



RESEARCH REPORT

# Austin and the State of Low- and Middle-Income Housing

Strategies to Preserve Affordability and Opportunities for the Future

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# Executive Summary

Austin is experiencing rapid population growth, gentrification, and racial change. A culture- and technology-based economic development strategy has attracted businesses and spurred a major population influx and has left the city's stock of affordable housing in increasingly short supply. This is especially the case for low- and middle-income (LMI) households—families who make between 50 and 120 percent of the local area median income—who make too much for subsidies and too little to pay market prices. This report examines the state of LMI housing in Austin through a data-rich analysis of the population and housing market changes in the past 15 years. We identify through a typology which neighborhoods are changing the most for LMI residents and need to have LMI housing preserved or created. Finally, we met with stakeholders to understand the policy context and potential programmatic solutions that could be implemented to ensure that LMI households can continue to live in Austin.

Reviewing population and housing stock trends, we find that Austin's population has exploded over the past 15 years. The following findings provide the scope of where Austin's LMI families live and how their housing has changed:

- Austin experienced tremendous growth between 2000 and 2015. The city added over 69,000 housing units (19 percent growth), which largely kept pace with the city's population growth (20 percent). Although most neighborhoods added new units, the growth was not uniform across the city. Some neighborhoods saw tremendous growth in housing units. Several neighborhoods at the periphery of the city—such as Four Points, Robert Mueller Municipal Airport, Samsung–Pioneer Crossing, and Slaughter Creek—saw increases in units of over 300 percent.
- Rental cost burdens—households paying 30 percent or more of their income on housing costs—have increased from 2000 to 2015 from 41 to 48 percent of all Austin's renters. For very low-income (VLI) and LMI renters, the change was more pronounced. Cost burden rates for VLI renters increased from 69 to 91 percent. Low- and middle-income renter households, whose cost burden rates were around 9 percent in 2000, had cost burden rates increase to 25 percent by 2015.
- Two neighborhoods that were ranked low in 2000 improved considerably and are in the top tier in 2015. Onion Creek was number 61 on the list in 2000 and is now number 29. Although the neighborhood experienced gains in its resident economic success, this surge in performance is primarily driven by improved housing indicators and could be related to recent annexation that

expanded and changed the neighborhood. The Chestnut neighborhood experienced even more striking changes, moving from 90th to 31st in our overall rankings. This improvement is driven equally by gains in resident economic success and housing market health. Chestnut is in the central-east region of the city and surrounded by mid- and low-performing neighborhoods, indicating a trend of neighborhood change that, without intervention, is likely to affect the entire central-east area.

- Conversations with stakeholders suggest that the Montopolis neighborhood may be gentrifying rapidly. Given its low housing costs and current LMI population, preserving LMI affordable housing in this neighborhood may be a priority.

In meetings with housing stakeholders in Austin, we heard about barriers to LMI affordable housing, as well as tremendous opportunities for programmatic and policy solutions. Key points include the following:

- Austin's tremendous growth is changing who can continue to reside in the city. East Austin—an area of the city that was the product of historic policies of racial segregation and was home to much of the city's black population—has been rapidly gentrifying in recent years. Housing prices there have escalated, and the city continues to lose black residents to nearby suburbs. Stakeholders report that property tax burdens weigh heavily on longtime homeowners in East Austin, including Montopolis, where property values and tax assessments continue to rise. Reevaluating the county's homestead exemptions and tax assessment processes could ease the burden on LMI homeowners and prevent displacement.
- One of the reasons property tax burdens are challenging for Austin's residents is because Texas has no income tax and funds most schools through locally generated property taxes. Austin is limited in how it can generate revenue to support affordable housing and is further limited by Texas state legislative and gubernatorial decisions to overrule local policy and programmatic innovations on housing. Austin's newly introduced affordable housing strike fund could be an important innovation because it is intended to be funded primarily with private capital. If the strike fund can marshal enough funding, quickly target naturally occurring affordable housing near transit, purchase it, and preserve it as permanently affordable, the fund will be an important development for the city.
- Neighborhood groups in Austin are vocal about potential affordable housing projects and may have too much sway over final decisions. It will be increasingly important for affordable housing stakeholders to promote greater awareness of why such housing projects keep the people,

places, music, and culture that make Austin unique—an important source of identity for Austinites. Through engagement with the city’s more affluent and outspoken residents about the benefits of housing for people of all income levels, the momentum for strategic and smart development can build in a way that is perceived as coherent with existing neighborhoods, rather than in conflict.

These findings suggest that Austin—a city that is aware of its affordable housing issues for LMI families and is seeking ways to help these residents—is facing many challenges because of tremendous economic success and rapid population growth. In the coming years, Austin’s creativity and dedication to these issues will help all residents, regardless of income, remain there and continue to contribute to its success.






# Austin and the State of Low- and Middle-Income Housing

Austin is experiencing rapid population growth, gentrification, and racial change. A culture- and technology-based economic development strategy has attracted businesses and spurred a major population influx. These demographic changes have created a situation in which the city's stock of affordable housing, especially for low- and middle-income (LMI) residents, is increasingly in short supply. Renters are vulnerable, with rents on the rise in many neighborhoods. Home prices are escalating, meaning many would-be LMI homeowners are excluded from the market and existing homeowners sometimes face property tax bills they cannot pay. Although Austin's lowest-income residents are likely to be eligible for federal housing subsidies, many LMI families make too much to qualify for subsidies, yet too little to afford rapidly rising housing costs. We need to understand the state of LMI housing in Austin's neighborhoods and identify opportunities to bolster affordable housing and strengthen communities.

This report explores the state of LMI housing in Austin by focusing on changes in the city's more than 80 neighborhoods. By focusing on low-income households making between 50 and 120 percent of the area median income (AMI), or \$38,400 to \$92,160 a year in 2015 for a household of four,<sup>1</sup> this report highlights households who may be especially challenged by Austin's rising housing costs. Furthermore, this report describes Austin's LMI households and affordable housing within a neighborhood context, reflecting how the community, developers, and planners think about these issues.

This report has two key components. First, we present a data-rich analysis of demographic, economic, and housing trends across Austin's neighborhoods to identify where the most potential exists for maintaining and creating affordable housing for LMI households. Second, we summarize insights from meetings with stakeholders involved in housing and development in Austin to best identify the direction the city and its residents should move toward on these issues. Through integrating rigorous neighborhood-level data and the guidance and programmatic needs of those working directly in the community, we can identify strategies to preserve the economic diversity of Austin's residents and to ensure that all may benefit from the city's prosperity.

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**BOX 1****LMI Households within the Continuum of Affordable Housing Choices and Strategies**

Continuum of Affordable Housing Choices & Strategies		
INCOME	TARGET POPULATION	EXAMPLE STRATEGIES
<30% AMI	Extremely low income (homeless or at risk of homelessness)	Emergency shelters & rapid re-housing Permanent supportive housing Housing for persons with special needs Rental assistance Public housing, Housing Choice Vouchers, & Project-based rental assistance
30–50% AMI	Very low income	Rental Assistance Public housing Housing Choice Vouchers Project-based rental assistance Tax credits for development of affordable housing
50–120% AMI	Low to moderate income	Homeownership assistance Down payment assistance Homeownership counseling Tax credits for developing affordable housing Density bonuses Inclusionary zoning
> 120% AMI	Moderate to upper income	Varying city, state, and federal tax credits

A continuum of affordable housing options and strategies align with family income levels defined in relation to the area median income. Municipalities generally pursue a range of policy and programmatic options to meet families' needs across the income spectrum. The strategies listed above are only a sample of the options and best practices municipalities use.

This report focuses on the needs of low- and middle-income (LMI) families who earn too much to qualify for publicly subsidized rental assistance, but not enough to afford much of the market-rate housing available. For LMI families, municipalities typically pursue strategies that expand their access to affordable rental and owner-occupied workforce housing or assist them with homeownership. The strategies municipalities pursue for LMI families vary by place and local context. These context-specific policy and program options are the focus of this report.

# A Brief History of Housing in Austin Neighborhoods

Since its incorporation in 1839 as the new capital of Texas, Austin's history has been defined by the dual forces of institutional stability and rapid and continual change. Racially restrictive city planning, immigration, a dedication to innovative economic development and cultural capital, and population growth in recent decades have resulted in complex challenges in terms of housing affordability for low- and middle-income families. This section briefly describes the city's history as it relates to current trends in housing affordability and then explores the current policy context around housing and community development.

Austin was selected as the capital of the Republic of Texas in 1839 and became the capital of the state when Texas was annexed into the United States in 1845. In its early years, preceding the Civil War, over one-third of the city's population was African American, and this population grew further after the Emancipation Proclamation. The city's regional importance grew as the city became a major transit and trading hub by the 1870s.<sup>2</sup> The University of Texas opened in 1883 and continues to be a major employer and anchor institution.<sup>3</sup>

Austin's first major city plan was completed in 1928 as the population grew to about 50,000 people. This has significantly affected how race has intersected with housing policy. The plan created de facto racial segregation through its recommendation to create a "negro district" in East Austin. The plan's writers stated, "It is our recommendation that the nearest approach to the solution of the race segregation problem will be the recommendation of this district as a negro district...as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area" (City of Austin, n.d.). This district became the only area where African Americans could access city-provided public services. In addition, the city's planners assigned weak zoning restrictions, resulting in harmful and dangerous industrial land uses intermixed with homes in this part of East Austin.

Austin's large Hispanic and Mexican population, which surpassed the city's African American population by the 1950s, was also subject to discriminatory housing policies, albeit in a different form. Although Hispanics were considered "white" by many state regulations, racially restrictive covenants and deeds led to segregation between white and Hispanic residents. Because of these practices, Mexican American and other Hispanic families moved into East and Southeast Austin. Eliot Tretter, a researcher at the University of Texas, suggests that Austin and other cities created a "triracial" form of segregation between white, black, and Hispanic residents (Tretter, n.d.). Using East Avenue as a divider, inequities in wealth between white and minority neighborhoods continue today, 50 years after the Civil

Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed such practices. Today, most of the city's African American and Hispanic residents still live in neighborhoods east of I-35.

The city's economy was driven primarily by the University of Texas and the state government until the 1980s. The city took explicit efforts to become a hub for technology and culture starting in the 1980s, becoming a model for other cities. As Grodach (2012) writes, the city pursued a "three-pronged strategy to attract and retain tech firms by investing in UT science and engineering departments, providing generous incentives targeted to [research and development-]based activities, and promoting the protection and improvement of environmental and cultural amenities." Dell, Sematech, and the Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation located in the city in the 1980s, leading a decades-long tech boom. Simultaneously, the city began investing in cultural amenities through programmatic investments and through its smart-growth redevelopment strategy. In the 1980s, the city created a "desired development zone [that] enhance[ed] cultural amenities specifically as an attraction for new residential and commercial development, particularly in the urban core" (Grodach 2012).

Such investments led to pronounced population growth from the 1970s onward. Between 2000 and 2010, the city's population grew 20 percent, most of which was because of immigration and natural expansion. During this time, Austin ranked among the 10 fastest-growing cities in the country. Austin's population in 2010 was 727,688 and grew nearly 20 percent to 870,815 by 2015, with the addition of nearly 143,127 new residents. Importantly, the share of families with children in downtown Austin has declined, and there is a geographic clustering of wealth in the central neighborhoods. Between 2000 and 2010, Austin was the only city among the nation's fastest growing that had a decrease in its African American population. Middle-class African Americans have been leaving the city for suburban communities. Historical data show that the east-west racial divide along the I-35 corridor remained unchanged through the early 2000s, but gentrification and rising housing costs elsewhere in the city are changing the racial and economic composition of East Austin. Simultaneously, there is a geographic clustering of Hispanic families in South East Austin. Austin's is a story of segregation followed by gentrification (Tang and Ren 2014).

Rental rates and home values began to rise in the late 1990s. As in Denver and other fast-growth cities, housing costs have increased faster than incomes as the population has grown and housing stock has lagged. As confirmed through stakeholder conversations, the city's technology- and culturally driven economic development policies contributed to a situation where rents were rising drastically in the city's central neighborhoods. Further, the city's embrace of smart-growth policies and an influx of wealthier residents put tremendous pressure on historically segregated and underinvested

neighborhoods. *Imagine Austin*, the city's new comprehensive plan, notes that housing options for middle- and low-income households have moved to increasingly distant suburban areas of Austin, which increase transportation expenditures (City of Austin 2016).

The broader economic and demographic changes that have redefined Austin over several decades have implications for the city's state of affordable housing, particularly for LMI families. The city completed two housing market studies in 2008 and 2014 that estimated the city's housing needs and informed the city's response and planning efforts. The 2014 study assessed housing needs in relation to demographic and economic trends and found that despite an influx of high-income renters, there was tremendous competition for nonluxury rental units (BBC 2014). Affordable housing was all but missing in neighborhoods west of I-35, putting pressure on longtime residents in East Austin who are being forced to relocate. The study called for additional funding for affordable housing and a reduction of regulatory barriers on development.

Austin's tremendous economic success and population growth have helped make it a vibrant and top-ranking city on many indexes, while posing affordability challenges to longtime residents and workers who support its economy. Austin has various city-led initiatives that demonstrate leaders' awareness that this is a crucial issue. But without creating growth inclusive of all residents across its racially, ethnically, socially, and economically diverse population, Austin may find future growth challenging. The population and housing availability across Austin's neighborhoods have changed tremendously over the past 15 years, and programmatic interventions are an immediate need.

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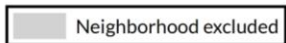
## BOX 2

### Defining Austin's Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods often reflect shared community identity across cities—boundaries understood by residents, but not often quantified in official data sources. This report presents data at the neighborhood level, using geographic information system boundaries made available through the City of Austin to aggregate census tract-level data into the corresponding neighborhoods (figure 1). Analyses in this report are broken out for neighborhoods wherever permitted with the data available.

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## Neighborhoods in Austin



# Changing Demographics in Austin's Neighborhoods

People drive the diversity and development of any city. Understanding population dynamics is critical for identifying LMI housing opportunities. To understand Austin's neighborhoods today, we describe the populations living in them and how these areas have recently changed. We rely on data from the 2000 Decennial Census and the American Community Survey's (ACS) five-year sample from 2011 to 2015 for localized data (referenced as "2015" throughout this report). As these data show, some of Austin's neighborhoods have lost LMI households, while others have gained them.

## Population and Households

Austin has experienced tremendous population growth in recent years. Since 2000, the city has added over 140,000 new residents for a total population of 870,815 in 2015, growing 20 percent (appendix table A.1). This growth does not appear to be slowing. The most recent single-year 2015 ACS estimate places Austin's population at 931,840 (up 28 percent since 2000). The neighborhoods that saw the most dramatic population growth were on the city's edge. Six neighborhoods in far south Austin on the city's border—Bluff Springs, Circle C South, Onion Creek, Pleasant Valley, Slaughter Creek, and South Brodie—added over 6,000 residents each, and most more than doubled in size between 2000 and 2015 (appendix table A.1). Not only has Austin's population grown, but since the 1960s, the city has engaged in an expansive annexation policy, incorporating much of Travis County and portions of Hays County and Williamson County. Since 2000, the city has incorporated land in many regions on the city's border experiencing fast population growth (e.g., Bluff Springs, Onion Creek, Robinson Ranch, and Spicewood). Of note, the city and neighborhood boundaries are set to 2015 lines in all analyses in this report. For example, if a household was in Onion Creek before the neighborhood's annexation in the 2000s, it would be counted as an Austin household living in Onion Creek in both periods.

There was also notable growth within the city's inner regions. Downtown, Montopolis, and Pleasant Valley each grew over 70 percent from 2000 to 2015. But not all neighborhoods grew in population. Several neighborhoods on the near east side that experienced gentrification pressures (e.g., Central East Austin, East Cesar Chavez, Govalle, and Holly) saw their populations fall. There were also declines in wealthy residential neighborhoods in far west Austin, including Avery Ranch–Lakeline, Barton Creek Mall Area, Davenport Lake Austin, and Spicewood (appendix table A.1).



## Key Demographics: Race, Ethnicity, Age, and Education

Austin has a diverse population, but residential clustering by race and ethnicity, age, and educational attainment characteristics exists throughout the city. One of the most stark and lasting features is the city's east-west divide: wealthier, higher-educated, majority-white communities tend to live on the city's west side, and less wealthy, more diverse communities tend to live on the city's east side. This divide was largely created and reinforced by city and federal policy. Austin's 1928 zoning plan proposed the creation of an exclusively African American district in Austin's near east side, which made the area the only part of the city where African Americans could access schools and public services in segregated Austin. In the 1930s, redlining and racially restrictive covenants on neighborhoods formalized the boundaries by restricting the areas where African American and Hispanic residents could buy or rent to primarily the near east and south side. Later the construction of I-35, which precisely follows the western border of the formally redlined district in East Austin, provided a physical barrier that further reinforced the divide between east and west that persists.<sup>4</sup> Acknowledging this legacy, in 2017, the City of Austin released a plan to address institutional racism through a task force that targets education, housing, health, finance, and criminal justice disparities (Mayor's Task Force 2017).

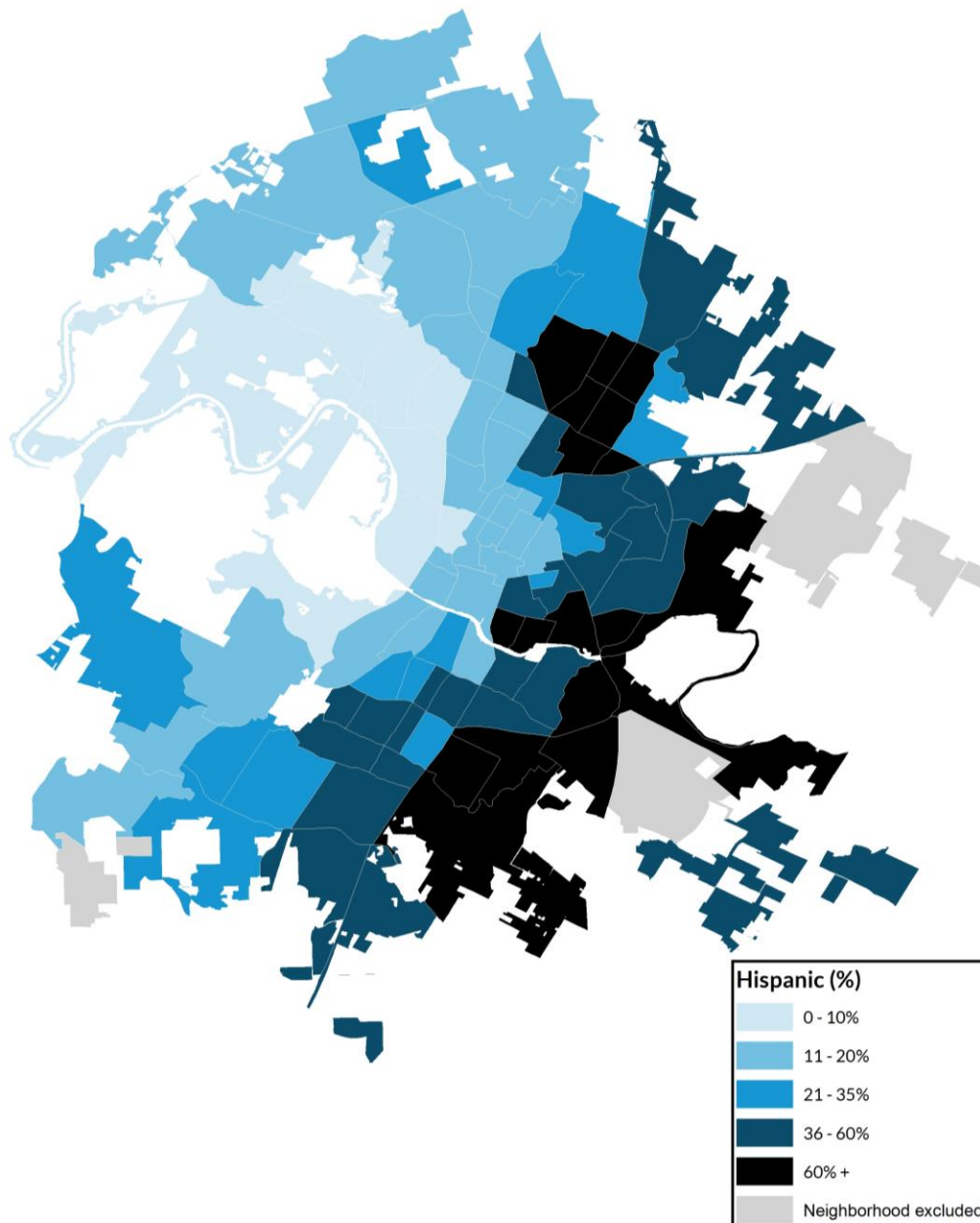
Despite the large influx of population, Austin's east-west divide has largely held. But the boundaries of the divide have started to shift with gentrification in the city's central portions. The change is most pronounced in traditional centers of Austin's Hispanic and black communities on the city's near east side (e.g., Central East Austin, East Cesar Chavez, and Holly), which have seen rising property values and an influx of wealthier, predominantly white residents. Many stakeholders suggest that this process, which has accelerated, shows little signs of slowing down. But predominantly white neighborhoods have also grown more diverse, particularly in North Austin neighborhoods just north of US 183 and in south Austin below US 290.

Austin's Hispanic and Latino population share increased from 29 percent in 2000 to 35 percent in 2015. The city's Hispanic and Latino community primarily resides on the east side (figure 2). Eight neighborhoods—Bluff Springs, Del Valle, Franklin Park, McKinney, Montopolis, North Lamar, Southeast, and St. John—had at least 70 percent of residents identify as Hispanic in 2015 (appendix table A.2). These neighborhoods were generally fast-growing communities, and most saw a 15 percentage point or higher increase in the share of Hispanic residents living in these neighborhoods. But four neighborhoods in the city's near east side (Central East Austin, East Cesar Chavez, Govalle, and Holly) and three in near south Austin (Dawson, East Congress, Galindo) saw their Hispanic share of residents fall 15 percentage points or more.



FIGURE 2

Hispanic Population in Austin Neighborhoods, 2011–15



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

Austin is unique in being the only fast-growing city in the country to lose black population between 2000 and 2010.<sup>5</sup> Austin lost black residents, both in share of population (dropping from 9 to 7 percent of total population) and in absolute number (the city lost nearly 6,000 black residents). The

neighborhoods with the highest share of African American residents, primarily in northeast Austin, all witnessed declines in the share of African American residents of at least 15 percentage points (LBJ, MLK, MLK-183, Pecan Springs–Springdale, Rogers Hill, and Rosewood) (appendix table A.2).

Austin's share of households with children under age 18 fell from 31 percent in 2000 to 28 percent in 2015. The shift could be attributed to the rise in younger, single-person households or older empty-nesters moving into the city (the share of households with at least one person over age 65 increased from 12 percent in 2000 to 14 percent 2015). There is considerable overlap in neighborhoods with higher proportions of Hispanic and Latino and black households and households with children. Over 40 percent of the households in Bluff Springs, Del Valle, Franklin Park, LBJ, McKinney, North Lamar, and Southeast have children under age 18 (appendix table A.3). As demographics change, so do the neighborhoods with children. In 12 neighborhoods, primarily on the city's near east side and near south side, the share of households with children dropped 15 percentage points or more. Many of the neighborhoods that saw the greatest increase in households with children were in north Austin, just north of US 183 (Georgian Acres, Heritage Hills, and Wooten). Affordable housing considerations in these neighborhoods should factor in the need for family-appropriate housing with multiple bedrooms.

Shifts in who has a bachelor's degree reveals a great deal about how the city has changed and who has moved in. The share of households with bachelor's degrees increased from 26 percent in 2000 to 30 percent in 2015. As with other demographic and economic characteristics, educational attainment rates varied across the city. Austin's gentrifying near east side and south side experienced the greatest increases in share of highly educated households. Chestnut, Central East Austin, Galindo, Holly, Upper Boggy Creek, and East Cesar Chavez all experienced at least a 15 percentage point increase in rates of bachelor's degree attainment (appendix table A.3).

## **LMI Households: Who Are They, Where Are They Concentrated, and How Have They Changed?**

Amid an influx of new arrivals to Austin and increasing gentrification, especially around the near south side and the near east side, where do LMI households (i.e., households who earn 50 to 120 percent of the Austin AMI) live, and how have neighborhood income distributions changed (appendix table A.5)? Overall, there has been a slight increase in the share of LMI households in Austin—36 percent of households were LMI in 2000, and 39 percent were LMI by 2015. The percentage of very low-income households (VLI, or households who earn less than 50 percent of the Austin AMI) decreased 4 percentage points (39 to 35 percent), reflecting the shift in Austin's population to higher-income

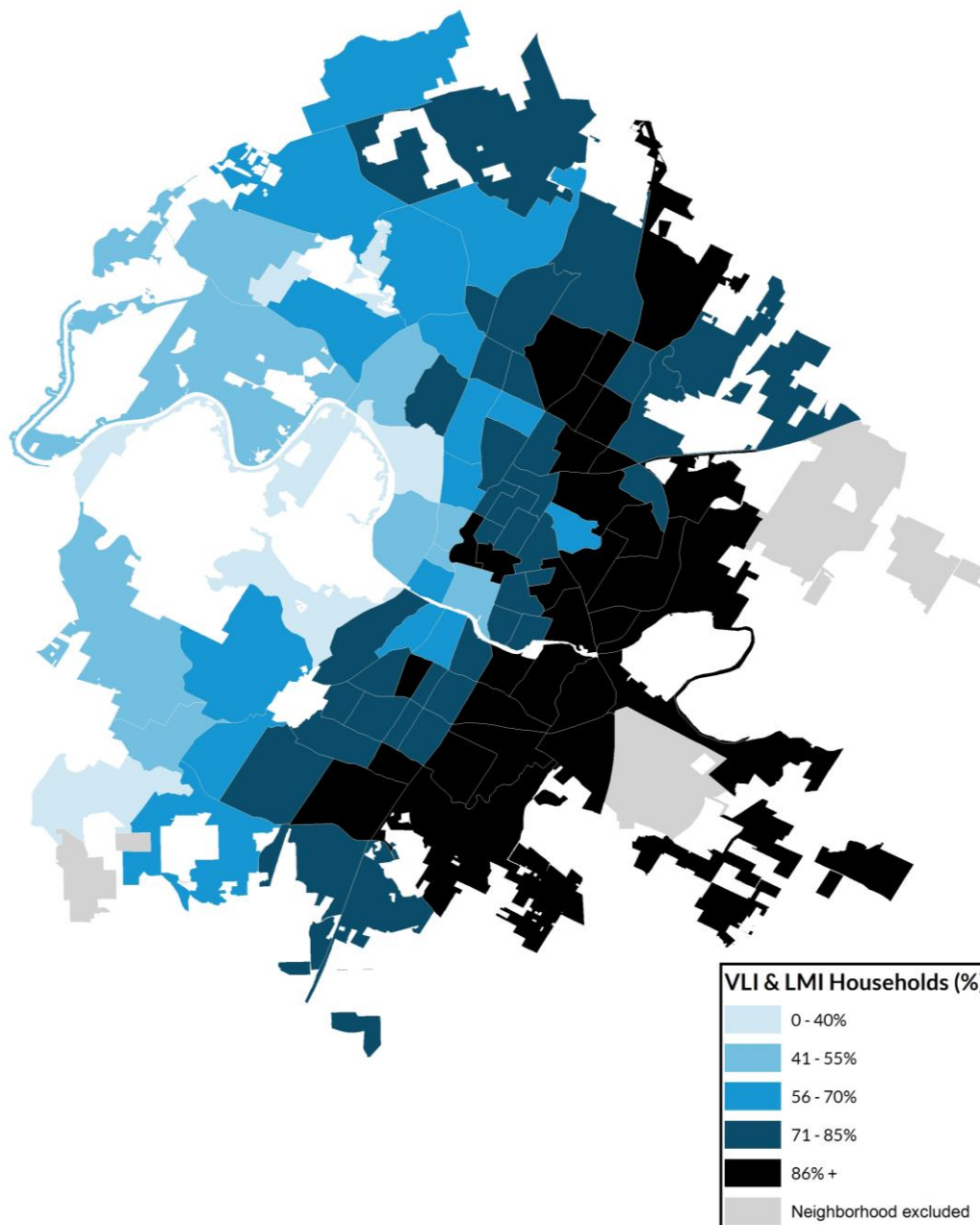
households. Austin's very low- and low-income households tend to be concentrated in East Austin (figure 3).

But not all Austinites became better off. Poverty rates across the city increased from 13 percent in 2000 to 18 percent in 2015. Similarly, unemployment rates increased from 4 to 6 percent (appendix table A.4).

Who lives in the average LMI household? Detailed data about Austin demographics by income show the average LMI household head is around age 44, prime working age, and the average household size is 2.28 people. Very low-income household heads were on average one year younger than LMI heads, while high-income heads were on average nearly three years older than LMI heads. Very low-income households averaged around two people, while high-income households averaged slightly over 2.7 people (table 1). Regarding occupation, the heads of VLI and LMI households were largely clustered in the service, retail, cleaning, and education sectors. High-income heads were more commonly in managerial or professional occupations (table 2). Low- and middle-income household heads in Austin are accountants, managers, developers, teachers, nurses, retail employees, and customer service representatives.

FIGURE 3

Share of Very Low-Income or Low-Income Households in Austin, 2011–15



**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LMI = low and middle income; VLI = very low income.

TABLE 1

**Select Characteristics by Income Group, Austin**

	VLI	LMI	HI
Average age of household head	43.0	44.1	46.8
Household size	2.03	2.28	2.77

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey Public Use Microdata Sample.

Note: VLI = very low income (<50% AMI); LMI = low and middle income (50–120% AMI); HI = high income (>120% AMI).

TABLE 2

**Top 10 Reported Occupations for Head of Household by Income Group, Austin**

	Count	Share of total (%)
<b>VLI head of household</b>		
Cashiers	3,488	2.9
Retail salespersons	3,351	2.8
Maids and housekeeping cleaners	3,281	2.7
Customer service representatives	3,162	2.6
Postsecondary teachers	3,150	2.6
Cooks	2,799	2.3
Janitors and building cleaners	2,733	2.3
Waiters and waitresses	2,410	2.0
Construction laborers	1,974	1.6
Secretaries and administrative assistants	1,881	1.6
<b>LMI head of household</b>		
Accountants and auditors	4,933	3.3
Miscellaneous managers	4,584	3.1
Software developers, applications and systems software	3,237	2.2
Customer service representatives	2,854	1.9
Retail salespersons	2,796	1.9
Registered nurses	2,716	1.8
Postsecondary teachers	2,710	1.8
Elementary and middle school teachers	2,579	1.7
Retail salespersons	2,461	1.7
First-line supervisors of retail sales workers	2,134	1.4
<b>High-income head of household</b>		
Miscellaneous managers	5,902	5.3
Software developers, applications and systems software	4,976	4.5
Lawyers, judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers	4,546	4.1
Chief executives and legislators	2,797	2.5
Waiters and waitresses	2,391	2.2
Accountants and auditors	2,264	2.1
Computer and information systems managers	2,002	1.8
Marketing and sales managers	2,010	1.8
Miscellaneous engineers, including nuclear engineers	2,059	1.9
Accountants and auditors	1,870	1.7

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey Public Use Microdata Sample.

Note: LMI = low and middle income; VLI = very low income.

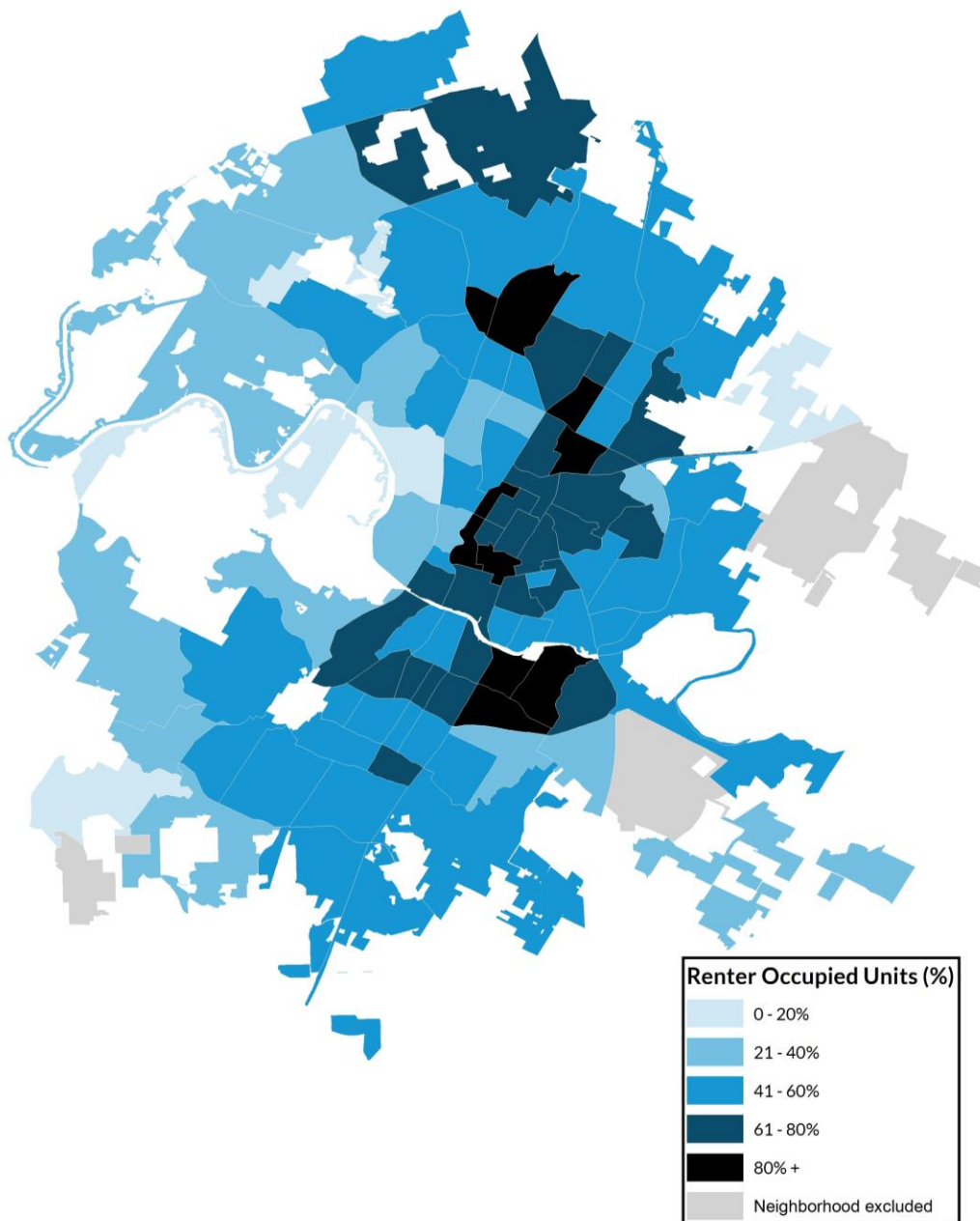
## Renters and Homeowners

A little more than half of Austin's households are renters, and this has changed little since 2000 (up 2 percentage points to 55 percent in 2015) (appendix table A.6). But the share of LMI households in Austin who rented increased from 34 percent in 2000 to 46 percent in 2015. Alternatively, the share of VLI households who rented decreased from 55 to 43 percent. This seemingly contradictory change may reflect an increase in moderate- to high-cost developments. Adjusted for inflation, the share of rental units in Austin with rents under \$1,000 a month fell from 54 percent in 2000 to 47 percent in 2015, with the areas in central and near east Austin experiencing the greatest increases in rental price (appendix table B.4). The neighborhoods with the highest concentration of renter-occupied households are those surrounding the University of Texas just north of Downtown (Triangle State, UT, and West University), the neighborhoods just south of Lady Bird Lake and east of I-35 (Parker Lane, Pleasant Valley, and Riverside), and neighborhoods in north central Austin (Gateway, Georgian Acres, North Burnet, and St. John) (appendix table A.6 and figure 4). The tenure characteristics of these dominantly rental neighborhoods largely did not change. Although there were minor fluctuations, the neighborhoods were over 80 percent rental households in both 2000 and 2015. These 10 neighborhoods all had 80 percent or higher share of households who were LMI or VLI in 2015.

The neighborhoods where the increase in renter-occupied households was most pronounced were on the fringes of the city. Avery Ranch–Lakeline, Jester, Onion Creek, Samsung–Pioneer Crossing, Slaughter Creek, and Tech Ridge all saw their share of rental households increase at least 25 percentage points compared with homeowner households (appendix table A.6). But these neighborhoods' tenure characteristics were fairly evenly split in 2015, with around 50 percent of units owner occupied and 50 percent renter occupied (appendix table B.2).

FIGURE 4

Share of Renter-Occupied Households in Austin, 2011–15



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey data.



# Housing Units

Naturally occurring affordable housing (NOAH) is important for meeting LMI families' needs. NOAH opportunities tend to be located in neighborhoods and municipalities that have older housing stock or available apartments at prices LMI households can afford. This section looks at the state of housing stock across Austin's neighborhoods, including the availability, age, and price of rental units and homes for purchase, to understand changes in affordable housing.

## Changing Housing Stock

Austin's housing stock changed considerably between 2000 and 2015. The city added over 69,000 housing units (19 percent growth), which largely kept pace with the city's population growth (20 percent). Although most neighborhoods added new units, the growth was not uniform across the city. Some neighborhoods saw tremendous growth in housing units. Several neighborhoods at the periphery of the city—such as Four Points, Robert Mueller Municipal Airport, Samsung–Pioneer Crossing, and Slaughter Creek—saw increases in units of over 300 percent. There was also notable growth in Downtown, which added 3,723 units, nearly tripling the stock. But 14 neighborhoods, primarily in west Austin and a couple in north central Austin, saw their housing stock fall modestly (appendix table B.1).

NOAH neighborhoods are generally characterized by older housing stock, as units in older structures are typically more affordable. In this analysis, we consider housing units built before 1980 to be “old.”<sup>6</sup> Some neighborhoods have a great deal of newer housing stock, reflecting recent development and growth. Newer housing stock is concentrated in neighborhoods on the city's fringe and in core neighborhoods around downtown (figure 5). By 2015, five neighborhoods on the city's periphery—Avery Ranch–Lakeline, Circle C South, Gateway, North Burnet, and Mansfield–River Place—had at least 95 percent of their housing built after 1980. Robert Mueller Municipal Airport, a planned neighborhood created after the closing of the Robert Mueller airport site in 1999 in near east Austin, had (unsurprisingly) nearly all homes built after 1980 (appendix table B.5).<sup>7</sup>

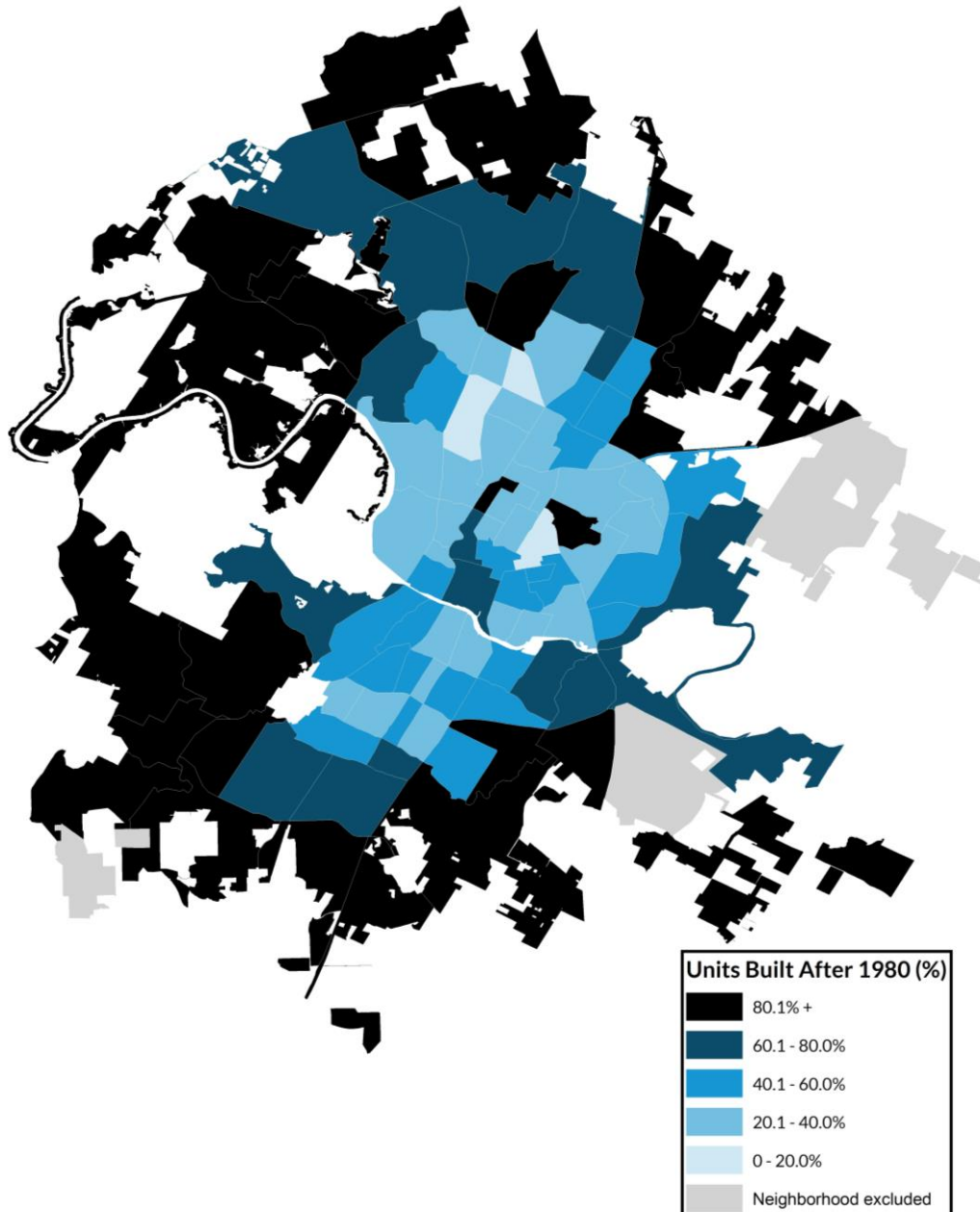
Not all neighborhoods in Austin have experienced a boom in new construction. Fifteen neighborhoods in central Austin outside of downtown and the immediately adjacent areas had 75 percent or more of their housing units built before 1980 (appendix table B.5). Ten of those neighborhoods, nearly all along the US 183 corridor in North Austin or US 290 corridor in South Austin that form a border around the city's inner ring, had the same or a greater percentage of units with rent below \$1,000 a month compared with Austin's city average (appendix table B.4). Because of their older



housing stock and average to below-average rentals, these neighborhoods could be appropriate for preserving NOAH for LMI families.

**FIGURE 5**

**Share of Units Built after 1980, 2011–15**



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

NOAH is reflected in older and less-expensive housing units and in smaller-scale buildings. Areas primarily composed of large multifamily housing units are in the far north central area in Gateway (98 percent) and North Burnet (98 percent), near southeast Austin in Pleasant Valley (91 percent) and Riverside (91 percent), and the area around the University of Texas in West University (85 percent), Triangle State (90 percent), and UT (78 percent) (appendix table B.3). Apart from Riverside and Pleasant Valley, which have traditionally had a large volume of low-cost multifamily units that, in part, catered to UT students (but several stakeholders noted that these complexes are being redeveloped to high-end multifamily units), these neighborhoods all had a greater percentage of units with rent above \$1,000 a month compared with Austin's city average (appendix table B.4).

Even in 2000, these areas were characterized by having mostly multifamily units, so this reflects little change. In contrast, many neighborhoods around the city's periphery saw an over 25 percentage point increase in the share of multifamily units from 2000 to 2015. These neighborhoods, which were some of the city's fastest growing, suggest the construction of new multifamily units rather than the destruction of formerly single-family homes to create multifamily ones.

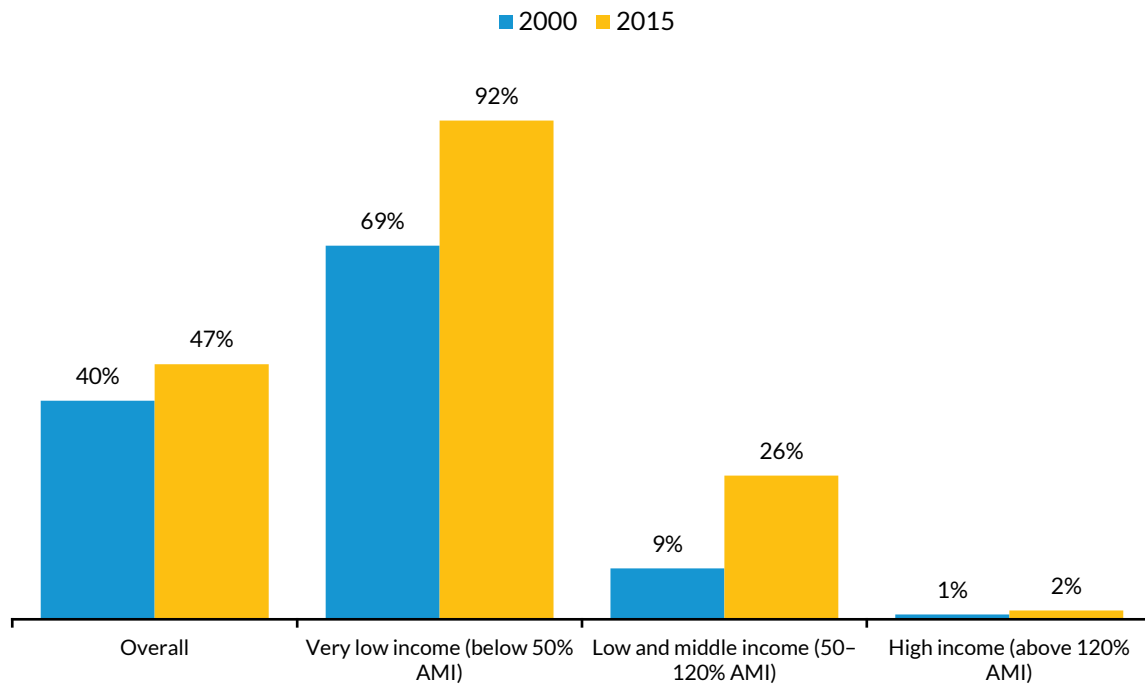
## Renter Cost Burden

In 2015, around 55 percent of households in Austin rented (appendix table B.2). Renters are particularly vulnerable to changes in the housing market, and rapidly rising property values can place tremendous pressure on households to make rent, particularly LMI renters. The landscape of affordable rental units is rapidly changing, but certain neighborhoods have a higher concentration of affordable and older rental housing units (appendix B). The important questions are whether rentals are affordable to LMI households and whether such families are burdened by housing costs. This section describes how renter households, LMI households in particular, are faring with respect to housing cost burden. A household is cost burdened if it spends 30 percent or more of household income on housing.

Housing cost-burden rates have increased for renters in Austin over the past 15 years (figure 6; appendix table A.7). Among renter households, around 48 percent were housing cost burdened in 2015 compared with 41 percent in 2000. For VLI and LMI renters, the change was more pronounced. Cost burden rates for VLI renters increased from 69 to 91 percent. Low- and middle-income renter households, whose cost burden rates were around 9 percent in 2000, had cost burden rates increase to 25 percent by 2015. Cost burden rates for high-income renters remained around 1 percent.

FIGURE 6

### Renter Households by Cost Burden in 2000 and 2015



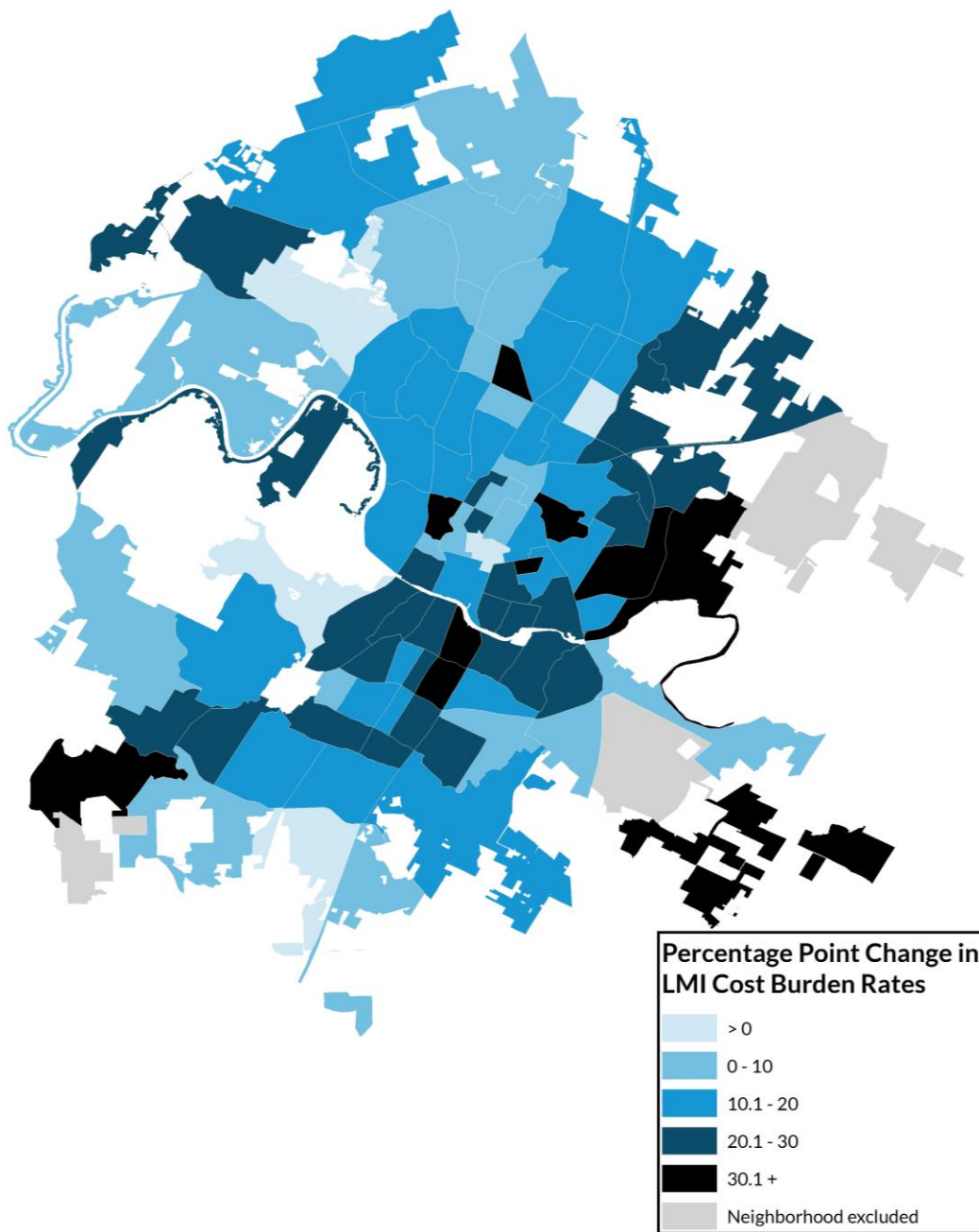
**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** AMI = area median income.

Although most LMI renters were not cost burdened in 2015, 93 of the 99 neighborhoods had increases in renter cost-burden rates since 2000, and in some areas, the changes were dramatic (figure 7). Ten neighborhoods experienced an at least 30 percentage point increase in the rate of housing cost burden for LMI households (appendix table A.7). The areas with the largest growth were concentrated in south central Austin, east Austin, and in neighborhoods north of downtown. The dramatic changes within certain areas highlight the pressures LMI renter households face in particular neighborhoods.

FIGURE 7

Percentage Point Change in Cost Burden Rate for LMI Renters in Austin, 2000–15



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

Note: LMI = low and middle income.

# Lending Activity

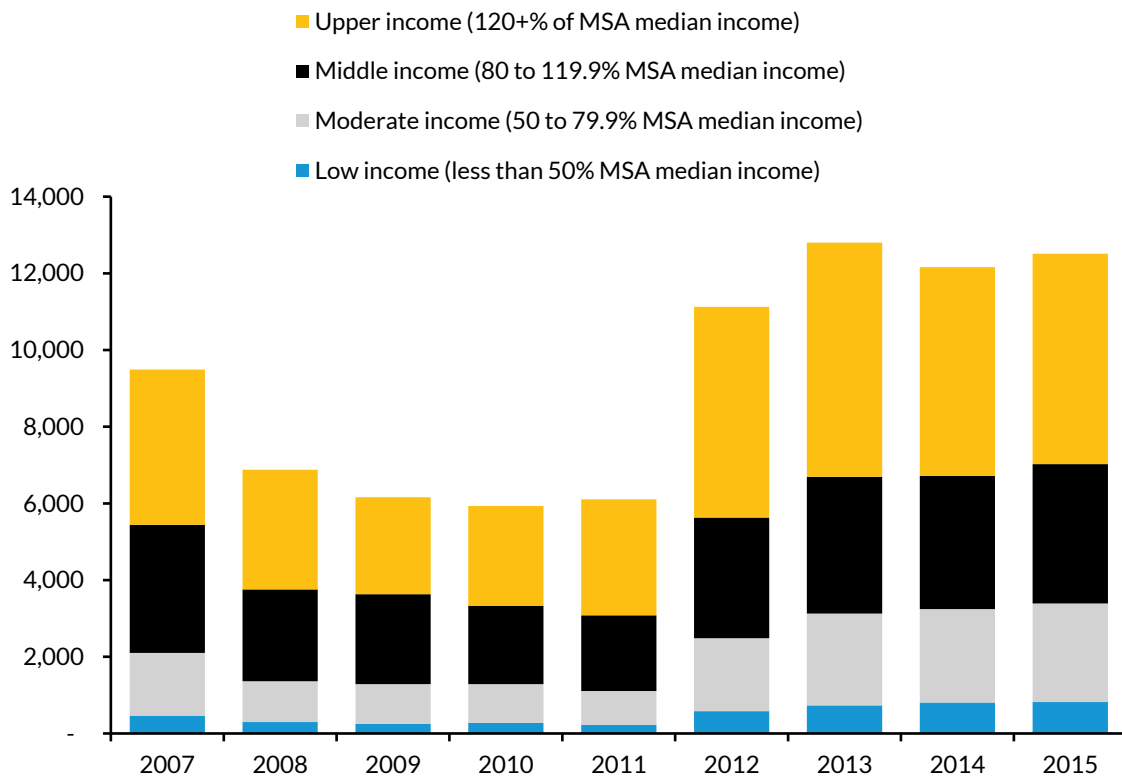
Home lending activity in Austin is primarily concentrated in upper- and middle-income neighborhoods. Figure 8 presents yearly Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data on lending figures for Austin by neighborhood income between 2007 and 2015. Although the Great Recession depressed lending activity (falling 38 percent between 2007 and 2010), by 2012, lending had outpaced prerecession levels. By 2015, the annual lending activity in Austin was 32 percent higher than in 2007. Despite the fluctuation, lending activity by income neighborhood strata remained largely the same. In both 2007 and 2015, around 75 percent of loans were for homes in middle- or upper-income neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods of all income levels saw increases in lending activity between 2007 and 2015. The number of loans issued in low-income neighborhoods (less than 50 percent of the metropolitan statistical area, or MSA, median income) nearly doubled, increasing from 467 to 818. But lending in low-income neighborhoods just 5 percent of the total in 2007 and 7 percent in 2015. In contrast, in 2007, 43 percent of loans (4,048 loans) were issued in upper-income neighborhoods (120 percent or more of the MSA median income). By 2015, that share had increased to 44 percent (5,486 loans). The largest changes were seen in the neighborhoods in between. Lending in middle-income neighborhoods (80 to 119.9 percent of the MSA median income) remained fairly flat in number of loans issued and, given the growth in overall loan activity, saw their share of loans issued fall from 35 percent in 2007 to 29 percent in 2015. But moderate-income neighborhood lending (50 to 79.9 percent of the MSA median income), while still significantly lower than middle- or upper-income neighborhoods, increased 57 percent (increasing to 21 percent of the total in 2015).

The lending activity analysis does not include loans for multifamily units (i.e., properties with more than five units) because the number of dwelling units on the property is not specified, making it impossible to determine if it is a small or large multifamily development.<sup>8</sup> But for Austin, multifamily housing units were a small share of originated loans. In each year from 2007 to 2015, multifamily housing accounted for between 0.6 and 1.2 percent of loans each year.

FIGURE 8

### Loans Issued by Neighborhood MSA Median Income Group, Austin



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data, 2007–15.

Notes: MSA = metropolitan statistical area. The figure includes one-to four-unit family dwellings and manufactured housing. Multifamily housing units, which account for less than 1 percent of loans originated each year, are excluded from the analysis.

## Neighborhood Change Typology: Understanding Opportunities for Preserving and Creating LMI Housing

The culmination of understanding the changing population, housing dynamics, and stock of affordable housing across Austin’s neighborhoods is to determine where the best opportunities exist to preserve and create LMI housing. Some areas are ripe for protecting NOAH and creating LMI housing, other areas are too developed, and other areas receive too little investment. This section presents data from a typology created to identify neighborhoods where affordable housing needs can best be addressed, so residents across the income distribution can continue to live in and contribute to Austin’s diverse

community. We look across neighborhoods from 2000 to 2015 to understand how Austin’s LMI opportunities have changed.

Composite Index

To understand how these neighborhoods have changed in the past decade, we created a composite index that accounts for resident economic success, housing accessibility, and changes within neighborhoods that might affect LMI households. We based our index on the Kirwan Institute’s Opportunity Index and tailored it to assess factors affecting LMI households more directly. Our composite index uses eight indicators of resident economic success and housing market health to understand how neighborhoods have changed (table 3). Resident economic success is measured through a low unemployment rate, low poverty rate, shorter commute times, and the economic integration of a neighborhood’s residents, with a focus on LMI households. Neighborhood housing market health is measured through higher property values, lower vacancy rates, lower housing cost burdens, and higher homeownership rates.

In constructing these indexes, we used data from the 2000 Decennial Census and the 2011–15 American Community Survey (referred to as “2015” throughout this section). In characterizing neighborhoods, we looked at the “match” between residents’ economic success and the area’s housing market health. The neighborhoods we identify for LMI affordable housing interventions are not the highest ranking in either component index. A neighborhood that ranks high on economic success and housing market health may be too inaccessible to LMI households. In contrast, neighborhoods that rank in the middle and below may present opportunities for LMI-specific community development or preservation.

TABLE 3  
Neighborhood Change Composite Indexes

Resident economic success index	Housing market health index
Unemployment rate	Property value (median home value)
Poverty rate	Vacancy rate
Percentage with 45-minute commute or longer	Percentage cost burdened in renting or owning
Entropy index for resident income mix	Homeownership rate

## Neighborhood Rankings

The results of the composite index indicate that resident economic success and housing market health trend together for most neighborhoods from 2000 to 2015, with some exceptions (table 4 and figures 9 and 10). Most of the neighborhoods that were top ranked in 2000 continued to remain in the top in 2015. For example, three-quarters of the neighborhoods ranked in the top third in 2000 were also in the top tercile in 2015, with the Davenport Lake Austin, Highland Park, and Spicewood neighborhoods trading places among the top five. These five neighborhoods are all clustered in the city's western region, an area that was annexed by the city relatively recently (in the '80s and '90s) (PDRD 2013) and remained high performing throughout our study period.

Meanwhile, two neighborhoods that were ranked low in 2000 improved considerably and are in the top tier in 2015. Onion Creek was number 61 on the list in 2000 and is now number 27. Although the neighborhood experienced gains in its resident economic success, this surge in performance is primarily driven by improved housing indicators: Onion Creek gained 28 ranks from number 45 to 17 in our housing market health index. By 2015, the neighborhood reduced its share of vacant units to just 1 percent while maintaining a relatively low share of cost-burdened residents compared with other Austin neighborhoods. Onion Creek's gains may be a consequence of changes from annexation. The Chestnut neighborhood experienced even more striking changes, moving from 90th to 22nd in our overall rankings. This improvement is driven equally by gains to resident economic success (from 71st to 5th) and housing market health (from 94th to 43rd). Chestnut residents experienced some of the most significant declines in unemployment (from 10 percent in 2000 to 4 percent in 2015) and poverty rates (from 19 percent to 8 percent) while property values appreciated almost \$228,000 in 2015 dollars. Chestnut is in the city's central-east region of the city and surrounded by mid- and low-performing neighborhoods, indicating a trend of neighborhood change that, without intervention, is likely to affect the entire central-east area.

Neighborhoods ranked in the middle that present the most potential for preserving LMI housing include some that have stayed solidly middle ranked since 2000. For example, Ditmar-Slaughter, Galindo, Garrison Park, and Westgate are all in the city's southern-central area and remained solidly LMI neighborhoods from 2000 to 2015. Many of these neighborhoods have avoided the dramatic increases in cost-burdened residents, though property values have increased across the board. These neighborhoods have older housing stock and have a significant share of rentals under \$1,000 a month. Policies that ensure these neighborhoods can remain affordable to LMI families should be considered here, as these neighborhoods may not remain insulated from rapid change and growth.

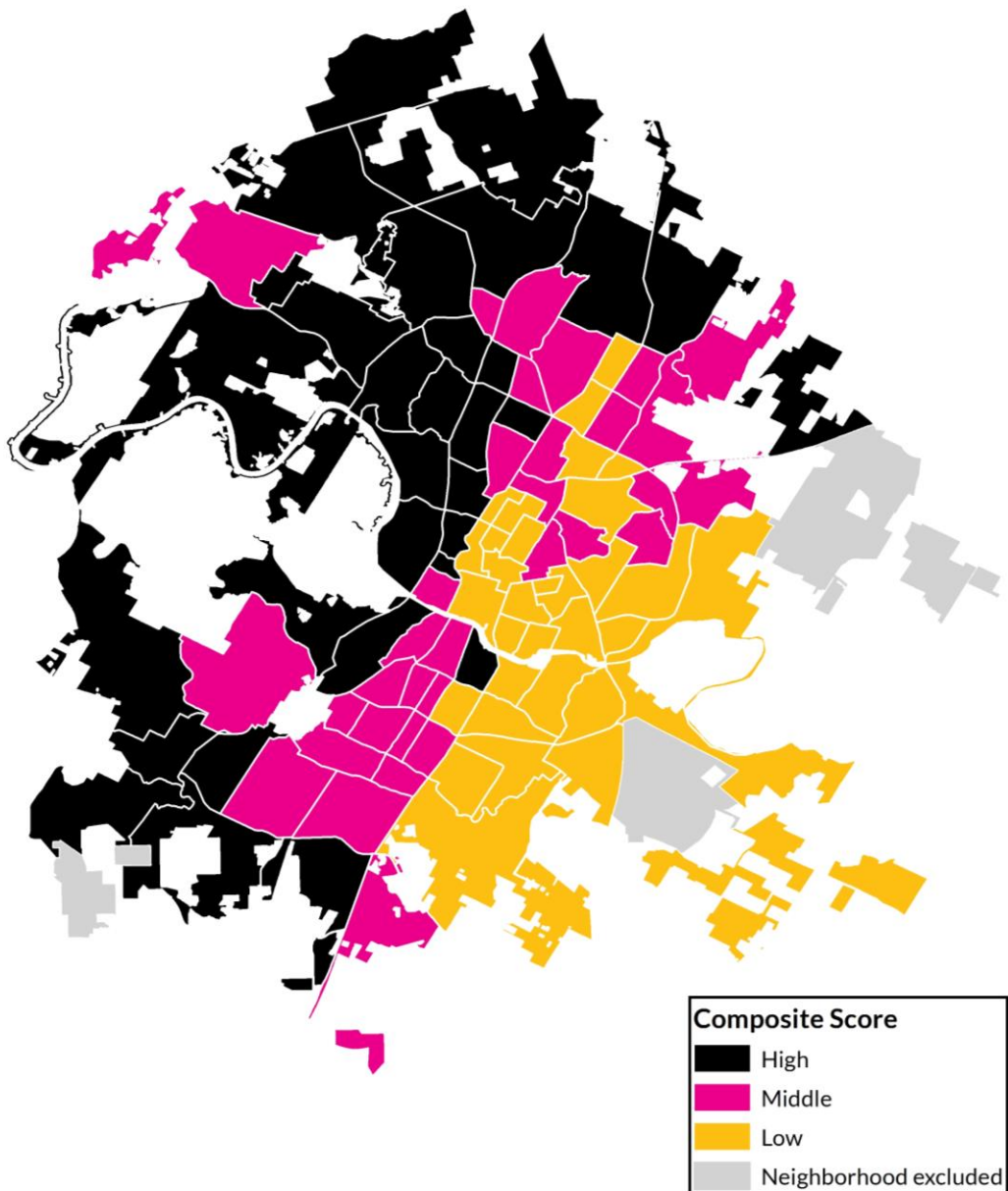


Most bottom-ranked neighborhoods have remained in the lowest tier since 2000. They are all on Austin's east side, completing the picture of declining prosperity in moving from the west to east side of Austin. Other neighborhoods have dropped into the bottom tier after having been solidly in the middle grouping, including Heritage Hills, Highland, North Austin Civic Association, North Burnet, Pecan Springs–Springdale, South River City, University Hills, and Wooten, primarily because the economic success and the housing market health of its residents has stagnated and dropped. Only six neighborhoods in the bottom tier—Del Valle, Del Valle East, Govalle, North University, Rogers Hill, and Rosewood—improved their ranks since 2000, owing primarily to improved housing market factors.

To understand the forces contributing to neighborhood changes across Austin, we will explore details about each component index.

FIGURE 9

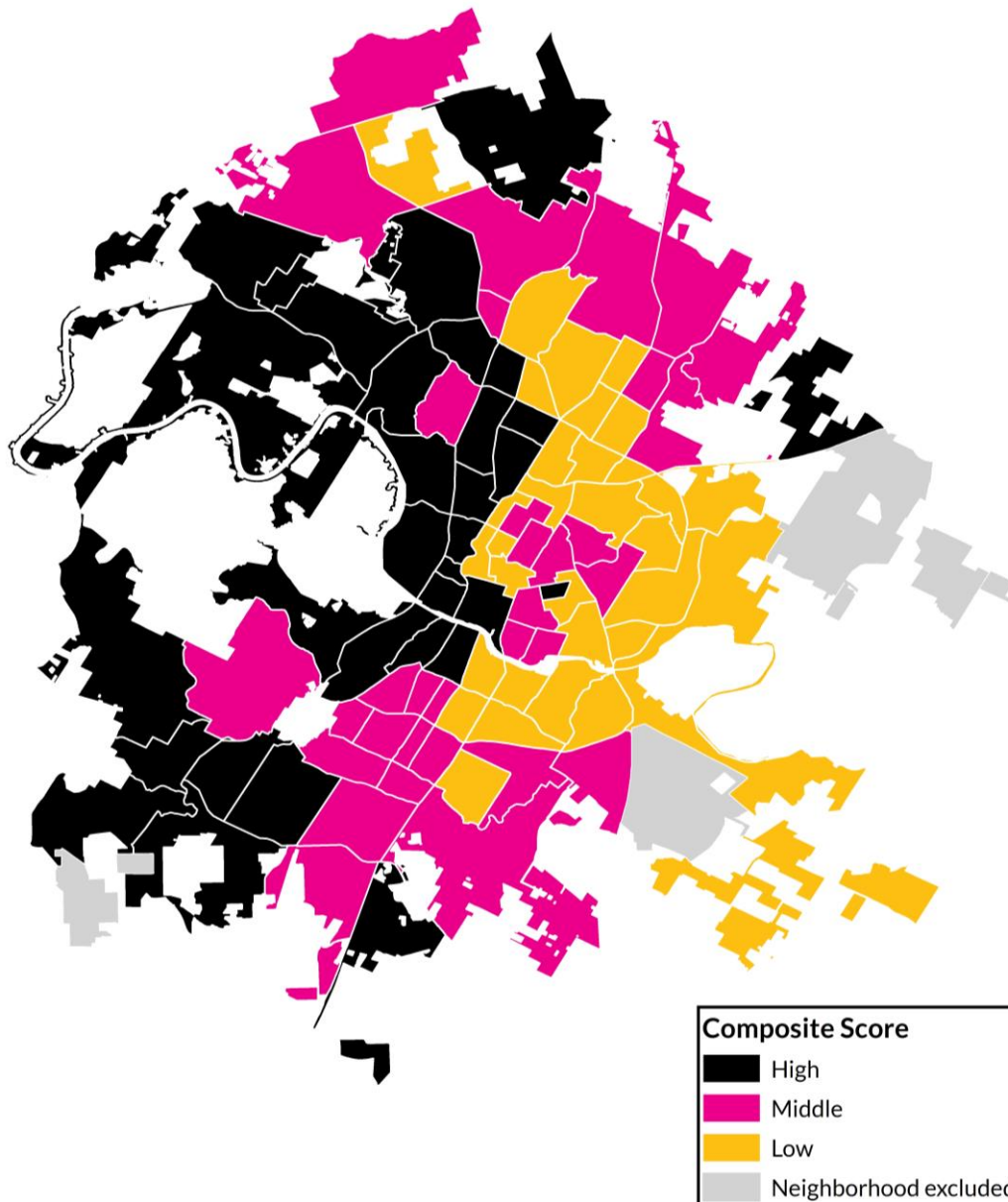
Austin Neighborhood Composite Scores, 2000



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census data.

FIGURE 10

Austin Neighborhood Composite Scores, 2015



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

TABLE 4

## Neighborhood Change Typology Rankings

Neighborhood	Overall ranking, 2000	Overall ranking, 2015	Change, 2000–15	RES, 2000	RES, 2015	RES change, 2000–15	HMH, 2000	HMH, 2015	Change, 2000– 15
Highland Park	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	1	1
Spicewood	3	2	1	3	11	-8	4	2	2
Davenport Lake Austin	2	3	-1	30	16	14	1	5	-4
Bull Creek	7	4	3	23	3	20	7	9	-2
Circle C South	30	5	25	68	36	32	10	3	7
Barton Creek Mall Area	5	6	-1	6	30	-24	8	4	4
Allandale	9	7	2	20	9	11	14	10	4
Crestview	15	8	7	15	1	14	21	21	0
West Austin Neighborhood Group	12	9	3	14	26	-12	16	7	9
Village at Western Oaks	11	10	1	34	41	-7	9	6	3
West Oak Hill	8	11	-3	39	27	12	3	11	-8
Rosedale	18	12	6	17	7	10	23	24	-1
Westover Hills	13	13	0	4	24	-20	26	14	12
Harris Branch	16	14	2	31	47	-16	17	8	9
Jollyville	21	15	6	11	15	-4	28	18	10
Barton Hills	22	16	6	12	8	4	30	29	1
South Brodie	27	17	10	57	38	19	13	12	1
Mansfield–River Place	6	18	-12	21	43	-22	6	13	-7
Brentwood	42	19	23	38	12	26	42	27	15
Old Enfield	19	20	-1	10	33	-23	27	16	11
Four Points	49	21	28	43	46	-3	59	15	44
Chestnut	90	22	68	71	5	66	94	43	51
Bouldin Creek	47	23	24	47	18	29	51	28	23
Brodie Lane	33	24	9	40	28	12	24	20	4
Robinson Ranch	26	25	1	28	13	15	25	32	-7
Zilker	39	26	13	32	19	13	46	33	13
Onion Creek	61	27	34	77	54	23	45	17	28
Old West Austin	37	28	9	7	10	-3	62	47	15
Windsor Road	10	29	-19	27	40	-13	12	23	-11
Downtown	94	30	64	83	6	77	97	60	37
Jester	4	31	-27	8	22	-14	5	35	-30
Cherry Creek	34	32	2	52	45	7	19	22	-3
North Shoal Creek	20	33	-13	9	29	-20	31	38	-7
Slaughter Creek	23	34	-11	45	49	-4	15	25	-10
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	14	35	-21	41	39	2	11	31	-20
McNeil	17	36	-19	18	32	-14	22	36	-14
East Oak Hill	45	37	8	13	20	-7	76	53	23
Anderson Mill	24	38	-14	35	57	-22	18	26	-8
South Manchaca	44	39	5	56	52	4	37	30	7
Gateway	40	40	0	1	4	-3	84	75	9
RMMA	63	41	22	75	21	54	49	61	-12
Northwest Hills	29	42	-13	24	25	-1	35	58	-23
Hyde Park	67	43	24	50	23	27	78	66	12
Garrison Park	48	44	4	44	62	-18	58	34	24
Galindo	62	45	17	66	35	31	60	62	-2
Hancock	69	46	23	53	17	36	82	74	8
East Congress	43	47	-4	49	42	7	40	64	-24
McKinney	80	48	32	78	65	13	70	41	29
Upper Boggy Creek	65	49	16	48	53	-5	79	56	23
Southeast	78	50	28	76	67	9	73	40	33

Neighborhood	Overall ranking, 2000	Overall ranking, 2015	Change, 2000–15	RES, 2000	RES, 2015	RES change, 2000–15	HMH, 2000	HMH, 2015	Change, 2000– 15
Dawson	60	51	9	65	37	28	61	68	-7
Tech Ridge	32	52	-20	33	50	-17	32	63	-31
Sweetbriar	52	53	-1	64	31	33	48	72	-24
Gracy Woods	25	54	-29	22	51	-29	29	65	-36
Dittmar–Slaughter	38	55	-17	54	66	-12	20	51	-31
Westgate	53	56	-3	59	75	-16	50	37	13
Central East Austin	96	57	39	92	63	29	95	59	36
West Congress	55	58	-3	58	56	2	56	67	-11
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	51	59	-8	16	55	-39	81	70	11
Bluff Springs	73	60	13	73	72	1	68	46	22
Holly	81	61	20	95	76	19	43	45	-2
South Lamar	64	62	2	63	44	19	65	76	-11
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	46	63	-17	29	69	-40	66	54	12
Windsor Hills	35	64	-29	26	74	-48	47	49	-2
East Cesar Chavez	77	65	12	93	73	20	41	52	-11
MLK	74	66	8	82	71	11	55	57	-2
Pond Springs	31	67	-36	25	34	-9	38	83	-45
Govalle	70	68	2	88	83	5	36	42	-6
Pecan Springs–Springdale	59	69	-10	69	48	21	53	81	-28
Rosewood	97	70	27	99	85	14	90	39	51
Del Valle East	84	71	13	81	93	-12	75	19	56
South River City	28	72	-44	19	60	-41	39	80	-41
North Loop	66	73	-7	62	64	-2	71	78	-7
LBJ	58	74	-16	74	68	6	44	73	-29
Del Valle	92	75	17	91	86	5	89	50	39
University Hills	36	76	-40	37	90	-53	34	44	-10
North University	86	77	9	79	61	18	86	88	-2
Wooten	41	78	-37	46	78	-32	33	79	-46
North Burnet	50	79	-29	5	14	-9	87	96	-9
Highland	56	80	-24	51	77	-26	63	82	-19
Heritage Hills	54	81	-27	36	59	-23	72	93	-21
Rogers Hill	88	82	6	84	87	-3	83	77	6
Windsor Park	72	83	-11	70	91	-21	69	71	-2
MLK-183	83	84	-1	94	94	0	52	55	-3
North Austin Civic Association	57	85	-28	60	80	-20	57	85	-28
Franklin Park	76	86	-10	85	92	-7	54	69	-15
Johnston Terrace	87	87	0	89	97	-8	74	48	26
St. Edwards	79	88	-9	72	79	-7	77	90	-13
North Lamar	75	89	-14	61	84	-23	85	86	-1
Parker Lane	82	90	-8	67	89	-22	91	84	7
Georgian Acres	68	91	-23	55	82	-27	80	91	-11
Coronado Hills	89	92	-3	96	70	26	64	95	-31
Riverside	93	93	0	80	81	-1	96	92	4
Triangle State	71	94	-23	42	58	-16	92	97	-5
St. John	91	95	-4	87	96	-9	88	89	-1
Montopolis	85	96	-11	86	95	-9	67	94	-27
Pleasant Valley	95	97	-2	90	88	2	93	98	-5
UT	99	98	1	97	99	-2	99	87	12
West University	98	99	-1	98	98	0	98	99	-1

**Source:** Urban Institute analysis of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Notes:** HMH = housing market health; LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RES = residential economic success; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas. Neighborhoods are listed in order of 2015 overall ranking.

## Resident Economic Success Index

The economic success index measures whether residents are struggling in the economy and whether the neighborhood reflects income diversity. The index comprises neighborhood unemployment rates, poverty rates, the percentage of residents with commutes 45 minutes or longer, and an entropy index that measures the neighborhood's income mix with a focus on LMI households (table 3).

The resident economic success (RES) index results align well with the logic of the composite index. Neighborhoods in the top tier of our composite index mostly improved or did not decline steeply in their RES ranks, while bottom-tier neighborhoods fell more dramatically in the RES ranks (table 4). Though some top-tier neighborhoods such as the Barton Creek Mall Area, Mansfield–River Place, and Westover Hills fell in their economic success rankings (by 24, 22, and 20 ranks, respectively) and other bottom-tier neighborhoods such as Coronado Hills and Rosewood climbed the ranks significantly (by 26 and 14 ranks, respectively), most neighborhoods generally followed the pattern described above. As a group, the highest-ranked third of neighborhoods in the composite index also saw improved rankings on resident economic success. On average, top-ranked neighborhoods' economic success ranking increased 6.5 positions, with 14 seeing decreases and the other 19 posting gains or maintaining their position. In general, the decreases were more modest for this cohort than for the others. Mirroring this top-ranking group, over two-thirds of the neighborhoods ranking in the bottom third on the composite index also saw their economic success ranking fall between 2000 and 2015, while just slightly less than a third made gains or stayed the same. The average neighborhood in the bottom third saw its resident economic success ranking fall 8.6 positions. Neighborhoods ranked in the middle third on the composite index were more mixed in that about half the neighborhoods in the cohort improved in economic success while the other half declined. As a group, these mid-tier neighborhoods improved in economic success, with their average ranking increasing 2.1 places.

The overall highest-ranking neighborhoods in 2015 generally had less poverty in 2015, though 73 percent of these neighborhoods have experienced marginal increases in poverty rates since 2000. Unemployment rates followed similar patterns. Only three neighborhoods in the top third (Allandale, Crestview, and Onion Creek) had better employment, while the other neighborhoods in this cohort experienced modest increases in unemployment (about 1.5 percentage points on average) or no change. These top-performing neighborhoods fared worst in income segregation, though most neighborhoods in the cohort experienced increased income mixing. Unsurprisingly, these high-ranking neighborhoods also had, on average, the lowest percentage of residents with commutes 45 minutes or longer. This share varies much less than our other indicators across cohorts, which suggests that a lack of transportation investment has affected all Austin residents, regardless of location.

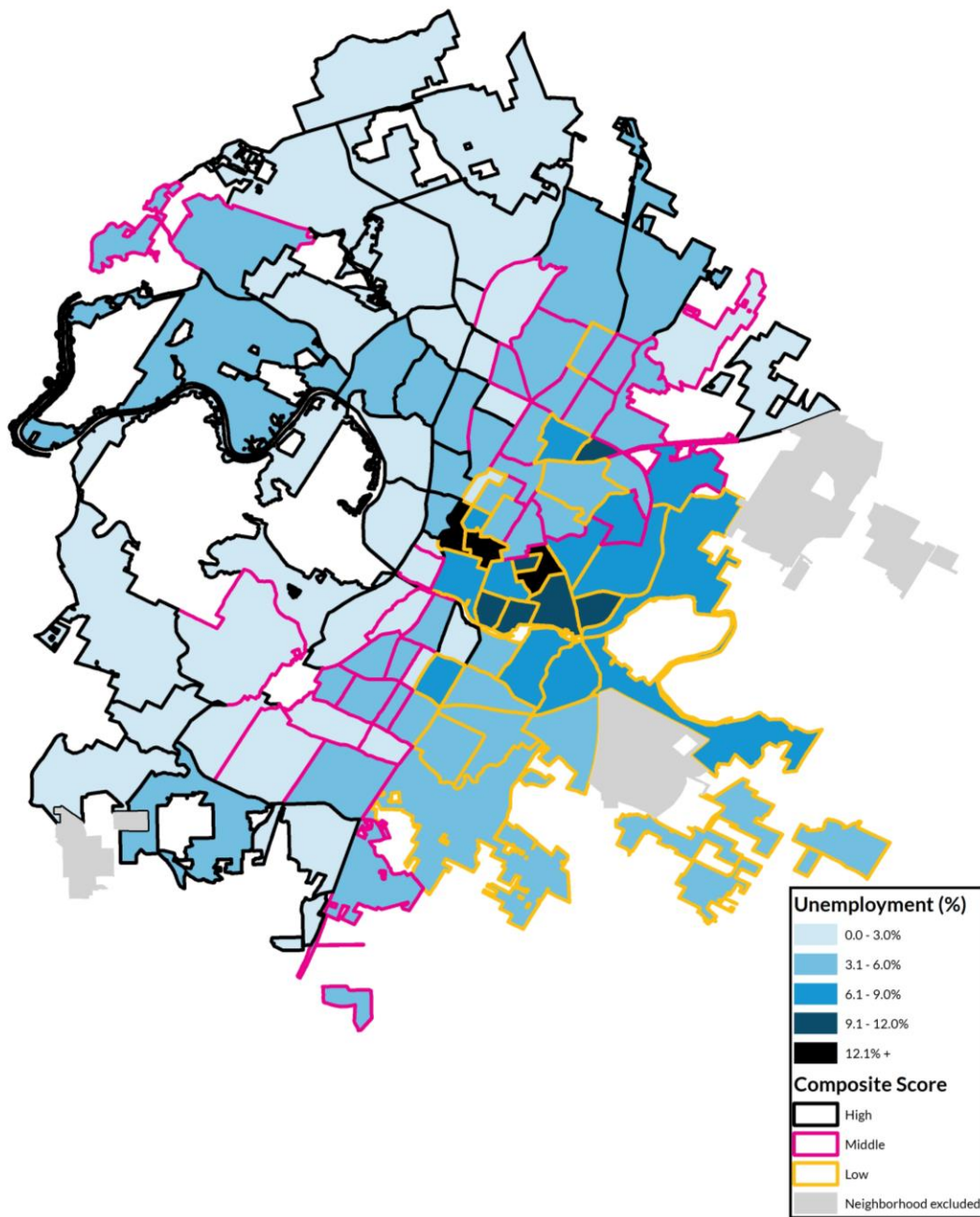
The neighborhoods ranked in the middle of the composite index also ranked in the middle for resident economic success indicators in all instances but one. Middle-tier neighborhoods exhibited the most income diversity of the three cohorts but featured some of the steepest declines in diversity. Avery Ranch–Lakeline, Downtown (with the steepest decline in diversity of any neighborhood in Austin), Old West Austin, and Rosedale are indicative of this trend. Most experienced modest increases in unemployment (1 percent on average for the cohort), though increases in Garrison Park, Gateway, Samsung–Pioneer Crossing, and Westgate were more significant, ranging between 5 and 6 percent. Increases in poverty rates were more drastic. With a rate of 18 percent on average, these neighborhoods experienced more than double the average poverty rate of the top-ranked neighborhoods. Only the Downtown neighborhood saw significant decreases in poverty, with a 17 percentage point reduction. The percentage of residents with long commute times increased in every Austin neighborhood, and the middle-ranking neighborhoods have experienced slightly larger increases since 2000 (at 14 percent on average, compared with the top-ranking cohort’s 11 percent average increase) as those at the top. The bottom-ranking cohort experienced larger gains in commute times on average, at 18 percent, but the small range between top and bottom again indicates that transportation investments need to be considered for the city as a whole.

Residents of neighborhoods that ranked in the bottom third of the neighborhood typology unsurprisingly experienced the highest unemployment and poverty rates by great margins. Compared with the top tier, these neighborhoods were home to double the percentage of unemployed residents and just over four times the percentage of impoverished residents on average. Three neighborhoods clustered in the eastern part of Austin—Del Valle East, MLK-183, and Johnston Terrace—had among the highest unemployment rates in the city in 2015 and some of the largest increases since 2000 (figures 11 and 12). Changes in poverty rates over the study period reveal a starker geographic picture. The bottom-ranked neighborhoods, all on the city’s eastern side, experienced three times the increase in impoverished residents as the neighborhoods in the middle cohort and nine times that of the highest-ranked neighborhoods (figure 13). These dramatic increases align with the fact that Austin’s bottom-ranked neighborhoods were the only cohort to become less income-diverse since 2000 on average. Some of these neighborhoods, such as Rosewood and Triangle State, made impressive gains to improve the diversity of their residents, but just over half remained at similar levels of income diversity or saw increased segregation. For example, although every tier of neighborhoods experienced income loss at the median, in part because incomes have not kept pace with inflation, Triangle State’s median family income increased almost \$22,000 between 2000 and 2015. This reflects considerable change in population in that neighborhood over the study period (table 5).



FIGURE 11

Austin Unemployment Rate, 2000

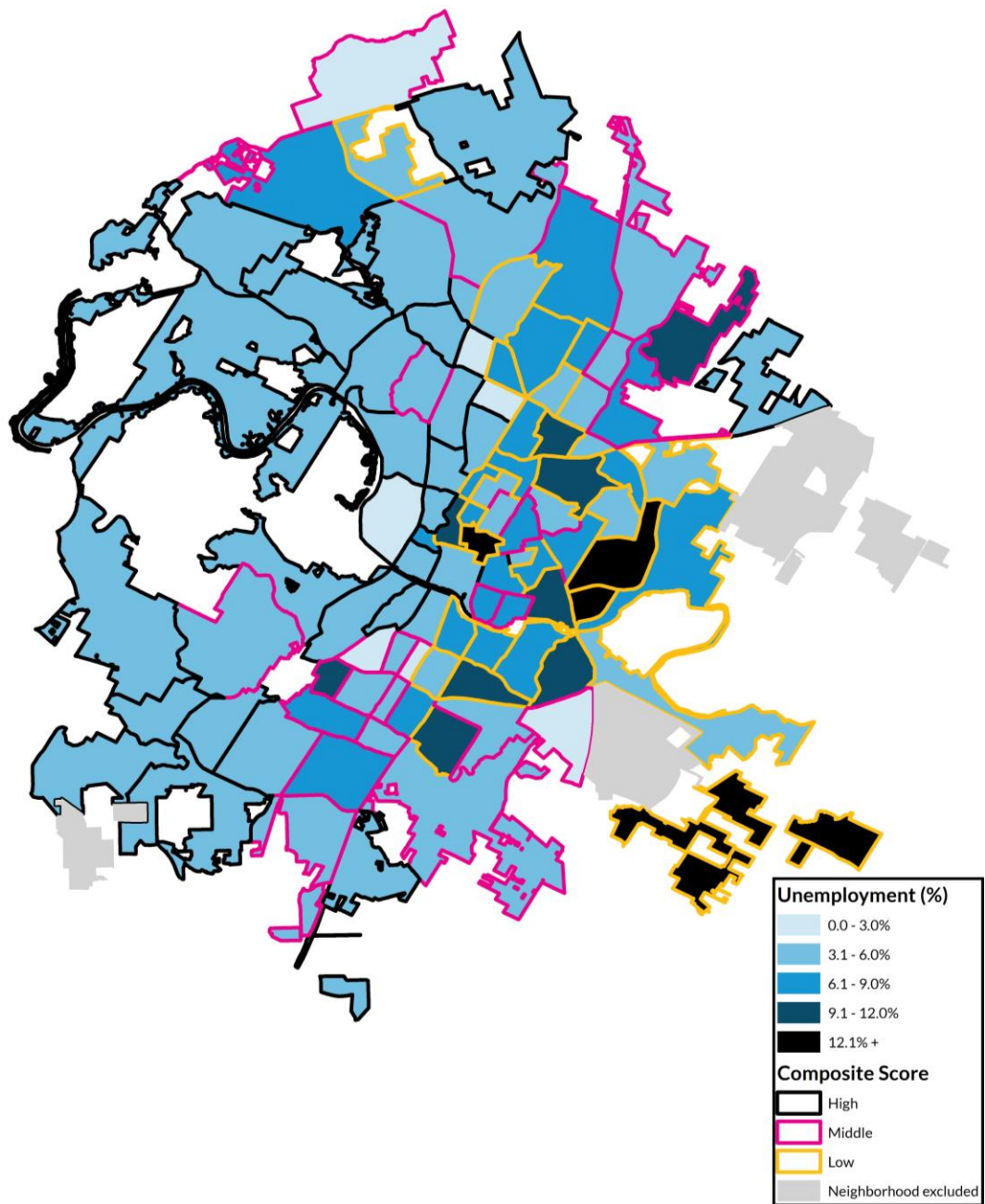


Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census data.



FIGURE 12

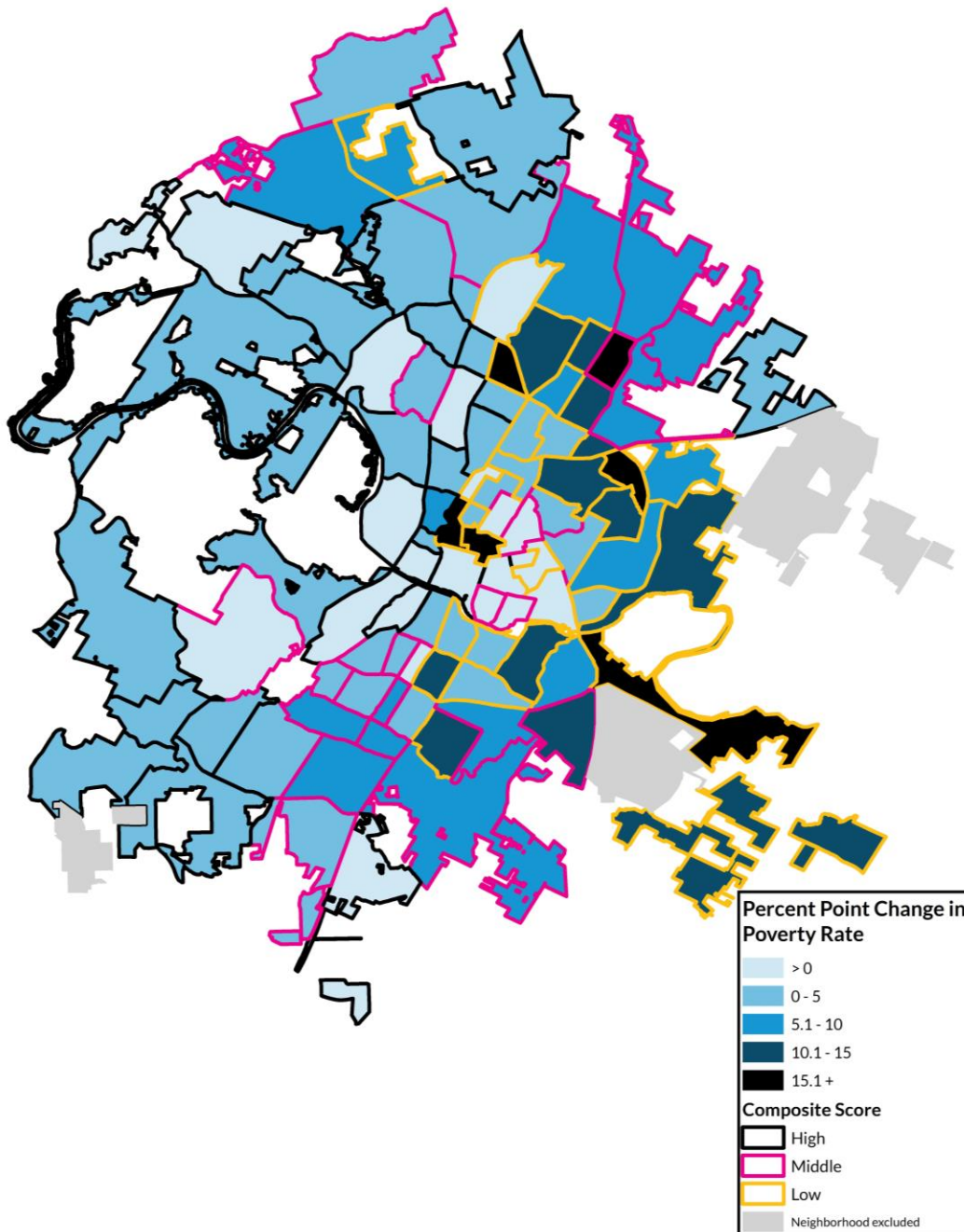
Austin Unemployment Rate, 2015



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

FIGURE 13

Austin Change in Poverty Rate, 2000–15



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

TABLE 5

## Neighborhood Median Family Income, 2000–15

Neighborhood	Median family income, 2000 (\$)	Median family income, 2015 (\$)	Change in median family income (\$)
Highland Park	178,056.30	128,188.70	-49,867.65
Spicewood	169,885.80	169,549.10	-336.72
Davenport Lake Austin	229,120.80	177,327.20	-51,793.53
Bull Creek	156,963.30	111,250.70	-45,712.67
Circle C South	129,195.60	131,836.20	2,640.57
Barton Creek Mall Area	168,002.50	137,831.90	-30,170.69
Allandale	89,613.06	83,216.83	-6,396.23
Crestview	69,112.41	72,487.59	3,375.18
West Austin Neighborhood Group	112,882.00	106,029.30	-6,852.66
Village at Western Oaks	123,672.20	102,690.10	-20,982.05
West Oak Hill	138,941.10	97,910.49	-41,030.59
Rosedale	95,312.80	73,450.02	-21,862.78
Westover Hills	115,615.60	72,211.21	-43,404.41
Harris Branch	90,405.17	72,482.63	-17,922.55
Jollyville	123,959.00	96,386.90	-27,572.13
Barton Hills	96,732.31	69,602.56	-27,129.75
South Brodie	116,843.90	91,497.32	-25,346.55
Mansfield–River Place	202,839.60	110,066.30	-92,773.22
Brentwood	66,451.82	55,728.00	-10,723.82
Old Enfield	122,291.60	95,821.18	-26,470.40
Four Points	135,198.80	91,798.83	-43,399.92
Chestnut	41,913.36	60,375.00	18,461.64
Bouldin Creek	44,728.56	60,959.00	16,230.44
Brodie Lane	90,327.99	79,764.96	-10,563.03
Robinson Ranch	91,197.50	73,310.31	-17,887.19
Zilker	73,828.11	74,486.30	658.19
Onion Creek	79,023.77	66,352.26	-12,671.51
Old West Austin	86,095.77	73,070.72	-13,025.05
Windsor Road	124,616.80	101,291.30	-23,325.52
Downtown	148,689.00	109,866.50	-38,822.52
Jester	196,865.30	77,451.00	-119,414.30
Cherry Creek	82,918.88	68,511.01	-14,407.87
North Shoal Creek	84,603.66	54,023.00	-30,580.66
Slaughter Creek	94,580.47	71,028.72	-23,551.75
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	118,192.40	93,864.03	-24,328.36
McNeil	93,072.86	73,949.09	-19,123.77
East Oak Hill	105,584.70	85,783.87	-19,800.80
Anderson Mill	120,163.60	83,206.97	-36,956.66
South Manchaca	56,538.27	55,399.13	-1,139.15
Gateway	101,515.60	70,112.00	-31,403.56
RMMA	52,440.00	61,791.00	9,351.00
Northwest Hills	105,226.80	66,419.36	-38,807.45
Hyde Park	68,844.68	44,706.45	-24,138.23
Garrison Park	69,280.59	53,834.31	-15,446.28
Galindo	50,189.22	43,441.00	-6,748.22
Hancock	82,045.30	47,728.73	-34,316.57
East Congress	65,333.37	50,976.93	-14,356.44
McKinney	57,569.87	58,602.38	1,032.51
Upper Boggy Creek	58,491.60	55,755.45	-2,736.15
Southeast	57,747.69	57,805.50	57.81
Dawson	49,285.32	47,336.00	-1,949.32

Neighborhood	Median family income, 2000 (\$)	Median family income, 2015 (\$)	Change in median family income (\$)
Tech Ridge	81,959.70	55,159.64	-26,800.05
Sweetbriar	58,890.12	49,824.00	-9,066.12
Gracy Woods	84,874.67	58,928.46	-25,946.21
Dittmar-Slaughter	78,988.48	52,157.54	-26,830.95
Westgate	63,139.41	53,127.55	-10,011.87
Central East Austin	35,362.88	47,208.77	11,845.88
West Congress	52,351.06	46,036.11	-6,314.95
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	75,344.16	54,055.50	-21,288.66
Bluff Springs	68,512.99	50,958.34	-17,554.65
Holly	37,006.62	39,528.04	2,521.42
South Lamar	47,399.72	48,557.23	1,157.51
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	75,368.21	55,304.95	-20,063.26
Windsor Hills	73,065.48	48,292.00	-24,773.48
East Cesar Chavez	37,344.62	40,423.65	3,079.04
MLK	46,049.50	40,483.75	-5,565.76
Pond Springs	87,910.07	53,261.47	-34,648.60
Govalle	42,940.36	42,500.89	-439.47
Pecan Springs-Springdale	49,495.05	40,469.75	-9,025.31
Rosewood	25,811.41	30,376.61	4,565.20
Del Valle East	63,544.67	50,604.85	-12,939.82
South River City	83,726.00	62,375.92	-21,350.08
North Loop	60,120.56	45,304.19	-14,816.37
LBJ	57,558.50	38,195.43	-19,363.06
Del Valle	40,344.58	36,208.01	-4,136.57
University Hills	58,950.11	57,053.47	-1,896.63
North University	70,562.45	30,530.09	-40,032.37
Wooten	56,810.46	48,134.00	-8,676.46
North Burnet	86,077.50	52,788.00	-33,289.50
Highland	55,663.39	47,870.32	-7,793.07
Heritage Hills	57,729.54	38,046.00	-19,683.54
Rogers Hill	48,765.12	38,293.02	-10,472.10
Windsor Park	52,541.99	38,663.49	-13,878.50
MLK-183	44,486.64	36,626.40	-7,860.24
North Austin Civic Association	52,515.91	35,516.27	-16,999.64
Franklin Park	48,238.82	38,473.70	-9,765.12
Johnston Terrace	43,590.06	42,420.00	-1,170.06
St. Edwards	40,607.88	42,554.00	1,946.12
North Lamar	48,035.04	34,215.00	-13,820.04
Parker Lane	52,485.44	35,038.68	-17,446.75
Georgian Acres	41,624.50	34,396.60	-7,227.91
Coronado Hills	51,567.84	31,696.00	-19,871.84
Riverside	40,608.47	33,633.71	-6,974.76
Triangle State	39,162.79	60,906.04	21,743.24
St. John	34,193.38	31,501.24	-2,692.15
Montopolis	37,950.27	26,931.90	-11,018.37
Pleasant Valley	41,564.43	24,481.56	-17,082.87
UT	39,496.30	9,511.98	-29,984.32
West University	36,382.91	11,385.58	-24,997.34

**Source:** Urban Institute analysis of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

**Notes:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas. Neighborhoods are listed in order of 2015 overall ranking. Median income in 2000 was inflation adjusted to 2015 constant dollars.

## Housing Market Health Index

The housing accessibility index assesses a neighborhood's housing market health using neighborhood property values, vacancy rates, the percentage cost burdened in renting or owning, and the homeownership rate (table 3).

Changes in housing market health across all Austin neighborhoods were mixed during the study period (table 4). As with resident economic success, some neighborhoods in the top tier experienced significant declines in housing market health (Jester fell 30 ranks), while bottom-tier neighborhoods had considerable improvements. Four of these bottom-tier risers—Del Valle, Del Valle East, Johnston Terrace, and Rosewood—are interesting, as their housing market health ranks alone would place them firmly in the top half of neighborhoods. This pattern in the data is a strong sign that neighborhood changes are out of step with community development because residents' economic realities have not improved. On average, neighborhoods at the top of the typology enjoyed an average rank increase of 4.8 places, whereas neighborhoods at the bottom fell in rank an average of 4.6 places. Two-thirds of the top-ranked neighborhoods in our composite index saw increases in their housing market health ranking. For the other third of these high-performing neighborhoods, declines in housing market health were more modest. Likewise, most neighborhoods ranking in the bottom third of composite scores also experienced declines in housing market health. Almost all the neighborhoods in the middle third of the composite index experienced either drastic improvements (e.g., Downtown by 37 ranks, Central East Austin by 36, and Southeast by 33) or steep declines (Pond Springs by 45 ranks and Gracy Woods by 36). Few maintained their positions in 2000 or remained close by 2015. Their average decline of 0.2 ranks in housing market health masks the significant movements made by this cohort.

Most neighborhoods ranking in the top third of the neighborhood typology saw their rankings improve between 2000 and 2015. The improvement of the top-tier neighborhoods in housing market health was driven primarily by property values (appendix table C.5). Almost half experienced increases of over \$100,000, and only two neighborhoods, Harris Branch and West Oak Hill, experienced declining property values (figures 16 and 17). On average, the median home values for top-tier neighborhoods increased almost \$35,000 more than the median home values for neighborhoods at the bottom of our rankings. Vacancy rates stayed relatively stable for top-ranked neighborhoods, though Chestnut, Four Points, and Onion Creek saw notable declines in vacancies at 5, 6, and 4 percent, respectively. Although the percentage of cost-burdened residents increased modestly (2 percent on average) since 2000, top-tiered neighborhoods maintained a significantly lower level of cost-burdened residents (26 percent on average) than either the middle (33 percent) or bottom tier (43 percent) (figures 14 and 15). Notable among these are Old Enfield, whose share of cost-burdened residents declined 8 percentage points, and



Mansfield–River Place, whose share increased 13 percentage points (appendix table C.6). The change in homeownership rates for these top-tiered neighborhoods was also notable in that they experienced the smallest increase on average of any of the three cohorts at just 1 percent. Brodie Lane, Jester, Slaughter Creek, and Village at Western Oaks decreased between 15 and 25 percentage points.

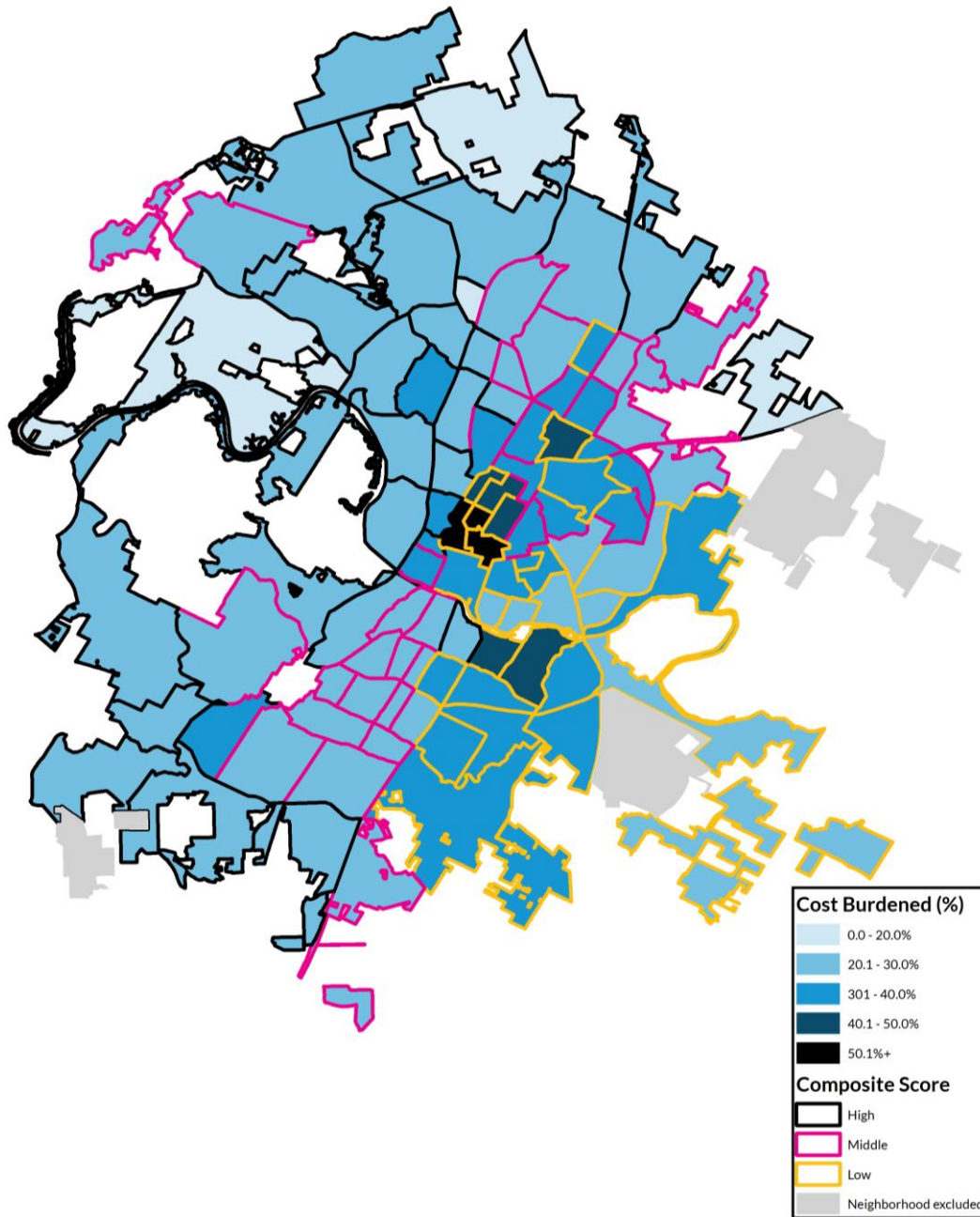
There were less obvious patterns in middle-tier neighborhoods, which experienced modest declines on average (0.2 ranks) by 2015, indicating equally large gains by some neighborhoods and declines by others. Almost half of the 33 middle-ranking neighborhoods decreased in their housing market health rankings, but property values rose for all but two neighborhoods in the cohort (Bluff Springs and Gateway). Seven neighborhoods—Bouldin Creek, Downtown, East Cesar Chavez, Galindo, Old West Austin, Robert Mueller Municipal Airport, and Windsor Road—are standouts, with median property values increasing more than \$200,000 (figures 16 and 17; appendix table C.5). In line with the top-ranking neighborhoods, vacancy rate changes were similarly modest (just 1 percent on average), though Central East Austin saw a 5 percent decline, indicating a neighborhood growing in popularity. The increased percentage of cost-burdened residents was more dramatic for middle-tier neighborhoods, especially in Windsor Hills (increased 16 percent), Windsor Road (14 percent), and East Cesar Chavez (13 percent) (appendix table C.6). Homeownership levels were mixed, with notable changes at both ends of the spectrum. Downtown, McKinney, and Southeast increased homeownership rates 22 to 26 percentage points, while Avery Ranch–Lakeline and Tech Ridge decreased homeownership 24 and 22 percentage points, respectively.

Less than a third of the neighborhoods ranked in the bottom tier of the neighborhood typology saw their housing market health ranks increase by 2015. But even in these neighborhoods, property values increased, most notably in Govalle, Hancock, North Loop, North University, Rosewood, South River City, Triangle State, and the University of Texas, whose median property values all increased more than \$100,000 (figures 16 and 17; appendix table C.5). Changes in vacancy rates were mixed across this cohort, with a handful of neighborhoods experiencing decreases and the rest experiencing increases or no change. Increases were modest for neighborhoods that experienced more vacancies, with most hovering at or below 5 percent (South River City was unique in its 7 percent increase in vacancies). Changes in homeownership rates were likewise mixed, with a handful of neighborhoods experiencing outsized increases while the others experienced modest changes in either direction. These standout neighborhoods include Del Valle and Del Valle East, as well as Heritage Hills, Johnston Terrace, and Rogers Hill. Each had homeownership rate increases between 15 (Johnston Terrace) and 42 percent (Del Valle East) (appendix table C.6). The share of cost-burdened residents in the bottom-ranking neighborhoods increased in all but four neighborhoods (Hancock, Riverside, Rosewood, and Triangle

State), with some experiencing increases of over 20 percentage points (e.g., Coronado Hills and Wooten). The Del Valle, Georgian Acres, Heritage Hills, Lyndon B. Johnson, North Burnet, MLK-183, Montopolis, and North Austin Civic Association neighborhoods also experienced double-digit increases in cost-burdened residents.

FIGURE 14

Austin Share of Cost-Burdened Residents, 2000

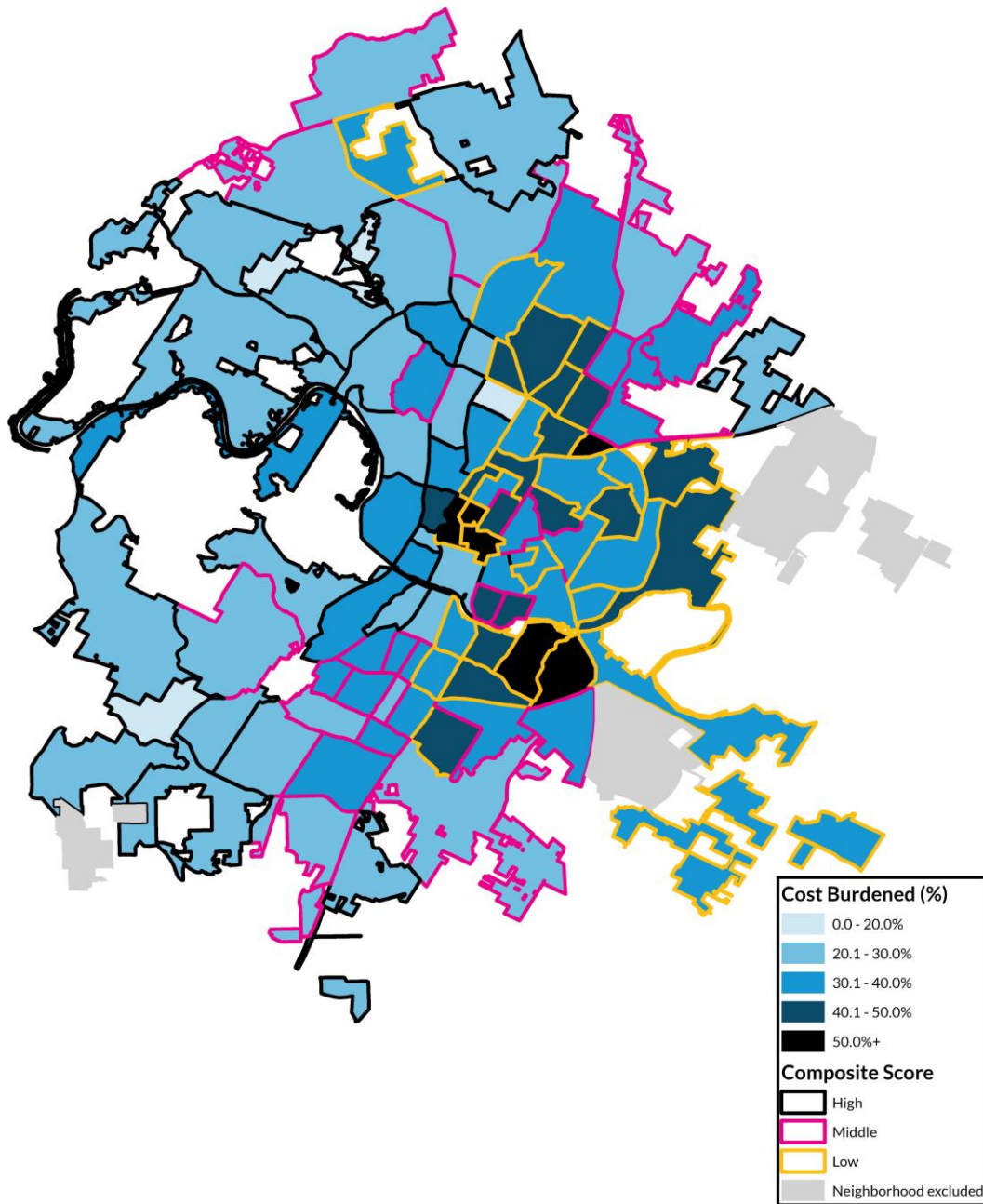


Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census data.



FIGURE 15

Austin Share of Cost-Burdened Residents, 2015

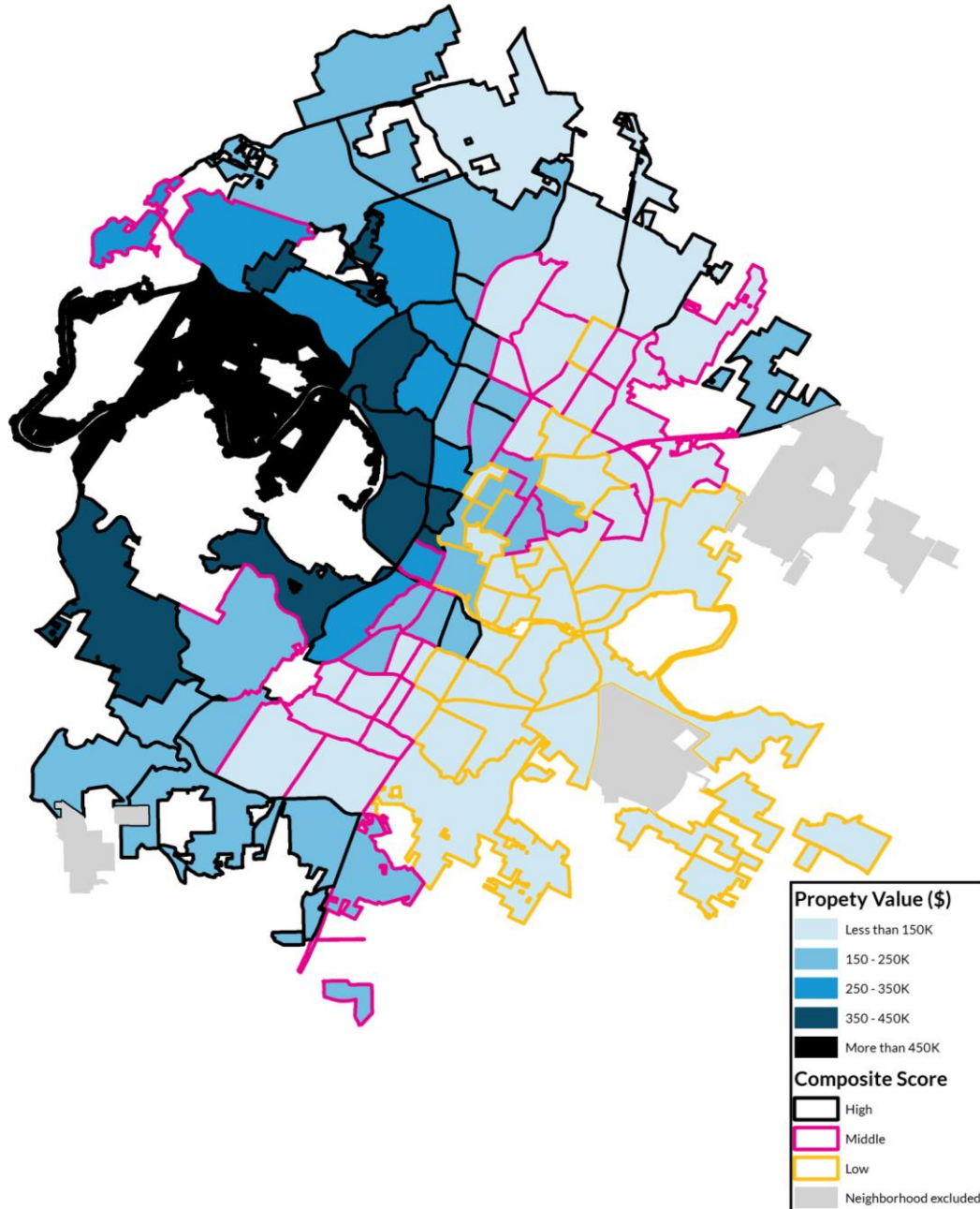


Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

FIGURE 16

**Austin Median Home Values, 2000**

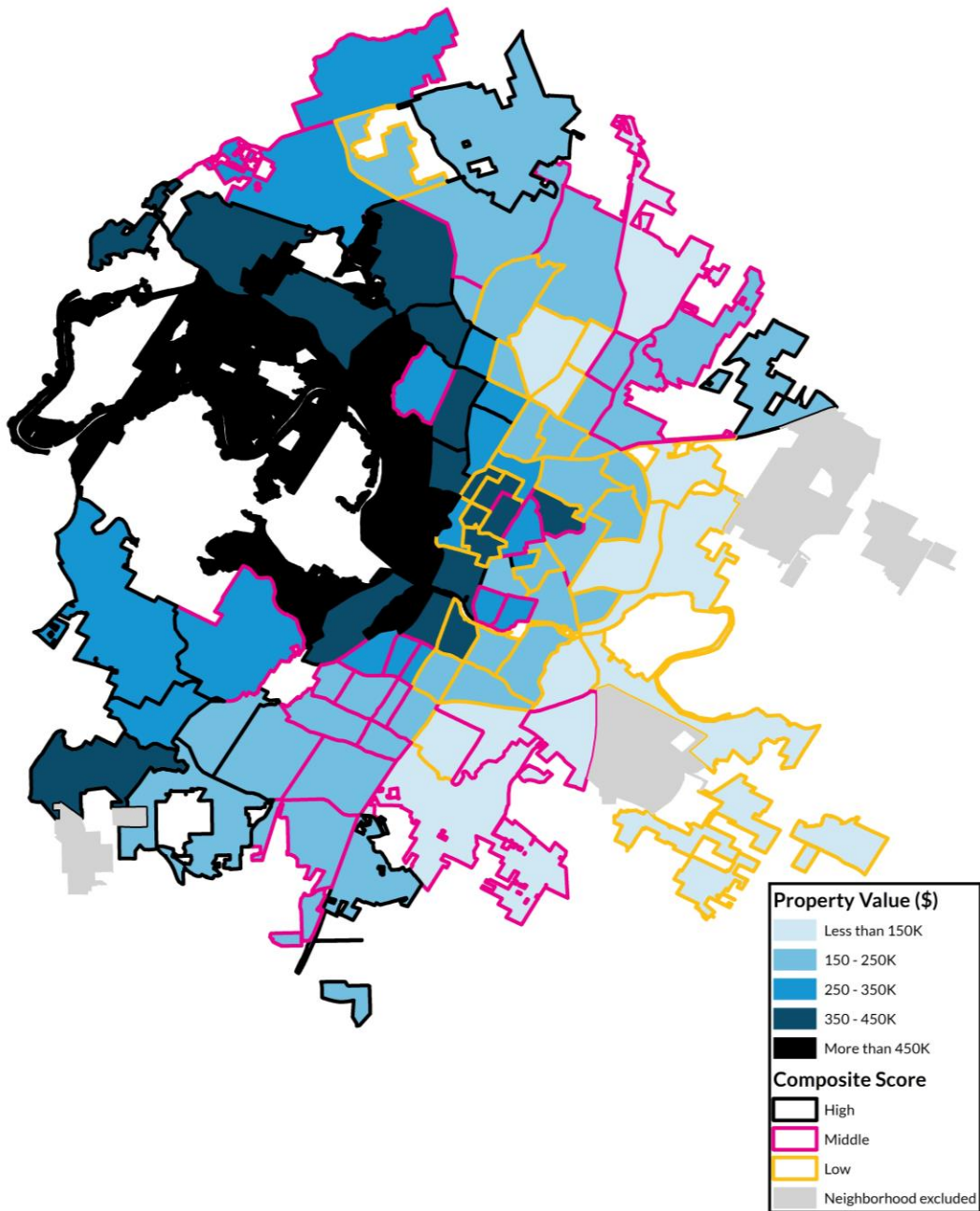
*In 2015 dollars*



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census data.

FIGURE 17

Austin Median Home Values, 2015

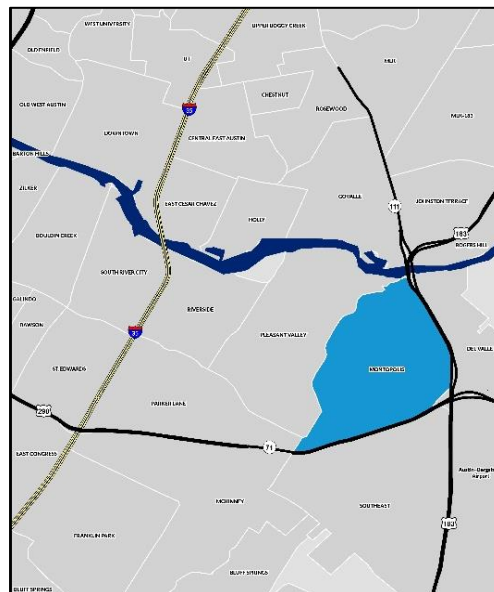


Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

### BOX 3

#### Neighborhood Case Study: Montopolis

Montopolis is a historic neighborhood roughly four miles southeast of downtown Austin. As the city booms, the tight-knit, but historically isolated community is beginning to feel gentrification pressures as property values rise and land is developed. Although still in the early stages of change, community representatives and stakeholders expressed concern that the gentrification of many east Austin neighborhoods north of the Colorado River (e.g., Caesar Chavez, Govalle, and Holly) will spread south into Montopolis and that longtime residents will no longer be able to afford to live in the neighborhood. Several stakeholders from the City of Austin and the city's nonprofit sector identified Montopolis as a vibrant and culturally rich community with high rates of naturally occurring affordable housing (NOAH), including single-family owner-occupied “shotgun” homes, multifamily rental housing, and mobile home parks. As Austin continues to grow, policymakers, nonprofits, and philanthropic organizations can develop policies and programs that provide longtime residents the ability to stay in the community.



Although Montopolis was annexed by the City of Austin relatively recently (partially in 1951, fully in the 1980s), permanent Euro-American settlement of the land predates Austin. As Fred McGhee outlines in his history of the neighborhood, *Images of America: Austin's Montopolis Neighborhood*, Montopolis was initially envisioned by speculators to be a thriving metropolis, but most settlers clustered around the settlement of Waterloo (later renamed Austin) four miles upriver.<sup>a</sup> Rural and largely isolated from Austin, plantation agriculture—primarily cotton based—grew in Montopolis as small-scale planters introduced slavery and sharecropping into the area. Following the Civil War, the area was home to one of at least 15 freedmen's communities in what would become Austin, and by the 1880s, the community had become predominately African American.<sup>b</sup> The demographic profile of the community began to shift in the 1920s as immigrants from Mexico moved to the area to work alongside African Americans on the farms. During World War II, the US Army purchased most of the farmland southeast of Montopolis to develop the Del Valle Army Air Base (the present-day Austin-Bergstrom International Airport). Many of the residents who had lost their jobs working on the farms moved into Montopolis and opened businesses that catered to the service members.<sup>c</sup> Although community demographics have shifted to primarily Mexican American, the neighborhood retains an African American community (around 9 percent of the population in 2015, see table below) and some of the community's early institutions, including St. Edward's Baptist Church, the oldest continuously operating African American Baptist church in Travis County, and the Montopolis Negro School, an artifact of the city's history of segregated education that is one of the few such school buildings that still stands.<sup>d</sup>

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As the community grew, the population remained largely poor and isolated from Austin. Many of the houses lacked plumbing facilities, most of the roads were unpaved, and few public services were offered in the area. In the 1960s, leaders in Montopolis's faith community made significant strides to address poverty, housing, and violence. Reverend Fred Underwood, a transplant from Chicago who led Montopolis's Dolores Catholic Parish, was a central figure in leading antipoverty efforts in the neighborhood. After surveying community needs, Underwood appealed to the Austin City Council for funding for a community center in Montopolis, but the request was denied. Despite the rejection, Underwood financed the construction through local donations and a mortgage on Dolores Catholic Parish and completed construction of the Montopolis Community Center in 1964. After completion, Underwood applied for operation funding from Austin's Park and Recreation Department, but was again turned down.<sup>e</sup>

Recognizing the barriers to funding from the City of Austin, Underwood bypassed local officials and applied for federal funding directly from new government programs introduced under President Johnson's War on Poverty initiative. Underwood applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity and received funding to support a day care program housed in the Montopolis Community Center. Recognizing the lack of public transportation options, Underwood repurposed army buses and received funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity to create the community's first bus line, which connected Montopolis with health care services and outside employment opportunities. Underwood also applied for and received funding from the US Department of Labor to create a job training program, which targeted local youth gang members and drug offenders. The program reduced violence and gang activity so much that the efforts were expanded throughout the rest of Austin. As a local historian notes, Underwood was the first to apply for federal funding toward antipoverty efforts in Austin. Although the City of Austin initially resented Underwood for his direct appeal to federal government, by the 1970s, the city recognized the potential and started applying for federal funding directly. Around the same time, Underwood began transferring some of his operations to the city, including the community center, to increase the scale of the antipoverty initiatives.<sup>f</sup>



## Demographic and Housing Profile of Montopolis, 2000 and 2015

	2000	2011-15
Population	7,265	12,681
Households	2,185	3,891
Hispanic	69%	73%
Black	9%	9%
Households with at least 1 person under 18	41%	35%
Households with at least 1 person over 65	13%	11%
Poverty rate	38%	47%
Median family income	\$37,950	\$26,932
People over 25 with a bachelor's degree	2%	13%
VLI households	68%	67%
LMI households	27%	25%
Renter-occupied units	54%	70%
Cost-burdened renters	56%	59%
VLI cost-burdened renters	70%	93%
LMI cost-burdened renters	10%	31%
Housing units	2,254	4,310
Multifamily housing units	36%	56%

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

**Notes:** LMI = low and middle income; VLI = very low income. 2000 median family income figures are adjusted to 2015 dollars to account for inflation.

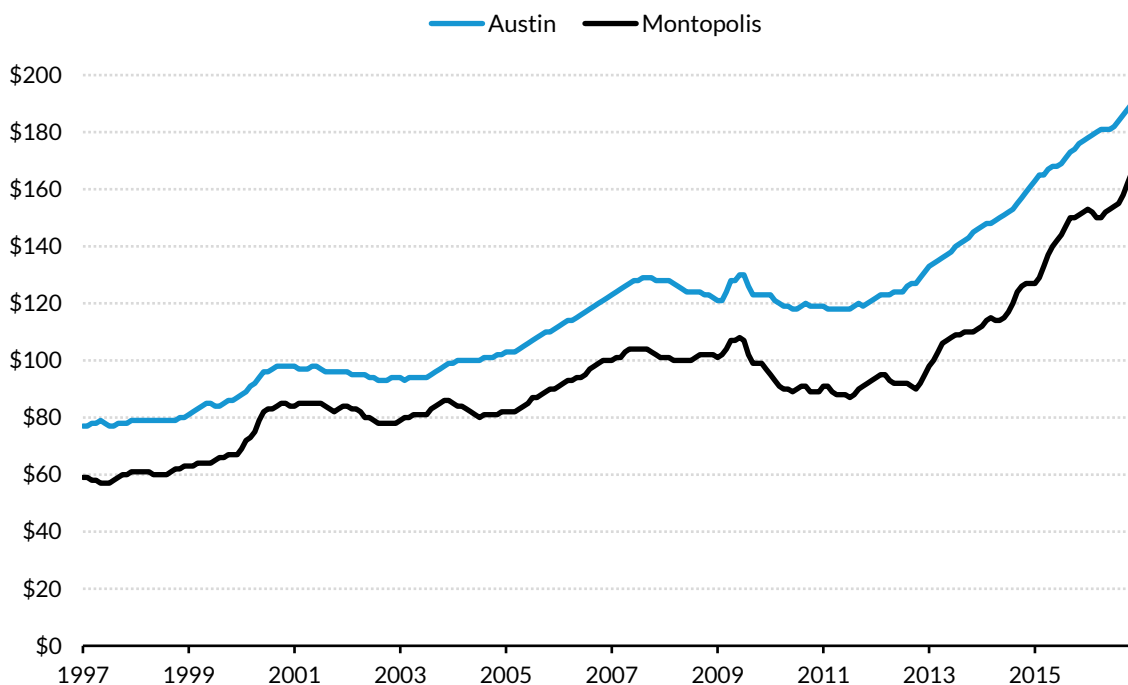
Today, the Montopolis community is growing and shifting in its population and housing stock. As the above table indicates, the population of Montopolis grew 75 percent from 2000 to 2015, increasing from 7,265 to 12,681. The neighborhood remained a primarily Hispanic community with 73 percent of the Montopolis community identifying as Hispanic in 2015 (up from 69 percent in 2000). Although the net African American population increased, the share remained constant at 9 percent of the population. The neighborhood has persistent employment, poverty, and housing challenges, many of which exacerbated over the period. Montopolis remained a primarily a very low-income community, with around two-thirds of households having very low incomes, a quarter low or moderate incomes, and a tenth having high incomes in 2015. Nearly half the population (47 percent) was below the poverty line in 2015 and the neighborhood unemployment rate was 11 percent. Controlling for inflation, the median family income fell more than \$11,000 (from \$37,950 to \$26,931). Compared with the rest of Austin, Montopolis ranked near the bottom of our composite index ranking in 2015 (96 out of 99) a drop from 85th out of 99 in 2000. Both the index of resident economic success and housing market health fell.

What led to the dramatic changes in resident economic success? Using American Community Survey data, it is difficult to interpret whether individual residents change (e.g., whether a household's income fell) or if the change is driven by old residents leaving and new residents moving in, shifting the area's demographic profile. Although the change in RES is because of a combination of both, the over 5,000-person increase in population and the near doubling of housing units suggests that much of the demographic change was driven by the influx of in-migration, rather than natural population growth through birth. (The average household size in the neighborhood dropped from 3.32 to 3.26, and the share of households with a person under age 18 fell from 41 to 38 percent.)

The housing unit figures suggest that much of the new development from 2000 to 2015 was multifamily and that the new construction attracted new residents. The share of multifamily housing increased from 36 to 56 percent of total housing stock. The new construction also resulted in a significant shift in neighborhood housing tenure, as the share of renter-occupied units jumped from 54 to 70 percent. Stakeholders noted that many of the new multifamily units were driven by Low-Income Housing Tax Credit financing, and, as of 2015, the neighborhood is home to eight such developments, one of the highest neighborhood concentrations in the city.<sup>8</sup> Many of these new developments were constructed in the southern portion of the neighborhood near Riverside Drive. The older single-family housing stock remains largely clustered in the northern portion of the neighborhood. The economic shifts reflect a need for increased workforce development, educational, and employment opportunities.

Community stakeholders noted that both renters and owners were struggling to manage rapidly increasing property values. Using Zillow sale price figures, we found an up-to-date profile of housing price change. The change in Montopolis property values largely followed the City of Austin average between 1997 and 2017. The average price per square foot nearly doubled from \$88 in 2011 to \$169 in 2017. The increases reflect the precipitous rise in property values experienced throughout Austin and are particularly challenging for Montopolis residents who have, on average, experienced limited (to negative) changes in the economic success.

#### Average Monthly Sale Price per Square Foot, Montopolis and City of Austin



Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 1997–2016 monthly Zillow sale price data.

Low-Income Housing Tax Credit-financed developments, which have built-in affordability restrictions, can provide affordable rental options for decades. But for the 46 percent of housing units that are not multifamily in Montopolis, rising rents and properties taxes can place tremendous pressure on residents, particularly those with low or fixed incomes. Stakeholders note that many families in the neighborhood who own their homes have difficulty paying their increasing property tax bill. In Travis County, properties are appraised annually based on the assessed market value. The Travis County Tax Office offers a general homestead exemption, a 65-and-older homestead exemption, a disabled persons exemption, and a disabled veterans exemption. The deduction can lead to a notable drop in the tax bill (an \$80,000 flat exemption off the assessed total for people ages 65 and older). But with precipitous increases in property values, a flat tax exemption does not keep up, and the increased tax bill can place tremendous pressure on senior households with fixed incomes. For example, a home in Montopolis assessed at \$250,000 (the average price of a 2,100-square-foot house in 2015) the tax bill without exemption is \$5,575, but with the senior exemption, that bill would drop to \$4,245. If that assessment increases to \$350,000 (the average price for a 2,100 square-foot house in Montopolis in 2017), the property tax bill rises to \$7,805 without exemptions and drops to \$6,475 with senior exemptions.<sup>h</sup> For families with limited (or fixed) incomes, the increase in property tax can be a significant burden. These increases are passed along to renters when landlords adjust rents to compensate for increases in tax bills.

Taxpayers who qualify for the senior or disability exemption are eligible to apply for a property tax deferral. Although no penalty is assessed, interest accrues at 8 percent a year. If a homeowner does not apply a senior or disability exemption or is not qualified for either exemption, penalty and interest accrues each month after due date. After one year, 24 percent penalty and interest is charged on top of the assessed bill.<sup>i</sup> Deferrals can be an important tool to assist elderly residents who struggle to meet the payment in January, but can raise funds later in the year. But with a flat exemption and rapidly rising property values, the bill each year becomes onerous and can force homeowners to sell. As outlined in the LMI Affordable Housing Program: Recommendations in the Austin Context section of this report, there are additional policy solutions Travis County could introduce to help reduce the burden on senior households with limited income, such as a frozen tax ceiling or a percentage reduction in appraised value. Stakeholders also recommended strategies to assist elderly residents' abilities to age in place, such as weatherization, installation of ramps for wheelchair access, and other structural improvements. But stakeholders noted that such property improvements (any repairs over \$500) can trigger a reassessment from the Travis County Appraisal District, which can make homeowners wary, given the rapidly accelerating property values. There are policy options Travis County can pursue to help prevent misinformation about reassessment policy, as well as options that allow senior homeowners to make repairs to support aging in place without fear of higher taxes.



Neighborhood associations have played a central role in organizing opposition to changes in affordability and zoning in Montopolis. In 2014, there was tremendous neighborhood pushback to a proposed zoning change that would allow the development of 45 individual condos on a tract of land in Montopolis. The motion was denied at the planning commission hearing and in a 4–3 vote at the city council. The *Austin Chronicle*, a weekly free paper, reported on the hearing and quoted the testimony of Angelica Noyola, president of the Montopolis-Ponca Neighborhood Association: “Walking on eggshells tonight, fearing the city may allow our community to become the next cool place to be.... This is a community of families. We would like to continue to promote that versus an overrun of young, single hipsters more concerned about how fast they can get to Downtown from Montopolis.”<sup>j</sup> The Montopolis Neighborhood Association and Montopolis Neighborhood Plan Contact Team are working to preserve the site of the Montopolis Negro School, which, according to the *Austin American-Statesman*, was built in 1935 as one of 42 school for African American children in the county and is one of the few remaining structures used for that purpose that exists today. The site, which is privately owned, is being considered for market-rate residential developments, but neighborhood association representatives and the Montopolis Neighborhood Plan Contact Team are appealing to the city council to block the development.<sup>k</sup> But as available land near Downtown becomes scarce and the city considers comprehensive rezoning under CodeNEXT, the ability for the neighborhood association to block future market-rate development project seems unlikely. To preserve lasting affordable options in the community, stakeholders suggested targeted policies options in Montopolis.

Community land trusts have been proposed as a method for preserving the affordability the community. In the model, a nonprofit organization would create a trust to purchase or construct a portfolio of single-family or multifamily housing in a target area with rising property values and maintains ownership permanently. Rather than a traditional sale, perspective LMI homeowners interested in a property would enter a long-term, renewable lease with the trust. When the homeowner “sells,” he or she earns only a portion of the increased property value. The rest of the equity is kept by the trust, maintaining the property’s long-term affordability for future LMI families.<sup>l</sup> Community land trust efforts are under way in the Guadalupe neighborhood of central east Austin, but as of July 2017, the Urban Institute could not find evidence of such developments in Montopolis.<sup>m</sup> With the average home value below Austin’s average, Montopolis is in a good place to pursue this model and lock in affordability. Stakeholders also proposed introducing a cooperative model for the neighborhood’s mobile home parks. The parks are a source of NOAH but are particularly susceptible to eviction and redevelopment as property values rise. In the cooperative model, residents, often supported by a nonprofit organization, come together to purchase the land collectively and create internal leadership structures to manage the cooperative.

With the neighborhood's larger lot sizes for single-family homes, programs to assist homeowners with creating accessory dwelling units, or small detached units that homeowners can rent at an affordable price, would allow a revenue stream for homeowners and more affordable housing stock in the neighborhood. To support these efforts, city officials should consider zoning accommodations to remove barriers to development as well as support financing options for homeowners to ease construction costs. With gentrification in its early stages, Montopolis is a prime candidate for the creation of a Homestead Preservation District, where the city can use tax increment financing and can leverage increasing property values toward community redevelopment or other reinvestment opportunities, including the creation of affordable housing. Recognizing the potential effectiveness of the tool, policymakers in Austin, including the city council representative for the district that includes Montopolis, supported a bill that would have included Montopolis in an expansion of Austin's current Homestead Preservation Districts. But that bill was recently vetoed by the Texas governor, who believes the districts interfere with the free market and reduce affordability.<sup>n</sup> Although the governor's veto imposes a two-year hold on Austin's ability to expand this policy, the bill's passage in Texas's Senate and House suggest future expansion is possible.

Given persistent economic challenges, some of the most impactful policy in the community is needed in force development, education, and employment. Evidence suggests that targeted education, health care, and employment support to the residents in the new Low-Income Housing Tax Credit-financed multifamily developments, such as the support offered by Foundation Communities, support residents' success.<sup>o</sup> Montopolis has a rich legacy in leading antipoverty efforts in Austin, and work should be made in tandem with the area's faith community and other community representatives to build on this history. The Montopolis Neighborhood Association is appealing for funding three projects: (1) the Outside the Box Dropout Prevention program, which provides K-12 wraparound support services to students at risk of dropping out of school; (2) the Young Scholars for Justice Leadership Development Program, which promotes leadership opportunities and civic engagement opportunities for young people; and (3) the "One Job at a Time" Job Readiness Program, which supports low-income jobseekers, ability to qualify and compete for entry-level positions in the demand occupations found in their labor force areas.<sup>p</sup> The Urban Institute could not confirm the status of these proposals as of this report's release. Stakeholders suggested that residents could also benefit from increased transit options and support for small businesses. As Austin continues to boom, city officials and local leaders should incorporate Montopolis residents into the city's growing economy. Efforts to increase residents' income not only addresses their abilities to cope with housing cost burdens in the short term, but makes them better able to live and thrive in the city over the long term. Facing precipitous increases in property values, a diverse set of educational support, workforce development, transportation, and housing affordability policy solutions are needed to provide longtime residents the support necessary to stay in this historic and culturally rich community.

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- <sup>b</sup> Michael Barnes, "Older Than Austin, Montopolis Opens Up Its History," *Austin American-Statesman*, January 31, 2015, <http://www.mystatesman.com/entertainment/older-than-austin-montopolis-opens-its-history/9s43RBqXPv2cgeSoeA8MNL/>.
- <sup>c</sup> McGhee, *Images of America*.
- <sup>d</sup> Michael Barnes, "Older Than Austin, Montopolis Opens Up Its History," *Austin American-Statesman*, January 31, 2015, <http://www.mystatesman.com/entertainment/older-than-austin-montopolis-opens-its-history/9s43RBqXPv2cgeSoeA8MNL/>.
- <sup>e</sup> McGhee, *Images of America*.
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- <sup>n</sup> Ben Wear and Philip Jankowski, "How One Austin Affordable Housing District Escaped Abbott's Veto," *Austin American-Statesman*, June 17, 2017, <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/local-govt--politics/how-one-austin-affordable-housing-district-escaped-abbott-veto/IJ5Un0Q9Gpi6PMQUH2qPON/>.
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- <sup>p</sup> Susana Almanza, "Montopolis Neighborhood Association's Proposal for Changing Direction of the City's Eastern Crescent," Montopolis Neighborhood Association, May 1, 2016, <http://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=256693>.
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# The Austin Community: Policies and Practices for Inclusive Neighborhoods

Austin neighborhoods are going through radical changes in population composition, the diminishing availability of affordable housing, and the prospects for preserving such housing. The city is experiencing such rapid population growth that it must balance the need to preserve an inclusive community for all households across the income distribution and the economic development that accompanies new residents. This section addresses how policies and practices can move low- and middle-income affordable housing forward by describing current affordable housing policies in Austin; community and nongovernmental resources; the voices of affordable housing stakeholders; and interventions that could make sense within the local context. Through a deeper understanding of the opportunities and constraints within Austin, there is promise to promote programs and policies that can create and preserve an inclusive community, ensuring that LMI households can continue to thrive.

## Current LMI Affordable Housing Policies Employed by Austin Leadership

Austin's leaders are aware of the city's housing affordability challenges. Officials from the City of Austin ranked housing affordability as one of the most pressing issues in Austin today and noted that the issue is a central item in the mayor's agenda. Although Austin faces constraints from the state on implementing key corrective actions to preserve and expand the availability of affordable housing, the city has introduced innovative, proactive policy measures to alleviate the shortage. Many of the city's most recent efforts are detailed in the *Austin Strategic Housing Blueprint*, which aims to "align resources, ensure a unified strategic direction, and facilitate community partnerships to achieve a shared vision of housing affordability" (NHCD, n.d., 9). The plan promotes a holistic approach that includes complementary strategies for preserving and producing housing. Strategies for preservation include acquiring and rehabilitating affordable at-risk homes, advancing new homeownership models, and creating a supportive financing environment. Strategies for creating affordable units include simplifying regulations, using available public land for affordable housing, and expanding funding across all levels (NHCD, n.d.). For families earning between 60 and 120 percent of AMI,<sup>9</sup> the plan projects a need for

40,000 affordable housing units over the next 10 years. The blueprint includes bold strategies that aim to produce 60,000 units for households earning up to 80 percent of AMI as well as strategies aimed at producing housing for all.

Despite awareness among city leaders about affordable housing issues for Austin's residents, there are several challenges at work. First, the city is engaged in CodeNEXT, a comprehensive rewrite of the land development code. The new code, which will be complete by fall 2017, prioritizes increasing housing diversity, increasing the number of units by right, and expanding incentives aimed at affordability through a citywide framework. Although this presents tremendous opportunities for expanding affordable housing for LMI families, it underscores the need to understand implications of various policies in case they are drafted in ways that unintentionally quell affordable housing development. Furthermore, *Imagine Austin*, the city's comprehensive 30-year plan, was adopted by the city council in 2012. One of the plan's eight priority areas is affordability, broadly defined. The plan considers housing affordability and transit costs as essential elements of broader affordability. The blueprint is one of the products of the plan's efforts. These city-led efforts reflect extensive forethought and planning by leaders and reflect the considerable awareness of growing affordability issues.

But Texas state policy continues to be a challenge for Austin as the city moves forward with initiatives, and state policy continues to present barriers to addressing housing issues for families. For example, the State of Texas does not allow cities to use inclusionary zoning as a tool to expand affordability, which hampers Austin's ability to mandate the development of affordable units in new building projects. Because Texas lacks an income tax, Austin is particularly reliant on its property tax base. Rising housing costs have a pronounced influence on longtime homeowners' abilities to afford to stay in their homes, given Austin's current housing market and rising property taxes. This also has implications for how schools are funded and may exacerbate disadvantage and inequality across Austin's neighborhoods. Finally, although not particular to Austin, there is insufficient gap financing in the form of federal tax credits that is available to developers to build affordable units. Especially in neighborhoods in Austin's central core, development costs prevent developers from building homes accessible to LMI families. These challenges and others have put affordable housing issues in the spotlight of Austin's policy agenda.

A selection of Austin's current policies is highlighted below and illustrates how the city is maintaining and creating a sufficient supply of affordable housing for LMI families.

**Affordable housing strike fund.** The City of Austin has supported efforts to create a "strike fund," a private equity fund managed by the nonprofit Affordable Central Texas whose goal is to purchase

existing market-affordable multifamily developments (serving families earning 60 to 120 percent of the AMI). The nonprofit would take over management of the complexes and preserve affordability by limiting rent growth to the Consumer Price Index.<sup>10</sup> Although the city is not a direct investor in the fund, the fund was created through an Austin City Council resolution in 2014 with the goal of preserving 20,000 affordable housing units over the next 20 years (NHCD, n.d.). The fund is attracting private investors and projects to start making purchases by the end of 2017.<sup>11</sup>

**S.M.A.R.T. Housing.** Austin's S.M.A.R.T. (Safe, Mixed-Income, Accessible, Reasonably Priced, Transit-Oriented) Housing policy initiative provides incentives for producing low- and moderate-income, renter- and owner-occupied housing through development fee waivers and expedited development review. Program goals also include using public resources to leverage private investment, stimulating the development of housing on vacant lots in new and existing subdivisions, promoting the use of existing city infrastructure and services, and promoting the creation of alternative funding sources for the development. The plan, which was last updated in 2008, allows for full or partial fee waivers depending on the share of units in a proposed development that meets the "reasonably priced" threshold (rented or sold to families who earn no more than 80 percent of the AMI who would spend no more than 30 percent of their family income on housing, or up to 35 percent if a household member receives city-approved homebuyer counseling) and meet S.M.A.R.T. Housing standards (e.g., safety, accessibility, transit access, green building requirements). The program is administered at a tiered level from 10 to 40 percent meeting the S.M.A.R.T. Housing requirements. If a builder provides 10 percent S.M.A.R.T. reasonably priced units, the city provides 25 percent fee waivers and fast-track review. If a builder provides 40 percent S.M.A.R.T. reasonably priced units, the city provides 100 percent fee waivers and fast-track review. Rental units must remain reasonably priced for at least five years. Homeownership units must remain reasonably priced for at least one year (NHCD 2008).

A developer representative noted that the program is attractive for promoting new affordable developments but indicated that even under expedited review, the current approval process can take up to a year. The *Austin Strategic Housing Blueprint* provides recommendations to update the S.M.A.R.T. Housing program to include allowing higher income within the reasonably priced requirement, increasing the length of the affordability period, and better balancing developer benefits with unit construction (NHCD, n.d.). Other city-offered programs include a downtown density bonus, a university neighborhood overlay, and transit-oriented development. Additionally, some development agreements require developers to build affordable units or pay fees-in-lieu.<sup>12</sup>

**Austin Housing Trust Fund.** Created in 1999, the Austin Housing Trust Fund supports developing and preserving owner-occupied and renter-occupied housing. The trust fund is funded through

property tax revenues from developments that have been built on city-owned land toward affordable housing.<sup>13</sup> As of 2017, the trust fund has helped fund the creation or preservation of 1,418 affordable units (NHCD, n.d.).

**General obligation housing bonds.** Austin issued general obligation bonds in 2008 and 2013 to help finance affordable housing development. The 2008 and 2013 bonds amount to \$120 million and are used to develop rental housing for the most vulnerable, for homeownership programs, and for assisting residents with home repairs. Broadly speaking, families earning less than \$58,550 in 2013 dollars could qualify for assistance through the programs financed through these bonds. As of 2017, the \$65 million raised through the 2013 bond is still being expended, but the 2006 \$55 million funds built, preserved, or repaired 2,653 units in Austin, with 73 percent affordable to households earning 50 percent of the median family income (NHCD, n.d.). The 2006 funds also yielded a high return on investment: for every \$1 of city investment, \$4 of other funding was leveraged.

These plans and actions are promising, but the need remains for large-scale efforts to preserve and expand the availability of affordable housing for LMI families.

## Community and Nongovernmental Affordable Housing Resources in Austin

In addition to a strong governmental presence on LMI affordable housing issues, Austin has an extensive network of community and nongovernmental organizations working to ensure that all families can afford to live in the city. This section describes a few of these organizations and their role in moving policies and the discussion surrounding LMI affordable housing issues forward.

Austin city leaders have dubbed 2017 the “Year of Affordability” to address its lack of affordable housing from all angles. The city’s nonprofit developers are especially strong leaders in this effort, but none develop at the scale of [Foundation Communities](#), a local nonprofit that has been developing low-income housing in Austin for over 25 years. Its 22 communities comprise around 3,000 units. These units were developed as new buildings and via acquisition and rehabilitation. Focusing on families who earn 50 to 60 percent of the AMI (the organization’s developments do not go above 80 percent of the AMI), who are largely low-income families with kids, Foundation Communities links on-site services such as after-school and English-as-a-second-language programs for students, financial coaching for parents, and primary and mental health care for the whole family. By using affordable housing as a platform for building stronger communities, the organization has had incredible success in the city,

especially in the face of rising NIMBYism (“not in my backyard”) in some Austin neighborhoods. Because of its long and successful record and its commitment and outreach to communities before and after developments get off the ground, Foundation Communities is an example for other nonprofit developers looking to deliver quality affordable housing at scale.

Another important developer is [Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation](#) (GNDC), which has focused more closely on Guadalupe and other neighborhoods in East Austin since the 1980s. Although smaller in the scale of its developments than Foundation Communities, GNDC addresses the demand for affordable pathways to homeownership in addition to its budding multifamily rental work. It uses various strategies to promote affordability, including building the first community land trust home in Texas in 2012. Since then, it has built six CLT homes with plans for eight more. In collaboration with such partners as the University of Texas School of Architecture and Center for Sustainable Development as well as the Austin Community Design and Development Center, GNDC also started the Alley Flat Initiative, to design “environmentally sustainable and ecologically sound” accessory dwelling units that can help Austin increase density without fundamentally changing the character of historic neighborhoods.<sup>14</sup> Using such innovative strategies does not interfere with GNDC’s role as a neighborhood development corporation. It prioritizes longtime residents of East Austin in its application process while revitalizing neighborhoods via brownfield restoration and other sustainability efforts.

Despite a challenging policy context, the Texas state legislature created the [Texas State Affordable Housing Corporation](#), a nonprofit housing finance agency that fills crucial gaps in Austin’s affordable housing pipeline. The corporation was granted the ability to own land without paying property taxes—a huge boon given the rising costs associated with frequent tax assessments at the city level—and bought around 500 properties across the state. These properties are stored in a land bank until they are developed in partnership with local developers using LIHTC 4 percent credits. Between 200 and 300 such developments are financed each year. The corporation envisions itself as primarily helping promote affordable homeownership because so much of the conversation on affordability is focused on the renter market, but the organization purchased one apartment complex in East Austin just as its affordability period was expiring. The organization does not accept funds from the state (only its tax-exempt status) and instead issues housing bonds, compliance fees, and mortgage loans, combined with other fundraising efforts, to finance its programs. These programs include first-time homebuyer grants, down payment assistance (purchasers have income limits, and the average home price is around \$130,000), and homebuyer education courses.



All three developers discussed above are sponsors of and community partners with [HousingWorks Austin](#), a nonprofit research and advocacy organization that has played a central role in framing discussions of Austin's affordability crisis and what to do about it. Originally created in 2006 around the first campaign for affordable housing bonds, HousingWorks' 14-member board, whose members range from affordable housing advocates to for-profit developers, create workable policy solutions and push them forward at the city and state levels. Beyond these bonds, HousingWorks has a five-pronged agenda for affordability that guides their activities, including investment, preservation, leveraging existing funds, partnering beyond the City of Austin, and rolling out creative inclusion-promoting programs (since inclusionary zoning was prohibited by the state). The organization has been involved with creating the Housing Trust Fund, led the research behind the strike fund for preserving affordable units, weighed in on the zoning code rewrite ([CodeNEXT](#)), and promoted density bonus and community benefits programs. HousingWorks also explores policy solutions that link housing with mobility via more robust transportation access, educational success, and better health outcomes on an ongoing basis.

These organizations, like many others working on issues across the continuum of affordable housing needs or focusing on changing neighborhoods, have taken a proactive approach to preserving affordability in Austin, despite the challenging statewide policy context. In taking on affordability issues directly, such organizations have built consensus on many policy perspectives that were repeated frequently during our conversations with Austin community members and stakeholders. Among them is the need to reprioritize affordable homeownership as a pathway for low-income and long-term residents and the desire to expand community land trusts to homeownership and rental ends. Austin's Homestead Preservation Districts were a valuable tool for preservation but their expansion was recently outlawed.<sup>15</sup> As such, stakeholders flagged the need for developers to seek new partnering entities with an eye toward employment. One such partnership, with the Austin Independent School District, was raised frequently in discussions. In using some of the school district's land to develop affordable housing for teachers, such a partnership would simultaneously address multiple community development needs.<sup>16</sup> In general, though, every organization acknowledges that the affordable housing problem will not be solved in a bubble. Many innovative approaches, such as the recently constituted strike fund that would build the city government's capacity to quickly acquire properties expiring out of affordability or the complete overhaul of Austin's zoning codes, are still too nascent to understand how the city's affordability calculus will be affected.<sup>17</sup>

# Austin Stakeholders: Themes from Conversations about LMI Affordable Housing

The Urban Institute met with affordable housing stakeholders and government officials in Austin on June 5 and 6, 2017, to discuss the landscape and potential for advancing programs to preserve and create LMI housing. This section documents the overarching themes that emerged from our conversations:

1. Extraordinary population growth and a booming economy have changed the city's demographics and have forced property values and rents upward.
2. The property tax burden in Austin is extraordinarily high and is growing and putting a strain on many older and longtime residents.
3. Texas state legislature and policy restrict what Austin can do to create and preserve affordable housing.
4. Neighborhood groups in Austin are vocal and have tremendous say over whether and where affordable housing will be located.

This section explores these themes, with consideration for Austin's affordable housing culture and the barriers and opportunities for retaining LMI families.

## **Extraordinary population growth is changing the demographic and housing landscape.**

Repeatedly, we heard that rapid growth, particularly in-migration from other areas, was changing the city's fabric and housing availability, as well as the culture of music and arts that made it special. There was speculation that migration has been fueled by young white people coming to Austin from California, drawn to the area because of its booming high-tech job sector. Stakeholders report that this is changing the landscape of inequality in the city, in that the new arrivals are generally high income and have more means than current residents. Looking at migration data in the 2011–15 American Community Survey, 13,331 householders moved to the Austin area from out of state in 2015. Furthermore, among those new householders in 2015, 3,871, or 29 percent, were non-Hispanic white people under age 30.<sup>18</sup> Although they remained the largest demographic group, this is a decrease from 2005–09, when 11,071 householders moved to the Austin area from out of state and 4,106 (37 percent) were non-Hispanic white people under age 30. The share of householders who moved in from out of state that are Hispanic increased slightly, from 5 percent of the total in 2005–09 to 9 percent in 2011–15. Stakeholders reported that most new arrivals were from California, and this is substantiated in the 2015 data, but the share has decreased from 19 percent in 2005–09 to 12 percent by 2011–15. In contrast, the share of those moving to Austin from the East Coast<sup>19</sup> has increased from 20 percent of the total in 2005–09 to

28 percent by 2011–15. A large share of newcomers to Austin are coming from states with high costs of living.

As Austin has experienced an influx of newcomers, it has experienced a loss of black families in the city. This demographic trend has been happening over many years but have become notable recently.<sup>20</sup> As Austin's demographer notes, the share of the black population in the city has declined as black families have left the city for the nearby suburbs.<sup>21</sup> This is notable at the neighborhood level, as well, with dramatic shifts in recent years. For example, 51 percent in the Chestnut neighborhood in East Austin identified as black in 2000. By 2015, this had declined to just 15 percent (appendix table A.2). Meanwhile the white population living in Chestnut was just 22 percent in 2000 and increased to 54 percent by 2015. University of Texas professor Eric Tang has been documenting the rapid out-migration of black families from Austin and found that families left predominately because of perceptions of a poor-quality public education in East Austin schools and unaffordable housing costs (Tang and Falola, n.d.). This suggests that some residents would have preferred to have stayed but felt that rising costs and better opportunities existed in the suburbs.

Newcomers are affecting the affordable housing landscape, contributing to rising property costs pushing longtime residents to the suburbs. Austin stakeholders remarked that property values are escalating at high rates all over the city, increasing property tax rates and affecting low-income homeowners' abilities to stay in their homes and affecting renters because tax increases were passed onto them as escalating rents. The rising cost of land has also made it increasingly difficult for developers to find low-cost locations upon which to build affordable housing. Developers are building rental units in Austin, but they are mostly luxury units with, as one stakeholder reported, no evidence of a "trickle-down in rents." This trend is happening nationwide (Williams 2015), resulting in upward pressure on rental prices. Economic theory supports "filtering," in that producing new market-rate units in a city creates low-income housing at a rate of 2.5 percent a year for rentals and 0.5 percent a year for owner-occupied homes (Rosenthal 2014). But developing high-end rental units can inflate rents throughout the market, especially at the lower end. As new high-end rental units are developed, rental units that were previously high end in that market become part of the moderate- to low-priced housing stock—yet maintain above-average rents relative to existing units—meaning that low- and middle-income renters also start paying more for their housing.<sup>22</sup> The culmination of increased property taxes being passed onto renters and a lack of LMI rentals being developed in Austin means that rent inflation at the lower end of the market seems likely to continue.

**The property tax burden is putting a strain on older and longtime residents.** Rising property values in Austin have had an unexpected and unintended consequence hurting longtime homeowners:

property taxes are becoming unbearably high. Stakeholders have reported that low-income and older residents on fixed incomes are finding it a challenge to pay property taxes. Although the Travis County Tax Office has a homestead credit and a supplemental credit for residents over age 65, it may not be enough. Property value reassessments—whether occurring as a matter of course or triggered by home repairs—can be difficult for older residents who live in rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods and may not have the budget for higher tax bills. An older homeowner who receives the senior homestead exemption can apply for a permanent deferral of property taxes while residing in that home if they cannot pay their taxes, but they are charged 8 percent interest on the bill for every deferred year.<sup>23</sup> We heard from stakeholders that this can be a challenging bill for older low-income residents to pay if they leave their home because it may include multiple years of back taxes plus interest on their home.

Stakeholders also report there is not enough senior rental housing to meet demand, especially for low-income residents. Older residents, whether homeowners or renters may face financial challenges staying in Austin. In Montopolis, a low- to middle-income neighborhood in East Austin, this was a heightened concern as imminent gentrification posed challenges for older residents who wanted to stay in the neighborhood but found rising housing costs and a lack of senior housing to be barriers.

Aside from low-income and older residents, property taxes generally are a concern for homeowners and landlords. Because Texas has no income taxes, property taxes are among the highest in the country.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, Texas moves money from wealthier school districts to lesser-funded ones, meaning that a sizable percentage of Travis County's property taxes leave the area and are redistributed to other parts of the state. The so-called "Robin Hood" approach means that property taxes are paid by all jurisdictions, and the state redistributes them based on per capital school enrollment.<sup>25</sup> In a high-wealth and high-property value area such as Austin that has declining school enrollment and is projected to lose 4.8 percent of its student population over the next decade (AISD 2016), rising property taxes are increasingly leaving the area to support other municipalities.

Tax policy and abatements pose potential solutions for helping residents in need. Although dramatic changes to tax policies may not be possible, modifying current property tax exemptions and changing the reassessment structure could help ensure longtime residents and older homeowners are not priced out, thus preserving neighborhood stability and diversity.

**Texas state policy decisions restrict Austin's affordable housing policies.** Austin is affected by the Texas state legislature's tax policy decisions and other policy decisions. Austin is a largely Democratic and progressive city located within a largely conservative and Republican-leaning state. In the 2016 election, 66 percent of voters in Travis County voted for the Democratic candidate while the state

decisively went Republican.<sup>26</sup> Stakeholders reported that the Republican state legislature and governor dislike many of Austin's policies and programs, viewing them as too progressive, and often create rulings to take away local control rather than to support it. Legislators from across the state come to Austin every two years when the legislature is in session. This puts Austin and its local policies under a spotlight that other cities in the state do not face.

One recent example of this is the Homestead Preservation District policy. The state legislation was originally passed in 2005 to allow gentrifying neighborhoods to harness a portion of increased property tax values to be dedicated to affordable housing in that area. Because the original legislation was passed requiring county participation and Travis County did not agree to participate in conjunction with Austin, it failed to be implemented until the legislation could be amended to allow city control.<sup>27</sup> Just one Homestead Preservation District was put into place in the intervening years. Recently, legislation was put through the state legislature to enable Austin to add three Homestead Preservation Districts in compliance with the poverty, low-income, and size dictates set forth in the policy. But the governor vetoed the final decision, citing that it hampers the free market and would discourage affordability, meaning that there will only be one historic preservation district in Austin in the foreseeable future.<sup>28</sup>

Stakeholders expressed frustration that Austin's hard work of determining policy strategies that would satisfy the state legislature and help the city's families struggling with affordability was so easily undermined by nonresidents. Although many of Austin's policies would be improved by more cooperation and collaboration with state policymakers, policies and programs that have the best chance of success are those that are locally controlled and involve private and philanthropic partnerships rather than state-level support.

**Neighborhood groups have tremendous say over affordable housing development.** One of the most consistent themes among stakeholders in Austin was how vocal neighborhood groups could be about affordable housing development. National consultants noted that they had never experienced such high levels of resident participation before. Another stakeholder reported that this is especially so west of I-35, where support for developments is a challenge, even for senior housing projects, because of neighborhood resistance. While this speaks highly to civic engagement, it reflects the incredible power that neighborhood groups can have over whether an affordable housing project can move forward. One stakeholder told us that a letter of support from a neighborhood group is often the determining factor for whether a tax credit-funded project moves forward or not. Neighborhood associations also have power because they are instrumental in supporting and electing councilmembers for the city's 10 geographically designated districts.

For affordable housing projects, stakeholders report that neighborhood groups tend to oppose high-density projects, expressing concern about changes to the character of neighborhoods. Stakeholders suggested, though, that resistance to projects might really reflect misconceptions about the aesthetics and demographics of the people who would inhabit the housing project. Neighborhood opposition can be surprisingly strong against developments that propose to add needed affordable housing units to the city's supply. A recent example comes from the Elysium Park neighborhood, where 1,100 nearby residents signed a petition challenging a proposed development of a 90-unit complex, with over half of units reserved for low-income families making 30 to 50 percent of the AMI. The challenges to the development by neighborhood opposition included such reasons as poor access to transportation and infrastructure concerns. The concerns, however, did not stop the city council from allowing the project to move forward.<sup>29</sup> As awareness within the city grows about the lack of available affordable housing units, there may be more opportunities to build allies within neighborhoods who advocate for, rather than oppose, housing for all of Austin's families. Building a vocal core of neighborhood-based supporters for affordable housing could be an important long-term strategy for the success of projects.<sup>30</sup>

## LMI Affordable Housing Program Recommendations in Austin

Austin, like all cities, has a unique cultural and political context in which programmatic recommendations may fail or flourish. The following ideas reflect suggestions from stakeholders, and any of them could be successful in Austin. This section explores ways to enhance LMI affordable housing in Austin and why these recommendations may have traction.

**Continue to build support for additional Homestead Preservation Districts and make a case for the success of tax increment financing.** Tax increment financing is a mechanism through which cities leverage increases in property values toward community redevelopment or other reinvestments, often in a gentrifying neighborhood. Austin has Homestead Preservation Districts and the ability to designate Homestead Preservation Reinvestment Zones within them, areas where low-income residents live and are experiencing dramatically changing property values (Lubell 2016). The legislation allows a portion of increasing property tax valuations in designated areas to be applied toward preserving affordability in those same places (Erickson 2011). The legislation was passed by the Texas legislature in 2005 and is specific in its criteria for how to define a Homestead Preservation District, including having an area

population under 75,000 people, having a poverty rate at least twice that of the larger municipality, and having median income that is less than 80 percent below the municipality as a whole.<sup>31</sup>

In Austin, four Homestead Preservation Districts have been proposed, of which only District A—encompassing the Central East Austin, Chestnut, East Cesar Chavez, Govalle, Holly, Rosewood, and Upper Boggy Creek neighborhoods—officially became a designated district in 2007 under the criteria the Texas legislature defined (City of Austin 2015). Within Homestead Preservation District A, one Homestead Preservation Reinvestment Zone was created in 2015 (Zone 1), allowing tax increment financing to be used.<sup>32</sup> Of the three levers that could be engaged within this and future Homestead Preservation Districts—including the Reinvestment Zones (areas where tax increment financing could be used), land banks, and land trusts<sup>33</sup>—tax increment financing was most often cited by stakeholders as having the most immediate potential for affordability. In Austin, 10 percent of taxes from increasing property values in the Homestead Preservation Reinvestment Zone can be directed toward affordable housing.

Stakeholders reported that Texas’s governor dislikes Homestead Preservation Districts and soon after the legislature finished meeting in June 2017, he demonstrated this by vetoing Austin’s ability to create three additional Homestead Preservation Districts, further limiting the city’s ability to leverage this policy. The governor cited his belief that the districts interfere with the free market and reduce affordability.<sup>34</sup> Although his veto imposes a two-year hold on Austin’s ability to expand this policy, it did pass in Texas’s Senate and House, suggesting future success is possible. The next two years present an opportunity for Austin to build a strong evidence-based case for the success of tax increment financing in Historic Preservation District A and Reinvestment Zone 1, which will be critical for ensuring it can continue and can be a pilot for creating additional districts. Demonstrating via a rigorous evaluation that this district neither constrained free-market development nor reduced affordability will be an important goal before the legislature reconvenes. Furthermore, being prepared to adapt the other three proposed districts that were vetoed with new boundaries (as needed if population change or gentrification happens rapidly) to satisfy Texas law may help with future approvals.

**Modify Travis County tax policy to enable older homeowners to age in place and landlords of small properties to preserve affordability.** An important element of preserving LMI affordable housing is to facilitate incentives for landlords to keep their current NOAH rentals at below-market rates and to enable current homeowners to not be priced out of Austin. Other cities have done this through tax policy. But the context of taxes in Austin and specifically Travis County, which collects the property taxes, is complicated. There are no income taxes collected statewide, so locally collected property taxes are important revenue. Furthermore, a sizable portion of Austin’s property taxes (Austin being a higher-

valued area than the rest of the state) that are collected for the school district are taken by the state and redistributed to school districts with less money.<sup>35</sup> For tax policy changes to help with affordability, small modifications of local practices would be needed rather than a large overhaul.

Because property taxes are such an important source of revenue in Austin (Travis County) and Texas generally, rapidly rising property values mean property taxes become increasingly burdensome for homeowners in Austin who may be low income or on a fixed income. This has unintended consequences, including leading longtime older homeowners to sell their homes because of escalating property taxes when they would rather age in place. Multiple stakeholders reported that Austin does not have enough senior housing for its residents and that increases in property taxes are particularly hard on households with a fixed income.

In Texas, homestead exemptions are allowed for property owners who reside in their primary residence, and additional homestead exemptions are available to homeowners over age 65, the disabled, and veterans from school taxes. According to the Texas comptroller, “Texas law requires school districts to offer an additional \$10,000 residence homestead exemption to persons age 65 or older or disabled. Any taxing unit, including a city, county, school district, or special district, has the option of deciding locally to offer a separate residence homestead exemption for persons age 65 or older in an amount not less than \$3,000” (Hegar 2016). The locally based homestead exemption is available in Travis County, such that the school tax ceiling is frozen in the year that a person first qualifies and applies for their supplemental 65-and-older homestead exemption.<sup>36</sup> Although this is generous to someone who aged into this policy before the recent housing boom, it may not benefit those who newly qualify. It is also unclear if all residents over age 65 know this is available, if they apply for it soon enough after turning 65, and if this is enough of a subsidy to help the most low-income residents living in a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. But Travis County has control over the local 65-and-older homestead exemption, so it could modify how this is administered. In Harris County and the City of Houston, residents 65 and older may receive an additional exemption of 20 percent reduction in their home’s appraised value rather than Travis County’s frozen tax value approach (Harris County Appraisal District, n.d.). Travis County could introduce a blended approach, either the frozen tax ceiling or a percentage reduction in appraised value, whichever offers the lowest tax bill in a given year to older homeowners under the exemption. Offering a percentage-based reduction in appraisals could offer more savings to younger senior homeowners and those in neighborhoods with escalating values.

Furthermore, Travis County should reconsider how reassessments are triggered within its system. Although the Travis County Tax Office clarifies that the reassessments are only triggered for improvements beyond normal repairs or maintenance,<sup>37</sup> stakeholders indicated this was not happening



in practice. Home improvements worth \$500 or more (e.g., the price of a new door or window) could trigger a reassessment of property values, which can adjust the home value that the 65-and-older homestead exemption is based upon. Travis County should set a clear policy about what improvements trigger a reassessment to prevent misinformation that prevents older residents from pursuing needed repairs, as well as set straightforward guidance for assessors in the field. The county could also consider making home repairs provided via grants or a nonprofit program to help older, low-income residents exempt from triggering a reassessment so homeowners can make needed repairs without fear of higher taxes.

Another concern in cities with rapidly rising property values is that landlords of small unsubsidized and NOAH properties will be discouraged by rising tax valuations and will sell their properties or remodel them into market-rate units to make more money. This is of particular concern in Austin, as such small-scale landlords of older properties held as many as 10,500 affordable units in 2014 (HousingWorks Austin 2014). One strategy employed in Chicago provides tax abatements for rental property owners if they repair and rehabilitate units, as long as a certain percentage of units are set aside to be affordable for a fixed period (e.g., 10 or 15 years) (Lubell 2016). The Cook County Class 9 program cuts assessments and taxes in half, and in exchange, developers agree to keep a certain share of newly rehabilitated rental units affordable.<sup>38</sup> This program has also been referenced by HousingWorks Austin (2014) for its potential to help small-scale landlords because of their importance to the city's stock of affordable housing. Given the rapid changes in Austin that can price out small landlords from the market with tax increases, such a program could preserve LMI rental affordability in neighborhoods without the significant monetary investments required to create new housing.

**Help community land trusts be better used.** Community land trusts (CLTs) are used in other cities, exist on a small scale in some Austin neighborhoods, and could offer a permanent solution to affordability. In the model, a nonprofit, community-based organization creates a trust that purchases land and maintains ownership of it permanently. Prospective homeowners enter into a long-term lease with the trust rather than purchasing the land beneath the home structure they are buying. When homeowners sell, they earn only a portion of the increased property value. The trust keeps the rest of the equity, maintaining the property's long-term affordability for future LMI families.<sup>39</sup> The projects are attractive because they promote LMI homeownership and require a one-time investment of private and public funds that can be used to maintain affordable units in perpetuity. They also help insulate homeowners from rapidly escalating property values and the tax increases that accompany them.

Austin has a few CLT sites, including the first CLT home in Texas, built and sold to a homeowner in 2012 by the Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation.<sup>40</sup> The corporation owns the

property, and the homeowner owns the structure—earning equity on the increased value of the home—and affordability of the land is preserved for 99 years (GNDC, n.d.). Since developing this original site, GNDC has developed additional CLT homes in East Austin, each with GNDC as the owner of the land beneath the structure and the structure owned by low-income homeowners.

One drawback of CLTs is that they are highly capital intensive. The projects require nonprofits to purchase land and, in many cases, construct or rehabilitate homes before being sold at reduced market prices. The Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation, a 35-year-old organization, purchased tracts of land in East Austin years ago when market prices were lower, permitting CLT sites to be created for a lower cost than could be produced if the land were purchased today.<sup>41</sup> Yet, in some neighborhoods of East Austin, land remains available at a lower cost than in other parts of the city, which would permit the expansion of CLTs to other neighborhoods. Another possible solution would be to transfer former public land—such as from closing school facilities, especially as school enrollment has declined in some neighborhoods—to nonprofit trusts for CLT development. The direct transfer or reduced market sale would reduce the significant barrier that land purchase prices pose to CLT development. Mueller, the site of the former airport in Austin, is an example of how formerly public lands were developed for mixed-income housing (25 percent is set aside for households making 80 percent or less of the AMI).<sup>42</sup> But the Mueller homes do not offer permanent affordability in its homeownership set-asides, so future development of publicly owned land should incorporate a CLT approach to guarantee affordability in perpetuity.

**Assist interested residents in manufactured housing communities start cooperatives.** Austin, unlike many other cities with rapidly rising property values, is home to many manufactured home communities. Manufactured homes are among the most affordable housing options available to individuals and families (Berlin 2015). In 2015, Austin had 44 mobile home and recreational vehicle parks, with around 4,000 registered housing units. But because zoning is not stringent with the parks, there could be more units housing more LMI households.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, preserving these housing options is important for preventing displacement of LMI families out of Austin.

Manufactured housing communities are a hybrid of homeownership and renting. Units are owned, typically, by the resident, yet the land beneath the manufactured housing community is generally owned by one property owner. This makes manufactured housing communities especially vulnerable to developers seeking land for projects. If the property owner decides to sell, it can be challenging for residents and homeowners to remain in place. One alternative is for residents to explore purchasing the land and becoming a cooperative. ROC USA, an organization that began in 2008, helps residents of manufactured housing communities form collectives and provides technical assistance in securing loans

and creating the leadership structures to manage the cooperative.<sup>44</sup> Although ROC assists communities nationwide, they have only helped one community in Texas—in Pasadena in 2009—become a cooperative.<sup>45</sup> The Cactus Rose Mobile Home park in Montopolis is an example of the vulnerability residents face when land is redeveloped.<sup>46</sup> Although displaced residents were awarded money to help with resettlement, this raises questions about whether future residents can find stable housing in the same neighborhoods as they continue to redevelop and gentrify. As property values rise, cooperatives may be an increasingly important option.

One especially public clash between residents of the North Lamar Mobile Home Park in Austin and the new owners of the land drives home the vulnerability of residents to the landowner. The park's owners purchased the land and immediately raised the cost of residents' rents and utilities by hundreds of dollars.<sup>47</sup> Although the neighbors of the park sued for breach of contract and won, it is not clear that all parks would have the same organization or leadership to challenge such a change. Such an example underscores how important it is for manufactured community residents to understand their rights to purchase the land and to form a collective, as well as to know that organizations such as ROC USA are available to help them through the process. By purchasing the land, manufactured home residents could ensure their rents would be steady, that infrastructure improvements would be made, and that their community would stay intact. To the extent that community development financial institutions (CDFIs) and nonprofits could provide assistance in coordination with ROC USA to help manufactured communities understand the potential of cooperatives, affordability could be preserved through this housing option.

**Better support and expand CDFIs with a focus on housing.** Community development financial institutions are typically banks and credit unions that focus on underserved markets, including businesses and low-income residents of neighborhoods that have a history of disinvestment (FDIC 2014). These institutions also provide an avenue through which traditional banks and financial institutions can satisfy their Community Redevelopment Act requirements and can be a conduit through which money can be directed toward low-income communities and residents (FDIC 2014). Austin has CDFIs, but their missions are not strongly focused on affordable housing. Consequently, there is a gap in Austin for CDFIs to better support LMI families seeking affordable housing and mom-and-pop landlords of small-scale properties to grow their businesses.

Austin and Texas do not have the CDFI infrastructure other areas have. Texas has only 29 CDFIs, and total awards since 1996 have been around \$62.5 million (CDFI Fund 2013a). For perspective, the smaller and less populous Massachusetts has 28 CDFIs, and total awards since 1996 have been around \$87.5 million (CDFI Fund 2013b). Of the four CDFIs in Austin, just one (Homebase) has homeownership

as its mission, but its focus is on a shared equity model of homeownership where potential owners making 80 percent or less of the AMI apply to purchase one of the homes they are developing in the Westgate Grove complex.<sup>48</sup> This presents an opportunity to develop and support CDFIs with a focus on creating and preserving affordable housing in Austin. This could be important in East Austin, where low-income residents could benefit from such assistance immediately.

One CDFI that could translate well in Austin is the Hope Credit Union Enterprise Corporation, which serves low-income residents and communities in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee. It provides loans to potential homeowners with credit scores as low as 580, consumers that many traditional banks would avoid. It also helps assemble financing deals with the LIHTC and other funding sources to support affordable housing development.<sup>49</sup> By being an anchor institution in many traditionally disinvested communities, Hope Credit Union offers residents the opportunity to build wealth and security through homeownership and affordable rental properties. A similar entity in Austin could be an important intermediary between residents who want to remain in their communities but have few opportunities to do so through traditional banking services.

Another way CDFIs could be leveraged in Austin is by pulling them together along with small banks and lenders to form a nonprofit lending consortium to lend to small-scale multifamily property owners to purchase and rehabilitate affordable units. A relevant example comes from Chicago, where the Community Investment Corporation provides small-scale landlords loans for purchasing and improving multifamily units and trains potential landlords on how to run and expand their businesses.<sup>50</sup> This expands business for small and locally minded banks, works to preserve NOAH by keeping small-scale apartments and homes affordable, and encourages current and potential landlords to grow their businesses and stay connected with their communities and the LMI residents who rent their units.

Stakeholders said that philanthropies in Austin are not as well established as they are in other cities with longer histories of private giving. Although philanthropies are not essential to the establishment and success of CDFIs, CDFIs need help. Stakeholders also said that a lending consortium would benefit from a bank leader to organize parties and establish a presence. This presents an opportunity for bank leaders and philanthropy in Austin to establish a CDFI with an explicit mission to expand affordable housing financing to LMI homeowners, developers, and small-scale, mom-and-pop landlords and overlaps nicely with the strike fund's mission of preservation.

**Enhance the strike fund's capabilities to target and preserve expiring affordable housing units.** A recent and exciting development in Austin's approach to affordable housing is a strike fund that aims to have a pool of money available to purchase affordable housing units set to expire out of affordability or

near transit.<sup>51</sup> A nonprofit named Affordable Central Texas has launched to manage an investment fund generated from private capital and aims to provide funding to purchase multifamily units affordable to Austin's LMI residents at the 60 to 120 percent AMI levels.<sup>52</sup> Stakeholders reported that initial funding was secured and were hopeful that funding goals would be achieved.

Although the strike fund is nascent in its organization and start-up, the idea is an important one for Austin. Small NOAH properties are critical for preserving affordability for LMI families in Austin, and having funding available will enable quick action as market forces encourage owners to sell. Funding is an important first step, but equally important will be the technical assistance to identify affordable properties that are especially at risk in the near future of being sold and redeveloped (HousingWorks Austin 2014). As HousingWorks Austin (2014) identified in its report, a mapping application, such as the preservation tool developed by Elizabeth Mueller at the University of Texas, has considerable potential to help the city identify affordable properties within transit corridors.<sup>53</sup> As a supplement to this work, a granular, up-to-date, and parcel-by-parcel understanding of expiring properties could be beneficial for identifying opportunities. Developing a real-time database of housing within the government was listed as a potential action in the *Austin Strategic Housing Blueprint*, which is not only achievable, but highly necessary to provide the best data to those deciding where best to direct the strike fund's money (NHCD, n.d.). Developing this tool should begin as soon as possible to best direct how the city should use prospective funding.

Although Denver's transit-oriented development fund was cited as a model example for Austin to follow (HousingWorks Austin 2014), Denver had considerable philanthropic funding and technical assistance support from nonprofits and philanthropies. The strike fund in Austin is an initiative of the mayor and appears to be leaning heavily on the potential of private capital for prospective funding and makes mention of partnering with mission-driven actors,<sup>54</sup> but it appears affordable housing stakeholders in the nonprofit and philanthropic world may have a lessened role. Denver's TOD fund was created and spurred on by nonprofit, philanthropic, and government stakeholders who were instrumental in its success (Elliott et al. 2017). A similar example is the Accelerator Fund in San Francisco, an explicit public-private partnership to provide funding to affordable housing projects. Like the Denver TOD fund, the Accelerator Fund's investors and guiding leadership come from the philanthropic, private, and government sectors.<sup>55</sup> Austin's strike fund harnesses private capital in its design with some government seed money, so this may preclude securing philanthropic and nonprofit funding. But the potential still exists to create a broad and overarching leadership structure that bridges the private, public, and philanthropic sectors. This will likely lead to greater long-term success in

achieving its goals. Strong nonprofit actors in the affordable housing space will provide technical guidance to identify viable projects and needs in Austin's housing preservation landscape.

**Harness best practices for expediting projects—including faster approvals and permitting and coalescing neighborhood support—to meet demand and provide incentives for development.** Many stakeholders underscored how prolonged the timeline can be in Austin to get affordable housing projects under way. Two major themes that emerged from stakeholders about these delays include the need for relationship building with neighborhood groups to initiate affordable housing projects and the delayed permitting process to get projects approved and started. Best practices exist for addressing these potential delay, and, if undertaken, could fill Austin's need for affordable housing faster and with lower costs.

One source of delays that developer stakeholders raised is the permitting process. One developer reported that the expedited review process for affordable housing projects under the S.M.A.R.T. housing policy guidelines takes about a year from start to finish for approvals (NHCD 2008). In 2015, an outside consultant evaluated the City Planning Development and Review Department and found that the department was short-staffed, that it was not fully using technology, and that performance measures for evaluating permits quickly were not being followed (Zucker et al. 2015). Stakeholders said many of these issues persist.

For expedited permitting for affordable housing projects to be an incentive for developers, a yearlong timeline is too protracted and ideally would constitute a few weeks from start to finish. Expedited permitting in other cities has proven to be a strong incentive for developers and is a cost-cutting mechanism for affordable housing development (Jakabovics et al. 2014). A model in Pinellas County, Florida, offers affordable housing development an expedited permitting process with a two-week turnaround (Lubell 2016). If Austin's planning department can adopt recommendations to increase staffing, use technology to expedite tracking and approvals, and better codify evaluations, the timeline could be reduced. Portland, Oregon, is also creating a faster process for permitting. Among the recommendations the city identified were ensuring that developers have a complete and well-assembled permitting packet, including advice and guidance before official submission from city staff; having an assigned process manager to the task; and proposing to have affordable housing projects go through less stringent design and permitting review than similar market-rate projects (Hales et al. 2015). Finding potential bottlenecks in the Austin permitting process and implementing solutions to move affordable housing projects on a faster track would help provide incentives to developers with these projects. Additionally, the CodeNEXT proposal describes fee waivers for developers who meet the affordable housing criteria set forth by the S.M.A.R.T housing program guidelines.<sup>56</sup> Fee waivers

could be an important incentive, especially if coupled with expedited permitting for affordable housing development.

Another delay in the process that developer stakeholders reported was high participation rates among neighborhood groups voicing disapproval for affordable housing projects. Neighborhood groups are very involved in the vetting process and often so opposed to projects that this can stop an affordable housing project. One stakeholder reported that neighbors may express resistance to affordable housing projects by citing negative impacts on traffic, school enrollment, or property values that may be veiled concern about the demographics of those who would be moving into the projects. This suggests that developers and affordable housing stakeholders should approach community engagement as an intensive and ongoing exercise to build support and debunk notions.

Many stakeholders reported that Foundation Communities, an Austin-based affordable housing developer, is skilled at building trust with neighbors and is an example of best practices. Foundation Communities uses a multistaged approach to informing neighborhood residents about projects at the start and during the build and then integrating the new and existing residents together in the community. Before a project begins, Foundation Communities engages in education in the form of meet-and-greets and open houses in the neighborhood and at their housing developments to debunk commonly held myths that affordable housing is unattractive, holds people back from economic mobility and employment, and is for people who are different than the current residents. This is an ongoing endeavor that helps build community allies. Once the decision is made to begin an affordable housing project, Foundation Communities initiates more intensive engagement with existing residents in that area by first identifying community and neighborhood leaders with whom to begin building relationships and trust. They hold open meetings in the community and offer tours of facilities to allow people to ask questions and see what other similar developments in Austin are like. To personalize who people in affordable housing are, they often have a resident of one of their developments present at such public events to tell his or her story. Finally, after the development is built, Foundation Communities continues to engage with the neighborhood by recruiting volunteers for tutoring programs, creating “welcome home” baskets, and preparing meals for the affordable housing development’s residents, among other tasks. As volunteers get to know the residents, goodwill toward the development builds within the neighborhood, and those volunteers then often become spokespeople for the next project Foundation Communities embarks upon. This intensive approach to community engagement requires dedication and resources, but Foundation Communities reports it has never had to pull a project because of its positive reputation and many allies throughout Austin. Neighborhood support is critical in the point-rating system for getting a project approved, and



Foundation Communities has found that its engagement work helps to secure letters from neighborhoods in support of projects, thus ensuring that their developments move forward.

**Integrate workforce development strategies and planning into conversations about housing development, and draw employers into these conversations.** Housing cost burden is a function of rising rents and home prices and of stagnant or declining income. Median family income by neighborhood shows that when inflation is factored in, the typical household income in many of Austin's neighborhoods has stayed fairly flat since 2000 while housing prices have increased hundreds of thousands of dollars and rents have escalated. Stagnant income and rising home prices contribute to housing cost burden. One way LMI families' incomes could be boosted is through high-paying work and by engaging Austin's employers in the city's affordable housing issues.

Stakeholders reported efforts to better integrate workforce issues into the rapid development. For example, new legislation passed in March 2017 gives large developers an expedited permitting process in exchange for worker protections, including pay of \$13.50 an hour, safety standards, training, and workers compensation insurance.<sup>57</sup> Although this boosts the pay, training, and working conditions of current construction workers, this is just one industry affected by a small boost in standards. Austin's city council has been engaged in conversation and policymaking surrounding workforce development and how it intersects with economic development generally, including discussions about economic incentive agreements that set aside jobs for residents of neighborhoods when large employers locate there. One stakeholder in city government reported a recognition that neighborhood character is not just about buildings and structures, but the variety of people who live there.

Relatedly, stakeholders mentioned the importance of engaging employers in conversations about affordable housing and having them participate in problem solving and funding. The *Austin Strategic Housing Blueprint* lists as one of its strategic recommendations to challenge the private sector to participate in the affordable housing fund or developing workforce housing (NHCD, n.d.). Some of Austin's employers are engaging on this issue. Recently, Seton Healthcare Family CEO Jesus Garza made a presentation arguing for employer-subsidized workforce housing, in part because it has been challenging for them to attract and retain critical staff such as nurses because of the high cost of housing.<sup>58</sup>

There are great examples nationwide of how employer-subsidized housing can benefit communities. Several universities, including Loyola University, the University of Chicago, and Johns Hopkins University, have had programs in place for years that offset employees' housing costs and has led to better employee retention and the redevelopment of surrounding neighborhoods.<sup>59</sup> The Johns

Hopkins program has been in existence since 1997 and is a partnership between the City of Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, and a local foundation to provide incentives for homeownership in targeted areas near the Johns Hopkins campuses. Employees are offered grants of up to \$36,000, provided they qualify and contribute \$1,000 of their own money toward a down payment or closing costs and agree to live in the home for at least five years. The program helps with employees' costs, helps the university attract and retain talent, and indirectly supports the city's tax base and development of neighborhoods.<sup>60</sup> A similar partnership between a local employer (e.g., Seton Hospital) and the City of Austin could follow this model and would help with labor force concerns and with the economic development of targeted neighborhoods and LMI families' financial security.

Austin could also contemplate policy solutions, such as offering tax incentives to employers. An example could be built upon what was proposed in the US House of Representatives (H.R. 764) legislation that would offer employers a tax credit toward homeownership or rental assistance worth up to 50 or 100 percent of employees' housing expenses (depending on whether it was a large employer or small business). The limit per employee per year would be either the lesser of \$10,000 or 6 percent toward a home purchase price or up to \$5,000 for rental assistance.<sup>61</sup> It is unclear whether this legislation will pass, as it was previously introduced in 2015 and did not move forward. But this could be something Austin and Travis County pass at a local level, which could be a model for national legislation. Tax credits could provide incentives for employers to engage more on affordable housing issues, to attract and retain talent, and to develop the neighborhoods immediately surrounding their businesses.

# Conclusion

Austin is characterized by recent and rapid economic and population growth and escalating housing costs, yet a keen awareness among leaders and the public that housing for Austinites across the income distribution is crucial for the city's continued success. Stakeholders—including city leaders, developers, nonprofit and community-based affordable housing experts and advocates, and academic thought leaders—are collectively raising public awareness that a shortage of affordable housing options for Austin's LMI families threatens the city's distinctive culture and potential future economic success. Many initiatives, such as the strike fund, the Homestead Preservation District, and CodeNEXT, signal the city's readiness to address housing affordability in creative and thoughtful ways.

But there is an urgent need for immediate action to help LMI residents who are feeling tremendous financial pressures in the wake of rapidly rising housing costs. This report recommends programmatic changes that could be implemented to achieve short-term and long-term success in preserving and creating LMI housing for Austin's residents given the innovative city policies and the challenging state environment in which the city finds itself. Short-term solutions are varied and include an expedited review process for affordable housing projects, adjustments to Travis County's property tax collections and assessments for low-income older homeowners, and fast-tracked development of a database the strike fund can use to identify soon-to-expire affordable NOAH units for preservation. Long-term solutions should focus on the strategies needed in the next 5 to 20 years to preserve Austin's affordable housing. Building an evidence base that documents the benefits and potentially low-risk outcomes of the Homestead Preservation District in Austin could assist with creating future districts. Creating a long-term campaign to engage neighborhoods resistant to affordable housing on its merits and the profiles of the families who live within them could help with future NIMBYism. Finally, raising capital and awareness around the benefits of community land trusts could build momentum for preserving additional parcels in a similar way.

Austin is thinking in innovative ways about preserving and creating LMI affordability. By implementing additional measures now and in the future, the city can remain one where newcomers continue to be drawn and longtime residents continue to thrive.

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#### BOX 4

##### **The Urban Institute's Collaboration with JPMorgan Chase**

The Urban Institute is collaborating with JPMorgan Chase over five years to inform and assess JPMorgan Chase's philanthropic investments in key initiatives. One of key initiatives is the Partnerships for Raising Opportunity in Neighborhoods (PRO Neighborhoods), which is a five-year, \$125 million effort to invest in solutions to revitalize neighborhoods by growing small businesses, creating health and social service facilities, improving access to affordable housing, and collecting better data to study changing neighborhood demographics. The goals of the collaboration include using data and evidence to inform JPMorgan Chase's philanthropic investments, assessing whether its programs are achieving desired outcomes, and informing the larger fields of policy, philanthropy, and practice. The Low- and Middle Income (LMI) Residents Housing research draws upon rich data analysis of demographic, economic, and housing trends in neighborhoods to identify where the most potential exists for maintaining and creating affordable housing for LMI households.

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# Appendix A. Demographic Characteristics

TABLE A.1

## Population and Households in Austin

Neighborhood	Population, 2000	Population, 2011–15	Households, 2000	Households, 2011–15
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>727,688</b>	<b>870,815</b>	<b>291,146</b>	<b>343,997</b>
Allandale	6,411	7,259	3,063	3,367
Anderson Mill	27,221	30,352	9,932	11,282
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	20,235	16,971	6,650	6,376
Barton Creek Mall Area	10,078	8,834	3,549	3,232
Barton Hills	8,483	8,806	4,734	4,804
Bluff Springs	14,864	25,716	5,278	7,674
Bouldin Creek	5,659	5,769	2,597	2,742
Brentwood	8,041	8,455	4,213	4,410
Brodie Lane	9,517	12,018	3,369	4,699
Bull Creek	7,874	7,827	3,526	3,420
Central East Austin	4,787	4,785	1,520	1,978
Cherry Creek	18,658	21,015	7,185	8,933
Chestnut	1,566	1,707	561	726
Circle C South	5,461	13,952	1,730	4,523
Coronado Hills	3,735	3,561	1,378	1,244
Crestview	3,974	5,026	1,854	2,269
Davenport Lake Austin	7,321	4,527	2,510	1,672
Dawson	3,466	2,779	1,398	1,371
Del Valle	3,832	3,614	1,337	992
Del Valle East	2,447	7,985	740	2,302
Dittmar–Slaughter	15,199	16,909	5,567	6,749
Downtown	3,853	7,143	1,810	4,315
East Cesar Chavez	3,742	3,223	1,218	1,250
East Congress	3,121	3,080	1,126	1,211
East Oak Hill	13,115	15,211	5,714	6,745
Four Points	1,291	6,610	512	2,475
Franklin Park	15,346	18,481	3,913	4,679
Galindo	3,901	3,719	1,718	1,838
Garrison Park	12,376	12,860	4,917	5,359
Gateway	1,023	1,036	708	701
Georgian Acres	8,598	10,273	3,522	3,487
Govalle	4,643	4,146	1,349	1,494
Gracy Woods	27,305	29,399	12,262	12,604
Hancock	5,020	4,778	2,697	2,329
Harris Branch	1,395	4,790	464	1,476
Heritage Hills	5,128	7,424	2,119	2,377
Highland	4,660	4,630	1,989	1,850
Highland Park	3,392	4,035	1,477	1,756
Holly	4,007	3,830	1,279	1,465
Hyde Park	5,824	6,157	3,214	3,196
Jester	3,974	5,214	1,646	2,609
Johnston Terrace	1,838	2,116	559	680

Neighborhood	Population, 2000	Population, 2011–15	Households, 2000	Households, 2011–15
Jollyville	18,101	20,405	8,488	9,508
LBJ	1,972	2,798	561	778
Mansfield–River Place	6,614	8,609	2,605	3,405
McKinney	2,860	5,016	875	1,366
McNeil	23,394	25,159	10,797	11,869
MLK	5,160	5,427	1,653	1,995
MLK-183	6,425	8,217	1,912	2,612
Montopolis	7,265	12,681	2,185	3,891
North Austin Civic Association	27,450	29,990	10,433	10,244
North Burnet	3,780	4,779	2,119	2,649
North Lamar	5,895	7,653	2,096	2,229
North Loop	5,393	5,417	2,644	2,493
North Shoal Creek	3,936	3,632	2,127	2,036
North University	4,389	5,166	2,066	1,851
Northwest Hills	11,541	11,875	6,145	5,911
Old Enfield	1,194	1,167	655	587
Old West Austin	4,372	5,341	2,511	3,278
Onion Creek	2,563	8,644	955	3,346
Parker Lane	8,279	10,455	4,116	4,723
Pecan Springs–Springdale	5,480	5,732	1,818	1,934
Pleasant Valley	8,858	15,155	3,698	5,562
Pond Springs	17,162	15,722	7,023	7,244
Riverside	16,259	13,335	7,081	6,001
RMMA	372	2,765	151	1,221
Robinson Ranch	1,855	866	735	423
Rogers Hill	9,897	11,507	2,512	2,800
Rosedale	5,925	6,683	3,099	3,334
Rosewood	4,458	4,657	1,567	1,750
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	413	6,289	146	2,442
Slaughter Creek	3,822	13,991	1,332	5,344
South Brodie	6,067	14,938	2,075	5,242
South Lamar	8,843	8,470	4,290	4,378
South Manchaca	7,089	7,159	2,876	2,931
South River City	6,380	7,143	3,239	3,458
Southeast	1,596	2,841	488	780
Spicewood	1,416	988	465	324
St. Edwards	3,979	5,321	1,534	2,052
St. John	9,338	10,184	3,371	3,685
Sweetbriar	4,103	5,946	1,433	2,681
Tech Ridge	14,878	16,844	5,268	6,796
Triangle State	949	1,628	384	764
University Hills	5,292	4,971	1,814	1,809
Upper Boggy Creek	5,539	6,090	2,434	2,602
UT	5,620	7,691	371	363
Village at Western Oaks	6,845	11,090	2,466	4,308
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	2,212	3,149	1,111	1,406
West Austin Neighborhood Group	11,055	10,640	5,091	4,753
West Congress	2,919	2,936	1,068	1,093
West Oak Hill	10,578	16,245	3,972	6,365
West University	12,238	15,950	5,166	4,570
Westgate	4,156	4,502	1,899	1,968
Westover Hills	7,936	8,279	4,090	4,150
Windsor Hills	6,323	8,733	2,101	2,546
Windsor Park	16,989	16,851	6,126	6,317

Neighborhood	Population, 2000	Population, 2011–15	Households, 2000	Households, 2011–15
Windsor Road	3,404	4,036	1,547	1,423
Wooten	5,944	5,731	2,192	2,087
Zilker	5,936	6,346	3,079	3,453

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

**TABLE A.2**

**Race and Ethnicity in Austin**

Neighborhood	White, 2000 (%)	Black, 2000 (%)	Other races, 2000 (%)	Hispanic, 2000 (%)	White, 2011– 15 (%)	Black, 2011– 15 (%)	Other races, 2011– 15 (%)	Hispanic, 2011– 15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>35</b>
Allandale	91	1	6	10	83	1	3	12
Anderson Mill	84	3	5	10	61	3	19	16
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	83	4	5	10	60	4	22	14
Barton Creek Mall Area	92	1	3	6	79	0	12	9
Barton Hills	87	1	6	12	75	1	6	18
Bluff Springs	55	9	33	53	16	7	3	74
Bouldin Creek	60	9	29	41	67	4	2	27
Brentwood	84	2	10	17	76	2	10	12
Brodie Lane	75	6	15	26	62	7	7	24
Bull Creek	93	1	2	5	85	0	6	9
Central East Austin	23	39	37	54	40	17	5	38
Cherry Creek	75	5	17	28	62	4	9	25
Chestnut	22	51	26	37	54	15	5	26
Circle C South	84	3	7	15	69	1	15	15
Coronado Hills	51	22	25	57	17	18	0	65
Crestview	88	1	9	14	77	1	7	16
Davenport Lake Austin	93	1	3	5	77	1	13	9
Dawson	51	3	43	62	51	2	4	43
Del Valle	49	15	34	52	11	8	2	79
Del Valle East	63	6	27	49	21	14	8	58
Dittmar–Slaughter	64	7	25	40	45	6	3	47
Downtown	72	12	12	18	71	4	12	13
East Cesar Chavez	42	4	52	85	30	3	5	62
East Congress	56	5	37	58	55	8	2	35
East Oak Hill	84	3	8	14	70	1	14	15
Four Points	89	2	5	7	68	4	15	13
Franklin Park	41	13	44	73	10	7	1	81
Galindo	60	6	32	49	56	8	7	29
Garrison Park	65	6	26	39	48	5	5	42
Gateway	83	4	4	9	60	7	14	18
Georgian Acres	49	14	34	50	20	9	4	67
Govalle	32	11	55	82	24	9	3	64
Gracy Woods	71	8	10	17	49	9	16	26
Hancock	79	3	6	10	67	3	13	18
Harris Branch	76	11	11	19	27	29	7	36



Neighborhood	White, 2000 (%)	Black, 2000 (%)	Other races, 2000 (%)	Hispanic, 2000 (%)	White, 2011- 15 (%)	Black, 2011- 15 (%)	Other races, 2011- 15 (%)	Hispanic, 2011- 15 (%)
Heritage Hills	46	25	25	38	16	13	4	67
Highland	64	6	27	41	44	7	6	44
Highland Park	95	1	3	4	88	2	3	6
Holly	41	5	53	85	29	3	5	63
Hyde Park	80	2	9	15	70	1	11	18
Jester	90	2	3	6	75	3	13	9
Johnston Terrace	30	24	45	69	17	14	5	64
Jollyville	84	2	5	8	66	4	19	11
LBJ	14	63	21	30	2	36	3	60
Mansfield-River Place	90	1	4	9	80	0	11	9
McKinney	58	10	30	57	24	4	1	70
McNeil	83	5	6	12	65	3	17	15
MLK	27	48	24	41	22	31	4	44
MLK-183	26	43	31	50	17	28	3	53
Montopolis	40	9	46	69	12	9	6	73
North Austin Civic Association	47	14	31	44	20	9	5	66
North Burnet	66	7	13	18	47	12	19	22
North Lamar	42	20	31	49	12	13	4	72
North Loop	74	5	17	29	64	4	6	25
North Shoal Creek	82	3	11	17	77	2	5	16
North University	78	2	7	9	71	3	10	16
Northwest Hills	84	1	5	9	72	4	15	9
Old Enfield	92	1	4	8	83	1	6	11
Old West Austin	83	3	6	11	75	2	10	12
Onion Creek	75	7	16	36	43	3	6	49
Parker Lane	57	8	28	43	33	11	6	50
Pecan Springs-Springdale	26	53	21	37	24	32	3	42
Pleasant Valley	48	13	31	42	24	16	9	51
Pond Springs	80	5	7	12	56	9	12	23
Riverside	51	7	36	53	32	5	4	59
RMMA	60	14	26	38	54	13	7	25
Robinson Ranch	78	6	7	13	58	6	21	14
Rogers Hill	31	41	27	44	9	26	2	63
Rosedale	91	1	5	9	82	1	6	12
Rosewood	19	51	29	39	28	30	5	37
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	77	8	13	20	26	17	20	37
Slaughter Creek	73	5	19	30	51	5	7	37
South Brodie	83	3	10	18	60	3	9	28
South Lamar	70	6	21	35	57	3	6	33
South Manchaca	68	4	27	42	50	4	2	43
South River City	83	3	12	23	75	2	5	17
Southeast	58	10	30	57	24	5	1	70
Spicewood	82	2	3	4	53	0	38	8
St. Edwards	65	6	27	49	48	3	4	45
St. John	39	14	43	62	15	11	4	70
Sweetbriar	59	8	32	53	45	4	3	47
Tech Ridge	57	18	14	23	30	14	16	40
Triangle State	78	9	6	12	74	3	8	15
University Hills	34	47	17	29	35	24	3	38
Upper Boggy Creek	58	21	16	26	60	11	10	19
UT	66	6	9	13	58	11	12	20

Neighborhood	White, 2000 (%)	Black, 2000 (%)	Other races, 2000 (%)	Hispanic, 2000 (%)	White, 2011- 15 (%)	Black, 2011- 15 (%)	Other races, 2011- 15 (%)	Hispanic, 2011- 15 (%)
Village at Western Oaks	85	2	7	13	71	2	8	19
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	60	22	14	21	28	20	25	27
West Austin Neighborhood Group	83	1	6	7	78	1	12	9
West Congress	58	5	34	58	40	4	2	53
West Oak Hill	87	2	7	14	71	1	8	20
West University	77	2	7	10	59	4	22	16
Westgate	75	3	20	30	56	4	3	37
Westover Hills	90	2	4	8	77	4	5	13
Windsor Hills	46	25	25	37	20	12	5	63
Windsor Park	51	19	28	47	32	15	4	49
Windsor Road	94	1	3	6	83	1	8	8
Wooten	63	5	29	48	43	3	5	49
Zilker	85	2	11	19	81	1	5	13

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

Notes: LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas. Blacks and whites are non-Hispanic. Hispanics are any race.

TABLE A.3

#### Households by Age and Education in Austin

Neighborhood	Households with at least 1 person under 18, 2000 (%)	Households with at least 1 person under 18, 2011-15 (%)	Households with at least 1 person over 65, 2000 (%)	Households with at least 1 person over 65, 2011-15 (%)	People over 25 with a bachelor's degree, 2000 (%)	People over 25 with a bachelor's degree, 2011-15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>30</b>
Allandale	23	22	28	22	36	42
Anderson Mill	44	37	12	17	35	34
Avery Ranch-Lakeline	56	42	6	10	39	36
Barton Creek Mall Area	47	40	14	23	41	43
Barton Hills	16	16	9	11	39	41
Bluff Springs	40	46	11	12	16	16
Bouldin Creek	23	21	11	10	25	41
Brentwood	17	15	18	12	29	38
Brodie Lane	46	34	7	13	28	36
Bull Creek	24	26	23	33	40	42
Central East Austin	42	22	30	13	8	26
Cherry Creek	40	26	10	14	26	32
Chestnut	34	13	30	13	8	31
Circle C South	57	57	9	15	37	45
Coronado Hills	36	34	14	16	8	14
Crestview	22	23	23	12	29	36
Davenport Lake Austin	50	37	11	20	41	40
Dawson	28	11	12	14	11	23
Del Valle	47	56	11	15	7	5

Neighborhood	Households with at least 1 person under 18, 2000 (%)	Households with at least 1 person under 18, 2011-15 (%)	Households with at least 1 person over 65, 2000 (%)	Households with at least 1 person over 65, 2011-15 (%)	People over 25 with a bachelor's degree, 2000 (%)	People over 25 with a bachelor's degree, 2011-15 (%)
Del Valle East	51	48	16	12	8	11
Dittmar-Slaughter	41	27	9	14	18	22
Downtown	3	5	21	12	22	37
East Cesar Chavez	38	22	36	30	4	20
East Congress	37	23	13	18	11	25
East Oak Hill	28	28	9	19	36	40
Four Points	38	42	12	13	35	41
Franklin Park	62	58	8	13	6	6
Galindo	27	19	12	8	23	40
Garrison Park	33	23	13	18	19	24
Gateway	4	8	3	4	48	43
Georgian Acres	32	41	7	7	12	14
Govalle	48	29	27	30	4	17
Gracy Woods	26	24	7	14	29	32
Hancock	8	10	5	8	41	43
Harris Branch	50	41	10	16	24	24
Heritage Hills	33	44	12	8	19	14
Highland	25	24	13	11	18	24
Highland Park	26	28	28	34	39	40
Holly	40	25	34	26	4	21
Hyde Park	10	12	6	6	38	42
Jester	34	22	12	15	42	46
Johnston Terrace	50	39	19	19	2	12
Jollyville	26	24	10	18	43	34
LBJ	55	47	12	21	12	6
Mansfield-River Place	37	36	7	20	41	40
McKinney	52	44	12	18	7	17
McNeil	25	21	7	13	38	38
MLK	42	30	26	26	9	16
MLK-183	45	39	28	24	4	11
Montopolis	41	35	13	11	2	13
North Austin Civic Association	35	37	10	10	14	13
North Burnet	12	12	2	5	36	43
North Lamar	43	48	6	9	10	5
North Loop	16	17	8	7	28	36
North Shoal Creek	16	13	20	24	30	32
North University	5	9	3	6	44	43
Northwest Hills	15	20	14	18	38	41
Old Enfield	15	16	11	15	44	47
Old West Austin	12	10	7	8	39	45
Onion Creek	34	32	26	21	25	28
Parker Lane	17	19	5	9	28	20
Pecan Springs-Springdale	45	33	16	19	9	18
Pleasant Valley	22	15	4	3	16	22
Pond Springs	37	25	7	9	31	29
Riverside	20	22	3	4	16	19
RMMA	28	24	13	10	23	29
Robinson Ranch	38	21	8	13	36	43
Rogers Hill	61	58	9	12	4	9

Neighborhood	Households with at least 1 person under 18, 2000 (%)	Households with at least 1 person under 18, 2011–15 (%)	Households with at least 1 person over 65, 2000 (%)	Households with at least 1 person over 65, 2011–15 (%)	People over 25 with a bachelor's degree, 2000 (%)	People over 25 with a bachelor's degree, 2011–15 (%)
Rosedale	14	20	17	20	37	39
Rosewood	43	29	27	15	12	25
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	46	31	11	9	17	23
Slaughter Creek	48	29	8	12	25	29
South Brodie	50	40	11	14	32	37
South Lamar	24	14	7	6	24	38
South Manchaca	32	26	18	21	14	23
South River City	16	13	7	9	33	47
Southeast	52	43	12	19	7	17
Spicewood	54	49	11	20	41	33
St. Edwards	29	17	11	9	16	29
St. John	33	33	11	11	8	15
Sweetbriar	39	19	12	14	14	26
Tech Ridge	47	26	8	12	23	24
Triangle State	6	9	3	5	28	39
University Hills	40	22	21	20	13	23
Upper Boggy Creek	19	17	14	15	27	42
UT	8	6	2	5	53	26
Village at Western Oaks	46	40	9	18	43	40
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	22	25	11	9	22	25
West Austin Neighborhood Group	26	25	17	17	38	45
West Congress	38	32	12	17	14	19
West Oak Hill	40	34	11	20	38	38
West University	3	3	2	1	41	33
Westgate	24	22	28	28	20	28
Westover Hills	17	17	23	29	35	41
Windsor Hills	41	32	15	26	11	10
Windsor Park	34	34	16	14	14	23
Windsor Road	24	38	17	14	41	49
Wooten	33	42	17	14	16	24
Zilker	17	15	11	11	36	45

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

TABLE A.4

## Employment, Poverty, and Public Assistance Rates in Austin

Neighborhood	Labor force unemployed, 2000 (%)	Labor force unemployed, 2011–15 (%)	Poverty rate, 2000 (%)	Poverty rate, 2011– 15 (%)	Households receiving public assistance, 2000 (%)	Households receiving public assistance, 2011–15 (%)
Austin (total)	4	6	13	18	2	1
Allandale	5	4	6	6	0	0
Anderson Mill	3	7	4	9	1	2
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	2	3	1	3	1	1
Barton Creek Mall Area	2	5	3	6	0	0
Barton Hills	1	3	9	7	1	1
Bluff Springs	5	5	12	21	2	4
Bouldin Creek	5	6	18	22	4	1
Brentwood	6	6	13	14	1	0
Brodie Lane	2	4	4	8	1	1
Bull Creek	4	4	3	3	0	0
Central East Austin	9	8	29	24	3	3
Cherry Creek	3	4	4	9	1	0
Chestnut	10	4	19	8	4	1
Circle C South	3	4	2	3	1	1
Coronado Hills	10	5	30	44	3	0
Crestview	2	1	5	8	0	0
Davenport Lake Austin	3	3	2	5	1	0
Dawson	2	2	20	15	3	0
Del Valle	7	6	19	35	6	2
Del Valle East	4	12	10	20	3	1
Dittmar–Slaughter	4	6	7	13	3	3
Downtown	7	4	30	12	0	1
East Cesar Chavez	11	8	26	22	5	1
East Congress	4	7	13	15	3	1
East Oak Hill	2	5	5	5	0	0
Four Points	4	4	7	6	0	1
Franklin Park	6	9	22	34	2	2
Galindo	6	5	18	22	3	6
Garrison Park	3	8	11	16	3	2
Gateway	0	5	9	10	0	1
Georgian Acres	4	5	21	28	2	1
Govalle	11	10	25	25	6	2
Gracy Woods	3	6	5	13	1	2
Hancock	5	5	28	27	1	1
Harris Branch	1	5	4	8	1	1
Heritage Hills	5	3	13	23	4	2
Highland	4	7	20	21	2	1
Highland Park	1	3	3	4	0	0
Holly	12	8	27	24	5	1
Hyde Park	4	6	23	25	2	2
Jester	3	6	1	4	0	1
Johnston Terrace	10	15	29	33	10	4
Jollyville	3	5	5	6	1	1
LBJ	7	4	13	23	7	1
Mansfield–River Place	3	5	3	5	0	0

Neighborhood	Labor force unemployed, 2000 (%)	Labor force unemployed, 2011–15 (%)	Poverty rate, 2000 (%)	Poverty rate, 2011– 15 (%)	Households receiving public assistance, 2000 (%)	Households receiving public assistance, 2011–15 (%)
McKinney	5	3	16	26	0	2
McNeil	2	4	5	6	1	1
MLK	8	7	25	28	6	3
MLK-183	7	16	23	31	4	5
Montopolis	8	11	38	47	4	3
North Austin Civic Association	5	8	17	31	4	3
North Burnet	2	5	10	10	1	0
North Lamar	6	7	19	33	3	3
North Loop	4	6	22	23	2	2
North Shoal Creek	2	3	6	11	0	1
North University	8	7	33	35	0	1
Northwest Hills	4	3	12	16	1	0
Old Enfield	3	6	10	11	0	1
Old West Austin	2	4	10	8	1	1
Onion Creek	3	4	7	4	2	1
Parker Lane	5	10	24	26	1	2
Pecan Springs–Springdale	7	6	21	32	8	2
Pleasant Valley	7	7	44	54	4	5
Pond Springs	2	5	4	9	1	3
Riverside	5	7	29	32	1	1
RMMA	5	5	21	22	3	2
Robinson Ranch	2	4	4	7	1	1
Rogers Hill	7	8	20	33	4	2
Rosedale	4	5	9	11	1	1
Rosewood	14	9	45	44	11	4
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	2	9	8	14	2	1
Slaughter Creek	1	6	3	7	1	2
South Brodie	3	5	2	6	1	1
South Lamar	5	3	18	22	2	1
South Manchaca	3	5	12	15	3	2
South River City	3	7	11	14	1	1
Southeast	5	3	16	26	0	2
Spicewood	1	3	1	2	0	1
St. Edwards	7	5	22	33	7	3
St. John	9	10	33	34	4	2
Sweetbriar	3	4	9	16	2	1
Tech Ridge	3	6	6	16	1	2
Triangle State	2	9	32	32	1	0
University Hills	4	7	11	29	5	1
Upper Boggy Creek	4	6	24	21	2	2
UT	15	23	43	61	0	1
Village at Western Oaks	2	5	1	4	0	0
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	4	8	7	14	0	1
West Austin Neighborhood Group	2	3	11	7	1	1
West Congress	3	5	13	21	4	1
West Oak Hill	2	4	4	6	1	0
West University	13	11	60	79	1	0
Westgate	5	11	12	17	2	3
Westover Hills	2	5	4	8	1	0

Neighborhood	Labor force unemployed, 2000 (%)	Labor force unemployed, 2011–15 (%)	Poverty rate, 2000 (%)	Poverty rate, 2011– 15 (%)	Households receiving public assistance, 2000 (%)	Households receiving public assistance, 2011–15 (%)
Windsor Hills	4	6	8	28	3	1
Windsor Park	5	9	20	32	2	2
Windsor Road	3	5	12	17	0	0
Wooten	4	7	15	42	1	2
Zilker	2	4	12	7	1	1

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

Note: LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

TABLE A.5

Very Low-Income and Low- and Middle-Income Households in Austin

Neighborhood	VLI households, 2000 (%)	VLI households, 2011–15 (%)	LMI households, 2000 (%)	LMI households, 2011–15 (%)	VLI and LMI households, 2000 (%)	VLI and LMI households, 2011–15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>74</b>
Allandale	30	25	37	35	67	60
Anderson Mill	16	24	32	38	48	62
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	12	15	32	42	43	57
Barton Creek Mall Area	12	12	21	27	33	38
Barton Hills	36	25	38	47	74	72
Bluff Springs	39	41	45	47	84	88
Bouldin Creek	54	32	32	34	86	66
Brentwood	50	35	33	37	83	72
Brodie Lane	18	19	47	47	65	66
Bull Creek	14	17	23	27	37	44
Central East Austin	68	46	23	35	92	80
Cherry Creek	23	24	50	54	72	78
Chestnut	66	31	23	45	89	76
Circle C South	8	9	26	22	34	30
Coronado Hills	52	64	35	29	87	93
Crestview	36	17	50	50	85	67
Davenport Lake Austin	10	13	18	18	28	31
Dawson	55	38	34	38	90	76
Del Valle	61	57	32	33	92	91
Del Valle East	39	35	50	52	89	86
Dittmar–Slaughter	29	35	49	51	78	86
Downtown	48	22	21	27	70	49
East Cesar Chavez	73	51	22	30	95	81
East Congress	37	37	48	46	86	83
East Oak Hill	23	21	39	37	62	58
Four Points	21	19	28	33	49	52
Franklin Park	47	53	43	42	90	94
Galindo	56	42	36	43	92	85
Garrison Park	39	36	43	46	81	83



Neighborhood	VLI households, 2000 (%)	VLI households, 2011-15 (%)	LMI households, 2000 (%)	LMI households, 2011-15 (%)	VLI and LMI households, 2000 (%)	VLI and LMI households, 2011-15 (%)
Gateway	16	24	43	58	59	82
Georgian Acres	60	59	35	34	95	93
Govalle	60	48	32	43	92	91
Gracy Woods	27	34	48	44	75	77
Hancock	60	47	24	34	84	80
Harris Branch	20	22	44	52	64	73
Heritage Hills	47	52	35	33	82	85
Highland	54	43	37	39	91	83
Highland Park	15	15	18	22	33	37
Holly	72	52	23	31	95	84
Hyde Park	59	46	25	33	84	80
Jester	10	17	19	41	29	58
Johnston Terrace	60	47	35	42	94	90
Jollyville	22	22	37	38	59	60
LBJ	42	53	39	37	81	90
Mansfield-River Place	12	16	22	29	34	45
McKinney	42	35	43	51	84	86
McNeil	23	25	45	45	67	69
MLK	56	50	35	38	91	88
MLK-183	60	53	31	39	92	92
Montopolis	68	67	27	25	95	91
North Austin Civic Association	49	55	38	36	87	91
North Burnet	32	36	47	46	79	82
North Lamar	54	60	36	35	90	95
North Loop	55	46	33	34	88	80
North Shoal Creek	40	41	41	40	81	81
North University	69	53	17	32	86	85
Northwest Hills	39	37	32	34	71	70
Old Enfield	37	25	29	28	66	53
Old West Austin	44	30	29	35	72	65
Onion Creek	21	26	40	48	61	74
Parker Lane	60	59	32	33	93	92
Pecan Springs-Springdale	54	50	36	40	89	90
Pleasant Valley	72	71	24	24	95	94
Pond Springs	23	36	45	48	68	85
Riverside	66	60	28	31	94	91
RMMA	50	34	35	32	85	66
Robinson Ranch	19	24	41	47	60	71
Rogers Hill	49	52	41	37	90	90
Rosedale	50	28	30	35	81	63
Rosewood	76	55	19	34	95	89
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	24	33	52	48	76	81
Slaughter Creek	17	22	52	49	69	71
South Brodie	14	16	34	40	48	56
South Lamar	55	44	35	41	90	85
South Manchaca	47	36	40	46	87	82
South River City	43	27	33	44	76	71
Southeast	42	36	43	50	84	86
Spicewood	8	9	11	19	19	28
St. Edwards	62	48	32	34	93	82
St. John	64	63	31	31	95	94

Neighborhood	VLI households, 2000 (%)	VLI households, 2011-15 (%)	LMI households, 2000 (%)	LMI households, 2011-15 (%)	VLI and LMI households, 2000 (%)	VLI and LMI households, 2011-15 (%)
Sweetbriar	41	35	44	50	85	86
Tech Ridge	25	35	50	52	75	86
Triangle State	63	40	18	39	81	80
University Hills	40	38	44	42	84	80
Upper Boggy Creek	57	37	31	40	88	76
UT	82	70	9	23	91	93
Village at Western Oaks	9	14	32	33	41	47
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	34	34	47	45	81	79
West Austin Neighborhood Group	35	23	25	28	60	51
West Congress	50	39	37	46	88	85
West Oak Hill	15	17	35	34	49	50
West University	83	87	11	8	94	95
Westgate	44	38	37	42	81	80
Westover Hills	27	27	35	38	62	65
Windsor Hills	36	41	41	41	77	82
Windsor Park	51	52	38	35	89	87
Windsor Road	31	24	22	23	52	47
Wooten	43	46	44	38	87	84
Zilker	40	26	40	39	80	65

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; LMI = low- and middle-income; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas; VLI = very low-income.

**TABLE A.6**

**Renters in Austin**

Neighborhood	Renter-occupied units, 2000 (%)	Renter-occupied units, 2011-15 (%)	VLI renters, 2000 (%)	VLI renters, 2011-15 (%)	LMI renters, 2000 (%)	LMI renters, 2011-15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>46</b>
Allandale	35	30	55	47	35	45
Anderson Mill	31	38	35	34	43	54
Avery Ranch-Lakeline	19	46	33	20	50	63
Barton Creek Mall Area	22	24	31	22	37	51
Barton Hills	71	70	44	25	40	58
Bluff Springs	45	46	49	42	43	50
Bouldin Creek	66	57	59	39	32	46
Brentwood	57	57	69	43	24	42
Brodie Lane	18	40	34	15	46	63
Bull Creek	26	27	31	21	35	59
Central East Austin	56	61	71	47	23	38
Cherry Creek	38	44	39	31	45	60
Chestnut	52	47	71	33	24	52
Circle C South	5	6	24	24	32	43
Coronado Hills	68	71	69	69	27	27

Neighborhood	Renter-occupied units, 2000 (%)	Renter-occupied units, 2011-15 (%)	VLI renters, 2000 (%)	VLI renters, 2011-15 (%)	LMI renters, 2000 (%)	LMI renters, 2011-15 (%)
Crestview	36	38	41	20	53	60
Davenport Lake Austin	10	15	33	22	27	33
Dawson	67	61	64	40	33	51
Del Valle	54	48	70	50	25	43
Del Valle East	20	21	52	54	43	39
Dittmar-Slaughter	37	51	49	38	40	54
Downtown	65	65	63	19	23	36
East Cesar Chavez	52	47	81	58	16	31
East Congress	39	44	47	35	47	54
East Oak Hill	51	56	34	24	42	50
Four Points	31	36	41	29	37	57
Franklin Park	48	59	57	52	35	45
Galindo	69	72	60	44	34	53
Garrison Park	55	54	49	40	39	52
Gateway	90	100	16	22	49	60
Georgian Acres	82	81	63	62	34	35
Govalle	43	48	70	55	25	40
Gracy Woods	57	56	35	40	50	49
Hancock	75	74	74	53	20	39
Harris Branch	9	15	43	26	29	61
Heritage Hills	64	60	62	66	30	31
Highland	66	66	64	52	32	41
Highland Park	13	14	46	36	29	34
Holly	52	48	82	56	16	34
Hyde Park	75	75	74	50	20	39
Jester	20	48	19	11	39	69
Johnston Terrace	52	51	74	63	24	34
Jollyville	53	54	32	26	46	53
LBJ	36	42	59	67	38	26
Mansfield-River Place	23	36	27	28	43	50
McKinney	24	29	58	47	35	45
McNeil	54	58	30	25	47	56
MLK	45	52	70	60	24	38
MLK-183	36	42	65	63	30	33
Montopolis	54	70	77	64	20	29
North Austin Civic Association	71	72	58	59	34	37
North Burnet	97	100	33	33	47	49
North Lamar	73	77	58	55	34	39
North Loop	71	70	66	52	27	38
North Shoal Creek	62	59	51	45	42	53
North University	83	77	76	63	17	35
Northwest Hills	61	58	55	45	33	44
Old Enfield	57	53	51	30	33	48
Old West Austin	66	70	58	31	26	43
Onion Creek	15	43	27	33	45	55
Parker Lane	84	83	67	53	29	41
Pecan Springs-Springdale	55	60	73	65	21	32
Pleasant Valley	88	93	74	64	22	30
Pond Springs	50	72	37	31	50	60
Riverside	95	92	70	54	25	39
RMMA	62	63	68	46	28	42

Neighborhood	Renter-occupied units, 2000 (%)	Renter-occupied units, 2011-15 (%)	VLI renters, 2000 (%)	VLI renters, 2011-15 (%)	LMI renters, 2000 (%)	LMI renters, 2011-15 (%)
Robinson Ranch	41	63	34	20	45	61
Rogers Hill	33	43	73	63	23	35
Rosedale	53	49	57	41	31	45
Rosewood	62	66	85	65	13	29
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	15	56	34	32	54	54
Slaughter Creek	13	47	54	29	36	57
South Brodie	18	28	35	24	41	51
South Lamar	84	79	61	45	33	48
South Manchaca	52	47	57	43	35	47
South River City	66	69	58	29	30	52
Southeast	24	29	58	47	35	45
Spicewood	4	7	36	22	27	48
St. Edwards	80	80	67	50	28	41
St. John	85	85	66	61	29	35
Sweetbriar	47	69	48	30	43	59
Tech Ridge	28	56	49	39	41	56
Triangle State	90	96	63	38	19	43
University Hills	36	37	66	49	29	43
Upper Boggy Creek	64	62	71	41	26	48
UT	92	92	85	72	9	25
Village at Western Oaks	10	26	46	13	22	62
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	59	65	47	31	46	55
West Austin Neighborhood Group	46	40	56	36	30	46
West Congress	57	56	60	41	32	52
West Oak Hill	17	28	35	23	37	52
West University	90	92	88	90	9	9
Westgate	60	59	56	37	35	53
Westover Hills	44	45	45	38	36	44
Windsor Hills	48	55	47	44	43	43
Windsor Park	60	61	64	63	31	34
Windsor Road	34	32	54	51	25	37
Wooten	59	54	49	60	41	35
Zilker	57	48	53	34	38	52

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; LMI = low- and middle-income; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas; VLI = very low-income.

TABLE A.7

## Housing Cost–Burdened Households in Austin

Neighborhood	Cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	Cost-burdened renters, 2011–15 (%)	VLI cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	VLI cost-burdened renters, 2011–15 (%)	LMI cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	LMI cost-burdened renters, 2010–14 (%)
Austin (total)	41	48	69	91	9	25
Allandale	40	58	66	99	11	27
Anderson Mill	32	42	82	94	7	21
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	35	36	89	97	10	26
Barton Creek Mall Area	49	41	87	100	47	42
Barton Hills	34	40	70	94	8	29
Bluff Springs	37	38	71	82	5	16
Bouldin Creek	34	40	54	85	8	28
Brentwood	47	48	67	90	2	22
Brodie Lane	33	36	88	100	7	36
Bull Creek	40	51	79	100	43	56
Central East Austin	36	47	48	85	7	31
Cherry Creek	32	41	71	93	11	25
Chestnut	44	54	62	100	0	41
Circle C South	21	70	30	87	30	89
Coronado Hills	42	69	61	89	0	29
Crestview	39	28	74	92	16	17
Davenport Lake Austin	26	34	49	100	35	56
Dawson	40	50	60	97	5	31
Del Valle	44	55	57	94	16	24
Del Valle East	17	47	27	84	6	40
Dittmar–Slaughter	40	48	76	99	8	22
Downtown	43	33	57	90	31	47
East Cesar Chavez	40	50	48	80	6	26
East Congress	40	40	80	97	6	27
East Oak Hill	37	39	85	94	15	33
Four Points	31	37	77	93	0	22
Franklin Park	42	61	70	97	6	28
Galindo	37	49	59	88	6	21
Garrison Park	39	50	71	95	12	33
Gateway	19	26	100	100	7	10
Georgian Acres	43	57	66	87	3	13
Govalle	36	45	52	72	0	23
Gracy Woods	30	48	73	92	10	28
Hancock	58	53	74	93	13	23
Harris Branch	17	52	28	100	14	43
Heritage Hills	39	56	61	91	3	2
Highland	39	53	59	88	5	18
Highland Park	32	42	53	80	28	44
Holly	40	50	48	82	5	27
Hyde Park	54	48	71	88	9	18
Jester	35	32	83	100	47	37
Johnston Terrace	37	49	50	77	0	18
Jollyville	35	36	85	96	16	21
LBJ	38	67	65	97	0	25
Mansfield–River Place	24	34	79	100	5	13
McKinney	33	38	52	76	4	12
McNeil	29	35	75	99	13	20

Neighborhood	Cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	Cost-burdened renters, 2011-15 (%)	VLI cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	VLI cost-burdened renters, 2011-15 (%)	LMI cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	LMI cost-burdened renters, 2010-14 (%)
MLK	46	53	63	89	7	21
MLK-183	33	59	50	89	4	34
Montopolis	56	59	70	93	10	31
North Austin Civic Association	38	57	64	88	3	17
North Burnet	28	38	72	98	11	17
North Lamar	45	51	76	85	2	20
North Loop	48	50	69	88	8	16
North Shoal Creek	31	42	58	80	3	12
North University	58	66	74	99	13	39
Northwest Hills	44	47	75	95	9	22
Old Enfield	41	36	70	100	14	23
Old West Austin	46	42	73	86	14	35
Onion Creek	24	36	65	99	13	14
Parker Lane	47	55	69	92	3	22
Pecan Springs-Springdale	47	61	63	84	5	28
Pleasant Valley	54	64	72	93	7	33
Pond Springs	33	43	77	97	10	22
Riverside	53	54	75	86	4	26
RMMA	50	58	72	93	0	48
Robinson Ranch	33	31	80	100	12	18
Rogers Hill	51	67	68	91	5	38
Rosedale	39	52	60	100	15	33
Rosewood	40	46	47	66	3	22
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	29	46	69	99	9	31
Slaughter Creek	48	43	68	96	31	28
South Brodie	41	38	83	93	28	33
South Lamar	41	52	66	95	1	22
South Manchaca	39	44	64	81	6	22
South River City	39	44	65	91	5	35
Southeast	33	37	52	76	4	14
Spicewood	55	30	97	99	73	34
St. Edwards	38	51	55	86	3	33
St. John	48	58	70	92	4	17
Sweetbriar	36	41	72	90	5	26
Tech Ridge	41	46	77	91	8	23
Triangle State	47	47	69	97	17	38
University Hills	44	50	65	83	6	28
Upper Boggy Creek	53	46	72	92	9	25
UT	55	54	64	96	9	7
Village at Western Oaks	32	36	63	100	15	37
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	35	43	70	99	4	29
West Austin Neighborhood Group	47	43	73	91	21	32
West Congress	41	43	66	78	4	23
West Oak Hill	34	36	84	97	16	25
West University	69	74	76	98	19	27
Westgate	41	40	65	81	12	18
Westover Hills	40	48	80	97	11	28
Windsor Hills	35	50	72	100	3	15
Windsor Park	44	56	67	83	5	18
Windsor Road	47	63	79	100	16	57

Neighborhood	Cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	Cost-burdened renters, 2011-15 (%)	VLI cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	VLI cost-burdened renters, 2011-15 (%)	LMI cost-burdened renters, 2000 (%)	LMI cost-burdened renters, 2010-14 (%)
Wooten	33	73	62	100	6	39
Zilker	33	44	56	85	9	33

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; LMI = low- and middle-income; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas; VLI = very low-income.



# Appendix B. Housing Characteristics

TABLE B.1

## Occupied Housing Units in Austin

Neighborhood	Housing units, 2000	Housing units, 2011–15	Occupied units, 2000 (%)	Occupied units, 2011–15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>303,224</b>	<b>372,266</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>92</b>
Allandale	3,141	3,529	98	95
Anderson Mill	10,489	12,066	95	93
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	6,876	6,777	97	94
Barton Creek Mall Area	3,666	3,431	97	94
Barton Hills	4,928	5,058	96	95
Bluff Springs	5,542	8,305	95	92
Bouldin Creek	2,708	2,922	96	94
Brentwood	4,320	4,526	98	97
Brodie Lane	3,479	4,904	97	96
Bull Creek	3,612	3,705	98	92
Central East Austin	1,666	2,180	91	91
Cherry Creek	7,379	9,352	97	96
Chestnut	622	802	90	91
Circle C South	1,803	4,574	96	99
Coronado Hills	1,430	1,383	96	90
Crestview	1,901	2,566	98	88
Davenport Lake Austin	2,641	1,905	95	88
Dawson	1,442	1,504	97	91
Del Valle	1,444	1,041	93	95
Del Valle East	810	2,473	91	93
Dittmar–Slaughter	5,666	7,013	98	96
Downtown	2,034	5,757	89	75
East Cesar Chavez	1,274	1,401	96	89
East Congress	1,169	1,349	96	90
East Oak Hill	6,291	7,317	91	92
Four Points	556	2,646	92	94
Franklin Park	3,975	4,800	98	97
Galindo	1,768	1,934	97	95
Garrison Park	5,118	5,643	96	95
Gateway	804	820	88	85
Georgian Acres	3,662	3,864	96	90
Govalle	1,413	1,613	96	93
Gracy Woods	12,709	13,835	96	91
Hancock	2,804	2,620	96	89
Harris Branch	489	1,517	95	97
Heritage Hills	2,192	2,694	97	88
Highland	2,057	2,025	97	91
Highland Park	1,513	1,875	98	94
Holly	1,340	1,631	95	90
Hyde Park	3,333	3,484	96	92
Jester	1,674	2,870	98	91
Johnston Terrace	606	729	92	93
Jollyville	8,960	10,015	95	95
LBJ	580	856	97	91

Neighborhood	Housing units,	Housing units,	Occupied units,	Occupied units,
	2000	2011-15	2000 (%)	2011-15 (%)
Mansfield-River Place	2,789	3,803	93	90
McKinney	922	1,495	95	91
McNeil	11,143	12,579	97	94
MLK	1,737	2,202	95	91
MLK-183	2,045	2,815	93	93
Montopolis	2,254	4,310	97	90
North Austin Civic Association	10,693	10,973	98	93
North Burnet	2,272	3,051	93	87
North Lamar	2,159	2,328	97	96
North Loop	2,740	2,709	97	92
North Shoal Creek	2,174	2,191	98	93
North University	2,147	2,119	96	87
Northwest Hills	6,305	6,401	97	92
Old Enfield	678	690	97	85
Old West Austin	2,710	3,672	93	89
Onion Creek	1,039	3,437	92	97
Parker Lane	4,285	4,908	96	96
Pecan Springs-Springdale	1,860	2,186	98	88
Pleasant Valley	3,784	6,540	98	85
Pond Springs	7,222	7,998	97	91
Riverside	7,431	6,797	95	88
RMMA	154	1,311	98	93
Robinson Ranch	755	437	97	97
Rogers Hill	2,731	3,012	92	93
Rosedale	3,193	3,600	97	93
Rosewood	1,658	1,893	94	92
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	152	2,581	96	95
Slaughter Creek	1,365	5,554	98	96
South Brodie	2,153	5,501	96	95
South Lamar	4,441	4,887	97	90
South Manchaca	2,953	3,060	97	96
South River City	3,425	3,922	95	88
Southeast	515	856	95	91
Spicewood	484	330	96	98
St. Edwards	1,585	2,300	97	89
St. John	3,466	3,871	97	95
Sweetbriar	1,495	2,914	96	92
Tech Ridge	5,451	7,278	97	93
Triangle State	395	916	97	83
University Hills	1,857	1,955	98	93
Upper Boggy Creek	2,527	2,800	96	93
UT	387	400	96	91
Village at Western Oaks	2,544	4,368	97	99
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	1,232	1,519	90	93
West Austin Neighborhood Group	5,371	5,133	95	93
West Congress	1,103	1,194	97	92
West Oak Hill	4,128	6,765	96	94
West University	5,325	5,249	97	87
Westgate	1,983	2,047	96	96
Westover Hills	4,255	4,410	96	94
Windsor Hills	2,209	2,716	95	94
Windsor Park	6,393	6,779	96	93
Windsor Road	1,605	1,621	96	88

Neighborhood	Housing units, 2000	Housing units, 2011–15	Occupied units, 2000 (%)	Occupied units, 2011–15 (%)
Wooten	2,240	2,348	98	89
Zilker	3,222	4,019	96	86

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

Note: LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

TABLE B.2

Renter- and Owner-Occupied Units in Austin

Neighborhood	Renter- occupied units, 2000 (%)	Renter- occupied units, 2011–15 (%)	Owner- occupied units, 2000 (%)	Owner- occupied units, 2011–15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>45</b>
Allandale	35	30	65	70
Anderson Mill	31	38	69	62
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	19	46	81	54
Barton Creek Mall Area	22	24	78	76
Barton Hills	71	70	29	30
Bluff Springs	45	46	55	54
Bouldin Creek	66	57	34	43
Brentwood	57	57	43	43
Brodie Lane	18	40	82	60
Bull Creek	26	27	74	73
Central East Austin	56	61	44	39
Cherry Creek	38	44	62	56
Chestnut	52	47	48	53
Circle C South	5	6	95	94
Coronado Hills	68	71	32	29
Crestview	36	38	64	62
Davenport Lake Austin	10	15	90	85
Dawson	67	61	33	39
Del Valle	54	48	46	52
Del Valle East	20	21	80	79
Dittmar–Slaughter	37	51	63	49
Downtown	65	65	35	35
East Cesar Chavez	52	47	48	53
East Congress	39	44	61	56
East Oak Hill	51	56	49	44
Four Points	31	36	69	64
Franklin Park	48	59	52	41
Galindo	69	72	31	28
Garrison Park	55	54	45	46
Gateway	90	100	10	0
Georgian Acres	82	81	18	19
Govalle	43	48	57	52
Gracy Woods	57	56	43	44
Hancock	75	74	25	26
Harris Branch	9	15	91	85
Heritage Hills	64	60	36	40
Highland	66	66	34	34
Highland Park	13	14	87	86

Neighborhood	Renter- occupied units, 2000 (%)	Renter- occupied units, 2011-15 (%)	Owner- occupied units, 2000 (%)	Owner- occupied units, 2011-15 (%)
Holly	52	48	48	52
Hyde Park	75	75	25	25
Jester	20	48	80	52
Johnston Terrace	52	51	48	49
Jollyville	53	54	47	46
LBJ	36	42	64	58
Mansfield-River Place	23	36	77	64
McKinney	24	29	76	71
McNeil	54	58	46	42
MLK	45	52	55	48
MLK-183	36	42	64	58
Montopolis	54	70	46	30
North Austin Civic Association	71	72	29	28
North Burnet	97	100	3	0
North Lamar	73	77	27	23
North Loop	71	70	29	30
North Shoal Creek	62	59	38	41
North University	83	77	17	23
Northwest Hills	61	58	39	42
Old Enfield	57	53	43	47
Old West Austin	66	70	34	30
Onion Creek	15	43	85	57
Parker Lane	84	83	16	17
Pecan Springs-Springdale	55	60	45	40
Pleasant Valley	88	93	12	7
Pond Springs	50	72	50	28
Riverside	95	92	5	8
RMMA	62	63	38	37
Robinson Ranch	41	63	59	37
Rogers Hill	33	43	67	57
Rosedale	53	49	47	51
Rosewood	62	66	38	34
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	15	56	85	44
Slaughter Creek	13	47	87	53
South Brodie	18	28	82	72
South Lamar	84	79	16	21
South Manchaca	52	47	48	53
South River City	66	69	34	31
Southeast	24	29	76	71
Spicewood	4	7	96	93
St. Edwards	80	80	20	20
St. John	85	85	15	15
Sweetbriar	47	69	53	31
Tech Ridge	28	56	72	44
Triangle State	90	96	10	4
University Hills	36	37	64	63
Upper Boggy Creek	64	62	36	38
UT	92	92	8	8
Village at Western Oaks	10	26	90	74
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	59	65	41	35
West Austin Neighborhood Group	46	40	54	60
West Congress	57	56	43	44

Neighborhood	Renter- occupied units, 2000 (%)	Renter- occupied units, 2011–15 (%)	Owner- occupied units, 2000 (%)	Owner- occupied units, 2011–15 (%)
West Oak Hill	17	28	83	72
West University	90	92	10	8
Westgate	60	59	40	41
Westover Hills	44	45	56	55
Windsor Hills	48	55	52	45
Windsor Park	60	61	40	39
Windsor Road	34	32	66	68
Wooten	59	54	41	46
Zilker	57	48	43	52

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

Note: LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

TABLE B.3

Single- and Multifamily Housing Units in Austin

Neighborhood	Single-family housing units, 2000 (%)	Single-family housing units, 2011–15 (%)	Multifamily housing units, 2000 (%)	Multifamily housing units, 2011–15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>47</b>
Allandale	76	72	24	28
Anderson Mill	73	66	26	34
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	82	58	18	42
Barton Creek Mall Area	79	76	20	24
Barton Hills	27	26	73	74
Bluff Springs	50	58	34	29
Bouldin Creek	51	54	49	46
Brentwood	57	57	43	43
Brodie Lane	91	74	9	25
Bull Creek	74	75	26	25
Central East Austin	78	64	22	35
Cherry Creek	72	69	27	31
Chestnut	89	79	10	21
Circle C South	97	100	0	0
Coronado Hills	30	34	66	66
Crestview	84	73	16	27
Davenport Lake Austin	94	83	4	15
Dawson	46	50	52	47
Del Valle	26	41	33	12
Del Valle East	49	70	2	0
Dittmar–Slaughter	76	64	23	35
Downtown	9	6	90	94
East Cesar Chavez	75	71	24	27
East Congress	66	72	25	25
East Oak Hill	51	43	48	57
Four Points	73	64	24	36
Franklin Park	69	60	25	36
Galindo	38	36	58	63
Garrison Park	55	59	45	40
Gateway	3	2	97	98
Georgian Acres	26	31	73	67

Neighborhood	Single-family housing units, 2000 (%)	Single-family housing units, 2011–15 (%)	Multifamily housing units, 2000 (%)	Multifamily housing units, 2011–15 (%)
Govalle	78	64	19	32
Gracy Woods	52	54	48	45
Hancock	40	40	60	59
Harris Branch	86	89	2	2
Heritage Hills	24	36	61	51
Highland	49	51	51	48
Highland Park	89	90	11	10
Holly	76	66	24	31
Hyde Park	42	44	58	55
Jester	84	51	16	48
Johnston Terrace	49	63	36	31
Jollyville	48	53	51	47
LBJ	84	74	15	21
Mansfield–River Place	79	60	19	39
McKinney	62	74	10	9
McNeil	51	48	48	51
MLK	71	69	26	29
MLK-183	80	71	10	23
Montopolis	44	33	36	56
North Austin Civic Association	33	38	65	61
North Burnet	3	2	97	98
North Lamar	36	35	62	65
North Loop	51	53	49	47
North Shoal Creek	38	41	62	59
North University	26	34	73	65
Northwest Hills	37	43	63	57
Old Enfield	43	47	57	53
Old West Austin	47	28	53	71
Onion Creek	78	61	7	27
Parker Lane	18	21	82	78
Pecan Springs–Springdale	52	58	48	41
Pleasant Valley	14	9	85	91
Pond Springs	55	33	44	66
Riverside	7	9	93	91
RMMA	48	46	52	54
Robinson Ranch	63	39	35	57
Rogers Hill	53	55	15	21
Rosedale	61	58	39	42
Rosewood	57	55	43	44
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	52	47	8	42
Slaughter Creek	92	57	3	40
South Brodie	90	84	9	14
South Lamar	22	22	76	78
South Manchaca	64	67	35	32
South River City	43	40	57	60
Southeast	62	74	10	8
Spicewood	99	98	1	1
St. Edwards	25	19	75	81
St. John	19	24	81	76
Sweetbriar	63	40	32	60
Tech Ridge	75	53	20	46
Triangle State	16	10	84	90
University Hills	75	76	25	24

Neighborhood	Single-family housing units, 2000 (%)	Single-family housing units, 2011–15 (%)	Multifamily housing units, 2000 (%)	Multifamily housing units, 2011–15 (%)
Upper Boggy Creek	55	56	45	44
UT	12	22	86	78
Village at Western Oaks	94	86	6	14
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	42	43	57	55
West Austin Neighborhood Group	58	60	42	39
West Congress	53	52	45	48
West Oak Hill	85	75	12	23
West University	12	15	88	85
Westgate	48	49	52	51
Westover Hills	51	53	49	47
Windsor Hills	66	54	33	44
Windsor Park	53	50	47	50
Windsor Road	75	73	24	27
Wooten	53	57	47	43
Zilker	51	43	44	57

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

**TABLE B.4**

**Rental Units by Monthly Cost in Austin**

Neighborhood	Rental units with gross rent less than \$1,000/month, 2000 (%)*	Rental units with gross rent less than \$1,000/month, 2011–15 (%)*	Rental units with gross rent more than \$1,000/month, 2000 (%)	Rental units with gross rent more than \$1,000/month, 2011–15 (%)
<b>Austin (total)</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>51</b>
Allandale	61	47	39	48
Anderson Mill	29	37	71	62
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	4	40	96	59
Barton Creek Mall Area	12	15	88	77
Barton Hills	42	25	58	74
Bluff Springs	51	52	49	48
Bouldin Creek	73	45	27	52
Brentwood	72	56	28	43
Brodie Lane	12	15	88	85
Bull Creek	5	6	95	89
Central East Austin	86	44	14	55
Cherry Creek	31	30	69	70
Chestnut	86	29	14	70
Circle C South	31	5	69	60
Coronado Hills	82	79	18	21
Crestview	49	18	51	82
Davenport Lake Austin	34	11	66	77
Dawson	84	44	16	56
Del Valle	72	68	28	32
Del Valle East	79	39	21	61
Dittmar–Slaughter	46	49	54	51



Neighborhood	Rental units with gross rent less than \$1,000/month, 2000 (%)*	Rental units with gross rent less than \$1,000/month, 2011-15 (%)*	Rental units with gross rent more than \$1,000/month, 2000 (%)	Rental units with gross rent more than \$1,000/month, 2011-15 (%)
Downtown	52	16	48	62
East Cesar Chavez	93	58	7	41
East Congress	59	27	41	73
East Oak Hill	14	18	86	81
Four Points	29	42	71	58
Franklin Park	50	44	50	56
Galindo	69	62	31	38
Garrison Park	41	38	59	61
Gateway	6	30	94	70
Georgian Acres	83	81	17	19
Govalle	85	63	15	35
Gracy Woods	35	40	65	60
Hancock	61	51	39	48
Harris Branch	51	24	49	76
Heritage Hills	79	76	21	24
Highland	77	67	23	31
Highland Park	44	28	56	65
Holly	92	59	8	39
Hyde Park	64	59	36	39
Jester	4	16	96	80
Johnston Terrace	95	71	5	29
Jollyville	21	39	79	59
LBJ	63	53	37	47
Mansfield-River Place	22	25	78	71
McKinney	61	48	39	52
McNeil	25	40	75	59
MLK	81	67	19	32
MLK-183	86	60	14	40
Montopolis	72	63	28	37
North Austin Civic Association	69	75	31	25
North Burnet	28	42	72	57
North Lamar	60	59	40	41
North Loop	65	62	35	36
North Shoal Creek	64	58	36	42
North University	66	51	34	47
Northwest Hills	48	47	52	52
Old Enfield	46	35	54	63
Old West Austin	64	23	36	68
Onion Creek	40	32	60	66
Parker Lane	65	67	35	33
Pecan Springs-Springdale	78	70	22	30
Pleasant Valley	63	58	37	41
Pond Springs	34	47	66	53
Riverside	76	71	24	28
RMMA	66	47	34	50
Robinson Ranch	25	35	75	65
Rogers Hill	63	54	37	46
Rosedale	62	37	38	58
Rosewood	90	73	10	27
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	44	43	56	57
Slaughter Creek	42	23	58	76

Neighborhood	Rental units with gross rent less than \$1,000/month, 2000 (%)*	Rental units with gross rent less than \$1,000/month, 2011-15 (%)*	Rental units with gross rent more than \$1,000/month, 2000 (%)	Rental units with gross rent more than \$1,000/month, 2011-15 (%)
South Brodie	13	20	87	79
South Lamar	65	54	35	46
South Manchaca	65	49	35	50
South River City	60	29	40	65
Southeast	61	50	39	50
Spicewood	44	28	56	50
St. Edwards	76	41	24	59
St. John	74	83	26	15
Sweetbriar	57	36	43	64
Tech Ridge	41	51	59	49
Triangle State	18	7	82	88
University Hills	72	65	28	35
Upper Boggy Creek	66	47	34	52
UT	86	42	14	58
Village at Western Oaks	40	19	60	76
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	57	46	43	54
West Austin Neighborhood Group	53	48	47	48
West Congress	74	53	26	47
West Oak Hill	22	27	78	68
West University	64	39	36	55
Westgate	52	49	48	46
Westover Hills	37	42	63	58
Windsor Hills	57	58	43	40
Windsor Park	70	71	30	29
Windsor Road	46	27	54	64
Wooten	67	48	33	52
Zilker	60	40	40	57

Source: Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011-15 American Community Survey data.

Notes: LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas. Dollar figures from the 2000 Decennial Census are inflation adjusted to constant 2015 dollars.

\* includes rental units with no cash rent.

TABLE B.5

### Housing Units by Property Value and Age in Austin

Neighborhood	Owner- occupied units with property values less than \$200K, 2000 (%)	Owner- occupied units with property values less than \$200K, 2011-15 (%)	Housing units built before 1980, 2000 (%)	Housing units built before 1980, 2011-15 (%)
Austin (total)	59	38	50	39
Allandale	37	4	92	83
Anderson Mill	39	26	31	26
Avery Ranch-Lakeline	38	15	5	3
Barton Creek Mall Area	4	7	28	27

<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Owner-occupied units with property values less than \$200K, 2000 (%)</b>	<b>Owner-occupied units with property values less than \$200K, 2011-15 (%)</b>	<b>Housing units built before 1980, 2000 (%)</b>	<b>Housing units built before 1980, 2011-15 (%)</b>
Barton Hills	17	11	53	54
Bluff Springs	80	90	29	19
Bouldin Creek	59	12	90	77
Brentwood	69	16	84	69
Brodie Lane	83	37	15	10
Bull Creek	5	6	33	36
Central East Austin	96	38	86	53
Cherry Creek	89	54	33	31
Chestnut	100	23	93	52
Circle C South	27	2	7	3
Coronado Hills	100	67	70	67
Crestview	86	12	91	75
Davenport Lake Austin	6	7	22	15
Dawson	93	23	90	79
Del Valle	95	92	50	40
Del Valle East	92	94	43	12
Dittmar-Slaughter	98	77	40	36
Downtown	34	8	72	32
East Cesar Chavez	97	35	91	75
East Congress	100	86	77	68
East Oak Hill	49	17	18	18
Four Points	33	3	25	6
Franklin Park	97	94	59	49
Galindo	91	28	60	47
Garrison Park	96	59	58	58
Gateway	0	0	3	2
Georgian Acres	95	71	65	53
Govalle	96	52	89	64
Gracy Woods	78	59	23	23
Hancock	41	12	87	74
Harris Branch	66	79	18	7
Heritage Hills	95	82	35	50
Highland	88	34	80	79
Highland Park	13	11	75	64
Holly	97	38	91	70
Hyde Park	41	11	88	74
Jester	12	6	9	11
Johnston Terrace	95	77	82	59
Jollyville	23	6	19	23
LBJ	95	83	59	41
Mansfield-River Place	9	8	11	5
McKinney	92	89	35	17
McNeil	75	33	21	22
MLK	95	63	87	60
MLK-183	98	73	74	58
Montopolis	95	90	45	30
North Austin Civic Association	99	88	60	67
North Burnet	100		6	5
North Lamar	97	97	42	36
North Loop	68	19	85	78

<b>Neighborhood</b>	<b>Owner-occupied units with property values less than \$200K, 2000 (%)</b>	<b>Owner-occupied units with property values less than \$200K, 2011–15 (%)</b>	<b>Housing units built before 1980, 2000 (%)</b>	<b>Housing units built before 1980, 2011–15 (%)</b>
North Shoal Creek	71	27	78	76
North University	8	13	81	75
Northwest Hills	16	13	60	57
Old Enfield	11	8	84	77
Old West Austin	22	8	85	48
Onion Creek	40	43	33	12
Parker Lane	100	77	39	41
Pecan Springs–Springdale	97	69	74	64
Pleasant Valley	92	82	27	21
Pond Springs	66	50	18	15
Riverside	76	42	65	56
RMMA	61	6	97	12
Robinson Ranch	71	36	14	12
Rogers Hill	96	86	32	24
Rosedale	30	13	89	76
Rosewood	97	40	79	58
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	93	76	15	9
Slaughter Creek	78	50	13	10
South Brodie	40	30	18	8
South Lamar	73	19	59	52
South Manchaca	97	47	77	76
South River City	24	11	80	68
Southeast	92	88	35	19
Spicewood	6	4	11	13
St. Edwards	82	38	77	49
St. John	99	73	57	42
Sweetbriar	99	69	68	38
Tech Ridge	90	89	21	14
Triangle State	65	13	35	13
University Hills	98	55	77	77
Upper Boggy Creek	75	16	90	81
UT	11	12	83	44
Village at Western Oaks	34	4	8	7
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	84	69	32	10
West Austin Neighborhood Group	6	4	78	72
West Congress	99	62	69	60
West Oak Hill	43	17	22	14
West University	24	18	71	34
Westgate	84	26	62	70
Westover Hills	15	13	57	65
Windsor Hills	97	82	73	52
Windsor Park	97	43	83	70
Windsor Road	8	2	90	72
Wooten	92	34	87	87
Zilker	41	8	77	51

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

# Appendix C: Neighborhood Change Typology Indexes

TABLE C.1

## Resident Economic Success Ranking by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Overall rank, 2015	RES, 2000	RES, 2015	RES change, 2000–15
Highland Park	1	2	2	0
Spicewood	2	3	11	-8
Davenport Lake Austin	3	30	16	14
Bull Creek	4	23	3	20
Circle C South	5	68	36	32
Barton Creek Mall Area	6	6	30	-24
Allandale	7	20	9	11
Crestview	8	15	1	14
West Austin Neighborhood Group	9	14	26	-12
Village at Western Oaks	10	34	41	-7
West Oak Hill	11	39	27	12
Rosedale	12	17	7	10
Westover Hills	13	4	24	-20
Harris Branch	14	31	47	-16
Jollyville	15	11	15	-4
Barton Hills	16	12	8	4
South Brodie	17	57	38	19
Mansfield–River Place	18	21	43	-22
Brentwood	19	38	12	26
Old Enfield	20	10	33	-23
Four Points	21	43	46	-3
Chestnut	22	71	5	66
Bouldin Creek	23	47	18	29
Brodie Lane	24	40	28	12
Robinson Ranch	25	28	13	15
Zilker	26	32	19	13
Onion Creek	27	77	54	23
Old West Austin	28	7	10	-3
Windsor Road	29	27	40	-13
Downtown	30	83	6	77
Jester	31	8	22	-14
Cherry Creek	32	52	45	7
North Shoal Creek	33	9	29	-20
Slaughter Creek	34	45	49	-4
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	35	41	39	2
McNeil	36	18	32	-14
East Oak Hill	37	13	20	-7
Anderson Mill	38	35	57	-22
South Manchaca	39	56	52	4
Gateway	40	1	4	-3
RMMA	41	75	21	54
Northwest Hills	42	24	25	-1
Hyde Park	43	50	23	27

Neighborhood	Overall rank, 2015	RES, 2000	RES, 2015	RES change, 2000–15
Garrison Park	44	44	62	-18
Galindo	45	66	35	31
Hancock	46	53	17	36
East Congress	47	49	42	7
McKinney	48	78	65	13
Upper Boggy Creek	49	48	53	-5
Southeast	50	76	67	9
Dawson	51	65	37	28
Tech Ridge	52	33	50	-17
Sweetbriar	53	64	31	33
Gracy Woods	54	22	51	-29
Dittmar–Slaughter	55	54	66	-12
Westgate	56	59	75	-16
Central East Austin	57	92	63	29
West Congress	58	58	56	2
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	59	16	55	-39
Bluff Springs	60	73	72	1
Holly	61	95	76	19
South Lamar	62	63	44	19
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	63	29	69	-40
Windsor Hills	64	26	74	-48
East Cesar Chavez	65	93	73	20
MLK	66	82	71	11
Pond Springs	67	25	34	-9
Govalle	68	88	83	5
Pecan Springs–Springdale	69	69	48	21
Rosewood	70	99	85	14
Del Valle East	71	81	93	-12
South River City	72	19	60	-41
North Loop	73	62	64	-2
LBJ	74	74	68	6
Del Valle	75	91	86	5
University Hills	76	37	90	-53
North University	77	79	61	18
Wooten	78	46	78	-32
North Burnet	79	5	14	-9
Highland	80	51	77	-26
Heritage Hills	81	36	59	-23
Rogers Hill	82	84	87	-3
Windsor Park	83	70	91	-21
MLK-183	84	94	94	0
North Austin Civic Association	85	60	80	-20
Franklin Park	86	85	92	-7
Johnston Terrace	87	89	97	-8
St. Edwards	88	72	79	-7
North Lamar	89	61	84	-23
Parker Lane	90	67	89	-22
Georgian Acres	91	55	82	-27
Coronado Hills	92	96	70	26
Riverside	93	80	81	-1
Triangle State	94	42	58	-16
St. John	95	87	96	-9
Montopolis	96	86	95	-9
Pleasant Valley	97	90	88	2

Neighborhood	Overall rank, 2015	RES, 2000	RES, 2015	RES change, 2000–15
UT	98	97	99	-2
West University	99	98	98	0

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RES = resident economic success; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

**TABLE C.2**

**Unemployment and Poverty Rates by Neighborhood**

Neighborhood	RES 1: Unemployment rate, 2000 (%)	RES 1: Unemployment rate, 2015 (%)	RES 1: Change, 2000– 15 (%)	RES 2: Poverty rate, 2000 (%)	RES 2: Poverty rate, 2015 (%)	RES 2: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
Highland Park	1	3	2	2	4	1
Spicewood	1	3	2	1	2	1
Davenport Lake Austin	3	3	0	2	5	3
Bull Creek	4	4	0	3	3	-1
Circle C South	3	4	1	2	3	0
Barton Creek Mall Area	2	5	3	3	6	2
Allandale	5	4	-1	7	6	-1
Crestview	2	1	-1	5	8	3
West Austin Neighborhood Group	2	3	0	11	7	-4
Village at Western Oaks	2	5	3	1	4	2
West Oak Hill	2	4	2	4	6	2
Rosedale	3	5	1	9	11	1
Westover Hills	2	5	3	4	8	4
Harris Branch	1	5	3	4	8	3
Jollyville	2	5	3	4	6	2
Barton Hills	1	3	2	9	7	-1
South Brodie	3	5	2	2	6	4
Mansfield–River Place	3	5	2	2	5	3
Brentwood	5	6	0	13	14	1
Old Enfield	3	6	3	10	11	1
Four Points	2	4	2	4	6	1
Chestnut	1	4	-7	19	8	-11
Bouldin Creek	5	6	1	18	22	4
Brodie Lane	2	4	2	3	8	5
Robinson Ranch	2	4	2	6	7	0
Zilker	2	4	1	12	7	-4
Onion Creek	5	4	-1	9	4	-5
Old West Austin	2	4	2	10	8	-2
Windsor Road	3	5	2	13	17	4
Downtown	7	4	-3	28	12	-17
Jester	3	6	3	1	4	3
Cherry Creek	3	4	1	4	9	5
North Shoal Creek	2	3	1	6	11	5
Slaughter Creek	1	6	4	3	7	4
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	2	3	1	2	3	1
McNeil	2	4	2	5	6	1
East Oak Hill	2	5	3	5	5	-1

Neighborhood	RES 1: Unemployment rate, 2000 (%)	RES 1: Unemployment rate, 2015 (%)	RES 1: Change, 2000– 15 (%)	RES 2: Poverty rate, 2000 (%)	RES 2: Poverty rate, 2015 (%)	RES 2: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
Anderson Mill	3	7	4	4	9	5
South Manchaca	3	5	2	12	15	3
Gateway	0	5	5	9	10	1
RMMA	5	5	0	21	22	1
Northwest Hills	4	3	-1	12	16	4
Hyde Park	4	6	1	23	25	2
Garrison Park	3	8	6	11	16	5
Galindo	6	5	-1	18	22	4
Hancock	5	5	0	28	27	-1
East Congress	4	7	4	13	15	2
McKinney	5	3	-2	17	26	9
Upper Boggy Creek	4	6	2	25	21	-4
Southeast	5	3	-2	16	26	10
Dawson	2	2	0	20	15	-5
Tech Ridge	4	6	2	7	16	9
Sweetbriar	3	4	1	9	16	7
Gracy Woods	4	6	3	5	13	8
Dittmar–Slaughter	4	6	2	7	13	6
Westgate	5	11	5	12	17	4
Central East Austin	9	8	-1	29	24	-5
West Congress	3	5	2	14	21	7
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	4	8	4	7	14	8
Bluff Springs	5	5	0	12	21	10
Holly	12	8	-4	27	24	-4
South Lamar	5	3	-2	18	22	5
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	3	9	6	7	14	7
Windsor Hills	4	6	2	8	28	20
East Cesar Chavez	11	8	-3	26	22	-4
MLK	8	7	-1	25	28	3
Pond Springs	3	5	2	5	9	5
Govalle	11	10	-2	25	25	0
Pecan Springs–Springdale	7	6	-1	20	32	11
Rosewood	14	9	-5	45	44	0
Del Valle East	4	12	8	10	20	11
South River City	2	7	4	11	14	3
North Loop	4	6	2	22	23	1
LBJ	7	4	-3	14	23	9
Del Valle	7	6	-1	19	35	16
University Hills	4	7	3	11	29	18
North University	9	7	-2	33	35	2
Wooten	4	7	3	15	42	27
North Burnet	1	5	3	10	10	0
Highland	4	7	3	19	21	2
Heritage Hills	5	3	-2	13	23	11
Rogers Hill	8	8	-1	20	33	13
Windsor Park	5	9	4	20	32	11
MLK-183	7	16	8	23	31	8
North Austin Civic Association	5	8	2	17	31	14
Franklin Park	6	9	4	22	34	12
Johnston Terrace	10	15	5	29	33	4
St. Edwards	7	5	-2	22	33	11



Neighborhood	RES 1: Unemployment rate, 2000 (%)	RES 1: Unemployment rate, 2015 (%)	RES 1: Change, 2000– 15 (%)	RES 2: Poverty rate, 2000 (%)	RES 2: Poverty rate, 2015 (%)	RES 2: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
North Lamar	6	7	1	19	33	15
Parker Lane	5	10	6	24	26	2
Georgian Acres	4	5	1	22	28	6
Coronado Hills	10	5	-6	30	44	14
Riverside	5	7	2	29	32	3
Triangle State	2	9	7	32	32	0
St. John	9	10	1	33	34	1
Montopolis	8	11	3	35	47	12
Pleasant Valley	7	7	-1	45	54	9
UT	15	23	7	44	61	18
West University	13	11	-2	60	79	20

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RES = resident economic success; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

TABLE C.3

### Commute Time and Entropy Index by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	RES 3: Percent with 45- minute commute, 2000	RES 3: Percent with 45- minute commute, 2015	RES 3: Change, 2000– 15	RES 4: Entropy index, 2000	RES 4: Entropy index, 2015	RES 4: Change, 2000– 15
Highland Park	4	3*	-1	0.62	0.64	0.02
Spicewood	4	18	14	0.56	0.61	0.05
Davenport Lake Austin	9	22	14	0.59	0.64	0.05
Bull Creek	6	2*	-3	0.72	0.74	0.02
Circle C South	20	32	12	0.81	0.70	-0.11
Barton Creek Mall Area	5	23	18	0.75	0.76	0.00
Allandale	3	14	10	0.99	0.85	-0.14
Crestview	7	4	-2	0.93	0.94	0.00
West Austin Neighborhood Group	4	30	25	1.03	0.82	-0.21
Village at Western Oaks	13	33	20	0.79	0.88	0.10
West Oak Hill	13	27	14	0.92	0.91	-0.01
Rosedale	4	3*	-1	1.03	0.88	-0.15
Westover Hills	4	19	15	0.93	0.96	0.03
Harris Branch	12	33	21	0.93	1.04	0.11
Jollyville	6	16	10	0.90	0.92	0.02
Barton Hills	7	14	7	1.01	1.01	0.01
South Brodie	17	29	12	0.91	0.99	0.07
Mansfield–River Place	5	28	23	0.48	0.74	0.26
Brentwood	5	6*	1	1.02	0.98	-0.04
Old Enfield	3	15	12	0.96	0.61	-0.35
Four Points	13	35	22	0.77	0.88	0.11
Chestnut	5	10*	6	0.98	1.10	0.12
Bouldin Creek	6	3*	-3	1.02	1.05	0.04

Neighborhood	RES 3: Percent with 45- minute commute, 2000	RES 3: Percent with 45- minute commute, 2015	RES 3: Change, 2000- 15	RES 4: Entropy index, 2000	RES 4: Entropy index, 2015	RES 4: Change, 2000- 15
Brodie Lane	14	26	12	0.94	1.01	0.07
Robinson Ranch	9	19	10	1.04	1.03	-0.01
Zilker	8	22	14	1.04	0.95	-0.09
Onion Creek	19	43	24	1.04	1.05	0.00
Old West Austin	4	13	9	1.09	0.94	-0.15
Windsor Road	4	18*	14	0.84	0.66	-0.18
Downtown	11	3*	-8	0.98	0.61	-0.37
Jester	4	18	14	0.47	0.88	0.40
Cherry Creek	16	34	18	0.92	0.99	0.07
North Shoal Creek	6	30	24	0.99	1.06	0.07
Slaughter Creek	16	32	16	0.93	1.02	0.09
Avery Ranch-Lakeline	15	39	24	0.89	0.89	0.00
McNeil	7	30	23	0.98	1.01	0.03
East Oak Hill	7	18	12	0.96	0.93	-0.02
Anderson Mill	11	30	19	0.92	1.02	0.10
South Manchaca	13	29	16	0.98	1.07	0.09
Gateway	1	0*	-1	1.04	0.98	-0.06
RMMA	12	7*	-5	0.98	1.02	0.05
Northwest Hills	3	21	18	1.00	1.04	0.04
Hyde Park	6	4*	-2	1.09	1.02	-0.07
Garrison Park	11	23	12	0.98	1.06	0.08
Galindo	9	19	10	0.91	1.08	0.17
Hancock	4	3*	-1	1.09	1.02	-0.08
East Congress	10	15	5	1.01	1.01	0.00
McKinney	15	34	19	1.00	0.93	-0.07
Upper Boggy Creek	5	19*	15	1.03	1.08	0.05
Southeast	15	35	20	1.01	0.94	-0.07
Dawson	13	33	21	0.95	1.08	0.13
Tech Ridge	8	23	15	0.99	0.96	-0.03
Sweetbriar	16	21	6	0.97	0.97	0.00
Gracy Woods	6	26	20	0.97	1.09	0.12
Dittmar-Slaughter	13	34	21	0.95	0.96	0.01
Westgate	10	26	16	1.04	1.08	0.05
Central East Austin	12	18	6	0.88	1.06	0.17
West Congress	13	26	13	0.99	1.01	0.02
Walnut Creek-Pioneer Hill	4	20	16	0.97	1.08	0.11
Bluff Springs	15	38	22	0.98	1.01	0.03
Holly	10	30	21	0.82	1.01	0.19
South Lamar	9	28	19	0.94	1.09	0.15
Samsung-Pioneer Crossing	7	29	22	0.97	1.07	0.09
Windsor Hills	6	33	27	1.01	1.03	0.02
East Cesar Chavez	10	29	19	0.83	1.03	0.20
MLK	10	25	15	0.93	1.00	0.06
Pond Springs	8	27	19	0.95	1.03	0.08
Govalle	9	31	22	0.92	0.98	0.05
Pecan Springs-Springdale	8	10*	2	0.98	1.00	0.03
Rosewood	13	20	7	0.79	0.96	0.17
Del Valle East	22	45	23	0.92	0.99	0.07
South River City	5	29	23	1.09	1.01	-0.08
North Loop	8	27	18	1.01	1.10	0.09

Neighborhood	RES 3: Percent with 45- minute commute, 2000	RES 3: Percent with 45- minute commute, 2015	RES 3: Change, 2000- 15	RES 4: Entropy index, 2000	RES 4: Entropy index, 2015	RES 4: Change, 2000- 15
LBJ	12	38	26	1.00	0.97	-0.03
Del Valle	18	38	20	0.90	0.92	0.03
University Hills	8	46	38	1.00	1.07	0.07
North University	5	12	7	1.07	1.08	0.01
Wooten	8	18	10	1.00	0.97	-0.02
North Burnet	5	15	10	1.03	1.08	0.05
Highland	8	36	28	0.98	1.04	0.06
Heritage Hills	5	32	26	1.03	1.02	-0.01
Rogers Hill	12	34	22	0.93	0.93	0.00
Windsor Park	11	37	26	0.97	1.01	0.04
MLK-183	18	26	8	0.91	0.92	0.01
North Austin Civic Association	8	30	22	0.98	0.93	-0.05
Franklin Park	16	37	21	0.92	0.84	-0.08
Johnston Terrace	10	32	23	0.87	0.95	0.08
St. Edwards	8	35	27	0.92	0.93	0.01
North Lamar	7	34	27	0.93	0.77	-0.16
Parker Lane	8	32	24	0.95	0.88	-0.08
Georgian Acres	7	43	36	0.88	0.82	-0.06
Coronado Hills	12	19*	6	1.04	0.76	-0.27
Riverside	12	32	20	0.88	0.84	-0.04
Triangle State	4	7*	3	0.94	1.09	0.14
St. John	9	47	38	0.82	0.79	-0.03
Montopolis	9	31	22	0.83	0.83	0.00
Pleasant Valley	7	22	15	0.87	0.77	-0.10
UT	4	17	14	1.02	1.01	-0.01
West University	4	10	6	1.01	0.96	-0.05

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RES = resident economic success; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

\* denotes values for which tract-level data were not available from Census; we imputed these values by using 2010–14 American Community Survey data.

**TABLE C.4**

### Housing Market Health Ranking by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Overall ranking, 2015	HMH, 2000	HMH, 2015	HMH change, 2000–15
Highland Park	1	2	1	1
Spicewood	2	4	2	2
Davenport Lake Austin	3	1	5	-4
Bull Creek	4	7	9	-2
Circle C South	5	10	3	7
Barton Creek Mall Area	6	8	4	4
Allandale	7	14	10	4
Crestview	8	21	21	0
West Austin Neighborhood Group	9	16	7	9

Neighborhood	Overall ranking, 2015	HMH, 2000	HMH, 2015	HMH change, 2000–15
Village at Western Oaks	10	9	6	3
West Oak Hill	11	3	11	-8
Rosedale	12	23	24	-1
Westover Hills	13	26	14	12
Harris Branch	14	17	8	9
Jollyville	15	28	18	10
Barton Hills	16	30	29	1
South Brodie	17	13	12	1
Mansfield–River Place	18	6	13	-7
Brentwood	19	42	27	15
Old Enfield	20	27	16	11
Four Points	21	59	15	44
Chestnut	22	94	43	51
Bouldin Creek	23	51	28	23
Brodie Lane	24	24	20	4
Robinson Ranch	25	25	32	-7
Zilker	26	46	33	13
Onion Creek	27	45	17	28
Old West Austin	28	62	47	15
Windsor Road	29	12	23	-11
Downtown	30	97	60	37
Jester	31	5	35	-30
Cherry Creek	32	19	22	-3
North Shoal Creek	33	31	38	-7
Slaughter Creek	34	15	25	-10
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	35	11	31	-20
McNeil	36	22	36	-14
East Oak Hill	37	76	53	23
Anderson Mill	38	18	26	-8
South Manchaca	39	37	30	7
Gateway	40	84	75	9
RMMA	41	49	61	-12
Northwest Hills	42	35	58	-23
Hyde Park	43	78	66	12
Garrison Park	44	58	34	24
Galindo	45	60	62	-2
Hancock	46	82	74	8
East Congress	47	40	64	-24
McKinney	48	70	41	29
Upper Boggy Creek	49	79	56	23
Southeast	50	73	40	33
Dawson	51	61	68	-7
Tech Ridge	52	32	63	-31
Sweetbriar	53	48	72	-24
Gracy Woods	54	29	65	-36
Dittmar–Slaughter	55	20	51	-31
Westgate	56	50	37	13
Central East Austin	57	95	59	36
West Congress	58	56	67	-11
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	59	81	70	11
Bluff Springs	60	68	46	22
Holly	61	43	45	-2
South Lamar	62	65	76	-11
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	63	66	54	12

Neighborhood	Overall ranking, 2015	HMH, 2000	HMH, 2015	HMH change, 2000–15
Windsor Hills	64	47	49	-2
East Cesar Chavez	65	41	52	-11
MLK	66	55	57	-2
Pond Springs	67	38	83	-45
Govalle	68	36	42	-6
Pecan Springs–Springdale	69	53	81	-28
Rosewood	70	90	39	51
Del Valle East	71	75	19	56
South River City	72	39	80	-41
North Loop	73	71	78	-7
LBJ	74	44	73	-29
Del Valle	75	89	50	39
University Hills	76	34	44	-10
North University	77	86	88	-2
Wooten	78	33	79	-46
North Burnet	79	87	96	-9
Highland	80	63	82	-19
Heritage Hills	81	72	93	-21
Rogers Hill	82	83	77	6
Windsor Park	83	69	71	-2
MLK-183	84	52	55	-3
North Austin Civic Association	85	57	85	-28
Franklin Park	86	54	69	-15
Johnston Terrace	87	74	48	26
St. Edwards	88	77	90	-13
North Lamar	89	85	86	-1
Parker Lane	90	91	84	7
Georgian Acres	91	80	91	-11
Coronado Hills	92	64	95	-31
Riverside	93	96	92	4
Triangle State	94	92	97	-5
St. John	95	88	89	-1
Montopolis	96	67	94	-27
Pleasant Valley	97	93	98	-5
UT	98	99	87	12
West University	99	98	99	-1

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** HMH = housing market health; LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas

TABLE C.5

## Median Property Values and Vacancy Rates by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	HMH 1: Property value, 2000	HMH 1: Property value, 2015*	HMH 1: Change, 2000–15	HMH 2: Vacancy rate, 2000 (%)	HMH 2: Vacancy rate, 2015 (%)	HMH 2: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
Highland Park	395,782.20	603,124.90	207,342.70	1	1	0
Spicewood	351,878.80	460,408.40	108,529.60	3	1	-2
Davenport Lake Austin	682,494.80	876,821.10	194,326.30	4	6	2
Bull Creek	388,379.30	502,089.90	113,710.60	1	5	3
Circle C South	234,752.00	389,086.60	154,334.60	4	1	-3
Barton Creek Mall Area	395,861.80	573,203.40	177,341.60	2	2	0
Allandale	216,141.00	374,329.80	158,188.80	2	2	0
Crestview	153,390.60	290,766.90	137,376.30	2	6	3
West Austin Neighborhood Group	379,594.20	706,878.40	327,284.30	3	4	1
Village at Western Oaks	221,629.50	286,649.80	65,020.25	3	1	-2
West Oak Hill	448,656.20	331,085.30	(117,570.80)	3	3	0
Rosedale	250,477.50	409,093.20	158,615.70	2	3	1
Westover Hills	268,610.60	350,485.50	81,874.84	3	1	-3
Harris Branch	170,007.30	163,049.40	(6,957.94)	3	2	-1
Jollyville	285,018.80	363,306.50	78,287.69	5	3	-2
Barton Hills	321,247.70	406,614.30	85,366.63	3	2	-1
South Brodie	217,194.60	241,127.80	23,933.13	2	3	0
Mansfield–River Place	464,204.90	597,385.40	133,180.50	4	5	1
Brentwood	173,253.90	320,359.40	147,105.50	2	2	0
Old Enfield	391,181.30	709,997.40	318,816.10	3	7	4
Four Points	285,086.60	360,896.10	75,809.50	10	4	-6
Chestnut	63,011.00	291,000.00	227,989.00	9	4	-5
Bouldin Creek	162,840.90	386,700.00	223,859.10	2	4	1
Brodie Lane	158,148.60	221,089.20	62,940.58	3	3	1
Robinson Ranch	147,536.50	207,348.20	59,811.69	2	3	1
Zilker	210,235.00	451,435.70	241,200.70	3	7	3
Onion Creek	176,842.70	233,801.90	56,959.23	5	1	-4
Old West Austin	319,758.30	553,854.30	234,095.90	6	6	0
Windsor Road	387,913.30	607,097.40	219,184.20	3	6	3
Downtown	205,054.60	429,841.80	224,787.20	8	8	1
Jester	345,578.00	437,000.00	91,422.00	1	7	6
Cherry Creek	143,913.00	196,019.00	52,106.08	2	3	0
North Shoal Creek	177,636.00	251,700.00	74,064.00	2	4	2
Slaughter Creek	167,774.80	198,122.00	30,347.22	2	3	1
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	218,254.60	266,909.50	48,654.94	2	6	3
McNeil	159,747.40	219,177.30	59,429.88	2	3	1
East Oak Hill	203,782.30	298,000.60	94,218.31	8	7	-1
Anderson Mill	241,365.00	303,973.00	62,607.97	4	5	1
South Manchaca	110,186.30	200,172.50	89,986.27	2	3	1
Gateway	231,585.70	186,388.90*	(45,196.84)	9	5	-4
RMMA	182,876.00	422,400.00	239,524.00	2	5	4
Northwest Hills	264,705.90	347,567.50	82,861.59	2	5	4
Hyde Park	211,417.20	368,306.80	156,889.50	2	4	2
Garrison Park	120,424.90	182,385.70	61,960.85	3	2	-1
Galindo	121,699.00	325,300.00	203,601.00	2	5	2
Hancock	231,363.10	351,238.20	119,875.10	3	5	3
East Congress	107,000.30	161,227.10	54,226.77	3	5	3

Neighborhood	HMH 1: Property value, 2000	HMH 1: Property value, 2015*	HMH 1: Change, 2000–15	HMH 2: Vacancy rate, 2000 (%)	HMH 2: Vacancy rate, 2015 (%)	HMH 2: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
McKinney	117,193.20	122,398.20	5,205.02	4	4	0
Upper Boggy Creek	155,027.80	299,274.70	144,246.90	4	4	1
Southeast	117,776.80	123,854.30	6,077.52	4	4	0
Dawson	111,622.50	295,200.00	183,577.50	3	7	4
Tech Ridge	139,447.90	142,438.90	2,991.06	3	5	3
Sweetbriar	103,345.90	160,300.00	56,954.10	4	5	1
Gracy Woods	149,138.90	181,996.20	32,857.28	3	5	2
Dittmar–Slaughter	121,055.10	165,723.60	44,668.55	1	3	2
Westgate	145,961.80	248,147.90	102,186.20	3	3	-1
Central East Austin	78,560.01	234,796.80	156,236.80	8	3	-5
West Congress	99,687.14	174,572.00	74,884.89	3	6	4
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	138,767.30	163,006.00	24,238.64	8	5	-2
Bluff Springs	136,499.70	110,867.70	(25,631.98)	4	4	0
Holly	76,130.52	258,037.90	181,907.40	1	3	2
South Lamar	153,665.00	293,758.40	140,093.40	3	5	2
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	136,163.60	154,252.40	18,088.88	6	4	-2
Windsor Hills	119,996.00	154,100.00	34,104.00	4	2	-2
East Cesar Chavez	77,247.61	285,965.20	208,717.60	1	4	3
MLK	90,772.74	184,985.00	94,212.23	3	4	0
Pond Springs	185,496.00	202,661.40	17,165.42	2	7	5
Govalle	77,233.69	200,539.00	123,305.40	2	4	2
Pecan Spring–Springdale	108,178.60	174,984.90	66,806.29	2	6	4
Rosewood	79,259.27	222,499.20	143,239.90	5	2	-3
Del Valle East	108,206.00	110,973.60	2,767.58	6	2	-4
South River City	244,759.50	409,020.70	164,261.20	2	9	7
North Loop	163,633.90	298,007.50	134,373.60	3	6	3
LBJ	96,160.39	104,297.00	8,136.56	2	5	2
Del Valle	106,355.00	47,001.84	(59,353.18)	6	1	-5
University Hills	109,302.70	190,284.60	80,981.87	2	4	2
North University	240,003.10	352,140.00	112,136.90	2	5	3
Wooten	133,017.40	225,900.00	92,882.59	2	6	4
North Burnet	147,375.00	186,388.90*	39,013.89	6	11	5
Highland	128,232.70	222,145.00	93,912.37	3	7	4
Heritage Hills	137,157.00	156,200.00	19,043.00	3	9	7
Rogers Hill	87,694.53	98,639.77	10,945.23	4	6	2
Windsor Park	113,860.70	203,213.90	89,353.18	4	5	1
MLK-183	74,268.45	148,246.10	73,977.63	4	4	0
North Austin Civic Association	119,854.60	142,130.30	22,275.75	2	5	3
Franklin Park	91,404.49	101,769.50	10,365.05	1	2	0
Johnston Terrace	76,635.00	163,500.00	86,865.00	4	3	-1
St. Edwards	138,598.00	235,100.00	96,502.00	3	7	4
North Lamar	103,228.00	119,100.00	15,872.00	3	3	0
Parker Lane	120,853.10	155,413.90	34,560.87	3	3	0
Georgian Acres	108,797.10	141,492.80	32,695.61	3	4	1
Coronado Hills	115,018.00	153,700.00	38,682.00	2	8	5
Riverside	119,217.10	215,968.20	96,751.09	4	7	3
Triangle State	98,917.14	369,585.70	270,668.60	1	13	12
St. John	89,005.39	160,545.70	71,540.31	2	5	3
Montopolis	68,295.91	85,978.08	17,682.16	1	6	6
Pleasant Valley	85,395.87	156,089.30	70,693.38	2	11	9
UT	4,740.61	350,694.20	345,953.60	4	2	-3

Neighborhood	HMH 1: Property value, 2000	HMH 1: Property value, 2015*	HMH 1: Change, 2000–15	HMH 2: Vacancy rate, 2000 (%)	HMH 2: Vacancy rate, 2015 (%)	HMH 2: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
West University	234,146.60	251,692.70	17,546.05	2	8	5

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** HMH = housing market health; LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

\* denotes values for which tract-level data were not available from Census; we imputed these values by averaging surrounding tracts.

**TABLE C.6**

**Cost Burden and Homeownership Rates by Neighborhood**

Neighborhood	HMH 3: Percent cost burdened, 2000	HMH 3: Percent cost burdened, 2015	HMH 3: Change, 2000– 15	HMH 4: Homeownership rate, 2000 (%)	HMH 4: Homeownership rate, 2015 (%)	HMH 4: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
Highland Park	21	23	2	79	86	7
Spicewood	22	18	-4	95	93	-2
Davenport Lake Austin	24	31	8	85	85	0
Bull Creek	25	27	2	67	73	6
Circle C South	22	20	-2	89	94	5
Barton Creek Mall Area	24	25	1	66	76	10
Allandale	23	30	7	60	70	10
Crestview	26	20	-6	60	62	2
West Austin Neighborhood Group	28	32	3	46	60	14
Village at Western Oaks	21	19	-2	89	74	-15
West Oak Hill	21	22	1	76	72	-4
Rosedale	28	35	7	40	51	11
Westover Hills	27	32	6	45	55	10
Harris Branch	18	21	3	62	85	23
Jollyville	23	26	3	45	46	0
Barton Hills	25	32	6	24	30	5
South Brodie	25	21	-5	78	72	-6
Mansfield–River Place	17	30	13	70	64	-6
Brentwood	31	31	0	40	43	4
Old Enfield	34	25	-8	31	47	17
Four Points	25	24	-1	76	64	-12
Chestnut	32	36	4	53	53	0
Bouldin Creek	29	29	0	30	43	13
Brodie Lane	32	24	-7	77	60	-18
Robinson Ranch	20	23	3	36	37	1
Zilker	25	29	4	30	52	22
Onion Creek	26	28	2	62	57	-5
Old West Austin	32	38	6	30	30	0
Windsor Road	30	45	14	61	68	7
Downtown	36	28	-7	8	35	26
Jester	25	29	4	77	52	-25
Cherry Creek	22	26	3	58	56	-2



Neighborhood	HMH 3: Percent cost burdened, 2000	HMH 3: Percent cost burdened, 2015	HMH 3: Change, 2000– 15	HMH 4: Homeownership rate, 2000 (%)	HMH 4: Homeownership rate, 2015 (%)	HMH 4: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
North Shoal Creek	22	27	4	28	41	12
Slaughter Creek	26	24	-2	77	53	-25
Avery Ranch–Lakeline	23	21	-2	78	54	-24
McNeil	21	26	5	45	42	-3
East Oak Hill	28	26	-2	46	44	-3
Anderson Mill	22	27	5	64	62	-2
South Manchaca	26	30	4	44	53	9
Gateway	14	21	7	3	0	-3
RMMA	34	41	7	34	37	3
Northwest Hills	33	39	6	33	42	9
Hyde Park	45	39	-6	22	25	3
Garrison Park	28	29	2	40	46	6
Galindo	28	34	6	23	28	5
Hancock	47	42	-5	21	26	5
East Congress	26	34	8	49	56	6
McKinney	37	35	-2	48	71	23
Upper Boggy Creek	39	35	-4	34	38	4
Southeast	37	35	-2	49	71	22
Dawson	28	31	4	30	39	9
Tech Ridge	30	27	-3	65	44	-22
Sweetbriar	23	32	9	46	31	-15
Gracy Woods	22	34	12	44	44	0
Dittmar–Slaughter	29	36	7	59	49	-11
Westgate	26	31	4	37	41	4
Central East Austin	31	40	8	38	39	0
West Congress	29	29	0	39	44	5
Walnut Creek–Pioneer Hill	22	31	9	36	35	0
Bluff Springs	30	29	-2	36	54	18
Holly	29	41	12	46	52	6
South Lamar	29	39	10	13	21	9
Samsung–Pioneer Crossing	22	31	9	39	44	5
Windsor Hills	22	38	16	47	45	-2
East Cesar Chavez	29	42	13	45	53	8
MLK	29	36	8	49	48	-1
Pond Springs	26	32	6	34	28	-6
Govalle	25	32	6	53	52	-1
Pecan Springs–Springdale	34	42	8	43	40	-3
Rosewood	35	30	-4	35	34	0
Del Valle East	24	30	6	37	79	42
South River City	29	37	9	27	31	5
North Loop	37	41	3	26	30	3
LBJ	29	43	14	54	58	4
Del Valle	26	39	13	15	52	38
University Hills	31	34	3	63	63	0
North University	51	59	8	12	23	12
Wooten	22	44	22	36	46	11
North Burnet	21	35	13	0	0	0
Highland	30	36	6	32	34	2
Heritage Hills	33	43	10	20	40	21
Rogers Hill	38	42	4	40	57	17
Windsor Park	31	40	8	37	39	2

Neighborhood	HMH 3: Percent cost burdened, 2000	HMH 3: Percent cost burdened, 2015	HMH 3: Change, 2000– 15	HMH 4: Homeownership rate, 2000 (%)	HMH 4: Homeownership rate, 2015 (%)	HMH 4: Change, 2000– 15 (%)
MLK-183	25	36	11	56	58	2
North Austin Civic Association	28	42	14	24	28	4
Franklin Park	35	44	9	43	41	-2
Johnston Terrace	27	32	5	35	49	15
St. Edwards	31	38	7	16	20	4
North Lamar	37	45	8	24	23	-1
Parker Lane	38	43	5	12	17	5
Georgian Acres	33	45	13	15	19	4
Coronado Hills	32	53	22	27	29	2
Riverside	45	43	-2	5	8	2
Triangle State	48	47	-2	9	4	-5
St. John	40	43	3	11	15	4
Montopolis	40	52	12	34	30	-4
Pleasant Valley	50	58	8	10	7	-3
UT	55	63	8	9	8	0
West University	71	80	9	6	8	3

**Source:** Urban Institute tabulations of 2000 Decennial Census and 2011–15 American Community Survey data.

**Note:** HMH = housing market health; LBJ = Lyndon B. Johnson; MLK = Martin Luther King; RMMA = Robert Mueller Municipal Airport; UT = University of Texas.

# Appendix D. Data and Methods

## Neighborhood Typology

### Neighborhood Change Index

To better understand changes at the neighborhood level in Austin, we used 2000 data from the Neighborhood Change Database and 2011–15 American Community Survey data to compare the change in various demographic and housing indicators. Because these data were not available at the neighborhood level, we used a weighting system to aggregate tract-level data up to the neighborhood level.

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#### BOX D.1

##### Neighborhood Change Database

The national Neighborhood Change Database reconciles a neighborhood's changing boundaries (i.e., census tracts per their boundaries in 2010) and the changing definitions of the variables collected in successive US Census Bureau surveys of households so researchers can study neighborhood changes over time with fixed boundaries. The database is compiled by GeoLytics and the Urban Institute and provides data from the US Census Bureau at the tract level back to 1970.

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### Neighborhood Tabulations

This analysis used a weighting strategy to produce tabulations at the neighborhood level. Because tracts do not always fall neatly into one neighborhood, tracts were weighted based on their relative geographic coverage in each neighborhood. To calculate this proportion, we began with the block-level file for Austin and neighborhood boundary file (available via the City of Austin) and assigned each block to a neighborhood based on where their centroids fell. Blocks, as the smallest geography available, do not cross tract or neighborhood boundaries. We used two neighborhood boundary files and reconciled certain neighborhood boundaries between them to best represent how Austin residents think about their neighborhoods. Next, we clipped the block file to the neighborhood boundaries to exclude blocks

that do not fall within Austin’s city boundaries. Using this new file, we aggregated the block population up to the tract level by neighborhood. Tracts that fall into two neighborhoods have two population records. We then merged a file with tract-level population estimates onto this block-to-tract population file. This accounts for the full tract population without neighborhood assignment. Finally, we calculated two weights, one for count variables and another for precalculated proportion variables. The weights, defined below, are applied to tract-level data. These data were collapsed by neighborhood to create estimates at the neighborhood level.

- Count weight = (population of proportion of tract that falls into neighborhood) / (full tract population)
- Proportion weight = (population of proportion of tract that falls into neighborhood) / (full neighborhood population)

For some tracts, the data were not available in the 2011–15 American Community Survey data. This affected the property value and commute time indicators for some neighborhoods. We used two imputation strategies to address these issues. For property values, we estimated the tract’s missing value by averaging the values for surrounding tracts. For commute times, because more tract-level data were missing, we replaced missing values with those available in the 2010–14 American Community Survey.

## Index Creation

To characterize economic opportunity and housing accessibility in Austin neighborhoods and gauge change, we relied on the Kirwan Institute’s Opportunity Index methodology used in its Opportunity Mapping series.<sup>62</sup> We created three indexes: one to measure neighborhood residents’ economic success (RES index), a second to measure housing market health (HMH index), and a third composite index to examine these dimensions in concert. All data for the 2000 indexes are from the 2000 Decennial Census via the Neighborhood Change Database. The 2011–15 American Community Survey data are sourced from the National Historic Geographic Information System. The indicators used for each index are presented in table D.1 below. See table D.2 for a detailed description of each indicator.

TABLE D.1

## Neighborhood Change Indicators

Composite Index	
Resident economic success index	Housing market health index
Unemployment rate	Property value (median home value)
Poverty rate	Vacancy rate
Percentage with 45-minute commute or longer	Percentage cost burdened in renting or owning
Entropy index for resident income mix	Homeownership rate

TABLE D.2

## Indicator Construction

Index	Indicator	Variable construction	Sign
RES 1	Unemployment rate	(Persons 16+ years old in the civilian labor force and unemployed) / (Persons 16+ years old in the civilian labor force)	(-)
RES 2	Poverty rate	(Total persons below the federal poverty level last year) / (Total population with poverty status determined)	(-)
RES 3	Commute time	(Workers 16+ years old with travel time to work more than 45 minutes) / (Workers 16+ years old working outside the home)	(-)
RES 4	Income mix	Entropy index	(+)
HMH 1	Property value	Median value of owner-occupied housing units	(+)
HMH 2	Vacancy rate	(Total vacant housing units (minus seasonal, recreational, occasional, or migrant worker use)) / (Total housing units)	(-)
HMH 3	Cost burden	(Renters and owners whose monthly housing costs are 35% or more of last year's income) / (Total renters and owners)	(-)
HMH 4	Homeownership	(Total specified owner-occupied housing units) / (Total occupied housing units)	(+)

Note: RES = resident economic success; HMH = housing market health.

We turn each indicator into a z-score to standardize across units of measurement. These z-scores are averaged by index to produce two component index scores and a composite index score. We multiply indicators by -1 if a higher value corresponded to a negative life outcome. The sign associated with each indicator is noted in table D.2. We do not apply weights to specific indicators. All are treated as equal in importance to their respective indexes. We assess each component index separately and together in our composite index and rank neighborhoods based on their index values in a given year, as well as their change over time.

## Entropy Index for Resident Income Mix

We include a measure to capture the income mixing within the neighborhood in our resident economic success (and composite) index, as evidence suggests that income diversity in neighborhoods is associated with the economic success of residents (Chetty and Hendren 2015; Sharkey and Graham

2013). Of the measures of segregation available, we employ an entropy index to capture the spatial distribution of multiple groups (instead of just two groups, as is possible with common measures of isolation or dissimilarity). The entropy index measures the “evenness” of the population distribution based on certain identified groups. In this case, we measure the neighborhood distribution of residents with income less than \$40,000 a year, residents with income between \$40,000 and \$100,000 a year, and residents with income greater than \$100,000 a year. These buckets correspond with Austin’s area median income (AMI) breakdowns for one-person households. The formula for calculating the entropy index is provided by Dartmouth University and can be found in Forest (2005, 3).

## Demographic and Housing Indicators

Data for housing and demographic conditions (see appendixes A and B) were collected from the following data sources:

- **2000 Decennial Census.** This analysis uses data from the Summary File 1 and the Summary File 3 sample. These data were sourced from the American FactFinder’s precalculated tabulations and were obtained at the census tract level and then aggregated to the geographic specifications listed below.
- **2011–15 American Community Survey five-year sample.** This analysis also uses data from the American Community Survey’s 2011–15 five-year sample, which averages data over five years of collection. American Community Survey (ACS) data were obtained at the Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA) and the census tract levels and then aggregated to the geographic specifications listed below.

## HUD Income Limits

Identifying households at various AMI-level “bands” requires using the US Department of Housing and Urban Development’s (HUD) Income Limits data to classify individual-level survey responses from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series database into income bands for further analysis. We matched each year of HUD Income Limits data to the same year of ACS or Census data. For example, if the ACS data are from 2015, we use fiscal year 2014 HUD Income Limits. HUD Income Limits are available for download.<sup>63</sup>

The AMI band for each household is determined by the number of people in the household and the income level of the household, as well as the county-level cutoffs for each band. We examine the AMI-band income categories defined in the HUD Income Limits section (box D.2). The middle-income and high-income categories are not included in the HUD Income Limits file but can be generated by calculating 80 and 120 percent of AMI as  $AMI * 0.8$  and  $AMI * 1.2$ , respectively.

For households with 9 to 30 people, we calculate the AMI level per HUD guidance.<sup>64</sup> The formula is (AMI-level cutoff for a four-person family \*  $(1 + ((\text{Number of persons in the household} - 4) * 8) / 100)$ ). For a nine-person household at the 30 percent AMI level, this calculation is (30 percent of AMI-level cutoff for a four-person family \*  $(1 + ((9 - 4) * 8) / 100)$ ), or (30 percent of AMI for a four-person family \* 1.4). For each person in the household, increase the factor by 0.08, or 8 percentage points, so the factor is 1.4 times the AMI level of a 4-person family for a 9-person household, 1.48 for a 10-person household, 1.56 for an 11-person household, and so on up to a 30-person household.

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#### BOX D.2

##### Area Median Income Definitions

- Extremely low-income renter households: 0 to 29.9 percent of AMI
- Very low-income renter households: 30 to 49.9 percent of AMI
- Low-income renter households: 50 to 79.9 percent of AMI
- Middle-income renter households: 80 to 119.9 percent of AMI
- High-income renter households: 120 percent or more of AMI

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## Lending Activity

The data on lending activity was generated via the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA), which requires most lending institutions to report mortgage loan applications, including the application outcome, information about the loan and applicant, property location, structure type, lien status, and if the loan had a high interest rate. The Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council collects the data to determine whether financial institutions are meeting a community's housing credit needs, to target community development funds to attract private investment, and to identify possible discriminatory lending patterns. HMDA data are not a good proxy for the general housing market in areas where cash sales make up a significant share of the home sales.

HMDA requires financial institutions with assets totaling at least \$44 million as of 2015 to report. Because not all institutions are required to file under HMDA, mortgage lending coverage for a neighborhood may be incomplete. We accessed tract-level HMDA data from 2005 to 2014 through the Consumer Protection Financial Bureau open data download portal.<sup>65</sup> To identify tracts within Austin, we use a tract-level crosswalk generated from the Missouri Census Data Center Geocorr Tool.

## Policy Recommendations

Urban Institute researchers traveled to Austin, Texas, in June 2017 to meet with stakeholders and community members and share findings from our empirical analysis. Policy recommendations were identified and workshopped, and the researchers used these insights to formulate the final implications section that appears in the report.

### Stakeholder Meetings

On June 6 and 7, 2017, we shared insights from our empirical analysis in meetings with city and state government officials and a representative from the chamber of commerce. These meetings were used to brainstorm policy solutions and to sharpen our empirical analyses.

### Stakeholder Focus Group

On June 7, 2017, the Urban Institute and JPMorgan Chase hosted a group of stakeholders to respond to empirical findings and brainstorm policy solutions for Austin's LMI populations. Housing developers, nonprofit affordable housing stakeholders, academics, and philanthropic leaders were present.

### Spotlight on Montopolis

For our Montopolis case study, we spent time in the neighborhood meeting with those working on issues related to affordable housing and development on June 6, 2017. Subsequent phone calls were conducted in June and July 2017 with additional neighborhood stakeholders.



# Notes

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