THE IMPACT OF A MODEL CITIES PROGRAM ON THE CONVERGENCE OF
CRIME RATES IN A MODEL CITY AREA AND RESIDUAL AREAS

DISSERTATION

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By

B. Rollo Tinkler, B. S., M. A., M. S.
Denton, Texas
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One purpose of the national Model Cities Program was to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency in poverty blighted areas to levels prevailing in the remainder of the community. A measurable goal projected by the Austin program was to reduce crime in its Model City Area (in comparison to the rest of the city) by at least 8.73 percent during the operational years of the program.

The central problem of the study was to examine the relationships between official crime rates in the Austin Model City Area in comparison to residual areas of the city. Robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates were singled out for intensive study over the six year operational period of the program to see if they were converging with comparable rates in the rest of the city.

The review of literature in the second division of the dissertation led to the formulation of three hypotheses. These hypotheses were not viewed as formal statistical hypotheses but as testable assumptions regarding the relationships under study.
Following procedures outlined in the third chapter, Austin, Texas, was selected as the target city because of the quality of its crime records. Government documents regarding the Model Cities Program, census data, and statistical records of crimes reported to the Austin police were searched for pertinent data. Also, the Delphi technique was utilized in determining consensus estimates by selected experts concerning the apportionment of reported crimes in police reporting areas transversed by Model City boundaries. Approximations regarding other factors were also obtained through this technique.

After tabulating the data, crime rates and ratios were calculated per 100,000 population for various areas of the city for 1970 through 1975. Selected crime ratios were then compared for the years under study to determine whether the selected offense rates had converged by 8.73 per cent. Since the data did not constitute a random sample, advanced statistical analyses were neither applicable nor necessary.

Findings concerning the hypotheses were presented in the fourth division of the paper. Within the scope and qualifications noted in the study, the major findings are presented below.

Hypothesis I predicted that robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates in the Model City Area would converge with corresponding rates in the rest of the city by at least
8.73 per cent between 1970 - 1975, and the data supported this assertion.

Hypothesis II stated that robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates in the Model City Area would stabilize or decline in rate of growth during the period under study. Robbery rates failed to support the hypothesis, but burglary and auto theft rates were supportive.

Hypothesis III asserted that robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates of census tracts containing substantive portions of the Model City Area would converge with the rates of the rest of the city by at least 8.73 per cent between 1970 and 1975. The specified convergence was found for robbery and burglary rates, but auto theft rates fell slightly below the hypothesized convergence level.

Ultimate implication: the Model Cities Program was probably a contributing factor in the reduction of selected crimes in the Model Neighborhood and census tracts containing it.

Additional triangulated studies were recommended with arrest data and possibly juvenile data.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

In the mid 1960s, national legislative activity focused on the multiplied socio-economic problems of U. S. poverty areas. Congress authorized over one hundred new programs in an effort to control such problems, but little progress seemed visible (6, p. 7). Out of this frustrating struggle, The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 was passed as a coordinated, comprehensive plan of attack against such urban problems. The demonstration effort that grew out of this act became known as the Model Cities Program. Under the administration of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), various types of assistance were offered cities for the formation and carrying out of community developed programs designed to relieve social, economic, and physical problems of poverty areas. A specifically stated purpose of the program was "to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency" in the blighted areas "to levels prevailing in the remainder of the community" (17, p. 13). It was recognized, however, that such "programs are undertaken on the untested assumption that they will 'work'" (3, p. 304).
Statement of the Problem

The central problem selected for study was an examination of the relationships between official crime rates in a selected Model City Area and the residual or remaining areas of the city. For reasons noted below, the city of Austin, Texas, was selected as the proposed area of study. Official crime rates of the Austin Model City Area and residual city areas were compared over a six year period. Specific crimes were studied separately instead of being aggregated to form a general crime index. The study thus concentrated on examining the assumption that the incidence of selected crimes in the Austin Model City Area should converge with or begin to be reduced "to levels prevailing in the remainder of the community" during the period under study.

The Need for Research

As indicated above, many social programs have been undertaken on the assumption that they will work. The National Institute of Law and Criminal Justice has observed that "Criminal justice policymaking at all levels of government suffers from a lack of soundly-based information on the effectiveness and efficiency of various approaches to crime control" (11, p. 8). Considerable interest has been expressed in measuring the impact of Model Cities Programs upon various communities (18, p. 6). The Department of
Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has openly stated that "The best we can do is experiment, and hope to find valid solutions as we go along" (16, p. 2). Kaitz and Hyman have offered several penetrating comments on these matters. "A simple statement of goals does not necessarily mean that the measures of anticipated results are easily obtained, or, even if obtained, meaningful" (5, p. 205). "Program formulation is at best a nebulous process. Little is really known of the benefits provided by many social service programs" (5, p. 206). They have thus cautioned that "the output of most social service programs can only be measured in the long term and even then in the grossest of ways" (5, p. 206). Meaningful research regarding the impact of such programs was perceived as inadequate. The present study was, therefore, initiated.

Background of the Problem

The background of the Model Cities Program has been traced by numerous sources back to a national interest in poverty area problems and expanding crime rates. These themes were, therefore, given attention in the section below.

Poverty Area Problems

In 1966, Congress declared that "improving the quality of urban life is the most critical domestic problem facing the United States" (15, p. 1255). This conviction
apparently arose from the observation of numerous riots and other problems being encountered in urban poverty areas. Poverty related problems were viewed as having led to a "marked deterioration in the quality of the environment and the lives of large numbers of our people while the Nation as a whole prospers" (15, p. 1255). Examples cited were as follows: the persistence of widespread urban slums and blighted areas, unmet needs for additional housing, overcrowding, inadequate community facilities and services rising out of rapid urban expansion, inadequate city resources to deal with such problems, inadequate educational facilities and programs, lack of job training and job opportunities, general dependence on welfare payments, increasing crime and delinquency, poor health care, and inadequate transportation to jobs. Numerous additional examples of poverty area problems were found in the literature. An expanded discussion of such problems, however, has been reserved for inclusion in the review of literature which is to be presented in Chapter II. Also, demographic and socio-economic data concerning the characteristics of the Austin areas under study have been reserved for presentation in Chapter IV.

**Expanding Crime Rates**

In May of 1965, crime, according to a Gallup Poll, was for the first time recognized by the American people (along
with education) as "the most important problem facing the nation" (20, p. 65). Additional surveys over the next several years continued to confirm and amplify this finding. A Harris Poll of 1968 asked a sample of citizens to select from a list "the single most serious problem [that they] would like to see the government do something about." The one problem ranked the most serious by the most respondents was crime and lawlessness (12, p. 3). A Gallup Poll of the same year concluded that for the first time in its thirty-three years of publishing studies, "crime is the nation's number one domestic concern" (12, p. 4). The same concern has continued to be expressed in subsequent years. "Americans appear to be convinced that crime is spreading at a rapid pace and that prevailing political authorities are either unable or unwilling to cope with the problem (7, p. xvii). "Clearly, people's sense of crime is high, and they regard it as rising" (13, p. 40). By almost any standard of measurement, crime had become ominous, and public concern regarding it had become intense and extensive. In the view of many Americans, crime was identified as America's number one domestic problem for several years.

Supplementary data and analyses regarding the increase of crime rates were reserved for subsequent chapters. These introductory remarks have demonstrated, however, the significance of the problem on the American scene and have
suggested the desirability of critically studying the effectiveness of one attempt to reduce the problem.

Model Cities as a Solution

As indicated above, deterioration in the quality of life in urban poverty areas and rapidly increasing crime rates began to receive widespread recognition as two of the most important socio-economic problems facing the nation in the mid and late 1960s. A meaningful solution was urgently sought.

The national program.—In response to these related areas of concern, Congress passed the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act in November of 1966. This new legislation became known as the Model Cities Program. It was acclaimed as the Great Society's most comprehensive attempt to achieve basic social reform in American cities, as the "culmination of all previous attempts to solve the nation's urban problems," and as the vehicle through which selected poverty areas would be transformed into showcase neighborhoods over a six-year period (4, p. 5791-A). The stated purposes of the Act were as follows:

The purposes of this title are to provide additional financial and technical assistance to enable cities of all sizes (with equal regard to the problems of small as well as large cities) to plan, develop, and carry out locally prepared and scheduled comprehensive city demonstration programs containing new and imaginative proposals to rebuild or revitalize large slum and blighted areas; to expand housing, job,
and income opportunities; to reduce dependence on welfare payments; to improve educational facilities and programs; to combat disease and ill health; to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency; to enhance recreational and cultural opportunities; to establish better access between homes and jobs; and generally to improve living conditions for the people who live in such areas, and to accomplish these objectives through the most effective and economical concentration and coordination of Federal, State, and local public and private efforts to improve the quality of urban life (15, p. 1255).

The Act was passed with high expectations. Sponsors of the bill anticipated that the program would "be highly effective in treating a wide range of urban problems in selected cities," and since it would be concentrated in selected cities, it would thereby permit "a more visible and measurable demonstration of the impact of comprehensive Federal assistance" (18, p. 6). The program was thus "designed to demonstrate how the living environment and the general welfare of people living in slum and blighted neighborhoods can be substantially improved in cities of all sizes and in all parts of the country" (17, p. 1). It was recognized, however, that the problems of the Model Cities Area are deeply rooted and probably would not disappear during the five years of the program.

During the five-year period the city is expected to make as much progress as possible toward raising the quality of life in the model neighborhood to the levels of the rest of the city. However, the neighborhood is selected because it has some of the worst conditions in the city, and it may not be possible to accomplish all goals within a five-year period. On the other hand, the five-year program should make substantial improvements in the neighborhood, and establish the groundwork for continued progress (19, p. 5).
The following remarks were selected as representative of the general thinking behind such a comprehensive, coordinated attack on poverty area problems:

Our present pattern of hundreds of separate, and unrelated programs can no more solve such complexities than an army of independent platoons can wage an effective war. Instead, urban planners are thinking in terms of projects which link education, health, finances, housing, jobs, and other factors into a cohesive web (16, p. 8).

... the problems that these standards address and the projects and activities necessary to achieve these standards are closely interrelated. Projects and activities directed towards achieving these standards should not be developed and carried out independently of each other. They should be interrelated so that, to the extent possible, each provides reinforcement and support for the other (17, p. 6).

As noted above, the general purposes of the program were stated in the Act itself. The general goal was to improve the quality of life in the Model Neighborhood to the levels found in the rest of the city. The present study, however, focused heavily on one of the specific purposes of the program—the reduction of crime and delinquency. While elaborating on this particular achievement goal, the Department of Housing and Urban Development stated:

The program should provide for various projects and activities which will make marked progress over five years and which, when their full impact is realized, will result in reduction of the incidence of crime and delinquency in the Model Neighborhood to levels prevailing in the community or metropolitan area and which will provide Model Neighborhood residents with reasonable security of their persons and property without violating principles of a free society (17, p. 13).
The above remarks have clearly shown that a specific goal of the program was to reduce crime in the Model Neighborhood to the level of that of the rest of the community. In view of this stated goal, the present study attempted to determine whether crime rates in the Model City Area were converging with the rates of the rest of the city during the period under study (1970 - 1975).

In response to the Model Cities Program, numerous cities submitted applications for acceptance, and 147 units were accepted. Twelve such Model Cities programs were launched in the states of Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana. A broad range of urban problems was thus brought under direct and comprehensive attack through locally prepared and federally guided programs. Under the directions of HUD, participating cities received one-year planning grants to assist them in preparing master plans for physical, economic, and social improvements in their poverty-stricken neighborhoods. Cities were required to involve substantial numbers of Model Area residents in planning and operating the program. The program also attempted to coordinate federal, state, local, public, and private support in initiating and funding community selected projects for a five-year period. The process was to unfold along these briefly summarized guidelines:

The planning process was to involve three major, sequential stages. The first stage was to be the cornerstone. From it would logically evolve the
specific elements of the plan. This stage of the planning process was to begin with a careful analysis of the Model Neighborhood's major problems, their causes and the interrelationship of the causes. This basic analysis would then lead to, in order of succession: the definition of major long-range goals; and the determination of relative priorities, to be expressed in a statement of strategy (6, p. 8).

The second and third stages were to provide a framework for accomplishing the proposals suggested by the first year's study and a cost analysis of the specific programs being proposed. Federal, state, and local resources were then to be utilized in a coordinated attack on the array of social and economic problems of the selected Model Cities Areas (6, p. 8).

The local response.—In response to the Model Cities Program, Austin applied for funding of its proposals after spending a preliminary year in studying the problems of the target area. The Model Neighborhood included a 464 block area of the southeastern part of Austin. An estimated 20,681 residents resided in the area in 1970 with an estimated 251,808 in the city as a whole. Roughly, about 8 percent of the population of the city lived in this area which was approximately equal to one-twentieth of the land in the city limits (10, pp. 10-11).

In 1970, the city was granted $3,454,000 toward the programs planned for the first action year. The program objectives chosen for action by the Central Coordinating Committee were as follows:
1. Improve public facilities such as streets, drainage, lights
2. Improve educational opportunities and assistance
3. Improve health care accessibility and environment
4. Increase housing availability and improve present facilities
5. Improve traffic controls and initiate mass transportation
6. Make employment training and services available to area
7. Develop area recreational facilities services and leadership
8. Decrease crime and delinquency through improved services
9. Decrease area dependence on welfare
10. Seek economic development of area (9, pp. 11, 97-152)

In the Mid-Planning Statement over fifty specific proposals for attaining the above objectives were listed (9, pp. 97-152). These ranged from improving physical facilities (building a fire station or recreational facility) to improved social services (adding recreational personnel or increasing rodent controls).

Specific goals and proposals regarding crime and delinquency were as follows:

1. To decrease crime and delinquency in the Model Area by three percent by the end of the third action year (1973) with equal decreases for the following two years of the program.
2. To locate a community center within the Model Area to provide twenty-four hour immediate assistance to distressed residents needing emergency shelter, counseling, guidance, or referral.
3. To implement a police-community relations program to increase mutual understanding of law enforcement and crime prevention.
4. To utilize the school system to further police-community cooperation and encourage a positive image about law enforcement as a career (9, pp. 143-146).

While these proposals appeared superficial and inadequate in reducing crime, they appeared to be based on a constant
theme found throughout Model Cities literature (as well as other literature) that poverty area conditions contribute to the incidence of crime. A typical statement of this view asserted that: "... improving the 'life style' of the Model Neighborhood residents by increasing opportuni-
tics . . . will have a favorable effect upon crime and delinquency" (9, pp. 83-84). As noted above, the first goal of the Austin program was to reduce crime in the Model City Area (in contrast to the rest of the city) by three per cent for each of the last three years of the program or an aggregated 8.73 per cent between 1970 and 1975 (9, pp. 143-146). Since additional attention is to be given to these themes, the above remarks seem adequate.

Theoretical Framework

Merton's anomie theory regarding the origins of de-
viancy on a large scale was selected as a broad framework for the present study. Merton has concisely stated the framework as follows:

It is, indeed my central hypothesis that aberrant be-
behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of disso-
iation between culturally prescribed aspir-
ations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations (8, p. 134).

It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a consider-
able part of the same population, that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale (8, p. 146).
Merton has also warned that the "theory of anomie is designed to account for some, not all, forms of deviant behavior. . ." (8, p. 178) and that "anomie varies in degree and perhaps in kind" (8, p. 163).

The present study has emphasized the point that large scale deviancy (delinquency and crime) is hypothesized as arising primarily when lower class youths are led to accept middle-class goals of success but are structurally blocked by a lack of the means to attain their aspirations. The implication is that deviancy should decrease if structural channels to success are opened. Recalling the previous section, two chains of thought were combined to formulate the following basis for research: (1) When structural channels to success are opened to lower classes, crime rates should be expected to decline; (2) the Model Cities Program has attempted to open structural channels to success to poverty area residents; (3) therefore, crime rates should be expected to decline in the Model City Area and become more like that of the remainder of the community.

It has been noted that the field of prevention is one of the least adequately researched areas of criminology and that such crime prevention programs are undertaken on the untested assumption that they will work (3, p. 304). In contrast to this assumption and opportunity-structure theory, Nettler has objected that "several large-scale projects have attempted to expand opportunities and thereby
reduce juvenile delinquency." Nettler has described the record of such programs as "one uniform failure" (12, p. 166).

In view of the apparent conflict of opinion, it was concluded that a Model City Program should provide a fertile ground for testing whether one prevention effort, namely the Austin Model City Program, has been effective in reducing the incidence of crime. The present study was thus designed to make that test.

Hypotheses Projected for Study

After considering the purposes of the Model Cities Program, the theoretical expectations noted above, and reviewing the literature presented in Chapter II, three hypotheses were formulated for study. The proposed study of the relationships between crime rates within the Model City Area and the remaining areas of the city was not based on a precisely defined or closely connected series of formulations. Instead, it was based on a broad, loosely-knit theoretical framework. In order to add coherence to the investigation of the relationships, however, three propositions were formulated as general guidelines for purposes of anticipating the directions of various relationships under study. These propositions were not interpreted as statistical hypotheses in the formal or strict sense of the term. Instead, they were viewed as testable affirmations
regarding the relationships under study. With this qualification understood, the following hypotheses are submitted:

Hypothesis I. During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the rates of selected crimes (robbery, burglary, and auto theft) in the Austin Model City Area will tend to converge by a minimum of 8.73 per cent with the rates of residual or remaining areas of the city.

Hypothesis II. During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the crime rates for robbery, burglary, and auto theft in the Austin Model City Area will tend to decline or stabilize in rate of growth.

Hypothesis III. During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the change in the crime rates for robbery, burglary, and auto theft of census tracts containing the Model City Area will be toward convergence with the rest of the city by a minimum of 8.73 per cent.

Delimitations

Technically speaking, city areas were used as the independent variable of the study. The Model Cities Program is to be alluded to as the independent variable, however, as a conventional and convenient course since it was a treatment experienced by one area but not by others. The study was thus limited to a city with such a program. Relationships between crime rates in the Model City Area and residual city areas were then examined between 1970 - 1975 to see if Model
City Area rates had experienced a reduction in comparison to levels found in the rest of the community.

Crime rates calculated on the basis of official records of crimes known to the police were selected as the dependent variable of the study. The basic justification for utilizing such records has been concisely summarized by Cressey in the following remarks:

"Crimes known to the police" is the set of statistics most generally accepted as the most adequate set of crime figures available. . . . Consequently, even "crimes known to the police" may be an inadequate index of true rates. Yet the decision to use this rate is probably the best way out of a bad situation for, as Sellin, the nation's foremost expert on crime statistics, has repeatedly pointed out, "The value of criminal statistics as a basis for measurement in geographic areas decreases as the procedure takes us farther away from the offense itself." Thus, crimes known to the police probably constitute a better index of the true crime rate than the arrest rate; the arrest rate, in turn, is probably more efficient than the conviction rate; and the conviction rate probably is more effective than the imprisonment rate (2, pp. 142-143).

These statistics were also selected because of their general availability and widespread use in such studies. The Annual Reports of the police departments or similar reports of the city under study were, therefore, examined for specific data on crime rates within the Model City Area and the remainder of the city. These records were employed in the gathering of applicable data for the years of 1970 through 1975.

Since it would be practically impossible to study critically all crimes, the present study was limited to an
analysis of selected Part I offenses as defined by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. Part I crimes include the following offenses: homicide, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny-theft, auto theft. These offenses have been frequently employed in the construction of a general crime index, but such an index was not employed in this study. Instead, Boydell's admonition that "A general crime index should not be used because it tends to obscure significant differences in the types of behavior . . ." was accepted (1, p. 4035-A).

While each of the seven categories noted above received some attention, the present study was limited in its primary focus to three categories (robbery, burglary, and auto theft). The reasons for such a decision were as follows: (1) Such offenses are relatively clear in definition. (2) Robbery rates are moderately strong in their correlations with homicide (.62), rape (.60), and burglary (.58). It, therefore, "is often classified as both a property and a violent crime." (3) Auto theft is a rather accurately reported crime with victims from varied backgrounds, and it is viewed by Skogan as representative of crimes of profit (14, pp. 30-31). (4) Burglary is widely employed as representative of crimes against property. Since Merton's scheme has less utility in explaining crimes against persons, crimes against property (robbery, burglary, and auto
theft) were regarded as excellent choices for primary consideration in the present study.

Several census characteristics were chosen for interpretive purposes. Employing 1970 census data, census tract characteristics such as the following were chosen for consideration: population size, sex, race, density, age composition, educational composition, family disruption, median family income, per cent below poverty level and per cent moved in last five years. These and other characteristics were utilized in forming profiles of census tracts in the city and in interpreting the findings.

Summary

The present study was designed to investigate the relationships between official crime rates in the Model City Area of Austin, Texas, and residual or remaining areas of the city. The Model Cities Program was enacted by Congress in 1966 as a comprehensive plan for overcoming poverty area problems. The reduction of the incidence of crime in such areas was a specific goal of the program. It was found that very little meaningful research has been done regarding such social service programs. Relevant literature and theoretical expectations were, therefore, examined, and subsequently three propositions or hypotheses were formulated for purposes of research regarding the impact
of the Model Cities Program upon selected Part I crime rates for the years of 1970 through 1975 in Austin.

As in all studies, certain limitations were viewed as necessary. The study was, therefore, limited to a city involved in a Model Cities Program (Austin) and to the years in which the city was involved in the program (1970 - 1975). The study was also limited to Part I offenses as defined in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports with primary attention focused on the property offenses of robbery, burglary and auto theft. Certain demographic and socio-economic characteristics were also selected for study as interpretive aids.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

In an effort to critically investigate whether crime rates in the Model City Area of Austin were being reduced (converging) to levels prevailing in the rest of the city, a review of selected literature relevant to the primary variables under consideration was undertaken. This review is presented under the following divisions: (1) Literature Related to the Dependent Variable: Part I Crime Rates, (2) Literature Related to the Independent Variable: The Model Cities Program.

Literature Related to the Dependent Variable:
Part I Crime Rates

Chapter I indicated that crime has been identified by the American public as one of the nation's most serious social problems. Since the mid 1960's, Americans' sense of crime has been high and apparently rising. This finding leaves the impression that people are in general agreement as to what crime is. This has not been the case, however, for the definitions and seriousness attached to various crimes have varied (8, pp. 85-91). The public image of crime has generally centered on what Nettler calls crimes which are "'wrong in themselves' (mala in se)"
instead of "those deemed wrong because they intrude upon other's rights as these rights have come to be defined by law (mala prohibita)" (28, p. 35). He elaborated on the point in the following remarks:

The crimes "wrong in themselves" are characterized by universality and timelessness. While the specific legal definitions vary from time to time and from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, every civil society legally calls some kinds of killing "murder," some kinds of coercion "kidnapping," some kinds of fighting "assault," some kinds of sexual abuse "rape" or "incest," some kinds of damage to property "malicious mischief," "vandalism," or "arson," and some kinds of appropriation of property "theft" (28, pp. 35-36).

A Definition of Crime

Criminologists, as well as non-professionals, disagree about what should be labeled as crime. A broad literature regarding crime has developed. In much of the literature, however, crime has become a broad catch-all word which has been about as useful to criminologists as the term disease has been to doctors. Hartjen's work, Crime and Criminalization (15, pp. 1-8), has presented an array of conflicting definitions. Crime, for example, has been defined as (1) a behavior that violates social norms, (2) as an act that violates basic human rights such as racism, sexism, and imperialism, and (3) as an act that should only be viewed as a crime after it has been so determined by the courts.

Two basic definitions of crime have gained widespread support in current sociological thought. The conflict school of thought has generally embraced a definition similar to
that expressed by Quinney: "Crime is a definition of human conduct that is created by authorized agents in a politically organized society" (30, p. 7). Hartjen's definition has also been acceptable to the conflict school: "A socially recognized status constructed by societal members or their authorized agents in the course of labeling someone as a criminal" (15, p. 8). While these definitions have merit for some purposes, they have limited value when traditional data are employed in research. The reason for this limitation is that the legal definition of crime is generally employed in the recording of public records.

The most widely accepted definition of crime in criminological circles is the legal definition which was offered by Sutherland in his work on White Collar Crime, "Crime is a behavior which is prohibited by the State as an injury to the State and which may be punished by the State" (34, p. 31). An amplified discussion of the elements of this definition may be found in Sutherland's and Cressey's text on Criminology (35, pp. 4-8). This legal definition of crime is employed in the present study for two reasons: (1) It has become a widely accepted definition; (2) the city of Austin has employed it in tabulating its crime data.
There are over 2800 Federal crimes and an even greater number of State and local ones. They range from willful personal violence toward others, arson, stealing, and larceny to white collar crimes, gambling, tax evasion, vandalism, and driving while intoxicated (29, p. 18). As to the crimes that concern Americans the most, Nettler states:


The Federal Bureau of Investigation annually reports "offenses known" statistics on 29 crimes. Seven of these crimes are grouped together to form an Index of serious crimes. These are called Part I offenses. Since a critical study of thousands of offenses would be practically impossible, the present study is limited to a study of Part I offenses. Their definitions are, therefore, included.

The Part I offenses are as follows:

1. Criminal homicide.--(a) Murder and non-negligent manslaughter: All willful felonious homicides as distinguished from deaths caused by negligence. Excludes attempts to kill, assaults to kill, suicides, accidental deaths, or justifiable homicides. Justifiable homicides are limited to: (1) The killing of a person by a law enforcement officer in line of duty; and (2) The killing of a person in the act of committing a felony by a private citizen. (b) Manslaughter by negligence: Any death which the police investigation established was
primarily attributable to gross negligence of some individual other than the victim.

2. Forcible rape.— The carnal knowledge of a female, forcibly and against her will in the categories of rape by force, assault to rape, and attempted rape. Excludes statutory offenses (no force used—victim under age of consent).

3. Robbery.—Stealing or taking anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person by force or by violence or by putting in fear, such as strong-arm robbery, stickups, armed robbery, assaults to rob, and attempts to rob.

4. Aggravated assault.—Assault with intent to kill or for the purpose of inflicting severe bodily injury by shooting, cutting, stabbing, maiming, poisoning, scalding, or by the use of acids, explosives, or other means. Excludes simple assaults.

5. Burglary—breaking or entering.—Burglary, housebreaking, safecracking, or any breaking or unlawful entry of a structure with the intent to commit a felony or a theft. Includes attempted forcible entry.

6. Larceny-theft (except motor vehicle theft).—The unlawful taking, carrying, leading, or riding away of property from the possession or constructive possession of another. Thefts of bicycles, automobile accessories, shoplifting, pocket-picking, or any stealing of property or article which is not taken by force and violence or by fraud. Excludes embezzlement, "con" games, forgery, worthless checks, etc.

7. Motor vehicle theft.—Unlawful taking or stealing or attempted theft of a motor vehicle. A motor vehicle is a self-propelled vehicle that travels on the surface but not on rails. Specifically excluded from this category are motor boats, construction equipment, airplanes, and farming equipment (42, pp. 6-7).

Part I offenses are frequently classified as crimes against persons (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) and crimes against property (burglary, larceny-theft, and auto theft). Part II offenses include an array of crimes such as simple assaults, arson, forgery, vandalism, sex offenses, drunkenness, and vagrancy. As indicated in the delimitations of Chapter I (pp. 15-18), however, the present study primarily focuses on such Part I offenses as
robbery, burglary and auto theft. While burglary and auto theft are clearly property offenses, robbery is classified by some as a crime against both property and persons (33, pp. 30-31). Utilized in this fashion, it is regarded by some as an important "bellweather" indicator of patterns for both property and personal offenses (Chapter I, p. 17f) (7, p. 3). Robbery, therefore, is also to be utilized as one of the primary variables of this study.

**Official Crime Statistics**

Serious questions have been raised concerning the reliability of official crime statistics. Criminologists are well aware that "... statistics on crime ... are among the most unsatisfactory of all social statistics" (10, pp. 142-143). Some have even taken the extreme position that official statistics should not be used for research at all (1, pp. 49-65). Several biasing influences on official records were presented briefly by the President's Commission in their report. (1) Changing Expectations--Slum area residents have begun to insist on better police protection and services. (2) Police Practices--Police forces have become more professional and thus take more formal action on complaints. Police efficiency in detecting, recording, and acting on crime has improved. Some political leaders have encouraged police to underreport crime in order that their administrations and community
might appear to have less crime. (3) Insurance—Increased insurance coverage by the public probably has contributed to a greater reporting of crime in order that compensations might be obtained. Also, some losses have been overreported to increase compensations (29, pp. 25-27). Such biasing influences have led some sociologists to describe the extent of crime as a dark figure potentially affected by several social factors.

Increases in education, affluence and civil rights for minority groups, the break-up of traditional slum life and increasing opportunities for social mobility as well as the influence of mass communications are all factors which might affect the reporting of crime. This is part of what Biderman means when he claims that 'year-to-year increases in crime rates may be more indicative of social progress than social decay' (16, p. 43).

In response to the questions that have been raised regarding the use of official crime statistics, Nettler has offered the following defense:

The question of bias in official records can be raised, but it cannot be definitively answered. It is a charge that could only be verified if there were accurate tallies by segments of societies of the proportions of people committing various offenses of ranked seriousness and known frequency. . . . The confidence one has in public records increases as other modes of measurement yield similar results. If each method of counting crime gave widely different results, no theories of crime causation could be well supported. As will be seen, however, the various imperfect measures of the serious crimes point in the same general direction for their social location. For answers to the sociological questions about crime, this is all that is required (28, p. 61).

In support of Nettler's position (and that followed in the present study), Skogan's recent study was examined with
special interest. After comparing official crime statistics with survey-generated measures on the incidence of crime in ten U. S. cities for the year of 1970, Skogan arrived at the following conclusions:

Analysis of the correlates of crime in this ten-city sample suggests that the assumption of random measurement error may often be warranted. Far from being artifactual, official statistics do not appear to lead us to make radically incorrect judgments (33, p. 32).

Very few social theories do more than predict the sign of hypothesized relationships (witness Durkheim), and official crimes-known statistics could usefully be employed to test them (33, p. 34).

Following the contentions of the above sources, official crime statistics of crimes known to the police were utilized in the study "as an estimate of the actual number of times that these crimes occurred in a given time period in the areas under consideration" (3, p. 4035-A). It was realized that such figures are but an approximation of the true rates, but when compared with other data, they have been found to have general merit. Sutherland's and Cressey's judgment on the use of official crime statistics, therefore, was accepted: "... the decision to use this rate is probably the best way out of a bad situation ..." (35, p. 25). The utilization of official statistics is a standard procedure established in numerous studies, and it is to be followed in the present study.
Some Correlates of Serious Crimes

A review of the literature reveals several important correlations of certain conditions with high crime rate areas. Before reviewing these associations, Nettler's words of caution merit consideration:

... it should be remembered that these correlations do not in themselves describe causes, and that the strength and the shape of these relationships vary with what surrounds them. The connections to be described are not absolutes; they do not operate in a vacuum. They are themselves variables whose meaning for behavior changes with the social setting in which the association occurs (28, p. 98).

Predominance of males and youthfulness.—Two striking and persistent characteristics associated with crime are male gender and young age. While some crimes are associated with female gender (prostitution) and increasing age (forgery, counterfeiting), cross cultural and national studies have consistently revealed that the young and males commit more serious crimes than do old persons or women (28, p. 98).

Predominance of urbanization.—Urbanization is another condition statistically associated with crime. Commenting on this factor, Ramsey Clark states:

Of the many causes of crime in America, urbanization is among the least understood and most significant. Our crime is overwhelmingly an urban phenomena. We must know why and what can be done to prevent it. In cities with more than 250,000 people, robberies occur ten times more often proportionately than in their surrounding suburbs and are thirty-five times more common per capita than in outlying rural areas. The risk of being murdered is four to five times greater for the urban dweller than for his suburban
neighbor. Auto thefts are fourteen times more frequent per capita in cities than in the country (5, p. xi).

The popular explanation of this factor is that the crowding, impersonalization, and anonymity of urban life help generate crime. While studies do reveal that serious crimes generally tend to increase with the size of a city, they also reveal that some rural areas have higher crime rates than do some urban areas (35, pp. 176-180). The apparent logical explanation for this phenomenon is that cultural differences account for the variation.

**Predominance of poverty.**--The President's Commission concluded that social and economic conditions found in slums "cause" crime.

In a sense, social and economic conditions "cause" crime. Crime flourishes, and always has flourished, in city slums, those neighborhoods where overcrowding, economic deprivation, social disruption and racial discrimination are endemic (29, p. 17).

Studies of the distribution of crime rates in cities and of the conditions of life most commonly associated with high crime rates have been conducted for well over a century in Europe and for many years in the United States. The findings have been remarkably consistent. Burglary, robbery, and serious assaults occur in areas characterized by low income, physical deterioration, dependency, racial and ethnic concentrations, broken homes, working mothers, low levels of education and vocational skill, high unemployment, high proportions of single males, overcrowded and substandard housing, high rates of tuberculosis and infant mortality, low rates of home ownership or single family dwellings, mixed land use, and high population density (29, p. 35).

While numerous studies support the conclusion that specific slum or poverty conditions are frequently associated with
crime, Van den Haag has objected that

. . . Slums are no more "causes" of crime than hospitals are of death; they are locations of crime, as hospitals are of death. Slums and hospitals attract people selectively; neither is the "cause" of the condition (disease in hospitals, poverty in slums) that leads to the selective attraction (43, p. 283).

After carefully documenting numerous studies regarding the impact of urbanization as well as economic forces upon crime, Nettler asserts that the effect of such factors is not direct; "... those ways of life called 'cultural' seem to intercede between the environment, including its human density and its wealth, and the behaviors to be explained" (28, p. 134).

**Predominance of lower social class.**—Social class is another condition related to high crime rates by numerous studies. Reiss and Rhodes in a study of the official delinquency records of 9,238 white boys from Tennessee for the years of 1950 - 1958 found that there is more frequent and serious delinquency in the lower social classes. This relationship, however, is not direct. It varies with community social structures and cultural traditions.

The largest proportion of delinquents for any status group comes from the more homogeneous status areas for that group, while the delinquency life-chances of boys in any status group tend to be greatest in the lower status areas and in high delinquency rate areas (31, p. 720).

When other variables such as family life, ethnic background, and urbanization are held constant, however, "class
membership per se . . . is a poor predictor of a variety of different and specific kinds of adolescent behavior" (12, p. 33).

Predominance of disruptive conditions.—Several disruptive conditions were employed in a study by Bloom in 1966. The usual correlations with delinquency were also found. The disruptive conditions utilized in the study were as follows: (1) Familial disruption—indicated by the percent of children not living with both parents. (2) Marital disruption—indicated by the number of divorced or separated males per 1,000 married males. (3) Economic disruption—indicated by percent males unemployed. (4) Environmental disruption—indicated by number of first fire calls in proportion to number of housing units. (5) Educational disruption—indicated by percent of school dropouts (2, pp. 307-320).

Loss of a sense of community.—Another important variable discussed by several authors is the apparent collapse of a sense of community. Wilson persuasively argues that prosperity helped many leaders of the inner cities to escape to the suburbs while crime helped disrupt the remaining "delicate nexus of ties, formal or informal, by which we are linked with our neighbors, . . ." (47, p. 21).

But we must recognize that, in the short run at least, the areas left behind by this migration have often been made worse off, not because those who remained
behind in the slums and deteriorating neighborhoods found themselves suddenly earning less money or living in worse housing, but because the human infrastructure of their communities had departed. Many of those who once headed the block clubs, ran the PTAs, complained of poor garbage collection, manned the neighborhood political apparatus, and kept the streets under some degree of surveillance had moved out. They left a void, sometimes literally a physical one (47, p. 38).

With the departure of such community leaders, there was an accompanying loss of a sense of community—a sense of familiarity with surroundings, security, and supportive values regarding right and wrong (47, p. 24). This same factor also has been discussed by the McLennans (20, p. 134) and others, and it is to receive additional attention in the discussion of the Model Cities Program in the next major division of this chapter. (See pp. 38ff)

A review of related literature has revealed numerous conditions associated with crime. Briefly summarized, they were as follows: Predominance of males and youthfulness, high degree of urbanization, high degree of poverty, low social class, predominance of disruptive conditions (family, economic, and education), and the loss of a sense of community. These conditions were not interpreted as causing crime but as being associated with it in varying degrees, and they were viewed as some of the facts that must be considered in understanding or explaining various offenses. They were thus utilized for interpretive purposes in later portions of this study.
**Explanatory Framework**

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the legal definition of crime includes a variety of criminal acts. Such acts may have little in common except that they all are violations of criminal law. Consequently, any theory attempting to explain all crimes must be very general in nature. It should be added, however, that general theories are often quite useful in developing greater insights into specific crimes, and theories about specific crimes can supplement general explanatory frameworks (9, p. 475).

The anomie framework that serves as a broad guide to the present study has been introduced in Chapter I (pp. 12ff). This framework has received such widespread support that it has been discussed in virtually all of the modern texts on criminological theory. Some of the clearer statements of the framework are found in the works of Hartjen, Nettler, and Cloward and Ohlin. The early origins of the framework are traced by these writers to Durkheim's works regarding anomie (normlessness or a state of social deregulation). Durkheim argued that anomie generates certain kinds of social pathologies such as suicide and crime (15, pp. 176-180). Durkheim affirmed that industrialization and rapid technological developments have created demands for occupational training experiences beyond those which can be provided by the family. In attempting to locate, motivate, and train the needed new talents of each new
generation, industrial societies have defined success-goals as potentially accessible to everyone. While this cultural emphasis on unlimited success-goals has helped to solve some problems, it has helped create new ones. It has led some to compete for the higher social rewards offered. It has also generated acute pressures toward deviant behavior, because some reject social norms in an effort to succeed, and these may also develop a supportive ideology to justify their actions (6, pp. 78-82).

Merton has refined and extended Durkheim's pioneering work on anomie. After distinguishing between cultural structure (goals and norms) and social structure (patterned social relationships such as social classes), Merton employed these conceptual distinctions to allege that "anomie develops not because of a breakdown in the regulation of goals alone" [Durkheim's view], but "because of a breakdown in the relationship between goals and legitimate avenues of access to them" (6, p. 83). Hence, he hypothesized that deviant behavior should be expected to rise when society places great emphasis upon success as a goal for the population at large while its social structure "rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population" (22, pp. 134, 146).

Cloward and Ohlin imaginatively incorporated the intellectual heritage of Durkheim and Merton with the
cultural transmission and differential association schools of thought. Condensed, their "differential opportunity" concept is as follows:

We believe that each individual occupies a position in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. . . . The theory of anomie views the individual primarily in terms of the legitimate opportunity structure. It poses questions regarding differentials in access to legitimate routes to success-goals; at the same time it assumes either that illegitimate avenues to success-goals are freely available or that differentials in their availability are of little significance. . . .

The cultural-transmission and differential-association tradition, on the other hand, assumes that access to illegitimate means is variable, but it does not recognize the significance of comparable differentials in access to legitimate means. . . .

The concept of differential opportunity structures permits us to unite the theory of anomie, which recognizes the concept of differentials in access to legitimate means, and the "Chicago tradition," in which the concept of differentials in access to illegitimate means is implicit. We can now look at the individual, not simply in relation to one or the other system of means, but in relation to both legitimate and illegitimate systems (6, pp. 150-151).

The anomie tradition has thus developed some brilliant insights into the origins of crime while other schools have centered primarily on the learning or cultural transmission of deviant views from generation to generation. The key point for the present study, however, is found in the guidelines for the prevention of delinquency and crime that are suggested by Cloward and Ohlin. After warning that rehabilitation services do not prevent the genesis of delinquency among others, they recommend the following course of action for society:
The target for preventive action, then, should be defined, not as the individual or group that exhibits the delinquent pattern, but as the social setting that gives rise to delinquency.

It is our view, in other words, that the major effort of those who wish to eliminate delinquency should be directed to the reorganization of slum communities. Slum neighborhoods appear to us to be undergoing progressive disintegration. The old structures, which provided social control and avenues of social ascent, are breaking down. Legitimate but functional substitutes for these traditional structures must be developed if we are to stem the trend toward violence and retreatism among adolescents in urban slums (6, p. 211).

A review of the above framework reveals potential applications for the present study. The Model Cities Program was designed to open structural channels to success to poverty neighborhoods. Assuming this was accomplished, the framework implies that crime rates should tend to decline in the Model City Area and thus begin to converge with the rates of the remainder of the city. The present study, therefore, was formulated to test the effectiveness of one city's efforts to reduce crime by such a prevention program.

Literature Related to the Independent Variable: The Model Cities Program

The national origins of the Model Cities Program and Austin's response have been adequately introduced in Chapter I. In an effort to avoid redundancy, the present section, therefore, offers a selective review of the array of supplementary materials that could be added.
A Problem of First Priority

Poverty was redefined as a national problem in the early 1960s. Upon taking office, President Kennedy expressed substantial interest in and initiated pilot studies regarding urban poverty problems. Urban analysts had begun to recognize that Urban Renewal was ineffective. Serious conflicts and riots started breaking out in cities of the South in 1963, and in the North by 1964. In 1964, President Johnson launched his War on Poverty. During 1965, civil rights demonstrations led to violence in Selma and Bogalusa; the Watts riot erupted in August of 1965. Watts proved to be the worst riot since Detroit in 1943 (13, pp. 14-34). Consequently, ideas and events converged to reinforce the angry demands for meaningful solutions regarding urban poverty problems. Minor reforms would not be sufficient. "To respond to the needs of the poor and the blacks was no longer a matter of simple justice. To ignore them threatened to tear apart the fragile social fabric that was holding the cities together" (13, p. 34). A solution for poverty related problems became a priority of first order. President Johnson, therefore, appointed a task force in the fall of 1965 to develop an imaginative program that would significantly reduce the extent of poverty. A host of anti-poverty programs were either initiated or merged to form a comprehensive program, and the Model Cities Program became law in 1966.
A definition of poverty.—Extensive attention has been given to the development of a meaningful definition of poverty. Obviously, the proportion of the population identified as poor has varied according to the definition selected. Humanitarian, egalitarian, economic, and social definitions have been proposed and seriously debated (32, pp. 3-17). Each concept has its advantages and weaknesses. The present study, however, has employed the definition utilized by the U. S. Bureau of Census. This index of the poverty threshold has been employed in census data since its development by the Social Security Administration in 1964 (4, p. 1). It has been generally received in numerous studies and has been accepted as the definition understood in the data of the present study. The major features of the index are as follows:

Now that the Social Security Administration's poverty index has become widely used, this in itself is a major factor contributing to its further use. The following are some of the characteristics which have led to its becoming so widely accepted in the first place: (1) it provides alternative poverty lines depending on the size of the family, (2) it provides a different income line for farm families, which often produce much of the food they consume, than for non-farm families, (3) it is updated yearly for increases in the cost of living, (4) it defines poverty at a sufficiently low level to be acceptable to many of those who want to restrict government poverty programs to as few people as possible, (5) the Social Security Administration is viewed by many as a less partisan source than the various organizations and individuals outside of the federal government who have suggested other alternatives, and (6) it is based on the adequacy of the diet available to persons at the specified income level (46, p. 13).
Urban poverty characteristics.--A complete statistical profile of urban poverty characteristics is beyond the scope of the present study. However, numerous studies and reports have identified a multitude of demographic and socio-economic variables as associated with urban poverty areas. A report to the House Committee on Education and Labor is illustrative. In it the following characteristics were delineated as associated with poverty: ethnic minorities, low level of education, high unemployment, broken families, household head over 65, household headed by women (especially nonwhite with less than an eighth grade education), recipients of public aid, high rates of illness, little upward social mobility, low wages, and more children per family (21, pp. 43-67). The association of these characteristics with urban poverty areas has been fully documented in a recent publication by Williamson (46, pp. 19-35). Williamson has cited numerous studies to support the inclusion of discrimination (ethnic and sexual), lower social class, lower class culture (values and attitudes), and high crime rates as associated with urban poverty areas (46, pp. 19-35).

An earlier section of this chapter documents several conditions associated with high crime rates as pointed out by the President's Commission (pp. 30ff). Additional characteristics are revealed in studies cited by Nettler. "Delinquency resides disproportionately in zones characterized
by low income, low occupational skills, poor housing, and transience" (28, pp. 106-111). Concentric zone, census tract, and social area ecological studies have also found that offenses and offenders tend to be concentrated in areas characterized by low income, physical deterioration, mixed land usage, nontraditional family patterns, and racial-ethnic concentrations which appear to produce low neighborhood cohesion and low integration of the neighborhood into the larger society (45, p. 149).

A comparison of the studies on crime and poverty reveals that areas with high crime rates and urban poverty are associated with the same demographic and socio-economic characteristics. This is not to imply that poverty causes crime but "coupled with culturally approved high aspirations under conditions of limited opportunity [it] can be an important source of pressures toward deviance" (6, p. 105). The Model Cities Program was designed by Congress to directly attack these poverty related conditions and thus to reduce crime indirectly.

The vicious circle of poverty.—Comments illustrative of the literature concerning the circle of poverty are as follows: "Poverty breeds poverty. A poor individual or family has a high probability of staying poor" (21, p. 49). "The experience of being socialized in a lower-class social environment contributes to poverty" (46, pp. 19f). "Poverty breeds a set of characteristic attitudes, an outlook, a
lifestyle, even a 'culture of poverty,' that in turn keeps poor people poor" (39, p. 51). Model Cities literature also reflects the above viewpoint; hence, the program was designed to break the self-perpetuating circle of poverty (26, pp. 13f).

The Underlying Rationale

Chapter I has adequately documented the general purposes of the Model Cities Program as well as the specific purpose of reducing crime to levels prevailing in the remainder of the community. Precisely, the goal of the Austin program was to reduce crime rates in the Model Area (as compared to the non-Model City Area) by a minimum of 8.73 per cent between 1970 - 1975 (pp. 11-12). The present section, therefore, will not review these materials again; instead, it is to focus on the rationale undergirding the program.

Overcoming the pessimism of poverty.--Much of the Model Cities Program of 1966 appears to be an outgrowth of the thoughts expressed by Michael Harrington, Presidential Advisor to John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Harrington contended that

You cannot take people out of an old-fashioned slum, where reality has been giving them a grim, distorted education for years, place them in a project, and expect them to exhibit all kinds of gentle, middle-class virtues. This transition is a crucial moment. If the people are left to themselves, then the chances are that they will import the culture of poverty into the public housing. If they are helped, if there is real
effort to forge neighborhood communities, this need not happen (14, p. 156).

While elaborating on the above thoughts, Harrington argued that "The poor are held back by their own pessimism" (14, p. 161). "Society," therefore, "must help them [the poor] before they can help themselves" (14, p. 162). Hence, he forcefully urged that a comprehensive campaign in behalf of the poor was needed. He suggested that this program necessarily involves the simultaneous clearing of slums and the establishment of proper housing, securing social security benefits for all, the application of minimum wage laws to all, medical care for the poor as well as the aged, and effective civil rights legislation to abolish racial discrimination. He regarded the federal government as the only organization capable of dealing with this problem in an effective way (14, pp. 167-174). The general rationale behind the Model Cities Program demonstrates considerable agreement with that of Harrington as indicated in the following remarks:

Our present pattern of hundreds of separate, and unrelated programs can no more solve such complexities than an army of independent platoons can wage an effective war. Instead, urban planners are thinking in terms of projects which link education, health, finances, housing, jobs, and other factors into a cohesive web (40, p. 1).

General support for Harrington's contentions was found to be widespread. Remarks by Matza were selected as an example of such support:
But the assumption that these families seem content with squalor obviously arises from a failure to distinguish between satisfaction and apathy. The disreputable poor "react to their economic situation and to their degradation in the eyes of respectable people by becoming fatalistic; they feel that they are down and out, and that there is no point in trying to improve. . ." (19, p. 648).

Tumin has pointed out that poverty has led to a "kind of resignation that implies primarily a sense of helplessness leading to compliance with the system's standards" (38, p. 99). A review of related literature thus reveals a general agreement that poverty areas are characterized by a general sense of pessimism. Some have alleged that this spirit of pessimism could be broken by a massive program of intervention by the federal government. Moore has argued that "a widespread sense of participation in changing the social order" would greatly increase the rate of social change and that the state should be viewed as the obvious social structure to be utilized in bringing about such social change (27, pp. 96f). On the basis of such a rationale, President Johnson apparently adopted the Model Cities Program as the corner stone of his Great Society efforts to break the self-perpetuating circle of poverty.

If this theory was correct, it justified a broad range of interventions—in the schools, the employment system, the services that might strengthen family life. The interdependence of many aspects of poverty argued strongly for coordinated efforts among the public and private agencies affecting the poor; . . . (13, p. 29).
Citizen participation.—Arthur Dunham has delineated eighteen commonly held principles of community development (11, pp. 141-151). Observation indicates that many of these concepts were employed in the development of the Model Cities Program. For example, "widespread citizen participation in all the program's phases" was one of the fundamental features of the Model Cities Program (17, 36, 23). In this light, Model Cities has been viewed as an effort to get "people involved in solving their own problems" (44, p. 17). The goal appears to have been to "reorganize slum communities" because "the old structures, which provided social control and avenues of social ascent, are breaking down" (6, p. 211). Such changes, however, depended on the formation of a new spirit of optimism by Model Area residents as they perceived greater opportunity for advancement in society. The Model Cities Program thus sought to overcome this spirit of resignation and pessimism by encouraging and helping the Model Area residents develop their own program to solve their own problems.

Model Neighborhood residents will have a direct voice in the implementation and evaluation of all projects. This involvement will help re-orient the thinking method of administering agencies who can make known to the entire community the needs of the people as identified by the residents themselves. The hiring of residents for many programs will create new career opportunities for a number of residents (25, p. 173).

Citizen Participation: The Program is intended to open up opportunities for the constructive involvement of citizens in the affected neighborhoods and the city as a whole in planning and carrying out of program
activities. Neighborhood residents must have a meaningful role in the rebuilding and restructuring of their own communities; planning must be carried out with as well as for the people living in the affected areas. In addition, area residents must benefit from the jobs that are created by the projects and activities carried out in the program (41, pp. 1-2).

Definition of the situation.—A review of related literature reveals that existing social structures have largely stiffled upward mobility in poverty areas. This has contributed to a sense of resignation and pessimism. In this connection, Thomas' theorem was recalled: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." Merton has noted that this is a "self-fulfilling prophecy"—"in the beginning a false definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the originally false conception come true" (22, p. 477). In view of these thoughts, it was recognized that the Model Area residents would need a new, optimistic definition of their situation before upward mobility could develop. In June of 1972, the writer undertook a study at Lawton, Oklahoma, for the purposes of examining the following central hypothesis: Model Area residents have redefined their situation in more optimistic terms than their self-perceived situation of five years prior to the study. Statistically significant data were found to support this primary hypothesis as well as others. For example, 60.5 per cent of the area residents viewed their 1972 situation more favorably than that
recalled five years prior to the interview (37, pp. 30f). A similar conclusion regarding Model Cities Programs was also expressed by Kaitz and Hyman. "These deprived citizens have been awakened to the new opportunities that await them. Their expectations of breaking out of their cycle of poverty have been heightened" (18, p. v).

Opening structural channels to success.—The ultimate goal of the Model Cities Program was to "develop a 'total attack' on the social, economic, and physical problems in slum and blighted areas to turn them into 'model' neighborhoods" (41, p. 1). The program was designed to be of sufficient size to have an impact upon entire neighborhoods; "it would have to help close the gap between the living conditions of the poor and minorities and those of the rest of the community" by enlisting local leadership and widespread citizen participation (13, p. 45). By mounting a multi-faceted attack on all phases of the problem at once, the founders of the program expected to make significant improvements in the quality of urban life. Stated differently, the goal was to open structural channels to success to poverty areas of cities, or "... improving the 'life style' of the Model Neighborhood residents by increased opportunities ... will have a favorable effect upon crime and delinquency" (24, pp. 83-84). Ultimately, this approach was projected as a meaningful way of reducing crime.
Warring on poverty, inadequate housing and unemployment, is warring on crime. A civil rights law is a law against crime. Money for schools is money against crime. Medical, psychiatric, and family-counseling services are services against crime. More broadly and most importantly every effort to improve life in America's "inner cities" is an effort against crime (29, p. 6).

Summary

The central problem chosen for study was an examination of the relationships between official crime rates in the Austin Model City Area and residual or remaining areas of the city. A search of related literature failed to reveal any critical studies directly relating the primary variables of the study to each other. Attention, therefore, was centered on literature related to each of the primary variables independently and on specific variables related to both. The chapter was then developed under the following divisions: (1) Literature Related to the Dependent Variable: Part I Crimes, (2) Literature Related to the Independent Variable: the Model Cities Program.

A review of the anomie framework developed by Durkheim, Merton, Cloward, and Ohlin revealed the hypothesized implication that deviant behavior should tend to decrease when structural channels to success are opened to the lower social classes. It was found that poverty areas are characterized by a spirit of resignation and pessimism that stifles efforts to escape. The Model Cities Program was developed as a comprehensive attack on a broad range of
such poverty related characteristics in selected cities. One of the goals of this program was to stimulate citizen participation and initiative in the solving of their own problems. By opening the channels to success, the government sought to encourage Model Cities residents to develop an optimistic definition of their situation and thus motivate them to unleash their own energies in the creation and organization of new social structures for the solution of perceived problems (including crime). Assuming the Model Cities Program was successful in opening the channels to success to poverty area residents, the present study was formulated to examine the relationship of selected crime rates in the Model City Area and residual city areas to see if the differences between the areas were decreasing or increasing.
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CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

In order to investigate the questions and the hypotheses that have been raised, a primarily descriptive study was undertaken. The methodology of the study was divided into six divisions for presentation in the present chapter. The divisions were as follows: (1) the methods of data collection, (2) the target population, (3) data collection regarding crime rates, (4) data collection regarding the Model Cities Program, (5) data collection regarding correlated conditions, and (6) data analysis.

Designing the Methods of Data Collection

After examination of the problem formulated for study and consideration of the various methods of gathering relevant data, two were eventually selected as appropriate for this study. They were: (1) use of available police and city records and publications, and (2) the Delphi method.

Review of Available Records and Publications

The primary method employed in collecting data for the present study was a review of available police and city records and publications. These were searched for pertinent data regarding the dependent, independent, and correlated
variables discussed in the first two chapters. The specific steps taken in searching for data regarding each of these variables are outlined in detail in divisions three, four, and five of this chapter. Additional comment, therefore, has been withheld in order to avoid redundancy.

The Delphi Method

A key reason for the selection of Austin for study was that its administratively drawn police districts correspond to U. S. census tracts throughout the city. Each police district (census tract) also has been subdivided into numerous reporting areas. It was found, however, that the Model City Neighborhood only corresponded to census boundaries in a general way. This raised a serious problem for the proposed study. While the large northern section of the Model City Neighborhood's boundaries were traceable along the subdivided police reporting areas, the southern smaller section (below the river) was found to cut across several such reporting areas in census tract 23.02. The researcher thus faced the difficulty of determining what percentage of crime should be attributed to the Model City Area and to the remainder of the census tract.

This same type of problem frequently has been encountered in general urban studies. Interesting parallels to the present problem were found in Jack Gibbs' discussion on the delimitation of urban units. Gibbs has pointed out
that census and urban boundaries may not correspond exactly, but that they can still be employed as providing an approximation of the urban area. Regarding the inclusion of questionable areas on the periphery, he has argued that such should be included (1) "if over one-half of a census unit contains a part of the urban area, the whole should be included." (2) "If over one-half of the dwelling places appear to be in that part of the census unit which contains a section of the urban area, the whole of the unit should be included" (7, p. 64). Gibbs concludes:

For various reasons any delimitation should not be regarded as anything other than an experiment. This point of view is a realistic one, because, in final analysis, the results can be interpreted only in the context of the methods and data employed. It is true, of course, that a delimitation aims to capture the reality of urban entities through the application of standardized criteria; however, the goal of research and the results achieved should never be confused (7, p. 76).

In addition to the validity of different approaches to delimitation one must not lose sight of the fact that circumstances regarding the availability of data often dictate the choice of criteria.

All of the above comes to one essential point. Whatever criteria one applies in delimitation, whether selected by choice or dictated by circumstances, they must be clearly set forth in the report of research (7, p. 77).

In view of the work of Gibbs and others on Urban Research Methods, it is obvious that boundary problems are frequently encountered in such studies. The existence of such problems, however, does not automatically necessitate the abandonment
of the study, but the criteria employed in solving such problems need to be clearly set forth.

In searching for a systematic method for determining the incidence of crime in the Model City Area in contrast to the remainder of the police reporting areas, the Delphi technique was chosen as an appropriate approach. The technique utilizes the knowledge and evaluations of experts in reaching a consensus on areas of concern. It was devised by Olaf Helmer (9), a mathematician, as a precise method for eliciting and refining expert opinion. The general procedures of the technique have been summarized as follows:

1. A research problem is identified.
2. A "panel of experts" is selected in the problem area.
3. Each responding "expert" is contacted and asked to respond to a set of questions.
4. Responses from the first round are subjected to a statistical analysis for the purpose of determining degrees of consensus among respondents.
5. In a second round, the respondents are provided with response patterns acquired during the first round, and asked to reconsider their earlier responses if necessary. It is suggested that in cases where a person's response is outside the group interquartile range, justification for the extreme response is clearly stated.
6. The process will continue in two or more rounds until some "desirable" degree of consensus among respondents is acquired. However, most of the group's responses are realized by the end of the second round (2, pp. 20-21).

The Delphi approach has been employed effectively in several studies involved in diverse problem areas. Gordon and Ament (8) demonstrate its use in projecting and planning for the long-term future. The Rand Corporation has
used the technique in developing criteria for decision making and policy formulation regarding various problems (4, 1). It has recently been utilized in higher educational studies (6). Other studies have used it to develop social indicators related to the needs of older citizens (2), the quality of life (5), and in determining the impacts of various courses of action in water resources development (3, 10).

Some of the merits and advantages of the approach are summarized as follows:

1. [The] Delphi approach relies on the rationality of group judgment, or "n-heads are better than one". It is a process of eliciting and refining the opinions of a group of individuals. The individuals remain anonymous to each other, their opinions are continually refined and reiterated, and feedback to participants is controlled.

2. The Delphi approach is a variant of the panel or committee approach for arriving at a consensus of majority opinions. Its design eliminates or prevents face to face confrontation, specious persuasion, and the bandwagon effect of a majority agreement. It replaces direct discussion with a series of carefully controlled questionnaires that report back edited opinions and new information to the participants, where they act in privacy and react to the successive inputs.

3. [The] Delphi approach uses some form of statistical index as a representative of the group opinion. Thus, there is no particular attempt to arrive at unanimity among the respondents, and a spread of opinions on the final round is the normal outcome. This is a further device to reduce group pressure toward conformity (10, p. 22).

In view of the above discussion, the Delphi technique was utilized in delimiting the per cent of Part I offenses
attributed to Model City residents in the reporting areas under question.

Delineation of the Target Population

Model Cities Programs were widely scattered throughout the U. S. Three such programs were found in Oklahoma, one in Louisiana, and eight in Texas. After contacting these twelve cities through letters, telephone calls, or visits, it was found that only four had kept their crime data in a form apparently useful for the purposes of the present study. A closer examination of the data from these cities, however, revealed that only Austin's administrative police districts correspond with census tract boundaries and considerably with the Model City Area. Austin, therefore, was selected as the target population for intensive study since its data required fewer assumptions and thus contributed to greater precision in the study.

Since the total population was to be studied, random sampling was not undertaken. Statistical inferences to larger populations, therefore, were not appropriate. Census data, however, were utilized for comparisons between various census tracts, the Model City Area and residual areas. Population estimates by Austin's Department of Planning were also utilized for these purposes.
Data Collection Procedures Regarding Crime Rates

A search of available records and a Delphi questionnaire were employed in the collection of applicable crime data. The procedures followed are discussed below.

**Review of Available Records**

Through letters, telephone calls, and visits to appropriate offices in Austin, available crime data were obtained for the years ranging from 1970 through 1975 from published reports and computer print outs of the Austin Police Department, the city of Austin, and the Texas Council on Criminal Justice. These and census population estimates were utilized to determine the crime rates of each census tract, the Model City Area, and residual areas of the city of Austin.

As indicated in an earlier section, the administratively drawn police districts of Austin correspond to U. S. census tract boundaries. These police districts (census tracts) are subdivided into over 450 police reporting areas. Part I offenses in these reporting areas were separately tabulated and totaled for each census tract, and crime rates for each tract were calculated. Reporting areas within the boundaries of the Model City Area were also totaled for each offense. This procedure was followed for the years ranging from 1970 through 1975. Part I offense
The Delphi Instrument

A serious difficulty was encountered in delimiting the offenses of the Model Area in census tract 23.02 (Appendix B). In this tract, Model Area boundaries did not follow police reporting area boundaries. Instead, they traversed across five reporting areas, omitting the sparsely populated sections of these reporting areas. The Delphi technique was, therefore, utilized to estimate what percentage of offenses should be attributed to the Model Area in contrast to the rest of the reporting area. Before the Delphi technique could be used, however, it was necessary to construct an appropriate research instrument (Appendix A). Attention in the instrument was centered on the property offenses previously chosen for study (robbery, burglary, and auto theft). Questions were also raised regarding similar problems in 1968 and 1969 crime data. These data were not within the scope of the present study; however, they were available, but only by entire census tracts instead of reporting areas within the tracts. Hence, questions were raised as to the percentage of specific Part I offenses taking place in 1968 - 1969 in the areas which were to be identified as the Model City Area in 1970. This was done in the expectation that such data would prove

totals for each census tract, the Model City Area, and residual (non-Model City) areas were thus obtained.
useful in interpreting the findings of the present study. Other questions were also raised as interpretive aids.

Administration of the Delphi Method

After examining available Austin police data and engaging in various conversations with knowledgeable police officers regarding the Model City Area, an initial instrument was formulated for use in the Delphi technique. This instrument was examined with two Doctoral Advisory Committee members who had previously utilized the Delphi approach in research. Minor revisions were suggested and made. The instrument was then submitted to the entire Committee for approval. After approval, interviews with ten experts were initiated through a chain-referral technique. The first expert contacted (a police captain associated with the Model City Area for over twenty years) was asked to suggest others who would be well informed regarding Part I crimes in the area. This second expert was then asked to suggest others until ten had been contacted. These were interviewed personally according to the guidelines previously given (pp. 58ff) and the questionnaire found in Appendix A. A map of the specific areas involved in the questions was utilized as a visual aid to those being interviewed. Responses were tabulated. Interquartile ranges were calculated. A second round of interviews was initiated. Respondents whose answers were outside the interquartile
range were informed of the averaged responses of others and
asked if they wished to reconsider and perhaps revise their
earlier answers. Some revisions were made. Reasons were
sought where serious differences appeared. The final esti-
mates were then totaled, and a mean was calculated. This
figure was employed as a consensus estimate of the incidence
of crime in the Model Area during the years under study.
On the basis of this consensus estimate, the number of
offenses known to the police was estimated for the Model
Area under question. These estimates were totaled with
findings from other reporting areas in the Model Area.
Rates for the entire Model Area were then calculated per
100,000 population.

Data Collection Procedures Regarding
The Model Cities Program

Available documents were sought and searched regarding
the national Model Cities Program as well as its local
application. The procedures followed have been recorded
below.

At the National Level

Letters were written to the U. S. Department of Housing
and Urban Development in Washington and its regional office
in Dallas for information pertaining to the Model Cities
Program. Several useful documents were obtained through
these requests. Other documents were found through a search
of the North Texas State University and East Texas State University libraries. A copy of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 was thus obtained. Dissertation abstracts and journal articles regarding various phases of the Model Cities Program were reviewed. Governmental studies of Model Cities Programs in various cities were studied in an effort to gain a broad overview of the general merits and weaknesses of the program. Pertinent portions of this information were then condensed and presented in the first two chapters of this dissertation.

**At the Local Level**

Letters, telephone calls, and visits were employed in an effort to obtain meaningful data regarding the Austin Model Cities Program. Only a small selection of useful documents was obtained from the national or regional offices of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Visits to the Austin Model Cities offices also proved fruitless. The needed records seemed unavailable. The Model Cities Annual Report for 1971 - 1972 was finally obtained from the police department. Other reports and a Mid-Planning Statement were eventually obtained at Austin's Human Resources offices. The City Manager's office then suggested that additional documents might be available at the Austin public library, and the needed remaining documents were thus located. Together, the documents present a general
overview of the planning, development, and execution of the Austin program in its various phases. Numerous references to these materials have been included in the first two chapters of this study.

Data Collection Procedures Regarding Correlated Conditions

The data collection procedures followed with regard to conditions correlated with high crime rate areas have been included below. Operational definitions also have been suggested.

Selected Characteristics

Several demographic and socio-economic conditions frequently associated with high crime rate areas were found in the review of literature. Stated briefly, they were characterized as predominant in the following: youthful males, urbanization, poverty, lower social class, disruptive conditions (family disruption, economic disruption, educational disruption), and the loss of a sense of community. To compare these conditions in different census tracts and the Model City Area, eighteen census tract characteristics were selected from the U. S. census reports of 1970. They are as follows:

1. Census tract population
2. Per cent minority
3. Per cent Negro
4. Per cent Spanish
5. Per cent males
6. Per cent males 14 to 19
7. Per cent sixty-five and over
8. Number of persons per household
9. Per cent families with female head
10. Per cent families divorced-separated
11. Per cent 16-21 years not high school graduates and not enrolled in school
12. Median years of school completed
13. Per cent in same house last five years
14. Per cent males 16-21 years old unemployed
15. Median income
16. Per cent below poverty level
17. Median number of persons per occupied unit, and
18. Median contract rent.

Operational Definitions

A review of the above census characteristics revealed enormous utility in operationalizing the variables suggested in the literature as associated with high crime rates. The following operational definitions were thus developed:

Predominance of youthful males.--The predominance of youthful males was accepted as identifiable through characteristic six (per cent males 14 to 19). Model City Area tracts were then compared to the rest of the city to determine which included a predominance of youthful males.

Predominance of urbanization.--The entire area is urban, but the crowding characteristic of urbanization was viewed measurable by characteristics eight (high number of persons per household) and seventeen (high median number of persons per occupied unit).

Predominance of poverty.--Poverty was operationalized as measurable by variables fifteen and sixteen (low median
income and high per cent below poverty level). The Model City Area was then compared to the rest of the city to determine where poverty was preponderant.

**Predominance of lower social class.**—Low social class areas were operationally defined as those of higher per cent of minority (two), low median years of completed schooling (twelve), low median income (fifteen), and high per cent below poverty level (sixteen).

**Predominance of disruptive conditions.**—Family disruption was indicated by variables nine and ten (high per cent families with female head and high per cent females divorced-separated).

Economic disruption was recognized through variables fourteen (high per cent of 16-21 years old, unemployed) and sixteen (high per cent below poverty level).

Educational disruption was measured by characteristics eleven (high per cent 16-21 years old, not high school graduates and not enrolled in school) and twelve (low median years of school completed).

**Loss of a sense of community.**—The loss of a sense of community was viewed as associated with disruptive family and economic characteristics, but it was operationally defined as primarily indicated by high community transience or lack of stability. This was viewed as reflected in
characteristic thirteen (low per cent of persons living in same house during last five years). By applying these criteria, conditions correlated with high crime rate areas were compared in the census tracts throughout Austin and in the Model City Area.

Total population estimates for each census tract and the entire city were obtained from 1970 U. S. census data and from the Department of Planning in the city of Austin. Population estimates for the total Model City Area were also obtained from available records and the Austin Department of Planning for 1970 and 1975. Census tract population estimates were also obtained from the city planning offices for February 1, 1976. These estimates were compared with the 1970 U. S. census report. Differences were divided by six, and the results were assigned in cumulative steps as the population estimate for each following year in each census tract. These estimates were then utilized in calculating crime rates per 100,000 for each of the years under study.

Data Analysis Procedures

Subsequent to the collection of available data according to the procedures outlined, relevant data were tabulated for analysis. After the amount of crimes known to the police had been approximated through a review of police records and the Delphi method, population estimates from
the U. S. Bureau of Census and the city of Austin were utilized to calculate crime rates for the Model City Area and each census tract of the city. These rates for Part I offenses were calculated on a per 100,000 population basis. Ratios were then calculated between the rates of the Model City Area and the remainder of the city. Ratios were also calculated between the Model Area and adjoining census tracts. Ratios were calculated according to this procedure for the years ranging from 1970 - 1975. These ratios were then compared to determine whether Part I crimes had converged by 8.73 per cent during the years under study. The literature indicated that 8.73 per cent was a proposed goal of the Austin program. This figure, therefore, was accepted as a useful operational measure of convergence. It was then used to test the effectiveness of the Model Cities Program's efforts in reducing crime in the Model Area.

The data obtained by the outlined procedures were found to be of such a nature that advanced statistical generalizations were neither applicable nor required. Instead, analysis was focused on percentages, means, rates, and ratios. These were accepted as adequate for the present study.

Summary

This chapter has presented a description of the methodological procedures followed in the study. A review of
available records and the Delphi technique were selected as appropriate methods of data collection. Austin, Texas, was chosen as the target population. Police reports and Delphi interviews were utilized in collecting data regarding Part I offenses. Through national and local offices, available documents were obtained regarding the Model Cities Program. Data regarding conditions correlated with high crime areas and population estimates were obtained from 1970 census reports and from Austin. Data analysis involved calculation of crime rates and ratios for Austin census tracts, the Model City Area, and residual areas of the city. These rates were then examined for the years under study to determine whether the differences between the Model City Area and residual areas were increasing or converging. The projected Austin Model City goal of a minimum reduction of 8.73 per cent in crime in the Model City Area during the program was employed as a reasonable standard of measurement in defining convergence. Part I crime rates of the areas were then compared to see if they had converged by as much as 8.73 per cent between 1970 - 1975.
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CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The present study was designed to investigate the relationships between official crime rates in a Model City Area (MCA) and residual areas or non-Model City Areas in the city of Austin. Selected crime rates and ratios were analyzed over a six year period (1970 - 1975) to determine whether they were converging or being reduced to levels prevailing in the rest of the community. Data bearing on these questions were obtained from 1970 U. S. census reports, available records and publications, interviews employing the Delphi technique, and reports of the Austin police department.

The present chapter presents the findings of the study under the following major divisions: (1) Selected Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Study Population, (2) Delphi Consensus Approximations, and (3) Major Findings: Relationships of Crime Rates in the Model City Area and Residual Areas.

Selected Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Study Population

In order to effectively examine the characteristics selected for study, a delimitation between MCA and non-MCA
tracts appeared necessary. The following procedure was chosen in an effort to separate substantive MCA tracts from inconsequential ones. (1) The population of the MCA areas (20,681) was divided by the population (47,578) of the six tracts containing portions of the MCA (Appendix B). (2) It was found that 43.47 per cent of the residents of these tracts were MCA residents. This figure was then employed as a measure by which primary MCA tracts could be separated from others. Any tract with 43.47 per cent of its residents in the MCA was identified as a primary MCA tract. Since tracts nine, ten, and 23.02 each had over 82 per cent MCA residents, they were accepted as primary tracts. (3) The same procedure was employed a second time to distinguish secondary from tertiary tracts. The MCA population of the three remaining tracts was estimated at 2,588 while the total population of the tracts was estimated at 27,173. (4) The new measure thus obtained was 9.52 per cent. Employing this measure, tracts eight (with 11.86 per cent) and eleven (with 34.42 per cent) were designated as secondary tracts. (5) Tract 21.02 was identified as tertiary or of third rank, because it contained only 1.83 per cent MCA residents. (6) Primary and secondary tracts were then combined and designated as MCA tracts in the comparisons of whole MCA and non-MCA census tracts in Tables I and X through XIII, and this delimitation was indicated in the footnotes of the tables in which it was employed. (7)
Tract 21.02 was classified as non-MCA in these comparisons because of its inconsequential or negligible MCA residential content and because a closer examination of its socio-economic characteristics revealed great disparity with those of the MCA and considerable affinity with non-MCA tracts.

Several major correlates of poverty and crime were found in the search of related literature. These were delineated in the second chapter and operationalized in the third chapter. In the 1970 U. S. census data, numerous contrasts between the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of MCA census tracts and residual areas of the city were found. (See Table I for the means of the characteristics investigated.) As indicated below, studies have found that more crimes are committed by young males than by any other group; hence, high crime rate areas frequently have been associated with areas which have higher percentages of young males. Characteristic six of Table I indicates that the Model City Area tracts contain approximately 6 per cent males between the ages of 14 and 19. The rest of the city, however, contains a slightly smaller 5.81 per cent.

While the entire city may be characterized as urban, Table I shows that Model City Area tracts were characterized by a higher percentage of persons per household (3.53 compared to 2.97) and by a higher median number of persons per occupied unit (2.98 to 2.70). Approximately 8 per cent of the entire city's population was located in the Model City
### TABLE I

**MEANS OF SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MODEL CITY AREA AND RESIDUAL AREA CENSUS TRACTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>MCA** (N=5)</th>
<th>Non-MCA*** (N=29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Census tract population</td>
<td>7214.60</td>
<td>7439.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. % minority</td>
<td>75.12</td>
<td>19.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. % Negro</td>
<td>25.18</td>
<td>10.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. % Spanish</td>
<td>49.94</td>
<td>9.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. % males</td>
<td>47.42</td>
<td>49.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. % males 14-19</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>5.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. % 65 and over</td>
<td>10.66</td>
<td>6.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Number of persons per household</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. % families with female head</td>
<td>20.14</td>
<td>9.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. % females divorced or separated</td>
<td>24.36</td>
<td>11.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. % 16-21 years old--not high school graduates and not enrolled in school</td>
<td>28.92</td>
<td>10.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Median years of school completed</td>
<td>8.78</td>
<td>13.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. % in same house last five years</td>
<td>54.20</td>
<td>33.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. % males 16-21--unemployed</td>
<td>9.40</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Median income</td>
<td>5343.00</td>
<td>9837.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. % below poverty level</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>8.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Median number of persons per occupied unit</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Median contract rent</td>
<td>53.00</td>
<td>116.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


**Includes all census tracts containing MCA residents with the exception of one tertiary tract containing less than two per cent MCA residents.

***Includes all census tracts not defined as MCA census tracts.
Area which included about one-twentieth of the land area of the city. The crowding characteristic of urbanization was thus found to be stronger in the Model City Area than in the rest of the city.

Poverty and low social class were found to be generally characteristic of Model City Area tracts. The median annual income per Model Neighborhood family was found to be $5,343.00 in contrast to $9,837.97 for the rest of the city. Approximately 30 per cent of Model City tract residents were classified as below the poverty level as compared to 8.34 per cent in the rest of the city. A higher per cent of minorities was found in MCA tracts in comparison to the rest of the city (75.12 compared to 19.96). As expected, the median years of school completed was also found to be much lower in the MCA (8.78 years completed in comparison to 13.05). Poverty and low socio-economic class were thus found to be characteristic of the MCA tracts.

Family disruption was also found to be more widespread in Model City Area tracts than in the rest of the city. It was found that 20.14 per cent of the Model City Area families were headed by females in contrast to 9.60 per cent in the rest of the city. Also, 24.36 per cent of the women of the MCA were found to be separated or divorced in comparison to 11.24 in the non-MCA.

Economic disruption was seen in the greater per cent of unemployed 16-21 years old males in comparison to the
rest of the city. Unemployment in this age range in Model City Area tracts was at 9.40 per cent in contrast to the 4.09 per cent in the non-MCA. The higher poverty rates of the census tracts containing the Model City Area have already been noted. They also suggested economic disruption.

Educational disruption of the area was illustrated by the 28.92 per cent of 16–21 years old youths who were not high school graduates and were not enrolled in school. Only 10.17 per cent of the youths of the rest of the city were thus identified. The median years of schooling obtained by residents of MCA census tracts was found to be 8.78 in contrast to the 13.05 of the rest of the city. These data clearly demonstrate the predominance of educational disruption in MCA tracts in comparison to the rest of the city.

The loss of a sense of community was viewed as partially supported by the disruptive family and economic characteristics noted above. Model City Area census tracts, however, were not found to be characterized by high transience as expected. Instead, more Model Neighborhood residents were found to be living in their same place of residence for the past five years (54.20 per cent) than were found in the rest of the city (33.57 per cent).

In summary, several demographic and socio-economic conditions frequently associated with high crime rate areas were examined in Austin. Briefly stated, they included a predominance of the following: youthful males,
urbanization, poverty, lower social class, disruptive conditions (family disruption, economic disruption, educational disruption), and the loss of a sense of community. Each was found predominant in Model City Area census tracts with the possible exception of the loss of a sense of community. The stability of the MCA population mitigates against the acceptance of this conclusion, while the economic and family disruption factors offer some support for it.

Delphi Consensus Approximations

One of the primary reasons for the selection of Austin as the study population was that its administratively drawn police districts correspond to U. S. census tracts throughout the city. These census tracts were also found to be additionally subdivided into police reporting areas. Part I crime records for each of these reporting areas were obtained for each of the years from 1970 through 1975. It was found that MCA boundaries generally correspond to boundaries utilized in police reporting areas. It was also found, however, that Model City boundaries cut across several such police reporting areas. In an effort to determine what percentage of Part I crimes should be assigned to Model City residents and to the rest of the census tract in these reporting areas, the Delphi method was selected and employed according to guidelines found in Chapter III.
During trips to Austin in March and April of 1976, ten experts were found through a chain-referral technique. The first expert contacted was a police captain of twenty-two years of experience who had been the primary officer in charge of the MCA when the program was in operation. He was asked to suggest others who would be qualified to answer the type of questions involved. They were then asked to suggest others until ten such experts had been personally interviewed. These experts averaged 15.8 years of experience on the Austin police force. Two were sergeants; four were lieutenants; two were captains; one was a security chief; and one was assistant to the chief of the entire police force. These were interviewed according to the guidelines found in Chapter III. The questionnaire utilized has been included in Appendix A. The responses were tabulated. Interquartile ranges were calculated. A second round of interviews was initiated. Respondents whose answers fell outside the interquartile ranges were asked to reconsider their earlier answers and change if they so desired. The first round responses of the group were averaged and shown to the respondents during the second round of interviews. Specific answers of other respondents were not shown to later respondents. Alterations by respondents of original answers were not insisted upon but were encouraged if desired. After the second round of responses had been tabulated and averaged, the results were accepted as a
meaningful consensus approximation of the percentage of crime that should be estimated for the Model City Area in contrast to the rest of the census tract. These qualified consensus approximations were thus obtained through the Delphi method, and they were then prepared for presentation in Table II.

**TABLE II**

**CONSENSUS ESTIMATES BY EXPERTS AS TO THE PER CENT OF PART I CRIMES OCCURRING IN THE MODEL CITY AREA OF VARIOUS CENSUS TRACTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Tract Number</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Auto Theft</th>
<th>All Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970-72</td>
<td>23.02</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>88.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-75</td>
<td>23.02</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>89.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>12.86</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>7.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>21.02</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consensus estimates presented in Table II were then employed as percentage approximations of the frequency of
the various types of crime in the police reporting areas of census tracts for the appropriate years. Proportionate offenses were then designated as Model City Area or residual area offenses. As an illustration, the offenses known to the police for 1970 were totaled for census tract 23.02. There were no robberies in the area for that year, hence, none were assigned to either part of the area. Of the 49 burglaries, 88.5 per cent or 43 were assigned to the MCA, and 6 were assigned to the rest of the census tract. There were 7 auto thefts in the area; hence, a total of 6 (87.8 per cent) were tabulated as MCA offenses. Following this pattern, 88.1 per cent of all other Part I offenses were tabulated as Model City offenses. Since nominal level data were being used, all portions of offenses equaling 50 per cent or more were assigned to the MCA. For example, 8.51 robberies were counted as 9 robberies in the Model City Area with the rest of the total assigned to the non-Model City Area. These procedural steps were followed throughout in the codification and tabulation of the data for the period under study (1970 - 1975).

According to Table II, there are several variations in consensus estimates of the proportions of Part I crimes. These estimates grew out of the experiences of those interviewed and the differing characteristics of the neighborhoods studied. Certain areas were known for higher robbery rates due to more business establishments being in these
areas, and thus the potential for robbery was greater. Other areas experienced higher burglary rates, because apartment complexes provided increased opportunities for such. Some experienced rapid population increases while others were in decline, and thus their rates varied. These factors and others were considered by those interviewed in their estimates which are presented in Table II.

The key area of concern in the questionnaire was tract 23.02. Crime percentage estimates for 1970 - 1972 for the MCA were as follows: robbery, 87 per cent; burglary, 88.5 per cent; auto theft, 87.8 per cent; and other Part I crimes, 88.1 per cent. Estimates for 1973 - 1975 percentages of MCA crimes were as follows: robbery, 89.5 per cent; burglary, 89 per cent; auto theft, 87.8 per cent; and 89.6 per cent for the other Part I crimes. Slight variations were found which are briefly explained above.

The estimates concerning 1968 and 1969 were found to involve numerous new methodological problems due to the lack of police reporting area data for these years and the lack of correspondence of police boundaries with census tract boundaries before 1970. While these areas were not within the scope of the study, they were examined but were then dropped as inappropriate for meaningful comparisons. The Delphi data were included for whatever value they might have to future students.
Additional questions of a more subjective nature were also raised in the questionnaire in an effort to obtain meaningful insights that might prove of assistance in interpreting the findings of the study. The quantified aspects of the responses to these questions were prepared for presentation in Table III.

**TABLE III**

**CONSENSUS EVALUATIONS BY POLICE EXPERTS REGARDING IMPACTS OF THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Consensus Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#1 On a scale of 0 (none), 1 (slight), 2 (some), 3 (sizable), 4 (very strong), and 5 (complete), what success would you assign the efforts of the Model Cities Program in reducing crime in the MCA?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . From 1968 through 1970?</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . From 1971 through 1975?</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#2 On the basis of your experience, has the Model Cities Program contributed to an increase in the reporting of Part I crimes in the MCA?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . If yes, how much in comparison to the rest of the city?</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . What years?</td>
<td>1972-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#3 Has there been a major increase or decrease in the amount of police protection given to the MCA during the past several years?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . If so, how much?</td>
<td>22.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . If so, what years?</td>
<td>1972-75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first question of Table III inquired as to the evaluations of the police officials regarding the impact of the Austin Model Cities Program upon the reduction of
crime. The formative stages of the program were credited with less than slight impact upon crime reduction, and the later stages of the program were credited with some but not a major impact. The second question raised the issue of whether the Model Cities Program had contributed to an increased amount of reporting of crimes in the Model City Area in contrast to the rest of the city. The consensus estimate of twelve per cent indicates an important factor that is recalled in the interpretation of the data which has been reserved for the next chapter. The consensus estimate of a 22.3 per cent increase of police protection in the MCA in Table III has also been reserved for brief consideration in the next chapter.

A purely qualitative question was also raised in the Delphi instrument. It asked, "What factors may have contributed to the weakening of the Model Cities Program's impact upon the reduction of crime in the Model City Area?" Omitting repetitious responses, the answers were as follows:

1. "Citizen apathy in the area was demonstrated at times by lack of attendance at meetings and planning sessions."
2. "Material improvements were made, but little human improvements seemed evident."  
3. "The Model Cities Program was the wrong approach. The emphasis needs to be placed on the criminal justice system."  
4. "I really don't know."  
5. "They failed to hire responsible people for many of their job openings; they even had people with criminal
records."  (6) "There was a clash between administrators and people of the area for power."  (7) "There was a clash between blacks and browns for power and funds."  (8) "Police funds were interrupted temporarily, because they could not secure enough qualified minority personnel."  (9) "The average person didn't understand the goal or the functions of the program."  (10) "The program had a very slow start."  (11) "More public education about the program was needed."  (12) "The program needed to be more aggressive."  (13) "The people of the area didn't really trust the system enough to let it really work for them. More trust seems to have developed toward the last of the program."  (14) "The program was too limited to minorities instead of being for the whole population."  (15) "Almost all of the emphasis was upon equal opportunity with very little on crime prevention."

While these remarks have little unity, they strongly indicate that the program was not conducted without serious difficulties or criticisms. This factor, therefore, is to receive brief consideration in the interpretation of the findings which follows in Chapter V.

Major Findings: The Relationships of Crime Rates and Ratios in the Model City Area and Residual Areas of Austin

The major findings regarding each of the projected hypotheses of the study have been scheduled for presentation in the text and tables of the remainder of this
Hypotheses I and II compare the MCA with other areas of the city or with its annual rate of change. The third hypothesis compares MCA census tracts with other areas of the city.

**Hypothesis I**

The first hypothesis was designed to examine the relationship between crime rates in the Model City Area and non-Model City Areas of the city of Austin. It stated that "During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the rates of selected crimes (robbery, burglary, and auto theft) in the Austin Model City Area will tend to converge by a minimum of 8.73 per cent with the rates of residual or remaining areas of the city." By following the procedures outlined in the previous and present chapter, applicable data were obtained for the purpose of investigating the relationships under study. The basic findings of the study regarding Hypothesis I are presented in Tables IV, V, VI, and VII.

In order to examine the first hypothesis, the city was conceptualized as having been dichotomized. (1) The Model City Area (MCA) was chosen as one primary area for extensive study and comparisons with other areas of the city. It was defined as including only the area and the residents within the defined boundaries of the Austin Model City Area. (2) The remainder of the city was designated as the rest of the city or non-Model City Areas (non-MCA). This second
division of the dichotomy was also selected for extensive study, and it was then divided into three subdivisions for purposes of more specific comparisons with the MCA. (a) Non-Model City portions of census tracts containing part of the Model City Area were designated as remnants of MCA census tracts. (b) For comparative purposes, these remnants of MCA tracts were combined with census tracts which join or border against census tracts containing the MCA. This subdivision of non-MCA tracts was then designated as adjoining tracts. (c) The remaining non-MCA tracts which had not been designated as remnants of MCA tracts or adjoining tracts were designated as outlying tracts. These designations were then employed in Tables IV, V, VI, and VII.

Robbery.—Robbery rates, ratios, and percentages of change between the MCA and non-MCA are presented in Table IV. These were calculated on the basis of a population of 100,000. Table IV reveals that robbery in the MCA increased from 188.58 in 1970 to 364.46 in 1975 or by 93.32 per cent during the period under study. The rest of the city (non-MCA) increased from 76.15 to 164.63 or by 116.29 per cent. The robbery ratio between the MCA and the rest of the city was found to be 2.48 in the MCA to 1 in the rest of the city in 1970. It declined each year until 1973 when it stood at 1.84 to 1 (a decline of 25.81 per cent). The ratio increased in 1974 to its highest point (2.67 to 1) and
declined in 1975 to 2.21 to 1 for a total decline in the 6 year period of 10.60 per cent. Robbery rates between the MCA and the rest of the city were thus found to be converging by more than the MCA projected goal of 8.73 per cent.

Robbery rates of remnants of MCA tracts increased from 263.97 per 100,000 in 1970 to 443.60 in 1975 for a total growth of 68.03 per cent as compared to a 93.32 per cent growth in the MCA. The robbery ratios between the MCA and their remnants declined from .71 to 1 in 1970 to a low of .56 to 1 in 1973. In 1974, the ratio increased to 1.08 to 1 and declined to .82 to 1 in 1975 for a total 6 year increase of 15.00 per cent. Robbery was thus seen as increasing in the MCA and its remnants but by a slightly higher per cent in the MCA during the years under study.

Robbery rates in the MCA and adjoining tracts (remnants of MCA tracts and census tracts bordering against the MCA) were found to roughly parallel each other from 1970 to 1975 according to Table IV. Rates in the MCA increased by 93.32 per cent as compared to 83.75 percent in the adjoining tracts. The ratios between the MCA and adjoining tracts declined from 1.07 to 1 to .84 to 1 in 1973 for a convergence rate of 21.50 per cent. By 1975, however, the ratio had increased to 1.13 for an increase of 5.14 per cent over 1970.

Comparisons of the rates and ratios of the MCA and outlying tracts in Table IV reveal differing trends. The rates
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>188.58</td>
<td>298.51</td>
<td>225.32</td>
<td>195.71</td>
<td>370.76</td>
<td>364.46</td>
<td>+ 93.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>76.15</td>
<td>130.32</td>
<td>105.93</td>
<td>106.09</td>
<td>138.78</td>
<td>164.63</td>
<td>+116.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>-10.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remnants*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>263.97</td>
<td>450.96</td>
<td>378.73</td>
<td>350.84</td>
<td>341.97</td>
<td>443.60</td>
<td>+ 68.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>+ 15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjoining tracts**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>176.06</td>
<td>281.59</td>
<td>243.31</td>
<td>233.85</td>
<td>296.97</td>
<td>323.65</td>
<td>+ 83.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>+ 5.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlying tracts***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>49.77</td>
<td>91.54</td>
<td>71.68</td>
<td>75.06</td>
<td>101.32</td>
<td>127.85</td>
<td>+156.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>-24.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Non-MCA remnants of census tracts containing any part of the MCA.

**Includes remnants of MCA tracts and census tracts adjoining the MCA.

***All non-MCA census tracts not designated as remnants or adjoining tracts.
of the MCA per 100,000 population grew from 188.58 to 364.46 (or 93.32 per cent) between 1970 and 1975. The rates of outlying tracts grew from 49.77 per 100,000 to 127.85—a strong increase of 156.83 per cent. The ratios converged from 3.79 to 1 between the MCA and outlying tracts in 1970 to a ratio of 2.85 to 1 in 1975 for a total reduction of 24.77 per cent.

In view of the findings noted above, Hypothesis I was accepted with reference to robbery rates. The findings clearly demonstrate the trend projected by the hypothesis. In comparison to the rest of the city, MCA robbery rates exceeded the minimum 8.73 per cent reduction goal of the Austin program. In comparison to outlying census tracts, the MCA exceeded the goal by approximately 300 per cent. The hypothesis was, therefore, received as established concerning robbery rates.

**Burglary.**—Burglary rates, ratios, and percentages of change between the Model City Area and the rest of the city are presented in Table V. Burglary rates per 100,000 in the MCA increased from 2,495.04 in 1970 to 3,919.15 in 1975 for a total growth of 57.07 per cent. The rates for the rest of the city increased from 1,299.73 to 1,977.38 per 100,000 for a total growth of 52.08 per cent. The ratios between the MCA and the non-MCA increased from 1.92 to 1 in 1970 to 1.98 to 1 in 1975 for a growth rate of 3.25 per...
cent. Between 1970 and 1973, however, the burglary ratios between the areas decreased by 9.59 per cent. A closer examination of the literature and the data revealed that the definition of burglary and certain other offenses was officially altered for 1974 and 1975.

. . . changes in crime categories brought about by the new Texas Penal Code affected the classification of theft and burglary. For example: "Felony thefts prior to 1974 involved property valued at $50 or higher, whereas present felony thefts now concern property valued at $200 or more. Since one element of the offense of burglary, under the new Texas Penal Code, broadens the type of structure entered and also includes 'any portion of a building,' many offenses previously reported as thefts prior to 1974 are now classified as burglaries."

Furthermore, simple assaults were reported separately from aggravated assaults and only the latter remained as an index crime category in 1974. The Texas Department of Public Safety felt that such changes made "it extremely difficult to accurately compare crimes reported for the first half of 1973 with the same period of 1974" (1, p. 30).

In view of the above remarks, burglary rates from 1970 to 1973 were accepted as the more reliable basis for comparisons. The convergence of 9.59 per cent between 1970 - 1973 was then received as supportive of the projected 8.73 per cent convergence hypothesized.

Comparisons of burglary rates in the MCA and remnants of the MCA in Table V reveal a 67.83 per cent growth in the remnants with a decrease of 6.40 per cent of the ratios between 1970 and 1975. The ratios decreased from 1.03 to 1 in 1970 to .68 to 1 in 1972 and .86 to 1 in 1973. The data in 1974 and 1975, however, employed the broader
definition of burglary noted above and thus the ratios grew to .96 to 1. The convergence ratio for 1973 decreased by 16.46 per cent which clearly exceeds the hypothesized 8.73 per cent projected reduction. The 1975 decrease of 6.40 per cent offers some support, but it does not meet the criteria previously accepted.

Similar findings were obtained when the MCA was compared with its adjoining census tracts (previously defined as including MCA remnants and tracts containing the MCA). Rates grew by 60.96 per cent in adjoining tracts as compared to 57.07 per cent in the MCA. Ratios had converged by 16.90 per cent in 1973. Employing the new definition in the 1975 data, the ratios between the MCA and outlying tracts only demonstrate a 2.41 per cent convergence. The 1973 convergence of 16.90 per cent, however, was viewed as a more reliable comparison.

Table V reveals that burglary rates in outlying tracts increased from 1,088.90 to 1,653.69 per 100,000 between 1970 and 1975 for a total growth of 51.88 per cent. The ratios between the MCA and outlying tracts decreased from 2.29 to 1 in 1970 to 2.13 to 1 in 1973 (a decrease of 7.20 per cent). They then grew to 2.37 to 1 by 1975 for a total increase of 3.43 per cent over the 6 years of the study.

As a whole, the 1975 comparisons were not supportive of the projected trends. As noted above, the officially used definition of burglary was altered in 1974. The 1973
TABLE V

COMPARISONS OF MODEL CITY AREA AND NON-MODEL CITY AREA BURGLARY RATES, RATIOS, AND PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE PER 100,000 POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Areas</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>% Change 1970-75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>2495.04</td>
<td>2710.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA</td>
<td>1299.73</td>
<td>1570.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remnants*</td>
<td>2427.78</td>
<td>3179.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjoining tracts**</td>
<td>2098.17</td>
<td>2715.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlying tracts***</td>
<td>1088.90</td>
<td>1277.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Non-MCA remnants of census tracts containing any part of the MCA.

** Includes remnants of MCA tracts and census tracts adjoining the MCA.

***All non-MCA census tracts not designated as remnants or adjoining tracts.
data, therefore, were accepted as the best basis for comparisons, and they clearly supported the hypothesis in the three comparisons between the MCA and other areas of the city. Only the comparison between the MCA and outlying areas failed to fully reach the projected convergence of 8.73 per cent.

Auto theft.---Table VI contains the auto theft rates, ratios, and percentages of change per 100,000 between specified areas of Austin. The primary comparison of concern to the present study was between the Model City Area and the rest of the city. Auto theft rates of 614.09 in the MCA were recorded in 1970; they then decreased to 551.32 in 1972, but increased to 606.23 in 1973. The lowest rate in the MCA was recorded in 1974 when the rate of 427.80 was found; the rate then grew to 492.26 in 1975. Comparing 1970 and 1975, these rates decreased by 19.90 per cent. The rates of the non-Model City Area (the rest of the city) remained rather constant. They ranged from 417.52 in 1970 down to 355.50 in 1972 and continually increased through 1975 for a final rate of 422.61 per 100,000. The ratios between the MCA and the rest of the city rose from 1.47 to 1 in 1970 to 1.67 to 1 in 1973 and ended with 1.16 to 1 in 1975 for a total decline of 20.81 per cent or well beyond the hypothesized convergence of a minimum of 8.73 per cent.
### TABLE VI

COMPARISONS OF MODEL CITY AREA AND NON-MODEL CITY AREA AUTO THEFT RATES, RATIOS, AND PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE PER 100,000 POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Areas</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>% Change 1970-75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Rate 614.09</td>
<td>553.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio . .</td>
<td>. .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA W</td>
<td>Rate 417.52</td>
<td>401.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio 1.47</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remnants*</td>
<td>Rate 535.38</td>
<td>723.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio 1.15</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjoining tracts**</td>
<td>Rate 685.58</td>
<td>720.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio .90</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlying tracts***</td>
<td>Rate 346.74</td>
<td>319.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio 1.77</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Non-MCA remnants of census tracts containing any part of the MCA.

**Includes remnants of MCA tracts and census tracts adjoining the MCA.

***All non-MCA census tracts not designated as remnants or adjoining tracts.
The auto theft rate of remnants of MCA tracts grew from 535.38 in 1970 to 628.43 in 1975 (17.38 per cent). The ratios between the MCA and remnant tracts dropped from 1.15 to 1 in 1970 to .78 to 1 in 1975 for a total decline of 31.71 per cent over the 6 year operational period of the Model Cities Program. The data thus indicate that auto theft rates in the MCA generally declined in the MCA while those of remnants of MCA tracts grew from 535.38 to 628.43.

Table VI also reveals that auto theft rates in adjoining MCA tracts remained generally constant between 1970 and 1975. Beginning with a rate of 685.58 in 1970, auto theft declined to a low of 656.47 in 1974 and then increased to 714.73 per 100,000 in 1975. The ratios between the MCA and adjoining areas declined from .90 to 1 in 1970 to .69 to 1 in 1975 for a total reduction of 23.11 per cent. This finding was accepted as clearly supportive of the hypothesized trends.

Auto theft rates of outlying tracts in 1970 were calculated as being 346.74 per 100,000. These dropped to 280.21 in 1972 and 292.56 in 1973; then they expanded through 1975 to a total of 355.06 for a net increase of 2.31 per cent over the 6 years. The ratios between the MCA auto theft rates and that of the outlying tracts, however, increased from 1.77 to 1 in 1970 to a high of 2.07 to 1 in 1973 and then declined to 1.39 to 1 by 1975 for a total reduction of 21.72 per cent.
A review of the above discussion of auto rates, ratios, and percentages of change between the MCA and other areas of the city reveals that the MCA experienced a sizable decrease in auto theft during the years of the study while other city areas remained relatively constant or increased moderately.

Other Part I crimes.—Chapters I and III have indicated that the present study primarily has been limited to a study of the Part I offenses of robbery, burglary, and auto theft. Data regarding the remaining Part I offenses were obtained, however, and are given brief attention below.

Table VII presents the rates, ratios, and percentages of change for other Part I crimes in the Model City Area in comparison to the same offenses in the rest of the city. Homicide rates in the MCA demonstrate an erratic course from 29.01 in 1970 up to 52.96 for 1972 and then down to 38 for the next two years. In 1974, homicide soared to 76.05 per 100,000 in the MCA and eventually dropped to 28.40 in 1975. Homicide rates in the remainder of the city (the non-MCA) were more consistent. They were calculated at 8.22 for 1970 and then arose to approximately 15 for the next two years. In 1972 and 1973, they dropped to around 8 and eventually rose to 12.66 in 1975. The ratios between the MCA and non-MCA dropped from 3.53 to 1 in 1970 to 2.24 to 1 in 1975 for a net reduction of 36.46 per cent. This
## TABLE VII

COMPARISONS OF MODEL CITY AREA AND NON-MODEL CITY AREA HOMICIDE, RAPE, AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, AND THEFT RATES, RATIOS, AND PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE PER 100,000 POPULATION

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type of Crime and Area</th>
<th>Years 1970</th>
<th>Years 1971</th>
<th>Years 1972</th>
<th>Years 1973</th>
<th>Years 1974</th>
<th>Years 1975</th>
<th>% Change 1970-75</th>
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<td><strong>Homicide</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>52.96</td>
<td>38.35</td>
<td>38.19</td>
<td>76.05</td>
<td>28.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Rate</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>15.41</td>
<td>14.85</td>
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<td>8.23</td>
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<td>Ratio</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>9.24</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
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<td><strong>Rape</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>38.68</td>
<td>43.33</td>
<td>19.18</td>
<td>57.28</td>
<td>85.56</td>
<td>113.60</td>
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<tr>
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<td>24.88</td>
<td>33.68</td>
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<td>Rate</td>
<td>942.89</td>
<td>1285.51</td>
<td>973.20</td>
<td>945.15</td>
<td>494.34</td>
<td>539.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Rate</td>
<td>319.31</td>
<td>355.15</td>
<td>307.35</td>
<td>304.32</td>
<td>138.41</td>
<td>127.36</td>
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<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>4.24</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
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<td><strong>Theft</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>3805.43</td>
<td>3288.40</td>
<td>3183.28</td>
<td>3627.86</td>
<td>3674.30</td>
<td>4738.01</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>3746.02</td>
<td>4010.71</td>
<td>3457.93</td>
<td>3435.36</td>
<td>3988.75</td>
<td>4510.52</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
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<td>.82</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
reduction, however, was viewed as deceptive, for in 1973 the ratio was at an estimated 4.70 to 1 and was 9.24 to 1 in 1974. The erratic trends, therefore, were regarded as generally inconclusive though supportive of the hypothesis in 1975.

Rape rates in the MCA continually grew from 38.68 per 100,000 in 1970 to 113.60 in 1975. The only exception to this trend was found in 1972 when rape declined in the area to 19.18 per 100,000. Rape rates in the rest of the city stood at 29.42 in 1970 and remained relatively constant for the next three years. In 1974, however, they increased to 54.99 and then to 61.51 in 1975. The ratios between the MCA and the rest of the city started at 1.31 to 1 in 1970 and eventually rose to 1.85 to 1 in 1975 for a net increase of 40.46 per cent.

Table VII also indicates that assault rates in the MCA stood at 942.89 in 1970, increased to 1,285.51 for 1971, and then dropped during the next two years to 973.20 and 945.15. The rate then dropped to 494.34 but increased to 939.59 in 1975. Assault rates for the rest of the city followed a somewhat similar pattern. They ranged between 300 to 355 for the first four years and then fell to 127.36 in 1975. The ratios between the areas ranged from 2.95 to 1 to 3.62 to 1 for the first four years and then increased to 4.24 in the MCA to 1 in the rest of the city during 1975 for a net growth of 43.48 per cent.
Theft rates for the MCA during the first five years ranged between 3,183.28 and 3,805.43 per 100,000 but then increased to 4,738.01 per 100,000 in 1975. Theft rates in the non-MCA were calculated as standing at 3,746.02 per 100,000 in 1970. These varied about 300 per year for the next five years and increased in the last year (1975) to a rate of 4,510.52 per 100,000. The ratios between the groups began at 1.02 in the MCA to 1 in the rest of the city in 1970 and concluded at 1.05 to 1 for a total gain of 3.40 per cent.

The data on robbery, burglary (through 1973), and auto theft in Tables IV, V, and VI support Hypothesis I. It was, therefore, accepted. The data in Table VII do not generally sustain Hypothesis I or any other hypothesis of the study. It should be noted, however, that the present study has focused on property offenses while Table VII gives more attention to crimes of violence instead of property offenses. Additional comment, therefore, is reserved on these matters for presentation in the discussion of conclusions and implications offered in Chapter V.

**Hypothesis II**

The second hypothesis of the study was stated as follows: "During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the crime rates for robbery, burglary, and auto theft in the Austin Model City Area will tend to decline or stabilize
in rate of growth." In an effort to examine this hypothesis, the annual rates for the various offenses of the Model City Area were recorded and total decline or growth percentages were calculated by comparing 1970 rates with those of 1975. Also, the percentages of change between the annual rates were calculated for each year by comparing the prior and immediately following years. The data obtained after these calculations are presented in Table VIII.

An examination of the data presented in Table VIII reveals some support for Hypothesis II. Robbery rates in the MCA increased over the 6 year period by 93.27 per cent with the greatest increases in the last two years of the study. Totaling the annual percentages of change, the area experienced a general growth of 108.37 per cent between 1970 and 1975. While rates for three of the first four years are about the same, the rates for the last two years are almost twice as high as those of the entire period.

Burglary rates in the MCA for the period between 1970 and 1975 increased by 57.08 per cent. The growth rate for burglary during the first four years, however, was found to be less than 6 per cent. With the adoption of the broader definition of burglary in the 1974 data, burglary rates grew by a total of approximately 50 per cent in the last two years studied. Table VIII thus reveals some support for Hypothesis II. The data do not support the hypothesis when 1970 data are compared with 1975 data without
### TABLE VIII

**COMPARISONS OF ROBBERY, BURGLARY, AND AUTO THEFT RATES (PER 100,000) AND ANNUAL PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE IN THE MODEL CITY AREA**

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>298.50</td>
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<td>195.71</td>
<td>370.76</td>
<td>364.46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annual % Change*</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>+58.29</td>
<td>-24.52</td>
<td>-13.14</td>
<td>+89.44</td>
<td>- 1.70</td>
<td>+108.37***</td>
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<td>Burglary</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
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<td>2639.74</td>
<td>3393.86</td>
<td>3919.16</td>
<td>+ 57.07**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual % Change*</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>+ 8.64</td>
<td>-12.10</td>
<td>+10.79</td>
<td>+28.57</td>
<td>+15.48</td>
<td>+ 51.38***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auto Theft</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>614.09</td>
<td>553.68</td>
<td>551.32</td>
<td>606.23</td>
<td>427.80</td>
<td>492.26</td>
<td>- 19.90**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual % Change*</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>- 9.84</td>
<td>- 0.43</td>
<td>+ 9.96</td>
<td>-29.43</td>
<td>+15.07</td>
<td>- 14.67***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Annual percentages of change calculated between prior and immediately following years.

**Total percentages of rate changes were calculated by comparing 1970 and 1975 rates.

***Obtained by totaling annual percentages of change for 1971 through 1975.
consideration of the different definitions being employed. When this factor is considered and 1970 data are compared with 1973 data, however, a general stability in the growth rate appears to be a possible conclusion.

Table VIII indicates that auto theft rates per 100,000 population in 1970 were calculated at 614.09 in the Model City Area. These rates declined for every year of the study except for 1973. During the 6 year period, rates eventually declined by a total of 18.80 per cent. Totaling the annual percentages of change, a decline of 14.67 per cent was found. These findings concerning auto theft rates and percentages of change were viewed, therefore, as rather strongly supporting the hypothesis.

The above discussion of the findings presented in Table VIII reveal some support for Hypothesis II when only the first four years of the study period are considered. Robbery rates, however, increased dramatically in the last two years. Burglary rates also increased tremendously in 1974 and 1975, but it was noted that a different, broader definition was being employed in those years in contrast to a narrower definition in the first four years. Auto theft rates generally uphold the hypothesis throughout the span of years studied. Moderate support was thus found for the hypothesis in regard to burglary and auto theft rates but not in regard to robbery.
Other Part I crimes.—While these offenses were not included in the primary scope of the study, they were tabulated and calculated for informational and interpretive purposes. Table IX indicates that homicide rates in the Model City Area developed along erratic lines between 1970 and 1975. Beginning at 29.01 per 100,000 in 1970, they rose to 52.96 in 1971, dropped for two years to around 38, then rose to 76.05 in 1974 and declined to 28.40 in 1975 for a net decline of 2.10 per cent during the period. When the negative and positive annual percentages of change were totaled, an increase of 31.37 per cent was found. Comparing these totals and the annual rates, it becomes clear that the hypothesis that rates would stabilize is not supported by the data.

Rape rates also demonstrate a puzzling pattern. In the first three years they drop from 38.68 to 19.18 but then increase during each of the last three years to a high of 113.60 for a net gain of 193.69 per cent. When annual growth rates were totaled, they indicated a net growth of 237.12 per cent. Such rates and percentages of change substantially diverge from the hypothesis of stability or decline in rates.

Assault rates in Table IX follow a more stable course. In 1970, they began at 942.89, rose to a high of 1,285.51, and then dropped to 973.20 and 945.15 by 1973. They then declined to 494.34 in 1974 and concluded at 539.59 for a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Homicide</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>29.01</td>
<td>52.96</td>
<td>38.35</td>
<td>38.19</td>
<td>76.05</td>
<td>28.40</td>
<td>- 2.10**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual % Change*</td>
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<td>+82.55</td>
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<td>- .43</td>
<td>+99.15</td>
<td>-62.66</td>
<td>+ 31.37***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
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<td>43.33</td>
<td>19.18</td>
<td>57.28</td>
<td>85.56</td>
<td>113.60</td>
<td>+193.69**</td>
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<td>494.34</td>
<td>539.59</td>
<td>- 42.77**</td>
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<td>-24.29</td>
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<td>-47.70</td>
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<td>4738.01</td>
<td>+ 24.51**</td>
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<td>Annual % Change*</td>
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<td>-13.59</td>
<td>- 3.20</td>
<td>+13.97</td>
<td>+ 1.28</td>
<td>+28.95</td>
<td>+ 27.41***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Annual percentages of change calculated between prior and immediately following years.

**Total percentages of rate changes were calculated by comparing 1970 and 1975 rates.

***Obtained by totaling annual percentages of change for 1971 through 1975.
total rate decline of 42.77 per cent. The early years thus demonstrate general stability with one exception, and the latter years decline. The decline, however, is probably best understood as the result of the change of definition which was introduced in the 1974 and 1975 data. The total of the annual percentages of change combined was a decline of 29.38 per cent. In general, however, assault data offer some support to Hypothesis II.

Table IX also includes data regarding theft rates in the Model City Area for the years of 1970 through 1975. The first five years indicate rates that range from 3,805 (1970) down to 3,183 (1972) and then turning up to 3,674 in 1974. In 1975, the rate for theft in the MCA was estimated at 4,738 for a total gain of 24.51 per cent during the 6 years. A totaling of annual percentages of change reveals a gain of 27.41 per cent. In general, the data indicate stability during the first four years with a strong increase in the final year.

The data in Table IX appear somewhat inconsistent. Homicide and rape rates generally contradict the hypothesized trends. Assault and theft rates perform somewhat as hypothesized in the first four years but vary considerably when new and narrower definitions were utilized under direction of the revised Texas Penal Code. While these data on other Part I crimes are not within the primary scope of the study, they are presented for their
supplemental and interpretive value. Due to the limited number of the years of the study and the inconsistencies between the definitions employed, the findings, however, were received as inconclusive.

**Hypothesis III**

The third hypothesis was designed to examine the relationship between selected crime rates in census tracts containing the Model City Area and the remaining tracts of the city of Austin. A convergence of these rates by at least 8.73 per cent (a projected MCA goal) over the six year period was hypothesized. Hypothesis III asserted that "During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the change in the crime rates for robbery, burglary, and auto theft of census tracts containing the Model City Area will be toward convergence with the rest of the city by a minimum of 8.73 per cent." The ultimate purpose of the hypothesis was to gain insight as to whether the Model Cities Program was having any measurable impact beyond the boundaries of the Model City Area. Hence, census tracts containing the MCA were logically accepted as areas that should demonstrate such a convergence if any extensive areas beyond the MCA were experiencing such.

In order to effectively examine crime relationships between MCA and non-MCA census tracts, a delimitation utilized in Table I was employed. Following the procedures
outlined on pp. 73-75, primary, secondary, and tertiary Model City tracts were delimited. Primary and secondary tracts were identified, combined, and designated as MCA tracts. The tertiary tract (21.02) was designated as a non-Model City Area due to its inconsequential number of MCA residents (less than two per cent) and its socio-economic characteristics which were more comparable to the rest of the city. These designations were then utilized in comparisons of census tracts in Table I and in Tables X through XIII.

**Robbery.**—Table X presents comparisons of MCA census tracts as defined above and non-MCA tracts with regard to robbery rates, ratios, and percentages of change per 100,000 population for the years of 1970 - 1975. The comparisons reveal that robbery rates in MCA tracts between 1970 and 1975 increased by 76.51 per cent, but non-MCA tracts (the rest of the city) increased by more than twice as much (159.86 per cent). Robbery rates for adjoining tracts (non-MCA tracts adjoining the MCA plus tertiary tract 21.02) increased by an even greater total—175.32 per cent. The rates of outlying tracts (156.90 per cent) also virtually doubled the MCA tract increase.

The ratios between the compared areas also demonstrate clear trends. The robbery ratio between MCA tracts and the rest of the city declined (converged) during the six years
TABLE X  
COMPARISONS OF CENSUS TRACTS CONTAINING THE MODEL CITY AREA AND OTHER TRACTS BY ROBBERY RATES, RATIOS, AND PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE PER 100,000 POPULATION

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<th>Years</th>
<th>% Change</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>279.99</td>
<td>452.79</td>
<td>352.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
<td>. .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA tracts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>52.84</td>
<td>94.59</td>
<td>79.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
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<td>Adjoining tracts**</td>
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<tr>
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<td>122.48</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlying tracts***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>49.77</td>
<td>91.54</td>
<td>71.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>4.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes all census tracts containing MCA residents with the exception of one tertiary tract containing less than two per cent MCA residents.

**Includes all tracts which adjoin tracts containing MCA residents and the one tertiary tract (noted above) containing less than two per cent MCA residents.

***All tracts not designated as MCA tracts or adjoining tracts.
by 32.07 per cent. The ratio for 1970 was 5.30 MCA robberies to 1 in the rest of the city, but by 1975 it had declined to 3.60 to 1. When MCA tracts were compared with adjoining tracts, a 35.88 per cent convergence or decline between the rates was found after six years. The ratio in 1970 was 4.00 to 1, and it decreased to 2.57 to 1 in 1975. Similar findings were obtained by comparing MCA tracts and outlying tracts. The ratio between the rates in 1970 was 5.63 robberies in the MCA tracts to each such offense in the outlying tracts (remaining tracts not designated MCA or adjoining tracts). This ratio declined to 3.87 to 1 by 1975 for a total reduction or convergence of 31.26 per cent.

Table X offers three basic comparisons of the robbery rates of MCA tracts with other areas of the city. Each comparison clearly sustains the hypothesized 8.73 per cent convergence goal of the Model Cities Program.

Burglary. — Table XI continues the comparative procedures followed above. Burglary rates, ratios, and percentages of change were calculated for MCA census tracts and for other areas of the city. Burglary rates within the MCA tracts over the six year period grew by an estimated 45.55 per cent while increasing by 59.91 per cent in the rest of the city. In the adjoining tracts, rates increased by 95.24 per cent (over twice that of the MCA). In outlying areas, however, they increased by 51.87 per cent—a slightly
higher rate than that of MCA tracts. Due to the broadening of the definition of burglary in 1974 data and thereafter, percentages of change between 1970 and 1973 were also calculated for the compared areas. The MCA tract rates in 1973 had only increased by 2.71 per cent while the remainder of the city or non-MCA tracts had increased by 22.38 per cent. Adjoining tract rates in 1973 had increased by 57.47 per cent while outlying areas had increased by 14.01 per cent. In every comparison, MCA tracts were found to have increased by a lesser amount.

The ratios between the burglary rates of the areas demonstrate or exceed the projected convergence in most cases. For example, a comparison of MCA and non-MCA tracts reveals a convergence of the rates by 8.97 per cent in 1975. A 25.45 per cent convergence between the MCA and adjoining tracts was found by 1975. Outlying areas in 1975, however, had only converged by 4.21 per cent. Due to the change of definition noted in the discussion of Hypothesis I, 1973 comparisons were also sought. Comparing the burglary ratios between MCA tracts and the rest of the city in 1973, it was found that they had converged by 16.07 per cent. The adjoining tracts and the MCA had converged by 34.78 per cent, and the outlying tracts and the MCA had converged by 9.96 per cent.

The findings displayed in Table XI and discussed in the above remarks clearly indicate that the hypothesized
### TABLE XI

**COMPARISONS OF CENSUS TRACTS CONTAINING THE MODEL CITY AREA AND OTHER TRACTS BY BURGLARY RATES, RATIOS, AND PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE PER 100,000 POPULATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Area</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>% Change 1970-75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MCA tracts*</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>2841.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>. .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA tracts</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>1156.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjoining tracts**</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>1532.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlying tracts***</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>1088.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes all census tracts containing MCA residents with the exception of one tertiary tract containing less than two per cent MCA residents.

**Includes all tracts which adjoin tracts containing MCA residents and the one tertiary tract (noted above) containing less than two per cent MCA residents.

***All tracts not designated as MCA tracts or adjoining tracts.
reduction of the disparity between the rates and ratios has occurred. With the minor exception of the 1975 comparison with outlying tracts, all of the comparisons exceed the hypothesized convergence of 8.73 per cent. The hypothesis was, therefore, accepted.

**Auto theft.**—Comparisons of auto theft rates, ratios, and percentages of change are presented in Table XII. Rates in MCA tracts between 1970 - 1975 decreased slightly from 676.49 per 100,000 to 644.51 for a 4.73 per cent total reduction. The non-MCA residue of the city, however, increased slightly from 393.07 to 399 or by 1.51 per cent. Adjoining tracts increased by an even smaller margin—.76 per cent, and outlying tracts also grew by a minimal amount of 2.40 per cent. The ratios between these rates decreased by 6.13 per cent between the MCA tracts and the rest of the city during the period of the study. The ratio for these areas was 1.72 in 1970 and 1.62 in 1975. Comparisons of MCA and adjoining tracts yielded similar results. In 1970, a ratio of 1.04 to 1 was found, and by 1975, it had declined to .98 to 1 for a 5.44 per cent convergence. Ratios between the MCA and outlying tracts followed a somewhat different pattern but concluded at about the same level. In 1970, the ratio between auto theft rates in MCA and outlying tracts was found to be 1.95 to 1. By 1972, the ratio had increased to 2.57 to 1, and then it gradually declined
### TABLE XII

**Comparisons of Census Tracts Containing the Model City Area and Other Tracts by Auto Theft Rates, Ratios, and Percentages of Change Per 100,000 Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Area</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>% Change 1970-75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MCA tracts*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>676.49</td>
<td>743.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA tracts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>393.07</td>
<td>361.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjoining tracts**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>650.69</td>
<td>594.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outlying tracts***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>346.74</td>
<td>319.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes all census tracts containing MCA residents with the exception of one tertiary tract containing less than two per cent MCA residents.

**Includes all tracts which adjoin tracts containing MCA residents and the one tertiary tract (noted above) containing less than two per cent MCA residents.

***All tracts not designated as MCA tracts or adjoining tracts.
through the remaining years to 1.82 to 1 for a total convergence between the rates of 6.67 per cent.

Reviewing Table XII, none of the comparisons between MCA tracts and other areas of the city attained the hypothesized 8.73 per cent convergence rate though all experienced over 5 per cent convergence. These data, therefore, do not clearly support Hypothesis III as do the others. They do, however, demonstrate trends that tend to support the hypothesis.

Other Part I crimes.—The remaining Part I offenses (homicide, rape, assault, and theft) were not included in the scope of the present study. Data regarding their rates, ratios, and percentages of change were collected, however, and are presented in Table XIII as additional findings.

Homicide rates between 1970 and 1975 vary erratically. The rate for MCA tracts in 1970 was 38.81 per 100,000. In 1971, the rates rose to 53.11 and then to 56.36 per 100,000 in 1972. The lowest year then followed with 28.42 per 100,000. It was followed by the highest rate of the period (60.18) in 1974. The rate then declined to 46.24 in 1975 for a 19.15 per cent increase during the period between 1970 and 1975. An unstable but much lower pattern of rates also was found in the non-MCA or the rest of the city. The rates per 100,000 population were as follows between 1970 and 1975—5.10, 12.88, 10.66, 7.79, 6.71, and 9.51. The
total increase between 1970 and 1975 was by 86.47 per cent. The ratios between the rates of the groups began at 7.61 homicides in the MCA tracts to 1 in the non-MCA in 1970 and ended at 4.86 to 1 for a total reduction or convergence of 36.14 per cent. Homicide rates and ratios were thus found to have exceeded the projected goal of a 8.73 per cent convergence.

According to Table XIII, rape rates in MCA tracts declined during the first three years of the study from 58.22 to 55.90 and to the lowest rate of the 6 year period—31.00 per 100,000. They then increased on each of the following years from 65.36 in 1973 to 117.50 and to the highest rate of the period (135.84) in 1975 for a total increase of 133.32 per cent during the 6 years. Rape rates in the rest of the city were rather stable during the first four years (25.49, 21.76, 23.44, and 31.14). In 1974, however, they increased to 48.92 and to 55.91 in 1975 for a total change of 119.34 per cent. The ratios between the two areas began at 2.28 to 1 in 1970, grew to 2.57 to 1 in 1971, and reached the lowest point in 1972 (1.32 to 1). In 1973, they increased to 2.10, then to 2.40, and ended at 2.43 to 1 in 1975 for a total growth of 6.58 per cent. Only 1972, therefore, was found to experience a convergence rate supportive of the hypothesis. In all other cases, the projected goal of a minimum reduction of 8.73 per cent was not reached.
TABLE XIII

COMPARISONS OF CENSUS TRACTS CONTAINING THE MODEL CITY AREA AND NON-MODEL CITY AREA TRACTS BY HOMICIDE, RAPE, ASSAULT, AND THEFT RATES, RATIOS, AND PERCENTAGES OF CHANGE PER 100,000 POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Crime and Area</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>% Change 1970-75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>38.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>7.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>58.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>25.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>1225.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>227.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>5347.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-MCA</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>3483.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At first glance, the assault rates displayed in Table XIII appeared to strongly support Hypothesis III. Rates between 1970 and 1975 fell from 1,225.29 to 658.96 for a total decline of 46.22 per cent. The rates of the rest of the city demonstrate an even greater decline (60.22 per cent). As noted before, however, the classification of some assaults changed in 1974. Simple assaults were separated from aggravated assaults, and only the latter were employed as an index crime in the 1974 data. A reconsideration of the data was, therefore, undertaken. Comparing 1970 with 1973, it was found that assault rates in MCA tracts had only decreased from 1,225.29 per 100,000 to 1,190.71 for a total reduction of 2.82 per cent. The non-MCA rates, however, slightly increased from 227.59 to 231.52 for a total growth of 1.73 per cent. The ratios between the rates of these areas did not converge between 1970 and 1975. Instead, they expanded by 35.31 per cent. Comparing 1970 with 1973, however, a decrease of 4.46 per cent was found (5.38 down to 5.14 per 100,000). While comparisons between 1970 and 1975 rates were found to be rather strongly contrary to projected expectations, comparisons with 1973 rates, however, offer some support for the hypothesis but not at the projected level. Assault rates, therefore, were viewed as basically non-supportive of the proposition that MCA tracts would converge in crime rates by at least 8.73
per cent with the rest of the city during the years of the study.

Felony theft rates in the MCA between 1970 and 1974 fluctuate from 5,347.49 in 1970 to 5,095.25 in 1972 up to 5,826.38 in 1974. In 1975, however, they increased rapidly to 7,303.46 for a total increase of 36.58 per cent during the 6 years. The rates of the rest of the city follow a similar pattern but at a lower level. During the first 5 years, the rates fluctuate as follows: 3,483.90, 3,667.40, 3,185.83, 3,208.05, and 3,709.69, and in 1975, the rate per 100,000 expanded to the highest point during the period—4,161.21. The total increase over the 6 year period was by 19.44 per cent in the non-MCA in contrast to the 36.58 per cent in MCA tracts.

The ratios between the rates of the two areas were very stable during the first 5 years (ranging between 1.53 to 1.60) but increased some in 1975 to a ratio of 1.76 thefts in the MCA tracts to every 1 offense in the rest of the city. The total divergence of the rates was by 15.03 per cent over the period.

As in the case of burglary and assault, felony theft definitions were altered in 1974. Comparing 1970 with 1973, the rates in MCA tracts decreased by 4.13 per cent while those in the rest of the city decreased by 7.92 per cent. The ratios, therefore, did not converge with each other but increased by 4.58 per cent. Hence, the findings regarding
felony theft were contrary to the projected trends of Hypothesis III.

As indicated above, Hypothesis III stated that "crime rates for robbery, burglary, and auto theft of census tracts containing the Model City Area will tend to convergence with the rest of the city" during the time under study by at least 8.73 per cent. Robbery rates were found to clearly support the hypothesis. The data found regarding burglary rates also clearly demonstrate a convergence rate exceeding that hypothesized. Auto theft rates, however, did not reach the hypothesized level of convergence, but in three comparisons of MCA tracts with other areas, a convergence of 5 to 7 per cent was found. As to other Part I offenses, the hypothesis was supported by the findings on homicide. Rape ratios increased substantially between the two areas instead of decreasing. Assault rates also were found in substantial conflict with the hypothesis. Felony theft followed a similar pattern in contradiction to the hypothesis of a convergence of the rates of the areas.

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings of the study. Selected demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Model City census tracts and the rest of the city were presented and briefly compared. Conditions and characteristics specified in the review of the literature were found
to predominate in Model City tracts in comparison to the rest of the city. The results of interviews utilizing the Delphi method were displayed in Tables II and III and procedural steps were explained regarding their usage.

The major findings of the study were examined in terms of their application to the three propositions or hypotheses which were formulated and tested in the study. Under the limitations of the study, Hypothesis I was accepted as supported by the data. Robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates within the boundaries of the Austin Model City Area did converge with the rates found in the rest of the city by more than 8.73 per cent during the six year period of the study. The findings regarding Hypothesis II were rather inconclusive. While some evidence was supportive of the proposition, the brevity of the span of years studied did not reveal generally consistent trends that would conclusively establish or reject the hypothesis. Robbery rates were generally stable during the first four years but not in the last two. Burglary rates tended toward stability between 1970 - 1973. Auto theft generally declined in the Model City Area between 1970 - 1975. Support for the hypothesis was, therefore, viewed as only moderate. Hypothesis III asserted that robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates in census tracts containing substantive portions of the Model City Area would converge with that of the rest of the city by a minimum of 8.73 per
cent between 1970 and 1975. Data regarding robbery and burglary clearly confirm the hypothesis, but auto theft rates converged by slightly less than the projected goal of 8.73 per cent convergence. The hypothesis was, therefore, accepted with this qualification understood. Additional discussion of these conclusions and their implications are presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Metropolitan Austin Criminal Justice Planning Unit Staff, 1976 Metropolitan Austin Criminal Justice Plan, Austin, City of Austin, 1975.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The present chapter summarizes the formative stages, activities, and findings of the study which were described in previous chapters. Also presented are the conclusions reached concerning the hypotheses of the study and several implications that might be drawn from the findings.

Background of the Problem

In the mid 1960s, deterioration in the quality of urban life and expanding crime rates received national recognition as critical domestic problems. The Model Cities Program was spawned by this awareness. It was authorized by Congress in 1966 as a comprehensive effort to achieve basic social reform in American cities. Its general objective was to coordinate numerous programs under one administration in order that social, economic, and physical problems of poverty areas might be simultaneously attacked on a broad front. An indirect but specifically stated purpose of the national program was to "reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency" in poverty blighted areas "to levels prevailing in the remainder of the community" (7, p. 13). A measurable, specific goal of the Austin program was to reduce crime in its Model City Area
(in comparison to the rest of the city) by an aggregated total of 8.73 per cent during the operational years of the program. The present study, therefore, was formulated to examine the effectiveness of one city's efforts to reduce crime in its Model City Area in comparison to the rest of the city.

Statement of the Problem

The central problem of the study was to examine the relationships between official crime rates in the Austin Model City Area and the residual or remaining areas of the city. Robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates were specifically singled out for intensive examination over the six years of the Model Cities Program's operation in Austin (1970 - 1975). These offenses were considered separately instead of being aggregated into a general crime index. The study thus concentrated on investigating the assumption that the rates of these selected crimes in the Austin Model City Area should converge or begin to be reduced "to levels prevailing in the remainder of the community" during the period under study.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

Merton's anomie theory concerning the origins of deviancy on a broad scale was selected as the broad framework to undergird the study. The theory hypothesizes that large scale deviancy (crime and delinquency) originates primarily
when lower class youths are led to accept middle-class goals of success but are structurally blocked by a lack of means to attain these goals. The anomie framework implies that deviancy or crime should decrease if structurally blocked channels to success are opened. Assuming the Model Cities Program opened such channels to success to poverty area residents, it was logically hypothesized that crime rates in the Model City Area should tend toward convergence with the rest of the city. It was, therefore, concluded that a Model Cities Program should provide a meaningful opportunity for testing whether the relationships between selected crime rates of city areas would change as projected during the operation of the program.

Hypotheses Tested

After reviewing the literature concerning poverty area problems, crime, and the Model Cities Program, three hypotheses (based upon the broad theoretical framework noted above and the stated goals of the program) were formulated for study. These hypotheses, however, were not viewed as formal statistical hypotheses but as propositions or assumptions that could be tested regarding the relationships under study. With this qualification understood, the following propositions were offered for testing:

Hypothesis I. During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the rates of selected crimes (robbery, burglary, and
auto theft) in the Austin Model City Area will tend to converge by a minimum of 8.73 per cent with the rates of residual or remaining areas of the city.

Hypothesis II. During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the crime rates for robbery, burglary, and auto theft in the Austin Model City Area will tend to decline or stabilize in rate of growth.

Hypothesis III. During the years under study (1970 - 1975), the change in the crime rates for robbery, burglary, and auto theft of census tracts containing the Model City Area will be toward convergence with the rest of the city by a minimum of 8.73 per cent.

Methodological Procedures

A primarily descriptive study was undertaken in an effort to investigate the hypothesized relationships noted above. Following procedures outlined in Chapter III, the city of Austin, Texas, was selected as the target city because of the quality of its Part I crime records and its accessibility. Government documents regarding the Model Cities Program, census data, and statistical records of crimes reported to the police were searched for pertinent data. The Delphi technique was also employed in reaching consensus estimates by selected experts concerning the proportion of crimes reported in certain areas of the city and approximations concerning other factors. The data were
then tabulated, and rates for Part I offenses were calculated per 100,000 population for various areas of the city. Ratios were also calculated for these areas for the years ranging from 1970 - 1975. These ratios were then compared to determine whether the selected Part I crimes of robbery, burglary, and auto theft had converged between the areas by the minimal goal of 8.73 per cent during the years under study. (Since the literature had suggested 8.73 per cent as the reduction goal of the Austin program, this standard was accepted as a useful operational measure of convergence in the hypotheses studied.) The data obtained by the procedures discussed above did not constitute a random sample. Advanced statistical analyses, therefore, were neither applicable nor necessary. Instead, percentages, means, rates, and ratios were accepted as adequate for the purposes of examining the socio-economic characteristics of the areas and for determining whether the crime rates of the Model City Area and non-Model City Area were converging by the minimal 8.73 per cent goal noted above.

Major Findings, Conclusions, and Interpretations

Within the delimitations and scope of the study outlined above and based on an analysis of the data, the major findings, conclusions, and interpretations of the study are offered below.
Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Study Population

In comparison to the rest of the city, census tracts containing the Model City Area were found to possess predominant proportions of poverty area characteristics which were found to be correlated with high crime rate areas. Concisely summarized, these predominant conditions and characteristics were as follows: youthful males, urbanization, poverty, lower social class, and disruptive conditions (family disruption, economic disruption, educational disruption). Loss of a sense of community due to excessive transience, however, was not found as characteristic of Model City tracts.

Stated differently, 1970 census data reveal that the following measurements of characteristics in Model City tracts were nearly twice as high or more than twice as high as in the rest of the city: per cent minority, per cent families with female heads, per cent females divorced or separated, per cent 16 - 21 years old (not high school graduates and not enrolled in school), per cent in the same house for the last five years, per cent males 16 - 21 (not employed), and per cent below poverty level. In addition, the median years of completed schooling were about fifty per cent greater in non-Model City tracts. The median income in the Model City tracts was $5,343 as compared to $9,837 in the rest of the city, and the median
contract rent in the Model City tracts was $53.00 as compared to $116.59 in the non-Model City tracts. Such findings as the above were viewed as obviously illustrative of the expected conditions suggested by the review of literature.

**Delphi Consensus Approximations**

Through the use of the Delphi technique, consensus estimates of proportions of crimes in the Model City Area and non-Model City Areas were obtained and utilized as described in Chapters III and IV. Additional findings of major importance were also uncovered. First, the panel of police officers evaluated the success of the Model Cities Program's efforts in reducing crime as some but not sizable or 2.44 on a scale ranging from 0 (none), 1 (slight), 2 (some), 3 (sizable), 4 (very strong), to 5 (complete). This evaluation clearly concurs with the general findings of the study.

Second, the panel estimated that the Model Cities Program had contributed to an increased reporting of Part I crimes by twelve per cent in comparison to the rest of the city. A study cited by Doleschal (2, p. 301) found that better police-community rapport in Holyoke, Massachusetts, led to "a sky-rocketing increase in reported crime" without other indications that actual crime had increased. Since police programs in the Model Area were emphasizing improved
community relations, it is logical to assume that increased reporting occurred and that it is reflected somewhat in the data of the study. While such a conclusion has serious implications for the study, two considerations should be recognized: (1) Various studies have found that auto theft and robbery are among the most accurately reported crimes (6, pp. 29-31; 9, p. 6). Studies also have found that rape, simple assaults, burglary, and thefts are frequently under-reported (3, pp. 34-35; 5, pp. 21-22). Of the three offenses concentrated on in the study, burglary should be regarded as the primary area that would experience any major rise due to increased reporting. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the findings of the study reveal that burglary rates generally experienced less convergence than did the other offenses. (2) Assuming that the estimated twelve per cent inflated reporting of crime did occur in the Model City Area, the findings and conclusions would only be strengthened that Model City crime rates have generally converged by 8.73 per cent with the rates of the rest of the city. Stated differently, if the crime rates of the Model City Area were adjusted downward by twelve per cent without changing the rates of the rest of the city, the amount of convergence between the rates of the areas would be increased dramatically.

Third, the panel of police officers estimated that police protection in the Model City Area had increased by
22.3 per cent during the period of the study. This increased coverage of the area could contribute to improved community confidence in the ability of police to respond to their problems and thus could contribute to the increased reporting of crime noted above. As the President's Crime Commission has noted, "more intensive patrolling practices . . . tend to increase the amount of recorded crime (3, p. 25)." Assuming this interpretation is correct, the conclusion follows that increased patrolling of the Model City Area probably led to inflated reporting of crime in the area—a factor noted above. It should also be noted that the Austin Police Department correctly foresaw this trend at the very beginning of the Model City Program (4, p. 80).

Fourth, it was found that considerable disunity prevailed in the community throughout the history of the program's operation. Such confusion would logically damage the effectiveness of the program in opening the channels of success to the residents of the area and thus would reduce the effectiveness of the effort in correcting the social ills of the area and specifically in reducing crime. Additional attention is to be given to this point in a later section.

**Hypothesis I**

Under the assumptions and qualifications of the study, Hypothesis I was accepted as confirmed by the data. This
hypothesis predicted that selected crime rates (robbery, burglary, and auto theft) in the Model City Area would converge with corresponding crime rates in the rest of the city by a minimum of 8.73 per cent between 1970 - 1975. According to data presented in Table IV, robbery rates in the Model City Area were found to have converged with the rest of the city by 10.60 per cent between 1970 - 1975.

Comparisons of Model City and non-Model City burglary rates revealed a slight divergence of crime rates (3.25 per cent) between 1970 - 1975. Closer examination of the literature, however, revealed that the officially accepted definition of burglary had been broadened by the new Texas Penal Code in 1974 and 1975. Comparisons between 1970 and 1973 data were then made, and it was found that a 9.59 per cent convergence of burglary rates was attained during these years. The 1970 - 1973 comparison was viewed as more appropriate, and the data, therefore, were interpreted as supportive of the hypothesis with this qualification understood.

All burglary comparisons for 1973 were found to confirm the hypothesized 8.73 per cent projected convergence with the exception of a comparison with outlying tracts which only attained a convergence of 7.20 per cent. Since the 1973 comparisons were interpreted as more appropriate, it was concluded that the data confirmed the hypothesis with this alteration understood. Also, the Delphi panel
estimate of a 12 per cent inflated reporting of crime in the area was recalled. If this inflated reporting of crime had been removed from the burglary data, the 1975 comparison would have yielded a 9.25 per cent convergence, and the 1973 comparison would have registered a 20.25 per cent convergence. Clearly, all of the comparisons would have been as projected if the Model City rates were reduced by 12 per cent as suggested by the Delphi consensus estimates.

The findings regarding comparisons of auto theft rates in the Model City Area with the rest of the city, remnant tracts, adjoining tracts, and outlying tracts reveal a convergence rate of greater than 20 per cent in each case or more than double the hypothesized 8.73 convergence of the hypothesis. In view of the findings presented in Table VI, it was concluded that comparisons of auto theft rates forcefully confirm the hypothesis.

In summary and within the qualifications noted above, the selected crime rates of robbery, burglary, and auto theft in the Model City Area converged by more than 8.73 per cent with corresponding rates in the rest of the city during the period of the study. Hypothesis I, therefore, was accepted as confirmed by the data. These rates also converged in similar comparisons between the Model Area and other areas of the city, but these convergences were not included in the hypothesis.
In addition to the rates of crimes selected for special emphasis in the study, other comparisons of Part I crimes were made between the Model City Area and the rest of the city. Comparing 1970 - 1975, homicide rates converged by 36.46 per cent, but the data varied erratically throughout the study period. Rape rates did not converge; instead, they diverged by an additional 40.46 per cent. Assault rates also diverged by 43.48 per cent by 1975, and theft rates diverged by 3.40 per cent. Even when comparisons between 1970 and 1973 were made in consideration of definition changes utilized in 1974 data, assault and theft rates continued to diverge instead of converge. It was concluded, therefore, that the hypothesis would have been unacceptable if these additional Part I offenses had been included in it.

**Hypothesis II**

The second hypothesis was designed to examine whether robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates in the Model City Area would stabilize or decline in rate of growth during the period between 1970 - 1975. No specific goal was specified as an objective measure. Robbery rates were found to be relatively similar for three of the first four years, but robbery rates during the last two years were practically double those of the earlier years. No meaningful explanation of this strong increase seemed apparent.
It was concluded, therefore, that the data regarding robbery rates were too erratic to offer meaningful support of the hypothesis.

The growth of burglary rates between 1970 and 1973 was found to be less than six per cent. With the broader definition employed in the next two years, the rates increased by almost fifty per cent. It was, therefore, concluded that Table VIII reveals some support for the hypothesized prediction that burglary rates would stabilize. This conclusion, however, is based on the assumption that the 1970 - 1973 comparison is the more appropriate procedure to follow.

Auto theft rates were found to demonstrate considerable stability and ultimately to decline during the period under investigation. The 1970 rate of 614 per 100,000 was the highest of the entire period with a 1973 rate of 606 as a close second. With the exception of 1973, every rate declined when compared with the prior year. The total decline between 1970 and 1975 was by 18.80 per cent. It was concluded, therefore, that auto theft rates in the Model City Area were stable or declining between 1970 - 1975.

Under the qualifications noted above, it was concluded that burglary and auto theft rates tended to stabilize or decline as hypothesized. Robbery rates, however, demonstrated some stability in the first four years but strongly increased during the final two years. The hypothesis,
therefore, was rejected with reference to robbery rates but accepted with reference to the offenses of burglary and auto theft.

As to the additional findings and conclusions regarding other Part I crimes, homicide and rape rates did not decline or display stability during the years under study. Assault rates demonstrated some stability in the first four years and a decline in 1974 and 1975. It was found, however, that a narrower definition was utilized during the last two years; hence, the earlier years were accepted as a more appropriate comparison. Theft rates display general stability or decline during the first five years, but a narrower definition was employed in the final two years. Comparisons between 1970 and 1973, however, were viewed as partially supportive of the hypothesis. While these other Part I offenses are not within the primary scope of the study, they are presented for their contribution to a broader understanding of crime patterns in the Model City Area. Their impact, if included in Hypothesis II, however, would apparently be conflicting.

**Hypothesis III**

The purpose of the third hypothesis was to determine whether the Model Cities Program was having any measurable effect upon crime rates beyond the boundaries of the Model City Area. Hence, for the purposes of testing, it was
hypothesized that robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates of census tracts containing the Model City Area would converge with the rates of the rest of the city by a minimum of 8.73 per cent between 1970 and 1975. In order to meaningfully examine the relationships between the crime rates of these areas, primary, secondary, and tertiary Model City tracts were differentiated. The primary and secondary tracts were then combined and designated Model City Area census tracts. The tertiary with less than two per cent Model City residents was classified with the non-Model City tracts in the comparisons that followed.

When Model City Area tracts were compared with the rest of the city, adjoining tracts, and outlying tracts regarding robbery rates, a convergence of greater than thirty per cent was found in all cases. The minimal convergence of 8.73 per cent was thus exceeded in all cases by more than 20 per cent; hence, it was concluded that the findings clearly support the hypothesis in this instance.

Comparisons involving burglary rates were also found to rather clearly support the hypothesis. Comparing the Model Area to the rest of the city, a 8.97 per cent convergence between 1970 and 1975 was found. A 25.45 per cent convergence was found when adjoining tracts were compared with the Model City Area, but only 4.21 per cent convergence was found with outlying tracts. It has been noted, however, that a different definition was being employed in the data
in the closing two years of the period studied. When comparisons with 1973 data were made, the convergence in all cases exceeded the hypothesized goal of 8.73 per cent. It was concluded, therefore, that burglary data should be accepted as supportive of the hypothesis.

Comparisons of auto theft rates of Model City tracts with the rest of the city, adjoining tracts, and outlying tracts revealed a convergence range in between 5 and 7 per cent between 1970 - 1975. While each comparison indicated some convergence, all were slightly below the hypothesized 8.73 per cent level. Auto theft data, therefore, failed to confirm the hypothesis.

Reviewing the above remarks regarding comparisons of Model City census tracts with other areas on selected crime rates, it was concluded that the hypothesis should be accepted with reference to robbery and burglary rates. Auto theft rate convergence, however, was found to be slightly below the 8.73 per cent standard proposed in the hypothesis. Hence, the hypothesis was received as unconfirmed with reference to auto theft rate convergence.

Additional findings concerning other Part I offenses revealed conflicting patterns. Homicide rates between 1970 and 1975 converged by 36.14 per cent or clearly beyond the hypothesized 8.73 per cent. Rape rates failed to confirm the hypothesized convergence; instead, the gap between the areas grew by 6.58 per cent. Assault rate comparisons
between Model City tracts and the rest of the city were strongly contrary to the predicted pattern. Instead of convergence, they experienced divergence by 35.31 per cent. Theft rates diverged by 15.03 per cent. As indicated above, official definitions for assault and theft had been altered in the final two years of the study. Comparing 1970 with 1973, assault rates converged by 4.46 per cent but not by the projected goal of 8.73 per cent. Theft rates still diverged but only by 4.58 per cent during these years. In summary then, only homicide rates converged by the predicted amount. Rape, assault, and theft rates failed to converge as hypothesized. These crimes, however, were not within the scope of the study. Results regarding these other Part I offenses were included, however, as interpretive guides to a greater understanding of crime relationships between the Model City Area and other areas of the city.

Implications of the Research

Based on an analysis of the data and within the assumptions, limitations, and scope of the present study, several conclusions and implications were drawn. These are separated for consideration under the following subheadings: theoretical implications, methodological implications, and practical implications.
Theoretical Implications

As indicated in the review of literature, the foundation of the Model Cities Program and the present study rests upon the anomie framework. This framework was not viewed as a highly specific, narrow, theoretical perspective but rather as a loosely knit, broad, guiding framework to the research. A full range of other theoretical perspectives were carefully reviewed with reference to utilization in the present study. None were found to possess meaningful utility. Instead, their concepts and explanations were found to center on other variables. In contrast, the anomie framework was found to be deeply embedded in the Model Cities Program's efforts to "open channels of success" to Model Area residents.

Implications drawn from the anomie framework led to the formulation of the three hypotheses of the study. As projected in the first and primary hypothesis, robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates in the Model City Area were found to have converged with the rates of the rest of the city by more than the minimal 8.73 per cent goal which had been envisioned by the planners of the program. Burglary and auto theft rates tended to stabilize or decline in the period under study as the second hypothesis had projected. Robbery rates did not. In general support of the third hypothesis, it was found that robbery, burglary, and auto theft rates of census tracts containing meaningful portions
of the Model City Area tended to converge with those of the rest of the city. Auto theft rates, however, fell slightly below the 8.73 per cent projected goal. From the findings of the study with reference to the above hypotheses, the implication was drawn that opening channels to success to Model City Area residents had a positive impact upon the reduction of crime. The anomie framework thus proved genuinely useful in generating implications, hypotheses, and generally guiding the course of the research in the present study.

The ultimate goal of sociological theory is to predict or explain relationships between variables. As Skogan has observed, however, "Very few social theories do more than predict the sign of hypothesized relationships (witness Durkheim) . . . (6, p. 34)." The anomie framework does not specifically predict the degree to which crime relationships will be altered between areas under study. However, it proved useful in singling out the type of criminal offenses that should experience convergence (property offenses). In addition to focusing the study on property offenses, the framework also predicted the sign of the hypothesized relationships. The utility of the framework was thus clearly demonstrated by its specification of the type of offense and the direction of the relationship that should be emphasized.

The findings of the study with regard to the hypotheses and the questions undergirding them are clearly compatible
with the implications drawn from the anomie framework. While other interpretations of the data may be possible, it appears highly questionable that such a found convergence of crime rates is merely coincidental. Instead, the implication is logically compelling that the theoretical foundation of the study is sound, and the Model Cities Program has made a positive contribution to the reduction of selected offenses in the Austin area. This was the ultimate and fundamental question under study.

It should be added, however, that the findings of the study may reasonably be regarded as much stronger than they initially appear. The anomie framework does not pretend to explain the origin of all delinquency or crime; however, it does claim to explain the origin of a sizable portion of it. Hence, even if the Austin Model City Program had been absolutely successful in opening channels of success to everyone in its boundaries, it would have been illogical to project that all criminal activity would cease in the area. The anomie framework does not begin to suggest that such would occur. Cloward and Ohlin, as an example, state that the extension of social services to some "cannot prevent the rise of delinquency among others (1, p. 211)."

Another limiting factor as to the impact of such a program would be the continued transmission of deviant cultural patterns by subcultural criminal elements in the area. The brevity of the life span of the program (about six years)
and the community conflicts regarding the program (indicated by the Delphi findings) obviously served as additional limitations on the impact of the Austin effort. In addition, the Delphi panel estimated a twelve per cent increased amount of crime reporting (in contrast to an actual increase of crime) in the Model City Area in comparison to the rest of the city. Removing this estimated inflation from the crimes reported in the Model Area would have additionally strengthened the findings in favor of the hypotheses. This, however, was not done, and it was recognized, therefore, that the data probably have been weighted somewhat against the acceptance of the hypotheses.

In contrast to the limiting factors noted above, the findings of the study still indicate a meaningful convergence of selected crime rates and thus rather strongly support the anomie framework as an appropriate theoretical explanation regarding the origins of property crimes. If these interfering factors and inflated reports had been eliminated, the findings would probably indicate an even greater convergence; hence, the findings may reasonably be interpreted as stronger than they first appear. While other interpretations of the data are possible, it appears that the found convergence of rates is the theorized outcome of the physical, economic, and social improvements in the Model Area or the opening of the channels to success suggested by the Mertonian framework.
Since the present study has been built upon a loosely knit, broad theoretical perspective, its theoretical implications are of a similar nature. Hence, while it was possible for the findings to contradict the explanations generated by the framework, it was not possible for the findings to exclusively support the anomie framework.

As to implications of the study for other theoretical perspectives, the Austin findings appear to support the gradient hypothesis of the social disorganization perspective. Stated briefly, the hypothesis holds that "The highest crime and delinquency rates generally occur in the low-rent areas located near the center of the city, and the rates decrease with increasing distance from the city center (8, p. 143)." While the present study was not designed to make a systematic examination of this hypothesis, the findings appear to lead to the conclusion that crime rates decrease with increasing distance from the Model City Area. It should be noted, however, that the Model City Area is not limited to the geographical center of the city but extends out to the city limits on the southeastern part of the city. The area, however, is characterized by the physical deterioration, high density, declining population, and low-rent characteristics noted by social disorganization theory advocates. To make a systematic judgment regarding this hypothesis would require considerable methodological alteration in the present study. Hence, it was not
attempted. Surface impressions of the data, however, appear to support the gradient hypothesis.

Indirect implications for community development theory could be drawn by redesigning the framework of the study. As indicated in the review of literature, the Model Cities Program was obviously based on a considerable number of widely accepted premises regarding community development. Such matters, however, do not fall within the scope of the present study and thus meaningful implications cannot be drawn for such areas.

While it is somewhat regrettable that the present study does not contain numerous and sweeping implications for specific theoretical formulations, the simple fact is that it does not. Nevertheless, it offers general support for the anomie framework and certain implications drawn from that framework. In a following section concerning practical implications of the study, it is to be noted that this is a major accomplishment in itself. The framework, however, did prove useful in guiding the formulative stages of the Model Cities Program's efforts in crime prevention, in guiding the present research effort, and in projecting the directions of relationships under study. It may thus be characterized as a broad but appropriate perspective for the present study.
Methodological Implications

The methodological problems encountered in the development of the research were both serious and numerous. At times, they appeared insurmountable. Ultimately, such complexities led to insights and approaches that may offer meaningful implications for other studies in the future. The methodological difficulties and solutions regarding each of the major hypotheses are illustrative.

The central concern of the study focused on Hypothesis I. The primary difficulty encountered, other than the general unavailability of pertinent data, was that boundaries of the Model City Area did not correspond with census tracts or administratively drawn police districts. The area, however, did roughly follow police reporting area boundaries. In order to compare the crime rates of the Model City Area and the rest of the city, it was necessary to determine the proportion of offenses reported in each area. By employing the Delphi technique in interviewing a panel of informed sources, approximations of the proportions of reported offenses in each area were determined and used in coding the data for analysis.

The major implications stemming from the utilization of the Delphi technique are: (1) The technique has demonstrated considerable versatility in the study of other fields and potentially appears to have the same utility for the study of an array of problems related to crime and
delinquency. Incidentally, the present study may involve its first usage in criminology. (2) The technique may be meaningfully employed in the untangling and codifying of crime data which is well known for its general lack of precision. Data which would frequently be wasted may thus be used. (3) It may also be used effectively in eliciting and refining independent, expert evaluations regarding the impact of programs such as the Model Cities Program upon crime. (4) It may prove extremely helpful in evaluating triangulated data such as reported crimes, arrest reports, and delinquency reports and arrests. Potentially, the researcher thus may add an additional dimension of evidence to his interpretation of his findings.

In retrospect, the Delphi technique could have been more profitably utilized in the present study. Its immense flexibility has become more obvious during the research process. Some of the questions raised by the findings could have been explored more effectively if the study were being redesigned. As an example, the strong increase of robbery rates in the last two years of the program could have been probed additionally through this technique. Other groups of informed panelists could have contributed input into the study through a broader use of the technique. Clearly, its increased usage could have strengthened the study.
The methodological implications stemming from the efforts to examine the second hypothesis are of a different nature. It became apparent that the hypothesis was too loosely constructed and that a systematic standard of measurement should have been suggested. It also became obvious that data for several additional years were needed if any meaningful trends were to be clearly defined. Such data, however, are not available. In the absence of such data and criteria of measurement, burglary and auto theft rates were accepted as demonstrating tendencies toward stability or decline during the period under study. Robbery rates were relatively stable during the first four years, but they increased by fifty per cent during the final two years. No discernable factors were found that might explain this unusual expansion of robbery rates. The implication is that a clear criteria of measurement and additional data are needed when one attempts to detect broad trends. The fact that part of the findings were supportive of the hypothesis and part were not probably suggests that the hypothesis should have been separated into three hypotheses. These weaknesses should be corrected in future studies or the hypothesis should be abandoned as generally nonproductive.

Another methodological difficulty was encountered in connection with separating census tracts containing substantive portions of the Model City Area from those
containing only inconsequential portions. The procedure evolved for this purpose would appear to be useful in future crime studies which might encounter similar obstacles. Primary and secondary tracts could thus be identified as substantive and tertiary tracts defined as inconsequential tracts, or each set of tracts could be studied separately. Following this or a similar procedure, hypotheses similar to the third hypothesis could be tested to determine whether census tracts containing the Model City Area were experiencing convergence of rates with the rest of the city.

On a broader scope, the study could have been greatly enhanced if the data had permitted an extension of its longitudinal emphasis. Computerized data should contribute to this end in future studies. The ultimate goal has been well expressed by Wilks as follows:

Perhaps the most useful information we could have at this point is information concerning whether areas are becoming more or less differentiated relative to their social and cultural structures and their offense and offender rates. We need more comparative analysis both over time and at any given point in time, and a perspective which will allow us to view crime rates within a broader context than heretofore, particularly within the context of change (8, p. 152).

Practical Implications

The ultimate practical implication of the present study is that a social service program can have a positive impact upon the convergence of crime rates between areas of a
community. It is recognized that this impact may not exist in all cases or perhaps even in most cases, but it would appear that the Austin Model Cities Program was a contributing factor in the reduction of crime rates in the Model City Area as compared to other areas of the city. The magnitude of this implication becomes clearer in light of strong complaints by a Presidential Task Force on crime, the Department of Justice's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Doleschal, Nettler, and numerous criminologists concerning the lack of concrete knowledge about the impact of such programs. A specific complaint asserted by Wilks is that "... it still remains to be determined whether or not there will be a decrease in the rates of crime and delinquency as a result of such programs (8, p. 152)." The goal of the study was to bridge this knowledge gap with reference to one city. The study now needs replication in other cities in an effort to formulate predictive generalizations regarding the impact of such programs upon area offense and offender patterns. If similar findings and conclusions are supported by other studies in cities of various sizes, regions, and cultural backgrounds, the conclusion will be fully established that such community service programs contribute to the reduction of crime. This breakthrough in knowledge is the ultimate purpose of the present study and much social research regarding crime.
A practical implication of the study for police departments is that minor changes in their record systems could add measurably to scientific knowledge regarding the theoretical explanations and empirical distributions of various crimes. It is recommended that police districts should conform to census tract boundaries and that these should be subdivided into reporting areas corresponding to the subdivisions used by the census bureau in such tracts. Offense and offender statistics on each category of crime should be maintained separately for each reporting area. Records that are only kept in aggregated form lose most of their value in identifying patterns of behavior within a community. Records maintained in the form recommended above would have considerable utility for scientific research and thus would contribute to a deeper understanding of the factors involved in the causes and control of crime. Since many cities are now beginning to computerize their crime data, it is strongly recommended that these minor changes be included for the benefits of social research and ultimately for the greater control of crime.

An implication drawn from the findings concerning the third hypothesis is that the Model Cities Program had an impact upon area crime relationships beyond the Model Area's boundaries. Such a program, therefore, may be regarded as beneficial to the larger community rather than limited to
the area receiving extensive attention. In this connection it would be informative to examine ecologically determined zones and their respective offense and offender rates. It would be most interesting to see what impact (if any) the Model Cities Program might have in such a framework.

Recommendations for Future Research

In view of the absence of studies regarding the relationship of crime rates to social service efforts such as the Model Cities Program, the following research recommendations are suggested:

(1) The present study should be replicated in several cities from different geographical areas, of different sizes, and of different social heritages. After such studies are completed, generalizations regarding the impact of such programs may then be possible to guide future efforts. In the absence of such studies, new programs will continue to be offered on the assumption that they are having a favorable impact.

(2) Computerized data are becoming increasingly available. In many areas this data will make it possible to examine the social structure of areas in comparison to their offense and offender rates. It will thus become possible to study the Model City Area prior to and several years after the completion of a program. It would be ideal to study such areas from 1960 through 1980 when the data are
available. This would make it possible to evaluate trends prior to, during, and following the program.

(3) Several interesting questions should be explored in such studies. Do crime rates cease to converge when the program ceases? Do patterns of personal violence follow property offense patterns in converging with the rest of the city? If not, why? Do cities experience greater convergence of rates when they are involved in physical improvements of an area in contrast to the social emphasis of later stages of a program? Is there a relationship between perceptions by citizens regarding quality of life improvements and convergence of crime rates?

(4) An additional dimension could be added to the experimental design of the research by a triangulation of data. Delinquency and crime rates could be compared. Crime and delinquency arrest rates should also be compared with reported offenses in the Model City Area and residual areas of a city. Such a triangulation of data would add three additional types of data to the study (delinquency offenses and arrests for areas and area arrest rates for crime). This would immensely strengthen the findings and conclusions if agreement between the four types of data were found. Hence, it is strongly recommended that delinquency as well as crime data for reported offenses and arrest data for offenders by area of residence should be added to future studies when possible.
(5) It would also appear productive to examine the triangulated data mentioned above in comparison to ecologically delineated zones prior to, during, and after the completion of a Model Cities Program. Such an array of data, however, may prove inaccessible.

Summary

The present study has attempted to critically examine the relationships between selected crime rates in the Austin Model City Area in comparison to the rest of the city. The property offenses of robbery, burglary, and auto theft were singled out for primary consideration to test the assumption that the rates of these crimes in the Austin Model City Area would tend to converge with the rates of the rest of the community during the operation of the program. After finding that such a convergence occurred, it was concluded that the program probably was a contributing factor in this reduction of crime in the Model City Area between 1970 - 1975.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE REGARDING PART I CRIMES IN THE MODEL CITY AREA AND ADJOINING AREAS OF AUSTIN

Name: __________________________  Position: __________________________

Number of years familiar with area crime: __________________________

After viewing a map of the Model City Area (MCA) in relation to adjoining census tracts in Austin, what per cent would you estimate as to the amount of Part I crimes in the MCA in contrast to the remainder of the following census tracts?

... MCA crime in census tract #23 in 1968 through 1969?  
Robbery(  )  Burglary(  )  Auto Theft( )  Other(  )

... MCA crime in census tract #23.02 in 1970 through 1972?  
Robbery(  )  Burglary(  )  Auto Theft( )  Other(  )

... in 1973 through 1975?  
Robbery(  )  Burglary(  )  Auto Theft( )  Other(  )

... MCA crime in census tract #11 in 1968 through 1969?  
Robbery(  )  Burglary(  )  Auto Theft( )  Other(  )

... MCA crime in census tract #8 in 1968 through 1969?  
Robbery(  )  Burglary(  )  Auto Theft( )  Other(  )

... MCA crime in census tract #9 in 1968 through 1969?  
Robbery(  )  Burglary(  )  Auto Theft( )  Other(  )

... MCA crime in census tract #22 in 1968 through 1969?  
Robbery(  )  Burglary(  )  Auto Theft( )  Other(  )

On a scale of 0 (none), 1 (slight), 2 (some), 3 (sizable), 4 (very strong), and 5 (complete), what success would you assign the efforts of the Model Cities Program in reducing crime in the MCA?

... From 1968 through 1970?  (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)

... From 1971 through 1975?  (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)
On the basis of your experience, has the Model Cities Program contributed to an increase in the reporting of Part I crimes in the MCA? If yes, how much in comparison to the rest of the city? What years? Explain:

Has there been a major increase or decrease in the amount of police protection given to the MCA during the past several years? If so, how much? (percentage) If so, what years? 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75

According to your understanding, what factors may have contributed to or weakened the Model Cities Program's impact upon the reduction of crime in the MCA?

Would you please suggest others (officials, administrators, reporters, etc.) whom you regard as knowledgeable concerning these matters over the past several years?
Fig. 1—Overview of census tracts and Model City Area boundaries in the city of Austin, Texas.
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