

NEIGHBORHOODS AND MUNICIPAL POLITICS: A CASE STUDY  
OF DECENTRALIZED POWER SYSTEMS;  
AUSTIN, TEXAS (SPRING 1981)

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DEDICATION

To the ones who made it all possible:

MARIAN ROSE MAHONEY  
TIMOTHY RAYMOND MAHONEY, SR.

And my special friends:

JIM, MIKE, SHARON, KATY, MARK, MATT, PAT

And, of course:

MARTIN AND MEAGAN

And my readers and guides, in whom I found a sheltered  
(and challenging) academic harbor:

DAGMAR HAMILTON  
ROBERT WILSON

And to all people who live in

NEIGHBORHOODS

In Austin, and all corners of the world.

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AUSTIN, TEXAS (SPRING 1981)

BY

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INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

This is a story about Austin, Texas, highlighting the years between 1979 and 1982 and, not incidentally, how the author grew both personally and professionally. Both aspects of growth are important, and this is the primary research quality by which this report differs from most of its kind. There is a tendency to separate the two, resulting in a kind of modern schizophrenia which removes the individual from a sense of responsibility for reality. It is essential, therefore, that we understand the nature of this "reality" mirage (a concept William Greider discusses later in this introduction) so that the historical description and statistical analysis in Sections II and III of this report may be understood in all their simplicity. This effort is theoretically attempted with these introductory words and the essay on representation in Section I.

This paper portrays the historical and economic context of democratic accountability and responsibility. It is a picture that has been extensively analyzed during the 1970s by voices of the traditional left, which perceive corporate power as the fundamental issue, and from the conservative tradition, which still tends to believe in the importance of "market" mechanisms.<sup>1</sup>

Then in a more populist fashion, this paper will present arguments for a local program that, if implemented and promoted around the state and nation, would offer solutions for democratic action via neighborhood power.

The average American often has great difficulty comprehending the economics of his immediate environment. He knows the air is foul, his job and pension insecure, his taxes up, his political influence marginal. But those who could explain the paradox of a malfunctioning economy with a trillion dollar-plus GNP have been busy elsewhere . . . They traditionally

ignore the multiple and very personal interactions between the corporation and the community . . . For the concentration of corporate activity -- accelerated by the great merger wave of the late 1960s -- intimately affects in two ways communities supporting such economic enterprises.

First, local families and owners can become appendages of national and multinational conglomerates. A system of financial, economic, and political cues by absentee owners replaces community self-rule . . .

Second, rather than absentee-owned firms disregarding a community's welfare, a large local corporation may utterly dominate the town simply by flexing its economic and political muscles. As with absentee ownership, democratic self-determination then becomes more homily than reality.

Examples range from state domination, like Anaconda and Montana Power in Montana and DuPont in Delaware, to company towns which erupted with sudden expansion of infant industries at the turn of the century . . . Employers both underpaid their workers and then exploited them as consumers. It was a closed circle which inspired the popular lament, "St. Peter don't you call me 'cause I can't go, I owe my soul the company store."

The impact of a corporation on a community can be reflected by such factors as civic welfare, political sway, industrial pollution, local taxes, corporate philanthropy, local investment and racial discrimination. And whether the source of the impact stems from absentee-run corporations or local dominants, the damage to the community is often quite similar. 2

The focus of this study, decentralized power systems, has a larger theoretical treatment in the report's first section, but deserves a few words of definition here. Traditionally, Alinsky, progressives, and others, have pointed to the need for creating opposing power alternatives by networking a community of interests, against the local economic establishment. These alternatives, outside of political parties, tend towards personality cults whose maintenance are highly dependent on the initiatives of certain key individuals. There is, therefore, a tendency for this type of networking not to last beyond the interest or fortune of these leaders, or to downgrade the populist potential when conflicts may develop between the leaders' and the community's goodwill. Decentralized power systems, on the other hand, tend to derive their influence through associations with the soil, as it were, by organizing themselves with reference to geographic locations. Leaders in this model tend to get their



authority, more from their elected capacities, such as being president of a neighborhood association, than from their personal influence and resources. There tends to be some intermingling between the two because both, after all, are alternatives to the establishment. The weakness of the decentralized power systems is that, although perhaps more durable than personality networks, they are usually less able to find their self-interest in rapidly changing situations. This can be overcome if media and information markets for a decentralized audience can be institutionalized, but the development of these systems may be viewed as a threat to both the personality networks and the establishment.<sup>3</sup>

Breaking through the "reality" mirage is not an easy or painless experience, but simply may be necessary if for no other reason than the humble need for long-term stability, whether it be around the globe or in urban or rural neighborhoods. William Greider, author of a notorious article on Budget Director David Stockman of the Reagan Administration, wrote in the Washington Monthly in October of 1982 about the nature of the tempest that followed his original article in the November, 1981 Atlantic:

After the controversy subsided, I was left to ponder a different and larger question about the press. If people were so stunned by the narrative reality in "The Education of David Stockman," then what did that tell us about the reality of the "news" conveyed to them each day throughout the year?

... Like the political community it covers, the press is a prisoner of its own conventions, trapped by rules and reflexes that seem useful and necessary to the practitioners but ultimately limit their effectiveness.

... After many years in the news business, I came to the conclusion, independently of the Stockman episode, that the reason for this is that there are fundamental flaws in the way the news media package reality and convey it to the general population. Americans consume more information about public affairs now than at any previous point in history, yet they do not seem to have gained a deeper understanding of events, much less control over them, from this deluge. How, after all, can an ordinary citizen with only a limited interest in public affairs really know what's happening? How does the outsider get beyond the politician's rhetoric and see the deeper reality of ongoing events?

As voters become wiser, however, they are still dependent on the images and information the news media provide them.

... The values slighted (by the press) are the ones probably most valuable to the consumer: context and comprehension. While the best reporters and editors do care about them, the reigning conventions of the news media do not. The governing impulse is to simplify and startle... People seem to "know" everything now -- hearing the same news bulletins repeated around the clock -- but they seem to understand precious little of what's really going on. That is what they crave -- understanding.

The business of news ought to take responsibility for what the consumers of news understand. If that sounds obvious, it is really a radical proposition for news organizations. They see themselves as neutral conveyors, responsible only for delivering the startling facts as they occur. To go further would require the objective journalist to tread beyond the safe limits of what is knowable from daily reporting into the analytical realm where the reporter is obligated to try to make sense of things for the reader.

... In short, I question the narrow rules of objectivity that govern news judgments and inhibit the news media from truly describing the reality before them. As an editor (of the Washington Post), I was acutely aware of the criticisms aroused when newspapers strayed beyond those limits. Readers who long for comprehension will nevertheless complain about analytical stories that offend their version of the truth. They will denounce the reporting as "slanted" and admonish the newspaper to simply report the facts with embellishment. Mostly, this is what newspapers do, with unsatisfactory results.

The best new journalism will take the risks and try to go deeper -- not self-indulgently or for partisan advantage but to share more fully with the reader or TV viewer what the reporters understand to be happening. Often reporters will be wrong... Still, I think the audience will understand if reports try to explain more and startle less. Instead of endlessly asking what's going to happen next, the news media ought to devote more energy to a different question: What really happened? The more that question is asked, the more public officials will be compelled to provide honest answers. Newspapers and TV will discover that the past can be as startling as the present and the future. 4

Of course, as most media participants, Greider tends to make his arguments from the perspective of an insider, believing that the press, like politicians, are major catalysts in change or in the maintenance or creation of a healthy society. The reality is that this change must come from within the population, from within the cumulative awareness of each of us as we change to create and influence markets.

It is difficult to understand strategies for alternate future markets when so little of the past tradition is studied or understood. Who can believe that here in Texas, voters near the turn of this past century once voted in ratios of 70 to 80 percent, compared to the 20 to 50 percent of today's elections.<sup>5</sup> The failure of political scientists to understand the nature of political energy and structure may account for some of the institutionalization of popular voter disfranchisement. In The Establishment in Texas Politics; the Primitive Years, 1938-1957, liberal writer George Norris Green describes the ruling elite of Texas politics as not only including "the business and corporate upper class, but also the governors and, to a lesser extent, the community aristocracies."<sup>6</sup>

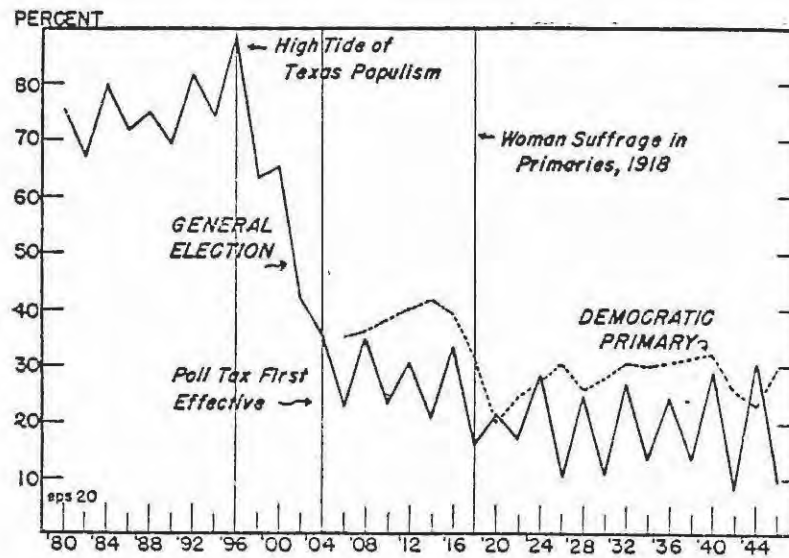
Although Green goes on to spend chapters describing the first two triads of this power structure, he basically and fundamentally ingores the role of local power structures. The sum total of his discription is as follows:

The third element in the Establishment are the local commercial potentates -- bankers, businessmen, lawyers, contractors, oilmen, publishers, and their wives -- who dominate their cities and towns as through these communities were their private clubs. This phenomenon is hardly peculiar to the Lone Star state or to the wartime and postwar period, but local aristocracies in Texas since the depression have probably gotten richer than those in other states and at a faster rate. The city elites are not directly related to the governance of the state, however, and I will not discuss them extensively.<sup>7</sup>

Green ignores the fact that state-wide politics is nothing more than a cumulation of politics in local communities.

In 1949, political scientist V. O. Key, Jr., wrote in his study of Southern Politics about the institutalization of popular voter disfranchisement after the high-tide of Texas Populism in 1886, through such mechanisms as the poll tax, first instituted in 1904. (See Chart I)<sup>8</sup>

CHART I



Nonvoting Came Before the Poll Tax: Percentage of Potential Texas Electorate Voting for Governor in General Elections and Democratic Primaries, 1880-1946

Why, after white supremacy had been generally re-established, did southern states set to work to effect legally what had already been accomplished more or less outside the law? It was suggested earlier that the explanation might be found by the identification of forces driving for disfranchisement. While those elements and their avowed motives differed from state to state, several common features characterized the agitation in all states.

Most interpretations of disfranchisement movements give great weight to the American constitutional mores that place a high value on legality and regularity in government. Illegal, irregular and informal practices, according to this argument, produced painful conflicts with inherited notions of propriety in government. The efficacy of the inner urge toward constitutionality can be debated, but undoubtedly pressures external to the South re-enforced whatever compulsion toward legality that existed. 9

Key argues that such mechanisms as the poll tax were not only meant to limit the ability of blacks to vote, but to limit the ability of a class of whites to vote as well. And more to the point, these laws were not only intended to limit these populations' access to vote, since that was already informally accomplished, but to limit their future potential to political power, either through some combination of issue perspectives as the populists had attempted, or through the intervention of some "outside" force, such as the federal government. These laws were meant to institutionalize the power of the "new" economic establishment; other similar forces were also at work in non-Southern areas, but the character and composition of the forces differed. Populism in the 1890s attempted to find economic solutions to the problems caused by the rise of industrialization and its impact on the agrarian lives of the majority of the population. The Progressives of the early 1900s took the banner of a new nationalism, where "the omnipotent people, breaking through the unreal patterns of nineteenth-century finance capitalism to build a democracy that was in harmony with the reality of industrialism."<sup>10</sup>

As the negro in the South represented a critical sub-group in the balance of power between the forces represented by the economic aristocracy on one hand, and

the rising influence of non-associated agrarian populations, Catholics and recent immigration populations also represented a similar critical threat to the changing nature of the industrialized North.<sup>11</sup>

V. O. Key observed that in the South

... of great practical significance in some states in setting off the movement for disfranchisement was the fact that in the agrarian movement informal restraints on Negro participation in politics had weakened. The Farmers Alliance and the Populist party generated a dispute among whites whose outcome was of such deep concern that both factions breached the consensus to keep the black from the polls. Both Democrats and Populists were willing to bid for Negro support. According to southern tradition Negroes were in a position to hold the balance of power between white factions. ... Nevertheless, the Populists, either alone or in combination with Republications, threatened Democratic supremacy, and a situation emerged in which the plea for white supremacy could be made effectively. The pattern of events varied. In some states, the disfranchising constitutions came on the heels of "agrarian trouble"; in some others, as in Texas, the Populist specter had been laid before suffrage limitations became effective.

The sequence of events in which disfranchisement usually followed divisions among the whites has spawned the legend that the whites, seeing the error of their ways, united to take the vote from the Negro lest he enjoy forever a pivotal position in southern affairs. In later days a contrary interpretation has been advanced, viz., that the conservative or, as they were known at the time, Bourbon Democrats, took the lead in disfranchisement, with the intent of depriving many agrarians radicals of the vote along with the Negro.<sup>12</sup>

Although Key decides that the evidence does not generally favor the latter interpretation, more recent and thorough studies such as Goodwyn's study (Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America, 1976) do indicate that such was probably the intention. In the confusion that is politics, disenfranchisement of poor white farmers, as well as blacks generally, was certainly the long-term result.<sup>13</sup>

Without creating new power paradigms, political forces out of necessity articulate social priorities through existing political structures, interests, and issues. Short of major catastrophes, like national depressions or other major social instabilities, these

structures and issues remain relatively stable from year to year, especially if they are intertwined in a legal structure that is monitored by forces with the economic resources to oversee their development year by year.

As Key concludes:

In some states at least, and perhaps in all, the formal limitations of the suffrage was the roof rather than the foundation of a system of political power erected by a skillful combination of black-belt whites, financial and trade interests, and upper-class citizens of the predominately white countries. First, the resentment against Radical Reconstruction bound most whites together and provided a powerful taboo against political insurgency. Added to this was the organization of white attitudes against blacks; and, finally, the the system of social discipline was re-enforced by invocation of the power of property and of status against the challenge of discontent.

Undoubtly the cumulative effects of these parallel sanctions contributed mightily to the creation of the one-party system. Moreover, their effects live on. It is impossible to speculate on the nature of political behavior without attributing to events long past their profound influence in the establishment of current habits of action. Yet the piling up of compulsions toward conformity with the South happened to be fortuitously supplemented by events on the national political scene. The nomination of Bryan, in 1896, and the Democratic theft of Populist principles, left the southern Populists high and dry. Their alternative was to return to the Democratic party, which was controlled locally by their natural political antagonists, or to join the Republican party, also controled by their natural political antagonists, northern business and finance. The return of the Populists to the Democratic fold and the inability of the Republican party to build a southern wing threw all political debate into the Democratic party. One-party politics, re-inforced by suffrage limitations, cannot arouse the electoral interest that accompanies two-party politics. 14

This analysis tends to minimize the common factors of decreasing voter interest nationally, even where there are strong two-party competitions, and the relatively strong ideological debates that occur before primaries in even one-party states. However, since Key made these observations, the nature of politics in Texas has again undergone strong federal pressures that have helped develop two-party politics. Many of the Bourbon Democrats are finding a happy home in the emerging Republican Party, and there are those who say that the Democratic Party needs to

redevelop its populist base if it intends to maintain the political power it formerly used to control through its domination by local aristocracies.

In 1972, Jack Newfield and Jeff Greenfield's A Populist Manifesto; the Making of a New Majority was published. It listed three essential beliefs of the American populist tradition dating back to Jefferson and Tom Paine: 1) Wealth and power are unequally and unfairly distributed in America; 2) The key to building any new majority in American politics is a coalition of self-interest between blacks and low- and moderate-income whites because the real division in this country is not between generations or between races, but between the rich who have power and those blacks and whites who have neither power nor property; 3) Conceptually and historically, the new populism differs from both the New Frontier and the New Left because it is a synthesis of many radical and some conservative ideas.<sup>15</sup>

These authors cite as a central problem of American politics during the last 25 years being "not that the country has grown more conservative, but that liberalism has grown more conservative."<sup>16</sup> Here the writers get into the problem of just what is the modern meaning of words. What is liberalism if it has grown more conservative, and how does it differ from populism, if the latter is a combination of radical and conservative ideas. The cause of the problem lies in a combination of circumstances. Among them are the sporadic and disjointed nature of the various manifestations of the populist and liberal mentality which have voiced themselves in the last fifty years (such as the undertones of populism in New Deal under Rossevelt, and Truman, the occasional appearance of such isolated individuals as Huey Long and Senator Estes Kefauver, and mis-interpretations and distortions of the Populists as being something between demigods and utopians). But modern writers are turning a more receptive ears toward the 1890s populists:



It was toward the end of the nineteenth century, with the concentration of power in private corporate leviathans, that the political hunger for reform crystalized in the populist movement . . . Farmers found themselves forced to ship their produce on monopoly railroads at outrageous charges, or let their goods rot. Labor found itself forced to work in wretched conditions for almost nothing, and to be cheated by the "company stores", which were often the only places a miner or worker could buy food and clothing.

The result was the growth of populism -- a remarkably mixed bag of eccentrics and prophets. There was much that was wrong with the People's Party and its leaders: conspiracy theories, rather than economic analysis, sometimes fueled their indignation; provincialism and paranoia were endemic; the fear of eastern combines had echoes of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and nativism. In the South, the original fusion of poor whites and poor blacks advocated by Georgia's Tom Watson turned ugly after Watson, repeatedly robbed of the congressional seat he has legitimately won, was driven by outrage and madness into violent racism . . .

Other parts of the populist program were equally ahead of their time -- even Watson's early career anticipated a kind of southern politics that is only now beginning to emerge. The populist's 1892 platform called for the nationalization of banks, utilities, and railroads (whose influence in Texas was the original impetus for the formation of the Railroad Commission under the banner of Democrat Governor James Hogg), and urged the redistribution of land; it endorsed the graduated income tax, direct elections of senators, and women's suffrage. 17

According to Newfield and Greenfield, the main problem with modern liberalism, is that liberals have evolved an elitist mentality.<sup>18</sup> Trying to separate themselves from the concepts of "ideology" (perhaps from experiences learned from McCarthyism) and articulating non-economic "quality of life" issues, liberals degenerated into confusing culture with politics, and sociology with economics.<sup>19</sup>

Although Newfield and Greenfield articulate a good general national "populist agenda" -- such as breaking up the largest corporations, stronger anti-trust laws, prohibiting interlocking directorates among banks, public ownership of telephone and electric power companies, breaking the industry-regulatory agency revolving-door-syndrome, encouraging cooperatives, land-use limitations, adequate public media access, and increased citizen involvement in police, crime, union,

medicine, and foreign policy issues -- the authors fail to articulate a strong local community agenda. Going up against the banks is not something a practicing politician does unless his or her political market base demands it. For the development of practical power-base alternatives, we need to understand what kinds of systems or structures can be created so that these kinds of market bases are not only created, but work effectively because they help populist bankers survive better than monopolistic ones.

Developing power paradigms for local communities to use is essential for the stable development of populist issues. At one point, while discussing the issues of urban and rural land reform, Newfield and Greenfield belittle the influence of zoning laws:

Unlimited power to use land has also brought us to a social crisis. A town, wishing to insulate itself from those without money, legislates two- and three-acre zoning requirements, which means only the rich can live in the community -- and that low- and middle-income housing must be built on the already overcrowded, high-priced property of the central city. 20

I found in my Austin experience, however, that there was probably no more effective tool available than the zoning laws for populist organizing. Monitoring zoning changes has been sufficient reason alone to begin neighborhood groups in both inner-city and outlying areas. A more appropriate focus might be that mechanisms be found that more efficiently discover the community welfare, rather than focusing on "the best available tools" limitations. In scenes almost out of Alice in Wonderland, developers in Austin have argued against such restrictive zoning around the city's watersheds sensitive to urban runoff. Environmentalists have had to support these kinds of restrictions as the best available mechanisms to minimize what studies show is the factor most correlated to watershed pollution -- the number of people who live

in it. Developers call this elitism, a policy recommendation that will exclude the creation of multi-economic neighborhoods. Of course both the developers and the environmentalists are right, but with a real difference in terms of power duration. The environmentalists have been able to have the issue publically debated because many local citizens have been concerned about the future of Austin's drinking water. Meanwhile, with a basic exclusionary strategy, the environmentalists will likely find their future policy options more limited as the press of life distracts the attention of the public at large. But the developers likely will be there in the future because there is land to develop or manage. Although they may never develop the land for a multi-economic population, they may in the long-run get less restrictive zoning for higher density-development and higher profit margins.

As Saul Alinsky observes in Rules for Radicals:

Change comes from power, and power comes from organization. In order to act, people must act together.

Power is the reason for being of organization. When people agree on certain religious ideas and want the power to propagate their faith, they organize and call it a church. When people agree on certain political ideas and want the power to put them into practice, they organize and call it a political party. The same thing holds across the board. Power and organization are one and the same.

The organizer knows, for example, that his biggest job is to give the people the feeling that they can do something, that while they may accept the idea that organization means power, they have to experience this idea in action. The organizer's job is to begin to build confidence and hope in the idea of organization and thus in the people themselves; to win limited victories, each of which will build confidence and the feeling that "if we can do so much with what we have now just done, think what we will be able to do when we get big and strong." It is almost like taking a prize-fighter up the road to the championship -- you have to do it very carefully and selectively pick this opponents, knowing full-well that certain defeats would be demoralizing and end his career. Sometimes the organizer may find such despair among the people that he has to put up a cinch fight . . .

The job, then, is getting the people to move, to act, to participate; in short, to develop and harness the necessary power to effectively conflict with the prevailing patterns and change them. When those prominent in the status quo turn and label (the organizer) an "agitator" they are completely correct, for that is, in one word, your function -- to agitate to the point of conflict . . . 21

An analogy might be found in the labor organizer who simultaneously breeds conflict and builds a power structure. The war between the trade union and management is resolved either through a strike or negotiation. Either method involves the use of power; the economic power of the strike or the threat of it, which results in successful negotiation . . .22

The organization has to be used in every possible sense as an educational mechanism, but education is not propaganda. Real education is the means by which the membership will begin to make sense out of their relationship as individuals to the organization and to the world they live in, so that they can make informed and intelligent judgements. The stream of specific programs of the organization provides a never-ending series of specific issues and situations that create a rich field for the learning process.

The concern and conflict about each specific issue leads to a speedily enlarging area of interest. Competent organizers should be sensitive to these opportunities. Without the learning process, the building of an organization . . . becomes simply the substitution of one power group for another . . .23

There needs to be an integration of the lessons of the Ralph Naders and the Saul Alinskys into a coherent strategy for a local populist agenda. Opportunities should be built upon each other, so that limited resources may be wisely, effectively, and economically utilized.

Alinsky tends to have a "professional" relation to the people he organizes. His methods work well from the perspective of an outside organizer trying to motivate a disinterested community, but have worked best in building vocal client populations.

Establishing a multi-faceted issue agenda that links people in their community, in their homes and neighborhoods, with the power and responsibility of democratic government will be, in the final analysis, the only way to involve people in government. Neighborhood governing structures, like neighborhood planning units in Atlanta, Georgia, or neighborhood zoning advisory councils (as allowed, but not

utilized under Texas state law), should be implemented if grass-roots people are going to have the basic information to formulate future solutions with sufficient power to be publically and practically considered.

Perhaps Alinsky points the way ahead in this section from Rules for Radicals:

Activists and radicals, on and off our college campuses -- people who are committed to change -- must make a complete turnabout. With rare exceptions, our activists and radicals are products of and rebels against our middle-class society. Our rebels have contemptuously rejected the values and way of life of the middle class. They have stigmatized it as materialistic, decadent, bourgeois, degenerate, imperialistic, war-mongering, brutalized, and corrupt. They are right; but we must begin from where we are if we are to build power for change, and the people are in the big middle-class majority. Therefore, it is useless self-indulgence for an activist to put his past behind him. Instead, he should realize the priceless value of his middle-class experience. His middle-class identity, his familiarity with the values and problems, are invaluable for organization of his "own people." He has the background to go back, examine, and try to understand the middle-class way, now he has a compelling reason to know, for he must know if he is to organize . . . Turning back to the middle-class as an organizer, he will find that everything has a different meaning and purpose . . . Instead of hostile rejection he is seeking bridges of communication and unity over the gaps, generation, value, or others . . . All this and more must be grasped and used to radicalize parts of the middle-class. 24

Finally, an article in the 1979 issue of Social Policy lists four steps in rediscovering the neighborhoods' and their allies lost political voice: 1) They must move beyond lobbying and single issue activism into the electoral area; 2) They must in the process build coalitions across ethnic groups and the labor movement; 3) They must find ways to build a mutual interdependence between issue activism and electoral activism; and 4) They must create a tailor-made set of government services which actually serve community needs and in the process strengthen a new constituency for the public sector. The author adds, "Electoral politics is where the race to organize political power is ultimately decided. American politics runs on

votes and money; lacking the latter, neighborhood advocates and those with a stake in quality public services must be able to produce the former."<sup>24a</sup>

Section I: ON REPRESENTATION

### Section I: ON REPRESENTATION

This essay is going to try to cut through a lot of ideas and theory in an ironic effort to describe reality; a true dilemma since my cutlass will be ideas and theories and words, all of which I have had great pleasure working with in the past. Unfortunately, I do not believe that my concepts of representation will be readily understood, although the ideas and concepts are simple indeed. The difficulty lies in cutting through the intellectual garbage that is inherent in too much of the jargon of technical and expert language.

As an attempt to overcome these barriers, in this section of my report I will rely heavily on a personal experiential description of democratic and political representation as a means to describe democratic institutions potential in a larger, dangerous, and vital world.

Politics sets social priorities in the real world; by the kind of representation that develops in our political world determines in many ways who lives and who dies, who thinks highly of themselves and who thinks little, what one thinks of others, and the like. There are, of course, tolerated degrees and levels of societal violence that are allowed; and in dynamic (and at times traumatic) situations which characterize all social systems (which institutions like government are designed to moderate), sometimes a violence threshold is reached and new arrangements are called for among the groups that constitute society in order to maintain the integrity of the whole community.

We are in an era where the heightened risks imposed by elements in today's society do threaten the integrity and very survival of the whole community. As Barry Commoner wrote in the early 70's:



It has become apparent that we are in the midst of a revolution in public attitudes towards the acceptability of levels of environmental deterioration which have for a long time been tolerated without general complaint... The public has become aware that the new environmental pollutants represent an assault by the present generation not merely on involuntary living victims -- who have some recourse, however difficult -- but on generations not yet born and therefore utterly defenseless. 25

To paraphrase a famous quote from an old movie: "What we have here is a failure to represent (democratically)."

#### The Need For Personal Risk To Develop Personal Perspective

Most individuals with ties to independent thinking tend to be isolated in today's world, through "success" selection, or they go crazy, turn on themselves, turn on others, or otherwise become ineffective. Many who participate in the political or educational areas have lost sense of the goals of representation in a democratic society; what they end up doing, if I may be crass in characterizing a complex situation, is cultivate one of two positions. They become experts at tying together the existing de facto relationships among power blocs, or as is generally the case, they find for themselves a little economic niche which leadership and power blocs help to create in a process which some of my fellow professionals watch and assist out of a helpless, detached and cynical interest.

Thus we are beginning to approach some of the reasons for my at times unique perspectives on representation; that is, my personal motivations and their influence in the development and maintenance of my ideas.

Probably a good place to start is the fact that I have had little interest in money, sex, and power as ends in themselves -- there is something substantially interesting in life which I pursue, and which is more important to me than any of

these goals per se. It is not that money, sex, and power have no their place in life, or more importantly, in my life; it's just that too frequently these means, tools, or measures of certain energy are confused for the more basic and interesting reality of the whole.<sup>26</sup> In the same way, manifestations or rituals of representation can be confused for representation, causing detached and cynical observers to mistake the ghost for a body.<sup>27</sup>

One of the objections I frequently hear from technicians is that my ideas are not based in reality because, with my way of thinking, I am going to find extreme difficulty in surviving and getting a job. The very nature of my ideas is threatening to the "status quo." It's a valid point, and an "obstacle" which I have in the past accepted. Representative development demands economic and political access and the building process must occur in incremental steps. If the ultimate goal is to be truly representative, the early building process must tolerate unconventional, as well as conventional individuals and ideas.

For myself, thanks in part to my LBJ School training, I know that "representation" has various rising threshold levels (or "economies of scale"), and for someone like myself, a number of threshold levels must be passed before I might be considered a constructive democratic technician instead of an agitator.

Likewise, it may become the case that I will fall into the mode of professionals who compensate their knowledge with the economic rewards of the system; but, I have no need to do that for this paper. Besides, I have a very reasonable belief that my "theory" and concepts are based in reality because of their success in real world situations right here in Austin.

So with this kind of honesty before us and out of the way, let us continue to discuss what "representation" is, and what it might become in the face of coming

social changes from around the globe to right here at home. The manipulations and the perceptions of change, and the nature of representation which we will develop in the next ten to thirty years will have no small part to play in whether we will survive as a world beyond my generation.

Personal Risk Or "How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Started Thinking on my Feet"

Developing representative paradigms requires organizing skills, of which there are a number of different models. One quality that needs more attention than is traditionally offered in programs like the LBJ School, is developing the ability of individuals to take personal risks and responsibility. It is difficult for a governmental bureaucrat to appear before a neighborhood group, face their distrust, and not be personally affronted at what the neighborhood people think the bureaucrat represents -- an individual that is trained to thwart their interests. Of course, there is some attention given to training individuals in techniques of crowd control, in techniques of creating arenas where "citizen participation processes" can be utilized, and where certain issues can be articulated via the "political" process and directed toward some sort of resolution. (See examples of citizen participation charts in the Appendix)

But organizers of representative systems need to be comfortable with taking personal risks; being comfortable with a comprehensive way of thinking that allows them to stand against the crowd, and yet at the same time move in such ways that do not isolate them from the group. Such organizers need to be able to help individuals continue thinking in their own self-interest in ways that emphasize their common interest; each individual has more power and influence because of the increasing power of the group. The organizer needs to develop, in other words, leadership skills

that allow the groups to respect him or her because they can see that their own needs and goals are being represented; that the leader is following their interests.

In Austin, the neighborhood movement has attempted to develop a local structure such that informed citizen experts can determine the value of technological decisions. At the root of the neighborhood philosophy is the notion of self-interest in its best and most democratic sense. While it may be risky, in traditional partisan terms, to move in this direction, unless we cultivate an understanding of risk in our own lives, we lessen our effectiveness and understanding in the larger world.

As one writer on representation points out:

No institutional system can guarantee the essence, the substance of representation. . . Madison's dictum that "the interest of the man must be connected with the consitutional rights of the place" has merit, but here is also merit in Tussman's, that in his capacity as citizen a man must "be connected with the public interest, not with his private needs," that he "is asked public, not private questions: 'Do we need more public schools?' not 'Would I like to pay more taxes?'" For this reason, too, we need to retain the ideal of the substance of representation in addition to our institutalization of it. Without reference or such an ideal, how could we teach those intended to operate the institutions what we require of them? How else, indeed, could we remember it ourselves? 28 (emphasis mine)

Risk is inherent in today's society. Why then, do we seem so hesitant to address the issues of risk in our own lives? If we do not, risk issues in the general society will continue to be "resolved" by subjecting society to more dangers and unwarranted risk.

Of interest here, and a keynote in this essay on representation is the spring 1981 Austin City Council elections. As a new community journal wrote of itself in the fall of 1981:

River City Currents is prepared to take risks, in the belief that "business as usual" can only guarantee a narrowing of options for tomorrow. New thinking, new methods of participation and a new level of democratic communications are necessary in every field in order for solutions to be

found to the problems of congestion, pollution, unemployment, housing, energy costs, and the assorted human miseries which increasingly are the human condition... Our (the Current's) efforts begin in the wake of a spring City Council election in which Austin voters showed their dissatisfaction with "business as usual" by taking the risk of electing a Council widely perceived as ultra-liberal and eager for innovation. 29

As another writer points out:

The increasing technological sophistication and convenience of our lives is accompanied by increasing risks to our well-being... However, our increased technological sophistication in detecting both hazardous agents and their effects has also increased our understanding that most risks are public goods (or rather bads)... Indeed, upon examination, it is difficult to find risks which do not have important social components.... Scientific and technical advances will help us reduce many risks but will in turn create new hazards, and citizens will turn toward government to help control them. Formulation of effective policy responses to risks to health, safety, and the environment will present a challenge to policymakers for some time to come. 30

It is my contention, however, that public risk management need not continue in a hopeless, self-generating pattern.

"Well," said Old Pat, "No one said it would be easy."

It has been my unique perspective, as I have nurtured and been nurtured by the neighborhood movement in Austin, that "traditional" political activists and experts are, in significant part, maladaptive personalities. They survive in a culture and utilize power concepts and systems which are meant to have a much more limited representative function as compared to the multi-faceted informal supportive structures of "community" politics.

Personal ethical considerations in politics remain elusive, because they must be considered from the situational context, and because like beauty, ethics must be considered in the view of the observer. In Rules for Radicals, Alinsky's cites his eleven rules on the ethics of political actions:

1. One's concern with the ethics of means and ends varies inversely with one's personal interest in the issue.
2. The judgement of the ethics of means is dependent upon the political position of those sitting in judgement.
3. In war the end justifies almost any means.
4. Judgement must be made in the context of the time in which the action occurred and not from any other chronological vantage point.
5. Concern with ethics increases with the number of means available and vice versa.
6. The less important the end to be desired, the more one can afford to engage in ethical evaluations of means.
7. Generally success or failure is a mighty determinant of ethics.
8. The morality of a means depends upon whether the means is being employed at a time of imminent defeat or imminent victory.
9. Any effective means is automatically judged by the opposition as being unethical.
10. You do what you can with what you have and clothe it with moral garments.
11. Goals must be phrased in general terms like "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,"; "Of the Common Welfare"; "Pursuit of Happiness" or "Bread and Peace."

These ethical considerations are considerably different than those most people might recognize from high school civic courses.

Neighborhood politics has provided me with a way of thinking and living without which I could have (and I recognize the danger in political life where one always might) also developed some of the same pathological tendencies which many of my political contemporaries seem to take for granted. To move in and manipulate issues before the community, there is always a corresponding trade-off -- you must be ready, willing, and able to be manipulated.

Indeed, as pointed out in Citizen Participation in the American Federal System (published by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1979), "the practical effects of most of (the citizen participation reform) efforts (of the past) have rarely lived up to the promises initially held out for them."<sup>31</sup>

Among the reasons for this result is:

Above all, a blindness to the perennial pattern of elites, factions, and power plays under either "unreformed" or "reformed" political or governmental conditions, which in turn reflect a naivete about the nature of power and of inequality in our (or any) system. 32

Information Access, Nature of Trust,  
Respect, And the "Politics Of Place"

Let me turn to the following excerpts from The Gamesman by Michael Maccoby (1976), a study of four personality types in the modern corporation:

Said one corporate manager: "People are afraid of freedom, and it's damn hard to innovate in a blue-sky environment. I'm most distressed when I don't understand the corporate strategy. Everyone is uneasy and needs to know where things are going."

A number of points or comments need to be made about this statement. One, he talked about sincere interest in people in terms of enjoying people and helping them get ahead. This assumes that getting ahead is the most important goal for everyone... Second, (the manager) believes people are afraid of freedom and can't innovate unless they're motivated to do so in terms of the corporate goals....The truth is (the manager) never questioned the basic system. He saw people as weak only because they did not understand the corporate strategy and not adapt themselves to it. Thus, they needed to be pushed, juiced up, and "helped."

....Many other managers.... talk about the loss of individualism and the importance of being an individual, but they go around trying to organize everyone so that nobody else can be an individual. What they want is autonomy for themselves. This means having their own shop within the organization, and being free of bureaucratic pressures, and being pushed around by those higher up in the system. They rationalize their ambitions and character needs by seeing other people as weak and in need of direction and leadership...

(The manager) ignores evidence that craftsman can work together if they are all committed to a project. He conceives of most workers as

gifted school children frightened of freedom and in need of direction. As long as he can believe this, his views seem reasonable. If he respected the craftman's longing for autonomy, frustrated by the company system, then the contradictions within his own value system would become apparent...

The most malignant reason why the 'heart' does not develop is because the individual hardens his heart.... The heart becomes perverted as the will is directed toward power.... Other people are used as objects or as puppets. Even if they wanted to, hard-hearted people could not 'listen' to the emotions of others because they would find it unbearable to experience the fear, envy, hatred, revenge they have provoked....

This is not a book about how to change corporations to develop the 'heart'. Although what I have learned makes me skeptical that this is possible, there are ways to limit corporate practices which are manipulative, exploitative, humiliating, or cause needless anxiety. 33

It should be no wonder, then, that such attitudes exist in modern versions of democratic theory and function. As Dr. Jeff Smith, a respected Texas pollster, wrote in 1980 in what should be a classic study of voter behavior:

Even a cursory comparison of modern democratic theory with classical democratic thought reveals a substantially smaller role for the average citizen in the former. The institutions of representation that form the heart of modern models are a sharp contrast to the direct personal participation of citizens in Athenian democracy. In many other ways as well, the modern citizen is typically allocated a very limited role in directing the course of democratic government. The restricted status of participation is most stridently expressed in those theories that attribute to the apathetic citizen a functional role in guaranteeing the stability of the democratic political system.

The justification for the limited role of the modern citizen in government decision making is typically derived from one or both of two somewhat overlapping arguments. The first invokes certain technical or practical objections to mass participation: logistical problems in assembling the people, the scale of modern American government, and the requirement of technical expertise for dealing with many modern issues. The Greeks, it is said, lived in simpler times when government dealt with problems familiar to the average citizen. Such considerations are of obvious relevance to the contemporary political experience.

A second line of argument that has appeared in virtually every critique of participatory democracy, and that serves as a cornerstone of modern elitist theories of democracy, involves an attack upon the decision-making capacities of the average citizen... The image of the mob activated by a momentary passion is contrasted throughout the Federalist Papers with the reasoned deliberations of republican institutions in Hamilton and Madison's scheme for limiting public control of government.



Schumpeter's redefinition of democracy turns on this rejection of the classical theory of democracy, in part on the ground that that theory involves "the practical necessity of attributing to the will of the individual an independence and a rational quality that are altogether unrealistic..."

The social-psychological analyses of voting behavior and the Schumpeterian reformulation of democratic theory proved to be mutually reinforcing in the 20 years following publication of the latter. The findings of the Columbia and Michigan schools and others confirmed Schumpeter's dismal appraisal of the voter's interest and information. The revision of democratic theory provided a ready-made framework for the interpretation of these findings, at least insofar as their implications for democratic government were concerned. Because voters are so poorly informed and apathetic, it was argued, democracy must be restricted to the popular selection of competing individuals who will bear the direct responsibility for making decisions.

Investor-voter theory -- or more specifically, the set of assumptions from which the theory is derived -- calls into question these links between the capacities of the individual and the structure of the political system. Whereas Schumpeter based his work in part on the assumption that expecting rational behavior is "altogether unrealistic," the investor-voter is assumed to be rational...

The discrepancy between this claim that voters are rational and the conventional wisdom that voters are not rational arises from different applications of the notion of rationality. Schumpeter's rationality is an ideal standard applied to a specific context. Whether or not they actually are to be found in the classical literature, the expectations of behavior captured in the naive model of the democratic citizen are peculiar to a classical democracy. In Schumpeter's argument, these standards are lifted from their classical context and invested with universal status.

In the investor-voter theory, it is not only assumed that individuals are rational, but also that the content of rational behavior is specific to its context (emphasis mine). Thus the standards of rational behavior for the investor-voter are derived from the cultural setting and institutional structure of American presidential elections (the measure used in Smith's study). Not surprisingly, given the vast differences in the cultural settings and institutional structures of classical and American democracies, the investor-voter's rational behavior is quite distinct from the ideal...

It is important to be specific here about the relationship between rationality and good citizenship, especially with regard to the role of self-interest. Self-interest may be distinguished from selfish interest; one may recognize a personal interest qua community member in a good society and behave accordingly quite rationally, even when a form of altruism or self-sacrifice is required. Standards of good citizenship ought to bear an identifiable relationship to the good society, namely, they ought to have a rational quality.

The author would argue that the institutions, processes, and cultural setting of Athenian democracy lent a rational quality to the expectations of its citizens. Where policy making and administration was the direct, personal responsibility of each citizen, and where the activities of the whole society were central to the lives of individual members, the

links between the informed, active participation of all and the quality of the individual's life could be easily apprehended. Indeed, participation per se was valued for its effects in promoting the widespread development and distribution of civic virtue...

For classical democracy, standard of good citizenship encouraged individual contributions to the collective goods that were realized through political activity. In contemporary American politics the connections between such behavior and its putative benefits do not emerge with the same force. First, activity in the public sector is frequently regarded as an obstacle to the good society as it is a means of achieving the same. Second, the average citizen does not bear personal responsibility for policy choices; the choice of a republican form of government two centuries ago ensured this quality and subsequent developments have extended it. Finally, the possibility of affecting policy through informed voting appears quite doubtful to a large proportion of the American public...

What this analysis does suggest is that it is inappropriate to draw the conclusion that Schumpeter and others find in the gap between the actual behavior of voters and the ideal, namely, that the American electorate must be regarded as a fixed quantity and the political system must be designed to accommodate their shortcomings... In order for the U.S. to see more voters who meet the standards of democratic citizenship, it may be necessary to provide the democratic context where such behavior is rational (emphasis mine).

The recent discovery of the new issue voter has carried some form of this message and stimulated many voting analysts to reexamine the relationship between voter behavior and institutions. Unfortunately, this rethinking process typically has concentrated on marginal reform of the existing institutional structure and ignored the possibility (or the necessity) for more fundamental change...

Consider, for example, the program offered by Gerald Pomper. He argues that a new era of responsive politics is possible in the United States because:

'Issue preferences have... become more coherent. Voters grasp the connections between different policy questions, rather than reacting to each matter separately. Their outlook on politics is more integrated, as they can more readily place preferences on individual issues into a general ideological framework and also can see (political) parties in the same framework.'

... One effect of the implementation of these proposals may well be, as Pomper suggests, to present the voter with a choice of two coherent programs. But the price of this coherence would be an increasingly rigid political system, constrained to competition along a single dimension of ideological conflict, and increasingly dominated by two sets of party leaders with no claims to democratic legitimacy of their own...

Information costs are a significant factor affecting the quality of individual participation... While the quantity of information to which individuals have free access has increased, many cost barriers to a well-informed public remain. For example, increased public exposure has led many government decision makers to restrict in various ways the information available, especially on controversial or embarrassing decisions... At the same time, the increasingly technological nature of many of the

questions placed before the public... more than offsets the advantages of free access to information with prohibitive costs of assimilation.

If citizens are buried under an avalanche of information, they are little better off than they would be in the dark. A comprehensive program of institutional reform would include mechanisms for subordinating technological issues to more fundamental policy considerations in a way that would both enable the nonexpert to direct the experts and obviate the technocratic objection to citizen participation in such questions as nuclear power development and economic policy. At the same time, citizens must be encouraged to pay the costs of informing themselves on such issues.

The return side of the participation investment is a function of both the stakes in the decision and the efficiency of the individual. . .

The point is to suggest that voters would respond to changes in their environment, but that the type of institutional reform necessary to affect significantly the participation of the citizenry is more fundamental than mere tinkering with campaign finance laws and the like, and comprehensive reform must involve multiple dimensions of the political context.

There is, finally, an even more significant determinant of the investment value of political activity: its cultural setting. Just as individuals' valuations of various nonessential goods is affected by the cultural milieu (for example, through the effects of advertising), so too are their evaluations of political activity at least partially determined by its place in their culture. These effects are well captured in a pair of quotations from individuals representing quite different cultures who attempted to put into words the place of political activity in their respective societies. The first is a relic of the ancient Greek democracy, circa 439 B.C., from the famous funeral oration of Pericles:

'Our citizens attend both to public and private duties, and do not allow absorption in their own various affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's. We differ from other states in regarding the man who holds aloof from the public life not as "quiet" but as useless; we decide or debate carefully and in person, all matters of policy, holding, not that words and deeds go ill together, but that acts are foredoomed to failure when undertaken undiscussed.'

The second quotation is a description of contemporary American society by a noted student of political participation, Lester Milbrath:

'Modern society... has evolved a very high division of labor, not only in the economic sector but also in politics and government. Political roles have become highly differentiated and specialized. This enables some persons (elected and appointed officials) to devote their full attention to the complex public issues facing modern society. This division of labor allows others (most of the citizens) to pay relatively little attention to public affairs. Politics and government are a peripheral rather than a central

concern in the lives of most citizens in modern Western societies. As long as public officials perform their tasks well, most citizens seem content not to become involved in politics.'

... The fundamental reasons why the American investor-voter falls so far short of the ideal of active, informed participation are to be found in the cultural attitudes displayed in these descriptions. There is first, the communitarian sentiments expressed in the Greek priority of social over individual affairs, and the reversal of those priorities in the modern case. Second, there is the personal responsibility of the individual for political activity in Athens, contrasted to modern society's "division of labor." Finally, there is the implicit Greek conception of the public space as the arena for the community's pursuit of consensual solutions affecting the whole community, versus the modern cultural conception of the political system as the locus of competition between groups pursuing policies enhancing their own interests.

Whether meaningful reforms of institutions can be realized independently of changes in the cultural setting of American politics, or whether one must precede the other, is not readily apparent. It does seem clear, however, that while individuals may be motivated to more active participation by institutional reforms that promise to increase the returns from their investments in elections, or by an outsider candidate promising such reform. The possibilities of realizing an ideal democratic citizenry are inextricably tied to the cultural setting of political activity. (Local organizers like Saul Alinsky managed to stimulate participation among their clients by creating for them, on a small scale, a new cultural setting for their political action within an organization). For those who would encourage a more democratic American politics, it would seem that the greater challenge lay not in the reform of institutions, but in the reform of more fundamental values. <sup>34</sup> (emphasis mine)

Finally, the following excerpts from an article in the Summer 1981 issue of CoEvolution Quarterly provide a good comprehensive view of the politics of place. If you can cut through some of the author's Libertarian attitudes that creep in, especially when he speaks of moving beyond local communities, then this piece seems to be a fairly concise description of a theory of community power:

About the politics of place certain points may be made: The politics of place does not discourage thinking intergalactically, . . . is damage limiting, . . . can be knowledgeable, . . . can be experimental, . . . can be flexible, . . . involves people, . . . is gently federative, . . . and is no more ineffectual than any other kind of aspirant politics . . .

Or name your own.

And, of course, that is the great point. The politics of place is the politics of your place, not mine. After you have understood and raised your own issues, after your neighbors have done the same, then and only then can we come to some sort of decent time in which our two places, and as many other places as are interested, can share, compare, cooperate . . .

The politics of place does not demand but certainly does not deny the possibilities of running for local political offices. In what I believe to be the best recent philosophical statement made on local politics, Murray Bookchin has written:

"If a decentralist opposition to the state, indeed, to the regimentation and militarization of American society, is to be meaningful, the term "decentralization" itself must acquire form, structure, substance, and coherence. Words like "human scale" and "holism" become a deadening cliché when they are not grasped in terms of their full logic.

What is the authentic locus of this project? Certainly, it is not the present day workplace -- the factory and office -- which itself has become a hierarchical, technologically obsolete arena for mobilizing labor. Nor can the locus for this project be the isolated commune and cooperative, despite their invaluable features as the gymnasia for learning the arts and resolving the problems of direct action, self-management, and social interaction.

The authentic locus is in a conflict between society and the state. And just as the centralized state today means the national state, so society today increasingly come to mean the local community -- the township, the neighborhood, and the municipality. The demand for "local control" has ceased to mean parochialism and insularity. In the force field generated by an increasingly centralized and corporatized economy, the cry for a recovery of community, autonomy, relative self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and direct democracy has become the last residue of social resistance to increasing state authority. The overwhelming emphasis the media has given to local autonomy, to militant municipalism, as refuges for middle-class parochialism -- often with racist and economically exclusionary restrictions -- conceals the latent radical thrust that can give a new vitality to the towns, neighborhoods, cities, and counties against the national state.

By the same token, the municipality may easily become the point of departure for a broad-based, directly democratic, truly popular, and humanly scaled constellation of social institutions that, by their very logic, stand in sharp opposition to increasingly all-pervasive political institutions . . . (The municipality) forms the bedrock for direct social relations, face-to-face democracy, and the personal intervention of the individual, the neighborhood or commune and cooperative in the formation of a new public sphere.

. . . It is crucial at this time for any movement that seeks to be socially relevant to the unique nature of the American crisis to recognize the meaning and significance of the civic terrain -- to

explore, develop, and help reconstitute its social bedrock. Local politics is not foredoomed to become state politics. To help organize a neighborhood assembly, . . . to draw clear distinctions between policy formulation and administrative coordination, challenge civic bureaucrats in every form, to educate the community in mutual aid, finally to foster confederal relations between assemblies within a municipality and between municipalities in open defiance of the national state -- this program constitutes "politics" that, by its very logic, yields the negation of conventional politics . . .'

But, adds Hess:

I feel that there is another dimension to the politics of place that is important. The politics of party and privilege is always the politics of rights. These rights are proclaimed and enforced by agencies of brute force, the police. They may be pleasant agencies or they may be harsh, and thus mark off the cosmetic difference between autocracy and representative democracy, legitimized monopoly on violence.

. . . It is the proclamation and enforcement of rights that is the very business of the politics of the nation and of national parties . . .

Now look at rights in the natural order. There are none . . .

The politics of place because it is essentially neighborly, can attend to something that I consider to be considerably more satisfying as a human proposition: responsibility.

To the extent that social discussions focus on our responsibilities in the community and, inevitably, therefore, on whether we even want to be in it or not, then we can be discussing volitional commitments. To the extent that they focus on rights, we are discussing legalistic commitments which experience has shown, acquire a life of their own, and sadly, a life that becomes superior to the lives of the people bound under them . . .

At any rate, you can make a local case for responsibilities, shared and volitional responsibilities, while you can never make such cases in national politics. There is no volition in the nation. The nation says you must. The neighborhood says you should, and the good neighbor says either okay or here's why I won't -- and the discussion can proceed from there. . .

In some sweet by and by when local liberty has been achieved, of course, you might still worry that one community would go berserk and raid a neighboring one. It certainly could happen. It also would certainly be more desirable than having a nation-state do either to the same community or to another nation-state -- the difference between a brawl and a battlefield . . .

But, actually, most such concerns for what if this and what if that are fairly silly. We live in a place already. That place is in a region. The region is in a nation and it, in turn, is on this planet . . .

Such a turning (towards local community) is to do what the Industrial Workers of the World once urged its members to do: to make the new world in the shell of the old. A better place, I believe, than to try to make it either on the scaffold or in the dreamy midair of theoretical proclamation . . .

You live in a place today. You do have neighbors. You do have ways formal and informal to talk about change or preservation . . .

And, always, offering sensible alternatives and not just criticism. If you feel that the trash can be collected better by a private company or a co-op than by city workers; go into business and not just in a rage. If you don't do anything, do something else. If you resent land speculation, join with your neighbors in land ownership. If you pity the hungry, feed them . . .

And what else can I do? Whenever I think of an answer, I do that too. But I'm mostly at home and I like it best here and it's where I see the world from. And so I have volunteered to work at the politics of place. There may not be any more than that to it. We'll just have to wait and see. . . .<sup>35</sup>

### Structure Of Trust

The structure of community and governmental trust must be built on solid and real foundations. In Austin, the neighborhood movement has been building such foundations, in a quasi-organized fashion, at least since 1976. As Marilyn Simpson, 1978-1981 president of the Austin Neighborhoods Council wrote in 1981:<sup>36</sup>

Nothing succeeds like success -- or so the old adage goes. But is this always the case?

Perhaps the greatest success story in Austin is the neighborhood association movement. Born of the Austin Tomorrow Program (circa 1973), the movement grew by leaps and bounds until a pre-1981 City Council election poll showed 25% of the registered voters in Austin as members of a neighborhood association. This growth has been reflected in the Austin Neighborhoods Council (ANC), an umbrella organization for neighborhood associations in Austin and Travis County. In 1973, when it was organized, the ANC had seven member groups. Today, the organization boasts around 40 member groups. This is a majority of active neighborhood associations.

Neighborhood groups have not always been so popular. In 1975, the Austin American-Statesman published an editorial questioning whether neighborhood spokespersons really spoke for the groups they claimed to represent. The editorial suggested that each representative should be required to fill out a questionnaire containing about 20 questions before being allowed to speak before the Council. This idea was dropped when neighborhoods begin showing up with 150 or more neighbors to emphasize their support for or opposition to a particular decision.

Some would say that opposition only strengthened the movement. For several years following the American-Statesman editorial, neighborhood groups fought "brush fire" battles to preserve and protect their neighborhoods. The ANC concerned itself with addressing city-wide and county-wide issues and giving neighborhoods the tools with which to protect themselves. <sup>37</sup>

I have been interested in exploring structures for citizen empowerment as a part of my LBJ School Program. Since 1978 I have been working to develop the "neighborhood movement" in Austin. My power models have been very successful, even beyond my original expectations. In conjunction with my LBJ School training, I have been systematically testing the underlying assumptions of my political theory since 1979.

I want to emphasize that I have practical experience in working with the complexities of grass-roots power; I was Council-member Larry Deuser's "neighborhood coordinator" during his successful 1981 Austin City Council campaign, and was on the executive committee of the Austin Neighborhoods Council between 1979 and 1981. Community politics exists in an arena of reasonable and rational people, many of whom have decided that traditional political involvement offers them no real opportunities to address issues of importance to their lives. Many political scientists have pointed to the decreasing voter turnout as a sign of the mounting tide of citizen apathy, but have ignored the undercurrent of citizens involvement in voluntary organizations.

Pitkin, in The Concept of Representation, correctly understands the dynamics between ideas and the changing nature of institutionalized practice:

Our notion of representative government thus seems to incorporate both a very general, abstract, almost metaphorical idea -- that the people of a nation are present in the actions of its government in complex ways -- and some fairly concrete, practical, and historically traditional institutions intended to secure such an outcome. The notion has both substantive and formal components. In this way, representative government is an excellent illustration of a phenomenon that seems to be very common in human practices and their corresponding concepts: the duality and tension between purpose and institutionalization.

The sequence of events may be somewhat like this: men have a purpose or goal in mind, the substance of which they want to achieve. In order to achieve it, particularly if it will take time and involve many people,



perhaps several generations, they establish institutions -- write laws, set up administrative bodies, arrange training programs, and so on. But institutions develop a momentum or an inertia of their own; they do not always work as intended, and they may not produce the result for which they were established. Thus men may find themselves torn between commitment to the original purpose and commitment to the agreed and established channels for achieving it. Or, alternatively, the casual sequence may run the other way around. For whatever reasons, and with no deliberate, common purpose, men may gradually develop fixed ways of doing something -- institutionalized behavior they may begin to abstract to express ideas about what it is for, how it is to be done, what principles may themselves come to be used as new aims for revising the institution, as critical standards for assessing the way in which it functions and improving it. Again a tension between practice and principle can arise . . .

This kind of duality or tension exists in the practice and concept of representation should be clear, for it has been built into the structure of our whole argument as it moved from formalistic views toward representing as a substantive acting for others. We encountered it also in Burke's distinction between the virtue or essence of representation and its actualization. In substance, for virtue or essence, representation means the making present of something that is nevertheless absent, and whenever a set of circumstances seem otherwise, we may deny that any representation is taking place. But there are also certain conventionalized and institutionalized ways of (say, political) representing. As with punishment, we apply the term "representation" to institutions because of their general structure and the original purpose they are supposed to embody, whether or not in a particular case they bring about the substance of representation . . .

We need these two great moods, and both together. To define representation institutionally, operationally, is to give up all hope of judging, assessing, improving, or reforming it, or even of instructing someone in the role of representative -- or at least it is to give up all hope of doing these things in a rational, non-arbitrary way. Thus, if representation is "whatever representatives do when you watch them," nothing they do can fail to be representation. To define representation ideally, on the other hand, to concentrate on its virtue or essence or the exclusion of institutions, is likely to mean abandoning all hope of its practical implementation. It could lead us, as it led Burke, to accept gross inequities in an institutional system, because at any given time the system seems to be producing the essence of representation despite them. It might incline us to accept moment-to-moment, short-range performance as our criterion, which would make impossible any systematic, sustained implementation -- in short institutionalization -- of our ideal purpose. What representatives, in fact, do would seem irrelevant to us, and thus our conception would remain forever impotently in the realm of Platonic forms. . . .

Without institutionalization, as Martin Drath has pointed out, the ideal of representation would remain an empty dream, or at most would occasionally recur as a fitful, inexplicable blessing, which we have no power to produce or prolong . . . Thus the development and improvement of representative institutions, the cultivation of persons capable of looking after the interests of others in a responsible manner, are essential if the fine

vision that constitutes the idea of representation is to have any effect on our actual lives. At the same time, we can never allow institutions, habits of conduct, the behavior of representatives, to become our standard and ideal. Whether the governments we conventionally call "representative" involve genuine representation in the world really is (what we mean by) representation, will always depend on the way in which its structure and functioning work out in practice . . . 38

The structure of the coming representation must find itself through the development of community experience, understanding, and -- ultimately -- power.

#### Representation Does Not Just Happen; It Must Be Cultivated

My guiding philosophy has always been that I am willing to be manipulated where I have reasonable assurances that the resulting compromise will result in an increase in a community's influence over its destiny, and as a simple corollary to that, an increase in personal influence because I, in conjunction with many others, have a greater standing among traditional power brokers.

Many of my more traditional political allies and opponents, on the other hand, fight for personal influence, and divide the "community" between themselves. I would prefer to concentrate my limited energies assisting in community growth and community representation, as opposed, say, to Chamber of Commerce representation.

Again, let us turn to Alinsky's discussion of process, purpose and tactics:

Process tells how. Purpose tells us why. But in reality, it is academic to draw a line between them, they are part of a continuum. Process and purpose are so welded to each other that it is impossible to mark where one leaves off and the other begins, or which is which. The very process of democratic participation is for the purpose of organization rather than to rid the alleys of dirt. Process is really purpose. 39

. . . Learn to search out the nature of rationalizations, treat them as rationalizations, and break through. Do not make the mistake of locking yourself up in conflict with them as through they were the issues or problems with which you are trying to engage the local people. 40

Change comes from power, and power comes from organization. In order to act, people must act together. 41

... Tactics means doing what you can with what you have. Tactics are those consciously deliberate acts by which human beings live with each other and deal with the world around them. In the world of give and take, tactics is the art of how to take and how to give. Here our concern is with the tactic of taking; how the Have-Nots can take power from the Haves.

Always remember the first rule of power tactics: Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have.

The second rule is: Never go outside the experience of your people.

The third rule is: Whenever possible go outside the experience of the enemy.

The fourth rule is: Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules.

The fifth rule is: Ridicule is man's most potent weapon.

The sixth rule: A good tactic is one that your people enjoy.

The seventh rule: A tactic that drags on too long becomes a Drag.

The eighth rule: Keep the pressure on, with different tactics and actions, and utilize all events of the period for your purpose.

The ninth rule: The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself.

The tenth rule: The major premise is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition.

The eleventh rule: If you push a negative hard and deep enough it will break through into its counterside.

The twelfth rule: The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative.

The thirteenth rule: Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize.

Or, to summarize:

The real action is the enemy's reaction.

The enemy properly goaded and guided in his reaction will be your major strength.

Tactics, like organization, like life, require that you move with the action. 42

After all, it is the concepts and uses of power in combination, in opposition, and alone that become the reality of bureaucratic and community power, beyond the illusion of representation.

As I wrote for the call to the Second Annual Austin Neighborhoods Issues Conference (see Section II) in the fall of 1981:

Austin neighborhoods can lay claim to important victories since the first Conference a year ago. But we would make a mistake by relying on the good will of any elected officials to carry out the "public good" as it relates to neighborhoods. Community cooperation and participation are essential to establish a dialogue powerful enough to discover directions for the "public good", and to win sufficient respect from public officials so that they listen to community needs.

Those in positions of responsibility must actively involve the public in decisions that affect Austin's quality of life. Citizen participation structures must be created which allow people in neighborhoods to understand and influence the day-to-day policies developed by government bureaucracies and officials . . .

If City, State, and Federal governments are to effectively respond to people's needs, and if the natural resources of each person are to be directed toward a common good, healthy neighborhoods are essential. Neighborhoods are human in scale, and are in everyone's experience. Since their scale is manageable, they foster confidence and a sense of control over destiny. Neighborhoods have build-in "coping mechanisms," in the form of churches, voluntary organizations, formal and informal networks. The neighborhood is a place where one's physical surroundings become expressions of community and a sense of belonging.

Neighborhoods provide a basis for motivation, concern, and participation. People care about people they know on a face-to-face basis. Neighborhoods are the building blocks of Austin.

The key concepts of citizen participation and neighborhood empowerment are governance, capacity, and equity. Governance may be defined as the process of decision-making, control, and redistribution, carried out through institutions and guided by law and tradition. Capacity may be defined in two ways: as power, competency, and the ability to deal with problems; and as the ability to nurture and accomodate. Skills required for effective exercise of power-capacity include organization, leadership, management, and the ability to plan, conduct research, and implement projects. The defining elements of nurturance-capacity, on the other hand, are human and community resources. Neighboring encourages environments which bond people together, develop support systems, and form a personal basis for living. Human and community resources are the natural resources of neighborhoods. In turn, neighborhoods are the natural resources of the City, each with its unique blend of skills, talents, and physical features. As neighborhoods have unique combinations of capacity-building resources, so each has a unique combination of needs; equity demands that we approach solutions without bias, seeking a common good. Skills and financial resources must be marshalled among us to wisely harness the natural, physical, and human resources existing in every neighborhood.

City government should not be allowed to avoid its responsibility to treat with neighborhood interests. It is essential for neighborhood residents and organizations to keep the pressure on; to hold the City accountable. The key is reciprocity. When City and neighborhoods both have high levels of capacity, they interact to produce greater capacity.

So let each of us in our own ways, in our own neighborhoods, and in cooperation with other neighborhoods, continue the vital process of building community power through celebrating our diversity, organizing our resources, and discussing the issues! 43

Perhaps, it might be appropriate to quote from "A Creed for Community Leaders" by the late Helen Durio, a local community activist of merit who was killed in the Austin flood of Memorial Day Weekend, 1981:

We recognize that we are fortunate to be members of a democratic society. The rights and privileges of our American system of government extend to protection of one's neighborhood; rights and privileges that can only be maintained through exercise . . .

We will be supportive of other individuals in neighborhood work, and if one of them is personally attacked without cause by any public servant, we will publicly defend our brother/sister . . .

We will maintain a balanced perspective and a sense of humor in the face of bureaucratic bungling, evasion, dishonest, vested interest, ineptitude, and distrust . . . for we acknowledge human fallibility . . . but we will continue to participate in the democratic processes of our free society! 44

The exercise of community power is half of the future solution for the problems of the present. As another Austin writer put it, "The currents of life in 1980's America sweep through every community and neighborhood; intermingled with stable, secure, happy families and individuals are others experiencing divorce, alcoholism, child abuse, hunger, depression, mental illness, spouse beating, drug addiction, truancy, and many other dysfunction dynamics. When considered in the context of an ever-increasing dependency in urban society, and a large degree of separation and isolation, these currents pose challenges that bear directly on the general quality of life that a community or neighborhood will experience."<sup>45</sup>

In Austin, there is a historical record of the exercise of community influence, sometimes rather "brutal," as in bond elections. Part of the cause of these spectacular manifestations in the late 1970's has been public officials incomprehension of community "development"; in other words, the failure of existing representative structures. As Marilyn Simpson wrote:

In February, 1980, neighborhood and environmental groups were credited with defeating the proposed water and wastewater bonds by a whopping 75%. The Austin Neighborhoods Council recommended against 6 of the 11 propositions. With one exception, voters agreed with these recommendations. Issues raised in this election included: Who should pay for the city's growth? Where should city services be extended? How should City Departments be allowed to keep and expand departmental "slush funds"? Why is there no citizen's water/wastewater commission or master plan? These issues are unresolved a year and a half later as the city faces another bond election (which again went down to defeat); the 1980 bond defeat, however, proved to all that neighborhoods were a voting force to be reckoned with.

Perhaps the greatest show of our voting power came in the April/May (1981) City Council elections. While neighborhood groups did not endorse candidates, many neighborhood activists endorsed and actively campaigned for Council hopefuls. Larry Deuser, the only winner with a neighborhood base, definitely received the benefits of neighborhood support, defeating a developer-backed opponent who outspent him 4 to 1.

So all is rosey with the neighborhood association movement, right? Maybe, yes; maybe, no. The night the votes were being counted at the Electric Building Auditorium for the 1980 bond election, a neighborhood proponent there to join in the victory issued a warning. She said that, so long as we had only won small victories and had not demonstrated our city-wide appeal, we were relatively safe from a concerted attack by our opponents. But with our election victory in the (1980) bond election, we would be subjected to both subtle and blatant attacks, as well as attempts to infiltrate and/or take over our movement. This is already taking place. One association, in the central city area, reports that local developer-property owners have joined the association and are attempting to replace the present officers, who are homeowners. In southwest Austin, to the surprise of many, a neighborhood group lobbied strongly to support 550 condominium units in an area clearly suited for single-family residences . . .

Neighborhood citizen groups cannot compete with the former high level city employee who used his personal relationships with the Council, boards, and commissions to win cases. The "revolving door" system could be virtually eliminated if the City required employees of Department head level and above to sign employment contracts with a provision prohibiting their representing a future employer in cases involving the City of Austin for two years after their City employment ends. This is done quite often in private business.

A continuing problem is the disproportionately high number of developers or employees of developers who are appointed to the (mid-1980) Planning Commission. Since the Planning Commission has the last say in certain cases, it is imperative that its members do not have potential conflicts of interests. Of the nine members of the Planning Commission, two are developers in their own right, and two (including the Chairman) are employees of a former commissioner who is also a developer. City ordinances state that these developer/commissioners cannot vote on issues in which they have an interest. Quite often the city's Legal Department has

relied on "creative interpretation" to define what the word "interest" means. This, together with the "you vote for my project and I'll vote for yours" system, means the developers rarely lose . . .

How, then, do we determine the role success has played in the neighborhood association movement? For sure, we could not have remained viable without success. But has this success also put our opponents to work in a concerted effort to defeat us? This is also surely the case. Perhaps eternal vigilance is the price we must all pay for neighborhood integrity and a livable city. 46

Eternal vigilance is, however, a very expensive price to pay in terms of real people's daily lives. Ideally and practically, political structures should be created so that political participation and representation are aspects of community life, and not a function of an individual's or corporation's obsessions.

### The New Frontier: Creating the Local Market

#### The International Market and the Individual's Helplessness

The neighborhood movement must be considered as a part of a larger transformation not only of previous international power arrangements and national structures, but as a part of a change in human culture.

The basic thrust of world affairs in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries will be the fundamental restructuring of the global arrangements and relationships that have evolved since the voyages of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama. This restructuring will occur both within the Third World Nations and between the Third World Nations and the developed world.

Considering first the restructuring of the Third World, we will see political decentralization reminiscent of the disintegration of the Roman Empire. 47

Neighborhood government, appropriate technology, industrial democracy and democratic information systems will be some of the means allowing people to become full human beings, and to survive the coming changes in the national and international balances of power. 48

As the historian C. Warren Hollister said, "Periods of momentous change are seldom comfortable."

But as H. G. Wells might have added:

It is not creative minds that produce revolutions, but the obstinate conservation of established authority. It is the blank refusal to accept the idea of an orderly evolution toward new things that gives a revolutionary quality to every constructive proposal. 49

### Neighborhood Government; National Summary

The neighborhood movement has seen a tremendous growth in cities around the nation during the 1970s. Many of the tools used by multi-issue community groups during this period had their genesis in the citizen participation processes of Federal anti-poverty programs, of all places.

As Phillip Mann writes in Community Psychology,

• The origins of the community participation aspects of the anti-poverty program went through four stages. Beginning with the concern with providing increased services to deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency, which had proven ineffective, (another author) cites the next phase as the programs initiated under the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime in 1961 . . . These programs sought to use youth and community involvement as a preventive approach to delinquency . . . The strategy of community involvement led to the participation of youths and adults in the Harlem (New York City) area in self-help programs, including membership on the governing boards. The program evolved into a series of economic and civil rights actions, which quickly put it in conflict with the city's political establishment.

In the third phase, the concept of community participation developed in these earlier programs was carried over into the broadened conception of social intervention in the Office of Economic Opportunity programs, which, rather than focusing on community organizations as such, provided for participation of the poor or their representatives in the planning of the programs . . . Probably more than any other factor, the resistance of the local establishments to the threat of change in the social structure posed by these programs led to a coalescence between community action programs and the increasing civil rights militancy of the day . . . Thus, the fourth phase . . . was the emphasis on community control of the programs, as a response to the perceived resistance (by local establishments) . . .



Of course, these Federal programs borrowed heavily from independent activists like Saul Alinsky, but the success of any program or "outside" organizers depended on the resulting leadership and durability of the local organization.

ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now), organized in 1970 in Arkansas, drew on diverse traditions -- the old populist model of the Black and White alliance from the Southern Tenants Farmers Union of the 1930s, the house meetings and service programs of the Community Service Organization in the Mexican-American communities of the Southwest in the late 1940s, the mobile, skilled organizer corp of the Nonpartisan League in the Dakotas, and the Alinsky approach of focusing on community institutions (like churches) as organizing building blocks.

ACORN's chief organizer Wade Rathke explained the neighborhood philosophy in these terms: "The very nature of organizational growth and experiences in the process of producing power models its own ideology." Steve McDonald, an older Black Arkansan who had been president of ACORN's executive board since the organization became interstate in 1975, voiced the group's animating vision in a letter to a new affiliate in Tennessee:

Some people say 'what does ACORN want?' The answer is simple! We want sufficient power in our cities and states to speak -- and be heard -- and heeded -- for the interests of the majority of citizens. We want to participate in community and civil affairs, not as second class citizens because we don't drive Rolls Royces, but as men and women committed to a better future where our concerns are met with Justice and dignity: where any person can protect his or her family and join with others in community and strength: and where, as ACORN's slogan goes, 'The people shall rule.' That is what America is. That is what ACORN wants. Nothing more and nothing less! 50

Although ACORN's national organization appeared to be having problems that could forebode ill to its survival in 1980, it had managed to establish many thriving local chapters in about half the nation's states.

Neighborhood politics exists in a realm that cuts across traditional liberal and conservative lines; it can be a radical movement -- as radical as democracy itself. Neighborhood people, within the limitations of their varying experiences and resources, believe that they should control their economic, cultural and political destiny.

Meanwhile the past and present reality is that our "democratic" system moderates our economic system, but does not control it. Major corporations, through their advertising and mass marketing, are the major factors in determining our goals and our very needs. Most know that it is the international market that is pre-eminent. The local, or neighborhood markets are simply components and distribution points of the international market.

Neighborhood Development: Working  
with the Democratic Raw Material

The failure of the people to elect representative that represent their needs and help develop their goals is a fault that is a basic component of our political system. Many people have figured this situation out for themselves, which helps account for the widespread voter apathy.<sup>51</sup>

Contrary to what both traditional liberals and conservatives believe, solutions for local communities ultimately do not lie either in regulation or the present mechanisms of the "market." The answer lies in the creation of a whole new market -- the local market -- or as Milton Kotler (1979 Executive Director of the National Association of Neighborhoods) argues in Neighborhood Government (1969), "We must accept the neighborhood as the source of revolutionary power, and local liberty as its modest cause."

No scientific principle can guide the choice between the number of kilowatt hours of electric power and some number of cases of thyroid cancer, or between some number bushels of corn and some number of cases of infant methemoglobinemia. These are value judgements; they are determined not by scientific principle, but by the value that we place on economic advantage and on economic life . . . These are matters of morality, of social and political judgement. In a democracy they belong not in the hands of "experts," but in the hands of the people and their elected representatives.

The environmental crisis is the legacy of our unwitting assault on the natural systems that support us. It represents hidden costs that are mounting toward catastrophe. If it is to be resolved, these costs must be made explicit and balanced against the benefits of technology in open, public debate. But this debate will not come easily . . . As the custodians of this knowledge (for the debate), we in the scientific community owe it to our fellow citizens to help inform them about the crisis in the environment. 52

Playing the role of the morally responsible scientist/environmentalist, Barry Commoner has traveled further in his thinking than most. The implementation of his ideas, however, are hampered by the technical, or undemocratic, nature of his discipline's very language.

But clearly, he is saying that in order for the value aspects of technological systems to be decided by the "people," technical information must be available to the individual. The only real market left for the individual to control is at the interpersonal level, or "neighborhood" level.

Commoner also explains (in 1971) that:

It has become apparent that we are in the midst of a revolution in public attitude toward the acceptability of levels of environmental deterioration which have for a time been tolerated without general complaint . . . This reflects a more stringent public morality when actions of some members of society impose risks on others who are given no choice in the matter . . .

(T)he public is in the process of establishing a new set of acceptable benefit/risk ratio. For a given benefit, the new ratio will accept only a risk that is far below even that acceptable for involuntary risks imposed on the present population. This, then, is the moral response to the assaults on the integrity of the environment which threaten the well-being and the survival of succeeding generations. 53

What is needed for competent democratic action is a system that will provide relevant information to people, so they can make sound social and economic judgements.

As Dick Simpson points out in Neighborhood Government, representative democracy as has been practiced in the United States in at least the last half of the 20th century has serious flaws. In practice it means: 1) rule by the few; 2) information controlled by the corporate mass media; 3) most technical decision-making within inaccessible bureaucratic and "expert" labyrinths; 4) minimal participation by the citizens and then only the privilege of choosing rulers; 5) alienation and apathy of the citizenry, thus lowering their participation even in elections.<sup>54</sup>

Simpson concludes, however, that:

(T)he fundamental flaws in our political system can only be corrected by reinventing democracy! That is to say, we must modify our inadequate institutions in order to allow for more citizen participation and accountable representation. A key new institution required to achieve both participation and accountability is the neighborhood government.<sup>55</sup>

Facing reality: Battling for Survival in the Neighborhoods;  
A Model for Power and Responsibility of the Individual

Neighborhood-oriented government offers us an opportunity for re-establishing democracy. In the neighborhood milieu individuals are not as exposed to mass market advertising and political manipulation. Individuals can hear about issues from other individuals whom they know. A person is in a better position to accordingly question and judge the information, as versus anything he or she might hear on the 6 O'clock news.

Neighborhood government is an attempt to decentralize power into the smallest practical units. If power -- the creative power of people contracting with one another to bring a public or political space into existence -- is organized into larger geographic areas than smaller ones, it will correspondingly benefit and interest only a comparative few.

Power is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearances between acting and speaking individuals, in existence. Power springs up between people when they act together and vanishes the moment they disperse. Power is the ability to agree upon a common course of action in unconstrained communication.<sup>56</sup>

Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual, it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together. When we say of someone that he is "in power" we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name.<sup>57</sup>

People simply do not live in stitutions or in areas of abstract political theory. The physical facts are that people live in particular places and work in particular places . . . To try to locate politics in physical space is not some whim, it is a common-sense response to the physical facts of life.<sup>58</sup>

The development towards neighborhood government involves a series of stages and components of parallel development such as: Neighborhood awareness (especially through community newspaper); Community businesses (such as cooperatives); Neighborhood economy (including employment centers, local financial institutions and means of producing products for use in the neighborhood and selling in broader markets); and Neighborhood housing.<sup>59</sup>

The neighborhood concept allows a public space for mutual citizen education, and increased citizen participation allows for a mutual increase in power. As neighborhood participation reaches a "critical mass" and spreads through-out the community, more of a real "local market" is created. More expert information will

be packaged to be delivered and understood by a neighborhood audience, and, more politicians will see neighborhoods as necessary support centers.

One politician who tried this approach with Chicago city government found that "one must give citizens a reason for participating in policy formulation, a sense that what they are doing counts and is not just an academic exercise."<sup>60</sup> If a politician has a forum for actually sharing his voting power, "he has many more people working with him on issue research and ordinance development, and thus is able to take on more issues than he could if he were only to depend on himself and his staff.

(Also the politician) adds to his power because it is a documented fact that when he speaks out, he is speaking for an organized, informed constituency, rather than an amorphous apathetic mass of voters open to manipulation and deceit. 61

... In the long run, (the Chicago politician) believes, participatory democracy will benefit the entire community. There will be a new kind of citizen: efficacious, self-conscious, well informed and willing to sacrifice immediate self-interest for the broader good. More leaders will be trained, more competent policies will be developed, and more problems will be solved. Once citizens are shown that you can fight city hall and win, a new political community is born. 62

Indeed, the numbers of neighborhood groups, consumer rights organizations, self-help and other localist groups around the country that would be interested in this approach are staggering. In 1979, New York City alone had 10,000 block organizations. The Alliance for Volunteerism estimates there are six million volunteers in these groups, which equal one fourth the number of Americans over the age of 13.<sup>63</sup>

Cooperation: Common Bonds Makes Common  
Cause and Power for the Neighborhoods

There are some obvious potential pitfalls in the process of promoting and developing neighborhood government.

A primary problem lies in the historical institution of racism. Although the institution has been under continuous attack for 30 years, the failure to question its basic economic roots has left racism as a disturbing buzz-word in many localities, including neighborhoods.

Obviously, American communities reflect an unequal distribution of goods, resources, and services. These disparities, of course, relate to each community's respective ability to protect its own interests. Those with the greatest share of resources and services have the greatest ability to maintain what they already have, while those without or with very limited resources find it virtually impossible to improve their lot. Neighborhood organizations in such a framework is too easily a partner of institutionalized racism. 64

Without a doubt the spectre of racism will have to be dealt with for years to come. It is too easy a tool to divert people's minds from problems of distribution.

Secondly, there is an unresolved problem in the kind of economic development the neighborhood movement will promote. Information about alternative economic models are difficult to come by, let alone develop. The dominant view in Austin (in terms of major media attention) is the Chamber of Commerce's cry that growth and industry means jobs: a claim that the needs of "capital" precede the needs of the people.

A rebuttal to this argument can be found in a 1975 essay by Herman Daly:

We are used to hearing that we do not have enough, and even if income were evenly distributed it would amount to mere distribution of

poverty. This view has always been morally questionable since if there is really not enough for all then it is even more objectionable that the few should receive so much more than the average, while the many receive much less. However, with the current U.S. per capita disposal income in the neighborhood of \$3,000, even this psuedo-argument is no longer possible (Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1969). The average after tax income for a family of four is now around \$12,000, which would mean an income before taxes of \$15,000 -- not exactly poverty! Of course this is a very unrepresentative mean, since the distribution is so badly skewed. In 1968 the twenty million Americans in the top 10% of the income recipients get around 27% of the total income, while the twenty million in the lowest 10% received 1% of total income. Contrary to the assumptions of "growthmania," distribution is, at the margin, a more pressing issue than production. Nevertheless, there are strong vested interests in growth in our society. The growth aspirations of any one industry, such as electric power, cannot be properly understood apart from the context of the system's overall functioning. Although an annual growth goal of 7% is high compared to some industries, the case of electric power (and its ties to other capital-intensive industries) is important not because it is an exception, but because it so clearly illustrates the general rule of growthmania.

The alternative to growthmania is the steady-state economy, and the big task for physical and social scientists is to work out the technologies and institutions which will allow us to attain such a steady-state. The even bigger task is for all citizens to find the moral resources necessary to overcome the vested interests and the hag-ridden compulsions of growthmania. 65

These problems, along with the difficulty of getting people to actually think in terms of their own interests and goals, are some of the hurdles any decentralized movement must face.

The fact remains that, here in Austin, as the administrative and organizational side of the neighborhood movement has grown stronger, its political side has not kept the pace. Democratic exercises, such as mobilizing support for, or against, bond elections and the like, must be done so the neighborhood movement can find its political voice. This ultimately becomes more important than lobbying alone to save particular community services, because only a strong political voice can save such services in general, and because only an explicitly political organization, independent of the service agencies; can effectively criticize and improve their performance. 66



Molenkopf (1979) suggests that in order for neighborhood organizations and their allies to assert an effective political voice, they should do the following:

- They must move beyond lobbying and single issue activism into the electoral arena.
- They must in the process build coalitions across ethnic groups, issue areas, and between neighborhoods and the labor movement.
- They must find ways to build a mutual interdependence between issue activism and electoral activism.
- They must create a tailor-made set of government services which actually serve community needs and in the process strengthen a new constituency for the public sector.

In place of traditional pork-barrel liberalism, a political movement of this sort would offer programs designed to strengthen the quality of community life in an inflationary era and would provide a way to hold government accountable for its performance. 67

An example of an Austin organization established in 1979 to promote this kind of coalition building is the Austin Neighborhood Fund. This philosophy is basically a natural process of people developing their common interests, as exemplified by the 1979 principles of the Fund:

To many of us it has become increasingly clear during the last few years of accelerated growth in Austin that the city government has been serving a small group of special interests at the expense of Austin citizens.

The Austin Neighborhood Fund will work for the establishment of a city planning and policy making in which neighborhoods, minority groups, citizen organizations, employee associations, local business people and others will have real powers in the policy and planning process, and ready access to the information and tools necessary for informed decision-making.

We want a growth rate in Austin that:

- serves the interest of the general citizenry;
- protects the integrity of neighborhoods;
- protects our environment;
- and does not subsidize speculation and profiteering by a few development interests through skyrocketing taxes, utility bills, and housing costs.

We believe that citizens joined in neighborhood organizations can make the difference between politics as usual and a better Austin.

The organizers of the Austin Neighborhood Fund knew the organization would not suddenly motivate those who have harbored deep suspicions about electoral politics in the past to get out and vote, let alone actually support political activities. Yet the Fund was designed to travel in that direction.

Finally, electoral politics is where the race to organize political power is ultimately decided. American politics runs on votes and money; lacking the latter, neighborhood advocates and those with a stake in quality services must be able to produce the former.

One of the best things about electoral politics is that to win you must pull together a coalition of diverse interests . . . If the constituent elements possessing a stake in community-oriented services -- neighborhoods, community organizations, public employee unions, and advocacy professions -- can build reciprocal relations, they can start to reverse the flow of influence.

Moreover, in the context of an attack on the public sector, these groups must hang together, or they will hang separately. 68

#### Neighborhood Government: An Austin, Texas Proposal; Projects, Strategy and Institutions

Ideally, as an organizer builds new projects on the foundation of past ones, there should be a framework for community empowerment that the organizer and community is building towards. The cycle follows roughly three stages: 1) recognize existing community patterns; 2) refine and moderate existing design patterns; 3) project future community patterns.<sup>69</sup> If the grass-roots segment is weak, then the organizer wants to concentrate on projects that helps the community understand the existing tools to work with, what are the other organized forces in the community, and some idea of what role self-interest plays in the development of the community's political agenda.<sup>70</sup>

Once a combination of organizations have sufficient self-realized interests and resources, a new inter-group cooperative approach to projects can be begun. This second stage may range from a common action against a part of the established

political agenda (like urging the defeat of a bond election proposal), pressure for citizen participation in the development of any of a number of public or private projects, to the establishment of more formal group communications and networking.<sup>71</sup> Finally, if a sufficient issue base can be debated within the community at large, then pressures can be promoted for the establishment of decision-making procedures that lessen the anxiety and meet the demands of the new coalition. This is usually the most critical junction; many times the new coalition will not even have thought about structures to institutionalize their concerns. Proposals might be suggested that please one element of the coalition, while antagonizing another, thus ending the cycle and pushing the coalition back to another cycle. Or new decision-structures might be implemented, and giving the community new tools to work with thus putting us at the beginning of a new, and potentially more interesting cycle.<sup>72</sup>

Any particular group will have its own peculiar cycle. Communication among different groups is usually more cooperative if they first negotiate from a stage two mentality; however, in practical situations different groups will be different stages within cycles of varying power and scope. Negotiations, gains, and risks must be considered on a case by case basis. The relationship between weaker or stronger organizational cycle pattern options is determined by a number of factors including: nature of resources, whether it be access to money, or control of an issue base; kind of organization (even neighborhood organizations can have centralized or decentralized leadership patterns); and component organizational purposes or intentions. During the 1981 city council elections the creation of a water-waste commission and neighborhood advisory zoning councils were political issues. The water and waste-water commission, having an advisory role to the city council, was

established before the new council was sworn-in, although members were actually appointed afterwards. The appointees reflected a developer-oriented bias, and the neighborhood advisory zoning councils, having an decision-making function independent of the council, was never really pursued.<sup>73</sup>

The strategy which the Austin Neighborhood Fund developed between 1979 and 1982 went relatively well through the first two stages, but was unable to institute major new tools in the third stage.<sup>74</sup>

From the ANF perspective, the following is the approximate scenerio which is more fully explored in Section II and, to a lesser extent, in Section III.

In 1979, the old 1977 liberal coalition was so decimated that they were unable to mount a campaign to alter their minority position on the Austin City Council. The liberals' weakness left a power vacuum which was utilized primarily by neighborhood and environmental groups after the 1979 council elections. With opposition in early 1980 to certain bond election propositions, the environmental and neighborhood groups established an issue base warranting the attention the progressive community. This coalition also indirectly raised the influence of networks which had power bases both within the liberal community and elements of the establishment.

With the significant success of the progressive/neighborhood/environmental coalition in the 1981 city council elections, personality networking roles became critical in resolving the political demands of the populist issue base.<sup>75</sup> The result, between unpredictable circumstances, political pollsters, access to political contributions, division among the perceived interests of the populist and liberal communities, relative political experience, and outright deceit, was the institutionalization of the water and wastewater commission, chaired by an individual with close liberal/developer networking connections.

I originally hoped that the new 1981 City Council might provide the thrust for propelling the community coalition into a new and more powerful cycle. Unless new arrangements were found to institutionalize the neighborhood movement, I feared it would be unable to break through, as it were, but would find itself in some muddled middle ground as the establishment found ways to divert its attention. As my personal resources were being depleted, I observed the deterioration of the community coalition in late 1981, and worked on alternatives to the Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council focus. Originally I found the Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council (NAZC) option attractive because it bridged what I felt was an established neighborhood interest -- zoning -- with a decision-making structure approaching something resembling neighborhood government.<sup>76</sup>

However good the NAZC idea (and it was not without merit because Roger Duncan, with good progressive and anti-nuclear credentials, used his support of NAZC's to develop his "neighborhood" base), I found that zoning control as a bridge concept practically was not strong enough alone in 1981. Neighborhood people still had a tendency to look at zoning on a case by case basis, while developers, with a more systematic experience, were correspondingly more comprehensive in their opposition.<sup>77</sup>

During the fall of 1981 I found that neighborhood planning was a more interesting approach for neighborhood people as a fallback concept amidst the crumbling of the community coalition. NAZC's could still be part of the agenda, but the neighborhood planning approach could be designed to include many more interests, while providing a more amorphous target -- and therefore more difficult target -- for the establishment to attack. In early 1982, the Austin Neighborhoods Council created a planning committee and adopted Austin's Neighborhood Design Manual, produced by multi-disciplined graduate students at the University of Texas at Austin.<sup>78</sup>

Through in the fall of 1982 there has been increasing evidence of Austin's political instability and community weakness, although there has been a developing interest in practical planning issues among some neighborhood groups.<sup>79</sup>

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## Section II: NEIGHBORHOODS IN AUSTIN: A DESCRIPTIVE HISTORY

## SECTION II: NEIGHBORHOODS IN AUSTIN: A DESCRIPTIVE HISTORY

### Conceptional Framework

This section explores, largely in an historical fashion, the nature of power, the neighborhood movement and its allies in a municipal setting, highlighting the 1981 Austin city council elections, and the city elections between the years 1979 and 1982 inclusive. Although the main dependent variable is straight-forward enough -- the number of votes candidates received in the 1981 Austin city council election -- description of the actual control of the Council presents problems which are directly related to the development of city council policies. Independent variables in voter perceptions could include the following: types and number of contributors, amount of contributions, campaign organizations and resource distribution, coalition organizations, candidate personalities, and the political issue base. It is the complexity of these relationships that enhances the role of political experts, including power brokers, opinion leaders, and hired pollsters. As an effort to map the relative changes in the voting population, Section III of this report measures relationships between candidates' population voting patterns, and issue and bond proposition patterns. Section III of this report shows that there was a significant statistical change in Austin's voting population which corresponds to the historical description of this section.<sup>80</sup>

I have tried to weave a number of important factors throughout the narrative which follows. The underlying hypothesis of the study is that developing a mass population issue base will motivate a grass-roots "neighborhood movement" to have a significant impact in electoral politics.



For the reader, there are two important qualities to note in terms of political character types. The first is what I call the participant/activist. Factors that motivate political activists are essential to understanding the nature of a political system. The utilization of methods that widen the field of political activists, individuals who invest their time in political actions, are essential to a grass-roots movement. In developing the important tools of campaign platforms and issues, the agendas of individual activists groups must be considered. Ideally, like-minded individual groups and activists through pre-election dialogues should develop a common formal or informal platform or goals.

Because Ultimately, the resulting voting pattern of non-participant/voters, is what politicians desire to win. These voters frequently have little idea of what constitutes the substance of political interactions, and their political decisions are largely based on secondary information sources like the mass media. Finding methods or issues through which an enlarged field of activists can influence the population base has been a primary reason for my study of Austin's neighborhood movement. This decentralized development has provided insight about what factors or issues are important in motivating traditional non-voters; how "habitual" voters can be educated so they are less "negatively" influenced by mass-media/monied appeals; what are the range of issues voters perceive and understand (i.e. dynamic power concepts like Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Councils vs. vague references to candidate "trust"); what are the best belief system approaches to voters (like the neighborhood movement, progressive, liberal, conservative, environmental, and/or populist) and what combination of mechanisms can measure and promote candidate interest, issue awareness and development, and grass-roots funding (leafleting, surveys, etc.).

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Although this study provides some valuable insight to these concerns, more research and practice will be needed in the future to further understand the nature and relative importance of factors that promote competent decentralized power systems and citizen empowerment.

#### Neighborhoods in Austin

Centralized decision-making, and neighborhood "creation" and manipulation have been promoted by real estate interests during the development and expansion of Austin for the last 100 years. Frequently these real estate interests either were the city government or controlled access to the bulk of political campaign monies. Because of the planned homogeneity of various city neighborhoods, political battles were often pictured in the press as battles between neighborhoods. Contemporary political experts view the central city area as a "liberal" stronghold and the northwest as a "conservative" area.

As an historical example of the manipulations of Austin neighborhoods let us take the dramatic example of the fate of the various Black "freedom towns," formed during the reconstruction period in the 1870s. Prior to reconstruction, Austin's racial groups (then largely Blacks and Anglos) were geographically integrated, although not economically integrated. With the disruption of the economic order after the Civil War, Blacks gravitated towards various rural clusters, just outside the City of Austin.<sup>81</sup>

At least five major communities were formed, four of which were Clarksville, Wheatsville, Mason Town and Robinson's Hill.

Among the last of the remaining Black communities is Clarksville. First settled in 1871 by a former slave Charles Clark, Clarksville was still a sparsely populated rural area in the early 1900s, but about one-half mile from the State Capitol and Downtown Austin.

During the 1920s it became the official policy of the City of Austin to relocate Blacks to the east Austin area, an area that had housed the city's elite as late as the early 1900s. Facilities such as schools open to blacks were concentrated in east Austin, and most Blacks resettled to avail themselves of these services. The longtime residents of Clarksville, however, were one of the last freedom communities that resisted the pressure to move.

Although Clarksville still survives today, many feel it received its death blow in the 1960s with the construction of the MoPac Expressway, which was designed to facilitate traffic out to the northwest section of the city. The construction consumed about a third of Clarksville's land area (today bordered by 110th Street, West Lynn, Waterston and MoPac). West Austin residents did manage to organize soon enough to stop construction of a proposed cross-town road that would have run through the remainder of Clarksville.<sup>82</sup>

It is much too simplistic to say that a scenario like this is only the natural result of "market" influences. There is a methodology and structure involved which limits who may participate in the decision-making process.

By 1928 the City of Austin had grown large enough to warrant drawing up its first economic development plan. The 1928 plan assisted the demolition of certain neighborhoods and the subsequent segregation of minorities.<sup>83</sup> This has continued through to the present date, with urban renewal, Model Cities and downtown revitalization.

In 1975, when the Austin Neighborhoods Council (ANC) was first formed, there were about six organized neighborhood groups in town. By 1981 over 40 groups from almost every section of the city had representatives on the ANC. There are at least two other major councils of neighborhood groups, one in Chicano East Austin,

and ACORN affiliates located primarily in south and east Austin with smatterings in the north part of town. In addition there are other "independent" groups that run the gamut from true multi-issue neighborhood organizations, to fledgling single-issue groups that register their identities with the City's Planning Department before they quietly wait their chance to fade away.

Actually, prior to the 1920s, Austin had strong social and political organizations in the city's wards. These ward "governments" were the controlling factor in the City's political scene. Unfortunately, the government they controlled became manifestly inefficient and open to challenge by initiatives of the monied aristocracy. In 1923, when the city manager form of government was institutionalized in Austin, the ward organizations fell apart under the influence of the business partnership.

The establishment was not really challenged until the late 1960s. In 1975 a "progressive" coalition captured five of the seven City Council seats, but lasted only one term. Although this Council of Mayor Jeff Friedman's delivered on practically all items of the "progressive" agenda (except firing the City Manager), the council majority, as it turned out, had no on-going mobilized constituency. Therefore the institutionalized lobbying force facing the Friedman Council increasingly came from the allied Chamber of Commerce types and the Council's decisions moved further toward the interests of the monied establishment.

The "failures" of the Friedman Council pointed to some of the structural problems of the progressive machine, and blew to the wind what was left, even though the two minority Council members were re-elected to the next Council. Many considered their re-election simply part of a larger establishment strategy not to be forced into single-member districts by the U.S. Department of Justice.<sup>84</sup>

Most of the original leaders of the ANC were initiated into political life by the Austin Tomorrow Program which began in 1973. This program attempted to discover the needs of Austinites and plan the City's growth. Over 50 "neighborhood" meetings were held around Austin, coordinated by a central Goals Assembly. The Friedman Council accepted the original Austin Tomorrow Goals Report in 1977, and after considerable reworking by city staff, the McClellan Council accepted the Growth Management report in 1980.

Although these efforts and reports suffered from sabotage work by the city staff, they resulted in tangible products that could be used time and again by neighborhoods to force some sort of compliance from the City's elected officials. Council decisions, however, grew more developer-oriented and, one might add, out of touch with the developing populist movement.

One of the most pressing items on the agenda of neighborhood people is to create political structures that bridge the distance between people in their neighborhoods and their elected officials. The inability of most citizens to address and elect these officials has led to the setting of a social agenda that is not in the interests of most people. Bond elections are one of the few crude mechanisms available to express that dissatisfaction. It is not surprising, then, that the city of Austin -- facing a populist movement -- has not been able to pass major elements of its bond programs since 1976, a tendency that was amplified between 1980 and 1981. This populist development has been growing through a series of both "liberal" and "conservative" city councils.

It might be appropriate at this time to refer to a paper entitled "Who's Organizing the Neighborhood?" (May 1979) by Gerson Green of the National Center for Voluntary Action. Green lists the ten requirements for a community organization

which were used in the study: open and widely participatory process in the founding of the organization; open processes for elections and the establishing of priorities; authentic board of directors and/or other governing mechanisms; a record of selecting issues of broad interest to their community; deal with a wide-range of issues of importance to many elements of their resident population; specific relationship to neighborhood and/or block-club associations within their boundaries; have paid staff for organizing, to implement a standing policy of expanding the formal participation of residents; diversified sources of funding; and perceive themselves as dependent and self-governing, and publicly promote this identity.

Furthermore

Community organizations of the type in this study are non-partisan, but highly political... They deal with issues which are often crucial to the future of their entire population, and always of importance to significant constituencies within their boundaries. Their intent is to acquire power, which they believe is necessary to win the struggle with the formidable forces which threaten their communities... Residents create a political capacity through which they can defend against damaging forces, and initiate issues of legitimate self-interest... There is a form of democracy of very high standards, based on the conviction that they and their neighborhoods have the ability to prevent or correct the problems of their communities.

There is general confusion as to what a community organization is and what it is not. This question is one of growing importance if we are to establish an urban policy built on the revitalization of neighborhoods. Youth, athletic and fraternal clubs, community centers, PTA's, business associations and churches are not community organizations, even if they are located and function in the small scale context of the definable neighborhood, and even if they primarily serve its residents. They are community institutions. They become community organizations if and when they help sponsor and participate in an open, multi-issue association of residents intent on dealing with serious and sophisticated urban issues through the force of the collective action of residents. Many city governments and United Ways claim to support community organizations when they are really building institutions rarely accountable to residents. 85

... Community organization with a neighborhood focus therefore meet two primary needs, intimate scale within which cultural identity can be sustained, and the larger scale of community through which cultural

coalitions can evolve. The recognition of the cultural, rather than the purely political fact of neighborhood is understood and publicly recognized by all effective community organizations... Community organizations therefore devise strategies through which they often deal with the same issues of importance to a number of their constituent neighborhoods, and economy of scale is gained that allows for more efficient use of resources, and greater political clout on issues common to the neighborhoods, without sacrificing specific neighborhood identity and autonomy... Community organizations are political coalitions and not necessarily expressions of a common culture, which neighborhoods very often are. 86

Public Credibility is the element most important to establishing and maintaining an effective community organization. An organization can gain credibility through a laying-on-of-hands by the wealthy and the powerful, or it can force credibility from the wealthy and the powerful through enunciating and leading in issues of great importance to a significant number of people. Both approaches can be effective in the achieving of some goals, but one is characterized by dependence and the other by independence... Given (the growth and importance of the neighborhood movement since 1975) in American urban areas, the question of legitimacy, of accountability to constituencies, is crucial. It is in the structure of a community organization that people try to establish the primary means of achieving accountability. Without accountability there is no credibility, there is only political alienation, which typifies too much of our present political and community life. 87

Let us conclude this section by quoting from a booklet by the Austin Neighborhood Fund for the First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference on September 13, 1980:

Welcome to the First Annual Austin Neighborhoods Conference, a manifestation of the growing influence of Austin's neighborhood movement. The theme of this year's conference is "Citizen Participation: Keeping Austin's Quality of Life." Recent polls indicate that control of Austin's rapid growth is the number one issue for Austinites. But the question of who will control the growth of the City goes beyond the question of who will get elected, or re-elected, to the Austin City Council next April. Those in power must actively involve the public in decisions on how Austin will grow...

The dignity of the individual human person depends ultimately on the individual's freedom and inviolability. We are only free and inviolable when we are masters of our destiny. Increased citizen participation allows for a mutual increase in education and power. Public officials must give citizens a reason for participating in policy formation, a sense that what they are doing counts and is not just an academic exercise.

Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together. It's almost ironic that the fundamental flaws in our city's political system can only be corrected by reinventing democracy!

Connected to our participatory rights are a series of responsibilities which require neighborhoods to be equally responsible in the use of these rights.

As we watch the uneven, but continuous, development of Austin's neighborhood movement, we must remember we are witnessing not the darkening future of "politics as usual," but rather the hopes of people working on scales they can relate to right in their neighborhoods.

There is a special virtue of politics based on small space, a space in which people can, by and large, know one another and share some sense of the place in which they live -- and consequently share civic interests. The special virtue is that politics in a space of human scale - permitting face to face citizenship, so to speak - provides homes for diversity.

So let us celebrate that diversity, let us celebrate our neighborhoods, and let us discuss the issues! 88

#### Austin, Texas; Description and History

According to the 1980 census, Austin, Texas is a city of 345,496 people, up from 251,808 individuals in 1970. As shown in Chart II, this approximately 40 percent population increase indicates by any measure that rapid growth should play an important role in Austin's politics, as it has since the city was founded in 1839 as the Capital of the Republic of Texas.<sup>89</sup> Although Austin's location on the Colorado River, situated on a dividing line between the piney woods of East Texas and the Hill Country of LBJ's birth, is frequently cited as the anchor of Austin's century of growth, an excellent report by Frank Staniszewski (Ideology and Practice in Municipal Government Reform: A Case Study of Austin, 1977) cites three other factors: 1) founding Austin as the Capital of the Republic of Texas and maintaining a similar status when Texas joined the Union in 1845; 2) winning the site for the state university main campus in 1881; and 3) developing adequate public utilities to service



CHART II  
POPULATION GROWTH OF AUSTIN  
AND TRAVIS COUNTY (1840 - 1980)

Year	Austin		Travis County	
	Population	% Change	Population	% Change
1840	856	-	-	-
1850	629	-26.5	3,138	-
1860	3,496	455.4	8,080	157.5
1870	4,428	26.7	13,153	62.8
1880	11,013	148.7	27,028	105.5
1890	14,575	32.3	36,322	34.4
1900	22,258	52.7	47,386	30.5
1910	29,860	34.2	55,620	17.4
1920	34,879	16.8	57,616	3.6
1930	53,120	52.3	77,777	34.9
1940	87,930	65.5	111,053	42.7
1950	132,459	50.6	160,980	45.0
1960	186,545	40.9	212,136	31.8
1970	251,808	35.0	295,516	39.3
1980	345,496	37.2	419,335	41.9

Sources: Frank Staniszewski, Ideology and Practice in Municipal Government Reform: A Case Study of Austin; Paper #8, The University of Texas at Austin, Studies in Urban Political Economy; 1977.  
City of Austin, Planning Department, Peggy Kaluzny, Census Reports (1981-1983).

the extra-governmental and educational institutions.<sup>90</sup> Recognizing the local nature of Austin's politics since its beginning, there is also a reflection of the other national coalitions described in this report's introduction. According to Stanizewski,

From the historical description of Austin's political reform, several facts are immediately obvious. Clearly, the practice of reform is often consistent with avowed ideals, but other motives are also revealed. In retrospect, ulterior motives of reformers appear to be stronger and more important guidelines for reform practice than the higher goals often cited in urban literature.<sup>91</sup>

To begin with, the impetus for structural changes in Austin's government consistently came from a coherent group of nouveau riche business-elites. The growth in their strength and numbers coincides perfectly with the rise of reform proposals. Even stronger evidence of their singularly important role in the reform movement is not hard to find. They openly advocated and worked for the changes which were instituted between the 1890s and 1930. Several prominent business leaders and organizations stick out as champions of the movement.<sup>92</sup>

... The campaign for the council-manager plan (in the early 1920s) was again championed by businessmen through the Chamber of Commerce, the successor of the old Austin Business League... To blunt bad publicity for their movement, businessmen and the Chamber set up a shadow organization, masking the class nature of the plan's early support. The City Manager Club was still clearly a creature of the Chamber of Commerce, however. With the passage of the plan further signs of the central role of businessmen and professionals became obvious. The class of men elected under the plan was unlike the previous administration under Mayor Yett and the control of Zilker's faction. The new administration members had average incomes of around \$12,000 a year compared to the former administration's estimated \$5,000 a year income.<sup>93</sup>

... The city manager plan is the last total restructuring of Austin's government, remaining basically intact today with minor modifications. The business elite that came to the fore in the 1890s was now satisfied and no longer provided an impetus for change. Gradually their interest in politics waned after 1927 and 1929. In 1931 and 1933, Zilker's forces made a steady comeback. By 1933, Tom Miller, Zilker's protege, was elected mayor. Now however, the politicians return to the helm did not bring a recurrence of the struggles of the last four decades. The business elite was defeated out of apathy. Incumbents refused to even campaign for themselves. Their inaction came not out of a sense of defeat, but complete victory which they felt confident was irreversible.<sup>94</sup>

... the goals of the business elite were the promotion of a safe, stable, and supportive environment for growth beneficial to business in general. In addition to this, specific policy decisions have resulted in substantial monetary gains for select industries. The two primary recipients of these municipal favors are banking and real estate, building and development interests... Regardless of the supportative arguments, they entail a net transfer of funds from the general public to the specific interest...<sup>95</sup>

... With the manager plan, the business elite reached total fulfillment of their goals. The government was centralized as a democratic system could hope to be. "Business management at city hall" matched the mentality of the Chamber of Commerce to a "T" ... Through long years of effort, at-large elections, and commission government, the political opposition could no longer compete on a city wide basis with men whose prestige and economic influence was so considerable. ... By 1933 their victory was complete. The final triumph was the triumph of their ideology ... 96 Their real target was openly stated as the petty politics and log-rolling of the ward system, the system supported by labor, Negroes, and riff-raff. 97

This latter group led by Col. A. J. Zilker consisted of neighborhood businessmen, ward politicians and ward healers. They had a following of labor, as expressed by the Board of Trades in 1908, of minorities as was evident in the 1901 election, and for a time commanded the support of middle class voters until promises of prosperity swayed their allegiance ... 98

... In the Onward Austin campaign (of the late 1920s and 1930s), even minorities were appeased by promises of services in their neighborhoods, and the inheritors of Zilker's political mantle accepted the programs and policies established earlier. The corporate ideal of business leadership in public affairs nationwide was guided in Austin by the city's own business leaders. They were now content to retire to the back seat of their chauffeur driven limousines ... 99

Austin's corporate leaders remade the city in their own image between 1889 and 1930. Today the city remains largely within that image and functions along the businessmen's ideal ... From this examination of Austin's history we can see that the conflicts are conflicts of political interests, not abstract ideals and rhetoric. There is more to administratively efficient government structures or procedures that "reflect a representativeness of the city as a whole," than is first apparent. These are most likely means to an end rather than ends in themselves ... This study of Austin tells the story of those structures, what they really do and were meant to do. It shows those who benefit inordinately while the city as a whole bears the costs of subsidized growth. It shows the mechanisms which have helped to make that situation possible, and the long political struggles involved in instituting those mechanisms in Austin's municipal government. 100

... Since 1926 the city has operated within the social efficiency provided by the corporate ideal of responsibility. By 1933, even formal staunch opponents were harnessed to the desires and concrete programs of the business elite. Even under Zilker's protege, Tom Miller, who served as mayor on and off from 1933 to 1962, the business interests were seldom threatened. 101 ... In the 1950s and 1960s the business elite met a resurgent opposition with renewed activity. They organized again in "non-partisan" leagues to protect the (city) charter that worked so well for them. A few modifications were introduced to tighten their grip on council elections. The place system and run-off provisions in 1953 were aimed at the troublesome opposition of Emma Long. The 1967 revision increasing the Council to 7 members as of 1969 was pushed to water down the liberal minority on the council and make it harder to get a majority. 102

1967 is the beginning of the modern period in Austin politics. Up until this time the business establishment was able to elect a majority of the council at will. Although opposition liberals at various times managed to win a strong minority of council seats, the basic continuity of the business community's policies was maintained; many decisions were removed from the council to the technical expertise of the city manager. Although there have been informal arrangements whereby council members participated in some functions normally practiced by the city manager, the system established by 1930 in Austin remains basically intact as of 1983.

In the early 1970s liberal and progressive forces began utilizing the city's boards and commissions as avenues to raise issues which the city council was forced to consider, in addition to the traditional informal views of their financial backers.

According to Staniszewski, a new charter amendment set to go in effect in 1969 expanding the number of members of the city council from 5 to 7 members, was too late to keep the liberals from gaining a majority of 3 seats in 1967. These three members included Emma Long, who had been a member on and off since 1949; newcomer Dick Nichols; and businessman Harry Akin who was selected as mayor. Akin was a businessman, but was involved in such efforts as the desegregation of Austin's restaurants in the 1960s. His candidacy split the business community by attracting those liberal enough to accept him, while alienating the more conservative elements.

Unlike the 1981 council whose strategic mishandling of economic issues caused them political embarrassment, the 1967 majority fell victim to the wrath of the business elite on a major social issue.

True to form, the (1967) newcomers prompted city-manager Bill Williams' retirement into a real estate career (like city manager Dan Davidson in 1981), as he claimed they violated the apolitical aura of his

office. More unforgivable to the business elite, the Council liberals passed an open housing ordinance (against racial discrimination). Prompted by this liberal, regulatory ordinance aimed at no less than the real estate industry, the conservation reaction was quickly mounted. The Greater Austin Association was forced to sponsor repeal proceedings. This organization, though represented by citizens from every sector of the community, was led by real estate interests. They succeeded in repealing the ordinance in a referendum and went on to ensure the defeat of Long, Nichols and Akin in the 1969 elections. 103

The 1967 council demonstrated the viability of a liberal coalition in Austin politics. With the support of the increasingly large and active black and chicano populations, the liberal Democratic forces wielded a significant minority of voters. Still, they proved insufficient in the face of a relatively organized and active business-led campaign. In 1971, the balance was tipped again, this time away from the business elite. . . . In the May (1971) elections, support in student precincts proved to be the margin of difference in the election of a nominal liberal majority. This included Jeff Friedman, Berl Handcox (the first Black councilman since reconstruction), Dick Nichols, and Lowell Leberman, though subsequently Leberman proved to be liberal on environmental issues only. . . 104

Nichols lost the support of liberals with more than a few pro-establishment actions and lost the re-election in 1973. In his place Bob Binder was elected, whom we'll hear more about in 1981. Finally, in 1975, Jeff Friedman was elected mayor, along with a workable majority consisting of two Anglo women, a Black, and a Chicano.

The liberal majority elected in 1975 represents a definite break with the past, but not a complete break. Though the farther left elements of Austin would consider many of the new council members only moderate at best, they are clearly different from the traditional political leaders from the business community. This can be seen by a comparison to the opposition business candidates running in the 1975 election. Emma Lou Linn, a psychology professor defeated Tommy Lawless, an Austin general contractor. Trevino, the Chicano councilman, defeated Jay Johnson, a former councilman . . . active in the Austin Citizens League . . . Jimmy Snell, the city's Black councilman, was a manager of a life insurance company. He defeated real estate agent Chick Karte and Ben Blond, the owner of an electrical supply shop, in a three-way race. Finally, Margaret Hoffman who was active in community affairs such as Think Trees and Austin Tomorrow Goals, defeated Bob Gray, a building contractor, formerly on the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce. 105

To understand the fate of the liberal cause, it is worth noting Staniszewski's description of Mayor Friedman's role. Austin's youngest mayor, a lawyer, and former University of Texas student president, "Friedman is unlike past mayors, . . . he views his job as an advocate of the people . . . Still, his support goes beyond students, minorities, and liberal Democrats, to those who are also involved in business activities normally associated with the city's traditional political leadership."<sup>106</sup>

In particular, three prominent business supporters of the Mayor's organized his victory party and fund raiser, which paid off a large portion of his campaign debt. Recognizing these ties, it is impossible to claim that Friedman is totally disassociated from the groups that have controlled Austin. It also helps explain the moderation of his basic liberal bent on some policy matters such as recent support of bond proposals. Friedman's backing of the 1976 water and wastewater \$79 million bond package represents at least one line of continuity with the business administrations of the '50s and '60s as well as the booster elements going back to the 19th century. Also significant given the thrust of this paper, Friedman and his "liberal" administration failed to alter the form of government brought into existence by the business elite in 1926. Despite some rumblings the incoming liberal council did not even appoint their own city manager. <sup>107</sup>

Dan Davidson, already a veteran in the city manager's position, was to out-last the Friedman council by four years. But in 1975, the business community was organized to prevent the termination of the city manager and briefly initiated a recall campaign to prove their point.

In 1975 a Charter Revision Committee was created whose membership, proposals, and city council reaction in 1976 reflected "the full array of political questions currently plaguing Austin . . . (and) the factional divisions and coalitions in the community."<sup>108</sup>

In February of 1976 the city council was faced with a majority and minority report from the committee. The liberal majority report called for:

District elections of 10 council men and at-large election of the mayor (the 10-1 plan), . . . citizen advisory boards of district representatives, to provide for budget, planning, and community service decisions. This would further advance neighborhood government at the expense of city-wide promoted and financed decision making, seen to favor private business interests, . . . (and that the) council review department heads at two year intervals. This would allow the council to take its own initiative and become responsible for management rather than allowing them to hide behind the expertise of the city-manager. 109

The minority report opposed most of the recommendations of the majority, while splitting on single-member district elections. The conservatives opposed any district elections that would "end progressive government in favor of bossism and political bartering and trade-outs."<sup>110</sup> The moderates offered an 8-1 plan which they felt was politically, more practical reflecting natural boundaries in the city.

In what turned out to be the Friedman Council's dying days, they took no action on the Committee's proposals. By state law, charter revision elections can only be held in April, August or January.

Despite the months of publicity and hearings conducted during the (Committee's) deliberations, a 4-3 council majority decided not to "rush into" an April election. Liberal council person Linn and the Black and Chicano councilmen Snell and Trevino urged an April election. Conservative Himmelblau and moderate or relatively conservative Leberman opposed the revisions. Though basically liberal in her outlook, Margaret Hoffman saw a need for more time and study and voted to postpone the election. The swing vote was wielded by Mayor Friedman. Claiming that an April election was too much of a rush, creating legal and balloting questions, he also voted to table the issue. In effect, this killed the (Committee's) majority proposals. Subsequent elections could only be held in August or January when many crucial student voters would be out of town. Also, a January 1977 election in favor of districts would not allow 60 days for court review before scheduled 1977 (city council) elections. 111

Finally in 1977, Friedman decided not to run for reelection and liberals Linn and Hoffman lost their places on the council in May runoffs. The resulting battle in the mayor's race pitted the successful campaign of moderate-conservative Carole

McClellan (ex-president of the school board) against the much more conservative tax attorney Jack McCreary. This contest was to be replayed with variations in 1981, but for the first two years of the McClellan Council the business community and its council enjoyed a justifiably renewed sense of confidence and power.

It would not be until after her next reelection in 1979 that the agenda of Austin's business elite would be seriously threatened.

#### Stage I: Finding Community Patterns (1978-1979)

In 1978, a combination of circumstances turned my attention to local city politics. I had spent part of that year and 1977 researching a number of state-wide issues under the populist-editor of the Texas Observer, Jim Hightower.<sup>112</sup> My reporting experiences left me with a profound recognition of the entrenched power of the monied elite in Texas politics, in conjunction with the lack of influence by grass-root organizations, let alone individual citizens. I was left with a vague notion that there had to be some effective process that allowed true citizen participation in, and control of, government. At the same time, the McClellan Austin City Council was developing, in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce forces, a new economic development strategy which bypassed the city's boards and commissions.

The most prominent example of this strategy was plans by Maryland's American Cities Corporation, hired by the city for over \$130,000, for a new convention center and economic development program. According to a study done for a Chicano Neighborhood group by a policy research project at the L.B.J. School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas:

... In the spring of 1979 the City Council unveiled a plan to revitalize downtown Austin, prepared by the American Cities Corporation (a large out-of-state consulting firm). This plan called for the clearance of a



large tract of downtown land adjacent to the East Austin neighborhood . . . and the construction of office buildings, convention hotels, condominiums, and townhouses. (The client neighborhood organization), along with other groups, vehemently opposed this plan, arguing that such a development would cause land prices and taxes to increase in adjacent neighborhoods, resulting in (client population's) displacement. Additionally, American Cities Corporation did not respond to the neighborhood's need for suitable employment opportunities. The neighborhood groups could see that the hotel, convention center, and office jobs promised by the proposed urban renewal would mean only low-paid, "dead-end" jobs for the Chicano community. 113

Simultaneously, as the city council conservative majority flexed their new strength in the absence of a viable liberal opposition, a growing number of isolated groups and individuals became aware that pro-growth advocates were having a field day, while citizen participation was being given the back seat. It was not until the spontaneous citizen protest against the American Cities Plan that the city council decided to have the city's board and commissions review and comment on the proposal during the summer of 1979.

At any rate, it was in 1978 that I began the rather unconscious process of becoming a participant/activist.<sup>114</sup> My experience as a journalist provided me with a working knowledge of a number of Austin activists.<sup>115</sup> I reached a point where I went beyond making observations, and started seeing strategic opportunities. I remember in the fall of 1978 making some suggestions to a liberal and anti-nuclear activist friend about needing to tie the interests of different groups together. She said, obviously frustrated with me and the difficulty of political constituency building, "Listen, you get your group together, and when you do, you can come and talk to my group, and we'll see what we might be able to do together!"

Probably my first major active role in city politics occurred in early 1979 before the April city council elections. The progressive forces were concentrating on a proposition to get of the South Texas Nuclear Project;<sup>116</sup> it looked as though the

members of the conservative-majority city council were going to glide back into another two-year term without opposition. About two months before the election, I was introduced to Rick Ream, a chaplain and anti-nuclear activist, who was interested in letting at least one incumbent run with opposition. His personal choice was Ron Mullen (Place 3), one of the most out-spoken pro-nuclear spokesmen on the council.

The Ream campaign attempted to build on the candidate's natural anti-nuclear constituency towards a larger populist constituency. We held a series of press conferences on such topics as "fair" taxation, zoning issues,<sup>117</sup> and even one where we waxed the incumbent's office for refusing to respond to a constituents' letter.<sup>118</sup> It was pretty heady stuff for five part-time volunteers, lots of foot-work, and \$5,000, to face an incumbent with \$50,000.

But the Ream campaign, even through it only managed to get 22% of the vote, nevertheless managed to reach a voting pattern threshold. As the statistical analysis shows in Section III, Ream's voters manifested a pattern with similarities to the populist patterns in 1981.

The anti-nukers lost their April, 1979, propositions by either six or one percent, depending on which of the two confusing ballot choices are used as a yardstick. To say that the progressive forces were decimated, is something of an understatement.<sup>119</sup>

So, armed with these recent experiences, after the April city council elections I began networking and building toward a "neighborhood-oriented" constituency for the 1981 Austin City Council elections.

On April 30, 1979, twelve individuals held the first meeting of what was to become the Austin Neighborhood Fund (ANF). In a mailing dated May 22, 1979,

announcing the second meeting of the ANF to about 21 people, I wrote in the cover letter:

The enclosed materials are proposals for the role and scope of our organization. The ANF is and will be a developing organization and the decision-making process will be open to subsequent change as the actual development of the organization demands. We can, however, outline the purpose and goals of our joint venture so that in the future we can pursue our adventures with a common understanding and mutual trust. Ours will be a politics of cooperation as versus a politics of conflict. The irony is that a politics of cooperation must be pursued through organized conflict.

These sentiments are echoed by Alinsky:

An analogy might be found in the labor organizer who simultaneously breeds conflict and builds a power structure. The war between the trade union and management is resolved either through a strike or negotiation. Either method involves the use of power; the economic power of the strike or the threat of it, which results in successful negotiations. No one can negotiate without the power to compel negotiation. 120

... An organizer knows that life is a sea of shifting desires, changing elements, of relativity and uncertainty, and yet he must stay within the experience of the people he is working with and act in terms of specific resolution and answers, and definitiveness and certainty. To do otherwise would be to stifle organizations and action, for what the organizer accepts as uncertainty would be seen by them as a terrifying chaos.

In the early days the organizer moves out front in any situation of risk where power of the establishment can get someone's job, call in an overdue payment, or any other form of retaliation, partly because these dangers would cause many local people to back off from conflict. Here the organizer serves as a protective shield: if anything goes wrong it is all his fault, he has the responsibility. If they are successful all credit goes to the local people.

Later, as power increased, the risks diminish, and gradually the people step out front to take the risks. This is part of the process of growing up, both for the local community leaders and for the organization.

The organizer must know and be sensitive to the shadows that surround him during the first days in the community. One of the shadows is that it is just about impossible for people to fully understand -- much less adhere to -- a totally new idea. The fear of change is, as discussed earlier, one of our deepest fears, and a new idea must be at the least couched in the language of past ideas; often, it must be, at first, diluted with vestiges of the past. 121

The May 22, 1979 ANF letter outlined the proposed purpose and goals of the

ANF:

1. To create a city-wide citizen network that will facilitate a shift in the City's decision making process from city hall to the neighborhoods.
2. To aid development of grass-roots issues through a judicious distribution of money from the ANF, in conjunction with other funds and sources, to help facilitate greater citizen knowledge about issues, so that ultimately citizens may assume the responsibilities inherent in the previous goal.
3. To develop Fund participants (via monthly donations of one to five dollars) and mailing lists.
4. A year-and-a-half goal of accumulating enough money in the Fund to provide seed money for neighborhood-oriented candidates for the next Austin City Council election.

Although many, if not most, of those who participated in the early ANF meetings viewed themselves as progressives or liberals, there was an intentional interest to make the ANF philosophy something else. During the first ANF conversations, one ACORN member remarked how difficult it would be to start such an organization until the economy picked up; it was only then, he thought, that there would be enough interest and money to develop new social programs to mobilize a liberal constituency. I replied that the economy may be on a relative long-term decline, and with that kind of attitude, we might never build a majority constituency. That constituency would have to be built on non-monied approaches to constituency building; through a community dialogue on a combination of issues we would have to create a political market where the monied interests would have no other choice but to spend their cash talking about whatever issues people were interested in.

So, the ANF with its semi-monthly newsletter (The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch) and annual Issues Conferences, succeeded well with the first two of the

original four goals. For the third goal, success was adequate in terms of haphazardly raising sufficient money to handle mailing and printing costs for a year-and-a-half period totalling about \$1,300; it takes a lot of people and effort to gather that much at \$5.00 a throw, and the number of participants represented in those terms were tangible evidence of grass-roots monetary support. As for the fourth goal, the ANF never gathered enough money to seed neighborhood-oriented candidates campaigns, although the networking model of the ANF certainly had some role to play in the large pool of volunteers and small contributors available to candidates in 1981.

The ANF's statement of principles, as summarized in May of 1979, underlies the premises of its networking vision:

To many of us it has become apparent in the last several years of accelerated growth that Austin city government has been, and is to an expending degree, serving the interests of a small elite, at the expense of Austin citizens.

The Austin Neighborhood Fund stands for a process of city planning and policy making in which neighborhoods, citizen organizations, minority groups, employee associations, local business people and others will have: 1) real powers in the policy and planning process, and 2) ready access to the information and tools necessary for informed decision-making.

We stand for a growth rate for Austin which: 1) serves the interests of the general citizenry; 2) protects neighborhood integrity; 3) protects our environment; 4) does not require of citizens skyrocketing taxes, utility bills and housing costs in order to subsidize speculation and profiteering by a few development interests.

Throughout the summer of 1979 during its first development phase, ANF participants informally continued networking with other groups and individuals based on the potential of our cooperative action. By the summer's end, ANF members included two of the three 1981 new council members.

In the early fall of 1979 I was recruited by the Austin Neighborhoods Council (ANC) to be their newsletter editor. Since the ANC was created in 1975, members of

the executive committee had grown to realize that they were going to have to take, in some yet undetermined manner, more of a political stance in order to have meaningful influence. I have always felt that the ANC asked me to join the executive committee because of my recent political experience, in addition to my work as a journalist and membership in the Hyde Park Neighborhood Association.

Much to my surprise, I came to the ANC with more "conservative" tendencies than other neighborhood representatives on matters such as development policies, environmental concerns, and the real possibilities of influencing change. Perhaps it was a combination of both their relative political inexperience and the supportive neighborhood milieu, but after three months with the ANC, I had more hope for grass-roots influence than any time since I first saw bankers' ability to change state laws which interfered with their preferred practices.<sup>122</sup> During this time, hope was one of the most difficult concepts to develop among community organizations. As Alinsky said: "Communication is not in the telling; personal experience is necessary for real understanding."<sup>123</sup>

In an effort to implement a grand economic design, the city council progressively dabbled in policies that played the whole against the sum of its parts. Neighborhoods increasingly found themselves isolated victims of solutions which caused problems with increased rents and property taxes, deteriorating environmental quality, planning, transportation, and declining housing stock. I believed that by working through the sub-units of the city, I could find enough like-minded people to alter the course of Austin city politics. People who were committed to making their own political agenda, instead of just taking cues from the "powers that be."

All activists live in some neighborhood; name any point on the political spectrum -- liberal, conservative (any of whom read this would just roll in their

graves to think of themselves as "activists"), moderate, consumer, Chicano, Black, etc. -- all have representatives of one sort of or another active in Austin's neighborhood groups.

And neighborhood groups were already well-armed in their own terms in dissatisfaction with politics and business as usual at the city level. Their central concerns were "quality of life" and economic issues, not as the city fathers, experts, and press told them through their TV sets and newspapers, but as it developed with their neighbors in monthly meetings where they, most importantly, they interacted with each other.

Every city or region has its own unique components and potential for community organizational growth. In Austin there were virtually no neighborhood groups in 1970. By 1981 there were over 100 neighborhood groups listed with the City of Austin's Planning Department.<sup>124</sup> In this city of 345,000 people (and 185,000 registered voters) there were also the neighborhood councils like the Austin Neighborhoods Council (with about 40 member groups in 1981); East Town Lake Citizens Council (with about 10 member groups); ACORN (with another 6 to 12 member groups in 1981); and the seven Democratic clubs. In addition, there are scores of other groups who are more of a "community of issues" than a geographic community.

A poll run for the spring 1981 city council races indicated that 25% of the registered voters or their families were actual members of neighborhood organizations. Neighborhood people are participant activists by definition and process.

Also, beginning in 1979, environmentalists were growing in their political organization potential, most notably in the ad hoc Zilker Park Posse and the related Save Barton Creek Association.<sup>125</sup>

Stage II: Preparing for the Bond Election  
and the Victor's Alternatives (1980)

Stage II of the ANF's development began in the fall of 1979 when about 85 individuals were on the ANF mailing list. I began writing and editing a semi-monthly newsletter, which in another few months was formalized into the Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, "A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service" (See copies of Newswatch in Appendix). As our networking took on more substance, we began actively looking for some appropriate and effective means actively to exercise and mobilize our populist potential. Alinsky describes this kind of populist competition in Rules for Radicals:

Once one understands the internal battle for power within the status quo, one can begin to appraise effective tactics to exploit it. A calculated maneuvering of the power of one part of the Haves against its other parts is central to successful strategy.

The basic tactic in warfare against the Haves is a mass political jujitsu: the Have-Nots do not rigidly oppose the Haves, but yield in such planned and skilled ways that the superior strength of the Haves becomes their own undoing. 126

The opportunity came with a bond election that the City Council had been postponing since the summer of 1979. When the election was finally set in December for February 23, 1980, neighborhood and environmentally-oriented individuals began meeting in December to discuss what kind of common action we might pursue. By this time the movement had a life of its own; the acts of any one individual became less important, while the cooperation of many talented people created more opportunities and energy.



The \$131 million bond package included 11 propositions ranging from a police impoundment lot to water and wastewater and electric system improvements. The two main elements of the coalition that formed to fight the bonds were environmentalist Zilker Park Posse and Save Barton Creek Association, and neighborhood representatives (ANF and ANC).

The environmentalists were most concerned about the water bonds which were destined for utility expansion in environmentally sensitive areas. The conventional wisdom of liberal political consultants like future councilmember Roger Duncan had it that opponents of the bond package were likely to cause the defeat of only one of the propositions.

On the other hand, the neighborhood people were interested in a much broader range of tactical and substantial issues. We were not only against the substance of some of the bonds, but more importantly, the city's process of choosing bond projects with little citizen input. We were also conscious of Alisky's and the liberals concern with strategy and timing:

Time in Tactics: From the moment the tactician engages in conflict, his enemy is time. This should be kept in mind when one is considering boycotts . . . Even so, any skilled organizer knows that he can push this negative over into a positive: He can compel or maneuver the opposition to make the mistake themselves. 127

On January 9, the ANF held its first press conference. As reported the next day in the Austin American-Statesman, Larry Deuser (ANC vice-president and Tracor engineer) asked the city to change three policies before the bond election: first, the city should stop charging for copies of official documents such as budgets, agendas and bond proposals; second, bond proposals should be defined clearly and limited to specific projects; finally, the city should create a Water and

Wasterwater Commission. The water and wastewater crew was the only major city department that did have a citizen board.

"There is no justification for additional charges for finding out what city staff is doing with our money," said Deuser, referring to the city's policy of charging for documents. "The city has been devising obstacles to free public access to information and has repeatedly provided too little too late."

Having developed some experience in measuring limited resources, the neighborhood element knew that the environmentalists had the greater ability to attract money for media. We agreed to allow the early focus of the opposition to be the ill-influence of the water and wastewater bonds; the neighborhood people would wait until within two weeks before the elections to announce our opposition to at least half of the bond propositions.

It was amazing how many previously unheard and unseen individuals and groups got into the bond act. Even Jim Hightower, my former editor at the Texas Observer, was active in opposing the electric utility proposition because of the last minute inclusion of a lignite coal stripmining component.

Although the mayor campaigned hard for the bonds, some of the City Council gave the propositions mixed reviews, with conservative Ron Mullen announcing his objection to the water bonds the Zilker Park Posse opposed.

When the smoke cleared on election night (February 23, 1980), six of the eleven bonds went down to outright defeat, with the water and wastewater bonds failing by margins of 75%. Although the environmentalists did raise about \$20,000, they were outspent two to one by developers and the pro-bond factions (see campaign financing in the Appendix).

Interestingly, there were subtle changes in the nature of the electorate's voting patterns. Traditional conservative areas voted in smaller percentages than was usual, and perhaps because of their anti-tax bias, more "radically" against the bonds than many of the traditional liberal areas, all with startling results: a police facility failed and low-income neighborhood centers passed by equally narrow margins.

But success has its own pitfalls, as was observed late in 1981 by the then president of the Austin Neighborhoods Council, Marilyn Simpson:

The night the votes were being counted at the Electric Building Auditorium for the 1980 bond election, a neighborhood proponent there to join the victory issued a warning. She said that, so long as we had only won small victories and had not demonstrated our city-wide appeal, we were relatively safe from a concerted attack by our opponents. But with our victory in the (1980) bond election, we would be subjected to both subtle and blatant attacks, as well as attempts to infiltrate and/or take over our movement. This is already taking place. One association, the central city area, reports that local developer-property owners have joined the association and are attempting to replace the present officers, who are homeowners. In southwest Austin, to the surprise of many, a neighborhood group lobbied strongly to support 550 condominium units in an area clearly suited for single-family residences. 128

Mayor McCellan proved to be her own greatest enemy when, as the results of the election became obvious, she announced before TV cameras that the voters were "confused," an opinion she finally modified a week later.

As reported in the March 1980 issue of NewsWatch, "The Zilker Park Posse started the demands for post-election changes. The Posse says that they cannot support any further bond package elections unless the City Council eliminates all projects not in compliance with the Master Plan, trims contingency funding to the previous levels, creates a water and wastewater commission, implements competent growth management policies and develops a new water-waster water master plan.

"ANC President Marilyn Simpson echoed these sentiments in a public statement of March 10: 'The City should implement a bond process which would make citizens a more important part of decision-making.'"

Although Mayor McClellan promised to contact "individuals and groups who opposed the bonds and listen to their questions," she managed little more than that. When the Mayor met with members of the ANC executive committee later in March, the only question she gave us an answer to was token additional access to city information. On all other reform proposals, city officials, simply stonewalled. The next bond election was not held until after the 1981 council elections, even though the 1979 bond election was originally termed an "emergency."

Partially, city officials were attempting to turn the populists own strategy against them. McClellan might even have quoted Alinsky to describe the approach her council pursued with the rising consciousness of the community: "No organization . . . can live up to the letter of its own book. You can club them to death with their "book" of rules and regulations." 129

By presenting a picture of being responsive to the community coalition, the McClellan council was attempting to find the soft points in this new political force.

#### Setting the Electoral Stage (1980-1981)

With the success of the bond election, the ANF moved into Stage III of its development, where our recruitment rhetoric could include what we had done in the issue-oriented electoral arena. We continued networking and building to overcome the real barriers the movement had to negotiate for the election of candidates based on popular issues and community trust. <sup>130</sup>

It could have been much more difficult to tighten the reins of coalition cooperation, if it was not for the continuing decisions of the City Council. The Council kept the environmental, neighborhood and progressive activists motivated by continuing to back policies threatening Austin's creeks and watersheds, and by cutting back on basic city services like library hours. The Chamber of Commerce types were trying to get the anti-tax people on their side by not allowing an increase in the "tax rate"; it was fairly easy, since the City in 1980 had just finished a bi-annual property value reappraisal which almost doubled the total figure from two years previous and hence could allow a major defacto increase in their tax bills. In addition, the council attempted to keep a potent progressive coalition from forming by continuing to cultivate traditional minority and labor power brokers.

Although these tactics proved troublesome, the establishment failed to recognize the basic community nature of the opposition they were helping to create. And the establishment was also somewhat divided by competition in its own coalitional elements. For instance, some of the "old money" people were appalled by Austin's rapid growth and high municipal debt, and the corresponding relative status of their diminishing influence. As Alinsky put it, recognizing the establishments, internal competitive elements, and properly goading and guiding them to reaction, can be a community movement's major strength.

With the arrival of summer in 1980, the ANF continued to provide an organizational vehicle to monitor the changes, from an activists point of view, in the general political population. Since the participants of the ANF were a diversified group of individuals and interests, their collective opinions foreshadowed the developing political options of the general population.

For instance, in an interest poll of ANF members in the Summer of 1980 (used as a decision tool for the workshop topics for the fall's First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference), the top five issue selections were: 1) protection of our watersheds; 2) who controls growth; 3) environment; 4) transportation; and 5) comprehensive planning ordinance.

As it turned out, a scientific poll done during the same time period at a cost of \$14,000, showed the same kind of issue orientation in the general population, with concern about Austin's rapid growth on top of the list.

#### ANF Issues Conference/Sunfest

In the late spring of 1980 various group representatives were meeting (under the lead of the Zilker Park Possee) in an attempt to save from destruction the old Armadillo World Headquarters and prevent the construction of another hotel near the Barton Creek watershed. I could tell that we were not going to develop a consensus strong enough to stop the destruction of the old "space-cowboy" landmark; the budding longer-term electoral coalition's rationalizations had too many disjointed and unconnected issue strings.

This situation demanded the creation of the "First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference," held on September 13, 1980 at the College House Cooperative. Lead by community experts, the conference had seven workshops. Topics included: comprehensive planning, watersheds, transportation, city process, neighborhood organization, historic downtown and energy.

We had two key-note speakers at the morning and afternoon sessions. Larry Deuser of the ANC spoke in the morning on "Neighbors, neighborhood, and Coalitions;" in the afternoon Dr. Gene Burd of the University of Texas at Austin School of

Communications addressed the topic of "Neighborhood Issues and the Press." Thanks to the donated services of many individuals, the whole conference was produced for less than \$400.

About 100 community activists participated in the conference which about 30 people helped organize. For a five dollar registration fee, conference participants had time to attend four of the seven workshops and received a fifty-page booklet presenting a neighborhood analysis of the seven workshop issues.

In an Analysis of the First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference, Pat Otis, then a doctoral candidate at the University of Texas, wrote:

Citizen Participation, Keeping Austin's Quality of Life', the conference theme, emerged out of three philosophical position statements according to the conference booklet: 1) that human dignity depends on individual freedom and is only possible when individuals control their future, (citizen participation in policy formation is necessary for this control to be actualized); 2) power is derived from group participation rather than individual effort and; 3) a neighborhood base for participation provides a scale for human interaction, shared civic interest and diversity. The goals of the conference . . . were: 1) to increase citizen participation in policy formulation; 2) to improve skills and knowledge of members of neighborhood groups in controlling growth of the city, 3) to achieve consensus as to the direction of issue resolution, 4) to strengthen commitment to the neighborhood movement coalitions as a vehicle for group power, and 5) to manifest 'the growing influence of Austin's neighborhood movement. 131

The intended outcomes implied by the conference rationale and objectives might be assumed to be: 1) increased citizen participation in policy formulation, 2) strengthened commitment to the neighborhood movement as a vehicle for group power, 3) improved skill and knowledge of participants to control growth of the city, and 4) participant consensus as to guiding principles on the seven major issues addressed in the workshops. 132

Otis noted one problem with the conference's logical flow from objectives to transactions. The goal of promoting "individual commitment to broader neighborhood coalitions" lacked specific transactional programming.

All formats were lecture style with only "expert" and participant interaction, and the lunch arrangement (local restaurants or brown bagging it while watching a film) inhibited the likelihood of participant bonding, coalition formulation or identification with the broader movement . . .

The planned activities, listening to lectures and reading the well prepared statements of the issues (in the conference booklet) are closely associated with increased knowledge, recognition and recall of facts rather than with skill development. 133

Noting that the resources available for the First Annual Issues Conference included "volunteer planners/presentors, donated facilities, and a small participant fee collected at the door," Otis observed that "the conduct of a well organized conference on citizen participation may not seem 'objectively likely', or at best a difficult undertaking requiring strong committment of personal resources by the planners."<sup>134</sup>

Overall, the conference clearly identified and studied five major issues impacting neighborhood residents (watersheds, transportation, historic downtown, energy and neighborhood planning), two system impact points (city planning and city budgeting), and one process (organization). The identification of the critical issues might be considered a critical first step in local agenda building for the neighborhood movement. 135

Five observations regarding intended outcomes of the conference should be noted. First, the ability of the volunteer Austin Neighborhood Fund and other neighborhood movement groups to plan, organize and implement a highly sophisticated issues conference for citizens is surely a 'manifestation of the growing influence of Austin's neighborhood movement' and served as a model of citizen commitment to public purpose. Second, participants appeared to have gained knowledge of several major issues impacting the city's growth from generally will-informed experts. The conference booklet on issues is likely to assist participant fact retention and dissemination of information to other neighborhood association members. A third outcome of increased skills in impacting social policy formulation as a result of the conference is unknown, but may not be likely, given the lack of a transaction phase as described earlier. Fourth, the goal of increasing citizen participation in social policy formulation can only be an outcome to the extent that those participants currently engaged become more active . . . Fifth, there was no consensus formulated by participants regarding the issues nor was there evidence to the observer of sufficient cognitive and social interaction to generate commitment to coalition. 136



Another event of major importance was the Phogg Phoundation for the Pursuit of Happiness's annual production of "Sunfest '80," held on October 4 and 5th. That year the event was co-sponsored by the Austin Neighborhoods Council and the City of Austin's Renewable Energy Resources Commission. Under sunny fall skies, the event was enjoyed by over 25,000 people with community booths, good times, good music, and subliminal community politics. More than politics as usual, people's politics must be fun, and the Phogg Phoundation provides as good a model as any around.<sup>137</sup>

#### Fall-Spring: Coalitions and Precinct Organization Conferences

Through a series of late fall and early spring workshops, meetings and informal dialogues, the political coalition that would assist the election of neighborhood/progressively-oriented city council members began taking shape about six months before the April 1981 election. There was never time to waste. The pragmatic purpose behind the various meetings and educational workshops was a very simple one: to build our mutual basis for individual and group cooperative trust.

When one sits down and participates with others, an amazing number of decisions must be made to make cooperation a net success for all the entities involved. A bad group decision, reinforced by a few subsequent decisions, can utterly destroy common threads previously woven to promote common interest and its corresponding power. Group decisions must move at the rate allowed by the shifting nature of group experiences and opportunities.

In the fall of 1980, a series of dialogues and workshops were held among individuals from groups representing progressive political clubs, labor, neighborhood groups (including those from traditional minority areas), tenant groups, utility rate reform groups, women's groups, conservation and environmental groups, and experienced non-affiliated political consultants.

Although we did not know it at the time, these efforts were important for hammering out the coalition for four main reasons:

- 1) to thrust each group into an environment where its members might see how its priority issues stacked up against the developing larger coalition;
- 2) to develop the issues of the larger coalition in terms of mutual interest, and with an eye on how these issues relate to the interests of the voting population;
- 3) to provide the members of the represented groups an education on political and precinct organizing; and
- 4) to provide the overall coalition with some knowledge of the relative strengths and talents of member groups so that limited resources could be used without duplicating efforts and combining them in ways that the overall goals of the coalition might be accomplished.

#### Spring: Introduction to the Candidates

In February of 1981, I had the results of a candidate survey of the now more than 200 ANF members (about 40 individuals responded). One of the requirements for participation in the poll was that members sign their names to their survey sheet. Although a few of the sheets had comments requesting that their opinions should be kept confidential (we had promised that only the total results would be made public), there was an important reason for the "sign thy name" requirement. Most of those who wrote notes and did not sign their names were not ANF members (I could tell by the xeroxed staple marks on their forms), and as a group they supported some nominally liberal candidates who had little history of cultivating the power of community groups.

The poll results were the basis of the ANF's candidate endorsements. Four of the council candidates (Binder for Mayor, Dueser for Place 1, Duncan for Place 2, and Trevino for Place 5) had poll endorsements by margins of 75% or better. For the remaining candidates the survey results were mixed and the final decision was reached about a month later after decisions by the 20-member ANF steering committee.

The results: no endorsement in Place 4 (the ANF could not reach a consensus, although most knew that "liberal" incumbent Richard Goodman would win); an endorsement of Marcos DeLeon who was suffering from low name identification in Place 3; and a double endorsement for Charles Urdy and Bertha Means in Place 6 (Urdy gained a large plurality in the general election, and Means lost much of her remaining progressive support when she leaned towards supporting the city's participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project in order to differentiate herself from Urdy).

By January 1981, environmentalist Roger Duncan had been laying the groundwork for his campaign for over a year and was well on his way towards having the best organized campaign of the season. His efforts proved to be a major force in carrying the coalition candidates home on election day.<sup>138</sup>

Deuser's campaign, which consumed much of my pre-election time (I was the official "neighborhood coordinator" and for most of the campaign was unofficial and defacto campaign manager), didn't really start until January of 1981. The campaign burned-out more organizers in a four month period than any other like time I've witnessed. But Deuser's was definitely my model campaign, a people's campaign that minimized traditional costs because the candidate had spent years understanding community trust and the neighborhood movement. One pollster told me later that it was Deuser who became the liberal's touchbearer for the run-off election.<sup>139</sup>

### Toward Election Day With Coalitions and Candidates

Now that this loose coalition of activists was communicating, and sharing political and precinct organizing information, there remained two major areas that needed to be developed.

The first, which turned out to be surprisingly difficult, was the articulation of an issue base in ways that many diverse groups, including a majority of the electorate, could understand and agree with.

The second, and most important since this was an electoral experience, was the selection of the candidates the coalition's members would support. For the coalition as a whole there was never a formal unanimous decision for candidate support; a loose consensus barely formed just before the coalition's literature drives a few weeks before April 4th.

But most groups understood why various groups were supporting certain candidates (from the range of liberal/developer/social service groups to neighborhood/tenant/anti-nuclear orientations, and ranges and mixes between), and despite their specific candidate preferences, activists were able to participate in a coordinated literature drop in 50 of the city's 86 precincts, 2-3 weeks before the election day on April 4.

The River City Coordinating Council, the eventual name of the largest coalition structure, held a second precinct organizing conference February 14, 1981. Although attendance was low because the workshop fell on Valentine's Day and was also a little late in the coalition building process, it was still a very necessary step. Not only did a group of political experts provide a coherent overview of the final electoral/educational and get-out-the-vote effort, perhaps more importantly, the conference booklet had a description of major issues the coalition participants had

decided in two months of committee work were the most important issues in the campaigns.

Those issues included: 1) establishing fair electric rates by having the City's electric department adopt a "lifeline" rate system or Proposal 7 as it was called, selling Austin's share of the South Texas Nuclear Project, and promoting a comprehensive use of renewable energy systems; 2) establish growth management policies to protect Austin's quality of life, natural resources, neighborhood rights and self-determination, and job opportunities for Austin residents; 3) making growth pay its own way by getting developers off welfare; and 4) budgeting tax money carefully and establishing city policies to respond to the needs of ALL citizens in such areas as public transportation, health services, housing, civil rights, parks and green-belts, and library services.<sup>140</sup>

For the month following the Valentine's Day conference, the representatives of the coalition's member groups had another series of informal meetings in a very difficult effort to determine not only what candidates they cooperatively could support, but what form that support might take.

For awhile there was an attempt to find the relative geographic strength of each member group so each organization could cover their respective areas; and where they had extra resources, distribute those to uncovered neighborhoods in other precincts. The first problem was that many of the network groups had never before experimented with electoral actions, and did not consciously know what resources they had at their disposal. While we attempted to hammer out a coordinated effort, time dwindled dangerously close to the day of the election.

Meanwhile, many of the more experienced "geographic" political groups started covering their areas anyway, and three weeks before the election the

coalition came together and covered again as many precincts with campaign literature as the other, more experienced political groups had already done.<sup>141</sup>

The net result was that the progressive forces worked door-to-door more precincts that had ever been covered in Austin by former progressive coalitions. Part of the reason for our success was that we were more than a progressive coalition.

The second reason the coalition lost most of a month in postponed action was to allow candidate endorsements by member groups. Coalition candidate support finally came down to the strength of consensus. For the seven council positions there were a total of 26 candidates -- an information gathering requirement enough to tax the patience of even the most ardent political junkie. With the races so crowded, the consensus was still surprisingly strong for the 18 groups of the largest coalition: for Mayor, 15 groups supported Bob Binder (although he made it into the runoff, the \$200,000 "personality" campaign of the incumbent carried the day in the end); for Place 1, 15 groups supported Larry Deuser (facing no incumbent, he made it into the runoff where he won with about sixty percent of the vote); for Place 2, Roger Duncan gathered all 18 endorsements (facing only non-incumbent car dealer Bubba Henna, he won with 56% of the vote in the win or lose general election); for Place 3, maverick Marcos DeLeon received 18 endorsements (but with 34% of the vote, he lost against incumbent Chamber booster Ron Mullen); for Place 4, liberal incumbent Richard Goodman picked up 15 group endorsements (and won in the general election with 56% of the vote); for Place 5, incumbent John Trevino picked up all 18 groups (and won the general election with 61% of the vote); and for the open Place 6, Charles Urdy received 17 endorsements, including three dual endorsements (and won in the runoff election with 62% of the vote).

With the general and runoff election coalition efforts, over 200,000 pieces of coalition literature were distributed door-to-door in Austin's neighborhoods.<sup>142</sup>

For the May runoff, mobilizing the members of the coalition proved somewhat difficult because, after all, everyone was tired. Some of the activists also lost a certain degree of candidate excitement since some of the more experienced politicians were officially out of the effort, like Roger Duncan with his April general election win.

It is important to understand that there were other important coalitions which developed to support their own slate of candidates, as well as shades between. For instance there was a strong labor/developer/minority/gay coalition put together by liberal developer lobbyist attorney Ed Wendler, Sr.<sup>143</sup> Through long-time relationships with Mexican-American and Black power brokers, this coalition supported growth policies mainly because it created a power vacuum which was utilized to disturb the power of Austin's old monied elite -- an elite, typically very conservative, which had limited opportunities for minorities and liberals in the 1950s and 1960s. This coalition supported all the "liberal" incumbents for re-election (Goodman and Trevino); McClellan for Mayor (instead of the "progressive" Binder); Guerrero for Place 1 (instead of conservative Bob Duke, or "populist" Larry Deuser); Duncan for Place 2. Although Duncan was running with the support of the populist coalition, this defacto support was a practical recognition by Wendler of coordinating monied interests into political realities; even through Duncan didn't get much, if any, money from these forces, Wendler's support supposedly helped minimize some of the contributions that might have otherwise gone to Duncan's opponent. The Wendler coalition divided their support between conservative Mullen and Chicano neighborhood activist DeLeon in Place 3; and supported Charles Urdy in Place 6 (Urdy was unique in that he was able to pick up support from almost every coalition constituency).

The establishment/professional/conservative coalition, supported with mixed results McCreary for Mayor (and McClellan in the subsequent run-off election); Bob Duke in Place 1; Louis Henna in Place 2; Ron Mullen in Place 3; largely Joan Bartz, but also Rollin Macre in Place 4 (interestingly, Bartz also had some legitimate but not uniform neighborhood support, and Macrae, though a Republican, picked up some strong environmentalist support); Mark Rose for Place 5; and mixed support in Place 6. In Place 6, preference was given to Rev. Marvin Griffin, and then split between Betha Means and Charles Urdy in the run-off.

The most astounding result of this election was the considerable evidence it provided demonstrating how community coalition participation can cut the monetary requirements in election victories. As Larry Deuser simply put it after the 1981 election: "Money doesn't vote; people vote."<sup>144</sup> Before that general election two of Deuser's opponents spent over \$110,000 to his \$14,000 -- and a third of his total was estimated volunteer professional services. Duncan was outspent almost two to one (see financial contributions in Appendix) at a per vote cost of 79¢ to \$2.26 for the losing auto dealer.

#### Search For Stability (1981-1982)

After the 1981 city council elections, the role of the neighborhood movement, the progressive coalition, and city policies underwent subtle, substantial and contradictory alterations. In some ways the neighborhood movement continued to grow with the formation of more active neighborhood groups, and the involvement of some neighborhood leaders in city policy development; in other ways the neighborhood movement grew weaker, in that having city council members with neighborhood experience and/or contacts did not translate into systematic grass-roots input in the development of the city's policies.



The City of Austin did have a new City Council, and one in which people issues got more than a tin-ear hearing; but like life and re-election of the mayor, nothing is guaranteed before city hall. Although Deuser and Duncan appeared to perform well in the early days of the new council, there was a soft middle of 2 to 3 votes that was torn on important single issues between people's and the Chamber of Commerce's coalitions. While these "moderate" or "liberal" elements agonized over but nevertheless supported locating a Motorola industrial plant in an environmentally sensitive area (and at a location distant from those who most need jobs in Austin), the council had five votes later in the fall of 1981 for a "fair" proposition to get out of the South Texas Nuclear Project, for a new progressive electric rate structure, and for a fair housing ordinance.

Since May, 1981, the actions of the city council have been characterized by a search for stability, somewhat ironically arising from the instability created both by the actions of the McClellan Council since 1977, and the forces that organized the issue base powerful enough to allow the elections of the new councilmembers Deuser, Duncan, and Urdy. These forces were not strong or unified enough to unseat incumbent council members, although in the case of Mayor McClellan it was enough to force her into a near fatal runoff election.

As the new council majority has attempted to find its way in history, it has had to deal with demands of its own various and conflicting constituencies. Almost immediately after swearing-in ceremonies were over, a few councilmembers informally told city manager Dan Davidson that there were six votes (Mayor McClellan was the lone hold-out) for his termination. Davidson choose to formally present this resignation effective at the end of September, relieving the city of the trauma of his forced resignation. (Davidson was subsequently hired by the development firm of Nash-Phillips-Copus)

However, the city council decided to pursue almost immediately an August 1981 bond election without any effort to implement any new citizen-input processes, and while Davidson was still at the helm.

Community organizations gave a mixed review to this new bond package (which was supported by the entire council, except for the mayor who, in her growing political isolation, was outspoken in her silent support). The Chamber of Commerce unenthusiastically supported the whole bond package, while the Austin Neighborhoods Council endorsed and opposed a few of the propositions and took no position on most, and the Zilker Park Posse opposed the utility bonds. Major divisions were becoming evident in the environmental ranks with the Save Barton Creek Association tacitly supporting the entire bond package.

With the unexpected suddenness of the bond election and its mixed reviews by elements of the populist coalition, the voters reacted with a turnout one-half of three months before, and the defeat of 11 of the 16 bond proposals. Publically, council members and liberal political consultants blamed the failure on voters' concern with the economy.

There are basically two ways that the city council, city staff and various progressive and establishment groups and individuals might have dealt with the 1981 populist coalition: 1) accommodation by promoting through various methods, from the development of new decision structures like neighborhood advisory councils to input into bond election proposals, incorporation of the neighborhood movement's agenda into the political agenda of the city; 2) and/or infiltration of the neighborhood coalition to make its agenda correspond with the city's agenda. Over the course of the next year, both strategies were utilized in varying combinations to develop the city's policy.

On September 26, 1981, the Austin Neighborhood Fund managed to produce the Second Annual Austin Issues Conference in cooperation with the Tomorrow Institute. In conjunction with the Issues Conference, the Tomorrow Institute also published the first issue of a new quarterly community journal, a work of more professional quality, but following admirably in the tradition of the Austin Neighborhood Newswatch.<sup>145</sup> The Issues Conference's agenda, as published in the River City Currents (Mariann G. Wizard, Editor), included general session speakers on building community power, including state Senator Lloyd Doggett, Councilmember Larry Deuser, and myself; and workshops on the following topics: Master Plan; Environment vs. Jobs?; Public Transportation; City Process - Democratic Decision Structures; Neighborhood Tools - The New Zoning Code; and Energy. The conference was probably better attended and more successful than its 1980 counterpart, although it was an even more exhausting experience for the conference's organizers.

In November of 1981, the nuclear issue election was held and Austin voters finally authorized the city to sell its share of the South Texas Nuclear Project (in a voting pattern that was very similar to Duncan's and Deuser's), although it is likely that the city may never find a buyer unless it be the majority owner and managing partner in the project, Houston Lighting and Power. New City Manager Nickolas Meizer (the dark-horse choice among the nine finalists) predicted that the city would be unable to sell its 16% share until the financially troubled plant was finished.

In January of 1982, Austin's version of the moral majority was defeated in a referendum, which was an attempt to legalize landlord discrimination against tenants for their sexual preference. This is the last voting pattern utilized in Section III (after this election, Austin's precincts grew from 86 to 112 because of redistricting).

It might be appropriate here to quote how Ruby Goodwin (the City Council observer of the Travis County Democratic Women's Committee) characterized the present bunch at City Hall in February of 1981:

The Council majority is being blamed for any and everything these days. Perhaps that is natural political harangue. What makes it ironic, however, is that there is not just one Council majority.

For instance, whenever the issue is developer related, the most faithful support of their interests comes from a majority composed of the mayor (McClellan) and Councilmembers Mullen, Goodman, and one or more from among Trevino, Urdy, and Duncan. Thus, there is no one Council majority.

The other Council majorities are not so clear cut. Such loosely related issues as the sale of the nuke, proposal 7, extension of MOPAC, and the Fair Housing Ordinance have regrouped the majority to include at least four of the five council members sometimes referred to as the "Gang of Five" - Goodman, Duncan, Deuser, Urdy, and Trevino.

Still another majority grouping occurs whenever human services are threatened. Here, Urdy, Trevino, and Deuser often take the initiative.

Neighborhood interests are probably the most consistently upheld by Deuser, but the members who join him vary according to whose interests are in conflict with the neighborhoods.

The majority composed of the mayor, Mullen, Goodman, and one other has the most consistent voting pattern, and therefore probably has the first claim on the title "Council Majority".

In a referendum vote on April 3, 1982, the "liberal" city council majority (Deuser, Duncan, Goodman, Trevino, and Urdy) and the populist coalition were dealt a serious blow when the voters approved the north/south extensions of a major east Austin expressway. The council had opposed the extension because of possible negative environmental consequences in the Barton Creek watershed, where the southern extension of MOPAC was to be constructed. "MOPAC: Finish It!" became the slogan of the pro-MOPAC campaign; by effectively using citizen dissatisfaction with Austin's increasing traffic congestion, and with big money media buys (including heavy funding by out-of-city developers), about 70% of the voters approved the expressway extensions.

Interestingly, the fate of both the liberals and populists may have been decided when the city council voted on the format of the MOPAC referendum ballot a month before the election. Liberal councilmember Richard Goodman outmaneuvered a Deuser-led effort to include a 200-foot building height limitation on the MOPAC ballot. Polls at the time indicated that more than 70% of Austinites would have supported even stricter limitations to save the dwindling views of the State Capitol.

In early March the City Council, with Deuser absent and Duncan voting no, passed a North Austin Municipal Utility District (MUD) contract with the development firm of Nash Phillips Copus, perhaps worth anywhere between \$60 and \$600 million over the next ten years. Although by state law it is not legally binding that utility bonds go before the voters (as it is for general revenue bonds), this is the first time in Austin's history that utility bonds of this magnitude were not sent to the voters (as is required by the City Charter). The only previous exceptions were scaled-down MUD contracts. The main reason Duncan voted against this last contract was because he thought it should have gone before the voters.

After this MUD vote, Duncan took the lead arranging negotiations between neighborhood people and city staff to create an approach that would allow more grass-roots input into the Capital Improvement Program, bond elections and development in the neighborhood. It is not an easy understanding to arrive at: after at least three years as an important presence in city life, the city staff had spotty experience with practical and meaningful neighborhood input, and citizens have only the tangled maze of boards, commissions, and elections to educate themselves on issues.

Let us review then the events that led this City Council, a year later, into a bond package 2.5 times the value of the 1981 effort. The analysis put forth by members of the council and various political "consultants", was that the people voted against the 1981 bonds for reasons relating to the decline of the general economy -- a position that seemed to remove officials from any degree of responsibility. Another point of view, one generally presented in this report, is that the 1981 bonds failed because the city refused to allow genuine two-way participation between the City and its citizens.

A concerted strategy was followed under the Meiser administration, guided by various forces including the council, Quality Austin, the American-Statesman, progressive political consultants, and to a lesser degree with groups like Metro 2000, the River City Coordinating Council, and by default, with the weakening of their networking structures, neighborhood and environmental groups. The strategy was to enhance the passage of bonds through "negotiation". This strategy could provide the appearance of popular support, with a minimal show of opposition.

Although elements of the traditional business establishment and American-Statesman Editor Ray Mariotti gave lip service supporting the city council's efforts to pass a bond program, there seems to have been a concerted effort to sabotage the council's efforts in news reporting and story placement. Items like the "hidden" grandfather clause in the development fees ordinance (whose passage was a condition for the bond endorsement by the Save Barton Creek Association and eventually the Austin Neighborhoods Council) received front page coverage, while problems with Nash-Phillips-Copus and the MUD contract passed six months before the bond election were virtually ignored.

In February 1982, representatives of the Austin Neighborhood Fund and the Austin Neighborhoods Council met with City Manager Nick Meiser, councilmember Roger Duncan, and various city staffers to try to develop a process that would allow some viable two-way communication with citizens, and thereby facilitate their support of the fall bond election. From the beginning the city manager voiced concern over losing centralized control of the Capital Improvements Program process. Meiser urged that the program not be tied to the coming bond election, and basically presented a program similar to what already existed. Finally, he agreed to commit some staff resources and training to cultivate neighborhood input which would allow groups to do more than draw up a series of wish lists. In addition, Meiser was to develop a couple of memos for ANF and ANC review describing how the overall program would work, and another showing what neighborhoods would receive and telling them how they could meaningfully participate in the program.

Duncan at this point was still pursuing his campaign interest in Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Councils. In a March 15 memorandum, to the city's planning department director, Duncan wrote:

Here is the memorandum I promised on Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Councils. I believe the following areas should be considered by the Planning Commission.

1) Purpose of the Council - Will the Councils exercise the powers under the state constitution? What exactly are those powers? Will they write, with assistance from staff, a neighborhood plan? Will they fit into planning cycles for (the city's Capital Improvement Program)? Other planning? Will there be provisions for expanding their responsibilities?

2) Composition - will the Councils be democratically elected? How many members? How will the problems of owners vs. renters be resolved? If a portion of a district is not represented, should there be an appointment process to ensure representation? Should there be recall procedures? By-laws? Who will be eligible to vote? What will the process for an area to request a council - petition?

3) Size - What is an ideal size? Will lines following existing neighborhood associations lines? Do you envision numerous small groups or 7 or 8 zones for City or both?

## 4) What level of staff assistance can be provided?

Although the Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council concept was endorsed as a goal of the Austin Neighborhoods Council during Deuser's last year as first vice-president in 1980, as a candidate and councilmember he had reservations about the idea. In the fall of 1981 Deuser told various groups that he felt NAZC's might have a tendency to become just a more burdensome bureaucracy between citizens and where the responsibility for decisions resides -- the city council and the planning commission.

And although at least one progressive/liberal coalition group was discussing NAZCs as late as fall of 1981, there seemed to be a low interest in developing the consensus for their implementation.

Three weeks later, after the February meeting with the city manager and Duncan, the neighborhood representatives had not yet been contacted by either the city manager's, or Councilmember Duncan's, office. Finally they were told that the city manager had changed his mind and returned to his original proposal. There was also another important change: the manager decided that the new program would be designed to be part of the September bond election (originally he wanted the process separate from the bond election, while Duncan wanted them intertwined). The city manager's office sent out packets to every neighborhood and pseudo-neighborhood group he could find (about 160), resulting in such bizarre "neighborhood" requests as a \$30-plus million wastewater treatment plant (even though Meiser said he originally wanted only to allow community groups input on "local" neighborhood projects, and not "city-wide" projects).

Perhaps time was running out on the old tactics of the neighborhood movement. As Alinsky points out about old and new tactics:



Once a specific tactic is used, it ceases to be outside the experience of the enemy. . . . A major job of the organizer is to instantly develop the rationale for actions which have taken place by accident or impulsive anger. Lacking the rationale, the action becomes inexplicable to its participants and rapidly disintegrates into defeat. Possessing a rationale gives action a meaning and purpose. 147

Partly realizing that the focus of the neighborhood movement was going astray, Celeste Cromacky, president of the Hyde Park Neighborhood Association, Pat Otis, a founder of Austin's Community Education program, Bob Mather, a University of Texas professor and architect, myself, and others started a neighborhood planning program in conjunction with the Austin Neighborhood Council and Austin Neighborhood Fund. (A copy of the short-form of our planning booklet is included in the Appendix)

After an early May ANC and ANF press conference pointing out Meiser's lack of good faith, the city manager said that he had hoped that the umbrella neighborhood organizations would have been more helpful in facilitating his programs.

Meanwhile, the cogs of government continued moving, with Meiser getting his version of the city's Capital Improvements Program (CIP) together with the Planning Commission's recommendations, and placing the matter before the city council in late spring.

In mid-June Allen McMurry, president of the Allendale Neighborhood Association, said he received a call from Sue Brant McBee, wife of the Tracor Inc. leader, and Junior League and establishment power in her own right, to participate in a new Bond Election Task Force. They, in conjunction with McClellan adviser Bill Youngblood, held their first press conference on June 23rd (making the front page on the American-Statesman's City-State section). The normal procedure for bond elections, said Youngblood, is for the city council to develop a bond program and then

appoint the bond committee. This time, he promised it was to be different; after all, it wasn't until a month later that the city council even approved the six-year CIP and a \$359 million bond election for September 11th. They added another \$61.9 million on August 5th when they approved the 25-item ballot. However much of a change this process might be from the past, it is somewhat difficult to understand its significance in relation to a statement of the Bond Committee's pollster during the August 18th rally of the "Bonds or Bust" Campaign at the Driskill Hotel; he said the members of the committee were whoever the city council decided they should be.

Professional manipulation of ignorance will probably always be a relatively important factor in politics; for instance, during a conversation with the "Bonds or Bust" treasurer Allen McMurtry in late August 1982, he said that he had not even heard of the recent events concerning the Zilker Park Posse. Of course, as things go with the American-Statesman, his ignorance might be easy to understand - even though one of the principals in the Posse takeover attempt was a co-chair of the "Bonds or Bust" Committee. McMurtry said he also had not heard of the July 9th memo of Planning Commissioner Ken Manning which stated that after five years of discussion, the city still had no growth management program;<sup>148</sup> growth management and neighborhood protection, naturally, being one of the reasons that McMurtry was so actively supporting this bond program. It is also understandable that the ad hoc meeting of neighborhood leaders McMurtry organized in late July for the bond committee got nowhere - they didn't even have a bond package to look at.

The Zilker Park Posse story may be one of the more symptomatic anecdotes surrounding this bond election, but to understand it more fully, we need to step back quickly a year in time.

During the 1981 bond election Shudde Fath, a member of the 7-member Posse board, went public with a decidedly different view of why the Posse opposed the utility bond propositions, which she supported. In September, the Posse board voted, not without strong dissention, to remove Shudde Fath as a board member.

Following that action, in October 1981 papers were filed with the Secretary of State's office incorporating the Zilker Park Posse, Inc. as a new corporation, with Conrad Fath (Shudde's husband) as president, Shudde as Vice-president and Gary Witt as the other officer.

On December 10th, the Secretary of State's office granted a charter to the "new" Posse organization, and in late July of last year they recieved a trademark registration. Finally, in early August, Conrad sent a letter to members of the "old" Posse telling them they were forbidden to use their name because it now belonged to Posse, Inc., and he promptly went out of town for two weeks. Buried on page B-11 in the August 25th morning edition of the American-Statesman was a story laying out these facts, along with the additonal information that the "old" Posse had received a temporary restraining order against the "new" Posse on the use of the Posse name. Although the Posse may have kept the Faths from announcing that the "Posse" endorsed all the bonds, the incorporation strategy (which was obviously designed by a number of pro-bond supporters) probably was the major factor keeping the Posse from developing any of its past well-researched positions.

Meanwhile, with the Council's final approval of the bond package wording, various groups' support or opposition could be more actively solicited. The Save Barton Creek Association reserved endorsement of the utility bonds unless a new and higher water and sewer hookup fee was passed by the council. The bond committee sent representatives to various groups to facilitate endorsements, as well as a

methodical networking effort (that had more form than substance) to develop individual neighborhood's support. Other than minimizing opposition, it was rather obvious that the main thrust of the Bond Committee would be a big-bucks media campaign.

One of the biggest surprises of the endorsement campaign, that perhaps pointed to the changing nature of the neighborhood movement, was the endorsement of all the bonds by the Austin Neighborhoods Council, with the single exception of a requirement of higher utility hook-up fees. Although the ANC boasts over forty-member neighborhood groups, the August 1982 meeting managed to muster a total of only 16 votes, and that included the votes of the 4 or 5 members of the executive committee who were present (as well as the votes of the not disinterested councilmember Larry Deuser, and political consultants Gary Witt and Al Kaplan). The vote tally of 9 for, 2 against, and 5 abstaining, differed from the past ANC tradition of developing a consensus vote on major issues. For instance, when the ANC voted to endorse the sale of the STNP in 1981, it was without an opposing vote. Two years earlier, the ANC had been nearly spilt on the issue and had decided not to take a position.

Labor announced its endorsement of the entire bond package on August 30th, which was the same position that they had taken on previous bond elections, and the Travis County Democratic Women endorsed all the propositions with the exception of the one pertaining to building a parking garage in near East Austin.

Everything seemed to working well for the bond committee's strategy until the week of August 25th, a mere three weeks before the bond election. Other than general groups like labor and the Chamber of Commerce which traditionally have

supported bond elections, other groups like the ANC and the Save Barton Creek Association were reserving their complete endorsement of the bonds until the City Council passed an increase in the water and sewer utility hookup fees. The increase ranged from \$2,000 in the "preferred growth areas" (a north-south "growth" corridor) to \$4,000 in areas outside it.

This strategy turned out to be confusing to the council, and provided more ammunition for American-Statesman editor Ray Mariotti, when it turned out that the version the council passed on first reading August 26th had a "grandfather" clause which eliminated virtually every development in the planning stage from being affected by the higher rates. A conservative estimate was that \$80 million in revenue would be lost if the clause remained intact.

But the "great-great-grandfather" clause was really just the tip of the iceberg in the confusion provided by the city council. A majority of the council made no bones about tying their vote for the higher hookup fees to the passage of the utility bonds on September 11. McClellan (who cast the only no vote against the fees) promised that if the utility bonds failed, she would be ready on the night of the election to have the council pass utility bonds anyway. Mullen and McClellan traded a few verbal barbs after McClellan made a short speech on the wonders of Austin's growth rate (that week it had been announced that the city's unemployment rate had climbed to 4.9%), Mullen said that her speech was more of "the same kind of garbage you put out," adding that under her administration no water and wastewater bonds had been passed, and if she wanted to keep that happening she should just keep up the rhetoric.

Mariotti continued calling the development fees neighborhood "blackmail", which added costs to already strapped homebuyers.

Marilyn Simpson, past president of the Austin Neighborhoods Council, said in the American-Statesman two weeks before the bond election: "The city plans are not based on a logical growth pattern. City officials are still being dominated by land developers whose only interests are in making money. The major items are the growth items. The real dollars are being put into the expansion of the utility system. It's poor planning."

With the passage of all 25 bond propositions on September 11, 1982, the community movement that heavily influenced the composition of the 1981 City Council faced a difficult task of rebuilding itself. Basically the forces that controlled the design and passage of this 1982 bond election consisted of a few second-tier progressive power brokers, who allied themselves with elements of the typical business establishment. The "negotiation" strategy, outlined at the American-Statesman's "Growth Management Conference" in late 1981, and embodied in such groups as Quality Austin and Metro 2000, allowed the development of the "BONDS OR BUST" Committee.

The greater tragedy is that the bond elections were a major, if crude power tool (besides the more difficult city council elections) that community people had used to force a growth management discussion with the City's ruling elite. With the monies provided by this three-year bond program, it is difficult to foresee a meaningful growth management program in the near future (Planning Commissioner Ken Manning's July 1982 memo states that even though Austin's Comprehensive Plan is now at least five years old, Austin still has no growth management program).

Worse, the council and its allies may have diminished the clarity of the voters' awareness of issues in order to cultivate and elect increasingly community-oriented city councils. So what of the future? Can those community forces that

found themselves isolated from the bond election development, once again forge the populist alliance that was so pertinent to the election of such councilmembers as Deuser and Duncan? Will a positive direction be provided from this City Council which (under pressure from such groups as the Save Barton Creek Association, Austin Neighborhoods Council, and the River City Coordinating Council) enacted larger water and sewer tap fees, and at the same time promised that if the utility bonds failed to pass, the Council promised to rescind them? After all, it should be remembered that McClellan's Council in 1977 rescinded similar fees of the previous Friedman council.

Institutionally, the citizens of Austin still are as before, largely at the political mercy of the city council and whatever forces shape it in the coming elections. As for those forces who are experienced in looking at the city council directly in terms of dollars and cents, like the multi-million dollar development industry, they have good reason to invest in the future with the few hundreds-of-thousands of dollars it might take to shape a council in their economic interests.

Perhaps the 1981 council's strategy will allow them more opportunities to reinforce a populist and neighborhood constituency in their second terms, even if it may be more difficult to elect community-oriented candidates in any open council places in 1983.

Since Summer of 1981 community forces have been in the first stage of a new political cycle. The story and eventual fate of this cycle will perhaps be told in some future report.

Section III: TRACKING POWER TRENDS:  
VOTER BEHAVIOR WITH CANDIDATES AND ISSUES



SECTION III: TRACKING POWER TRENDS:  
VOTER BEHAVIOR WITH CANDIDATES AND ISSUES

Part I: A Statistical Model of Austin's Political Culture

Understanding politics in terms of its cultural context is still a relatively new concept. One schema cited by MacCorkle, Smith and May in 1974 is one utilized by Salazer (1966) which suggests a three-fold classification of state political cultures. These three cultures are 1) the moralistic; 2) the individualistic; and 3) the traditionalistic. Briefly summarized,

The moralistic culture is characterised by a belief in broad popular participation in government. Government is expected to serve the public interest. Public service is valued, and everyone is encouraged to contribute toward attaining the goals of the commonwealth . . .

The individualistic culture is more akin to capitalism or free enterprise in its emphasis upon politics as a competitive enterprise in which people pursue their self-interest. Government, it is believed, should be limited in order that free enterprise and individual freedom can flourish . . .

The traditionalistic culture is more elitist in character than the others. Popular participation is discouraged, and government is limited for fear of upsetting the status quo. 149

Political culture refers to a population's political orientations, including their attitudes and feelings, their beliefs, and their evaluations with respect to government and politics. As MacCorkle, Smith and May wrote in 1974, "the concept (of political culture) holds great promise for understanding the political system . . . but to date it has not been fully developed.

Nonetheless, several cultural patterns of political importance are not readily subsumed under the categories suggested by Elazar. Agrarian radicalism (the Populist Party of the 1890s) in Texas has had an influence on Texas politics. A strong fundamentalism within the dominant Protestant religion has influenced policies, such as prohibition and gambling . . . A

certain element of lawlessness combined with a desire for law and order stem at least in part from experiences on the frontier. And there are other patterns. 150

Essentially what is proposed in this statistical study is a model of the components of Austin's political culture; a model that could be utilized to understand the political cultures of other cities, counties and/or states; and even utilized by historians and political scientists to more easily understand popular elections in times past. And perhaps more importantly, the statistical model of this study should enable community organizers to more effectively find and encourage the development of populist constituencies. Although the statistical patterns of this study "make sense", polls and other future studies need to be done in order to more fully understand the "personalities" of the various voting populations.<sup>151</sup>

The statistical measurements and comparisons of this study are not meant to be ends in themselves. We are trying to map a paradigm of a living, breathing population that grows with the information and issues the voters understand and react to. Besides the theoretical and historical analysis in the preceding sections, the following correlation and regression analysis will help complete this description. Specifically, based on how correlations show the voters reacted in the 1979 and 1981 Austin City Councils elections, regression equations will demonstrate how those candidate populations reacted in bond and issue referendums in Austin between 1979 and 1982.

Although political professionals frequently concentrate on such topics as voter registration and polling, this study will concentrate on voter behavior in issue elections, and how this population response influenced city council elections. As shown in Chart I in Part II of this section, the number of voters participating in the eight elections during the three years under study varied considerably. However, the

voter turnout pattern remains relatively the same among precincts between the several elections, as shown with the correlation coefficients at the far right in Chart 1. This study shows that it is shifting population attitudes within elections that determines electoral success or failure. By studying the correlation and regression equations between specific issue and candidate elections, we hope to further understand the changing nature of Austin's voting population.

Before we follow the development of the voting population base responsible for the dramatic change of the 1981 Austin City Council, let us take a look at some proposed models of political orientation and behavior. First, most people probably unconsciously believe that the political spectrum is constructed similar to the model shown in Figure A; a shifting continuum between Left and Right forces with the Moderates holding the balance of power between the Liberals and Conservatives. This study's regression model most similar to this view is shown in Figure P, but more on that later.

The correlation coefficients among the aggregate precinct voting patterns in the 1979 and 1981 council elections (see Charts 10-15 in Part II of this section) provide information on an alternative political model that is the basis of this report. The data in Chart 17A illustrate how these four population responses to candidates are related. For the purposes of discussion, I have labeled these statistical patterns Populist, Liberal, Conservative, and New Right.<sup>152</sup> It is important to note that these four patterns are actually the average of the number of votes in each of Austin's 86 precincts received by the following candidates: 1) Populists - 23REAM, 4M:BIND, 41DEUSR, 42DUNCN, 43DELEN, 51DEUSR, 56URDY; 2) Liberal - 24GOODM, 25TREVI, 26SNELL, 44GOODM, 45TREVI; 3) Conservative - 2M:MMCL, 23MULLN, 4M:MCCL, 42MULLN, 5M:MCCL; and 4) New Right - 4M:MCCR, 41DUKE, 44BARTZ, 45ROSE.<sup>153</sup>

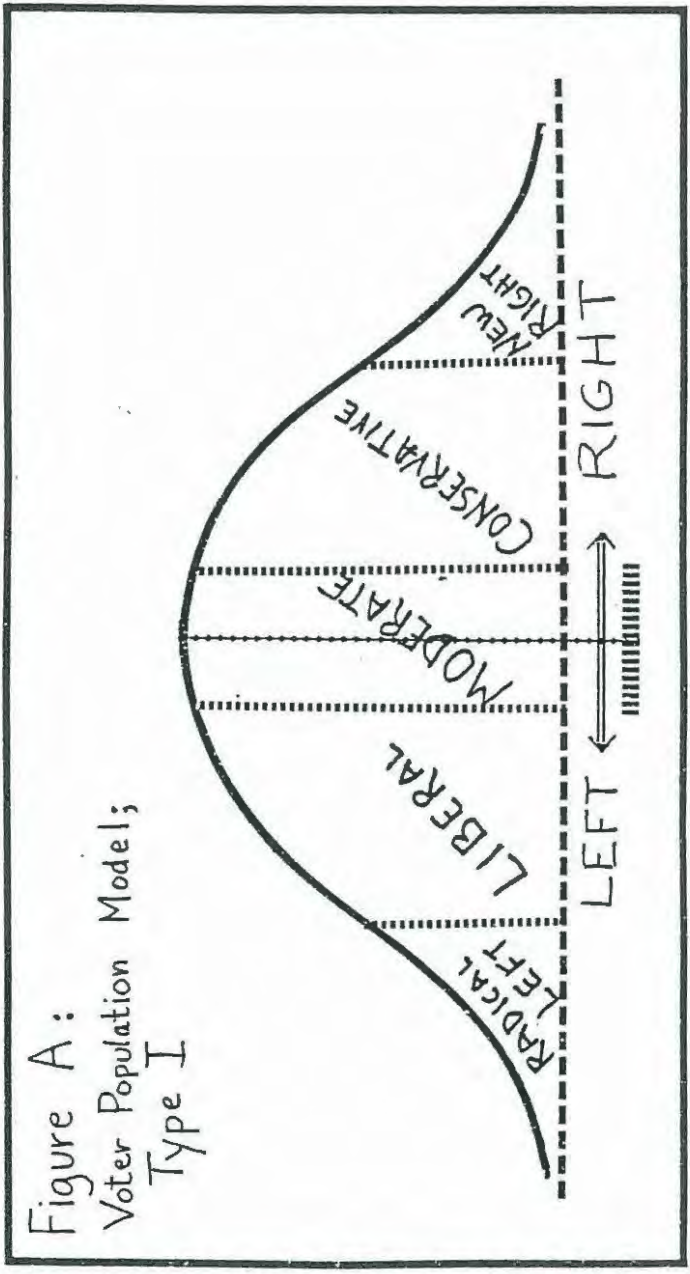


CHART 17-A\*\*

Regression Equations  
Measuring Relationships Among  
the Four Candidate Population Types

$Y_i$	$X_{\text{POPULIST}}$	$X_{\text{NEW RIGHT}}$	$X_{\text{LIBERAL}}$	$X_{\text{CONSERVATIVE}}$
POPULIST	*	.478	1.272	-.734
NEW RIGHT	.155	*	-.300	.769
LIBERAL	.663	-.480	*	.686
CONSERVATIVE	-.350	1.126	.637	*

\*This variable was not used in this equation.

\*\*The purpose of introducing this chart now is to illustrate to the first time reader the general relationships among these candidate populations as shown in these regression equations. This chart will be further explained in Part II, and Parts III and IV of this section.

These population pattern names (and their combinations) were designed so that the reader might think of them intuitively. These names reflect this researcher's judgement of how voters would identify or group candidates in real elections, and the statistical patterns in Chart 17 and Part II and Part III of this section substantiate this categorization for the Austin voting population.

More details on Chart 17 and how these four candidate voter types and combinations are mechanically constructed are shown in Parts II and III of this section, but it is important to note that these patterns reflect a consistent population response over three separate city council elections based on two general factors: first, the strength of the awareness and the nature of the issues in the political environment which excite various voter populations; and second, the number and kinds of candidates the voters have to choose among in any specific election. Generally speaking, the Populists pair off against the Conservatives and the Liberals pair off against the New Right.

However, if you look at races like the one for Place 1 on the Austin City Council in April 1981, which pitted Duke, Guerrero and Deuser against each other (ultimately forcing Duke and Deuser into a runoff), we see a more complicated relationship. Utilizing big campaign budgets and radio and television buys, Duke and Guerrero early on carved out political positions with the New Right and Liberals, respectively. Unfortunately, they decided to ignore Deuser (who, however haphazardly, was developing a solid relationship to the Populists), and turned the thrust of their media commercials into negative messages against each other. Polls during this time indicated that it was not until about a month before the April election that

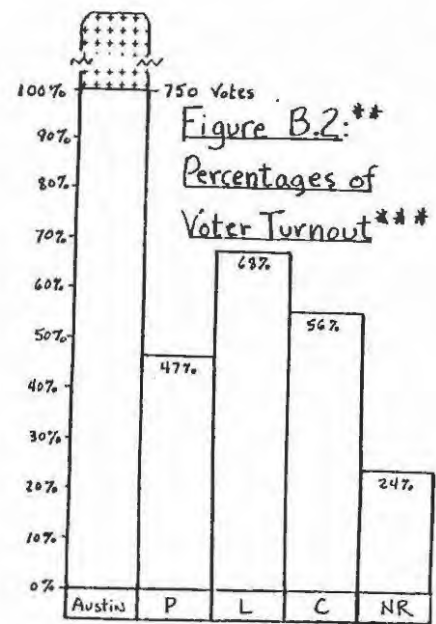
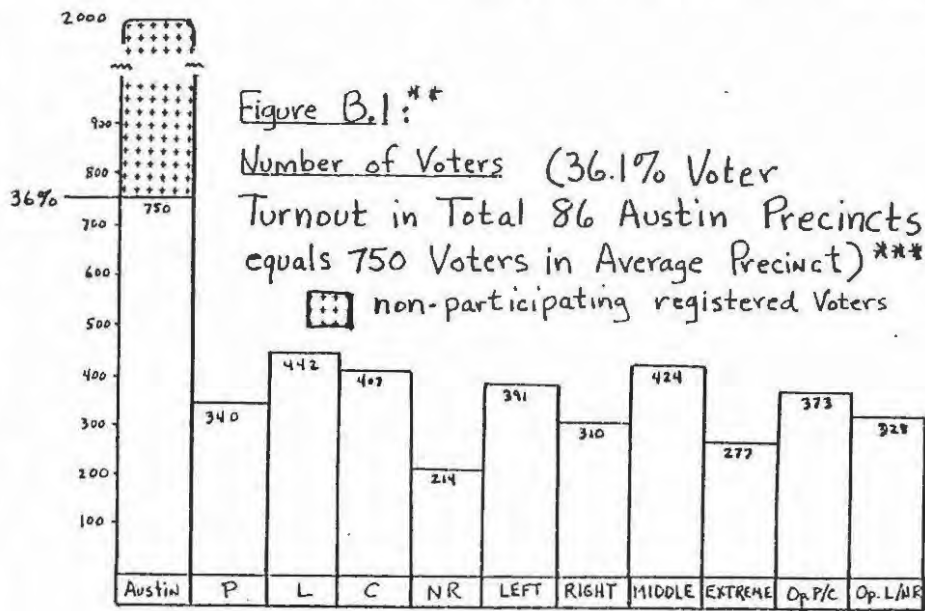
Deuser's name identification began moving towards competition with Duke's and Guerrero's; two weeks before the election Deuser's name moved into strong competition with the other two candidates; and a week before the election day, a telephone poll of voters predicted that Deuser (popping into the voter's consciousness like a "Boy Wonder") would be in a runoff with either Duke or Guerrero.

The final results (as shown in Chart 5) were Deuser with 41% of the vote, Duke 32% and Guerrero 23%. As shown in Charts 10, 11 and 14, Deuser ended up with a modified Populist voting population, Duke a strong New Right pattern, and Guerrero had a badly battered Liberal/Conservative pattern.<sup>154</sup>

Although there is much more we could discuss about individual campaigns as they are reflected in the charts of this section, we need to move on to an understanding of the voter populations' ability to elect certain candidates; or how alternatively, certain types of candidate campaigns were able to gather enough votes, or population response, to be elected. Looking at the composition of the 1979 and 1981 Austin City Council in Figures C and D we see that, in addition to the fact that there was a substantial change with the 1981 council, two tendencies are apparent: first, incumbency tends to help guarantee re-election because of the commitment of voters from past elections; and second, all the new 1981 councilmembers were elected by the Populist voting pattern.

Figure B shows the mean percentage and/or numbers of voters and voter types constructed for this study in an average Austin precinct. Although none of the patterns are equal, it must be remembered that the higher values in the Liberal and Conservative patterns are due primarily to the fact that they are mostly incumbents; the lower value of the New Right due to a lack of incumbents and winning candidates;

Figure B\*: Austin City Council Elections; 1979 and 1981:  
Candidate Population Types in an Average Austin Precinct  
(See Chart 20 for the Composition of Population Types)



Austin = Average Precinct    P = Populist    L = Liberal  
Op. P/C = Opposite #1:  $(P+C)/2$

C = Conservative    NR = New Right  
Op. L/NR = Opposite #2:  $(L+NR)/2$

\* Summary of Chart 18.

\*\* These types do not add to 100%; see Chart 20 in Part III of this section.

\*\*\* Average of three city council elections (April 1979; April 1981; and Runoff, May 1981); see Chart 1 in Part II of this section.



Figure C

		MAYOR McClellan	
	Place 4 Goodman	Place 1 Cooke*	
	Place 5 Trevino	Place 2 Himmelblau*	
	Place 6 Snell	Place 3 Mullen	
POPULIST	LIBERAL	CONSERVATIVE	NEW RIGHT

## 1979 AUSTIN CITY COUNCIL

(after April 1979 Election #2)

All members are elected from  
At-Large positions

\* Did not run for reelection in 1981

Figure D

Place 1 Deuser***			
Place 2 Duncan	Place 4 Goodman*	Mayor McClellan*	
Place 6 Urduy	Place 5 Trevino	Place 3 Mullen**	
POPULIST	LIBERAL	CONSERVATIVE	NEW RIGHT

## 1981 AUSTIN CITY COUNCIL

(after April &amp; May, 1981, Elections #4 &amp; #5)

All members are elected from  
At-Large positions

\* Did not run for reelection in 1983

\*\* Ran for Mayor in 1983

\*\*\* Defeated in 1983

and while the Populists have no incumbents, they have a near majority of electoral victors.

The construction of these population/candidate types are summarized in Chart 20. Although the specific values and strengths of these populations and combinations may be specific to Austin, the basic relationships among the types probably has a more universal meaning and application.

#### A Holistic Model of the Political Spectrum

Based on the relationships in Chart 17, Figures E and F provide a much more meaningful model of the political spectrum than that shown in Figure A. While Figure A shows only a dynamic relationship between the Left and Right on an elusive Moderate position, Figure F's holistic design allows a more realistic relationship between the Left and Right on both Extreme and Middle positions.

This researcher is aware of no studies that have successfully measured voter ideology and statistical patterns; if the voting patterns in this study are of any value, they indicate the fallacy of the view of the political spectrum shown in Figure A (Type I Model). The circular Type II model (Figure E and its modification, Figure F) allows a more representative description of actual and potential voter response.

This improvement is further illustrated in Figures G and H, with Figure G being essentially the same model as Figure A, while Figure H allows comparisons not really possible with the bell curve paradigm.

In Figures I and J, we have a clearer version of Figures E and F, one that minimizes voting population over-lap, and breaks the circular model into regression equation tri-sectors instead of the half-circles allowed in Figures G and H.

# Voter Population Model: Type II\*

Figure E  
(See Figures L and M;  
Charts 17A, 17 and 19)

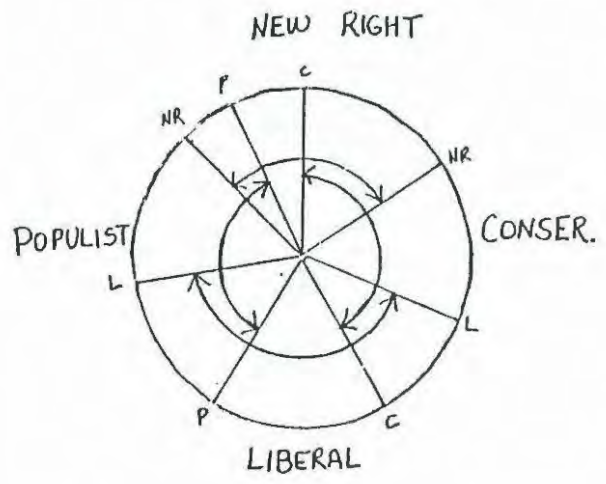
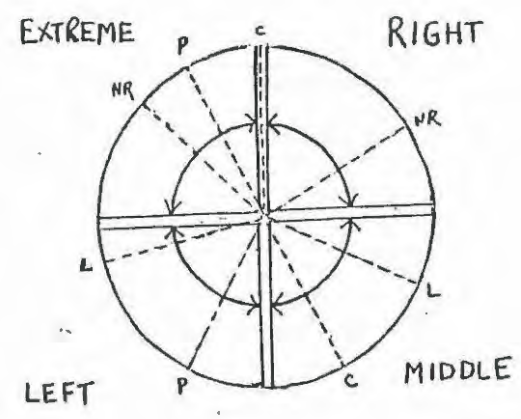


Figure F  
(See Chart 21)

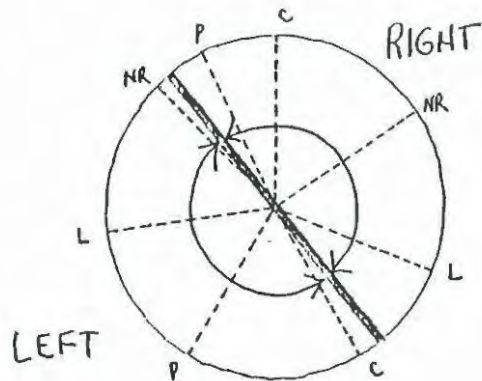


\* Compare to Figure A, Voter Population Model: Type I.

# Voter Population Model: Type II\*

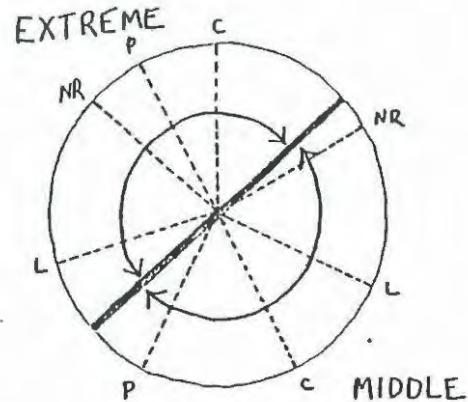
## Figure G

(See Figure P;  
Chart 22)



## Figure H

(See Figure Q;  
Chart 23)

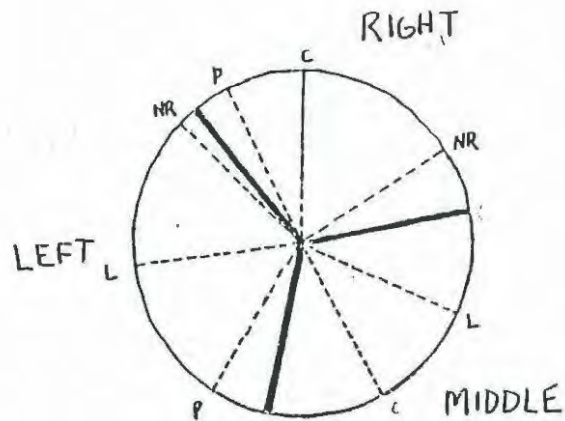


\* Compare to Figure A, Voter Population Model: Type I.

# Voter Population Model: Type II \*

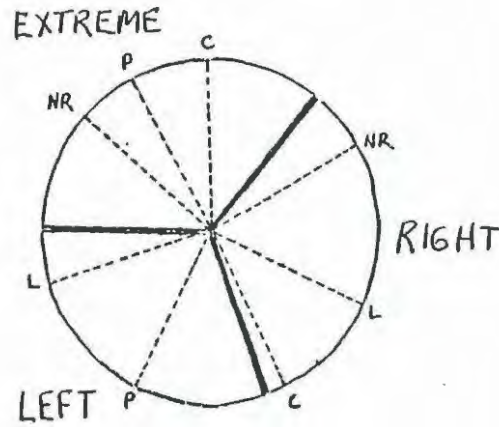
## Figure I

(See Figure R;  
Chart 25)



## Figure J

(See Figure S;  
Chart 26)



\* Compare to Figure A, Voter Population Model Type I.

A Chronology of Candidate Population  
Responses in Issue Elections

In Figures K, L and M we introduce our time-series graphs to further show how the four candidate population types reacted to a chronology of selected issues (22 of the study's 28 issues listed in Charts 19, and 21 through 26 in Part III from 6 of the 8 Austin city elections between 1979 and 1981. The two elections not represented in Figure K, the April and May 1981 City Council elections, were the only elections without issue or bond propositions on the ballot.<sup>155</sup>

As shown in the charts in Part III of this section, each of the candidate voter types (whose means are shown in Figure B, and computer constructions are shown in Chart 20) has an associated coefficient indicating its respective voter response to a certain Y issue, in conjunction with the other X variables used in the regression equation. Regression equations have the following general form:

$$(1.0) Y_i = a_0 + a_1X_1 + a_2X_2 + a_3X_3 \dots + a_iX_i$$

where  $a_i$  is some coefficient.<sup>156</sup>

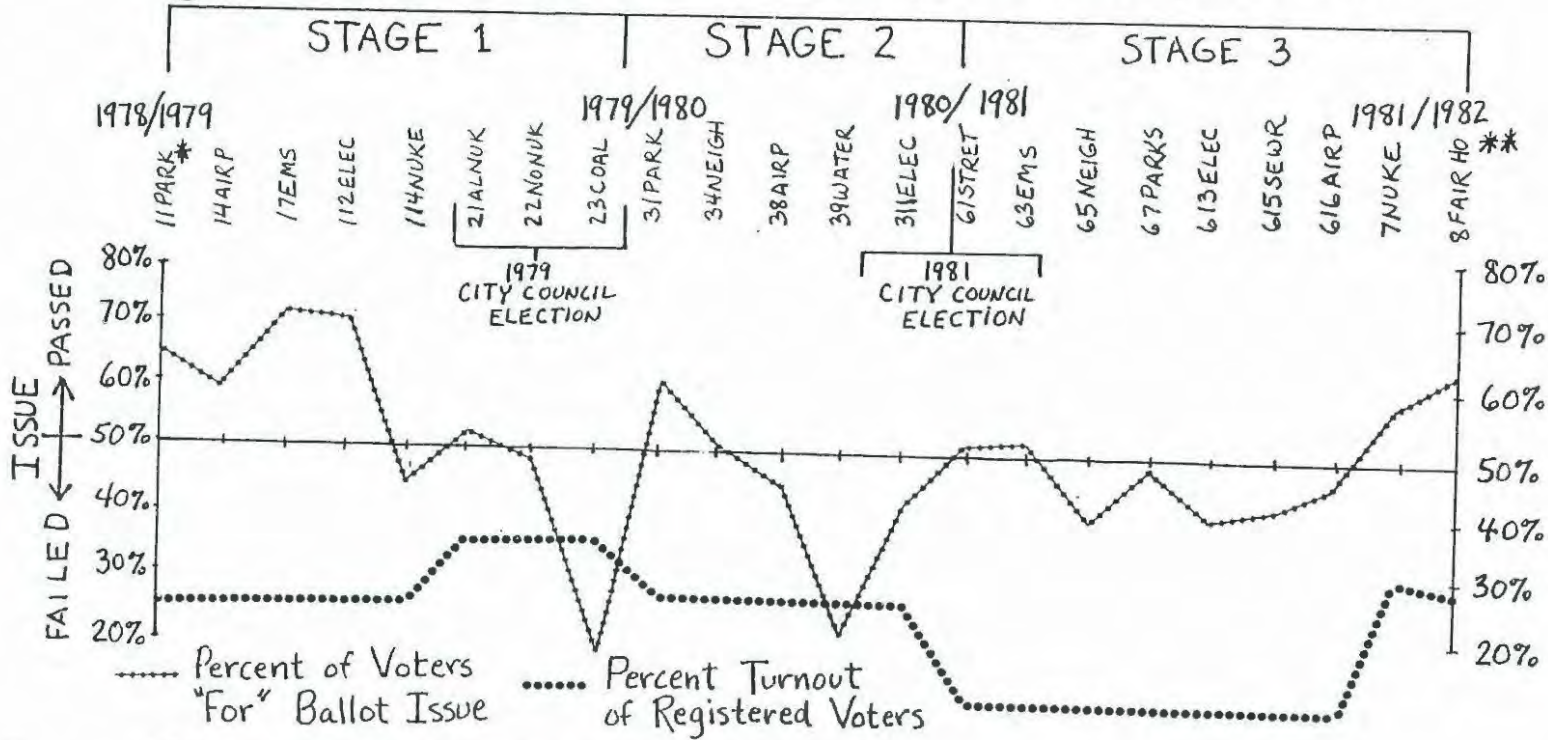
In the case of Chart 19 in Part III of this section, we have the following variables:

- $X_1$  = Populist votes in each Austin precinct
- $X_2$  = New Right votes in each Austin precinct
- $X_3$  = Liberal votes in each Austin precinct
- $X_4$  = Conservative votes in each Austin precinct

$Y_1$  indicates the number of votes for any given bond issue in Austin's 86 precincts. With  $Y_{\text{"114NUKE"}}$  in Chart 19 (in Part III of this section) we have the following equation:

$$(1.0) Y_{\text{"114NUKE"}} = -.422(X_1) + .983(X_2) + .643(X_3) - .338(X_4)$$

Figure K: A Chronology of Voter Responses\*\*\*  
For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1974-1982

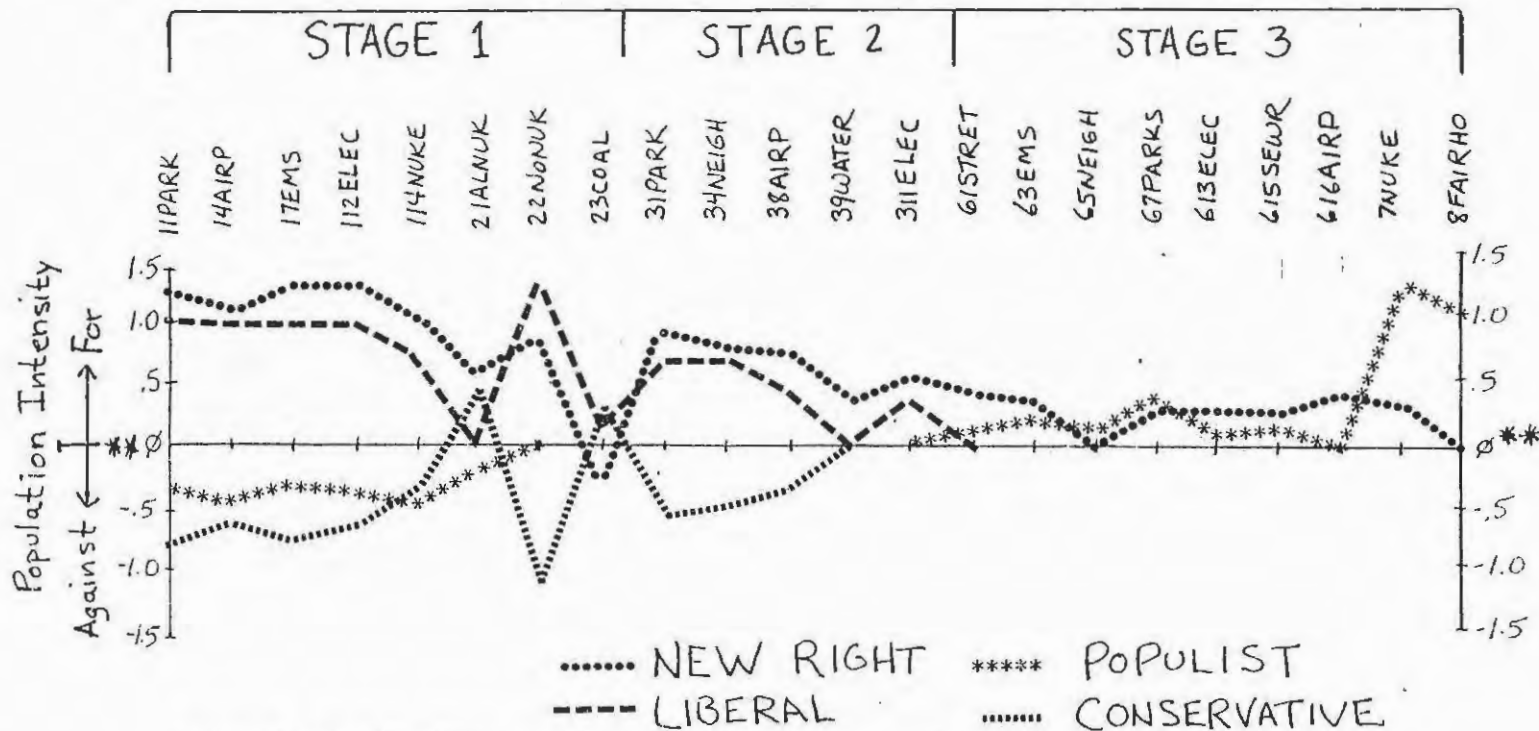


\*For explanation of issue names, see Chart 1 note (bottom).

\*\* Actually vote against "unfair" housing referendum; see 8th election in Part II of this section.

\*\*\* See Charts 1-9 in Part II of this section.

Figure L: A Chronology of Voter Responses\*  
 For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1979-1982



\*Type II Model shown in Figure E, of regression equations shown in Chart 19.  
 \*\*When a Population Type is not shown or is on the "0" line, the Population Type has an insignificant coefficient as shown in Chart 19.

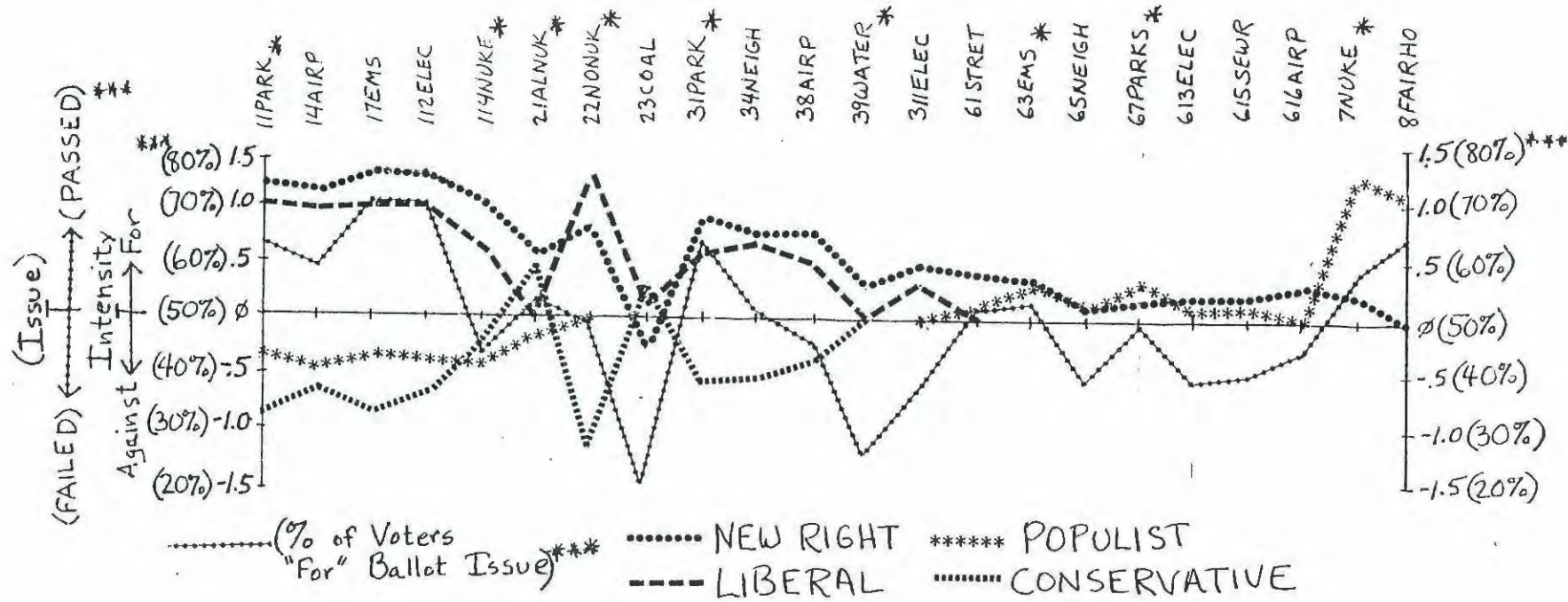


In this equation (which is graphically displayed in Charts L and M), the coefficients indicate the intensity of how the various candidate population types voted on the "114NUKE" issue. The  $X_2$  coefficient, for instance, indicates that almost 100 percent of the average of the voters for the New Right candidates voted for this issue. For the Populists, on the other hand, about 40 percent of these voters voted against this proposition.<sup>157</sup>

Remember however, that the Populist pattern is derived from candidates who largely ran in 1981, with only one candidate running in 1979 (who received 22% of the vote). Also notice in Figures L and M that the Populist pattern is voting against all the propositions in the first part of the time-series figures; becomes insignificant (at "22NONUK") in the middle of the items selected from the second election (which were listed on the April 1979 City Council elections); re-emerges voting weakly for most of the August 1981 bonds; and finally a strong Populist pattern emerges as the strongest force in favor of the city selling its share of the South Texas Nuclear Project and having a fair housing ordinance.

These candidate/issue voter manifestations reflect a logical progression in voter attitudes over time and with various issues. The importance of understanding these underlying voting attitudes is obvious in its political significance. The Populist pattern was almost non-existent in the 1979 city council elections; from the perspective of the political spectrum in Figure A, it would have been appropriate for contemporary political experts to explore only Liberal or Conservative options. However, from the political relationships in Figure E, the Populist voting patterns in the 1981 city council election, and this study's regression equations shows that the Populists were important and highly active in 1979 bond issues.

Figure M: A Chronology of Voter Responses \*\*  
 For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1979-1982



\* These 9 issues are utilized in Figures T, U, and V.  
 \*\* Type II Model shown in Figure E, of regression equations shown in Chart 19.  
 \*\*\* Superimposed from Figure K.

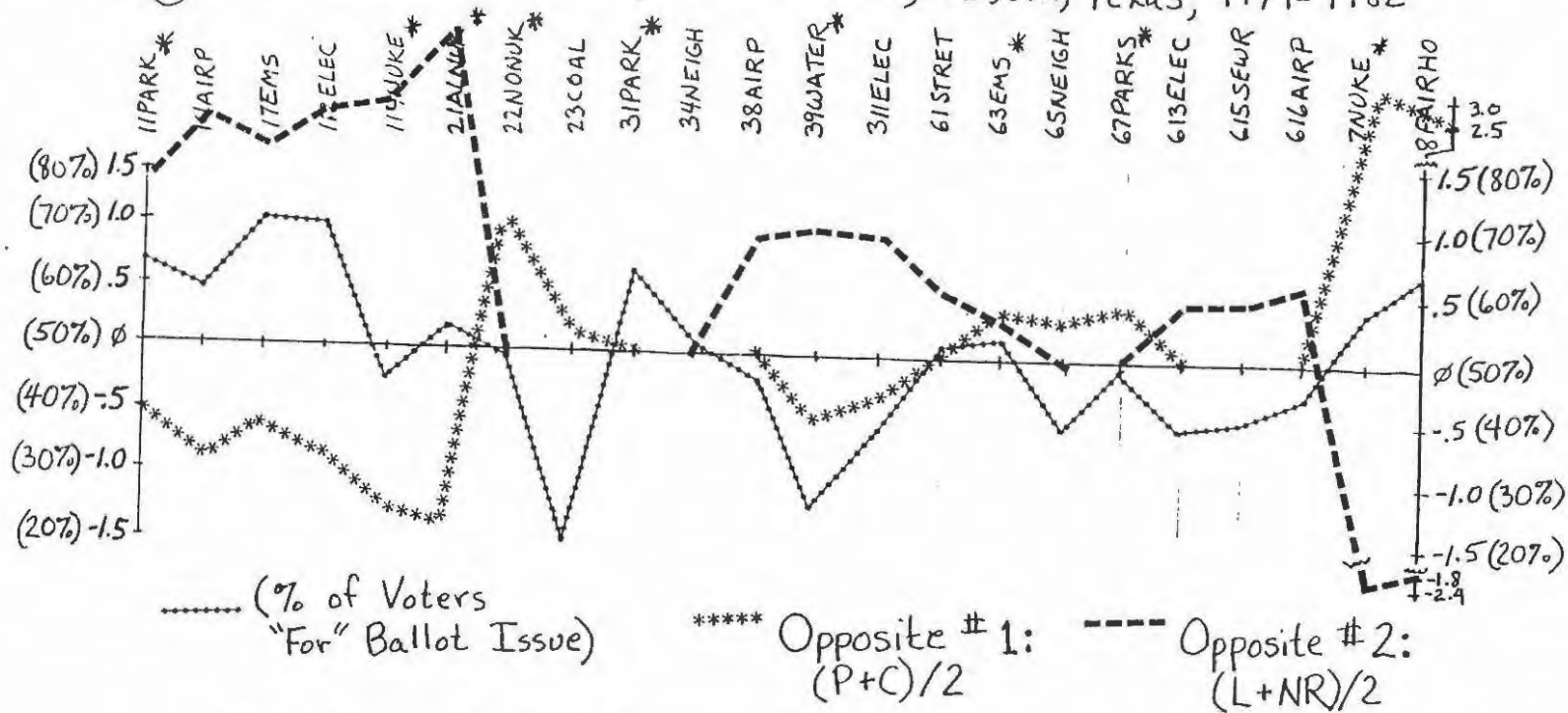
Similarly, as shown in Charts L and M, it was a mistake to primarily design the August 1981 bond election for a Liberal or Conservative constituency because these two voter groups have insignificant coefficients beginning with the last issues in the third election.<sup>158</sup>

Figure N provides evidence of another voter behavior pattern which may add a third dimension to the Type II model of the political spectrum introduced in Figures E and F. The Opposite #1 and Opposite #2 patterns are based on the information shown in Figures L and M. As noted earlier, in the three Austin city council elections of this study, Liberals tended to run against New Right candidates, and Conservatives tended to run against Populists. However, during the first election in Charts L and M (the January 1979 bond election) we see the opposite Populist and Conservative patterns (Opposite #1) both were against the bond issues. While the Liberal and New Right patterns (Opposite #2) were generally for the bond issues. As shown in Chart 20, the Opposite #1 pattern was constructed by adding together the votes for Populists and Conservatives in each precinct and dividing the sum by two; a similar process was used for the Opposite #2 (Liberal and New Right) pattern.

Figure N illustrates the regression coefficients of the Opposite patterns over the various chronological issues; and Figure O is a modification of the Type II model of the political spectrum to likewise illustrate the Opposite patterns.

Figures P, O, R, and S are chronological time-series representations of the models shown in Figures G through J, and whose exact regression coefficients are shown in Charts 22, 23, 25 and 26. A more thorough explanation of these combinations voter patterns can be found in Parts III and IV of this section.

Figure N: A Chronology of Voter Responses\*\*  
 For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1979-1982

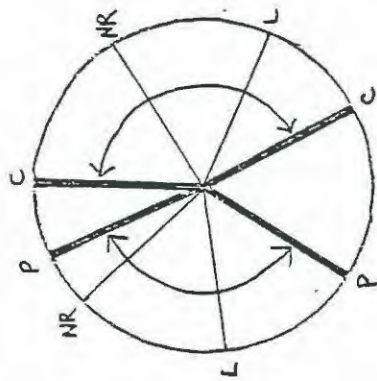


\* These 9 issues are utilized in Figures T, U, and V.

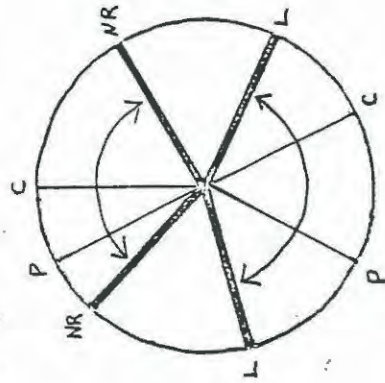
\*\* Type II Model shown in Figure O, of regression equations shown in chart 24.

# Voter Population Model: Type II\*

Figure 0  
(See Figure N;  
Chart 24)



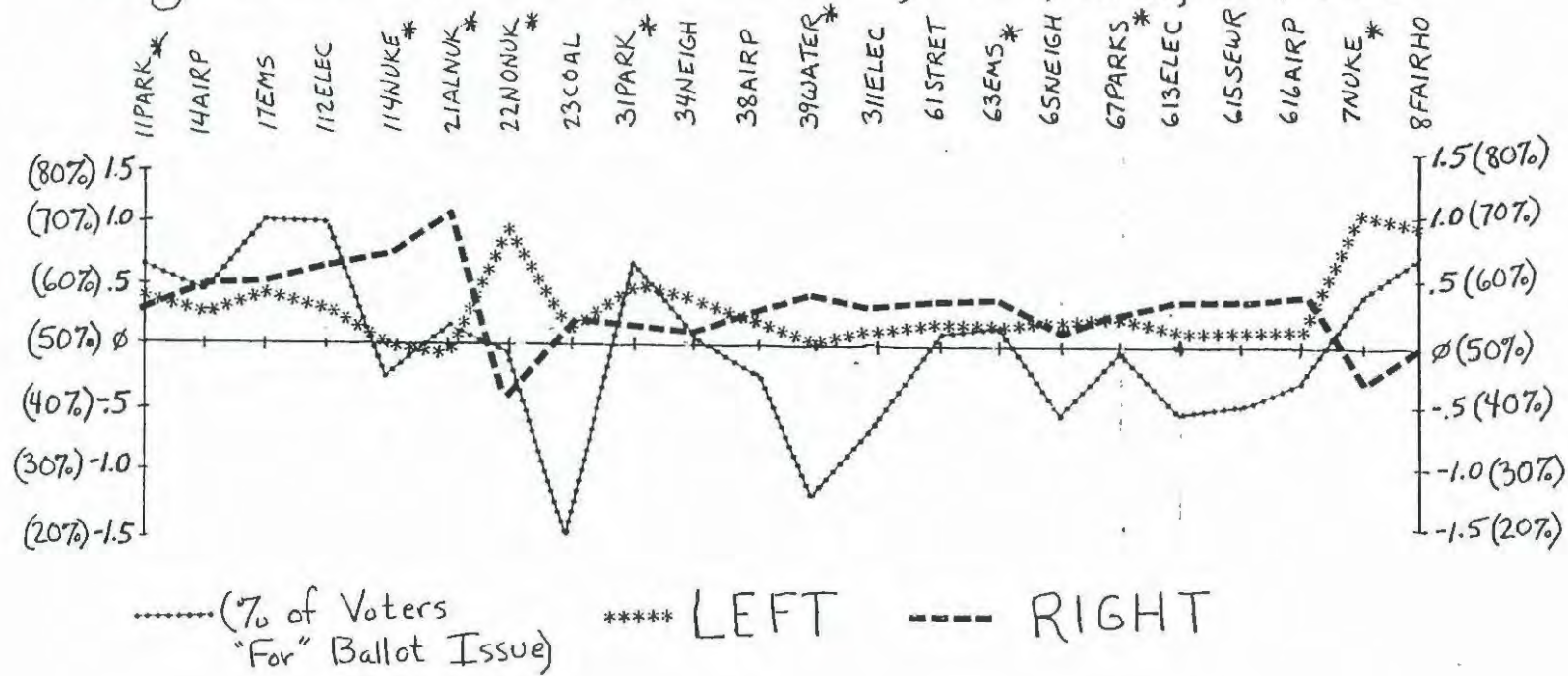
OPPOSITE # 1  
(POPULIST + CONSERVATIVE) 2



OPPOSITE # 2  
(LIBERAL + NEW RIGHT) 2

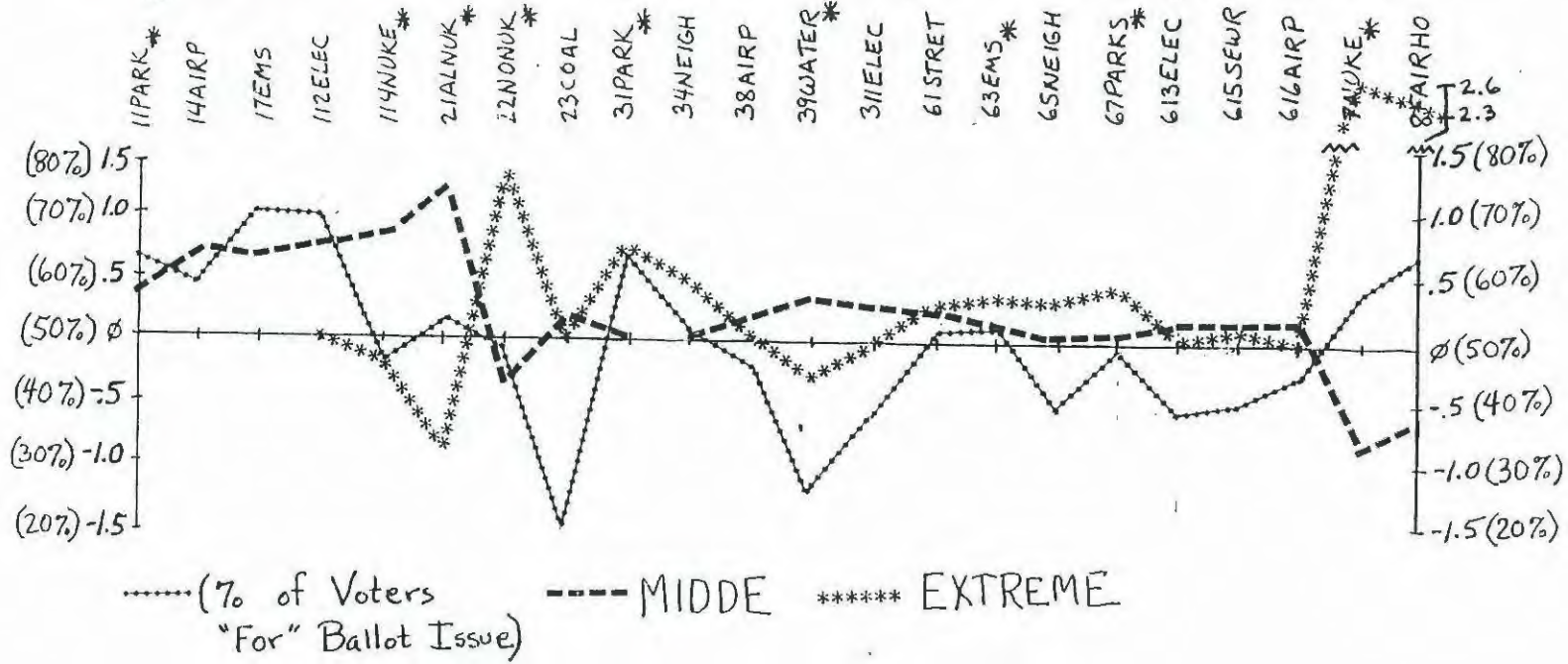
\* Compare to Figure A, Voter Population Model: Type I.

Figure P: A Chronology of Voter Responses\*\*  
 For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1979-1982



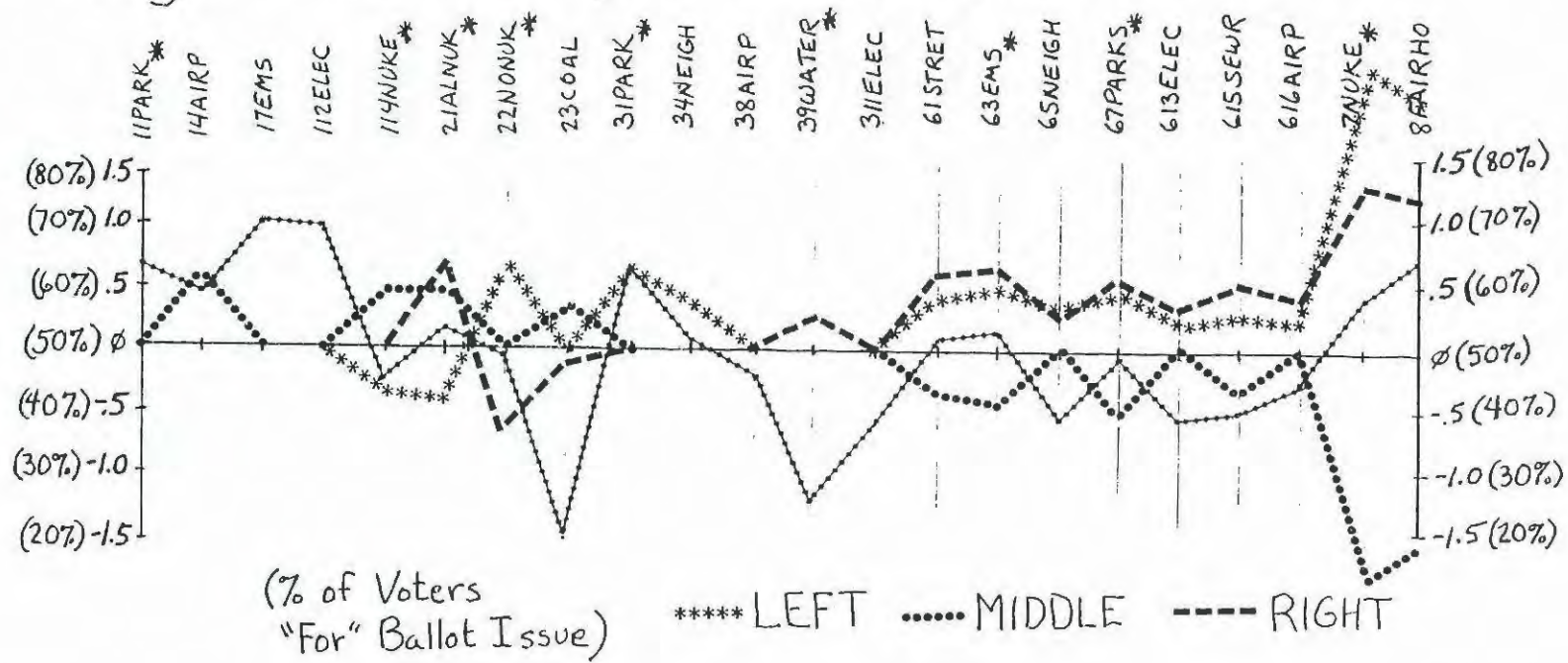
\*These 9 issues are utilized in Figures T, U, and V.  
 \*\*Type II Model shown in Figure G, of regression equations shown in Chart 22.

Figure Q: A Chronology of Voter Responses\*\*  
 For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1979-1982



\*These 9 issues are utilized in Figures T, U, and V.  
 \*\* Type II Model shown in Figure H, of regression equations shown in Chart 23.

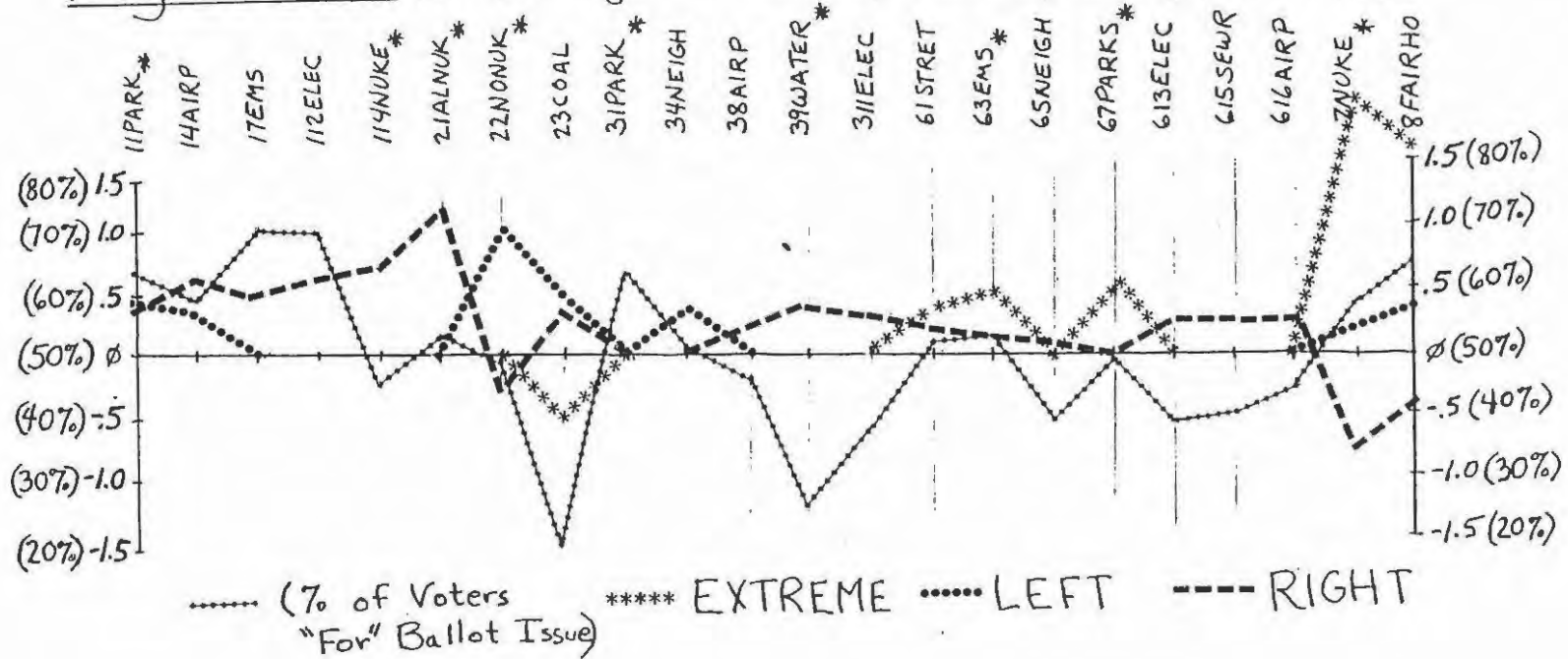
Figure R: A Chronology of Voter Responses\*\*  
 For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1979-1982



\* These 9 issues are utilized in Figures T, U, and V.  
 \*\* Type II Model shown in Figure I, of regression equations shown in Chart 25.



Figure S: A Chronology of Voter Responses\*\*  
 For and Against Issues; Austin, Texas, 1979-1982



\*These 9 issues are utilized in Figures T, U, and V.  
 \*\* Type II Model shown in Figure J, of regression equations shown in Chart 26.

### The Three Populist Stages

To focus on the emergence of the population pattern responsible for the election of the new city councilmembers in April and May of 1981 (Elections 4 and 5) and the voters final authorization to sell the South Texas Nuclear Project in November of 1981 (Election "7NUKE"), we will break the time-series into three stages. These stages are similar to the stages of the Austin Neighborhood Fund discussed in Section II, although there is a slight lag in time as there is for the implementation and results of any strategy.

In the First Stage, we find the Populist voting against all the bonds until the first and second nuclear related propositions. With "22NONUK" the Populists regression coefficient in Figures L and M become insignificant and we begin the Second Stage in the Populists development cycle. The Austin Neighborhood Fund, whose development is chronicled in the previous section, had its first organization meeting between the second and third elections. As we shall see in a few moments, the Populist pattern was very active in different coalitions, building an issue base consciousness in the general population which aided the elections of the new council members in 1981. The Third Stage begins with the sixth election when the new 1981 City Council begins a mixed record interacting with the voting population.

Figures T, U, and V provide cross-sectional views of nine issues (from information available in the time-series graphs of this part and the charts in Parts III and IV of this section). Four issues are from the First Stage (in Figures T and U), two issues from the Second Stage (in Figure U), and three issues from the Third Stage (in Figure V). A further discussion of these three stages and Figures T, U, and V follows.

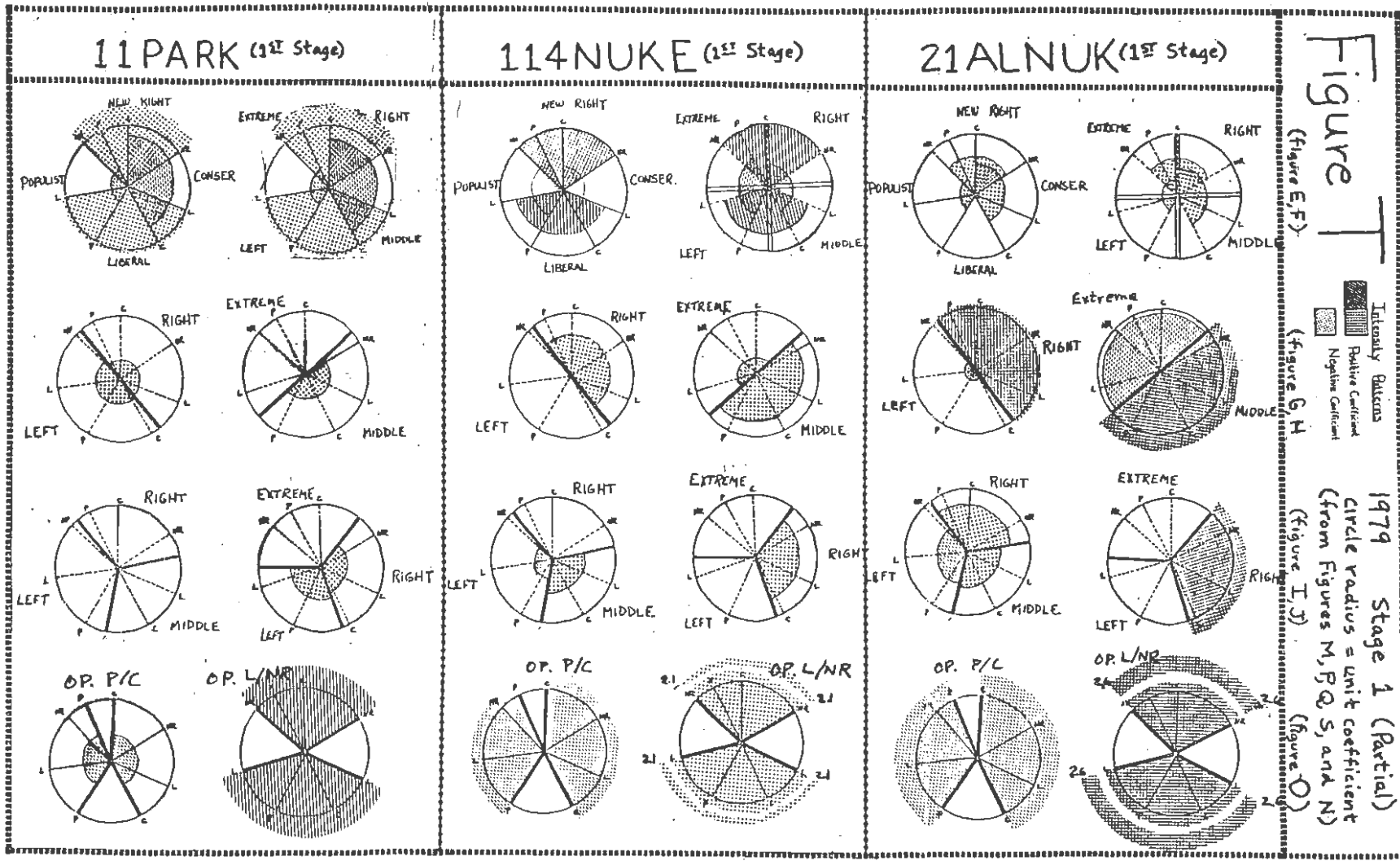
### First Stage

In the first four issues in Figures T and U, the Populist pattern is generally weak and negative. In "11PARK", which passed with 65 percent of the vote (see Chart 2 in Part II of this section), the Populists have a significant coalition relationship (informal, as a coincidence of voting) only with the Conservatives (as shown in the last panel of Figure T); both groups voted against this proposition, the Conservatives more strongly than the Populists.

"11PARK" is typical of the population response to the propositions in the January 1979 bond election. However, with the moderate nuclear proposition "114NUKE", and then the variations "21ALNUK" and the Liberal "22NONUK", the population response became more volatile and dynamic. In "114NUKE" the Populists strongest coalition still seems to be with the Conservatives, who probably viewed "114NUKE" as inadequate support for Austin's participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project. However, the Populist's role as a connecting link in the developing anti-nuclear coalition can be seen in this election. In the figure H and I facsimiles in Figure T, the Extreme and Left patterns (both with Populist relationships) have negative values. In figure J, the Extreme and Left values are insignificant, indicating that the Populist political bridge was not yet strong (compare to the patterns in "7NUKE" in Figure V).

In "21ALNUK", the proposition in April 1979 which supported Austin's continued 16 percent participation in the South Texas Nuclear plant, we have the Populists providing the backbone of the Leftist opposition; the Liberal pattern becomes insignificant (as shown in figures E and F).

For the proposition "22NONUK" (shown in Figure U), it is the Populists that become insignificant. In addition to the preceding, the difference between



"21ALNUK" and "22NONUK" seems due to the Conservatives change from voting for, to voting strongly against, the first and second propositions, respectively. Unfortunately, this is probably the last time the City of Austin might have unloaded this nuclear plant through relatively normal trading markets; after 1979, too much would be known about the nuclear industry, and the South Texas Nuclear Project in particular, for any individual, city, or corporation to want Austin's share of the plant.

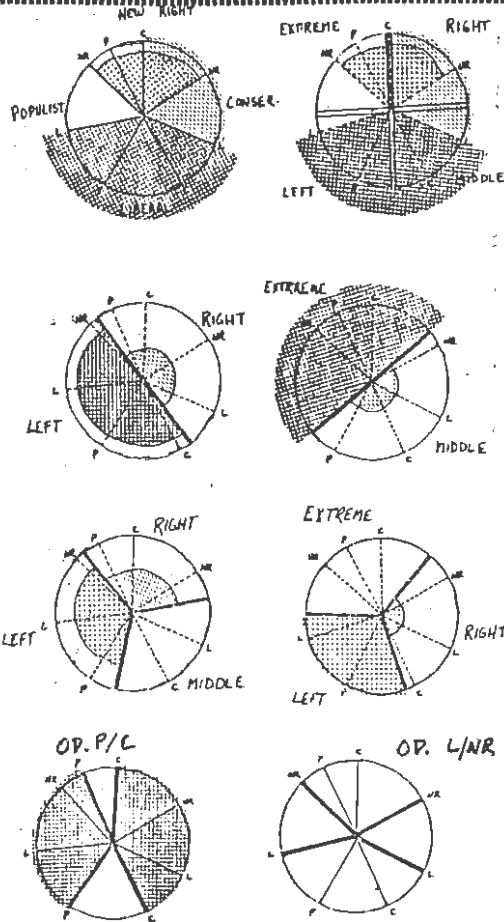
### Second Stage

Despite the best efforts of the anti-nuclear coalition (Austin Citizens for Economical Energy), leftist groups and individuals realized they needed to broaden their political base in order to overcome the monied interests which supported the nuclear project. The resulting strategy involved two intertwined thrusts with the environmental and neighborhood movements. Probably the two focus groups in this effort were the Zilker Park Posse (with its allied Save Barton Creek Association), and the Austin Neighborhood Fund (although organizationally unrelated, the Fund had a practical and philosophical rapport with the Austin Neighborhoods Council).

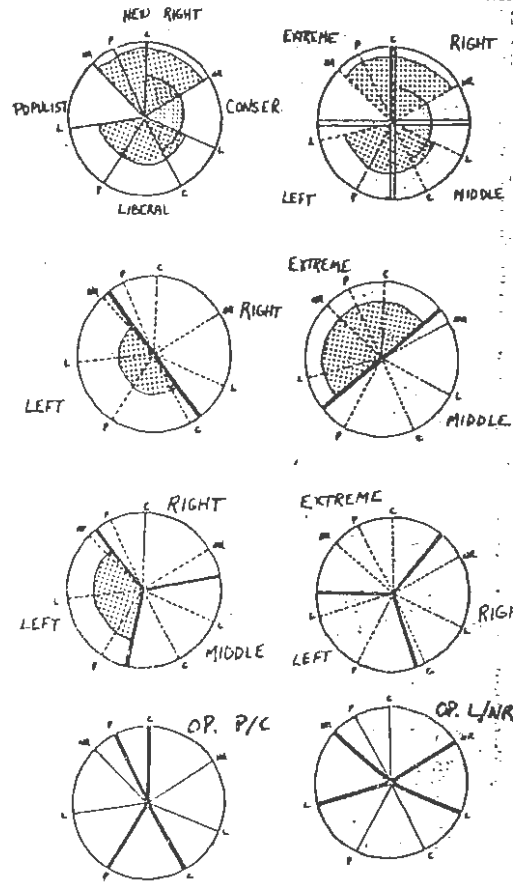
These groups formed an informal coalition to influence the results of the third election in this study, a bond election which occurred in February of 1980. Although the neighborhood elements recommended voting against about half of these bonds (six of the eleven propositions ultimately failed), all the elements of the coalition agreed to focus the early thrust of the anti-bonds campaign on the water/wastewater bonds, in conjunction with the passage of the park bonds ("31PARK").

In propositions "31PARK" and "39WATER" in Figure U, we see elements of the Populist's pattern participating in some interesting coalitions (even though in the

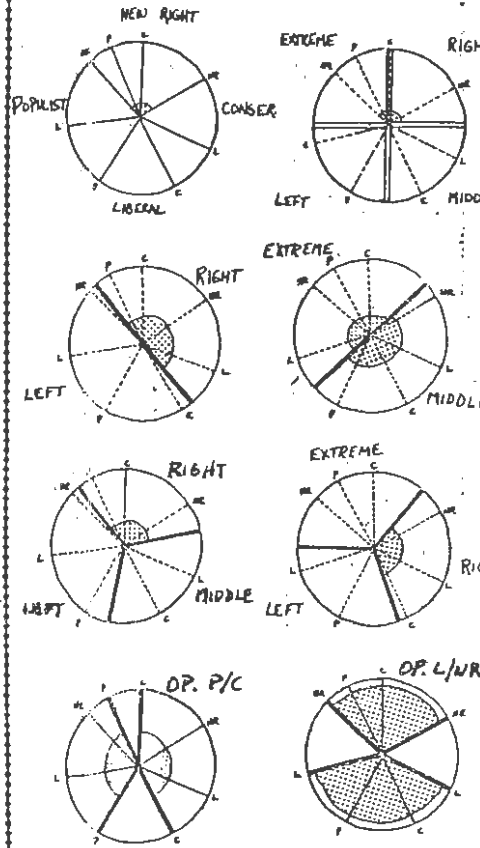
### 22 NONUK (2<sup>nd</sup> Stage)



### 31 PARK (2<sup>nd</sup> Stage)



### 39 WATER (2<sup>nd</sup> Stage)



## Figure U

(Figure E,F)

Indicatory Patterns  
 Positive Coefficient  
 Negative Coefficient

(Figure G,H)

(Figure I,J)

(Figure O)

1979 Stage 1 (Partial)  
 1980 Stage 2  
 circle radius = unit coefficient  
 (From Figures M, P, Q, R, S, and N)

figure E and F facsimiles the Populists are insignificant). In "31PARK", which passed with 63 percent of the vote, it is a Left and Extreme pattern which are responsible for the positive vote, while only the Conservative pattern manages a negative vote.

In "39WATER" (which only 25 percent of the voters were for), the only negative pattern comes with the two separate Right patterns, probably in an unconscious alliance led by the Populists in the Extreme pattern in figure H, and in the Opposite P/C facsimile of figure O).

Interestingly, the Liberal and Conservative patterns, as seen in Figures L and M cease to be significant after this third election. With a Populist issue base established during 1980, all the new councilmembers elected in 1981 rode on this Populist voter response, aided by the support of active environmental, neighborhood and progressive networks.

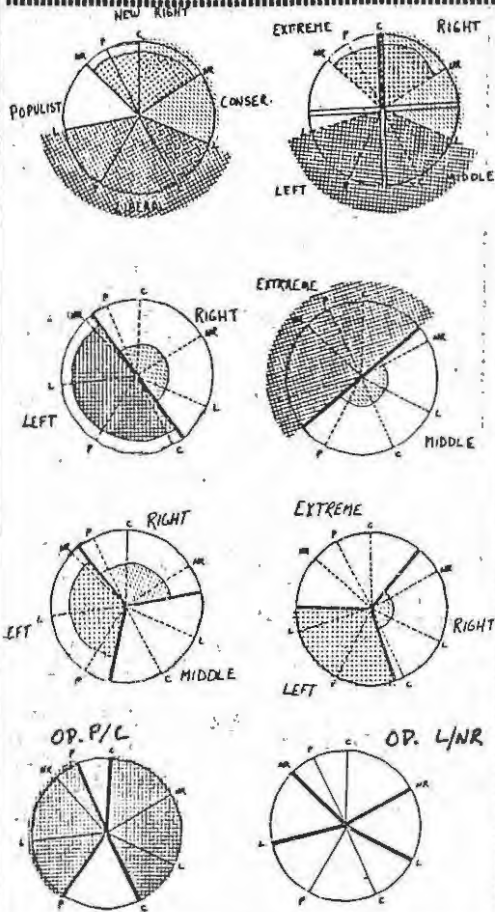
#### Third Stage

In Figure V we have cross-sections of the three elections chosen from the Third Stage of the Populist cycle. The "63EMS" proposition passed by a narrow margin of 52 percent (see Chart 7), "67PARK" failed with a narrow miss of 49 percent, and "7NUKE", the proposition allowing the City to sell its share in the nuclear project, passed with a substantial 58 percent of the vote (see Chart 8).

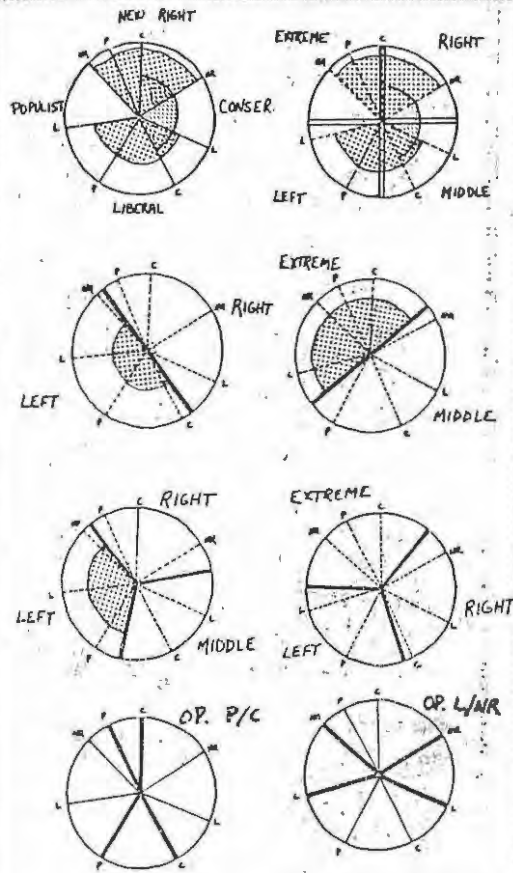
After electing the three new councilmembers in April and May of 1981, the Populist pattern had a noticable investment in supporting the policies of the City Council. In Figure M, we see that the Populists, unlike their behavior in the first elections, are voting for practically all the ballot items.

There is, of course, a marked difference in the patterns of the first two elections in Figure V, when compared to "7NUKE". At best, the sixth election received mixed reviews from many of the organizations that directly or indirectly

### 22 NONUK (1<sup>st</sup> Stage)



### 31 PARK (2<sup>nd</sup> Stage)



### 39 WATER (2<sup>nd</sup> Stage)

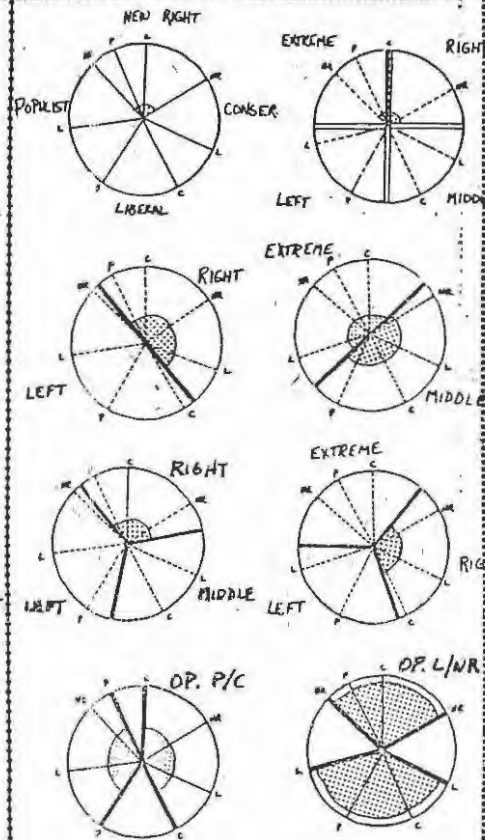


Figure U

(Figure E,F)

Legend:  
 [Solid black] Intensity  
 [Dotted] Balance  
 [Hatched] Positive Coefficient  
 [White] Negative Coefficient

(Figure G,H)

1979 Stage 1 (Radial)  
 1980 Stage 2 (Radial)  
 circle radius = unit coefficient  
 (from Figures M, P, Q, R, S, and N)

(Figure I, J)

(Figure O)



helped in the election of the new 1981 councilmembers and influenced the results of the 1980 bond election. Groups like the Chamber of Commerce and some Democratic Clubs managed only reluctant support.

Evidently, the 1981 City Council, which placed this August 1981 bond package before the voters a mere three months after their swearing in, believed they could minimize opposition from elements of the establishment by showing their power standing before the voters. They utilized the same procedure (which was rather artificial) as the previous Council to allow citizen input in the development of the bond package, and put together under the guidance of the outgoing city manager (whose resignation had been forced by the new Council in June, but whose departure delayed until September). As a result, the bond election received only a muted response from Austin voters (with a turnout of 16 percent).

As one can see from the elections in Figure V, each has a similar pattern. The only difference between "63EMS" and "67PARKS" is that the in the first election there is a positive Right coefficient in figure J, and Opposite L/NR in figure O, while these categories are insignificant in "67PARK".

The Populist role as a potential bridge between the Liberal and New Right perspectives is shown clearly in "7NUKE". Although, like the first two elections in Figure V, only the Populist (although three times the intensity in "7NUKE") and New Right patterns are significant in Figure V's figures E and F; there is a strong positive population response in the Extreme and Left (although weakened in figure J) categories; and, relative to the Populist influence, a weaker negative response from the Middle, Right, and Opposite L/NR categories in figures I, J and O, respectively.

### Conclusions on Political Culture

Political culture (as introduced at the beginning of this part) may be more accurately represented by the Type II (Figures E and F and their variations) models of the political spectrum than the Type I model (Figure A). From a traditional Left/Right continuum perspective in Figure A, natural political antagonists would tend to pit the Populists and Liberals against the New Right and Conservatives. However, this study shows that highly motivated political population tend to separate into Populists vs. Conservatives, and Liberals vs. New Right, indicating, in conjunction with the Opposite population responses towards issues, that these two opposite patterns see the world enough alike to have a clearer understanding of their differences.

Additionally, what motivates a particular voting population may not be the same as what motivates the opinion leaders with the closest ties to that population. Although leaders may articulate the rhetorical slogans of their respective cultures, these individuals self-interest may have an entirely different methodology, ranging from pecuniary interests to self-deception and other rationalizations.<sup>159</sup>

Whether or not a population has enough intensity to win an election is the all-important political factor. The Conservative model for candidates calls for big money for media, tied to a rhetorical respect for tax dollars, personal initiative, and economic free enterprise. Historically this activates a good plurality of Austin's habitual voters and enough of a commercial media/information wash to capture the uninformed voter. Before the rise of Austin's Populist-neighborhood movement in 1979 and 1980, the Conservative pattern was generally the strongest in Austin candidate elections. Liberals have grown from attempts to promote the public welfare, efforts to cut into Conservative issues, and hold together various special

interests groups with a history of disenfranchisement from the political and economic main stream.

The Liberals have been unable to leave the battle with Conservatives over political constituency, and consequently have had difficulty developing a comprehensive philosophy and stable power base. Long-term power, some battle-scarred Liberal leaders have decided, rests on establishing accommodations with monied interests on social programs and economic development. The problem with this approach is that, after all, in the culture of those able to finance media washes, there really is no component with which Liberals can make agreements that can guarantee the performance of the monied interests, let alone the voting population. To draw the range of political issues into a field best handled by high-cost media blitzes naturally limits the constituency that will support Liberals. Long-term power rests on the ability to institutionalize a voter market. Arrangements with power brokers will always be an inherent element in the changing nature of practical politics, but the influence of power brokers ultimately depends upon their ability to reflect or bend the will of the electorate.

Perhaps the dividing line in politics will always be the rational use of property rights versus community control. It could be argued, as Smith does (see Section I), that the better decisions are made when all citizens have a personal investment and responsibility towards the community welfare. This rational approach recognizes the dangers in both of the following extremes: when a groups or class of individuals has no access to property or political responsibilities; or when a group or class has disproportionate control over property and political responsibilities.

Because of the unbalanced distribution of resources, in terms of financing and skilled personnel, it is difficult to institutionalize a Populist movement. Historically, Liberals and Conservatives have had a tendency to drive the Populist and New

Right wedges between themselves as a way to enhance their own perceived leadership patterns; such a process, either through intent or ignorance, keeps a Populist movement from establishing healthy roots.

From the statistical patterns in this present work, I might make some suggestions as to base future studies of political behavior and culture.

First, in terms of population development as it relates to historical political participation, the Extreme side of the circle, as the model in Figure W.1 suggests, has seen little healthy exercise this century, so we tend to think of it as not existing. When elements of the Extreme do exercise themselves politically, we tend to view them as amateurish or dangerous (which may be specifically true, although not generically). On the other hand, the Middle spectrum has a much more developed, experienced and sophisticated profile, which does not necessarily mean that the policies that have been instituted through this power base bode well for the long-term health of society, or Austin in particular.

Second, the opposite patterns in Figures W.2 and O tell us that, before the Austin political population became highly motivated in mid-1979 and 1980, the Populists and Conservatives, and the Liberals and New Right, acted together on bond and issue elections. In other words, these opposite patterns seem to have common attitudes toward government, although perhaps for different reasons. One explanation for these commonalities (which certainly need to be developed with future polling and case studies) might be that Liberals support government because of their interest in social welfare programs, while the New Right category supports government out of a sense of civic responsibility (the ole "if you don't vote, you have no right to gripe" philosophy). Populists and Conservatives, on the other hand, are

### Relative Experience of Political Activists

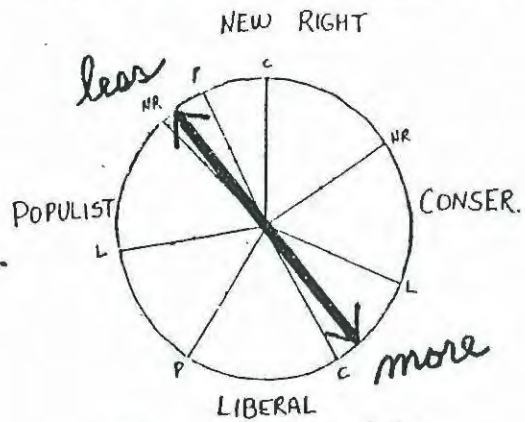


Figure W.1

### Attitudes Towards Government

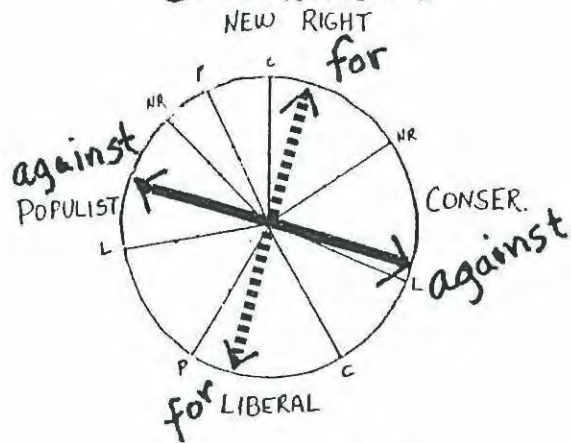


Figure W.2

against government for two entirely different reasons: the Populists because the government could do so much more for the common welfare, and the conservatives because they would like to see government have even less influence in their lives.

From this analysis, we might conclude that it is the Populist or Conservative patterns that determine the direction of government policies. Based on the model in Figure W.3, if the Populist pattern is not active, a natural result would be that the Conservative pattern would be the controlling political pattern.

Figure W.4 (a and b) suggest additionally that the Liberals and New Right have a greater emotional content in their belief systems, while the Conservatives and Populists have less emotion and more of a rational approach to their political philosophy.

As a more dynamic example of how these various population personalities might manifest themselves, we should look at Figure W.5. Populists and Conservatives square-off on economic issues, while the disagreements between Liberals and New Right tend to center on social issues.

In Figure W.6, we see that the attitude differences between the Extreme and Middle patterns may be related to how they access and process information about government. With the Middle's philosophy placing a high priority on an individual's access to personal power, the Middle pattern is best reached through high-cost commercials. The Extreme pattern, on the other hand, tends to develop their political perspectives through various citizen participation processes (whether it be neighborhood organizations or Baptist churches), and therefore tends to think of the individual's rights and responsibilities towards community.<sup>160</sup> Therefore, long-term power stability towards a Leftist perspective should demand the utilization of citizen participation structures as an important political tool to overcome an excessive dependence on campaign dollars.

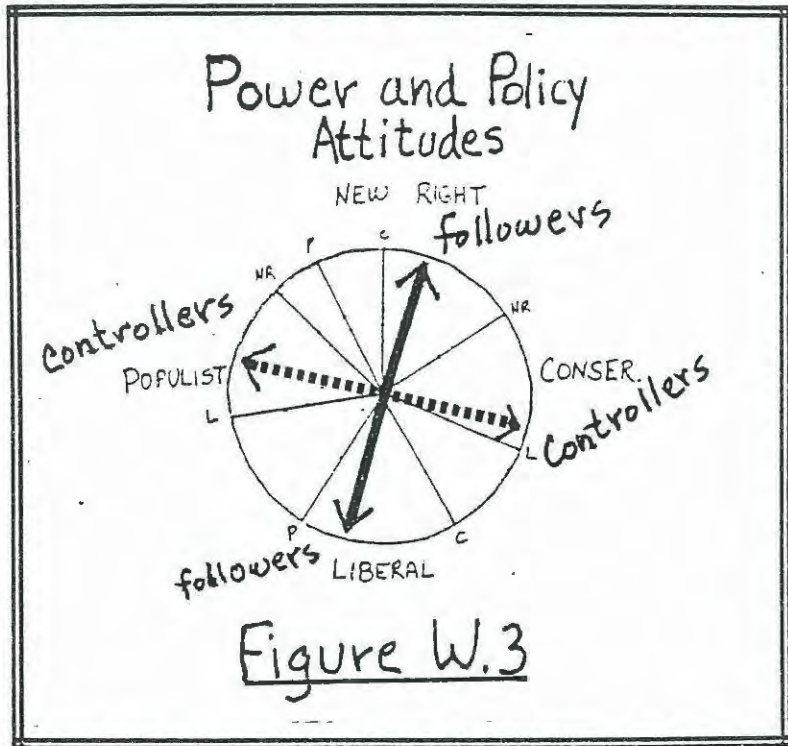


Figure W.3

### Rational Voter

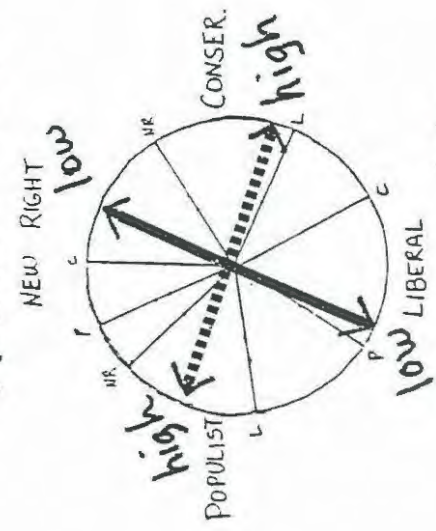


Figure W.4b

### Emotional Voter

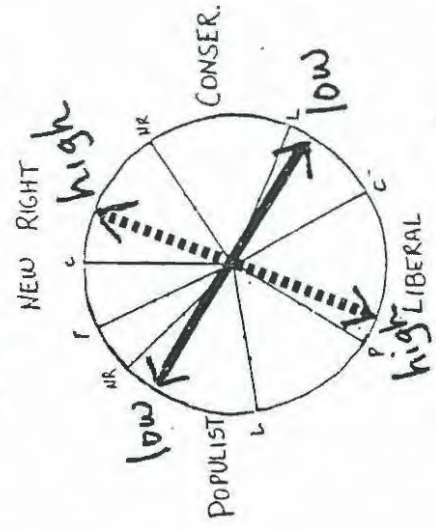
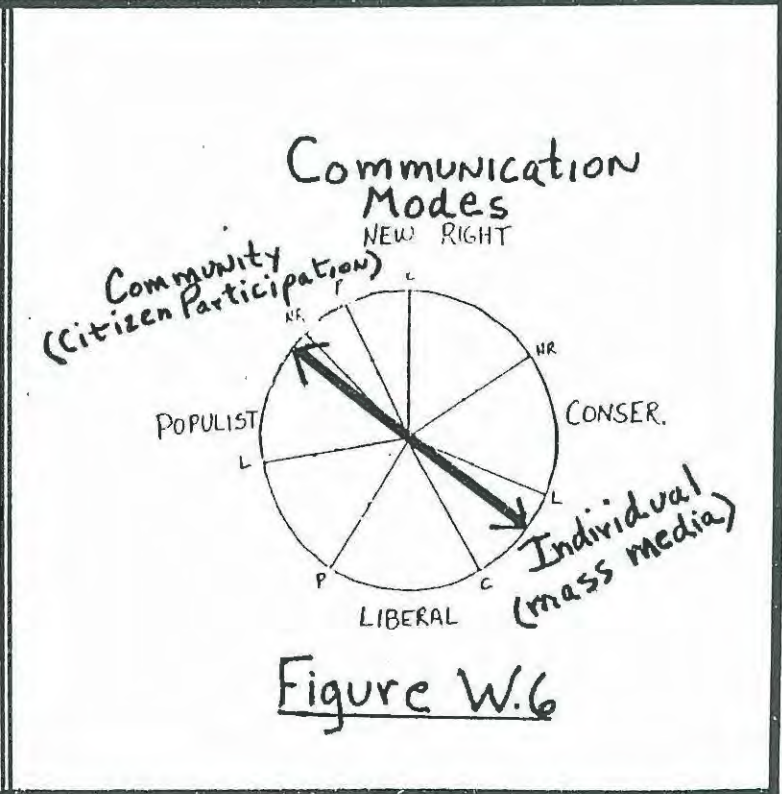
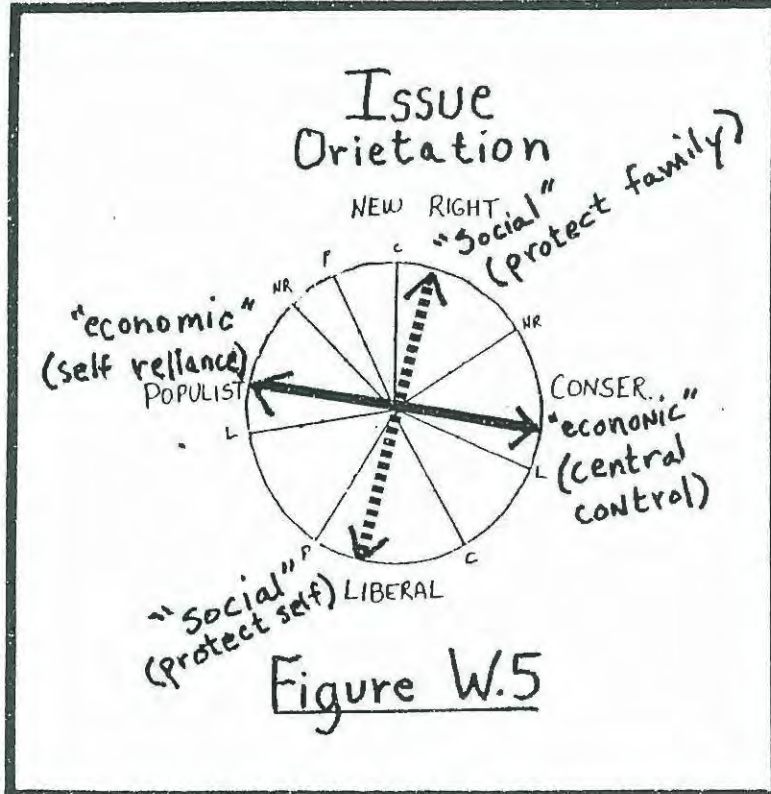


Figure W.4a

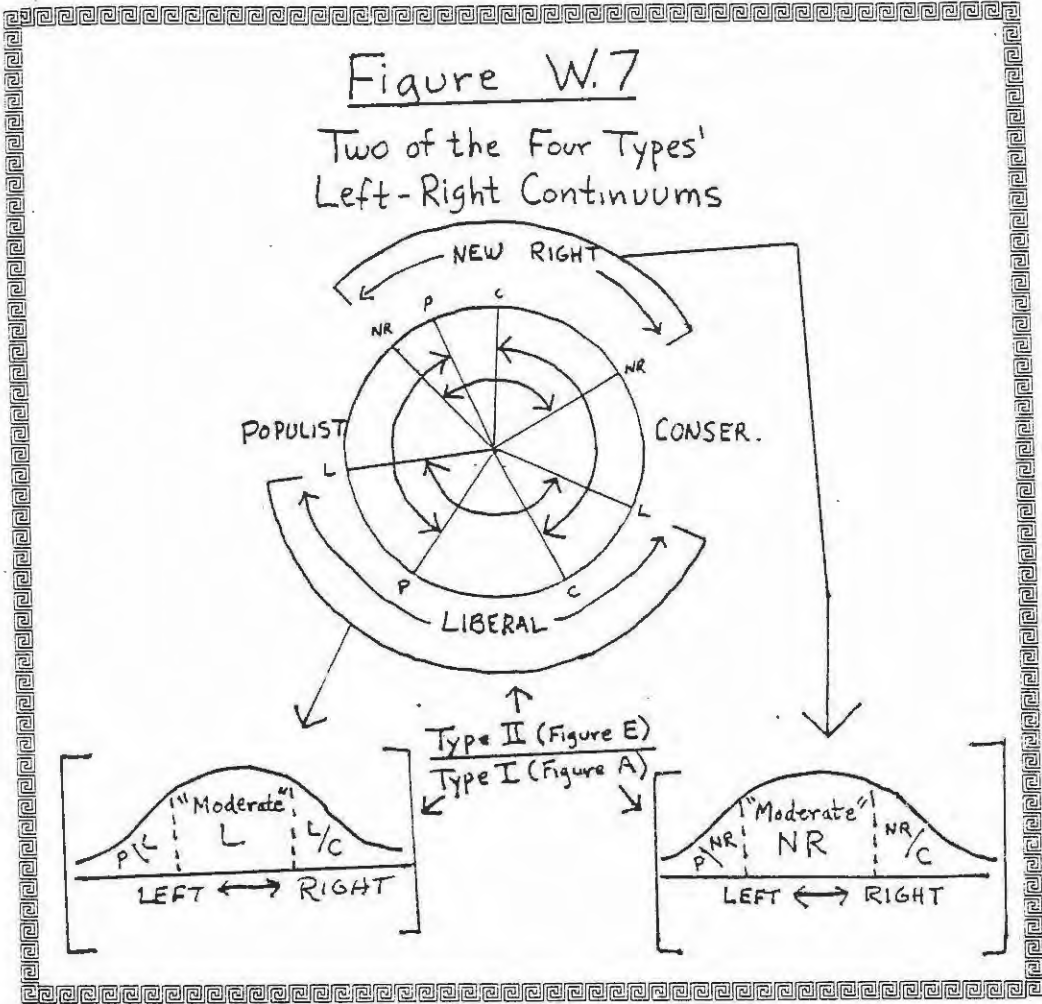




Future studies might find evidence for a more detailed and reliable model than the one presented in this study. It is probably the case for instance, that within each of the four main candidate voting types (Populists, Liberals, Conservatives, and New Right), there is a pattern approximating a Left-to-Right continuum that is result of the intermingling of the voting populations as shown in Chart 17 and Figure W.7.

# Figure W.7

Two of the Four Types' Left-Right Continuums



## Part 2: The Elections

The data for this study covers a three year period of bond, city council and referendum elections in Austin, Texas between January 1979 and January 1982. These elections included 32 different propositions and 51 candidate campaigns; in the interest of manageability and time, about 75 different issue or candidate precinct voting patterns and related information were selected for comparisons and analysis.

The eight elections during this time period are: 1) bond election, January 20, 1979; 2) city council election, April 7, 1979; 3) bond election, February 23, 1980; 4) city council election, April 4, 1981; 5) city council election runoff, May 2, 1981; 6) bond election, August 29, 1981; 7) nuclear plant participation referendum, November 3, 1981; and, 8) a fair housing ordinance referendum, January 16, 1982. Chart 1 provides information pertaining to these elections such as percentage turnout, the total number of registered voters and the number of participating voters.

### Election #1: Special Municipal Election, January 20, 1979

This is probably the most representative of the city's bond elections of the past fifty years. The \$142 million package consisted of 12 propositions, and a Proposition 14. This nuclear question asked the voters to authorize the city "to sell as much of Austin's 16 percent in the South Texas Project (Nuclear) as cannot be financed with \$161,000,000."

All the propositions passed by large margins (except #14), based on a political model that the bonds are neither liberal nor conservative in nature, but for the good of the whole city.

The nuclear proposition was originally intended as a compromise to the two alternative positions of maintaining Austin's 16 percent share of the increasing cost

CHART 1  
ELECTION INFORMATION

TYPE OF ELECTION AND DATE	COMPUTER NAME*	% VOTER TURNOUT**	TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTERS**	ACTUAL NUMBER OF VOTERS**	CORRELATION COEFFICIENT WITH 5CC581 (PERCENTAGE OF VOTER TURNOUT IN EACH PRECINCT)***
1. Special Municipal Election; 1/20/79	1BEJ79	25.45	158,638	40,373	.927
2. General Municipal Election; 4/7/79	2CC479	34.25	161,803	55,415	.940
3. Municipal Bond Election; 2/23/80	3BE280	23.74	130,871	31,070	.916
4. General Municipal Election; 4/4/81	4CC481	38.12	185,332	70,647	.968
5. General Municipal Election; 5/2/81	5CC581	36.03	188,000	67,728	1.0
6. Municipal Bond Election; 8/29/81	6BE881	16.06	188,598	30,298	.916
7. Special Municipal Election; 11/3/81	7NUK81	30.36	196,647	59,702	.970
8. Special Municipal Election; 1/16/82	8FH82	28.81	199,470	57,469	.958

\* The first space in the computer name is the election number (1,2,...,8) and the remaining six spaces describe the specific variable or variable set. For candidates and propositions, a number in the second space (or "M" for "Mayor") indicates the candidate's place or proposition number. The remaining spaces utilize abbreviations, such as "MCL" for "McClellan", or "ELEC" for electric bonds. Hence, "311ELEC" indicates a variable for the Proposition 11 Electric bonds in the election held on 2/23/80.

\*\* Information from the City Clerk's Office, City of Austin.

\*\*\* This correlation coefficient indicates there is no significant difference in the overall voter turnout pattern in each of the eight elections, even though there is wide variance in the total voter turnout from election to election.

of the South Texas plant, versus getting out completely. Hence, "moderates" supported this proposition, and pro-nuclear and a budding strong populist anti-nuclear coalition opposed it, as is also reflected in the issue/candidate regression analysis in the last part of this section.

Seven propositions were selected for data analysis from this first election, in addition to voter information, as shown in Chart 2.

NOTE: Precinct 127, which was combined with three other precincts before the next election (giving Austin 86 instead of 87 precincts), was eliminated from this election's data.

Election #2: General Municipal Election, April 7, 1979

In addition to the largely uncontested races for the seven council races, there was a series of four propositions to try to resolve the failure of the nuclear proposition from the last election in January. The council races drew 19 candidates, but with the possible exception of Ream vs. Mullen, none of the incumbents saw any opposition, and all won with percentages greater than 67 percent (maintaining the 4-3 conservative-liberal composition of the council). Ream is interesting because his voter pattern is more typical of the populistically-oriented candidates in the next council races (see Chart 10). Even though this election occurred two weeks after the nuclear mishap at Three Mile Island, the proposition calling for full participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project still passed, but only with 53.17 percent of the total vote. The proposition calling for selling Austin's interest failed with 49.1 percent of the vote, while the throw away question ("23COAL") calling for lignite/coal options to the nuclear problem failed by votes greater than 77 percent.

Fourteen categories of data were chosen from this election, as shown in Chart 3.

CHART 2:  
ELECTION #1:  
SPECIAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION,  
1/20/79

VARIABLE NAME*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES
1PRECNT	86 total precincts**	100.00
1PERVOT	Voter turnout	25.45
11PARK	Park bonds; \$6,005,000	64.75***
14AIRPT	Airport bonds; \$3,185,000	59.78
17EMS	Emergency Medical Services Building bonds; \$620,000	71.91
18POLIC	Police Building bonds; \$9,715,000	60.30
112ELEC	Electric System bonds; \$58,625,000	70.13
114NUKE	Should the City of Austin maintain a constant \$161,000,000 interest in the South Texas Nuclear Project, instead of the rising cost of the current 16% share?	45.82

\* The first space in the computer name is the election number (1,2,...,8) and the remaining six spaces describe the specific variable or variable set. For candidates and propositions, a number in the second space (or "M" for "Mayor") indicates the candidate's place or proposition number. The remaining spaces utilize abbreviations, such as "MCCL" for "McClellan", or "ELEC" for electric bonds. Hence, "311ELEC indicates a variable for the Proposition 11 Electric bonds in the 2/23/80 election.

\*\* In this election there were actually 87 total precincts; this was the last election in which precinct 127 existed. After this election, precinct 127, located in central east Austin, was combined with three neighboring precincts. In order to make comparisons with other elections, I discounted precinct 127 from this election's data.

\*\*\* The remaining percentages indicate votes "for".

CHART 3:  
ELECTION #2:  
GENERAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION,  
4/7/79

VARIABLE NAME*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES	POPULATION TYPE***
2PRECNT	86 total precincts	100.00	
2PERVOT	Voter turnout	34.25	
2M:MCCL	Carole McClellan, for Mayor (Incumbent)	78.88**	C
21COOKE	Lee Cooke, for Place 1 (Incumbent)	74.08	C
22HIMME	Betty Himmelblau, for Place 2 (Incumbent)	76.35	C
23MULLN	Ron Mullen, for Place 3 (Incumbent)	70.25	C
23REAM	Richard Ream, for Place 3	21.93	P
24GOODM	Richard Goodman, for Place 4 (Incumbent)	76.02	L
25TREVI	John Trevino, for Place 5 (Incumbent)	67.05	L
26SNELL	James Snell, for Place 6 (Incumbent)	68.05	L
21ALNUK	Proposition #1, authorizing \$215,850,000 in bonds to maintain the City of Austin's full 16% participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project	53.17	
22NONUK	Proposition #2, authorizing the City of Austin to sell it's share of the South Texas Nuclear Project	49.10	
23COAL	Proposition #3, a throw-away question authorizing \$433,900,000 for the City of Austin to build a coal or lignite-fired power plant	20.22	

\* See the first note in Chart 2.

\*\* The remaining percentages indicate votes "for".

\*\*\*See Chart 20 (C=Conservative; P=Populist; L=Liberal; NR=New Right).



Election #3: Bond Election, February 23, 1980

The results of this election showed the first significant signs of the "decentralized power systems" or Populist patterns that were to be highly related to voters authorizing the sale of Austin's share of the South Texas Project, the passage of a strong fair housing ordinance, and, most importantly, will have a strong influence on the results of the council elections in 1981. Facing a coalition of environmentalists and neighborhood activists (and some anti-tax sentiment), six of the eleven bond propositions, worth \$113 of the \$131 million package, failed to receive a majority of the voters approval. Previously, a total of only five bond propositions had been defeated in the 26 city elections since 1926 (all five defeats occurred since 1969). The results of this election more than doubled the previous total, and the results of this election largely corresponded to the recommendations of the Austin Neighborhoods Council, followed by the more moderate anti-positions of the Austin Neighborhood Fund, environmental groups, and some liberal activists.

The nine selected data sets for this election are shown in Chart 4.

Election #4: General Municipal Election, April 4, 1981

This is the election that provides the central perspective for our statistical analysis; sets the stage for the success of the November anti-nuclear campaign; and by a mis-reading of the election as a liberal phenomenon, the failure of the next bond election. Twenty-six candidates competed for the seven council places. As compared to the 1979 council election, all the council positions had serious opposition, with the most interesting races being for Places 1 and 2, and to a slightly lesser extent, the races for Mayor and Place 6.

Chart 5 summarizes the 18 data sets chosen for the study.

CHART 4:  
ELECTION #3:  
MUNICIPAL BOND ELECTION,  
2/23/80

VARIABLE NAME*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES
3PRECNT	86 total precincts	100.00
3PERVOT	Voter turnout	23.74
31PARK	Park bonds; \$9,000,000	63.60**
32BRACK	Hospital parking facility bonds; \$4,485,000	49.39
34NEIGH	Neighborhood center building bonds; \$370,000	31.91
38AIRPT	Airport bonds; \$4,565,000	46.64
39WATER	Water system bonds; \$50,440,000	25.79
311ELEC	Electric system bonds; \$18,315,000	38.52

\* See the first note in Chart 2

\*\* The remaining percentages indicate votes "for".

CHART 5:  
ELECTION #4;  
GENERAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION,  
4/2/81

VARIABLE NAME*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES	POPULATION TYPE***
4PRECNT	86 total precincts	100.00	
4PERVOT	Voter turnout	38.12	
4M:BIND	Bob Binder, for Mayor	37.92**	P
4M:MCCL	Carole McClellan, for Mayor (Incumbent)	34.57	C
4M:MCCR	Jack McCreary, for Mayor	25.73	NR
41GUERR	Mike Guerrero, for Place 1	23.54	-
41DUKE	Bob Duke, for Place 1	32.72	NR
41DEUSR	Larry Deuser, for Place 1	41.20	P
42HENNA	Louis Henna, for Place 2	41.57	C
42DUNCN	Roger Duncan, for Place 2	58.43	P
43MULLN	Ron Mullen, for Place 3 (Incumbent)	59.93	C
43DELEN	Marcos DeLeon, for Place 3	33.33	P
44BARTZ	Joan Bartz, for Place 4	22.73	NR
44MACRA	Rollin MacRae, for Place 4	20.93	-
44GOODM	Richard Goodman, for Place 4 (Incumbent)	56.34	L
45TREVI	John Trevino, for Place 5 (Incumbent)	61.11	L
45ROSE	Mark Rose, for Place 5	31.86	NR

\* See the first note in Chart 2.

\*\* The remaining percentages indicate votes "for".

\*\*\* See Chart 20 (C=Conservative; P=Populist; L=Liberal; NR=New Right).

Election #5: General Municipal Election (Runoff), May 2, 1981

The final winners in the Mayor's race and the two council places were determined in this election.

The six data sets are summarized in Chart 6.

Election #6: Municipal Election, August 29, 1981

A mere three months after the new city council was seated it placed this \$186 million bond election before the voters. The voters, facing essentially the same process as the 1980 bond election, turned down 11 of the 16 propositions worth \$135 million. There was organized opposition against only about four of the bonds, although a significant number of groups (like the Austin Neighborhoods Council) chose not to endorse many of the bonds. Indeed, the 16 percent voter turnout is probably a most telling statistic of this election, considering the almost 40 percent of the three months earlier.

Chart 7 lists summary information from the 14 data sets chosen for this study.

Election #7: Special Municipal Election,  
November 3, 1981 (Participation in STNP)

The results of this election are summarized in the 4 data sets listed in Chart 8.

The 1981 council was able to put a straight-forward get out of the South Texas Nuclear Project proposition on the ballot, and 58 percent of the voters agreed with the idea.

Election #8: Special Municipal Election,  
January 16, 1982 (Fair Housing Referendum)

This election's proposition opposed an ordinance proposal of the City Council; during the fall of 1981 the City Council considered a proposal to legislate a

CHART 6:  
 ELECTION #5:  
 GENERAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION  
 (RUNOFF), 5/2/81

VARIABLE NAME*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES	POPULATION TYPE***
5PRECNT	86 total precincts	100.00	
5PERVOT	Voter turnout	36.03	
5M:MCCL	Carole McClellan, for Mayor (Incumbent)	54.19**	C
51DEUSR	Larry Deuser, for Place 1	60.67	P
56URDY	Charles Urdy, for Place 6	62.37	P

\* See the first note in Chart 2.

\*\* The remaining percentages indicate votes "for".

\*\*\* See Chart 20 (C=Conservative; P=Populist; L=Liberal; NR=New Right).

CHART 7:  
ELECTION #6:  
MUNICIPAL BOND ELECTION,  
8/29/81

VARIABLE NAME*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES
6PRECNT	86 total precincts	100.00
6PERVOT	Voter turnout	16.06
61STRET	Street and Drainage bonds; \$41,655,000	52.16**
63EMS	Emergency Medical Service bonds; \$1,845,000	52.76
64FIRE	Fire Station Building bonds; \$4,425,000	54.60
65NEIGH	Neighborhood Center Building bonds; \$190,000	39.97
66LIBRA	Library Building bonds; \$1,070,000	45.20
67PARKS	Park bonds; \$15,120,000	49.14
610TRAN	Transit System Vehicle bonds; \$630,000	45.75
612VECL	Vehicle and Equipment Service Building; \$180,000	40.05
613ELEC	Electric System bonds; \$34,045,000	38.62
615SEWR	Sewer System bonds; \$32,915,000	40.18
616AIRP	Airport bonds; \$7,125,000	44.39

\* See the first note in Chart 2.

\*\* The remaining percentages indicate votes "for".

CHART 8:  
ELECTION #7:  
SPECIAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION,  
11/3/81

VARIABLE NAME*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES
7PRECNT	86 total precincts	100.00
7PERVOT	Voter turnout	30.36
7NUKE	Proposition authorizing the Austin City Council to sell the city's share in the South Texas Nuclear Project	58.17**

\* See the first note in Chart 2.

\*\* Indicates the vote "for".

tenant's right to housing without discriminating against their sexual orientation or their parental status. Although the emotional motivation behind the petition drive against the proposed "fair-housing" ordinance was based on the sexual preference issue, some associated with the apartment owners were against the ordinance because of a bias against renting to individuals with children. Although the city's voters opposed the opposition to this council ordinance by a large margin, it highlighted the confusion of the council in finding its political direction; more of the council's energy began to be directed towards minimizing opposition.

Unlike all the other election data sets "8FAIRHO" utilizes the vote against this election's proposition, thus making the thrust of the issue the vote "for" the city council's fair housing ordinance.

The selected four data sets are summarized in Chart 9.



CHART 9:  
 ELECTION #8:  
 SPECIAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION,  
 1/16/82

VARIABLE NAMES*	DESCRIPTION	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES
8PRECNT	86 total precincts	100.00
8PERVOT	Voter turnout	28.81
8FAIRHO	Proposition dealing with a recent Austin City Council ordinance banning discrimination in housing based on sexual preference or having children	63.32**

\* See the first note in Chart 2.

\*\* Actually this is the vote against the proposition which was the result of a petition drive against the city council's ordinance banning such discrimination; the ballot proposition asked voters to approve housing discrimination based on sexual preference, so the 63.32% who voted against this proposition, actually voted "for" fair housing. This is the only variable utilizing the "against" voting pattern.

### Part 3: Four Candidate Population Patterns

One of the mistaken perceptions many had from the 1981 city council elections, including perhaps the new council members (who were elected with a Populist pattern as illustrated in Figure D in Part I of this section), is that 1981 was the year of the Liberal in local politics. Charts 10 through 13 show correlations between all the candidate patterns utilized in this study: 1) Populists; 2) Liberals; 3) New Right; and 4) Conservative. As the categories in these charts show, each specific candidate may have a slightly different relationship to the four types, but the categories obviously maintain their integrity. Chart 14 shows two candidates' patterns which failed to find their places among the four other possibilities, and thus found themselves, as it were, nowhere at all. These four main patterns have common elements in at least two elections, and therefore are not isolated manifestations of a single election.

Chart 15 shows the correlations among the four different candidate population types. The variable defining candidate population types is constructed by adding together the voting patterns in each precinct of related candidates and dividing the total by the number of candidates (see Chart 20).

Chart 18 summarizes the means of the various candidate population types used in this section. For the correlations, the study used the percentage of votes for the candidate and issues in each precinct rather than the number of votes, because the percentages showed a more accurate relationship among the candidate types. While the number of votes for each candidate and issue muddled the relationships for the correlations, they proved more appropriate for the multivariate regressions, and these means are also shown in Chart 18.

CHART 10\*\*\*

Correlation Coefficients Between  
Populist Candidates  
and the Four Candidate Types

	23REAM	4M: BIND	41DEUSR	42DUNCN	43DELEN	51DEUSR	56URDY
LIBERALS	.447	.403	-.041	.747*	.623	.683	.346
CONSERVATIVE	-.938**	-.960**	-.783**	-.814**	-.853**	-.816**	-.903**
POPULIST	.923*	.957*	.738*	.902*	.885*	.893*	.920*
NEW RIGHT	-.618	-.641	-.206	-.923**	-.822**	-.874**	-.619

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

\*\*\*This is an abridged form of the Chart 10 in the Appendix.

CHART 11\*\*\*

Correlation Coefficients Between  
New Right Candidates,  
and the Four Candidate Types

	4M:MCCR	41DUKE	44BARTZ	45ROSE
LIBERALS	-.863**	-.787**	-.870**	-.924**
CONSERVATIVE	.612	.634	.599	.586
POPULIST	-.730**	-.752**	-.695	-.704**
NEW RIGHT	.931*	.935*	.932*	.971*

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

\*\*\*This is an abridged form of the Chart 11 in  
the Appendix.

CHART 12\*\*\*

Correlation Coefficients Between  
Liberal Candidates  
and the Four Candidate Types

	24GOODM	25TREVI	26SNELL	44GOODM	45TREVI
LIBERALS	.932*	.949*	.887*	.917*	.925*
CONSERVATIVE	-.372	-.386	-.158	-.278	-.550
POPULIST	.492	.498	.289	.413	.661
NEW RIGHT	-.829**	-.835**	-.688	-.866**	-.911**

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

\*\*\*This is an abridged form of the Chart 12  
in the Appendix.

CHART 13\*\*\*  
Correlation Coefficients Between  
Conservative Candidates  
and the Four Candidate Types

	2M:MCCL	23MULLN	4M:MCCL	43MULLN	5M:MCCL
LIBERALS	-.398	-.444	.136	-.604	-.384
CONSERVATIVE	.973*	.966*	.801*	.883*	.963*
POPULIST	-.935**	-.946**	-.703**	-.909**	-.952**
NEW RIGHT	.615	.645	.130	.819	.627

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

\*\*\*This is an abridged form of the Chart 13  
in the Appendix.

CHART 14\*\*\*

Correlation Coefficients Between  
Undetermined Candidates,  
and the Four Candidate Types

	41GUERR	44MACRA
LIBERALS	.690	-.586
CONSERVATIVE	.634	-.274
POPULIST	.022	.148
NEW RIGHT	-.586	.388

\* Indicates a positive value  
greater than .7.

\*\*Indicates a positive value  
less than .7.

\*\*\*This is an abridged form of  
the Chart 14 in the Appendix.

CHART 15  
Correlation Coefficients Between  
Four Candidate Types\*\*\*

	LIBERAL	CONSERV.	POPULIST	NEW RIGHT
LIBERAL	1.0*	-.397	.529	-.909**
CONSERV.	-.397	1.0*	-.975**	.645
POPULIST	.529	-.975**	1.0*	-.766**
NEW RIGHT	-.909**	.645	-.766**	1.0*

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.  
 \*\* Indicates a negative value greater than .7.  
 \*\*\* Construction of the four candidate types  
 is shown in Chart 20.



### Introduction to Issues

Chart 16 displays the correlations between the candidate population types and the 28 issues selected for this study. Remember that each of these measurements reflects a relationship between only two variables, and thus fails to indicate the complexities and inter-relationships that will become more evident with the regression equations in subsequent charts. However, these measurements still provide interesting information and trends between the issues and candidates, although the correlations alone fail to show the real relative influence of the candidate population patterns among the respective issues. What the correlation relationships show is the general population tendency to vote for a specific candidate type and their votes for a single issue.

Simply stated, the correlation coefficient is a descriptive statistic that reflects the degree of association between two variables. The value of this coefficient ranges between -1 and 1. A negative correlation indicates that as the value of one variable decreases the other increases, and a positive correlation coefficient indicates that the variables are positively associated. A correlation of 0 indicates that there is no discernible association between the two variables, while a correlation of -1 or 1 indicates a perfect correlation between variables; that is, if you know the value of one variable you can estimate precisely the value of the other variable.

To illustrate, let us assume that the correlation coefficient between candidate X and issue Y is .6. This coefficient indicates that the variation found among the percentage voting for X is positively associated with the percentage voting for issue Y. Because of the degrees of freedom allowed with the data sets of 86 precincts, correlation coefficients between variables X and Y are not statistically

significant until they have a value of plus or minus .7, although values which are insignificant also have meaning when considered in the overall framework of Chart 16. The correlation coefficient squared is equivalent to the  $R^2$  values listed with the regression equations. The  $R^2$  value or correlation coefficient squared indicates that the percentage is "explained" between the two variables, or in the case of regressions, that the various X variables "explains" that percentage of the Y pattern. Most of the regression equations have  $R^2$  values of 90 percent or more. The regression equations provide much more significant information than that which is available by correlations alone, because the regression equations allow for the influence of the interaction among the X variables in determining their relationship to the dependent Y variable.

With that said, we can make the transition between the candidate population types, to the regression models on issues, with a few more words about Chart 16. The correlation coefficients become stronger with the "114NUKE" issue, and as we shall see with the regression equations, this controversial issue is the turning point among the candidate voters patterns. In the second election, this dynamic relationship becomes even clearer, and the Populist voting pattern is more strongly related to "21ALNUK" and "22NONUK" than the Liberal pattern. Also significant, the Liberal voting pattern is moderately positively correlated with the "23COAL" pattern, which only 20 percent of an incredulous population voted for.

The Populist pattern really became set with the third election. Although these correlations may seem somewhat mixed, they will become more manifest with the regression equations. Here it is appropriate to note two of the most controversial issues of this election, "31PARK" and "39WATER". In "31PARK", which passed with 63 percent of the vote, the Populists and Conservatives develop considerably strong

CHART 16  
 Correlation Coefficient Between  
 Four Candidate Types  
 and Issues

VARIABLE NAME	POPULIST	NEW RIGHT	LIBERAL	CONSERVATIVE	PERCENTAGE VOTING FOR
11PARK	.525	-.543	.542	-.481	64.75
14AIRPT	-.101	-.056	.203	.133	59.78
17EMS	.382	-.446	.473	-.337	71.91
18POLIC	-.363	.096	.108	.419	60.30
112ELEC	-.250	.166	-.019	.254	70.13
114NUKE	-.703**	.571	-.451	.676	45.82
21ALNUK	-.913**	.793*	-.672	.888*	53.17
22NONUK	.899*	-.786**	.680	-.872**	49.10
23COAL	-.191	-.411	.579	.322	20.22
31PARK	.637	-.467	.353	-.624	63.60
32BRACK	.307	-.493	.536	-.238	49.39
34NEIGH	.480	-.636	.679	-.404	51.91
38AIRPT	-.003	-.073	.126	.017	46.64
39WATER	-.794**	.366	-.103	.841*	25.79
311ELEC	-.416	.077	.097	.467	38.52
61STRET	.529	-.730**	.736*	-.433	52.16
63EMS	.581	-.785**	.767*	-.482	52.76
64FIRE	.607	-.776**	.752*	-.508	54.60
65NEIGH	.582	-.824**	.848*	-.473	39.97
66LIBRA	.648	-.784**	.771*	-.552	45.20
67PARKS	.668	-.753**	.692	-.585	49.14
610TRAN	.660	-.790**	.766*	-.576	45.75
612VECL	.600	-.760**	.750*	-.512	40.05
613ELEC	.292	-.623	.671	-.178	38.62
615SEWR	.291	-.629	.674	-.177	40.18
616AIRP	.343	-.561	.619	-.255	44.39
7NUKE	.834*	-.867**	.754*	-.767**	58.17
8FAIRHO	.742*	-.892**	.856*	-.642	63.32***

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value greater than .7.

\*\*\* Actually this is the vote against the proposition  
 (see second note in Chart 8).

opposite positions, especially significant when compared with "11PARK". This change is even more significant with the second issue, "39WATER", which managed only 25 percent of the vote, in which the Populists had a significant negative coefficient and the Conservatives a positive relationship.

The movement in the sixth election indicates that the Liberal and New Right dominated the election, somewhat in contradiction to the fact that the Populist voting pattern was responsible for the election of all new councilmembers just a few months before; still compared to the previous three elections, it should be noted that all the patterns are much more differentiated.

Finally, the last two elections also show clearer voting patterns, although the Populist and Liberal patterns seem to working much more in concert with a corresponding strength, as indicated by the 58 and 63 percent voting margins. It is worthy of comment that the Populist pattern seems to be stronger with the "economic" nuclear issue, while the Liberal pattern is slightly stronger with the "social" fair housing issue.

The Chart 17 regression equations (which had a sneak preview in the first part of this section) further measure the relationships among the four candidate population types. Unlike the correlation analysis, the multivariate regression analysis provides a clearer explanation of the composition of the respective population types. These regression models are statistically significant equations, with between 89 and 98 percent of the variation in the dependent Y variable being explained by the independent X candidate variables. The Populist pattern indicates that 127 percent of the Liberal pattern plus 47.8 of the New Right pattern minus 73.4 percent of the Conservative pattern explains 89.6 percent of the Populist's voting behavior. The Liberals, on the other hand, have an almost equal explanatory relationship between the Populist and Conservative voting behaviors.

CHART 17  
Regression Equations  
Measuring Relationships Among  
the Four Candidate Population Types

$Y_1$	$X_{\text{POPULIST}}$	$X_{\text{NEW RIGHT}}$	$X_{\text{LIBERAL}}$	$X_{\text{CONSERVATIVE}}$	$R^2$
POPULIST	*	.478	1.272	-.734	89.6%
NEW RIGHT	.155	*	-.300	.769	97.0%
LIBERAL	.663	-.480	*	.686	96.0%
CONSERVATIVE	-.350	1.126	.637	*	98.1%

\*This variable was not used in this equation.

An argument might be made that with the traditional monetary requirements necessary for a successful Liberal campaign -- and the similar requirements for a Conservative campaign -- when Liberals are given the choice between a Conservative and a Populist coalition, they will, from their traditional practical perspective, have a tendency to choose the Conservative coalition, unless perhaps they are faced with an active New Right pattern.

CHART 18  
 MEANS OF VARIABLES \*  
 IN AUSTIN'S 86 PRECINCTS

VARIABLE NAME	PERCENT OF "FOR" VOTES	NUMBER OF "FOR" VOTES
11PARK	65.8	289
14AIRP	59.6	267
17EMS	72.3	321
18POLIC	59.5	270
112ELEC	68.9	313
114NUKE	44.4	209
21ALNUK	49.5	324
22NONUK	51.5	299
23COAL	21.1	121
31PARK	63.4	221
32BRACK	50.3	171
34NEIGH	53.3	181
38AIRP	46.1	161
39WATER	24.4	88
311ELEC	38.0	133
61STRET	55.9	172
63EMS	57.8	174
64FIRE	58.3	180
65NEIGH	45.9	131
66LIBRA	49.9	149
67PARK	53.5	162
610TRAN	50.7	150
612VECL	44.1	132
613ELEC	41.1	126
615SEWR	43.0	131
616AIRP	46.7	146
7NUKE	61.8	389
8FAIRHO	67.1	407
POPULISTS**	47.6	341
LIBERALS**	68.3	443
CONSERVATIVES**	56.3	407
NEW RIGHT**	24.3	214
LEFT**	-	392
RIGHT**	-	310
MIDDLE**	-	425
EXTREME**	-	278
OPPOSITE P+C**	-	374
OPPOSITE L+NR**	-	329

\*These values are computer-generated. The percentages are not the actual percentages, as shown in Charts 2-10, but are the means of the percent of the vote in each precinct. The number of votes should be the same as the actual number of votes, because the percentage in each precinct was multiplied by the total number of votes available in each precinct to yield, finally, the mean number of votes for each issue.

\*\*To understand how these variables are constructed, see Chart 20.

#### Part IV: Candidate Population Types and Combinations on Issue Regressions

Chart 20 summarizes the make-up of the candidate combinations used in the subsequent regressions in Chart 19, and 21 through 26.

##### Populist

In Chart 19, the Populist multivariate regression coefficients have a strong negative values (as does the Conservative) in the first election and "21ALNUK", and then the Populist pattern appears to have no explanatory power in the third election. In the sixth election, the coefficients for the Populist type have a statistically significant positive effect (although weak compared to the three-fold increase in the Populist coefficient in the last two elections), as compared to the stronger negative coefficients in the first election.

Let us look closer at what happened to the Populist pattern during the third election, when it changed from a negative pattern tied to the Conservative (with which it is highly negatively correlated against in candidate elections) to a positive pattern after the 1981 city council elections.

In Chart 22, measuring Left/Right composition, the Left (which includes the Populists) has a higher positive correlation than the Right in the "31PARK", an issue which passed by an overwhelming margin, and which was endorsed by the environmental/neighborhood/liberal coalition. In Chart 24, "31PARK" has no significant coefficient measurement, as in Chart 26. Similarly, in Chart 23, the Extreme pattern has a high coefficient, while the middle has an insignificant expression, indicating that the passage of "31PARK" played a significant role in the turn-about of the Populist voting behavior.



CHART 19  
 Regression Equations  
 Measuring Relationships Among  
 the Four Candidate Population Types  
 and Issues

Y ISSUE	X POPULIST	X NEW RIGHT	X LIBERAL	X CONSERVATIVE	R <sup>2</sup>
11PARK	-.292	1.238	1.049	-.771	90.4%
14AIRP	-.444	1.185	.993	-.630	90.9%
17EMS	-.282	1.354	1.008	-.737	93.1%
18POLIC	-.331	1.050	.833	-.475	93.6%
112ELEC	-.383	1.333	1.002	-.654	93.3%
114NUKE	-.422	.983	.643	-.338	91.2%
21ALNUK	-.214	.569	*	.470	97.8%
22NONUK	*	.846	1.348	-1.107	93.3%
23COAL	*	-.230	.133	.252	91.0%
31PARK	*	.872	.593	-.553	83.8%
32BRACK	*	.634	.517	-.380	84.9%
34NEIGH	*	.693	.640	-.492	82.7%
38AIRP	*	.680	.450	-.330	83.5%
39WATER	*	.291	*	*	92.0%
311ELEC	*	.506	.317	*	87.5%
61STRET	.169	.428	*	*	93.3%
63EMS	.259	.324	*	*	93.3%
64FIRE	.305	.367	*	*	94.1%
65NEIGH	.143	*	*	*	86.2%
66LIBRA	.189	.299	*	*	89.7%
67PARK	.315	.266	*	*	90.0%
610TRAN	.188	.330	*	*	89.0%
612VECL	.131	.305	*	*	89.0%
613ELEC	.103	.253	*	*	92.3%
615SEWR	.141	.252	*	*	92.8%
616AIRP	*	.377	*	*	89.2%
7NUKE	1.236	.284	*	*	97.0%
8FAIRHO	1.081	*	*	*	94.5%

\* Asterisk indicates statistically insignificant coefficient. All coefficients in the table are significant with at least the .05 level (2-tail test, T-Statistic). This indicates a 95% probability of the coefficient being statistically significant.

CHART 20

COMPOSITION OF  
FOUR VOTER TYPES  
AND COMBINATIONS

The following voter types used in this study are constructed by adding together the number or percentage of votes each of the component patterns received in each of Austin's 36 precincts, and dividing the total by the number of components (2, 4, 5, or 7) to yield an average number or percentage of votes in each precinct for the voter type or combination.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>COMPONENTS</u>	<u>DIVISOR</u>
1. Populist (P)	23REAM, 4M:BIND, 41DEUSR, 42DUNCN, 43DELEN, 51DEUSR, 56URDY.	7
2. Liberal (L)	24GOODM, 25TREVI, 26SNELL, 44GOODM, 45TREVI.	5
3. Conservative (C)	2M:MCCL, 23MULLN, 4M:MCCL, 43MULLN, 5M:MCCL.	5
4. New Right (NR)	4M:MCCR, 41DUKE, 44BARTZ, 45ROSE.	4
5. Left	Populist, Liberal	2
6. Right	Conservative, New Right	2
7. Middle	Liberal, Conservative	2
8. Extreme	Populist, New Right	2
9. Opposite #1	Populist, Conservative	2
10. Opposite #2	Liberal, New Right	2

The Populist coalition also recommended against the passage of "39WATER" (which only received 25 percent of the vote), and this also helped in the Populist transition. In Charts 22-26, the only negative patterns are those with Populist elements: the Extreme position in Chart 21; and Opposite #1 (P/C) in Chart 22. In "39WATER" the negative vote seems to have resulted from the traditional emphasis of the Populists to coalition with some "Right" attitudes, except that the Populists were actively leading this charge.

The Populist patterns appears to be the most volatile of the four candidate types and combinations. It also went from being the weakest in 1979 to the strongest in 1981; responsible for the uncertainty in the third election in 1980, the election of all the new councilmembers in 1981 (and almost defeating the Conservative incumbent mayor). It is probably a rather durable pattern if it has sufficient information and is democratically exercised; consider the methodical change in the third election, the weakened performance in the sixth election (which was based on Liberal expectations), and the strong manifestations in the final nuclear and fair housing elections.

#### New Right

The New Right is a very stable and statistically significant voting pattern; voting in favor of all issues with the notable exception of "23COAL", and has a statistically insignificant effect in "65NEIGH" and "8FAIRHO". Although the New Right has a low mean average and an inability to elect candidates in Austin, it is their participation in coalitions that makes them important. Normally they are most at home in coalition with Conservatives, but they can have strong relationships to the Populists and Liberals as well.

Looking at the New Right over time, it is the intensity of their coefficients on the issues that is interesting. As shown in Chart 19, in the first election the New Right has a high positive coefficient (as do the Liberals). The tendency of the New Right to support ballot propositions is tested in the controversial "21ALNUK" and "22NONUK". Here the New Right manages to vote with the Conservatives on one issue and the Liberals on the other, although at lower levels than in the first election. The effect of the New Right voting pattern declines further with the sixth and seventh elections, and becomes statistically insignificant in the fair housing election, even though it was probably New Right forces that were the direct cause of this election occurring in the first place.

It is interesting to note that the Liberal/New Right Opposite #2 pattern is positively significant in Chart 24 in the first election, third election, and one-half of the sixth election, while highly negative in the seventh and eighth elections. In Austin, at any rate, the moralistic and sometimes dangerous rhetoric of the New Right leadership belies the complacency of this voting population.

#### Liberals

Liberals over the past fifty years have probably been the major political force of the Left, although their voting pattern becomes insignificant half-way through Chart 19 at the end of the February 1980 bond propositions. Considering liberal leaders general opposition to Austin's participation in the South Texas Nuclear plant, it is important to note Liberal voters insignificant coefficient with "21ALNUK" (in Chart 19), even though they mounted a strong but ultimately losing response in favor of the "22NONUK" position. The Liberals, as a voting population, have been declining at least since 1977, the last time that a new councilmember was elected with this pattern.

### Conservative

The most outstanding characteristic and irony of the Conservative pattern, the pattern probably most reflective of the controlling influence of Austin's economic elite, is that despite the Conservative pattern's long dominance of Austin's city council, this pattern starts Chart 19 with strong votes against virtually all the issue elections set by their council. In the "114NUKE" election, designed to garnish moderate support, the Conservatives still vote against the issue, but their opposition is half as strong as the previous issues. The pattern changes to a positive coefficient for "21ALNUK", matching for the first time the New Right pattern, but leaving the Populist coalition behind. Looking at the "21NONUK" coefficients in Charts 19, 22, 23, 25, and 26, the Conservative pattern and its relatives obviously account for a majority of the negative vote. They return to a positive vote on the "23COAL" issue, joining weaker Liberal pattern in an issue that 20 percent of the voters approved of. Half-way through the issues in the third election the Conservatives cease to be significant. Starting with a strong negative vote on "31PARK" (which passed with 63 percent of the vote), the negative coefficients become weaker until they cease to be statistically significant with the controversial "39WATER".

The Conservative's anti-tax bias indicated in this study surprised me; it was a quality which I originally thought would be more characteristic of the New Right. Considering again the fact that it was the Conservative population which has been responsible for electing leaders who have by and large controlled Austin for at least the last 50 years, and the Conservatives basic dissatisfaction with with these bond issues, there is a potential weakness in the Conservative's internal logic which may be exploited in a Populist agenda of community education and experiences.

Left: (Populist plus Liberal)/2

With the combination patterns of Left, Right, Middle, and Extreme, we have more versions of the Type II model of political behavior first introduced in Figure F in Part I of this section. In Chart 21 the Left's regression is seen to have a "-1" coefficient for the Right, with a "1" relationship for both the Middle and the Extreme.

It must be remembered that these combination voter population types have an indirect relationship to the first four types. For instance, new 1981 Council-member Duncan (who came from a Liberal tradition; he had the highest Liberal correlation coefficient of the Populist candidates in Chart 10) managed to gather a Populist voting pattern in 1981 and ran sample voter polls up to the final days of his campaign in April, 1981. The Duncan campaign expected to win by a few percentage points, but they were totally surprised by the almost 20 percent margin the campaign picked-up against their Conservative opponent (see Chart 5).

In Chart 22 (where issues are regressed on the number of votes for the Left and the number of votes for the Right in each precinct), we see the relative strength of the Left; an insignificant coefficient on "114NUKE", a weak negative coefficient on "21ALNUK", and a strong coefficient (if not enough to win) on "22NONUK". All the remaining votes are weakly positive, with the exception of the comparatively controversial "39WATER", and the very strong coefficient on "7NUKE" and "8FAIRHO".

In Chart 25, which separates the Middle influence from the Left (see voter type constructions in Chart 20) and adds to the Populist influence on the Left (the New Right influence on the Conservative), we see more numerous insignificant relationships, while "114NUKE" and "21ALNUK" become more negative after being insignificant and weak, respectively, in Chart 22. Likewise, in Chart 26 (which

CHART 21  
Regression Equations  
Illustrating Relationships Among  
the Four Combination Population Types\*\*

$Y_i$	$X_{LEFT}$	$X_{RIGHT}$	$X_{MIDDLE}$	$X_{EXTREME}$
LEFT	*	-1.0	1.0	1.0
RIGHT	-1.0	*	1.0	1.0
MIDDLE	1.0	1.0	*	-1.0
EXTREME	1.0	1.0	-1.0	*

\*This variable was not used in this equation.

\*\*These are actually identity equations, whose coefficients are predetermined by their mathematical constructions, which are shown in Chart 20.

removes the Populist and New Right influences on the Left and Right, and increases the Middle pattern on the Left and Right), the Left pattern becomes even more insignificant with no negative coefficients whatsoever.

Like the combination patterns which follow, the Left pattern is interesting in that it shows the relative strength and activity of the coalition between its constituent parts -- the Populist and Liberals -- as opposed to the Right.

Right: (Conservative plus New Right)/2

In Chart 22, the Right manifests a moderate to low positive coefficient, with the exception of "21ALNUK" and "7NUKE" (which have moderate negative coefficients), and "8FAIRHO" which becomes insignificant. The Right has an active relationship to the Middle and Extreme as shown in Charts 25 and 26. In Chart 25, when the influence of the Middle on the Right is minimized, the Right pattern is insignificant through most of the first three elections; while in Chart 26, where the influence of the Middle on the Right is maximized, most of the coefficients are significant. The negative coefficients in Chart 26 show a weak Conservative/Middle coalition with "22NONUK" (which failed with 49 percent of the vote), a strong "7NUKE" opposition, and a moderate "8FAIRHO" opposition (both of which passed by large margins).

Middle: (Liberal plus Conservative)/2

The Middle pattern represents what might be considered the moderate position in political behavior (as also indicated in Figure A), and in the Chart 21 regression the Middle has a negative unit relationship to the Extreme pattern and a positive unit relationship to both the Right and Left.

In the beginning of Chart 23 the Middle pattern has a strong positive coefficient, an especially high value with "21ALNUK", and a negative coefficient



CHART 22  
Regression Equations  
Measuring Relationships Among  
the Left and Right  
and Issues

Y ISSUE.	X <sub>LEFT</sub>	X <sub>RIGHT</sub>	R <sup>2</sup>
11PARK	.409	.352	87.2%
14AIRP	.241	.515	87.2%
17EMS	.389	.477	90.3%
18POLIC	.241	.525	91.2%
112ELEC	.296	.589	90.4%
114NUKE	*	.637	88.1%
21ALNUK	-.084	1.106	97.6%
22NONUK	.846	-.401	90.9%
23COAL	.119	.124	86.9%
31PARK	.480	.107	82.5%
32BRACK	.301	.156	83.8%
34NEIGH	.373	.093	81.8%
38AIRP	.208	.258	81.9%
39WATER	*	.342	91.6%
311ELEC	.120	.288	86.3%
61STRET	.205	.329	92.7%
63EMS	.224	.297	92.4%
64FIRE	.227	.332	93.1%
65NEIGH	.220	.145	86.1%
66LIBRA	.228	.210	89.2%
67PARK	.242	.253	88.8%
610TRAN	.237	.196	88.5%
612VECL	.190	.202	88.6%
613ELEC	.116	.287	92.1%
615SEWR	.113	.308	92.3%
616AIRP	.137	.336	89.0%
7NUKE	1.027	-.318	90.5%
8FAIRHO	.936	*	90.7%

\* Asterisk indicates statistically insignificant coefficient. All coefficients in the table are significant with at least the .05 level (2-tail test, T-Statistic). This indicates a 95% probability of the coefficient being statistically significant.

towards selling the nuclear plant ("22NONUK"). The pattern grows weaker through the sixth election; it is worth noting that the pattern is insignificant on "31PARK". Interestingly, the Middle maintains an even stronger pro-nuclear stance on "7NUKE", in addition to a negative coefficient on the fair housing election.

When we focus on Middle in Chart 25, the coefficients have a clearer pattern. From positive coefficients in the first two elections, there is no significant coefficients in the third election (similar, although opposite, to the Populist transition in Chart 19), and finally the negative coefficients among the last three elections.

Extreme: (Populist plus New Right)/2

According to Chart 23, it is not until "114NUKE" that the Extreme position becomes significant (when it has a weak negative coefficient -- against a strong positive Middle coefficient), then it moves to a strong negative coefficient with "21ALNUK", an even stronger positive correlation for "22NONUK", and an insignificant position with "23COAL". This pattern follows more the Populist pattern than the New Right, and mixes the New Right and then Populist pattern in the third election (see Chart 19). In the sixth election, the New Right dominates, but the Populists seem to prevail in the last two elections.

Opposite #1: (Populist plus Conservative)/2  
Opposite #2: (Liberal plus New Right)/2

These two categories in Chart 24 and Figure N both indicate that cooperative behavior on issues is a very strong tendency among even patterns that are highly opposed to each other in candidate elections. Despite the Conservatives having control of the city council in 1979, they had enough dissatisfaction to vote against the bonds in the first election. This, however, was not enough to overcome the strong Opposite #2 vote of Liberals and New Right until "114NUKE" where the Opposite #1

CHART 23  
Regression Equations  
Measuring Relationships Among  
the Middle and Extreme  
and Issues

Y ISSUE.	X MIDDLE	X EXTREME	R <sup>2</sup>
11PARK	.440	*	87.2%
14AIRP	.671	*	87.6%
17EMS	.542	*	90.4%
18POLIC	.643	*	91.1%
112ELEC	.703	*	90.3%
114NUKE	.769	-.163	84.1%
21ALNUK	1.232	-.896	88.5%
22NONUK	-.331	1.312	56.8%
23COAL	.213	*	88.6%
31PARK	*	.785	80.5%
32BRACK	.172	.340	82.9%
34NEIGH	*	.472	78.3%
38AIRP	.278	*	81.9%
39WATER	.363	-.230	82.8%
311ELEC	.312	*	85.3%
61STRET	.238	.320	92.1%
63EMS	.182	.408	92.3%
64FIRE	.185	.457	93.1%
65NEIGH	.097	.346	86.2%
66LIBRA	.131	.387	89.7%
67PARK	.125	.482	89.5%
610TRAN	.114	.412	89.0%
612VECL	.141	.299	88.9%
613ELEC	.237	*	90.0%
615SEWR	.238	.154	89.8%
616AIRP	.293	*	87.2%
7NUKE	-.833	2.655	86.6%
8FAIRHO	-.668	2.280	90.4%

\* Asterisk indicates statistically insignificant coefficient. All coefficients in the table are significant with at least the .05 level (2-tail test, T-Statistic). This indicates a 95% probability of the coefficient being statistically significant.

CHART 24  
Regression Equations  
Measuring Relationships Among  
the Opposites Populist/Conservative and Liberal/New Right  
and Issues

Y ISSUE.	X OPPOSITE-P/C	X OPPOSITE-L/NR	R <sup>2</sup>
11PARK	-.425	1.391	88.0%
14AIRP	-.932	1.941	90.7%
17EMS	-.556	1.662	91.9%
18POLIC	-.758	1.762	93.5%
112ELEC	-.876	2.037	92.9%
114NUKE	-1.220	2.144	89.0%
21ALNUK	-1.309	2.673	89.3%
22NONUK	1.095	*	47.7%
23COAL	.153	*	86.8%
31PARK	*	*	76.9%
32BRACK	*	.493	81.5%
34NEIGH	*	*	75.9%
38AIRP	*	.800	82.6%
39WATER	-.449	.884	85.6%
311ELEC	-.302	.826	87.1%
61STRET	*	.495	92.5%
63EMS	.325	.274	92.5%
64FIRE	.349	.294	93.2%
65NEIGH	.319	*	85.5%
66LIBRA	.310	*	89.1%
67PARK	.463	*	89.2%
610TRAN	.321	*	88.2%
612VECL	*	.264	88.5%
613ELEC	*	.471	91.0%
615SEWR	*	.461	90.9%
616AIRP	*	.640	88.1%
7NUKE	3.059	-2.499	80.2%
8FAIRHO	2.592	-1.804	86.5%

\* Asterisk indicates statistically insignificant coefficient. All coefficients in the table are significant with at least the .05 level (2-tail test, T-Statistic). This indicates a 95% probability of the coefficient being statistically significant.

increases by 50 percent. With "21ALNUK", the Opposite #1 pattern prevails in the election, and we begin a period of uncertainty until the last 2 elections where the strength of the opposite patterns intensify dramatically. It is also interesting to note that the Opposite #1 pattern, beginning with negative coefficients, generally changes to positive except in "39WATER" and "311ELEC" (both of which lost); while the Opposite #2 pattern stays positive except with the final two elections (both of which passed by large margins).

CHART 25  
Regression Equations  
Measuring Relationships Among  
the Left, Right, and Middle  
and Issues

Y ISSUE.	X <sub>LEFT</sub>	X <sub>RIGHT</sub>	X <sub>MIDDLE</sub>	R <sup>2</sup>
11PARK	*	*	*	87.4%
14AIRP	*	*	.632	87.9%
17EMS	*	*	*	90.4%
18POLIC	*	*	.477	91.7%
112ELEC	*	*	*	90.7%
114NUKE	-.277	*	.537	88.8%
21ALNUK	-.381	.710	.526	97.8%
22NONUK	.700	-.595	*	91.0%
23COAL	*	-.143	.355	89.2%
31PARK	.633	*	*	82.7%
32BRACK	.267	*	*	83.8%
34NEIGH	.335	*	*	81.1%
38AIRP	*	*	*	82.0%
39WATER	*	.279	*	91.7%
311ELEC	*	*	*	86.4%
61STRET	.411	.603	-.362	93.3%
63EMS	.484	.643	-.461	93.3%
64FIRE	.558	.774	-.588	94.4%
65NEIGH	.327	.288	*	86.3%
66LIBRA	.407	.450	-.319	89.8%
67PARK	.532	.638	-.513	89.9%
610TRAN	.422	.442	-.327	89.1%
612VECL	.326	.384	*	89.0%
613ELEC	.227	.435	*	92.3%
615SEWR	.271	.518	-.279	92.8%
616AIRP	.234	.465	*	89.2%
7NUKE	2.205	1.251	-2.088	96.6%
8FAIRHO	1.878	1.179	-1.672	94.1%

\*These values are relatively  
statistically insignificant

CHART 26  
Regression Equations  
Measuring relationships Among  
the Left, Right, and Extreme  
and Issues

Y ISSUE.	X LEFT	X RIGHT	X EXTREME	R <sup>2</sup>
11PARK	.463	.421	*	85.6%
14AIRP	.399	.643	*	86.3%
17EMS	*	.504	*	89.1%
18POLIC	.356	.622	*	90.4%
112ELEC	*	.664	*	89.5%
114NUKE	*	.720	*	88.1%
21ALNUK	*	1.210	*	97.8%
22NONUK	1.057	-.247	*	86.3%
23COAL	.436	.300	-.547	90.4%
31PARK	*	*	*	81.4%
32BRACK	*	.159	*	82.2%
34NEIGH	.364	*	*	79.2%
38AIRP	*	.245	*	80.9%
39WATER	*	.349	*	91.6%
311ELEC	*	.294	*	85.7%
61STRET	*	.232-	.413	93.2%
63EMS	*	.175	.501	93.3%
64FIRE	*	.169	.636	94.4%
65NEIGH	*	.056	*	86.2%
66LIBRA	*	.134	.350	89.7%
67PARK	*	*	.563	89.8%
610TRAN	*	.113	.381	88.9%
612VECL	*	.142-	*	88.9%
613ELEC	*	.239	*	92.3%
615SEWR	*	.236	*	92.8%
616AIRP	*	.285	*	89.1%
7NUKE	.220	-.784	1.949	96.7%
8FAIRHO	.338	-.424	1.512	94.2%

\* Asterisk indicates statistically insignificant coefficient. All coefficients in the table are significant with at least the .05 level (2-tail test, T-Statistic). This indicates a 95% probability of the coefficient being statistically significant.

## SUMMARY

This report is an examination of neighborhood politics from the unique perspective of one who has been both student and participant. This report's Introduction and Section I (the Essay on Representation) lays the historical and theoretical basis of the decentralized citizen movements in the United States and Austin of the 1970s. Under ideal circumstances, reading the Introduction and Section I in sequence should allow an orientation for the reader in order to more fully appreciate the history of events surrounding the 1981 Austin City Council elections, as reported in Section II.

In Section III, we have what probably amounts to a new theory and statistical working model of voter behavior (see especially Part I of Section III). This paradigm follows two general reactions of voters (New Right versus Liberals, or Populists versus Conservatives) to issue and candidate elections in Austin, Texas, between 1979 and 1982. The success of a populist/neighborhood coalition in 1981 and their relative failures in 1983, indicates both the power of the model presented in this report, and the lack of understanding of voter behavior among many political experts. According to this study, the Austin City Council was substantially unaware of the expectations of voters in 1981 (as was the 1979 council), or of how to meet those expectations, and subsequently chose to minimize dissent and discussion of issue options among many of the groups responsible for the election of the new 1981 councilmembers. Although beginning with the Nuclear participation election in November of 1981, the voters approved the positions of the city council (with the exception of the MoPac election), this was do more to the council's discouragement of citizen participation than support of the council's policies.



When I finished writing the text of Section II about November of 1982, I felt the power base of the new 1981 councilmembers was in jeopardy. This was borne out with the city council elections in April of 1983, when Duncan and Urdy won close and difficult re-elections, and Deuser was narrowly defeated by a bland opponent, now Councilmember Mark Rose (who had run poorly against Trevino in 1981).

If the goal of representative government is to be realized, in Austin the neighborhood movement will have to be revitalized. If it is true that the future must learn from history, it is hoped that this study's overview of theory, history, personal observations, and plea for democratic involvement will be taken seriously enough to be of help in our common destinies.

FOOTNOTES

## Footnotes

1. John Kenneth Galbriath; "On the Economic Image of Corporate Enterprise"; Corporate Power in America; pg. 8; Grossman Publishing, NY; 1973.
2. Mark Green; "The Corporation and the Community"; Corporate Power in America; pg. 42-43; Grossman Publishing, NY; 1973.
3. For a good article on a local personality cult, see the story of Ed Wendler, Sr. in the Austin American Statesman, October 24, 1982, pg. 1: "Lawyer-lobbyist Wendler keeps wheels of city politics rolling." Wendler, a self-described liberal, opposes many of the policies and tendencies in the community to control the city's growth. Acting as a spokesman for various developers, Wendler has developed a powerful economic and political position for his friends and views. That the Statesman ran a selective story on Wendler's particular personality cult, and not the important others in Austin, is a comment on the Statesman's role in Austin politics.
4. William Greider; "The Story Behind the Stockman Story," article in The Washington Monthly; October, 1982.
5. The success of the Democrats in the November 1982 Texas general elections, with a 57% voter turnout, seems to be in part explained by the "populist" composition of its slate of candidates.
6. George Norris Green; The Establishment in Texas Politics, The Primitive Years (1938-1957); contributions in Political Science, Number 21, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT; 1979; p. 8.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
8. V. O. Key Jr.; Southern Politics, Vintage Books, Random House, NY; 1949; pp. 533-534. Key explains Chart I this way:

The evolution of suffrage restrictions differed from state to state, and for some, perhaps even for all, southern states the thesis could be argued plausibly that formal disfranchisement measures did not lie at the bottom of the decimation of the southern electorate. They, rather, recorded a fait accompli brought about, or destined to be brought about, by a more fundamental political process.

The case of Texas serves as an instructive introduction to the history of disfranchisement. In that state, which limited itself to the comparably mild device of the poll tax, all the effects usually attributed to it were felt before the tax itself came into force: the Negro had been persuaded to stay away from the polls; the Populist specter had been laid; and the actual electorate had been wittled down to less than half its former size.

The relevant political history of Texas is compressed into graph form in (Chart I in this study's introduction), which will bear reflective inspection. The graph shows the percentage of the potential voters that came to the polls at each gubernatorial election from 1880 to 1944. Voting zeal of Texans reached an all-time peak in 1896. The bitterness of the Bryan-McKinley struggle attracted many voters to the polls. The Populist candidate for governor in that year polled the highest vote of any candidate in the party's history, 44.2 percent of the total.

The sharp drop in Texas electoral participation immediately following the 1896 campaign requires careful observations in the interpretations of the consequences of suffrage restrictions. In that campaign the Democratic presidential candidate appropriated the Populist policies, and over the nation the agrarian movement rapidly lost strength. In Texas the disillusion of the Populists and their desertion by many of their leaders were accompanied by a drop in electoral interest. The race question, of course, had no bearing on the subsidence of Populism nationally, but in Texas the Populist and Democrats had bid for Negro votes. The fear, fancied or real, that the Negroes would gain and hold the balance of power if the whites continued to divide among themselves was played upon. The slogan of white supremacy aided in closing the ranks of the whites, and the burning issues, fought with religious fervor by the Populist leaders, disappeared from campaigns. The turnout at the 1902 election was less than half of the peak of 1896. The drop occurred before the effect of the poll tax was felt; that tax, adopted by constitutional amendment in 1902, first influenced an election turnout in 1904.

By the time the Texas poll tax became effective not only had Negroes been disfranchised but a substantial proportion of the white population had begun to stay away from the polls. Party conflict had been repressed; Populist leaders had almost completely given up the battle. Conservative Democratic forces and whites of the black-belt counties had joined forces to kill off dissent. Should the poll tax be held responsible for low levels of voting interest consistently maintained since 1904? Apparently the poll tax merely reflected a fait accompli; opposition had been discouraged and suppressed. The solidification of economic power, characteristic of the one-party system, had been accomplished and the electoral abdication of a substantial part of the white population signed and sealed.

In other southern states the process toward monopolization of political control by a small portion of the white population did not precisely parallel the Texas pattern; nevertheless the Texas experience points to the necessity of discriminating interpretation of disfranchisement systems in their bearing on citizen-interest in elections.

9. Ibid., p. 539-540.
10. David Noble; The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917; Rand McNally College Publishing Company, Chicago; 1969; p. 34.
11. Ibid., p. 29.

12. Ibid., p. 543.
13. Lawrence Goodwyn; Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America; Oxford University, 1976. See also Harry Boyte; The Backyard Revolution; Understanding the New Citizen Movement; Temple University; 1980.
14. Noble, David, pp. 553-554.
15. Jeff Greenfield and Jack Newfield; A Populist Manifesto: The Making of a New Majority; Praeger Publishers, NY; 1972; pp. 6-12.
16. Ibid., p. 15.
17. Ibid., pp. 17-18.
18. Ibid., p. 24.
19. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
20. Ibid., p. 117.
21. Saul D. Alinsky, Rules for Radicals; Random House Vintage Books, NY; 1971; p. 117.
22. Ibid., pp. 118-119.
23. Ibid., pp. 124-125.
24. Ibid., pp. 185-186.
- 24a. John Mollenkopf; "Neighborhood Politics for the 1980s"; Social Policy; Sept.-Oct. 1979, Vol. 10, No. 2, p. 29.
25. Commoner, Barry, The Closing Circle: Man, Nature, and Technology; Alfred A. Knopf, NY; 1971.
26. I suppose one of the most important experiences I had to develop the preceding two sentences was the research I did for an article on Texas bankholding companies which appeared in the July 29, 1977, issue of the Texas Observer. The articles received two or three national awards, but little press coverage in Texas. During the course of my research I was amazed at how unimpressive many of the most powerful men in Texas were, and how little it took to interest many of the up and coming "bright" young individuals poised on the corporate ladder.
27. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin; The Concept of Representation, 1967; University of California Press, Berkeley; the use of quoted material approved by the publisher; The author spends the majority of her text discussing the many possible confusing definitions of representation which hinders an understanding of political representation. After my bankholding company research, it took me at least a couple of years to understand why so many of the best and brightest's priorities were undemocratic.

28. Ibid., p. 239.
29. River City Currents; published by the Tomorrow Institute, Austin, Texas; Vol. 1, No. 1; Fall, 1981; "A New Journal for Austin and Beyond: Setting the Agenda", p. 1.
30. Susan G. Hadden; Public Affairs Comment; November 1980, Vol XXVII, No. 1 "Public Policy Response to Risks to Health, Safety, and the Environment". pp. 1-7.
31. Citizen Participation in the American Federal System; Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C.; 1979; p. 55. This study has an excellent summary of citizen participation history, programs, theory, and is much less stylized than than the presentation used in Section I of this report. Thanks to Susan Hadden for the reference to this Intergovernmental Relations Commission study.
32. Ibid., p. 56.
33. Michael Maccoby; The Gamesman; The New Corporate Leaders; Simon and Schuster, NY; 1976; pp. 136-137, 187-188, 242.
34. Jeffery A. Smith; Presidential Elections: Trust and the Rational Voter; American Political Parties and Elections; Praeger and Company, 521 Fifth Avenue, NY; 1980; the use of quoted material approved by the author; pp. 189-198.
35. Karl Hess; "The Politics of Place"; Co-Evolution Quarterly, No. 30, Summer 1981; the use of quoted material approved by the publisher.
36. The Austin Neighborhoods Council constituted the largest neighborhood council of active neighborhood organizations in Austin, with representatives from every area of town with the exception of Central East Austin.
37. River City Currents; Marilyn Simpson; "Neighborhood Associations: What Next?"; p. 23.
38. Pitkin, pp. 235-240.
39. Alinsky, p. 122.
40. Ibid., p. 112.
41. Ibid., p. 113.
42. Ibid., pp. 126-136.
43. River City Currents; "Call to Second Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference"; the Austin Neighborhood Fund (Tim Mahoney); pp. 19-20.
44. Ibid., "A Creed for Community Leaders"; Helen Durio, pp. 2-3.

45. Ibid., "Human Services and Community Needs"; Larry Waterhouse; p. 33.
46. Ibid., "Neighborhood Associations: What Next?" Marilyn Simpson; pp. 23-24, 28.
47. L. S. Stavrianos; The Promise of the Coming Dark Age; W. H. Freeman, San Francisco; 1976; p. 168.
48. Dick Simpson, Judy Stevens, and Rick Kohnen; Neighborhood Government; Stripes Publishing Co., Chicago, IL; 1979; pp. 24-25.
49. H. G. Wells; The Salvaging of Civilization.
50. For a further discussion of voter turnout trends see the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations' Citizen Participation in the American Federal System, Washington, D.C., 1979; and Jeffrey Smith's American Presidential Elections: Trust and the Rational Voter; Praeger and the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University; 1980.
51. Commoner; pp. 197-198.
52. Ibid., pp. 206-207.
53. Dick Simpson; p. 4.
54. Ibid., p. 5.
55. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
56. Ibid., p. 13.
57. David Morris and Karl Hess; Neighborhood Power; Beacon Press, Boston, MA; 1975; p. 10.
58. Dick Simpson, p. 23.
59. Ibid., p. 37.
60. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
61. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
62. Social Policy, "A New Politics Via the Neighborhood"; p. 2.
63. Ibid., Delmos J. Jones, "Not in My Community: The Neighborhood Movement and Institutionalized Racism"; p. 32.
64. Herman Daly; "Electric Power, Employment, and Economic Growth"; Energy and Human Welfare: The End Use of Power; 1975; p. 164.

65. Social Policy; "Neighborhood Politics for the 1980's", John Mollenkopf; p. 26.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
69. See Neighborhood Design Manual in Appendix.
70. See Section II.3 of this study for the Austin Neighborhood Fund's first stage.
71. See Section II.4 of this study for the Austin Neighborhood Fund's second stage.
72. See Section II.5 for the Third Stage. For comparison, the interested reader might read the following quotation from an article about the Santa Monica, California, experience (Dave Lindorf, "About Face in Santa Monica: When the Left Takes Over, the Right Takes to the Streets"; The Village Voice, p. 22 +, December 2-8, 1982; the use of quoted material approved by the publisher). The reader might come back to this footnote and article after reading this study to see if there might be further insights into Lindorf's description of Santa Monica's political stages, or his use of the terms "left" and "right":

About a month ago, after an absence of several years during which I lived in New York, I found myself in this medium-sized city (of Santa Monica) wedged between the Pacific Ocean and Los Angeles. The center of town looks a lot different than it did five years ago when I worked as a reporter for the rather embarrassingly conservative Evening Outlook. But I didn't return to ogle the new shopping mall. I was anxious to examine first-hand a much more astounding change in the city -- the takeover of the government, lock, stock, and barrel, by a leftist coalition last April (1982).

... In those days (in 1976) the neglect by city government of the majority of its citizens -- those who rent -- was even more blatant than the Outlook's journalistic mispractice. Back then a tenant who ventured to come before the council was likely to be asked how long he or she had lived in the city, and then whether he or she "owned your home." If the answer was no, then councilmembers would visibly lose interest in the witness.

Given these fond memories, I was scarcely able to wait for my chance to sit in on a session of the new city council . . .

As it turned out, I happened on a rather important meeting . . .

Developer John Blumthal stood nervously at attention before the mayor and members of the city council, his hands clasping and unclasping in front of him, beads of sweat on his forehead, as the city attorney read the terms of the proposed agreement. He had reason to sweat. If approved by the council, it would allow him and his Greenwood Development Company to proceed with their five-story office complex, by then already six months behind schedule. If they rejected it, his firm might be bankrupted by interest payments already incurred. . .



Even more startling was the list of items included in the proposed agreement. In addition to 312,000 square feet of commercial office space, the terms called for 30 units of "very low, low, and moderate-income housing" to be ready within 18 months of completion of the office space, housing to be provided by the developer for 40 years or the life of the project (whichever is longer). The developer was also required to provide 1500 square feet of community room space, a free day-care center for apartment tenants' and office workers' young children, an affirmative action hiring program for construction workers, and a public park.

Even with all this, there were questions. Councilmember Denny Zane immediately asked why the agreement made no reference to future ownership of the housing. "What if they sell the project?" he asked. "Does ownership of the rental housing have to be specified?" Attorney Robert Myers reassured him. "The terms call for the current owner to provide it," he said, explaining that the complex development agreement becomes part of the property deed, whoever holds it . . .

Barry Rosengrant, a partner in the Greenwood Development project, says it may be a "landmark" situation. "With cutbacks in federal funds, and with Proposition 13 in California," he suggests, "other cities may start saying that this is the only way to get what is needed."

Rosengrant, who seems to have come to terms with the new council, confesses to anger last April (1982) when, a week after the council majority took office (and a week before he had planned to ask for a building permit), they imposed a rigid six-month moratorium on all development in the eight-square mile city of 85,000. The intent of the moratorium was to give the council time to develop a comprehensive approach to future development. What they came up with was the idea of development agreements, designed to make developers, instead of taxpayers, compensate for the new burdens on housing and services imposed by their projects . . .

It's easy to see the advantages of this new hard-nosed approach to urban development. The radicals of Santa Monica hit on it out of necessity. Already in charge of one of the three most densely built-up communities in California (the effective apartment vacancy rate is zero), the council majority was swept into power on a rent control platform by the vote of 80 percent of the population that rents . . .

Santa Monica is now run by a seven-member city council, at least five of whom (including the mayor, Ruth Yannatta Goldway, who is chosen by the councilmembers from among themselves) won election without getting any money from developers and bankers -- a far cry from the political situation in New York. How could such a thing happen?

The answer is it took time . . . According to census and other data, the city consists predominantly of white-collar workers (65 percent in 1970 and rising) . . . In 1975, 67 percent of the households in the city were in the low- to moderate-income brackets . . . If there is one common demoninator, it is that most Santa Monicans rent.

A number of groups have doggedly tried to organize electorally in this city over the past decade -- most notably the Campaign for

Economic Democracy (CED), an organization formed during Tom Hayden's unsuccessful Senate bid. But progressive politics and celebrity politics were not enough to win control of the City Hall in the face of an entrenched conservative machine so connected to the wealthy business community it was hard to tell where the city council stopped and the Chamber of Commerce started (for years, the city gave funds -- as much as \$100,000 a year -- directly to the Chamber, and city tax officials collected Chamber of Commerce assessments from local businesses). A CED effort to send Goldway to state assembly in 1977 failed, even in the Santa Monica electoral districts, despite her record as a top consumer affairs official in the administration of Governor Jerry Brown. There is, moreover, a strong conservative streak among Santa Monica voters -- even renters -- and the city has gone, through narrowly, for Representative Robert Dornan, one of the most conservative Republican members of Congress, and most recently for Reagan.

Ironically, both of the councilmembers now considered opposition, liberal Republican Christine Reed and conservative Democrat William Jennings, were originally elected as progressives, largely by tenants who thought they would favor rent control, or who at least saw them as far superior to the rest of the council. Reed's main issue when she became the council's "left wing" in 1975 was environmental protection, another big concern in this beachside community. Jennings, meanwhile, came in on a progressive "rent control" slate with Goldway in 1979 -- the same year voters passed the country's strongest rent control law in the form of a hard-to-repeal charter amendment. (Now both Reed and Jennings are critical of the law, saying things have gone too far in favor of tenants.)

Clearly rent control is the issue in Santa Monica, and when the left hitched its wagon to the cause, as CED (Campaign for Economic Democracy) did belatedly in 1978, it became virtually unstoppable. Not only does the left dominate the city council, it also elected all the members of the city's rent control board in 1979 . . .

The council majority's tenant-base seems solid. But then, with a rent control ordinance on the books that can only be altered by another referendum, and a rent control board that will become increasingly costly to the tenants it protects (to keep it free of landlord influence, the ordinance calls for it to be funded by assessments on tenants -- assessments which went from \$48 a year per unit in 1980 to \$78 in 1982, and which will continue to rise), this may be somewhat shifty sand on which to build a movement. And the left knows this.

Goldway notes that the history of rent control ordinances has been for them to last five years before being overturned, because in that time most tenants who fought for passage have moved on and new tenants don't relate to the issue -- they haven't been paying the exorbitant rents. Because it's in the charter, it's not likely Santa Monica's rent control law will pass away soon. But the issue itself could, particularly if the conservatives avoid taking neanderthal positions . . .

The council majority was elected by a coalition called Santa Monicans for Renters Rights (SMRR) -- consisting of CED, the Santa Monica Democratic Club, the Fair Housing Alliance, and the Ocean Park Electoral Network -- but the issues have always been much broader than

rent control. Limiting overall growth, particularly of high-rise buildings, which five years ago threatened to block out all evidence of the Pacific Ocean, is a broader goal, as is the closing of the city's municipal airport so that the open space -- the last in the city -- can be used for park land and low-income housing.

When another conservative coalition called Santa Monicans Against Crime raised the issue of more police last summer, the newly constituted council, with the advantage of incumbency, was able to take a page from the old Establishment's book -- they co-opted the issue. A citizen's task force was created to recommend ways of reducing crime and -- in an effort to neutralize a bastion of right-wing sentiment -- the police department was invited to assign representatives of its own choosing to the body . . .

But issues are mercurial, and the left in Santa Monica, now that it holds sway, is doing something much more concrete to solidify its hold on the reins of city power: it is developing a kind of political machine of local organizations. These organizations, like the Ocean Park Community Organization (OPCO), receive city funds the way the Chamber of Commerce once did. The funds are used for local organizing -- rental of office space, hiring of staff, printing and phones, etc. The organizations then provide a pool of activists for "patronage" type "jobs" -- generally unpaid and a lot of work, but prestigious -- as members of citizen task forces. These work on proposals to the council on subjects like crime prevention or changes in zoning laws.

Opponents of the new council, like Tom Larmore, head of the Concerned Homeowners, say the council is "using city money to create something like an East Coast machine." But councilmembers wince at the term.

"Machines generally are part of a political party," says Goldway. "The money goes from the city unofficially to the party organizations. We want the money to go officially to the neighborhood organizations -- for them to become semiofficial city bodies themselves."

If that seems like splitting hairs, Councilman Zane offers another distinction: "What's different is that our support for the neighborhood organizations is not conditioned on their supporting us. It's very possible that an organization we fund will become strongly opposed to us. Our reason for funding them is that poor people have never had a voice in this city's politics. The only way for them to get that voice is through organization. The only strings attached are that they've got to be open and reflect the will of the community."

. . . Political risks are involved in this kind of grass-roots organizing and decentralized policy making. The right has taken to calling this city "The People's Republic of Santa Monica" . . . Already neighborhood groups and citizen's task forces have run ahead of what the council majority considers political reality.

Last summer, a citizen's advisory committee on housing recommended changing the city code to allow rental of bedrooms and mobile homes in residential areas. Homeowners in those areas were upset, and the opposition was able to mount a rally of about 1000 demonstrators outside City Hall. The council backed off and recommended against the

idea, which left the citizen's advisory committee members feeling betrayed and angry. Other such conflicts are likely, and of course any one of these could fragment the now solid council majority bloc.

The more likely scenario, however, is for the left to gain even firmer control of the city. In 1981 only three members of the council are up for reelection: Goldway and the two conservatives Reed and Jennings. Reed earned the confidence of many tenants in her six years on the council, and hasn't so much changed positions as she has been outflanked on the left, so she might be able to win reelection. But Jennings first angered conservatives by joining in a maneuver on the last council to oust the previous mayor, and then betrayed his liberal constituency by doing a flip-flop on rent control. With no real base left, he stands little chance of retaining his seat. In fact, a likely outcome of the 1983 elections is for the SMRR coalition to gain every one of the council seats.

All this has produced a strange role reversal in Santa Monica, made doubly unusual by the contrasting disarray of the left nationwide. . . Here the left is in control, and the conservative opposition has had to resort to the street tactics once used against them by the left.

73. Discused further in Section II of this report.
74. See Section II.5 of this study.
75. There seems to have been a conscious strategy followed by the 1981 Austin City Council to establish their political authority by immediately passing a bond election which would satisfy and bridge the perceived needs of utility infrastructure of establishment and development forces, and the social and political concerns of the environmental, neighborhood and other community forces which were responsible for the election of the new 1981 city councilmembers. Various progressive personalities, developer lobbyists, and free-lance political consultants joined together to develop the August 1981 bond election; unfortunately, this strategy failed to address in any meaningful way the issue most voters were concerned with: citizen participation and a sense that methods were being developed and utilized to control Austin's growth rate.  
 The political consulting partnership of Bill Emory and Peck Young (Young was once in another consulting group with 1981 councilmember Roger Duncan) played an important role in managing a number of city council majority's bond and issue elections, and liberal developer lobbyist and attorney Ed Wendler, Sr., played an important role in channeling contributions to fund campaigns which increasingly emphasized costly media approaches in selling political messages to Austin voters. There are three or four consulting firms in Austin which play roles in varying degrees of importance in local politics, ranging from managing campaigns and coalitions, to running polls of the Austin voter population to sense how to sell council priorities to the electorate; or for those professionals on the "other side", how to confuse the council's access to the Austin voters.
76. One the major tools existing in Texas for neighborhood empowerment is Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Councils (NAZCs). These neighborhood councils

are an obscure creation of the 1945 Texas Legislature (introduced by a Dallas senator and representative), which put a population minimum of 290,000 if a city wished to implement the law. At that time, only Dallas and Houston had reached such a size, two unlikely places for special citizen participation structures as any about. Houston has always been so controlled by real estate interests that it still has no zoning regulations; in 1980, the son of the mayor of Dallas in the 1950s said "We already have more citizen participation that you can shake a stick at! I have no idea why (the NAZC law) was ever passed."

Basically the law says little: a city council in a town with a population greater than 290,000 according to the last federal census (Austin had about 340,000 in 1980) can create NAZCs. These five-member boards would have a say in any zoning changes in their district, and their vote could only be reversed by a 3/4's vote of the Planning Commission. Important questions like how decisions would be appealed beyond the Planning Commission (and if it should), how the members of these neighborhood councils would be selected (or elected), how the all-important district lines would be drawn, and how many districts would be created in a specific city must be addressed.

There is little direct guidance on how to establish the NAZCs -- this 35-year-old law was never utilized, and we may never know why they were passed in the first place; both of the original sponsors had died by 1980.

The text of the NAZC law (Article 1011k, Vernon's Texas Civil Statutes, Acts of the 49th Legislature, 1945, p. 202, ch. 155, Sec. 1) is as follows:

Neighborhood zoning in cities over 290,000: The legislative body of any city having a population of more than 290,000 inhabitants according to the last preceding Federal Census, and which has adopted a comprehensive zoning ordinance under the law of the State of Texas, may by ordinance divide the city into such neighborhood zoning areas after a public hearing in relation thereto, at which parties in interest and citizens shall have an opportunity to be heard. At least fifteen days notice of the time and place of such hearing shall be published in an official paper or a paper of general circulation in such municipality. The Mayor of such city, with the approval of its legislative body, may thereupon appoint for each of said areas a Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council, consisting of five citizens residing in the area, who shall hold office for two years or until their successors are appointed and qualify. It shall be the duty of such Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council to furnish to the Zoning Commission of the city information, advice and recommendations with respect to all applications filed with the Zoning Commission for changes in the zoning regulations of such city affecting property within said area. As soon as any such application is filed with the Zoning Commission of the city, the Zoning Commission shall furnish the Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council for the area which would be affected by such application if granted with a copy thereof, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council to hold a public hearing in relation thereto, giving at least ten days notice of the time and place of such hearing by publication in an official paper or a paper of general circulation in such municipality, and at or before the hearing on such application before the Zoning Commission it shall be the duty of the Neighborhood Advisory Council to furnish and submit to the Zoning Commission such information, advice and

recommendations with respect to such application as it deems proper. Overruling of any recommendation of the Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Council with respect to the disposition of such application shall require the vote of at least three-fourths (3/4) of the members of the Zoning Commission present.

77. See Neighborhood Design Manual in Appendix. For a description of the organizing done by Austin's elite between 1981 and 1983, see Palmer Wright's article in River City Currents, No. III.
78. The seminar was led in Fall 1981 by Professor Robert Mather of the University of Texas at Austin, School of Architecture.
79. See Appendix for selected examples of Neighborhood newsletters planning excerpts.
80. See Austin precinct voting pattern map example in Appendix.
81. Tim Mahoney; "Clarksville: Death of a Neighborhood" in Listen, October 1979; KUT-FM, The University of Texas at Austin; p. 11.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
83. John Henneberger, et al.; Austin Housing Study; City of Austin Human Relations Dept., 1979.
84. In December 1976, the NAACP and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund filed suit in U.S. District Court in Austin challenging Austin's at-large council elections. The court ultimately ruled for maintaining the at-large method, rather than changing to single member districts, because Austin already had "minority" members on its city council.
85. Gerson Green; National Center for Voluntary Action; "Who's Organizing the Neighborhood?"; May 1979; p. 2.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
88. Tim Mahoney; First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference; September 1980.
89. For a discription of Austin's economy, see this study's Appendix for excerpts from Community Economic Development: A Case Study from Austin; Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, Univeristy of Texas at Austin; Policy Research Project Report Number 42; 1980; Appendix A, p. 51; the reproduction of this material was approved by one of the study's directors.
90. Frank Staniszewski; Ideology and Practice in Municipal Government Reform: A Case Study of Austin; 1977; The University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Master's Report; pp. 7-11.

91. Ibid., p. 53.
92. Ibid., p. 54.
93. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
94. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
95. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
96. Ibid., p. 61.
97. Ibid., p. 57.
98. Ibid., pp. 56-57.
99. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
100. Ibid., pp. 64-65.
101. Ibid., p. 63.
102. Ibid., p. 59.
103. Ibid., p. 44.
104. Ibid., p. 45.
105. Ibid., pp. 45-46.
106. Ibid., p. 46.
107. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
108. Ibid., p. 48.
109. Ibid., pp. 49-50.
110. Ibid., p. 50.
111. Ibid., p. 51.
112. Hightower was elected Texas Agriculture Commissioner in November 1982.
113. Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs; Community Economic Development: A Case Study from Austin; p. xi.
114. In the fall of 1978 I was the Tax-Relief Coordinator for the Texas Consumer Association, in an effort to defeat a "tax relief" amendment to the Texas Consitution on the November 1978 ballot. The amendment, which was meant

to divert the voters attention from the inequities in the Texas property tax system, passed with over 80 percent of the vote.

115. In 1977 and 1978 I was a contributing writer for the Texas Observer (which is officed in Austin), and for a short period in 1978 I was city editor for the Austin Sun.
116. See Elections 1 and 2 in Section III of this study.
117. One political consultant commented that some of Ream's press releases were among the longest in Austin's history.
118. Councilman Ron Mullen was tipped-off that the Ream campaign was going to hold a press conference about the mis-handled letter, and managed to call the constituent before the press conference and convinced her the problem was due to an unfortunate mistake rather a deliberate intention (which may have been true). The resulting news reports were somewhat muddled, but any media couldn't have hurt the Ream campaign.
119. See the peculiar results surrounding these issues in Section III of this study.
120. Saul Alinsky, pp. 118-119.
121. Ibid., pp. 107-108.
122. See Tim Mahoney, "Bankholding Companies", Texas Observer, July 29, 1977.
123. Saul Alinsky; p. 83.
124. The City of Austin's publication listing the results of the April 4, 1981 city council elections indicates at that time there were 185,332 registered voters in Austin (see also Chart 1 in Section III).
125. The positions of the Zilker Park Posse and the Save Barton Creek Association grew more divergent, culminating in the Posse's opposition (and SBCA's endorsement) to the City of Austin's 1982 bond election. See Section II.6 of this study.
126. Saul Alinsky, pp. 150-151.
127. Ibid., pp. 159-160.
128. River City Currents; Vol. 1; Marilyn Simpson, "Neighborhood Associations: What Next?"; p. 24.
129. Alinsky, p. 152.
130. For a theoretical review, see Section I.5 of this study, especially the quotations from Jeffery Smith's Trust and the Rational Voter.



131. Pat Otis, "Analysis of the First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference"; unpublished report, The University of Texas at Austin; December 1980; p. 3.
132. Ibid., p. 4.
133. Ibid., p. 5.
134. Ibid., p. 5.
135. Ibid., p. 8.
136. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
137. The Phogg Phoundation for the Pursuit of Happiness is associated with Youth Emergency Services (YES) which was formed about 1972 by individuals working with a community switchboard and referral service. The Phogg Phoundation itself was formed about 1977, and specializes in block parties, and small fundraising and community education projects.
138. Roger Duncan was a spokesperson and strategist for the primary coalition that fought Austin's continued participation in the South Texas Nuclear Project in the 1979 elections ("Austin Citizens for Economical Energy"). Following Austin voters narrow vote for continued participation in the nuclear plant, Duncan shifted his emphasis to environmental concerns, and was a member of the environmental/neighborhood coalition which helped defeat half of the February 1980 bond election propositions. During the summer of 1980 Duncan decided to run against incumbent city councilmember Betty Himmelblau, a conservative and nuclear supporter. Because of Duncan's campaign maneuvers and her growing frustration as a councilmember, Himmelblau decided not to run for reelection in the fall of 1980. With Duncan's background as a council aide (between 1975 and 1977 with Margaret Hoffman) and political pollster and manager (one of his former partners, Peck Young, in a firm with Bill Emory, helped with Duncan's polling in his successful 1981 council race), Duncan's campaign provided a good bit of the organization backbone leading to the 1981 Austin City Council elections.
139. Deuser's campaign was the first campaign previous to 1983 that ever attempted and completed a city wide door-to-door literature canvass.
140. The implementatin of Neighborhood Zoning Advisory Councils was not a specific coalition-endorsed resolution, but Duncan made it one of the five central themes in his campaign platform.
141. Coalitions between "issue" and "political" groups tend to be difficult because they look at political realities from different perspectives. Political groups tend to look at issues as a changing platform with which to clothe campaigns and candidates, which by their nature will tend to have less durability (under ideal circumstances) than successful candidates. Issue groups generally are of two types: 1) single-issue groups which tend to thrust themselves into the political system with the intention of either disrupting the political system

or winning their issue; and 2) the multi-issue groups (which most neighborhood groups are) that tend to have a well developed perspective and see issue development as a continuing saga in maintaining or improving their quality of life. Historically, it has usually been the single-issue groups which have participated in coalitions with the more political groups.

142. The River City Coordinating Council, RATERs (a electric rate reform group), various Democratic Clubs and neighborhood confederations supporting a number of candidates, all informally combined their resources to cover door-to-door about 2/3's of the City.
143. See "Lawyer-lobbyist Wendler keeps wheels of city politics rolling", Austin American Statesman, October 24, 1982; p. A-1.
144. See "Pro-People Forces Gain; Money Loses"; Texas Observer, April 17, 1981; p. 17. Also see Financial Contributions in Appendix.
145. The Tomorrow Institute is a project of Youth Emergency Services (see Footnote 137) started in 1981 primarily to produce the River City Currents journal.
146. See Footnote 76; NAZCs are allowed under State statutory law, not under the Texas constitution.
147. Alinsky, pp. 162-164.
148. See River City Currents, Volume I, Number 3, Spring 1983; Ken Manning's July 1982 paper is summarized in "Growth Management: A Broader Perspective", p. 5; and Palmer Wright's analysis of the new political face and networking efforts of Austin's establishment is summarized in "Growth Machine Gears Up for Austin"; p. 18.
149. Stuart A. MacCorkle, Dick Smith, and Janice C. May; Texas Government; 7th Edition 1974; McGraw-Hill Book Company, NY; p. 14.
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
151. An attempt to describe the "personalities" or cultural patterns of the four main political population types is attempted at the end of this part.
152. For the description and explanation of names, see Part II and Part III of this section, and the notes at the bottom of Chart 10 and Chart 20.
153. Political labels that have an initial capital letter are labels for the constructed voting patterns whose mathematics are summarized in Chart 20.
154. It is worth adding about Deuser's campaign that two weeks out from the general election in April, the month-old and city-wide door-to-door literature distribution of the campaign was in full swing, and Deuser's two television adds began running. The literature marketing was finished a mere three days before the election, although some individuals responsible for distribution within certain

precincts were unable to deliver their flyers until the night before, and even the morning of the election.

155. As shown in Chart 1, the voter turnout for the 1981 Austin City Council elections are slightly higher than the 1979 election.
156. "A" in this study's regression equations was found to have little significance, and therefore is not reproduced in this report.
157. It is important to note that the means of  $X_1$ ,  $X_2$ ,  $X_3$ , and  $X_4$ , as shown in Figure B and Chart 18, are not equal. Partially these differences are due to historical circumstances and the four candidate population types construction (as shown in Chart 20), than to any inherent population political orientation. I could have used a mathematical conversion to equalize the average of these four population types, but on reflection saw little purpose in the change for this study, so I used the raw averages.
158. When a population pattern has an insignificant coefficient in this study, it does not necessarily imply that Liberals, for instance, are not voting, but perhaps Liberal voters are splitting their allegiances, as it were, and voting more prominently in different coalitions, perhaps some with the Populists, others with the Conservatives, and still another tendency to vote with the New Right. By referring to the combination patterns we are able to "see" these coalition movements, as happens when the Populists are insignificant in this study's third election.
159. Political polling is an applied science, and their results and interpretations depend a great deal on the experience and judgement of the designers and implementors of any poll. Political polling is a tool in an applied art in efforts to develop candidate issue positions, and facilitate voters and contributors support. Various methods and models work (that is, win elections), but with differing costs (and sometimes accuracy in predictions). Some cost less, others more (in monetary terms), and allow the development of various issues for political debate.
160. It is probably the case that the New Right's idea of community is centered on the idea that one's friends and neighbors are the frontline defense of family against the real threat of violence from the larger world (enclaving); while the Populist tends to see the fate and well-being of the larger social context as having an important role in family well-being.

Appendix A:  
Reproduced from  
Community and Economic Development 1981;  
pp. 51-54

## An Economic and Demographic Profile of Austin and the East Austin Chicano Community

### Austin: A Profile

The city of Austin, Texas is located in Central Texas on the Colorado River approximately 190 miles south of Dallas. It is the largest city in Travis County, accounting for 80 percent of the county population. Austin has experienced growth as many other "Sunbelt" cities have, although to a lesser extent than some, and provides a characteristic example of a growing economy in this region.

#### Population Growth

From 1950 to 1970 the area within the Austin city limits doubled and the city grew as an expanding ring. During the same period the population doubled (see Table 3). It grew by 68,400 between 1970 and 1977, an increase of approximately 26 percent.

Table 3  
Population of Austin  
1950-1977

Year	Population
1950	132,459
1960	186,454
1970	253,539
1977	321,900

Source: City of Austin, Planning Department, 1978 Statistical Abstract.

Austin's yearly rate of population growth is shown in Table 4. Although the population growth rate in the 1970s is somewhat lower than during earlier periods, it is clear that Austin is still expanding in a period when many cities are not.

#### Employment

The University of Texas and the state government account for a large share of employment in Austin. As of 1970, 24 percent of all workers in Austin were clerical and kindred workers, with professional workers close behind with 23 percent of the total. The high figures are a result of employment in government sec-

Table 4  
Average Yearly Rate of Population Growth,  
City of Austin

1950-1960	4.0%
1960-1970	3.5%
1970-1976	3.8%

Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population*, various years.

tors and retail outlets. In terms of personal income generation, manufacturing and service account for 19 percent and 10 percent, respectively, of Travis County personal income, according to data from the Texas Department of Water Resources. State and local government employment account for over one-third of total personal income.

Between 1960 and 1970 government-related occupations grew 216 percent.<sup>1</sup> Manufacturing also underwent increases during this period. The durable goods manufacturing sector showed an increase of 831 percent.<sup>2</sup> IBM Corporation and Texas Instruments are two electronics firms that comprise a major percentage of manufacturing employment. Because of this general growth, the unemployment rate for Austin has remained low. Although the unemployment rate in Austin has increased during the past decade, as indicated in Table 5, the 1978 rate was still well below the national average. The low rate can be attributed to the high percentage of government employment which is not subject to cyclical shifts in the economy, as is the case in private employment. The total labor force grew from 73,866 to 108,124 in the ten-year period between 1960 and 1970, a growth of over 34,000.<sup>3</sup> A further increase of over 70,000 was experienced between 1970 and 1978. The increase in the labor force and the low unemployment rate indicate that there is a large degree of economic growth in Austin.

#### Income

Median family income in Austin was \$9,180 in 1969; by 1975 it had increased in real terms to \$9,256, an increase of 3.8 percent.<sup>4</sup> In some areas of the city, income in-

Table 5  
Civilian Labor Force and Unemployment Rate,  
Austin SMSA

Year	Total Labor	Unemployed	Unemployment Rate
1970	135,500	3,750	2.8%
1971	147,500	4,000	2.7
1972	164,950	4,200	2.5
1973	170,100	3,950	2.3
1974	180,250	5,600	3.1
1975	185,300	7,850	4.2
1976	193,050	9,300	4.8
1977	199,200	9,000	4.5
1978	206,100	9,300	4.5

Source: City of Austin Department of Planning, "Overall Economic Development Plan," 1979.

creased by as much as 40 percent in that same period. Austin median family income is only about 90 percent of the national average. Consumer prices rose from approximately 150 in 1975 to 178 in 1977, which still placed Austin below other Texas cities in cost of living.

#### East Austin Chicano Community: A Profile

While Austin is a rapidly growing urban center, not all of its neighborhoods and citizens have shared in the benefits of this overall growth. The East Austin Chicano neighborhood, which is of concern in this report, is one of these areas. The neighborhood is located east of the central business district and is physically separated from it by IH 35. The neighborhood is bounded on the north by East 7th Street, on the east by Ed Bluestein Boulevard, on the south by Town Lake, and on the west by IH 35. Economic data indicate that over the past ten years, changes in the neighborhood have not been parallel to the changes taking place in the city as a whole. To identify neighborhood trends and to compare these with the city-wide trends, the data from the 1970 Regular Census, the 1976 Special Census, and other sources are used.

#### Unemployment

Unemployment data from the Texas Employment Commission are available by census tracts for 1976 only. Table 6 indicates that the unemployment rate for the

neighborhood, in census tracts 9 and 10, was well above the city average.

Table 6  
Average Unemployment Rate, 1976

Tracts 9 and 10	9.3%
Entire City of Austin	4.8%

Source: Estimated by the Texas Employment Commission.

#### Population

The neighborhood has not experienced the growth in population characteristic of the city as a whole. Table 7 indicated that between 1970 and 1976 tracts 9 and 10 experienced a dramatic decline (-11 percent) in population, while the entire city population grew by 22.7 percent.

Table 7  
Population Growth

	1970	1976	Change	Percent increase or decrease
Tracts 9 and 10	15,692	14,019	-1,673	-11%
Entire City of Austin	251,808	308,952	+57,144	+22.7%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population*, 1970 and *Special Census*, 1976.

The change in the number of families between 1970 and 1976 is less dramatic than the population change, and indicates that the neighborhood is retaining its "family" character. While the total population in tracts 9 and 10 decreased by 11 percent, the number of families decreased by only 7.5 percent.

The age distribution of the neighborhood differs significantly from that of the rest of the city, according to the 1976 census data: the neighborhood has a higher percentage of children and senior citizens than is characteristic of Austin as a whole. On the average, 11 percent of the population of Austin census tracts is comprised of persons over the age of 65, compared with about 16 percent in tracts 9 and 10. The city-wide average proportion of children in a census tract is 28 percent, compared with 37 percent of the population in

Table 8  
Ethnic Characteristics

	White		Black		Spanish Origin							
	1970	% of Tracts	1976	% of Tracts	1970	% of Tracts	1976	% of Tracts	1970	% of Tracts	1976	% of Tracts
Tracts 9 and 10	1,872	12%	1,397	10%	2,336	15%	1,912	14%	11,304	72%	10,416	74%
Entire City of Austin	180,210	71.6%	213,942	69.2%	29,816	11.8%	37,271	12.1%	39,399	15.6%	52,564	17%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population, 1970*, and *Special Census, 1976*.

tracts 9 and 10. This age distribution data indicate that the East Austin Chicano neighborhood is not an aging area but one that is renewing its population. At the same time, the neighborhood supports a larger than average dependent population.

The racial composition of the neighborhood differs greatly from the city as a whole, as Table 8 illustrates. According to the 1976 census data, tracts 9 and 10 are largely Spanish origin (74 percent), with a minority of Blacks (14 percent) and even fewer whites (10 percent); in the city of Austin, whites are a majority (69.2 percent), and Spanish origin (17 percent) and blacks (12.1 percent) are minorities. In the two tracts, the proportion of whites in the population decreased and the proportion of Spanish-origin persons increased slightly between 1970 and 1976, indicating a racially stable neighborhood.

#### Income

Median family income, as reported by the 1970 and 1976 censuses and expressed in 1969 dollars, is presented in Table 9. Real median family income for the city as a whole increased very modestly between 1969 and 1975. However, the neighborhood experienced a decline (-9 percent) in real income between 1969 and 1975. In 1975, the median family income in tracts 9 and 10 was 49 percent of the city-wide figure, and the percentage of persons living below the poverty level in the two tracts, 39.5 percent, was dramatically greater than the city average of 18.3 percent.

#### Housing

Housing values in tracts 9 and 10 have been significantly below the city average during the past ten years [see Table 10]. In addition, the increase in neighborhood housing values has not kept pace with the city-

wide increase over the past ten years. Therefore, if the present trend continues, the gap between neighborhood housing values and the city average will increase in the future as housing values in the neighborhood fall further below the city average.

Table 9  
Median Family Income

	1969	1975	1975	Percent Real Change
			Adjusted*	
Tracts 9 and 10	\$5,091	\$6,587	\$4,643	-9%
Entire City of Austin	\$9,180	\$13,540	\$9,526	+3.8%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population, 1970* and *Special Census, 1976*.

\*Adjusted to 1969 dollars, using the consumer price index for Dallas, Texas. In 1967 base, 1969 = 111.3; 1975 = 158.2

#### Conclusion

As the discussion above documents, the East Austin Chicano neighborhood is a pocket of poverty within a growing city. The neighborhood has unemployment problems and a serious low-income problem which sharply contrast with the economic conditions and trends in the city as a whole. However the neighborhood's unique "family" character and population of young people are two important resources upon which development efforts can be based.

Table 10  
Median Value of Owner-Occupied Units

	1970	1976	Percent Increase
Tracts 9 and 10	\$7,820	\$11,746	50%
Entire City of Austin	\$15,900	\$26,835	68.8%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population, 1970*, and *Special Census, 1976*.

#### References

1. City of Austin, Department of Planning, "Overall Economic Development Plan," 1979.
2. Ibid.
3. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population, 1960 and 1970*.
4. City of Austin, "Strategies for the Economic Revitalization of Central Austin," September 1978.



Appendix B:

Reproduced from:

Citizen Participation in the American Federal System; 1979

pp. 72-77

Table 3-1

PURPOSES SERVED BY THE VARIOUS FORMS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION\*

SPECIFIC PURPOSES of Citizen Participation**	FORMS of Citizen Participation			
	Organizational	Individual	Information Dissemination	Information Collection
	Citizen Groups Special Interest Groups Specific Program-Clientele Groups Official Citizen Committees	Voting Being a Client Making Statements Working in Public Projects Campaign/Lobby Administrative Appeals Going to Court Demonstrations	Open Government Meetings/Speaker Bureau Conferences Publications Mass Media Displays/Exhibits Direct Mailings Advertising/Notices Hot Lines Drop-In Centers Correspondence Word of Mouth	Hearings, Meetings, Conferences Consultation Government Records Nongovernment Documents Participant Observers Surveys
<b>"Universal" Purposes</b>				
1. Give Information to Citizens	+ + + +	+ + + +	+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +	+ + +
2. Get Information From/About Citizens	+ + + +	+ + + + +	+ + 0 + + + + +	+ + + + + + + +
<b>"Establishment" Purposes</b>				
3. Improve Public Decisions/Programs	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 0 0 + + 0	0 0 + 0 + + +
4. Enhance Acceptance of Public Decisions/Programs	0 0 0 0	+ 0 + 0 0 0 0	+ + + 0 0 0 0 + + + 0 +	0 + + +
5. Supplement Public Agency Work	+ + + +	+ + +	+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +	+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
<b>"Anti-Establishment" Purposes</b>				
6. Alter Political Power Patterns and Resources Allocations	+ + + +	0 + + + 0	+ 0 0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
7. Protect Individual and Minority Group Rights and Interests	0 0 0 0	0 0 + + +	+ 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 +	0 0 0 0 0
8. Delay or Avoid Difficult Public Decisions	0 0 0 0	0 + + + +	0 0 0	0 0 0

\* + = Positive assistance in achieving purpose.  
 0 = Neutral with respect to purpose (may or may not help to achieve the purpose).  
 Blank = Not related to purpose.

Table 3-2

**PURPOSES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION GENERALLY EMPHASIZED BY VARIOUS INTERESTS, AND RELATIVE EXTENT OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT\***

SPECIFIC PURPOSES of Citizen Participation**	INTERESTS involved in Citizen Participation	Citizens											Officials			
		Majority Groups	Minority Groups	Special Interest Groups	Program Clientele Groups	Press	Voters	Residents	Ordinary Citizens	Individual Program Beneficiaries	Indigenous Employees	Aggrieved Parties	Official Advisory Committees or Commissions	Governing Bodies and Elected Officials	Political Appointees and Bureaucracy	Courts
<b>"Universal" Purposes</b>																
1. Give Information to Citizens		v	v	H	H	H	I	v	I	H	H	H		H	H	H
2. Get Information From/About Citizens		v	v	H	H	H	I	v	I	H	H	H		H	H	H
<b>"Establishment" Purposes</b>																
3. Improve Public Decisions/Programs		v	v	H	H	H		v		v				H	H	H
4. Enhance Acceptance of Public Decisions/Programs		v	v	H	H	H	v	v		v	H			H	H	H
5. Supplement Public Agency Work					H	v	H	v			H					
<b>"Anti-Establishment" Purposes</b>																
6. Alter Political Power Patterns and Resources Allocations		v	H	H	H	H		v		v		H		H	H	
7. Protect Individual and Minority Group Rights and Interests			H			H						H		v	H	H
8. Delay or Avoid Difficult Public Decisions		v	H	H		H	v	v		v		H		H	H	H
<p>*H = Highly involved.  I = Low involvement.  v = Variable amount or intensity of involvement depending upon the situation, frequently ranging from low to high.  Blank = Typically not involved.</p> <p>**These specific purposes all operate within the two general purposes of (1) changing the behavior of governments so that they respond better to citizen needs and desires, and (2) changing citizen behavior to make citizens more capable and active in governmental affairs and less alienated from society. The characterizations of specific purposes as universal, establishment, or antiestablishment are not precise; rather, they are reminders that these purposes are viewed differently and used differently by different groups and individuals.</p> <p>SOURCE: ACIR staff compilation of information principally contained in: Robert A. Alexshire, "Planning and Citizen Participation: Costs, Benefits, and Approaches," <i>Urban Affairs Quarterly</i>, Vol. 5, No. 4, Beverly Hills, CA, Sage Publications, June 1970, pp. 369-93; Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," <i>Journal of the American Institute of Planners</i>, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, Washington, DC, American Institute of Planners, July 1969, pp. 216-24; Edmund M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies," <i>Journal of the American Institute of Planners</i>, Vol. XXXIV, No. 5, Washington, DC, American Institute of Planners, September 1968, pp. 287-94; Melvin Moguloi, <i>Citizen Participation: A Review and Commentary on Federal Policies and Practices</i>, Washington, DC, The Urban Institute, 1970; Nelson M. Rosenbaum, <i>Citizen Involvement in Land Use Governance: Issues and Methods</i>, Washington, DC, The Urban Institute, 1976.</p>																

Table 3-4

**APPROPRIATENESS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PURPOSES  
AT THE VARIOUS STAGES OF GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY**

STAGES of Governmental Activity	1. Problem and Issue Recognition	2. Goals Setting	3. Fact Finding and Research	4. Problem Definition and Revision of Goals	5. Development of Alternative Public Policies and Programs	6. Analysis of Alternatives (impact analyses)	7. Recommendation and Adoption of Preferred Public Policies and Programs	8. Implementation of Adopted Public Policies and Programs	9. Evaluation of Policy and Program Implementation
<b>SPECIFIC PURPOSES of Citizen Participation*</b>									
<b>"Universal" Purposes</b>									
1. Give Information to Citizens	x	x		x		x	x	x	x
2. Get Information From About Citizens	x	x	x	x		x	x		x
<b>"Establishment" Purposes</b>									
3. Improve Public Decisions/Programs		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
4. Enhance Acceptance of Public Decisions/Programs	x	x		x			x	x	
5. Supplement Public Agency Work	x		x		x	x		x	x
<b>"Anti-Establishment" Purposes</b>									
6. Alter Political Power Patterns and Resources Allocations	x	x		x			x	x	
7. Protect Individual and Minority Group Rights and Interests	x	x		x		x	x	x	
8. Delay or Avoid Difficult Public Decisions							x	x	
<p>*These specific purposes all operate within the two general purposes of (1) changing the behavior of governments so that they respond better to citizen needs and desires, and (2) changing citizen behavior to make citizens more capable and active in governmental affairs and less alienated from society. The characterizations of specific purposes as universal, establishment, or antiestablishment are not precise; rather, they are reminders that these purposes are viewed differently and used differently by different groups and individuals.</p> <p>SOURCE: Cogan &amp; Associates. <i>Techniques of Public Involvement</i>, State Planning Series 11, Washington, DC: Council of State Planning Agencies, 1977.</p>									

Appendix C:  
Section III Charts

CHART 10  
 Correlation Coefficients Between  
 Populist Candidates,  
 All Candidates,  
 and the Four Candidate Types

	23REAM	4M: BIND	41DEUSR	42DUNCN	43DELEN	51DEUSR	56URDY
2M:MCCL	-.921**	-.927**	-.766**	-.788**	-.792**	-.775**	-.848**
21COOKE	-.930**	-.934**	-.703**	-.825**	-.887**	-.803**	-.879**
22HIMME	-.953**	-.916**	-.719**	-.784**	-.877**	-.769**	-.867**
23MULLN	-.986**	-.905**	-.723**	-.777**	-.860**	-.770**	-.844**
23REAM	1.0*	.896*	.740*	.745*	.812*	.727*	.810*
24GOODM	.453	.360	-.014	.704*	.544	.652	.293
25TREVI	.491	.401	-.036	.662	.604	.567	.319
26SNELL	.294	.224	-.127	.502	.323	.405	.113
4M: BIND	.896*	1.0*	.819*	.807*	.770*	.779*	.892*
4M:MCCL	-.688	-.808**	-.914**	-.415	-.425	-.464	-.726**
4M:MCCR	-.644	-.651	-.210	-.847**	-.781**	-.738**	-.608
41GUERR	-.178	-.212	-.628	.331	.268	.311	-.120
41DUKE	-.543	-.607	-.269	-.914**	-.766**	-.932**	-.616
41DEUSR	.740*	.819*	1.0*	.471	.410	.511	.718*
42HENNA	-.746**	-.808**	-.473	-1.0**	-.838**	-.942**	-.790**
42DUNCN	.745*	.807*	.471	1.0*	.838*	.943*	.789*
43MULLN	-.827**	-.799**	-.456	-.858**	-.994**	-.845**	-.815**
43DELEN	.812*	.770*	.410	.838*	1.0*	.816*	.787*
44BARTZ	-.582	-.587	-.144	-.841**	-.767**	-.779**	-.557
44MACRA	.283	.292	.558	-.146	-.048	-.190	.227
44GOODM	.258	.260	-.197	.672	.570	.651	.275
45TREVI	.545	.541	.139	.824*	.725*	.776*	.491
45ROSE	-.578	-.577	-.135	-.865**	-.790**	-.811**	-.549
5M:MCCL	-.878**	-.974**	-.826**	-.820**	-.738**	-.818**	-.893**
51DEUSR	.727*	.779*	.511	.943*	.816*	1.0*	.778*
56URDY	.810*	.892*	.718*	.789*	.787*	.778*	1.0*
LIBERALS	.447	.403	-.041	.747*	.623	.683	.346
CONSERVATIVE	-.938**	-.960**	-.783**	-.814**	-.853**	-.816**	-.903**
POPULIST	.923*	.957*	.738*	.902*	.885*	.893*	.920*
NEW RIGHT	-.618	-.641	-.206	-.923**	-.822**	-.874**	-.619

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

CHART 11  
 Correlation Coefficients Between  
New Right Candidates,  
All Candidates,  
 and the Four Candidate Types

	4M:MCCR	41DUKE	44BARTZ	45ROSE
2M:MCCL	.588	.588	.582	.564
21COOKE	.678	.652	.653	.650
22HFMME	.655	.609	.615	.620
23MULLN	.646	.593	.606	.597
23REAM	-.644	-.543	-.582	-.578
24GOODM	-.783**	-.726**	-.808**	-.826**
25TREVI	-.862**	-.651	-.819**	-.858**
26SNELL	-.729**	-.512	-.681	-.711**
4M: BIND	-.651	-.607	-.587	-.577
4M:MCCL	.090	.207	.110	.066
4M:MCCR	1.0*	.777*	.864*	.903*
41GUERR	-.464	-.569	-.552	-.611
41DUKE	.777*	1.0*	.823*	.884**
41DEUSR	.210	-.269	-.144	-.135
42HENNA	.847*	.913*	.841*	.865*
42DUNCN	-.847**	-.914**	-.841**	-.865**
43MULLN	.768*	.780*	.765*	.775*
43DELEN	-.781**	-.766**	-.767**	-.790**
44BARTZ	.864*	.823*	1.0*	.869*
44MACRA	.251	.401	.278	.480
44GOODM	-.745**	-.796**	-.859**	-.869**
45TREVI	-.842**	-.841**	-.813**	-.928**
45ROSE	.903*	.884*	.869*	1.0*
5M:MCCL	.596	.627	.572	.561
51DEUSR	-.738**	-.932**	-.779**	-.811**
56URDY	-.608	-.616**	-.557	-.549
LIBERALS	-.863**	-.787**	-.870**	-.924**
CONSERVATIVE	.612	.634	.599	.586
POPULIST	-.730**	-.752**	-.695	-.704**
NEW RIGHT	.931*	.935*	.932*	.971*

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

CHART 12  
 Correlation Coefficients Between  
Liberal Candidates,  
All Candidates  
 and the Four Candidate Types

	24GOODM	25TREVI	26SNELL	44GOODM	45TREVI
2M:MCCL	-.399	-.399	-.180	-.256	-.537
21COOKE	-.408	-.471	-.213	-.350	-.609
22HINME	-.408	-.460	-.209	-.304	-.583
23MULLN	-.447	-.467	-.242	-.284	-.561
23REAM	.453	.491	.294	.258	.545
24GOODM	1.0*	.878*	.862*	.810*	.818*
25TREVI	.878*	1.0*	.907*	.809*	.828*
26SNELL	.862*	.862*	1.0*	.730*	.703*
4M:BIND	.360	.401	.224	.260	.541
4M:MCCL	.135	.138	.278	.227	-.067
4M:MCCR	-.783**	-.862**	-.729**	-.745**	-.842**
41GUERR	.619	.583	.546	.822*	.574
41DUKE	-.726**	-.651	-.512	-.796**	-.841**
41DEUSR	-.014	-.036	-.127	-.197	.139
42HENNA	-.704**	-.661	-.502	-.671	-.825**
42DUNCN	.704*	.662	.502	.672	.824*
43MULLN	-.537	-.574	-.298	-.551	-.716**
43DELEN	.544	.604	.323	.570	.725*
44BARTZ	-.808**	-.819**	-.681	-.859**	-.813**
44MACRA	-.454	-.435	-.474	-.736**	-.463
44GOODM	.810*	.809*	.730*	1.0*	.822*
45TREVI	.818*	.828*	.703*	.822*	1.0
45ROSE	-.826**	-.858**	-.711**	-.869**	-.928**
5M:MCCL	-.356	-.356	-.185	-.264	-.530
51DEUSR	.652	.567	.405	.651	.776*
56URDY	.293	.319	.113	.275	.491
LIBERALS	.932*	.949*	.887*	.917*	.925*
CONSERVATIVE	-.372	-.386	-.158	-.278	-.550
POPULIST	.492	.498	.289	.413	.661
NEW RIGHT	-.829**	-.835**	-.688	-.866**	-.911**

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.



CHART 13  
 Correlation Coefficients Between  
Conservative Candidates,  
All Candidates,  
and the Four Candidate Types

	2M:MCCL	23MULLN	4M:MCCL	43MULLN	5M:MCCL
2M:MCCL	1.0*	.946*	.776*	.824*	.940*
21COOKE	.952*	.955*	.718*	.905*	.924*
22HIMME	.951*	.972*	.712*	.893*	.898*
23MULLN	.946*	1.0*	.702*	.879*	.893*
23REAM	-.921**	-.986**	-.688	-.827**	-.878**
24GOODM	-.399	-.447	.135	-.537	-.356
25TREVI	-.399	-.467	.138	-.574	-.356
26SNELL	-.180	-.242	.278	-.298	-.185
4M:BIND	-.927**	-.905**	-.808**	-.799**	-.974**
4M:MCCL	.776*	.702*	1.0*	.474	.827*
4M:MCCR	.588	.646	.090	.768*	.596
41GUERR	.181	.131	.630	-.238	.207
41DUKE	.588	.593	.207	.780*	.627
41DEUSR	-.766**	-.723**	-.914**	-.456	-.826**
42HENNA	.788*	.777*	.415	.857*	.820*
42DUNCN	-.788**	-.777**	-.415	-.858**	-.820**
43MULLN	.824*	.879*	.474	1.0*	.777*
43DELEN	-.792*	-.860**	-.425	-.994**	-.738**
44BARTZ	.582	.606	.110	.765*	.572
44MACRA	-.289	-.269	-.574	.016	-.264
44GOODM	-.256	-.284	.227	-.551	-.264
45TREVI	-.537	-.561	-.067	-.716**	-.530
45ROSE	.564	.597	.066	.775*	.561
5M:MCCL	.940*	.893*	.827*	.777*	1.0*
51DEUSR	-.775**	-.770**	-.464	-.845**	-.818**
56URDY	-.848**	-.844**	-.726**	-.815**	-.893**
LIBERALS	-.398	-.444	.136	-.604	-.384
CONSERVATIVE	.973*	.966*	.801*	.883*	.963*
POPULIST	-.935**	-.946**	-.703**	-.909**	-.952**
NEW RIGHT	.615	.645	.130	.819	.627

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

CHART 14  
Correlation Coefficients Between  
Undetermined Candidates,  
All Candidates,  
and the Four Candidate Types

	41GUERR	44MACRA
2M:MCCL	.588	-.289
21COOKE	.652	-.213
22HIMME	.609	-.245
23MULLN	.593	-.269
23REAM	-.178	.283
24GOODM	.619	-.454
25TREVI	.583	-.435
26SNELL	.546	-.474
4M:BIND	-.212	.292
4M:MCCL	.630	-.574
4M:MCCR	-.464	.251
41GUERR	1.0*	-.807**
41DUKE	-.569	.401
41DEUSR	-.628	.558
42HENNA	-.330	.145
42DUNCN	.331	-.146
43MULLN	-.238	.016
43DELEN	.268	-.048
44BARTZ	-.552	.287
44MACRA	-.807**	1.0*
44GOODM	.822*	-.736**
45TREVI	.574	-.463
45ROSE	-.611	.480
5M:MCCL	.207	-.264
51DEUSR	.311	-.190
56URDY	-.120	.227
LIBERALS	.690	-.586
CONSERVATIVE	.634	-.274
POPULIST	.022	.143
NEW RIGHT	-.586	.358

\* Indicates a positive value greater than .7.

\*\* Indicates a negative value less than .7.

Appendix D:

Contributions and Expenditures of  
Candidates, Committees, and Groups in  
Austin, Texas, City Elections Between  
January 1979 and January 1982.

Source: City Clerk's office, City of Austin. An Asterisk (\*) in the following charts indicates the reports were either missing, or incomplete from the master file at the City Clerk's office when inspected during the late summer of 1982.

BOND ELECTION  
January 20, 1979

Group or Committee	Purpose and Description	Contributions	Expenditures
Energy, Economy, and Employment Committee	in support of nuclear Prop. 14; Frank McBee, Treasurer	\$17,825	\$17,825
Austin Citizens for Sound Fis- cal Management*	Julian Zimmerman, Treasurer	12,730	16,719
Citizens for a Better Austin	supporting bonds; Leslie Gage, Treasurer	24,350	22,203
Austin Citizens for Economical Energy	Defeat of nuclear Prop. 14	12,991	12,871
Austin Police Association	support all bond issues	2,686	2,685
Texas 13 of Travis County	opposing bond election; Taylor Glass, Treasurer	2,500	2,141

CITY COUNCIL ELECTION  
April 7, 1979

Candidate or Group	Notes	Contributions	Expenditures
Carole McClellan	Mayor (79%)	\$37,140	\$35,273
Tom Baker	Mayor (21%)	460	460
Fred Ebner	Place 1 (11%)	190	190
Michael "Max" Nofziger	Place 1 (9%)	880	880
Barry Abels	Place 1 (7%)	741	424
Lee Cooke	Place 1 (74%)	20,614	20,000
Betty Himmelblau	Place 2 (76%)	22,836	17,515
Carl Hicherson -Bull	Place 2 (24%)	193	193
Ron Mullen	Place 3 (70%)	34,443	27,758
Trooper Keeton	Place 3 (8%)	1,818	1,818
Richard John "Rick" Ream*	Place 3 (22%)	3,982	5,000 (estimated)
Richard Goodman	Place 4 (76%)	25,304	21,837
Charles Matheson	Place 4 (13%)	515	515
George Thompson	Place 4 (11%)	3,385	4,010

John Trevino	Place 5 (67%)	7,141	4,150
Richard Shield	Place 5 (33%)	3,310	3,310
Jimmy Snell	Place 6 (68%)	9,958	10,739
Jim Ferris	Place 6 (26%)	837	837
Dave Hamby*	Place 6 (6%)	-	-
Associated General Contractors for Good Government	support all incumbent councilmembers	1,950	1,950
Austin Citizens for Economical Energy*	anti-nuke	27,648	27,777
Committee for Economic Energy	pro-nuke; \$17,124 was returned to contributors in 1980; Frank McBee, Treas.	85,330	68,242
S.E. Travis County Comm.	anti-nuke	25	25
Austin Citizen's League	pro-nuke	495	495

BOND ELECTIONFebruary 23, 1980

Group or Committee	Purpose and Description	Contributions	Expenditures
Zilker Park Posse	opposing water and wastewater revenue bonds (Prop. 9 & 10); support park bond.	\$12,115	\$10,290
Austin Neighborhood Fund	against Prop. 2, 8, 9. 10; Tim Mahoney; Treasurer.	350	285
Friends of Barton Springs	opposing Prop. 9 & 10; Dorothy Richter, Treasurer.	626	626
Citizens for Keeping a Quality Austin	supporting all propositions; John Watson, Treasurer.	30,275	30,091

CITY COUNCIL ELECTIONSApril 4, 1981May 2, 1981

Candidate or Group	Notes	Contributions	Expenditures
Gary Edward Johnson	Mayor (1%)	\$ 10,025	\$ 10,025
Bob Binder	Mayor (38%) (46%)	115,554	116,986
Carole Keeton McCellan	Mayor (36%) (54%)	175,600	209,991
Richard Shield	Mayor (1%)	2,287	4,763
William "Bud" Ashwood	Mayor (0%)	0	205
Jack McCreary	Mayor (26%)	160,101	132,407
-----	-----	-----	-----
Michael "Max" Nofziger	Place 1 (3%)	2,036	2,032
Mike Guerrero	Place 1 (24%)	69,234	67,946
Bob Duke	Place 1 (33%) (39%)	88,989	92,052
Larry Deuser	Place 1 (41%) (61%)	39,438	39,320
-----	-----	-----	-----
Louis Henna	Place 2 (42%)	88,729	82,719
Roger Duncan	Place 2 (59%)	59,825	65,806
-----	-----	-----	-----
Carl Hicherson -Bull	Place 3 (3%)	675	675
Ron Mullen	Place 3 (60%)	47,042	30,419
Marcos DeLeon	Place 3 (33%)	11,770	11,553
-----	-----	-----	-----



Joan Bartz	Place 4 (23%)	14,627	15,638
Rolin Macrae	Place 4 (21%)	11,032	11,206
Richard Goodman	Place 4 (56%)	55,013	64,528
John Trevino	Place 5 (61%)	34,132	31,064
Mark Rose	Place 5 (32%)	21,756	24,598
Henry Palma	Place 5 (7%)	1,018	1,018
Marvin Griffin	Place 6 (20%)	33,168	33,346
Bertha Means	Place 6 (21%) (38%)	44,693	44,977
Charles Urdy	Place 6 (43%) (62%)	64,387	59,522
Randolph Mueller	Place 6 (16%)	2,655	2,664
Committee for Responsible Government	supporting McClellan, Duke, Henna, Mullen, Goodman, Trevino, Griffin.	\$10,943	\$ 8,767
Austin Energy Initiative	supporting Binder, Deuser, Duncan, Deleon, Goodman, Trevino, Urdy; John Worley, Treasurer.	924	829

Joan Bartz	Place 4 (23%)	14,627	15,638
Rolin Macrae	Place 4 (21%)	11,032	11,206
Richard Goodman	Place 4 (56%)	55,013	64,528
John Trevino	Place 5 (61%)	34,132	31,064
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Austin Energy Initiative	supporting Binder, Deuser, Duncan, Deleon, Goodman, Trevino, Urdy; John Worley, Treasurer.	924	829

RATERS (Conrad & Shudde Fath)	supporting Binder, Deuser, Duncan, DeLeon, Goodman, Trevino, Urdy and Means (those who support electric rate proposal #7).	250	1,148
Citizen Party		615	492
United Voters of Austin		3,200	9,275
Austinites for a United Community	supporting McClellan, Guerrero, Henna, Mullen, Goodman, Trevino, Urdy (also \$500 to Mark White).	34,725	31,133
Good Government League	supporting McClellan, Guerrero, Trevino, Urdy; Bill Milburn, Treasurer.	19,305	16,705
Dump Developers /Save Austin	supporting Binder, Deuser, Duncan, DeLeon, MaCrae, Bartz, Means.	486	486
South Austin	supporting McClellan, Henna, Guerrero, Mullen, MaCrae, Rose, Means.	2,874	1,557

BOND ELECTION  
August 29, 1981

Group or Committee	Purpose and Description	Contributions	Expenditures
Citizens for Austin*	support all bond propositions; Bruce Todd, Treasurer.	\$42,100	\$24,362
-----			
Zilker Park Posse*	opposing utility revenue bonds.	-	-

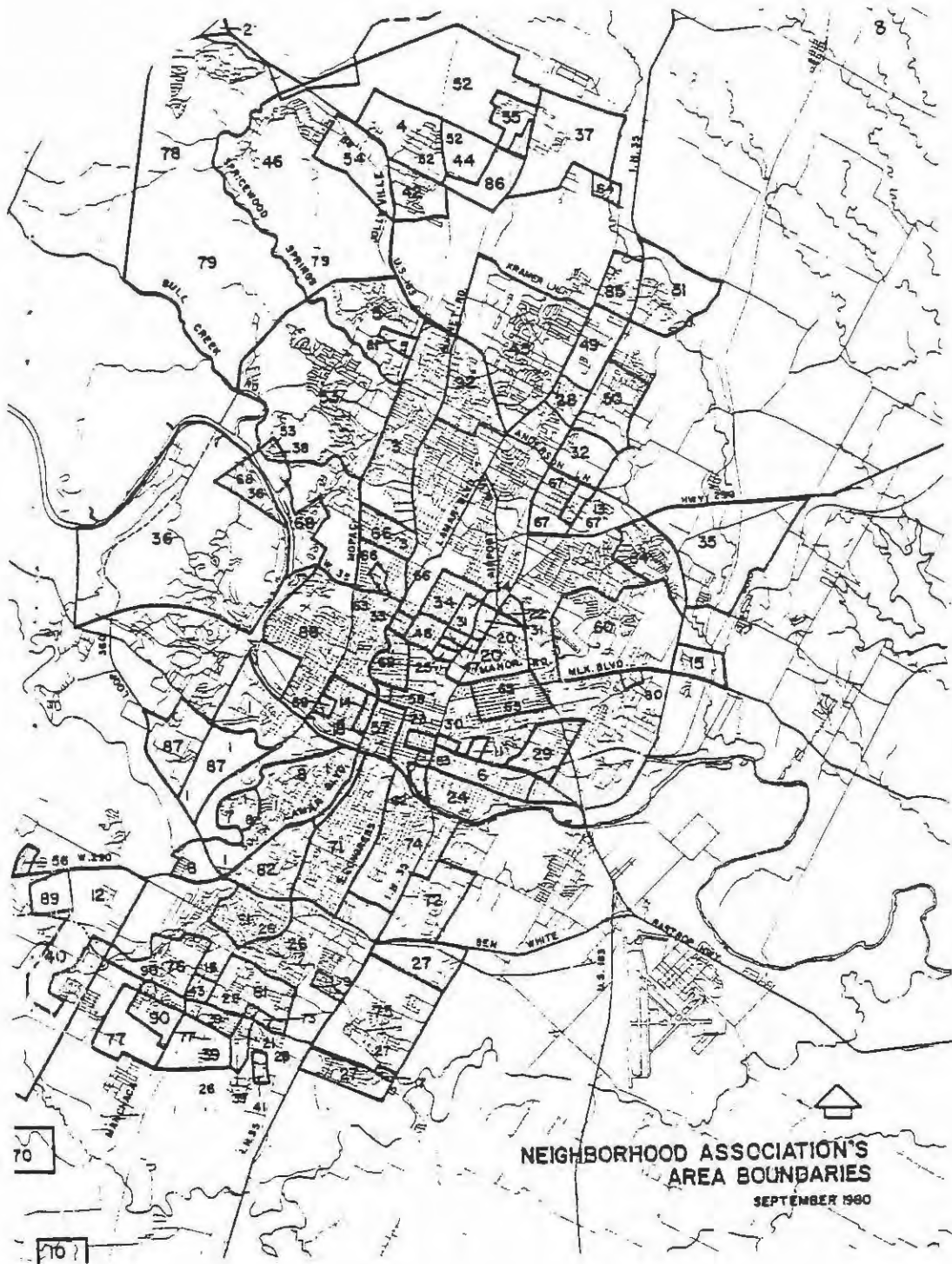
NUCLEAR REFERENDUM  
November 11, 1981

Group or Committee	Purpose and Description	Contributions	Expenditures
Taxpayers for Lower Utility Bills	pro-nuclear; JoAnne Midwikis, Treasurer	\$70,925	\$70,392
-----			
Central Texas Energy Association	anti-nuclear	2,930	2,930
-----			
Austin Chapter of Americans for Energy Independence	pro-nuclear	0	0
-----			
*	anti-nuclear	-	-

FAIR HOUSING REFERENDUMJanuary 16, 1982

Group or Committee	Purpose and Description	Contributions	Expenditures
Campaign to Preserve Liberty	anti-Fair Housing; Larry Bassett, Treasurer	\$10,380	\$10,380
Austin Citizens for Decency	anti-Fair Housing; Larry Bassett, Treasurer	38,762	43,603
Citizens for a United Austin	pro-Fair Housing; Suetta Meserole, Treasurer	64,997	51,634

Appendix E:  
Maps

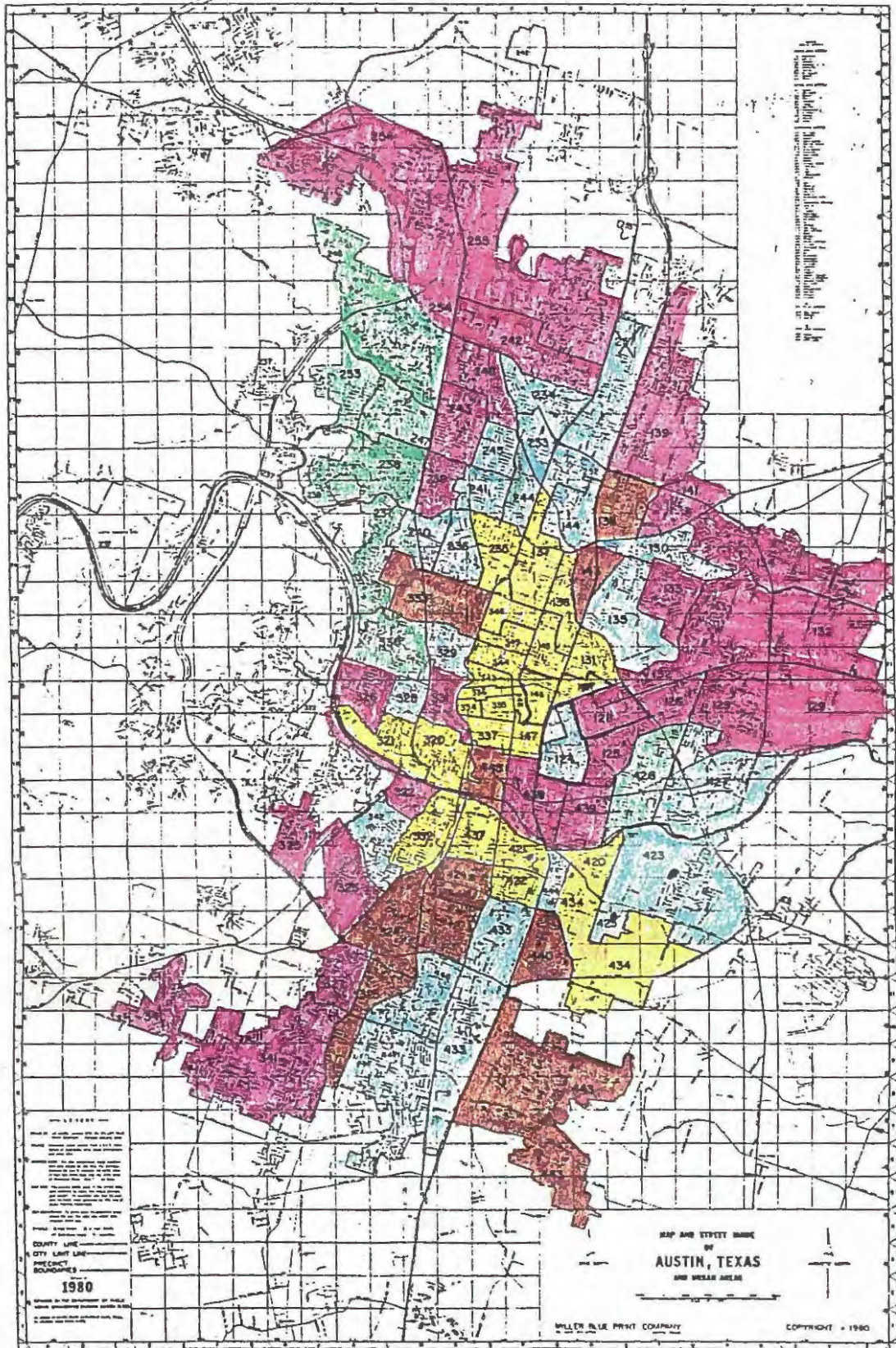


Binder %  
5-2-81



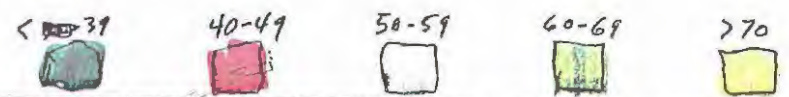
City Total:  
30,808  
45.81%

absentee  
~~35~~  
35.51%





GOODMAN %



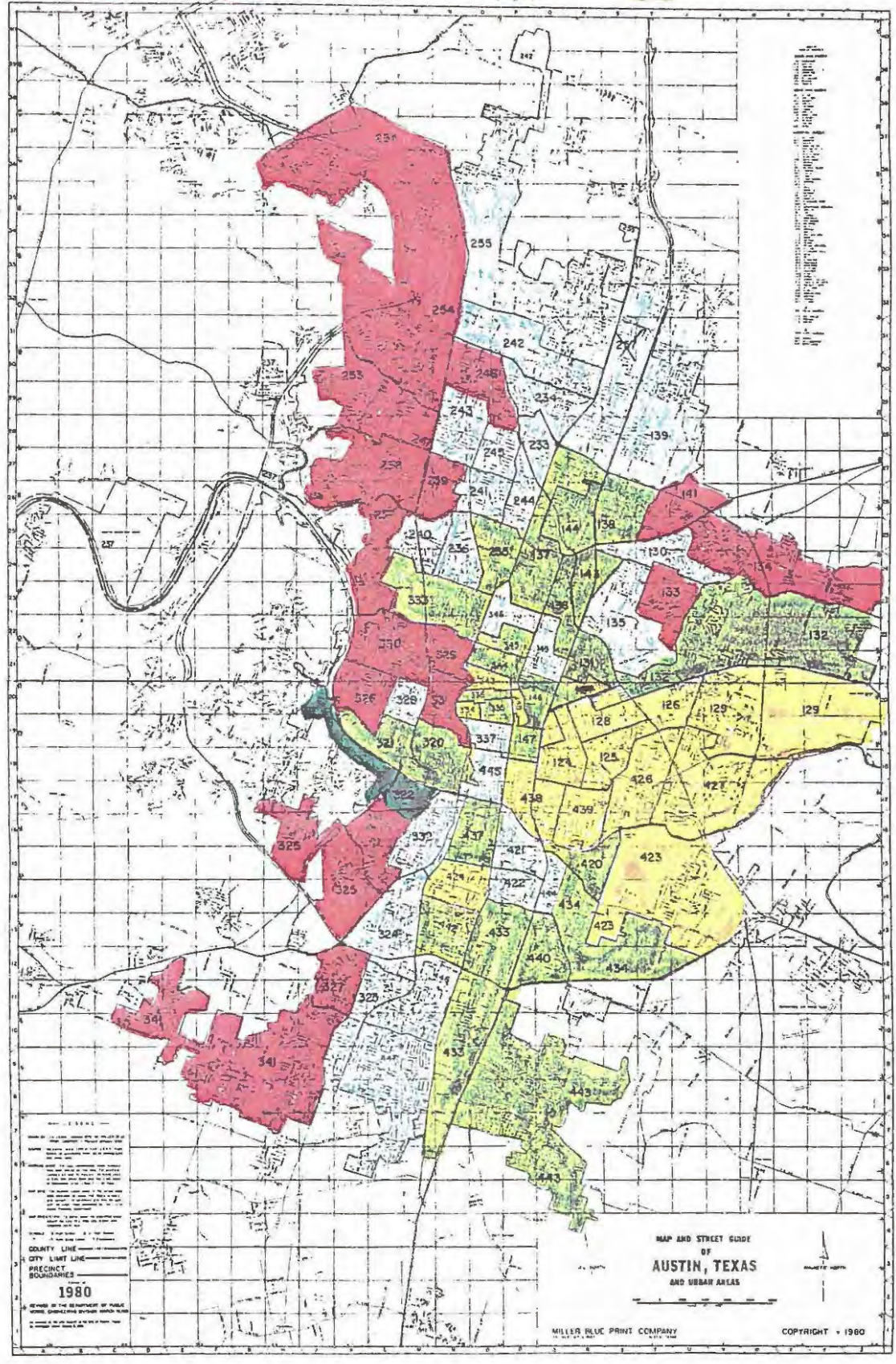
4/4/81

city Total

56.34%

absentee

48.13%



Appendix F:  
Selected Austin Neighborhood Planning Examples

## AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOODS COUNCIL

### *"Strength Through Unity"*

#### GOALS FOR 1980-81

In the next year, the ANC will endeavor to improve the quality of life in the neighborhoods of Austin by supporting and/or working to achieve the following short-term and on-going goals. From time to time new situations will arise which will create the need for additional goals. The membership will vote on such additions.

#### Short-Range Goals:

1. Restore the requirement that a negative vote of the Planning Commission on a zoning change request can only be overturned by a 3/4 or more majority of the City Council.
2. Amend Austin's City Charter (Article X, Sec. 1) to prohibit Planning Commission members to be directly or indirectly connected with the real estate or land development industry.
3. Urge the creation by the City Council of Neighborhood Advisory Zoning Councils to review and recommend on zoning cases prior to Planning Commission action (See Texas Law Article 1011K (1945)).
4. Encourage the development of a master plan for Loop 360 and Mo Pac to include limited access, planned low density zoning, control or elimination of outdoor signs, etc.
5. Work toward responsible ordinances and policies to protect the city's drinking water, watersheds, and environmentally sensitive areas.
6. Actively participate in the formulation of a Master Plan for parks, Master Plans for water, wastewater and electric utilities, and a new zoning ordinance.
7. Amend the Subdivision Ordinance to require in the subdivision process for land to be set aside or money in lieu of land for the subdivision's proportionate share of public sites for parks, greenbelts, schools, libraries, fire, EMS, police stations, etc. (This is legal elsewhere)
8. Work toward a city reporting system that provides accounting information on all city operations in a form that is readily understandable to the citizens and the Council.
9. Assist the City Council in the establishment of a Water/Wastewater Commission.
10. Assist the City Council in the establishment of procedures for the free distribution of city agendas, reports and memoranda to interested citizens.
11. Have the City to request of the U.S. Bureau of Census information on a recognized neighborhood basis in addition to the usual census tracts.
12. Participate in the development of a comprehensive public transportation plan.
13. Explore the possibility of establishment of a procedure for appeal to the City Council of Planning Commission decisions to grant a subdivision.

#### On-Going Goals:

1. Strengthen enforcement and prosecution of zoning violations in the city.
2. Encourage historic preservation as a part of neighborhood protection, revitalization, and preservation.
3. Encourage the Planning Commission and the City Council to adhere to the city's Master Plan and Austin Tomorrow Goals Assembly Report, especially with respect to zoning in neighborhoods, increased traffic through neighborhoods, growth policies, water quality protection, environmental protection, and mass transportation.
4. Encourage neighborhood preservation as an intrinsic part of revitalization in the central Austin area.
5. Oppose spot zoning in neighborhoods and strip zoning along roadways.
6. Eliminate discrimination against tenants and work toward solving neighborhood problems created by absentee landlords.
7. Strengthen police protection in neighborhoods experiencing disruption and crime.
8. Eliminate interim zoning or restore the right of petition to interim zoned land.



PECAN

PRESS

THE HYDE PARK NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

Vol. 8 No. 2

February 1982

## February Meeting

February 1 Shettles Methodist Church 7:00 pm

The February meeting of the HPNA is scheduled for Monday night, Feb. 1st, at 7:00 pm at Shettles Memorial Methodist Church on the corner of Speedway and 40th. Guest speaker at the meeting will be Peter Maxim of the Historic Commission, who will discuss procedures for applying for National Register District status for the neighborhood. If you feel that the neighborhood is a sufficiently special place to merit such special status and the protections it entails, you should find Mr. Maxim's presentation particularly interesting. See you there!

### HYDE PARK PLANS FOR ITSELF

Since last fall Hyde Park has begun a planning cycle which will be completed sometime this summer; Cycle 2 will begin again next fall. The purpose of this article is to explain the remainder of this year's cycle as it was planned at the last meeting of the Neighborhood Association's Planning Committee on January 10. At that meeting Celeste Cronack, Ruth Reeder, Jack Evins, Dorothy Richter, Alton Weiss, and Tim Mahoney also reviewed a Neighborhood Design Manual being designed by the Austin Neighborhood Fund in cooperation with the Hyde Park Neighborhood Association.

Each month until the summer we will systematically discuss issues of importance to each of us, using some powerful tools that exist in our neighborhood. Hyde Park can boast one of the most effective and interesting newsletters of any neighborhood in Austin. Each month we will have an article related to a planning issue like the Crime Watch articles of a few months ago, Jack Evins' article on zoning and land use in this month's Pecan Press, and we plan to have articles on transportation, recreation, recycling, and other cultural issues in the coming months.

Hyde Park will also be sponsoring a series of public planning meetings in conjunction with our regular monthly Association meetings and two other meetings wholly geared toward the neighborhood planning process. On Wednesday, February 10 at 7 pm Pecan Press block coordinators and other interested individuals are invited to attend a "Block Coordinators Planning Session" at the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church (40th and Avenue B). We will finalize the Neighborhood Interest/Issues Survey which will be included in the March newsletter, and review portions of the Neighborhood Design Manual so we can plan for the Block Planning meetings in April. We are negotiating with the Austin Police Department in an attempt to develop as many Crime Watch blocks as comfortable and efficient during the second of our public meetings, the Block Planning Meetings in April. If we cannot comfortably develop "Block" meetings in certain areas - fear not! We will go with two, three, four Block meetings, or whatever we can work up. These Block meetings will be the guts of the neighborhood planning process, and this moment warrants quoting from Jack Evins' article in the January issue of Pecan Press:

This project will likely be the most ambitious and comprehensive undertaking that HPNA has ever initiated, and the success and validity of the project will be dependent on the extent to which area residents and landowners participate in the planning process. If you have never taken part in an HPNA project before, this will be the time to do so. You don't have to be an Association member, and you won't be obligated to participate in any other activities (though we would welcome and encourage you to do both). What you will have the chance to do is to help in the shaping of our neighborhood's future.

And we will need for you to fill out the Interest/Issues Survey in March and get it back to us because it will play an important role in designing the Block meetings. And that brings us to perhaps the most important tool Hyde Park has to work with - your ideas! So we'll be seeing you! For more information just contact anyone on the Planning Committee (whose next meeting is Sunday, February 7th at 2 pm at Ruth and Tom Reeder's at 3506 Avenue D, and whose membership is open to all interested persons) or call Tim Mahoney at 451-2347.

- Tim Mahoney

HYDE PARK NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION  
305 West 38th Street  
Austin, Texas 78705

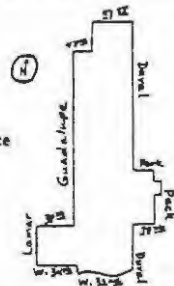
MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT for Year Oct. 1, 1981 - Sept. 30, 1982--NEW or RENEWAL(check one)  
"Regular" Member dues: \$1.00 for singles \$2.00 for couples or families  
"Sustaining" Member dues: \$5.00 for singles \$10.00 for couples or families

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

HYDE PARK RECYCLING PROGRAM TO BEGIN IN FEBRUARY

RECYCLING....

- \* saves landfill space
- \* saves resources
- \* saves energy
- \* makes sense



On Friday, February 5th, you may notice a city-pick-up truck with a trailer attached to it making a stop at your garbage can to pick up your recyclables: the glass, metal and newspapers which you have set aside for separate collections. On that Friday and every Friday thereafter, the city recycling truck will stop at the houses in the designated garbage routes in the Hyde Park area.

Residential recycling collection is not a new idea. It was a widely practiced conservation habit throughout the depression and World War II era, and since the late 60's has experienced a slow, but steady revival in cities across the nation. This source separation recycling program is a first for Austin, and the success of this "recycling experiment" in Hyde Park will have far-reaching effects for the city as a whole. Your individual support and participation are needed.

Response to the Public Works Department's slide show and recycling presentation to the Hyde Park Neighborhood Association on December 7th, was enthusiastic. \* Curbside (or alley) collection is recycling at its most convenient level. Here are the simple rules to follow in preparing your materials for recycling collection:

- \* Rinse out all cans and bottles
- \* Keep clear glass separate from colored glass (green and clear)
- \* Store all metal cans & foil together.
- \* Remove paper labels from all cans
- \* Bundle or box newspaper (no magazines)

The recycling storage system you set up will be individual to your own kitchen, utility room or garage space available. With once a week pick-up you won't have the problem of storing large quantities of recyclables. You may choose to set out glass one week metals the next and paper the next; or you may choose to set out separate bags or boxes of each item each week. (Remember, clear glass must be kept separate from colored glass.)

Since any future expansion of this program will be based on the results of the participation rates in the designated garbage collection routes, it is important that the results be accurate. Therefore, we ask that only those residents of the households in the designated areas set out their recyclables for the weekly pick-up.

Please call Beth Brown at 477-6511, ext. 2640, if you have any questions.

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# Z NEWS



THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME

THE ZILKER NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION

Vol. 1 No. 1

November, 1982

## NOVEMBER MEETING

Larry Deuser will be our guest. He will speak with us about the importance of continued neighborhood involvement in city government.

We will be electing our officers this month. The officers we vote on are: President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer.

November 8

Kinney Avenue Baptist Church

7 P.M.

## HALLOWE'EN IN ZILKER NEIGHBORHOOD

The best part of our neighborhood organization has been making friends of neighbors. Last year we had done enough of that so that many of us felt it was safe to go out in the neighborhood again, and we had lots of trick-or-treaters.

In the interest of another safe and fun Hallowe'en, here are a few suggestions: Since Hallowe'en is on a Sunday night this year, all parents should limit Trick-or-Treat from 5:00 to 7:30 p.m. All children should be off the street by 7:30 p.m., and householders should not have to answer their doors after that time.

Everyone who wants to receive trick-or-treaters should turn on their porch lights between 5:00 and 7:30 p.m. Those people who do not want trick-or-treaters should keep their lights off during these hours. Parents should explain to children that they should knock only at houses with the porch lights on.

by Cicily Simms on Kinney Avenue

## LET'S MAKE A NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN OUR HIGHEST PRIORITY

I think most of us will readily acknowledge the futility of having to fight brush fire after brush fire in the coming years without some kind of coherent neighborhood plan to refer back to. The way it stands now, we're constantly on the defensive, having to react separately to each developer's project or imminent local "emergency." We'd serve our own cause as a neighborhood association much more effectively if we had a cogent statement about who we are and what we want to be already prepared to hand to anyone who was even *thinking* about something that would impact our neighborhood.

Realistically, it's tough to expect volunteers to sit down and prepare such a document. That's why I'd like to propose that we make it very clear to the new slate of officers we'll soon be electing that we expect them to assign "highest priority" status to the creation of a neighborhood plan. Then, if we have to allocate some of our treasury funds to a person or persons who will sit down and actually prepare that document, let's do it. I can't think of a better use of our dues, and I think we'll get a more useful plan if we're willing to pay for it, even if the fee isn't exactly princely. The writer(s) may be a neighborhood resident or an outside consultant already familiar with the mechanics of preparing such a plan. Either way, once we've got a draft, we can review and refine it *en masse* at our regular neighborhood meetings. But we need a place to start. Let's get on with it!

by John Crosby on Kinney Avenue

## AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL

AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCIL, comprised of representatives from neighborhood associations in the Austin area, meets once a month on the 4th Monday at the Howson Branch Library Meeting Room at 7:30 p.m. Visitors are always welcome. The September agenda included the following:

♦The nominating committee's nominations of the following 7 people to serve on the 7-seat ANC Board to be voted on in October: Smoot Carl-Mitchell, Patty Griswold, Wayne Granquist, Josephine Huntley, Arvid Larson, Ena Lippert, and Marilyn Simpson.

♦A presentation by Jackie Jacobson concerning the necessity of passing a strong Industrial Waste Water Ordinance. Public hearing concerning the IWWO are to be continued through early October. ANC voted to set up a task force to lobby for stronger controls on this ordinance.

♦The New Zoning Ordinance recommendations have been completed by the Planning Commission. The ANC voted to appoint a committee to review the recommendations, strengthen weaknesses and lobby for its passage.

♦Bob Mather's presentation of his future vision of "Sustainable Austin" featuring a gradual reduction and leveling off of the growth rate by the year 2000, a compact city by infilling beside and inside the neighborhoods with the active participation of the residents of those neighborhoods.

♦Travis County Budget Public Hearings are being held in September and October at Commissioners Court, second floor, Courthouse Annex. The tentative schedule for Revenue Sharing (second hearing), Public Hearing on Elected Official's Salaries and Final Amendment to Filed Budget and County Budget Approval is for October 29. To check date and time, call 473-9165.

by Glenna Balch on Kinney Avenue

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VOTER REGISTRATION

Along with the Christmas cards, the ads, and the bills, did you receive a voter registration form? If so, this card needs to be returned to Tax Assessor-Collector Bill Aleshire to insure that you will be able to vote in the election this spring.

Due to an error made by the previous administration of the county tax office, almost 100,000 voter registration applications were destroyed. State law requires these applications to be on file to verify voter identity.

Even though all voters on the current poll list will be allowed to vote in the January Fair Housing Ordinance election, the registration cards must be on file to qualify for later elections such as school board, state primary, bond and local referendum which are scheduled for this spring and summer.

If you are confused or unsure about your registration, call the Voter Registration Office at 473-9473 NOW; be sure you can vote later.

PLANNING FOR HYDE PARK'S TOMORROW

Most of us, reflecting upon the various changes that have occurred in Hyde Park over the past few years, have wondered, What will the neighborhood be like several years from now? Very likely, we all have some ideas as to what Hyde Park should become...or remain. And fortunately, we shall soon have the opportunity to put these ideas into action. The Hyde Park Neighborhood Association is sponsoring a Neighborhood Planning process to help us all better to understand the pressures Hyde Park will face, to articulate the neighborhood's preferred responses to those pressures, and to develop the tools whereby the neighborhood can enhance and protect itself.

This project will likely be the most ambitious and comprehensive undertaking that HPNA has even initiated, and the success and validity of the project will be dependent on the extent to which area residents and landowners participate in the planning process. If you have never taken part in an HPNA project before, this will be the time to do so. You don't have to be an Association member, and you won't be obligated to participate in any other activities (though we would welcome and encourage you to do both). What you will have the change to do is to help in the shaping of our neighborhood's future.

Here's how it will work. In a couple of months, you will receive a questionnaire with your Pecan Press designed to solicit your opinions on various topics such as land use and housing, transportation, cultural and recreational opportunities, education, health and sanitation, and other city services. We'll ask you to turn in your completed questionnaire to a neighbor/planner in your immediate area. Later, we hope to sponsor small meetings scattered all around the neighborhood in which persons on your block can get together and identify Hyde Park's most pressing problems and the most promising solutions to those problems, as well as determine the values in the neighborhood which are most worthy of preservation.

Then we'll all get together at a general neighborhood meeting or two and put together the input from the block meetings. From this information a Neighborhood Plan will be developed which will define where Hyde Park is in terms of its quality of life, and where it hopes to be going. More specifically, the Plan will lay out definite programs and timetables to focus our activities towards making the future of Hyde Park what we would like it to be. Finally, the Plan will be flexible, allowing for adaptation to changing circumstances and shifts in our perception of what the "good life" for Hyde Park is all about. Implicit in this feature of the Plan is the fact that we will be able to measure our progress, over time, towards attainment of our selected objectives.

In the long run, Hyde Park's Neighborhood Plan may come to have importance extending beyond the boundaries of the neighborhood. We could file our Plan with the City, putting our elected officials and city departments on notice as to what values Hyde Park is seeking to maintain, enhance, or develop. The Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive (aka Master) Plan refers to such neighborhood plans as guidelines for municipal policies and actions in these areas. Also, if the proposed new zoning ordinance is adopted, we could easily press for the establishment here of a Neighborhood Conservation Combining District, which would give us a legal mechanism to deal with land-use and building standards issues and problems. Moreover, the Plan itself and the process by which it will be developed will be an educational experience for all those who participate, as well as for developers, city officials, and others whose decisions might impact Hyde Park.

So, get ready! You will receive regular updates and schedules of meetings in subsequent newsletters. Our future is in our hands, provided we reach for it. Planning for Hyde Park's future will be fun, it will be interesting, and it will be critically important for our neighborhood and all of its residents.

- Jack Evins

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#### PLANNING FOR HYDE PARK'S TOMORROW: LAND-USE & ZONING

Perhaps the single greatest issue affecting the future of our neighborhood is that of land-use; that is, for what purpose will property owners use their properties. In some cities, such as Houston, one can essentially put any sort of use on any property. A residential neighborhood has no guarantee that a neighbor will not put a bar or gas station in next door. Most other cities, including Austin, exercise a "police power" granted by the legislature called "zoning."

A city's zoning ordinance establishes different "use districts" for the properties within its city limits. Typically, only certain uses can appear in the various districts. In Austin, some districts only allow single-family residences on the properties; others allow these as well as, say, apartments and offices; yet other districts might permit all of these, and commercial and industrial uses as well. Obviously the particular "use districts" appearing in a neighborhood can be critical to the environment therein. Zoning districts will impact the population density and traffic volume, the height and floorspace of buildings, or the presence of conflicting uses, such as schools or churches being near massage parlors or pool halls.

Another important factor in land-use in Austin is the Building Code. This Code prescribes the standards for construction of different types of buildings - residences, apartments, businesses, schools, etc. This governs everything from the distance a building must be "set back" from its property lines to the type of electrical wiring to be used. Restrictive covenants and deed restrictions are other means of controlling land-use. The first is usually entered into by the property owner and the City, where the owner agrees to additional restrictions. Often, whole subdivisions will share the same deed restrictions, which pass down to each new property owner with the deed; most Hyde Park deeds contain a deed restriction forbidding the sale of alcoholic beverages on the property.

There are a number of problems with the operation of these land-use controls. One deals with buildings that existed before the current ordinances came into effect. The Zoning Ordinance, for example, is over 40 years old. Many buildings already standing were zoned for more- or less-intense uses than they already had. An example in Hyde Park can be found along Duval and Speedway, where most properties are zoned to accommodate apartments, although many of them still have only single-family or duplex residences on them. Clearly, this leads to some uncertainty as to the future character of these and nearby properties.

Another problem is that of the "zoning change," where a property changes its "use district" classification. Some-

times, the change is a "roll-back," where the new district is more restrictive than the old one. This could remedy situations like the current "over-zoning" on Duval and Speedway just described. More often, a zoning change is proposed for a less restrictive classification, allowing more intense uses. This is the kind of change most often reported in the Pecan Press, usually where a property owner wants to establish apartments or a business where only a single-family or duplex residence was previously allowed. Opposing neighboring land-owners can sometimes block these proposals by filing a petition, which would require 6 of the 7 City Council members to vote for the change to pass it. Austin also has a "historic" zoning district for notable landmarks. This is an "overlay" district which, in addition to the original restrictions of the "base district," also restricts unapproved alterations to the exteriors of the historic properties. The lot owners are eligible for a partial property tax exemption in return for submitting to these extra restrictions. About a dozen properties in Hyde Park are now zoned "historic," but many more are likely candidates, and perhaps a substantial part of the neighborhood could apply as a single historic district.

Presently, Austin is in the process of considering the adoption of a new zoning ordinance. Some of the more important changes include the merging of certain building standards such as landscaping and set-back requirements with the height and area limits within the various use districts. This will eliminate the need of having to check both the Zoning Ordinance and the Building Code to determine allowable "site development regulations." Also, the permitted uses are spelled out for each district without having to refer to other districts, as is now the case.

In addition, the new ordinance provides for a Neighborhood Conservation Combining District, intended for older neighborhoods. Such districts would allow residents to develop a Neighborhood Conservation Plan, which would establish specific design criteria for new development to help preserve the character of the neighborhood.

This, of course, is where we come in. We will be considering land-use problems early on, in our neighborhood planning efforts (see Tim Mahoney's article elsewhere in this issue). All of us should spend some time thinking about Hyde Park's current land-uses. What do or don't you like? What changes in land-use do you see occurring, and are they positive or negative? What sort of balance in land-uses would you like to see in Hyde Park? More restaurants, less apartments, more retail shops, less gas stations? As we begin our planning sessions, we will want to answer these questions and also decide how we can achieve the mix of land-uses we would prefer.

- Jack Evins



Appendix G:  
Austin's Neighborhood Design Manual

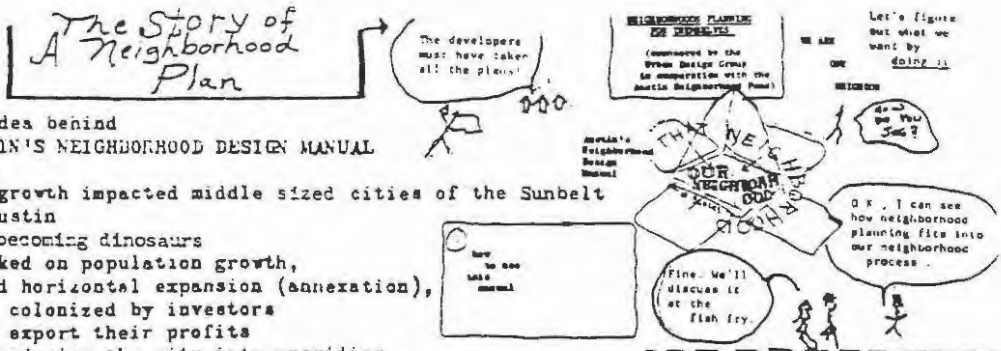
This sheet tells the purpose and organization of the proposed AUSTIN'S NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGN MANUAL

# The Story of A Neighborhood Plan

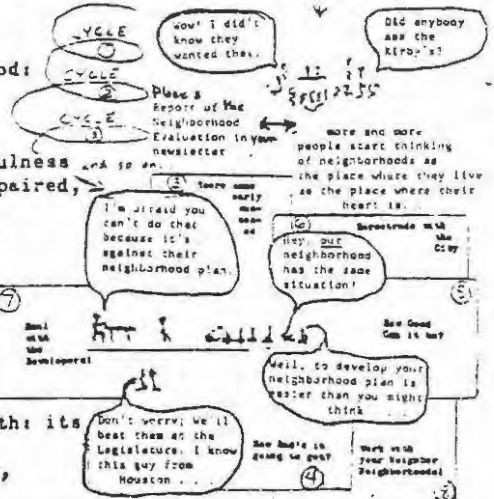
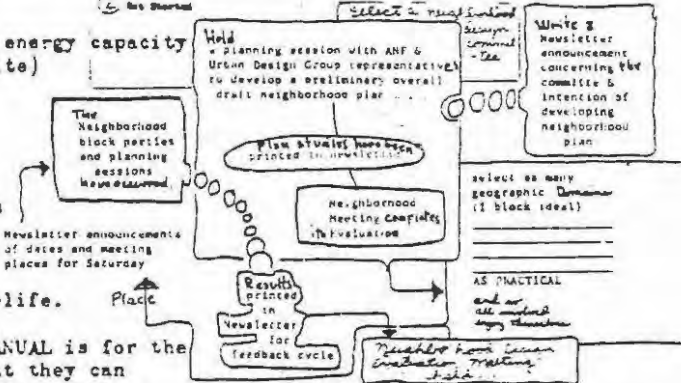
The idea behind AUSTIN'S NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGN MANUAL is that growth impacted middle sized cities of the Sunbelt like Austin are becoming dinosaurs hooked on population growth, and horizontal expansion (annexation), being colonized by investors who export their profits while seducing the city into providing services and utilities that drive taxes up, the quality of services down, and create an employment pecking order (good jobs to the outsiders, dead end jobs to the insiders), and a steadily declining quality-of-life, while souping up the city with lots and lots of extra energy capacity (nuclear, coal and lignite) which, paying for, has the effect of keeping us hooked on population growth and annexation and colonization-by-investors who drive taxes up and services down and crater our-quality-of-life.

So AUSTIN'S NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGN MANUAL is for the neighborhoods who realize that they can break the city out of this vicious cycle by designing their space to do more with less for more people, creating a micro economy within the neighborhood: food, energy and recovered resources, information, understanding, support, trust and mutual aid, multiply jobs, enterprises and niches-of-usefulness for all kinds of people, old young and impaired, learning to change as the world changes, and by anticipating, direct that change.

The MANUAL is a tool by which to understand Austin's growth trajectory (be it half, once or twice doubling or all-of-the-above at different times), and its implications for your neighborhood (how bad it'll get, how good you can make it), by wisely allocating your neighborhoods wealth: its it's space and time, its access to money, power and influence, its information and human energy to horsetrade with the city, to deal with developers, aid to work with your neighbor neighborhoods to make the right things happen in the right way at the right time in the right places so your children's children will want the city-you-give for their children-to-give, and so on.



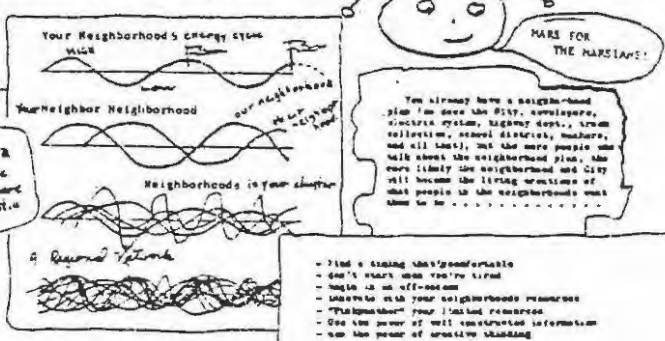
- GENERATE A LIST OF THINGS AND TASKS SUCH AS:**
1. Form a Neighborhood organization
  2. Develop a neighborhood plan
  3. Strengthen neighborhood plan or
  4. Modify the neighborhood plan
  5. Have a party
  6. Compare to other neighborhoods plans
  7. Cooperate and share experience with other neighborhoods



THE PLACE YOU LIVE IS AS important or probably more important than anywhere, any place, and you can only get respect for your place -- if you respect other's places.



**I deas**  
from you



# THE CITY OF AUSTIN

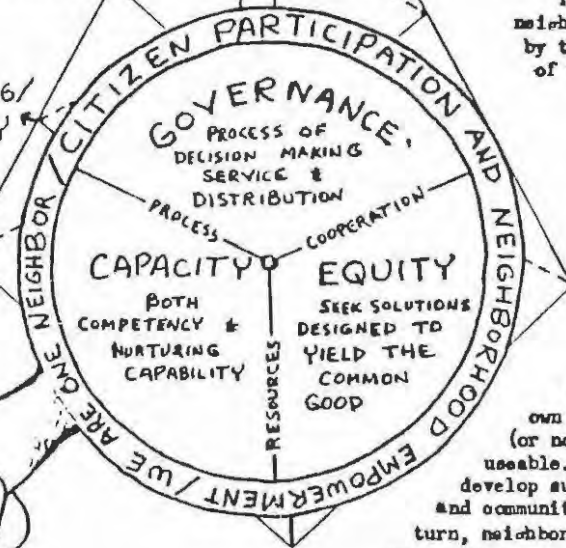
one last section  
for further details

CITY COUNCIL

CITY BOARDS & COMMISSIONS

(Yet to come)  
NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING/  
ZONING/ENERGY ADVISORY  
COUNCILS

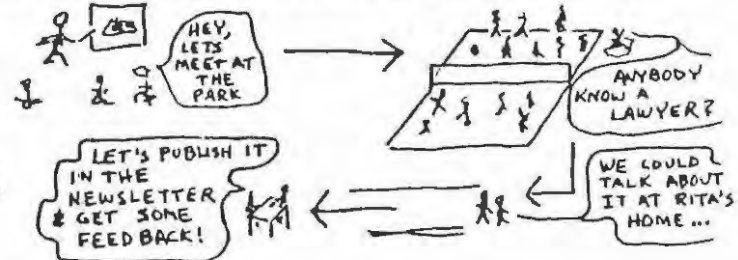
NEIGHBORHOODS/  
POPULATION BASE



## THE WHY OF NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING

The structure of community and governmental Trust must be built on solid and real foundations. Neighborhood Planning puts us in better positions as negotiators because first of all we know what we want and what the neighborhood wants to become, and second, we are better able to provide alternatives when others present plans designed to circumvent our neighborhood plan.

Through the process of designing the neighborhood plan, neighbors must be ever conscious of the resources naturally provided by the neighborhood. The discovery of these resources will be one of the most important aspects of your neighborhood planning.

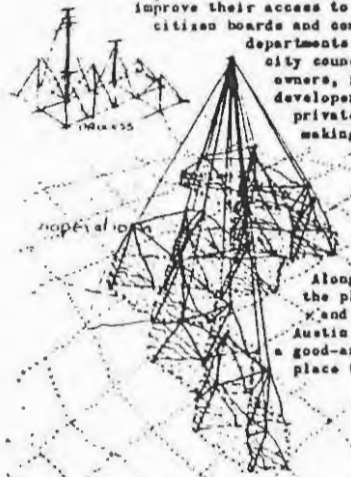


To win in the 80's neighborhoods need to have in-pocket their own workable solutions and designs for neighborhood development (or not development) which are credible, fundable, buildable, and useable. Neighborhood encourages environments which bond people together, develop support systems, and form a personal basis for living. Human and community resources are the natural resources of the neighborhood; in turn, neighborhoods are the natural resources of the City, each with its unique blend of skills, talents, and physical features. As neighborhoods have unique combinations of capacity-building resources, so each has a unique combination of needs. Equity demands that we approach solutions without bias, seeking a common good. Skills and financial resources must be marshalled among us to wisely harness the natural, physical, and human resources in every neighborhood.

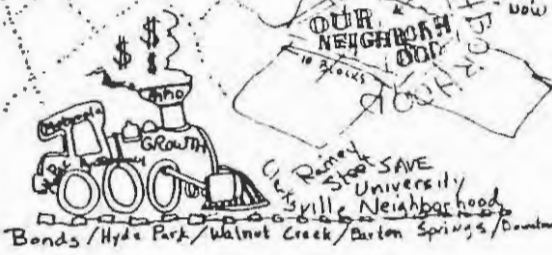
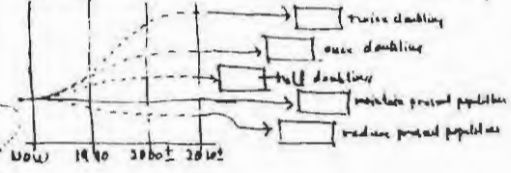
CONTIGUOUS  
NEIGHBORHOODS  
COORDINATE  
THEIR  
DESIGNS  
AND PLANS  
TO FORM  
"NEIGHBORHOOD  
CLUSTERS"

and so  
PRESENT A  
SOLID FRONT  
TO THE CITY  
AND TO  
INVADING DEVELOPERS.

The sketch suggests that during 81-82 the planning, designing, prospectus writing neighborhoods who use this manual can knit themselves into clusters and so improve their access to citizen boards and commissions, departments and the city council as well as owners, investors and developers of the private sector, making victimizing, open ended growth politically unfeasible and directing growth to fill in the city in a non victimizing sustainable, life-enhancing pattern.



Along about 2010 the place ought to be finished, and between now and then Austin will be a good-and-getting-better place to live.

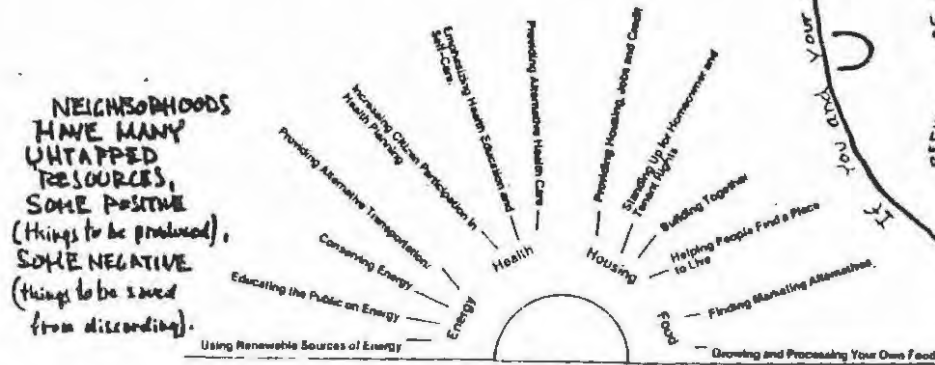


Ideas  
from you

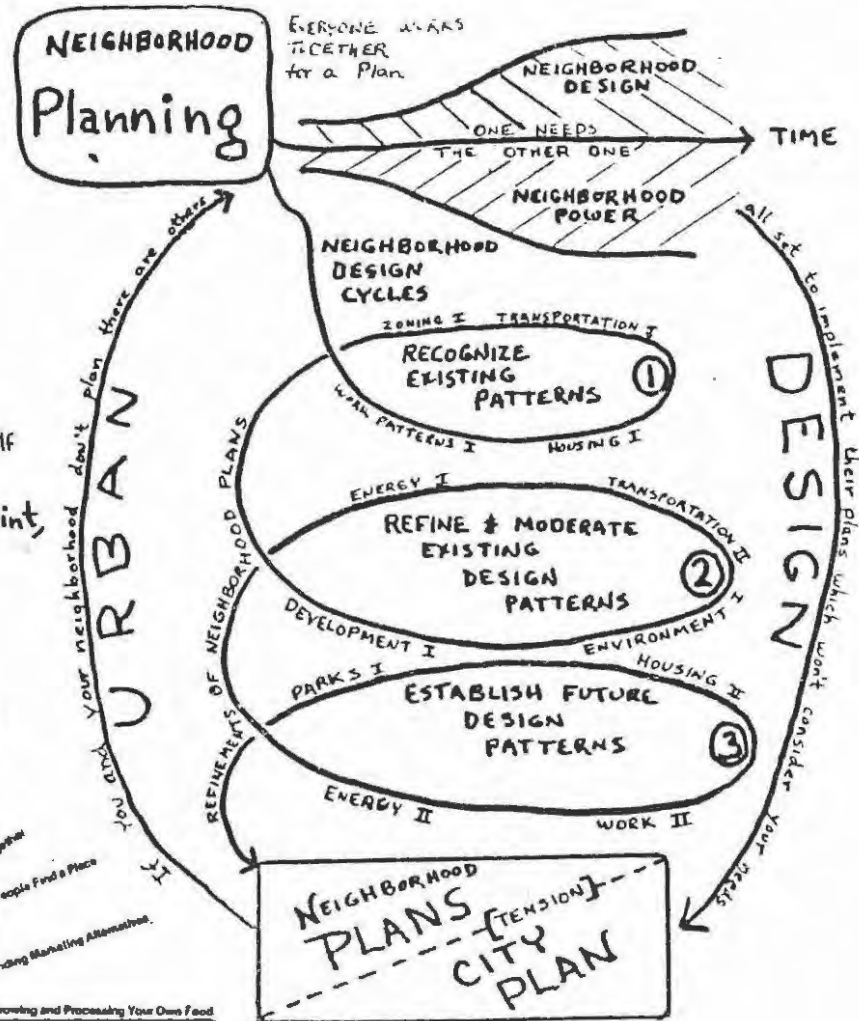
Issues are starting points to be assimilated over time into the neighborhood's design and further modified as the neighborhoods plans have more Power.

Push any Issue through any number of cycles (and the 9 design modes — see page 2 of this section) and a lot of useful information drops out and the issue itself can be re-written at a deeper level.

These re-written issues form a new Starting Point, and so it goes — Issues, Solutions, Insights & Tools emerging together.



YOUR FUTURE IS ON THE HORIZON!



THE INTENTIONS AND SCOPE OF DESIGN GROW WITH INTERACTION AND INVOLVEMENT OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND OTHER FORCES


**QUIET BLOCKS**

AS NEIGHBORHOODS ARE CALLED UPON TO ABSORB THE GROWTH OF AUSTIN, THEY WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE THEIR OWN CHOICES ABOUT THE DENSITY THEY WISH TO ACHIEVE. THE AVERAGE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD WOULD BE CONSIDERED TO BE COMPOSED OF QUIET BLOCKS. THE NEXT LEVEL OF DENSITY THAT WOULD ALLOW AN INCREASE IN DWELLING...

**ACTIVE BLOCKS**

THE NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTER, THESE NEIGHBORHOODS WOULD HAVE ACTIVE BLOCKS. THE THIRD LEVEL TO BE CHOSEN WOULD BE AT A DENSITY THAT WOULD CHANGE THE...

**QUIET BLOCKS**

(CONT) UNITS PER ACRE (LIKE RE MODELING A GARAGE INTO A GARAGE APARTMENT) BUT THESE WOULD NOT BE VISIBLY NOTICEABLE CHANGES OR ALTER THE NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTER, THESE NEIGHBORHOODS WOULD HAVE ACTIVE BLOCKS. THE THIRD LEVEL TO BE CHOSEN WOULD BE AT A DENSITY THAT WOULD CHANGE THE...

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**BOIST BLOCKS**

NEIGHBORHOODS APPEARANCE, THIS TYPE WOULD BE MADE UP OF BOIST BLOCKS. THESE QUIET, ACTIVE AND BOIST BLOCKS CAN BE COMBINED IN ANY FASHION SO AS TO CREATE A DIVERSE AND RESPONSIVE CITY SCAPE. EACH OF THESE THREE PHASES IS COMPOSED OF QUIET, ACTIVE AND BOIST BLOCKS, RESPECTIVELY. CUT OUT ANY COMBINATION OF BLOCKS AND ARRANGE THEM SO THEY RESEMBLE YOUR IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD.

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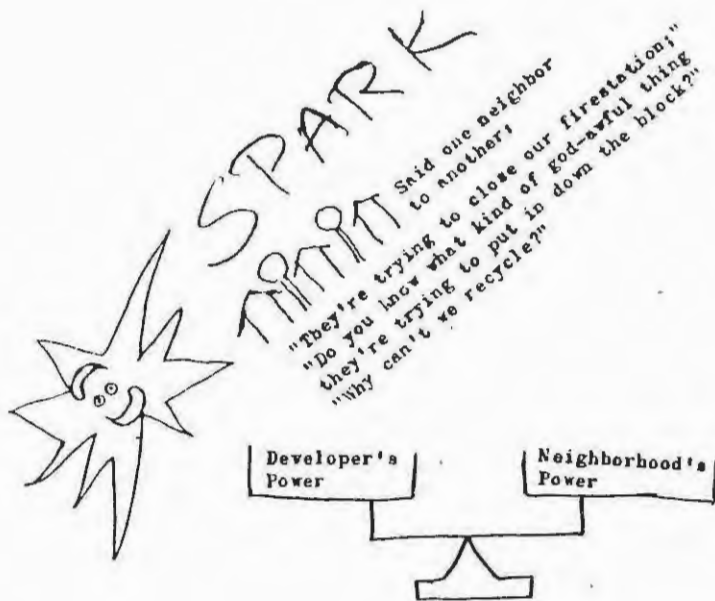
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The planning process in your neighborhood depends on the specific resources in your neighborhood fabric as they can be woven into design described by this manual; start with an overall view that can be taken down to one block units or three block units or to the smallest practical units

(See Back of the Manual)

Not all questions or proposals can be developed in one cycle of planning; be more concerned about keeping the neighborhood planning process entertaining, exciting and dancing!



# PROCESS

INTER & INTRA DYNAMICS

- BLOCK GROUPS PROPOSALS
- GROUP BLOCK COORDINATION
- NEIGHBORHOOD COORDINATION
- NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN
- MULTI NEIGHBORHOOD COORDINATION
- MULTI NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN
- NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING UNITS

There's power in information.  
There's power in the information that your neighborhood constructs about its future.

Specifically, there's power in:

- 1: essays of problem and purpose;
- 2: time schedules for your well-working neighborhood;
- 3: lists of what physical things (separate lists of what organizational things) your well-working neighborhood needs;
- 4: maps and plans, sections and elevations, cartoons and illustrations;
- 5: critical path charts of how to get from now to then;
- 6: performance targets in sentence format: things-to-be-achieved, and things-to-be-avoided;
- 7: situational maps and change plots: the shape of the system when its changed to support your neighborhood's design/plan/prospectus;
- 8: tests and evaluations to tell you if you're getting what you want, and want what you're getting;
- 9: insights, ideas, concepts, symbols, models, metaphors, analogies and so on.

YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD DESIGN WILL BE CONSTRUCTED ON ALL NINE OF THE ABOVE KINDS OF INFORMATION

IS THE PROCESS FOR THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN DESIGNED TO INVOLVE AS MANY PEOPLE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD AS POSSIBLE?  
IF NEIGHBORS CAN BECOME ONE WITH THE PLAN. THE NEIGHBORHOOD WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO UTILIZE THE POWER OF CONSENSUS!

SEE NEXT PAGE

# Beware of Vicious Cycles...

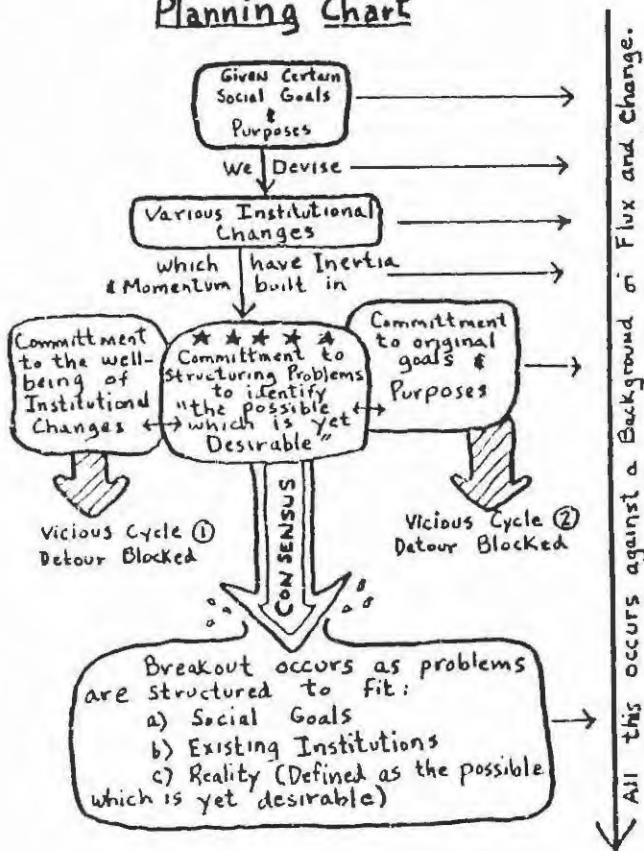
↗ Vicious Cycle ①

IF REPRESENTATION IS "whatever representatives do when you watch them," then nothing they do can fail to be representation. To define representation ideally, on the other hand, to concentrate on its virtue or essence to the exclusion of institutions, is likely to mean abandoning all hope of its practical implementation.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMING REPRESENTATION must find itself through the development of community experience, understanding, and -- ultimately -- power. → Breakout to the Power of CONSENSUS!

↘ Vicious Cycle ②

## Planning Chart



DO	DON'T
Get all your assumptions and issues "on the table".	Come to easy, early agreements. Compete or argue.
Get everyone to participate, and listen to everyone's input	Vote (though "straw votes" are o.k.)
Look at disagreements as opportunities to get new points of view	Compete or argue strongly for extreme positions
Consider all the alternatives before jumping to a solution	Make "executive decisions" if you can avoid it
Decide the criteria for a good solution before discussing alternative solutions.	Talk about solutions until everyone agrees on the problem
Use problem solving techniques like Force Field Analysis	Allow the group to attack one person's ideas
Get all the data you can on the issue	Be negative
Make sure all people to be affected by the decision help make the decision	Discourage divergent points of view

CONSENSUS BUILDING: DO'S AND DON'T'S

You have achieved CONSENSUS DECISION when all members of your group support the decision though it may not be exactly what each of them wants. Consensus decisions are better than decisions arrived at through voting or executive order because everyone supports them -- "buys into" the decision. This makes implementation much easier. The above chart contains some "do's and don'ts" for volunteer leaders working for consensus decisions . . . . .



**NEXT MEETING:** The next meeting of ONSA will be held at the Dottie Jordan Service Center on Wednesday, November 23. Please plan to attend and bring a notebook. The meeting will begin at 7:30 p.m. This meeting will have a full agenda and we will have to start on time to finish by 9:00 p.m.

**CITIZEN WILL BE INVOLVED:** Our neighboring homeowners association has not a big battle against the City and the Housing Authority. They were successful in stopping the attempt to bring Section 8 housing into their area. We will discuss the actions taken at our next meeting.

**QUESTIONS AT OCTOBER MEETING:** Mr. Gorman will be one of the guest speakers at the October meeting. He will be discussing what the city is planning to do in an area as a result of the Bay Flood. We will have another guest speaker at the meeting to discuss neighborhood planning. The following insert contains some of the topics to be discussed.

**CREATING A NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN**

During the November meeting members of the Urban Design Group (consisting of a few, but selected, University of Illinois graduate students in the Urban Design & Planning Department) will be presenting a proposal for a Neighborhood Plan. The draft document and summary sheets will be available during the presentation. The Urban Design Group, through the presentation, hopes to improve the organizational structure of the Urban Design Group, and the Urban Design Group plan to provide some further technical and organizational assistance early next year to the first neighborhood organizations which might be interested in developing their own neighborhood plan.

**THE NEXT MEETING:** The next meeting will be held on Wednesday, November 23, at the Dottie Jordan Service Center. The meeting will begin at 7:30 p.m. and will last until 9:00 p.m. The agenda for the meeting will include a presentation by Mr. Gorman, a presentation by Mr. Gorman, and a presentation by Mr. Gorman.

**NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN FOR AUSTIN**

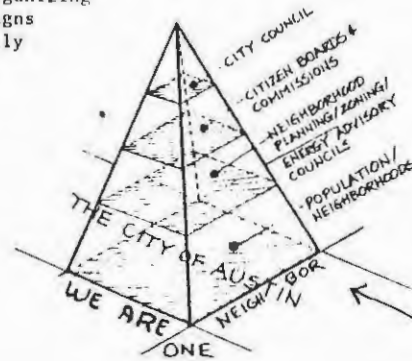
**IDEAS**

# THROUGH NEIGHBORHOOD-CLUSTER PLANNING WE CAN MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE ALREADY EXISTING

neighborhood networks. By further organizing our experiences and refining our designs we can more comfortably and competently find solutions for problems behind problems.

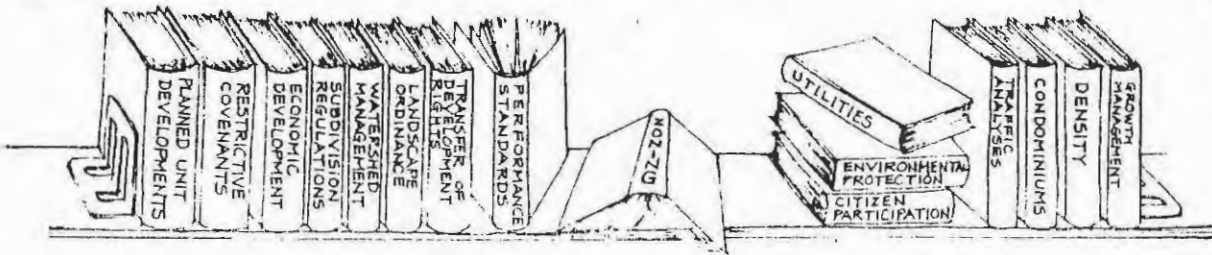
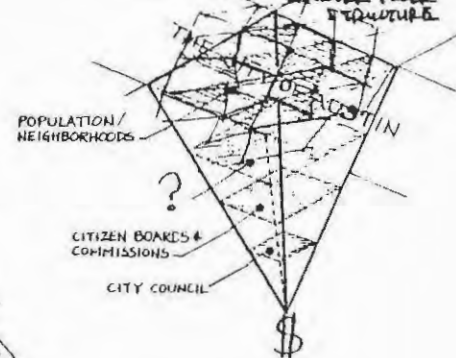
**RESPONSIBILITY** demands that neighbor reaches out to neighbor to find a balance between the leaders and followers in each of us.

**COOPERATION** will make it possible for the responsibility each of us shares to develop public and private policy in the neighborhood-population base and not with the "\$" sign.



A strong neighborhood base can offset the influences of special interest dollars and pressures, which enter the pyramid at the upper levels. Whether the power of the pyramid is determined top-down or bottom-up depends on the ability of the neighborhoods to counter those pressures.

TURNING THE PYRAMID UPSIDE DOWN WILL DEMONSTRATE THE NEIGHBORHOOD'S BREAKING OUT OF AN INSTITUTIONALIZED POWER STRUCTURE TO CREATE A NETWORK POWER STRUCTURE.



Appendix H:  
Selected Examples of the  
Austin Neighborhood Newswatch

if the watershed develops to urban (sewered) density. The Manager's recommendation is \$210,000 for engineering in 79-80 and \$1,900,000 for construction in 80-81. Total: \$2,110,000.

The Council is holding a final public hearing on the CIP Sept. 13th. Usually the CIP process is finished by the end of August. Voter approval will be necessary to fund the entire water and waste water CIP, which contains some needed projects. The election will probably be held around December. Inclusion of the above projects among others, especially the South Austin Outfall, will tend to discourage passage of the entire bond issue.

For more information, call Diane DeBois at 477-5293.

#### The Save Barton Creek Association Hides Again

Best known as the Zilker Park Posse, this coalition was formed in response to accelerated plans for urban development in the Barton Creek Watershed and the rapid growth in the scenic hill country of Southwest Austin. This development places intense pressure on the ecology and environment of Barton Creek and poses a threat to Barton Springs through the Edwards Aquifer recharge zones in the creek. The water quality already has been affected by the extensive site clearing done for the extension of MoPac South to Loop 360 and the Barton Creek shopping mall.

It is essential, even critical, for development controls and regulation to be instituted by the City Council as soon as possible. The members of the Zilker Park Posse are also interested in expediting the City's acquisition of greenbelt land along the Barton Creek Watershed, using funds voted for that purpose by the citizens of Austin in the 1975 bond election. They are also prepared to help promote passage of additional bond issues to complete the job.

To focus public attention on Barton Creek and its environs and to stress the need to preserve the creek for all Austinites, the Posse is planning a series of events beginning with the "Urban Runoff," a hike down Barton Creek on Sunday, September 23rd. There will also be a "Save Barton Creek" rally at the Zilker Hillside Theater. If you should care to participate and/or volunteer for the day, call Claudette Lova at 477-3651. If you would like to join the Zilker Park Posse, call Betty Brown at 444-5239 or Connie Moore at 443-0941 or 477-3651.

"Save Barton Creek" T-shirts are for sale at five locations: Kerby Lane Galleries (3706 Kerby Lane); the St. Charles (E. 6th St.); A Good Shop (Pecan Square, 1200 W. 6th St.); Whole Earth Provision Co. (2410 San Antonio); and Folk Toy (809 Rio Grande).

#### Who Wins with the Central Appraisal District?

Property taxpayers stand on the brink of witnessing one of the most important changes to occur in property tax administration since Texas became a state. Unlike many of the changes the last legislature ordered for the rest of us, the coming county-wide central appraisal district may actually be good for neighborhood people.

First a few words about formulas and numbers: the property tax bill you received in the past went through a number of steps, some needless and confusing, before the respective taxing authority figured out the amount you owed. Most of the important steps were effectively hidden from public view (Indeed renters, who pay their landlords property tax, never even see the bill!).

When a particular property is put on the tax rolls, a property appraiser should be sent out to determine the "market value" of the property (what a willing buyer would give a willing seller). The property owner has the opportunity to contest the "market value" determined by the tax office before a board of equalization-- a very difficult task unless the taxpayer can find some obvious mathematical error used in the value determination. It is, for instance, difficult to prove that one piece of class of property is valued at a higher or lower than other property, which is usually the case. The tax assessor's value is usually lower than the true "market value" and studies in Texas have shown that in most cases, the higher the value of the property, the greater the distance between the appraised value and the actual market value. In other words, the more you have, the less you proportionally pay, which if it could be proven is illegal.

The local governmental authority, like the city council for the City of Austin, determines both an assessment ratio and the tax rate to be applied in a formula with the appraised value. For the City of Austin and the Austin school district the assessment ratio is currently 75%. The ratio seems to have little purpose except to further confuse the already perplexed taxpayer. Coinciding with the arrival of the central appraisal district, the legislature mandated that the assessment ratio be 100% of the appraised value, thus making more clear the relationship between the property value, the tax rate, and the property tax bill.

With the central appraisal district all of the almost 20 different taxing authorities in Travis County will work together to determine property values, but the final tax rate will still be determined by the separate jurisdictions for their constituents. It will be the primary task of the central appraisal district board to make sure that there is a fair and uniform relationship between appraised values and market values.

"We found an absence of racial polarization," a federal official told the American Statesman. "There can be no dilution if there is no bloc voting."  
 The Daily Texan was the only newspaper that ran an article on the reaction to the Justice Department decision. A NAACP official was quoted as saying: "We will appeal the decision. Annexation makes it difficult for blacks to win in city-wide elections. Single-member districts are the only way to have someone responsible for the black community."  
 Single-member districts might be the only way to have someone responsible for the neighborhoods. Councilmember Richard Goodman, who favors single-member districts, said "Individuals who don't want single member districts have sought to (racially) balance the council."

#### October 6th City Issues and Process Conference

An Issues Conference of various city topics has been tentatively set for Oct. 6th. Scheduled topics and speakers include the following: Transportation/ Brian Goodley; Electric/ Larry Deuser, Ray Reese; Water-Waste Water/ Dianne DeBois; Economic Development/ Panel; Downtown Revitalization/ Coalition for a Vital Revitalization; Health and Social Services/ Diana Cuccinno; General Finance/ Barbara Gilley; P.U. dies and Structures/ Roger Duncan; and last but not least, Neighborhoods Marilyn Simpson.  
 The large auditorium has been reserved at the downtown Main Library and a donation of \$1 is requested for printing costs. For more information, call Barbara Gilley at 442-4823.

#### Woodburn House to be up-rooted

Members of the Hyde Park Neighborhood Association voted 47-1 at their August meeting against the relocation of the historically-zoned Woodburn House from 40th and Ave. G to 4401 Ave. D.

George Boutwell, the lone dissenter, told the association that arrangements were almost being made for him so a "compromise" could be worked out in the public view. Boutwell spoke of his fears that if something was not done to protect the house, within six months the main structure would be damaged beyond repair. No one at the association's August meeting doubted that that was the intention of the Woodburn House's present owner, the Hyde Park Baptist Church.

However, the Association hoped to hold out in the hope that instead of being moved to Ave. B, the structure might yet be moved one lot over, land which is also owned by the Hyde Park Baptist Church. Then the church could still have its continuous parking lot, though admittedly one lot shorter. Sadly, glory was yet to have its day.

On August 13th at the hearing before the Historic Landmark Commission, more than a few witnesses were surprised when two "disturbing precedents" were set during the course of the evening. Not only did the commission vote to relocate a historically-zoned structure, Councilmember Richard Goodman before the commission urging the relocation. One city worker told Donalevan Maines of the Citizen that "council members have attended commission meetings before, but none has ever testified."

Commission member Betty Phillips, one of the two who voted against the relocation, said the precedent could hurt the neighborhood's chances to retain its historic designation. The Hyde Park Baptist Church has been successful in removing 23 houses from the neighborhood, according to the Citizen.

#### Shorts

Nominate some individual or group for outstanding energy conservation achievements. Send recommendations to: Energy Conservation Commission, P.O. Box 1088, Austin. The award will be presented in October.... Consumer Union, publishers of Consumer Reports, opened up a office in Austin earlier this year. Address: 500 W. 13th St., 78701.... Call 472-4113 and have a librarian play a three to seven minute "Telemed" tape that will help answer health and safety questions....Scholz Garden, a watering-hole since 1867, was included in the National Register of Historic Places last month in celebration of a long life...The long awaited series on growth issues is scheduled to start about September 23rd in the American Statesman....There's a good story in the current issue of Texas Monthly on the Barton Creek story...."Father Joe" Znotas of St. Julia Church died last month after a long illness. Father Joe enabled many to believe they could make a difference, and it might be proper to remember a few of his words: "It takes a lot to move a mountain but, stone by stone and with great hope and patience, we will."

\*\*\*\*\*  
 Yes! I would like to participate in the Austin Neighborhood Fund. Here's \$4 for a year's subscription for the Neighborhood News Summary. (Also, here's another \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help towards our long- and short-term goals.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Austin Neighborhood Fund  
 4400 Avenue D  
 Austin, Texas 78751

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

350

Volume I, Number III

A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service

October, 1979

## Convention Center: Take III

While the American City proposal for downtown "revitalization" was being chewed up during the citizen review process, the American City plan for a downtown convention center made an end about run avoiding citizen comment (except for that done by a Convention Center Task Force) and was approved by the City Council in late September as a part of the Capital Improvements Program.

Instead of developing a model energy district for an over-all downtown plan, the Council seems committed to getting some of the American City approach before the voters in the form of a new convention center (\$11.3 million), 2,300-car parking garage (\$6 million) and renovation of existing facilities (\$1.3 million).

The American City consultant's report cost the city only \$5,000, which is probably one of the cheapest jobs the Rouse Company subsidiary has done for Austin.

NewsWatch's consultant with the Coalition for a Vital Revitalization explains that the proposed parking garage is not only inefficient (as parking garages go) in that it will have only two levels, in order to build the garage at the location sug-

gested the City would have to relocate its new \$100,000-plus auditorium sign.

The uncertainty of the national economy and the convention market raise enough questions about the rationale of building a new convention center. There are also other questions, like how does the proposed parking garage fit into overall transportation plan, how does the City's proposed 1,000 car parking garage in the immediate downtown area complement the proposed auditorium structure, and how does this convention plan differ from the two previous plans the voters have rejected this decade?

The convention center's funding would probably be through a combination of general obligation and revenue bonds. We'll have to wait until the City decides what and when it wants to move on the convention center before other facts and intentions about the plan can be reported. The Austin Chamber of Commerce and other groups have indicated that they are going to expend energy supporting the plan, so it is something neighborhood people should be very concerned about.

## It's Our Month!

October has been declared Neighborhood Association Month by the Austin Neighborhood Council. To kick off the month of various activities, Oct. 1-7 was proclaimed Neighborhood Association Week by the Austin City Council on Sept. 20.

A workshop on neighborhood associations will be held from 2 to 5 p.m. Oct. 13 at the central Austin Public Library, 800 Guadalupe St. The workshop is sponsored by the Austin Neighborhood Council.

Workshop information will include how to write bylaws, establish a simple bookkeeping system, getting recognized by the City and finding information.

To registrar, send \$2 to cover printing costs with your name, address and phone number to Marilyn Simpson, 2307 Mimosa, 78745. For more information call 442-3411.

The Austin Neighborhood Council, which meets the fourth Wednesday of each month at the Howson Branch Library (2500 Exposition Blvd. in central West Austin), is a non-profit association of about 40 to 45 active and viable neighborhood associations with average membership of about 175 individuals.

## Water & Slush

The Sierra Club reported to the City Council in mid-September that a "multi-million-dollar slush fund has been created by gross overbudgeting in City water and wastewater funding."

The club report cites an April memo from Water and Wastewater Director Curtis Jonsson which, "provides some insights into what happens" with certain budget procedures, according to an Austin Citizen article.

"The memo documents reallocations of funds from one category which has surplus funds to another project where there is an overrun. The monies from these undesignated categories become huge slush funds in effect," reports the club.

The group recommends closer monitoring of the funds as well as the creation of a water and wastewater commission to oversee the department.

"The use of these undesignated funds creates a clear danger that water and wastewater services can be extended while circumventing the public review and planning process," according to the report.

(See SLUSH page 6)

October 1979, The Austin Neighborhood NewsWatch, Page 2

## CIP's in; Bond timing uncertain

In the waning week of September the City Council approved the five-year Capital Improvements Program with a number of important projects under consideration for a bond election next year.

Timing is a big concern here, with the dominant theory over at City Hall being "let's wait as long as we possibly can." On the day the Council approved the CIP (they added \$10 million to the staff proposal -- setting up a five-year price tag of \$590 million), Mayor Carole McClellan said it was likely there would be a water and wastewater bond election this year.

But upon closer reflection, it seems the Council wants to delay as long as they can before putting any new bond issues before the public. There is a strong feeling that City voters will not cotton to three bond elections in the same calendar year.

In the first week of October several councilmembers retreated from an early bond election, telling the Austin Citizen time is running out to publicize a 1979 election.

"The biggest chunk of Austin's bonding went to finance the South Texas Nuclear Project. In a heated April 7 bond election, the City narrowly approved \$215.9 million in STNP bonds," wrote Laura Tuma of the Citizen.

The Mayor and Councilmembers Betty Himmelslauf, Ron Mullen and Jimmy Snell have all taken a stand favoring a postponed bond election.

The City will have some trouble selling some parts of the next bond package, hoping it can garner broad-based citizen support, since the Council effectively minimized broad-based citizen input during the CIP and City budget development.

Although the Council did follow Councilmember Cooke's suggestion to kill the proposal to build and fund the \$2.1 million South Austin Outfall a waste-water main opposed by groups like the Sierra Club and the Timber Fosse, they kept a lot of pork in the barrel. Water and waste water stack up to \$46 and \$31 respectively.

As the American Statesman put it, the CIP "proposes dozens of construction projects during the next five years, ranging from a \$100,000 extension of the hike-and-otke trail from 29th Street to 45th Street to a \$15.5 million civic center."

Major parts of the five-year CIP include:

- \$254.7 million for electric service (does not include most recent STNP overruns).
- \$85.2 million for water service.
- \$64.7 million for wastewater projects.
- \$64.8 million for public works.
- \$28.3 million for the municipal auditorium.
- \$16.2 million for Brackenridge Hospital.
- \$28.6 million for parks and recreation.
- \$11.6 million for aviation.

## Who's the Leader

The cranes at the Austin Chamber of Commerce know that the early bird gets the worm.

To help the right birds get the worm, the Chamber is hosting "Leadership Austin," a program designed to seek out the best and the brightest in the City and prepare them to decide public and private policy.

The Chamber's Leadership Austin Committee, headed by long-time business biggie Bill Youngblood, has selected 40 neophytes from the 115 Austinites nominated by Chamber and business leaders.

Similar programs in other cities led to the situation here. According to Youngblood these programs work. He says statistics show their "graduates" move up to positions on public and private boards and that they are victors in the business world. Leadership tuition runs \$200. One estimate has it that only four of the trainees will get scholarships.

The eight day-long sessions kick off October 16, and continue on the third Tuesday of each month through May.

Considering the contacts that the trainees will make, some wonder if any will look for worms in the City Council elections in 1981.

## Heat's on NPC

Following John Paul Jones' example when he exclaimed, "I have not yet begun to fight," South Austinites working against trench burners have initiated Round Two of their fight to keep NPC Realty from operating two of these dangerous and polluting devices within 500 feet of any residence in Travis County.

A suit filed in 201st District Court against NPC and the Texas Air Quality Control Board specifies three basic areas of dispute:

■ Trench burners were incorrectly declared to be incinerators by the hearing examiner and should be defined as a method of outdoor burning.

■ Trench burners should not be granted mobile permits since the pit is the source of pollution and the pit can not be moved. A mobile permit allows the whole burning operation to be moved without notifying property owners.

■ Trench burners violate the Texas Clean Air Act.

No hearing date has been set.

The City Council has been asked several times to ban trench burners within the City limits. Councilmember Richard Goodman has started work on the ordinance, and action has been promised some time this month.

October 1975 The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, Page 3

## Bookmobiles gone

# BUDGET BLUES

The City of Austin's budget process visibly strained most of those who took an active interest, and especially the Council members. The Council had the responsibility to determine the nature and fate of the city manager's \$351 million "bare-bones" budget.

At one point in mid-September, City Manager Dan Davidson refused to make any more recommended cuts in the budget and left the remaining decisions in the Council's lap.

In the end the Council approved cuts and increases in many of the wrong areas of the budget.

As with many problems that exist in the circles of government, blame is hard to pin-point. Nevertheless, two problem areas can be pointed out: 1) the city manager controls the budget process. The Council members just do not have enough time in September to understand properly budget priorities and accuracy; 2) the Council approved a staff decision to charge neighborhood people for copies of city documents such as the budget, capital improvements program and the Barton Creek study.

The price charged by the City is many times the cost of reproduction. For banker backed groups like the Austin Citizen League, charging for such documents may not pose much of a burden, but for financially-strapped neighborhood groups, the Council's approval of the staff decision was a death-blow to public participation in the budget process.

The Council decided to maintain the present level of property taxation with one hand and increased the transfer from the electric utility fund with the other. The utility transfer is a revenue source that hits hardest those least able to pay on a vital service. The utility increase will also weaken the bargaining position of the Travis County delegation during the next legislative session. The Legislature has become increasingly concerned about its high Austin utility bill, and as Austin's largest utility customer, may be able to registrar its dissification more noticeably than many of Austin's already hard-hit consumers.

"A tax on a basic necessity like utilities is the worst possible kind of tax for the low- and moderate-income people who make up most of the majority of our city's population," Jack Jackson of ACORN told the Council in early September.

In the last week of the month the Council reduced the city manager's budget by \$3.4 million (1% of the original budget), including \$2.7 million from the general oper-

ating budget and \$1.1 million from the electric, water and wastewater budgets. Although a 1% percent revenue increase in the water and wastewater budgets was approved, the increase in electric revenue was limited to a 2.2 percent instead of the 3.3 percent recommended by the city staff. Try to compute that savings in your monthly heating bill this winter.

Police, fire, emergency medical services and Brackenridge Hospital were relatively untouched by the budget cuts, while some departments received significant council vetoes, including:

■ Libraries, \$400,000 (10% of the total cut). The central library will postpone opening its third floor for the second year; children's services were cut; all bookmobile services were eliminated; and branch library hours have been reduced by two hours.

■ Employee merit pay, \$500,000. The Council recommended tighter standards in awarding merit raises, although City Manager Dan Davidson was awarded a 5 percent merit raise that, with a cost-of-living raise, gives him a \$60,000-plus annual salary.

■ Staff automobiles, \$110,000. Rather than provide city vehicles for transportation, the council voted to pay employees car allowances, thereby allowing employees to pick up maintenance and depreciation costs.

■ Public Works, \$400,000. The city staff will submit a list of specific cuts.

■ Parks and recreation, \$373,000. Custodial positions and golf course maintenance equipment were cut.

■ Paramount Theatre, \$100,000. Would have paid for new lighting.

■ Engineering, \$134,000. Installation of a computer mapping system consolidating various city services in the planning and wastewater departments will be delayed.

■ Employee travel fund, \$125,000 cut from the \$460,000 processed for city employees' travel expenses.

Council members surprised few when they voted to give themselves a \$4,300 per year raise, from \$12,000 to \$16,300 annually, their first since 1975.

The mayor's salary was increased to 18,300.

Council member Ron Mullen, who voted against both proposals, told a Citizen Reporter earlier, "when I got elected, I knew what the pay was. I wasn't drafted. I took the job because I wanted to. It would be unfair for us to vote pay raises. Besides \$12,000 is pretty good pay for a part-time job."

October 1979, The Austin Neighborhood Newsmatch, Page 5

## City trying to control STNP costs

In September the South Texas Nuclear Project confronted Austin citizens with another \$400 million overrun. The City's 16 percent share in the nuke project shot from \$321.1 million to at least \$384 million.

Even R. S. Hancock, Austin's own Electric Utility Director, predicts more overruns, and that STNP's completion date is now set for February 1984 -- a full 18 months past the last scheduled date.

Electric utility system capital costs are tied to the increasing use of utility bills as a source of tax revenue and have driven up the cost of the City's bonded indebtedness. Next year's funds transfer from utility income to the general fund (a de facto tax) will total almost \$25 million. Austin's debts have shot up to the point that pro-growth columnist Wray Wendell of the Austin Citizen comments, "This is where the scary part comes in: that sum, an expert source says, is either at or near the limit which Eastern bond buyers will tolerate if we're to keep our present excellent bond rating..."

Appalled by the latest in a series of STNP cost booms, Mayor Carole McAllellan demanded the project be audited by its public and private participants. Austin's auditing cost was delicately woven into the 1979-1980 budget the Council adopted last month.

The mayor also asked that STNP's management committee be changed from a rubber stamp operation into a real part of management. In August, the mayor was barred from a meeting in which the management committee heard information on the latest cost hike.

Roger Duncan of the Austin Citizens for Economical Energy contends that Houston Lighting and Power officials probably anticipated the most recent overrun, but hid the information from Austin officials until after the April 7 STNP bond election.

As a result of the January and April nuke bond elections, the City plunged into an additional \$88 million indebtedness in mid-September. Excluding interest, \$47 million was for utility bonds to cover \$700 million in STNP overruns announced last year.

Although it is not exactly clear what the Council intends to do with the audit, the idea seems to be that Austin will take a leadership role in the effort. All STNP participants are to share the cost, so the City would underwrite 16 percent. Apparently joking about the audit's cost, the Mayor said, "If there are any cost overruns, we'll bill (the other partners)," according to the Citizen.

City Manager Dan Davidson estimates the audit cost will run into several hundred thousands of dollars.

In what appears to be a pro-nuke rationalism of that tax burden, The American Statesman editorialized that "the moves might not be guaranteed to

hold costs down, but they should help insure against any more surprises and reassure the tax payers that their money isn't being wasted."

## COUNCIL SETS SAME TAX RATE

The City Council made much ado about whether they would have to increase the property tax rate this past month, a concern the Mayor strategically carried to the press. In the end, the Council did not raise the property tax -- but they did hike almost every other source of revenue the City has.

In early September the City Tax Office sent out revaluation notices to owners of recently improved properties, newly-annexed properties and who filed lower rendered values before last April.

Next summer will mark the start of Austin's two-year revaluation cycle, which with inflation and rising property values could increase 1981 tax bills dramatically. Increases are certain, how high, fair and uniform they will be remains to be seen.

The publicity game for property taxes began the first week of September when the Council had to vote whether to place an ad in local newspapers regarding whether they wanted an option to increase the tax rate by three percent or more. The council decided to buy the ad by a 4 to 3 margin. The City staff originally recommended a hike from 95 cents to \$1.06 per \$100 assessed valuation, which is 75 percent of the current market price.

September 13 and 14 various newspapers ran full-page ads. Half of the page depicted a "possible" tax increase required by a new state law. The rest of the page contained the City's explanation of what the other half meant.

The City's ad said "the public hearing for Sept. 20, 1979 at 6:00 p.m. affords you an opportunity to address the City Council on any proposed tax rate. The City Council will not decide what the tax rate will be until its public meeting of Sept. 27, 1979."

The Austin Citizens League did a good lobby job asking for no property tax increase -- and they can also take a lion's share of the credit for the huge jump in utility bills



October 1979, The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, Page 2

October 18: Big Night at City Council

As published in the Austin Neighborhood Council Newsletter, here is the night's agenda:

6:45 p.m. .... Transit Fare Increases  
7:00 ..... Septic Tank Ordinance Amendment.  
8:00 ..... Capital Cable Co. contract extensions/modifications  
8:30 ..... Request for cable TV franchise east of I-35.  
..... Home Occupations Ordinance  
9:00 ..... Use of Sandy Beach Reserve parkland for hotel parking

Texas State Health Coalition  
(organizational meeting)  
November 10

The Austin Chapter will have an organizational meeting Nov. 10 from 1-4 p.m. at the Austin Main Library (300 Guadalupe) in the fourth floor auditorium.

The TSHC believes that people have the right and the responsibility to become informed in order to make decisions for themselves in relation to their own health needs.

For more information, contact Mary Walker, Texas Rural Health Care Field Services, U.T. Nursing School, 1700 Red River, Austin 78705.

COUNCIL IGNORES AND BUDGET REQUESTS

During this year's budget process, the Austin Neighborhoods Council (ANC) made three requests of the City Council: 1) reinstate the Planning Dept.'s request for three additional staff positions, and capital funding for a subdivision unit which was created by the council last year-- but not funded.

2) provide inexpensive "citizen copies" of city documents which are issued at public hearings. 3) reinstate funding for boomobile services.

All three requests were ignored.

The most disastrous cut made in the budget pertains to the Planning Dept. The recent American Statesman series on growth in Austin directs our attention to the fact that Austin is growing very rapidly with no apparent planning. In the past few years the workload of the Planning Dept. has doubled but the size of the staff has not increased.

In recent years the Planning Dept. has not been able to provide sufficient study time for growth related issues. Subdivision plans, zoning change requests, etc. have not been scrutinized and have been routinely passed.

It was hoped that this year the dept. could "catch up."

A modest request was made by the ANC: one planner for zoning, one drafter, and one artist to prepare material for the Planning Commission, staff reports and various studies. Capital funding (\$2,300) was also requested for a subdivision unit which was established by the City Council last year, but never funded.

All of these request were denied and \$27,598 was slashed from the budget. It seems incredibly strange that the Council on one hand advocates controlling growth, while on the other hand it keeps the department charged with that responsibility weak and overworked.

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
4400 Avenue D  
Austin, Texas 78751

Dear Friends of the Neighborhoods:

The monthly meeting of the Fund occurs every third Monday evening at 7:30 at the Austin Main Library (300 Guadalupe) in Conference Room A on the fourth floor. Meeting dates for the next two months: October 15 and November 19.

If this is the first time you've run across the Austin Neighborhood Fund, here's a few words about our goals:

To many of us it has become increasingly clear in the last several years of accelerated growth that Austin city government has been, and is to an expanding degree, serving the interests of a small elite at the expense of Austin citizens.

The Austin Neighborhood Fund stands for a process of city planning and policy-making in which neighborhoods, minority groups, citizen organizations, employee associations, local business people and other will have: 1) real powers in the policy and planning process, and 2) ready access to the information and tools necessary for informed decision-making.

We stand for a growth rate for Austin which: 1) serves the interests of the general citizenry; 2) protects neighborhood integrity; 3) protects our environment; and 4) does not require of citizens skyrocketing taxes, utility bills and housing costs in order to subsidize speculation and profiteering by a few development interests.

One more point: Join your neighborhood organization. Get involved. You can make a difference.

October 1978 The Austin Neighborhood Newsletter, Page 3

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
4400 Avenue D  
Austin, Texas 78751

Dear Friend of the Neighborhoods:

This is an offer for you to become a participant in the Austin Neighborhood Fund by subscribing to the Newswatch, a monthly fact-filled cooperative news summary of city events and trends of importance to neighborhood people. And who are neighborhood people? They are individuals throughout Austin with a vision who believe in participatory democracy; individuals who believe that through a decentralized decision-making process people in the neighborhoods can make the proper decisions for their welfare and quality of life.

It has become increasingly clear in the last several years of accelerated growth that Austin city government has been, and is to an expanding degree, serving the interests of a small elite at the expense of Austin citizens.

The Austin Neighborhood Fund stands for a process of city planning and policy-making in which neighborhoods, minority groups, citizen organizations, employee associations, local business people and others will have: 1) real powers in the policy and planning process, and 2) ready access to the information and tools necessary for informed decision-making.

We stand for a growth rate for Austin which:

- serves the interests of the general citizenry;
- protects neighborhood integrity;
- protects our environment;
- does not require of citizens skyrocketing taxes, utility bills and housing costs in order to subsidize speculation and profiteering by a few development interests.

But more than anything else, we hope the Austin Neighborhood Fund stands for the good news of people working together within their neighborhoods and throughout Austin to make our city a better place to live.

For the neighborhood movement to succeed with its message of participatory democracy, we must have the commitment of individuals, and for a \$4.00 subscription to Newswatch, you can help get that movement off the ground. Go ahead and give our October issue the once-over, spotlighting the results of the City's budget process, and decide if you would like to get the next issue of Newswatch. In our December issue we should be highlighting the bond package the city hopes to put before the voters in early 1980.

So take a bet on a sure thing, subscribe and become a participant in the Austin Neighborhood Fund. You are welcome to attend our monthly membership meeting on the third Monday of every month at 7:30 p.m. at the fourth floor conference room at the Austin Main Library, 300 Guadalupe. The December meeting is on the 17th.

for more information, please call  
Tim Manoney (453-7187)

P.S.: The subscription form is on page 7.

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
4400 AVE. D  
AUSTIN, TX 78751  
512-453-7187

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

55C

Volume I, Number IV

A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service

November, 1979

COUNTY VERSUS CITY, SCHOOL DISTRICT

## TAX BOARD COMBAT

Travis County Commissioners filed suit against the City of Austin and Austin Independent School District on Nov. 1, bringing into the 200th District Court the long-running controversy over the number and the procedure for selecting board members of the new central property appraisal district.



County Attorney Jim McMurtry explained that the suit was initiated because the city and the School District "passed some resolutions which were inconsistent with the proposed eight-member board," according to a story in the Citizen. Not only had the two larger taxing jurisdictions appointed members to an eight-member board, they had also appointed members to a five-member board.

"It became necessary to file the suit because there was no indication the parties could resolve their differences," McMurtry said.

"Obviously, the county feared waiting for the attorney general's opinion, and this is a defensive move on their part and a costly move to taxpayers, to settle it in the courthouse," McClellan told the Daily Texan.

An attorney general's opinion was requested Oct. 2 by a state representative concerning the same questions raised in the county's suit. The opinion was expected soon, and the county's legal action killed it by placing the issue in court.

County Commissioner Bob Kotts said the commissioners acted in an emergency session because of the approaching Nov. 15 deadline for finishing selection for board members and not because of the pending opinion.

Since many other taxing jurisdictions around the state have been having the same kind of dialogue as has Austin and Travis County, the results of the suit are bound to have state-wide impact.

The city and AISD have voiced concern that the standards maintained by the city tax office might not be continued under an appraisal district in which they don't have controlling authority. Arguments like that are an open invitation for major taxpayers to have the right to control city government--perhaps the reality is where the city got its model.

See COMBAT page 7

HISTORICAL MOONLIGHT

### Towers Down?

City staff has set the process in motion to dismantle Austin's 19 remaining moonlight towers. Originally 31 of the 165-foot towers were put up the city in 1895, and many have given way to old age, including two earlier this month in the West Lynn area west of downtown.

"For countless amateur tourguides (the moonlight towers) are natural landmarks, easy proof of Austin's unique character, to be proudly shown to any willing newcomer," wrote Laura Tuma in the Citizen.

The city's Electric Utility Department recommended in early October that a decision be made on the remaining towers. Members of the Historic Landmark Commission are looking for funds to rebuild the endangered towers with new materials. The replicas are estimated to cost \$25,000 per tower.

"We have only recommended that these replicas be constructed. It is up to the city (council) to decide," the Historic Land Commission told the Daily Texan in late October.

DOWNTOWN TO WOODBURN HOUSE

### Neighbor News

Neighborhood people have been active this past month, developing their cases and bringing them to the City Council, and in too many instances, watching the City Council take their cases away.

In early October, the Council removed Rainey Street and Bierce Street from the City's urban renewal district, which was originally developed as a part of the now discredited American City downtown revitalization plan. However, the Council did leave the bulk of the urban renewal district, so one would presume there is still an intent to use it.

The Planning Commission had recommended cutting plans for a convention center and urban renewal designation from downtown revitalization efforts. The Mayor asked the city staff to work up a new goal's outline for early November (where's the citizens?). Councilman Cooke voiced reservations about the two proposals from the Planning Commission.

See ACTIONS page 6

November 1979, The Austin Independent NewsWatch, Page 2

## ELECTRIC SHUFFLE

The Austin Electric Commission has been struggling for the last two months to determine just who will pay the Council-approved 3.2 percent electric rate increase. The decision has been postponed again until late November.

Among the proposals which have been before the Electric Utility Commission and their present status: "Lifeline rates which would charge lower rates for the first 500 kilowatts used by a residential customer. A committee was created Oct. 29 to study the proposal further. Average residential use is estimated to be between 800-1,000 kilowatts per month.

"Turned down a proposed flat rate structure in late October which would have abolished the current 14 customer classes and charged a flat rate per kilowatt hour.

"Yet to be decided is a city staff proposal to charge lower rates to the five largest customers (Motorola, the State Board of Control, IBM, Bergstrom Air Force Base and Texas Instruments).

The proposed break for the city's biggest users first surfaced in early October as a recommendation of the city staff.

According to a story in the American-Statesman, the department's study showed that the Big Five would be hit with a 17 percent increase in electric rates which would have a "very adverse impact on that class" of customers.

An electric department official was quoted as saying that one consideration in determining a class' electric rate is the risk that the customer will drop service by moving. But the customers in the Large Primary Service class are (now get this) "very stable and have made substantial investment" in their operations here, and thus are less "likely to pick up and move some day."

With those considerations in mind (evidently among others), the staff decided to give the Big Five a break--a move requiring an increase in the amount of money needed from the lower-rate residential and city classes.

By mid-October Shudde Fath, member of the Electric Utility Commission and ACORN, began her own media blitz in favor of her proposal for Life-line rates.

"Our present electric rates were developed by Touche Ross," she told the Citizen, "who received fancy consultant fees to produce a complex 14-class rate structure with elaborate cost-of-service allocations for each dollar the electric utility spent and each on hand."

A clincher is that the city's accounting procedures cannot adequately separate the 14 classes. "The increase (projected for the Big Five) is overstated because present rates were set too low. What this means is that the city made a mistake and set the rates too low for the five biggest users. Rather than correct the mistake, the city now wants to give them an even cheaper rate--at the expense of all other rate-payers," Fath said.

Fath supported the Lifeline rate which would scale down the utility rate structure to serve only three classes.

"It's really just an inverted block structure," she said at the Electric Utility Commission meeting Oct. 22. Small residential users of the first class would provide a 4 percent discount for the big users of electricity.

During the same meeting Jorge Carrasco, superintendent of administration for the utility department, said that 50.2 percent of the total revenue for the electric service comes from commercial and industrial users; 28.3 percent comes from residential users. By far residential users use less electricity per user since they represent 87 percent of the city's electric customers.

During their final meeting in October the commission decided to wait no more than a month before making a decision. Several members complained about the commission's reluctance to determine policy issues.

As mentioned earlier, the commission sent to a subcommittee a proposal by member Peck Young that would charge a lower rate for small users.

"I believe very definitely there is a movement towards this kind of rate. It rewards those who use low amounts of electricity, whether they choose to or whether they are in financial circumstances which require them to," said Young.

Lifeline rates are made possible by the Public Utilities Regulatory Policies Act, a part of President Carter's National Energy Act. The act requires that all public utilities review their rate structure and to ensure the rates are cost-related.

The one exception to the cost of service requirements deals with lifeline rate, "a city staff member told the Citizen, "the rate offered to residents for some minimum level of consumption deemed necessary for their essential needs."



November 1979, The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, Page 1

## Conserve for \$'s

A new conservation plan for Austin has been proposed by Austinite T. Paul Robbins. The following is the introduction to the plan; *Newswatch* will publish more on the plan's particulars in forthcoming issues.

"It would take about \$250 million to save Austin 1/3 of its energy. This would amount to some \$40-70 million saved in energy each year.

If Austin spent between \$170-240 million to upgrade 85,000 residential dwellings that need it, and \$50-60 million for commercial buildings, it would make conservation a viable alternative.

If the South Texas Nuclear Project does not go up one more cent, it will cost Austin \$775 million to own and operate its 1% percent share for 30 years, excluding inflation. In actuality, it will cost many times more than this, even forgetting the unsolved costs and problems of nuclear decommissioning and waste disposal.

There are 45 insulation contractors in the Austin phone book. There are hundreds of stores and contractors that handle upgraded heating/cooling units, storm windows, awnings and other conservation equipment.

The best thing Austin could do for its own economy is to put its money into jobs and contracts in its own community."

Copies of the report can be purchased from the author at Mobilization Survival, 1022 W. 6th St., 78703, for seventy-five cents (postage included).

## HL&P's Megahow

The proposed extension of a contract to sell "excess" electricity between the city of Austin and Houston Lighting & Power, which was originally recommended by the city staff, has been delayed while the Houston firm remains "noncommittal" over a \$1 million increase in the yearly rate of the service.

HL&P currently has a contract with the City to buy up to 500 megawatts of power in 1980 and 1981 for \$6 million per year plus fuel and generating expenses. R.L. Hancock, Austin's Electric Utility director, originally proposed over a month ago to extend the contract at the same rate for the additional years.

Lead by Councilman Lee Cooke, the Council rejected the \$6 million figure because it was based on the cost of power from the city's "older" facilities, and did not include the higher costs of power from the city's newer generators.

A spokesman from the Houston firm told the *American Statesman* that HL&P will need more outside power through the mid-1980s because of the rapid growth in the Houston area, and because of construction delays in the South Texas Nuclear Project and HL&P's wholly-owned nuclear plant at Allan's Creek, located 50 miles west of Houston.

## STNP's Audit & Other Mysteries

The price of Austin's 1% percent share of the South Texas Nuclear Project continues to climb, and a former

STNP quality control inspector accused the project of shoddy quality control. Here's what happened in October:

■ The STNP cost overrun, initially estimated in September as \$440 million, is now put at \$690 million because a "task force," made up of people from both Houston Lighting and Power and Brown and Root, wants a \$270 million "contingency fund" to cover unanticipated changes in construction costs to cover such things as wrong estimates of the amount of materials needed or additional construction required by new government regulations.

The City's estimated share of the total cost of the project would be \$44.5 million higher if the "contingency fund" were approved. STNP's actual cost to the city will not be known until next year when "baseline figures" are announced.

Mayor Carele McClellan and other officials were skeptical about the need for the contingency fund and about how HL&P and Brown and Root came up with the \$270 million figure. Apparently, this contingency fund has been included in all other cost estimates for the project, but it was "overlooked" in the September overrun estimate.

■ A financial audit, ordered by Mayor McClellan after she was barred from a September meeting at which the cost overruns were discussed, will be done by Coppens and Lybrand, a "Big 8" accounting firm located in Houston. HL&P had no say in who was hired to do the audit. The audit will cost "a whole bunch of money" according to R.L. Hancock, director of the city's electric department. No one has yet been hired to do the engineering audit also ordered by the Council.

■ As the STNP saga continued, the Austin papers carried reports and editorials supporting other ways of meeting the city's energy needs. A *Citizen* editorial advocated conservation as a new energy source. "The American people must develop a conservation ethic. We can be conservative."

The *American Statesman* reported that the Tennessee Valley Authority offers no-interest loans to its customers to help them insulate their homes. TVA estimates that the program will cost \$200 million over eight years, but it will save 3000 megawatts of electricity, an amount equivalent to the average output of a nuclear reactor each year.



November 1979, The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, Page 6

## ACTIONS (from page 1)

The Council also surprised many when it denied by a 4-3 vote (Councilwoman Betty Himmelsblau's vote providing the edge) a request by Paragon Properties (who helped bring you the developing Hyatt Regency complex on Town Lake) to build a hotel on 16th Street near IHSS. About 30 neighborhood residents protested the request before the City Council.

On Oct. 10, a crowd of more than 150 persons turned out for a public forum, sponsored by the Lake Austin Hill Country Neighborhood Association, on the proposed limited-purpose annexation of part of the West Lake Peninsula.

The construction of the Loop 360 bridge over Lake Austin, which is expected to be completed in 1981, will be a boon to developers in this area west of Austin and north of West Lake Hills. According to the Citizen, Ken Manning of the Sierra Club received the biggest applause of the night when he said that West Lake Hills has a "better track record" in growth management and environmental protection than Austin.

Panelists for the lively forum included Austin City manager Dan Davidson; Dick Lillie, city planning department director; Albert DeLaRosa, assistant city attorney; Tom Taylor, mayor of West Lake Hills; Brian Dudley of Precinct 3 in Travis County; Ken Manning and moderator Walt Rostow.

Then there was the now infamous vote of the City Council on Oct. 11 ending the mailing agendas to interested neighborhood groups. The vote occurred as an unexpected emergency item before a virtually empty council chamber. See the story on last page for more details.

In mid-October the City Council "kinda" dealt a blow to Holiday Inn's ambition to build a parking lot on Austin Park land next to IHSS and Town Lake. The proposal is opposed by many groups, among them the Austin Neighborhoods Council, the Austin League of Woman Voters and the Travis County Democratic Woman's Committee.

Holiday Inn officials told the American Statesman that they never have attempted to secure a lease on public land, and the process is being monitored by "senior-level management all the way to the top of the corporation." The plan was not approved or denied by the City Council in a late session that lasted until early Friday morning.

Councilman Lee Cooke and city staff have taken the Holiday Inn proposal under their wing and Cooke requested that the plan's consideration by the Council be delayed until late November.

The next week representatives from East Austin and the area surrounding the Holiday Inn Hotel announced that they "want guarantees that we won't be displaced, directly or indirectly" in the implementation of any downtown revitalization plan.

The East Austin neighborhoods have been facing increased financial pressure since proposals for downtown revitalization were first announced a year ago. The group favors tax abatement and rent control programs to lessen the influence of land speculation.

"When developers hear about a plan, the first thing they do is run out and buy. This means sellers jack up their prices and boom...." said Paul Hernandez.

A few days later residents along a six-block stretch of East Third Street received permission for roll-back zoning - from industrial to residential - in their neighborhood. There is still a large area industrially-zoned in East Austin, but for these residents (between Conal Street and IHSS) mortgage money might a little

easier to come by.

In late October, just as the Hyde Park Baptist Church announced a new \$3 million expansion plan, the City Council gave permission for the church to move the once historically-zoned Woodburn House. By a 6-1 vote (Councilman Cooke was the lone dissenter) the Council gave their permission, (over the Neighborhoods objection) for the 71-year-old structure to be moved to another location in the Hyde Park area. About the only plus in the Council's decision - at least the Woodburn House will be owned by someone who cares about the house and the neighborhood.

Finally, on the last day of October the Council approved a recommendation of the Renewable Energy Resources Commission to create a model energy development demonstration district overlapping the proposed 40-block downtown revitalization area.

Ray Reese, chairman of the commission said that with the establishment of the district, the City can apply to the U.S. Department of Energy for a \$60,000 planning grant. "We have a tremendous opportunity here to implement renewable energy resources at the same time the downtown area is revitalized," Reese told the American Statesman. "It's clear that this would be the first project of its kind in the country." Hopefully the Renewable Energy Resources Commission's new thrust will be more beneficial to the neighborhoods surrounding downtown than the American City proposal.

# COMBAT (from page 1)

Mayor Carole McClellan told the *American-Statesman* on Oct. 12 that the eight nominations were approved "to cover all contingencies." What happened is that towards the end of that week, city officials heard that school officials were about to approve nominations to the board and the city council didn't want to be left behind. The Council met in special session Friday, Oct. 12 in the mayor's office to make the nominations. One city source told *Newswatch* that the present nominations are ad hoc and not even necessarily the only list the city might pull names for the final board nominations.

If the five-member board had been approved by taxing entities in the county, instead of the eight-member board, the deadline for nominations would have been Oct. 15.

The city's nominations are: Les Gage, Gus Garcia, Bill Milstead, Ada Anderson, Charles Goodnight, Bob Phinney, William Shropshire and James Koch.

The School District's nominations are: M.J. Anderson, Andrew C. Elliott Jr., John Lewis, Mark Yudof, S.L. Galyean, Mary Neil Garrison, S.A. Garza and James Howard.

In both cases the first five names on the list are for a five-member board if the eight member board is ruled invalid.



BUDGETS—THEIR CARE AND PREVENTION

## STATE GOVERNMENT: A TAXING PROPOSITION

In mid-October the *Citizen* editorialized, "Lee COOKE may have sympathy for TI, Motorola, and IBM. The neighborhood associations express concern for the average residential ratepayer, etc., etc., etc."

"The fact is the total bill is too high. It's inflated on purpose--to bring on revenue from those massive government-owned complexes that would get off scot-free because they pay no real estate taxes...."

"Any thinking taxpayer should know the solution. The Legislature is already protesting the outrageous electric rates and pretends it may take its business elsewhere--which also makes no sense."

"But wouldn't the Legislature be receptive to a logical approach that outlined the state government's cost to Austin? Of course. And, then, don't you think there might be an arrangement whereby the state--and other government complexes--could pay their share on municipal costs in return for a reduction (get that) in electric rates?"

"But, alas, we have no doers who shall do this. We have only tinker-ers."

The county-wide appraisal district will come into existence the first day of January. By 1981 all properties will be assessed at 100 percent of appraised value (a procedural change that will make property tax bills a little more understandable). By 1982 the county appraisal district will determine one value for each property in the county.

## SUNSET VALLEY TO AUSTIN:

### 'Enough is enough'

The former mayor of Sunset Valley, Bud Fowler, wrote a guest viewpoint article in the *American-Statesman* in early October concerning the history of the pressure tactics (which he calls "blackmail") the city used on Sunset Valley officials culminating in Austin's efforts to get the five-member board instead of the proposed eight-member board for the central appraisal district.

"The birth (of the county-supported eight-member board) was created by the votes of three small taxing bodies who refused to be intimidated of blackmail by the big city government. Enough is enough! This situation has prevailed for many years and the roots go much deeper and the pressures are much greater than the average citizen could know," wrote Fowler.

Fowler cites a series of four incidents over a twenty-plus year period where the City of Austin threatened limiting access by Sunset Valley to a sewer line, a right Sunset Valley officials had at times to resort to court action to enjoy.

"Now comes Sewer Line Controversy to be used as blackmail (for) the fifth time. Mayor Carole McClellan called (present Sunset Valley Mayor Frances) Underwood and Councilwoman Mrs. Will Barber and sang the same song-- that unless they repealed their previous vote for an eight-member Tax Appraisal Board, she would cut their water off in the form of no connection to the Williamson Creek sewer line and disposal. Underwood promptly called a special meeting for the purpose of repealing the previous vote (of endorsing the eight-member board) because she couldn't let her "accomplishment" of getting a sewer line for Sunset Valley get out of hand. Only two council members showed up, who decided to stand their ground and not be blackmailed by the city of Austin, using the same bait for a fifth time.

Maybe this will explain why Austin has exorbitant utility rates and taxes rake off undue money from the economy-- the city just forgets to honor its agreements and the citizens of Austin haven't yet recognized when "enough is enough."

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

350

Volume I, Number 7

A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service

December, 1979

City of Austin

## BOND VOTE: FEB. 23

On Dec. 3 the Austin City Council approved Feb 23 as the date for our next bond election (the third in 13 months), but only agreed that \$ 77.8 million in water and wastewater bonds should be included.

Other items that the voters will be asked to consider are still a mystery, which the city council should solve during a second work session Dec. 17th. So far strong support by council members has been given for parkland acquisition, convention center construction (\$19.4 million proposed), railroad crossing safety improvements, electric utility additions and airport improvements, with other items suggested by city staff.

Many neighborhood people have indicated they would prefer to see any bonds dedicated specifically to the programs they are intended to be used for. In the past there has been some variation between the original and final use of bond monies.

Considering the low turnout of voters for the election last Nov. 7 (7.4 percent in Travis County), the methodical decrease by the city council of citizen access to city information, combined with the council members' pay increase, the coming bond election should make for an interesting democratic experience.

Mayor Carole McCallan is beginning her voter education project on the coming bond election, especially for the convention center. She told pro-growth columnist Kay Heddell of the *Austin Citizen* in December that Austin "lost \$6.9 million in tourist dollars in the first months of the year for lack of adequate convention facilities," among other arguments.

NewsWatch will present a more detailed analysis of the city's bond proposals in the January issue.

## ELECTRIC\*PROGRESS

In late November the Austin Electric Utility Commission voted 5-3 to deny a city staff request for a special \$531,000 price break for Austin's big five electric users.

The Commission voted to accept the city staff's recommendation to retain the current 14 electric customer classes, the highest of which included only 3 customers: the State of Texas, Bergstrom Air Force Base, IBM, Texas Instruments, and Motorola.

Residential all-electric customers will incur a 4.6 percent increase, while non all-electric customers will pay a 6.6

percent increase. Austinites now pay an interim rate which includes an 8.2 percent increase for all classes.

Some commission members criticized the late-November meeting's agenda, which left lifeline rates and other commission proposals in a subcommittee limbo.

Commission Chairman Sam Graham told the *Daily Texan*, "It bothers me that we could be dragging our feet. I think these items are important, but are not important enough to delay a recommendation on a staff proposal or penalize the residential ratepayers every month."

## HAPPY HOLIDAYS!





December 1979, The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, Page 4

#### BARTON CREEK WATERSHED AND TESTING THE FEDERAL CONNECTION

Hopes that the federal Small Watershed program could provide funding to help create a greenbelt area along the banks of Barton Creek have been disappointed.

The City Council applied for the funds in order to protect Barton Creek from the impact of nearby construction. Usually money from this particular federal program is used to build dams or channels to protect land. The Barton Creek proposal was unique because it proposed to protect the creek by doing nothing to it.

Council members and Rep. Jake Pickle were excited about the proposed project, but Federal officials declared the creek was ineligible for funding under the Small Watershed Program because it is not imminently threatened by plans for development, and because steps have already been taken to protect it.

#### PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT NEEDS 10 PART-TIME PLANNING AIDES

The City of Austin Parks and Recreation Department is inviting applications for ten resident planning aides to serve for a six-month period (from Jan. to June, 1980) as a part of the citizen participation element of the Austin Parks, Recreation and Open Space Program. The salary is \$3.90/hr., or \$1500 per six months, plus a \$500 travel allowance.

The staff will assist the planning aides in tailoring a citizen participation program that is sensitive to the requirements of the City's ten planning districts.

The application procedure entails sending a resume, a letter of reference from two individuals, and a statement describing why the position is sought, to: Superintendent of Park Planning; Austin Parks and Recreation Department; P.O. Box 1088; Austin, 78767. The application deadline is January 15, 1980.

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
4400 AVE. D  
AUSTIN, TX 78751  
512-453-7187

Dear Friends of the Neighborhoods:

The monthly meeting of the Fund occurs every third Monday evening at 7:30 at the Austin Main Library (800 Guadalupe) in Conference Room A on the fourth floor. Meeting dates for the next two months are December 17 and January 21. Fund participants should know that for the next two months we will be looking closely at our cities for the coming City of Austin bond election, including organization and funding.

For these potential Fund participants that have still not sent in their \$10.00 subscription to Newswatch, there is, as they say, no time like the present.

If this is the first time you've run across the Austin Neighborhood Fund, here's a few words about our goals:

To many of us it has become apparent in the last several years of accelerated growth that Austin city government has been, and is to an expanding degree, serving the interests of a small elite, at the expense of Austin citizens.

The Austin Neighborhood Fund stands for a process of city planning and policy-making in which neighborhoods, citizen organizations, minority groups, employee associations, local business people and others will have: 1) real powers in the policy and planning process, and 2) ready access to the information and tools necessary for informed decision making.

We stand for a growth rate for Austin which: 1) serves the interests of the general citizenry; 2) protects neighborhood integrity; 3) protects our environment; and 4) does not require of citizens skyrocketing taxes, utility bills and housing costs in order to subsidize speculation and profiteering by a few development interests.

One more point: Join your neighborhood organization. Get involved. You can make a difference.

*The benefits of* NEIGHBORHOOD GOSSIP

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
4400 AVE. D  
AUSTIN, TX 78751  
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# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

350

Volume 11 Number 2 A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service February 1981

## The Bonds & Controlling Growth

A combination of new and old political activists have been forming battle lines over the Feb. 13 City of Austin bond election, pitting forces controlled by the Austin Chamber of Commerce and City Manager Dan Davidson in their most defensive position since the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island last March.

Even Mayor Carol McClellan began voicing a concern with the unusually low number of absentee voters the week the Saturday bond election. "I am still very confident about this bond issue passing, but I am concerned that the electorate get to the polls. There could be people who are in favor of the bonds who might forget it is election day," McClellan told the Citizen. By Feb. 13, only 90 Austinites had voted absentee. City Clerk Grace Monroe estimates a 12-15% voter turnout, which could make this one of the least attended Austin elections in two decades or more.

Although the mayor remains optimistic about the bond issue outcome, what with the support of the Chamber of Commerce and the West Austin Democrats (see more below) there is a growing opposition to the municipal bond referendum and—despite the mayor's optimism—it could prove fatal, opined Citizen editor Tom Reay on Feb. 13.

The Mayor has been fighting hard, if with little finesse, for voter approval of the bond package. Problems may have started with what many consider to be the city council's basic lack of control over the bond package decision making process. When it came to a council vote, two council people (Cooke and Mullen) voted against the package because of inadequate answers from city staff. Then the mayor drew up a list of 200 supporters of the bonds and released the list to the media without necessarily asking the people on the list if they indeed supported the bonds; some

See CAMPAIGN, Page 3

### VOTE: 2-25

Here follows a brief description of the bond propositions and some of their main issues:

#### THE GENERAL OBLIGATION BONDS: (Watch those rising property taxes and rents)

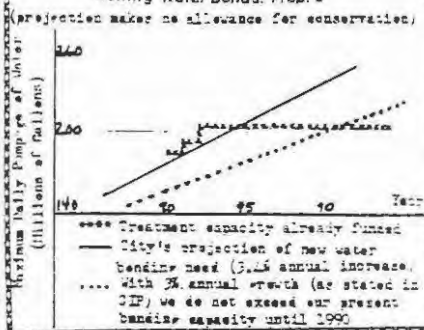
##### Prop. 1: Park Bonds (\$9,000,000)

The big plus for this proposition is that it includes a \$3.2 million item for Barton Creek greenbelt acquisition, which should help make up for the previous bond monies approved by voters a few years ago, which the city staff did not use. On the more typical side, the 29 separate listings for greenbelt acquisition, neighborhood parks and parkland acquisition simply can not all be had for \$9,000,000; someone is not telling the whole truth.

##### Prop. 2: Brackenridge Parking Complex (\$4,485,000)

Although many who are opposed to this prop. strongly support the concept of public health services, they also point out that this proposed facility will be revenue producing. It is not necessary for the provision of any health care service. Therefore at the very least, the project should be offered to the voters as a revenue bond, not as a general

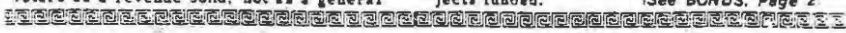
#### Selling Water Bonds: Prop. 9



obligation bond that is paid by renters (as a pass-through by landlords) and homeowners alike, through their property taxes.

##### Prop. 3: Neighborhood Health Centers (\$310,000)

This proposition was originally combined with prop. 4, but the city council divided them at the request of the Austin Citizens League (which reportedly will come out against proposition 3). Otherwise, a number of neighborhood people (Far South, Clarks-ville, and St. John's) have been working hard for a number of years to get these projects funded. See BONDS, Page 2



February 1981. The Austin Independent Newswatch, Page 2

## BONDS (From pg. 1)

### Prop. 4: Neighborhood Centers (\$370,000)

This proposition seems to be extremely fortunate in that Newswatch has not heard anyone who opposes it; if the prop. is approved by voters, the residents of Rosewood and Montopolis should be pleased with this addition to their community life.

### Prop. 5: Municipal Court Building Renovation and Police Parking Garage (\$4,445,000)

Councilman Cooke voted against this one and prop. 6, because he had the understanding that both projects had been funded by last year's bond election, and that the staff had provided insufficient information to justify additional monies from taxpayers. One wonders where the rest of the council was on this question.

### Prop. 6: Police Vehicle Impoundment Facility (\$435,000)

The city has provided little information on this project; the project has only one item listed for the entire amount in city documents.

### Prop. 7: Railroad Crossing Safety Improvements (\$4,610,000)

The South Austin Citizens Advisory Board is the only known group to be opposed to this prop. Their reasoning is not known, since the American-Statesman printed their position, but not their concerns in a Feb. 16 story headlined "Mayor fears low interest in bond vote."

Others support this prop. because of the urgent need for railroad safety improvements, the lack of which has resulted in a number of deaths in the past few years, especially in south Austin. Supporters, however, have few illusions about the work that will be needed to actually get needed improvements if the prop. is approved by voters. City information does not specify any particular projects to be done with the bond monies.

### Prop. 8: Airport Terminal and Facility Improvements (\$4,565,000)

More than half of the projects listed in this prop. were funded in last year's bond election, a double funding tactic to the tune of \$4million. This project, like the Brack-eridge parking garage, should be funded through revenue bonds and be paid for by airport revenues. Also, with the airport planning process up in the air, it is not wise to spend \$4.5 million on an airport which may or may not be in its present location for the duration of the bond payback period.

Lastly, many neighborhoods around the airport are developing serious concerns about airport safety, and the airport should not be continuously expanded while these concerns are unresolved.

### THE REVENUE BONDS:

(Here come the Utility Bills!)

### Prop. 9: Water Utility (\$50,440,000)

Clearly the most dangerous of all the bond projects are the five water system "improvements" that would ultimately allow for high density development of the Barton Creek and Lake Austin watersheds. The projects are: 1) Southwest distribution main; 2) Davis Lane Pump Station; 3) Texas Hgwy. 71 West pump station; 4) Martin Hill Reservoir and 5) Martin Hill transmission main 1. As Ken Manning of the Zilker Posse said at a news conference last month, "what is even more galling is that the current residents will be forced to pay higher utility bills to subsidize expansion of the (water and wastewater) system into inappropriate areas outside of the preferred areas of the Master Plan.

In addition there are the slush funds. Fully one-half of the projects listed are discretionary accounts whose funds are moved freely within the department. Both water and wastewater CIPs contain a number of categories in which money is not designated for expenditure on any one specific project. Examples of such categories are Major Main Extensions, Cost Differences, Paving Adjustments and Extension to New Customers.

Requests for these funding categories have doubled in comparison to the past three years. Water and wastewater each had about \$5million in these categories for 1976-1979, whereas each is slated for over \$10 million in the current bond package. There is little city department accountability to the city council over projects that run counter to the Master Plan. Past examples include oversizing the Zilker Park Lift Station and the oversizing of the Scenic Brook West wastewater main.

Furthermore, the projections used by the water department as a justification for the growth of the water system are flawed on a number of levels (see chart page one).

The truth of the matter is that it is city staff policy to pioneer and subsidize major developers at the general expense of Austin's taxpayers, and to an increasing degree, at the expense of Austin's environment and quality of life.

In addition, the water/wastewater dept. does not have a "official" master plan or a citizen's advisory board, which could provide the city council with a much needed second opinion on the activities of these city depts.

### Prop. 10: Wastewater Utility (\$34,390,000)

Many of the general problems that to the water bonds are common to the wastewater bonds, such as no master plan and no citizen review board.

See BONDS, Page 4



February 1980, The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, Page 7

## CAMPAIGN (From pg. 1)

of the "supporters" were in fact planning opposition to the bonds when McClellan released the list and were aghast to discover the mayor had different plans in mind.


Although the mayor was able to get an endorsement of the bonds by the West Austin Democrats on Feb. 13, she only managed the 2-3 vote with her own vote and that of Planning Commission member Sally Snipman, who the mayor had brought along for reinforcement.

A coalition of groups, including the Ziiker Posse, the Austin Neighborhood Fund, The Austin Neighborhood Council, The League of Women Voters, The Austin Study Group and others have come out in opposition to the Water and Wastewater bonds (prop. 9 & 10) because of the clear danger included projects pose to the Barton Creek and Alke Austin watersheds, and in support of the Park bonds (prop. 11) largely because of the \$3.5 million item for Barton Creek land acquisition.

In addition, the Austin Neighborhood Council (ANC), opposes Prop. 2, Prop. 5, Prop. 8, and Prop. 11. The ANC has taken no position on Prop. 6, due to a lack of information provided by the City, and recommends passage of Prop. 3, Prop. 4, and Prop. 7.

The Austin Neighborhood Fund will be concentrating its limited resources on the passage of Prop. 1, and the defeat of Props. 2, 8, 9, 10, and 11.


The political money game is, of course, stacked in favor of the minions of the Chamber of Commerce. One source estimates that the Chamber members will be pumping \$40,000 into a last week media blitz supporting the bond package with less vocals provided by Mayor McClellan. The Austin Study Group will be putting some money into TV advertising and the Ziiker Posse is coordinating some TV and radio spots in support of their positions.



a  
CO-OP  
in South Austin

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woody's hours: Mon.-Fri. 10:00-9:00  
Sat. 9:00-6:00  
Sun. 12:00-6:00



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Producer/Editor: Susan Sotaden, Don Sotaden, John Sotaden, Mary Sotaden, David and Mary Lou Sotaden, The Sotaden Family.

Yes! Put us (or me) on the mailing list to the Austin Neighborhood Newswatch for one year (only \$5.00), by name, address, and telephone number is:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### Announcing The Alternative

A grocery store created for you.

Wheatsville Food Cooperative is a member owned and operated community grocery store. You save on groceries because members work together to lower operating costs. At Wheatsville you can buy natural foods, produce, meat, beer & wine, regular grocery items and much more all in one stop. Wheatsville is a short walk or bike ride from the UT Campus. Drop by and get acquainted with a cooperative!!



## Wheatsville

your community co-op grocery

2901 N. Lamar HOURS 12-5 M-F 10-3 SAT. 10-6 SUN 478-COOP

February 1980, The Austin Neighborhood Newswatch, Page 4

## Bonds....from pg. 2

There is also an opportunity here for a super slush fund. Specifically, many thought the Onion Creek Wastewater Treatment Plant (\$14,735,000) was fully funded in the 1976 bond election. This year, however, we discovered that the account had been raided to the tune of \$150,000 for use in another project. We are now being asked to replenish the account. Additionally, the city will receive between 75-85% EPA funding for this project. When the EPA money is received, the unused bond money will be freed to create a potential multi-million dollar slush fund.

### Prop. 11: Electric Utility (\$18,315,000)

Many, including members of the Planning Commission and the Electric Utility Commission have voiced strong opposition to the city staff's inclusion of five projects (including a lignite development item) into the bond package which received absolutely no relevant citizen review.

These five projects total \$2.8 million and were not included in the normal CIP review process, but were "invented" by city staff since Oct. of 1979. In addition, the city's electric utility department is asking for \$1.7 million's worth of growth projects for the same bonding period voted on last Jan.

One year ago the Austin Tomorrow On-Going Committee (ATOC) released a survey which indicated that 67% of the people believe that Austin's quality of life has become worse in the last 3 years; 60% believe that Austin's environment cannot be maintained with the present growth rate.

Those who support the bond package now tell us that passage of the bonds is essential to insure Austin's quality of life; meanwhile the Master Plan is being constantly eroded and the city is deeply involved in the business of growth promotion, leaving the business of growth management to be accomplished by empty platitudes.

# The Austin Neighborhood Fund NEEDS YOU!

This week the Fund is offering to you a small opportunity for democratic participation in the form of the inclosed "Make Austin a City of Neighborhoods" poster. Why, if just 100 Fund participants photo copy just 100 posters, by the end of the week there might be suddenly 10,000 of the posters displayed about our fair city. If you can't manage 100 copies (about a \$5.00 investment and two hours time), you might try 10 copies (\$ .50 and 15 minutes) or just use the masters, placing one at your place of business and the rest in your neighborhood (don't forget the area around the neighborhood voting place).

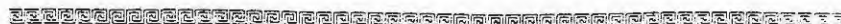
A special thanks to the Fund participants who contributed to the ad in this Friday's American-Statesman. Whatever the bond election outcome, thanks to many Fund participants, the benefits of neighborhood gossip is becoming better known to more Austinites.

P.S. The next meeting of the Fund is March 17.



*The benefits of* NEIGHBORHOOD  
GOSSIP

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
P.O. Box 4287  
Austin, Tx. 78765  
512-453-7187



MAKE AUSTIN  
A CITY OF  
NEIGHBORHOODS

**VOTE**  
**SAT. FEB. 23**  
BOND ELECTION

YES on Prop. 1\*

NO on Prop. 2

NO on Prop. 8

NO on Prop. 9\*

NO on Prop. 10\*

NO on Prop. 11

\*SAVE BARTON  
CREEK!

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

350

Volume II Number III A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service March 1980

BIGGEST DEFEAT IN AUSTIN'S HISTORY!



## 6 OF 11 BONDS SCRAPPED

Mayor Carole McClellan can be forgiven for taking a full two weeks to decide that the Austin voters who turned down 6 of the 11 bond propositions on the Feb. 23 ballot were not "confused."

The mayor put her image on the line by supporting the passage of the bond package designed by City Manager Dan Davidson. The bond vote has as much to do with the leadership of City government as with the substance of the bond proposals.

"I believe—obviously—that a substantial majority—certainly most voters—knew precisely what they were doing on the last bond issue," the mayor said in a March 7th press conference. "And furthermore, these people are not enemies of City government or of planned-managed growth."

The mayor promises to contact "individuals and groups who opposed the bonds and listen to their concerns and get answers to all their questions."

### CITIZEN GROUPS ASK FOR BOND CHANGES

The Zilker Park Fosse started the demands for post-election changes. The Fosse says they cannot support any further bond

elections unless the City Council eliminated all projects not in compliance with the Master Plan. This project contingency funding to the previous levels, creates a water and wastewater commission, implements competent growth management policies and develops a new water-wastewater master plan.

The Austin Neighborhood Council echoed these sentiments with a public statement made March 10: "The City should implement a bond process which would make citizens a more important part of decision-making."

Additionally, the ANC said that bond projects should be grouped on the ballot to indicate whether they will serve areas within or without the city limits, and whether they are within the city's preferred growth corridor.

"The ANC believes that in the past election, the voters were telling the council, among other things, that they want the needs of the people of Austin taken care of first," said Marilyn Simpson, ANC president.

Implementing ANC and others recommendations "will not only help ensure a bond package which will give voters a clear choice, but

(See BONDS, Page 2)

## Electric Lifeline Rate

Austin's current electric rate structure does not promote conservation. The present rate structure charges customers more for the first 500 kilowatt hours, then decreases the rates on increasing energy usage.

Under a lifeline rate, first promoted by ACORN and picking up increasing support by other citizen groups and even some city council members, conservative residents using 500 kwh of energy or less per month could see up to a 10 percent reduction in their electric bills.

The city council, during their first March meeting, decided to further study the life-line proposal and authorized the return of about \$17.5 million to electric customers over the next seven years. The \$17.5 million is the result of a settlement between the city and the Lovaca Gathering Co. (reorganized as the Valero Energy Corp.) Seven years ago, the company could not adequately provide fuel oil at the prices originally contracted for, resulting in a series of suits by customer cities which was finally arbitrated by the Texas Railroad Commission.

A modified electric rate schedule is  
See ELECTRIC, Page 6

## Barton Creek Ordinance and Moratorium Before Council

The Thursday before the Feb. 23 bond election the city council voted to extend the Barton Creek development moratorium from March 6 to March 27. The council also voted to delay a public hearing on three proposed development control ordinances—one by city staff and two by the Barton Creek Task Force (one environmentally and the other developer oriented) until March 6.

At the March 6 council session the council again postponed any ordinance until March 13. According to an American Statesman article (3-7) by Bill Collier, the writers of the developer-oriented ordinance have agreed to work with the city staff's version. That leaves the council with two choices, the difference primarily to the degree of development density.

Proponents of laxer density requirements say that too much control on development in the environmentally sensitive creek watershed would permit only large luxury estates. But task force member Seth Searcy, who wrote the stricter majority report countered that that was a false argument. Searcy

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## BONDS (From pg. 1)

will also start Austin moving towards effective growth management," she added.

The week after the election, councilwoman Betty Himmelblau and Mayor McClellan proposed a seven-member task force to monitor the Water and Wastewater Dept. Originally the concept called for three Planning Commission members, two Environmental Board members, and two citizens with an engineering background.

Some individuals, including councilman Ron Mullen and ANC president Simpson, argue that the new group should be independent of other commissions.

"I don't like the idea of getting people who are already volunteering tremendous amounts of time to volunteer even more time," Mullen told the Citizen.

The City Council delayed a decision on the water-wastewater citizen monitoring group until April.

### AN HISTORICAL SHIFT

Although there have been recent press items concerning renewed attempts at communication among council members, City government is without a clear sense of direction.

Before the Feb. 23rd fiasco, a total of only five bond propositions had been defeated in 26 city elections since 1926 (all five defeats occurred in the last decade).

This council more than doubled that total in a single day.

Five of the seven-member city council had supported the entire bond package, while councilman Ron Mullen announced his opposition to the water and wastewater proposals and councilman Lee Cooke sat unhappily at the sidelines.

The voters then voted down the three revenue bonds (\$103,145,000) for water, wastewater and electric utility system improvements, and three of the general obligation bonds (\$9,485,000) for a Brackenridge parking garage, police vehicle impoundment facility, and airport improvements. By an overwhelming majority voters approved \$9,000,000 in Park bonds (with \$3.2 million for Barton Creek) and \$4.6 million in railroad crossing safety bonds. By lesser margins bonds for neighborhood and health centers, police and courts building improvements (\$5,125,000) received voter approval.

This is the first time a neighborhood-environmentalist coalition has succeeded in influencing a bond election so strongly. This combination worked beyond anyone's wildest dreams or the Chamber of Commerce and Ray Marriotti's (Editor of the American Statesman) wildest nightmares. Every precinct except 4 voted against the water-wastewater propositions, and two of those 4 precincts voted against the water bonds.

Many of the votes against a majority of the propositions came from north and south Austin, the heart of Mayor McClellan's former constituency, according to some.

### STAFF CHANGES

The city government's confusion is highlighted by the continued instability of City Manager Dan Davidson's administration.

Few cheered when the City Council gave the manager a 9% raise a week after the election. The Zilker Park Posse called the election results a "vote of 'no confidence'" in the City administration. The American Statesman, looking for scape goats in lieu of its own weakened credibility, editorialized that Water-wastewater Dept. head Curtis Johnson should go. Joe Turnus, director of the Urban Transportation Dept., resigned in March to join the Dallas office of a national engineering consultant firm.

The editorial stance of the American Statesman has become increasingly anti-council, in addition to the continued stance against the coalition which fought the bonds.

(Marriotti, Bill Youngblood, C.W. Heatherly, Clyde Copus, Nash Phillips, Bill Milburn, Lowell Leberman, George Christian, Roy Spence, Neal Spelce and other Chamber of Commerce bond backers kicked in \$275 apiece for a poll to be conducted by John Henson. They hope the poll will tell them what happened in the Feb. 23rd bond election, and to what extent Mayor McClellan's political image has been tarnished.)

### SLOW CITY REACTION

The city staff reacted to the bond failure by warning that city services would be cutback, especially for the coming summer. Ken Manning, of Zilker Park Posse, as reported in the Citizen (2-28) called those claims "highly exaggerated" and suggested that the city administration might be fatally flawed if it would suffer so severely from defeat in only one bond election. City government, of course, has made no mention of how cuts in city service during the past year might have influenced voters for this bond election.

By mid-March the city manager submitted a preliminary plan on how the city should re-design its priorities now that it has far fewer bond monies with which to promote growth.

Hardest hit is the water-waste water department, which is considering a six-month moratorium on new subdivisions in certain parts of Austin. Next hardest hit is the Electric Utilities Department. Aviation and Brackenridge parking are looking for other solutions, including doing more with what they already have and piggy-backing with "private-enterprise" sources.

### REORGANIZATION

The city manager has begun a reorganization of staff lines of authority. In early February, the current City manager of Galveston, Thomas Muehenbeck was hired to be the deputy city manager, the #2 staff position. Davidson has promised to fill the position for a fourth assistant manager by April. Both positions have been open for a year.

In early March Davidson began implementing a new organizational plan.

(See BONDS, Page 6)



### BONDS....from pg. 2

There are now six main functional groupings of city departments. Four of the groupings are headed by assistant city managers: Jim Miller will head community and intergovernmental services; Andrea Beatty with management services; Daron Butler with Development Services; and a yet to be hired person will head Public Health and Safety.

The new deputy manager will monitor the electric department and the assistant city managers. Finally a grouping of departments which include legal, police, internal audit, affirmative action and public information will report directly to Davidson.

In the way of accounting cosmetics, the city council approved a Davidson proposal for a new budget format that emphasizes city program's effect rather than their dollar cost. Acting Budget Director Lee Thomson said the format would allow the council to delete an entire program instead of cutting out one item which might be necessary for a program.

### ELECTRIC.... from pg. 1

set to go into effect April 1. Although the Lo-Vaca settlement should mean a small reduction in electric bills, the change will probably just offset \$15 million city customers still owe the city in "recoverable fuel costs" because of old fuel costs never collected by the city through the fuel adjustment clause during the last seven years.

The old formula proved faulty because the city did not collect money from customers as rapidly as Lo-Vaca's fuel charges were rising. To minimize the difference, the council last Oct. (see *NewsWatch* Oct. 1979) began collecting an additional 3.46 cents a kWh and planned to continue doing so until 1983. So far only \$2 million of the \$20 million difference has been collected.

With the new rate structure to become effective April 1, residential bills will increase 6%. However, since the interim rate set last October increased bills 2.1%, residents will actually see a 2% decrease.

The Electric Utility Department hopes the new rate structure will remain in effect through 1981.

### ANF and Smooth Sailing

If there's anything last month's bond election proved, it's that Austin has a neighborhood communication system that is independent of the worst manipulations of Big Money, Big Media and Big Developers. Neighborhood people can think for themselves, thank you!

Here to the point of the ANF's future activities (an agenda items for the next two monthly meetings on March 17 and April 21 at the Austin Main Library, 300 Guadalupe, 14th floor conference room at 7:00 P.M.) are methods to expand the readership of the NewsWatch concept and a reorganization of the Fund.

We've had some committees working on these areas and they have reports to present at these monthly meetings.

We'll also have a report on voting patterns during the last election and an analysis of the election. Thank's to all of us, The Austin Neighborhood Fund is working!



## The benefits of NEIGHBORHOOD GOSSIP

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
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 512-452-7187

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

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Volume 10 Number 17 A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service

June 1980

## City Council Candidates Y'all

As a writer for the Austin Citizen but it earlier this year, "From sources rated high on a one-to-ten scale of reliability," here's a rundown on potential candidates for the April 1981 Austin City Council election.

From this far distance, it appears the race for mayor could be crowded with many familiar faces. Some reports have it that even Mayor McManis is interested in running again. Her old antagonist, tax lawyer and Hyde Park Baptist Church pastor Jack McCreary, has already officially indicated his interest, but, said he wants an outpouring of support and candidates from the business community before he risks his personal fortune again.

Bob Binder, former City Council member and founder of the Austin Study Group, is leaning towards the Mayor's race.

Waiting impatiently in the wings are present City Council members Ron Wallen and Richard Goodman. With these two looking for bigger game, Jimmy Snell on the verge of a job with the County, and Cooke already a lame duck, there's a strong possibility of having more than four new faces on the City Council within this next year. Word is that Johnny Trevino and Betty Hirshblau will run again.

Peter Duncan, Milker Park Posse member and vice-chairman of the City's environmental board, may challenge Hirshblau for her seat; no one has heard of Carl Hickerson's plans. No opposition has yet surfaced against Trevino.

Miguel "Mike" Quatro, chairman of the Planning Commission, and Bob Duke, an attorney and member of the AIDS' Tri-ethnic

committee, are reportedly interested in Deane's open place.

For what will probably be a special election for Snell's seat, at least three individuals are seeking support: Bernna Means, Charles Yurdy, and Marvin Griffin.

Other potential candidates, who are either considering council races or are being encouraged to run, or both, include: Larry Deuser, member of the Electric Utility Commission and Vice-president of the Austin Neighborhood Council; Sally Wicliff, a member of We Care Austin; Rick Beam, an anti-nuclear and neighborhood activist; Ted Rice, an attorney and downtown neighborhood organizer; Ray Reese, chairman of the Renewable Resources Commission; Lewis Hanna, Jr., son of the Chevy dealer; JoAnn Harris, aide to County Commissioner Samuelson and neighborhood organizer in the University Hills area; and James Maritz, an orthodontist and Chairman of the Board at Capital City Savings.

Some of these individuals are definitely better than others, but neighborhood-oriented candidates must have answers to problems that may not be as critical to candidates sponsored by Bill Youngblood and the Chamber of Commerce. The biggest problem is access to money, and any serious neighborhood candidate should be able to envision total contributions in the \$20,000 range; and even that amount must be tied to pre-campaign name recognition

and lots of grass-root support.

The last criteria will be a major role of the Austin Neighborhood Fund.

## TRENCHBURNERS BACK IN DISTRICT COURT

While many citizens who have fought trenchburners for 16 months joke that they now know more about the devices than they ever wanted to know, it generally conceded that the latest "flare up" is no joke.

The Air Curtain Destructor Corporation filed suit in 12th District Court challenging the City of Austin's four month old ordinance which bans trenchburners within the city limits and five thousand feet into the county. The ordinance was passed citing the City's authority to ban nuisances relating to health, welfare and safety.

For the few who don't know what a trenchburner is- it's a blower device which is placed beside a trench which has been filled with wood waste products and ignited. The blower directs air into the trench at 250 mph, and aids combustion.

The trench is 3 feet wide, 15 feet deep, and up to 40 feet long. Temperatures in the pit reach 2,000 degrees F, and do not cool

off appreciably even over weekends. The pits emit a significant amount of particulate matter. The permits issued by the Texas Air Control Board (TACB) allow these devices to be located 300 feet from homes.

Neighborhood groups have won 2 significant court cases and a Zoning Board of Adjustment case in which the use of trenchburners was only allowed in the E Industrial zoning district. The last victory came last February when the City Council voted to ban the devices as nuisances. It is this City ordinance which is being challenged by the trenchburner manufacturer. The Houston firm is contending that only the TACB can regulate these devices and that the City ordinance has slandered his product. A very dangerous precedence could be established if the court decides that Austin cannot determine how to protect the health, welfare, and safety of its citizens.

Tom Buckle, the attorney who has successfully represented individual Austin

See "FLARE UP," Page 2

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## FLARE UP.... (cont. from pg. 1)

citizens in all proceedings, indicate that the ordinance is a strong one which can be easily defended in court.

The City staff, however, has seemed to be less than enthusiastic about this ordinance and neighborhood people worry that there is no real commitment to winning the current court case.

For these reasons, the Austin Neighborhood Council and nine individuals have joined the case.

"It would be nice if this case could continue without financial assistance," one

of the neighborhood organizers said recently, "but such is not the case. And, since the outcome of the case affects all Austin and Travis County residents, a special plea is being made for financial help. If you can send \$5 or \$10, or whatever, please do so. Make checks payable to 'John Beardsley' and mail them in the envelopes provided in this Newsletter.

"If we do lose this case, all of the accomplishments of the last 13 months will be voided."

Dear Friends of the Neighborhoods:

There will be a meeting of the Austin Neighborhood Fund Tuesday evening, June 17 at 7:30 at the Austin Main Library (800 Guadalupe) in Conference Room 3 on the fourth floor. The discussion will center around where the Fund is, and where we would like to take it, especially looking down the road at the April 1981 City Council elections.


As a part of that effort, please fill out the survey below and send it back to us. Fund participants will be compiling a number of surveys this summer and beyond to measure our issue base and potential resources.

It's a simple form; a high rate of return would benefit us all!

### QUESTIONNAIRE #1 (June, 1980)

1. Are you a member of a Neighborhood Organization?  Yes  No  
If yes, which one? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Do you have friends, working companions, and/or neighbors who might be interested in joining the Austin Neighborhood Fund?  Yes  No  
If yes, how many? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Which issue areas do you consider the five most important? (check five)
- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> environment                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> nuclear power                         | <input type="checkbox"/> electric rates               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> who controls growth                          | <input type="checkbox"/> transportation                        | <input type="checkbox"/> zoning                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Austin's economic health                     | <input type="checkbox"/> downtown historic preservation        | <input type="checkbox"/> trench burners               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> delivery of social and neighborhood services | <input type="checkbox"/> protection of our watersheds          | <input type="checkbox"/> water-wastewater commission  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> taxes  | <input type="checkbox"/> Neighborhood Zoning Advisory Councils | <input type="checkbox"/> Comprehensive Plan ordinance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other ( _____ )                              | <input type="checkbox"/> other ( _____ )                       |   |

(Mail in the enclosed envelope, or send to the Austin Neighborhood Fund, Box 4253, Austin, TX 78765)

 AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
P.O. Box 4253  
Austin, Texas 78765

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

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Volume 12 Number 7     A Neighborhood Development News Service     JULY 1980

## Bond Election in the Making Council Still Serving Developers

In early July, neighborhood, environmental, and other groups have requested "business" as a proposed Madison Park high-rise development project be moved to where Madison Park Neighborhood now sits," according to an article in the *Austin Statesman*.



The Madison issue was finally will be decided at the July 17 City Council meeting, and concerns a Madison Park, located to increase the area's zoning height limitation for the construction of a 15-story hotel on a 1.5-acre tract at South Park Street and Barton Springs Road.

David Bloch, representing the Walker Park Foundation, criticized the proposed Madison complex because of the city's unbecoming for the project's negative environmental impact on nearby Walker Park and Barton Springs Pool.

The Madison Park, envisioned as building new hotel complexes with new civic convention centers, and linked the convention center to creating a lot of "renewal projects" from city officials.

Members of neighborhood groups including the Austin Neighborhood Council, said the approval of a hotel-office complex is premature since voters have not yet approved the proposed \$5 million civic convention center.

City Executive William Simpson said that while the city is increasing the number of jobs in the area by an estimated 3,000 per day, a hotel-office complex will advance businesses which will displace the quality of the city.

This city administration and learned little from the previous bond election. Another "main" and "critical" message is that a bond election is being planned for November or December of this year.

According to reporter Laura Tate of the *Austin Statesman*,

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## ISSUES CONFERENCE: SEPT. 13

On Saturday, September 13, the Austin Neighborhood Fund is sponsoring with other groups the "First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference." Pending final approval, the conference location will be at the College House on 12th Street by Rio Grande and Pearl Streets.

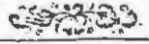
Available space will limit conference registration to two hundred persons, and NEF participants and friends are being given the first opportunity to come up with the \$5.00 registration fee (registration forms are on the block). Mail to a mailing in early August to neighborhood groups about the Issues Conference, so sign up now; registration will basically have to be on a first come, first served basis.

"We're planning on offering six different workshops twice during the day, so each conference partici-

pant will be able to attend at least four different workshops," said Jim Mahoney, one of the conference organizers.

William Simpson, another conference organizer, added that "Many different issues will be explored, including neighborhood planning, protection of our watersheds, Neighborhood Zoning Advisory Councils, downtown historic preservation, block food clubs, transportation planning, managing growth, energy and more." A conference schedule will be included in next month's *NewsWatch*.

"This Conference will be one of many steps in the process of creating a more informed citizenry in Austin," said another neighborhood representative, "and we have every reason to believe the issue conference on Sept. 13 will be a stunning success."



# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

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## GROWTH: #1 ISSUE

A recent poll of 100 Austin residents shows that neighborhood groups have been holding the City Council's feet to the fire about growth issues in Austin.

The poll was administered by City Councilman Dan Davidson and his staff, including neighborhood and city planning representatives. When the poll was conducted, the poll and results were kept for it, since they were of the highest quality.

Spence told the group that the poll showed "this city is in an acute growth problem." Neighborhood groups would have told Spence that and saved the subscribers their \$1,000. But the poll also revealed a surprising consensus in the growth issue when even the neighborhood groups would have suspected.

"It showed that growth is the number one issue, and for the first time in our history, across the board, liberal, conservative, money people, non-money people, are concerned about the growth of our city," Spence said.

"What's concerned about who is controlling the growth of our city. It will be the number one issue in 1981," Spence said.

Last February's defeat of water

interference and electric utility bonds, some that would have the effect of slowing down growth, was the first sign of Austin's unity on the growth issue and of the voters' willingness to use their power to control growth.

The poll showed an increase in the City Council that Austin's citizens are watching and that a vote in the City Council.

Even if the council is to be re-elected in 1981, and the question of who will control the growth of the city goes beyond the question of who will get elected, it is re-elected, so the City Council.

Those in power must act on the issue and make decisions on how Austin will grow. Now that such a widespread concern with the growth of the city exists, due in large part to the efforts of neighborhood groups, neighborhood-oriented individuals are in an excellent position to influence how planning for growth is done. The work of neighborhood groups can guarantee that Austin remains a City of Neighborhoods, instead of a city designed for the convenience of bankers, commissionaires, and tourists.

See EVENTS, Page 2

## BUDGET BLUE

In order to diffuse public anger during the '80-'81 City Budget process, according to one City Hall source, City Manager Dan Davidson has methodically staged the release of the City budget components throughout the sleepy summer.

The July 15 Budget Volume release called for record high expenditures of \$161.2 million, paid for with a 30 percent tax rate increase.

The proposed budget will also be paid for with record increases in transit fares and library fines.

According to the Manager's Aug. 3 Revenue Volume, bus fares and passes will cost 30% more in November, and library fines will rise 100%.

The increases will produce a projected \$20.200 in additional revenue. Coupled with planned cutbacks in bus and library branch services, neighborhood residents are sure to protest long and loud at Public Hearings before the City Council, Sept. 8 and 9.

## Electric Lifeline Rate

The Austin City Council will hold a public hearing Sept. 15 (8 p.m.) at the City Council Chambers in order to vote on new electric rate structures for Austin. The most promising rate system is one pushed by a coalition of neighborhood and civic groups and individuals called the Austin RATEMS (Reform Austin's Electric Rate Structure).

RATEMS also include members of the Electric Utility Commission (EUC) who were instrumental in getting EUC enforcement of lifeline proposal in late July. But calling the proposed rate change "lifeline" is misleading, EUC member Larry Decker said, because it would benefit most Austin consumers. Fellow EUC member Robert "Buck" Young said that this "Rate Structure for the 80s" would allow 65¢ to 75¢ of all residential, multi-fuel consumers to save on their monthly bills, and 15¢ to 61.5¢ of all commercial.

See ELECTRIC, Page 2



# First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference

August 20, 1980

Dear Neighbors:

You and your friends and neighbors are cordially invited to participate in the First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference on Saturday, September 13, from 9-4:30 at the College House, 707 W. 21st Street.

The theme of this year's conference is "Citizen Participation: Keeping Austin's Quality of Life." Recent polls indicate that control of Austin's rapid growth is the number one issue for Austinites. But the question of who will control the growth of the City goes beyond the question of who will get elected, or re-elected, to the Austin City Council next April.

Those in power must actively involve the public in decisions on how Austin will grow. To explore and enhance the citizen participation process, seven different workshops will be conducted at the Issues Conference. Each conference participant will have time to attend four of the seven workshops with community experts like Celeste Cronack, David Bodeman, Jack Ewins, Larry Deuser, Dorothy Richter, Dave Gures, Tom Lea, Martha Rartzog, Marle Moden, Dianne DeBois, Karen McGraw, Roger Duncan, Ray Reese and Peck Young, to name just a few.

About a third of each workshop's time will entail a presentation by the workshop's coordinators. In the remaining time participants will develop a statement of principle, or principles, concerning the workshop's issues.

In the morning general session Larry Deuser of the Austin Neighborhood Council and the Electric Utility Commission will address the topic of "Neighbors, Neighborhoods and Coalitions." In the afternoon session Dr. Gene Burd of the University of Texas School of Communication will speak on "Neighborhood Issues and the Press." This First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference is being sponsored by friends of the Austin Neighborhood Fund.

To cover the cost of workshop and conference materials, a registration fee of \$5.00 is requested. Please register as soon as possible, because space is limited and we need to measure interest in each workshop for final scheduling.

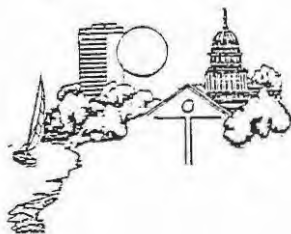
We hope you are able to accept our invitation to the First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference!

Sincerely,

*Tim Mahoney*

Tim Mahoney

For the  
Austin Neighborhood Fund  
P.O. Box 4263  
Austin, Tx. 78765  
512-451-2347



# Austin Neighborhood Fund

P.O. Box 4263 Austin, Texas 78765 (512) 451-2347

PRESS RELEASE:

September 5, 1980

SUBJECT: The First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference  
DATE: Saturday, September 13, 1980; 9-4:30 p.m.  
PLACE: College House, 707 West 21st Street

On Saturday, September 13, 1980, friends of the Austin Neighborhood Fund will sponsor the First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference. Members of the Press are cordially invited to attend.

The theme of this year's conference is "Citizen Participation: Keeping Austin's Quality of Life." Recent polls indicate that control of Austin's rapid growth is the number one issue for Austinites. Those in positions of public responsibility must actively involve the public in decisions on how Austin will grow. To explore and enhance the citizen participation process, seven different workshops will be conducted at this Saturday's First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference (see enclosed materials).

For more information, please call Tim Mahoney at 451-2347, Ari Wright at 441-2551, or Marilyn Simpson at 442-8411.



## First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference

The College House Coop  
707 West 21st Street  
Saturday, September 13, 1980

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

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Volume II Number VII A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service October 1980

COUNCIL CONTINUES ONSLAUGHT AGAINST CITIZEN PARTICIPATION:

## Electric Rate for the Fuelish

There's little doubt about it now: the City Council is bent on not giving Austinites a "Rate Structure for the '80s," or what it is more commonly called, Proposal Number 7. Promoted by a coalition called the RATES (Reform Austin's Terrible Electric Rate Structure), and Electric Utility Commission members Larry Deuser, Skuddle Pech and Peck Young, Proposition Number 7 has been the victim of counterpunches since it came to the City Council's attention this past month.

A minority of the Council has been working hard for #7, but that does not necessarily get things done in Austin. Councilwoman Betty Himmelblau has been pushing a proposal #14, and her actions effectively delayed the Council changing the rate structure at all, send the whole matter to the Electric Utility Commission. On Monday, October 13, the EUC voted by a five to three margin to support Himmelblau's plan.

Charlotte Flynn, representing the Gray Panthers, called Himmelblau's #14 "discriminatory" before the EUC,

recognizing correctly that the Councilwoman is simply trying to break up the RATES coalition with public assistance handouts.

Evidently as a result of some citizens' efforts at using the "citizen communications" time during City Council meetings to combat some distorted logic put forth by some council people on the electric rate structure, the Council will consider a new policy October 16 that would restrict Austinites from speaking on issues that have already been the subject of a public hearing.

"We already limit the amount of time they can speak, and now we're trying to limit what citizens can talk about," Council Richard Goodman told the American Statesman.

First Assistant City Attorney Albert DelaRosa told the same reporter "There is no requirement in the (Texas open-meetings) law that the general public be given the right to speak."

### WHAT ENERGY CRISIS?

## TRANSIT FARES UP!

The Austin Transit System has made adjustments in its passenger fares and a change in its transfer policy, all of which went into effect October 5 courtesy of the Austin City Council's budget cuts at the end of September. The Council also, if you can believe it in this day of higher and higher gas prices, cut back some of the bus routes.

The fare for Adults for all week-day hours and all Saturday and Sunday hours will be 40 cents. Children 6 to 12 years of age and for passengers 65 years or older and the handicapped will be 20 cents.

Passengers boarding buses will be issued transfers at 5 cents each upon request. Transfers will be valid for a period of two hours and usable from any Austin Transit route to another, but cannot be used by passengers returning or continuing on the same route from which their transfer was originally issued. Riding the bus is still far cheaper than driving a car, but you can bet that ridership will not increase substantially with this City Council.

## Issues Conference Boosts The Neighborhood Power

As was announced in the October issue of Hyde Park's Pecan Press, "the First Annual Austin Neighborhood Issues Conference, held last September 13, was considered a tremendous success by all of the 90 neighborhood people who attended from around Austin... Many of Austin's neighborhood associations were represented, as were such "umbrella" organizations as the Austin Neighborhoods Council, ACORN, Austinites for Public Transportation, the Zilker Park Posse, We Care Austin and others."

Participants at the Conference, sponsored by the Austin Neighborhood Fund, attended a day-long series of seminars and workshops which dealt with every aspect of local community activity, from environmental protection to downtown revitalization to transportation and energy concerns. A very useful conference booklet was one of the tangible products of the Austin Neighborhood Fund effort. Copies of the booklet are available for only \$2.00 plus \$1.00 for postage and handling from the AMF, P.O. Box 4263, Austin, 78765; 451-2547.





# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

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Volume II Number VIII A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service Nov-Dec 1981

For Austin Today and April, 1981

## ELECTION WORKSHOP ON DEC. 6

Mark your calendars for Saturday, Dec. 6, 1981, when a "City Council Election Workshop for Austin Residents" will be held. The Austin Neighborhood Fund is one of the many neighborhood-oriented groups sponsoring the conference. Other groups include the Dilker Park posse and NABERS, among others.

The conference will be held at the Springs House Room, 200 West 21st Street. Registration and coffee will be from 8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. The election process and how to begin at 10 a.m., followed by three topical workshops on election organizing. A panel will convene at 4 p.m. to

answer questions of the day's events from participants.

Experts will be available to provide details on the nuts and bolts of citizen education and the electoral process.

Friends of the ANF are strongly urged to attend this workshop so the opportunities for neighborhood-oriented candidates to win in April, 1981, are maximized. Attendance at the conference will not depend on an entrance fee.

Democracy is not a spectator sport!

For more information, call Tim Mahoney at 451-2347.

## AVENUE, ACC ON JANUARY BALLOT

It looks like we'll have at least a couple of weeks to vote on here in Austin and Travis County just a little after the new year (with the possibility of City of Austin bond election as well). The exact dates are still hazy, but the odds are for Jan. 17.

The first item is the result of the much-bally-hooed Congress Avenue petition drive to keep six lanes of traffic on the STREET in Austin. More than 31,000 signatures were given to the City on November 7. The City has 30 days to verify 18,500 of the signatures, the amount necessary to force the City Council to call an election on the plan.

The \$2.2 million Congress Avenue beautification plan will also widen sidewalks by more than nine feet and add landscaping, trees, and benches. The City Council is currently scheduled to award bids for Congress Avenue work Dec. 4, and the actual work is set to begin on Jan. 15. Therefore, some petition organizers want the election held Jan. 7.

It seems likely, if for no other than political reasons, the City Council will vote to delay starting the beautification plan now that they are faced with an election that may stop it anyway.

Most of us are still wondering

what all the commotion is about. The pain was once part of a comprehensive effort that included transportation options and economic development. The widening of the sidewalks is really such an innocuous issue that it's almost like watching the downtown business people digging their own economic graves as the Mall risks ominously over Barton Creek.

COUNTY-WIDE voters will also be asked to approve or deny whether Austin Community College should have its own tax base. The election, which will occur Jan. 17, is the result of another petition drive of almost a year ago. 16,500 signatures, or ten percent of the county's registered voters, were needed to force this election.

Officials have postponed this election date once. However, the results are not likely to be favorable for proponents of the taking authority this January either. The package was put together by an elite group of Austinites without much grassroots participation. In this day and age, taking authority is not passed out without citizen development. If the voters turn the proposal down, services provided by the Austin Community College (now governed by the Austin Independent School District Board of Trustees) are not likely to be adversely affected.

## HAPPY HOLIDAYS!

# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

Volume III Number I A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service January 1981

## DOWNTOWN RAILS ON THE MOVE!

The City of Austin has been conducting the Central Business District Rail Relocation Study for nearly a year. This study and the alternatives it presents have great implications for the future of downtown Austin.

Since relocating rail operations and facilities is the key to so many private developments, the primary issue at hand is to see what the Rail Study is used in a proper relationship with-in the process of planning for downtown redevelopment.

In essence the City has spent about \$60,000 to determine where rail facilities might be moved. The rail is used by three railroad companies currently. The study proposes 19 alternatives that can be mixed and matched for a final solution. Costs vary, but the estimate to convert all operations to 36,000,000. Railroad property values could increase four times their present value, assuming present fourth height and area zoning.

Recalling the great debates of Downtown Redevelopment you will remem-

ber that one of the primary concerns expressed was the displacement of people and businesses. Seeing that a developer like the American States Corporation might be in downtown if given a free hand under existing zoning we came to a public consensus that we should direct our energies toward developing a "Plan for downtown before it's "discovered" for us.

Unfortunately a year and a half and no task force has been organized, and so no comprehensive plans have been developed.

Copies of the RED Rail Study can be obtained from the Urban Planning Division Department at 100 East 2nd Street.

The Planning Commission will hold a public hearing on Tuesday evening, Jan. 27, at the City Council Chambers (call the City Clerk at 472-6147 for the exact time).

The City Council will hold a public hearing on Wednesday, Feb. 18, at 8:00 P.M. at the Council Chambers.

For more information, call Susan McGrew at 472-6372.

## Austin & Energy: LESS IS MORE

The City of Austin has at long last begun to take energy conservation seriously-- at least it appears that way if one looks at several new programs that the City is now undertaking.

The Residential Conservation Service (RCS) is a federally-subsidized program which requires utilities to offer energy audits to their residential customers. These audits would include specific recommendations for energy conservation measures, an estimate of potential energy savings and a list of qualified local suppliers and contractors.

Conversations with personnel in the City's Electric Utility Department, however, project an image of the RCS as a program that will generate only a three percent response rate from consumers.

The Electric Utility will seek City Council approval of Austin's RCS program in early 1981.

The Comprehensive Community Energy Program (CCEP) is a massive effort which purports to provide citizen input and direction for Austin's energy future. The program's main feature, a task force with at least 125 members, will examine Austin's current energy situation, consider alternative options and make final recommendations to the

City Council in the summer of 1981.

The City office continues to run the program, failed to even have the Austin Neighborhood Council for suggested participants on the Task Force. However, a last minute citizens' input resulted in the appointment of more women, minorities, energy advocates and neighborhood folks.

The task force will be developing recommendations for presentation to the City Council this summer.

Last but not least, the Renewable Energy Resources Commission is currently completing a year-long effort to formulate a Renewable Energy Development (RED) Plan. The plan suggests a list of low-cost actions, including the formation of Neighborhood Energy Councils, by which the City can support the development of renewable energy resources. Although the RED Plan will be presented to the Council next month, action on the plan will probably have to wait until next summer and the next City Council.

In the interim, the RER Commission plans a public outreach program to acquaint citizens with the potential use of renewable energy in Austin. If any group of which you are a member would like to learn more about the RED Plan, contact Susan Dicks at 452-6147.

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AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND'S MEMBERSHIP POLL OF CITY COUNCIL CANDIDATES


1971, the 51st One in April is almost upon us. Please help any of us and fill out this survey and mail it in the enclosed envelope (or to the ANF, P.O. Box 4263, Austin, 78765). To be useful, the survey must be returned by Feb. 1, 1971! Each survey form should be signed by ANF members, or members of the membership. Although the general results of the survey will be printed in the next issue's issue of NewsWatch, individual responses will be kept confidential. The results of this survey will be used by the ANF Steering Committee for City Council candidate endorsements. Endorsements will be made in cases where there is a substantial consensus. In cases where there is not a substantial consensus, endorsements probably will not be made.

- For any information, please call Tim Hanney at 451-19-7.
- NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ Ed Binder \_\_\_\_\_ Carol McClellan \_\_\_\_\_ Jack McCreary \_\_\_\_\_ George  
 Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Larry Deurer \_\_\_\_\_ Bob Duke \_\_\_\_\_ Mike Guerrero \_\_\_\_\_ Max Wolfson  
 \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Roger Dunson \_\_\_\_\_ Louis Kenna, Jr. \_\_\_\_\_ Harry O'Brien \_\_\_\_\_ Joseph  
 \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Harold de Leon \_\_\_\_\_ Tom Marlowe \_\_\_\_\_ (R.W. Neeley) \_\_\_\_\_ Robert  
 \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Richard Beckman \_\_\_\_\_ Robert  
 \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Henry Falco \_\_\_\_\_ Mark Rose \_\_\_\_\_ John Overins \_\_\_\_\_ Joseph  
 \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Barbara Weiss \_\_\_\_\_ Douglas Wolf \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

Other names not on the above list? \_\_\_\_\_  
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\*Please indicate either a candidate's name (or undecided), or None, or Other.

ANF membership



The Austin Neighborhood News-watch is published monthly by the Austin Neighborhood Fund, P.O. Box 4263, Austin, Texas (451-2347).

Production Staff: Susan Jiman, Karen McBrown, Mary S. Ann, Tim Hanney, Roger Baker (color donated).

Yes! Put us (or me) on the mailing list for the Austin Neighborhood News-watch for one year (only \$5.00). My name, address, and telephone number is:

\_\_\_\_\_

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And here's something a little extra!

# The Austin Neighborhood Fund NEEDS YOU!

THE AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD FUND  
 P.O. Box 4263  
 Austin, Tx. 78765  
 (512) 451-2347



# AUSTIN NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSWATCH

Volume III Number II A Cooperative Neighborhood News Service Feb.-March 1981

CANDIDATE LITERATURE DROP ON MARCH 21st

## CITY COUNCIL ENDORSEMENTS

With a press release dated March 23, the ANF announced its endorsements for the Austin City Council Election. This election marks the first time a neighborhood element will have a significant impact on candidate elections.

The text of the press release reads as follows:

"The Austin Neighborhood Fund, a city-wide organization of some 200 individuals, today announces their endorsements for the April 4th City Council elections. The endorsements are as follows:

"Bob Binder for mayor; Larry Deuser for place 1; Roger Duncan for place 2; Marcos DeLeon for place 3; John Trevino for Place 5; and both Bertha Means and Charles Urdy for Place 6.

"It is our firm belief that these candidates will answer the demand of Austinites from last year's bond election that City government serve all citizens, no matter where their neighborhood, and not cater to the special interests. The time may be at hand when a majority of Council members will no longer intimidate citizens during public hearings, while they give a receptive ear to developers during weekday lunches at high-rise cafes.

"For more information please contact ANF endorsement committee members Tim Mahoney at 451-2347, or Marilyn Simpson at 442-8411."

The Zilker Park Fosse made the same endorsements as the ANF, except in Place 6, where they endorsed Charles Urdy alone, and Place 4 where they

endorsed Rollin McDrae; most other neighborhood-oriented groups endorse the same as well, except for Urdy or Means alone in some cases, and Richard Goodman in Place 4.

The group "Austinites for South Austin" (what American Statesman editor Ray Harriott calls the "chicken fried steak crowd" is still looking for a South Austinite to support, evidently overlooking Roger Duncan's residence.

Literature Drop March 21st:

An informal group called the River City Coordinating Council, for which the ANF has a representative or two, is planning a literature drop of 20,000 pieces in "wsins" precincts on March 21st beginning at 12 a.m. Please meet at the APC office, 301 West 24th Street. The River City Coordinating Council's (or RCC as it has been affectionally called) endorsements are: Bob Binder for mayor; Larry Deuser for place 1; Roger Duncan for place 2; Marcos DeLeon for place 3; Richard Goodman for place 4; John Trevino for place 5; and Charles Urdy for place 6.

If you support most of these candidates, it may be their only chance to get their literature into many precincts and neighborhoods.

A party (with beer!) will follow the day's efforts beginning at 4 p.m. at the APC office. If you participate in this effort alone, you may have a reason to gripe if the election does not turn out the way you hoped.

For more information, please contact the APC office at 472-1166, or Gary Witt at 836-3533.

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## VITA

Timothy Raymond Mahoney, II, was born in Bethesda, Maryland, in April, 1952, the first child of Marian Rose and Timothy Raymond Mahoney. After completing his work at Jesuit College Preparatory, Dallas, Texas, in 1970, he attended a number of colleges, including Tyler Junior College at Tyler, Texas, in 1972; Richland College at Dallas, Texas, from 1972 to 1974; and The University of Texas at Austin beginning in 1975. He received his Bachelor of Arts from The University of Texas at Austin in December, 1978. Between 1976 and 1982, articles he authored appeared in numerous publications, among them the Dallas Morning News; Texas Observer; Consumer Watch; Daily Texan; Austin Sun; Listen; Austin Neighborhood Newswatch; Dead Tree; Wheatsville Breeze; and River City Currents. In 1978 he won a number of journalism awards and honors, including the 1978 Student Journalism Award of the Society of Business and Economic Writers of America, and a William Randolph Hearst Foundation award for investigative reporting, for articles which appeared in a July, 1977, issue of the Texas Observer. In September, 1979, he entered the Graduate School of The University of Texas.

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