organizational involvement is concentrated in neighborhood recognition areas is shown in Table V-13, however -- which suggests, rather than conclusively demonstrates, specifically local spheres of interest.

At first glance, Table V-13 suggests the lower the socio-economic area of residence, the greater the tendency toward neighborhood meetings of formal organizations. This is partly due to the high percentage of church involvement, as compared to other types of organizational commitment, by residents of the lower socio-economic areas.

It is unlikely that the striking differences between groups on both ends of the socio-economic ladder in this regard can be explained entirely by church affiliation, however. A tentative conclusion is that among the residents of the poorer areas who take part in organizations of one type or another, there is a tendency to select (or be selected by) locally-oriented groups. But because of the uncertainties of these data, organizational involvement has not been included in the overall indices of localism or cosmopolitanism, with which we will now be concerned.

TABLE V-13

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY ORGANIZATIONAL LOCATION

Question: Do any of these organizations you mention meet in this part of Austin -- that is -- in (Named Area) regularly?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	68	47.6	125	55.1	92	48.9	98	66.2	38	74.5		
No	65	45.5	63	27.8	60	31.9	29	19.6	4	7.8		
Sometimes	4	2.8	4	1.8	3	1.6	0	0	0	0		
DK;NA	6	4.2	35	15.4	33	17.6	21	14.2	9	17.6		
	143	100.1	227	100.1	188	100	148	100	51	99.9		

TABLE V-14

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY LOCALISM TENDENCIES

0	17	11.9	49	21.6	33	17.6	34	23.0	5	9.8
1 Low	28	19.6	66	29.1	65	34.6	33	22.3	20	39.2
2	46	32.2	58	25.6	48	25.5	42	28.4	16	31.4
3 Medium	29	20.3	35	15.4	32	17.0	22	14.9	8	15.7
4	19	13.3	16	7.0	7	3.7	11	7.4	1	2.0
5	1	.7	3	1.3	3	1.6	5	3.4	1	2.0
6 High	3	2.1	0	0	0	0	1	.7	0	0
	143	100	227	100	188	100	148	100.1	51	100.1

Index of Localism

Localism, as it has been defined in the preceding pages, refers to activities and interests in community affairs which do not transcend the boundaries of Austin. Our summary measure of localism is composed of the following attributes:

	Item	Weight
(1)	Correct identification of at least one capital improvement in the August 22, 1964, bond issue referendum	1
(2)	A preference for local news in the daily newspaper	1
(3)	A preference for local news on radio or television newscasts	1
(4)	Regular interaction with three or more families in the neighborhood	1
(5)	Correct identification of at least five welfare or service agencies in Austin	1
(6)	Correct identification of at least two neighborhood boundaries	1

The maximum score a respondent could be given on the localism index was six. By socio-economic area, the distribution of these scores is shown in Table V-14.

It can be seen that residents of the upper and upper middle areas have somewhat higher rankings on the index than do other groups, followed closely by residents of blighted areas. Residents in middle class local action and Eastown Heights areas are apparently least involved in local affairs, although the differences between the groups are not striking. The modal position on the scale for the upper and blighted groups is two (out of a possible score of six). The modal position for residents of other areas is one, indicating a rather low degree of awareness of community affairs.

It is clear that there is a general diffuseness in involvement in community affairs in Austin, and that differences between the various social classes are covered up rather than exposed by a summary index such as the one presented here. It will be recalled that a similar situation exists in regard to total

organizational involvement -- there is a tendency for persons in the upper levels of the economic order to participate in organizations more than others, and that citizens in other groups show particularistic rather than general preferences for involvement.

One might be tempted to argue that both total organizational involvement and localism tendencies are determined by social status, but this is an oversimplification. For example, it will be recalled that the persons who have lived in Austin for the longest period of time are generally located in Negro and Latin blighted areas. And when we examine the relationship between length of residence and localism, it can be seen that there is a marked and highly significant relationship, as demonstrated in Table V-15, indicating that length of residence in Austin is equally, if not more important, than social status in determining local commitments.

TABLE V-15

LOCALISM BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Localism	Length of Residence		Total
	High (7/)	Low (1-6)	
High (2-6)	211 62.8%	170 45.9%	381
Low (0-1)	125 37.2%	200 54.1%	325
Total	336	370	706

$x^2 = 19.492$; df = 1; $P < .001$

Not only do long periods of residence help strengthen local ties, the anticipation of permanent residency in Austin also increases one's localism tendencies, as shown in Table V-16.

TABLE V-16

LOCALISM BY ANTICIPATED LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

Localism	Anticipated Length of Residence		Total
	High (9)	Low (1-8)	
High (2-6)	302 58.4%	57 38.5%	359
Low (0-1)	215 41.6%	91 61.5%	306
Total	517	148	665

$x^2 = 17.555$; df = 1; $P < .001$

Evidence that Negro groups have as great an interest in local affairs as do Anglos, and that both of these racial types share localism concerns more than do persons of Latin background is shown in Table V-17.

TABLE V-17

LOCALISM BY ETHNICITY

Localism	Ethnic Group				Total
	Latin (1)	Negro (2)	Anglo (3)	Other (4)	
High (2-6)	39 41.1%	63 57.8%	278 55.6%	1 50.0%	381
Low (0-1)	56 58.9%	46 42.2%	222 44.4%	1 50.0%	325
Total	95	109	500	2	706

$x^2 = 7.623$; df = 3; $P < .10$

Here, substantially more than half of the Negro and Anglo respondents are above the median in localism tendencies, and approximately two out of five persons of Latin ethnicity show similar local involvement, suggesting that Negroes have many of the same community values as do Anglos and that Latins tend to respond to their own community subcultures rather than to the city as a whole.

The influences of income and social position on localism tendencies are also pronounced, as shown in Tables V-18 and V-19. A conclusion which can be made here is that social status and its correlates and length or anticipated length of residence are major determinants of local identities, and that these status positions in Austin's society are antecedent and "causal" of localism in spite of total organizational involvement or ethnic background, or sex, as shown in Table V-20.

TABLE V-18

LOCALISM BY INCOME

Localism	Income			Total
	High (6/)	Med. (3-5)	Low (1-2)	
High (2-6)	71 75.5%	175 57.9%	108 46.8%	354
Low (0-1)	23 24.5%	127 42.1%	123 53.2%	273
Total	94	302	231	627

$x^2 = 22.977$; df = 2; $P < .001$

TABLE V-19

LOCALISM BY SOCIAL POSITION

Localism	Index of Social Position				Total
	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	
High (2-6)	26 74.3%	160 58.6%	121 51.3%	48 47.1%	355
Low (0-1)	9 25.7%	113 41.4%	115 48.7%	54 52.9%	291
Total	35	273	236	102	646

$x^2 = 10.709$; df = 3; $P < .02$

TABLE V-20

LOCALISM BY SEX

Localism	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
High (2-6)	177 53.2%	204 54.7%	381
Low (0-1)	156 46.8%	169 45.3%	325
Total	333	373	706

$x^2 = .111$; df = 1; $P < .80$

Index of Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism, as it is operationally defined in this study, includes cultural interests related to the fine arts, interest in national and foreign affairs, knowledge of city life outside of Austin, professional orientation to one's job and travel. Some of these indicators of cosmopolitanism are summarized in the Culture Index, presented earlier. The Cosmopolitan is weighted as follows:

Item	Weight
(1) Position on Culture Index	
0-2	0
3-4	1
5-7	2
8	3
(2) A preference for national and foreign news in the daily newspaper	1
(3) A preference for national and foreign news on radio and television	1
(4) Knowledge of at least two cities in which urban renewal has taken place	1

The range of scores on the Index of Cosmopolitanism is zero to six. The distribution of these scores by socio-economic area is presented in Table V-21.

TABLE V-21

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY COSMOPOLITANISM TENDENCIES

		Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	Low	7	4.9	36	15.9	28	14.9	30	20.3	6	11.8
1	Low	17	11.9	47	20.7	35	18.6	49	33.1	14	27.5
2	Medium	22	15.4	58	25.6	45	23.9	25	16.9	15	29.4
3	Medium	45	31.5	39	17.2	20	10.6	24	16.2	7	13.7
4	Medium	41	28.7	33	14.5	47	25.0	15	10.1	5	9.8
5	High	10	7.0	13	5.7	11	5.9	5	3.4	2	3.9
6	High	1	.7	1	14	2	1.1	0	0	2	3.9
Totals		143	100.0	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

The slight upper socio-economic bias on the localism scale is more pronounced here. Cosmopolitans tend to be either from the upper and upper middle areas, or from sectors of local-action areas, with persons from middle class areas only slightly higher on the index than persons from blighted areas, illustrating again the similarity of cultural taste between Austin's many middle class Anglo groups and the ethnic minorities in blighted areas. Given equal distributions of education and income or socio-economic status, the differences between Negroes and Anglos on the cosmopolitanism scale would be diminished to the point of non-significance.

Perhaps due to unequal educational opportunities for the ethnic minorities, however, they have not developed the same interest in extra-community affairs and therefore rank low on the cosmopolitanism scale, as shown in Table V-22.

TABLE V-22

COSMOPOLITANISM BY ETHNICITY

Cosmopolitanism	Ethnic Group				Total
	Latin (1)	Negro (2)	Anglo (3)	Other (4)	
High (3-6)	21 22.1%	35 32.1%	249 49.8%	1 50.0%	306
Low (0-2)	74 77.9%	74 67.9%	251 50.2	1 50.0%	400
Total	95	109	500	2	706

$x^2 = 31.566$; df = 3; $P < .001$

Here, there appears to be a clear relationship between cosmopolitanism and ethnicity, with Anglos and Latins at two ends of the scale and with Negroes in an intermediate position, somewhat more similar to Latins than to Anglos in this regard. As was pointed out earlier, however, this observed relationship could well be due to an independent third factor -- education -- in which case the differences between Negroes and Anglos is a "contingent" one in a methodological sense.

It is also clear that sex has an influence on cosmopolitanism, with males somewhat higher on the scale than females. This relationship, shown in Table V-23, is not a statistically significant one under strict standards of significance (the observed association could be due to chance factors one time out of ten) and might also be dependent on a third factor. For example, because the occupations of males take them outside of the home, it is possible they come into contact with persons with a wider range of cultural interests than is true with females. These contacts may, in turn, lead to an extra-community orientation reflected in the higher position of males than females on the cosmopolitanism index. Further research needs to be done before this contingent relationship between sex, occupation and cosmopolitanism can be clearly demonstrated, however.

TABLE V-23

COSMOPOLITANISM BY SEX

Cosmopolitanism	Sex		Total
	Male (1)	Female (2)	
High (3-6)	156 46.8%	150 40.2%	306
Low (0-2)	177 53.2%	223 59.8%	400
Total	333	373	706

$x^2 = 2.904$; df = 1; $P < .10$

The effects of social position and income on cosmopolitanism are shown in Tables V-24 and V-25. These relationships are similar to the ones observed in the analysis of correlates of localism. Both high income and high social position are associated with high scores on the cosmopolitanism index. It has been conclusively demonstrated that education and occupation are major determinants of social position and income levels, and so they clearly must have an effect on the relationship between social position and income with cosmopolitanism (even if our supposition is not correct that cosmopolitanism, itself, is a function of education and occupation).

Part of the explanation of cosmopolitanism comes from the fact that persons in the upper strata of Austin's society have developed life styles and aspirations that are in keeping with a cultured community. The impact of The University of Texas, St. Edwards and Huston-Tillotson College on knowledge of the fine arts and on interests in national and foreign affairs cannot be overestimated. Not only is there daily mass media coverage of conferences, workshops, concerts, lectures, visiting Broadway actors, state politics, the legislature, national affairs and the presidency, but persons living in all parts of the city have neighbors who have attained the highest educational level of any city in Texas. (The median educational level in Austin was estimated to be 11.8 years in 1964.) The impact of the city's occupational structure, where the University, the state and the City of Austin are by far the largest employers, has been felt by workers in all strata -- exposing them to a variety of ideologies and interests probably not found to the same degree in more than a handful of other medium-sized cities in the nation. It is likely, therefore, that residents of Austin are generally higher in cosmopolitanism, regardless of social class or income, than are residents of other communities in Texas

TABLE V-24

COSMOPOLITANISM BY INCOME

Cosmopolitanism	Income			Total
	High (6-7)	Medium (3-5)	Low (1-2)	
High (3-6)	69 73.4%	140 46.4%	73 31.6%	282
Low (0-2)	25 26.6%	162 53.6%	158 68.4%	345
Total	94	302	231	627

$x^2 = 47.580$; df = 2; $P < .001$

TABLE V-25

COSMOPOLITANISM BY SOCIAL POSITION

Cosmopolitanism	Social Position				Total
	I	II	III	IV	
High (3-6)	30 85.7%	170 62.3%	74 31.4%	12 11.8%	286
Low (0-2)	5 14.3%	103 37.7%	162 68.6%	90 88.2%	360
Total	35	273	236	102	646

$x^2 = 119.906$; df = 3; $P < .001$

The occupational structure of the city, tending toward professionalism and the highly educated, also is characterized by high turnover and migration. Mobility in the city is particularly high in census tracts populated by University and state employees, as was demonstrated. For example, 78.83 percent of the residents of census tract eight in East Austin have lived in the same house since 1950; whereas for the upper and upper middle areas, less than half have maintained their same residence since 1950. In middle class areas, approximately two out of three families have remained in the same house since 1950.

The effect of mobility on one's orientation toward extra-community affairs is illustrated in Table V-26, showing that the shorter the length of residence, the higher the cosmopolitanism score.

TABLE V-26

COSMOPOLITANISM BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Cosmopolitanism	Length of Residence		Total
	9+ years	1-8 months	
High (3-6)	176 34.0%	113 76.4%	289
Low (0-2)	341 66.0%	35 23.6%	376
Total	517	148	665

$x^2 = 82.175$; df = 1; $P < .001$

Thus it is clear that persons who have lived in Austin for long periods of time have become entwined in the activities of the city and have gradually lost their outside interests. Persons who have been in the city for less than seven years or who intend to look elsewhere for opportunity, maintain their cosmopolitan outlook in life, as the concept has been operationally defined in these pages.

The proportions of persons in these two groups, along with those who can be placed in the high local, high cosmopolitan; and low local, low cosmopolitan categories are shown on Table V-28. Here it can be seen that among those persons with high localism tendencies, nearly half are also cosmopolitan. Among those persons with high localism tendencies, nearly half are also cosmopolitan. Among those persons with low localism tendencies, only slightly more than one out of three is high in cosmopolitanism, indicating that disinterest in local affairs is associated with disinterest in the arts and in affairs of the state, nation and world more generally. This suggests that apathy and the "closed mind" begins at home.

TABLE V-27

LOCALISM BY COSMOPOLITANISM

Cosmopolitanism	Localism		Total
	High (2-6)	Low (0-1)	
High (3-6)	184 (Omnipotents) 48.3%	122 (Worldly wise) 37.5%	306
Low (0-2)	197 (Homebodies) 51.7%	203 (Knownothings) 62.5%	400
Total	381	325	706

$x^2 = 7.861$; df = 1; $P < .01$

The distribution of either high or low local or cosmopolitan tendencies (or both) within socio-economic areas is presented in summary in Table V-29. It can be seen that in the upper and upper middle areas of the city, the major social identity tends to be of the "omnipotent" -- the person who ranks high on both localism and cosmopolitanism. Other persons in these areas are about equally divided between the "worldly wise" (high on cosmopolitanism, low on localism) and the "homebodies" (high on localism, low on cosmopolitanism), with less than ten percent in the "knownothing" category.

Residents of middle class areas and local action areas in the city are distributed about equally across all four categories of social identity, with a slight tendency of middle class residents to be "knownothings." Persons in these areas also are not as inclined to be "worldly wise," or high on cosmopolitanism, as are residents of local action areas. It can be said that the major characteristic of middle class areas is that the residents are diffuse in their social identities, and, as a whole, have no clear-cut orientations to the city or extra-city environments. Local action area residents tend to be even more equally represented within each of the social identity types.

Residents of blighted areas and Eastown Heights, on the other hand, show strong local orientations, with relatively few in the "worldly wise" category (which is not dependent on a high position on the localism index). There is approximately the same proportion of "knownothings" in blighted areas as there are in the middle class areas of the city. This reflects the essential middle-class value structure of the residents of the city's blighted areas, and should be taken into account in planning for community development and urban renewal.

TABLE V-29

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY SOCIAL IDENTITIES

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Omnipotents	64	44.8	48	21.1	41	21.8	30	20.3	11	21.6
Worldly wise	33	23.1	37	16.3	39	20.7	13	8.8	8	15.7
Homebodies	34	23.8	65	28.6	49	26.1	50	33.8	14	27.5
Knownothings	12	8.4	77	33.9	59	31.4	54	36.4	17	33.3
Unclassified	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.7	1	2.0
Totals	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

CHAPTER VI

CORRELATES OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE COMMUNITY IMAGE

CHAPTER VI

CORRELATES OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE COMMUNITY IMAGE

In connection with the study of community participation and interest in local affairs, an attempt was made to determine some of the social-psychological factors that might be related to an aversion to the city and to a desire to leave. In addition to the "know nothings" -- the persons who show little interest in affairs outside of the home -- it should be recalled that there was a sizable group of persons who are "worldly wise" -- who demonstrated lively intellectual and cosmopolitan interests, but who have no strong ties to the local community. This section has to do with one aspect of the manifest lack of local involvement, i.e., with dissatisfactions of the distribution of the perceived power (or influence) wielded by city departments and organizations.

Research in this area[1] has indicated that a large discrepancy between the perceived and desired orderings of power elements in a community structure shows preferences for change in the structure. The distribution of power is likely to be perceived as a significant aspect of the Austin environment, and changes are likely to be anticipated as tension-reducing in fantasy if not in actuality. The purpose of this part of the analysis is to determine the extent of this unhappiness with the perceived power of city units, and secondly, to locate both social and psychological dimensions of this dissatisfaction.

In order to shed light on these feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction toward city departments that are now, or will eventually be, involved in community re-development, a "power satisfaction" measure was introduced in the interview schedule. This measure yielded an overall index of satisfaction (and, therefore, an index of acceptance of the status quo in perceived city services).

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[1] Including specifically that by Irwin W. Goffman of Vanderbilt University, reported in "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22: 275-281, June, 1957.

In brief, the "power satisfaction" index is based on the following two questions:

> Question 1: We have here several cards with a different organization listed on each card. They are:

Department of Parks and Recreation	Chamber of Commerce
Health Department	City Council
Police Department	Department of Public Works (Streets and Bridges)
Planning Department	Board of Education
Tax Department	Brackenridge Hospital

Would you arrange them in the order in which you see them now as having influence on the lives of people in the City of Austin? Put the one you see as having the most influence now on how things go here in Austin over here (Interviewer points), then those with less influence in this direction, and the one you see as having the least influence over here (Interviewer points). If you want to put two or more as having the same amount of influence, that's all right.

> Question 2: Now would you arrange them in the order in which you would like to see them as having influence on how things go in the City of Austin?

After ranking the set of cards twice, each respondent was classified as "satisfied" or "dissatisfied," depending on how far apart his average rankings were on each try. Persons whose difference scores on the two rankings were above the median average were classified as "dissatisfied." The interpretation of this classification is that these persons exhibit a high proclivity toward, or desire for, change in the perceived city power structure. Since the dissatisfaction scores are rank order differences across the entire set of 10 stimulus cards, it was necessary to eliminate from the analysis any respondent who was unable to determine for himself the position of any one of the community services in relation to the others. It is assumed, however, that these persons would not differ in their degree of dissatisfaction from other respondents who gave complete rankings, and that the relative differences between satisfied and dissatisfied residents would remain the same if the incomplete rankings were distributed proportionally in the analysis. The distribution of the sample as a whole is as follows:

TABLE VI-1

PREFERENCE FOR CHANGE IN POWER DISTRIBUTION

	N	Percent
Incomplete Rankings	321	45.5
Low Dissatisfaction	150	21.2
High Dissatisfaction	235	33.3
Total	706	100.0

In light of the earlier discussions about felt deprivation of persons living in blighted areas, and their dissatisfactions generally in regard to roads, street lighting, bus service and the neighborhood environments, it is not surprising to note in Table VI-2 that (with the exception of the Eastown Heights residents) the lower the socio-economic area, the greater the unhappiness with the current city power structure. It will be recalled that Eastown Heights residents had mentioned neighborhood problems somewhat less frequently than had other residents of blighted areas, and have been shown to have values and aspirations similar to middle class Anglo residents of the city. For blighted areas as a whole, however, one out of two persons were ranked high in dissatisfaction. One-third of the residents of local action areas reflected this degree of dissatisfaction, followed by 30 percent of the middle class residents. Less than one out of four residents of upper and upper middle areas were high on the dissatisfaction index.

At first glance, this index appears to support earlier findings which suggest that the mechanisms of contagion and unrest lie in the low socio-economic areas of the city, and are likely to be related to ethnicity, low social position and long-term residence in Austin. An examination of the degree of relationship of each of these variables and dissatisfaction reveals this not entirely the case, however, and that we must dig deeper into the roots of dissatisfaction by measuring the impact of both social and psychological variables, simultaneously, on dissatisfaction.

TABLE VI-2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY POWER DISSATISFACTION

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Incomplete Ranking	62	43.4	116	51.1	89	47.3	54	36.5	7	13.7
Low Dissatisfaction	48	33.6	43	18.9	36	19.1	23	15.0	23	45.1
High Dissatisfaction	33	23.1	68	30.0	63	33.5	71	48.0	21	41.2
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	99.9	148	100.0	51	100.0

Simple explanations of dissatisfaction are in the predicted direction but are not statistically significant, as illustrated by the following zero-order chi-square values between selected social variables and dissatisfaction:

(a) Length of residence and dissatisfaction = X^2 = .48 (Not significant)

(b) Anticipated length of residence and dissatisfaction = X^2 = 4.05 $P < .05$

(c) Sex and dissatisfaction = X^2 = .04 (Not significant)

(d) Ethnicity and dissatisfaction = X^2 = 4.12; $P < .20$

(e) Income and dissatisfaction = X^2 = 1.12 (Not significant)

(f) Social position and dissatisfaction = X^2 = 2.44 (Not significant)

Of the six socio-economic indicators, only one--anticipated length of residence--was found to be significantly associated with feelings of dissatisfaction. In this instance, the longer the anticipated stay in Austin, the greater the discontent with the perceived power structure. These persons, who plan to stay in Austin beyond a nine-month period, expect more than they think they are getting from "city hall."

Other single explanations of power dissatisfaction are not easy to come by, however, and it is necessary to postulate multiple "compositional" causes of expressed discontent.

Analytic Procedures: Compositional Analysis

Contemporary Austin consists of a variety of sub-areas which represent variations in social concerns and commitments. There are, therefore, different opportunities for social interaction in the city. In this sense the various sub-areas of the city represent different "opportunity structures."

The personality and social characteristics of individual residents in these sub-areas are indicative of their potential for interaction (their access to the structure of social opportunities), whereas the aggregated social characteristics of the spatially distinct socio-economic populations denote the prevailing conditions for social interaction (the structure of available social opportunities). Both of these factors -- the sub-area environment and the social-psychological characteristics of individuals in these sub-areas -- are believed to have a

profound effect on orientations toward the city and its growth.[2]

In attempting to devise measures of dissatisfaction with the city, it was our hypothesis that variations in the structure of available social opportunities, as indicated by variation in the aggregated social characteristics of the distinct socio-economic populations, would be related to attitudes toward city growth and desired change, and to the political process of the city.

Knowledge of the salient characteristics of individual residents in a particular neighborhood should also help us predict dissatisfactions. The research was therefore designed to analyze the interrelationship of neighborhood population type and characteristics of individuals within these areas with an eye to the way in which the co-variation of these two factors affect community satisfaction.

Let us consider two or more "neighborhoods." Within each neighborhood, individuals may be characterized by the presence or absence of a given attribute (A or $\bar{A}$), such as organizational involvement, for example.

In the same manner, each neighborhood may be characterized by the proportion of its residents who are residentially stable (a condition of organizational involvement), which is also the probability that a member selected at random is residentially stable. Kendall and Lazarsfeld refer to such a group level datum as a rate.[3] We shall denote these rates or probabilities as P_1, P_2, P_3, etc., the subscript denoting the neighborhood in question. Within each of these neighborhoods we can also determine the probability that a resident (characterized by the presence or absence of A) possesses a given dependent attitude, such as dissatisfaction of city services. By denoting this dependent attitude or attribute as D, we are able to say that D_{A1} is the probability that any individual A in neighborhood 1 is dissatisfied with city services. Finally, the probability that members of a specific neighborhood will posses dissatisfied orientations will be denoted by D_1, D_2, D_3, etc. The results of this type of analysis are illustrated in the following simplified table:

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[2]For a summary of sociological literature bearing on this observation, see "The Local Community: A Survey Approach," by H. Laurence Ross in American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, 1962.

[3]Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, The Language of Social Research, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955) pp. 291-301.

ILLUSTRATION 1

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY NEIGHBORHOOD MOBILITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Area	Neighborhood 1 (Extensive Mobility)		Neighborhood 2 (High Mobility)		Neighborhood 3 (Medium Mobility)		Neighborhood 4 (Low Mobility)	
Organizational Involvement	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
% Dissatisfied	36.2	23.9	41.2	32.6	49.3	26.5	45.8	37.8
Number of respondents	47	117	34	95	71	136	424	45

The underlying strategy of any such analysis consists of making comparisons between the D probabilities in different categories. In our situation, there are two basic axes of comparison: (a) We may compare residents of a particular neighborhood in terms of whether or not they are residentially mobile or likely to remain in their present residence, and (b) we may compare the organizational involvement of residents who live in different neighborhoods, also in terms of their dissatisfaction with the city services. The end result will be a set of probability or percentage differences, one set of within group differences and a second set of between group differences.

Illustration 1 can be described in the terminology outlined above as follows:

D = The percentage of persons with a dissatisfied orientation toward city services. (e.g., 36 percent of the mobile persons in Neighborhood 1)

A = Persons highly involved in organizational activity.

$\overline{A}$ = Non-joiners of organizations.

P = The percentage of the neighborhood that is residentially stable.

Thus $D_{\overline{A}2}$ is the percentage of persons with a dissatisfied orientation among the stable persons in Neighborhood 2. (32.6 percent) D_{A1} is the percentage of persons with a dissatisfied orientation among the mobile in Neighborhood 1. (36.2 percent).

Let us now make the two types of comparison. Within each neighborhood, when we compare mobile and stable persons, we find that the mobiles are less likely to be dissatisfied than the residentially stable persons. Then, when we compare the mobile persons in different neighborhoods, we notice a range of values (36-41-49-46); we also do when we compare residentially stable persons in different areas (24-33-27-39).

We conclude that within a given neighborhood there is a difference related to mobility, and among neighborhoods there is a difference in spite of mobility.

But the analysis does not stop at this point, for it has not been shown that either of these effects on dissatisfaction are related to the types of neighborhoods we are investigating. One way of demonstrating the overall relation of neighborhood types to dissatisfaction is to shift from a percentage table to a graph in which the vertical axis is the D probability, the horizontal axis is P, and the points are D values for the

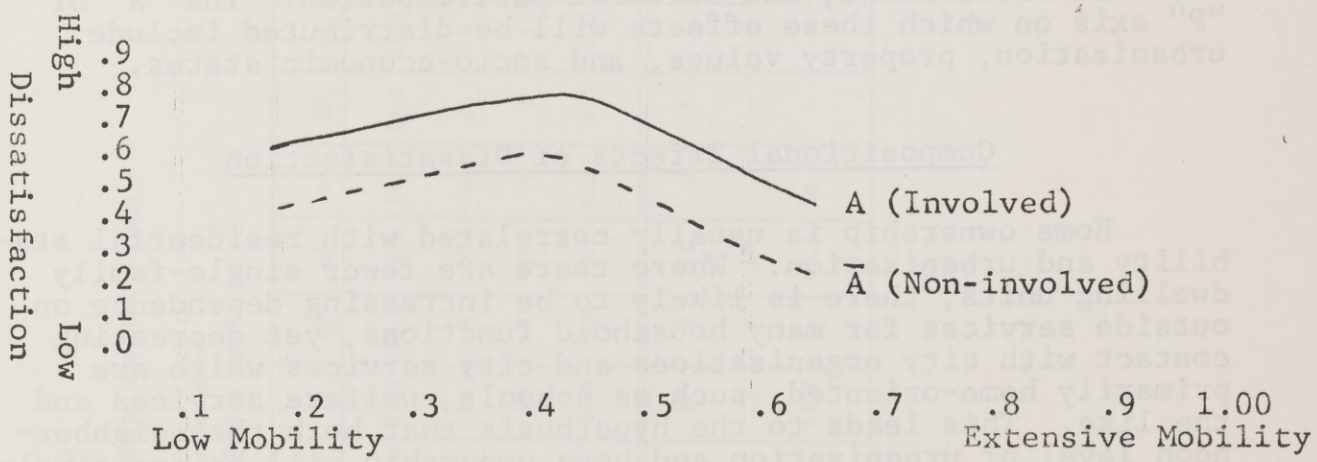
neighborhoods considered, as in Illustration 2:

(a) Among both the A's (solid line) and the A's (dotted line) there is a curvilinear change of D as P increases.

(b) The two lines connecting the observations are parallel.

ILLUSTRATION 2

GRAPH OF COMPOSITIONAL EFFECT



From these two observations we can make the following inferences about the compositional effect of organizational involvement and mobility on dissatisfaction:

(a) There is a distinct compositional effect on the between group difference, for among both the A's and $\bar{A}$'s, D increases and decreases with P; hence, variation in mobility produces an effect on dissatisfaction even when the individual attribute of organizational involvement is controlled.

(b) There is no compositional effect on the within group difference, for at all levels of P, the difference between D_A and $D_{\bar{A}}$ is constant; hence, variation in neighborhoods produces no effect on dissatisfactions, other than that accounted for by differences in mobility throughout the universe, i.e., all neighborhoods.

In sum, this compositional analysis tells us that low residential mobility leads to dissatisfactions, and that high

mobility reduces the dissatisfaction. It is also shown that persons involved in organizational activity are uniformly more dissatisfied than the non-involved.[4]

In more general terms, it can be said that a compositional effect exists when the absolute size of either: (a) the within group differences and/or (b) the between group difference for A's and/or $\bar{A}$'s can be described as a function of P. The variables which we will designate as A's and $\bar{A}$'s in analyses of dissatisfactions in the community are to be home ownership, income, voting habits, issue-interest involvement, total organizational involvement, and cultural participation. The "X" or "P" axis on which these effects will be distributed include urbanization, property values, and socio-economic status.

Compositional Effects of Dissatisfaction

Home ownership is usually correlated with residential stability and urbanization. Where there are fewer single-family dwelling units, there is likely to be increasing dependence on outside services for many household functions, yet decreasing contact with city organizations and city services which are primarily home-oriented, such as schools, welfare services and the like. This leads to the hypothesis that both the neighborhood level of urbanization and home ownership will be positively correlated with dissatisfaction with city services. Table VI-3 and Chart VI-1 show that the degree of urbanization has an only slight effect on dissatisfaction, but that home owners in Austin are consistently more dissatisfied than non-owners. The conclusion is that the individual effect of home ownership is more important in understanding dissatisfaction than is the level of urbanization in the neighborhoods. The joint effect of home ownership and urbanization for any one or across all census tracts can be seen in Table VI-3. A visual presentation of the effects across all census tracts (ranked on the urbanization index) is shown in Chart VI-1.

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[4] James A. Davis, Joe L. Spaeth, and Carolyn Huson, "Analyzing Effects of Group Composition," in American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1961, present the logic of compositional analysis on which this example is based.

TABLE VI-3

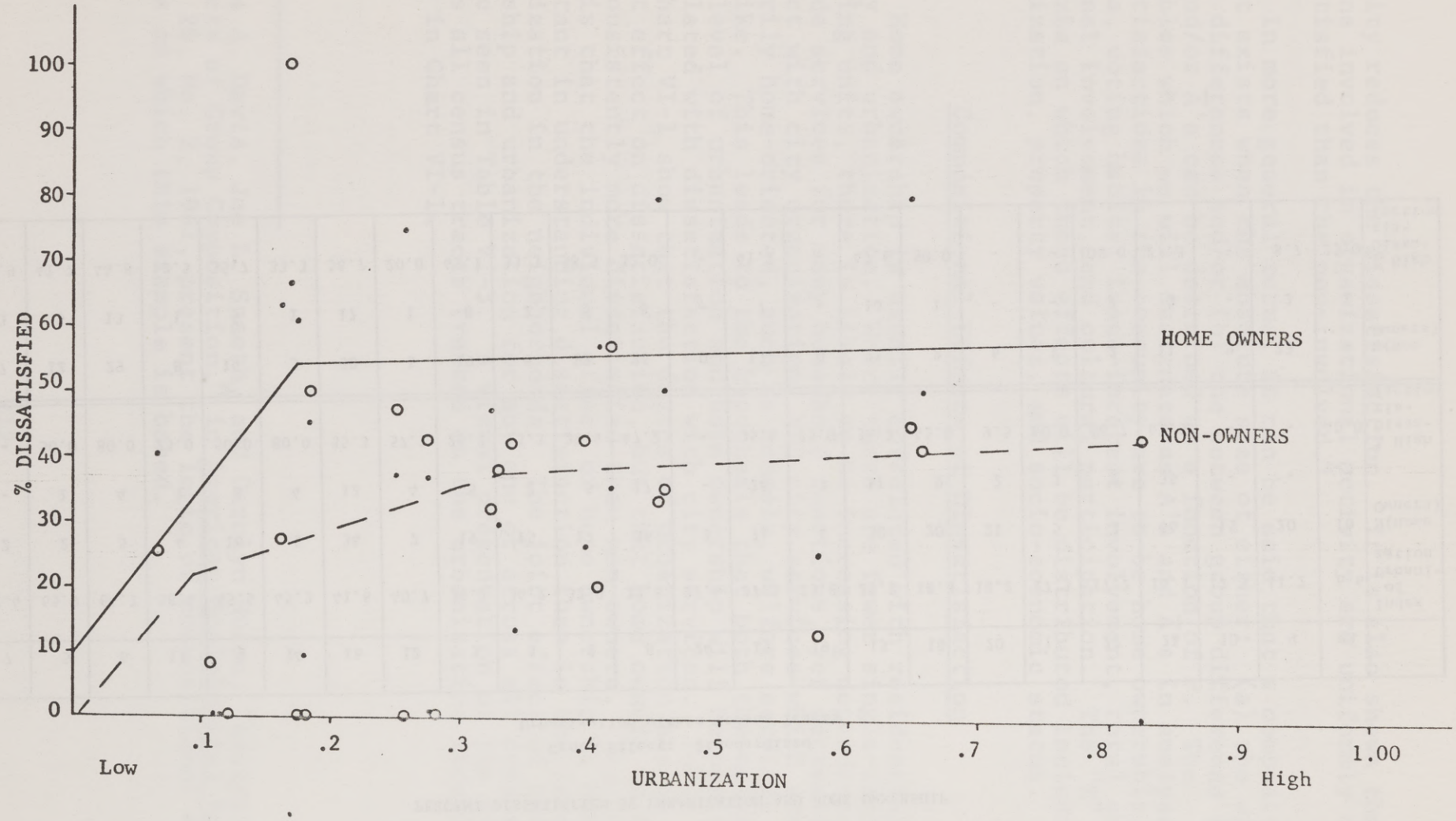
PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY URBANIZATION AND HOME OWNERSHIP

Group Effect: Standardized
Urbanization within Census Tracts

Tract No.	7	5	6	11	4	14	16	12	3	1	2	8	24	15	19	13	18	20	17	22	21	10	9	23	
Home Owners Individual Effect	82.4	65.9	64.7	58.4	45.5	45.3	41.6	40.7	39.7	34.2	32.9	32.6	27.6	27.5	25.8	25.1	18.3	18.2	17.3	17.2	16.3	12.3	11.2	6.6	Index of Urbanization
	2	2	5	4	16	5	34	7	19	15	17	36	3	71	4	30	20	21	5	3	56	15	20	10	N(Home Owners)
	-	1	4	1	8	4	12	4	5	2	5	17	-	26	3	11	9	2	3	2	35	-	-	4	
	-	50.0	80.0	25.0	50.0	80.0	35.3	57.1	26.3	13.3	29.4	47.2	-	36.6	75.0	36.7	45.0	9.5	60.0	66.7	62.5	-	-	40.0	% High Dissatisfaction
Non Owners Individual Effect	7	12	29	8	14	3	30	5	19	6	13	25	0	17	0	21	2	6	1	2	11	9	23	4	N(Non Owners)
	3	5	13	1	5	1	17	1	8	2	5	8	-	7	-	10	1	-	-	2	3	-	2	1	
	42.9	41.7	44.8	12.5	35.7	33.3	56.7	20.0	42.1	33.3	38.5	32.0	-	41.2	-	47.6	50.0	-	-	100.0	27.3	-	8.7	25.0	% High Dissatisfaction

CHART VI - 1

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY URBANIZATION AND HOME OWNERSHIP



In the preceding example a "pure" individual effect is noted, where the urbanized environment has no appreciable effect on dissatisfaction.

If we classify the neighborhoods (census tracts) according to the extent of property ownership, and individuals according to their level of total family income, some interesting interaction is noted. For example, in Chart VI-2, the impact of property value is dependent on the nature of the socio-economic area. In blighted and local action areas where the property value is low, there is greater dissatisfaction with city services than in middle class areas, for all income levels. For residents in areas of high property values -- in the upper and upper middle socio-economic areas of the city -- there is a sharp rise in dissatisfaction for persons in both high and low income brackets. The picture in regard to middle income residents in these areas is not so clear -- middle income persons in the upper middle property classifications show greater dissatisfaction than middle income residents of the extremely high socio-economic areas. Chart VI-2 also demonstrates that high and middle income residents are similar in their degrees of dissatisfaction, across the various property levels, and that these levels are somewhat higher (while controlling for property values) than are the levels of dissatisfaction for low income persons. (It should be remembered, however, that the overall degree of dissatisfaction is greatest for residents of blighted socio-economic areas, as shown in Table VI-2.) Chart VI-2 and Table VI-4 indicated that when low income persons are distributed across all areas of town, there is less dissatisfaction than otherwise might be expected. When low income persons are concentrated in low socio-economic areas, however, the degree of dissatisfaction with the city increases markedly.

TABLE VI-4

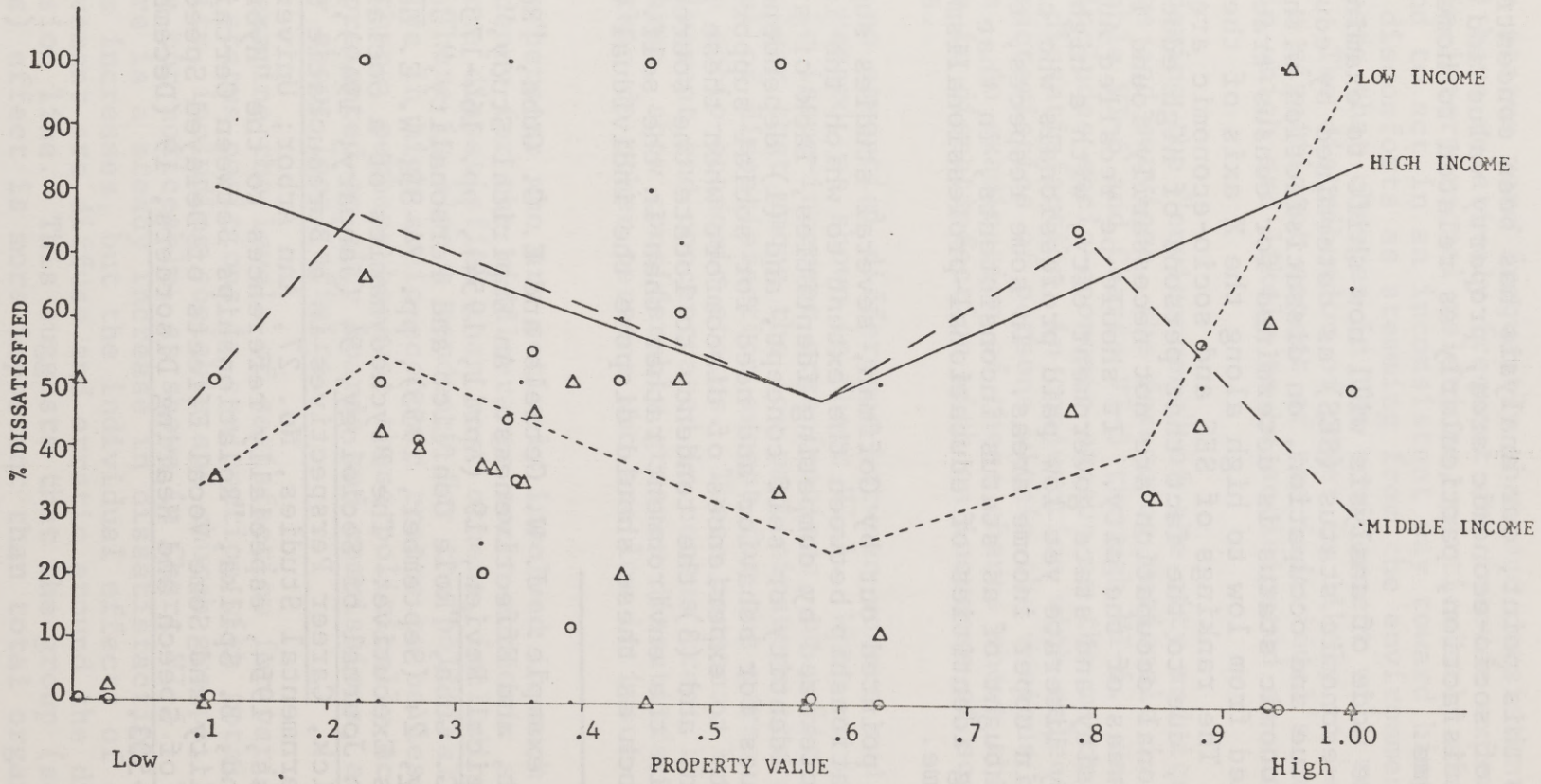
PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY PROPERTY VALUE AND HOME OWNERSHIP

Group Effect: Standardized
Property Values within Census Tracts

Tract No.	17	19	7	16	1	6	11	24	5	21	14	15	20	18	2	4	3	13	12	22	8	10	9	23	
High Income Individual Effect	100.0	94.4	93.1	88.3	84.1	78.6	63.4	57.9	55.8	47.6	45.5	42.8	39.3	36.6	35.2	34.5	32.4	27.5	24.1	22.8	11.0	10.3	2.8	0.0	Index of Property Value
	3	1	2	20	6	0	2	0	4	11	5	20	1	0	2	1	4	4	0	0	5	0	1	2	N(High Income)
	2	1	-	10	-	-	1	-	2	8	4	12	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	0	4	-	-	-	
	66.7	100.0	-	50.0	-	-	50.0	-	50.0	72.7	80.0	60.0	-	-	50.0	100.0	25.0	50.0	-	-	80.0	-	-	-	% High Dissatisfaction
Medium Income Individual Effect	2	0	1	14	6	4	1	3	2	21	1	27	9	9	14	9	5	12	4	2	8	0	5	0	N(Med. Income)
	1	-	-	8	2	3	-	-	2	13	1	14	1	5	5	4	1	5	2	2	4	-	-	-	
	50.0	-	-	57.1	33.3	75.0	-	-	100.0	61.9	100.0	51.9	11.1	55.6	35.7	44.4	20.0	41.7	50.0	100.0	50.0	-	-	-	% High Dissatisfaction
Low Income Individual Effect	1	1	5	25	6	30	9	0	6	32	1	35	2	11	14	19	27	30	7	3	45	24	31	10	N(Low Income)
	-	1	3	11	2	14	1	-	2	16	-	7	1	5	5	7	10	12	3	2	16	-	1	5	
	-	100.0	60.0	44.0	33.3	46.7	11.1	-	33.3	50.0	-	20.0	50.0	45.5	35.7	36.8	37.0	40.0	42.9	66.7	35.6	-	3.2	50.0	% High Dissatisfaction

CHART VI - 2

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY PROPERTY VALUE AND TOTAL FAMILY INCOME



To this point, our analysis has been concentrated on the effects of socio-economic area, property value and urbanization on dissatisfaction, particularly as related to home ownership and income.

The mode of analysis will now shift to examine the effects of socio-economic status (SES) as determined by education, property value and occupation, on dissatisfaction with the city. Socio-economic status is determined for census tracts, and these are ranked from low to high along the X axis of the compositional tables. The rankings of SES and socio-economic areas are not the same, due to the fact that persons of high education and professional occupation are not necessarily found in the high income areas of the city. It should be recalled Austin is primarily a university and state government city, with a high proportion of highly literate yet low paid professionals who cannot afford to live in upper income areas. In some respects, these persons can be thought of as status inconsistents, in that they maintain competing identities of educational-professionalism and relatively low income.

As pointed out by Goffman, several studies suggest a positive relationship between the extent to which the individual is characterized by competing identities, lack of a clear and dominant identity or self concept, and (1) dependence on environmental cues for behavior and need for social supports; (2) vulnerability to experiences of discomfort when these supports are withdrawn; and (3) the tendency to locate the sources of discomfort in the environment rather than in the self.[5] Characteristics such as these should dispose the individual who is

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[5]See for example: J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "Role, Role Conflict, and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study," American Sociological Review, 19 (April, 1954), pp. 164-175; J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "Role Conflict and Personality," Journal of Personality, 24 (September, 1955), pp. 74-85; W. E. Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of a Social Role," American Journal of Sociology, 54 (January, 1949), pp. 286-291; D. Marvick, Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting, Michigan Governmental Studies, No. 27, Ann Arbor; University of Michigan Press, 1954, especially references to the "Hybrid" orientation; and, B. Spilka, "Relationships Between Certain Aspects of Personality and Some Vocal Effects of Delayed Speech Feedback," Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 19 (December, 1954), pp. 491-503.

inconsistent in status more frequently than one consistent in status to: (1) have relatively frequent and intense experiences of discomfort in interpersonal relations, particularly since others will tend to act in an inconsistent way toward him; (2) perceive these discomforts as stemming from the environment; and (3) anticipate that changes in the environment will reduce his discomfort. The distribution of power is likely to be experienced as a significant aspect of the individual's environment, changes in which are likely to be anticipated as tension reducing.

By considering the "environment" of the city and its related agencies and services, the foregoing rationale is supported in Table VI-6 and Charts VI-3 through VI-6. Each of the charts includes socio-economic status as the major group determinant of dissatisfaction, in conjunction with selected individual characteristics of persons within the various socio-economic strata. An examination of these charts shows that there is a rise in dissatisfaction with an increase of socio-economic status.

There is no essential difference between voters and non-voters in this regard, as shown in Chart VI-3. When we look at involvement in issue-interest organizations, or political groups, it is clear that among the low participators there is a constant level of dissatisfaction except for the persons extremely high in socio-economic status. These persons, low in political involvement and concentrated in census tract 15, in the Allandale area, show considerably greater dissatisfaction with the city than do other persons who are low in issue-interest activity.

Among the persons who are actively involved in such affairs, there is a tendency for the middle-range socio-economic status groups to be more dissatisfied than most others, including the non-involved. There is also a tendency for the politically involved who live in high socio-economic tracts to be less dissatisfied than others, perhaps because these politically active persons are represented on city boards and commissions, and feel they have a say about local affairs.

When we examine the levels of satisfaction for various socio-economic status positions in conjunction with total organizational activity, including sociable and church groups, the differences are not noticeable, as shown in Chart VI-5. That is to say, there is a steady increase in dissatisfaction as socio-economic status increases, but the individual effects of organizational involvement are diffuse and erratic around the dissatisfaction regression line. This suggests that the group (socio-economic status) effect is more important than total organizational

activity in explaining dissatisfaction.

In Chart VI-6, showing the effects of cultural participation, primarily as related to the mass media and to the fine arts, a different type of interaction is noticeable. Among the persons highly involved in cultural activity, there is a steady increase in dissatisfaction as socio-economic status increases. That is, the highly educated, professional person who lives in upper and upper middle status areas and who also participates in cultural affairs is substantially more dissatisfied than the culture-participator who is located in low socio-economic status environments. Among those who are low in cultural commitments, only those persons in the very lowest status environments show a high degree of dissatisfaction. Others with low cultural commitments tend to be uniformly low in dissatisfaction, regardless of their status environments. In these instances both individual and group effects are evident; that is, only the persons interested in cultural activities are sensitive to socio-economic status and dissatisfaction, while the non-committed are immune to the effect of status on dissatisfaction after a certain status threshold has been reached. To a large extent, these persons are the "homebodies," who rank low on the index of cosmopolitanism, or the "know nothings," who have withdrawn from community involvements of any kind. In either case these groups are devoted to making the most out of Austin as they find it, and are not interested in change.

TABLE VI-5

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY STANDARDIZED SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, CULTURAL PARTICIPATION, ISSUE-INTEREST INVOLVEMENT, TOTAL ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT, AND VOTING

Group Effect: Standardized Socio-Economic Status

		Tract No.	3	10	14	16	12	9	7	21	23	22	19	20	18	8	5	4	1	11	2	13	6	15	24	17	
Individual Effects	High Culture		89.7	56.7	52.0	49.6	55.8	57.2	61.3	28.2	21.9	22.8	42.4	39.5	47.0	59.5	62.5	85.7	98.3	56.4	96.8	54.4	62.2	51.1	3.5	47.9	Index of SES
			14	7	7	44	6	13	8	33	6	5	4	5	9	31	11	22	20	5	16	28	31	39	2	6	N(High Culture Participation)
			8	-	5	22	3	2	3	17	-	4	3	1	5	15	5	9	4	1	6	16	16	19	-	3	
			57.1	-	71.4	50.0	50.0	15.4	37.5	51.5	-	80.0	75.0	20.0	55.6	48.4	45.5	40.9	20.0	20.0	37.5	57.1	51.6	48.7	-	50.0	% High Dissatisfaction
	Low Culture		24	19	1	20	6	37	1	36	8	0	0	22	15	33	3	8	1	7	15	23	3	51	1	0	N(Low Culture Participation)
			5	-	-	7	2	-	-	22	5	-	-	1	5	10	1	4	-	1	5	5	1	14	-	-	
			20.8	-	-	35.0	33.3	-	-	61.1	62.5	-	-	4.5	33.3	30.3	33.3	50.0	-	14.3	33.3	21.7	33.3	27.4	-	-	% High Dissatisfaction
Individual Effects	High Issue-Int.		10	1	4	22	1	6	3	16	1	0	0	12	3	15	3	8	8	2	8	11	11	32	1	3	N(High Issue-Int. Involv.)
			4	-	3	10	1	1	1	8	-	-	-	1	2	5	2	4	2	-	3	5	7	15	-	1	
			40.0	-	75.0	45.5	100.0	16.7	33.3	50.0	-	-	-	8.3	66.7	33.3	66.7	50.0	25.0	-	37.5	45.5	63.6	46.9	-	33.3	% High Dissatisfaction
	Low Issue-Int.		28	25	4	42	11	44	6	53	13	5	4	15	21	49	11	22	13	10	23	40	23	58	2	3	N(Low Issue-Int. Involv.)
			9	-	2	19	4	1	2	31	5	4	3	1	8	20	4	9	2	2	8	16	10	18	-	2	
			32.1	-	50.0	45.2	36.4	2.3	33.3	58.5	38.5	80.0	75.0	6.7	38.1	40.8	36.4	40.9	15.4	20.0	34.8	40.0	43.5	31.0	-	66.7	% High Dissatisfaction
Individual Effects	High Total Organizational Involvement		11	1	5	36	2	10	4	23	1	0	1	8	8	29	3	13	11	2	14	19	14	38	1	2	N(High Total Org. Involv)
			4	-	4	17	1	2	1	12	-	-	1	1	3	11	1	8	3	-	5	9	7	19	-	1	
			36.4	-	80.0	47.2	50.0	20.0	25.0	52.2	-	-	100.0	12.5	37.5	37.9	33.3	61.5	27.3	-	35.7	47.4	50.0	50.0	-	50.0	% High Dissatisfaction
	Medium		16	13	2	11	6	15	3	30	5	1	1	8	6	17	2	5	6	4	7	12	13	26	2	3	N(Med. Total Org. Involv)
			7	-	1	3	4	-	1	18	1	1	1	1	4	8	1	2	1	1	4	4	8	7	-	1	
			43.8	-	50.0	27.3	66.7	-	33.3	60.0	20.0	100.0	100.0	12.5	66.7	47.1	50.0	40.0	16.7	25.0	57.1	66.7	61.5	26.9	-	33.3	% High Dissatisfaction
	Low		11	12	1	17	4	25	2	16	8	4	2	11	10	18	9	12	4	6	10	20	7	26	0	1	N(Low Total Org. Involv)
			2	-	-	9	-	-	1	9	4	3	1	-	3	6	4	3	-	1	2	8	2	7	-	1	
			18.2	-	-	52.9	-	-	50.0	56.2	50.0	75.0	50.0	-	30.0	33.3	44.4	25.0	-	16.7	20.0	40.0	28.6	26.9	-	100.0	% High Dissatisfaction
Individual Effects	Voter		13	10	4	38	6	22	3	32	3	1	4	15	8	41	5	9	15	5	14	21	17	53	2	4	N (Voter)
			5	-	3	18	3	1	-	18	1	1	3	1	4	18	3	5	3	1	4	8	9	22	-	2	
			38.5	-	75.0	47.4	50.0	4.5	-	56.2	33.3	100.0	75.0	6.7	50.0	43.9	60.0	55.6	20.0	20.0	28.6	38.1	69.2	41.5	-	50.0	% High Dissatisfaction
	Non-voter		25	16	4	26	6	28	6	37	11	4	0	12	16	23	9	21	6	7	17	30	20	37	1	2	N(Non-Voter)
			8	-	2	11	2	1	3	21	4	3	-	1	6	7	3	8	1	1	7	13	8	11	-	1	
			32.0	-	50.0	42.3	33.3	3.6	50.0	56.8	36.4	75.0	-	8.3	37.5	30.4	33.3	38.1	16.7	14.3	41.2	43.3	40.0	29.7	-	50.0	% High Dissatisfaction

TABLE VI-6

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY MOBILITY, ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD INTERACTION

Group Effect: Standardized

Census Tract Mobility (Selected Tracts)

	Tract No.	8	9	3	12	2	10	16	14	1	4	13	15	11	5	7	6	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Individual Effect		53.3	50.6	48.6	48.3	47.8	46.2	45.0	44.7	40.7	40.2	37.7	36.7	34.2	30.6	26.4	7.7									Index of Mobility
	High Org. Involvement	28	7	10	2	9	0	22	3	9	13	15	34	3	4	4	13	2	4	1	3	23	0	1	0	N(High Organization Involv.
		11	1	4	1	2	-	10	2	3	7	7	18	1	2	1	7	1	1	1	-	14	-	-	-	
		39.3	14.3	40.0	50.0	22.2	-	45.5	66.7	33.3	53.8	46.7	52.9	33.3	50.0	25.0	53.8	50.0	25.0	100.0	-	60.9	-	-	-	% High Dissatisfaction
Individual Effect	Low Org. Involvement	36	43	28	10	22	26	42	5	12	17	36	56	9	10	5	21	4	20	3	24	46	5	13	3	N(Low) Organization Involv.
		14	1	9	4	9	-	19	3	1	6	14	15	1	4	2	10	2	9	2	2	25	4	5	-	
		38.9	2.3	32.1	40.0	40.9	-	45.2	60.0	8.3	35.3	38.9	26.8	11.1	40.0	40.0	47.6	50.0	45.0	66.7	8.3	54.3	80.0	38.5	-	% High Dissatisfaction
Individual Effect	High Neighborhood Interaction	30	22	21	3	12	7	32	4	13	20	22	46	4	4	4	16	4	9	3	11	27	2	3	1	N(High Neigh. Interaction
		14	1	5	2	3	-	14	3	2	10	10	21	2	1	-	9	2	5	2	1	17	2	2	-	
		46.7	4.5	23.8	66.7	25.0	-	43.8	75.0	15.4	50.0	45.5	45.7	50.0	25.0	-	56.2	50.0	55.6	66.7	9.1	63.0	100.0	66.7	-	% High Dissatisfaction
Individual Effect	Low Neighborhood Interaction	34	28	17	9	19	19	32	4	8	10	29	44	8	10	5	18	2	15	1	16	42	3	11	2	N(Low) Neigh. Interaction
		11	1	8	3	8	-	15	2	2	3	11	12	-	5	3	8	1	5	1	1	22	2	3	-	
		32.4	3.6	47.1	33.3	42.1	-	46.9	50.0	25.0	30.0	37.9	27.3	-	50.0	60.0	44.4	50.0	33.3	100.0	6.2	52.4	66.7	27.3	-	% High Dissatisfaction

CHART VI - 3

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND VOTING

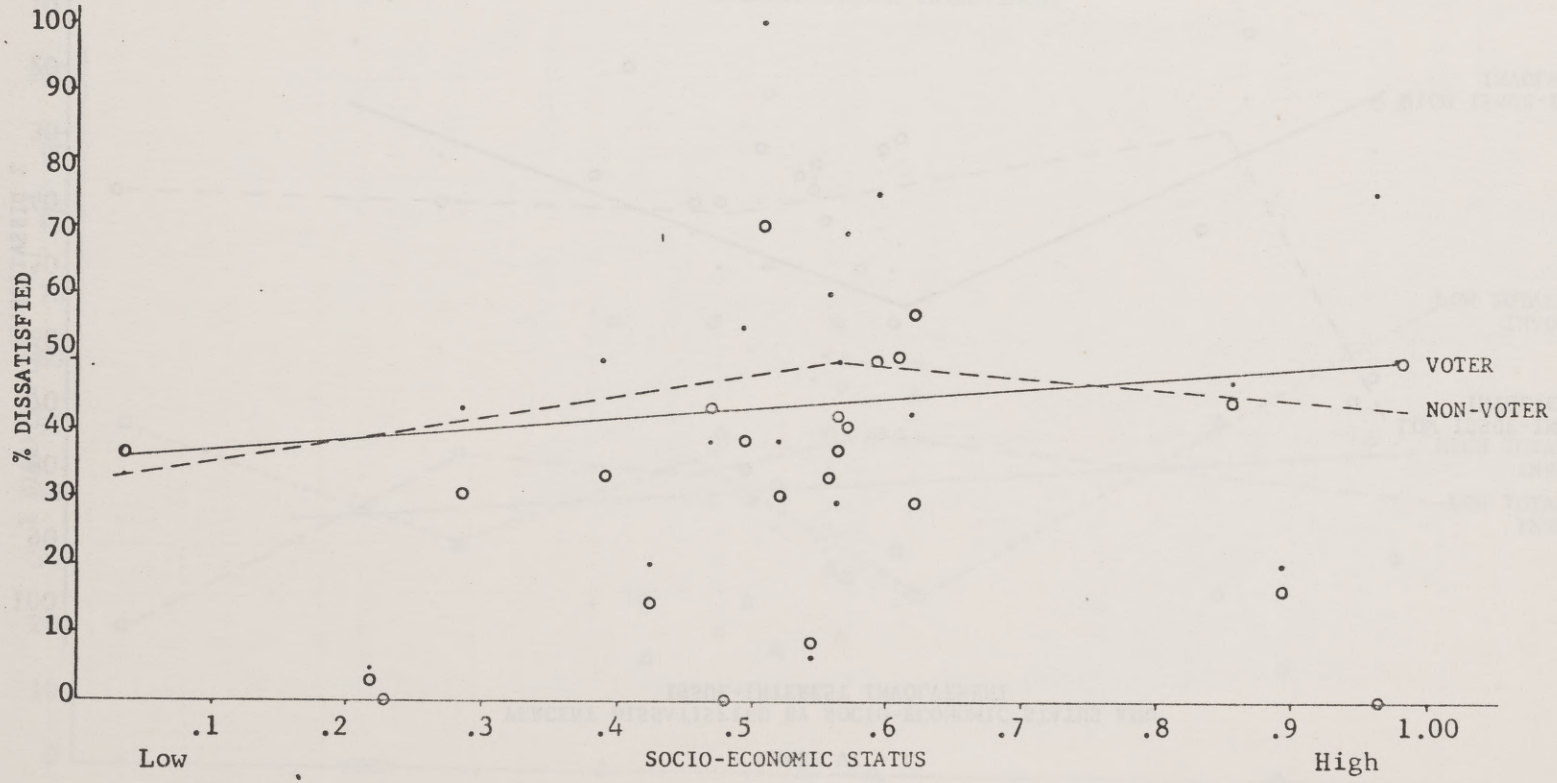


CHART VI - 4

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ISSUE-INTEREST INVOLVEMENT

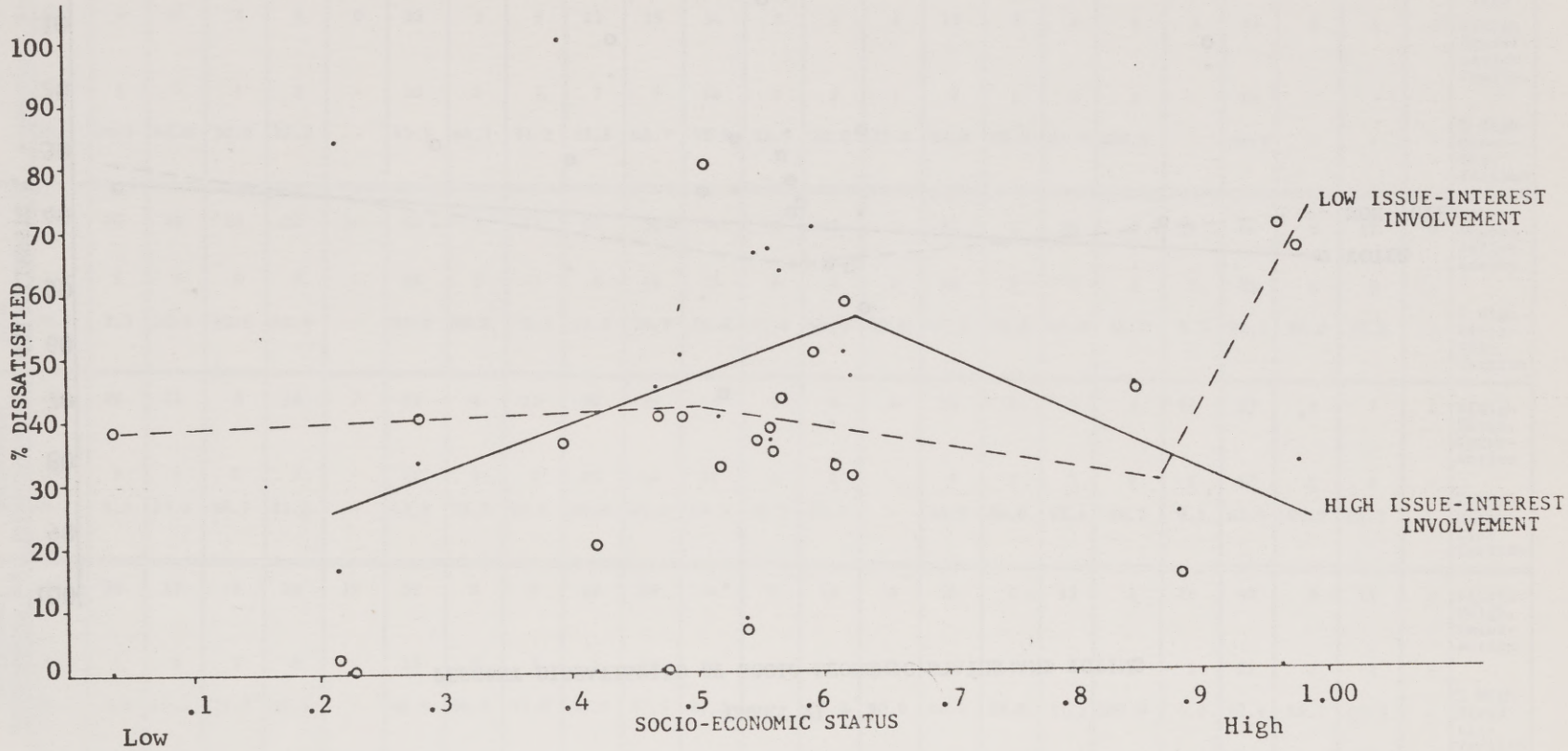


CHART VI - 5

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND TOTAL ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

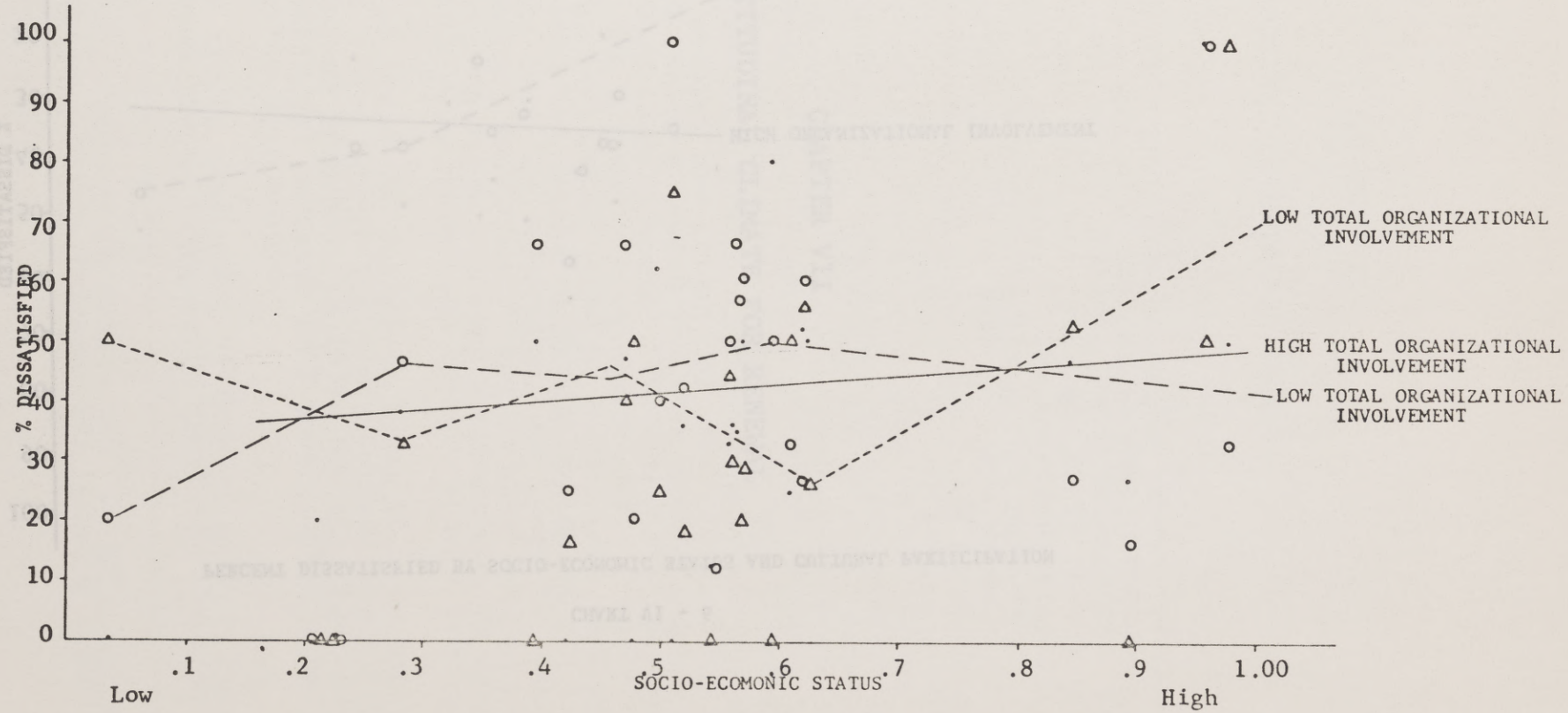
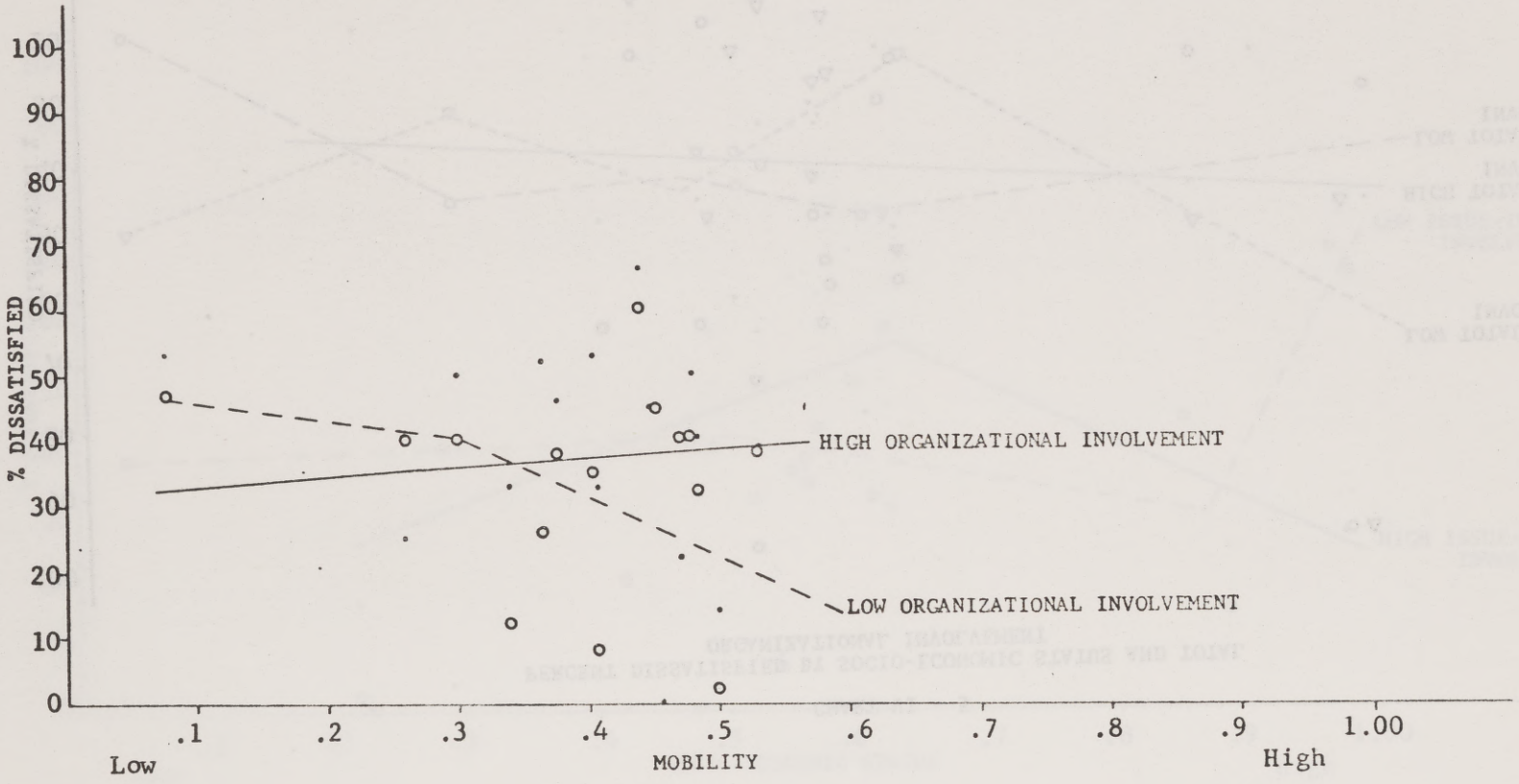


CHART VI - 6

PERCENT DISSATISFIED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND CULTURAL PARTICIPATION



CHAPTER VII

ATTITUDINAL CLIMATE FOR RENEWAL

CHAPTER VII

ATTITUDINAL CLIMATE FOR RENEWAL

The money for Austin's contribution to the renewal program comes from its citizens, including one out of four permanent residents of the city who are of Latin or Negro extraction. It is also their neighborhoods that are razed and their houses that are inspected and forced "up to code." The American norms of local autonomy and direct democracy indicate that no local program can go on indefinitely if it does not have support at the polls from a majority of those who vote. Yet David A. Wallace has recently stated that, in his opinion, "By and large, people don't understand what we're after--or even what we're talking about. This is fortunate, for if they did, we'd all have to run for cover."[1] And in Austin, the voter support of urban renewal has been shaky from the beginning. In a referendum instructing the City Council to proceed with planning for urban renewal, in December, 1959, the measure won by a majority by only 52 votes out of 6,790 votes cast. Litigation on the validity of the vote took three years to resolve, and it was not until July, 1962, that the City Council voted to create an Urban Renewal Agency in Austin, under a board of commissioners. The community research arm for the council, the Community Development Office, under the Department of Planning, was established in March, 1964, and was charged with determining the degree of deterioration of the physical city, and the need for development and renewal. Other functions of the Community Development Program have been to assist in the development of long range planning programs and to suggest time-tables under which development and renewal should proceed.

Austin was one of the first cities in Texas to show interest in a renewal program. Even before the state legislature cleared the way for local renewal programs, in 1957, the city had conducted limited "feasibility" research in Thomas Jefferson Heights, in census tract eight in East Austin.

In spite of the city's continuing efforts to start a renewal program, there has been little information available about the

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[1]David A. Wallace, "Beggars on Horseback," in Ends and Means of Urban Renewal, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Housing Association, 1961). p. 47.

popular approval of such a program, or even its general familiarity. It can be surmised that local publicity about the city's renewal intentions would have led to increasing knowledge of the nature of renewal since the council's action in 1957. Yet our survey data show that only slightly more than half of the respondents claimed to have heard about renewal in Austin, and not that many could correctly name more than one aspect of a renewal program. More precisely, in response to the question, "Have you heard about urban renewal in Austin?", 55.2 per cent of the members of the sample answered, "Yes." A total of 37.4 per cent gave more than one correct answer to the question, "In your own words, what does 'urban renewal' mean to you? That is, what exactly is done to a city when an urban renewal project is carried out?" Acceptable answers to this question were totaled for the sample as a whole, and are shown in Table VII-1

TABLE VII-1

KNOWLEDGE OF URBAN RENEWAL

Items

(a) Purchase of slum blighted property from owners

(b) Demolition and removal of buildings

(c) The sale of cleared lands for private redevelopment

(d) The use of cleared land for streets, utilities, playgrounds, parks, pools, etc.

(e) Requiring owners of slum property to repair or rebuild worn-down buildings

Total Correct	N	%
1	158	22.4
2	139	19.7
3	93	13.2
4	24	3.4
5	8	1.1
None	284	40.2
Totals	706	100.0

When one turns to an analysis of these responses by socio-economic area, it is clear that seven out of ten residents of upper and upper middle areas claim to have heard about urban renewal, but only half were able to identify more than one aspect of renewal programs. This discrepancy is likely due to a cultural pressure to be "knowledgeable" about community affairs in these areas, and to veer toward normative or expected answers to questions dealing with major community problems. This tendency toward claiming to have heard of urban renewal in Austin, and yet

being unable to identify more than a single gross aspect of the program, is apparent also for residents of the Eastown Heights area, but for different reasons. Urban renewal, for these people, means being uprooted from their homes, and this single feature of renewal overshadows all others in saliency for these persons.

It is interesting to note that in all of the groups examined, persons living in local action areas have the most realistic awareness of renewal. A total of 43.6 per cent of local action area residents said they had heard of renewal in Austin, and 42.6 per cent demonstrated knowledge of two or more major features of renewal programs generally.

In blighted areas, not including Eastown Heights, the proportion of persons who said they had heard of Austin's renewal program is nearly the same as the proportion for the city as a whole on this question. Approximately one out of four persons in blighted areas were able to identify more than clearance and demolition features of renewal. A similar pattern of responses is evident among middle class residents of the city, with one-third able to identify two or more aspects of renewal programs, as can be seen in Tables VII-2 and VII-3. From this we may conclude that the <u>least</u> knowledgeable of Austin's citizenry, in regard to renewal, are the residents of the middle class and blighted areas other than Eastown Heights.

TABLE VII-2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY AWARENESS OF URBAN RENEWAL IN AUSTIN

Question: Have you heard of Urban Renewal in Austin?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	99	69.2	128	56.4	82	43.6	81	54.7	40	78.0
No	37	25.9	79	34.8	91	48.4	62	41.9	9	17.6
Not sure	6	4.2	16	7.0	14	7.4	2	1.4	1	2.0
DK;NA	1	.7	4	1.8	1	.5	3	2.0	1	2.0
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.0	188	99.9	148	100.0	51	99.6

TABLE VII-3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY KNOWLEDGE OF URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMS

Question: In your own words, what does Urban Renewal mean to you? That is, what exactly is done to a city when an urban renewal project is carried out? (Five correct responses were listed for the interview and the respondent was scored on a basis of one point for each correct purpose named.)

No. of correct responses	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	27	18.9	67	29.5	30	16.0	34	23.0	15	29.4
2	32	22.4	48	21.1	32	17.0	27	18.2	13	25.9
3	29	20.3	19	8.4	37	19.7	8	5.4	5	9.8
4	7	4.9	5	2.2	11	5.9	1	.7	2	3.9
5	5	3.5	3	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	43	30.1	85	37.4	78	41.5	78	52.7	16	31.7
Totals	143	100.1	227	99.9	188	100.1	148	100.0	51	100.1

This incompetence on the part of the public is likely due to both the complexity of the renewal program and its novelty in Austin. Yet evidence indicates that neither the information policy of the Austin Urban Renewel Agency nor the coverage given renewal by the press, prior to the time of interviewing for this study in 1964, was calculated to develop an informed body of public opinion. The situation has since changed in part, due to the addition of a top level reporter on the staff of the American-Statesman who has as his chief responsibility the coverage of community poverty, welfare and renewal programs. In spite of this increased interest of the press, however, the Urban Renewal Agency and City Planning Department in Austin have not devoted any substantial resources to publicity or public relations, and much of the information about the developing renewal program is not available in its early stages.

For whatever reason, it is clear that Austinites are "renewal illiterates," particularly the permanent residents of low-income blighted and local action areas, which are most likely to be affected by any large scale renewal program.

As Tables VII-4 and VII-5 show, the recent migrants to the city are significantly more knowledgeable about renewal programs than are long-time residents of Austin, and those persons who do not expect to stay in the city for more than seven years also show a higher degree of awareness of urban renewal programs than do those persons who expect to be residentially stable.

TABLE VII-4

AWARENESS OF URBAN RENEWAL BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Awareness of Urban Renewal	Length of Residence		Total
	High (7+)	Low (1-6)	
High (1-5)	178 53.0%	244 65.9%	422
Low (0)	158 47.0%	126 34.1%	284
Total	336	370	706

$x^2 = 11.745$; df = 1; $P < .001$

TABLE VII-5

AWARENESS OF URBAN RENEWAL BY ANTICIPATED STAY IN AUSTIN

Awareness of Urban Renewal	Anticipated Stay		Total
	High (9)	Low (1-8)	
High (1-5)	287 55.5%	114 77.0%	401
Low (0)	230 44.5%	34 23.0%	264
Total	517	148	665

$x^2 = 21.434$; df = 1; $P < .001$

TABLE VII-6

AWARENESS OF URBAN RENEWAL BY SEX

Awareness	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
High (1-5)	211 63.4%	211 56.6%	422
Low (0)	122 36.6%	162 43.4%	284
Total	333	373	706

$x^2 = 3.127$; df = 1; $P < .10$

TABLE VII-7

AWARENESS OF URBAN RENEWAL BY ETHNICITY

Awareness	Ethnic Group				Total
	Latin	Negro	Anglo	Other	
High (1-5)	29 30.5%	65 59.6%	327 65.4%	1 50.0%	422
Low (0)	66 69.5%	44 40.4%	173 34.6%	1 50.0%	284
Total	95	109	500	2	706

$x^2 = 40.490$; df = 3; $P < .001$

TABLE VII-8

AWARENESS OF URBAN RENEWAL BY INCOME

Awareness	Income			Total
	High (6/)	Medium (3-5)	Low (1-2)	
High (1-5)	68 72.3%	202 66.9%	118 51.1%	388
Low (0)	26 27.7%	100 33.1%	113 48.9%	239
Total	94	302	231	627

$x^2 = 18.911$; df = 2; $P < .001$

A glance at Tables VII-6 through VII-8 confirms the essential cosmopolitan orientation of persons who are knowledgeable about urban renewal -- knowledgeable enough to accurately identify at least one salient feature of renewal programs, at least. By ethnicity, Anglos, Negroes and Latins, in that order, were aware of renewal program features. By income level, about 21 percent more high income respondents were aware of the programs than were low income respondents, with persons in the middle income brackets about midway between on the awareness variable. Although males were somewhat more aware of the programs than were females, the difference is not highly significant -- indicating that no clear-cut generalization about male knowledgeability can be made in this instance.

In conjunction with the lack of sustained media coverage about urban renewal in Austin is the surprising lack of general knowledge about housing in deteriorated areas in the city. As shown in Table VII-9, less than one out of three persons in any one socio-economic area was able to correctly guess the extent of blight in the city.

TABLE VII-9

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY AWARENESS OF BLIGHT

Question: What percentage of Austin's housing do you think is substandard or poor? About how much of Austin's housing do you think is substandard or poor?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
10%	36	25.2	49	21.6	35	18.6	12	8.1	3	5.9
20%	33	23.1	73	32.2	45	23.9	16	10.8	8	15.7
30%	32	22.4	39	17.2	47	25.0	22	14.9	13	25.5
40%	10	7.0	12	5.3	15	8.0	22	14.9	2	3.9
50%	2	1.4	4	1.8	10	5.3	12	8.1	6	11.8
60%	0	0	1	.4	3	1.6	7	4.7	3	5.9
70%	2	1.4	0	0	1	.5	3	2.0	2	3.9
80%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.0
90%	0	0	0	0	1	.5	0	0	0	0
DK;NA	28	19.6	49	21.6	31	16.3	54	36.5	13	25.5
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.1	188	99.9	148	100.0	51	100.1

In interpreting this table, it should be noted that the 1960 census lists approximately 10,000 substandard dwelling units in Austin, or slightly less than 20 per cent of all dwelling units in the city at that time. More recent estimations of the number of dilapidated or substandard dwelling units in the city, by the community development office, corroborate these census estimations. Although the city has grown in size, the number of deteriorated dwellings has grown in proportion.

Thus persons answering "20 per cent" in response to the question in Table VII-9 were judged to be correct in their estimation. A tendency to overestimate the extent of blight in the city is noticeable among residents of blighted areas, including Eastown Heights. In these areas, 44.6 per cent and 53.0 per cent of the respondents respectively, estimated more than 20 per cent substandard housing units in the city as a whole. Middle class residents were less inclined than others to overestimate the extent of blight, with one out of four persons indicating that more than 20 per cent of the city's housing was substandard. Residents in the middle class and upper and upper middle areas were more inclined than others also to underestimate the extent of blight. With the exception of this reversal in middle and upper middle groups, it can be concluded that the lower the socio-economic area, the greater the tendency to overestimate the extent of blight in the city. This suggests that residents of the city judge housing conditions in context of their own neighborhood environments. For persons living in the higher socio-economic areas, blight is both out of sight and out of mind.

A socio-economic bias also exists in regard to estimations of certain housing rentals in Austin. As can be seen in Table VII-10, the higher the socio-economic group, the higher the estimated rental of a new two-bedroom apartment, with most upper and upper middle respondents estimating between $100 and $125 a month at the extreme, and blighted area residents tending toward $50 at the other end of the ladder. Modal responses for middle class and local action area residents were in the $75 category.

TABLE VII-10

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY APARTMENT RENTAL ESTIMATE

Question: How much rent do you think a family would pay for a new two-bedroom apartment in Austin?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
$ 25	0	0	2	.9	1	.5	4	2.7	3	5.9
$ 50	1	.7	13	5.7	20	10.6	62	41.9	23	45.1
$ 75	17	11.9	63	27.8	68	36.2	47	31.8	16	31.4
$100	47	32.9	56	24.7	36	19.1	2	1.4	1	2.0
$125	43	30.1	38	16.7	20	10.6	2	1.4	2	3.9
$150	14	9.8	20	8.8	16	8.5	0	0	1	2.0
$175	7	4.9	3	1.3	7	3.7	2	1.4	0	0
$200	0	0	1	.4	4	2.1	0	0	0	0
$225	1	.7	0	0	1	.5	0	0	0	0
DK	13	9.1	31	13.7	15	8.0	29	19.6	5	9.8
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	148	99.8	148	100.1	50	100.1

Since apartment units in Austin vary in rental values, it can be said that there are no "correct" answers to this question, and that the modal responses alluded to here illustrate the respondents own frames of reference in regard to two-bedroom apartments. It should also be noted, however, that the modal responses for residents of blighted areas are on the low side. Apartment housing, as opposed to two-bedroom suites in duplexes or older homes, are scarce or non-existent in the $50 category (with the exception of public housing). These $50 responses were thus highly unrealistic.

On the other hand, the residents of blighted areas were more accurate than persons living in other areas when it came to estimating the rental costs of public housing in Austin. The "correct" response to the question "How much rent do you think a family pays for a two-bedroom apartment in a public housing project here in Austin?" was a "qualified" response. The cost of public housing in the city depends on two factors -- the total family income and the number of members in the family. Rentals vary between $20 and $75 a month in the city's five public housing projects, depending on the above factors, plus need and availability.

A qualified answer of this type was given by about one out of four residents of blighted areas, not including Eastown Heights. Nearly half of the Eastown Heights residents gave this correct response. Other residents of the city were significantly less knowledgeable about public housing in the city, reflecting again the general lack of awareness of the climate for urban renewal in the city by the persons who are most likely to carry the financial burden of the city's contribution to the renewal program.

TABLE VII-11

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PUBLIC HOUSING AWARENESS

Question: How much rent do you think a family pays for a two-bedroom apartment in a public housing project here in Austin?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under $20	1	.7	0	0	3	1.6	4	2.7	0	0
$20 - $29	5	3.5	7	3.1	17	9.0	15	10.1	5	9.8
$30 - $39	10	7.0	32	14.1	22	11.7	26	17.6	8	15.7
$40 - $49	21	14.7	27	11.9	20	10.6	13	8.8	3	5.9
$50 - $59	18	12.7	37	16.3	19	10.1	5	3.4	1	2.0
$60 - $69	17	11.9	12	5.3	16	8.5	1	.7	3	5.9
$70 - $79	11	7.7	16	7.0	16	8.5	1	.7	0	0
$80 or more	21	14.7	16	7.0	18	9.6	1	.7	0	0
Qualified	9	6.3	6	2.6	8	4.3	40	27.0	23	45.1
DK	30	21.0	74	32.6	49	26.1	42	28.4	8	15.7
Totals	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.0	148	100.1	51	100.1

It has been pointed out that residents of upper and upper middle areas were more inclined than residents of other areas of the city to overestimate the price of new two-bedroom apartments and to underestimate the extent of blight in Austin. They also did not have realistic opinions about the rental costs of public housing. When we turn to estimates of the cost of renting of what might be considered an "average" small frame house in East Austin, however, residents of the upper and upper middle areas were as accurate as most others in specifying the correct rental figure. In fact, with the exception of persons living in blighted areas, only about one out of five persons overestimated the price of an East Austin house, a photograph of which was shown to respondents in the interviewer sessions. (Residents of blighted areas were even more accurate in locating the correct rental cost of the displayed house, as might be expected.)

This photograph of what was thought to be a slightly above average East Austin house, which in reality would rent for about $50 a month, is reproduced below.

TABLE VII-12

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY ESTIMATED BLIGHTED AREA RENTAL

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under $20	2	1.4	2	.9	0	0	1	.7	0	0
$20 - $29	11	7.7	5	2.2	12	6.4	10	6.8	1	2.0
$30 - $39	27	18.9	45	19.8	25	13.3	32	21.6	9	17.6
$40 - $49	36	25.2	71	31.3	59	31.4	37	25.0	18	35.5
$50 - $59	33	23.1	47	20.7	45	23.9	38	25.7	10	19.6
$60 - $69	17	11.9	31	13.7	26	13.8	19	12.8	10	19.6
$70 - $79	10	7.0	8	3.5	13	6.9	1	.7	1	2.0
$80 - $89	2	1.4	7	3.1	0	0	2	1.4	0	0
$90 or more	0	0	0	0	2	1.1	0	0	0	0
DK	5	3.5	11	4.8	6	3.2	8	5.4	2	3.9
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.1	188	100.0	148	100.1	51	100.2

In Table VII-12 it can be seen that half or more of the respondents in each socio-economic group named one or the other of the correct price categories for the pictured house. ($40 - $49; $50 - $59). Residents of blighted areas, not including Eastown Heights residents, who tended to overestimate the cost of the house, show less variability around the modal category than do other socio-economic area residents, indicating that most persons living in blighted areas have a reasonably accurate notion of house values in East Austin. This observation supports the notion that residents of the city's low income areas share middle class values of owning a home, and that these persons are knowledgeable about the housing market. The extent of this pride in home ownership by citizens of the city's poorer areas is illustrated dramatically in Tables VII-13, VII-14, and VII-15.

These tables show us that the Negro or Latin adult in Austin's blighted areas has an overpowering desire -- to own his own home. The relationship is clear and marked: the lower the socio-economic group, the greater is the desire to own a house -- a single family unit surrounded by its own yard, convenient for the surveillance of children and offering a degree of privacy. A total of three out of four of the residents of the city as a whole indicated they felt most people should own their own homes. In blighted areas, nearly nine out of ten persons gave this preference. Not only is the direction of this attitude clear -- the intensity is also unmistakable for residents of low income areas. When asked how strongly they felt about home ownership, the residents of blighted areas were significantly more in agreement about the necessity of home ownership than were residents of other areas, as is evident in Table VII-14.

These attitudes persist also in regard to "fair" homes of the type pictured earlier. As is shown in Table VII-15, residents of blighted areas were significantly more inclined to choose "a small home in only fair condition" than other low-cost alternatives. In this table, public housing is last as a choice of a place in which to live. Garage apartments -- a characteristic of local action areas surrounding the University -- outpulled public housing as desirable low income housing at about the rate of three to two, except in blighted areas where these two types of dwellings were seen as equally undesirable.

Taken together, these three tables suggest that Austin's renewal planning agencies and offices should conduct a search for alternatives to high-rise apartments, which could end up filled with dissatisfied and poor Negroes in the middle of the city's eastern and southeastern wasteland. Public, multiple family housing called "minimal charity" by some, enjoys only moderate popularity in Austin, and could well create more problems than it solves if arbitrarily superimposed on reluctant ethnic minorities.

TABLE VII-13

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY ATTITUDES TOWARD HOME OWNERSHIP

Question: Do you think most people should own their own homes?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	93	65.0	173	76.4	159	84.6	128	86.5	47	92.2
No	29	20.3	23	10.2	18	9.6	11	7.4	0	0
DK;NA	21	14.7	30	13.3	11	5.9	9	6.1	2	3.9
Total	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.1	148	100.0	51	100.0

TABLE VII-14

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY INTENSITY OF HOME OWNERSHIP ATTITUDE

Question: How strongly do you feel about this; very strongly, moderately strong, not strong at all?

Strongly	59	41.3	93	41.0	86	45.7	90	60.8	41	80.4
Moderately	31	21.7	55	24.2	58	30.9	31	20.9	7	13.7
Not very	2	1.4	20	8.8	9	4.8	6	4.1	1	2.0
Not strongly at all	0	0	5	2.2	6	3.2	1	.7	0	0
DK;NA	51	35.7	54	23.8	29	15.4	20	13.5	2	3.9
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

TABLE VII-15

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY HOUSING PREFERENCES

Question: If you could spend only 38 dollars a month for rent, which would you choose to live in with your present family: (a) a small house in only fair condition; (b) a public housing project; (c) in a garage apartment?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Small house	65	45.5	128	56.4	85	45.2	93	62.8	27	52.9
Public housing	25	17.4	34	15	37	19.7	28	18.9	14	27.5
Garage apartment	42	29.4	49	21.6	58	30.9	15	10.1	8	15.7
None of above	11	7.7	16	7.0	8	4.3	12	8.1	2	3.9
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	99.9	51	100.0

Orientation to Renewal in Austin

The reluctance of the state legislature in Texas to pass enabling legislation for urban renewal grants -- such legislation was not formally approved until 1957 -- has been part of a congeries of events that characterize the state's traditional resistance to federal assistance in its affairs. The "states' rights" complex in Texas is reflected on the grass roots level in a fierce pride in home or land ownership, and in the cultural forces that support the right of each individual to find and pursue his own destiny. It is not surprising to find, even today, resistance to the concept of urban renewal or other federally imposed large-scale assistance programs. This reluctance to accept "outside" help is mirrored in Table VII-16, where it can be seen that less than half of the residents of the city's upper and upper middle and middle class areas gave an unqualified "yes" to the question, "Do you think the federal government should help cities build and operate public housing?"

Not only do residents of the city's high income areas lean away from federal public housing assistance, but their attitudes are deeply entrenched, as is shown in Table VII-17. Middle class area residents were about equally divided on the question of federal support, and were somewhat less adamant. In the lower socio-economic areas, respondents were more inclined to accept federal help, indicating the existence of a socio-economic bias toward individualism and conservatism in opposing federal assistance.

TABLE VII-16

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL HOUSING

Question: Do you think the federal government should help cities build and operate public housing?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	57	39.9	103	45.4	114	60.6	111	75.0	40	78.4
No	67	46.9	69	30.4	36	19.1	17	11.5	4	7.8
Undecided	2	1.4	22	9.7	7	3.7	6	4.1	0	0
Qualified	13	9.1	18	7.9	14	7.4	3	2.0	2	3.9
Only in principle--not in practice	0	0	0	0	2	1.1	1	.7	0	0
DK;NA	4	2.8	15	6.6	15	8.0	10	6.8	5	9.8
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	99.9	148	100.1	51	99.9

TABLE VII-17

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY STRENGTH OF ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL HOUSING

Question: How strongly do you feel about this? Very strongly; moderately strong; not strong at all; somewhat undecided?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very strong	70	49.0	83	36.6	69	36.7	58	39.2
Moderately strong	50	35.0	84	37.0	74	39.4	54	36.5
Not strong at all	9	6.3	22	9.7	16	8.5	7	4.7
Undecided	8	5.6	25	11.0	14	7.4	14	9.5
DK;NA	6	4.2	13	5.7	15	8.0	15	10.1
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0

In Table VII-18, more residents in each of the socio-economic categories said they thought public housing was needed in Austin than said they supported federal assistance. Thus, support of public housing does not necessarily mean support of federal programs. State or local financing might be seen as alternatives, although there is no evidence to suggest that residents of the city would vote for an increase in local taxes to do the job.

In summary, Table VII-18 shows that half or more of the residents of each socio-economic area favors public housing for Austin, but not necessarily federally financed housing. (More than three out of four residents of blighted areas gave this opinion.) On the whole, nearly 10 percent more residents in each socio-economic area gave an affirmative answer to public housing in Austin than agreed to federal support for such housing.

To what extent these attitudes carry over from opinions of federally supported public housing in Austin, as it now exists, or from opinions toward public housing as it is perceived as existing in other cities, is difficult to determine. A comparison of the preceding tables suggests that most of Austin's residents are caught in a dilemma -- there is widespread hesitancy to accept federal assistance; yet there is recognition of a need for public housing. Most persons, apparently, have not seriously thought about alternative methods of financing such housing.

TABLE VII-18

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY PERCEIVED NEED FOR PUBLIC HOUSING

Question: Do you think public housing is needed in Austin?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	71	49.7	125	55.1	126	67.0	115	77.7	45	88.2
No	32	22.4	28	12.3	27	14.4	11	7.4	1	2.0
Qualified	20	14.0	23	10.1	13	6.9	13	8.8	4	7.8
DK;NA	20	14.0	51	22.5	22	11.7	9	6.1	1	2.0
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

Not only did most residents of the city recognize a need for public housing, but there was also a widespread consensus that the city was moving too slowly in efforts to make improvements. Residents of middle class and the Eastown Heights areas were about as inclined to say that the city was moving at an "about right" pace as they were to say the city was moving too slowly, but residents of the other socio-economic sections of the city were in substantial agreement that the pace was too slow, as shown in Tables VII-19 and VII-20. With the exception of persons in blighted areas, most respondents were inclined to be "moderately strong" in their estimation of the speed of community development. In blighted areas, residents clearly indicated a need for faster action, and were "very strong" in these feelings. These preferences for haste in getting on with community development, by persons in blighted areas, were echoed in their responses to a question about what they, personally, would do if they found that their houses were to be removed or demolished

TABLE VII-19

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY ESTIMATION OF COMMUNITY PROGRESS

Question: From everything you have seen or heard would you say Austin is moving too fast or too slow in its program to make poor parts of Austin better places in which to live?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Too fast	5	3.5	9	4.0	10	5.3	7	4.7	4	7.8
Too slowly	60	42.0	85	37.4	87	46.3	87	58.8	20	39.0
About right	44	30.8	89	39.2	61	32.4	33	22.3	25	49.0
Undecided	9	6.3	24	10.6	16	8.5	6	4.1	1	2.0
DK;NA	25	17.5	20	8.8	14	7.4	15	10.1	1	2.0
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	99.9	148	100.0	51	99.8

TABLE VII-20

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY INTENSITY OF ATTITUDES OF COMMUNITY PROGRESS

Question: How strongly do you feel about this? Very strongly; moderately strong; not strong at all; somewhat undecided?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very strong	31	21.7	43	18.9	45	23.9	76	51.4	26	51.0
Moderately strong	60	42.0	104	45.8	82	43.6	38	25.7	18	35.3
Not strong at all	9	6.3	34	15.0	25	13.3	7	4.7	2	3.9
Undecided	15	10.5	29	12.8	20	10.6	9	6.1	3	5.9
DK;NA	28	19.6	17	7.5	16	8.5	18	12.2	2	3.9
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	99.9	148	100.0	51	100.0

As shown in Table VII-21, residents of blighted areas would be inclined to move immediately if they heard that their house would eventually be removed for a new highway, with more than half choosing this alternative rather than to remain in their homes until they had to move. Less than one out of ten persons in blighted areas suggested they would object to the plan and ask for re-routing of the highway. (About one-third of the residents in upper and upper middle areas indicated they would fight the plan.) Residents of upper and upper middle areas were least likely to say they would move immediately, and slightly less than half of the residents of middle class areas indicated they would move immediately.

This finding can be interpreted in three ways:

(1) Blighted area residents have "intolerance of ambiguity." That is to say, these persons apparently would not wish to live under conditions of uncertainty about when they would be forced to move;

(2) Blighted area residents share middle class values in this regard;

(3) Blighted area residents do not feel they are politically effective in fighting for residential stability in light of projected changes in the cityscape.

The fourth alternative -- that persons living in blighted areas would not care if they were moved because of a new highway -- is not tenable since it has shown that these persons prefer their present neighborhoods, and prefer to own their homes, rather than accept public housing alternatives.

Two dimensions of attitudes toward urban renewal presented in the preceding pages of this chapter can now be summarized in an Index of Interest. The following indicators of attitudes are weighted equally and combined in the Index:

Item	Table No.	Weight
(a) Attitudes Toward Federal Housing	VII-16	1
(b) Strength of Attitudes Toward Housing	VII-17	1 or 2
(c) Estimation of Community Progress	VII-19	1
(d) Strength of Attitude Toward Community Progress	VII-20	1

TABLE VII-21

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY TOLERANCE OF UNCERTAINTY

Question: If you found out that a new highway was to be routed through this block and your house would have to be removed for this, what would you do? (a) object and ask for a re-routing of the road; (b) move immediately; (c) remain in your home until you had to move?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Object	47	32.9	21	9.3	28	14.9	14	9.5	2	3.9
Move immediately	48	33.6	105	46.3	79	42.0	81	54.7	31	60.8
Remain in home	39	27.3	69	30.4	63	33.5	35	23.6	11	21.6
Other	7	4.9	15	6.6	15	8.0	9	6.1	6	11.8
DK;NA	2	1.4	17	7.5	3	1.6	9	6.1	1	2.0
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.1

The tendencies of persons living in the various socio-economic areas are shown in Table VII-22. The modal position of persons living in blighted areas, not including Eastown Heights, is four on the five-point scale. Eastown Heights residents are divided on the scale, with more than one out of three indicating a low "one" response, and another one-third registering in the top two scale positions. Local action area residents are represented in four of the five positions on the scale, with more than 50 percent in the "zero" and "one" categories. Middle class residents gave similar responses, except that nearly two out of five persons ranked "zero" on the index. The tendency for upper and upper middle area residents to be uninterested in urban renewal is expressed in the high percentage of "zero" positions. Approximately four of ten of these persons were so classified.

The distribution of scores on the index reflect tendencies to be both in favor of federal intervention programs and urban renewal in Austin. It is clear from this index that federally supported urban renewal in Austin does not enjoy widespread support in areas outside of the blighted tracts of East and Southeast Austin. More than half -- ranging from 63 percent in upper and upper middle and middle class areas, to 54.8 percent in local action areas -- of the respondents in this study were given minimum scores of "one" or "zero" on the index. It is interesting to note also that more than half of the residents of Eastown Heights were scored in the "one" or "zero" categories, and that about one out of three persons in blighted areas were tallied in these positions. Although there is consensus about the need for better housing and community improvement in Austin, it is unlikely that if federally-backed urban renewal were put on a ballot in a referendum, and the degree of federal support were known by the voters, that the vote would be in its favor.[1]

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[1]This prediction is based on the 1964 survey data, which was gathered prior to the time The University of Texas announced plans to expand into partly-blighted census tract 4 in East Austin. The impact of this highly controversial expansion plan on attitudes toward urban renewal is not fully known at the time of this writing, in February, 1966. Early indications are, however, that the exercise of this right of eminent domain might well be a catalyst for organized opposition to urban renewal generally in Austin.

TABLE VII-22

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA BY INTEREST IN URBAN RENEWAL

Code Score		Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	Low	59	41.3	85	37.4	49	26.1	19	12.8	10	19.6
1		31	21.7	59	26.0	54	28.7	34	23.0	19	37.3
2	Medium	15	10.5	31	13.7	23	12.2	16	10.8	2	3.9
3		19	13.3	28	12.3	30	16.0	25	16.9	9	17.6
4		13	9.1	22	9.7	27	14.4	36	24.3	11	21.6
5	High	1	.7	2	.8	5	2.7	18	12.2	0	0
Totals		143	100.1	227	99.9	188	100.1	148	100.0	51	100.0

It will be recalled that length of residence, anticipated length of residence, and social position were major determinants of local or cosmopolitan identities in the city, and in other respects could be considered major causal variables of attitudes and dissatisfactions toward city services and perceived opportunities in Austin.

On the matter of interest in urban renewal, however, there are no major differences between these groups -- between short or long term residents, or between the hourly paid, low income worker and the highly paid professional. As shown in Tables VII-23 and VII-24, the expressed interest in federally supported renewal in Austin, as measured on the Index of Interest in Renewal, does not follow social class or migratory variations, suggesting consensus between social classes that renewal in Austin should be tailored so as to avoid congested, high-density development.

Widespread support of these efforts is crucial for the general success of the Renewal Program. Where is this support if it does not rest in socio-economic class or local commitment? This study tentatively identifies two avenues of support, as shown in Tables VII-25. The table shows that sex and ethnicity are causal factors associated with positive interest in the renewal program in Austin. Males are significantly more inclined than females throughout the city to support the program -- perhaps because the locus of many of the woman's activities is in the home and neighborhood, and a threat of removal or demolition of the home in blighted areas is perceived as an immediate and pervasive danger toward which women in all social classes intuitively and vicariously identify. The felt need for better housing, and the perception of extensive blight, however, influences the Negro, and to a lesser extent the Latin, housewife to favor urban renewal. That is to say, being a member of an ethnic minority is positively associated with interest in renewal, and overshadows a tendency for women to oppose federally supported renewal programs. As shown in Table VII-28, there is a marked and significant tendency for more Negroes than Latins or Anglos to be interested in renewal as measured on the Index of Interest. Correspondingly, Latins are more interested in renewal than are Anglos, in spite of socio-economic position or income.

Thus there is complex interaction of poverty, the housing market, racial discrimination and the layout of the city which operate together to influence persons in the ethnic minorities to want action for new housing and better opportunity. Apparently no one, including the downtrodden in East and Southeast Austin, wants federal take-over of their homes, yet this alternative is seen as preferable to the one that suggests that living conditions in the city's blighted areas remain as they are now.

TABLE VII-23

INTEREST IN URBAN RENEWAL BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND ANTICIPATED LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

Interest in Urban Renewal	Length of Residence			Anticipated Length		
	High (7)	Low (1-6)	Total	High (9)	Low (1-8)	Total
High (1-4)	232 69.0%	244 65.9%	476	347 67.1%	100 67.6%	447
Low (0)	104 31.0%	126 34.1%	230	170 32.9%	48 32.4%	218
Totals	336	370	706	517	148	665

$x^2 = .645$; df = 1; $P < .50$

TABLE VII-24

INTEREST IN URBAN RENEWAL BY INCOME AND SOCIAL POSITION

Interest in Urban Renewal	Income				Social Position				
	High (6/)	Med. (3-5)	Low (1-2)	Total	I (11-17)	II (18-31)	III (32-47)	IV (48-63)	Total
High (1-4)	60 63.8%	202 66.9%	167 72.3%	429	24 68.6%	171 62.6%	165 69.9%	77 75.5%	437
Low (0)	34 36.2%	100 33.1%	64 27.7%	198	11 31.4%	102 37.4%	71 30.1%	25 24.5%	209
Totals	94	302	231	627	35	273	236	102	646

$x^2 = 2.824$; df = 2; $P < .30$

$x^2 = 6.586$; df = 3; $P < .10$

TABLE VII-25

INTEREST IN URBAN RENEWAL BY SEX AND ETHNICITY

Interest in Urban Renewal	Sex			Ethnic Group				
	Male	Female	Total	Latin	Negro	Anglo	Other	Total
High (1-4)	242 72.7%	234 62.7%	476	71 74.7%	92 84.4%	312 62.4%	1 50.0%	476
Low (0)	91 27.3%	139 37.3%	230	24 25.3%	17 15.6%	188 37.6%	1 50.0%	230
Totals	333	373	706	95	109	500	2	706

$x^2 = 7.479$; df = 1; $P < .01$ $x^2 = 20.210$; df = 3; $P < .001$

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER VIII

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The original plan for this survey of attitudes toward the city environment was to help the City of Austin estimate the problems and reception of projected large scale community development programs. The survey was conducted on the "grass roots" level by employing multi-stage sampling procedures in all areas of the city. The city was subsequently sub-divided into five analytically distinct combinations of areas:

(1) In four "socio-economic areas," treated as the principal population parameters for the analysis as a whole;
(2) In sixteen "social areas," for the purpose of establishing a profile of the city in terms of urbanization, social rank and segregation;
(3) In twenty-four census tracts, for convenient manipulation of sociological data available from the 1960 census;
(4) In seventy-four "planning areas," to provide for transformation of our survey data into the major socio-economic divisions employed by the City Planning Department in its work;
(5) In 128 "Neighborhood Recognition Areas," which reflect the manner in which the citizens of Austin identify with the city

Except where noted, the generalizations in this analysis are based on the four socio-economic designations for reasons of statistical stability and reliability. The area classifications were determined in advance of interviewing by combining the geographic groupings achieved by social area analysis; by estimated real estate groupings as determined by the 1960 census, and by a panel of realtors who sub-divided a city map into sections according to current real

estate values.

The four combined socio-economic groupings, arrived at through application of the above procedures, are as follows:

Upper and Upper-Middle Socio-Economic Areas:

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas in which the median value of homes is greater than $15,000, and where less than two percent of the homes are valued under $10,000 (1964 estimates). The planning areas so designated were 1, 3, 46 and 49. In addition to these planning areas are the neighborhood recognition areas of Pemberton Heights and Wilshire Woods, which are located in planning areas of middle class socio-economic characteristics.

Middle Class Areas

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas where the estimated median value of the homes is between $10,000 and $15,000. Approximately one-third of the neighborhood recognition and planning areas in the city were placed in this category -- including all areas not designated in one of the other three classifications. Less than 20 percent of the homes in these areas would be considered "substandard" under city housing ordinances.

Local Action Areas

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas where the estimated median value of the homes is less than $10,000 and where individual housing unit improvements are needed under city housing ordinances. In these local action areas, from 20 to 50 percent of the homes are considered "substandard" in that they have one or more of the following characteristics:

(1) are in a deteriorated condition because of a defect not correctable by normal maintenance;

(2) have extensive minor defects which, if taken collectively, cause the building to have a deteriorating effect on the surrounding area;
(3) have unsafe construction;
(4) are deficient because of unsafe plumbing, heating or electrical facilities;
(5) are environmentally deficient because of dwelling unit density, or of obsolete building type or otherwise unsafe.

Local Action Areas are subject to urban renewal through "conservation and rehabilitation" forms of renewal action. (See Chapter III for definitions.) The planning areas that were placed in this category included 7, 10, 15, sections of 24 and 25, the northeast sector of 26, 28, 31, 32, 54, 55, 66, 67, and 68.

Blighted Areas

Planning and neighborhood recognition areas where more than 50 percent of the homes or environments are considered substandard. In these areas, obsolete plotting, diversity of ownership and deterioration of structures contribute to deterioration of the neighborhood. All or part of blighted areas are subject to urban renewal.

Planning areas considered blighted and subject to renewal include parts of 20, 21, 22, 56 and 72. In addition to these planning areas are the blighted neighborhood recognition areas of the Driskill Addition in planning area 26; Glenridge in planning area 8; Oaksprings and Rosewood in planning area 21. Parts of the Tenth Ward in planning areas 24 and 25 were also classified as blighted.

Although the areas designated here as blighted can be thought of as eligible for urban renewal, it was obvious that not all of these deteriorated districts would undergo improvement in the foreseeable future. It was also clear in pretest interviewing that renewal

appeared to be misunderstood or unknown for most persons living in Austin's blighted areas. It was decided for this reason to conduct a separate investigation in an area scheduled for early renewal, an area we have designated as "Eastown Heights." Here, it was thought, residents would be aware of the city's plans to clear and rehabilitate their homes and land, and the impact of the renewal program would be known first-hand.

A sampling plan to reflect the four major socio-economic areas of Austin was first formulated in June, 1964. Budget and time limitations dictated a sample of not more than 800 respondents, and an interview schedule to last not more than one hour in length. In its final form, the interview schedule took from 45 to 90 minutes to administer, depending on the verbal ability of the respondent and on other factors. The first full wave of interviewing in September, October and November of 1964, brought in 706 usable interviews. Subsequent oversampling in Eastown Heights brought in 51 additional interviews, for a total of 756. This does not include 30 pretest interviews, 15 of which were with opinion leaders, selected on the basis of known involvement in community affairs. University students and residents of the state and city hospitals were excluded from the sample.

One clue as to the reliability of the sample is to compare it to known values of the parameter from the latest census. The achieved sample for this study does not vary by more than three percentage points from 1960 census estimations of income, age and sex distributions in the city. There was a slight over estimation of Negro (2.8 percent) and Latin (1.2 percent) populations, and a corresponding under-representation (4.1 percent) of the Anglo population of the city.

The margin of error, however, is well within five percent at 95 percent confidence limits, indicating that the sample does not contain differences or irregularities which might bias the survey's results.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BLIGHTED AREAS

Segregation and Residential Mobility

Most of the blighted areas of the city were found to be predominantly Negro in composition - ranging as high as 84.3 percent in Eastown Heights. Persons of Latin-American extraction were found to account for nearly two-thirds of the residents in census tract 10 and nearly one out of five residents of local action areas were classified as of Latin background. Negroes and Latins together accounted for less than three percent of the population of upper and upper middle areas, and for less than 10 percent of the population of the city's vast middle class socio-economic areas.

In this study the level of ethnic segregation was measured by combining the population of Negro and White persons with Spanish surnames in each tract and dividing the sum by the total population of the tract. These quotients were than standardized (transformed into Z scores)[1] and the standardized scores were then converted into proportions. A census tract was considered segregated if the proportion of Negro and Latin residents were greater than the combined ethnic group proportion in the total population of Austin. The tracts designated as segregated were 8, 9 and 21 (predominantly Negro); 10 and 23 (predonimantly Latin), and 11 (mixed). Eastown Heights was chosen for over-sampling because it represented a "typical" blighted area with a heavy Negro concentration (84.3 percent).

An analysis of Eastown Heights and blighted areas generally shows that residents have lived in their present neighborhoods longer than others, and own their own homes to a greater extent than persons in local action areas. The median length of neighborhood residence for the population as a whole is three years; for persons in blighted areas, the median length of residence is 12 years. More than half of these persons in the city's blighted areas own their own homes -- 57.8 percent, as compared to 59.2 percent for the city as a whole.

[1] Following procedures outlined in Chapter II of this report.

This indicates that persons from the city's poorest areas have long-time tenure in Austin, yet do not own homes at a higher rate than persons who, on the average, have lived in the city no more than three years.

One argument in favor of the proposition that Austin's ethnic minorities live in East and South Austin by choice is that these parts of town are not regarded as undesirable slum areas, nor as particularly discriminatory or restrictive, by the persons living there. For example, more than 84 percent of the residents of Eastown Heights are of Negro ethnic background and 57 percent of the residents of all blighted areas are Negro. Yet when these persons are asked to name the ethnic groups they think of first when their own neighborhoods are mentioned, there is a tendency for Negroes to say "mixed," referring to Anglos, Latins and Negroes, indicating that Negroes in Austin do not see their areas as segregated. That is to say, in blighted areas of predominant Negro composition, only 48 percent of the population defined the area as Negro and approximately one-third of the residents saw their areas as mixed.

Other data from the survey also suggest that although segregation exists, it is not recognized as particularly important by many residents of Austin's blighted areas. A total of 52 percent of Austin's adult Negroes have lived in the same house as in 1955, as compared to 48 percent of the city's

residents of Latin background, and 42 percent of the Anglos. Of the persons who changed their place of residence since 1955, nearly half moved into the city from outside the Austin area. Among Negroes who moved, one out of five came to Austin from elsewhere, particularly from regions south of Austin. Nearly one-third of the persons of Latin extraction who changed houses since 1955 came from outside the Austin area, and nearly one-half of the residents of Anglo background who moved came to Austin from elsewhere in the United States.

These proportions suggest that when Negro citizens move into a new neighborhood, they are likely to have come from other Negro areas in Austin. When Anglos arrive, however, they are likely to come from outside the Austin area, particularly from other areas of Texas or the South more generally. In total, approximately two-thirds of all Anglo adults have moved to Austin at one time or another from communities outside of the Austin area, whereas less than half of the city's Negro population came to Austin from elsewhere, suggesting that these persons are, indeed, Austin's "senior citizens." (It is interesting to note, also, that residents of blighted areas are more inclined than others to return to Austin after having moved away.)

Localism Tendencies

Four out of five residents of blighted areas have relatives living in Austin, and have regular sociable interaction with them. This lends further support to the conclusion that these persons are among the most settled in the city. They have lived in their homes for longer periods than have others; they do not see themselves as living in slums or "ghettos"; they select local news, particularly by radio and television; they are about as knowledgeable as residents of middle class areas about a bond issue; and they are as inclined to stay in their present neighborhoods as are residents of middle

class and local action areas, thus showing a propensity toward localism and positive community attachment in these regards.

The data demonstrate a corollary of localism for residents of blighted areas; they are as sociably involved with neighbors, at least initially, and are likely to have greater stability of family ties, than are residents of the city who live in local action, middle class and upper socio-economic areas.

When we turn to formal organizational involvement, however, the picture changes somewhat. Here, class status is a correlate of involvement, with the implication that organizations in Austin recruit members from the groups of high social participators in general. More than two out of three residents of upper and upper middle class areas were found to belong to either sociable or politically-oriented organizations, whereas only one-third of the residents of blighted areas were found to be "joiners" in this sense. However, the lower the socio-economic class, the greater the tendency to be involved in neighborhood groups particularly the neighborhood churches. A tentative conclusion is that among the residents of the poorer areas who take part in organizations of one type or another, there is a tendency to select (or be selected by) locally-oriented groups that meet more or less regularly in community centers, churches, in private homes, and even in taverns.

In regard to an index of issue-interest and general involvement and interest in local affairs, residents of the upper income areas have higher rankings on the index than do other groups, followed closely by residents of blighted areas. Residents in middle class local action and Eastown Heights areas are apparently least involved in local affairs, although the differences between the groups are not striking.

The study shows that localism tendencies, including organizational involvement, is positively related to social position, with persons of the upper social classes showing the greatest degree of knowledge and awareness of local affairs. It is also clear that length of stay in a neighborhood is related to localism. These two factors--social position and length of stay in a neighborhood--thus tend to counterbalance each other, since the long-term residents of a neighborhood are more often than not persons of low social position, particularly Negroes and Latins. The conclusion is that the greatest degree of localism is exhibited by persons of high social position who have lived in their neighborhoods for long periods of time, and that these persons (of whom there are relatively few) live in the upper socio-economic areas of the city.

Social Status and Family Characteristics

The total family income for nearly one-third of the residents of blighted areas is between $2,000 and $4,000, and one out of five families earn less than $2,000 a year. If $4,000 is taken as a "poverty subsistence" level it is clear that half of the residents of Austin's blighted areas live in poverty, in spite of extensive multiple employment among Negro families.

Workers in blighted areas occupy low prestige, low paying positions and occupational position is negatively and monotonically related to socio-economic area. Nearly three-quarters of the heads of households in Eastown Heights are ranked in the lowest two categories of the occupational scale, in unskilled and semi-skilled categories. Slightly more than half of the heads of households in other blighted areas are so classified.

In response to the question, "How many years of school have you completed?", half or more of the residents of blighted areas reported they had not graduated from high school, and nearly one-quarter of the sample in blighted areas indicated they have less than a grade school education. (Although there has been a sharp upswing in the level of grade school and high school education by current residents of blighted areas as compared to that of their fathers.)

The proportion of persons over 65 years of age in blighted areas is not above the median for the city as a whole, indicating that old age is not a striking characteristic of slum areas, partly due to the shorter life span of Negroes and Latins as compared to Anglo residents. By standardizing the number of persons receiving Old Age Assistance in the city, however, it was found that the blighted Negro tracts of 8 and 9 and the Latin tract 10 are areas of the greatest concentration of old age assistance in the city. It can be said, therefore, that the presence of the elderly poor is an important characteristic of blighted areas, even though the number of persons over 65 is not out of proportion to other age groups.

More than one-third of the families living in blighted areas include three or more children under 18 years of age - placing the slum areas ahead of all others in extent of children population.

More than two-thirds of all the families living in blighted areas also include at least one child under 18 years of age, and the delinquency rate of these children of poverty is more than double that of other socio-economic groups. The Travis County Juvenile Court estimates that 80 percent of all delinquency referrals in the city come from East Austin, particularly from the blighted tracts of 8, 9 and 10.

Census statistics indicate that approximately one out of every eighteen men in Negro East Austin is separated from his wife, and the family structure in Negro blighted areas is primarily matriarchial. In Latin blighted areas, less than three percent of the families are living under separated conditions, which is two percentage points lower than for the city as a whole. Only about two-thirds of the children under 18 in blighted Negro areas are living with both parents, compared with less than one-fifth for the city as a whole. The child without a secure family life is often forced into aggression and delinquency.

Broken families and poverty also usually mean reliance upon public assistance. In 1964, eight out of every 100 families in Austin's blighted areas were supported in part by aid-to-families-with-dependent children (AFDC) and by private welfare agencies such as the Salvation Army and St. Vincent de Paul, four times as many as in the city as a whole.

One out of every 10 families in census tract 8 received regular assistance of this type in 1964. Approximately seven percent of the families in tract 9 received help, and six percent in the outlying Negro district in tract 22. Latin areas were next in line, followed by local action areas in South Austin and in the downtown district, in tract 11.

In terms of physical blight, a total of 5.9 percent or 454 of the homes in Negro East Austin were equipped with "outhouse" toilet facilities in 1960. Inadequate heating and ventilation and crowded sleeping quarters also increase the rate of disease.

It is interesting to note that, in regard to welfare services generally, the lower the socio-economic status, the greater the tendency to classify services in Austin as "inadequate" - primarly due to hearsay. Among persons who use one or another welfare service, less than two percent name any specific agency as "inadequate." A total of more than 14 percent of the residents of blighted areas think the welfare program is generally inadequate, however. In addition to this nearly 12 percent think particular agencies are inadequate, from what they have heard from friends. In total, more than one out of four persons in blighted areas give negative responses when asked about welfare services - the highest proportion of such responses for any socio-economic group. Slightly more than half of the respondents are unable (or unwilling) to evaluate the services, and the remaining one-quarter are positively disposed toward the welfare agencies.

It is also clear that persons living in blighted areas are more knowledgeable about welfare services available to them only when such services relate to food and clothing -- i.e., the basic necessities. These persons were less knowledgeable of other services having to do with adoption, visiting nurses, child and family services and financial assistance.

Housing Characteristics and Preferences

Little new housing was built in East Austin during the depression of the 1930's and the war years of the early 1940's. About the only major exceptions were the city's first three public housing projects, Rosewood, with 130 home units and Santa Rita Courts, with 100 units, built in the late 1930's, and Chalmers Court, with 164 units, built in 1939, all in the blighted areas of East Austin. Until 1966, these projects were occupied on a segregated basis, primarily through informal controls where Negroes were assigned to separate public housing complexes. Rapid population growth stimulated by the expansion of state agencies, including the state capitol, the university and City of Austin institutions, gave rise to strains on the Austin housing market -- particularly in East Austin, where the Negro population continued to rise without corresponding expansion of boundaries of the segregated Negro neighborhoods. Extremely low vacancy rates were one index of tight housing and ethnic control throughout the 1940's and at the present time.

For example, blighted census tracts 8, 9, and 10 show lower vacancy rates than for the city as a whole, where 5.4 percent of all completed structures were vacant in 1960. Less than 3 percent of the homes in East Austin's blighted tracts were reported vacant in the 1960 census. At the other extreme, more than 12 percent of the homes in the Highland Hills area were reported vacant.

In general, the lower the class status, the fewer the homes available for rent or for sale, and the greater the ethnic segregation. Although the vacancy rate in census tract 10 is low, this is not true for the other major Latin area in the city -- Montopolis in census tract 23. In Montopolis the number of vacancies is close to the average for the city as a whole. It can thus be said that scarcity of houses is most likely to occur in East Austin rather than the poorer areas in the southern sections of the city.

The census tracts ranked low on socio-economic variables tend to fall below the median in regard to home ownership. Slightly less than half of the Negro homes in blighted areas are occupied by their owners. In Latin areas, particularly in Montopolis, the percentage of home ownership is higher (72 percent).

The lowest rates of home ownership are in local action areas, followed by blighted areas. Thus, Negroes and Latins in blighted areas do not differ strikingly from residents of middle class in extent of home ownership, nor in aspirations to own homes. In fact, the reverse is true. The relationship is clear and marked: The lower the socio-economic group, the greater is the desire to own a house -- a single family unit surrounded by its own yard, convenient for the surveillance of children and offering a degree of privacy, such as that available in "town house" urban renewal projects in the eastern United States, presumably. (Residents of Austin's blighted areas were generally unaware of such innovations in renewal housing.) A total of three out of four of the residents of the city as a whole indicated they felt most people should own their own homes. In blighted areas, nearly nine out of ten persons gave this preference. Not only is the direction of this attitude clear -- the intensity is also unmistakable for residents of low income areas. When asked how strongly they felt about home ownership, the residents of blighted areas were significantly more in agreement about the <u>necessity</u> of home ownership than were residents of other areas.

This attitude persists even though the persons per room ratio is highest for blighted areas -- indicating that overcrowding does not diminish pride in home ownership. One explanation of this is that persons in blighted areas do not perceive their neighborhoods as overcrowded, nor as environmentally different from middle class areas of the city. In response to the question, "What do you think are the main problems of your neighborhood here?", residents of blighted areas named low income as a central problem but in specifics mentioned poor bus service, unpaved streets, poor utility services, poor lighting and the like. In this sense their neighborhood dissatisfactions are diffuse and similar to those of persons living in middle class areas, although somewhat more intense.

The evidence is clear: Residents of Austin's slum areas are not aware of the physical inadequacies of their homes or neighborhoods, and apply essentially the same criteria as do persons in middle income areas in evaluating the adequacy of their surroundings.

In regard to other neighborhoods than their own, however, residents of blighted areas are inclined to overestimate the extent of deteriorated housing. About half of the blighted area respondents guessed that more than 20 percent of the housing in Austin is substandard. (In 1960, approximately 10,000 housing units were listed as substandard, which was slightly less than 20 percent of the total number of houses in the city at that time.)

Given an alternative in the choice of homes, residents of blighted areas are significantly more inclined to choose "a small home in only fair condition" than other low-cost alternatives. Public housing is last as a choice of a place in which to live. Garage apartments -- a characteristic of local action areas surrounding the University -- outpull public housing as desirable low income housing at about the rate of three to two, except in blighted areas where these two types of dwellings are seen as equally undesirable.

Although residents of the city's low socio-economic areas have an unfavorable image of public housing, they are substantially more inclined than other residents of the city to favor federal support of public housing. Three out of four blighted area residents give an unqualified "yes" in response to the question, "Do you think the federal government should help cities build and operate public housing?" This felt need of federal support is directly related to deprivation: The lower the socio-economic area, the greater the desire for federal support of housing, and the greater the perceived need for such housing. A similar relationship exists between attitudes toward Austin's speed in the renewal program and socio-economic group. The lower the socio-economic group, the greater the tendency to say Austin is moving too slowly in its renewal program.

Dissatisfaction With the Community Environment

An analysis of dissatisfaction with community agencies and city services shows the lower the socio-economic status, the greater the unhappiness or dissatisfaction with the perceived power structure. One out of every two residents of blighted areas were above average in dissatisfaction. One-third of the residents of local action areas reflected a similar degree of dissatisfaction, followed by 30 percent of the middle class residents. Less than one out of four residents of upper and upper middle areas were high on the dissatisfaction index.

In general, variation on the dissatisfaction index supports the notion that the mechanisms of contagion and unrest lie in the lowest socio-economic areas of the city, and are partly due to race, low social position and long-term residence in Austin. These individual factors are not strongly related to dissatisfaction, however.

A further examination of these factors, operating together, shows Negroes and Latins who live in segregated areas of East and South Austin are significantly more dissatisfied with the community power structure than Negroes and Latins who live in local action or other integrated areas of the city.

It is also clear that home owners, regardless of their home locations, are less satisfied with the power structure than are renters.

Among the home owners, persons who are "status inconsistents," who have low income levels but are living in high income areas, or who have relatively high incomes but are living in low income areas, are more dissatisfied with the power structure than persons whose family income levels match the levels of the neighborhoods in which they live.

It is also clear that persons of low social status who are actively involved in community affairs are satisfied to a greater extent than are persons of middle social status who are involved in community affairs.

Although the greatest amount of dissatisfaction toward the community power structure is located in the blighted areas of the city, this dissatisfaction is not due to the perception of deprivation, but is a combination of many factors.

For example, persons who live in blighted areas do not perceive their neighborhoods as being radically different from others in the city, and do not differ from middle class residents in regard to the perceived extent of neighborhood problems. Also, except for the perception of the lack of availability of houses, and their low prices, residents of blighted areas do not differ from their middle class counterparts in their estimations of why they chose to live in their present locations.

There are similarities between the low income area residents and middle class residents in regard to neighborhood preferences, also. About one-third of the residents of blighted areas indicated they would prefer to remain in their present neighborhoods if given a choice -- which is slightly higher than the "same neighborhood" preferences of middle class and local action area residents.

Dissatisfaction by persons in blighted areas thus is pointed more at the perceived influentials in the city power structure than at the physical conditions of blight or decay in neighborhood environments.

Characteristics of Local Action Areas

It is in the local action areas where one finds the highest turnover in housing and the lowest degree of home ownership in the city. Persons living in these areas represent the geographically mobile white-collar, job-switching sectors of Austin's society. Among the one-quarter of the local action area respondents who had been in their residences for less than six months at the time of interviewing, more than half were found in rooming houses and apartment districts, particularly in the university and downtown areas. This tendency toward transiency is reflected also in the high proportion -- more than half -- of the residents in local action areas who were renters rather than owners. In fact, the local action areas were the only districts in the city where less than half of the residents were home owners.

More than one-quarter of all persons in local action areas live in apartment houses -- by and far the largest proportion of apartment dwellers of all the socio-economic groups. In fact, of all the apartment dwellers in the city, a total of 55.6 percent were found to live in these highly urbanized areas. (Exclusive of University of Texas students, who were not interviewed in this study.)

In other respects, the local action areas of the city are enigmas of identity. Persons living in racially integrated sectors of the local action areas show greater preferences for similar racially mixed neighborhood environments when they move than do the residents of other areas of the city. Anglo residents of local action areas see their neighborhoods as of essentially mixed racial characteristics, even though nearly three-fourths of the areas are populated by other Anglos. Persons living in these areas show the widest variability of education, occupation and house types of any of the groups studied. Local action areas also have the highest unemployment (particularly among Latins) of all the sectors of the city, and also a greater proportion of retired persons. The percentage of persons over 65 years of age in these areas is 16.1, as compared to the average of 7.9 percent in the city as a whole.

These are also areas for the young. That is to say, half of the families living in local action sectors of Enfield, Winn School and Capitol Heights subdivisions include three or more children -- the highest proportion of all the city's major areas.

Approximately two out of three residents of local action areas correctly identify most of the welfare agencies in the city, and nearly half of the residents demonstrate a realistic awareness of urban renewal programs generally, but are unaware of the urban renewal program in Austin. Persons living in local action areas are more inclined to read editorials, foreign, and national news more often than other residents of the city, including those in high income areas, and are among the heaviest users of cultural fare in the media and on the stage.

Media habits, in particular, account for why residents of local action areas have the highest "cosmopolitan" interests of the socio-economic groups, with the exception of persons living in the upper and upper middle areas.

The tendency toward high occupational and neighborhood mobility, cosmopolitan identity, wide variation in social status or social positions and dissimilar dwelling types mark the local action residents as distinctly different from the middle classes found in Austin's suburbia. In most respects, it can be said that local action area residents have intellectual and extra-community interests which parallel those of the residents of the highest income areas of the city, yet most of these persons living near the heart of the city do not aspire to move to the expensive districts of the north and western parts of the city, even when their income levels would support such a move. Contrary to popular opinion, persons living in the older, downtown sectors of the city are not the "homebodies" usually associated with old families and entrenched local commercial interests. In fact, persons living in local action areas demonstrate the least amount of knowledge of a referendum vote in the city, and in other respects do not show interest in political activity on the local scene. In sociable and professional organization involvement, local action area residents are about average with the city as a whole.

An inescapable conclusion about the residents of local action areas is that these persons are attracted to Austin because of its educational, cultural and white collar opportunities, and then move on. The city is a stopping off place in their search for a better life.

Characteristics of Middle Class Areas

Most of Austin's census tracts can be characterized as "middle class" socio-economic areas, in which about one-third of the city's population is housed. In general, it was shown that "middle classism" in Austin means apathy or disinterest in public affairs, cultural activities and voting. Residents of middle class areas have community identities and life styles which are more similar to that

of persons living in the blighted areas of the city than to that of the upper middle and upper socio-economic area residents.

For example, middleclass area residents are about as inclined (22.3 percent) as residents of blighted areas to complain of poor utility services, inadequate bus transportation and other general inconveniences as their main neighborhood problems. They are about as inclined to want to move into upper and upper middle areas as are residents of blighted areas inclined to prefer to move into locat action areas (although middle class residents are somewhat more "satisfied" with their neighbors).

Persons from middle class areas are only slightly higher in "cosmopolitanism" than persons from blighted areas, illustrating again the similarity of cultural tastes between Austin's many middle class Anglo groups and the ethnic minorities in blighted areas. Given equal distributions of education and income or socio-economic status, the differences between Negroes and Anglos on cosmopolitanism measures are not significant.

On a measure of localism, half of the middle class area residents were only minimally involved in local affairs, which is about the level of interest shown by residents of local action and blighted area residents. Middle socio-economic area residents demonstrated the least amount of interest of all groups in a local bond issue. These persons also tended to underestimate the extent of blight in the city, a facet of insensitivity which separates middle socio-economic groups from persons living in blighted areas. (Persons living in the lower socio-economic areas overestimate the extent of blight in the city.) Persons in middle areas who do not participate in organizational affairs demonstrated rather low levels of dissatisfaction with the perceived power structure in the city. In fact, the study shows that for middle class groups, the greater the amount of participation in organizations, the greater the degree of dissatisfaction with the city.

On the question of urban renewal in Austin, middle class residents are about equally divided between those who favor additional federal assistance and those who oppose enlargement of the program. There is also a greater tendency for persons from these areas to think that the renewal program is moving at a pace which is "about right" than for other groups in the city, who think the pace is "too slow."

In sum, middle class residents are about as likely to be classified as "knownothings" as are persons from blighted areas. In this sense, it can be said that the major characteristic of middle class areas is that the residents are diffuse in their social identities, and as a whole, have no clear-cut orientations to the city or extra-city environments. These persons are caught up in the routine of job and family and are often withdrawn from the larger city around them.

Residential mobility patterns of this group are generally from lower middle to upper middle areas in the city. Many have aspirations to move into the upper economic reaches of the city in Northwest Hills, Balcones, or West Lake Hills, but only a few achieve this goal. The vicarious identification with neighborhoods other than one's own also leads to incomplete identification with the present neighborhood. Approximately half of the persons in middle class areas are unaware of their neighborhood boundaries.

Characteristics of Upper and Upper Middle Areas

In general, persons living in upper and upper middle socio-economic areas are more satisfied with community agencies and the perceived power structure than are residents of the lower income areas. It should be kept in mind, however, that upper income districts are areas of high turnover and mobility, and that low levels of dissatisfaction are associated with short-term residency (and also low levels of cultural involvement).

In other respects, persons living in upper and upper middle areas are more class conscious, i.e., aware of their social positions, than are residents of other areas; they show the highest degree of awareness of neighborhood boundaries, and they prefer to live in the "same" neighborhoods when they move within the city. There is also a greater tendency for upper economic area residents to prefer to live in the "same" house they are in now, if given a choice of places in which to live. These persons visit often with neighbors, and are more fond of their neighbors than are residents of other areas in the city. At the same time, upper area residents tend to see their neighbors' yards and homes as in better condition than their own, and feel obliged to "keep up with Jones'." A total of 16 percent of the residents of the upper class areas are high ranking executives or professionals, and most other heads of households also enjoy high levels of income. Families in these areas are involved in both issue-interest and sociable organizations, and are the most likely to be interested in politics in the city. Depending on the length of residence in the city, persons in these areas tend to be about equally divided on localixm and cosmopolitanism scales -- with the long term residents higher in local interests and the short-term residents more inclined to have professional and extra-community interests.

It was noted in the interviewing situations that upper and upper middle residents tended to feign knowledge and to give normative

answers to problem situations with which they are not particularly familiar. For example, there is a marked trend to claim more knowledge of urban renewal programs than is true for these groups. They also underestimate the extent of blight in the city and overestimate the price of apartments in middle class districts.

Upper and upper middle residents exhibit a greater tendency than other groups to turn to the newspaper for news, rather than radio or television, and are generally more interested in news on both the local and national levels, except as this news related to urban renewal. Approximately four out of ten persons in the upper and upper middle areas are "uninterested" in urban renewal. (Although 42 percent think Austin is moving "too slowly" in its urban renewal program.)

In general, it is clear that the higher the social status, the greater the tendency to oppose extensive federally supported urban renewal programs, with less than 40 percent of the upper class residents favoring public housing, while more than three out of four persons living in blighted areas are in favor of the programs.

CONCLUSIONS

This study, based on survey research data and on 1960 census information updated by the City of Austin Planning Department, identifies the following dimensions of poverty in Austin:

1. Segregation and Ethnic Discrimination

This cluster relates to housing, social areas, and occupational opportunity. It was found that blighted areas of the city are predominantly Negro and Latin in composition (85 percent), and that these ethnic groups account for less than 3 percent of the population in middle class and upper income areas of the city. The median number of years' residence for the population as a whole in Austin is three years; for persons in blighted areas, the median length of residence is twelve years. There has been a steady increase in the size of the Negro population but without an increase in size of the area in which they live -- leading to overcrowding, delinquency, and health problems. On the city's occupational ladder, more than two-thirds of the heads of households in blighted areas are in unskilled and semiskilled positions. Unemployment is high in Latin areas, but not extensive in Negro areas of the city.

The total family income for nearly one-third of the residents of blighted areas is between $2,000 and $4,000, and one out of five families earn less than $2,000 a year. If $4,000 is taken as a minimum "poverty subsistence," it is clear that half of the residents of Austin's blighted areas live in poverty in spite of extensive multiple employment within Negro families.

Residents of blighted areas who have moved to Austin from other communities reported in the survey that their previous

housing accomodations were less expensive than present accomodations in Austin. The reverse of this was true for middle and upper socio-economic area residents. This indicates that housing costs in Austin, in comparison to other communities, favor persons in medium and upper income brackets and are discriminatory toward low income persons.

When we examine the relationship of ethnic neighborhood composition within socio-economic areas and previous, present and preferred neighborhoods, there is a strain for consistency of ethnic surroundings for persons living in upper a nd upper middle and middle areas. This can be seen by comparing percentage figures within each ethnic strata for the different socio-economic areas of the city. In general, slightly less than one-third of the persons in the upper income areas moved from previous Austin locations into segregated areas which mirror their own ethnicity. On the other hand, persons living in local action and blighted areas have tended to move out of segregated areas elsewhere in Austin into more integrated neighborhoods. This suggests that given the opportunity and the financial means, Negroes, along with White persons who have lived in racially mixed areas, prefer to move into racially integrated neighborhoods.

2. Deprived Families

Although the proportion of persons over 65 years of age in blighted areas is not above the median for the city as a whole, these are the areas of greatest concentration of old age assistance in the city. More than one-third of the families living in blighted areas include three or more children under 18 years of age -- placing the slum areas ahead of all others in family size.

More than two-thirds of all the families living in blighted areas also include at least one child under 18 years of age, and the delinquency rate of these children of poverty is more than double that of other socio-economic groups.

Census statistics indicate that approximately one out of every eighteen men in Negro East Austin is separated from his wife, and about one out of every ten women is separated from her husband. In Latin blighted areas, less than 3 percent of the families are living under separated conditions, which is two percentage points lower than for the city as a whole. Only about two-thirds of the children under 18 in blighted Negro areas are living with both parents, compared with less than one-fifth for the city as a whole.

Broken families and poverty also usually mean reliance upon public assistance. In 1964, eight out of every 100 families in Austin's blighted areas (four times as many as in the city as a whole) were supported in part by aid-to-families-with-dependent-children (AFDC) and by private welfare agencies such as the Salvation Army and St. Vincent de Paul.

One out of every eight families in Negro tracts received regular assistance of this type in 1964. Latin areas were next in line, followed by mixed racial areas in South Austin and in the downtown district.

In terms of physical blight, a total of 5.9 percent or 454 of the homes in Negro East Austin were equipped with "outhouse" toilet facilities in 1960. Inadequate heating and ventilation and crowded sleeping quarters also increase the rate of disease.

3. Dissatisfaction with the Community Environment

Analysis of dissatisfaction with the current city "power structure" within the various socio-economic groups shows that as socio-economic status decreases the unhappiness or dissatisfaction with the community environment increases. One out of every two residents of blighted areas are above average on the dissatisfaction index. One-third of the residents of local action areas reflect this degree of dissatisfaction, followed by 30 percent of the middle class residents. (Less than one out of four residents of upper and upper middle areas are high on the dissatisfaction index.)

In general, the index shows that the mechanisms of contagion and unrest lie in the lowest socio-economic areas of the city, and are partly due to race, low social position, and long-term residence in Austin.

A further examination of these factors shows Negroes and Latins who live in segregated areas of East and South Austin are significantly more dissatisfied with the community power structure than Negroes and Latins who live in integrated areas of Austin. Dissatisfaction was also found to be pointed at the perceived community power structure rather than at the physical conditions of blight or decayed neighborhoods. And, the roots of this unhappiness lie in closed economic opportunity, segregation, status inconsistency, and a "do nothing" or unjust operation of welfare agencies.

The effects of the dissatisfaction were found to carry over into avoidance of welfare services, avoidance of sociable organizations, and a manifest lack of interest in community affairs generally.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

Appendices A, B, C, and D may be requested by writing to the Community Development Office, City of Austin, Municipal Building, Austin, Texas. These appendices are:

(A) Interview Schedule CDO-CA-1, which is the final form of the interviewing instrument employed for this study.

(B) Specifications for Survey CDO-CA-1, including interviewer training material and field instructions for interviewers.

(C) Pre-Test Questionnaire CDO-CA-A, the pre-test form of the interview schedule used in August, 1964.

(D) Austin Attitudes Survey Master Code, including content categories for all open-ended questions and IBM card codes for each category of response.

APPENDIX E

PERCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS

Question: Tell me a little about the (Named Area), as you see it. What makes it different from other areas in Austin?

F	%	Response
22	14.9	DK or NA
16	10.9	Nice; nice place; fine
13	8.8	Quiet
11	7.4	No difference
10	6.8	Won't pave streets; bad streets
7	4.7	Run down; more run-down houses
5	3.4	Growing community
4	2.7	Poorer class of people
3	2.0	Friendly; nice neighbors
3	2.0	All Negro; all Negro and Latin
3	2.0	Set up as restricted area for Negroes
3	2.0	Not compared with rest of Austin
3	2.0	Mostly Latin; becoming Latin
3	2.0	Has improved lately
3	2.0	I like it best
2	1.4	Not cared for; weeds
2	1.4	No bus lines
2	1.4	Older
2	1.4	Too close to slum district
2	1.4	Average neighborhood
2	1.4	"Bad children"
1	.7	Restricted area
1	.7	Mixed races
1	.7	Not fully developed in utilities
1	.7	Too many children; teenagers
1	.7	Streets nice
1	.7	Not a good neighborhood
1	.7	Has more "joints"
1	.7	Homes with wide range prices
1	.7	Lots are larger, plenty of space
1	.7	Homes not as nice as whites
1	.7	Air traffic noisy
1	.7	Convenient to most things
1	.7	Overcrowded
1	.7	Projects are nice to live in
1	.7	Floods; poor drainage

APPENDIX F

PERCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD PROBLEMS

Question: What do you think are the main problems in your neighborhood here?

F	%	Response
28	18.9	No problems
18	12.2	Streets
17	11.5	DK; NA
9	6.1	Duplexes and apartments being built
6	4.1	Street lighting poor
6	4.1	Too many undisciplined
5	3.4	Children playing in streets
5	3.4	Landscaping
4	2.7	Vacant lots
4	2.7	Everything is all right; good enough
4	2.7	Living close to commercial property
4	2.7	Hoodlums; stealing
3	2.0	Lack of organization and cooperation among neighbors
3	2.0	Utilities; lack of sewage; poor service
3	2.0	Dogs; barking; animals running loose
3	2.0	Houses too close together; crowded
3	2.0	Particular type of neighbor; undesirable
2	1.4	Poor neighborhood; low income
2	1.4	Water when it rains flooding
2	1.4	Far from bus line; no bus service
2	1.4	Neighbors don't keep up houses as they should
2	1.4	Teenage destructiveness; delinquents
2	1.4	Old homes
2	1.4	Noisy
1	.7	No conveniences
1	.7	Lack of fellowship; not enough visiting
1	.7	Houses mixed in price and condition
1	.7	Inconvenient location
1	.7	Seems like a nice neighborhood
1	.7	Speeding, people driving too fast
1	.7	Too many renters in area
1	.7	Moral standards low
1	.7	Need more traffic lights, stop signs, etc.

APPENDIX G

TRAVIS COUNTY DELINQUENCY REFERRALS, 1963

(Intake for January to December 31, 1963)

	ANGLO		LATIN		NEGRO		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F		
DELINQUENCY REFERRALS								
Criminal Violations								
1. Murder					1		1	
2. Rape					1		1	
3. Robbery	4		8				12	
4. Aggravated Assault	3		6		4	1	14	
5. Burglary	57	2	65	1	57		182	
6. Theft (felonious)	20	3	12	2	6		43	
7. Theft (auto)	30	1	14		6		51	
8. Forgery and Passing	6	10	1	4	9		30	
9. Narcotics								
10. Other			18				18	
TOTAL:	120	16	124	7	84	1	352	
Other Law Violations								
11. Theft (petty)	39	11	66	11	42	8	176	
12. Assault (simple, fighting)	8	1	8	4			21	
13. Liquor Law Violation	19		45	3	3	1	71	
14. Disturbing the Peace	25	2	8	4	9		48	
15. Malicious Mischief	6		12		11		29	
16. Traffic	12		5				17	
17. Other	22	3	20	6	2		53	
TOTAL:	131	17	164	28	66	10	416	
Behavior Problems								
18. Immoral Behavior	8	7	7	4	3	3	32	
19. Runaway	46	57	17	43	10	21	194	
20. Comp. School Attendance	2	2	2	6	7	4	23	
21. Other	15	10	4	14	2	4	49	
TOTAL:	71	76	30	67	22	32	298	
TOTAL DELINQUENCY REFERRALS:	322	109	318	102	172	43	///	1,066

APPENDIX G (Continued)

		ANGLO		LATIN		NEGRO		T O T A L	
		M	F	M	F	M	F		
DEPENDENCY REFERRALS									
1. Lack of Adequate Care		37	52	23	20	20	14	166	
2. Desertion						3	3	6	
3. Cruel Treatment, Abuse							1	1	
4. Other		37	35	2	3	4	2	84	
5. Delinquent Behavior		7	12	12	2	10	3	46	
TOTAL DEPENDENCY REFERRALS:		81	99	37	25	37	24	///	303
INVESTIGATIONS									
1. Custodies		12	15	10	5			42	
2. Adoptions		132	116	18	15	10	8	299	
3. Other	134							134	
TOTAL INVESTIGATION REFERRALS:	134	144	131	28	20	10	8	///	475
TOTAL NUMBER REFERRALS:	134	547	339	383	147	219	75	///	1,844

APPENDIX H

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREAS BY RESPONSES TO WELFARE QUESTIONS

In case of a disaster and you were obligated to leave your home, what community service would you turn to for food, housing, and medicine?

	Upper Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	74	51.7	137	60.4	90	47.9	100	67.6	28	54.9
Incorrect	44	30.8	46	20.3	31	16.5	17	11.5	14	27.5
Partly correct	3	2.1	5	2.2	27	14.4	3	2.0	0	0
DK; NA	22	15.4	39	17.2	40	21.3	28	18.9	9	17.6
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.1	188	100.1	148	100.0	51	100.0

If you knew of a family here in the City whose children were hungry and the mother and father did not have enough money to buy food, where would you tell them to go for financial help?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	52	36.4	93	41.0	92	48.9	106	71.6	28	54.9
Incorrect	37	25.9	53	23.3	36	19.1	13	8.8	13	25.5
Partly correct	24	16.8	18	7.9	26	13.8	6	4.1	4	7.8
DK; NA	30	21.0	63	27.8	34	18.1	23	15.5	6	11.8
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	99.9	148	100.0	51	100.0

Where else might a poor family go for financial aid here in Austin?

	Upper		Upper & Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	62	43.4	106	46.7	96	51.1	58	39.2	20	39.2		
Incorrect	32	22.4	38	16.7	13	6.9	20	13.5	15	29.4		
Partly correct	10	7.0	20	8.8	31	16.5	16	10.8	1	2.0		
DK; NA	39	27.3	63	27.8	48	25.5	54	36.5	15	29.4		
Totals	143	100.1	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0		

If you knew of a family of a mother, a father, and five children, all of whom were ill with a contagious disease like the mumps and could not afford to hire a private nurse, where would you tell them to turn for nursing help?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	52	36.4	65	28.6	72	38.3	38	25.7	10	19.6
Incorrect	52	36.4	68	10.0	29	15.4	25	16.9	24	47.1
Partly correct	10	7.0	23	10.1	42	22.3	25	16.9	4	7.8
DK; NA	29	20.3	71	31.2	45	23.9	60	40.5	13	25.5
Totals	143	100.1	227	99.9	188	99.9	148	100.0	51	100.0

Where could a poor family go for hospital care?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	134	93.7	202	89.0	172	91.5	137	92.6	45	88.2
Incorrect	3	2.1	4	1.8	2	1.1	1	.7	2	3.9
Partly correct	1	.7	5	2.2	5	2.7	0	0	1	2.0
DK; NA	5	3.5	16	7.0	9	4.8	10	6.8	3	5.9
Totals	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.0	148	99.9	51	100.0

Where would a family with a disturbed child--a child who is having emotional problems--turn to for advice here in Austin?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	25	17.5	38	16.7	17	9.0	12	8.1	0	0
Incorrect	77	53.8	86	37.9	40	21.3	35	23.6	27	52.9
Partly correct	15	10.5	22	9.7	66	35.1	19	12.8	2	3.9
DK; NA	26	18.2	81	35.6	65	34.6	82	55.4	22	43.2
Totals	143	100.0	227	99.9	188	100.0	148	99.9	51	100.0

Where would you go in Austin if you wanted to adopt a baby?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	41	28.7	58	25.6	33	17.6	13	8.8	1	2.0
Incorrect	23	16.1	24	10.6	23	12.2	16	10.8	18	35.3
Partly correct	9	6.3	16	7.0	26	13.8	24	16.2	0	0
DK; NA	70	49.0	129	56.8	106	56.4	95	64.2	32	62.7
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.0	188	100.0	148	100.0	51	100.0

Where do tramps or transient persons go for food and a night's lodging here in Austin?

	Upper & Upper Middle		Middle		Local Action		Blighted		Eastown Heights	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Correct	108	75.5	142	62.6	118	62.8	52	35.1	12	23.5
Incorrect	11	7.7	24	10.6	8	4.3	18	12.2	14	27.5
Partly correct	0	0	5	2.2	7	3.7	2	1.4	3	5.9
NA; DK	24	16.8	56	24.7			76	51.4	22	43.1
Totals	143	100.0	227	100.1			148	100.0	51	100.0

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