

2015

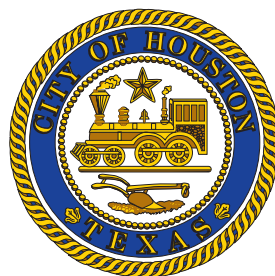
ANALYSIS OF IMPEDIMENTS TO FAIR HOUSING CHOICE

Housing and Community Development Department
Neal Rackleff, Director

August 2015



This document contains only the portions of the AI that Planning/ Communications produced for the City of Houston. The entire AI can be downloaded at: <http://houstontx.gov/housing/AI%20Final%207.31.2015%20reduced%20size.pdf>



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2015 ANALYSIS OF IMENDIMENTS TO FAIR HOUSING CHOICE



CITY OF HOUSTON

ANNISE D. PARKER, MAYOR

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

NEAL RACKLEFF, DIRECTOR

AUGUST 2015

THIS DOCUMENT IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE

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Free Market Analysis™

To validate and compare the information found from the dissimilarity index, HCDD worked with Planning/Communications to perform a Free Market Analysis™. The Free Market Analysis™ compares the actual racial composition of a census tract with what the approximate racial composition would likely be in a free housing market not distorted by discriminatory practices such as steering, redlining, or discriminatory rental policies. This way of analysis differs from the dissimilarity index because it does not assume that every census tract or neighborhood should have the same racial and ethnic percentages as the entire city. Instead, this approach uses income to estimate the likely racial composition.

This analysis revealed that while Houston's population is very diverse, separate and often very intense concentrations of Hispanic households of any race or African American households dominate large geographic sections of the city. Also, Asian households tend to be concentrated in a few areas of the city. These concentrations are intertwined with Houston's economic stratification. There are many Super Neighborhoods in which racial or Hispanic concentrations have grown or persisted throughout the past 10 years. This continued and growing segregation is likely due to and perpetuated by discrimination in the housing market.

The entire Free Market Analysis™, including proposed barriers to fair housing and suggested actions, is an appendix.

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Appendix 2: Analysis of Houston's Development Controls for Exclusionary Impacts

Analysis of Houston's Development Controls For Possible Exclusionary Impacts

Prepared for the City of Houston, Texas
by

PLANNING/COMMUNICATIONS

River Forest, Illinois

June 2015

Prepared for the City of Houston, Texas
by



Principal Author: Stuart Meck, FAICP

President: Daniel Lauber, AICP

Website: <http://www.planningcommunications.com>

Email: info@planningcommunications.com

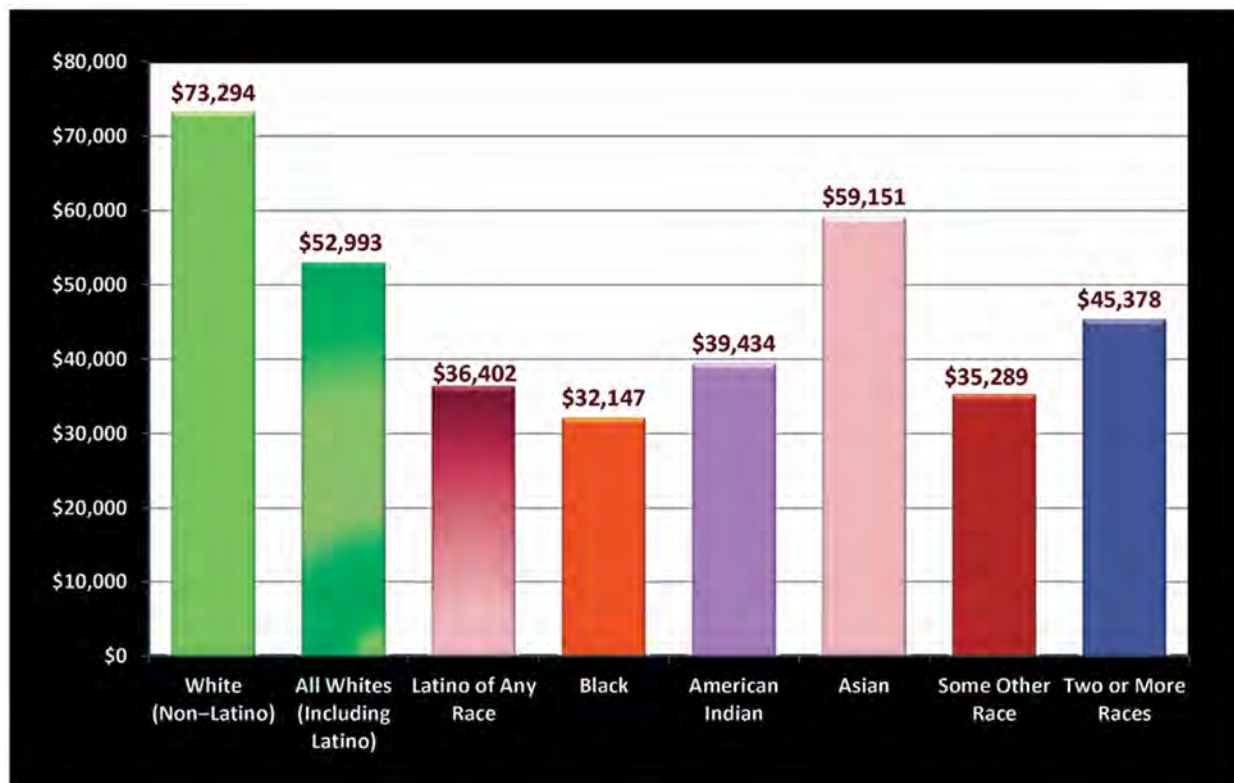
June 2015

Analysis of Houston's Development Controls For Possible Exclusionary Impacts

The Impact of Development Controls on Housing Affordability

Development controls can affect the cost of housing within any city and act as a barrier to fair housing choice by imposing regulations and/or procedures that effectively prevent the new construction of ownership and rental housing that households with modest incomes can afford — especially when the median household

Figure 1: Houston Median Household Incomes by Race and Latino: 2009–2013



Source: Table S1903: Median Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2013 inflation-adjusted dollars), 2009–2013 American Community Survey 5–Year Estimates.

incomes of minority populations are significantly lower than for Caucasian households as illustrated in Figure 1 above.

These disparities in median household income create major differences in how much a median income household can afford to spend on housing in Houston. Economists and housing experts have long used the rule of thumb that a home is affordable when its purchase price is no more than two and a half or three times the buyer's gross annual income. Their other test that applies to both owner and tenant households is that housing is affordable if the household spends less than 30 percent of its gross monthly income on housing. According to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, a household is considered "cost burdened" when it spends 30 percent or more of its gross income on its housing.

These are not arbitrary figures. Spending more than 30 percent on housing, leaves a typical household less money for essentials such as food, clothing, furniture, transportation, health care, savings, and health insurance. Local businesses suffer the most from this reduction in discretionary spending money due to high housing costs. Spending more than 30 percent on housing denies monies to other sectors of the economy unless households strapped for cash go into serious debt.

Table 1: Maximum Affordable Purchase Price and Rent for Median Income Households in Houston

Table 1: Maximum Affordable Purchase Price and Rent for Median Income Households in Houston			
Race or Ethnicity	Median Household Income 2009–2013	Maximum Affordable Purchase Price	Maximum Affordable Rent
White (Non-Hispanic)	\$73,294	\$219,882	\$1,832
All Whites (Including Hispanic)	\$52,993	\$158,979	\$1,325
Hispanic of Any Race	\$36,402	\$109,206	\$910
African American	\$32,147	\$96,441	\$804
American Indian	\$39,434	\$118,302	\$986
Asian	\$59,151	\$177,453	\$1,479
Some Other Race	\$35,289	\$105,867	\$882
Two or More Races	\$45,378	\$136,134	\$1,134

Source: Table S1903: Median Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2013 inflation-adjusted dollars), 2009–2013 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates. "Maximum Affordable Purchase Price" is three times the median household income. "Maximum Affordable Rent" is 30 percent of gross monthly median household income.

In the fourth quarter of 2014, the gross income needed to buy the median-priced home in the Houston metropolitan area (\$199,000) was approximately \$49,983 according to a study by HSH.com, publisher of mortgage and consumer loan

information.¹ As Table 1 shows, nearly all median-income minority households cannot afford to buy the median-priced home in the Houston metropolitan area. This disparity has serious implications for reducing economic stratification and housing segregation.

Recommendation

To better understand the impacts of these different median household incomes by race and Latino ethnicity on economic stratification and racial and ethnic segregation, the City of Houston needs to identify the median sale price of different types of ownership housing (single-family detached, duplex, townhomes, condominiums) and the median rental for rentals by number of bedrooms. These data will illustrate the impact of economic stratification on racial and Hispanic integration in Houston and further enable the city to craft strategies to affirmatively further fair housing.

Land use controls that increase housing prices can strongly influence racial and ethnic segregation. A study of the 25 largest metropolitan areas from 1980 to 1990 found that development controls that established low density housing (defined as less than eight dwelling units per acre) consistently reduced rental housing, which in turn limited the number of Black and Hispanic residents who could live in these communities.²

Drawing on census data for 1990 and 2000 for the 25 largest metropolitan statistical areas and local regulatory indicators, a study conducted by Jonathan Rothwell and Douglas Massey found that development controls that established low density housing increased the segregation of African Americans by reducing the quantity of affordable housing in predominantly white jurisdictions.³ In a subsequent article, Rothwell conducted a statistical analysis of the 25 largest metropolitan statistical areas. The data showed that anti-density regulations were responsible for a large share of the observed patterns in segregation between 1990 and 2000. Minority groups are more segregated from whites in metropolitan areas with prevalent exclusionary development controls no matter what their relative incomes and population sizes. The study estimated that switching from the most exclusionary development controls to

¹ Full details on methodology and assumptions made are available at http://www.hsh.com/finance/mortgage/salary-home-buying-25-cities.html#_. To provide some perspective, the household income needed to buy a median-priced home in the Dallas metropolitan area was \$48,787 and in San Antonio \$45,374. Houston was in the middle of the 27 metropolitan areas studied.

² Rolf Pendall, "Local Land Use Regulation and the Chain of Exclusion," *Journal of the American Planning Association* (66) (2) (2000): 124–142.

³ Jonathan Rothwell and Douglas S. Massey, "The Effect of Density Zoning on Racial Segregation in U.S. Urban Areas," *Urban Affairs Review* (14) (6) (2009): 779–806.

the least exclusionary would reduce the gap between the most and least racially segregated metropolitan statistical areas by at least 35 percent.⁴

A number of development controls can artificially prevent the construction of housing affordable to household with modest incomes, effectively eliminating residential access to members of lesser-income groups who are often disproportionately racial or ethnic minorities. Such practices may affect the ability to integrate a city racially and can foster economic stratification by limiting the range of housing opportunities available in substantial areas of a city and its surrounding metropolitan area.

Some of the most common development controls that can produce this exclusionary effect include:

- (1) Designating extensive areas of a community for large lots (generally ½ acre and above) without providing sufficient lands that allow smaller lots.
- (2) Excluding multiple-family dwellings totally or greatly restricting the land available for them and limiting the type of multiple-family dwellings available, such as a preference for townhouses over garden apartments and high-rises.
- (3) Imposing restrictions on the number of bedrooms in multiple-family dwellings to discourage families with children such as requiring that a substantial number of dwelling units in a multiple-family complex be one-bedroom units or studio apartments.
- (4) Prohibiting or severely limiting mobile homes and manufactured housing, which are forms of affordable housing.
- (5) Imposing large lot width requirements which drive up development costs because they require additional street, curb, gutter, and sidewalk length, reducing the number of lots in a block. These practices can combine with extensive requirements for large lots to produce an exclusionary effect.
- (6) Requiring minimum building sizes unrelated to health and safety standards for residential construction which effectively mandate larger residences, where smaller ones would suffice.⁵
- (7) Arbitrarily lengthy review and approval times for residential buildings, and subdivisions⁶

⁴ Jonathan Rothwell, "Racial Enclaves and Density Zoning: The Institutionalized Segregation of Racial Minorities in the United States," *American Law and Economics Review* (13) (1) (2011): 290–358, 291.

⁵ See generally, Norman Williams, Jr. and Thomas Norman, "Exclusionary Land Use Controls: The Case of Northeastern New Jersey," 22 *Syracuse L. Rev.* 475, 481, 484–97 (1971). For a discussion of the impact of these devices on housing costs, see Lynn Sagalyn and George Sternlieb, *Zoning and Housing Costs: The Impact of Land-Use Controls on Housing Price* (New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1973), 16–19, 48–58.

⁶ It is difficult to evaluate the impact of processing times on developments without analyses of sample residential projects of varying housing types, sizes, and densities, and this review does not attempt to do so.

- (8) Numerous or sequential public hearings which add to the carrying costs of the development.
- (9) Development standards not rationally related to the nature of the land use, such as requiring three parking spaces for a one bedroom apartment.⁷

Sponsored by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) Research Center conducted a statistical study in 2007 of subdivision requirements in 469 communities from a nationwide sample of single-family dwellings. The purpose of this study was to establish a methodology to determine when exceeding particular benchmarks created a regulatory cost barrier in a community.

The study focused on a number of variables: lot size, floor space requirements, lot width, pavement width, sidewalk requirements, curb and gutter drainage, front yard setbacks, and off-street parking requirements. *The study found that excessive lot size, lot width, and floor area requirements accounted for the largest percentage of total costs.* While only 8 percent of the jurisdictions had excessive floor area requirements, the regulatory cost barriers for floor area in those jurisdictions accounted for 17 percent of the total regulatory cost barriers for all land development variables for all jurisdictions in the study. Finally, the study found that the average cost of excessive regulation from subdivision standards was about five percent of the average cost of a new single-family home.⁸ Of all of the studies referenced here, this is most relevant to the City of Houston, and will be used later in this analysis to provide benchmarks for evaluating the City's subdivision ordinances.

Quigley and Rosenthal conducted an extensive review of the empirical literature on the effects of land use regulation on the price of housing and found that it varied widely in quality of research method and strength of result, but with a number of credible papers bearing out theoretical expectations. They reported that when local regulators effectively withdraw land from buildable supplies whether under the rubric of development control, 'growth management,' or some other regulation, the land factor and the finished product can become pricier. "Caps on development, restrictive zoning limits on allowable densities, urban growth boundaries, and long permit processing delays have all been associated with increased housing price." But they observed that because of variations in both observed regulation and methodological precision, the literature failed to establish a strong, direct causal effect.⁹

⁷ For a survey of parking standards used by local governments, see Michael Davidson and Fay Dolnik, *Parking Standards*, Planning Advisory Service Report No. 510/511 (Chicago: American Planning Association, November 2002).

⁸ NAHB Research Center, *Study of Subdivision Requirements as a Regulatory Barrier*, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research (OPD&R) (Washington, D.C.: OPD&R, November 2007), 1–3.

⁹ John M. Quigley and Larry A. Rosenthal, "The Effect of Land Use Regulation on the Price of Housing. What Do We Know? What Can We Learn?" *Cityscape* (8) (1) (2005): 69–110, at 69.

There have also been a number of empirical and descriptive studies of the City of Houston's system of development control, and at least one, a comparative study between residential development in Houston and Dallas, assessed the comparative effect on housing costs (see footnote).¹⁰

Analysis of Houston's Development Controls

This analysis examines provisions in the City of Houston Code of Ordinances that affect residential development for possible exclusionary impacts on housing affordable to households with modest incomes as well as protected classes under the nation's Fair Housing Act. Recommendations to mitigate any potential exclusionary impacts are proffered.

This analysis addresses these chapters and articles:

- ◆ Chapter 42, Subdivisions, Developments, and Platting
- ◆ Chapter 29, Article III, Manufactured Home Parks
- ◆ Chapter 29, Article IV, Manufactured Home Subdivisions
- ◆ Chapter 10, Article VI, Modular Housing
- ◆ Chapter 10, Article IV, Houston Multi-Family Habitability Code
- ◆ Chapter 10, Article IX, Building Standards
- ◆ Chapter 19, Flood Plain

This analysis also examines the responsibilities of the city's building official and city attorney under Chapter 10, Articles I and XV.

¹⁰ Richard P. Peiser, "Land Development Regulation: A Case Study of Dallas and Houston, Texas," *AREUEA Journal* 9 (1981), 397–417 (finding that, in a comparison of subdivision development, costs of regulation in Dallas added \$1,000 to the cost of a lot in 1981, as compared to Houston). See also Janet F. Speyrer, "The Effects of Land-Use Restrictions on Market Values of Single-Family Homes in Houston," *Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics* 2 (1989), 117–130 (in an analysis of the effects of zoning and restrictive covenants on single-family home prices in Houston and its suburbs, finding, through the calculation of a hedonic price index, that higher prices are paid for homes in neighborhoods with either type of land use control than for comparable houses without these controls); Zhu Qian, "Without Zoning: Urban Development and Land Use Controls in Houston," *Cities* 27 (2010), 31–41 (in a descriptive study, concluding that "[t]he private land use control system shows its weakness in terms of consistency, vulnerability to neighborhood socio-economic status, and subservience to special interests under market pressure"); Teddy M. Kapur, "Land Use Regulation in Houston Contradicts the City's Free Market Reputation," 34 *Environmental Law Reporter* 10045 (2004) (describing in detail the Houston system and arguing that "contrary to its free market reputation, the city of Houston (the City) has directed land use allocations by intervening in private deed restrictions and enacting land management controls such as subdivision regulations, street design standards, tax increment reinvestment zones, and prevailing lot size requirements").

① Chapter 42, Subdivisions, Developments and Platting

The City of Houston is the only large city in the United States without a zoning ordinance to regulate land use. To compensate, Houston's subdivision regulations, in Chapter 42, contain some elements typical of a zoning ordinance, such as minimum lot size, lot width, parking requirements, and building line or setback provisions. It also relies on a system of compliance with certain private deed restrictions that the city attorney may enforce.

To obtain a building permit, an applicant must submit, with the permit application, an affidavit to the building official "stating that the construction, alteration, or repair for which the building permit is sought, and the use to which the improvement or building will be put will not violate deed restrictions or restrictive covenants running with the land...."¹¹ According to a City of Houston Planning and Development Department staff member, either a title report or a letter of compliance from the department, which has copies of recorded plats and their deed restrictions, can provide support for such an affidavit.¹² Further, Sec. 10-553 authorizes the city attorney to become a party to a restriction suit under certain conditions, after conducting "a careful investigation of the facts and the law." Sec. 10-551 lists the types of private restrictions the city attorney may enforce, but contains the limitation that the restrictions "do not include provisions that restrict the sale, rental, or use of property on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin and do not include any restrictions that by their express provisions have terminated."¹³ Sec. 10-553(c) authorizes the city attorney to establish guidelines for any activity or category of activity that the city attorney believes is the appropriate subject for an action to abate or enjoin through a restriction suit.

An Assistant City Attorney in the Neighborhood Services Section the city's Legal Department, said she was unaware of any written guidelines for restriction suits.¹⁴

¹¹ City of Houston Code of Ordinances Sec. 10-3 (Affidavit concerning deed restrictions on property—Prerequisite to issuance of building permit).

¹² Telephone interview with Landell Ramagos, Houston Department of Planning and Development staff, February 2, 2015.

¹³ These enforceable restrictions include "a limitation that: (1) Affects the character of the use to which real property, including residential and rental property, may be put; (2) Fixes the distance that a structure must be set back from property lines, street lines, or lot lines; (3) Affects the size of a lot or the size, type, and number of structures that may be built on the lot; (4) Regulates orientation or fronting of a structure; or (5) Regulates construction of a fence . . ." City of Houston Code of Ordinances Sec. 10-551. Arva L. Howard, Assistant City Attorney, described the meaning of "character" in (1) above. "This means restrictions that pertain to single family, residential use, multi-family use, number of structures permitted on the property." Howard stated that the City of Houston does not enforce private deed restrictions involving architectural design controls. Email from Arva L. Howard to Stuart Meck, February 24, 2015.

¹⁴ Email from Arva L. Howard to Stuart Meck, February 24, 2015.

Further, the city attorney's office does not review private deed restrictions for provisions that restrict the sale, rental, or use of property on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin.¹⁵

Chapter 42 covers standards and procedures for reviewing and approving subdivision plats (both tentative and final), general plans, street dedication plats, and development plats by the planning and development staff and the city planning commission. Its provisions apply to all land in the city as well as its extraterritorial jurisdiction.¹⁶ In addition, the planning commission has the authority to grant variances and special exceptions, at Sections. 42–81 and 42–82, respectively from any of the requirements of the chapter. Infrastructure design requirements are contained in a manual published by the Department of Public Works and Engineering.¹⁷

Subdivision plats fall into three classes under Chapter 42: a class I plat, a class II plat, and a class III plat. Class I and class II plats are optional and may be used in lieu of a class III plat if plat meets the qualification of Sec. 42–23. In that section the three plats are defined as follows:

(b) A class III plat is required for subdivisions that require or propose the creation of any new street or the dedication of any easement for public water, wastewater collection or storm sewer lines. A class III plat is also required for a vacating plat.¹⁸ Subdivisions that do not require or propose the creation of any new street or the dedication of any easement for public water, wastewater collection or storm sewer lines, at the option of the applicant, may be submitted as either a class I plat or a class II plat as determined by the respective applicable criteria, or may be submitted as a class III plat.

(c) A class II plat is a subdivision plat that:

- (1) Does not require or propose the creation of any new street;
- (2) Does not require or propose the dedication of any easement for public water, wastewater collection or storm sewer lines; and
- (3) Is not a replat that requires notification of adjacent property owners pursuant to chapter 212.

¹⁵ Telephone interview with Arva L. Howard, February 23, 2015.

¹⁶ The extraterritorial jurisdiction (ETJ) is a five-mile band around the City's general-purpose boundaries, with the exception of instances when that band intersects another municipality or its ETJ.

¹⁷ City of Houston Department of Public Works and Engineering, *Infrastructure Design Manual* (Houston, TX: The Department, December 2014).

¹⁸ A "vacating plat" is a replat that eliminates a subdivision that a previous platting created — a procedure that is rarely used. For example, if a subdivision fails to sell, the owner can seek to return the land to a single plat via a vacating plat. All property owners within a subdivision must agree to this action. *Texas Local Government Code* §212.013(d).

- (d) A class I plat is a subdivision plat that either meets the four criteria below or is an amending plat:
 - (1) Creates no more than four lots each fronting on an existing street;
 - (2) Does not require or propose the creation of any new street;
 - (3) Does not require or propose the dedication of any easement for public water, wastewater collection or storm sewer lines; and
 - (4) Is not a replat.

Sec. 42–24 requires a general plan to be submitted when property is proposed to be subdivided into sections, along with the subdivision plat for the first section; it shows any freeways, major thoroughfares and collector streets, and may also show the number of sections and the uses of the sections and restricted or unrestricted reserves—parcels of land that are not a lot but created within a subdivision plat for other than single-family use and established to accommodate some purpose for which a division into lots is not suitable or appropriate.

Under Sec. 42–55, an optional street dedication plat dedicating streets to the city may be submitted when there is an approved general plan.

A development plat is a site plan prepared and approved pursuant to Sec. 42–22 of the Code. All multiple-family developments are reviewed and approved via a development plat and there are no limits on density.¹⁹

This summary will not detail the review procedures for the plats described above. Sec. 42–52 describes the responsibility of the director of planning and development to review applications for completeness. If the director determines that the application is incomplete, he or she must return the application with an explanation of the deficiency, but there is no time limit for the completeness review in the Code. The policy of the department is to review subdivisions for completeness within 30 days.²⁰ However, Sec. 42–53 describes when completed applications are to be reviewed by the city planning commission, but the duration of the review is not stated in the section. Instead, the Texas Local Government Code establishes the deadline: “The municipal authority responsible for approving plats shall act on a plat within 30 days after the date the plat is filed. A plat is considered approved by the municipal authority unless it is disapproved within that period.”²¹

In order to evaluate Chapter 42’s development standards for their effect on affordability, this memorandum uses a set of benchmarks for single-family subdivisions contained in the HUD report described above, *Study of Subdivision Requirements as a Regulatory Barrier*. The benchmark standards are based on 12 individuals who responded to a survey of 25 land development professionals, civil

¹⁹ City of Houston Code of Ordinances, Sections. 42–230 to 42–426.

²⁰ Telephone interview with Landell Ramagos, Houston Department of Planning and Development staff, February 2, 2015.

²¹ Tex. L.G. Code Ann. § 212.009 (a).

engineers, architects, land planners in private practice, and land planners working for planning jurisdictions. The National Association of Home Builders and the National Association Counties recommended the individuals solicited in the survey.²²

The benchmark standards show a mean, minimum, and maximum, which represent the range of opinions of the respondents in the survey above. The respondents were asked to submit benchmark standards appropriate to metropolitan statistical areas with “more dense” development. The more dense development scenario was defined as a median lot size of 7,000 square feet or 0.16 acre.²³

Table 2: Land Development Benchmarks for “More Dense” Developments, Statistical Summary of Responses Used for Comparisons in MSAs (N=12)

Land Development Standard	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Lot size (feet)	4,250	2,750	7,000
Lot width (feet)	39	30	60
Front setback in feet	13	0	30
Side setback in feet	5	3.5	6
Rear setback in feet	16	10	30
Floor area minimums in square feet	981	400	1,750
Paved roadway width in feet			
On-street parking allowed one side only	24	21	28
On-street parking allowed on both sides	27	22.5	32
Width of planting strip required (feet)	5.1	3.5	10
Sidewalk width (feet)	3.94	3	5
Number of off-street parking spaces required	1.56	1	2

Source: NAHB Research Center, *Study of Subdivision Requirements as a Regulatory Barrier*, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research (OPD&R) (Washington, D.C.: OPD&R, November 2007), 36, Table 14.1.

²² NAHB Research Center, *Study of Subdivision Requirements as a Regulatory Barrier*, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research (OPD&R) (Washington, D.C.: OPD&R, November 2007), 35. The small sample universe and low number of respondents are of some concern.

²³ Ibid.

How do Houston's minimum standards compare to these benchmarks?

■ **Lot size.** Under Sec. 42-181, the minimum lot size for a single-family lot with wastewater collection service is 5,000 square feet in the extraterritorial jurisdiction (more than the mean of 4,250 square feet) or 3,500 square feet (less than the mean) within the city, so an extraterritorial lot is somewhat above the mean and a city lot is below the mean. Under certain circumstances, it is possible to reduce the lot area even more; a city lot in a subdivision can be as small as 1,400 square feet when certain conditions are satisfied.²⁴ For tracts of land that are not restricted to single-family use to be designated reserves on the plat, the applicant may designate the type of use, such as multiple-family use, on the tract. The minimum lot size of a reserve tract is 5,000 square feet.²⁵

■ **Lot width.** Sec. 42-185(a) provides that the minimum width of any lot along a street or shared driveway shall be 20 feet, placing it under the mean. Sec. 42-185(b) allows a city lot to be 15 feet wide if the subdivision conforms to certain standards. The minimum width of a reserve tract is 60 feet.²⁶

■ **Setbacks.** Chapter 42 uses the term “building line” rather than “setback.” The building line requirements in Chapter 42 are minimum standards; where private deed restrictions establish a greater building line, the deed restrictions control under Sec. 42-150.

Sec. 42-156 provides the follows for single-family homes:

- (a) Except as otherwise required or authorized by this chapter, the building line requirement for a lot restricted to single-family residential use shall be 25 feet along the front of a lot and ten feet along the back and sides of a lot adjacent to a collector street that is not an alley.
- (b) Except as otherwise required or authorized by this chapter, the building line requirement for a lot restricted to single-family residential use along a local street that is not an alley shall be:
 - (1) Twenty feet along the front of a lot and ten feet along the back and side of a lot adjacent to a local street; or
 - (2) Ten feet if the subdivision plat contains a typical lot layout and the subdivision plat contains plat notations that reflect the requirements of this section....

Under certain circumstances, the front building line may be even less. Sec. 42-157 contains optional performance standards for single-family homes on city lots that satisfy certain criteria. Under these performance standards, the front building line on a collector or local street may be reduced to ten, five, or zero feet.²⁷

²⁴ City of Houston Code of Ordinances, Sec. 42-181 (b) and (c).

²⁵ Ibid. Sec. 42-190.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid. Sections. 42-157 (b), (c), and (d), respectively.

Collectively, these provisions would place the front yard building line for single-family homes on a collector street both above and below the median benchmark figures, depending on whether the lot was in the city or its area of extraterritorial jurisdiction. For a single-family home on a local street, the same would apply. Side and rear building lines are also mixed.

Sec. 42–155 establishes building lines for tracts, such as a tract containing multi-family residential land uses:

- (a) The building line requirement for a tract used or to be used for other than single-family residential purposes adjacent to a street that is a collector street or local street that is not an alley shall be ten feet unless otherwise required or authorized by this chapter.
- (b) The building line requirement for property used or intended to be used for other than single-family residential purposes adjacent to a street that is a collector street or local street and that is not an alley and across which street are located single-family residential lots having platted building lines greater than ten feet shall be the lesser of 25 feet or the greatest building line on the single-family residential lots directly across the street from the property.

■ **Minimum floor area requirements.** Chapter 42 does not contain minimum floor area requirements.

■ **Paved roadway width.** The City of Houston’s Department of Public Works and Engineering groups local streets—the kind of streets that would be in a conventional single-family subdivision—into three classifications, with different widths depending on density and average daily traffic. The following table shows the classification scheme.

Table 3: City of Houston Local Street Classification

Local Street Classification	Gross Density in dwelling units per acre	Average Daily Traffic	Minimum Pavement Width	Traffic Flow Conditions ¹
Residential Standard Density ²	0–6	250–350	27 feet	Yield
Residential High Density ³	6–27	350–750	32 feet	Slow
Residential Main ⁴	0–27	1,500 or more	36 feet	Free

Notes: 1. Based on parallel on-street parking on both sides of the street. 2. Lot widths equal to or greater than 40 feet. 3. Lot widths less than 40 feet. 4. Serves multiple streets and can be described as a “neighborhood feeder/collector.”

Source: City of Houston Department of Public Works and Engineering, *Infrastructure Design Manual* (Houston, TX: The Department, December 2014), 10–5 to 10–6.

Table 3 above shows that the “Residential Standard Density” classification is on the mean of the benchmarks, the “Residential High Density” classification is at the

maximum range of the benchmarks, and the “Residential Main” exceeds the benchmarks (which is to be expected because it functions as a collector street).

■ **Width of planting strip required.** Chapter 42 does not specifically require a planting strip (also known as a tree lawn) by name. However, the City of Houston’s Department of Public Works maintains a set of standard drawings for different types of infrastructure. Standard Drawing 02775–01, “Concrete Sidewalk Details for Streets with Curb,” shows what appears to be a two-foot strip between the sidewalk and the edge of the right of way (and the front property line). This would be below the minimum benchmark.

■ **Sidewalk width.** As established by the Department of Public Works and Engineering, minimum sidewalk width is five feet, which is at the maximum range of the benchmark.²⁸

■ **Parking.** Section 42–186 (a) requires a minimum of two parking spaces per single-family dwelling. Where there is a secondary dwelling unit of not more than 900 gross square feet on the same lot, only one additional parking space need be provided. While the single-family standard is at the maximum range of the benchmarks, it is typical. Indeed, a HUD research publication on land development standards recommends this standard.²⁹

Sec. 42–234 (a) sets forth minimum off-street parking requirements for multi-family residential development as shown in the table below:

Table 4: City of Houston Parking Requirements for Multi-Family Residential Development

Unit Size	Parking Spaces Per Dwelling Unit
Efficiency	1.25 parking spaces
One bedroom	1.333 parking space
Two bedrooms	1.666 parking space
Three or more bedrooms	2 parking space

²⁸ City of Houston Department of Public Works and Engineering, *Infrastructure Design Manual* (Houston, TX: The Department, December 2014), 10–13. For comparison purposes, see the HUD publication cited at footnote 29, *infra*, which recommends a *minimum* sidewalk width of four feet and noting that three feet is the minimum width necessary to accommodate a wheelchair, at 23.

²⁹ NAHB Research Center, *Proposed Model Land Development Standards and Accompanying Model State Enabling Legislation*, 1993 Edition, prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research (OPD&R) (Washington, D.C.: OPD&R, June 1993), 12, Table 3, Parking Requirements.

These are above, below, and at the median of the benchmarks included in the HUD publication, which calls for 1 parking space for an efficiency unit, 1.5 parking spaces for a one- and two-bedroom unit, and 2 parking spaces for a unit with three or more bedrooms.³⁰

Impediments and Recommendations

Chapter 42 *appears* to lack any provisions that would adversely affect construction of affordable housing. As noted, the HUD study of subdivision requirements found that the most significant of these provisions were excessive lot size, lot width, and floor area requirements, which accounted for the largest percentage of total costs of subdivision development. By contrast, Houston's minimum lot area and lot width requirements are substantially below the median benchmarks in that study and the City has no minimum house size requirements in Chapter 42.

Impediment

The ability of the City of Houston to mitigate economic stratification is blocked in part by the lack of information about the impacts of Chapter 42 and its enforcement and the cost of housing under deed restrictions and without deed restrictions.

What is unknown, however, is the impact of Chapter 42 and its enforcement on the ability to integrate the city racially and on the ability to mitigate the economic stratification that exists in certain neighborhoods. Chapter 42 and related sections enforce the city's minimum requirements, but allow the city attorney to enforce certain types of private deed restrictions, giving the private deed restrictions priority in stature to the city's own development standards.

As Janet Speyrer found, it appears that deed restrictions in Houston may lead to higher home prices compared to areas *not* under deed restrictions.³¹ The problem is that the city does not have a database of the deed restrictions of the city's 27,000 subdivisions. It appears that the city does not know which properties are under deed restrictions and which are not — not to mention a lack of knowledge of the nature of the existing deed restrictions.

Recommendations

To mitigate these possible barriers to fair housing choice, the City of Houston should:

- ◆ Identify existing deed restrictions that effectively exclude housing affordable to households with modest incomes. To do this, the city needs to establish a database

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Janet F. Speyrer, *supra* note 10.

of existing deed restrictions within the city and any extraterritorial territory it regulates. The city could start with all of the deed restrictions that it has been asked to enforce. New deed restrictions should be added to the data as they are recorded with the proper city or county office. It is possible that the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development could fund such a project through a research grant to identify the impact, if any, of private deed restrictions on racial integration and economic stratification in the city and metropolitan area. This activity might be eligible for funding under the city's Community Development Block Grant. Time frame: Start in year one and complete within five years.

- ◆ Officially expand the types of private deed restrictions that the city attorney will *not* enforce, described in Sec. 10–551, to include restrictions that adversely affect *all* protected classes under the nation's Fair Housing Act including people with disabilities and familial status,³² as well as deed restrictions that have an exclusionary impact that precludes the construction of housing affordable to households with modest incomes. Time frame: Year one.
- ◆ Have the city attorney promulgate written guidelines for any activity or category of activity that the city attorney believes is an appropriate subject for an action to abate or enjoin through a restriction suit, as authorized in Sec. 10–533(c). Time frame: Year one.
- ◆ Amend the Code at Sec. 42–52 (Initial review by director) to establish a maximum review time for the completeness review of subdivisions, now a policy of the Department of Planning and Development, and a similar maximum review time for building permits at Sec. 10–2 (Code compliance review) or elsewhere. Time frame: Complete in year two.
- ◆ Amend the Code at Sec. 42–61 (Commission consideration and action) to make clear the period in which the city planning commission has to review and approve subdivisions and other types of plats, even though the 30–day period is controlled by the state's Local Government Code. This change will make clear to the lay reader how long the review will take. Time frame: Complete in year two.

② Chapter 29, Article III, Manufactured Home Parks

Sec. 29–1 defines a manufactured home park as a “contiguous development of land that has been planned and approved by the city planning commission in accordance with this Code and all other applicable laws, rules, and regulations.” The Houston Code of Ordinances uses the definition of manufactured home as set forth in Texas Revised Civil Statutes, which appears in the Occupations Code, Sec. 1201.003: “‘Manufactured home’ or ‘manufactured housing’ means a HUD–code manufactured home or a mobile home.”

³² 42 U.S.C. §§ 3601 et seq.; 42 U.S.C. § 3602(k) (defining “familial status”); 42 U.S.C. § 3602 (h) (defining “handicapped”).

The provisions for approval of a manufactured home park are straight-forward. Under Sec. 29-72, an application for approval of a park must be submitted to the city planning commission for approval, before the city's building official can approve buildings located in them. Sec. 29-73 describes the contents of the application, which are similar to the contents of a subdivision application, except that the park is a tract rather than a lot. Sec. 29-87 is a series of six locational criteria, the most significant of which is a two-acre minimum area requirement with at least ten manufactured home stands. Another is a requirement that any valid and applicable deed restrictions or other land use restrictions do not prohibit the development or use of the site as a manufactured home park. Provided that the manufactured home parks satisfy these criteria, they may be located upon any property in the city.

The Code indirectly places limits on density, which is governed by the following three standards:

- ◆ No manufactured home can be located closer than 10 feet from any other manufactured home or building or temporary structure
- ◆ The accumulated occupied area of the manufactured home and its accessory structures cannot exceed two-third of its lot area
- ◆ At least eight percent of the gross site area of the park must be devoted to recreational facilities, generally centralized³³

Finally, all manufactured homes must be located at least 25 feet from any park property lines abutting a public street and at least five feet from other property lines.³⁴

Manufactured homes are an important source of affordable housing. Nothing in these requirements for manufactured home parks appears to erect regulatory barriers to establishing these parks.

③ Chapter 29, Article IV, Manufactured Home Subdivisions.

This part of the Code allows the creation of subdivisions with lots which are to be deed restricted so that only manufactured homes — not “permanent type residential dwellings” — may be located on them. A manufactured home subdivision must be at least four acres with at least 20 lots. The procedures for approving manufactured homes subdivisions are the same as conventional residential subdivisions.³⁵

④ Chapter 10, Article VI, Modular Housing.

In contrast to manufactured homes placed on temporary foundations, a modular home, is “a structure or building module that is manufactured at a location other the

³³ Ibid. Sections. 29-90 (Density) and 29-91 (Recreational Area).

³⁴ Ibid. Sec. 29-92 (Location).

³⁵ Ibid. Sec. 29-135 (Plat approval).

location where it is installed and used as a residence by a consumer, transportable in one or more sections on a temporary chassis or other conveyance device, and designed to be used as a permanent dwelling when installed and placed upon a permanent foundation system.”³⁶ Modular housing is built on an assembly-line basis, allowing lower costs than site-built housing.³⁷ Sec. 10-233 requires that a modular home must comply with Houston’s Construction Code. Sec. 10-237 mandates that, in order to place a modular home on property in the city, the owner of the property must apply for a permit. When the modular home is completed, under Sec. 10-242, the owner must apply for a certificate of compliance. Parking standards for modular homes are the same as the standards for other residential uses in the Code.³⁸

Impediment

Deed restrictions that greatly restrict or bar altogether manufactured homes and modular or industrialized housing.

Manufactured home parks, manufactured home subdivisions, and modular or industrialized housing are considered together. Rather than greatly restricting or prohibiting them, as some communities do, the City of Houston Code allows manufactured homes and modular housing anywhere in the city, unless barred by a private deed restriction. Both of these are sources of affordable housing. Exclusion of these homes would eliminate a source of housing affordable to households with modest incomes and effectively pose a barrier to many African American and Latino households whose collective median household incomes are significantly lower than that of non-Hispanic Caucasians.

Recommendation

Identify existing deed restrictions that effectively greatly restrict or completely bar manufactured homes and modular or industrialized housing. To do this, the city needs to establish a database of existing deed restrictions within the city and any extraterritorial territory it regulates. The city could start with all of the deed restrictions that it has been asked to enforce. New deed restrictions should be added to the data as they are recorded with the proper city or county office. It is possible that the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development could fund such a project through a research grant to identify the impact, if any, of private deed restrictions on racial integration and economic stratification in the city and

³⁶ Ibid. Sec. 10-15 (4).

³⁷ It should be noted that HUD, under Secretary George Romney, launched Operation Breakthrough, an attempt to promote industrialized housing in 1969 on a nationwide basis. For an account of this effort, see Robert McCutcheon, “Operation Breakthrough,” in *The Encyclopedia of Housing*, 2nd edition, Andrew T. Carswell, ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2012), vol. 2, 536-538.

³⁸ City of Houston Code of Ordinances, Sec. 10-246 (Parking spaces required if used as residence).

metropolitan area. This activity might be eligible for funding under the city's Community Development Block Grant. Time frame: Start in year one and complete within five years.

⑤ Chapter 10, Article IV, Houston Multi-Family Habitability Code

The Multi-Family Habitability Code (MFHC) establishes a program of registration and inspection of multi-family rental buildings that contain three or more units. The building owner must register it with the city's building official and pay an inspection fee.³⁹ The building official is responsible for formulating an MFRC checklist that is to be used in the inspection program. The checklist incorporates a series of habitability standards from Sec. 10-155 that address fire, life, safety, swimming pools, and security devices. The MFRC requires that the owner post a valid certificate of occupancy or valid life safety compliance certificate and a notice to all residents advising them that if any condition in the building creates a hazard, they are to report the condition to the building's manager or owner and may also report the condition to the City of Houston.⁴⁰ The MFRC does not state how often inspections are to be conducted.

⑥ Chapter 10, Article IX, Building Standards

The Building Standards article is essentially a property maintenance code. Enforcement is split between the city's neighborhood protection official (for dwellings) and the building official (for all other structures). The article gives these officials the authority to enter and conduct inspections of vacant and occupied property. When the inspector finds a violation of the building standards, the official may request an administrative hearing before a hearing officer or a building and standards commission may be requested to consider an order to enforce the building standards. The order can direct the owner to repair, remove, or demolish the structure or parts of it and correct any other conditions that constitute a violation of the building standards, or for the city to undertake any of these actions and assess the owner. Sec. 10-361 contains minimum building standards regarding general maintenance and conditions of property, structures, utilities, health, light, and ventilation. The obligations for complying with the standards lie with both the owner and, to a lesser degree, the occupants. Under certain emergency circumstances, the building standards official may conclude that the property's condition constitutes a serious and immediate hazard and can engage the hearing officer in a conference, the outcome of which can be a notice to vacate the property and a notice of a corrective action hearing before the building and standards commission.⁴¹

³⁹Ibid. Sec. 10-154 (MFRB registration); Sec. 10-157 (MFRB inspection).

⁴⁰Ibid. Sec. 10-155(2).

⁴¹Ibid. Sec. 10-393 (Notice to vacate); Sec. 10-394 (Notice of corrective action; hearing).

⑦ Chapter 19, Flood Plains

Chapter 19 of the Code of Ordinances creates a regulatory framework to ensure that buildings are either:

- ◆ Not located in “special flood hazard areas,” which are areas that have a one percent chance or greater of flooding in a given year as designated by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in order to obtain insurance for the property, or
- ◆ Built in a way that elevates the structure above the base flood by a foot or more, ensuring minimum flood protection

Division 3 describes the development permit process; Sec. 19–16(a) declares that “[a]ny development within a special flood hazard area shall be unlawful without a development permit, regardless of whether a plat is required under chapter 42 of this code. The special flood hazard areas are shown on a Flood Insurance Rate Map (FIRM), published by FEMA. A development permit is required in addition to any other permit that may be required for the development activities.” Under Sec. 19–19, the city engineer is responsible for reviewing and approving or denying the development permit, based on information submitted by the applicant and other information the city engineer may request. Chapter 19 contains standards for development in special flood hazard areas (Sec. 19–32) and generally prohibits any type of development in floodways and watercourses (the channels through which water flows) (Sec. 19–42 to 19–43). The city engineer may deny or revoke the development permit and this decision is subject, after notice is given to the applicant or permit holder, to a hearing before the City of Houston’s general appeals board and then to the city council.⁴² Under Article III, Division 4, the chapter also addresses building restrictions in coastal high hazard areas, which have special flood hazards associated with high velocity waters.⁴³ In order to receive a development permit in coastal high hazard areas, there are additional requirements for manufactured homes, including anchors, tie-downs, frame ties, and elevation.⁴⁴

Conclusions and Recommendations

Collectively, the Houston Multi-Family Habitability Code, and Building Standards and Flood Plain provisions constitute life/safety ordinances that appear to establish no obstacles to building housing affordable to households with modest incomes or achieving racial or economic integration. The Multi-Family Habitability Code establishes an inspection program for multi-family rental housing to ensure that such housing remains habitable and free from hazards. The Building Standards provisions

⁴² Ibid. Sec. 19–23 (Revocation of permits).

⁴³ Ibid. Sec. 19–51 (Generally).

⁴⁴ Ibid. Sec. 19–52 (Building restrictions), Sec. 19–74 (Special requirements for manufactured homes); see generally, Chapter 19, Article IV, Division 2 (Placement standards), especially Sec. 19–74.

ensure that *all* property is subject to a type of property maintenance code. Finally, the city has in place a detailed article on regulating development in flood plains, floodways, and coastal hazard areas, which applies to *all* types of buildings and structures.

While no impediments to fair housing choice were identified in the Houston Multi-Family Habitability Code, Building Standards, and Flood Plain regulations, the city can further improve these codes by implementing the following recommendations:

- ◆ Amend the Multi-Family Habitability Code at Sec.10-157 (MFRB inspection program) to specify how often registered multi-family dwellings must be inspected. The city needs to ensure that it has an adequate number of trained inspectors to conduct the program.
- ◆ While unrelated to the purpose of this report, it is useful to conduct a periodic independent management audit of all inspection programs to determine whether they are meeting their objectives.

Appendix 3: Impacts of Development Regulations and Practices on Housing for People with Disabilities

Impacts of Development Regulations and Practices on Housing for People With Disabilities

Prepared by

PLANNING/COMMUNICATIONS

River Forest, Illinois

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Prepared for the City of Houston, Texas

by

PLANNING/COMMUNICATIONS

President: Daniel Lauber, AICP, Planner/Attorney

Website: <http://www.planningcommunications.com>

Email: info@planningcommunications.com

River Forest, Illinois

Impacts of Development Regulations and Practices on Housing for People With Disabilities

Development Controls and Building Codes

Housing for People With Disabilities

All people with disabilities are protected from housing discrimination under Houston,¹ Texas,² and federal law.³ As noted in this Analysis of Impediments, discrimination due to a disability is the one of the two most common bases for fair housing complaints filed in Houston as well as across the nation. The disabilities of the vast majority of Houston residents are mild enough that they are able to live on their own or with family, with or without supportive services. For many others with more severe disabilities, the family-like, supportive living arrangement of a community residence is the most appropriate housing available so they can live in the community rather than in a more restrictive and often inappropriate institutional setting.

Community Residences for People With Disabilities

Community residences are crucial to achieving the adopted goals of the State of Texas and the United States of America to enable people with disabilities to live as normal a life as possible in the least restrictive living environment. We have made great strides from the days when people with disabilities were warehoused in inappropriate and excessively restrictive institutions, out of sight and out of mind.

People with substantial disabilities often need a living arrangement where they receive staff support to engage in the everyday life activities most of us take for granted. These sorts of living arrangements fall under the broad phrase “community residence” — a term that reflects their *residential nature* rather than the institutional nature of a nursing home or hospital. A community resi-

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1. City of Houston, Texas, Chapter 17, Article VI, *Code of Ordinances*.
 2. Title 15, Fair Housing Practices, Chapter 301, Texas Fair Housing Act, Texas Property Code.
 3. *Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988*, 42 U.S.C. §3601.

dence's primary use is as a residence or a home like yours and mine, not a treatment center nor an institution.

One of the core elements of community residences is that they seek to emulate a family in how they function. The staff (or in the case of a recovery community, the officers) function as parents, doing the same things our parents did for us and we do for our children. The residents with disabilities are in the role of the siblings, being taught or retaught the same life skills and social behaviors our parents taught us and we try to teach our children.

Community residences seek to achieve “normalization” of their residents and incorporate them into the social fabric of the surrounding community. They are operated under the auspices of a legal entity such as a non-profit association, for-profit private care provider, or a government entity.

Interaction between the people who live in a community residence is essential to achieving normalization. The relationship of a community residence's inhabitants is much closer than the sort of casual acquaintances that occur between the residents of a boarding home where interaction between residents is merely incidental. In community residences, the residents *share* household chores and duties, *learn* from each other, and *provide* one another with emotional support — family-like relationships not essential for, nor present in lodging houses, boarding homes, fraternities, sororities, nursing homes, or institutional uses. Table 1 on the next page illustrates the many functional differences between community residences for people with disabilities, institutional uses like nursing homes, and boarding homes or rooming houses.

The number of people who live in a specific community residence tends to depend on its residents' types of disabilities as well as therapeutic and financial reasons.⁴ Like other cities across the nation, any regulations Houston establishes for community residences for people with disabilities need to actually achieve a legitimate government interest in the least drastic manner.

Community residences have probably been studied more than any other small land use. To understand the rationale for the guidelines to regulate community residences that are suggested here, it is vital to review what is known about community residences, including their appropriate location, number of residents needed to succeed both therapeutically and financially, means of protecting their vulnerable populations from mistreatment or neglect as well as excluding dangerous individuals from living in them, and their impacts, if any, on the surrounding community.

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4. While the trend for people with developmental disabilities is toward smaller group home households, valid therapeutic and financial reasons lead to community residences for people with mental illness or people in recovery from drug and/or alcohol addiction to typically house eight to 12 residents. However, a community residence must comply with minimum floor area requirements like any other residence. If the local building code or property maintenance code would allow only eight people in a house, then eight is the maximum number of people who can live in that house whether it's a community residence for people with disabilities or a biological family.

Differences Between Community Residences, Institutions & Nursing Homes, and Boarding Homes			
Characteristic	Community Residence for People With Disabilities	Institutional Uses Including Nursing Homes	Boarding Homes (or Rooming Houses)
Proper Environment	Residential Home-like	Institutional Hospital-like	Residential Hotel-like
Appropriate Land-Use District	Single-family residential Multiple-family in limited instances	Commercial, medical, institutional	Multiple-family residential
Relationship of Residents	Sibling-like relationships essential Single housekeeping unit emulating a biological family	Relationships not planned nor essential Incidental friendships may develop	No dependency on other residents Incidental friendships may develop Relationships not planned nor essential
Supervision	Staff in the role of the parents	Total staff supervision	Landlord-tenant relationship
Values Fostered	Family values	None	None
Primary Functions	Emulate a biological family Provides support in a family-like residential setting; residents dependent on each other like in a biological family Share family and household tasks Educate residents in areas in which parents normally educate their children: Personal health and hygiene Eating habits Dressing/clothing care Household duties and chores House maintenance House safety Developing social and interpersonal skills Developing shopping skills Developing public behavior skills Developing recreational skills Using public transportation Use and value of money Using public facilities (stores, restaurants, theaters, recreational facilities)	Provide medical treatment and institutional care No family-like living; not residential No family tasks; patients are cared for No educational role	No attempt to emulate a biological family; each boarder functions individually Residents are completely independent of each other Residents do not share household tasks No educational role

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Protecting the residents and neighbors. People with disabilities who live in community residences constitute a vulnerable population that needs protection from possible abuse, neglect, and exploitation. Community residences for these vulnerable individuals need to be regulated to assure that their residents receive adequate care and supervision. Licensing and certification are the regulatory vehicles generally used to assure adequate care and supervision. Texas, like many other states, has not established licensing or certification for some populations with disabilities that community residences serve. In these situations, certification by an appropriate national certifying organization or agency that is more than simply a trade group can be used in lieu of formal licensing. Licensing or certification also tends to exclude from community residences people who pose a danger to others, themselves, or property — such people are *not* covered by the Fair Housing Act.

Therefore, there is a legitimate government interest in requiring that a community residence or its operator be licensed by the State of Texas in order to be allowed as of right. If state licensing does not exist for a particular type of com-

munity residence, the residence can meet the certification of an appropriate national certifying agency, if one exists, or is otherwise sanctioned by the federal or state government.⁵ If Texas law allows, Houston could adopt its own licensing or registration ordinance for community residences for people with disabilities.

Fair Housing and Community Residences

Twenty-seven years ago the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988 added people with disabilities to the classes protected by the nation's Fair Housing Act. The amendments recognized that many people with disabilities need a community residence (group home, halfway house, recovery community) in order to live in the community in a family-like environment rather than being forced into an inappropriate institution. The Fair Housing Amendments Act's legislative history stated that:

The Act is intended to prohibit the application of special requirements through land-use regulations, **restrictive covenants**, and conditional or special use permits that have the effect of limiting the ability of such individuals to live in the residence of their choice with in the community.⁶ [*Emphasis added*]

While many fair housing advocates suggest the Fair Housing Amendments Act prohibits all land-use regulation of community residences, the Fair Housing Amendments Act's legislative history suggests otherwise:

Another method of making housing unavailable has been the application or enforcement of otherwise neutral rules and regulations on health, safety, and land-use in a manner which discriminates against people with disabilities. Such discrimination often results from false or over-protective assumptions about the needs of handicapped people, as well as unfounded fears of difficulties about the problems that their tenancies may pose. These and similar practices would be prohibited.⁷

Many states, counties, and cities across the nation continue to base their zoning regulations for community residences on these "unfounded fears." The 1988 amendments to the Fair Housing Act require all levels of government to make a *reasonable accommodation* in their rules and regulations to enable community residences for people with disabilities to locate in the same residential areas as any other residential use.⁸

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5. For example, the U.S. Congress has recognized and sanctioned the recovery communities that operate under the auspices of Oxford House.
 6. H.R. Report No. 711, 100th Cong., 2d Sess. 311 (1988), reprinted in 1988 U.S.C.C.A.N. 2173.
 7. Ibid.
 8. 42 U.S.C. §3604(f)(B) (1988).

Alone among large American cities, Houston does *not* include a zoning ordinance among its land–use controls. The discussion that follows, however, frequently refers to zoning districts and definitions because the case law under the Fair Housing Act invariably addresses land–use restrictions on community residences for people with disabilities that appear in local zoning codes.

The planning and legal principles that apply to zoning, however, are equally applicable to all land–use controls, including Houston’s, such as Chapter 42 of the Houston City Code, “Subdivisions, Developments, and Platting.”

Restrictive Covenants

In the absence of local zoning, restrictive covenants on residential property take on an extra regulatory dimension. Even before passage of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1998, it was well settled that a community residence is a residential land use and *not* a business or commercial land use. The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988 codified the majority opinion of the courts to specifically invalidate restrictive covenant provisions that effectively exclude community residences from residential areas. The Fair Housing Act renders these covenants unenforceable against community residences for people with disabilities.⁹

The addition to the language quoted earlier, the legislative history of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988 makes it rather clear that new subsection 804(f)(2) of the Fair Housing Act

...is intended to prohibit special restrictive covenants or other terms or conditions, or denials of service because of a person’s handicap and which have the effect of excluding, for example, congregate living arrangements for persons with handicaps.¹⁰

The act invalidates restrictive covenants in property deeds and homeowner association bylaws that limit the uses within a subdivision to single–family residential uses and/or structures to single–family residential structures. Under the Fair Housing Act — as well as many states’ statutes — these private restrictions cannot exclude community residences (group homes, small halfway houses, recovery communities, sober living homes) for people with disabilities.

Among the vast majority of court decisions in validating the application of restrictive covenants to community residences for people with disabilities, is *Deep East Texas Regional Mental Health and Mental Retardation Services v. Kinnear*

9. H.R. Report No. 711, 100th Cong., 2d Sess. 311 (1988), reprinted in 1988 U.S.C.C.A.N. 2173, 2184.

10. Preamble I, 53 Federal Register 35001 (Nov. 7, 1988) and *U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary*, Report 100–711: the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988 at 23, 100th Congress, 2d Session (1988), published at 1988 U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News 2173–2230 (1988).

where the Texas Court of Appeals ruled that a group home for six women with mental disabilities plus two supervisory staff is *not* excluded by a restrictive covenant that limits use of a property to “single family residence.” In distinguishing cases that involve use limitations, the court accurately wrote that the term “single family residence” referred to architectural type and character of the structure.¹¹

Even before President Reagan signed the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, Texas courts had invalidated application of these restrictive covenants to community residences for people with disabilities in *Collins v. City of El Campo, Texas*¹² and *Permian Basin Centers for Mental Health and Mental Retardation v. Alsobrook*.¹³

Through the “Community Homes for Disabled Persons Location Act,” the State of Texas itself has prohibited exclusion of some types of community residences for people with disabilities from residential zoning districts or by restrictive covenants:

§123.003. Zoning and Restriction Discrimination Against Community Homes Prohibited

(a) The use and operation of a community home that meets the qualifications imposed under this chapter is a use by right that is authorized in any district zoned as residential.

(b) A restriction, reservation, exception, or other provision in an instrument created or amended on or after September 1, 1985, that relates to the transfer, sale, lease, or use of property may not prohibit the use of the property as a community home.¹⁴

However, the *Texas Human Resources Code* proceeds to limit the types of “community homes” covered:

To qualify as a community home, an entity must comply with Sections 123.005 through 123.008 and be:

(1) a community-based residential home operated by:

(A) the Texas Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation;

(B) a community center organized under Subchapter A, Chapter 534, Health and Safety Code, that provides services to persons with disabilities;

(C) an entity subject to the Texas Non-Profit Corporation Act (Article 1396-1.01 et seq., Vernon’s Texas Civil Statutes); or

(D) an entity certified by the Texas Department of Human Services as a provider under the medical assistance program serving persons in intermediate care facilities for persons with mental retardation; or

11. 877 S.W.2d 550 (Tex. Ct. Appl. 1994).

12. 684 S.W. 756 (Tex. Ct. App. 1981).

13. 723 S.W.2d 774 (Tex. Ct. App. 1986).

14. *Texas Human Resources Code*, §123.003 (2005).

(2) an assisted living facility licensed under Chapter 247, Health and Safety Code, provided that the exterior structure retains compatibility with the surrounding residential dwellings.¹⁵

The Texas statute goes on to limit the number of residents of a “community home” to six people with disabilities plus two supervisors.¹⁶

However, the nation’s Fair Housing Act renders these restrictive covenants invalid as applied to all community residences for people with disabilities *regardless of their disability or number of residents or live-in supervisors. Federal law, of course, prevails over a state statute.*

Restrictive covenants as applied to community residences for people with disabilities takes on the aforementioned added dimension because applications for a building permit must include an affidavit to the city’s building official “stating that the construction, alteration, or repair for which the building permit is sought, and the use to which the improvement or building will be put will not violate deed restrictions or restrictive covenants running with the land....”¹⁷

The city code authorizes the city attorney to become a party to a lawsuit to enforce restrictive covenants under certain conditions after conducting “a careful investigation of the facts and the law.”¹⁸

The city code explicitly says that the city attorney can enforce such covenants only if they “do not include provisions that restrict the sale, rental, or use of property on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin and do not include any restrictions that by their express provisions have terminated.”¹⁹

Note that this list does *not* include disability and familial status, the two protected classes added to national law by the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988.

Recommendation The City of Houston should, without delay, amend Section 10–551 of the city code to add the nationally–protected classes “disability” and “familial status” to the list of protected classes for which the city will *not* enforce deed restrictions. Time Frame: One year

The city code authorizes the city attorney to establish guidelines for any activity or category of activity the city attorney believes is an appropriate subject for an action to abate or enjoin through a lawsuit to enforce a restrictive covenant.²⁰ The city attorney has not yet promulgated such guidelines.²¹ The city attorney’s office does not review private deed restrictions for provisions that restrict the sale,

15. Ibid. §123.004.

16. Ibid. §123.006.

17. *City of Houston Code of Ordinances*, Chapter 10, Article XV, Section 10-553, Section 10–3 (Affidavit concerning deed restrictions on property—Prerequisite to issuance of building permit).

18. Ibid. Section 10–533.

19. Ibid. Section 10–551.

20. Ibid. Section 10–553(c).

21. Email from Assistant City Attorney Arva L. Howard, City of Houston Legal Department, Neighborhood Services Section, Stuart Meck, February 24, 2015.

rental, or use of property on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin.²²

Impediment #1 Restrictive covenants and private deed restrictions that prohibit nonresidential, commercial, or business uses have been misused to exclude community residences for people with disabilities from subdivisions. The nation's Fair Housing Act and, to a limited extent, Texas law, prohibit such restrictions as applied to community residences for people with disabilities.

Recommendation The City of Houston should adopt and implement a written policy to review all restrictive covenants and homeowner association bylaws submitted to the city for any reason to identify any provisions that would effectively exclude community residences for people with disabilities. The city should inform the property owner and/or homeowners association that such restrictions are illegal and cannot be enforced. If a homeowners association or other party seeks to enforce such a restriction against community residences for people with disabilities, city staff should first explain the law to the association or other party and obtain a written statement that the association understands that its restriction does not apply to community residences for people with disabilities. If declined, the city's fair housing administrator should file a housing discrimination complaint under the city's own fair housing ordinance, and/or with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development under the nation's Fair Housing Act, and/or the Texas Workforce Commission Civil Rights Division under the Texas Fair Housing Act. Time Frame: Initiate in year one; complete notification of associations by year five.

The city attorney's office reports that it has received about 52 complaints during the past four years that objected to community residences for people with disabilities locating in a subdivision with either a restrictive covenant or bylaw that would effectively exclude the community residence as a business or commercial use or as something other than a single-family residence. When confronted with such complaints, the city attorney's office reports that it routinely declines to enforce the restriction. The City Attorney Office explains, "When we receive these complaints they are invariably a complaint of a business in the community which is restricted to residential use. We explain that the use is protected and the federal Fair Housing Act provides that people in the homes may live there and nothing is in violation of the residential use restriction. Sometimes we attend meetings, large and small, and talk about the protection afforded certain individuals and how that is not commercial use of the property."²³

As discussed earlier, Texas law also prohibits application of these restrictions, albeit to only some types of community residences and only if there are no more than six residents plus up to two live-in staff. However, as noted above, the provisions of the nation's Fair Housing Act that cover all community residences for people with disabilities extends beyond the coverage of the state statute and is

22. Telephone interview of Arva L. Howard by Stuart Meck, February 23, 2015.

23. Email from Sandra Eidson, Assistant City Attorney, Section Chief of Neighborhood Services, to Daniel Lauber, Planning/Communications (March 27, 2015, 5:58 p.m., CST).

the proper law to enforce.

Recommendation The City of Houston should devise a systematic procedure to inform in writing all homeowner and neighborhood associations that community residences for people with disabilities are residential uses and that restrictive covenants, deed restrictions, and association bylaws including those that prohibit non-residential uses, do not, as a matter of law, exclude community residences for people with disabilities. Time frame: Two years.

Impediment #2 The definition of “community homes” used in the *Texas Human Resources Code* is so narrow and restrictive that it excludes many types of community residences for people with disabilities from the coverage of the “Community Homes for Disabled Persons Location Act.” In addition, the overly simple language of the act fails to take into account the need to prevent clustering to enable community residences to achieve their core purposes of normalization and community integration and the different treatment appropriate for relatively permanent community residences and temporary community residences.

Recommendation The City of Houston and other Texas municipalities should seek amendments to the *Texas Human Resources Code* by replacing the state’s definition of “community homes” with a broader definition that includes all types of community residences for people with disabilities and allows for more than six residents plus supervisory personnel. Time frame: Four years.

As discussed earlier, some types of community residences need more than six residents for valid therapeutic and financial reasons. In addition it appears that the state law does not include people in recovery and some other types of disabilities. It needs to be broadened to provide for all types of disabilities and community residences that house more than six people with disabilities.

Recommendation The City of Houston and other Texas municipalities should seek amendments to the state’s “Community Homes for Disabled Persons Location Act” to replace the overly simple language “use by right that is authorized in any district zoned as residential” with more precise language that allows for local land-use controls to prevent clustering and allows for appropriate land-use control treatment of relatively permanent community residences and temporary community residences. Time frame: Four years.

While any community residence for people with disabilities that meets the cap on unrelated people in a jurisdiction’s definition of “family” must be treated the same as any other family, land-use controls (whether at the state or local level) must make a reasonable accommodation for those community residences that exceed that cap. The existing language that requires local zoning to allow “community homes” for six or fewer people with certain disabilities needs to be replaced with language that allows cities and counties to establish land-use controls that prevent clustering and require licensing for a community residence to be allowed as of right in residential districts. In addition, the state statute needs to be amended to allow appropriate land-use control treatment of community residences that are relatively permanent in nature and different treatment

for those that are temporary with limitations on length of tenancy.

Development Controls

Even though Houston does not have a zoning ordinance, it is necessary to review the sound planning and land-use control principles and Fair Housing Act requirements established by the case law that invariably deals with zoning, a land-use control. These planning and legal principles are still applicable to any city without a zoning ordinance.

Typically, a local zoning ordinance places a cap on the maximum number of unrelated people allowed to live together in a dwelling unit.²⁴ If a proposed community residence complies with the cap in a city's applicable definition of "family," any community residence that abides with that cap must be allowed as of right as a permitted use.²⁵ The courts have made it abundantly clear that imposing any additional land-use requirements on a community residence that complies with the cap in the definition of "family" would clearly constitute illegal discrimination under the Fair Housing Act. When a definition of "family" places no limit on the number of unrelated individuals who can dwell together, then *all* community residences must be allowed as of right in *all* residential districts.²⁶ No additional regulations can be imposed under these circumstances.

When a proposed community residence would house more unrelated people than the definition of "family" allows, jurisdictions must make the "reasonable accommodation" that the Fair Housing Act requires to allow such community residences for people with disabilities to locate everywhere a residence can be located.²⁷ However, different types of community residences have dissimilar characteristics that warrant varying treatment depending on the type of tenancy.

Community residences that offer a relatively permanent living arrangement in which there is no limit to how long somebody can live there (group homes and recovery communities) should be allowed as of right in all residential areas. There continues to be some debate in legal circles on whether a rationally-based

24. The U.S. Supreme Court sanctioned this type of restriction in *Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas*, 416 U.S. 1 (1974) and later modified its ruling in *Moore v. City of East Cleveland, Ohio*, 431 U.S. 494 (1977).

25. Some jurisdictions use the term "household" instead of "family." For the sake of brevity, this discussion employs only the term "family" even though it applies equally to the use of the term "household."

26. This principle is most clearly articulated in *United States v. City of Chicago Heights*, 161 F.Supp.2d 819 (N.D.Ill. 2001). Also see *Marbrunak, Inc. v. City of Stow, Ohio*, 974 F.2d 43 (6th Cir. 1992). If a jurisdiction does *not* define "family" or "household," the legal effect is the same as when a jurisdiction's definition of "family" allows any number of unrelated individuals to dwell together as a single housekeeping unit.

27. The vast majority of community residences for people with disabilities house more than four people. While the trend for people with developmental disabilities is towards smaller group home households, valid therapeutic and financial reasons lead to community residences for people with mental illness and people in recovery from drug and/or alcohol addiction to house eight to 12 residents.

spacing distance or a license can be required.

On the other hand, community residences such as a halfway house that sets a limit on length of residency are more akin to multifamily housing and may be subject to regulatory review such as a special permit in single-family districts, although this too is subject to debate in legal circles. There is little doubt that they should be allowed as of right in multifamily areas although there is still debate over whether a spacing distance from other community residences or a license can be required.

While a jurisdiction can certainly exclude transitional homes for people without disabilities from the residential areas of its choosing, the Fair Housing Act prohibits this kind of regulatory treatment for halfway houses and recovery communities that house people with disabilities.²⁸ The key distinction between halfway houses and recovery communities is that tenancy in the former is temporary. Halfway houses impose a limit on how long residents can live there. Tenancy is measured in weeks or months.

On the other hand, residency in a recovery community is relatively permanent, like a group home. There is no limit to how long a recovering alcoholic or drug addict who is not using can live there. Tenancy is measured in years just as it is for conventional rental and ownership housing. Consequently, it is rational for development controls to treat recovery communities like group homes which also offer relatively permanent living arrangements and to treat halfway houses more like multifamily rental housing. Halfway houses should be allowed as of right in multifamily areas. In single-family districts, the heightened scrutiny of regulatory review is warranted for a halfway house.

These principles do *not* apply to community residences for people *without* disabilities or to people with disabilities “whose tenancy would pose a direct threat to the health or safety of other individuals.... there must be objective evidence from the person’s prior behavior that the person has committed overt acts which caused harm or which directly threatened harm.”²⁹

The review of a jurisdiction’s regulatory treatment of community residences begins with its definition of “family” or “household.”

In Houston’s case, “family” is defined in “Chapter 10, Buildings and Neighborhood Protection, Article IX – Building Standards:”

Family means an individual; or two or more individuals related by blood or by marriage; or a group of not more than ten individuals, who need not be related by blood or marriage, living together in a dwelling unit.³⁰

28. It is extremely well-settled that people with drug and/or alcohol addictions who are not currently using an illicit drug are people with disabilities under the *Fair Housing Act* and the *Americans With Disabilities Act*. See 42 U.S.C. 3602(h) and 24 C.F.R. 100.201(a)(2). See, also, *City of Edmonds v. Washington State Building Code Council*, 115 S. Ct. 1776 (1995).

29. H.R. Report No. 711, 100th Cong., 2d Sess. 311 (1988), reprinted in 1988 U.S.C.A.N. 2173, 2189–2190.

30. *Houston City Code*, Chapter 10, Buildings and Neighborhood Protection, Article IX – Building Stan-

Because this definition of “family” allows up to ten unrelated individuals to live together in a dwelling unit, the City of Houston *cannot* impose any additional land-use regulations on community residences for ten or fewer people with disabilities. These community residences for people with disabilities must be treated the same as all other families. Treating them differently constitutes facial discrimination.³¹

Several definitions in the ordinance, however, are a bit confusing due to the language highlighted in bold below:

Dwelling unit means a single unit providing complete independent living facilities for one or more individuals, including permanent provisions for living, sleeping, eating, cooking, and sanitation. Notwithstanding the foregoing, units in the following buildings are not dwelling units:

- (a) Jails;
- (b) Hotels (as defined by article III of chapter 44 of this Code); and
- (c) **Buildings providing sleeping facilities primarily for the purpose of rendering services regulated by a department or agency of the federal government or of the State of Texas (including, but not limited to, the Texas Department of State Health Services).**

Congregate living facility means a building containing facilities for living, sleeping, and sanitation for occupancy by other than a family. Examples of congregate living facilities include shelters, convents, monasteries, dormitories, boarding and rooming houses, and fraternity and sorority houses. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the following buildings are not congregate living facilities:

- (a) Jails;
- (b) Hotels (as defined by article III of chapter 44 of this Code); and
- (c) **Buildings providing sleeping facilities primarily for the purpose of rendering services regulated by a department or agency of the federal government or of the State of Texas (including, but not limited to, the Texas Department of State Health Services).**³²

Whatever the uses are to which the highlighted language refers, it is important to remember that a community residence for people with disabilities is a residential use and a “dwelling unit” in every sense of the phrase. The city needs to precisely identify what these exclusions are to make sure that they do not inadvertently exclude community residences for people with disabilities from the definition of “dwelling unit.” It remains unclear how the definition of “congregate living facilities” and the highlighted exclusions interface.

dards, Section 10–317.

- 31. For a detailed review of the case law on which this conclusion is based, see Daniel Lauber, “A Real LULU: Zoning for Group Homes and Halfway Houses Under the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988,” *The John Marshall Law Review* (Winter 1996, Vol. 29, No. 2) 369–407.
- 32. Houston City Code, Chapter 10, Buildings and Neighborhood Protection, Article IX – Building Standards, Section 10–317. *Emphasis added.*

Boarding Homes

Thanks to inadequate state funding and regulation of housing for people with disabilities, boarding homes have become a growth industry in numerous Texas cities. Boarding homes, however, are *not* community residences. They do not attempt to emulate a family like a community residence does and few even try to achieve normalization and community integration of their residents, the three core characteristics of a community residence for people with disabilities.

There is a lack of serious state licensing and enforcement of boarding homes — whether occupied by people with disabilities or without disabilities — and no state oversight to protect the rights of residents, prevent abuse, prevent operators from stealing residents' benefits checks, prevent exploitation, or enforce compliance with building codes.³³

Like Dallas, where *The Dallas Morning News* ran a multi-year exposé of abusive treatment of disabled boarding house residents, theft of their assets, and deplorable substandard living conditions, the City of Houston has sought to curb these abuses by adopting an ordinance that regulates boarding homes occupied by people with disabilities.³⁴ The city's ordinance does not include uses that the state regulates or living arrangements where "personal care services" are provided.³⁵

The ordinance, which was adopted in July 2013, requires operators to annually register with the city, consent to a criminal background check of herself and employees; post a very legible notice of how to report abuse, neglect, and exploitation; provide extensive documentation; maintain records; provide emergency precautions; and allow an annual inspection by the fire marshal.

Locations of Community Residences and Boarding Homes

While community residences for people with disabilities seek to emulate and function like a biological family, the very nature of community residences requires that they not locate close to one another.

For at least 40 years, researchers have found that some community residence operators will locate their community residences close to other community residences, especially when zoning does not allow community residences for people with disabilities as of right in all residential districts. They tend to be clustered in a community's lower cost or older neighborhoods and often in areas around colleges.³⁶ See below for an analysis of clustering in Houston.

33. Telephone interview of Senior Police Officer Douglas Anders, Houston Police Department, Mental Health Unit, by Daniel Lauber, February 19, 2015. Officer Anders administers Houston's Boarding Homes Ordinance.

34. *Houston Code of Ordinances*, Chapter 28, Article XIV.

35. *Ibid.* Sections 28-451 and 28-452.

36. See General Accounting Office, *Analysis of Zoning and Other Problems Affecting the Establishment of Group Homes for the Mentally Disabled* (August 17, 1983) which found that 36.2 percent of the group homes for people with developmental disabilities surveyed were located within two blocks of another community residence or an institutional use. At 19. Also see D. Lauber and F.

Why clustering is detrimental. Placing community residences too close to each other can create a *de facto* social service district and can seriously hinder their ability to achieve normalization for their residents — one of the core foundations on which the concept of community residences is based. In today’s society, people tend to get to know nearby neighbors on their block within a few doors of their home (unless they have children together in school or engage in walking, jogging, religious services, or other neighborhood activities). Neighbors that close to a community residence serve as role models to the community residence dwellers.

For normalization to occur, it is essential that community residence residents have such so-called “able-bodied” neighbors as role models. But if another community residence is opened very close to an existing community residence — such as next door or within a few doors of it — the residents of the new home may replace the “able-bodied” role models with other people with disabilities and quite possibly hamper the normalization efforts of the existing community residence. Clustering three or more community residences on the same block not only undermines normalization but could inadvertently lead to a *de facto* social service district that alters the residential character of the neighborhood. All the evidence recorded to date shows that one or two nonadjacent community residences for people with disabilities on a block do *not* alter the residential character of a neighborhood.³⁷

As long as community residences are *not* clustered on the same block (the idea is to assure there are at least several structures between community residences on a linear block) it is *extremely unlikely* that they will generate these adverse impacts. Consequently, when community residences are allowed as of right, it is most reasonable to impose a spacing distance between community residences that keeps them about a block apart in terms of actual walking distance.

While community residences and boarding homes are in nearly every Houston super neighborhood, some disconcerting patterns have emerged.

Houston is one of those cities that does *not* have a regulatory tool in place to prevent clustering of community residences. As a result, clusters of community residences and boarding homes for people with disabilities appear to be creating *de facto* social service districts in several super neighborhoods as shown in Figure 1 below. In addition to their locations, the mere existence of these clusters fails to affirmatively further fair housing choice.

In Houston’s southeast quadrant, the larger clusters are in these three super neighborhoods:

- 💧 Greater OST/South Union (68) which is nearly all African American and where the annual median household income was just \$27,785 in 2012

Bangs, Jr., *Zoning for Family and Group Care Facilities*, American Society of Planning Officials Planning Advisory Service Report No. 300 (1974) at 14; and *Family Style of St. Paul, Inc., v. City of St. Paul*, 923 F.2d 91 (8th Cir. 1991) where 21 group homes that housed 130 people with mental illness were established on just two blocks.

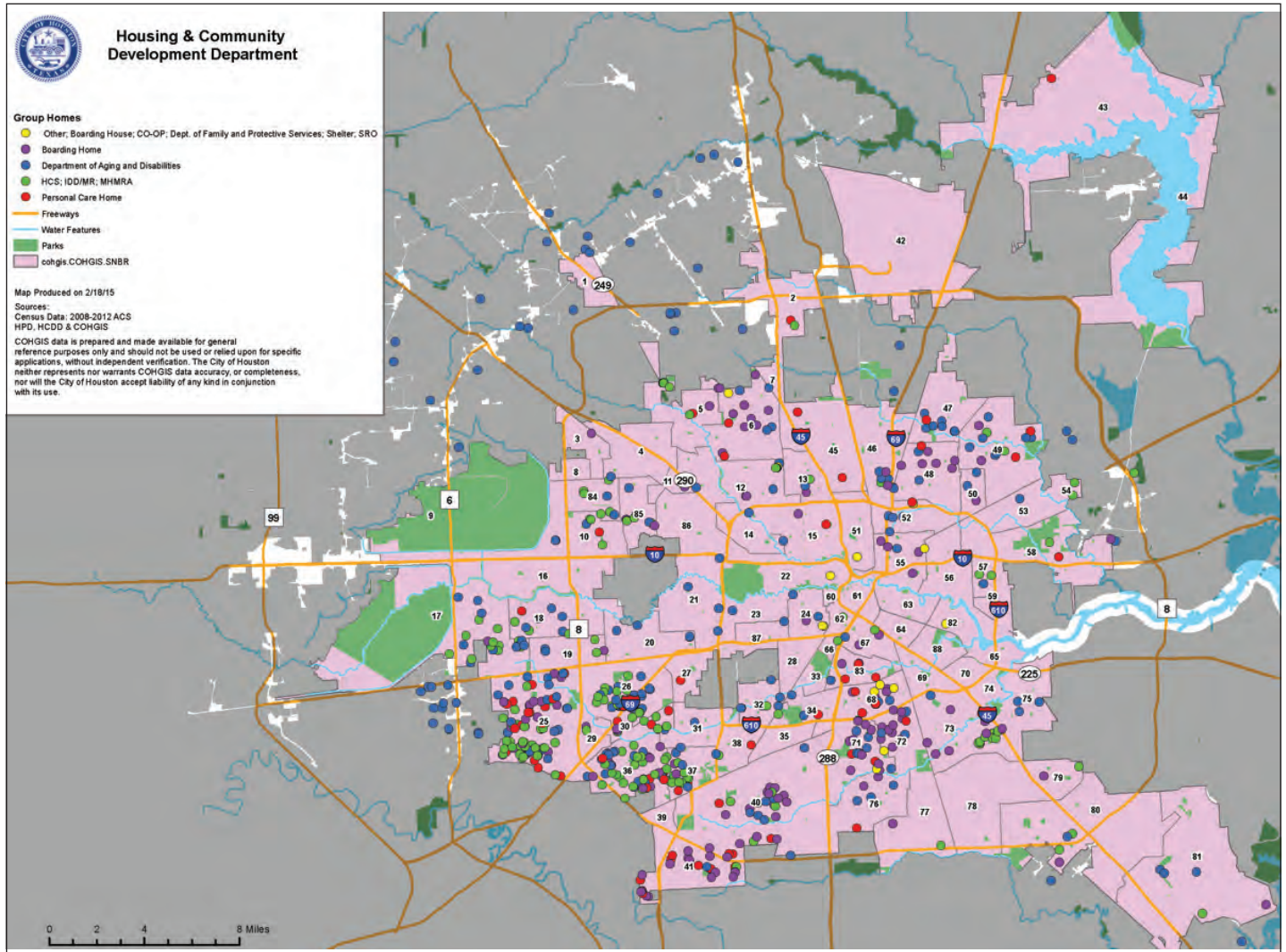
37. See General Accounting Office, *Analysis of Zoning and Other Problems Affecting the Establishment of Group Homes for the Mentally Disabled* 27 (August 17, 1983).

- Sunnyside (71) which is nearly all African American and where the annual median household income was just \$24,056 in 2012
- South Park (72) which is nearly all African American and where the annual median household income was \$36,616 — \$8,032 less than the city-wide median

In the southwest quadrant, the larger clusters are in these five super neighborhoods:

- Alief (25) where there has been considerable white out-migration and sizeable minority in-migration since 2000 and the median annual household income, which had been above the citywide median in 2000 fell to \$37,237 which was \$7,411 below the city's median in 2012
- Sharpstown (26) with Hispanic and Asian concentrations and a modest annual median household income of \$32,271 in 2012
- Brays Oaks (36) where some census tracts are shifting in a pro-integrative direction and others have higher percentages of African American households than would be expected in a discrimination-free housing market and the annual median household income barely rose from \$36,122 in 2000 to \$38,579 in 2012
- Westbury (37) where the median annual household income declined from \$39,792 in 2000 to \$28,078 in 2012, portions of which may be gentrifying and portions of which are nearly all Caucasian and the percentage of African Americans households has declined in every census tract since 2000
- Central Southwest (40) which is part of the extensive concentration of Black households south of U.S. 10 where the 2012 median annual household income was \$42,829, \$1,819 less than the city's median in 2012

Figure 1: Map of Community Residences and Boarding Homes In and Around Houston



Source: Houston Housing & Community Development Department based on information provided by the Houston Police Department, February 18, 2015.

Zoning is not among the tools Houston could employ to affirmatively further fair housing by preventing or at least minimizing additional clustering and development of *de facto* social service districts that segregate people with disabilities in lower-income minority neighborhoods.

In lieu of zoning, the city still *may* be able to adopt an ordinance that establishes a rationally-based spacing distance between community residences and boarding homes as well as a licensing, certification, and/or registration requirement so the city can actually achieve the legitimate government purposes of facilitating the successful functioning of community residences for people with disabilities.

However, as explained earlier, because the city's definition of "family" allows up to ten unrelated people to dwell together, the city *cannot* legally treat commu-

nity residences for up to ten people with disabilities any differently than all other “families.” Requiring a spacing distance and licensing/certification would be discriminatory on its face under the Fair Housing Act and possibly under the fair housing laws of the State of Texas and Houston.

To be able to require a spacing distance and licensing/certification, the City of Houston would have to go through a somewhat complicated process.

First, Houston would need to amend its Building Standards definition of “family” to reduce the number of unrelated people who can constitute a “family” to a lower number.³⁸ For the sake of illustration, we will use four. This would effectively prohibit more than four unrelated people from living together in a dwelling unit and enable the city to regulate community residences that house more than four unrelated people with disabilities. Community residences that still fit within the cap of four unrelated people would still have to be treated the same as all other families and be free from spacing and licensing requirements.

But since so many community residences for people with disabilities need to house more than four people for legitimate therapeutic and/financial reasons, the city makes a “reasonable accommodation” for them by allowing them as of right as long as they meet two objective criteria that actually achieve the legitimate government interests discussed above in the least drastic manner:

- 💧 The proposed community residence for five or more people with disabilities is at least one typical city block³⁹ from any existing community residence for five or more people with disabilities
- 💧 The proposed community residence for five or more people with disabilities is licensed, certified, or recognized by Congress

When the proposed community residence for five or more people with disabilities does not meet both criteria, the heightened scrutiny akin to a special use permit under zoning is warranted and should be required. Review standards rationally related to this land use would need to be developed. This back up provision is essential to not run afoul of the Fair Housing Act.

While this approach has been used throughout the nation and it emulates model land-use controls,⁴⁰ it must be carefully crafted for a city like Houston that does not have zoning. Before writing such an ordinance, the city needs to have a study conducted that provides the justification for these regulations or else the validity of the ordinance would be very much at risk if challenged in court.

38. The number chosen determines the threshold at which community residences for people with disabilities can be regulated. Remember that community residences that fall within the cap on the number of unrelated people who constitute a “family” *cannot* be subjected to additional regulations not applicable to all families. The court decision that explains this principle most clearly is *United States v. City of Chicago Heights*, 161 F.Supp.2d 819 (N.D.Ill. 2001)

39. A typical city block is 660 linear feet in the United States. However, it might be different in Houston and the length of a typical Houston city block should be used.

40. See American Planning Association, *Policy Guide on Community Residences* (Sept. 22, 1997) and Daniel Lauber, “A Real LULU: Zoning for Group Homes and Halfway Houses Under the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988,” *The John Marshall Law Review* (Winter 1996, Vol. 29, No. 2) 369–407.

Impediment #3 The clustering of community residences interferes with their ability to achieve two of their core functions, normalization and community integration. Clustering has also led to the creation of *de facto* social service districts in Houston and elsewhere, especially in mostly minority neighborhoods with lower-cost housing.

Recommendation As described in detail earlier, to affirmatively further fair housing by reducing the segregation of people with disabilities due to community residences clustering together and creating *de facto* social service districts largely in lower-income minority neighborhoods, the City of Houston should revise its definition of “family” and adopt an ordinance that establishes a rationally-based spacing distance between community residences for people with disabilities and a requirement for licensing/certification. To implement this ordinance, the City of Houston will need to maintain an up-to-date map of where each community residence is located. This map should show only those community residences that do not fit within the city's new definition of “family.”⁴¹ Time frame: Two years.

Again, it is not known for certain that the City of Houston can establish this set of development controls in the absence of zoning. The city will need to conduct some thorough legal research to determine whether it can even adopt such an ordinance.

If the city decides to craft an ordinance as suggested above, it would be imprudent if it relied primarily on state statutes to define what constitutes a community residence. Legislatures change state definitions and do not necessarily include all types of community residences or all types of disabilities. If state statutes are to be referenced it should be done along the lines of “community residences including, but not limited to, community homes licensed by the State of Texas.”

The City of Houston would also be prudent to include a provision like “A community residence shall be considered a residential use of property for purposes of all city codes.” Such a provision provides guidance to building inspectors so they apply residential rather than inappropriate institutional codes to community residences for people with disabilities.

Recommendation The City of Houston should conduct additional legal research to determine whether it can legally establish a similar regulatory regime for boarding homes. Time frame: One year.

41. As explained in *United States v. City of Chicago Heights*, 161 F.Supp.2d 819 (N.D.Ill. 2001), community residences that fit within the cap on unrelated persons in the definition of “family” must be treated as a “family” and cannot be used when measuring spacing distances between community residences for people with disabilities.

Recommendation The City of Houston should look into leveraging some of its Community Development Block Grant funds and other revenues to provide grants or extremely-low or no-interest loans to operators of community residences for people with disabilities to locate them outside of neighborhoods in which these homes are clustering and instead in higher opportunity neighborhoods. Time frame: Two years.

Impediment #4 The State of Texas has imposed a clearly illegal and unjustifiable half-mile spacing distance between community residences for people with disabilities that could prevent the City of Houston from adopting a justifiable, much shorter spacing distance in compliance with the nation's Fair Housing Act.

In 1991, the State of Texas amended its "Community Homes for Disabled Person's Location Act" to impose the following spacing distance, with no exceptions, between "community homes:"

A community home may not be established within one-half mile of an existing community home.⁴²

When it has been tested in court, this distance of more than 2,500 feet has been ruled invalid under the nation's Fair Housing Act.⁴³ As creator of the spacing distance concept as applied to community residences, your author must report that this great a distance perverts the spacing distance concept and that there is no factual evidence available to suggest any rational basis for such a lengthy spacing distance. The failure to allow for exceptions to the half-mile spacing distance prevents localities from making the required reasonable accommodation for community residences and, when applied to "community homes" that fit within a local definition of "family," is facially discriminatory.

Recommendation The City of Houston and other Texas municipalities should seek to amend the state's "Community Homes for Disabled Person's Location Act" to abolish this half-mile spacing distance or at least reduce it to a justifiable 660 feet (length of a typical block). They should also seek to amend the state statute to allow localities to waive the spacing distance to make a reasonable accommodation and specify that the spacing distance does not apply to "community homes" that do not exceed the number of unrelated residents allowed by a locality's definition of "family." Time frame: Two years.

Restrictions on the Maximum Number of Residents

Usually a community regulates the number of residents in a community residence for people with disabilities through the occupancy standard in the city's

42. Texas Human Resources Code, §123.008 (2005).

43. *Oconomowoc Residential Programs, Inc. v. City of Greenfield*, 23 F.Supp.2d 941, 958 (E.D.Wis.1998). Also see *Oconomowoc Residential Programs Inc. v. City of Milwaukee*, (7th Cir., No. 01-1002, Aug. 8, 2002).

building or property maintenance code that applies to *all* residential uses. The purpose of this standard is to prevent overcrowding. Such codes typically require, for example, 70 square feet of space for the first occupant of a bedroom and 50 additional square feet for each additional bedroom occupant. Many use 70 square feet instead of 50 for each additional bedroom occupant. It is important to stress that this standard must apply to *all* residential uses and that it applies to community residences for people with disabilities because they are residential uses.

Houston uses its Building and Neighborhood Protection code to set its standards to prevent overcrowding:

Overcrowded describes:

- (1) A dwelling unit or a congregate living facility not containing at least 150 square feet of net floor area for the first resident and at least 100 square feet of additional net floor area for each additional resident; or
- (2) A dwelling unit or a congregate living facility of two or more rooms not containing at least 70 square feet of net floor area in each room occupied by one resident for sleeping purposes; or
- (3) A dwelling unit or a congregate living facility of two or more rooms not containing at least 50 square feet of net floor area per resident in each room occupied by more than one resident for sleeping purposes;

provided that, in a calculation of net floor area for the purposes of this article, children younger than one year old shall not be considered residents; children at least one year old but younger than six years old shall be considered one-half of one resident; and floor area in a room with a ceiling height of less than seven feet shall not be included in the calculation.⁴⁴

As long as these standards apply to *all* residential uses including community residences for people with disabilities, this approach is a legitimate, legal means to establish the maximum number of occupants of a community residence for people with disabilities.⁴⁵ There should be no distinction between the number of people with disabilities living in the dwelling and live-in staff — they all count the same toward the maximum number of occupants allowed.

Possible cap on the number of residents. As emphasized throughout this report, emulating a biological family is an essential core characteristic of every community residence. It is difficult to imagine how more than ten to 12 individuals can successfully emulate a biological family. Once the number of occupants exceeds a dozen, the home tends to take on the characteristics of a mini-institution rather than a family or a residential use. The City of Houston should consider defining community residences as housing no more than a dozen people, while adopting a further reasonable accommodation process for proposed community residences that demonstrate they can emulate a family and need more than 12 residents for therapeutic and/or financial reasons.

44. *Houston City Code*, Chapter 10, Buildings and Neighborhood Protection, Article IX – Building Standards, Section 10–317.

45. *City of Edmonds v. Oxford House, Inc.*, 514 U.S. 725, 115 S.Ct. 1776 (1995).

Housing Discrimination Lawsuits Against Houston

The city reports that the two housing discrimination lawsuits filed against the city by operators of community residences were dismissed with prejudice.⁴⁶

46. Email from Senior City Attorney Barbara Pierce, Houston Legal Department to Daniel Lauber March 31, 2015 5:13 p.m. CST.

Appendix 4: Free Market Analysis™

Extent of Racial and Latino Concentrations in Houston, Texas

Prepared by

PLANNING/COMMUNICATIONS

River Forest, Illinois

June 2015

Prepared for the City of Houston, Texas

by

PLANNING/COMMUNICATIONS

President: Daniel Lauber, AICP, Planner/Attorney

Director of Research: Diana Lauber

Research Associate: Charles Allen, Jr.

Website: <http://www.planningcommunications.com>

Email: info@planningcommunications.com

River Forest, Illinois

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Part 1: Free Market Analysis™ of Houston's Housing Patterns

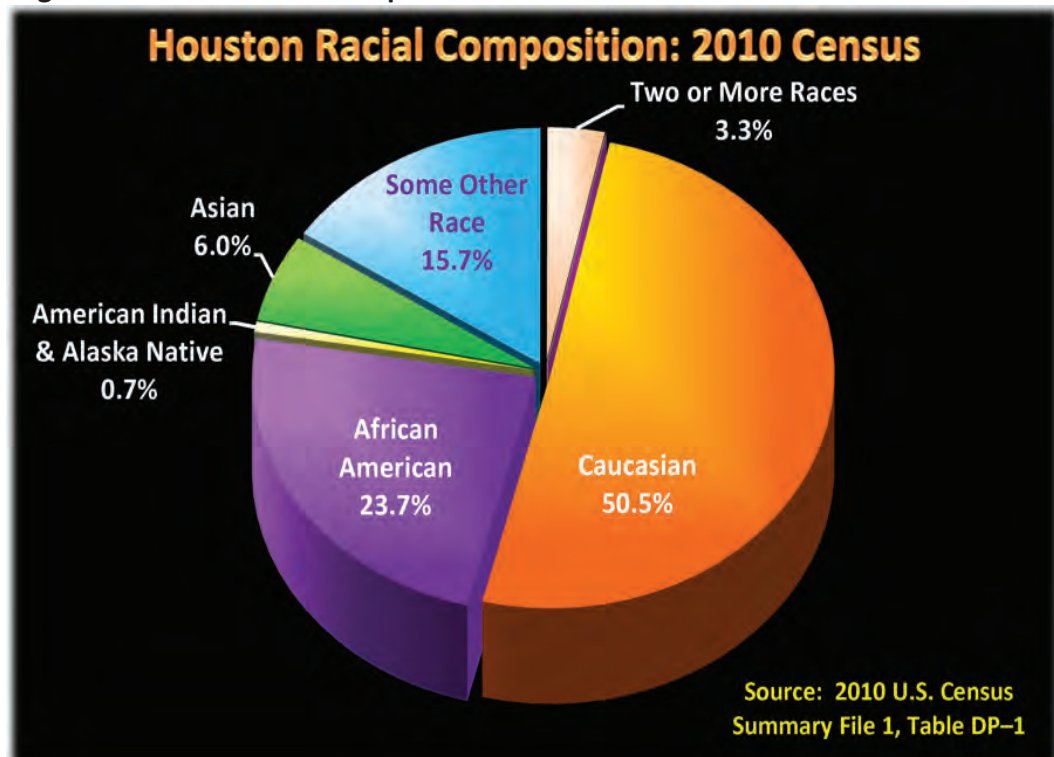
Affirmatively furthering fair housing requires a municipality to take the steps necessary to mitigate the public and private sector practices and policies that have imposed racial, ethnic, and economic stratification upon the city and to take steps to reduce this segregative stratification and instead foster racial, ethnic, and economic integration throughout the jurisdiction.

To accomplish this, a city needs to first identify the actual extent of housing segregation in all its neighborhoods. This Free Market Analysis™ seeks to provide the City of Houston with an accurate picture of the extent of actual racial and ethnic stratification so Houston can adopt the policies and programs that remove the artificial barriers to racial, economic, and Latino integration.

Racial and Hispanic Composition

Like America as a whole, Houston has become very racially and ethnically diverse over the decades as noted in the “Community Profile” of this Analysis of Impediments.

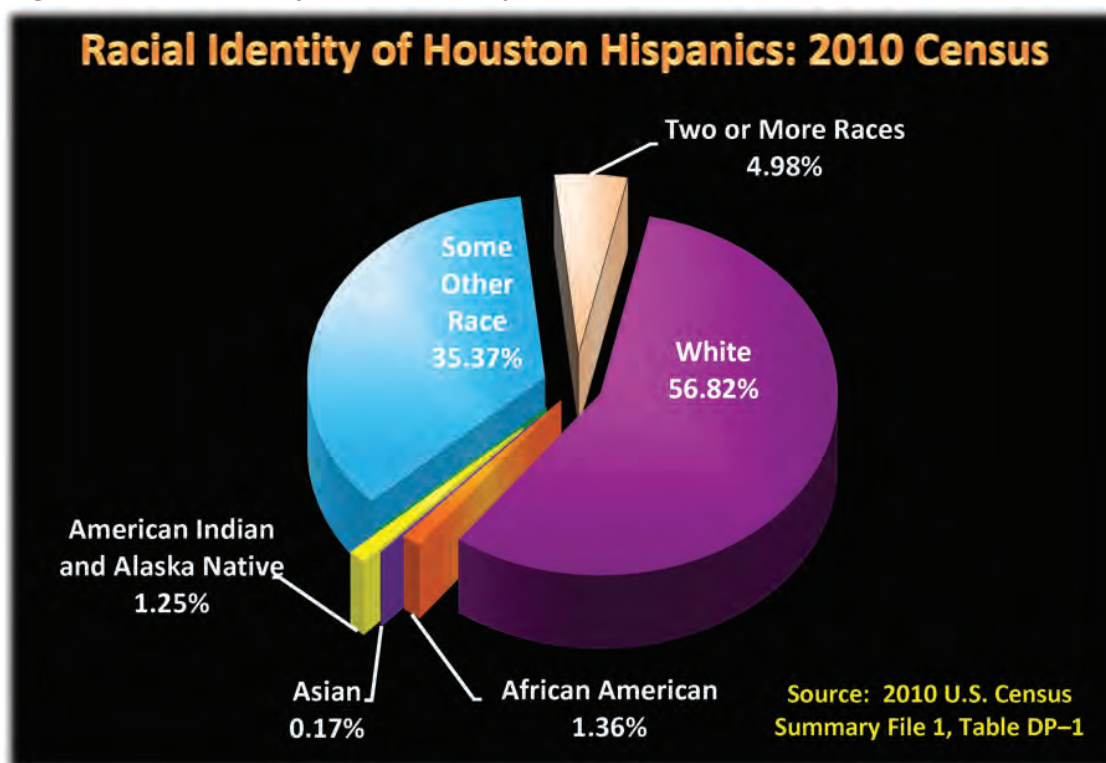
Figure 1: Houston Racial Composition: 2010 Census



Of the city's 1,060,491 Caucasian ("alone") residents, 522,590 or 49.3 percent were Hispanic in 2010.¹ So overall, most of Houston's residents are members of minority groups and the city may be described as a "majority-minority" city.

It is important to remember that "Hispanic" is not a race, but an ethnicity that can be of any race. As the figure below shows, nearly 57 percent of the city's 919,668 Latino residents identified themselves as "white" in 2010. A very substantial proportion of Hispanics in Houston — 35.37 percent — and throughout the nation have blurred race and ethnicity to identify themselves to the census as "some other race."

Figure 2: Racial Identity of Houston Hispanics: 2010 Census



The *actual* extent of racial stratification in Houston differs from that depicted in the maps in Section 5 "Segregation, Integration, and Concentration" of this Analysis of Impediments and the "Dissimilarity Index." As the tables in the Free Market Analysis™ that follows show, the racial and/or Hispanic composition of many a census tract that at first glance appears to be segregated is actually about what would be expected in a free market that is not distorted by housing discrimination.

1. Table DP-1, Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010, 2010 Summary File 1, *U.S. Census 2010*. Throughout this appendix, data for different racial groups and for Latinos is for the group "alone," *not* in combination with any other race.

Before arriving at any conclusions as to the degrees of segregation and integration in Houston, it is essential to take into account household income and the cost of housing as is done in the Free Market Analysis™ that follows.

This approach requires a more nuanced, complex, and realistic approach to identifying housing discrimination and segregation. Discrimination is the likely cause of an area's racial and ethnic composition when the actual racial and Latino composition differs significantly from what the composition would be in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination. For example, it is very likely that past and/or present discrimination based on race or ethnicity significantly contributes to a census tract being 85 percent white when the tract would be expected to be 55 percent Caucasian when taking household income and the cost of housing into account.

The approach used in this analysis compares the actual racial and Hispanic composition of a census tract with what the *approximate* racial and Latino composition would be in a free housing market *not distorted* by practices such as racial steering, mortgage lending discrimination, discriminatory advertising, discriminatory rental policies, mortgage and insurance redlining, or discriminatory appraisals.

Racial and ethnic or national origin discrimination badly warps the free market in housing by *artificially* reducing demand for housing in some neighborhoods and *artificially* increasing demand in others, helping to thwart efforts to affirmatively further fair housing. Research has found that thanks to lingering stereotypes about African Americans and other elements of racism, Caucasians tend to limit their home search to neighborhoods that are virtually all white and won't even look at housing in integrated neighborhoods that are more than 15 percent Black. If whites won't even consider living in an integrated neighborhood, then resegregation becomes inevitable if nearly every new resident is African American.²

Researchers have reported that African Americans strongly prefer living in an integrated neighborhood rather than an all-black or virtually all-white neighborhood and that more than one-third of Blacks say they are willing to be the first African American family to move into an exclusively white neighborhood. But over 150 years of housing discrimination have led to self-steering, especially among African Americans who report they are apprehensive and even fearful of moving into a neighborhood where their numbers are very low.³

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2. See the discussion and sources cited on pages 12–15 in Daniel Lauber, *Racially Diverse Communities: A National Necessity* (River Forest, Illinois: Planning/Communications, 1990, 2015) available at <http://www.planningcommunications.com/publications>.
 3. See M. Krysan, M. Couper, R. Farley, T. Forman, "Does Race Matter in Neighborhood Preferences? Results from a Video Experiment," in *American Journal of Sociology* (Sept 2009) 527–559; Robert Adelman, "The Roles of Race, Class, and Residential Preferences in the Neighborhood Racial Composition of Middle-Class Blacks and Whites" in *Social Science Quarterly*, (Vol. 86, No. 1, March 2005) 209–228; Anti-Discrimination Center, *They're Our Neighbors, Too: Exploding the Myth That Most Affordable Housing Seekers in Highly Segregated New York City Insist on Staying Close to Home* (New York, NY: Anti-Discrimination Center, June 2015), available to download at

A pre-eminent study of this subject explains further:

We must strongly caution that while people of color often decide to buy or rent in segregated minority communities this should not be seen as representing a widespread African American or Latino desire to live in separate communities. Quite to the contrary, even where there is self-selection and an attraction to substantial African American or Latino communities, *it is a function of the discomfort that many minority group members have felt or believe they will feel if they move into a predominantly-white, Anglo community.* It is a result of the continued perception and experience of discriminatory behavior.⁴

We have observed a historic pattern among immigrants of all races and ethnicities throughout the nation in which the first immigrant generation seeks to live in neighborhoods where their native tongue is widely spoken and their native culture is the norm. In a metropolitan area that affirmatively furthers fair housing, these intensely concentrated immigrant neighborhoods generally dissipate over time as subsequent generations achieve socioeconomic mobility and are assimilated into the American culture, enabling the descendants of the first generation immigrants to find greater opportunities and upward mobility. Housing discrimination, however, often contributes to the maintenance and even expansion of these enclaves long after the first generation has passed away.

Racial and ethnic or national origin discrimination in housing also distorts property values. When African Americans or Hispanics, for example, move to Black or Latino enclaves, they pay a substantial price in lost housing value. It is well documented that the value and appreciation of homes in segregated minority neighborhoods is generally less than in stable integrated areas and predominantly white areas. Segregated minority neighborhoods also often lack jobs and business investment opportunities, making them economically unhealthy compared to stable integrated and predominantly white areas.⁵ For the Black and Latino middle and upper classes which had grown so much prior to the Great Recession, living in segregated minority neighborhoods denies them the full economic and educational benefits of middle- and upper-class status enjoyed in stable integrated neighborhoods and in predominantly Caucasian areas.

For both 2000 and 2008–2012, the tables in this study show (1) the actual racial and Hispanic composition of households and (2) the approximate racial composition if household income were the predominant determinant of residency and housing constituted a genuine free market *without* the distortions caused by discriminatory housing practices. By using both sets of years, the tables show whether the beginning of the twenty-first century has resulted in movement toward or away from sta-

<http://www.antibiaslaw.com/mobility>; M. Krysan and R. Farley, "The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?" in *Social Forces* (Vol. 80, No. 3, March 2002), 937-980; Maria Krysan, "Community Undesirability in Black and White: Examining Racial Residential Preferences through Community Perceptions," *Social Problems* (Vol. 49 No. 1) 521–543.

4. D. Coleman, M. Leachman, P. Nyden, and B. Peterman, *Black, White and Shades of Brown: Fair Housing and Economic Opportunity in the Chicago Region* (Chicago: Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, February 1998) 29.
5. *Ibid.*, 28–29.

ble racial and Hispanic integration. *When the actual proportions of minorities are significantly less than the proportions that would exist in a free housing market, it is very likely that factors other than income, social class, or personal choice are influencing who lives in the community.* Researchers have concluded “that race and ethnicity (not just social class) remain major factors in steering minority families away from some communities and toward others.”⁶

All too often, analyses of the degree of segregation and integration in a city are confounded by the rather significant differences in household median income between different racial and ethnic groups. Many people mistakenly assume that housing segregation is due primarily to different income levels and self-steering, assumptions not borne out by data and well-informed research and analysis. *Analyses that do not control for differences in household income and the cost of rental and ownership housing are unable to accurately determine the extent of segregation and integration in a jurisdiction.*

The Dissimilarity Index does not control for these differences in household income. The basic premise of the Dissimilarity Index measures the percentage of households of each race and Latino ethnicity that would have to move to produce an even distribution of each throughout the city. That may be a useful way to measure relative levels of segregation and racial and Latino isolation between different cities, but that is *not a realistic tool for identifying real world segregation or integration.* It's an approach that fails to take into account the cost of housing and the significantly different household incomes of the different racial and Hispanic ethnicity groups.

The Free Market Analysis™ that follows avoids these limitations by identifying whether the actual racial and Hispanic composition of each census tract within Houston is probably due to differences in household income or to possible discriminatory private and/or public sector practices that distort the free housing market.

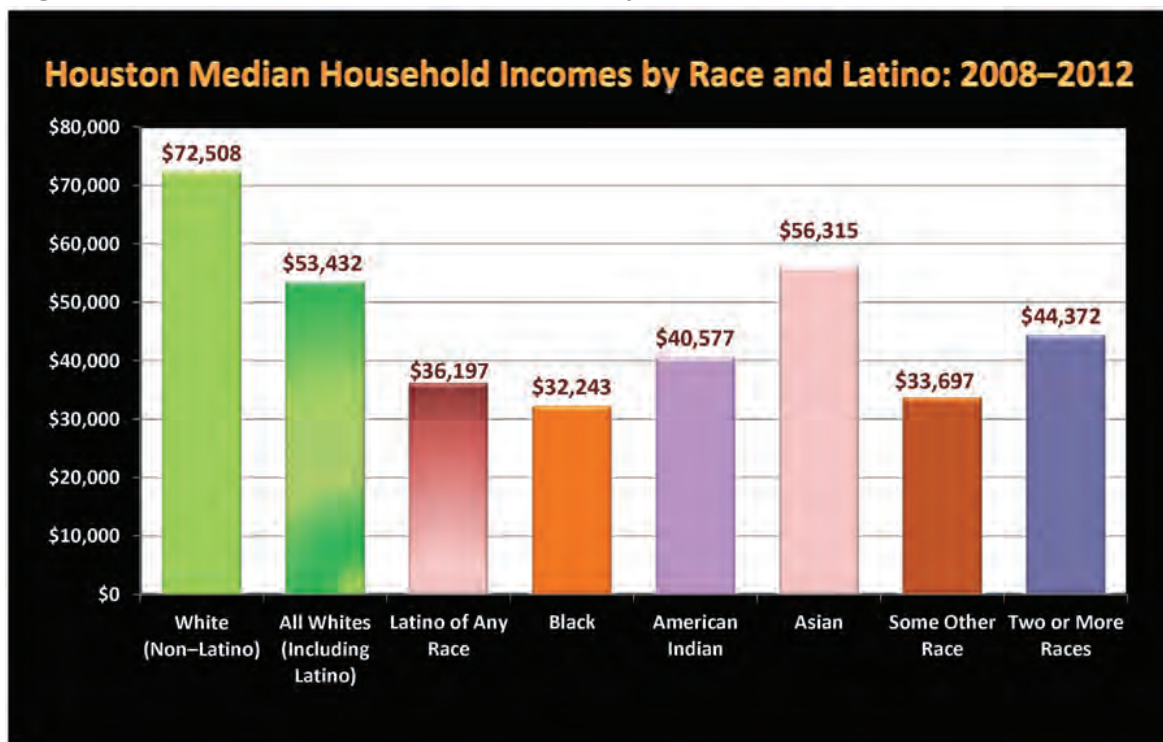
How the Free Market Analysis™ Works and What It Shows

By taking household income into account, the analysis that follows more accurately identifies possible racial and Latino concentrations than simply reporting the proportions of each racial or ethnic group within a super neighborhood or census tract.⁷ As noted above, there is a common misconception that housing is segregated largely because, as a whole, minority households earn less than white households.

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6. Ibid., v. The methodology, first developed by Harvard economist John Kain, is explained in detail beginning on page 17 of the study cited immediately above. You can download the study at http://www.planningcommunications.com/black_white_and_shades_of_brown.pdf.
 7. Determining the approximate racial and ethnic composition of a geographic area like a census tract, super neighborhood, or entire city is a fairly straightforward, albeit a lengthy and labor intensive, process. Here is the step-by-step procedure using a census tract as an example. First we obtain from the U.S. Census' *American Community Survey* the number of households for the census tract that are in each of 16 income cohorts starting with “Less than \$10,000” and “\$10,000 to \$14,999” and ending with “\$150,000 to \$199,999” and “\$200,000 or more.” Within each income range, the census specifies the number of Caucasian, African American, Asian, and Hispanic households of any race. We obtain the same data for the entire housing market within which the census tract is located. *The housing market here consists of the Houston Metropolitan Statistical Area.*

As the figure below shows, the median annual household income in Houston varies substantially by race and Hispanic ethnicity with non-Latino Caucasians having the highest median household income. Asians, whose presence is nearly nonexistent in most of Houston, have the second highest median household income.

Figure 3: Houston Median Household Incomes by Race and Latino: 2009–2013



Source: Table S1903: Median Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2013 inflation-adjusted dollars), 2008–2012 American Community Survey 5–Year Estimates.

The lower annual median incomes of the city's African American and Hispanic households certainly contribute to the demographic patterns shown on the maps in Section 5 of the Analysis of Impediments. However, the analysis that follows controls for these income differences by explicitly taking into account

We then, for example, multiply the number of Caucasian households in an income category in that census tract by the percentage of white households in that income bracket for the full housing market. This gives us a good approximation of the number of white households in each income bracket who would live in this census tract if income were the prime determinative factor of who lives there. We calculate these figures in all 16 income brackets for whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics of any race. *This procedure assures that the census tract income of residents in a free market without discrimination is the same as the income of actual residents.* We then add up the number of households in each racial or ethnic group to get the approximate racial and Hispanic composition of the census tract if income were the prime determinant of who lives there. From this we calculate the percentages of the census tract that each group comprises. These percentages are then compared to the actual proportion of each racial or ethnic group within the census tract to identify the difference between actual proportions of each group and the proportions of each group in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination.

household income to *approximate* the racial and ethnic composition of each super neighborhood and its census tracts if racial and ethnic discrimination were absent and household income was the primary determinant of where a household lives.

While the absence of housing affordable to households with modest incomes certainly contributes to the lack of diversity in Houston's wealthier neighborhoods, this Free Market Analysis™ identifies the extent of racial and Latino segregation under current housing costs and household incomes that is probably due to discrimination against the households that can afford to live in each census tract and super neighborhood, *not* due to different household income by race or Latinos of any race.

As the table below shows, a significant percentage of households of each group are in every income range. So while disproportionately larger percentages of Hispanic and African American households have annual incomes under \$50,000, nearly a third of Black households and a bit more than a third of Latino households have annual incomes of \$50,000 or more. The city's median household income for this time period was \$44,648.

Table 1: Percentage of Each Race or Ethnicity By Income Range: City of Houston

Percentage of Each Race or Ethnicity By Income Range: City of Houston				
Annual Household Income	Percentage of Each Group in Each Income Range			
	White	African American	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Up to \$24,999	22.5%	39.4%	22.6%	32.7%
\$25,000 to \$49,999	24.6%	29.0%	22.6%	33.1%
\$50,000 to \$74,999	16.5%	15.6%	17.4%	16.7%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	11.1%	7.9%	12.2%	8.5%
\$100,000 and more	25.5%	8.1%	25.3%	9.0%

Source: Table B19001: Household Income in the Past 12 Months (in 2012 inflation-adjusted dollars), *American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates 2008–2012*.

So, for example, when the actual proportions of African American or Hispanic households in the wealthier areas of Houston are close to zero, it is very likely that housing discrimination in at least one of its many forms is at play. And when the percentage of Caucasian households in a neighborhood of lower-cost housing is far less than 22 percent, something is amiss. This study identifies these anomalies.

Understanding the Free Market Analysis™

The tables that constitute this Free Market Analysis™ provide the following information for each Houston super neighborhood and each census tract for 2008–2012 and 2000:⁸

8. The household incomes for 2000 are from the 2000 U.S. Census. Because the 2010 U.S. Census did not ask for household income, we used household income from the *American Community Survey 2012. Five-Year Estimates* for 2008–2012. Due to the larger sample size, these are more

- 💧 “HHs Actual proportions” = Actual proportion of households of each race and Hispanic ethnicity of any race
- 💧 “HHs Free Market” = Approximate proportion of households of each race and Latino ethnicity of any race when income is the primary determinant of residency in a free market not distorted by housing discrimination.
- 💧 “HHs Difference” = For each race and Hispanics of any race, the difference between the actual proportion of households and the proportion in a free market not distorted by housing discrimination.

In the tables that follow, “HH Differences” between actual and expected proportions that suggest distortions of the free housing market likely due to racial discrimination are highlighted with a red cell.

A “HHs Difference” that is 15 or more percentage points is a “substantial” or “significant” enough gap that it likely reflects the current or past presence of housing discrimination. The greater the difference is, the greater the likelihood that housing discrimination has been and may still be at play. While other researchers have concluded that differences of just five percentage points indicate that discrimination is distorting the housing market,⁹ we have set the threshold at 15 percentage points as more likely to be indicative of possible discrimination. We are also factoring in those minority households that deliberately choose to live in a predominantly minority neighborhood, including first generation immigrants. We are also allowing for the margins of error in the household income data because it comes from the five-years estimates in the *American Community Survey*.¹⁰ Unfortunately the Census Bureau no longer asks for household income in the 100 percent universal decennial census.

We may be allowing for a higher proportion of households that prefer to live in a racially or ethnically homogeneous community than actually exists. According to the Census Bureau, the primary reasons households move have been for better housing or less expensive housing, for a new job or job transfer, to live closer to work and for an easier commute, change in marital status, and to live in a better neighborhood or one with less crime. Wishing to live in a homogeneous neighborhood did not even register in the Census Bureau's most recent survey.¹¹ Over half of the African American households moved for housing-related rea-

reliable than the one-year and three-year estimates.

9. See *Black, White and Shades of Brown: Fair Housing and Economic Opportunity in the Chicago Region*.
10. We have previously set the threshold at ten percent. Because we are using 5-Year Estimates reported in the 2008–2012 *American Community Survey*, we concluded it is best to err on the conservative side and alert readers that discrimination may be at work when there is a gap of at least 15 percentage points between the actual proportions and the proportions expected in a free housing market devoid of discrimination. We wanted to better allow for the margins of error in the 5-Year Estimates of the 2008–2012 *American Community Survey*.
11. David Ihrke, *Reason for Moving: 2012 to 2013 Population Characteristics* (Washington, DC: United States Census Bureau, June 2014).

sons, a higher percentage than any other group.¹²

A jurisdiction seeking to affirmatively further fair housing cannot achieve housing integration overnight; the dynamics of the housing market do not work that way. It is not surprising that mitigating housing segregation is such a slow, incremental process. As the research shows, a neighborhood's racial or ethnic composition is rather low on the list of reasons households move. In addition, not that many households move each year, especially homeowners. Given all the higher priority reasons households move to a particular home, it would be unrealistic to expect that a large proportion of households would deliberately make pro-integrative moves.

Caveats: A high proportion of minority households in a census tract is *not necessarily* a segregative concentration. For example, if a census tract's actual proportion of Hispanic households is 40 percent, that is *not* a concentration when the proportion expected in a free housing market is 47 percent. Allowing for the factors discussed above, differences between actual and expected proportions of households that are *less than 15 percent* are close to what would be expected if household income were the predominant determinant of where households live in a free market without housing discrimination. Consequently, this report does not flag such census tracts as having a concentration of a race or ethnicity.

As you peruse the data that follow, note that the 15 point threshold *cannot* even be applied to Asian households in many census tracts because the expected proportion of Asian households is well below 15 percent. That's not surprising given that just 6.1 percent of Houston households are Asian. While we do not highlight the cells in these situations, the analysis for the super neighborhood notes when the actual proportion of Asian households is a mere fraction of the expected proportion. It also notes when the actual proportion is significantly greater than the percentage expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. The same situation applies to Black households in some census tracts.

The actual and expected proportions of each group for the whole City of Houston appear below.

Table 2: Actual and Free Market Composition 2008–2012: City of Houston

Actual and Free Market Composition 2008–2012: City of Houston				
Entire City of Houston	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Households Actual Proportion	58.1%	25.3%	6.1%	33.2%
Households Free Market	65.7%	19.5%	5.7%	29.1%
Difference	-7.6%	5.7%	0.3%	4.1%

Source: Tables B19001, B19001A, B19001B, B19001D, B19001I, 2008–2012 American Community Survey 5–Year Estimates.

12. Ibid. 4.

As the above table shows, the proportions of each group in the entire City of Houston are roughly what would be expected in a free housing market.¹³ This analysis looks at the racial and Latino composition of households in each census tract and super neighborhood.

Fostering Affordable Housing Does Not Reduce Opportunities

Subdivisions that include housing with a full range of housing costs constitute a primary route to affirmatively furthering fair housing, reducing economic stratification by enabling households of modest incomes to live where they have access to greater opportunities, and facilitating upward mobility.

Adding housing affordable to households with modest incomes to areas that offer their residents high opportunities does not reduce those opportunities. The introduction of affordable housing and households with modest incomes does not reduce existing opportunities — as long as these affordable dwelling units are scattered throughout a development and throughout a neighborhood.

Free Market Analysis™

To recap: For each census tract, this study identifies the actual proportions of households (“HHs Actual proportions,” where “HH” is an abbreviation for “Households”) of Caucasian, African American, Asian, and Hispanic of any race in 2008–2012 and the approximate proportions that would be expected in a genuinely free housing market that is not distorted by racial or ethnic discrimination (“HHs Free Market”). The differences between the actual proportions and free market proportions are shown in the rows labeled “HHs Difference.” A red cell highlights differences of at least 15 percentage points between actual and free market proportions.

Note that many census tracts that existed in 2000 no longer exist by 2008–2012. Some Census 2000 tracts were divided into multiple tracts by 2010. Some new tracts were created by 2010 by merging all or parts of several Census 2000 tracts. These are noted in the tables that follow. Since the sample data for 2008–2012 (using 2010 tracts) would not be reliable enough if broken down to block groups, the tables that follow use the entire 2000 census tract or tracts for comparison to 2008–2012.

Organization of the Super Neighborhoods and Census Tracts

It is important to remember that the household income data for 2008–2012 is

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13. As with the rest of this Free Market Analysis™, the proportions expected in a free housing market are based on the entire housing market which encompasses the whole Metropolitan Statistical Area in which Houston is located.

based on data collected through the *American Community Survey*, not the decennial census. While the decennial census surveys *all* households, the *American Community Survey* is based on a *sample*. Consequently, margins of error can be substantial when the number of households in a census tract is relatively small. To err on the safe side, we have excluded from this study census tracts with fewer than 20 households because data were not available for some races (remember, this is a sample) and we concluded that such a small sample size was not reliable enough to use in this study.

We have organized the census tracts as closely as possible by super neighborhood and have noted when less than 25 percent of a tract is within a super neighborhood. Solely for the sake of presentation, we have organized the super neighborhoods into four quadrants created by dividing the city along its north/south axis by U.S. 60 and its east/west axis by U.S. 45 and Route 288.

Most of the City of Houston is divided into 88 super neighborhoods. Many of these super neighborhoods are *not* coterminous with census tract boundaries. In addition, the city has not assigned 146 census tracts to any super neighborhood.

Parts of some census tracts are in more than one super neighborhood. Because we include the data for the entire census tract in the compilation of data for the whole super neighborhood, the totals for such a super neighborhood should be viewed as a ball park approximation, not a precise measurement. We concluded that larger margins of error for household income at the block group level rendered block group level data too unreliable for this study.

In each city quadrant, the data for each super neighborhood is analyzed along with the data for the census tracts closest to it that are not assigned to a super neighborhood. The data for the census tracts outside super neighborhoods are presented in tables that follow the super neighborhoods in the same geographic quadrant.

Within each quadrant, super neighborhoods are reported upon starting at the center of the city and moving out and around the geographic quadrant so that readers can more easily see the breadth of any demographic patterns that might exist.

This study includes only census tracts that are part of the City of Houston.

How to Use This Analysis to Measure Progress

In five or ten years the data in this Free Market Analysis™ can be used to objectively measure progress toward affirmatively furthering fair housing choice by examining the gap between the actual racial and Latino compositions of a census tract with the compositions expected in a free housing market. The city is achieving good progress — which is inherently incremental — when this gap shrinks by about 2.5 to 5 percentage points after five years or about 5 to 10 percentage points after ten years. A new Free Market Analysis™ will be needed to make these comparisons.

Why the percentages do not equal 100 percent

The percentages in these Free Market Analysis™ tables will not equal 100 percent for several reasons.

The category “Hispanic of Any Race” is an ethnicity. Latinos can be of any race. Adding up all the percentages in a row in the super neighborhood tables count Hispanics twice. As shown earlier in Figure 2, nearly 57 percent of Houston's Latino population report themselves to be Caucasian with just 1.36 percent reporting as African American, and 0.17 percent as Asian.

The tables do not include “Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander” and “American Indian and Alaska Native” because the number of households in these racial classifications is so small that they would not alter the findings and analysis.

The tables do not include “Some other race” or “Two or more races” because they would make the tables impossibly complicated and we have found in the past that they would not affect the findings and analysis.

Note also that these tables report on proportions of households, not individuals. Over the years we have found that the percentages of households in each of the four groups has been consistently within one to three percentage points of the proportions of individuals. But this study uses households rather than individuals because income is reported, logically enough, by household.

How to Get the Most Out of This Analysis

As noted above, census tracts are not necessarily coterminous with the boundaries of the super neighborhoods. We have done our best to match tracts with super neighborhoods and have included in each super neighborhood table census tracts that are partially in a super neighborhood. Each table notes when less than 25 percent of a tract is in a super neighborhood. Each table also notes which tracts from the 2000 census are now part of a 2010 census tract. So a Census 2000 tract can be part of more than one Census 2010 tract.

There are two sets of data in each table that help determine whether the racial and Latino composition of each census tract constitutes a segregative or integrative condition

- First compare the proportions of each group of households from the 2000 census (“Householders (2000 Census)”) with the actual proportion of householders from 2008–2012 (“2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion”). Those figures show the direction in which the tract has been moving since 2000, namely whether it has become more or less diverse. But that's not the full picture. It's still necessary to take into account household incomes and the cost of housing in each census tract.

- 💧 Next look at the “2008–2012 Households Difference” for each category in the census tract. That figure reveals how closely the actual racial or Hispanic composition of the tract matches the composition that would be expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination. As discussed earlier, the cell is highlighted in red when the gap between actual and expected composition is at least 15 percentage points: the larger the gap, the more off kilter the proportion is and the greater the intensity of the racial or Latino concentration is, a condition that reflects probable housing segregation.
- 💧 While these data alone cannot directly reveal whether past “historic” or current discrimination accounts for the current levels of segregation or integration, they can provide some strong hints:
 - 💧 When the gap between the actual and expected racial or Hispanic composition of a census tract is a positive number of 15 or more percentage points and the figure in the “2008–2012 Households Actual Proportions” row has grown since 2000, it is probably likely that the housing discrimination is ongoing.
 - 💧 When the 2008–2012 actual figure for a race or Hispanic ethnicity is less than the 2000 figure, it is *very possible* that the tract is moving toward integration and affirmatively furthering fair housing. But these figures for each census tract need to be evaluated within the context of the composition expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. The narrative for each super neighborhood identifies the direction, if any, in which each census tract is moving.
 - 💧 When the gap between the actual and expected racial or Hispanic composition of a census tract is at least negative 15 percentage points and the percentage in 2008–2012 has increased since 2000, the tract is probably integrating. When the actual percentage has decreased since 2000, it is likely that ongoing housing discrimination continues to distort the housing market in that tract as concentrations intensify.
 - 💧 When the expected proportion of a group is no more than 15 percent and the actual proportion is just a fraction of the expected proportion, it is probable that housing discrimination has been or is being practiced.
 - 💧 When the expected proportion of a group is small, like 5 percent and the actual proportion is several multiples of that, like 20 percent, it is very likely that discrimination has contributed to this difference.

Keep in mind that the figures for 2008–2012 are carefully calculated approximations. By allowing for a 15 percentage point difference between the actual and expected free market racial or Latino composition before flagging a census tract as having an unnaturally high concentration or an unnatural dearth of members of a particular race or ethnicity, we are erring on the conservative side.

The data shown for each census tract give the city a baseline from which to measure progress toward affirmatively furthering fair housing over the coming years.

However, it is vital to remember that movement toward stable, racially and ethnically integrated neighborhoods is an incremental process that will take generations to achieve. As noted earlier, households have many more reasons to move to another home that have nothing to do with racial or ethnic homogeneity. In addition, not that many households move each year. As a result, it will take many generations to overcome the centuries of the segregation that housing discrimination has wrought to achieve integrated neighborhoods. Consequently, ***it is a very positive sign when the gap between the actual proportion of a racial or ethnic group and the proportion expected in a free market undistorted by housing discrimination shrinks by even just five percentage points over a decade.***

Much more rapid racial or Latino change during a decade is likely to reflect re-segregation where the predominant race or ethnicity in a segregated neighborhood is replaced by a different race or ethnicity — the opposite of affirmatively furthering fair housing. Such a change is almost always the result of housing discrimination in its many forms.

The description of each super neighborhood used here is adapted from the City of Houston's "Super Neighborhood Resource Assessment" for that neighborhood which provides select 2010–2012 demographic information and maps of the area.¹⁴ Note that the demographic information posted there by the Planning & Development Department is *not* identical to the demographic information used in this Free Market Analysis™. For example, the city excludes Hispanics from its totals of Caucasian residents and its demographic data are for individuals, not households.

To provide more context, at the end of each super neighborhood's description are the 2000 census counts of individuals and 2008–2012 *American Community Survey* counts of individuals as well as the 2000 census and 2008–2012 *American Community Survey* median household income for the super neighborhood.

Following each super neighborhood's description are an analysis of the data and any needed recommendations for further action.



Before You Read Any Further

Readers of long documents are often tempted to skip right to the data or to the conclusions and recommendations, sometimes leaving them wondering, "How did the authors ever arrive at that conclusion?" You can avoid this possibility if you read the introductory narrative to this appendix *before* looking at any of the tables that follow.

14. Links to each super neighborhood's web page are at <http://www.houstontx.gov/planning/snh>.

Real Estate Testing: Essential Tool To Identify Housing Discrimination

Given the growing sophistication in discriminatory practices, housing discrimination can be quite difficult to root out and prove. The home seeker responding to an advertisement may be told the dwelling unit is no longer available when it actually is available. A real estate agent might suggest that the Asian home seeker might be happier living in a neighborhood where more Asians live. A real estate agent may steer a white home seeker away from an integrated neighborhood — an illegal discriminatory practice that forces resegregation on an integrated community.

When the challenged real estate person responds, the issue often becomes like that tired “he said/she said” cliché. In the absence of adequate documented evidence, it is quite difficult to prove housing discrimination.

That documented evidence can be found using real estate testing, one of the most accurate and effective tools to identify and prove housing discrimination. Testing brings the private sector's sound risk management and quality control practices to real estate. Testing is a lot like the quality control tool called “secret shoppers” that the savviest retail businesses use to discover and root out bad customer service practices — except that real estate testing is much more formal, focused, and conducted scientifically. Two real estate testers are paired with just a single difference — the characteristic being tested — between them such as familial status, national origin, race, gender, color, religion, disability, or source of lawful income like a Housing Choice Voucher. They receive thorough training and their results are meticulously recorded and preserved as possible evidence at trial.¹⁵

Testing may be conducted in response to a specific housing discrimination complaint or to determine the extent of housing discrimination, if any, in a jurisdiction. Testing uses a paired set of testers who assume the role of rental or purchase applicants with equivalent social and economic characteristics. The testers differ only in terms of the characteristic being tested for discrimination. The two testers in a matched pair do not have any contact with each other during or after the test.

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15. There is a long history of testing being used to expose and prove housing discrimination. The nation's courts have long accepted real estate testing as a valid evidentiary tool to help prove housing discrimination. Iowa and Delaware conduct testing to uncover housing discrimination. Alexandria, VA and Seattle, WA operate their own testing programs. For a clear and fairly compact detailed explanation of real estate testing, see “Paired Testing and the Housing Discrimination Study” and “Fair Housing Enforcement Organizations Use Testing to Expose Discrimination” in *Evidence Matters*, Spring/Summer 2014 (Washington, DC: Office of Policy Development and Research, U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development) 12–26. The footnotes on page 26 cite over a dozen additional sources on real estate testing. The periodical is available to download at http://www.huduser.org/portal/periodicals/em/em_archive.html. Testing of linguistic profiling can be conducted by phone. For an example, see *Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice in the City of Naperville, Illinois 2007*, (River Forest, IL: Planning/Communication, 2007) 38–39. Available at <http://www.planningcommunications.com>. The U.S. Department of Justice has been helping communities conduct testing since 1991. Details are available at http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/hce/housing_testing.php. The National Fair Housing Alliance conducts real estate testing for cities around the nation and provides training in testing to localities.

To illustrate how testing works, imagine a Latino husband and wife with two young children. They saw an advertisement to rent a three-bedroom apartment located in a predominantly non-Hispanic Caucasian neighborhood served by very good public schools. They call to make sure the unit is still available. Assured that it is, they arrive 30 minutes later and, upon the landlord seeing them, are told that the apartment was no longer available, but the landlord has similar vacant apartments at another building (which just happens to be in a census tract that is 80 percent Latino). Suspicious, they contact a local fair housing organization for guidance and assistance.

Faced with a possible “he said/she said” situation, the fair housing organization decides to conduct a test of the accused landlord.

To test this landlord, the fair housing organization assigns virtually identical profiles to a Latino tester and a “control” tester who is a non-Hispanic Caucasian — the only difference being the ethnicity of their names. Both testers have about the same income, assets, and employment.

When the same landlord advertises another unit in that same building, the Hispanic tester is the first tester to contact and visit the landlord. The control tester contacts the landlord an hour or so later. After each test is conducted, the tester returns to the fair housing organization to be debriefed by trained staff who document what transpired in each attempt to rent the apartment. The experiences of the two testers are compared.

Suppose the landlord told the Latino tester that the advertised apartment was no longer available but showed the advertised apartment an hour or so later to the control tester. That behavior constitutes illegal housing discrimination and the fair housing organization would help the actual Latino couple that was not shown the apartment file a housing discrimination complaint.

But suppose that the landlord showed the apartment to the Hispanic couple, but told them that the security deposit is three months rent while later telling the control tester that the security deposit is 1½ months rent. That differential term would also constitute illegal housing discrimination.

A landlord who treats both testers the same is not engaging in discrimination.

Whatever the first test finds, the fair housing organization may still choose to conduct additional tests of the landlord before deciding whether to file the housing discrimination complaint.

The systemic real estate testing recommended in the pages that follow can involve conducting a dozen or more paired tests in a geographic area to discover and document the extent of any discriminatory housing practices that may exist. The testing may help explain why the subject geographic area exhibits demographic characteristics of segregation. Like a retail store's secret shoppers, systemic testing identifies “bad customer service practices” which, in the case of real estate testing, amounts to illegal discriminatory practices.

Of even greater relevance to Houston, systemic testing enables prosecution of real estate practitioners who engage in illegal housing discrimination. Systemic testing can also help reveal the types of illegal discriminatory practices at play and lead to effective efforts to curb them. Systemic testing can lead to effective training programs in fair housing compliance for real estate professionals.

Northwest Quadrant

Super Neighborhoods in the Northwest Quadrant

1 Willowbrook	13 Independence Heights
3 Carverdale	14 Lazybroo/Timbergrove
4 Fairbanks/Northwest Crossing	15 Greater Heights
5 Greater Inwood	84 Spring Branch North
6 Acres Home	85 Spring Branch Central
7 Hidden Valley	86 Spring Branch East
8 Westbranch	[While part of Super Neighborhood 2, Greater Greenspoint, is in this quadrant, most of it is in the Northeast Quadrant and its table is located in that section of this study.]
9 Addicks Park Ten	
10 Spring Branch West	
11 Langwood	
12 Central Northwest	

Census tracts not assigned to a super neighborhood are shown with data following the super neighborhoods.

Table 3: Addicks Park Ten

Super Neighborhood 9: Addicks Park Ten				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	74.8%	8.3%	6.2%	17.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.6%	10.9%	10.6%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.7%	16.2%	6.4%	24.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.9%	-5.3%	4.2%	3.7%
2010 Census Tract 5401 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.0%	5.8%	9.3%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	5.7%	18.5%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.3%	12.6%	7.2%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.6%	-7.0%	11.4%	4.5%
2010 Census Tract 5405.02 (Was Tract 5405 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.1%	9.7%	3.4%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	88.9%	5.0%	3.2%	23.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.4%	16.4%	6.5%	25.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.4%	-11.4%	-3.3%	-1.3%
2010 Census Tract 5406.01 (Was Tract 5406 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.1%	11.7%	6.8%	14.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.1%	14.8%	10.6%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.5%	6.6%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.6%	-0.7%	4.0%	5.0%
2010 Census Tract 5407				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.8%	7.7%	12.0%	19.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.0%	6.5%	14.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.4%	16.4%	6.3%	25.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.4%	-9.9%	7.7%	7.9%
2010 Census Tract 5417				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.9%	6.7%	4.2%	15.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.6%	20.7%	6.3%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.5%	17.9%	6.1%	27.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.0%	2.8%	0.3%	1.7%

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Super Neighborhood 9: Addicks Park Ten (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5418				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.7%	7.1%	4.3%	15.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.6%	11.9%	5.8%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.8%	17.8%	6.1%	26.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.8%	-6.0%	-0.3%	5.0%
2010 Census Tract 5419 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.9%	5.2%	5.2%	15.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.6%	8.0%	12.3%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.7%	15.3%	6.6%	24.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.9%	-7.3%	5.7%	8.9%
2010 Census Tract 5432 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 5403 and 5404)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.3%	15.2%	0.7%	14.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.9%	11.3%	10.5%	27.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.5%	18.7%	5.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.4%	-7.4%	4.7%	-1.5%

Addicks Park Ten is located in the westernmost part of the City, north of Interstate 10. Most of the area is made up of the Addicks Reservoir, a large flood control dam. The surrounding area, which is most subject to flooding, is being developed for recreational uses, including a golf course, a wildlife sanctuary and soccer fields. Park Ten, an area between I-10 and the Reservoir, is developed as office, commercial, and light industrial. Residential development in the area includes approximately 9,000 people residing in two single-family subdivisions and several apartment complexes. Population rose considerably from 4,528 in 2000 to 11,723 in 2012 along with an increase in annual median household income from \$43,734 to \$55,262.



Nearly all of the growing Addicks Park Ten super neighborhood reflects the racial and Latino composition that would be expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination. The only outlier is tract 5405.02 which actually has a significantly greater proportion of Caucasian households than would be expected.

The proportions of Asian households grew quite a bit since 2000 in tracts 5401, 5419, and 5432, although the actual proportions do not excessively exceed the expected proportions. **The city might want to keep an eye on Addicks Park Ten to detect any racial steering to these census tracts.**

Nearby Census Tracts Not in Any Super Neighborhood. There are a slew of census tracts west and north of Addicks Park Ten that are not assigned to any

super neighborhood. Some of these have 25 or fewer households and were not included in this study due to the relatively low reliability of such small sample sizes. Most of the unassigned tracts in this quadrant, however, are *not* part of the City of Houston.

The actual and expected compositions of most of the unassigned Houston census tracts do not show any signs of segregation. However, several have a appreciably higher proportion of Hispanic households than would be expected in a discrimination-free housing market: 5423.01, 5423.02, 5416.02, 5415.1, and 5413. Several tracts have significantly fewer white households than would be expected although the actual proportions of other races and Latinos are not out of line with expectations: 5425, 5405.02, 5521.01, 5521.03, 5543.01, 5545.02, 5546, 5556, 5557.02,

The actual proportion of African Americans is noticeably lower than the percentage expected in the absence of housing discrimination in census tracts 5409.01 and 5520.02 while the actual and expected proportions are not out of line for other races and Hispanics.

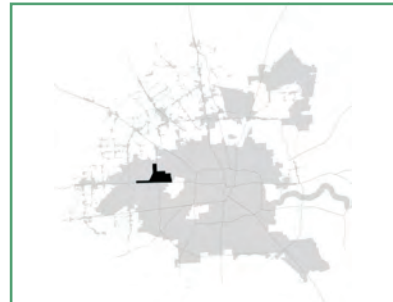
Table 4: Spring Branch West

Super Neighborhood 10: Spring Branch West				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.5%	5.2%	5.4%	38.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.7%	5.7%	5.3%	42.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.3%	5.7%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.9%	-13.6%	-0.4%	12.8%
2010 Census Tract 5222.01 (Was Tract 5222 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.6%	5.1%	4.7%	42.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.9%	8.0%	4.3%	57.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	19.6%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.7%	-11.7%	-1.3%	26.4%
2010 Census Tract 5222.02 (Was Tract 5222 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.6%	5.1%	4.7%	42.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.6%	2.6%	2.6%	47.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.0%	20.0%	5.5%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.6%	-17.4%	-3.0%	16.2%
2010 Census Tract 5223.01 (Was Tract 5223 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.8%	6.1%	5.2%	47.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.1%	9.0%	2.4%	49.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.8%	5.4%	31.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.1%	-11.8%	-3.0%	18.0%
2010 Census Tract 5223.02 (Was Tract 5223 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.8%	6.1%	5.2%	47.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.4%	5.4%	3.7%	47.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.2%	18.8%	5.7%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.1%	-13.4%	-2.0%	17.3%
2010 Census Tract 5224.01 (Was Tract 5224 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.9%	2.9%	4.8%	34.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	88.5%	1.1%	4.5%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.6%	18.8%	5.9%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.9%	-17.7%	-1.4%	2.6%

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Super Neighborhood 10: Spring Branch West (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5224.02 (Was Tract 5224 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.9%	2.9%	4.8%	34.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	88.5%	2.3%	1.5%	38.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.3%	18.9%	5.9%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	22.2%	-16.6%	-4.5%	9.6%
2010 Census Tract 5402				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.6%	9.1%	11.9%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.9%	1.2%	10.8%	58.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.0%	19.3%	5.6%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.9%	-18.0%	5.2%	29.3%
2010 Census Tract 5432 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 5403 and 5404)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.3%	15.2%	0.7%	14.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.9%	11.3%	10.5%	27.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.5%	18.7%	5.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.4%	-7.4%	4.7%	-1.5%

Spring Branch West is located north of I-10 and west of Blalock. Gessner Road and W. Sam Houston Parkway North are the major north-south arteries in the area. Light industrial uses, including distribution centers, are located along the Parkway. The majority of retail commercial development is found along Gessner Road and Interstate 10. The area is largely deed restricted single-family residential. Multi-family uses are concentrated along Long Point Road, Gessner and Blalock. New home construction has recently resumed on small sites in the southeastern part of the community where land prices have risen dramatically. The population declined from 32,423 in 2000 to 27,360 in 2012 while annual median household income grew from \$39,645 to \$45,023.



Immediately east of Addicks Park Ten, nearly all of Spring Branch West has been consolidated into the growing Latino enclave that includes much of the north-central part of the city. In five of the eight tracts, the proportion of Hispanic households significantly exceeds the percentage expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. Two of these tracts have seen a large increase in the proportion of Latino households since 2000: a nearly 15 percentage point increase in 5222.01 and an almost 22 percentage point increase in 5224.02.

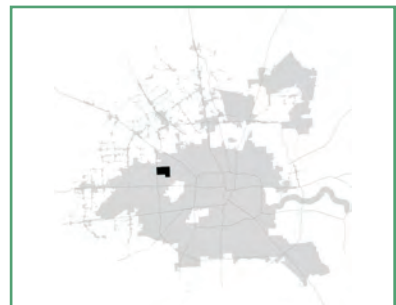
In half the tracts, the actual proportion of Black households is well below the percentages expected in a free housing market and roughly the same as in 2000.

Recommended Actions: The city should study this super neighborhood to determine whether steering or other illegal discriminatory practices are taking place.

Table 5: Spring Branch North

Super Neighborhood 84: Spring Branch North				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.0%	5.5%	6.7%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.7%	5.3%	4.5%	46.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.2%	5.6%	30.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.9%	-13.9%	-1.2%	16.2%
2010 Census Tract 5219				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.2%	4.3%	10.8%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.4%	4.7%	6.2%	33.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.8%	17.6%	6.0%	27.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.6%	-12.9%	0.1%	5.9%
2010 Census Tract 5220				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.7%	2.5%	5.2%	28.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.7%	6.2%	5.9%	39.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.1%	5.5%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.9%	-13.9%	0.4%	9.1%
2010 Census Tract 5221				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.3%	9.1%	6.5%	25.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.7%	4.1%	2.0%	57.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.9%	19.8%	5.4%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.8%	-15.7%	-3.4%	25.8%
2010 Census Tract 5222.01 (Was Tract 5222 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.6%	5.1%	4.7%	42.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.9%	8.0%	4.3%	57.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	19.6%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.7%	-11.7%	-1.3%	26.4%

Spring Shadows is located north of Interstate 10, between Campbell Road and W. Sam Houston Parkway. The predominant land use in the area is single family, mostly in deed restricted subdivisions. Commercial development is found primarily along Gessner Road which bisects the area, although the recent opening of the West Belt has stimulated commercial development along Clay Road (the area's northern boundary). Multi-family residential uses are found along Hammerly Boulevard and near Gessner. A new golf course was recently developed in the northern part of the area. Population increased from 18,402 to 21,802 in 2012 while annual median household income stagnated, rising to \$44,157 in 2012 from \$43,414 in 2000.



The two census tracts on the east end of Spring Branch North are part of the growing Hispanic concentration in north-central Houston. The actual proportion of Latino households in both tracts is about 26 percentage points greater than what would be expected absent housing discrimination. The percentage of Latino households grew from 25.4 to 57.6 percent in 5221 and from 42.9 to 57.4 percent in 5222.01 suggesting that these discrepancies are likely the result of current real estate industry practices, not historic practices. In tract 5221, the proportion of African American households declined by half since 2000 and remains significantly below what would be expected absent housing discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The city should further examine tracts 5221 and 5222.01 to identify the extent of current illegal discriminatory real estate practices. If any are found, steps should be taken to end them.

Table 6: Spring Branch Central

Super Neighborhood 85: Spring Branch Central				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.9%	4.7%	3.7%	50.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.8%	3.2%	3.6%	61.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.9%	5.3%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.0%	-17.7%	-1.7%	29.8%
2010 Census Tract 5207				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.0%	2.7%	2.8%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.4%	3.0%	7.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.3%	18.0%	5.9%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.1%	-15.0%	2.0%	0.2%
2010 Census Tract 5210				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.3%	4.5%	1.2%	57.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.6%	3.5%	1.3%	52.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	21.5%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.1%	-18.0%	-4.1%	21.3%
2010 Census Tract 5211				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.7%	3.9%	4.5%	64.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.4%	1.6%	0.0%	74.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.5%	5.2%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.1%	-19.9%	-5.2%	42.3%
2010 Census Tract 5212				
Householders (2000 Census)	58.6%	9.1%	5.1%	44.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.0%	1.7%	3.5%	70.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.6%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.0%	-19.9%	-1.6%	37.4%

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Super Neighborhood 85: Spring Branch Central (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5213				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.0%	7.1%	6.7%	39.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.3%	6.5%	6.7%	48.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.7%	21.2%	5.4%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.6%	-14.7%	1.3%	16.8%
2010 Census Tract 5214				
Householders (2000 Census)	55.8%	1.6%	1.0%	79.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.9%	1.5%	0.0%	88.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.7%	22.6%	5.0%	34.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.2%	-21.1%	-5.0%	54.3%
2010 Census Tract 5215				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.5%	2.6%	3.3%	42.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.5%	4.5%	3.9%	56.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.0%	19.8%	5.6%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.4%	-15.3%	-1.7%	25.8%

Spring Branch Center is the central portion of the larger Spring Branch community. It is located north of the Village of Spring Valley, south of Clay Road, west of Bingle and east of Blalock. It includes many typical small Spring Branch subdivisions, such as Spring Branch Oaks and Timber Creek. The northern part of the community includes larger subdivisions, such as Binglewood and Holley Terrace. Many apartment complexes are scattered through the area. Some deteriorated after the real estate collapse of the 1980s. The population fell from 29,074 to 27,108 in 2012 while annual median household income declined to \$36,949 in 2012 from \$39,105 in 2000.



Spring Branch Central exhibits the same demographic characteristics of tracts 5521 and 5522.01 in adjacent Spring Branch North although the 88.6 percent concentration of Latino households in tract 5214 is far more intense and more than 54 percentage points greater than would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The city should further examine Spring Branch Central for the presence of current illegal discriminatory real estate practices and craft solutions to reverse the intensifying segregation of this super neighborhood.

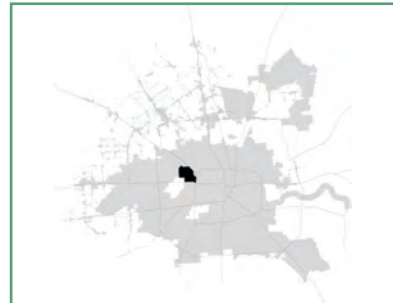
Table 7: Spring Branch East

Super Neighborhood 86: Spring Branch East				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.9%	4.9%	3.3%	48.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.8%	5.9%	3.8%	52.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.9%	20.1%	5.5%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.9%	-14.2%	-1.6%	21.5%
2010 Census Tract 5201				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.2%	2.5%	0.9%	35.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.9%	0.9%	6.8%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.7%	16.8%	6.1%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.2%	-15.9%	0.8%	2.4%
2010 Census Tract 5202				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.1%	4.9%	3.2%	22.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.5%	5.6%	8.9%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.0%	14.4%	6.7%	22.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.5%	-8.8%	2.2%	2.3%
2010 Census Tract 5203				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.1%	4.4%	3.6%	45.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.2%	8.8%	3.3%	43.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.6%	21.3%	5.3%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.6%	-12.5%	-1.9%	12.1%
2010 Census Tract 5204				
Householders (2000 Census)	74.7%	4.0%	1.8%	65.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.5%	6.4%	0.3%	71.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.1%	22.4%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.4%	-16.0%	-4.8%	38.1%
2010 Census Tract 5205				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.5%	10.9%	1.0%	49.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.2%	8.6%	0.9%	65.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.7%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.4%	-13.1%	-4.1%	31.8%

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Super Neighborhood 86: Spring Branch East (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5206.01 (Was Tract 5206 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.5%	3.1%	5.0%	59.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.4%	0.0%	5.1%	79.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.2%	22.5%	5.2%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.2%	-22.5%	-0.1%	46.7%
2010 Census Tract 5206.02 (Was Tract 5206 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.5%	3.1%	5.0%	59.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.3%	6.1%	1.6%	67.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.8%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.4%	-15.7%	-3.6%	34.9%
2010 Census Tract 5207				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.0%	2.7%	2.8%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.4%	3.0%	7.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.3%	18.0%	5.9%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.1%	-15.0%	2.0%	0.2%

Spring Branch East, located east of Bingle, is the oldest part of the larger Spring Branch community. Many industrial and warehouse developments are found in the northern and eastern parts of the community near Hempstead Highway and US 290. The former site of the Cameron Iron Works on I-10, the community's southern boundary, is now being redeveloped as a retail and entertainment complex. New home construction is occurring near Wirt Road and in several gated subdivisions replacing deteriorated apartment complexes. Afton Village, Brykerwoods, Monarch Oaks, Ridgecrest, Hillendahl Acres, Long Point Oaks, Pine Terrace, and Westview Terrace are some of the other subdivisions in the area. The population rose from 26,491 in 2000 to 28,167 in 2012. Annual median household income increased from \$32,733 to \$43,080.



Just two tracts — 5202 and 5203 — in the south central end of Spring Branch East have a composition that would be expected in a free housing market. They are immediately north of tract 4301 in Greater Uptown which has a greater proportion of Caucasian households than would be expected. The rest of Spring Branch East is consolidated into the city's growing Latino enclave with four tracts having an actual proportion of Hispanics that exceeds the expected proportions by 31.8, 34.9, 38.1, and 46.7 percentage points.

In five of the eight census tracts, the actual proportion of Black households is significantly less than what would be expected in a free housing market devoid of discrimination while the actual proportion of whites in each of these tracts is greater than expected. The proportion of African Americans throughout Spring

Branch East has barely budged since 2000 and may have decreased in several census tracts.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should further examine Spring Branch East to determine whether housing discrimination is occurring and devise means to curb it.

Table 8: Lazybrook/Timbergrove

Super Neighborhood 14: Lazybrook/Timergrove				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.3%	7.9%	1.5%	35.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.8%	6.7%	3.8%	42.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.0%	18.3%	5.9%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.8%	-11.6%	-2.2%	14.5%
2010 Census Tract 5109				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.9%	1.0%	0.7%	58.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.9%	2.7%	5.6%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.2%	6.8%	22.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.9%	-13.5%	-1.2%	12.1%
2010 Census Tract 5110.01 (Was Tract 5110 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.0%	5.2%	2.3%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	93.9%	1.5%	2.9%	17.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.1%	17.5%	6.0%	27.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	25.8%	-15.9%	-3.1%	-9.7%
2010 Census Tract 5110.02 (Was Tract 5110 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.0%	5.2%	2.3%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.1%	3.5%	3.0%	32.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.6%	16.9%	6.1%	27.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.6%	-13.4%	-3.1%	4.7%
2010 Census Tract 5112 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.1%	9.2%	0.2%	39.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.7%	2.8%	11.2%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.5%	14.8%	6.9%	22.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.1%	-12.0%	4.4%	10.0%
2010 Census Tract 5205 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.5%	10.9%	1.0%	49.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.2%	8.6%	0.9%	65.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.7%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.4%	-13.1%	-4.1%	31.8%
2010 Census Tract 5301				
Householders (2000 Census)	50.6%	15.1%	1.0%	50.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.2%	18.2%	0.0%	59.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.0%	5.0%	34.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.2%	-3.8%	-5.0%	25.7%

Lazybrook and Timbergrove are deed-restricted subdivisions located along the wooded banks of White Oak Bayou in the near northwest quadrant of the city. In the pre-free-way period following World War II, this area remained undeveloped while suburban development was exploding in every other direction. This community of ranch style brick homes built in the 1950s and 1960s is easily accessible to Loop 610. The northwestern corner of the area, located outside of Loop 610 on both sides of US 290, includes Brookwood, a large lot subdivision, the Brookhollow business park, Northwest Mall and HISD's Delmar Stadium complex. From 2000 to 2012, the population grew from 11,655 to 14,978 and the annual median household income soared from \$38,783, just above the city's annual median household income in 2000 to \$59,568, nearly \$15,000 more than the city's annual median household income in 2012.



The actual composition of half the tracts in Lazybrook/Timbergrove are what would be expected in a free housing market. They are adjacent to similar tracts in adjacent super neighborhoods. Tract 5109 has moved toward greater diversity since 2000, although the proportion of African Americans remains below 3 percent, well below what would be expected which is characteristic of every tract except 5301.

In two tracts in the northwest end of this super neighborhood — 5205 and 5301 — the proportions of Latino households far exceeds the expected proportions by 31.8 and 25.7 percentage points respectively.

The actual proportions of Black households in tract 5110.01 is nearly 16 percentage points less than expected while the actual proportion of whites is 25.8 percentage points greater than expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should conduct further research to identify any illegal discriminatory real estate practices in Lazybrook/Timbergrove and devise ways to mitigate any that exist.

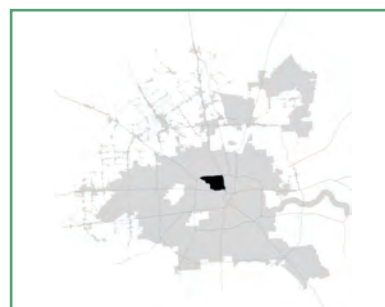
Table 9: Greater Heights

Super Neighborhood 15: Greater Heights				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.2%	3.6%	0.7%	34.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.9%	2.9%	3.0%	26.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.1%	16.7%	6.3%	25.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.8%	-13.8%	-3.4%	1.1%
2010 Census Tract 5103				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.4%	1.3%	1.0%	21.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.9%	0.0%	1.3%	19.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.6%	15.6%	6.6%	23.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.4%	-15.6%	-5.3%	-4.1%
2010 Census Tract 5104				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.9%	1.7%	0.9%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.0%	1.5%	3.8%	18.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.0%	6.4%	24.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.1%	-14.6%	-2.6%	-6.7%
2010 Census Tract 5105				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.1%	20.1%	0.8%	34.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.0%	7.5%	0.9%	21.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.8%	6.5%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.6%	-8.3%	-5.6%	-2.1%
2010 Census Tract 5111				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.1%	6.4%	0.0%	44.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.9%	13.7%	4.0%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.3%	15.8%	6.5%	24.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.6%	-2.0%	-2.5%	-5.6%
2010 Census Tract 5112				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.1%	9.2%	0.2%	39.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.7%	2.8%	11.2%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.5%	14.8%	6.9%	22.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.1%	-12.0%	4.4%	10.0%
2010 Census Tract 5113.01 (Was Tract 5113 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.8%	2.4%	0.9%	26.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.1%	0.0%	3.0%	20.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.7%	6.3%	25.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	22.1%	-17.7%	-3.2%	-5.8%

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Super Neighborhood 15: Greater Heights (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5113.02 (Was Tract 5113 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.8%	2.4%	0.9%	26.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.3%	2.6%	0.7%	18.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.9%	6.1%	26.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.6%	-16.2%	-5.3%	-8.5%
2010 Census Tract 5114				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	1.2%	0.5%	29.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.1%	1.7%	0.0%	26.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.1%	6.5%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.3%	-14.4%	-6.5%	2.5%
2010 Census Tract 5115				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.8%	2.1%	0.5%	45.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.3%	3.0%	2.4%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.7%	17.0%	6.2%	26.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.6%	-14.0%	-3.8%	5.1%
2010 Census Tract 5116				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.2%	1.3%	0.7%	73.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.9%	1.1%	2.3%	62.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.2%	5.6%	30.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	26.2%	-19.1%	-3.3%	32.1%

Greater Heights centers on the old suburban town of Houston Heights which consolidated with Houston in 1919. It still retains its ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages. This has always been a community of stately mansions, comfortable bungalows and modest frame homes. Only a small number of apartment complexes replaced homes after World War II, and area construction has been of expensive townhouses and Victorian style mansions. The old commercial areas have had only a modest revival, but the many bungalows have become some of the most sought after in the city. Few of the community's oak lined streets is without a lovingly restored 75-year old home, or a brand new home in a compatible style. Population shrunk slightly to 40,001 from 41,486 in 2000. Meanwhile annual median household income skyrocketed to \$70,102 from \$41,576 in 2000.



The actual composition of the three Greater Heights census tracts — 5105, 5111, and 5112 — adjacent to the Lazybrook/Timbergrove super neighborhood is what would be expected in a free housing market. The proportion of white households in all of the other tracts exceeds the expected proportions by 19.1 to 26.2 percentage points. In three of those tracts — 5103, 5113.01, and 5113.02 — the

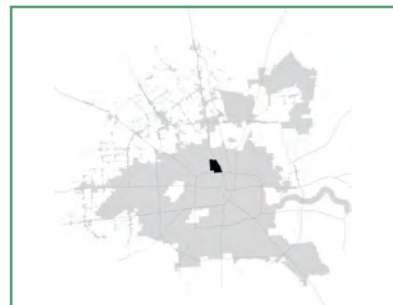
actual proportion of African American households is 15.6 to 19.1 percentage points less than would be expected. The actual proportion of Latino households in tract 5116 exceeds what would be expected by 32.1 percentage points even after the proportion of Hispanics declined since 2000.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should look more closely at the tracts in Greater Heights where the actual composition differs significantly from the expected composition to determine whether illegal discriminatory real estate practices are taking place and mitigate any that are occurring.

Table 10: Independence Heights

Super Neighborhood 13: Independence Heights				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	18.4%	67.5%	0.4%	23.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	36.4%	53.4%	0.8%	38.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.3%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-25.0%	30.1%	-4.2%	5.4%
2010 Census Tract 5303				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.9%	92.8%	0.0%	5.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	18.2%	79.8%	0.0%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.5%	24.1%	5.0%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-42.3%	55.7%	-5.0%	-14.9%
2010 Census Tract 5304				
Householders (2000 Census)	13.3%	75.1%	0.1%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	25.8%	61.5%	0.0%	34.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.8%	23.7%	5.1%	33.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-35.1%	37.8%	-5.1%	1.5%
2010 Census Tract 5305				
Householders (2000 Census)	22.8%	60.9%	0.3%	30.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.7%	49.2%	2.1%	45.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.9%	22.7%	4.9%	34.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.1%	26.5%	-2.8%	11.0%
2010 Census Tract 5306				
Householders (2000 Census)	31.1%	45.2%	1.2%	35.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.7%	31.9%	0.3%	48.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.8%	23.1%	5.3%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.2%	8.8%	-5.0%	17.1%

Independence Heights is an historical community located north of Loop 610 and west of I-45. After World War I, Independence Heights was the first town incorporated in Texas by African Americans. It was consolidated with Houston in 1929 and remains a predominantly African American neighborhood. Population growth after World War II led to the expansion of the community to the north. The Burlington Northern railroad tracks run through the southern section of the community. The number of residents fell from 14,026 in 2000 to 12,913 in 2012 while annual median household income barely budged at \$23,537 in 2012 from \$22,509 in 2000.



Independence Heights is the southeast corner of a intense concentration of African American residents that extends through the Acres Home and Greater Inwood super neighborhoods.

While the actual proportions of Black households in the four census tracts are 8.8, 26.5, 37.8, and 55.7 percentage points greater than expected and the actual proportions of white households are 10.2, 20.1, 35.1, and 42.3 percentage points less than expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination, the entire super neighborhood has become more diverse since 2000 largely due to substantial increases in the number of Latino households. These increases from 5.7 to 18.4, from 17.5 to 34.6, and from 30.3 to 45 percent have brought actual proportion of Hispanic households to roughly what would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination. In tract 5306, the proportion of Latinos increased from 35.3 to 48.3 percent, bringing the actual proportion to 17.1 percentage points more than would be expected in a discrimination-free housing market.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston would be prudent to conduct further study to identify the factors that have led to this apparent diversification of Independence Heights and to determine whether this is the result of an absence or presence of discriminatory housing practices.

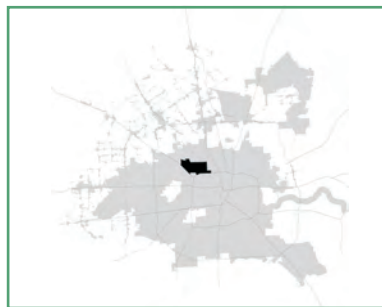
Table 11: Central Northwest

Super Neighborhood 12: Central Northwest				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.1%	19.1%	1.3%	25.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.4%	11.5%	1.4%	32.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	18.9%	5.8%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.0%	-7.4%	-4.4%	3.6%
2010 Census Tract 5301				
Householders (2000 Census)	50.6%	15.1%	1.0%	50.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.2%	18.2%	0.0%	59.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.0%	5.0%	34.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.2%	-3.8%	-5.0%	25.7%
2010 Census Tract 5302				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.2%	2.6%	1.3%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.6%	1.5%	0.5%	25.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.3%	16.6%	6.3%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.4%	-15.1%	-5.9%	0.2%
2010 Census Tract 5309				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.6%	10.3%	0.5%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.9%	15.6%	0.6%	24.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.6%	6.0%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.0%	-3.0%	-5.4%	-2.9%
2010 Census Tract 5310				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.4%	2.0%	0.5%	18.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.7%	0.6%	3.8%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.3%	15.9%	6.6%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.3%	-15.3%	-2.8%	5.8%
2010 Census Tract 5311				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.7%	1.5%	0.7%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.0%	1.2%	0.0%	24.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.4%	6.2%	26.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.8%	-17.2%	-6.2%	-1.8%
2010 Census Tract 5312				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.9%	8.7%	0.7%	25.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.2%	4.9%	0.0%	17.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.3%	6.1%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.0%	-13.4%	-6.1%	-9.2%

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Super Neighborhood 12: Central Northwest (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5313				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.5%	19.2%	2.1%	34.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.0%	14.3%	2.5%	47.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.6%	21.1%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.6%	-6.8%	-2.7%	14.9%
2010 Census Tract 5314				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.6%	2.2%	1.3%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.2%	0.7%	1.5%	21.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.1%	5.7%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	25.0%	-17.4%	-4.2%	-7.9%
2010 Census Tract 5315				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.0%	6.8%	2.2%	23.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.2%	7.9%	1.8%	27.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.5%	6.0%	27.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.3%	-10.6%	-4.2%	-0.6%
2010 Census Tract 5316				
Householders (2000 Census)	85.0%	3.1%	1.0%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	95.8%	2.3%	0.0%	22.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.6%	16.3%	6.4%	24.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	26.2%	-14.0%	-6.4%	-2.5%
2010 Census Tract 5317				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.0%	0.9%	0.4%	10.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	96.6%	1.1%	0.4%	13.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.8%	16.1%	6.5%	24.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	26.9%	-15.0%	-6.1%	-11.4%
2010 Census Tract 5320.02 (Was Tract 5320 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	25.8%	62.7%	1.2%	16.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.9%	18.8%	1.3%	16.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.2%	15.1%	6.7%	22.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.8%	3.7%	-5.4%	-6.8%
2010 Census Tract 5321				
Householders (2000 Census)	48.8%	31.5%	3.0%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.4%	35.9%	3.7%	37.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.0%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.3%	13.8%	-1.5%	5.6%

Central Northwest is located between Pinemont, Shepherd, the North Loop West and the Northwest Freeway (US 290). Just prior to World War II, Garden Oaks was laid out as a garden suburb with curvilinear streets and a full range of housing from cottages to mansions. Oak Forest was developed immediately after the war, and soon became the largest residential development in Houston at the time. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, Candlelight Estates, Shepherd Park and other surrounding subdivisions were developed. The area's thick pine trees and proximity to Loop 610 makes this community increasingly attractive to home buyers. This community is deed-restricted and served by Houston Independent School District. The population fell from 42,852 to 41,302 in 2012 while annual median household income grew from \$42,727 to \$54,324 in 2012.



The actual racial and Hispanic composition of four of the 13 census tracts is roughly the same as the composition expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. In tract 5301, the proportion of Latino households grew by another nine percentage points since 2000 and is 25.7 percentage points greater than would be expected in a free housing market.

In tracts 5302, 5310, 5311, 5314, and 5317 the actual proportions of African American households are significantly less than would be expected absent housing past or present discrimination while the reverse is true of Caucasian households in those tracts. In four other tracts the difference between actual and expected proportion of Black households was in double digits.

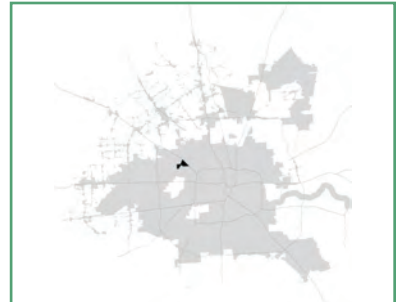
The percentage of Black households precipitously declined from 62.7 percent in 2000 to 18.8 percent, roughly what would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should examine Central Northwest for illegal discriminatory real estate practices, especially possible steering of African Americans from most of Central Northwest and possible steering of Latinos to tract 5301.

Table 12: Langwood

Super Neighborhood 11: Langwood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.0%	6.8%	1.0%	62.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.1%	5.4%	0.5%	76.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.1%	5.0%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	6.8%	-16.8%	-4.5%	42.1%
2010 Census Tract 5205				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.5%	10.9%	1.0%	49.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.2%	8.6%	0.9%	65.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.7%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.4%	-13.1%	-4.1%	31.8%
2010 Census Tract 5214				
Householders (2000 Census)	55.8%	1.6%	1.0%	79.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.9%	1.5%	0.0%	88.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.7%	22.6%	5.0%	34.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.2%	-21.1%	-5.0%	54.3%

Langwood is a neighborhood of small tract homes built in the 1950s on both sides of Hempstead Highway, which was the primary commuting route at the time. Today, the Northwest Freeway (US 290) forms the northeastern boundary of the primarily single-family residential neighborhood. Several large apartment complexes adjacent to the freeway are also part of the community. Three school districts serve Langwood: Spring Branch Independent School District serves the area southwest of Hempstead Highway and Cypress Fairbanks Independent School District and Houston Independent School District serve the area northwest of Hempstead Highway. The population fell from 9,107 in 2000 to 6,643 in 2012 while annual median household income remained stagnant at \$32,972 in 2012 compared to \$30,267 in 2000.



This small super neighborhood is immediately west of Central Northwest. It is fully consolidated into the city's growing Latino enclave with actual proportions of Hispanic households growing from 49 to 65.7 percent and 79 to 88.6 percent in tracts 5205 and 5124 respectively. These proportions are 31.8 and 54.3 percent greater than would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination. The proportions of whites has increased since 2000 while the proportions of African Americans has declined slightly. The actual proportion of Black households is more than 21 percentage points lower than would be expected.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston would be well advised

to further examine Langwood to identify any illegal real estate practices like steering that might account for these differences and apply remedies to reduce the growing segregation within this super neighborhood.

Table 13: Fairbanks/Northwest Crossing

Super Neighborhood 4: Fairbanks/Northwest Crossing				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely and Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.8%	21.8%	2.9%	30.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.4%	25.3%	2.6%	44.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.7%	21.0%	5.3%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.4%	4.3%	-2.7%	12.3%
2010 Census Tract 5205 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.5%	10.9%	1.0%	49.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.2%	8.6%	0.9%	65.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.7%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.4%	-13.1%	-4.1%	31.8%
2010 Census Tract 5216				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.6%	32.2%	1.8%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.9%	23.6%	4.1%	56.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.2%	5.4%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.8%	3.4%	-1.3%	24.8%
2010 Census Tract 5217				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.6%	31.4%	3.1%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.8%	27.4%	2.8%	51.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.8%	21.7%	5.1%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.0%	5.7%	-2.3%	18.0%
2010 Census Tract 5315 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.0%	6.8%	2.2%	23.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.2%	7.9%	1.8%	27.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.5%	6.0%	27.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.3%	-10.6%	-4.2%	-0.6%
2010 Census Tract 5321 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	48.8%	31.5%	3.0%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.4%	35.9%	3.7%	37.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.0%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.3%	13.8%	-1.5%	5.6%
2010 Census Tract 5323				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.6%	15.9%	5.2%	16.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.8%	38.4%	2.6%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.0%	5.4%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.9%	18.4%	-2.7%	-5.1%

Fairbanks/Northwest Crossing is a combination of rural land use and scattered housing and high density urban development that followed the construction of the Northwest Freeway. Many garden apartment complexes are scattered through and around the edge of the Northwest Crossing office and retail development. Prior to the opening of the freeway, which bisects the area, access to Houston was provided by the Hempstead Highway, which still is lined with a combination of aging retail developments, light industrial facilities and agricultural service businesses. Population rose by nearly one-fourth to 16,686 in 2012 while annual median household income stagnated at \$36,284 in 2012 after being \$35,788 in 2000.



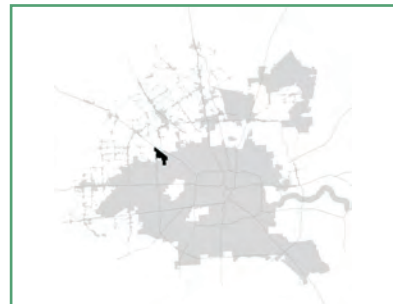
This super neighborhood continues the concentration of the city's Hispanic population moving northwest from the Langwood super neighborhood and into Carverdale to the west of Fairbanks/Northwest Crossing. The percentage of Latino households in tracts 5205, 5216, 5217 continued to increase since 2000, from 49 to 65.7 percent, 33.3 to 56.2 percent, and 29.1 to 56.2 percent respectively. These increases made the actual proportion of Hispanic households in these tracts 31.8, 24.8, and 18 percentage points greater, respectively, than what would be expected. The proportion of Latino households also grew in the other three tracts, albeit not nearly as much, and to levels that would be expected in a free market.

Recommended Actions: It appears that most of Fairbanks/Northwest Crossing is being consolidated into the city's Hispanic enclave. It would be prudent for the city to conduct testing to identify any steering of Latinos to this super neighborhood and to take steps to prevent further movement away from diversity.

Table 14: Carverdale

Super Neighborhood 3: Carverdale				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.2%	12.5%	12.3%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.9%	9.7%	17.6%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.7%	15.5%	6.6%	23.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.8%	-5.7%	11.0%	9.4%
2010 Census Tract 5216				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.6%	32.2%	1.8%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.9%	23.6%	4.1%	56.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.2%	5.4%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.8%	3.4%	-1.3%	24.8%
2010 Census Tract 5218				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.5%	11.4%	20.9%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	55.0%	10.2%	23.2%	38.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.5%	6.1%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.8%	-8.3%	17.1%	10.7%
2010 Census Tract 5401 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.0%	5.8%	9.3%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	5.7%	18.5%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.3%	12.6%	7.2%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.6%	-7.0%	11.4%	4.5%

Carverdale is a small residential area that was originally marketed to African Americans as home sites just outside the city. It is now surrounded by large industrial parks and warehouse complexes. Its proximity to the Northwest Freeway and Beltway 8 has made this area a popular one for industrial and distribution complexes. The residential area is characterized by modest homes on side streets and small retail establishments on the major thoroughfares. Houston Community College Northwest Campus is located nearby, south of Tanner Road. Population increased from 1,928 in 2000 to 4,827 in 2012 while annual median household income skyrocketed from \$12,089 to \$55,370.



The east half of Carverdale, tract 5216, is being consolidated into the Latino enclave to its east and north. A significantly higher than expected concentration of Asians continues in the west half — the actual proportion (23.2 percent) is more than triple what would be expected (6.1 percent). The proportion of Hispanics is growing even more rapidly but is within parameters.

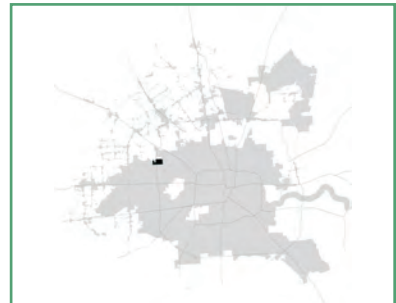
Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should further exam-

ine Carverdale to identify the reasons for the concentration of Asian households in tracts 5218 and 5401 as well as the growing concentration of Latino households in tract 5216.

Table 15: Westbranch

Super Neighborhood 8: Westbranch				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.8%	8.3%	14.5%	24.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.8%	7.2%	20.1%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.8%	14.6%	6.8%	22.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.0%	-7.4%	13.3%	6.6%
2010 Census Tract 5218				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.5%	11.4%	20.9%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	55.0%	10.2%	23.2%	38.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.5%	6.1%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.8%	-8.3%	17.1%	10.7%
2010 Census Tract 5401 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.0%	5.8%	9.3%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	5.7%	18.5%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.3%	12.6%	7.2%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.6%	-7.0%	11.4%	4.5%

Westbranch is located north of Clay Road at the West Belt. One portion, Westway, consists of town homes, and the other, Westbranch, is made up of single-family homes. The western portion of the community, which adjoins the West Belt, is being redeveloped with commercial and office projects. The City of Houston annexed the neighborhood in 1994. Population fell by more than half, from 4,321 in 2000 to 2,028 in 2012. Annual median household income grew from \$52,375 to \$63,090 in 2012.



West Branch has a significantly higher than expected concentration of Asian households, especially in tract 5218 which it shares with Carverdale immediately to the north and east.

The proportion of Hispanics is growing much more rapidly in tract 5218 but is within parameters.

Recommended Actions: As with Cloverdale, the City of Houston should identify why the actual proportions of Asian households are greater than would be expected and determine whether the concentrations are intensifying.

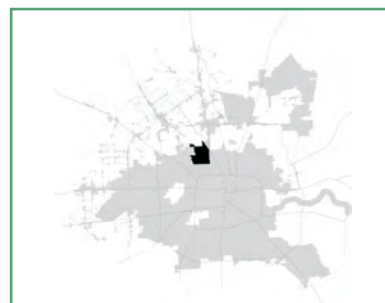
Table 16: Acres Homes

Super Neighborhood 6: Acres Homes				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	12.8%	79.7%	1.2%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	18.9%	71.9%	0.7%	22.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.9%	5.3%	31.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-44.1%	50.0%	-4.7%	-9.3%
2010 Census Tract 5308				
Householders (2000 Census)	10.3%	86.9%	0.2%	3.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	14.0%	72.7%	0.0%	17.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	20.5%	5.6%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-50.5%	52.2%	-5.6%	-12.6%
2010 Census Tract 5318				
Householders (2000 Census)	2.9%	94.3%	0.1%	4.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	25.9%	68.2%	0.0%	22.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.9%	22.4%	5.1%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-36.0%	45.8%	-5.1%	-10.6%
2010 Census Tract 5319				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.5%	87.8%	0.1%	11.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.6%	84.4%	0.4%	15.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.4%	5.3%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-54.9%	62.0%	-4.8%	-16.2%
2010 Census Tract 5330				
Householders (2000 Census)	0.4%	98.2%	0.0%	1.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.8%	67.8%	0.0%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	22.5%	4.7%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.9%	45.3%	-4.7%	-5.1%
2010 Census Tract 5331				
Householders (2000 Census)	24.9%	67.8%	2.0%	9.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	22.4%	69.4%	0.7%	19.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.0%	5.5%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-41.6%	48.4%	-4.7%	-10.9%

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Super Neighborhood 6: Acres Homes (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5332				
Householders (2000 Census)	13.8%	79.2%	1.6%	8.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.5%	73.8%	1.9%	10.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.9%	5.6%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-43.9%	52.9%	-3.7%	-19.0%
2010 Census Tract 5333				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.2%	93.3%	0.4%	5.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	6.5%	91.9%	0.0%	8.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.8%	24.8%	5.1%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-53.3%	67.1%	-5.1%	-24.1%
2010 Census Tract 5334				
Householders (2000 Census)	20.3%	62.9%	2.5%	25.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.7%	51.9%	1.4%	43.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.8%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.5%	31.2%	-4.0%	12.1%

Acres Homes, a wooded area northwest of the city, was originally subdivided into large lots and marketed to African Americans. Still primarily African American, the community now includes a combination of large areas of pine forests with only a scattering of homes: small tract homes built in standard suburban subdivisions, and large comfortable homes on well-maintained wooded lots. There is little commercial or industrial development. The eastern part of the community is located in the Houston Independent School District, the western part is in the Aldine Independent School District. Water and sewer service was introduced into the original subdivisions during the 1970s as the area was annexed by the City of Houston. The population rose from 23,512 to 27,831 in 2012 while annual median household income increased from \$24,518 to \$49,315 in 2012.



Situated north of Central Northwest and west of Greater Inwood, Acres Homes is part of a concentration of African American households that continues west to Fairbanks/Northwest Crossing and north through Greater Greensport and to census tracts not assigned to any super neighborhood.

The actual proportions of Black households exceeds the proportions expected in a free housing market absent discrimination by 31.2 to 67.1 percentage points. The actual proportions of white households are from 32.5 to 54.9 percent lower than what would be expected. There is nothing natural about these intense levels of concentration.

It is promising, however, that the percentage of Black households declined sig-

nificantly since 2000 in half of the eight census tracts that comprise the Acres Home subdivision while the percentages of Caucasian increased in four tracts.

While the percentages of Latino households increased in five tracts since 2000, the increases in 5308 (3.4 to 17.3 percent), 5318 (4.4 to 22.9 percent), 5330 (1.8 to 30.6 percent), and 5334 (25.8 to 43 percent) suggest fairly rapid change and instability.

The City of Houston should carefully study Acres Homes to identify the causes of the rapid increase in the Latino population and decline in the African American population, with a particular eye on possible steering and other illegal discriminatory real estate practices.

Among the slew of census tracts north of Acres Homes that are not assigned to any super neighborhood are 5336, 5512, 5530.01, 5530.02, 5534.02, 5534.02, and 5549.01 with actual racial and Hispanic compositions close to what would be expected in a free housing market. Just north of Acres Homes is a cluster of census tracts where the actual proportions of Latino households significantly exceed the proportion expected in a free housing market absent discrimination — 5338.01, 5337.01, 5340.01, 5339.01, 5340.02, 5340.03, and 5506.03. Generally speaking, the proportions of Hispanic households in these tracts have increased substantially since 2000, suggesting that these intensifying concentrations may be the product of current housing discrimination.

North of these tracts are census tracts consolidated into the African American enclave — 5339.02, 5507, 5508, 5505, 5504.02, 5503.01, 5504.01, 5533, and 5503.02. The actual proportions of Black households significantly exceeds the proportions expected in a free housing market while the actual proportions of whites are notably lower than expected. In some tracts, the proportions have changed substantially from 2000 while in others they have remained pretty much the same.

North of them are tracts 5531 and 5532 which are within parameters, but which have seen significant racial change since 2000 with the percentage of Black households growing from 9.7 to 25.2 and from 12.2 to 30.8 percent respectively, while the proportions of Caucasian households have declined to levels that would be expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: It would behoove the City of Houston to examine the unassigned census tracts with racial and/or Latino compositions that depart significantly what the compositions expected in a free market for possible illegal housing discrimination.

Table 17: Hidden Valley

Super Neighborhood 7: Hidden Valley				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.8%	18.1%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.4%	23.1%	2.0%	54.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	19.5%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.8%	3.6%	-3.6%	22.8%
2010 Census Tract 5335				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.8%	18.1%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.4%	23.1%	2.0%	54.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	19.5%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.8%	3.6%	-3.6%	22.8%

Hidden Valley is a neighborhood in north Houston, a triangle formed by the North Freeway, Veterans Memorial Highway, and West Mount Houston Road. This area is located between heavily wooded areas to the north and south. It is characterized by tract homes separated from the freeway edge by a row of large auto dealerships. The population grew slightly from 3,891 in 2000 to 4,600 in 2012 while annual median household income stagnated at \$46,625 in 2012 compared to \$44,649 in 2000.



Located between the Acres Homes and Northside/Northline super neighborhoods, Hidden Valley is consolidated into the growing Latino enclave to the east. The proportion of Hispanic households skyrocketed from 32.6 to 54 percent since 2000, to a level that is more than 22 percentage points greater than would be expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: The city should determine whether steering or other illegal discriminatory real estate practices are contributing to this intensifying concentration of Latino households.

Table 18: Greater Inwood

Super Neighborhood 5: Greater Inwood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.1%	36.2%	4.9%	22.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.3%	24.1%	6.2%	60.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.4%	5.9%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.5%	4.7%	0.3%	31.3%
2010 Census Tract 5320.01 (Was Tract 5320 in 2000 Census)				
Householders (2000 Census)	25.8%	62.7%	1.2%	16.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	23.8%	67.5%	2.7%	20.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.0%	24.7%	4.9%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-36.2%	42.9%	-2.2%	-13.0%
2010 Census Tract 5321 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	48.8%	31.5%	3.0%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.4%	35.9%	3.7%	37.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.0%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.3%	13.8%	-1.5%	5.6%
2010 Census Tract 5322				
Householders (2000 Census)	31.7%	53.6%	1.1%	20.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.4%	46.7%	0.7%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.8%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-22.5%	24.9%	-4.5%	0.0%
2010 Census Tract 5324				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.3%	5.1%	2.3%	24.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.5%	13.9%	5.0%	41.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.5%	18.7%	5.9%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.0%	-4.8%	-0.9%	12.4%

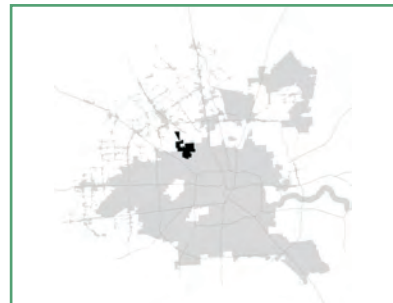
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Super Neighborhood 5: Greater Inwood (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5325.01 (Was Tract 5325 in 2000 Census. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.1%	9.9%	7.6%	36.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.3%	12.2%	9.4%	51.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.3%	5.8%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.5%	-6.2%	3.6%	21.8%
2010 Census Tract 5325.02 (Was Tract 5325 in 2000 Census)				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.1%	9.9%	7.6%	36.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.1%	5.2%	0.6%	66.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.2%	5.5%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.4%	-15.0%	-4.9%	34.5%
2010 Census Tract 5326				
Householders (2000 Census)	26.7%	50.3%	12.0%	15.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.4%	46.6%	11.9%	27.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.8%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.7%	25.7%	6.4%	-3.3%
2010 Census Tract 5327				
Householders (2000 Census)	58.4%	33.1%	2.8%	9.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	43.0%	43.4%	1.9%	27.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.1%	20.1%	5.7%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-22.1%	23.3%	-3.9%	-2.2%
2010 Census Tract 5328				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.8%	28.8%	4.2%	14.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.5%	27.8%	2.9%	36.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	18.7%	5.9%	28.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.9%	9.1%	-3.0%	8.1%

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Super Neighborhood 5: Greater Inwood (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5330 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	0.4%	98.2%	0.0%	1.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.8%	67.8%	0.0%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	22.5%	4.7%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.9%	45.3%	-4.7%	-5.1%
2010 Census Tract 5331				
Householders (2000 Census)	24.9%	67.8%	2.0%	9.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	22.4%	69.4%	0.7%	19.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.0%	5.5%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-41.6%	48.4%	-4.7%	-10.9%
2010 Census Tract 5332				
Householders (2000 Census)	13.8%	79.2%	1.6%	8.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.5%	73.8%	1.9%	10.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.9%	5.6%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-43.9%	52.9%	-3.7%	-19.0%
2010 Census Tract 5340.02 (Was Tract 5341 in 2000 Census)				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.4%	14.2%	11.0%	30.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.3%	24.1%	6.2%	60.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.4%	5.9%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.5%	4.7%	0.3%	31.3%

Greater Inwood has its origins in the development of Inwood Forest, a golf course centered community, in the late 1960s. Other subdivisions include Woodland Trails, Candlelight Forest, Chateau Forest and Antoine Forest. Most of the area is heavily wooded, although the northern portions resemble the prairies found to the northwest. Almost all of Greater Inwood is part of the Aldine Independent School District. Large apartment complexes are found along Antoine, West Little York and Gulf Bank. New home construction resumed in the Oaks of Inwood luxury home area and Inwood Forest Village patio homes in the 1990s, after a slump from the mid-1980s economic crash. Two industrial parks are accessed via the Burlington and Northern rail line which bisects the area. Population shrunk by one-fourth, down to 32,099 in 2012 while annual median household income stagnated: \$37,399 in 2000, \$38,078 in 2012.



The actual compositions and expected compositions are the same for two census tracts in the Greater Inwood super neighborhood — 5324 and 5328. In seven of Greater Inwood's 13 census tracts, the actual proportion of Black households ranges from 23.3 to 52.9 percentage points greater than what would be expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination. The actual proportions of Caucasians household range from 43.9 to 21.3 percentage points less than

would be expected. Except for tract 5330 which saw the percentage of African American households decline from 98.2 to 67.8 percent while the percentage of white households increased from 0.4 to 20.8 percent, the compositions of the census tracts were pretty stable since 2000. It is highly likely that nearly all of the increase in Caucasian households is due to a large influx of Hispanic households which grew from 1.8 to 30.6 percent of the tract, roughly what would be expected in a free market.

Recommended Actions: The city should identify the factors that reduced segregation in tract 5330 since 2000. Testing for possible illegal housing discrimination is warranted throughout Greater Inwood.

Table 19: Willowbrook

Super Neighborhood 1: Willowbrook				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.4%	7.0%	5.0%	13.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.7%	15.0%	12.9%	26.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.5%	5.9%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.1%	-3.5%	7.0%	-1.8%
2010 Census Tract 5514.00 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.7%	9.0%	5.2%	15.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.9%	17.6%	12.8%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.5%	18.0%	6.1%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.6%	-0.4%	6.7%	-1.0%
2010 Census Tract 5515.00				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.7%	9.5%	4.8%	42.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.2%	19.3%	21.0%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.1%	18.1%	5.9%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-14.9%	1.2%	15.1%	5.2%
2010 Census Tract 5526.01 (Was Tract 5526 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.2%	8.8%	4.2%	7.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	55.9%	25.3%	9.7%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.4%	20.3%	5.4%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.5%	5.0%	4.3%	-3.2%
2010 Census Tract 5527.00				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.2%	3.2%	5.7%	6.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.6%	5.5%	9.0%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.4%	18.1%	6.0%	27.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.2%	-12.6%	3.0%	-6.3%

Willowbrook is in northwest Harris County. It generally surrounds Willowbrook Mall and is primarily commercial, with about 63.9% undeveloped land. The area includes apartment complexes, office buildings, a major Houston Lighting and Power electric generating station, and several retail shopping centers in addition to the regional mall. The city annexed the area in 1993. Between 2000 and 2010, the neighborhood's population grew from 2,741 to 6,877 and median household income rose from \$32,366 to \$39,449.



Surrounded by land not in any super neighborhood, Willowbrook is located along State Highway 249, several census tracts northwest of the Greater Inwood super neighborhood.

A concentration of Asian households is developing in census tract 5515 where the proportion of Asian households actually living there is nearly four times what would be expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination. Since 2000, the proportion of Asian households skyrocketed from less than five percent to 21 percent.

The proportion of Caucasian households living in the tract is nearly 15 percentage points less than what would be expected. .

Immediately north of tract 5515 Willowbrook, tract 5527 reflects a trend throughout the city where the proportion of residents who are African American declines while the proportion who are Latino grows, although the differences between actual and expected proportions are not yet of concern.

Tracts 5514 and 5526.01 maintained their racial and Hispanic diversity during the 2000s.

Recommended Actions: The huge increase in the proportion of Asian households in tract 5515 warrants further investigation to determine whether racial steering is occurring and, if so, steps need to be taken to end this practice.

The city has not assigned the census tracts in the table below to any super neighborhood. Each was reported on earlier in this section in the discussion of the super neighborhood that is closest to it.

Table 20: Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood

Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5225 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 5208 and 5209)				
Householders (2000 Census)	95.8%	0.2%	2.3%	2.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	95.1%	0.0%	4.5%	3.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.8%	11.5%	7.4%	16.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.2%	-11.5%	-2.9%	-13.2%
2010 Census Tract 5329				
Householders (2000 Census)	11.5%	79.2%	1.9%	11.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	27.8%	55.2%	7.4%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.9%	19.2%	5.8%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-38.1%	36.0%	1.6%	-0.6%
2010 Census Tract 5336				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.5%	38.8%	4.3%	30.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.3%	33.4%	5.5%	45.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.7%	5.3%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.5%	11.6%	0.3%	12.9%
2010 Census Tract 5338.01 (Was Tract 5338 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	52.6%	18.7%	9.8%	37.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.0%	23.2%	13.1%	58.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.5%	5.6%	30.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.5%	3.7%	7.5%	27.8%
2010 Census Tract 5339.01 (Was Tract 5339 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	41.6%	33.2%	11.7%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	37.3%	34.3%	8.4%	45.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.4%	19.7%	5.7%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.1%	14.6%	2.6%	15.9%
2010 Census Tract 5339.02 (Was Tract 5339 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	41.6%	33.2%	11.7%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	24.5%	49.5%	4.6%	35.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.8%	23.8%	5.2%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-36.3%	25.7%	-0.6%	3.6%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5340.01 (Was Tract 5340 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	48.4%	23.7%	6.8%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.5%	5.0%	6.8%	66.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	21.6%	4.7%	36.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.0%	-16.6%	2.0%	30.7%
2010 Census Tract 5340.03				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.8%	28.8%	9.4%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.0%	25.5%	11.1%	47.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.5%	6.3%	26.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.0%	8.0%	4.8%	21.1%
2010 Census Tract 5342.03 (Was Tract 5342 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.9%	5.0%	7.5%	15.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	48.0%	15.9%	12.7%	45.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.4%	17.8%	5.9%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-19.4%	-1.9%	6.8%	16.5%
2010 Census Tract 5405.01 (Was Tract 5405 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.1%	9.7%	3.4%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.5%	13.9%	9.1%	55.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.1%	5.3%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.9%	-6.2%	3.8%	23.6%
2010 Census Tract 5406.02 (Was Tract 5406 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.1%	11.7%	6.8%	14.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.1%	18.8%	5.5%	37.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.1%	18.2%	6.0%	28.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.0%	0.6%	-0.4%	9.5%
2010 Census Tract 5408				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.4%	8.2%	6.7%	39.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.7%	16.1%	4.4%	41.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	19.9%	5.6%	30.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.4%	-3.7%	-1.2%	11.2%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5409.01 (Was Tract 5409 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.0%	8.1%	6.5%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.3%	14.7%	6.4%	4.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.4%	12.5%	7.3%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.1%	2.2%	-0.9%	-15.0%
2010 Census Tract 5409.02 (Was Tract 5409 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.0%	8.1%	6.5%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.5%	21.5%	7.5%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.0%	16.6%	6.2%	26.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.5%	4.8%	1.3%	-13.6%
2010 Census Tract 5410.01 (Was Tract 5410 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.6%	10.7%	7.5%	9.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.5%	22.1%	11.9%	20.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.4%	6.1%	27.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.5%	4.7%	5.9%	-7.2%
2010 Census Tract 5410.02 (Was Tract 5410 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.6%	10.7%	7.5%	9.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.0%	18.5%	14.8%	15.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.7%	15.4%	6.7%	23.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.7%	3.1%	8.0%	-7.4%
2010 Census Tract 5412.03 (Was Tract 5412 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.0%	5.4%	5.8%	10.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	84.4%	7.7%	4.0%	5.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.7%	13.1%	7.1%	19.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.7%	-5.4%	-3.0%	-14.7%
2010 Census Tract 5413				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.1%	13.0%	4.9%	29.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.3%	22.7%	5.4%	46.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	18.7%	5.8%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.1%	4.0%	-0.3%	16.6%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5414				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.6%	12.6%	6.0%	23.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.0%	23.6%	13.7%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.5%	6.1%	27.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.0%	6.1%	7.5%	0.9%
2010 Census Tract 5416.01 (Was Tract 5416 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.5%	5.5%	3.7%	21.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.3%	5.9%	8.5%	10.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.8%	13.9%	7.1%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.6%	-8.0%	1.4%	-9.4%
2010 Census Tract 5416.02 (Was Tract 5416 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.5%	5.5%	3.7%	21.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.0%	6.4%	7.9%	45.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.4%	5.8%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	6.2%	-12.1%	2.1%	16.5%
2010 Census Tract 5420				
Householders (2000 Census)	76.8%	8.3%	4.0%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.5%	17.6%	5.7%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.2%	6.2%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.2%	0.3%	-0.5%	6.4%
2010 Census Tract 5422				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.2%	10.4%	3.5%	24.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.1%	25.5%	3.8%	42.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.3%	17.9%	6.0%	28.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.3%	7.5%	-2.2%	13.8%
2010 Census Tract 5423.01 (Was Tract 5423 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.2%	9.3%	4.0%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.6%	12.8%	4.8%	42.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.7%	16.9%	6.4%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.8%	-4.1%	-1.6%	16.4%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5508				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.7%	61.0%	9.3%	17.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	22.0%	65.6%	7.4%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	20.3%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-42.5%	45.3%	2.0%	-5.2%
2010 Census Tract 5509				
Householders (2000 Census)	39.6%	26.8%	14.7%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.5%	26.3%	16.5%	42.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.5%	18.7%	6.0%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-19.0%	7.6%	10.5%	14.1%
2010 Census Tract 5510				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.9%	22.5%	13.6%	46.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	49.7%	31.7%	8.4%	53.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.6%	19.0%	5.5%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.9%	12.7%	2.8%	21.2%
2010 Census Tract 5511				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.2%	25.5%	13.9%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.2%	33.3%	16.2%	34.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	20.5%	5.5%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-22.3%	12.8%	10.7%	4.4%
2010 Census Tract 5512				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.6%	8.1%	5.8%	14.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.1%	18.0%	9.4%	19.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.3%	18.1%	6.0%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.1%	-0.1%	3.3%	-8.5%
2010 Census Tract 5516				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.7%	13.0%	6.8%	22.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.1%	19.7%	7.4%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.0%	18.9%	5.7%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.0%	0.8%	1.7%	3.0%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5423.02 (Was Tract 5423 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.2%	9.3%	4.0%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.9%	14.7%	3.0%	43.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.4%	6.0%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-0.9%	-3.7%	-3.0%	15.1%
2010 Census Tract 5424				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.9%	6.3%	3.6%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.2%	18.3%	5.7%	42.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.2%	5.6%	30.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.6%	-0.9%	0.0%	11.7%
2010 Census Tract 5425				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.4%	2.1%	2.3%	4.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.4%	1.7%	0.0%	10.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.1%	6.7%	23.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	24.4%	-14.4%	-6.7%	-12.7%
2010 Census Tract 5426				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.5%	5.2%	1.9%	26.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.8%	9.0%	6.6%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.6%	6.7%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.4%	-6.6%	-0.1%	5.5%
2010 Census Tract 5429				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.0%	5.9%	1.5%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.5%	10.2%	2.2%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.1%	16.6%	6.3%	25.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.4%	-6.4%	-4.1%	2.1%
2010 Census Tract 5430.01 (Was Tract 5430 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.8%	9.5%	4.3%	23.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.2%	20.8%	12.1%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.6%	14.7%	6.8%	22.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.4%	6.1%	5.3%	-5.5%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5430.02 (Was Tract 5430 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.8%	9.5%	4.3%	23.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.1%	15.4%	9.1%	18.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.4%	14.1%	7.1%	20.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.3%	1.3%	2.0%	-1.8%
2010 Census Tract 5431				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.5%	11.8%	0.2%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.6%	4.8%	0.4%	36.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.5%	17.9%	6.2%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.0%	-13.1%	-5.8%	9.1%
2010 Census Tract 5503.02 (Was Tract 5503 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.3%	22.2%	3.2%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	34.6%	54.0%	4.8%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.4%	20.5%	5.5%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.8%	33.5%	-0.7%	-12.8%
2010 Census Tract 5504.01 (Was Tract 5504 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	42.7%	41.3%	4.6%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.6%	41.9%	4.0%	39.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.3%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-17.8%	20.6%	-1.2%	6.4%
2010 Census Tract 5506.03 (Was Tract 5506 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	28.4%	45.3%	10.9%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.4%	30.5%	5.1%	64.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	19.8%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.8%	10.7%	-0.3%	32.9%
2010 Census Tract 5507				
Householders (2000 Census)	28.4%	45.3%	10.9%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	30.2%	34.3%	17.0%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.1%	19.1%	5.8%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.0%	21.9%	6.3%	9.9%

Continued on the next page

Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5518				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.7%	1.0%	4.2%	4.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.9%	3.8%	4.8%	7.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.7%	13.8%	7.0%	20.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.2%	-10.0%	-2.3%	-13.4%
2010 Census Tract 5520.01 (Was Tract 5520 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)				
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.7%	6.5%	7.0%	10.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.6%	18.8%	5.9%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.7%	-1.0%	2.0%	-13.9%
2010 Census Tract 5520.02 (Was Tract 5520 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.7%	6.5%	7.0%	10.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.9%	20.4%	12.2%	10.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.1%	16.6%	6.4%	25.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.3%	3.8%	5.8%	-15.7%
2010 Census Tract 5521.01 (Was 5521 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.2%	7.6%	6.4%	9.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.8%	25.6%	10.5%	20.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.7%	6.2%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.1%	6.9%	4.3%	-5.8%
2010 Census Tract 5521.03 (Was 5521 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.2%	7.6%	6.4%	9.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.8%	7.1%	2.0%	25.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.4%	17.1%	6.2%	26.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.4%	-10.0%	-4.3%	-1.7%
2010 Census Tract 5522				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.3%	6.0%	1.5%	13.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.9%	17.5%	4.2%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.3%	19.0%	5.9%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.6%	-1.4%	-1.7%	-11.7%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5523.01 (Was Tract 5523 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.9%	2.8%	2.4%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.8%	2.3%	0.7%	12.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.2%	16.6%	6.3%	25.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.6%	-14.3%	-5.6%	-12.7%
2010 Census Tract 5524				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.8%	6.7%	3.6%	12.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.7%	13.4%	10.0%	23.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.3%	5.9%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.8%	-4.9%	4.1%	-5.0%
2010 Census Tract 5525				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.4%	6.9%	4.9%	14.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.1%	9.7%	13.0%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.9%	17.7%	6.2%	26.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.2%	-7.9%	6.8%	-2.7%
2010 Census Tract 5526.02 (Was Tract 5526 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.2%	8.8%	4.2%	7.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.5%	8.5%	9.0%	19.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	15.9%	6.6%	24.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.6%	-7.4%	2.4%	-5.3%
2010 Census Tract 5528				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.8%	2.8%	3.5%	4.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.7%	5.4%	4.7%	10.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.6%	15.5%	6.5%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.1%	-10.1%	-1.8%	-13.3%
2010 Census Tract 5529				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.8%	4.3%	3.1%	6.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.6%	17.9%	3.7%	8.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.7%	6.1%	26.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	6.6%	0.3%	-2.4%	-17.7%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5530.01 (Was Tract 5530 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.4%	12.2%	5.6%	10.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.0%	12.2%	6.4%	18.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.6%	6.4%	24.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.6%	-3.4%	0.0%	-5.8%
2010 Census Tract 5530.02 (Was Tract 5530 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.4%	12.2%	5.6%	10.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.7%	18.1%	7.5%	22.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.1%	6.5%	23.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.7%	2.0%	1.0%	-1.8%
2010 Census Tract 5531				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.5%	9.7%	3.8%	12.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.5%	25.2%	3.9%	16.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.2%	17.3%	6.0%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.3%	7.9%	-2.2%	-10.6%
2010 Census Tract 5532				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.5%	12.2%	3.0%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.1%	30.8%	2.1%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.4%	20.4%	5.4%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.3%	10.4%	-3.3%	-0.8%
2010 Census Tract 5533				
Householders (2000 Census)	69.3%	16.6%	5.5%	14.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.7%	53.1%	2.3%	21.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.1%	5.2%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.8%	31.0%	-3.0%	-11.5%
2010 Census Tract 5534.01 (Was Tract 5534)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.2%	3.7%	2.9%	6.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.0%	10.5%	0.0%	14.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.8%	14.5%	6.9%	22.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.2%	-4.1%	-6.9%	-8.1%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5534.02 (Was Tract 5534)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.2%	3.7%	2.9%	6.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.3%	10.7%	3.9%	12.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.8%	14.5%	6.8%	22.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.5%	-3.8%	-2.9%	-9.8%
2010 Census Tract 5534.03 (Was Tract 5534)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.2%	3.7%	2.9%	6.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.2%	10.6%	8.6%	17.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.0%	15.2%	6.6%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.2%	-4.7%	1.9%	-5.6%
2010 Census Tract 5542				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.3%	8.1%	4.8%	12.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.6%	7.7%	8.6%	18.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	15.7%	6.6%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.4%	-8.0%	2.0%	-5.6%
2010 Census Tract 5543.01 (Was Tract 5543 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.5%	2.7%	2.2%	5.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.6%	4.5%	0.0%	7.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.3%	13.3%	7.1%	20.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.3%	-8.8%	-7.1%	-12.9%
2010 Census Tract 5544.01 (Was Tract 5544 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.3%	2.6%	2.1%	5.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.8%	2.9%	6.5%	9.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.0%	12.0%	7.4%	18.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.8%	-9.2%	-0.8%	-8.7%
2010 Census Tract 5544.02 (Was Tract 5544 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.3%	2.6%	2.1%	5.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.4%	7.5%	8.5%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.2%	13.5%	7.1%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.2%	-6.0%	1.4%	-9.1%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5544.03 (Was Tract 5544 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.3%	2.6%	2.1%	5.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.8%	10.5%	3.6%	26.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.6%	6.7%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.4%	-5.0%	-3.1%	2.5%
2010 Census Tract 5545.02 (Was Tract 5545 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.9%	2.6%	2.5%	7.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.6%	0.6%	2.6%	5.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.9%	12.9%	7.2%	19.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.7%	-12.2%	-4.6%	-13.4%
2010 Census Tract 5546				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.2%	2.3%	2.3%	3.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	91.2%	2.4%	3.3%	9.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.6%	12.4%	7.4%	18.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.6%	-10.0%	-4.2%	-8.4%
2010 Census Tract 5547				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.3%	2.4%	4.8%	7.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.3%	6.5%	8.5%	14.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.9%	14.4%	6.8%	22.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.4%	-7.9%	1.7%	-7.7%
2010 Census Tract 5548.01 (Was Tract 5548 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.0%	5.2%	1.3%	11.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.1%	13.5%	6.3%	20.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.8%	16.9%	6.3%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.4%	-3.5%	0.0%	-5.5%
2010 Census Tract 5548.02 (Was Tract 5548 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.0%	5.2%	1.3%	11.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	88.8%	2.7%	5.1%	11.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.2%	14.3%	6.9%	21.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.5%	-11.6%	-1.8%	-9.9%

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Northwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5549.01 (Was Tract 5549 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.0%	5.2%	1.3%	11.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.2%	2.0%	1.6%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.6%	16.2%	6.5%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.8%	-4.8%	2.2%	-4.4%
2010 Census Tract 5555.02 (Was Tract 5555 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.0%	2.1%	1.0%	10.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.2%	7.9%	5.6%	17.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.0%	15.1%	6.8%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.2%	-7.2%	-1.2%	-6.0%
2010 Census Tract 5556				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.2%	1.4%	0.2%	7.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.8%	1.1%	0.0%	14.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.7%	15.4%	6.7%	23.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	22.1%	-14.3%	-6.7%	-8.5%
2010 Census Tract 5557.01 (Was Tract 5557 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.8%	2.5%	2.8%	5.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.3%	8.4%	2.6%	18.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.8%	13.7%	7.1%	21.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.5%	-5.3%	-4.5%	-2.8%
2010 Census Tract 5557.02 (Was Tract 5557 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.8%	2.5%	2.8%	5.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	91.1%	5.0%	3.4%	8.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.5%	12.4%	7.4%	18.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.6%	-7.4%	-4.0%	-10.5%
2010 Census Tract 5560 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 5558 and 5559)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.3%	15.2%	0.7%	14.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.6%	10.9%	0.0%	26.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.5%	5.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.9%	-7.6%	-5.8%	-2.0%

Northeast Quadrant

Super Neighborhoods in the Northeast Quadrant

2 Greater Greenspoint	50 Settegast
42 IAH/Airport Area	51 Near Northside
43 Kingwood Area	52 Kashmere Gardens
44 Lake Houston	53 Eldorado/Oates Prairie
45 Northside Northline	54 Hunterwood
46 Eastex/Jensen Area	55 Greater Fifth Ward
47 East Little York/Homestead	57 Pleasantville
48 Trinity/Houston Gardens	58 Northshore
49 East Houston	

Census tracts not assigned to a super neighborhood are shown with data following the super neighborhoods.

Table 21: Near Northside

Super Neighborhood 51: Near Northside				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	50.4%	16.4%	0.4%	71.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.3%	14.1%	0.1%	75.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.3%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.9%	-8.2%	-5.2%	43.3%
2010 Census Tract 2104				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.2%	17.3%	0.2%	73.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.5%	17.7%	0.0%	75.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.9%	23.8%	5.3%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.6%	-6.1%	-5.3%	43.9%
2010 Census Tract 2105				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.0%	13.7%	0.1%	77.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.0%	15.5%	0.0%	76.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.1%	22.3%	5.1%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.9%	-6.9%	-5.1%	43.0%
2010 Census Tract 2106				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.2%	2.0%	0.9%	67.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.4%	3.2%	0.0%	73.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.6%	19.5%	5.7%	29.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.8%	-16.3%	-5.7%	43.2%
2010 Census Tract 2107				
Householders (2000 Census)	25.6%	38.8%	0.4%	57.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.5%	37.9%	0.0%	54.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.8%	22.7%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.3%	15.2%	-5.1%	21.8%
2010 Census Tract 2108 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.7%	61.3%	0.1%	36.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.0%	44.2%	0.0%	54.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.5%	5.1%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-17.4%	20.7%	-5.1%	22.5%
2010 Census Tract 2123 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2102 and 2103)				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.7%	7.5%	0.5%	87.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.8%	6.6%	0.5%	88.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.9%	24.8%	5.1%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.8%	-18.2%	-4.5%	55.4%
2010 Census Tract 2202				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.6%	0.8%	0.0%	79.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.0%	0.0%	0.0%	89.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.4%	5.2%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.8%	-20.4%	-5.2%	56.9%

Near Northside is immediately adjacent to Downtown. The southern two thirds of the area consists of wood frame homes surrounding commercial properties along North Main and Fulton. The northern third includes Lindale Park, with its large lots and more substantial homes. Moody Park is an important gathering place in the center of the community, as is the Davis High School–Marshall Middle School–Carnegie Library complex in the southern part of the community. Extension of the Hardy Toll Road runs along the entire eastern edge of the area. The population fell by nearly 16 percent from 29,923 to 25,257 as the annual median household income grew slightly from \$26,537 to \$30,258 in 2012, still well below the city's medians.



From at least 2000 through 2012, the Near Northside has been part of the expanding extreme and increasingly segregated concentration of Hispanics north and northeast of Downtown Houston. The proportion of households in each census tract that are Hispanic ranges from 54 to 89 percent. These proportions are 21 to 57 percentage points greater than would be expected in a free market that housing discrimination has *not* distorted.

The actual proportions of African American households are significantly less than would be expected in a free market in three tracts and noticeably greater in two tracts. The actual proportions of Caucasians are much greater in three tracts and less in one tract than would be expected in a free market untouched by housing discrimination.

As is the case in nearly every super neighborhood in this quadrant, the actual proportions of Asian households are barely measurable in any census tract. In the Near Northside, every tract would be about five percent Asian instead of actual proportions of zero to 0.5 percent.

Recommended Actions: Real estate testing is warranted in the Near Northside and in other super neighborhoods with similar demographics.

Testing is also warranted based on the differences between actual and expected proportions of Hispanics of any race, African Americans, or Caucasians in every census tract in the Near Northside.

The City of Houston should work to expand the housing choices of Latino residents of the Near Northside to include areas that are not within the city's Hispanic enclaves and expand the choices of non-Hispanic Caucasians, African Americans, and Asians to include the Near Northside and similar areas.

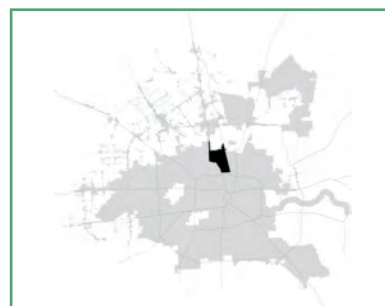
Table 22: Northside/Northline

Super Neighborhood 45: Northside/Northline				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.4%	8.2%	0.9%	59.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.5%	10.7%	1.0%	74.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	22.0%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.9%	-11.3%	-4.2%	41.7%
2010 Census Tract 2203				
Householders (2000 Census)	58.3%	1.7%	0.2%	76.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.9%	0.5%	0.0%	86.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.8%	5.3%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	24.1%	-21.2%	-5.3%	54.9%
2010 Census Tract 2204				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.7%	2.7%	0.3%	74.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.2%	0.9%	0.0%	91.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.5%	5.2%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	24.1%	-20.7%	-5.2%	58.6%
2010 Census Tract 2205				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.7%	11.9%	1.0%	54.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.5%	17.0%	0.2%	63.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.0%	24.7%	5.0%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.5%	-7.7%	-4.8%	30.5%
2010 Census Tract 2206				
Householders (2000 Census)	48.2%	20.5%	1.0%	58.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.1%	14.3%	0.0%	69.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.5%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.0%	-7.1%	-5.3%	37.5%
2010 Census Tract 2212				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.4%	2.6%	0.1%	56.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	84.0%	1.5%	0.0%	77.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	20.9%	5.2%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.5%	-19.4%	-5.2%	43.6%

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Super Neighborhood 45: Northside/Northline (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2213				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.7%	2.1%	0.7%	64.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.4%	1.2%	3.9%	84.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.4%	20.4%	5.4%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.1%	-19.2%	-1.4%	52.9%
2010 Census Tract 2214				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.7%	4.6%	0.6%	66.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	93.2%	0.6%	1.1%	82.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.8%	21.8%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	30.4%	-21.2%	-4.1%	49.5%
2010 Census Tract 2215				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.5%	13.2%	0.7%	61.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.4%	16.8%	1.2%	71.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.1%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.0%	-6.3%	-3.9%	38.6%
2010 Census Tract 2216				
Householders (2000 Census)	76.1%	3.5%	1.0%	44.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.2%	2.0%	2.1%	73.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.5%	5.4%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.0%	-18.5%	-3.3%	41.2%
2010 Census Tract 2217				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.9%	1.9%	2.7%	57.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.6%	2.6%	1.6%	80.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.5%	5.2%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.6%	-18.9%	-3.6%	47.7%
2010 Census Tract 5307				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.8%	33.2%	1.0%	45.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.3%	34.4%	0.0%	53.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.5%	23.3%	5.2%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.2%	11.1%	-5.2%	21.2%

The Northside/Northline super neighborhood is in the north central part of the city. The area is largely single-family residential with large apartment complexes located near the I-45 (North Freeway) on the western edge of the community. The two major roadways, I-45 and the Hardy Toll road, provide access to the area. The North Freeway initially spurred development of numerous retail centers, light industrial and distribution facilities in close proximity to the freeway. The population grew from 54,676 to 59,451 in 2012 while the annual median household income increased slightly from \$27,773 to \$31,501 in 2012.



Immediately north of the Near Northside, Northside/Northline continues the pattern to its east of extreme actual concentrations of Latino households constituting 30 to 66 percentage points more than would be expected in a free housing market undistorted by discrimination. The actual proportions of African American households in seven of the 11 tracts is notably less than would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination while the actual proportions of white households is significantly greater in nine out of 11 census tracts.

Since 2000, this super neighborhood has become increasingly Hispanic and white while the proportion of African Americans has declined in most of the census tracts.

Recommended Actions: Testing is warranted based on the differences between actual and expected proportions of Hispanics of any race, African Americans, or Caucasians in every census tract in the Northside/Northline.

The City of Houston should work to expand the housing choices of Latino residents of the Northside/Northline to include areas that are not within the city's Hispanic enclaves and of non-Hispanic Caucasians, African Americans, and Asians to include Northside/Northline.

Table 23: Greater Greenspoint

Super Neighborhood 2: Greater Greenspoint				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	39.5%	32.4%	2.3%	44.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.9%	44.4%	2.1%	45.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.2%	5.1%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-14.3%	22.2%	-3.1%	12.4%
2010 Census Tract 2224.01 (Was Tract 2224 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.6%	7.0%	2.8%	47.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.0%	0.0%	0.0%	82.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.8%	22.7%	5.0%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	32.1%	-22.7%	-5.0%	48.8%
2010 Census Tract 2225.01 (Was Tract 2225 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.8%	16.9%	1.0%	57.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.4%	10.2%	0.0%	84.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.2%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	24.1%	-12.0%	-5.0%	50.0%
2010 Census Tract 2225.02 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2224 and 2225. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.8%	13.3%	1.7%	53.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.0%	2.6%	1.3%	72.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.6%	19.5%	5.6%	30.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.4%	-16.9%	-4.3%	42.1%
2010 Census Tract 2225.03 (Was Tract 2225 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.8%	16.9%	1.0%	57.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.2%	10.2%	0.0%	82.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.7%	5.2%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	22.3%	-11.5%	-5.2%	50.1%
2010 Census Tract 2226				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.8%	33.0%	1.1%	57.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.1%	23.0%	0.0%	73.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.6%	24.9%	4.9%	33.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.5%	-2.0%	-4.9%	40.1%
2010 Census Tract 2401				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.4%	34.9%	3.5%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.6%	40.3%	3.3%	47.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.3%	23.0%	4.9%	34.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.7%	17.2%	-1.6%	12.5%
2010 Census Tract 2405.01 (Was Tract 2405 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	22.1%	56.4%	1.3%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.8%	55.0%	0.7%	43.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.9%	22.5%	4.9%	34.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.0%	32.5%	-4.2%	8.7%

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Super Neighborhood 2: Greater Greenspoint (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2405.02 (Was Tract 2405 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	22.1%	56.4%	1.3%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.0%	53.6%	1.2%	40.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.2%	23.2%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.2%	30.4%	-3.7%	6.4%
2010 Census Tract 2406 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	35.5%	36.5%	2.6%	37.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.5%	53.6%	0.8%	41.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.3%	23.8%	4.7%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-19.8%	29.7%	-3.9%	6.1%
2010 Census Tract 5337.01 (Was Tract 5337 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	35.5%	25.7%	4.6%	55.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.3%	15.7%	4.5%	76.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.0%	5.1%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.6%	-6.3%	-0.6%	43.5%
2010 Census Tract 5501				
Householders (2000 Census)	28.2%	51.8%	4.0%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.7%	54.6%	1.3%	36.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.9%	23.3%	4.8%	35.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.2%	31.3%	-3.5%	0.8%
2010 Census Tract 5502				
Householders (2000 Census)	20.1%	70.1%	0.7%	16.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	34.7%	57.8%	0.0%	35.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.2%	24.1%	4.9%	34.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-25.5%	33.8%	-4.9%	0.8%
2010 Census Tract 5503.01 (Was Tract 5503 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.3%	22.2%	3.2%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	32.9%	63.4%	2.9%	22.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.0%	22.3%	5.0%	34.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.1%	41.2%	-2.1%	-12.1%
2010 Census Tract 5504.02 (Was Tract 5504 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	43.8%	46.7%	3.4%	13.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.3%	70.8%	3.8%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.4%	5.7%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-45.5%	51.4%	-1.9%	-8.7%
2010 Census Tract 5505 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.1%	50.7%	10.2%	18.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.5%	36.5%	9.5%	39.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.8%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.6%	15.7%	4.1%	8.5%

Greater Greenspoint takes its name from the shopping mall at its center. The original subdivisions here were developed for Houstonians seeking moderately priced homes in the Aldine Independent School District close to the North Freeway. The opening of Intercontinental Airport in 1969 transformed the intersection of 1–45 and the Beltway into a commercial crossroads. The subsequent rapid development of office space around the mall provided the jobs to support massive construction of apartment complexes, which now dominate much of the landscape. The real estate bust of the last decade produced significant deterioration in those complexes, and led to the creation of a management district. Crime has been significantly reduced and renovation of thousands of the apartments is underway. Between 2000 and 2012, the population grew slightly from 40,671 to 42,569 and the annual median household income declined from \$27,240 to \$26,823.



North of Northside/Northline, the census tracts in the south two-thirds of Greater Greenspoint east of U.S. 45 are part of the growing extreme concentrations of Hispanic households characteristic of most of Houston's northeast quadrant. The proportions of Hispanic and white households grew dramatically this century in tracts 2224.01, 2225.01, 2225.02, 2225.03, and 2226. The actual proportion of Hispanic households ranged from 40 to 50 percentage points higher than would be expected in a housing market not distorted by discrimination. In all five tracts, the actual proportion of whites was 22 to 32 percentage points higher than would be expected. The tract immediately west of these across U.S. 45, 5337.0, experienced similar growth in the Hispanic concentration with the actual proportion being more than 43 percentage points higher than would be expected.

The remaining tracts at the north end and west ends of Greater Greenspoint had higher actual proportions of African American households and lower proportions of Caucasian households than would be expected in a free market devoid of housing discrimination. The actual proportions of Hispanics were within the range of what would be expected.

The two tracts immediately north of Greater Greenspoint that are not assigned to any super neighborhood — 2407.02 and 2407.03 both had fewer whites living in them than would be expected absent housing discrimination. In 2407.02 the actual proportion of Latino households more than doubled this century and was 20 percentage points greater than what would be expected while the proportion of whites fell by almost a third and was 21.8 percentage points less than would be expected. Immediately north, the actual proportion of African Americans more than doubled in tract 2407.01 and was more than 29 percentage points greater than would be expected while the actual proportion of white households declined by 26 percentage points and was nearly 30 percentage points lower than would be expected absent housing discrimination.

Recommended Actions: Testing is warranted based on the differences between actual and expected proportions of Hispanics of any

race, African Americans, or Caucasians in every census tract in Greater Greenspoint.

The City of Houston should work to expand the housing choices of Latino and African American residents of Greater Greenspoint to include all of Greater Greenspoint as well as areas that are not within the city's Hispanic or Black enclaves and of non-Hispanic Caucasians and Asians to include Greater Greenspoint.

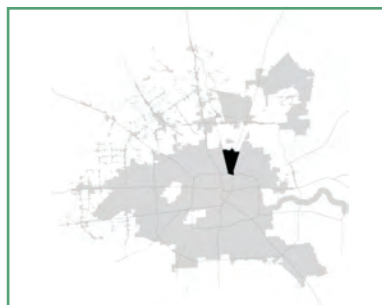
Table 24: Eastex/Jensen Area

Super Neighborhood 46: Eastex/Jensen Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.9%	27.5%	0.4%	55.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.5%	26.8%	0.1%	65.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.4%	5.2%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.8%	4.4%	-5.1%	32.9%
2010 Census Tract 2201				
Householders (2000 Census)	12.1%	67.6%	0.1%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	32.0%	56.5%	0.0%	43.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.7%	23.2%	5.3%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.7%	33.4%	-5.3%	11.9%
2010 Census Tract 2207				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.5%	31.7%	0.2%	57.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.7%	36.9%	0.0%	60.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.5%	23.1%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.8%	13.8%	-5.1%	27.7%
2010 Census Tract 2208				
Householders (2000 Census)	20.8%	67.9%	0.7%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	34.5%	58.4%	0.0%	41.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	58.6%	26.1%	5.0%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-24.1%	32.2%	-5.0%	9.6%
2010 Census Tract 2209				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.9%	14.6%	0.8%	73.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.1%	13.5%	0.0%	79.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	22.9%	5.2%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.5%	-9.3%	-5.2%	46.1%
2010 Census Tract 2210				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.9%	23.1%	0.4%	57.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.2%	20.8%	0.0%	66.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.0%	22.5%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.8%	-1.7%	-5.1%	32.6%

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Super Neighborhood 46: Eastex/Jensen Area (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2211				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.8%	2.3%	1.3%	65.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.3%	1.1%	0.0%	83.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.6%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.2%	-19.5%	-5.3%	51.0%
2010 Census Tract 2220				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.5%	7.2%	0.0%	58.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.1%	1.4%	0.0%	81.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.6%	5.2%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.9%	-19.2%	-5.2%	48.9%
2010 Census Tract 2305				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.2%	29.1%	0.3%	59.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	43.6%	29.0%	0.0%	63.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.7%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-19.4%	7.4%	-5.3%	31.5%
2010 Census Tract 2317 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	60.0%	4.8%	0.2%	67.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.8%	5.3%	0.5%	80.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.7%	5.3%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.7%	-15.4%	-4.8%	48.5%

Immediately east of the Northside/Northline super neighborhood, the Eastex/Jensen Area is a part of northeast Houston outside the North Loop on both sides of the important Eastex Freeway and Jensen Drive corridors. The many neighborhoods found here are made up of modest frame homes set in pine forests. Subdivisions include Huntington Place, Croyden Gardens and Epsom Downs, which was the site of a horse race track in the 1930s. Jensen was once the primary highway to east Texas but was replaced by the Eastex Freeway. The area is split between Houston, Aldine and North Forest school districts. The population declined from 28,196 to 26,236 in 2012 while the annual median household income moved up slightly from \$25,236 to \$29,319 in 2012, still well below the city's medians.



Most of the Eastex/Jensen Area is also within the intense Latino enclave north and northeast of Downtown Houston. The concentrations are not quite as severe as in the Near Northside. However, in seven of the nine census tracts, the difference between the actual proportions of Hispanic households and the proportions expected in a free market absent housing discrimination range from 31 to 51 percentage points. Two tracts — 2201 and 2208 — are part of the African

American enclave in Kashmere Gardens that also extends east of the Eastex Jensen Area. In three of the tracts — 2211, 2220, 2317 — the actual proportion of Blacks is significantly less than expected. Similarly the proportion of Caucasians is significantly less than expected in three tracts and greater in one.

All of the census tracts between the Eastex Jensen Area and the IAH/Airport Area super neighborhood for which household data were available had significantly higher actual proportions of Latino households than would be expected without discrimination. The proportions of Hispanic households range from 77 to 88 percent — all higher than in 2000 — while the actual proportions of African Americans was about 19 percent lower than expected.

Immediately north of these tracts sits tract 2229 where the actual proportion of Latino households is more than 43 percentage points greater than would be expected.

And as is the case with the Near Northside and other super neighborhoods, the number of Asian households barely registers.

Recommended Actions: Testing is warranted based on the differences between actual and expected proportions of Hispanics of any race, African Americans, or Caucasians in every census tract in the Eastex/Jensen Area.

The City of Houston should work to expand the housing choices of Latino and African American residents of the Eastex/Jensen Area to include all of this super neighborhood as well as areas that are not within the city's Hispanic or Black enclaves and of non-Hispanic Caucasians and Asians to include the Eastex/Jensen Area.

Table 25: IAH/Airport Area

Super Neighborhood 42: IAH/Airport Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.1%	26.7%	1.2%	20.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	49.4%	36.8%	3.0%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.3%	5.7%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.4%	16.5%	-2.8%	3.0%
2010 Census Tract 2227				
Householders (2000 Census)	23.8%	67.9%	0.4%	13.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	21.7%	72.7%	0.0%	20.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	58.2%	26.4%	5.2%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-36.6%	46.3%	-5.2%	-11.6%
2010 Census Tract 2231				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.6%	11.8%	1.3%	37.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.6%	11.9%	0.0%	73.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.4%	5.2%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.3%	-9.5%	-5.2%	40.6%
2010 Census Tract 2322				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.6%	7.5%	0.5%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.2%	18.9%	4.1%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.1%	16.7%	6.3%	25.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.0%	2.2%	-2.2%	8.2%
2010 Census Tract 2415 (Was Tract 2402 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.1%	3.3%	1.6%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	46.8%	41.4%	1.8%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.9%	22.7%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.1%	18.7%	-3.3%	-3.8%
2010 Census Tract 2501				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.1%	15.3%	2.2%	15.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.0%	30.0%	5.2%	42.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.2%	6.1%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-22.2%	11.8%	-0.9%	14.2%
2010 Census Tract 9801 (Was 2403 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	55.3%	33.2%	1.6%	16.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	25.1%	46.7%	0.0%	53.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.8%	23.0%	4.3%	37.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-35.7%	23.7%	-4.3%	15.5%

The IAH/Airport Area consists of subdivisions, commercial developments and undeveloped land surrounding George Bush Intercontinental Airport. Planning and land acquisition for the airport began in the early 1960s when this area included heavily wooded land on the edge of development. Many of the small subdivisions here recently received city water and sewer service, reflecting their origins as rural home sites including Bordersville, the last section of which was recently annexed at its residents' request. The World Houston and Interwood developments on the airport's south side are major employment centers. Population roughly doubled from 5,590 to 11,266 in 2012 with a decline in annual median household income from \$32,844 down to \$32,563 in 2012.



In three of the five tracts, the actual proportion of African Americans was from 18 to 46 percentage points greater, and proportions of Caucasian households lower than would be anticipated in a free market without housing discrimination.

Signs of resegregation are visible in most of the IAH/Airport Area. Since 2000, tract 2501 has experienced resegregation from virtually all white (94.1 percent in 2000 to 45 percent, 22.2 percentage points below expectations) while the percentage of African American households skyrocketed from 2.9 to 30 percent, 11.8 percent greater than expected, and the actual proportion of Latino households soared from 5.9 to 42.1 percent, 14.2 percentage points greater than expected in a free housing market. The proportions of Latino households in tract 9801 rose from 16.7 to 53.3 percent since 2000, 15.5 percentage points more than expected.

The percentage of white households plummeted from 55.3 to 25.1 percent, 35.7 percentage points lower than expected while the actual proportion of Black households doubled, creating a 23.7 percentage point gap between actual and expected. Tract 2415 also showed a huge decline in the proportion of Caucasian households while the proportion of African American households increased more than 12 fold from 3.3 to 41.4 percent, 18.7 percentage points higher than expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

In tract 2231 the actual percentage of Latino households roughly doubled from 37.8 to 73 percent, 40.6 percentage points higher than expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to identify the real estate industry practices and any public policies or practices that led to the rapid resegregation of much of the IAH/Airport area so the city can learn how to craft strategies to prevent recurrences of this failure to affirmatively further fair housing elsewhere in Houston.

Census Tracts Not Assigned to Any Super Neighborhood. The tracts north of the IAH/Airport Area super neighborhood not assigned to any super neighborhood and for which data were available — 2404, 2408.02, 2409.02 — showed no signs of racial or ethnic concentrations nor did tract 2506 to the IAH/Airport Area's east. In tract 2503.01, the actual proportion of white households

was 31 percentage points lower than expected while the actual proportion of African American households was about 28 percentage points higher than expected in a free market absent housing discrimination. Since 2000, the proportion of Caucasian households fell nearly in half, from 73 to 37 percent, while the proportion of Black households nearly tripled from 17 to 45 percent — changes characteristic of resegregation.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to identify the real estate industry practices and any public policies or practices that led to the rapid resegregation of census tract 2503.1 so the city can craft strategies to prevent recurrences of this failure to affirmatively further fair housing elsewhere in Houston.

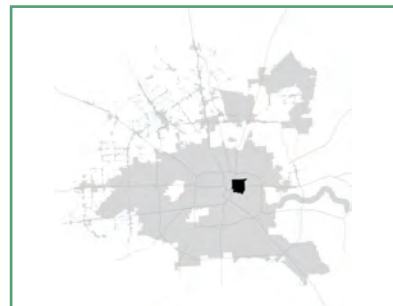
Table 26: Greater Fifth Ward

Super Neighborhood 55: Greater Fifth Ward				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	23.5%	62.0%	0.3%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.1%	56.0%	1.0%	39.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.2%	24.5%	5.1%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-25.2%	31.5%	-4.1%	6.9%
2010 Census Tract 2108				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.7%	61.3%	0.1%	36.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.0%	44.2%	0.0%	54.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.5%	5.1%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-17.4%	20.7%	-5.1%	22.5%
2010 Census Tract 2111				
Householders (2000 Census)	21.1%	65.4%	0.2%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	26.9%	60.4%	0.5%	37.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.0%	25.5%	4.8%	34.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.0%	34.9%	-4.2%	3.2%
2010 Census Tract 2112 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	11.4%	78.5%	0.2%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	13.2%	82.2%	0.0%	17.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.8%	24.8%	4.9%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-46.6%	57.4%	-4.9%	-15.7%
2010 Census Tract 2113				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.3%	86.6%	0.2%	11.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	16.1%	83.9%	0.0%	12.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	58.6%	26.2%	5.0%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-42.4%	57.7%	-5.0%	-20.1%
2010 Census Tract 2114				
Householders (2000 Census)	12.3%	78.9%	0.4%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	24.9%	65.3%	6.9%	22.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	22.0%	5.9%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-38.5%	43.3%	1.1%	-5.2%

Continued on the next page

Super Neighborhood 55: Greater Fifth Ward (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2116 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.2%	25.4%	0.4%	69.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.7%	20.2%	0.0%	69.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	22.0%	5.1%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.1%	-1.8%	-5.1%	36.5%
2010 Census Tract 2117 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	7.5%	84.1%	0.1%	14.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.9%	79.6%	0.0%	18.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.6%	24.9%	5.0%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-43.7%	54.8%	-5.0%	-14.8%
2010 Census Tract 2123 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2102 and 2103)				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.7%	7.5%	0.5%	87.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.8%	6.6%	0.5%	88.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.9%	24.8%	5.1%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.8%	-18.2%	-4.5%	55.4%

The Greater Fifth Ward has its origins on the north bank of Buffalo Bayou across from the original town site for Houston. Originally a multi-racial community, Fifth Ward quickly became one of the centers of Houston's African American community. Its commercial streets, especially Lyons and Jensen, provided retail outlets and entertainment for the residents of the small wood frame homes that predominated in the area. Small clusters of brick homes identified a small middle class population. Many original, substandard housing units have been demolished over the past two decades, but a recent revival of commercial activity and home construction is now filling these empty lots. The population fell nearly 10 percent, from 22,211 to 20,106 in 2012 while the annual median household income rose 42 percent from \$14,720 to \$20,870 in 2012, still less than half of the city's median household income.



The west end of the Greater Fifth Ward super neighborhood — tract 2108 — is a real mixed bag. While it is moving toward the racial composition that would be expected in a free market absent housing discrimination, the growth in the proportion of Hispanic households suggests that the tract *could* be resegregating to primarily Latino residents.

The actual proportion of African Americans is much greater in six of the eight census tracts than would be expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination, with the differences ranging from 20 to 58 percentage points. Concomitantly, the actual proportions of whites ranged from 17 to 46 percentage points less than would be expected. The actual proportions of Hispanic house-

holds were lower than expected in tracts 2112 and 2113.

Tract 2123 which is shared with the Near Northside and Downtown super neighborhoods has a much greater Latino population than would be expected (55.4 percentage points higher), greater white population than would be expected, and lower Black population than would be anticipated. The proportion of Hispanic households has remained around 88 percent this century.

Recommended Actions: The decision to live in the Greater Fifth Ward should be a matter of choice, not a location forced on residents due to housing discrimination elsewhere in Houston or residents feeling that other housing locations are not available to minority residents of the Greater Fifth Ward.

The City of Houston needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans and Latinos will expand their housing searches beyond just the city's Black and Hispanic concentrations, and so that whites and Asians will include integrated and predominantly minority areas in their housing searches.

Housing affordable to households with modest incomes should be maintained and preserved as affordable to households with modest incomes to prevent gentrification that could force such minority and lower-income households out of the Greater Fifth Ward.

Table 27: Kashmere Gardens

Super Neighborhood 52: Kashmere Gardens				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	7.8%	83.9%	0.2%	14.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	14.1%	81.3%	0.2%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.3%	5.1%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.3%	58.1%	-4.9%	-15.9%
2010 Census Tract 2108				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.7%	61.3%	0.1%	36.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.0%	44.2%	0.0%	54.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.5%	5.1%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-17.4%	20.7%	-5.1%	22.5%
2010 Census Tract 2109				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.5%	88.7%	0.6%	8.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	18.6%	77.5%	1.8%	16.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.7%	5.3%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-44.8%	55.7%	-3.5%	-15.1%
2010 Census Tract 2110				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.9%	87.8%	0.6%	10.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	8.3%	86.6%	0.3%	13.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.5%	23.3%	4.9%	33.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-53.2%	63.3%	-4.6%	-19.5%
2010 Census Tract 2112				
Householders (2000 Census)	11.4%	78.5%	0.2%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	13.2%	82.2%	0.0%	17.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.8%	24.8%	4.9%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-46.6%	57.4%	-4.9%	-15.7%
2010 Census Tract 2117				
Householders (2000 Census)	7.5%	84.1%	0.1%	14.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.9%	79.6%	0.0%	18.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.6%	24.9%	5.0%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-43.7%	54.8%	-5.0%	-14.8%
2010 Census Tract 2301				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.1%	93.6%	0.2%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	2.3%	96.5%	0.0%	2.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	23.2%	5.3%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-59.4%	73.4%	-5.3%	-29.1%
2010 Census Tract 2302 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.9%	93.4%	0.1%	3.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.3%	89.8%	0.0%	7.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	22.1%	5.1%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-55.3%	67.7%	-5.1%	-25.2%

Kashmere Gardens, located north of the Fifth Ward along Loop 610 (N. Loop E.), is an area of modest single family homes, many on large lots. Some areas are wooded. The eastern edge is made up of warehouses and light industry. The western edge is adjacent to a major rail yard and rail corridor. The Harris County public hospital, named for Lyndon B. Johnson, is located on Loop 610 east of Lockwood Drive. The number of residents fell slightly from 11,286 to 10,842 while the annual median household income barely budged from \$20,360 to \$21,492 in 2012, even more below the city's median in 2012 than in 2000.



Kashmere Gardens has long been consolidated into the city's Black enclaves. The actual proportions of African American households *exceeds* the proportions expected in a free market absent housing discrimination by 20 to 73 percentage points. The actual proportions of Caucasian households are from 17 to nearly 60 percentage points *lower* than would be expected without discrimination in play. These concentrations likely reflect past and present housing discrimination.

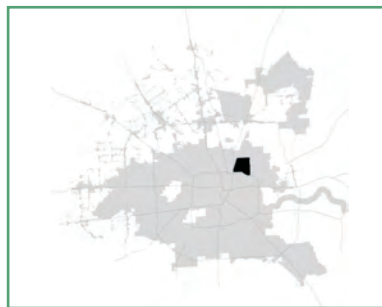
The actual proportion of Latino households was notably less than would be expected in a free market without discrimination in all but one census tract.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should work to expand the housing choices of Latino and African American residents of Kashmere Gardens to include areas that are not within the city's Hispanic or Black enclaves and expand the housing choices of Caucasians, Latinos, and Asians to include Kashmere Gardens.

Table 28: Trinity/Houston Gardens

Super Neighborhood 48: Trinity/Houston Gardens				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	5.8%	88.1%	0.1%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	13.6%	82.7%	0.0%	14.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.3%	5.1%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.8%	59.4%	-5.1%	-17.9%
2010 Census Tract 2301				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.1%	93.6%	0.2%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	2.3%	96.5%	0.0%	2.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	23.2%	5.3%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-59.4%	73.4%	-5.3%	-29.1%
2010 Census Tract 2302				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.9%	93.4%	0.1%	3.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.3%	89.8%	0.0%	7.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	22.1%	5.1%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-55.3%	67.7%	-5.1%	-25.2%
2010 Census Tract 2303				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.2%	92.5%	0.2%	5.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	16.7%	83.3%	0.0%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.6%	25.0%	5.0%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-42.9%	58.3%	-5.0%	-21.8%
2010 Census Tract 2304				
Householders (2000 Census)	11.4%	73.8%	0.0%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	26.6%	64.9%	0.0%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.7%	22.8%	4.9%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-35.1%	42.1%	-4.9%	-3.8%
2010 Census Tract 2306				
Householders (2000 Census)	9.7%	79.7%	0.1%	16.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	16.1%	79.0%	0.0%	18.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.3%	24.4%	5.0%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-44.2%	54.6%	-5.0%	-14.5%
2010 Census Tract 2308				
Householders (2000 Census)	5.4%	90.1%	0.1%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.4%	82.1%	0.0%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.7%	5.2%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.5%	60.3%	-5.2%	-15.3%
2010 Census Tract 2309				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.6%	92.8%	0.1%	3.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	12.0%	84.1%	0.0%	15.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.9%	25.0%	5.2%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.8%	59.1%	-5.2%	-16.1%

Trinity/Houston Gardens takes its name from two communities: Trinity Gardens and Houston Gardens. Originally developed as communities just outside the city, each had oversized single-family home sites, allowing residents to have their own gardens. Now, home types vary widely, although most are single family and, generally, affordable. Density remains low. Railroad tracks trisect the neighborhood and are a dominant feature. Some of the inexpensive land has been converted to industrial uses, especially on the community's eastern edge. The number of residents barely budged, from 18,054 to 18,110 in 2012. The annual median household income — \$20,044 in 2000 and \$25,409 in 2012 — remained well below city medians.



Trinity/Houston Gardens is another low-income super neighborhood consolidated into the city's African American enclave. All census tracts exhibit the characteristics of racial segregation: the proportions of Black households range from 73 to nearly 94 percent with the proportions of Caucasians in single digits in all but one census tract.

The gaps between the actual proportions of African American households and the proportions expected in a free market without housing discrimination range from 42 to 73 percentage points while the gaps among white households range between 35 and 59 percentage points.

In five of the seven tracts, the gaps in the proportions of Hispanic households range from 15 to 29 percentage points.

There are some signs of a slight reduction in concentrations since 2000 with the actual percentages of African American households declining in all but one tract and the actual percentages of white and Latino households increasing in all but one census tract.

Recommended Actions: Testing is warranted to identify any real estate industry practices that continue to maintain segregation in Trinity/Houston Gardens.

The City of Houston needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans will look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and that whites, Hispanics, and Asians will consider housing throughout this super neighborhood.

Table 29: East Little York/Homestead

Super Neighborhood 47: East Little York/Homestead				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	18.1%	72.3%	0.6%	14.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	19.3%	75.4%	0.0%	20.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.6%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-43.8%	53.8%	-5.3%	-12.0%
2010 Census Tract 2307				
Householders (2000 Census)	8.1%	87.0%	0.1%	9.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	8.7%	88.0%	0.0%	11.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.2%	24.8%	5.2%	31.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-51.5%	63.3%	-5.2%	-20.5%
2010 Census Tract 2314				
Householders (2000 Census)	0.2%	98.7%	0.1%	0.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	1.5%	97.1%	0.0%	2.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.4%	5.3%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-62.8%	76.7%	-5.3%	-30.3%
2010 Census Tract 2315				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.2%	97.5%	0.0%	1.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	5.3%	93.1%	0.0%	7.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.8%	23.9%	5.4%	31.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-55.5%	69.2%	-5.4%	-24.3%
2010 Census Tract 2316				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.2%	91.8%	0.0%	5.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	5.2%	91.8%	0.0%	7.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.2%	5.2%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-58.1%	70.6%	-5.2%	-24.9%
2010 Census Tract 2318				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.4%	51.7%	0.0%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.0%	47.7%	0.0%	43.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.3%	5.2%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-17.3%	25.4%	-5.2%	10.3%
2010 Census Tract 2319				
Householders (2000 Census)	12.4%	79.8%	0.5%	11.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	24.6%	73.3%	0.0%	20.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.6%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-39.6%	52.7%	-5.3%	-12.1%
2010 Census Tract 2320 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tract 2320 and 2502. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	39.6%	42.3%	1.5%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.5%	47.6%	0.0%	44.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	19.9%	5.4%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.3%	27.7%	-5.4%	13.0%

East Little York/Homestead is named after the two major thoroughfares that divide the community into quarters. The neighborhoods included in this North Forest Independent School District community include Fontaine Place, Scenic Woods, Northwood Manor, and the recently annexed Riverwoods Estates. These wooded subdivisions consist of modest single family homes built in the 1950s and 1960s. The newest subdivisions, like Riverwoods Estates have more recent construction and larger homes. There is very little in the way of commercial or industrial development, although a large landfill is located on the eastern edge of the community. The neighborhood lost over 11 percent of its population, going from 22,140 to 19,610 in 2012 while the annual median household income rose from \$28,495 to \$35,198, still well below city medians.



A part of the city's Black enclave, East Little York/Homestead exhibits the same demographic characteristics as Trinty/Houston Gardens immediately to its south. Tract 2319, at the northeast end of this super neighborhood, however, shows a reduction in its African American concentration since 2000, although the actual proportion of Black households is still nearly 53 percentage points greater than would be expected in the absence of present or historic housing discrimination.

Tracts 2307, 2314, 2315, and 2316 are extremely racially segregated with actual proportions of Black households that are 63.3, 76.7, 69.2, and 70.6 percentage points, respectively, greater than expected in a free market without discrimination.

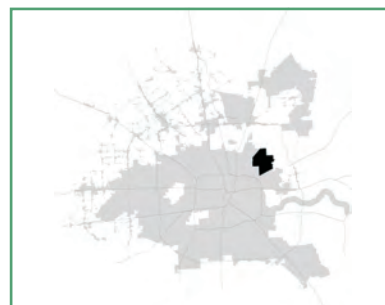
The proportions of Hispanic households has increased throughout this super neighborhood, but still remain significantly below what would be expected in four of the seven census tracts.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in the East Little York/Homestead super neighborhood, the City of Houston needs to expand the housing choices of African Americans to look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and those of whites, Hispanics, and Asians to consider housing in super neighborhoods like East Little York/Homestead. It will take many generations to effect significant change in an area this segregated.

Table 30: East Houston

Super Neighborhood 49: East Houston				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	14.9%	73.9%	0.2%	16.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.3%	71.0%	0.2%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.1%	22.5%	5.2%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-41.8%	48.5%	-4.9%	-8.5%
2010 Census Tract 2310				
Householders (2000 Census)	12.1%	78.2%	0.1%	14.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	22.6%	72.4%	0.0%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.5%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.4%	50.9%	-5.0%	-9.9%
2010 Census Tract 2311				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.6%	45.7%	0.4%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	43.7%	46.8%	0.0%	44.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.2%	5.3%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-18.7%	24.6%	-5.3%	11.8%
2010 Census Tract 2312				
Householders (2000 Census)	7.6%	82.9%	0.3%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	13.8%	76.6%	0.7%	21.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.2%	23.5%	5.2%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.4%	53.1%	-4.5%	-10.5%
2010 Census Tract 2313				
Householders (2000 Census)	7.5%	87.8%	0.0%	7.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.9%	82.1%	0.0%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.2%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-54.5%	59.9%	-5.2%	-21.3%

East Houston is a collection of neighborhoods in the northeastern part of the city. The name is taken from an old subdivision located just off what was then the highway to Beaumont; most of that old town site remains undeveloped. The community is made up largely of single family homes in standard suburban tract subdivisions. The area remains generally wooded, especially close to Halls Bayou, where a City of Houston golf course, Brock Park, is found. A major industrial park, Railwood, is located in the southeast corner of the community adjacent to a major land fill. There was a slight population increase from 19,744 to 20,537 in 2012 while the annual median household income of \$25,924 in 2000 and \$32,078 in 2012 remained well below the city's medians.



Like the two previous super neighborhoods, East Houston is part of the city's African American concentration. However, the intensity of the concentration of Black households has fallen a bit in three of the four census tracts while the percentages of Caucasians and Latinos have increased in all four tracts.

There still remain large differences between the actual proportions of African American and white households and the proportions expected in a free housing market without historic or present discrimination.

The concentrations are significantly less intense in tract 2311, although still reflective of possible housing discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations of this study to prevent tract 2311 from becoming as segregated as the rest of East Houston, including promoting a wider range of housing choices for African American residents of East Houston outside the city's Black enclaves and for Caucasian, Asian, and Hispanic households to include East Houston in their housing choices.

Table 31: Settegast

Super Neighborhood 50: Settegast				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.6%	92.8%	0.1%	3.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	12.0%	84.1%	0.0%	15.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.9%	25.0%	5.2%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.8%	59.1%	-5.2%	-16.1%
2010 Census Tract 2309				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.6%	92.8%	0.1%	3.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	12.0%	84.1%	0.0%	15.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.9%	25.0%	5.2%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.8%	59.1%	-5.2%	-16.1%

Settegast was originally an inexpensive location for African American Houstonians seeking housing in northeast Houston. Currently, small wood frame homes are interspersed with many empty lots and very few commercial or industrial uses. It is bordered on the west by a very large railroad switching yard, and on the south by Loop 610 and the old Beaumont highway. The community had its own high school when the Northeast Houston Independent School District (now North Forest Independent School District) was segregated. In the northeast corner of the community is the large campus of the Old Lakewood Church. Population fell by nearly one-fourth, from 4,352 to 3,300 in 2012. The annual median household income rose slightly from \$16,906 to \$20,989 in 2012, more than \$20,000 below the city's medians in both years.



Settegast has the same Black and Caucasian demographic characteristics as the super neighborhoods to its north and west but with an Hispanic population lower than would be expected in a free housing market.

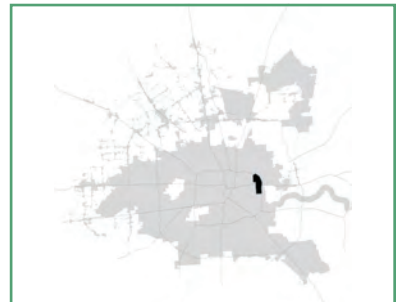
Since 2000, Settegast has become a bit more diverse with the percentages of African Americans declining slightly and the percentages of whites and Latinos growing.

Recommended Actions: By implementing the recommendations of this study to expand housing choice, the City of Houston can facilitate greater diversity in Settegast.

Table 32: Pleasantville Area

Super Neighborhood 57: Pleasantville Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	26.5%	55.5%	0.1%	40.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.2%	50.7%	0.5%	45.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	23.0%	5.1%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-19.4%	27.7%	-4.6%	12.6%
2010 Census Tract 2124 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2118 and 2120)				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.3%	9.7%	0.4%	82.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.5%	12.8%	1.2%	79.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.2%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.0%	-9.4%	-4.0%	46.5%
2010 Census Tract 2125 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2121 and 2122)				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.8%	84.8%	0.0%	12.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.5%	76.1%	0.0%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.0%	23.5%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.5%	52.6%	-5.1%	-10.1%

The Pleasantville Area includes many industrial areas, as well as two distinct residential areas. Groveland Terrace is a small residential area in the north and south of Interstate 10 (East Freeway) is the Pleasantville subdivision. Pleasantville was developed after World War II and is predominantly African American. The high homeownership rate and strong neighborhood identity has staved off deterioration even as the residential area has been surrounded by warehouses and industries. The number of residents in this sparsely populated neighborhood barely grew from 3,564 to 3,679 in 2012 while the annual median household income remained stagnant at \$28,218, barely up from \$27,138 in 2000.



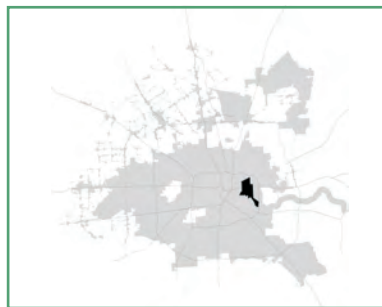
North of highway U.S. 10, census tract 2124 is part of the west end of a concentration of Hispanic households that is considerably more intense than would be expected absent housing discrimination. In census tract 2125, south of the highway, the gaps between the actual proportions of white and African American households and the proportions anticipated in a free housing market are huge. However, during this time, the tract has become more diverse except for the nearly complete absence of Asian households.

Recommended Actions: By implementing the recommendations of this study to expand housing choice, Houston can facilitate greater diversity in Pleasantville.

Table 33: Denver Harbor/Port Houston

Super Neighborhood 56: Denver Harbor/Port Houston				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.4%	26.4%	0.2%	67.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.6%	23.5%	0.2%	72.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.1%	22.5%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.4%	1.0%	-5.0%	39.7%
2010 Census Tract 2115				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.8%	8.2%	0.1%	83.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.2%	8.6%	0.0%	90.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.7%	5.3%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.1%	-13.1%	-5.3%	58.7%
2010 Census Tract 2116				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.2%	25.4%	0.4%	69.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.7%	20.2%	0.0%	69.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	22.0%	5.1%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.1%	-1.8%	-5.1%	36.5%
2010 Census Tract 2119				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.3%	0.5%	0.4%	93.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.7%	0.0%	0.0%	95.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.1%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.3%	-23.1%	-5.1%	62.1%
2010 Census Tract 2124 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2118 and 2120)				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.3%	9.7%	0.4%	82.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.5%	12.8%	1.2%	79.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.2%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.0%	-9.4%	-4.0%	46.5%
2010 Census Tract 2125 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2121 and 2122)				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.8%	84.8%	0.0%	12.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.5%	76.1%	0.0%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.0%	23.5%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.5%	52.6%	-5.1%	-10.1%

Denver Harbor/Port Houston consists of two distinct but similar neighborhoods located north of the Houston Ship Channel turning basin. The southern portion of the area along Clinton Drive is industrial. The smaller residential area, Port Houston, is laid out on both sides of McCarty Street. It has a mix of residential, commercial and industrial uses. Denver Harbor is primarily residential. Lyons Avenue is the major commercial corridor in Denver Harbor. Although Interstate Highway 10 splits Denver Harbor physically, its identity has remained strong. Both neighborhoods, originally blue collar Anglo neighborhoods, are now predominantly Hispanic. The population declined from 19,684 to 17,725 in 2012. Annual median household income barely grew from \$29,846 to \$31,734 in 2012, both well below the city's medians.



All but one census tract in Denver Harbor/Port Houston sits within an intense concentration of Latino households that extends eastward through the Pleasantville Area, El Dorado/Oates Prairie, Northshore super neighborhoods and beyond. In four of the five census tracts, the actual proportions of Hispanic households range from 36 to 62 percentage points greater than would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination. The proportion of African American households in tract 2119 barely registers, a tract that was 95 percent Latino by the end of the decade.

Tract 2125 which is shared with the Denver Harbor/Port Houston super neighborhood has a far larger African American population and much smaller Caucasian population than would be expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: Testing should reveal any continuing illegal discriminatory real estate practices that contribute to the extreme concentrations of Latino households in Denver Harbor/Port Houston.

Table 34: El Dorado/Oates Prairie

Super Neighborhood 53: El Dorado/Oates Prairie				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.0%	9.3%	0.4%	62.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.4%	4.4%	0.0%	75.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.1%	19.8%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.3%	-15.4%	-5.5%	44.5%
2010 Census Tract 2325				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.0%	9.3%	0.4%	62.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.4%	4.4%	0.0%	75.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.1%	19.8%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.3%	-15.4%	-5.5%	44.5%

This super neighborhood includes El Dorado, Oates Prairie and OST (Old Spanish Trail) Acres. El Dorado/Oates Prairie is in northeast Houston outside of Loop 610 and consists of a collection of small subdivisions and scattered industrial facilities. Oates Prairie is a residential area begun when the area was rural and which developed further because of its proximity to jobs in Houston and the Channel industries. El Dorado is a typical tract home subdivision. OST Acres is a large-lot subdivision close to Loop 610. The excellent access the new freeway and existing thoroughfares provide makes this area desirable for further development of warehouse and industrial facilities on the remaining large tracts of undeveloped land. The population edged up from 2,759 to 3,686 in 2012 while the annual median household income increased from \$36,755 to \$41,198.



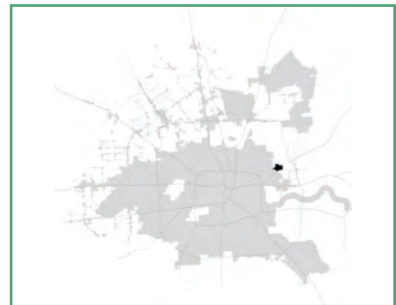
The actual proportion of Hispanics is more than 44 percentage points greater than what would be expected absent housing discrimination while the actual proportions of African Americans are lower and of whites higher than would be expected. The Latino concentration is less intense than in the super neighborhoods north and west of El Dorado/Oates Prairie.

Recommended Actions: Testing should reveal any illegal discriminatory real estate practices in El Dorado/Oates Prairie. Efforts are needed to expand the housing choices of Latinos beyond Hispanic enclaves like this to prevent El Dorado/Oates Prairie from becoming even less diverse than it is.

Table 35: Hunterwood

Super Neighborhood 54: Hunterwood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.6%	37.3%	3.3%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.6%	26.9%	2.1%	49.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.2%	5.7%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.2%	7.7%	-3.6%	19.1%
2010 Census Tract 2324.01 (Was Tract 2324 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.6%	37.3%	3.3%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.8%	21.4%	3.2%	44.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.4%	5.9%	28.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.1%	3.0%	-2.7%	16.0%
2010 Census Tract 2324.03 (Was Tract 2324 in 2000) (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.6%	37.3%	3.3%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.3%	36.6%	0.0%	57.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.9%	20.7%	5.3%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.6%	15.9%	-5.3%	24.5%

Hunterwood is a residential subdivision located east of Greens Bayou adjacent to a major Reliant power station. Development began in the mid-1970s, but in the 1980s property values fell along with the general real estate market. The high tax rate of the former Hunterwood Municipal Utility District prevented a revival of the market in Hunterwood during the 1990s. The population nudged up from 2,702 to 2,834 in 2012 with the annual median household income of \$32,636 in 2000 and \$42,479 in 2012 remaining below the city's medians.



While the actual proportions of Hispanics were 16 and 24 percent greater than would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination, the concentrations were less intense than in super neighborhoods toward the city's central core. The southeast corner of Hunterwood is in census tract 2324.03 where the actual proportion of African Americans was nearly 16 percentage points greater than would be expected while the percentages of white and Hispanic households increased rather significantly since 2000.

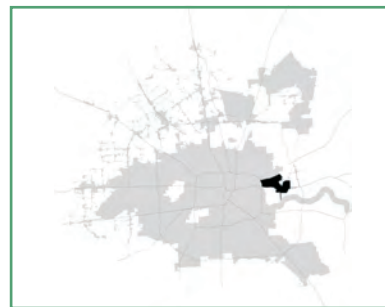
Nearby Census Tracts Not Assigned to Any Super Neighborhood. Close by census tracts not in super neighborhoods located east (2324.02) and south (2328, 2329, 2330.01) of census tract 2324.01 exhibit similar demographic characteristics.

Recommended Actions: Testing should reveal any illegal discriminatory real estate practices that may account for the large increase in the percentages of Caucasian households and large decreases in the percentages of African American households. The city needs to implement the recommendations of this study to foster diversity in Hunterwood and prevent further intensification of the existing concentrations of Latino households that would further reduce diversity in Hunterwood and nearby census tracts.

Table 36: Northshore

Super Neighborhood 58: Northshore				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.5%	25.1%	1.0%	47.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.4%	16.0%	0.7%	64.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.7%	5.4%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-0.8%	-4.7%	-4.7%	32.7%
2010 Census Tract 2326				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.0%	11.3%	0.2%	47.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.0%	8.0%	0.0%	65.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.9%	17.5%	6.0%	27.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.0%	-9.6%	-6.0%	38.3%
2010 Census Tract 2327.01 (Was Tract 2327 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.8%	35.6%	1.3%	48.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.3%	33.1%	0.9%	62.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.3%	5.1%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.1%	10.8%	-4.1%	29.4%
2010 Census Tract 2327.02 (Was Tract 2327 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.8%	35.6%	1.3%	48.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.6%	23.6%	1.5%	63.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.7%	5.1%	33.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.3%	1.9%	-3.6%	30.3%
2010 Census Tract 2332				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.6%	2.7%	0.4%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.9%	4.2%	0.6%	60.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.4%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.4%	-15.2%	-5.0%	29.3%
2010 Census Tract 2333				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.7%	4.7%	0.3%	63.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.0%	0.0%	0.0%	73.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.9%	5.4%	31.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.2%	-20.9%	-5.4%	41.9%

Northshore is an area immediately north of the Houston Ship Channel, east of Loop 610. The community includes subdivisions such as Songwood, Holiday Forest, Wood Bayou, Cimarron, Home Owned Estates, Woodland Acres, Hidden Forest and Greens Bayou. Neighborhoods east of Greens Bayou and those south of Market Street are in Galena Park Independent School District. The balance of the area is in Houston Independent School District. This heavily wooded area includes a variety of home styles and prices. In the 1980s, the Brown Foundation donated a large tract of land that the Crosby Freeway (Highway 90) passes through. The number of residents barely changed from 27,350 in 2000 to 27,327 in 2012. The annual median household income shot up from \$33,899 to \$41,907 in 2012, still below the city's median.



South of the Hunterwood and El Dorado/Oates Prairie super neighborhoods, Northshore is consolidated into an extensive and intensifying Latino enclave that extends into census tracts to the east — 2331.01, 2331.02, 2331.03, 2522, 2524, 2526 — that are not in any super neighborhood. Like Northshore, all of these tracts have experienced substantial increases in the proportions of Hispanic households since 2000 while the proportions of African Americans have decreased or remained roughly the same. The Latino concentrations are more intense in Northshore and the tracts closest to it.

Actual proportions of the different groups were as expected in tract 2333.

Recommended Actions: Testing should help identify any illegal discriminatory real estate practices that are contributing to the growing concentration of Latino households in Northshore and nearby unassigned census tracts. Efforts are needed to expand the housing choices of Hispanic households to consider housing outside the growing Latino enclaves in Houston and for all other groups to include these enclaves among their housing choices.

Table 37: Lake Houston

Super Neighborhood 44: Lake Houston				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.7%	5.5%	1.9%	7.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.8%	9.7%	1.8%	13.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.0%	6.6%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.8%	-6.3%	-4.7%	-10.7%
2010 Census Tract 2507.01 (Was Tract 2507 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.9%	8.2%	2.3%	8.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.9%	15.6%	2.8%	11.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.6%	17.2%	6.2%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.3%	-1.5%	-3.5%	-15.0%
2010 Census Tract 2516 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2515 and 2516. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	95.0%	1.2%	2.0%	4.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	95.4%	1.2%	0.0%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.1%	15.8%	6.6%	24.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	25.3%	-14.6%	-6.6%	-14.8%
2010 Census Tract 2517 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.6%	0.9%	0.4%	4.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	93.8%	2.4%	0.0%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.0%	18.3%	6.0%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	26.8%	-15.9%	-6.0%	-21.3%
2010 Census Tract 2519.01 (Was Tract 2519 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	97.4%	0.0%	0.0%	5.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.8%	6.1%	1.6%	10.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.4%	17.2%	6.3%	26.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.4%	-11.1%	-4.7%	-16.3%
2010 Census Tract 2520				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.4%	7.9%	2.3%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.4%	16.7%	3.9%	21.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.1%	13.6%	7.2%	19.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.7%	3.1%	-3.3%	1.3%
2010 Census Tract 2521 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.8%	1.7%	0.9%	7.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	84.1%	10.2%	0.5%	19.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.2%	16.3%	6.2%	26.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.9%	-6.1%	-5.7%	-6.9%

The Lake Houston super neighborhood is located adjacent to the east side of the City's primary water reservoir, Lake Houston. The majority of the population in this area resides in the Lakewood Heights, single-family subdivision. In 1965, the subdivisions immediately adjacent to the lake were annexed to the City and provided with City sewer services. Lake Houston includes a number of lakeside homes, which are part of the master-planned community of Atascosita. The area is within the Huffman Independent School District. Enjoying massive growth, Lake Houston's population skyrocketed from 4,164 to 16,046 in 2012. The annual median household income also soared, increasing from \$60,288 to \$101,512 in 2012.



This super neighborhood is separated from all but one super neighborhood by several census tracts not assigned to any super neighborhood. The census tracts in the Lake Houston super neighborhood are generally more in line with expectations than any of the other super neighborhoods in the city's northeast quadrant. However, the actual proportion of Latino households generally continues to be less than what would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination. With the exception of Asian households, this super neighborhood has become more diverse since 2000.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in Lake Houston, the city needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for Hispanic, African American, and Asian households to include Lake Houston in their housing choices.

Table 38: Kingwood Area

Super Neighborhood 43: Kingwood Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.0%	1.7%	2.0%	5.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.8%	3.1%	2.9%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.1%	14.3%	6.9%	21.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.7%	-11.2%	-4.0%	-13.0%
2010 Census Tract 2509				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.8%	1.3%	2.8%	2.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.4%	2.1%	2.6%	2.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.4%	11.8%	7.3%	17.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.0%	-9.7%	-4.8%	-15.3%
2010 Census Tract 2510				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.8%	2.3%	2.8%	5.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.8%	3.2%	7.5%	7.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.1%	15.1%	6.4%	24.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.7%	-11.8%	1.1%	-17.0%
2010 Census Tract 2511				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.8%	1.3%	1.6%	4.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	93.1%	3.1%	1.8%	13.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.0%	6.5%	24.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.2%	-12.9%	-4.6%	-11.0%
2010 Census Tract 2512				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.8%	1.8%	1.7%	5.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.2%	3.4%	4.7%	12.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.6%	15.5%	6.6%	23.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.6%	-12.1%	-1.9%	-11.2%
2010 Census Tract 2513				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.8%	1.7%	1.4%	4.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.7%	1.8%	2.2%	6.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.1%	14.4%	7.0%	21.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.6%	-12.6%	-4.9%	-14.9%
2010 Census Tract 2514.01 (Was Tract 2514 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.9%	1.6%	2.1%	7.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	95.7%	1.5%	1.8%	15.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.9%	12.9%	7.3%	19.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.9%	-11.4%	-5.6%	-4.0%

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Super Neighborhood 43: Kingwood Area (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2514.02 (Was Tract 2514 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.9%	1.6%	2.1%	7.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	91.8%	3.4%	0.0%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.5%	17.1%	6.4%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.3%	-13.6%	-6.4%	-16.7%
2010 Census Tract 2515.01 (Was Tract 2515 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.7%	1.4%	2.3%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.1%	0.7%	8.1%	8.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.1%	12.0%	7.4%	18.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.1%	-11.3%	0.6%	-9.0%
2010 Census Tract 2515.02 (Was Tract 2515 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.7%	1.4%	2.3%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.6%	6.5%	1.3%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.2%	13.6%	7.1%	19.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.5%	-7.1%	-5.8%	-11.2%
2010 Census Tract 2515.03 (Was Tract 2515 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.7%	1.4%	2.3%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	95.4%	0.0%	4.6%	5.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.4%	14.8%	6.8%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	24.1%	-14.8%	-2.3%	-17.7%
2010 Census Tract 6920.02 (Was Tract 6920 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.8%	4.5%	1.0%	7.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.1%	7.1%	5.0%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.3%	12.6%	7.3%	19.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.8%	-5.5%	-2.3%	-9.8%
2010 Census Tract 6924 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.8%	1.1%	0.7%	7.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.5%	3.5%	1.7%	13.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.1%	19.8%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	22.4%	-16.3%	-3.8%	-17.9%

The Kingwood Area includes a number of small subdivisions which predate the master planned development for which it is known. The Kingwood master planned area includes a wide range of home types and prices in a heavily wooded setting. A commercial development at its entrance was annexed in 1995; the residential areas, along with the Forest Cove subdivision, were annexed in 1996. Most residents are located in the Humble Independent School District. The small portion of the area found in Montgomery County is in New Caney Independent School District. Home construction and commercial development continue, especially on the northeastern and southeastern edges of the community. The number of residents grew significantly from 52,899 to 60,728 in 2012 with the annual median household income (\$82,577 in 2000 and \$94,189 in 2012) continued to be more than twice the city's median.



Like the Lake Houston super neighborhood, the Kingwood Area is separated from other super neighborhoods by census tracts not assigned to any super neighborhood. Since at least 2000, very few Black households have lived in the Kingwood Area. With the exception of census tract 6924, the gaps between actual and expected proportions of African American households are generally just below the 15 percent-age point threshold. In seven of the 12 census tracts, the gaps between the actual and expected proportions of white households are greater than would be expected in a free housing market undistorted by housing discrimination.

The actual proportion of Latino households is significantly less than would be expected absent housing discrimination in five of the 12 the census tracts. The gap is in double digits for all but two census tracts. However, the actual percentages of Hispanic households has increased incrementally throughout the Kingwood Area since 2000, suggesting positive movement here for Hispanics.

For reasons not yet known, relatively few of the city's wealthier Black, Latino, and Asian households live in the Kingwood Area.

The racial and Hispanic composition of census tract 6920.02 at the west end of the Kingwood Area are roughly what would be expected in a free market not distorted by housing discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The Kingwood Area offers a highly viable opportunity to affirmatively further fair housing. As a preventative measure, given the consistently lower-than-expected proportions of African American, Hispanic, and Asian households and that the actual low percentages of Black households have barely budged since 2000, this super neighborhood should be tested to see whether housing discrimination is taking place so, if present, it can be nipped in the bud.

The city needs to help wealthier African American, Hispanic, and Asian households become aware of housing opportunities in the Kingwood Area.

The city has not assigned the census tracts in the table below to any super neighborhood. Each was reported on earlier in this section along with the super neighborhood that is closest to it.

Table 39: Northeast Quadrant Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood

Northeast Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2218				
Householders (2000 Census)	69.3%	1.0%	0.4%	67.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.4%	2.9%	0.0%	87.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	21.8%	4.9%	34.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.9%	-18.9%	-4.9%	53.4%
2010 Census Tract 2219				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.9%	3.6%	0.3%	67.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.0%	3.1%	0.0%	85.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.1%	4.9%	34.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.6%	-20.0%	-4.9%	51.3%
2010 Census Tract 2221				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.0%	3.0%	0.5%	70.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.7%	0.7%	0.0%	74.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.6%	5.4%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.4%	-19.8%	-5.4%	43.3%
2010 Census Tract 2223				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.8%	7.2%	2.5%	55.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.3%	2.6%	0.6%	77.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.6%	21.0%	5.3%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.7%	-18.4%	-4.7%	45.2%
2010 Census Tract 2224.02 (Was Tract 2224 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.6%	7.0%	2.8%	47.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.0%	8.4%	0.0%	79.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	21.1%	5.3%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.3%	-12.7%	-5.3%	47.7%
2010 Census Tract 2229 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2228 and 2229)				
Householders (2000 Census)	58.4%	0.5%	1.2%	50.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.1%	10.3%	1.5%	74.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.0%	19.8%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.0%	-9.6%	-3.9%	43.4%

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Northeast Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2323.01 (Was Tract 2323 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.5%	34.3%	0.5%	24.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.8%	27.0%	0.7%	50.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.9%	20.8%	5.4%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.1%	6.2%	-4.7%	18.2%
2010 Census Tract 2324.02 (Was Tract 2324 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.2%	47.0%	1.4%	40.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	29.2%	47.4%	5.3%	40.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.9%	5.4%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-34.6%	26.5%	-0.1%	8.4%
2010 Census Tract 2328				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.2%	39.5%	3.9%	26.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	32.9%	45.5%	0.8%	40.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.5%	5.5%	31.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-31.3%	25.0%	-4.7%	8.8%
2010 Census Tract 2329				
Householders (2000 Census)	43.7%	39.8%	3.9%	19.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	36.3%	46.3%	4.7%	21.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.2%	5.7%	29.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.5%	27.1%	-1.0%	-8.7%
2010 Census Tract 2330.01 (Was Tract 2330 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.1%	30.8%	2.0%	16.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.8%	36.8%	1.6%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	19.9%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.0%	16.9%	-3.7%	-1.4%
2010 Census Tract 2330.03 (Was Tract 2330 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.1%	30.8%	2.0%	16.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.5%	18.2%	0.0%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.7%	17.7%	6.0%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.8%	0.5%	-6.0%	-3.7%
2010 Census Tract 2331.01 (Was Tract 2331 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	74.0%	4.9%	0.8%	39.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.2%	6.8%	1.2%	70.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	21.1%	5.3%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.7%	-14.3%	-4.1%	37.6%

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Northeast Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2331.02 (Was Tract 2331 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	74.0%	4.9%	0.8%	39.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.6%	0.4%	0.0%	79.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.0%	5.2%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.1%	-21.7%	-5.2%	47.0%
2010 Census Tract 2331.03 (Was Tract 2331 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	74.0%	4.9%	0.8%	39.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.7%	4.5%	0.0%	81.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.0%	22.5%	5.1%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.8%	-18.0%	-5.1%	48.0%
2010 Census Tract 2404				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.7%	20.0%	1.8%	21.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.7%	24.4%	2.2%	39.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.7%	19.4%	5.7%	30.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.0%	5.0%	-3.4%	9.8%
2010 Census Tract 2407.01 (Was Tract 2407 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.7%	18.5%	6.6%	21.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	37.8%	47.2%	3.6%	38.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.5%	17.8%	6.0%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.6%	29.4%	-2.4%	10.2%
2010 Census Tract 2407.02 (Was Tract 2407 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.7%	18.5%	6.6%	21.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.7%	33.1%	2.6%	50.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	18.6%	5.7%	30.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.8%	14.5%	-3.1%	20.4%
2010 Census Tract 2408.01 (Was Tract 2408 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.4%	15.0%	2.4%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.9%	22.4%	3.2%	43.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	21.9%	5.0%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.7%	0.5%	-1.8%	9.1%
2010 Census Tract 2408.02 (Was Tract 2408 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.4%	15.0%	2.4%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.7%	33.6%	0.6%	27.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.6%	5.5%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.8%	14.0%	-4.9%	-3.0%

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Northeast Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2409.02 (Was Tract 2409 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.3%	17.8%	2.6%	15.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.0%	33.4%	2.5%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.4%	6.1%	27.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-14.0%	14.9%	-3.6%	2.2%
2010 Census Tract 2413				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.2%	9.0%	1.3%	6.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.4%	22.6%	5.4%	13.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	15.8%	6.6%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.2%	6.7%	-1.1%	-10.8%
2010 Census Tract 2503.01 (Was Tract 2503 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.2%	17.0%	1.3%	13.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	36.8%	45.2%	1.1%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.1%	17.3%	6.1%	27.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-31.4%	27.9%	-5.0%	0.3%
2010 Census Tract 2504.01 (Was Tract 2504 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	95.8%	0.0%	4.2%	2.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.2%	14.5%	3.4%	23.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.6%	14.6%	6.8%	22.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.5%	-0.1%	-3.4%	0.6%
2010 Census Tract 2504.02 (Was Tract 2504 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	95.8%	0.0%	4.2%	2.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.1%	18.3%	3.1%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.1%	15.1%	6.8%	22.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.0%	3.2%	-3.7%	-14.1%
2010 Census Tract 2505				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.6%	10.5%	3.1%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.4%	20.8%	4.0%	14.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.4%	6.2%	27.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-0.6%	3.4%	-2.2%	-12.3%
2010 Census Tract 2506				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.7%	14.7%	2.1%	19.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.8%	26.1%	3.4%	26.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.5%	5.3%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.3%	5.5%	-1.8%	-6.1%

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Northeast Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2507.02 (Was Tract 2507 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.9%	8.2%	2.3%	8.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.2%	6.6%	1.1%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.5%	14.8%	7.0%	21.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.7%	-8.3%	-5.9%	-10.5%
2010 Census Tract 2508				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.4%	0.0%	4.7%	0.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	91.4%	4.1%	3.0%	7.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.9%	13.8%	7.1%	20.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.5%	-9.7%	-4.1%	-12.4%
2010 Census Tract 2519.02 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2519 and 2520)				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.2%	6.2%	0.6%	5.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.4%	13.9%	0.0%	14.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.7%	15.5%	7.0%	22.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.7%	-1.6%	-7.0%	-7.1%
2010 Census Tract 2522				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.9%	2.5%	1.2%	20.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.4%	20.4%	3.4%	47.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.9%	19.2%	5.8%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.5%	1.1%	-2.4%	18.1%
2010 Census Tract 2524				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.5%	2.1%	0.6%	24.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.6%	1.5%	0.0%	45.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.2%	18.9%	5.7%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.4%	-17.4%	-5.7%	15.7%
2010 Census Tract 2526				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.9%	0.6%	0.4%	25.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.6%	1.1%	1.8%	50.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.8%	5.4%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.6%	-20.7%	-3.6%	19.5%
2010 Census Tract 6923 (Montgomery County)				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.7%	1.6%	0.7%	13.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	84.4%	7.3%	2.6%	18.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.5%	17.9%	6.1%	27.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.9%	-10.6%	-3.5%	-8.5%

Southeast Quadrant

Super Neighborhoods in the Southeast Qudrant

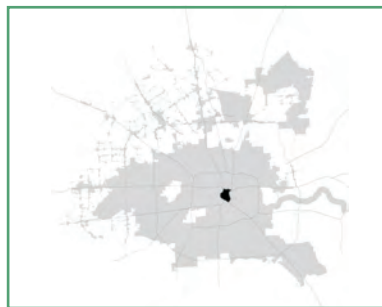
56 Denver Harbor/Port Houston	73 Golfcrest/Bellfort/Reveille
59 Clinton Park Tri-Community	74 Park Place
61 Downtown	75 Meadowbrook/Allendale
63 Second Ward	76 South Acres/Crestmont Park
64 Greater/Eastwood	77 Minnetex
65 Harrisburg/Manchester	78 Greater Hobby Area
67 Greater Third Ward	79 Edgebrook
68 OST-South Union	80 South Belt/Ellington
69 Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley	81 Clear Lake
70 Pecan Park	82 Magnolia Park
71 Sunnyside	83 MacGregor
72 South Park	88 Lawndale Wayside

Census tracts not assigned to a super neighborhood are shown with data following the super neighborhoods.

Table 40: Downtown

Super Neighborhood 61: Downtown				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.6%	18.5%	1.6%	50.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.3%	18.0%	4.2%	41.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.8%	5.8%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.7%	-2.8%	-1.6%	13.1%
2010 Census Tract 1000				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.1%	14.0%	2.1%	9.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.6%	14.7%	4.6%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.8%	6.2%	24.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.4%	-3.0%	-1.7%	-15.4%
2010 Census Tract 2101				
Householders (2000 Census)	85.7%	2.9%	1.4%	17.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	39.0%	61.0%	0.0%	0.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.4%	6.7%	24.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-31.4%	45.6%	-6.7%	-24.4%
2010 Census Tract 2123 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2102 and 2103. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.3%	9.7%	0.4%	82.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.8%	6.6%	0.5%	88.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.9%	24.8%	5.1%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.8%	-18.2%	-4.5%	55.4%
2010 Census Tract 3101 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.3%	17.2%	2.4%	72.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.1%	20.0%	4.7%	40.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	21.6%	5.8%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.3%	-1.5%	-1.1%	12.0%
2010 Census Tract 3102				
Householders (2000 Census)	14.3%	59.1%	0.5%	36.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.3%	40.6%	10.1%	13.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	17.0%	6.4%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.6%	23.6%	3.8%	-12.1%

Downtown is Houston's birthplace. The construction of a ring of freeways in the 1960s and 1970s created the modern boundaries of downtown. The area extends into a transitional warehouse and light industrial area to the southeast, a part of which was included in the Third Ward before the Gulf Freeway was built in the 1950s. This area includes Houston's first Chinatown. Downtown was once the city's retail hub, but suburban development in the 1970s and 1980s reduced its importance, even as millions of square feet of new office space added tens of thousands of new workers. Loft conversions in older, often vacant office/commercial buildings are adding a new and welcome residential element to downtown. Population was stagnant with 12,407 residents in 2000 and 12,468 in 2012. Annual median household income rose from \$38,118 to \$43,601.



The actual racial and Latino household compositions of the two census tracts in the geographic center of the Downtown super neighborhood — 1000 and 3101 — are roughly what would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination — except for a lower proportion than expected of Hispanic households in tract 1000. The actual proportion of African American households in tracts 2101 and 3102 are substantially larger than would be expected while the actual proportions of Caucasians are notably lower. Both tracts are next to tracts in adjacent super neighborhoods with the same situation.

The proportion of Hispanic households in the sparsely-populated tract 2101 plummeted from 17.1 percent in 2000 to next to nothing while it would be expected to be about 24 percent in a free market. Seventy households lived in tract 2101 in 2000 while just 41 households lived there in 2008–2010. Such a small number of households in tract 2101 makes testing impractical.

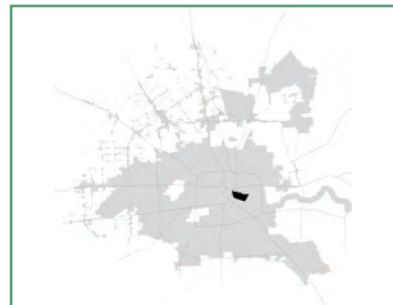
Tract 2123, which is shared with the Near Northside super neighborhood, is consolidated into a segregated Latino enclave that stretches far to the north.

Recommended Actions: Testing may identify any illegal discriminatory private and public sector real estate practices in the Downtown super neighborhood.

Table 41: Second Ward

Super Neighborhood 63: Second Ward				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.4%	6.2%	1.0%	85.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.1%	10.9%	2.3%	67.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	22.3%	5.4%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.5%	-11.5%	-3.1%	36.5%
2010 Census Tract 3101				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.3%	17.2%	2.4%	72.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.1%	20.0%	4.7%	40.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	21.6%	5.8%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.3%	-1.5%	-1.1%	12.0%
2010 Census Tract 3104				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.8%	1.5%	0.5%	91.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.0%	4.6%	0.6%	89.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.9%	23.5%	4.9%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.1%	-18.9%	-4.3%	55.5%
2010 Census Tract 3105				
Householders (2000 Census)	51.3%	2.1%	0.3%	90.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.0%	2.1%	0.0%	90.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.3%	5.1%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.8%	-20.2%	-5.1%	57.4%

The Second Ward was one of the first Hispanic neighborhoods in Houston. It is the home of a number of important Hispanic institutions, including Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church, Ripley House, and Talento Bilingue. The northern portion of the neighborhood is industrial. Most of the housing in the area was built before World War II. The largest block of post-war housing is the Clayton Homes public housing project on the community's western edge. In recent years, the area's proximity to downtown has made it possible for a number of restaurants, especially along Navigation, to attract a city-wide following. Population declined from 14,836 in 2000 to 12,266 in 2012 while annual median household income increased from \$23,473 to \$30,872 in 2012.



Census tract 3101, which is partially adjacent to tract 2101 in the Downtown super neighborhood, also experienced a precipitous decline in the proportion of Latino households since 2000. This change appears to have brought the actual proportion of Hispanic households much closer to the percentage expected in a free market. Overall, the tract has become more diverse since 2000 suggesting that fair housing is being affirmatively affirmed in tract 3101.

On the other hand, tracts 3104 and 3105 continue to maintain the historically extreme segregation that has long characterized the Second Ward with nearly nonexistent Asian or African American populations. These tracts are part of Houston's extensive Latino enclave.

While the Second Ward has been historically Hispanic, it appears that either some public or private sector practice(s) or action(s) enabled part of the Second Ward to become more diverse since 2000 or that any illegal discriminatory real estate practices have been curtailed — it's impossible to say without further research.

Like other historically Hispanic areas of Houston, the Second Ward has served as a residential destination for new Latino immigrants to Houston. This is a pattern among immigrants of all races and ethnicities throughout the nation. However, the sort of intense racial or ethnic concentration characteristic of these immigrant neighborhoods generally dissipates over time as subsequent generations achieve socioeconomic mobility and are assimilated into the American culture, enabling the descendants of these immigrants to find greater opportunities and move into the middle class.

Recommended Actions: The city should conduct thorough research to identify whether the Second Ward and other historically Hispanic areas are still functioning as a residential destination for new immigrants and determine where subsequent post-immigrant generations are living in Houston.

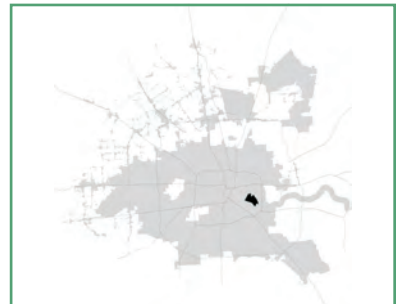
The city should implement an extensive effort to make residents of these historically segregated neighborhoods aware of the housing choices they have throughout the metropolitan area so they can have better access to higher opportunities.

The city should identify the factors that caused such a significant change in the Hispanic population in census tract 3101. Given the very different changes in the demographics in tract 3101 and the other two census tracts, the city should conduct further research to identify why tract 3101 became more diverse while segregation remains so entrenched in tracts 3104 and 3105.

Table 42: Magnolia Park

Super Neighborhood 82: Magnolia Park				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	51.1%	0.9%	0.2%	66.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.0%	1.3%	0.0%	92.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.1%	5.0%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.5%	-20.8%	-5.0%	59.6%
2010 Census Tract 3109				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.2%	0.7%	0.3%	93.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.9%	1.5%	0.0%	90.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.2%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.5%	-21.7%	-5.1%	57.6%
2010 Census Tract 3110				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.6%	1.2%	0.0%	93.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.0%	1.3%	0.0%	91.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.7%	5.0%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.0%	-20.4%	-5.0%	58.3%
2010 Census Tract 3111				
Householders (2000 Census)	52.7%	0.8%	0.2%	96.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.2%	1.1%	0.0%	96.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.6%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.8%	-20.5%	-5.1%	63.1%

Magnolia Park borders the Houston Ship Channel just south of the Turning Basin, the location of some of the first wharves built when Houston became a deep water port in 1913. The community thrived as a home for workers on the docks and in industries lining the channel. For a time it was even an incorporated municipality. As early as the 1930s, Magnolia Park was developing an identity as a center of Houston's Hispanic community. This continues, especially around recently revived commercial areas near Harrisburg and Wayside. Population declined from 21,302 in 2000 to 18,246 in 2012 while annual median household income more than doubled from \$14,875 to \$29,875.



It is difficult to be more segregated than Magnolia Park with the actual proportions of Latino households ranging from 90.6 to 96.6 percent which are from 57.6 to 63.1 percentage points greater than would be expected in a free housing market.

There is nearly a total absence of Black and Asian households throughout Magnolia Park.

Like most of the Second Ward, Magnolia Park appears to be the product of long-term historic housing discrimination. And like the Second Ward, the question remains whether such discrimination continues today.

Recommended Actions: It would behoove the city to conduct real estate testing and other research to identify continuing illegal real estate practices, if any, in Magnolia Park.

The city should conduct thorough research to identify whether Magnolia Park and other historically Hispanic areas are still functioning as a residential destination for new immigrants and determine where subsequent post-immigrant generations are living in Houston.

The city should implement an extensive effort to make residents of these historically segregated neighborhoods aware of the housing choices they have throughout the metropolitan area to give themselves better access to higher opportunities.

Table 43: Clinton Park Tri-Community

Super Neighborhood 59: Clinton Park Tri-Community				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	43.7%	39.4%	0.2%	38.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	39.1%	51.9%	0.1%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.4%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.2%	29.5%	-5.1%	2.2%
2010 Census Tract 2125 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2121 and 2122. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.8%	84.8%	0.0%	12.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.5%	76.1%	0.0%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.0%	23.5%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.5%	52.6%	-5.1%	-10.1%
2010 Census Tract 2334 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.1%	1.9%	0.0%	62.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.4%	20.7%	0.0%	58.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.9%	23.7%	5.1%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.5%	-2.9%	-5.1%	25.1%
2010 Census Tract 2336				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.9%	95.5%	0.1%	3.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	6.3%	92.6%	0.6%	6.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.2%	23.5%	5.0%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-54.9%	69.1%	-4.4%	-26.2%
2010 Census Tract 2337.01 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.2%	10.8%	0.4%	54.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.8%	27.2%	0.0%	46.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.0%	5.4%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.0%	7.2%	-5.4%	14.6%

Clinton Park Tri-Community is a small community south and east of the Denver Port Houston/Port Harbor super neighborhood (analyzed in the Northeast Quadrant section of this document). It is located just north of Clinton Drive, adjacent to the City of Galena Park. It is split between Houston Independent School District (Clinton Park) and Galena Park Independent School District (Fidelity), and includes a part of the Port of Houston. From its inception, this area has been almost exclusively an African American community. Development began in the area spurred by the proximity to jobs in the Port and nearby Ship Channel industries. Large holding ponds containing materials dredged from the Houston Ship Chan-



nel are located adjacent to the residential areas. The population remained nearly unchanged at 2,437 in 2000 and 2,276 in 2012. The annual median household income stagnated at \$24,856 in 2012 falling further behind the city's median of \$44,648. In 2000, the annual median household income was \$23,267, not as far below the city's \$36,616 median.

Located on the east edge of Houston, the composition of the two census tracts that comprise the vast majority of Clinton Park Tri-Community still reflect the super neighborhood's history as a nearly totally segregated Black area. The actual proportion of African American households in tract 2336 stands at 92.6 percent, 69.1 percentage points higher than what would be expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination. The actual proportion of Caucasian households is just 6.3 percent, nearly 55 percentage points lower than would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination. The actual 6.8 percent proportion of Latino households is more than 26 percentage points lower than expected while the Asian population is nearly nonexistent. It is very likely that these concentrations are vestiges of historic discrimination.

Part of tracts 2334 and 2337.01 are also in Clinton Park Tri-Community. Tract 2334 located north of tract 2336 became significantly more diverse since 2000 with the percentage of African American households soaring ten fold from 1.9 to 20.7 percent, what would be expected in a free housing market. This rapid change *could* be the early stages of resegregation to a predominantly African American concentration. The proportion of Caucasian households fell from 73.1 to 58.4 percent, also what would be expected in a free housing market while the proportion of Latino households remains about 25 percentage point higher than would be expected. Without further research, it's not known whether these changes reflect the early stages of resegregation or movement toward stable integration.

Recommended Actions: The city should conduct real estate testing in tract 2334 and nearby tracts as soon as possible to determine whether the demographic changes since 2000 are the early stages of resegregation or movement toward stable integration. If testing reveals steering of Black households to tract 2334, the city needs to take immediate steps to curb this illegal discriminatory practice and achieve demand for housing here from white and Asian households.

The city needs to implement tools to expand housing choices for African American households in tracts 2125 and 2336 and to expand the choices of Caucasian and Hispanic households of any race to include these tracts.

Nearby Census Tracts Not in Any Super Neighborhood. East of Clinton Park Tri-Community are a series of census tracts with actual African American populations smaller than would be expected in a free housing market that are part of the city's burgeoning Latino enclave — tracts 2335, 2337.05, 2525, and 3241. At the extreme east end of Houston, the actual proportions of Hispanic households in tracts 2545 and 2546 are 42.4 and 26.9 percentage points greater

than what would be expected in a free market not distorted by housing discrimination while the actual proportions of white and African American households are about what would be expected. The proportions of Latino households have grown substantially since 2000.

The actual proportion of Black households in tract 2533 continues to be barely measurable and nearly 15 percentage points less than what would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination while the proportion of white households is more than 16 percentage points higher than would be expected.

The actual proportion of white households in tract 3436, just south of tract 2533 and west of tracts 2545 and 2546, is about 21 percentage points higher than the expected 66 percent proportion in the absence of housing discrimination. The actual proportion of African American households is just 5.4 percent, 13.8 percentage points lower than expected in a free housing market.

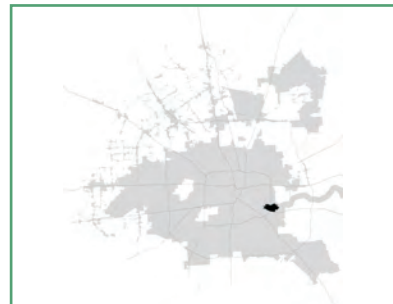
The presence of Asian households is barely detectable in any of these census tracts.

Recommended Actions: Real estate testing is needed to determine the extent, if any, that steering accounts for the growth in the Hispanic population and reduction or stagnation of the proportions of African American households in these unassigned census tracts, as well as the near total absence of Asian households and other demographic anomalies noted above.

Table 44: Harrisburg/Manchester

Super Neighborhood 65: Harrisburg/Manchester				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	47.8%	8.3%	0.3%	77.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.0%	5.5%	0.0%	88.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.1%	5.4%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.7%	-16.6%	-5.4%	57.0%
2010 Census Tract 3114				
Householders (2000 Census)	39.7%	19.8%	0.4%	73.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.2%	9.8%	0.0%	84.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.2%	22.5%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.0%	-12.7%	-5.3%	52.4%
2010 Census Tract 3242 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3203 and 3204)				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.0%	1.0%	0.2%	79.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.6%	0.0%	0.0%	94.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.5%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.8%	-21.5%	-5.4%	62.8%

Harrisburg/Manchester was a community located at the confluence of Brays Bayou and Buffalo Bayou before the Texas Revolution. Santa Anna's army burned the community on its way to defeat at San Jacinto. Manchester lies to the east of Harrisburg, near the confluence of Sims Bayou and the Ship Channel. Its modest homes are surrounded by Channel industries. Harrisburg residential areas have largely disappeared, and its commercial district has not experienced the revival that the rise of the area's Hispanic community has brought to other East End shopping districts. Between 2000 and 2010, the neighborhood's population grew slightly from 3,768 to 3,869 and median household income rose from \$26,989 to \$30,048.



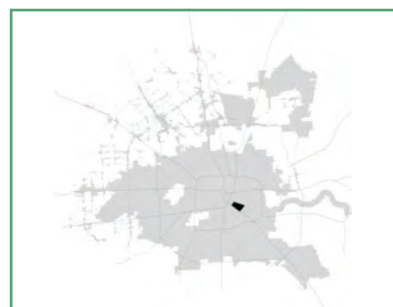
Since 2000, Hispanic households have become more segregated and isolated as the proportion of African Americans in the west-most tract 3114 declined by more than half. The proportions of Hispanic households far exceed the proportions expected in the absence of housing discrimination while the proportion of African Americans in tract 3242 is nearly zero even though, in a free market the tract would be about one-fifth Black. Housing choice appears to be contracting in Harrisburg/Manchester and that discriminatory real estate practices continue.

Recommended Actions: Real estate testing and the use of tools to expand housing choice are warranted in Harrisburg/Manchester.

Table 45: Greater Eastwood

Super Neighborhood 64: Greater Eastwood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.6%	10.0%	2.7%	71.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.2%	13.8%	3.5%	55.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.5%	5.7%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.6%	-6.7%	-2.2%	25.9%
2010 Census Tract 3101 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.3%	17.2%	2.4%	72.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.1%	20.0%	4.7%	40.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	21.6%	5.8%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.3%	-1.5%	-1.1%	12.0%
2010 Census Tract 3102				
Householders (2000 Census)	14.3%	59.1%	0.5%	36.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.3%	40.6%	10.1%	13.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	17.0%	6.4%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.6%	23.6%	3.8%	-12.1%
2010 Census Tract 3103				
Householders (2000 Census)	55.0%	3.6%	5.0%	68.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.5%	4.7%	1.6%	62.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.6%	5.7%	29.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.0%	-14.9%	-4.1%	32.8%
2010 Census Tract 3106				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.7%	2.3%	1.1%	81.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.2%	5.0%	1.3%	81.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.7%	5.3%	32.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference3106	1.2%	-16.7%	-3.9%	49.8%

Eastwood/Lawndale is a collection of middle class, single-family home subdivisions developed before World War II and located southeast of Downtown. The construction of the Gulf Freeway in the 1950s created a commercial edge on its south. The area was once exclusively Anglo, but through the growth of Houston's Hispanic middle class in recent decades, its population is now largely Hispanic. Renovation of its stock of well-built bungalows and duplexes was cut short by the real estate collapse of the 1980s. However, a revival of interest in renovation in the area is occurring. The population has declined from 13,639 in 2000 to 12,327 in 2012 while annual median household income rose from \$29,537 to \$44,674.



Located just south of the Second Ward, the eastern two-thirds of Greater

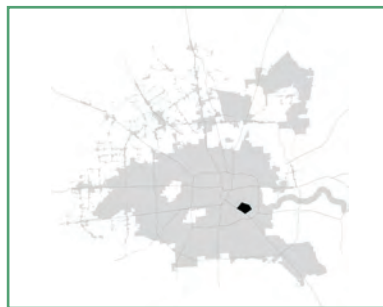
Eastwood — census tracts 3103 and 3106 — are part of the city's large Hispanic enclave where the actual proportions of Latinos significantly exceed the expected proportions. Tract 3102 has been part of an African American concentration that extends to the south end of the city. However, since 2000, the actual proportion of Black households in tract 3101 shrunk by a third, from 59.1 to 40.6 percentage points, still 23.6 percentage points higher than would be expected in a free housing market. *This represents considerable progress toward establishing a more integrated census tract like tract 3101 immediately to its north.*

Recommended Actions: The city needs to build on the progress toward affirmatively furthering fair housing in census tract 3102 by taking steps to promote stable racial and Hispanic diversity throughout Greater Eastwood.

Table 46: Lawndale/Wayside

Super Neighborhood 88: Lawndale/Wayside				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	52.7%	1.4%	0.4%	86.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.3%	1.5%	0.5%	88.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.7%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.3%	-20.2%	-4.7%	56.4%
2010 Census Tract 3107				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.6%	2.2%	0.8%	70.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.3%	1.3%	0.0%	80.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.3%	5.5%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.6%	-19.0%	-5.5%	50.0%
2010 Census Tract 3108				
Householders (2000 Census)	51.4%	2.8%	0.2%	85.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.9%	1.6%	0.0%	86.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.3%	5.1%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.5%	-19.7%	-5.1%	53.3%
2010 Census Tract 3109 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.2%	0.7%	0.3%	93.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.9%	1.5%	0.0%	90.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.2%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.5%	-21.7%	-5.1%	57.6%
2010 Census Tract 3111 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	52.7%	0.8%	0.2%	96.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.2%	1.1%	0.0%	96.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.6%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.8%	-20.5%	-5.1%	63.1%
2010 Census Tract 3112				
Householders (2000 Census)	60.6%	1.4%	0.4%	81.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.8%	2.1%	2.1%	87.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.7%	5.2%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.9%	-19.5%	-3.1%	54.9%

Lawndale/Wayside is a collection of neighborhoods which still reflect the area's origins as a prestigious east side neighborhood. At that time, the municipal Wortham Golf Center was the City's first country club, what is now the Houston Country Club (established in 1908). The adjacent heavily-wooded Country Club and Idylwood neighborhoods have remained attractive. The areas of Forest Hill and Mason Park are shady, middle class havens with curving streets and large lots. The presence of wooded preserves such as the large Forest Park Cemetery, Villa De Matel convent, Mason Park and Wortham Golf Center have helped to maintain the area's beauty. The entire neighborhood is within the Greater East End Management District. The population declined by 614 to 13,518 in 2012 while the annual median household income fell from \$42,011 to \$34,210.



The composition of Lawndale/Wayside is comparable to the east end of its neighbor Greater Eastwood and to Magnolia Park immediately to the north. This super neighborhood is consolidated into the city's growing eastside Hispanic concentration. Its actual proportions of Latino households range from 80.5 to 96 percent, which are 50 to 63.1 percentage points higher than the proportions expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. Concomitantly, the proportions of Black and Asian residents are barely measureable and significantly below the proportions expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing here, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for the Hispanic residents of Lawndale/Wayside to areas outside the city's Latino enclaves and to expand housing choices of African Americans and Asians to include Lawndale/Wayside.

Table 47: Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley

Super Neighborhood 69: Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	63.3%	3.0%	1.1%	79.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.3%	8.8%	2.2%	78.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.2%	21.4%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.9%	-12.6%	-3.2%	46.6%
2010 Census Tract 3117				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.3%	4.7%	0.9%	76.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.2%	18.9%	3.0%	71.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.2%	21.5%	5.3%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.9%	-2.6%	-2.3%	38.6%
2010 Census Tract 3118				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.9%	1.9%	0.8%	83.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.6%	0.0%	0.6%	83.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.8%	5.4%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.7%	-21.8%	-4.7%	52.0%
2010 Census Tract 3119				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.7%	1.6%	2.0%	78.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.0%	0.0%	2.9%	88.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.8%	5.4%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.9%	-20.8%	-2.4%	56.4%

Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley is a collection of neighborhoods inside Loop 610 south of the Gulf Freeway. It is crisscrossed by older highways, such as Telephone Road and the city's first bypass, the Old Spanish Trail/Wayside combination. These highways, along with a major rail line and Brays Bayou, divide the area into a number of discrete neighborhoods. The largest of these (Pine Valley, Freeway, and Riverview) consist of single family homes surrounded by light industrial buildings and warehouses. Gulfgate, one of Houston's first malls, located on the eastern edge of the area, has been completely redeveloped as part of a tax increment reinvestment zone to revitalize what had been a failing retail district. The population increased by 205 to 13,100 in 2012 while median household income rose from \$29,430 to \$38,589.



Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley shares the segregative characteristics of the super neighborhoods to its north, east, and south. The actual proportions of Latino households range from 71.2 to 88.4 percent, 38.6 to 56.4 percentage points higher than would be expected in a free housing market devoid of discrimination.

While the percentage of African American households in tract 3117 soared from 4.7 percent in 2000 to 18.9 percent, roughly what would be expected in a free housing market, the proportions of African American households in tracts 3118 and 3119 were so low that they did not register. In a free housing market, the proportion of Black households in both tracts would have exceeded 20 percent.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing here, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for the Hispanic residents of Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley to areas outside the city's Latino enclaves and to expand housing choices of African Americans and Asians to include Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley.

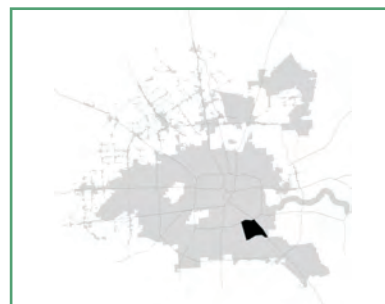
Table 48: Golfcrest/Bellfort/Reveille

Super Neighborhood 73: Golfcrest/Bellfort/Reveille				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.6%	32.1%	3.3%	44.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.8%	26.9%	2.5%	59.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	21.3%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.7%	5.6%	-2.8%	27.0%
2010 Census Tract 3325				
Householders (2000 Census)	23.6%	64.8%	0.2%	19.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	29.8%	62.7%	0.9%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	20.4%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-34.7%	42.3%	-4.5%	-7.8%
2010 Census Tract 3326				
Householders (2000 Census)	31.5%	44.7%	0.8%	38.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	34.1%	48.3%	0.0%	43.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.7%	5.3%	32.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.8%	26.6%	-5.3%	11.1%
2010 Census Tract 3327				
Householders (2000 Census)	58.0%	5.8%	0.9%	71.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.2%	2.1%	0.0%	86.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.2%	21.4%	5.3%	32.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.0%	-19.4%	-5.3%	54.4%
2010 Census Tract 3328				
Householders (2000 Census)	35.6%	16.8%	0.6%	70.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.6%	13.4%	0.0%	76.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.9%	5.3%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.0%	-8.5%	-5.3%	44.1%
2010 Census Tract 3329				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.9%	4.8%	1.3%	73.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.0%	4.2%	0.4%	85.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.4%	5.2%	33.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.7%	-16.2%	-4.8%	52.0%

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Super Neighborhood 73: Golfcrest/Bellfort/Reveille (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3330				
Householders (2000 Census)	55.9%	5.1%	2.0%	58.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.2%	0.6%	2.5%	76.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.5%	18.6%	5.8%	29.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.6%	-18.1%	-3.3%	47.1%
2010 Census Tract 3331				
Householders (2000 Census)	30.3%	25.4%	35.2%	17.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.8%	29.8%	18.5%	46.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.4%	5.2%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-17.6%	7.4%	13.3%	14.5%
2010 Census Tract 3332.01 (Was Tract 3332 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	30.8%	41.5%	1.9%	40.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.4%	26.3%	3.7%	62.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.8%	22.7%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.4%	3.6%	-1.4%	29.5%
2010 Census Tract 3332.02 (Was Tract 3332 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	30.8%	41.5%	1.9%	40.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.3%	42.5%	2.4%	46.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.1%	22.4%	5.0%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.8%	20.0%	-2.5%	13.1%
2010 Census Tract 3335				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.1%	36.0%	2.6%	45.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.6%	24.1%	1.4%	66.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.6%	21.1%	5.3%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.0%	3.0%	-3.8%	34.2%
2010 Census Tract 3336				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.3%	8.5%	1.0%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.0%	8.6%	0.0%	46.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.4%	17.4%	6.3%	25.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.7%	-8.8%	-6.3%	20.7%

Golfcrest/Bellefort/Reveille is a section of southeast Houston located outside Loop 610 between Mykawa and the Gulf Freeway. Subdivisions within this community include Overbrook, Bayou Oaks, Santa Rosa, Greenway, Lum Terrace, Golfcrest, Kings Court, Tropicana Village and Oakland Plaza. Many small industrial facilities are located near Long Drive in the western part of the community. The original Golfcrest Country Club site was redeveloped with a stadium for Houston Independent School District, public housing and a City park. Most of the homes in the area date from the suburban development after World War II.



Many of the more expensive homes were built on heavily wooded sites adjacent to Sims Bayou. The population nearly doubled from 26,054 to 50,896 in 2010 while annual median household income rose from \$30,893 to \$37,077 in 2012.

The Hispanic concentrations in tracts 3332.01, 3335, and 3336 divide the African American concentrations in tracts 3325, 3326, and 3332.02. The concentrations of Black households are not nearly as intense as the concentrations of Latino households. With the exceptions of tracts 3332.01 and 3335, the concentrations of African American households have not changed much since 2000. In tracts, 3332.01 and 3335, the actual proportions of Black households declined and are about what would be expected in a free housing market.

The proportions of Latino households grew substantially since 2000 and now exceed the proportions expected in a free housing market by 29.5 and 34.2 percentage points. Overall, the Golfcrest/Bellfort/Reveille is becoming increasingly Latino and may be in the process of segregating into an overwhelmingly Hispanic super neighborhood with relatively few Black or Asian residents.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to conduct real estate testing here and in neighboring areas to determine whether Latinos are being steered to Gulfgate Riverview/Pine Valley while Blacks, Asians, and non-Hispanic Caucasians are being steered away. If steering is found, the city needs to take aggressive measures to curb the practice and promote demand from all racial groups in this super neighborhood.

Table 49: Greater Hobby Area

Super Neighborhood 78: Greater Hobby Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.2%	18.9%	4.0%	39.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.2%	19.1%	8.5%	47.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.5%	5.9%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.6%	0.5%	2.5%	18.9%
2010 Census Tract 3333				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.0%	22.3%	4.8%	46.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.1%	23.9%	0.0%	64.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	21.2%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-0.4%	2.6%	-5.3%	32.8%
2010 Census Tract 3337 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	58.6%	10.7%	3.9%	43.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	13.5%	8.8%	68.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.4%	19.6%	5.7%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.3%	-6.1%	3.1%	38.5%
2010 Census Tract 3338				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.2%	25.5%	2.2%	47.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.9%	14.9%	0.0%	65.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.0%	20.0%	5.6%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-0.1%	-5.2%	-5.6%	34.8%
2010 Census Tract 3501 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.6%	5.8%	6.3%	9.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.9%	19.7%	18.3%	22.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.1%	15.9%	6.6%	24.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.2%	3.8%	11.7%	-2.5%
Census Tract 9800 was excluded because it had only 14 households in 2008–2012.				

The Greater Hobby Area takes its name from Hobby Airport, located at the center of this part of southeast Houston. A rail line at the western edge of the community provides access for a number of large industrial facilities. Sims Bayou, along the northern boundary, attracted development of single-family homes in the Garden Villas subdivision before World War II and in the Glenbrook Valley subdivision during the 1950s. Gulf Freeway Oaks is a similar subdivision of homes located close to I-45, an eastern boundary of the area. East Haven and Skyscraper Shadows, located to the east and south of the airport, respectively, still have many empty lots and a variety of housing styles. Gulf Meadows is located close to Clear Creek, the southern edge of the community. Population fell by 42 per-



cent, from 41,198 in 2000 to 23,891 in 2012. Annual median household income rose from \$32,601 to \$42,330.

With the exception of the small portion of census tract 3501 in the Greater Hobby Area at the south end of this super neighborhood, the proportions of Latino households increased by about half since 2000. The actual proportions of Hispanic households range from 32.8 to 38.5 percentage points more than would be expected in a free housing market. The proportions of all other groups are roughly what would be expected.

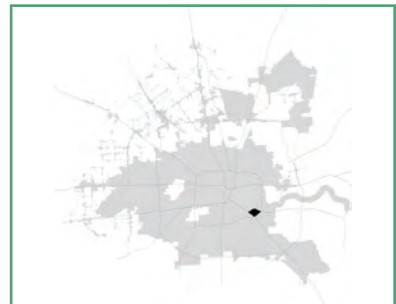
A concentration of Asian households has been developing since 2000 in that small portion of tract 3501 that is in the Greater Hobby Area. The proportion of Asian households almost tripled to 18.6 percent since 2000, about 11.7 percent higher than would be expected in a free market.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should conduct real estate testing to see if Asian households are being steered to tract 3501 and whether Latino households are being steered to the other tracts in the Greater Hobby Area. If steering is found, the city needs to take steps to curtail the practice.

Table 50: Pecan Park

Super Neighborhood 70: Pecan Park				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.0%	4.1%	1.8%	84.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.9%	3.0%	3.2%	88.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.8%	5.2%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.0%	-18.8%	-2.0%	55.3%
2010 Census Tract 3113				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.9%	1.1%	0.3%	80.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.9%	2.4%	1.4%	86.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.7%	20.9%	5.3%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.2%	-18.5%	-3.9%	53.9%
2010 Census Tract 3115				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.6%	2.7%	1.2%	85.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.2%	1.2%	5.3%	87.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.8%	5.3%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.7%	-20.6%	0.0%	56.0%
2010 Census Tract 3116				
Householders (2000 Census)	47.7%	8.4%	4.0%	87.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	49.3%	7.0%	1.6%	90.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.7%	22.7%	4.8%	34.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.4%	-15.7%	-3.2%	55.6%

Pecan Park is a pre-World War II single-family residential community located just south of Harrisburg. Its close proximity to the Port of Houston made it a popular location for workers in the Channel industries. The community is bounded by the Gulf Freeway on the southwest, Loop 610 on the southeast, and Griggs Road on the northwest. Commercial development has eroded the edges of the neighborhood along the freeways. In the southern part of the area, a large apartment complex originally built for adults only is now the home of hundreds of families with school-age children. The influx of young families in general prompted the construction of two new schools for this community. Between 2000 and 2010, the neighborhood's population fell from 19,230 to 16,876 and median household income rose from \$27,214 to \$35,104.



Like adjacent Manchester/Harrisburg, Pecan Park is part of an intensely segregated concentration of Hispanic households. The actual proportions of Hispanic households throughout Pecan Park are far greater than would be expected in the absence of historic and likely current housing discrimination. Similarly, the actual pro-

portions of Black households are a mere fraction of what would be expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: This extreme concentration of Hispanic households suggests that real estate testing and the use of tools to expand housing choice are warranted in Pecan Park.

Table 51: Park Place

Super Neighborhood 74: Park Place				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.6%	4.4%	11.6%	64.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.1%	5.0%	10.5%	73.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.7%	5.3%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.1%	-16.7%	5.2%	41.6%
2010 Census Tract 3201				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.5%	7.3%	2.0%	74.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	5.0%	0.7%	88.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.0%	22.6%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.7%	-17.6%	-4.5%	55.8%
2010 Census Tract 3202				
Householders (2000 Census)	42.3%	3.2%	15.7%	60.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.2%	4.9%	14.4%	67.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.6%	21.3%	5.3%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.3%	-16.4%	9.1%	35.9%

Park Place was an independent municipality before 1927 when it voluntarily consolidated with the City of Houston. At that time, Broadway and Park Place Boulevards were lined with large homes. Most of these were replaced with apartments and small businesses after deed restrictions in the area lapsed. (Some areas in the wooded setting adjacent to Sims Bayou are still deed restricted.) Many side streets in the community are lined with large pecan trees, some of which date from the 1920s. Industrial development occupies the northeastern corner of the community, which is close to the Houston Ship Channel. In recent years, several aging apartment complexes have been converted to condominiums. The population declined by 701 to 9,201 in 2012 while annual median household income rose from \$28,956 to \$34,260.



Park Place is consolidated into the same Hispanic concentration as Pecan Park and the other super neighborhoods that surround Park Place. The percentage of Latino households has increased since 2000 and is now 55.8 and 35.9 percentage points greater in each census tract than would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. The proportions of African American households are nearly identical to what they were in 2000 and are 17.6 and 16.4 percentage points below what would be expected in a free housing market.

While the proportion of Asians continues to be barely measurable in tract 3201, it continues to exceed expectations by about 9 percentage points in census tract 3202.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in this super neighborhood, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for the Hispanic residents of Park Place to areas outside the city's Latino enclaves and to expand housing choices of African Americans to include Park Place.

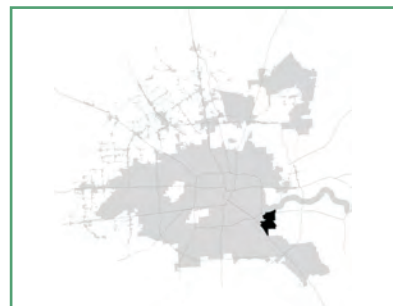
Table 52: Meadowbrook/Allendale

Super Neighborhood 75: Meadowbrook/Allendale				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.3%	1.7%	2.1%	61.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.9%	3.5%	4.3%	71.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.6%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.7%	-17.1%	-1.1%	40.7%
2010 Census Tract 3202				
Householders (2000 Census)	42.3%	3.2%	15.7%	60.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.2%	4.9%	14.4%	67.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.6%	21.3%	5.3%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.3%	-16.4%	9.1%	35.9%
2010 Census Tract 3205 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3205 and 3219)				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.7%	0.7%	0.1%	58.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.7%	0.8%	0.4%	82.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.3%	19.6%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.4%	-18.8%	-5.1%	51.9%
2010 Census Tract 3206.01 (Was Tract 3206 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.1%	2.1%	1.2%	75.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.7%	0.0%	1.5%	76.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.8%	5.2%	32.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.7%	-21.8%	-3.7%	44.6%
2010 Census Tract 3206.02 (Was Tract 3206 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.1%	2.1%	1.2%	75.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.6%	8.5%	1.7%	79.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.0%	22.6%	5.1%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.4%	-14.1%	-3.4%	46.8%
2010 Census Tract 3207 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3207, 3208, and 3214)				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.1%	2.9%	1.1%	63.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.7%	10.0%	9.2%	60.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.4%	5.5%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.9%	-10.4%	3.7%	29.3%

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Super Neighborhood 75: Meadowbrook/Allendale (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3216				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.8%	1.1%	0.8%	39.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.9%	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.2%	5.8%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.1%	-19.2%	-5.8%	37.2%
2010 Census Tract 3217 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3214 and 3217)				
Householders (2000 Census)	75.3%	0.8%	0.7%	54.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.1%	1.7%	0.6%	59.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.9%	19.3%	5.8%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.1%	-17.6%	-5.2%	30.9%
2010 Census Tract 3218 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3218 and 3219)				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.5%	0.7%	0.3%	57.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.8%	2.0%	1.5%	77.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.7%	21.0%	5.3%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.1%	-19.0%	-3.8%	45.7%
2010 Census Tract 3242 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3203, 3204, 3223)				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.0%	1.0%	0.2%	79.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.6%	0.0%	0.0%	94.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.5%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.8%	-21.5%	-5.4%	62.8%

Meadowbrook/Allendale is located on Houston's southeast edge bounded by the cities of Pasadena and South Houston, Loop 610, the Gulf Freeway, and the Ship Channel. The northern part of the community is home to several major chemical plants. The southern corner, which was once an oil field, is now an industrial area. Several wooded neighborhoods with single-family homes are nestled in between. The oldest areas, Meadowbrook and Allendale, were built before World War II. After the war, Forest Oaks and Oak Meadows were built for Houston's growing population of middle-income citizens. The newest addition to the area, Meadowcreek Village, contains the largest homes in the Community. The population increased from 22,929 in 2000 to 24,431 in 2012 while annual median household income rose from \$34,823 to \$40,823.



Meadowbrook/Allendale is part of the large Latino enclave that includes its neighbor to the west Park Place. The concentrations of Hispanics here range from 59.9 to 94 percent, from 29.3 to 62.8 percentage points higher than expected in a free housing market devoid of discrimination. The proportion of Latino households in tracts 3205, 3216, 3218, and 3242 rose substantially to segregative levels since 2000. There are virtually no African American households in two–

thirds of the census tracts in Meadowbrook and, in seven of 13 tracts, notably fewer Black households than would be expected in a free housing market.

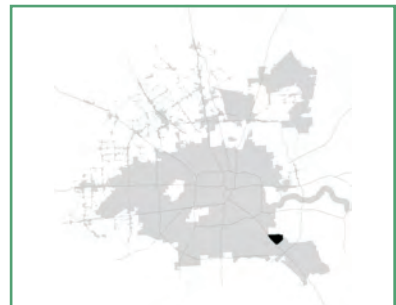
The actual proportions of Asian households are less than expected in 11 of 13 census tracts.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in this super neighborhood, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for Meadowbrook's Hispanic residents to areas outside the city's Latino enclaves and to expand housing choices of African Americans and Asians to include Meadowbrook.

Table 53: Edgebrook

Super Neighborhood 79: Edgebrook				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.7%	7.9%	2.4%	53.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.3%	12.6%	1.7%	62.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.5%	5.4%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.0%	-7.8%	-3.7%	30.5%
2010 Census Tract 3209 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3208 and 3209)				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.9%	8.2%	3.0%	58.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.1%	16.6%	1.2%	61.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	20.8%	5.5%	31.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.1%	-4.1%	-4.3%	29.7%
2010 Census Tract 3210				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.3%	9.9%	3.3%	41.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.2%	10.9%	2.1%	61.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.6%	19.2%	5.5%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.6%	-8.3%	-3.4%	30.2%
2010 Census Tract 3213 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3213 and 3214)				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.6%	6.5%	1.5%	54.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.9%	9.9%	1.7%	64.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.8%	21.8%	5.1%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	6.1%	-11.9%	-3.4%	31.6%

The Edgebrook Area is a group of single-family home subdivisions on both sides of Edgebrook Boulevard in southeast Houston. The City of South Houston forms the northern boundary; South Shaver sets the eastern and southern boundaries, and the western boundary is the Gulf Freeway. The area began to develop after the opening of the Gulf Freeway in 1948. Its oldest subdivision is Freeway Manor, followed by Gulfway Terrace, Sun Valley, and Arlington Heights, all developed in the 1950s. Large apartment complexes are found along the freeway, Edgebrook and State Highway 3, which bisects the community. The population has held pretty steady: 19,770 in 2000 and 20,318 in 2012 as did annual median household income which rose from \$36,888 to \$40,969.



Edgebrook is also part of the Houston's sprawling Latino concentration with the proportion of Hispanic households increasing in all three census tracts since 2000. The actual proportion of Latino households is around 30 percentage points higher than expected in all three census tracts. Since 2000 the proportion of Black households doubled in tract 3209 and is roughly what would be expected in

a free housing market. The proportions of Asian households continue to be miniscule and less than expected.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in Edgebrook, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for the Hispanic residents of Edgebrook to areas outside the city's Latino enclaves and to expand housing choices of Asians to include Edgebrook.

Table 54: South Belt/Ellington

Super Neighborhood 80: South Belt/Ellington				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.4%	10.2%	6.7%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.6%	16.8%	10.4%	39.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.2%	6.0%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.6%	-1.3%	4.4%	11.2%
2010 Census Tract 3211				
Householders (2000 Census)	69.2%	12.4%	2.9%	24.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.3%	16.5%	5.5%	58.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.9%	19.2%	5.8%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.7%	-2.7%	-0.3%	28.7%
2010 Census Tract 3212				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.4%	2.7%	1.2%	48.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.7%	8.6%	1.1%	75.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.1%	4.9%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.3%	-14.5%	-3.8%	41.7%
2010 Census Tract 3240 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3236 and 3240)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.6%	1.3%	2.6%	19.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	88.2%	1.3%	6.8%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.2%	6.1%	27.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.9%	-15.9%	0.7%	5.5%
2010 Census Tract 3339.01 (Was Tract 3339 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.4%	14.1%	6.2%	27.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.9%	19.9%	15.7%	52.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.4%	17.0%	6.2%	26.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.5%	2.9%	9.5%	25.6%
2010 Census Tract 3339.02 (Was Tract 3339 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.4%	14.1%	6.2%	27.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.3%	24.0%	3.6%	47.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.7%	19.3%	5.6%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.4%	4.7%	-2.0%	16.7%

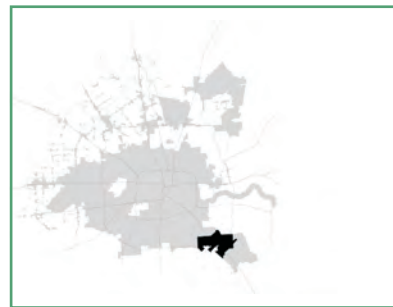
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Super Neighborhood 80: South Belt/Ellington (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3340.01 (Was Tract 3340 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.2%	15.6%	5.9%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.1%	35.8%	1.8%	50.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.1%	5.6%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.6%	15.7%	-3.8%	19.8%
2010 Census Tract 3340.02 (Was Tract 3340 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.2%	15.6%	5.9%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.8%	13.2%	11.6%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.1%	18.9%	5.8%	29.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.7%	-5.7%	5.7%	-0.7%
2010 Census Tract 3340.03 (Was Tract 3340 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.2%	15.6%	5.9%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.2%	14.9%	14.1%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.5%	18.6%	5.9%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.3%	-3.7%	8.3%	6.7%
2010 Census Tract 3401				
Householders (2000 Census)	74.5%	11.1%	5.1%	15.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.0%	18.9%	5.9%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.2%	5.4%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.6%	-1.3%	0.4%	-2.2%
2010 Census Tract 3402.01 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3402 and 3420)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.9%	1.8%	10.6%	8.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.6%	1.8%	28.7%	10.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.7%	13.1%	7.3%	19.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.1%	-11.3%	21.5%	-8.9%
2010 Census Tract 3501 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.6%	5.8%	6.3%	9.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.9%	19.7%	18.3%	22.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.1%	15.9%	6.6%	24.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.2%	3.8%	11.7%	-2.5%

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Super Neighborhood 80: South Belt/Ellington (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3502				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.3%	10.1%	7.1%	22.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.3%	15.0%	7.7%	40.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	16.7%	6.2%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.6%	-1.8%	1.5%	13.9%
2010 Census Tract 3503 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.2%	12.7%	7.8%	14.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.1%	11.4%	10.4%	28.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.0%	16.8%	6.4%	25.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.1%	-5.4%	3.9%	3.5%
2010 Census Tract 3504				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.5%	12.7%	10.4%	24.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.9%	17.4%	10.6%	40.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.0%	19.2%	5.9%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.0%	-1.8%	4.7%	11.8%
2010 Census Tract 3505				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.3%	14.6%	12.1%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.8%	20.2%	12.4%	43.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.6%	5.6%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.7%	0.6%	6.9%	13.8%

South Belt/Ellington is a part of southeast Houston, located at the intersection of the Sam Houston Parkway (Beltway 8) and the Gulf Freeway (I-45 S). Ellington Field, a general aviation airport that was once a military training field, is at the eastern edge of the community. Almeda Mall is the center of a large retail and commercial district that spreads across both sides of the Gulf Freeway. Some of the older subdivisions in the community include Beverly Hills, Gulf Palms, and the Genoa townsite. Later developments include Kirkwood, Sagemont, and Scarsdale. The City of Houston annexed Sycamore Valley, another subdivision in the area, in 1994. The completion of Beltway 8 has stimulated residential and commercial development throughout the community. New home construction is continuing in the western subdivision of Bridgegate. Population skyrocketed by 57 percent to 55,217 in 2012 while annual median household income rose from \$46,229 to \$54,198.



The city's Latino concentration extends into five of the eight census tracts north of Beltway 8 — 3211, 3212, 3339.01, 3339.02, and 3340.01. With the exception of tract 3212 where the proportion of Latino households grew from 48.8 percent in 2000 to 75.8 percentage points (41.7 percent more than expected in a free

market), the concentrations of Hispanic households is not nearly as intense as in the super neighborhoods to the north and west.

Tract 3340.01 is one of the few census tracts in Houston where the actual proportions of both African Americans and Latinos is greater than the proportions expected in a free market without discrimination. The proportions of both groups increased by more than 20 percentage points since 2000, suggesting that steering may be occurring.

The proportion of Asian households nearly tripled since 2000 in census tract 3340.01 from 10.6 to 28.7 percent, 21.5 percentage points more than would be expected in a free housing market. Neighboring tracts 3340.02 and 3340.03 saw smaller growth spurts in their Asian composition since 2000 as did tract 3339.01.

The actual composition of eight of the 15 census tracts that comprise Southbelt/Ellington are the same as would be expected in a free market absent housing discrimination. Six of these are outside Beltway 8.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in Southbelt/Ellington, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for the Hispanic residents of Southbelt/Ellington to areas outside the city's Latino enclaves.

The city should look more closely at the national origins of the Asian households in census tracts 3339.01, 3340.02, and 3340.03 to see which Asian groups are concentrating here (Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Pakistani, Korean, etc.) and conduct real estate testing to see if steering is at play.

Table 55: Clear Lake

Super Neighborhood 81: Clear Lake				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.4%	5.0%	8.3%	9.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.4%	7.8%	10.8%	17.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.0%	16.8%	6.3%	25.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.5%	-9.0%	4.5%	-7.9%
2010 Census Tract 3401 (Less Than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	74.5%	11.1%	5.1%	15.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.0%	18.9%	5.9%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.2%	5.4%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.6%	-1.3%	0.4%	-2.2%
2010 Census Tract 3402.01 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3402 and 3420)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.9%	1.8%	10.6%	8.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.6%	1.8%	28.7%	10.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.7%	13.1%	7.3%	19.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.1%	-11.3%	21.5%	-8.9%
2010 Census Tract 3402.02 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3402 and 3420)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.9%	1.8%	10.6%	8.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.5%	3.6%	22.4%	12.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.9%	11.3%	7.6%	16.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.5%	-7.7%	14.9%	-4.9%
2010 Census Tract 3403.01 (Was Tract 3403 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.0%	2.4%	9.5%	4.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.4%	6.7%	21.5%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	79.8%	8.5%	8.0%	12.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.4%	-1.7%	13.4%	-7.5%
2010 Census Tract 3403.02 (Was Tract 3403 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.0%	2.4%	9.5%	4.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.1%	3.5%	10.8%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.6%	13.2%	7.3%	19.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.6%	-9.7%	3.5%	-10.1%

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Super Neighborhood 81: Clear Lake (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3404				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.7%	1.7%	9.0%	3.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.5%	0.0%	12.5%	3.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.9%	11.4%	7.6%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.5%	-11.4%	5.0%	-13.3%
2010 Census Tract 3405				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.1%	4.9%	5.2%	12.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.3%	7.2%	11.7%	21.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.3%	18.9%	5.8%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.0%	-11.7%	5.9%	-7.4%
2010 Census Tract 3406				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.6%	2.6%	3.0%	4.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	95.1%	2.9%	0.8%	11.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.6%	6.6%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	24.7%	-12.7%	-5.8%	-12.8%
2010 Census Tract 3407				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.9%	4.4%	10.8%	8.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.6%	4.7%	9.1%	19.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.5%	17.0%	6.3%	26.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.0%	-12.3%	2.8%	-7.0%
2010 Census Tract 3408				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.6%	4.1%	14.0%	6.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.2%	4.5%	18.3%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.5%	14.1%	7.2%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.7%	-9.5%	11.1%	-13.7%
2010 Census Tract 3409				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.0%	12.7%	5.3%	13.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.5%	11.8%	4.9%	28.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.4%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.2%	-9.6%	-0.4%	-3.8%

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Super Neighborhood 81: Clear Lake (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3410				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.3%	7.6%	4.8%	11.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.6%	11.3%	6.0%	20.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.3%	19.8%	5.7%	29.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.4%	-8.5%	0.3%	-9.0%
2010 Census Tract 3413.01 (Was Tract 3413 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.0%	6.5%	8.3%	10.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.4%	6.1%	8.1%	14.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.3%	19.9%	5.7%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.1%	-13.8%	2.3%	-14.7%
2010 Census Tract 3413.02 (Was Tract 3413 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.0%	6.5%	8.3%	10.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.4%	16.3%	8.0%	22.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.0%	19.8%	5.6%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.4%	-3.5%	2.4%	-8.1%
2010 Census Tract 3506.01 (Was Tract 3506 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.7%	8.8%	8.0%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.3%	10.7%	14.0%	10.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.2%	6.6%	23.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.5%	-5.5%	7.3%	-13.0%
2010 Census Tract 3508.02 (Was Tract 3508 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.1%	7.2%	2.9%	12.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.0%	6.2%	9.6%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.1%	15.8%	6.4%	24.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.9%	-9.7%	3.1%	3.7%

Clear Lake lies in the southeast corner of the City of Houston. Before NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center was built in the early 1960s, it was largely coastal prairie devoted to ranching. Today, the area includes the master planned community of Clear Lake City, the adjacent communities of Pipers Meadow and Sterling Knoll, and the Baybrook Mall retail center. Clear Lake City is home to numerous aeronautics contractors attracted by NASA. New home construction continues in the northern part of Clear Lake City; however, the northern and western edges of the area are undeveloped because of traffic patterns at Ellington Field and a nearby oil field. Population grew from 57,117 to 60,159 while annual median household income rose from \$68,815 to \$81,540.



The actual compositions of 14 of the 16 Clear Lake census tracts are what

would be expected in a free market absent housing discrimination. However the actual proportions of African American households in ten of the 16 census tracts are nine or more percentage points lower than would be expected in a free housing market.

The actual proportion of Caucasian households in tract 3406 is nearly 25 percentage points higher than expected while the proportions of Black and Hispanic households are each nearly 13 percentage points lower than would be expected.

Recommended Actions: While we have established a relatively high 15 percentage point differential between actual and expected figures for this study instead of the usual ten percentage points, these gaps in this newer super neighborhood are of concern and it would behoove the City of Houston to conduct testing to see if higher income minority households are being steered away from Clear Lake.

The actual proportion of Asian households in tract 3402.01 nearly tripled from 10.6 to 28.7 percent; since 2000, nearly 22 percentage points higher than would be expected in the absence of housing discrimination. Two adjacent tracts, 3402.02 and 3403.01 also experienced large increases in their Asian populations, from 10.6 to 22.4 and 9.5 to 21.5 percent respectively. The actual proportions of Asian households exceeds the expected proportions in those tracts by more than seven percentage points. Four additional adjacent tracts — 3403.02, 3404, 3405, and 3408 — had slightly greater actual proportions of Asian households than would be expected. This is of possible concern only because the Asian composition is generally expected to be about five percentage points nearly everywhere in Houston and small differences may be more significant than with more populous races and Hispanics who constitute a much larger percentage of the city's population.

Recommended Actions: While these are well within the 15 point differential used in this study, the proximity of these tracts suggest that a concentration of Asian households could be in its formative stages. The city would be prudent to conduct testing to see if steering is taking place. In addition, the city should look more closely at the national origins of the Asian populations in census tracts 3339.01, 3340.02, and 3340.03 to see whether a single Asian groups is concentrating here (Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Pakistani, Korean, etc.) or if the national origins of the Asian households here is more diverse.

Nearby Census Tracts Not Assigned to Any Super Neighborhood. Census tract 3402.03 also has a somewhat higher than expected Asian population much like tract 3404 as it became more diverse since 2000. The actual composition of tract 3411 falls within expectations for a free housing market as it became more diverse since 2000.

Table 56: Greater Third Ward

Super Neighborhood 67: Greater Third Ward				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	15.2%	76.8%	3.0%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.8%	58.9%	5.3%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.5%	5.7%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.1%	37.5%	-0.4%	-18.8%
2010 Census Tract 3120				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.0%	51.2%	15.6%	4.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.1%	54.1%	8.3%	6.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.7%	5.7%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-27.6%	31.4%	2.6%	-21.9%
2010 Census Tract 3121 (No households in tract 3121)				
Householders (2000 Census)	There is only college housing (“group quarters”) in this tract. No households.			
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion				
2008–2012 Households Free Market				
2008–2012 Households Difference				
2010 Census Tract 3122				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.9%	90.4%	0.2%	7.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	6.7%	89.9%	1.4%	8.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	57.8%	26.9%	4.9%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-51.1%	63.1%	-3.5%	-24.5%
2010 Census Tract 3123				
Householders (2000 Census)	5.0%	88.8%	2.5%	6.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	14.4%	79.0%	0.0%	14.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.6%	24.3%	5.3%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-46.2%	54.7%	-5.3%	-16.7%
2010 Census Tract 3124				
Householders (2000 Census)	2.6%	93.6%	0.1%	4.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	11.8%	79.8%	1.3%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.9%	24.0%	5.2%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-49.0%	55.8%	-3.9%	-13.7%

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Super Neighborhood 67: Greater Third Ward (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3126 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.8%	50.2%	2.4%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.9%	19.8%	11.3%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	16.0%	6.5%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.3%	3.8%	4.7%	-12.8%
2010 Census Tract 3127				
Householders (2000 Census)	2.0%	94.6%	0.2%	2.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	4.5%	93.5%	0.0%	0.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	22.2%	5.4%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-58.4%	71.4%	-5.4%	-29.9%
2010 Census Tract 3128				
Householders (2000 Census)	2.3%	93.1%	0.9%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	9.4%	90.1%	0.0%	5.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	57.7%	27.3%	5.2%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-48.3%	62.8%	-5.2%	-24.5%

The Greater Third Ward is home to some of the most important institutions in Houston's African American community, including Texas Southern University, Riverside Hospital, and dozens of prominent churches. Originally a small community of shotgun style houses and modest frame homes, over time the area called "Third Ward" expanded to the south into neighborhoods such as Washington Terrace. By the mid 1950s, the growing African American middle class found more substantial brick homes and duplexes in areas formerly restricted to whites. Neighborhood household income has not kept pace with the rest of the city; however, recently there has been some revival along Scott. During the 2000s, the population fell by 1,423 to 14,040 while the annual median household income more than doubled from \$14,493 to \$38,936.



Aside from the small portion of the Greater Third Ward that is in tract 3126 (most of which is in the Museum Park super neighborhood), the Greater Third Ward continues to exhibit the vestiges of historic segregation although there are signs of greater diversity developing. The actual proportions of Black households remain much greater than would be expected in a free housing market not distorted by discrimination, ranging from 31.4 to 71.4 percentage points higher than would be expected. The actual proportions of Caucasian and Latino households continue to be substantially lower than expected with a range of 27.6 to 58.4 percentage points lower among white households and 16.7 to 29.9 percentage points lower among Hispanic households of any race. As is the case in most of Houston, Asian households are missing in action except in tract 3120 where the proportion of Asian households fell almost in half since 2000 and is now what

would be expected and in tract 3126 where the proportion increased almost five fold since 2000 and is roughly what would be expected.

The proportions of Hispanic households have barely budged since 2000 except in tracts 3124 where it increased about four fold from 4.7 to 18.1 percent, still 13.7 percent lower than would be expected in a free housing market.

The proportions of Black households remained pretty much the same except in tract 3124 where it declined from 93.6 to 79.8 percent, still 55.8 percentage points greater than expected in a free housing market and in tract 3126 which is analyzed with the rest of the tracts in the Museum Park super neighborhood in the city's southwest quadrant.

While the actual proportions of white households have barely changed in most of the Greater Third Ward census tracts since 2000, tracts 3123, 3124, and 3128 have seen a measurable increase as has tract 3125 which is analyzed with the rest of the tracts in the Museum Park super neighborhood in the city's southwest quadrant.

It is possible that a more diverse set of households may be moving into the Greater Third Ward due to its proximity to the predominantly Caucasian Museum Park, Midtown, and Medical Center super neighborhoods. The huge increase in median household income from \$14,493 in 2000 to \$38,936 also suggests that gentrification is likely occurring in the Greater Third Ward.

Recommended Actions: The Greater Third Ward appears to offer the City of Houston the opportunity to reduce economic stratification and racial segregation.

The data suggest that the Greater Third Ward *may* be in the early stages of integrating racially, ethnically, and economically. To affirmatively further fair housing in the Greater Third Ward, Houston faces the challenge of fostering development of a stable, racially and economically integrated neighborhood. The city needs to implement the recommendations elsewhere in this report to preserve a significant proportion of the existing housing that is affordable to households with modest incomes in the face of gentrification while fostering this growing economic, racial, and Latino diversification.

When looking at continued progress toward these goals, it is vital to remember that successful integration of a neighborhood results from incremental change and doesn't happen overnight.

Table 57: MacGregor

Super Neighborhood 83: MacGregor				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	21.6%	67.6%	6.2%	6.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	33.3%	53.3%	9.2%	7.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.1%	19.4%	6.0%	27.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.8%	33.9%	3.2%	-19.8%
2010 Census Tract 3120				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.0%	51.2%	15.6%	4.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.1%	54.1%	8.3%	6.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.7%	5.7%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-27.6%	31.4%	2.6%	-21.9%
2010 Census Tract 3126 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.8%	50.2%	2.4%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.9%	19.8%	11.3%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	16.0%	6.5%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.3%	3.8%	4.7%	-12.8%
2010 Census Tract 3129				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.9%	95.9%	0.8%	0.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	5.8%	88.8%	3.0%	0.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.6%	5.6%	29.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.9%	66.2%	-2.6%	-29.3%
2010 Census Tract 3130				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.0%	92.0%	0.5%	3.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	9.6%	88.2%	0.9%	4.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.4%	5.4%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-53.8%	66.8%	-4.5%	-27.0%
2010 Census Tract 3131 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.7%	10.2%	20.7%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.3%	16.0%	15.5%	12.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.3%	6.5%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.6%	-0.3%	9.0%	-10.9%

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Super Neighborhood 83: MacGregor (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3132				
Householders (2000 Census)	7.1%	84.8%	3.8%	5.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	9.7%	86.3%	1.7%	3.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	19.0%	5.9%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.7%	67.3%	-4.2%	-24.3%
2010 Census Tract 3133 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.4%	92.8%	0.0%	5.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	4.4%	87.5%	0.0%	11.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.0%	5.5%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-59.6%	66.5%	-5.5%	-19.5%
2010 Census Tract 3139 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.0%	36.6%	16.8%	7.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	33.7%	38.1%	20.4%	9.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.4%	5.8%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-31.1%	17.7%	14.7%	-19.6%

MacGregor is a collection of neighborhoods on both sides of Brays Bayou east of the Texas Medical Center. The area became home to many of Houston's African American professionals during the 1950s and 1960s. At that time some large homes were demolished or converted to commercial uses. As a result some parts of the community include stately homes interspersed with small motels and deteriorated apartments. Some subdivisions, notably Timbercrest, University Oaks and Riverside Terrace along South MacGregor, retain their gracious residential characteristics and contain numerous examples of outstanding architecture. Population grew to 14,083 in 2012 from 13,997 in 2000 while annual median household income rose from \$39,615 to \$48,999.



MacGregor is at the northern tip of an expansive concentration of predominantly African American super neighborhoods stretching to the city's southern boundaries. With the exception of the small portion of census tract 3131, most of which is in the Medical Center super neighborhood, and the small portion of tract 3139, most of which is in the Astrodome Area super neighborhood (both of which are analyzed in the southwest quadrant portion of this report), MacGregor has long been part of this south central Black enclave.

In tract 3126, the decline in the actual proportion of African American households from 50.2 in 2000 to 19.8 percent and increase in the actual proportion of

white households from 38.8 to 63.9 percent has changed the composition of tract 3126 to what would be expected in a free market lacking housing discrimination.¹⁶

The actual proportions of African American households in the tracts that comprise the core of the MacGregor super neighborhood range from 54.1 to 88.8 percent Black, from 31.4 to 66.8 percentage points higher than expected in a free market in housing. The actual proportions of white households range from 27.6 to 59.6 percent lower than would be expected in the absence of discrimination.

The actual proportions of Latino households remains well below what would be expected in a free market, from 19.5 to 29.3 percentage points.

The Asian population in the tracts completely within MacGregor is barely measurable except in tract 3120 where the actual proportion is about what would be expected in a free market. The proportion of Asian households nearly fell in half since 2000.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in this super neighborhood, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for the African American residents of MacGregor to areas outside the city's Black enclaves and to expand housing choices for Caucasians, Hispanics, and Asians to include MacGregor.

16. See the discussion of this tract in the analysis of the Greater Third Ward, immediately before MacGregor.

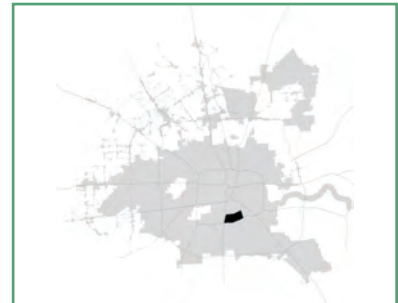
Table 58: Greater OST/South Union

Super Neighborhood 68: Greater OST/South Union				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	5.3%	88.9%	1.0%	7.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	8.0%	86.3%	0.6%	10.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.2%	22.6%	5.3%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-54.3%	63.7%	-4.6%	-21.4%
2010 Census Tract 3132 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	7.1%	84.8%	3.8%	5.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	9.7%	86.3%	1.7%	3.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	19.0%	5.9%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.7%	67.3%	-4.2%	-24.3%
2010 Census Tract 3133				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.4%	92.8%	0.0%	5.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	4.4%	87.5%	0.0%	11.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.0%	5.5%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-59.6%	66.5%	-5.5%	-19.5%
2010 Census Tract 3134				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.6%	88.8%	0.0%	9.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	11.3%	87.0%	0.0%	12.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.4%	23.1%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-50.1%	63.9%	-5.1%	-20.9%
2010 Census Tract 3135				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.6%	88.8%	0.0%	9.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	9.1%	81.2%	0.0%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.1%	23.7%	5.1%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-52.0%	57.5%	-5.1%	-14.2%
2010 Census Tract 3136				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.4%	84.2%	0.2%	13.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	8.3%	80.7%	0.0%	17.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.8%	23.7%	5.1%	32.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-52.5%	56.9%	-5.1%	-15.1%

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Super Neighborhood 68: Greater OST/South Union (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3137				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.5%	93.8%	0.0%	4.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	6.2%	92.5%	0.0%	2.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	22.0%	5.2%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.6%	70.5%	-5.2%	-29.5%
2010 Census Tract 3138				
Householders (2000 Census)	2.6%	92.2%	1.7%	4.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	6.6%	89.4%	1.6%	8.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.8%	24.9%	5.0%	33.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-53.2%	64.5%	-3.4%	-24.7%

Greater OST/South Union is a collection of neighborhoods in south central Houston inside Loop 610. Most of the homes in this community were built just after World War II. Many of these small homes have been converted to commercial use, especially along Martin Luther King Boulevard. Other areas, such as LaSalette Place, remain deed restricted and well maintained. One small portion of Riverside Terrace is included in the community immediately south of MacGregor Park. Commercial development has revived along Old Spanish Trail, and the Shrine of the Black Madonna church has purchased and redeveloped a number of deteriorated properties near its sanctuary. In addition, new home construction is occurring in various locations throughout the area. The population fell slightly from 19,523 to 19,444 during the decade while annual median household income rose from \$20,586 to \$27,785.



The actual proportion of African American households in every census tract in Greater OST/South Union is 56.9 to 67.3 percentage points greater than the proportion expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. The actual proportions remain largely changed from 2000, now ranging from 80.7 percent to 92.5 percent. The actual proportions of whites range from 50.1 to 59.6 percentage points less than would be expected. The actual proportions of Hispanic households range from 15.1 to 29.5 percentage points less than would be expected. Asian households barely register throughout this super neighborhood.

Recommended Actions: The city needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans will look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and whites, Hispanics, and Asians will consider housing in this super neighborhood. Real estate testing would reveal whether the continuing segregation in Greater OST/South Union is due to historic segregation or current illegal discriminatory real estate practices.

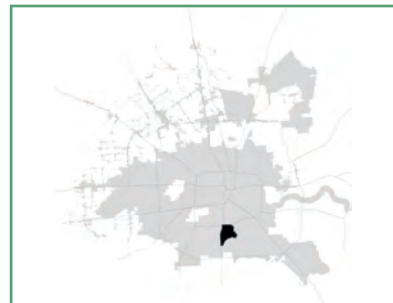
Table 59: Sunnyside

Super Neighborhood 71: Sunnyside				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	2.0%	94.6%	0.9%	3.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	4.0%	92.3%	0.4%	5.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.8%	23.9%	5.1%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.8%	68.4%	-4.7%	-26.9%
2010 Census Tract 3311				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.6%	92.9%	0.2%	5.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.7%	91.3%	0.2%	96.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.2%	23.2%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-55.7%	68.1%	-5.1%	-27.2%
2010 Census Tract 3312				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.2%	96.8%	0.1%	2.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	3.3%	90.6%	0.0%	5.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.2%	25.3%	5.0%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.0%	65.3%	-5.0%	-27.2%
2010 Census Tract 3313				
Householders (2000 Census)	0.6%	97.8%	0.2%	1.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	0.9%	96.2%	0.0%	2.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.4%	22.1%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-61.6%	74.0%	-5.1%	-30.6%
2010 Census Tract 3314				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.0%	93.8%	3.4%	1.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	0.7%	96.1%	1.0%	4.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	57.4%	27.3%	4.7%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.7%	68.8%	-3.8%	-28.6%

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Super Neighborhood 71: Sunnyside (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3318				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.5%	96.7%	0.1%	2.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.1%	90.3%	0.0%	7.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.0%	23.7%	5.1%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-53.8%	66.6%	-5.1%	-25.0%
2010 Census Tract 3319				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.5%	96.7%	0.1%	2.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	1.4%	96.5%	0.0%	2.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.5%	5.2%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-61.7%	74.6%	-4.2%	-30.6%
2010 Census Tract 3320				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.6%	89.8%	2.0%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.9%	87.0%	1.0%	10.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.7%	24.1%	5.2%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-52.8%	62.9%	-4.2%	-21.1%

Sunnyside is the oldest African American community in south central Houston. It was originally developed to provide homes outside the city, but close enough for residents to commute. It includes a number of tract home subdivisions on typical suburban streets, as well as the original frame homes interspersed with small churches of the original neighborhood. New developments revived parts of the community, especially along Cullen. The population rose by 1,351 to 19,980 in 2012 while median household income remained low at \$24,056, up \$3,673 from 2000.



Had the historic housing discrimination that produced Sunnyside never existed, the actual proportion of African American households would be far less than today's 87 to 96.5 percent. The actual proportions exceed what would be expected in a free housing market by 65.3 to 74.6 percentage points. The actual proportions of white, Hispanic, and Asian households would likely be far greater than their current minuscule percentages.

Sunnyside's intense levels of segregation are among the vestiges of historic housing discrimination. The data since the turn of this century suggest that housing discrimination is probably continuing pretty much unabated.

Recommended Actions: The city needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans will look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and whites, Hispanics, and Asians consider housing in

this super neighborhood. Real estate testing can reveal whether the continuing segregation in Sunnyside is due to historic segregation or to twenty-first century illegal discriminatory real estate practices.

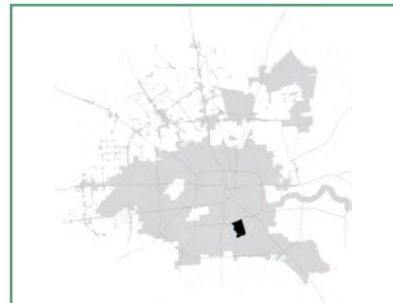
Table 60: South Park

Super Neighborhood 72: South Park				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.5%	89.2%	0.6%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	10.7%	85.0%	0.3%	13.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.0%	22.7%	5.1%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-51.3%	62.3%	-4.8%	-18.7%
2010 Census Tract 3318 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.5%	96.7%	0.1%	2.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.1%	90.3%	0.0%	7.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.0%	23.7%	5.1%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-53.8%	66.6%	-5.1%	-25.0%
2010 Census Tract 3319				
Householders (2000 Census)	1.4%	96.5%	0.0%	2.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	0.6%	97.1%	1.0%	1.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.3%	22.5%	5.2%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-61.7%	74.6%	-4.2%	-30.6%
2010 Census Tract 3320				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.6%	89.8%	2.0%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	7.9%	87.0%	1.0%	10.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.7%	24.1%	5.2%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-52.8%	62.9%	-4.2%	-21.1%
2010 Census Tract 3321				
Householders (2000 Census)	8.6%	77.5%	0.2%	19.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	19.6%	71.0%	0.0%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.7%	22.7%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-42.1%	48.3%	-5.1%	-4.5%

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Super Neighborhood 72: South Park (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3322				
Householders (2000 Census)	9.4%	78.9%	0.7%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	21.0%	72.7%	0.0%	26.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.8%	21.8%	5.1%	33.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-41.7%	50.9%	-5.1%	-6.4%
2010 Census Tract 3323				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.5%	89.5%	0.1%	10.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	16.6%	78.4%	0.0%	21.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.1%	5.0%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-45.9%	56.3%	-5.0%	-11.7%
2010 Census Tract 3324				
Householders (2000 Census)	2.4%	94.7%	0.1%	4.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	4.9%	94.3%	0.0%	5.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.6%	5.2%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-58.2%	72.7%	-5.2%	-27.1%

South Park (no relation to the television series) is a series of tract-home subdivisions developed along South Park Boulevard during the 1950s. The oldest subdivision consists of small frame homes on streets named for World War II battles that the original home buyers, many of whom were returning veterans, knew from personal experience. Over the years, property values and household incomes have not kept pace with the city's growth in these indicators. Throughout the area, many small and well maintained homes remain, however, they are often adjacent to deteriorating properties or vacant lots. Many homes adjacent to the main thoroughfare, now called Martin Luther King Boulevard, have been converted to various commercial uses. The population declined from 22,282 in 2000 to 21,198 in 2012. The median annual household income was \$27,060 in 2000, almost \$2,000 less than citywide. By 2012, it was \$36,616, more than \$8,000 less than citywide.



Immediately east of Sunnyside, South Park also reflects the vestiges of historic racial segregation. The actual proportions of Black households exceed expected proportions by 48.3 to 74.6 percentage points while the actual proportions of white households range from 41.7 to 61.7 percentage points lower than expected in a free housing market.

In four tracts, the actual proportion of Hispanic households range from 21.1 to 30.6 percentage points less than would be expected.

Four of the seven census tracts, however, are showing some signs of diversity incrementally occurring — 3318, 3321, 3322, and 3323.

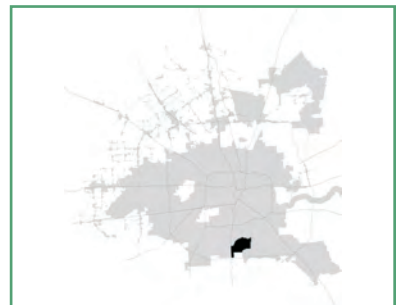
Asian households can barely be measured anywhere in South Park.

Recommended Actions: The data suggest that the city has an opportunity to foster further diversification of South Park's population by expanding housing choices for all groups to consider housing in areas outside those where their race or ethnicity predominates.

Table 61: South Acres/Crestmont Park

Super Neighborhood 76: South Acres/Crestmont Park				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.4%	94.3%	0.2%	2.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	6.9%	89.7%	0.2%	8.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.4%	5.3%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.5%	68.3%	-5.1%	-23.6%
2010 Census Tract 3315				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.3%	93.2%	0.4%	3.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	8.7%	89.2%	0.5%	6.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.6%	5.3%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-55.4%	68.6%	-4.8%	-25.9%
2010 Census Tract 3316.01 (Was Tract 3316 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.2%	94.7%	0.2%	2.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	4.3%	94.3%	0.0%	5.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.1%	19.8%	5.5%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-60.8%	74.5%	-5.5%	-25.2%
2010 Census Tract 3316.02 (Was Tract 3316 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.2%	94.7%	0.2%	2.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	2.7%	82.6%	0.0%	17.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.0%	24.7%	5.1%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-57.3%	58.0%	-5.1%	-15.1%
2010 Census Tract 3317				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.2%	94.1%	0.1%	3.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	9.9%	87.7%	0.0%	11.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.9%	23.7%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-51.0%	64.0%	-5.2%	-21.5%

South Acres/Crestmont Park is a suburban area of south central Houston across Sims Bayou from Sunnyside. Most of the housing in the community is post-war single family in typical suburban street patterns, although there are some large apartment complexes on the eastern edge. The community is bordered by undeveloped land to the south, east and west, and was relatively inaccessible until the opening of the South Freeway in the early 1980s and the recent opening of the South Belt. Population declined by 1,919 to 16,035 in 2012 while annual median household income grew from \$30,168 to \$38,423.



South Acres/Crestmont exhibits the same intense racial segregation as its im-

mediate neighbors to its north, South Park and Sunnyside. The actual proportions of African American households range from 58 to 74.5 percentage points higher than would be expected in a free housing market devoid of housing discrimination. Only tract 3116.02 shows any hints of diversity developing.

The actual proportions of Caucasian households range from 51 to 60.8 percentage points less than would be expected while the actual proportions of Latino households are 15.1 to 25.9 percentage points lower than expected in the absence of housing discrimination.

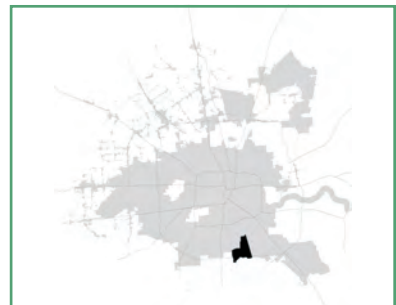
The number of Asian households is so low here that they barely register.

Recommended Actions: The city needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans will look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and whites, Hispanics, and Asians consider housing in this super neighborhood. Real estate testing would reveal whether the continuing segregation in South Acres/Crestmont Park is due to historic segregation or to twenty-first century illegal discriminatory real estate practices.

Table 62: Minnetex

Super Neighborhood 77: Minnetex				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	8.2%	86.9%	0.4%	6.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	19.1%	70.1%	3.1%	18.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.4%	20.6%	5.6%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-45.2%	49.5%	-2.5%	-11.2%
2010 Census Tract 3308				
Householders (2000 Census)	32.1%	50.4%	1.3%	21.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	28.3%	58.2%	5.6%	23.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.3%	18.0%	6.0%	28.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-39.0%	40.1%	-0.5%	-5.1%
2010 Census Tract 3316.02 (Was Tract 3316 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.2%	94.7%	0.2%	2.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	2.7%	82.6%	0.0%	17.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.0%	24.7%	5.1%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-57.3%	58.0%	-5.1%	-15.1%
2010 Census Tract 3317				
Householders (2000 Census)	3.2%	94.1%	0.1%	3.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	9.9%	87.7%	0.0%	11.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.9%	23.7%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-51.0%	64.0%	-5.2%	-21.5%

Minnetex is an isolated, semi-rural area in south central Houston which experienced very little development. The scattered homes, small large-lot subdivisions and occasional industrial facility are surrounded by acres of raw land which now has quick access to the rest of the metropolitan area. For now, barriers to new growth are the lack of water and sewer lines, and possibly noise due to the community being in an approach path for Hobby Airport. The population nearly tripled from 2,245 to 6,354 in this sparsely-populated neighborhood. Median household income rose from \$28,190 to \$31,718.



Minnetex is the south end of the largely and intensely segregated Black enclave that stretches from south of Downtown. The actual proportions of African American households range from 40.1 to 64 percentage points higher than would be expected in a free housing market while the actual proportions of white households range from 39 to 57.3 percentage points lower than expected.

The actual proportion of Hispanic households is as expected in tract 3308 while it is 15.1 and 21.5 percentage points lower than expected in tracts 3316.02

and 3317 respectively.

Asians barely exist in Minnetex.

Recommended Actions: The city needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans will look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and whites, Hispanics, and Asians consider housing in this super neighborhood. Real estate testing is needed to determine whether illegal discriminatory real estate practices are at play in the Minnetex super neighborhood.

The City of Houston has not assigned the census tracts in the table below to any super neighborhood. Each was reported on earlier in this section in analysis of the super neighborhood that is closest to it.

Table 63: Southeast Quadrant Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood

Southeast Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 2335				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.6%	0.6%	0.1%	62.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.6%	0.8%	0.0%	83.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.9%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.9%	-21.1%	-5.1%	49.9%
2010 Census Tract 2337.03 (Was Tract 2337 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.2%	10.8%	0.4%	54.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	84.8%	1.3%	0.0%	65.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.1%	19.6%	5.5%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.6%	-18.4%	-5.5%	33.8%
2010 Census Tract 2525				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.0%	1.4%	0.4%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	76.0%	2.8%	0.0%	51.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	22.0%	5.2%	32.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.4%	-19.2%	-5.2%	19.3%
2010 Census Tract 2533				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.1%	1.7%	0.4%	9.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.6%	2.1%	2.7%	21.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	16.9%	6.4%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.7%	-14.8%	-3.7%	-3.5%
2010 Census Tract 2545				
Householders (2000 Census)	48.3%	26.1%	0.0%	62.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.4%	14.4%	0.0%	73.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.4%	5.4%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.0%	-7.1%	-5.4%	42.4%
2010 Census Tract 2546 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 2546 and 2547)				
Householders (2000 Census)	66.7%	12.8%	1.2%	38.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.2%	17.9%	0.0%	59.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.7%	21.1%	5.2%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.5%	-3.3%	-5.2%	26.9%

Continued on the next page

Southeast Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3241 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3224 and 3225)				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.0%	1.0%	0.2%	79.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.0%	2.6%	1.6%	83.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.8%	21.8%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.2%	-19.2%	-3.7%	51.2%
2010 Census Tract 3402.03 (Was Tract 3402 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	79.3%	2.7%	15.5%	5.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.5%	3.1%	12.5%	8.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.8%	12.2%	7.2%	18.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.7%	-9.1%	5.2%	-10.9%
2010 Census Tract 3411				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.4%	8.4%	2.9%	21.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.2%	10.7%	1.3%	37.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.5%	5.6%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.7%	-8.8%	-4.3%	6.7%
2010 Census Tract 3436 (Was Tract 3426 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.9%	2.9%	0.0%	7.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.8%	5.4%	0.0%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.1%	19.2%	5.7%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.7%	-13.8%	-5.7%	1.7%

Southwest Quadrant

Super Neighborhoods in the Southwest Quadrant

16 Memorial	31 Meyerland
17 Eldridge/WestOaks	32 Braeswood Place
18 Briarforest	33 Medical Center
19 Westchase	34 Astrodome Area
20 Mid West	35 South Main
21 Greater Uptown	36 Brays Oak
22 Washington Ave/Memorial Park	37 Westbury
23 Afton Oaks/River Oaks	38 Willow Meadows/Willow Bend
24 Neartown/Montrose	39 Fondren Gardens
25 Alief	40 Central Southwest
26 Sharpstown	41 Fort Bend Houston
27 Gulfton	60 Fourth Ward
28 University Place	62 Midtown
29 Westwood	66 Museum Park
30 Braeburn	87 Greenway/Upper Kirby

Census tracts not assigned to a super neighborhood are shown with data following the super neighborhoods.

Table 64: Washington Avenue Coalition/Memorial Park

Super Neighborhood 22: Washington Avenue Coalition/Memorial Park				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.5%	8.4%	2.0%	36.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.1%	4.4%	7.6%	20.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.9%	15.4%	6.7%	22.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.2%	-11.0%	0.9%	-2.6%
2010 Census Tract 5101				
Householders (2000 Census)	35.9%	18.8%	1.6%	69.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.2%	14.9%	0.6%	35.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.0%	19.2%	5.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.1%	-4.3%	-5.2%	6.9%
2010 Census Tract 5102				
Householders (2000 Census)	69.5%	7.8%	2.0%	37.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.7%	5.0%	9.8%	19.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.3%	16.7%	6.4%	24.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.4%	-11.6%	3.4%	-5.5%
2010 Census Tract 5105 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.1%	20.1%	0.8%	34.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.0%	7.5%	0.9%	21.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.8%	6.5%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.6%	-8.3%	-5.6%	-2.1%
2010 Census Tract 5106				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.7%	15.1%	0.6%	63.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.3%	7.0%	18.2%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.3%	13.4%	7.0%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.0%	-6.4%	11.1%	-3.1%
2010 Census Tract 5107				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.0%	4.2%	5.2%	23.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.1%	2.1%	6.7%	14.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.2%	15.2%	6.8%	22.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.0%	-13.2%	-0.1%	-7.7%

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Super Neighborhood 22: Washington Avenue Coalition/Memorial Park (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 5108				
Householders (2000 Census)	85.0%	4.1%	2.7%	12.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.7%	1.3%	6.3%	10.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.8%	14.0%	6.9%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.9%	-12.7%	-0.7%	-9.9%
2010 Census Tract 5109				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.9%	1.0%	0.7%	58.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.9%	2.7%	5.6%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.2%	6.8%	22.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.9%	-13.5%	-1.2%	12.1%

Memorial Park/Washington Avenue is a corridor stretching from the northern edge of downtown on the east to Loop 610 on the west. It includes many of Houston's most historic sites such as Memorial Park, one of the city's primary environmental assets located on the former grounds of Camp Logan, a World War I Army training camp. Residential areas, in the west, adjacent to the park, are rapidly redeveloping with high end single-family homes. The eastern end of the area includes First and Sixth Wards, political geographic units, which date from the 19th Century. Sixth Ward contains the city's best Victorian era buildings. Interstate 10 creates a barrier on the northern boundary. Both the population and annual median household income soared between 2000 and 2012: 18,552 residents increased to 24,717 in 2012 and annual median household income more than doubled from \$43,892 to \$93,071.



The actual composition of the Washington Avenue Coalition/Memorial Park super neighborhood is what would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination with the sole exception of census tract 5107 where the actual proportion of Caucasian households rose from 81 to 87.1 percent, 16 percentage point higher than expected in a free market. Since 2000, the actual proportions of Latino and Black households declined and are below what would be expected. Overall there has been a very significant decline in the proportions of Hispanic households to levels that would be expected in a free market.

In all but one census tract, the actual proportions of African American households are a mere fraction of what would be expected in a free market absent discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should inquire further to identify why the percentages of Latino households declined so much since 2000 and why the proportions of African American house-

holds remain so much lower than expected. Testing may be warranted. The city needs to identify any public or private sector practices or policies that reduced the proportions of Hispanic households and implement public and private sector policies to stabilize the current proportions of Hispanic households which are at the levels expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

Table 65: Fourth Ward

Super Neighborhood 60: Fourth Ward				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.7%	43.7%	4.0%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.4%	9.8%	2.8%	16.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.4%	6.2%	26.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.1%	-7.6%	-3.3%	-9.9%
2010 Census Tract 4101				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.7%	43.7%	4.0%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.8%	32.3%	7.8%	13.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.3%	19.3%	6.1%	26.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.5%	13.0%	1.7%	-12.9%
2010 Census Tract 4105 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.2%	2.5%	2.4%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	96.1%	0.4%	0.8%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.2%	16.6%	6.2%	25.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	26.9%	-16.2%	-5.4%	-8.6%

The Fourth Ward has long been a community in transition. The heart of this community was Freedman's Town, a settlement of freed slaves on the western edge of the city. Fourth Ward was a major commercial and cultural center for Houston's widely scattered African American community. The construction of Interstate 45 delineates the eastern edge of the community. In turn, that portion was redeveloped primarily as retail. Since then, absentee property owners have anticipated redevelopment of the remaining area. The Allen Parkway Village public housing project was built in the 1940s, and its recent redevelopment has spurred growth of the remaining area. A major portion of the Fourth Ward has been included within a tax increment reinvestment zone, the 4th Ward TIRZ. The number of residents more than doubled from 1,740 to 3,641 in 2012 while the annual median household income skyrocketed from \$33,405 to \$59,671.



The huge increase in median household income suggests that some “gentrification” has likely occurred since 2000. Tract 4101, which comprises nearly all of the Fourth Ward, has seen pretty substantial decline in the percentages of African American and Hispanic households since 2000. While the actual composition of tract 4101 is now at levels expected in a free housing market, the percentages of African American and Latino households plummeted since 2000. These declines reduced the actual proportion of Hispanic households to nearly 13 percentage points less than expected. The 11.4 percentage point decline in the actual

proportion of African American households since 2000 brought the proportion of Black households closer to the proportion expected in a free housing market. Tract 4101 appears to be moving in the direction reflective of affirmatively furthering fair housing choice.

The discrepancies between the actual and expected composition of the sliver of tract 4105 are examined in the analysis of the Neartown/Montrose super neighborhood.

The direction the Fourth Ward is taking is exacerbating economic stratification in Houston.

Recommended Actions: As the Fourth Ward appears to undergo gentrification, much of its Latino and Black populations are being displaced. This change has brought the actual proportions of African American, white, and Asian households closer to what would be expected in a free market absent housing discrimination. But the actual proportion of Hispanic households have declined to a level significantly below what would be expected. Testing may help identify illegal discriminatory real estate industry practices, if any, that are contributing to these changes and enable the city to craft a strategy to affirmatively further fair housing by achieving a stable, racially and ethnically integrated Fourth Ward.

Table 66: Midtown

Super Neighborhood 62: Midtown				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.7%	8.1%	3.3%	15.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	77.1%	12.4%	6.4%	13.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.5%	6.3%	25.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.8%	-5.1%	0.1%	-11.8%
2010 Census Tract 3125				
Householders (2000 Census)	47.1%	27.9%	2.7%	35.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.6%	20.1%	13.7%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.3%	6.5%	23.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.2%	3.8%	7.2%	-6.5%
2010 Census Tract 4101 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.7%	43.7%	4.0%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.8%	32.3%	7.8%	13.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.3%	19.3%	6.1%	26.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.5%	13.0%	1.7%	-12.9%
2010 Census Tract 4105 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.2%	2.5%	2.4%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	96.1%	0.4%	0.8%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.2%	16.6%	6.2%	25.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	26.9%	-16.2%	-5.4%	-8.6%
2010 Census Tract 4106 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4106 and 4107)				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.6%	5.3%	3.7%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.0%	3.0%	4.2%	10.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.5%	15.6%	6.6%	23.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.5%	-12.6%	-2.5%	-13.4%
2010 Census Tract 4107.02 (Was Tract 4107 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.8%	5.0%	3.4%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.4%	10.3%	9.0%	9.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.9%	5.7%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.1%	-10.6%	3.3%	-19.2%

Midtown was a fashionable residential district before World War I. However, encroaching commercial development and heavy traffic sent high-income homeowners in search of quieter neighborhoods. The area became a mix of old homes, small apartment buildings and low-rise commercial buildings. For many years, the only stability in the community was a number of surviving churches and the Houston Community College campus in the old San Jacinto High School building. A Vietnamese business district has arisen along Milam, Webster, Fannin and San Jacinto. Spurred by the Midtown TIRZ, luxury apartment and townhome construction has begun in the western edge of the community and in areas close to Baldwin Park. Population rose from 5,311 in 2000 to 8,390 in 2012 while annual median household income soared from \$40,383 to \$70,829 in 2012.



Immediately southwest of Downtown Houston, Midtown's composition is generally what would be expected in a free housing market. Midtown appears to also be experiencing gentrification that may account for the precipitous decline in the percentages of Latino households in tracts 3125 and 4101 which Midtown shares with the Fourth Ward. Gentrification may also account in part for the increase in the actual proportion of whites since 2000 to a level that is 19.5 percentage points greater than expected.

In several tracts, the actual proportions of African American households are just a fraction of what would be expected in a free housing market.

The slivers of tracts 4105 and 4107.02 are examined in the analysis of the Neartown/Montrose super neighborhood where most of these two tracts are located.

Recommended Actions: As Midtown appears to undergo gentrification, much of its Latino and Black populations are being displaced. This change has brought the actual proportions of African American, white, and Asian households closer to what would be expected in a free market absent housing discrimination — in some census tracts. But the actual proportion of Hispanic households have declined to a level significantly below what would be expected. Testing may help identify illegal discriminatory real estate industry practices, if any, that are contributing to these changes and enable the city to craft a strategy to affirmatively further fair housing by achieving a stable, racially and ethnically integrated Midtown.

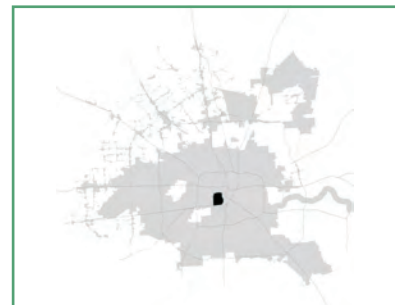
Table 67: Neartown/Montrose

Super Neighborhood 24: Neartown/Montrose				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	85.5%	3.3%	3.1%	14.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.9%	3.9%	4.3%	16.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.6%	17.3%	6.3%	25.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.3%	-13.4%	-1.9%	-8.9%
2010 Census Tract 4102				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.4%	3.0%	3.5%	18.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	88.5%	3.1%	3.1%	15.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.4%	15.8%	6.6%	23.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.1%	-12.7%	-3.5%	-8.1%
2010 Census Tract 4103				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.2%	3.9%	4.9%	9.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.4%	7.0%	7.5%	15.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.8%	15.6%	6.7%	22.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.6%	-8.6%	0.9%	-7.1%
2010 Census Tract 4104.01 (Was Tract 4104 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.8%	1.5%	2.7%	14.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.2%	1.9%	4.5%	14.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.6%	15.6%	6.6%	23.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.6%	-13.8%	-2.0%	-9.2%
2010 Census Tract 4104.02 (Was Tract 4104 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.8%	1.5%	2.7%	14.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.2%	1.2%	6.8%	24.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.4%	16.5%	6.4%	25.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.7%	-15.3%	0.5%	-0.2%
2010 Census Tract 4105				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.2%	2.5%	2.4%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	96.1%	0.4%	0.8%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.2%	16.6%	6.2%	25.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	26.9%	-16.2%	-5.4%	-8.6%

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Super Neighborhood 24: Neartown/Montrose (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4107.01 (Was Tract 4107 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.8%	5.0%	3.4%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.7%	7.0%	2.3%	16.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.4%	18.2%	6.2%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.3%	-11.3%	-3.9%	-9.9%
2010 Census Tract 4107.02 (Was Tract 4107 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.8%	5.0%	3.4%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.4%	10.3%	9.0%	9.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.9%	5.7%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.1%	-10.6%	3.3%	-19.2%
2010 Census Tract 4108				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.6%	3.0%	2.5%	18.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.2%	6.4%	6.4%	15.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.2%	19.2%	5.8%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.0%	-12.8%	0.6%	-12.5%
2010 Census Tract 4109				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.7%	4.0%	2.5%	17.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.6%	0.0%	2.6%	22.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.6%	18.1%	6.0%	26.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.0%	-18.1%	-3.4%	-3.9%

Neartown/Montrose is an eclectic neighborhood where cottage housing exists side by side with burgeoning townhome developments, large luxury apartment complexes and older duplexes. Many of Houston's historic mansions are found in the Avondale and Courtland Place areas. Restaurants, bars and unique retail shops can be found throughout this area. The population changed little with 28,015 residents in 2000 and 28,813 in 2012. The annual median household income rose much higher than the change in city medians at \$44,242 in 2000 and \$64,918 in 2012.



The actual proportions of African American households in adjacent census tracts 4105 and 4404.02 are, respectively, 16.2 and 15.3 percentage points less than the levels expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. Tract 4105 saw a substantial increase in the actual proportion of Caucasian households from 86.2 to 96.1 percent while in tract 4104.02 the actual proportion of Latino households rose from 14 to 24.8 percent since 2000. So while the proportion of Hispanic households in tract 4104.02 is now at the level expected, the actual proportion of Black households remains well below that level. Tract 4102 exhibits characteristics similar to tract 4105, albeit less intense.

Tract 4109 exhibits characteristics similar to those in tract 4501 with both tracts having virtually no African American households living in them.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should conduct real estate testing to identify any practices that may account for the disparities between actual and expected racial and Hispanic composition in Neartown/Montrose and take steps to remedy the causes of these disparities.

Table 68: Afton Oaks/River Oaks

Super Neighborhood 23: Afton Oaks/River Oaks				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.9%	1.9%	2.6%	6.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.5%	4.7%	5.4%	10.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.4%	13.4%	6.9%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.1%	-8.7%	-1.5%	-10.1%
2010 Census Tract 4111				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.4%	1.3%	2.5%	5.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.5%	0.0%	6.6%	12.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.7%	12.4%	7.1%	18.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.8%	-12.4%	-0.5%	-5.9%
2010 Census Tract 4112				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.6%	0.5%	2.5%	2.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	99.1%	0.9%	0.0%	2.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	78.2%	9.9%	7.6%	14.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.9%	-9.0%	-7.6%	-11.7%
2010 Census Tract 4113				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.7%	3.4%	4.2%	10.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.1%	10.1%	8.6%	16.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.3%	16.5%	6.3%	25.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.8%	-6.4%	2.3%	-9.3%
2010 Census Tract 4114				
Householders (2000 Census)	98.4%	0.1%	0.6%	2.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.0%	4.3%	1.2%	1.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	76.4%	11.1%	7.4%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.6%	-6.8%	-6.2%	-15.6%
2010 Census Tract 4116				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.5%	1.8%	1.3%	6.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.8%	1.6%	5.1%	8.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.7%	12.4%	7.2%	18.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.1%	-10.8%	-2.1%	-10.5%

The Afton Oaks/River Oaks area includes two of Houston's most prestigious upper-income neighborhoods. River Oaks began in the 1920s, and it quickly became Houston's most affluent development of residential area and remains so today. Afton Oaks was developed in the suburban boom after World War II. Many of Afton Oaks' original ranch-style homes are now being extensively renovated or are being replaced with much larger homes. Afton Oaks and River Oaks are conveniently located between Downtown and the Uptown/Galleria area. The area also includes Post Oak Park, a mixed use development in the northwest portion of the neighborhood. Post Oak Park was one of the first fashionable apartment districts developed along Mid Lane in the 1960s. Garden apartments have replaced luxury homes and townhouses as area land prices rise. The population declined precipitously between 2000 and 2012, falling from 41,820 to 14,465 in 2012. Annual median household income continued to be close to 300 percent of the city's medians, rising from \$97,170 in 2000 to \$122,353 in 2012.



Immediately east of Neartown/Montrose, Afton Oaks/River Oaks shares the same characteristics as Greenway/Upper Kirby to its south. In all but one census tract, the actual proportions of Caucasian households are greater than what would be expected in a free housing market while the proportions of African American households are generally a mere fraction of the percentages expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. In many of the census tracts the 15 percentage point gap used as a threshold to flag a census tract in this study is inapplicable because the expected proportion of Black households is less than 15 percent — which is the case for all but tract 4113. *So even though the actual proportion of African American households in every census tract here would be at least 9.9 percent, the actual proportions are mere fractions of what would be expected. The same phenomenon applies to Asian and Latino households in some of the census tracts.*

Recommended Actions: It is critical that the City of Houston take steps to expand housing choices for the higher income people of color who can afford to live here to include Afton Oaks/River Oaks among their housing choices. If the city is to affirmatively further fair housing choice, it needs to implement the recommendations of this study to overcome the apprehension, qualms, and discomfort many African Americans, Asians, and Latinos with higher incomes have regarding moving to an overwhelmingly non-Hispanic Caucasian area so that they will expand their housing choices to include areas like Afton Oaks/River Oaks.

Afton Oaks/River Oaks offers the city a golden opportunity to establish a stable racially and ethnically integrated super neighborhood that affirmatively furthers fair housing choice.

Table 69: Greenway/Upper Kirby

Super Neighborhood 87: Greenway/Upper Kirby				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.4%	2.2%	3.8%	7.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.9%	3.8%	7.8%	13.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.5%	16.4%	6.4%	24.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.4%	-12.6%	1.4%	-11.1%
2010 Census Tract 4110				
Householders (2000 Census)	93.0%	1.0%	2.2%	7.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.9%	4.8%	7.8%	3.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.8%	15.4%	6.7%	22.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.0%	-10.7%	1.1%	-19.3%
2010 Census Tract 4115.01 (Was Tract 4115 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.0%	2.3%	4.0%	7.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.0%	1.4%	8.3%	22.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.6%	15.6%	6.7%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.4%	-14.2%	1.6%	-0.8%
2010 Census Tract 4115.02 (Was Tract 4115 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.0%	2.3%	4.0%	7.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.8%	3.0%	5.2%	13.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.1%	16.7%	6.4%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.7%	-13.7%	-1.2%	-11.5%
2010 Census Tract 4117 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4117 and 4210)				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.9%	2.8%	4.7%	7.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.3%	8.4%	10.3%	13.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	19.0%	6.0%	27.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.9%	-10.6%	4.3%	-14.7%
2010 Census Tract 4118				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.8%	2.4%	3.6%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.5%	3.2%	8.2%	14.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.4%	16.4%	6.3%	25.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.1%	-13.2%	2.0%	-11.2%

The Greenway/Upper Kirby Area is located inside Loop 610, south of Westheimer Road and bound on the east by Shepherd. The Southwest Freeway runs through the southernmost part of this area. Greenway Plaza, a major activity and employment center developed in the late 1970s, forms part of this neighborhood. Kirby Drive is one of the major commercial thoroughfares in this neighborhood. The area is a mixture of single and multi-family residential uses with office and commercial located along major thoroughfares and the Southwest Freeway feeder roads. Population increased from 16,166 in 2000 to 19,618 in 2012 while annual median household income soared from \$55,019 to \$78,192.



Greenway/Upper Kirby shares the same characteristics as Afton Oaks/River Oaks to its north. In all but one census tract, the actual proportions of Caucasian households are greater than what would be expected in a free housing market while the proportions of African American households are generally a mere fraction of the percentages expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. In many of the census tracts the 15 percentage point gap used as a threshold to flag a census tract in this study is inapplicable because the expected proportion of Black households is less than 15 percent — which is the case for every census tract in Afton Oak/River Oaks except for tract 4117. So even though the actual proportion of African American households in every census tract here would be at least 15.4 percent, the actual proportions are mere fractions of what would be expected.

With the exception of tract 4115.01, the actual proportions of Latino households are significantly less than expected, especially in tract 4110 where it is 19.3 percentage points lower.

Recommended Actions: It is vital that the City of Houston take steps to expand housing choices for the higher income people of color who can afford to live here to include Greenway/Upper Kirby among their housing choices. If the city is to affirmatively further fair housing choice, it needs to implement the recommendations of this study to overcome the apprehension, qualms, and discomfort many African Americans and Latinos with higher incomes have regarding moving to an overwhelmingly non-Hispanic Caucasian area so that they will expand their housing choices to include areas like Greenway/Upper Kirby.

Greenway/Upper Kirby offers the city a golden opportunity to establish a stable racially and ethnically integrated super neighborhood that affirmatively furthers fair housing choice.

Table 70: Greater Uptown

Super Neighborhood 21: Greater Uptown				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	85.4%	3.4%	4.1%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.4%	6.1%	7.6%	16.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.8%	16.2%	6.5%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.6%	-10.1%	1.1%	-7.9%
2010 Census Tract 4301				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.4%	1.9%	4.1%	6.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.9%	4.7%	5.5%	11.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.3%	15.7%	6.4%	24.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.6%	-11.0%	-0.9%	-13.5%
2010 Census Tract 4302				
Householders (2000 Census)	85.3%	2.4%	7.3%	8.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.0%	0.0%	14.7%	15.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.5%	17.2%	6.2%	26.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.5%	-17.2%	8.5%	-10.7%
2010 Census Tract 4313.01 (Was Tract 4313 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.2%	3.3%	4.7%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.4%	12.0%	13.0%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.1%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-0.3%	-8.1%	7.5%	-2.5%
2010 Census Tract 4313.02 (Was Tract 4313 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.2%	3.3%	4.7%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.2%	2.4%	3.1%	8.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.4%	14.3%	6.9%	20.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.8%	-12.0%	-3.8%	-12.6%
2010 Census Tract 4314.01 (Was Tract 4314 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.4%	2.6%	3.1%	8.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	80.7%	8.5%	6.3%	19.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.7%	18.7%	5.9%	28.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.1%	-10.2%	0.4%	-9.2%

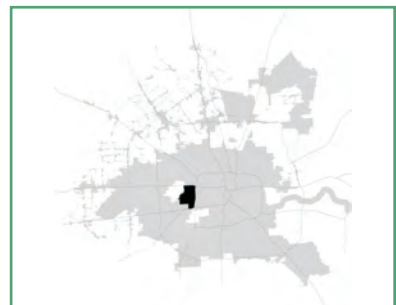
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Super Neighborhood 21: Greater Uptown (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4314.02 (Was Tract 4314 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.4%	2.6%	3.1%	8.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.2%	9.1%	8.7%	15.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.2%	16.5%	6.4%	25.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.1%	-7.5%	2.3%	-10.3%
2010 Census Tract 4315.01 (Was Tract 4315 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.5%	1.5%	2.7%	5.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.2%	0.8%	4.9%	8.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	16.1%	6.7%	22.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.0%	-15.3%	-1.9%	-14.1%
2010 Census Tract 4315.02 (Was Tract 4315 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.5%	1.5%	2.7%	5.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	89.0%	0.0%	3.8%	14.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.7%	13.2%	7.3%	19.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.3%	-13.2%	-3.4%	-4.7%
2010 Census Tract 4316				
Householders (2000 Census)	96.2%	0.6%	1.5%	3.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	95.2%	1.5%	0.8%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.1%	13.0%	7.1%	18.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.1%	-11.5%	-6.4%	-9.4%
2010 Census Tract 4317				
Householders (2000 Census)	95.3%	0.6%	1.8%	4.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.1%	0.8%	2.7%	5.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.8%	11.5%	7.4%	16.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.3%	-10.8%	-4.8%	-11.4%
2010 Census Tract 4318.01 (Was Tract 4318 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.8%	2.1%	4.0%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.6%	8.8%	19.3%	12.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.4%	17.4%	6.3%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.2%	-8.6%	13.0%	-12.7%

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Super Neighborhood 21: Greater Uptown (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4318.02 (Was Tract 4318 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.8%	2.1%	4.0%	9.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.7%	6.3%	7.0%	21.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.0%	6.5%	24.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.8%	-9.7%	0.5%	-2.6%
2010 Census Tract 4319				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.8%	4.4%	4.4%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.7%	9.7%	12.3%	17.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	15.9%	6.6%	23.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.5%	-6.1%	5.7%	-6.7%
2010 Census Tract 4320.01 (Was Tract 4320 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	69.7%	8.0%	8.9%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.2%	13.8%	10.1%	25.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.3%	6.0%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.1%	-4.6%	4.1%	-2.1%
2010 Census Tract 4327.02 (Was Tract 4327 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	60.0%	9.4%	4.3%	41.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.9%	10.6%	5.7%	39.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	20.5%	5.5%	30.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.4%	-9.9%	0.2%	9.2%

Greater Uptown is a large, mixed-use district located at the West Loop and traversed by Buffalo Bayou. It includes an office and retail complex centered on the Galleria which rivals the downtowns of many major cities. It also includes neighborhoods of expensive homes developed after World War II when this area was the city's western edge. The large subdivisions developed in the 1950s have now been almost entirely redeveloped. Apartments, condos, and expensive patio homes have replaced the modest, single-family homes on Augusta, Bering, Potomac and Nantucket. The population grew from 41,822 to 48,201 in 2012 while the annual median household income remained well above city medians, rising from \$73,283 to \$80,274 in 2012.



The actual proportions of Caucasian households are significantly larger than expected in a free housing market in the Greater Uptown census tracts just west of the Washington Avenue Coalition/Memorial Park super neighborhood (4301, 4315.01, 4315.02, 4316, and 4317) while the actual proportions of African American, Asian, and Hispanic households all lag behind expected percentages. The actual proportions are generally just a fraction of the expected proportions.

The actual proportions of all groups are roughly what would be expected in all

but two of the Greater Uptown census tracts west of the Afton Oak/River Oaks super neighborhood. However, in many of these census tracts the actual proportions of Black, Asian, or Latino households are a mere fraction of what would be expected.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to take steps to expand housing choices for the higher income people of color who can afford to live here to include Greater Uptown among their housing choices. If the city is to affirmatively further fair housing choice, it needs to implement the recommendations of this study to overcome the apprehension, qualms, and discomfort many African Americans, Asians, and Latinos with higher incomes have regarding moving to an overwhelmingly non-Hispanic Caucasian area so that they will expand their housing choices to include areas like Greater Uptown.

Greater Uptown offers Houston a golden opportunity to establish a stable racially and ethnically integrated super neighborhood that affirmatively furthers fair housing choice.

Table 71: Mid West

Super Neighborhood 20: Mid West				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.1%	9.5%	6.2%	20.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.7%	17.4%	7.8%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.4%	19.7%	5.7%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.7%	-2.3%	2.1%	0.2%
2010 Census Tract 4311.01 (Was Tract 4311 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.4%	4.9%	4.6%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.4%	14.0%	7.0%	5.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.4%	6.2%	25.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.1%	-3.4%	0.7%	-20.7%
2010 Census Tract 4311.02 (Was Tract 4311 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.4%	4.9%	4.6%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.3%	11.3%	12.8%	15.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.2%	18.7%	5.7%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.1%	-7.4%	7.1%	-15.0%
2010 Census Tract 4312.01 (Was Tract 4312 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.7%	6.1%	6.8%	13.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.0%	15.0%	10.9%	22.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.7%	19.6%	5.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-0.6%	-4.6%	5.1%	-6.9%
2010 Census Tract 4312.02 (Was Tract 4312 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.7%	6.1%	6.8%	13.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.0%	12.7%	15.9%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.0%	16.7%	6.3%	26.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.0%	-4.0%	9.6%	-13.7%
2010 Census Tract 4320.01 (Was Tract 4320 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	69.7%	8.0%	8.9%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.2%	13.8%	10.1%	25.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.3%	6.0%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.1%	-4.6%	4.1%	-2.1%
2010 Census Tract 4320.02 (Was Tract 4320 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	69.7%	8.0%	8.9%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.4%	32.0%	1.1%	36.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.2%	23.3%	4.9%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.8%	8.6%	-3.8%	2.4%

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Super Neighborhood 20: Mid West (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4321				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.1%	10.2%	8.5%	19.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	48.6%	18.5%	15.5%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	20.0%	5.6%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.6%	-1.6%	9.9%	-1.1%
2010 Census Tract 4322				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.9%	15.5%	5.1%	18.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.5%	20.7%	4.3%	24.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.3%	5.7%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.7%	1.4%	-1.3%	-5.4%
2010 Census Tract 4325				
Householders (2000 Census)	50.5%	30.5%	5.1%	27.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.1%	27.0%	2.9%	42.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.3%	5.3%	32.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-10.3%	5.7%	-2.4%	10.4%
2010 Census Tract 4326				
Householders (2000 Census)	72.9%	13.0%	5.1%	16.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.2%	25.2%	2.3%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.8%	17.0%	6.2%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-14.5%	8.2%	-3.9%	-9.4%
2010 Census Tract 4327.01 (Was Tract 4327 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	60.0%	9.4%	4.3%	41.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.0%	7.4%	0.6%	83.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	22.8%	4.9%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.7%	-15.4%	-4.3%	49.7%
2010 Census Tract 4327.02 (Was Tract 4327 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	60.0%	9.4%	4.3%	41.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.9%	10.6%	5.7%	39.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	20.5%	5.5%	30.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.4%	-9.9%	0.2%	9.2%

The Mid West super neighborhood is located directly south of Piney Point Village and is bordered on the south by the Southern Pacific Railroad track. The area contains a mix of single-family, condominiums, apartments, and office/commercial uses. Major commercial activity occurs along Westheimer, Richmond, and Fondren roads. The northwest corner of this neighborhood, known as Woodlake, consists of mixed commercial and high density residential uses. Tanglewilde and Briar Meadow (on both sides of Richmond Avenue) are the largest single-family subdivisions in the area. The population grew to 48,432 from 40,209 in 2000 while the annual median household income which was above the city's median in 2000 fell from \$41,172 to \$36,616, well below the city's median of \$44,648 in 2012.



The actual composition of nearly all of the census tracts in the Mid West super neighborhood, located just southwest of Greater Uptown, is what would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

Census tract 4327.02 is part of a swath of tracts in the Gulfton and Sharpstown super neighborhoods where the actual proportions of Latino households significantly exceeds the percentage expected. The gap in tract 4327.02 is nearly 50 percentage points higher than the gaps in the other two super neighborhoods.

In the northwest corner of Mid West, the actual proportions of Hispanic households in tracts 4311.01 and 4311.02 are 20.7 and 15 percentage points lower than expected, respectively.

In tract 4321, the actual proportion of Asian households is nearly 10 percentage points higher than expected while the proportion of white households is nearly 17 percentage points lower.

Recommended Actions: Real estate testing may enable the City of Houston to identify the causes of the gaps between actual and expected proportions in some of the Mid West census tracts. But overall, the actual proportions in the Mid West super neighborhood are pretty much what would be expected in a free housing market.

The Mid West super neighborhood offers the city a golden opportunity to establish a stable racially and ethnically integrated super neighborhood that affirmatively furthers fair housing choice.

Table 72: Memorial

Super Neighborhood 16: Memorial				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.6%	2.1%	6.8%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	84.4%	4.8%	8.9%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.1%	14.4%	6.8%	21.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.3%	-9.6%	2.1%	-10.6%
2010 Census Tract 4307				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.5%	0.7%	6.2%	6.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	81.4%	1.2%	14.9%	11.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.5%	6.1%	26.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.1%	-16.3%	8.8%	-15.4%
2010 Census Tract 4308				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.3%	0.1%	6.3%	3.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.0%	0.0%	15.6%	4.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.3%	11.8%	7.3%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.7%	-11.8%	8.3%	-13.2%
2010 Census Tract 4309				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.7%	0.8%	7.0%	5.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.1%	0.9%	12.1%	8.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.0%	12.9%	7.0%	19.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.1%	-12.0%	5.1%	-11.5%
2010 Census Tract 4501				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.4%	0.3%	5.9%	4.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.3%	0.3%	7.4%	4.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.6%	15.4%	6.5%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.7%	-15.1%	0.9%	-19.5%
2010 Census Tract 4502				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.3%	1.3%	5.8%	3.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.7%	0.9%	9.1%	8.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.4%	11.8%	7.4%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.2%	-10.9%	1.7%	-8.6%

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Super Neighborhood 16: Memorial (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4503				
Householders (2000 Census)	76.1%	6.2%	9.9%	12.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.8%	17.0%	6.0%	20.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.2%	17.4%	6.3%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	7.6%	-0.3%	-0.3%	-5.7%
2010 Census Tract 4504				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.2%	4.7%	5.7%	11.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.1%	6.9%	7.1%	20.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.3%	17.3%	6.2%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.8%	-10.4%	1.0%	-6.2%
2010 Census Tract 4505				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.3%	1.2%	7.1%	3.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.1%	10.5%	10.4%	7.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.3%	11.8%	7.3%	18.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.8%	-1.3%	3.1%	-10.9%
2010 Census Tract 4506				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.7%	2.6%	8.5%	8.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.7%	5.8%	4.3%	15.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.1%	6.5%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.7%	-10.3%	-2.2%	-9.0%
2010 Census Tract 4507				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.7%	0.3%	3.7%	2.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	94.1%	0.0%	4.3%	2.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	76.6%	11.0%	7.6%	15.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	17.6%	-11.0%	-3.2%	-13.7%

Memorial is one of Houston's most prestigious neighborhoods. Situated between Buffalo Bayou and I-10, west of several incorporated villages, the community takes its name from the main thoroughfare, Memorial Drive. The first significant residential development in this area began in the 1950s. Above average income home buyers were attracted to this heavily wooded area and to Spring Branch Independent School District and Katy Independent School District schools. Subdivisions range from comfortable mass produced homes to million dollar estates. Development along I-10 on the northern portion of the area includes important office centers and massive retail districts at Town and Country and Memorial City. Population remained steady at 44,412 in 2012 after being 44,957 in 2000. However, annual median household income nearly doubled from \$53,582 to \$103,760 in 2012.



The Memorial super neighborhood is northwest of Mid West, immediately north of Briar Forest, and immediately south of Spring Branch West. To its east is land not in the City of Houston.

The actual compositions of six of the ten census tracts in Memorial are what would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination except that the actual proportions of African American households is a small fraction of the percentage expected in three of these tracts (4308, 4309, 4502).

The actual percentages of Latino households are below the expected proportions in every census tract although the gap is greater than 15 points in only 4307 and 4501.

The actual percentages of Asian households are roughly what would be expected in all ten census tracts.

Recommended Actions: It is vital that the City of Houston take steps to expand housing choices for the higher income Latinos and African Americans who can afford to live here to include the Memorial super neighborhood among their housing choices. If the city is to affirmatively further fair housing choice, it needs to implement the recommendations of this study to overcome the apprehension, qualms, and discomfort many African Americans and Latinos with higher incomes have regarding moving to an overwhelmingly non-Hispanic Caucasian area so that they will expand their housing choices to include areas like Memorial.

The Memorial super neighborhood offers the city a golden opportunity to establish a stable racially and ethnically integrated super neighborhood that affirmatively furthers fair housing choice.

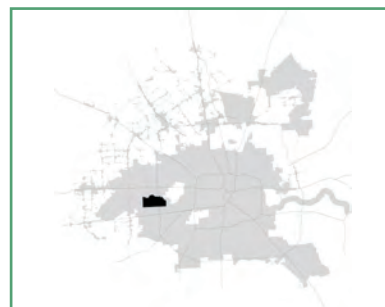
Table 73: Briar Forest

Super Neighborhood 18: Briar Forest				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.0%	12.2%	6.1%	15.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.4%	20.5%	6.9%	17.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.5%	17.2%	6.2%	26.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.1%	3.3%	0.7%	-8.4%
2010 Census Tract 4310				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.7%	2.1%	3.0%	5.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.8%	4.8%	2.1%	16.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.2%	14.3%	6.8%	21.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.7%	-9.5%	-4.6%	-5.3%
2010 Census Tract 4508.01 (Was Tract 4508 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.7%	13.2%	6.5%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.4%	11.4%	6.5%	25.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.7%	17.8%	6.1%	27.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.3%	-6.4%	0.4%	-1.8%
2010 Census Tract 4508.02 (Was Tract 4508 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.7%	13.2%	6.5%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.2%	14.1%	5.9%	38.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	16.7%	6.1%	26.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.7%	-2.6%	-0.3%	12.0%
2010 Census Tract 4509				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.3%	3.7%	8.6%	8.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.1%	14.4%	10.4%	10.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.0%	6.5%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.1%	-1.6%	3.9%	-14.0%
2010 Census Tract 4510.01 (Was Tract 4510 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	60.3%	19.6%	7.1%	20.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.5%	43.6%	4.5%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	20.9%	5.3%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-18.5%	22.7%	-0.9%	-12.8%

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Super Neighborhood 18: Briar Forest (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4510.02 (Was Tract 4510 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	60.3%	19.6%	7.1%	20.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	38.1%	48.9%	5.3%	19.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	20.8%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-25.9%	28.1%	-0.2%	-11.4%
2010 Census Tract 4511				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.0%	5.0%	6.2%	9.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.6%	18.3%	8.9%	12.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	16.8%	6.2%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.3%	1.5%	2.7%	-13.4%
2010 Census Tract 4512				
Householders (2000 Census)	95.2%	1.1%	3.0%	4.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.9%	1.0%	5.8%	5.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.9%	13.7%	7.0%	20.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.0%	-12.8%	-1.2%	-15.7%
2010 Census Tract 4513				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.2%	7.4%	5.0%	8.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.0%	15.2%	12.9%	9.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.4%	16.6%	6.5%	24.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.3%	-1.4%	6.4%	-14.5%

The Briarforest Area is bound by Buffalo Bayou and Gessner, Westheimer and Dairy Ashford roads. A significant feature of this neighborhood is a large wooded area east of Wilcrest Drive and adjacent to Buffalo Bayou on the north. The area is largely single-family residential with some multi-family, patio and town homes located along the area's major thoroughfares. Offices complexes are located along Sam Houston Parkway which passes through the easternmost sector of the area. Population shrunk from 42,100 in 2000 to 39,544 in 2012 while annual median household income remained comfortably higher than the city as a whole at \$59,211 and \$65,788 in 2012.



While the compositions of five of the nine census tracts in Briar Forest are what would be expected in a free housing market, the actual proportions of Latino households in four of those tracts range from 12 to 14.5 percentage points lower than expected.

Since 2000, the actual proportions of African American households in tracts 4510.01 and 4510.02 grew rapidly from 19.6 to 43.6 and from 19.6 to 48.9 percent respectively. The result is that the actual proportions of Black households now

exceed the expected proportions by 22.7 and 28.1 percentage points. Meanwhile, the actual proportions of white households fell precipitously to levels significantly lower than expected. These changes are characteristic of a neighborhood that may be undergoing resegregation from predominately Caucasian to predominantly African American. Along with most of the tracts in Westchase and some at the southeast corner of Eldridge/West Oaks, tracts 4510.01 and 4510.02 *may* be forming another Black enclave that runs counter to affirmatively furthering fair housing in Houston.

The actual proportion of Caucasian households in tract 4310 is nearly 21 percentage points higher than expected while the proportions of all other groups are slightly less than expected.

In tract 4512, the actual proportion of white households is 18 percentage points higher than expected while the actual proportion of Latino households is nearly 16 percentage points lower than expected. The actual proportion of African American households is almost 13 percentage points lower than expected.

Recommended Actions: The city needs to identify the factors leading to these substantial and rapid demographic changes in tracts 4510.01 and 4501.02 and implement steps now that address these causes and curb the *apparent* resegregation in tracts 4510.01 and 4510.02. The city needs to expand Black demand for housing in areas where their actual proportions are less than expected in a free housing market and broaden white demand to include housing in integrated neighborhoods.

Given the demographic differences between Briar Forest census tracts, the City of Houston should conduct testing to identify if illegal discriminatory real estate practices are in play in Briar Forest and neighboring super neighborhoods.

Table 74: Westchase

Super Neighborhood 19: Westchase				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.7%	21.4%	11.7%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.7%	38.8%	8.8%	21.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.4%	5.5%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.8%	18.4%	3.3%	-9.1%
2010 Census Tract 4323				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.0%	20.1%	14.9%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.3%	37.9%	6.4%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.9%	20.9%	5.4%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.5%	17.0%	0.9%	-1.3%
2010 Census Tract 4324				
Householders (2000 Census)	47.9%	31.2%	9.8%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	38.2%	42.5%	8.0%	22.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	21.1%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-25.2%	21.4%	2.9%	-10.4%
2010 Census Tract 4521				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.8%	14.8%	9.9%	12.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.8%	25.3%	10.1%	19.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.7%	6.0%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.0%	6.7%	4.1%	-7.6%
2010 Census Tract 4522.01 (Was Tract 4522 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.0%	20.7%	11.9%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	34.2%	49.6%	10.6%	16.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.5%	21.3%	5.3%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.3%	28.3%	5.3%	-15.6%
2010 Census Tract 4522.02 (Was Tract 4522 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.0%	20.7%	11.9%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	26.9%	50.8%	9.2%	14.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.9%	5.4%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-37.2%	29.9%	3.8%	-15.6%

Westchase is west of Gessner and south of Westheimer on Houston's west side. Its heavily landscaped boulevards are lined with condominium and apartment projects, office buildings, distribution centers, and retail centers. Developed with a central plan beginning in the 1970s, it has undergone an increase in the density of development as Houston boomed. The opening of the West Belt increased access and helped to end the real estate slump of the 1980s here. On the western edge of the area is the old Andrau Air Park. This privately-owned airport has closed and a gated country club community has been announced for this large tract. Population increased by nearly a fourth, from 21,017 in 2000 to 26,122 in 2012 while the annual median household income, \$40,741, fell below the city as a whole, \$44,648, in 2012. In 2000, the \$37,296 annual median household income was just above the \$36,616 median for the entire city.



Westchase has experienced rapid and substantial racial change since 2000 characteristic of a resegregating community. The proportions of African American households have increased by 10.5 to 30.1 percentage points since 2000. In four of the five census tracts, the actual proportion of Black households ranges from 17 to 29.9 percentage points greater than expected in a free market without discrimination. Meanwhile, the actual proportions of white households in every census tract have declined to between 16 and 37.2 percent lower than would be expected.

Census tract 4323 has seen a substantial increase in its percentage of Hispanic households since 2000, bringing its actual percentage to the same level as expected. The percentage of Latino households is less than expected in the other four tracts, with it being 15.6 percentage points lower than expected in both tracts 4522.01 and 4522.02.

The proportions of Asian households is about what would be expected in every Westchase census tract.

Recommended Actions: The city needs to identify the factors leading to these substantial and rapid demographic changes in Westchase and implement steps now that address these causes and curb the *apparent* early stages of resegregation in nearly all of Westchase. These steps including broadening Black demand for housing in areas where their actual proportions are less than expected in a free housing market and expanding white demand to include housing in integrated neighborhoods.

Table 75: Eldridge/West Oaks

Super Neighborhood 17: Eldridge/West Oaks				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.5%	12.1%	8.6%	12.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.6%	21.7%	13.9%	18.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.6%	17.1%	6.3%	25.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.0%	4.6%	7.7%	-7.1%
2010 Census Tract 4514.01 (Was Tract 4514 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	76.0%	11.0%	6.4%	12.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	69.4%	11.2%	13.2%	9.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.6%	18.0%	6.2%	26.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.8%	-6.8%	7.0%	-16.7%
2010 Census Tract 4514.02 (Was Tract 4514 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	76.0%	11.0%	6.4%	12.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.1%	45.1%	1.6%	17.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.9%	20.7%	5.3%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.8%	24.4%	-3.7%	-15.5%
2010 Census Tract 4514.03 (Was Tract 4514 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	76.0%	11.0%	6.4%	12.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.9%	22.7%	17.3%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.1%	19.2%	5.9%	28.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.2%	3.5%	11.4%	-10.1%
2010 Census Tract 4515				
Householders (2000 Census)	81.7%	5.5%	7.4%	8.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.5%	19.0%	15.7%	12.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.8%	17.7%	6.1%	27.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.3%	1.3%	9.5%	-15.1%
2010 Census Tract 4516.01 (Was Tract 4516 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.5%	3.9%	7.3%	6.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	75.5%	4.7%	17.3%	7.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.3%	13.5%	7.0%	20.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.3%	-8.8%	10.3%	-12.8%

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Super Neighborhood 17: Eldridge/West Oaks (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4516.02 (Was Tract 4516 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	84.5%	3.9%	7.3%	6.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	61.7%	13.2%	19.0%	13.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.2%	15.4%	6.9%	21.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.4%	-2.2%	12.0%	-7.2%
2010 Census Tract 4517				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.6%	21.8%	8.9%	14.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	56.4%	30.4%	7.2%	27.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.4%	17.9%	5.8%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.0%	12.5%	1.3%	-0.9%
2010 Census Tract 4518				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.6%	19.5%	12.4%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	37.7%	29.7%	11.5%	25.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.8%	17.6%	5.9%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-30.1%	12.1%	5.6%	-2.5%
2010 Census Tract 4519.01 (Was Tract 4519 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.6%	26.7%	12.7%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.6%	37.0%	7.6%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	20.4%	5.5%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.9%	16.6%	2.1%	-0.8%
2010 Census Tract 4519.02 (Was Tract 4519 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.6%	26.7%	12.7%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	43.4%	8.8%	47.8%	8.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.7%	14.8%	7.0%	20.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.3%	-6.1%	40.9%	-11.9%
2010 Census Tract 4520				
Householders (2000 Census)	57.7%	18.9%	11.8%	15.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.2%	36.2%	12.5%	18.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.5%	5.9%	28.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.7%	16.7%	6.6%	-9.7%

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Super Neighborhood 17: Eldridge/West Oaks (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4543.01 (Was Tract 4543 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.6%	16.5%	9.9%	22.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.7%	31.7%	12.8%	34.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.2%	20.6%	5.6%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-18.5%	11.1%	7.2%	3.6%
2010 Census Tract 4544				
Householders (2000 Census)	73.9%	10.9%	13.0%	6.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.9%	0.0%	14.3%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.2%	17.4%	6.2%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.6%	-17.4%	8.1%	4.5%
2010 Census Tract 4545.01 (Was Tract 4545 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.2%	2.0%	9.3%	4.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.0%	1.4%	16.7%	7.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	76.1%	11.3%	7.5%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.8%	-9.9%	9.2%	-9.3%
2010 Census Tract 4545.02 (Was Tract 4545 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.2%	2.0%	9.3%	4.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.9%	1.9%	16.0%	28.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.0%	12.1%	7.5%	17.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.8%	-10.2%	8.5%	10.4%
2010 Census Tract 6730.02 (Was Tract 6730 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	3.1%	6.9%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	72.2%	6.9%	14.5%	13.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.6%	12.4%	7.3%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.4%	-5.5%	7.2%	-5.2%

Eldridge/West Oaks is located south of Interstate 10 in the western part of the City and includes West Oaks Mall, Barker Reservoir, and a developing area centered by Eldridge Parkway. Barker Reservoir covers over half of the area. The remaining half is a mix of multi-family and single-family residential uses and vacant land. A number of single-family gated communities built around man-made lakes have been developed in the area. The area is served by Houston Independent School District north of Westheimer Road and by Alief Independent School District on the south side. The beginning of the century saw huge growth from 40,013 residents in 2000 to 56,201 in 2012 while the annual median household income — \$50,857 in 2000 and \$64,369 in 2012 — remained above the city's medians.



At the southeast corner of Eldridge/West Oaks are five census tracts with significant differences in their actual composition and expected composition.

Since 2000, the actual proportion of Asian households in tract 4519.02 has nearly quadrupled from 12.7 to 47.8 percent while the expected proportion is just 7 percent. The actual proportions of households in all other groups have declined with the percentage of Black households plummeting from 26.7 percent in 2000 to just 8.8 percent which is close to its expected percentage. The percentage of Latino households fell in half to 8.9 percent while it would be expected to be about 21 percent. The actual proportion of Caucasians declined just 6.2 percentage points since 2000, 28.3 percentage points below what would be expected.

The extremely large increase in the percentage of Asian households coupled with the substantial declines in African American and Hispanic suggests that since 2000 the vast majority of households moving into tract 4519.02 have been Asian and that demand from all other groups has slumped to nearly nothing. This degree of change is characteristic of a diverse area beginning to segregate.

Tract 4519.02 is immediately north of the substantial concentration of Asian households in the north half of the Alief super neighborhood. It appears that instead of maintaining its diversity, tract 4519.02 being consolidated into this expanding Asian enclave that encompasses much of Alief, the west end of Sharpstown, and the census tracts west of Alief that are not assigned to any super neighborhood.

Immediately north of tract 4519.02 are tracts 4520 and 4514.02. Immediately west of 4519.02 is tract 4519.01. In all three tracts, the actual percentages of African American households exceeds the expected proportions by 16.7, 24.4, and 16.6 percentage points respectively. The actual percentages of white households are nearly 24 percentage points less than expected in all three tracts.

The actual percentages of Latino households in tracts 4514.01, 4514.02, and 4515 are less than expected by 16.7, 15.5, and 15.1 percentage points.

African American households practically disappeared from tract 4544 with the percentage dropping from 10.9 in 2000 to immeasurable, 17.4 percentage points lower than would be expected absent housing discrimination.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to conduct testing to determine if steering or other illegal discriminatory real estate practices are causing these significant changes within Eldridge/West Oaks. Of particular concern is the reduction in diversity resulting, in part, from the possible expansion of Asian concentrations in Alief and Sharpstown into Eldridge/West Oaks.

Nearby Census Tracts Not in Any Super Neighborhood. The actual composition of most of the census tracts (6730.03, 6731.02, 6730.01, 4547, 4548, 6734) west of Eldridge/West Oaks is what would be expected in a free housing market — just like the tracts abutting them on the west end of Eldridge/West Oaks (4545.01, 4545.02, 6730.2).

In a cluster of four tracts west of Eldridge/West Oaks (4551.01, 4551.02, 4552, 4546) the actual proportions of Caucasian households are greater than expected

by 23.2, 19.7, 21.1, and 16.1 percentage points respectively while the proportions of all other groups are a bit less than expected.

The actual proportion of African American households in tract 4553 at the farthest west end of Houston has seen some development since 2000. Its composition is mostly what would be expected in a free market except that the actual proportion of Latino households is 16.9 percentage points lower than expected.

South of Eldridge/West Oaks is the geographically huge census tract 6729 where the actual proportion of Caucasian households is 25.1 percentage points lower than expected. The proportions of African American, Asian, and Hispanic households grew since 2000 from 3.1 to 28.6, 6.9 to 19.8, and 6.6 to 20.3 percent, placing them all within the range expected in a free housing market although the proportions of Black and Asian households are close to the 15 percent threshold.

Also south of Eldridge/West Oaks is tract 4543.02 where the actual percentage of white households is 16.6 percentage points lower than expected and the actual proportions of Black, Asian, and Hispanic households are about what would be expected in a free housing market.

South of tract 4543.02 is tract 4542 where the actual percentage of white households is 15.5 percentage points lower than expected and the actual proportion of Hispanic households is 22.1 percentage points higher than expected thanks to a 23.4 percentage point increase since 2000.

South of tract 4542 is tract 6726.01 where the actual proportion of Caucasian households is 39.7 percentage points less than expected and the actual proportion of African American households is 16.8 percentage points more than expected. The increases since 2000 in the percentages of Hispanic and Black households and the decrease in the percentage of white households suggests that this tract may be losing its diversity.

Adjacent tracts to the east, 4540 and 4541 exhibit demographic changes similar to those of tract 4542, albeit not as extreme. Just south of these is tract 6725 where the percentage of Caucasian households fell from 54.1 to 31.7 percent, 35.6 percentage points lower than expected.

Recommended Actions: Testing is warranted to identify whether any illegal discriminatory real estate practices are contributing to the demographic changes in many of these census tracts not assigned to any super neighborhood.

Table 76: Museum Park

Super Neighborhood 66: Museum Park				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.8%	50.2%	2.4%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.9%	19.8%	11.3%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	16.0%	6.5%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.3%	3.8%	4.7%	-12.8%
2010 Census Tract 3126				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.8%	50.2%	2.4%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.9%	19.8%	11.3%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	16.0%	6.5%	23.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-6.3%	3.8%	4.7%	-12.8%

Museum Park is the neighborhood north of Hermann Park that is home to the majority of the city's museums. It is nestled between downtown and the Medical Center. The construction of Highway 288 during the 1970s separated the neighborhood from the Riverside area. Museum Park is a district of large homes, small apartment buildings and scattered commercial buildings. While many of the pre-World War II buildings have been renovated and some new residential construction has occurred, substantial redevelopment in the area has not taken hold. The population declined by 341 to 3,319 in 2012 while the annual median household income rose by nearly half from \$47,745 to \$69,503 in 2012.



While the actual composition of Museum Park is pretty much the same as what would be expected in a free housing market, it should be noted that the percentage of Asian households increased almost four fold since 2000.

More significant, however is the large decline in the actual percentage of Black households from 50.2 to 19.8 percent, which is what would be expected in a free market and the increase in Caucasian households from 38.8 to 63.9 percent which is about what would be expected.

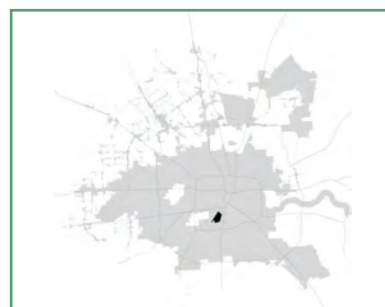
Given the large increase in median household income since 2000, it is very possible that Museum Park is gentrifying.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should take steps to maintain Museum Park's diversity by preserving housing affordable to households with modest incomes, which are disproportionately minority households.

Table 77: Medical Center

Super Neighborhood 33: Medical Center				
	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.4%	10.8%	18.1%	8.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.7%	9.6%	17.2%	11.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.2%	16.0%	6.5%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.5%	-6.4%	10.7%	-11.9%
2010 Census Tract 3131				
Householders (2000 Census)	64.7%	10.2%	20.7%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.3%	16.0%	15.5%	12.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.9%	16.3%	6.5%	23.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.6%	-0.3%	9.0%	-10.9%
2010 Census Tract 3140.01 (Was Tract 3140 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	47.7%	18.4%	26.8%	9.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.2%	17.9%	18.6%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.3%	5.7%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.6%	-2.5%	12.9%	-12.6%
2010 Census Tract 4122 (Tract consists of parts of tracts 4122 and 4132. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.8%	3.1%	8.6%	7.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.4%	0.0%	17.5%	7.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.0%	12.9%	7.0%	19.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.4%	-12.9%	10.5%	-12.2%

The Medical Center Area includes the original campus of the Texas Medical Center, Hermann Park, from which it was carved, and a fringe of private development. The Texas Medical Center itself has expanded its campus far beyond the original site north of Holcombe and east of Fannin, and has replaced the early restaurants and shopping centers on Main Street with high rise hotels, outpatient clinics and professional buildings. Hermann Park, home of the city's zoo, amphitheater, and museum of natural history is bordered on the north by several high rise condominiums, a private hospital and a medical museum. The population more than doubled from 2,358 to 5,431 in 2012 while the annual median household income soared from \$53,582 to \$87,937 in 2012.



While the composition of the Medical Center super neighborhood is what would be expected in a free market without discrimination, the proportion of Asian households is greater than would be expected. Since 2000 the proportions of Asian households declined a bit in two of the three census tracts while growing

in the third tract.

Unlike tracts 3131 and 3140.01, tract 4122 has an unmeasurable African American population when 12.9 percent of its households would be Black in a free housing market absent discrimination.

The large increase in median household income since 2000 suggests that the Medical Center super neighborhood *could* be experiencing gentrification.

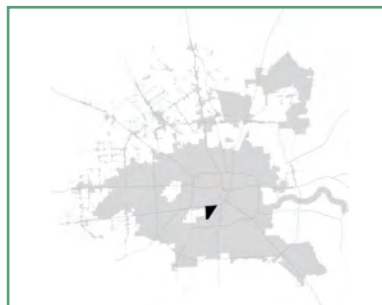
Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should conduct real estate testing to determine whether any illegal discriminatory real estate practices are occurring that may help account for the nearly complete absence of African American households in census tract 4122 and greater than expected concentrations of Asian households throughout the Medical Center super neighborhood.

Table 78: University Place

Super Neighborhood 28: University Place				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.3%	2.5%	6.4%	6.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.9%	3.3%	10.7%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.6%	14.8%	6.7%	22.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	11.2%	-11.5%	4.0%	-11.6%
2010 Census Tract 4118 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.8%	2.4%	3.6%	6.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.5%	3.2%	8.2%	14.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.4%	16.4%	6.3%	25.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.1%	-13.2%	2.0%	-11.2%
2010 Census Tract 4119				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.6%	2.3%	5.0%	6.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.3%	0.0%	5.5%	12.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.2%	14.4%	6.9%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	18.0%	-14.4%	-1.4%	-8.9%
2010 Census Tract 4120 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4120 and 4123)				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.6%	0.5%	2.9%	3.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	97.4%	0.0%	1.3%	1.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	77.1%	10.7%	7.6%	15.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	20.4%	-10.7%	-6.3%	-13.1%
2010 Census Tract 4122 (Tracts consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4122 and 4132)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.8%	3.1%	8.6%	7.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.4%	0.0%	17.5%	7.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.0%	12.9%	7.0%	19.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.4%	-12.9%	10.5%	-12.2%
2010 Census Tract 4132.02 (Was Tract 4132 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.2%	4.2%	10.4%	8.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.5%	13.1%	17.4%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.9%	17.8%	6.3%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.4%	-4.7%	11.2%	-13.5%
Census Tract 4121 had only 9 households in 2008–2012 and is excluded from this table due to its unacceptably high margin of error.				

University Place is a group of neighborhoods surrounding Rice University. The better known neighborhoods, Southampton, Southgate, Old Braeswood and Boulevard Oaks, are deed restricted and expensive. Old Braeswood in the south and Boulevard Oaks in the north, include some of the city's finest homes, especially along the live oak esplanades of Sunset, North and South Boulevards. Proximity to the Texas Medical Center has led to intense redevelopment along

Holcombe and Main, and on the site of the old Shamrock Hilton hotel. The Village shopping district and the blocks adjacent to Montrose Boulevard have a mix of uses with considerable redevelopment underway. Population rose slightly from 14,050 to 15,827 in 2012 while the annual median household income soared from \$80,776 to \$99,346, both more than twice the median for the city.



While the actual percentages of African American households do not exceed the 15 percent threshold in any of University Place's census tracts, the actual proportions of Black households are mere fractions of what would be expected in a free housing market except in tract 4132.02. In tract 4118, the actual proportion of African American households is less than one-fifth of what would be expected. In tracts 4119, 4120, and 4122, the percentages of Black households are so minuscule, they cannot be approximated. In a free market, the proportions of African American households would be 14.4, 10.7, and 12.9 percent, respectively.

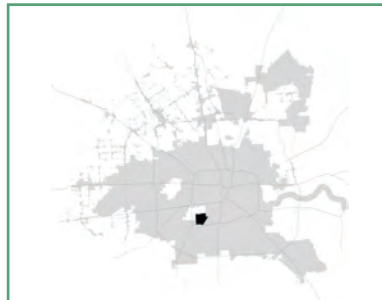
Concurrently, the actual proportions of Caucasian households in tracts 4118, 4119, and 4120 are 18.1, 18, and 20.4 percentage points higher, respectively, than would be expected in a free housing market

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to conduct more in-depth research to determine why the actual proportions of Black households are so depressed in University Place. It needs to determine whether this situation is a reflection of the composition of Rice University faculty and staff, innocent anomalies, or the product of illegal discriminatory real estate practices and/or any practices or policies of the City of Houston.

Table 79: Braeswood

Super Neighborhood 32: Braeswood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.5%	6.9%	9.7%	8.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.9%	11.4%	15.0%	9.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.4%	16.6%	6.5%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.5%	-5.2%	8.6%	-14.2%
2010 Census Tract 4129				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.0%	8.7%	9.7%	10.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	15.9%	15.8%	8.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.6%	19.0%	6.1%	27.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.1%	-3.1%	9.7%	-18.5%
2010 Census Tract 4130 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4125 and 4130)				
Householders (2000 Census)	82.1%	2.9%	9.6%	10.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	88.3%	1.3%	8.3%	12.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.3%	14.5%	7.0%	19.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.0%	-13.1%	1.3%	-7.2%
2010 Census Tract 4131				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.1%	1.4%	4.4%	3.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.6%	1.0%	6.0%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.6%	11.7%	7.3%	17.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.0%	-10.8%	-1.3%	-7.7%
2010 Census Tract 4132.01 (Was Tract 4132 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.2%	4.2%	10.4%	8.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.6%	7.2%	19.1%	9.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.1%	19.4%	6.0%	27.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	1.6%	-12.3%	13.1%	-17.5%
2010 Census Tract 4132.02 (Was Tract 4132 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.2%	4.2%	10.4%	8.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	63.5%	13.1%	17.4%	12.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.9%	17.8%	6.3%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.4%	-4.7%	11.2%	-13.5%
2010 Census Tract 4133				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.2%	16.2%	10.3%	8.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	64.6%	17.6%	13.2%	8.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.0%	16.0%	6.5%	24.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.4%	1.6%	6.8%	-16.1%

Braeswood Place is a group of comfortable subdivisions developed after World War II which have survived the pressure brought about by deteriorating apartment and commercial districts on its edges. In the process the community has re-invented itself through the creation of a community center on the site of a deteriorated collection of apartments along Stella Link. Construction of expensive new homes has resulted, originally north of Brays Bayou in Braes Heights, but now spreading to the west in Ayrshire, and the south in Braes Terrace and Knollwood Village. Other neighborhoods include Linkwood, Woodshire and Woodside. While the population grew slightly from 18,797 to 19,943 in 2012, the annual median household income soared from \$57,864 to \$76,953.



The actual proportions of Latino households are significantly lower than expected in a free housing market undistorted by discrimination in census tracts 4129, 4132.01, and 4133.

The actual proportions of white households is greater than expected in tracts 4130 and 4131 where the percentage of African American households is about one-tenth of what would be expected in a free housing market. The actual proportion of Black households is less than half of expected in tract 4132.01. The actual percentages of African American households are about what would be expected in tracts 4129, 4132.02, and 4133.

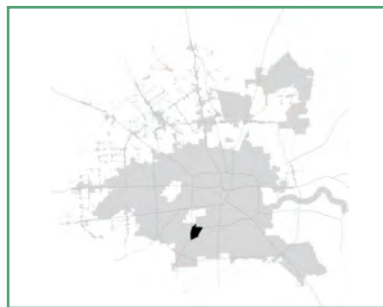
While they don't exceed the 15 percent threshold, the actual percentages of Asian households in tracts 4129, 4132.01, 4132.02, and 4133 are greater than what would be expected.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should conduct testing to identify the extent, if any, that illegal discriminatory real estate practices are at work in Braeswood.

Table 80: Willow Meadows/Willowbend Area

Super Neighborhood 38: Willow Meadows/Willowbend Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	70.9%	16.2%	6.1%	15.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	62.0%	19.1%	10.1%	19.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.4%	18.2%	6.0%	27.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.4%	0.9%	4.0%	-7.3%
2010 Census Tract 4129				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.0%	8.7%	9.7%	10.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	15.9%	15.8%	8.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.6%	19.0%	6.1%	27.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.1%	-3.1%	9.7%	-18.5%
2010 Census Tract 4201				
Householders (2000 Census)	23.4%	59.1%	3.1%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	24.4%	43.2%	9.0%	38.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.6%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-38.9%	21.6%	3.6%	6.9%
2010 Census Tract 4202				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.7%	10.6%	9.5%	28.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.9%	14.5%	9.6%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.6%	18.7%	5.8%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.6%	-4.2%	3.8%	4.0%
2010 Census Tract 4203				
Householders (2000 Census)	86.8%	6.8%	3.5%	5.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.1%	18.2%	8.7%	9.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.2%	15.0%	6.7%	22.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.2%	3.1%	2.0%	-13.4%
2010 Census Tract 4204				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	4.5%	4.2%	11.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.4%	4.7%	5.0%	19.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.0%	16.8%	6.2%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.4%	-12.1%	-1.2%	-6.4%

The Willow Meadows/Willowbend Area is a community of single family homes built in the 1950s in southwest Houston adjacent to the South Loop and Willow Waterhole Bayou. The southern most subdivision is Post Oak Manor. Recent development of upscale retail centers on South Post Oak Road on the edge of the community illustrate its continued attraction to middle class home buyers. The southern edge of the community adjacent to South Main includes light industrial facilities which take advantage of the presence of a major rail line. The population grew a bit from 12,402 to 13,697 in 2012 along with slight growth in the annual median household income from \$46,996 to \$55,802 in 2012 — remaining around \$10,000 higher than the city's median.



South of Braeswood, the Willow Meadow/Willowbend Area has a composition that is mostly what would be expected in a free market. Within the super neighborhood, the actual percentage of African American households in tract 4201 is 21.6 percentages points higher than expected although the percentage of Black households declined from 59.1 to 43.2 percent. The actual percentage of white households remained unchanged since 2000 and 38.9 percentage points lower than expected while the actual percentages of Asian and Latino households increased since 2000. This tract is adjacent to the Black enclave to its east in South Main that extends southwest through Central Southwest, Fondren Gardens, and Fort Bend Houston. Overall, however, tract 4201 has become more diverse since 2000.

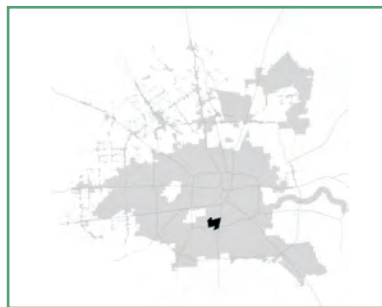
With just two exceptions, the actual composition of the rest of this super neighborhood is about what would be expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Action: Testing should be conducted to determine whether any illegal real estate practices are at play in the portions of this super neighborhood where actual percentages are not close to expected percentages.

Table 81: Astrodome Area

Super Neighborhood 34: Astrodome Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	41.2%	30.2%	20.4%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	33.8%	36.9%	22.0%	11.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.1%	5.7%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-30.2%	15.8%	16.2%	-18.0%
2010 Census Tract 3139				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.0%	36.6%	16.8%	7.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	33.7%	38.1%	20.4%	9.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.4%	5.8%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-31.1%	17.7%	14.7%	-19.6%
2010 Census Tract 3140.01 (Was Tract 3140 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	47.7%	18.4%	26.8%	9.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.2%	17.9%	18.6%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.3%	5.7%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.6%	-2.5%	12.9%	-12.6%
2010 Census Tract 3140.02 (Was Tract 3140 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	47.7%	18.4%	26.8%	9.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	36.5%	25.8%	31.8%	5.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.8%	5.5%	31.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-26.5%	4.0%	26.3%	-25.1%
2010 Census Tract 3341* (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3301 and 3310. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	13.2%	72.4%	1.1%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.5%	67.7%	8.5%	14.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.1%	5.8%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-48.5%	46.6%	2.7%	-15.0%
2010 Census Tract 3144 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3141 and 3142)				
Householders (2000 Census)	61.5%	11.5%	20.9%	9.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.6%	10.5%	34.3%	15.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.5%	21.0%	6.0%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.9%	-10.5%	28.2%	-11.6%
* 2010 Census Tract 3341: The 2000 census tract 3310 had two householders.				

The Astrodome Area includes the commercial and residential developments that have located in what was a virtually empty part of south Houston before the Astrodome opened in 1965. The area lies south of South Braeswood Boulevard, extending to Loop 610 further to the south. At that time boulevards cut through the treeless plain and large tracts of undeveloped land were laid out for major investments. Plaza Del Oro was the largest project, a mixed use development by Shell Oil Company which was scaled back to a few technical and medical office buildings and many apartments and condominiums. The majority of residential units in the area are multi-family or single-family attached homes. Staffordshire in the northern part of the area is single-family. The population rose from 13,832 to 15,435 in 2012 while the annual median household income inched up from \$39,720 to \$45,135 in 2012.



The actual percentages of African American households in the eastern third of the Astrodome Area — tracts 3139 and 3341 — are greater than expected in a free housing market devoid of discrimination. Since the vast majority of 3341 is in South Main and Central Southwest, the tract is not analyzed here.

In those two tracts, the actual percentages of white households are 31.1 and 48.5 percentage points less than expected. In tract 3140, it is 26.5 percentage points less than expected.

A growing concentration of Asian households lives in four of the five census tracts that comprise the Astrodome Area. The actual percentages of Asian households are 14.7, 12.9, 26.3, and 28.2 percentage points higher than expected in those four tracts.

In contrast, the percentages of Hispanic households increased in three of five census tracts since 2000, but are 11.6 to 25.1 percentage points lower than expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: Real estate testing should help reveal whether any illegal discriminatory real estate practices are at play in the Astrodome Area. The city should take steps to foster a reduction in concentrations in the Astrodome Area.

Table 82: South Main

Super Neighborhood 35: South Main				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	12.9%	74.4%	2.1%	15.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.1%	72.1%	6.9%	12.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.9%	5.6%	30.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.9%	50.2%	1.3%	-18.2%
2010 Census Tract 3341 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3301 and 3310) *				
Householders (2000 Census)	13.2%	72.4%	1.1%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.5%	67.7%	8.5%	14.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.1%	5.8%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-48.5%	46.6%	2.7%	-15.0%
2010 Census Tract 3143				
Householders (2000 Census)	12.4%	77.5%	3.6%	7.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	14.6%	79.0%	4.2%	9.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.5%	23.2%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-46.9%	55.8%	-0.9%	-23.2%
* 2010 Census Tract 3341: Census 2000 tract 3310 had 2 householders.				

South Main is an area along South Main Street on both sides of Loop 610. Astroworld, which has since been demolished, was located south of the Loop. South Main Street was a major highway leading into the city before the Southwest Freeway was built. Most of the residential development in the area consists of large multi-family complexes. The Main Street Coalition and the South Main Alliance (SMA) are working jointly to create a dramatic gateway to the corridor at Main Street and Loop 610 South. The number of residents grew from 4,849 to 6,189 in 2012 while the annual median household income grew by half from \$25,288 to \$38,136, bringing it closer to the city's 2012 median.



South Main is thoroughly consolidated into the city's southwest African American enclave to the east and south of this super neighborhood. The actual composition of both census tracts has barely changed since 2000.

The city needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans will look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and whites, Hispanics, and Asians consider housing in this super neighborhood. Real estate testing would reveal whether the continuing segregation in South Main is due to historic segregation or to twenty-first century illegal discriminatory real estate practices.

Table 83: Central Southwest

Super Neighborhood 40: Central Southwest				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	22.2%	60.6%	1.0%	28.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	32.3%	51.8%	2.7%	38.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.8%	20.1%	5.6%	30.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.5%	31.7%	-2.9%	7.6%
2010 Census Tract 3301				
Householders (2000 Census)	13.2%	72.4%	1.1%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	28.6%	55.8%	0.4%	43.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.3%	5.3%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-35.7%	35.5%	-4.9%	10.9%
2010 Census Tract 3302				
Householders (2000 Census)	11.6%	80.8%	1.1%	11.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.3%	50.2%	2.4%	43.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.4%	5.3%	32.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.0%	28.8%	-2.9%	10.7%
2010 Census Tract 3303.01 (Was Tract 3303 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.3%	53.8%	0.9%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.8%	33.4%	3.2%	63.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.3%	18.8%	5.7%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-30.5%	14.5%	-2.5%	33.8%
2010 Census Tract 3303.02 (Was Tract 3303 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.3%	53.8%	0.9%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	34.6%	45.6%	0.9%	46.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.9%	20.2%	5.8%	29.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-30.3%	25.4%	-4.9%	16.8%
2010 Census Tract 3303.03 (Was Tract 3303 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.3%	53.8%	0.9%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.2%	57.7%	0.0%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.3%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-34.2%	38.4%	-5.5%	3.6%

Continued on the next page

Super Neighborhood 40: Central Southwest (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 3304				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.3%	53.0%	0.8%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.2%	48.9%	0.0%	42.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.8%	5.4%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.5%	28.1%	-5.4%	10.4%
2010 Census Tract 3305				
Householders (2000 Census)	21.1%	57.2%	0.4%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	52.1%	36.7%	0.0%	54.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.6%	19.4%	5.5%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.5%	17.3%	-5.5%	23.5%
2010 Census Tract 3306				
Householders (2000 Census)	20.1%	68.3%	1.1%	21.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	23.2%	66.5%	0.0%	26.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.7%	5.6%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-41.0%	45.8%	-5.6%	-4.2%
2010 Census Tract 3307				
Householders (2000 Census)	31.5%	40.4%	0.9%	46.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.6%	28.9%	2.5%	57.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.2%	5.5%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-14.0%	8.8%	-3.0%	25.8%
2010 Census Tract 3309				
Householders (2000 Census)	43.0%	36.8%	1.1%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	34.6%	54.1%	3.3%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.3%	18.8%	5.7%	29.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-31.7%	35.3%	-2.4%	1.3%
2010 Census Tract 3341 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 3301 and 3310)				
Householders (2000 Census)	13.2%	72.4%	1.1%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.5%	67.7%	8.5%	14.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.0%	21.1%	5.8%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-48.5%	46.6%	2.7%	-15.0%

Central Southwest, located south of South Main and west of the South Freeway, contains a collection of subdivisions separated by undeveloped land. The northern part of the area includes an oil field, old landfills, and many heavy industries located close to Holmes Road. To the south, pleasant 1950s neighborhoods such as Cambridge Village, Brentwood, Windsor Village, Alameda Plaza and Pamela Heights are found. The neighborhood grew by 51 percent from 41,820 to 63,253 in 2012 with only a slight increase in annual median household income from \$39,720 to \$42,829.



Central Southwest is consolidated into the large concentration of African American households that stretches from Golfcrest/Bellefort/Reveille on the east and Greater Third Ward on the northeast to Alief on the west. While the actual proportions of Black households exceed what's expected in a free housing market absent discrimination in ten of the 11 census tracts by 14.5 to 46.6 percentage points, the actual percentage of African American households declined in nine of the ten tracts since 2000. In tract 3301, the percentage fell substantially since 2000 from 72.4 to 55.8 percent; tract 3302, from 80.8 to 50.2 percent, tract 3303.01, from 53.8 to 33.4 percent; tract 3305, from 57.2 to 36.7 percent; and tract 3307 from 40.4 to 28.9 percent.

The proportion of Hispanic households has increased since 2000 in every tract except 3309 and 3341. Most of the increases have been rather large: tract 3301, from 20.3 to 43.7 percent; tract 3302, from 11.7 to 43.2 percent; tract 3303.01, from 33.2 to 63.4 percent; tract 3303.02, from 33.2 to 46.1 percent; tract 3305, from 33 to 54 percent. In four tracts, the actual percentages of Latino households exceed the expected proportion by 33.8, 16.8, 23.5 and 25.8 percentage points while the actual percentage is 15 percentage points less than expected in tract 3341.

Asians barely exist in Central Southwest with the actual proportion being almost unmeasurable in six of the 11 census tracts.

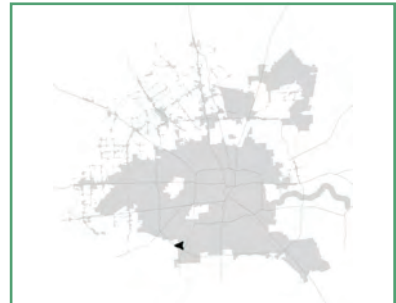
The very large changes in the proportions of African American and Hispanic households in much of Central Southwest are reflective of resegregation from predominantly African American to mostly Latino of any race.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to conduct testing to determine whether illegal steering is happening in Central Southwest. In addition, to affirmatively further fair housing in Central Southwest, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for African American and Hispanic households to areas beyond where they are now concentrated and for Caucasians and Asians to areas like Central Southwest.

Table 84: Fondren Gardens

Super Neighborhood 39: Fondren Gardens				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.3%	53.8%	0.9%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.2%	57.7%	0.0%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.3%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-34.2%	38.4%	-5.5%	3.6%
2010 Census Tract 3303.03 (Was Tract 3303 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.3%	53.8%	0.9%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.2%	57.7%	0.0%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.5%	19.3%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-34.2%	38.4%	-5.5%	3.6%

Fondren Gardens is a corner of southwest Houston initially developed as an opportunity for Houstonians to work in the city and live in the country. Its large lots were sold to individuals who built modest homes over the decades. Once isolated on the edge of Harris County, accessible only by South Main and what was a narrow Fondren Road, it is now bordered by the South Belt and accessible by West Orem Boulevard as well. The number of residents increased slightly from 2,229 to 2,658. In 2012 the annual median household income increased significantly from \$26,197, which was about \$10,000 less than the city's median, to \$41,010 which was just \$4,600 below the city's 2012 median.



Fondren Gardens is at the southwest corner of one of the city's African American enclaves. The actual proportions of households is pretty much the same as in 2000 with a nearly complete absence of Asians. It is *not* as intensely concentrated as many of the other super neighborhoods in this enclave.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston should conduct testing to identify any discriminatory real estate practices that may account for the near total absence of Asian households as well as the low proportion of white households and high proportion of African American households compared to what would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

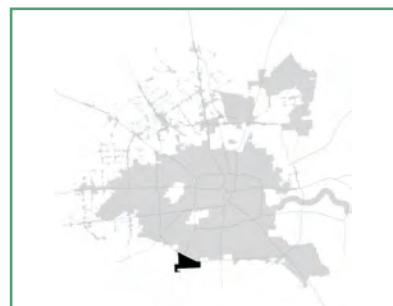
Table 85: Fort Bend/Houston

Super Neighborhood 41: Fort Bend/Houston				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	14.1%	73.3%	1.1%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	22.8%	64.7%	1.6%	26.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.2%	5.7%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-43.0%	45.6%	-4.1%	-3.1%
2010 Census Tract 3307 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	31.5%	40.4%	0.9%	46.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.6%	28.9%	2.5%	57.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.2%	5.5%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-14.0%	8.8%	-3.0%	25.8%
2010 Census Tract 6701.01 (Was Tract 6701 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	19.1%	59.9%	0.9%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.7%	32.3%	0.0%	58.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.4%	20.5%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-18.7%	11.8%	-5.4%	27.3%
2010 Census Tract 6701.02 (Was Tract 6701 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	19.1%	59.9%	0.9%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	13.2%	76.8%	0.0%	18.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.0%	5.5%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-51.5%	56.8%	-5.5%	-12.9%
2010 Census Tract 6702				
Householders (2000 Census)	15.7%	70.8%	0.8%	20.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	24.9%	66.1%	0.0%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.6%	19.2%	5.6%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.7%	46.9%	-5.6%	-2.6%
2010 Census Tract 6703				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.1%	86.8%	0.5%	8.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	6.5%	86.3%	0.0%	11.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.7%	19.3%	5.7%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-59.2%	66.9%	-5.7%	-18.9%

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Super Neighborhood 41: Fort Bend/Houston (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 6704				
Householders (2000 Census)	4.6%	91.4%	1.0%	3.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	10.2%	83.5%	3.5%	8.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.5%	18.7%	5.9%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-56.3%	64.8%	-2.4%	-20.2%
2010 Census Tract 6705 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	16.6%	73.6%	2.0%	10.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	20.0%	66.7%	0.6%	19.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.7%	17.7%	6.0%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-47.7%	48.9%	-5.4%	-8.1%
2010 Census Tract 6706.01 (Was Tract 6706 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.2%	88.2%	1.2%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	4.7%	86.0%	1.2%	10.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.0%	6.0%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-62.5%	68.0%	-4.8%	-18.0%
2010 Census Tract 6706.02 (Was Tract 6706 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	6.2%	88.2%	1.2%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	11.4%	76.3%	0.0%	20.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.4%	5.4%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-52.0%	54.9%	-5.4%	-11.2%
2010 Census Tract 6707				
Householders (2000 Census)	28.0%	61.2%	1.9%	11.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.8%	54.1%	10.5%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.4%	18.1%	6.2%	26.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-35.6%	36.0%	4.3%	-8.3%

Fort Bend/Houston is a collection of middle class subdivisions developed in the 1960s and 1970s in northeastern Fort Bend County. Beginning in the 1970s, the area has attracted middle class African American families. Most of the housing in the area is single-family. New home construction has recently resumed in the southeastern part of this Fort Bend Independent School District community. Population increased nearly 10 percent from 32,867 to 35,407 in 2012 while the annual median household income did the same, from \$43,535 to \$48,654 in 2012.



Fort Bend/Houston extends the African American enclave southwest of Central Southwest. In eight of the ten census tracts, the actual percentages of Black households greatly exceed the proportions expected in a free market devoid of discrimination by 56.8, 46.9, 66.9, 64.8, 48.9, 68, 54.9, and 36 percentage points.

In the other two tracts — 3307 and 6701.01 — the percentages of Black households declined from 40.4 to 28.9 and 59.9 to 32.3 percentage respectively since 2000.

In those same eight tracts, the percentages of white households are much lower than would be expected in a free housing market by 18.7, 51.5, 40.7, 59.2, 56.3, 47.7, 62.5, 52, and 35.6 percentage points.

While the proportion of Hispanic households grew since 2000 in all but one census tract (6701.02 where it fell from 33.4 to 18.8 percent), the actual proportion of Latino households exceeds what would be expected in tracts 3307 and 6701.01, but is lower than expected in tracts 6703, 6704, and 6706.01.

The proportion of Asian households cannot even be measured in four census tracts. In seven tracts the percentage of Asian households is a mere fraction of what would be expected. Only in tracts 3307, 6704, and 6707 is the percentage of Asian household about what would be expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to expand housing choices so that African Americans will look at housing outside the city's Black concentrations and whites, Hispanics, and Asians consider housing throughout Fort Bend/Houston, not just in the tracts where their actual proportions exceed what would be expected in a free housing market.

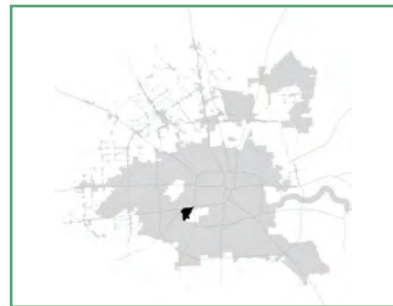
Table 86: Gulfton

Super Neighborhood 27: Gulfton				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	52.2%	12.0%	5.3%	57.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.1%	13.4%	7.7%	67.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.8%	22.6%	5.0%	33.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-11.7%	-9.2%	2.8%	33.4%
2010 Census Tract 4211.01 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4210 and 4211)				
Householders (2000 Census)	59.0%	14.7%	6.2%	38.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.5%	20.0%	14.5%	46.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.1%	21.5%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-22.6%	-1.5%	9.4%	13.7%
2010 Census Tract 4211.02 (Was Tract 4211 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.4%	18.6%	6.8%	47.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.9%	16.0%	9.6%	70.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.0%	21.3%	4.9%	35.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.1%	-5.3%	4.7%	35.6%
2010 Census Tract 4212.01 (Was Tract 4212 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.6%	16.8%	5.2%	64.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	55.8%	15.3%	9.1%	63.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.0%	23.5%	5.1%	33.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.3%	-8.2%	4.0%	30.6%
2010 Census Tract 4212.02 (Was Tract 4212 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.6%	16.8%	5.2%	64.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.4%	4.2%	6.1%	87.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.6%	23.6%	4.7%	35.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.2%	-19.4%	1.5%	52.3%
2010 Census Tract 4214.01 (Was Tract 4214 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.6%	10.4%	3.4%	77.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	48.2%	12.4%	6.3%	77.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.9%	22.4%	4.8%	35.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.7%	-10.0%	1.5%	42.9%

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Super Neighborhood 27: Gulfton (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4214.02 (Was Tract 4214 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.6%	10.4%	3.4%	77.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.5%	4.3%	0.0%	94.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.5%	23.5%	4.7%	36.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-2.0%	-19.2%	-4.7%	57.9%
2010 Census Tract 4214.03 (Was Tract 4214 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.6%	10.4%	3.4%	77.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.4%	1.6%	3.2%	87.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.1%	22.5%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.7%	-20.9%	-1.9%	54.3%
2010 Census Tract 4215 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4210 and 4215)				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.1%	9.3%	7.7%	34.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	48.7%	26.8%	7.8%	41.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.0%	22.5%	5.1%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.2%	4.3%	2.7%	7.9%
2010 Census Tract 4216 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4209 and 4216)				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.8%	3.1%	6.6%	36.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.9%	7.9%	10.4%	65.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.7%	23.0%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-9.7%	-15.1%	5.2%	33.4%

Gulfton is located just outside of Loop 610, in southwest Houston, south of US 59. Although it includes two small areas of single-family homes, its large apartment complexes dominate the area's landscape along with scattered commercial and light industrial uses. Most of Gulfton was originally developed as a rural subdivision called Westmoreland Farms. The large acreage parcels and widely-spaced grid pattern of roads made it possible for very large apartment complexes to be built in the area starting in the 1960s, many of which were restricted to adults. Gulfton is home to many recent immigrants from Mexico and Latin America. More than 8,000 fewer people lived here in 2012 (38,346) than in 2000. The annual median household income of \$25,069 in 2000 and \$31,427 in 2012 remained well below the city's medians



Gulfton sits just south of Mid West and east of Sharpstown. East of it are several census tracts that are not in the City of Houston.

The actual percentages of Hispanic households exceeds the proportions expected in a free housing market in every Gulfton census tract but two by 30.6 to 57.9 percentage points and by 13.7 points in tract 4211.01. Five tracts have seen large increases in their Hispanic composition since 2000 — 4211.02 (from 47.4 to

70.5 percent), 4212.02 (64.1 to 87.7 percent), 4214.02 (77.6 to 94.2 percent), and 4216 (36.4 to 65.7 percent).

The actual proportions of Black households are significantly less than expected in four tracts. The actual proportions of Caucasian households are substantially less in three tracts. There was a substantial drop in African American households from 16.8 to 4.2 percent in tracts 4212.02, further exacerbating the gap between actual and expected to 19.4 percentage points less than expected. Meanwhile the percentage of Black households in tract 4125 increased from 9.3 to 26.8 percent, bringing the actual percentage in line with the proportion expected in a free housing market.

The actual proportion of white households increased by about 12 or more percentage points in three tracts (4212.01, 4214.02, 4214.03) while it declined by nearly 20 percentage points in tract 4216.

The Asian composition in each census tract is roughly what would be expected in a free housing market, albeit a bit high in tracts 4211.01 and 4216.

Recommended Actions: All these demographic changes suggest that testing is warranted to see if any illegal discriminatory real estate practices account for the demographic changes in Gulfton.

Table 87: Sharpstown

Super Neighborhood 26: Sharpstown				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	42.9%	19.7%	18.4%	36.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.7%	16.2%	15.3%	47.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.7%	5.2%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.2%	-5.5%	10.1%	15.0%
2010 Census Tract 4213				
Householders (2000 Census)	41.7%	18.1%	14.9%	38.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	45.8%	22.9%	8.0%	48.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.0%	23.6%	5.1%	32.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.3%	-0.6%	2.9%	15.9%
2010 Census Tract 4227.01 (Was Tract 4227 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.9%	8.5%	5.0%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.6%	6.1%	0.0%	64.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.9%	5.1%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.9%	-15.8%	-5.1%	31.8%
2010 Census Tract 4227.02 (Was Tract 4227 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	68.9%	8.5%	5.0%	34.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	71.8%	2.7%	6.1%	44.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.1%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	6.0%	-16.4%	0.7%	13.0%
2010 Census Tract 4228				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.6%	16.4%	9.4%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.2%	6.8%	8.9%	41.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.2%	5.5%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.5%	-13.4%	3.3%	10.8%
2010 Census Tract 4328.01 (Was Tract 4328 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.0%	23.6%	12.9%	34.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.5%	25.9%	10.8%	45.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.6%	21.9%	5.1%	33.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-22.1%	4.0%	5.7%	12.0%

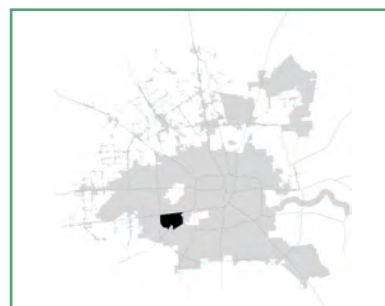
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Super Neighborhood 26: Sharpstown (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4328.02 (Was Tract 4328 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.0%	23.6%	12.9%	34.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.0%	20.1%	9.1%	58.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	22.8%	4.9%	34.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.6%	-2.7%	4.2%	24.2%
2010 Census Tract 4329.01 (Was Tract 4329 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.3%	18.2%	11.7%	48.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.8%	6.3%	4.9%	69.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.3%	19.3%	5.3%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.5%	-13.0%	-0.4%	37.3%
2010 Census Tract 4329.02 (Was Tract 4329 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.3%	18.2%	11.7%	48.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.4%	11.4%	15.3%	48.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.9%	21.7%	5.2%	32.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-3.5%	-10.3%	10.1%	15.3%
2010 Census Tract 4330.01 (Was Tract 4330 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.7%	20.5%	30.5%	40.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	46.4%	11.7%	28.8%	57.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.7%	23.8%	5.0%	33.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-14.3%	-12.1%	23.8%	23.3%
2010 Census Tract 4330.02 (Was Tract 4330 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.7%	20.5%	30.5%	40.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.6%	13.0%	22.4%	60.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.9%	22.4%	5.0%	34.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.3%	-9.3%	17.4%	25.5%
2010 Census Tract 4330.03 (Was Tract 4330 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.7%	20.5%	30.5%	40.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	38.7%	7.6%	48.4%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.6%	24.9%	4.8%	34.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.8%	-17.3%	43.6%	1.2%

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Super Neighborhood 26: Sharpstown (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4331				
Householders (2000 Census)	26.8%	53.7%	7.8%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.1%	46.2%	0.0%	51.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.4%	24.1%	5.0%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.4%	22.2%	-5.0%	17.5%
2010 Census Tract 4332.01 (Was Tract 4332 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.1%	18.7%	22.5%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.0%	31.3%	20.3%	27.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.6%	20.3%	5.5%	30.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-24.6%	11.0%	14.8%	-3.8%
2010 Census Tract 4332.02 (Was Tract 4332 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.1%	18.7%	22.5%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	58.7%	8.4%	25.3%	39.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.9%	19.0%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.2%	-10.6%	19.8%	8.1%
2010 Census Tract 4333				
Householders (2000 Census)	71.6%	4.2%	15.3%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	65.1%	3.2%	19.6%	29.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.6%	18.6%	5.9%	28.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-1.5%	-15.5%	13.7%	0.9%
2010 Census Tract 4334				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.5%	35.0%	12.6%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.2%	30.9%	9.1%	47.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.1%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.2%	9.8%	4.0%	13.6%

Sharpstown was Houston's largest development when it was undertaken in the mid-1950s. A prototype for the master planned communities of today, its pattern of middle class homes on curving streets and cul-de-sacs surrounding a shopping mall and country club was widely imitated. In recent years, Asian merchants have moved into empty shopping centers along Bellaire Boulevard and their groceries, restaurants and small shops now thrive. Demand in these areas is strong, resulting in the conversion of warehouses and apartments to meet the demand for retail space. The population shrunk from 77,085 to 68,939 in 2012 while the annual median household income barely budged from \$31,377 to \$32,271 in 2012.



The actual percentages of Latino households in most of Sharpstown's outer

east, north, and west census tracts exceed the proportions expected by 15.3 to 37.3 percentage points. The percentage of Hispanic households increased since 2000 in all but two Sharpstown census tracts (4329.02, 4330.03, 4333).

Tract 4331 is the only tract in Sharpstown where the actual percentage of African American households was higher than expected. The proportion of Black households declined slightly since 2000 while the proportion of Hispanic households rose from 29.2 to 51 percent. The Asian population nearly disappeared from this tract since 2000. The actual proportions of Black households was significantly lower than expected in tracts 4227.01, 4227.02, and 4330.03, all tracts with large Latino populations. The proportion of African American households in each of these three tracts declined since 2000.

The actual proportions of Asian households exceed the expected percentages in tracts 4330.01 by 23.8 percentage points, 4330.02 by 17.4, tract 4330.03 by 43.6, and tract 4331 by 17.5. The percentages of Asian households increased substantially from 2000 in tract 4330.03, from 30.5 to 48.4 percent. Otherwise the actual percentage of Asian households actually decreased slightly since 2000 in most Sharpstown census tracts. The result is a growing concentration of Asian households in the northwest corner of this super neighborhood.

Recommended Actions: The city needs to expand housing choices so that Hispanics and Asians will look at housing outside Sharpstown's Hispanic and Asian concentrations and so that non-Hispanic whites include Sharpstown in their housing search.

Table 88: Braeburn

Super Neighborhood 30: Braeburn				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.8%	30.8%	3.9%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.7%	24.2%	4.4%	42.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.4%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-5.6%	2.8%	-0.8%	10.2%
2010 Census Tract 4226				
Householders (2000 Census)	65.8%	15.7%	2.2%	28.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.7%	15.1%	3.4%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.3%	19.6%	5.5%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	8.4%	-4.4%	-2.1%	-3.0%
2010 Census Tract 4228 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	53.6%	16.4%	9.4%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	74.2%	6.8%	8.9%	41.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.2%	5.5%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	9.5%	-13.4%	3.3%	10.8%
2010 Census Tract 4229				
Householders (2000 Census)	40.9%	40.0%	4.1%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	53.8%	29.4%	5.5%	47.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.9%	22.6%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.1%	6.8%	0.5%	14.1%
2010 Census Tract 4230				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.7%	42.8%	2.6%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.8%	37.0%	3.4%	45.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.4%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-22.6%	15.5%	-1.8%	13.0%
2010 Census Tract 4231 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	30.2%	47.4%	1.4%	42.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	39.5%	34.6%	0.0%	59.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.7%	24.8%	4.8%	34.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.2%	9.7%	-4.8%	25.2%

Braeburn is a part of southwest Houston along Brays Bayou west of Hillcroft. The first of these middle class subdivisions was developed after World War II at a time when Bissonnet provided the route into the city, rather than the Southwest Freeway. Development continued into the 1970s. The Braeburn Country Club is found in the center of the community. Many large tracts of land were developed as apartment complexes. Subdivisions found here include Robindell, Braeburn Glen, Braes Terrace, Larkwood, Braeburn Valley, and the acreage lot subdivision, Brae Acres. Half of the neighborhood's residents left this area between 2000 and 2012: 33,809 down to 16,817 in 2012. The annual median household income which had been at the city's median declined from \$36,030 to \$33,237, well below the city's 2012 median.



The actual composition of three of the five census tracts in Braeburn, which is situated just south of Sharpstown, is what would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination, although in tract 4229 the proportion of Latino households soared from 25.3 percent in 2000 to 47.4 percent, 14.1 percentage points higher than expected in a free housing market. Meanwhile, the percentage of African American households declined from 40 to 29.4 percent, the level expected in a free housing market.

In tract 4230, which is on the north edge of the city's sweeping concentration of African American households running from Houston's southwest corner to the Golfcrest/Bellfort/Reveille super neighborhood, the actual percentage of Black households is 15.5 percentage points greater than expected in a free market while the actual percentage of white households is 22.6 percentage points less than expected. Since 2000 the changes in the percentages of white and African American households have been moving in a pro-integrative direction.

The sliver of tract 4231 in Braeburn is analyzed in the discussion of the Westwood super neighborhood.

Recommended Actions: Testing may reveal why the actual percentages of African American households declined and the actual proportions of Latinos rose so much in four of five census tracts since 2000.

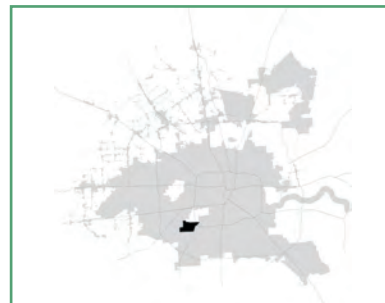
Table 89: Meyerland Area

Super Neighborhood 31: Meyerland Area				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.4%	9.0%	5.9%	11.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.6%	10.6%	8.3%	18.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.4%	17.4%	6.3%	25.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.1%	-6.7%	2.0%	-7.7%
2010 Census Tract 4129				
Householders (2000 Census)	77.0%	8.7%	9.7%	10.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	66.7%	15.9%	15.8%	8.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.6%	19.0%	6.1%	27.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.1%	-3.1%	9.7%	-18.5%
2010 Census Tract 4206 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.2%	8.7%	3.9%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.2%	3.6%	2.5%	13.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.3%	16.6%	6.4%	25.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.9%	-13.0%	-4.0%	-11.6%
2010 Census Tract 4207				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.8%	1.7%	3.6%	3.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.2%	0.0%	7.8%	2.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.8%	11.6%	7.5%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.4%	-11.6%	0.3%	-14.3%
2010 Census Tract 4208				
Householders (2000 Census)	91.7%	0.4%	6.3%	3.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.2%	4.6%	9.7%	4.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.1%	12.0%	7.3%	18.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	10.2%	-7.4%	2.4%	-14.2%
2010 Census Tract 4217 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4209 and 4217)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.1%	2.0%	6.2%	13.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.4%	1.5%	11.7%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.2%	17.5%	6.2%	26.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.2%	-16.0%	5.5%	0.0%

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Super Neighborhood 31: Meyerland Area (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4218 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4209 and 4218)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.7%	4.3%	8.1%	6.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.3%	17.9%	7.0%	22.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.9%	20.1%	5.6%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.4%	-2.2%	1.4%	-7.0%
2010 Census Tract 4219				
Householders (2000 Census)	94.8%	2.0%	2.5%	4.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	93.8%	0.9%	4.6%	4.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.7%	14.7%	6.8%	22.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	22.1%	-13.7%	-2.2%	-17.6%
2010 Census Tract 4225				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.1%	37.0%	2.1%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.1%	20.9%	3.5%	37.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.4%	19.8%	5.7%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.3%	1.1%	-2.2%	8.3%

The Meyerland Area is found on both sides of Brays Bayou at the southwest corner of Loop 610. Its many neighborhoods include Meyerland, Marilyn Estates, Barkley Square and Maplewood. Many institutions of Houston's Jewish community are found here, including several synagogues and the Jewish Community Center. The northeast corner of the community includes the recently developed Meyerland Center retail development. The area was developed beginning in the 1950s. Both the population and annual median household income grew slightly between 2000 and 2014: 19,841 to 22,932 residents and \$65,413 to \$67,567, both above the city's median.



Meyerland rests between Braeburn on the west and Braeswood on the east. The actual percentage of African American households can barely be measured in tracts 4207, 4217, and 4219 where the actual percentages of Black households are 11.6, 16, and 13.7 percentage points less than expected in a free housing market absent discrimination.

The actual percentage of Caucasian households is greater than expected in tracts 4206 (by 16.9 percentage points), 4207 (16.4 points), and 4219 (22.1 points).

In five of the eight census tracts, the actual proportions of Latino households are 18.5, 11.6, 14.3, 14.2, and 17.6 percentage points less than expected.

Throughout the Meyerland Area, the actual proportions of Asian households are what would be expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston might want to conduct some real estate testing to see if any illegal discriminatory real estate practices may be at play in the Meyerland Area.

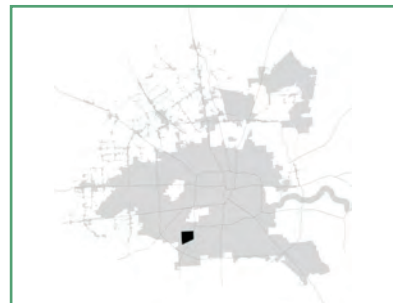
Table 90: Westbury

Super Neighborhood 37: Westbury				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.1%	40.3%	4.3%	20.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.7%	24.4%	8.0%	22.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	19.0%	5.9%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.7%	5.4%	2.1%	-6.0%
2010 Census Tract 4205				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.4%	26.9%	14.8%	53.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.4%	25.9%	13.7%	56.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.1%	24.3%	4.8%	34.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-17.7%	1.6%	9.0%	22.0%
2010 Census Tract 4206				
Householders (2000 Census)	78.2%	8.7%	3.9%	16.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	86.2%	3.6%	2.5%	13.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.3%	16.6%	6.4%	25.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.9%	-13.0%	-4.0%	-11.6%
2010 Census Tract 4207 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.8%	1.7%	3.6%	3.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	92.2%	0.0%	7.8%	2.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.8%	11.6%	7.5%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.4%	-11.6%	0.3%	-14.3%
2010 Census Tract 4220 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	89.9%	4.1%	2.7%	8.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	87.8%	1.7%	5.8%	14.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	72.8%	13.8%	7.1%	20.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	15.0%	-12.1%	-1.3%	-5.7%
2010 Census Tract 4221				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.9%	14.0%	5.2%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	68.0%	4.2%	24.6%	0.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.1%	5.9%	28.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	0.7%	-13.9%	18.7%	-28.3%

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Super Neighborhood 37: Westbury (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4222				
Householders (2000 Census)	10.1%	80.9%	1.5%	10.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	13.0%	75.4%	1.7%	16.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.2%	23.2%	5.0%	33.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-48.2%	52.2%	-3.4%	-17.6%
2010 Census Tract 4223.02 (Was Tract 4223 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.4%	71.9%	2.1%	13.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.4%	58.0%	0.9%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.5%	5.8%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-34.4%	38.4%	-4.9%	-10.2%
2010 Census Tract 4224.02 (Was Tract 4224 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.0%	35.9%	4.3%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.2%	7.7%	2.4%	54.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.9%	5.6%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.9%	-13.2%	-3.2%	24.2%

Westbury would have been a fairly typical large suburban development when it was built in the 1950s and 1960s, except that it was built around a highly atypical shopping district, Westbury Square. The Square featured winding pedestrian streets built in 19th century style and lined with interesting shops, including a glass blower, a candle shop, and an old fashioned ice cream parlor. The surrounding homes were built in styles typical of middle class homes of that time. More expensive homes are located in the north in Park West; less expensive are found in Westbury South. The number of residents declined from 22,090 to 20,169 in 2012, but the annual median household income soared from \$39,792 to \$58,078 in 2012.



Westbury is immediately south of the Meyerland Area. At its east end, census tract 4205 is part of small Hispanic enclave extending south into the Central Southwest super neighborhood. The actual proportion of Latino households in tract 4205 is 22 percentage points higher than expected in a free housing market.

While the actual proportions of Black households are much greater than expected without discrimination only in tracts 4222 (52.2 percentage points) and tract 4223.02 (38.4 points), the composition of both tracts is moving incrementally in a pro-integrative direction. However, except for tract 4205 when the actual percentage matches the expected percentage, the proportions of African American households are 13, 11.6, 12.1, 13.9, and 13.2 percentage points less than would be expected absent discrimination. In tract 4224.02, the proportion of Black households plummeted since 2000 from 35.9 to 7.7 percent while the

proportion of Latino households rose from 28.8 to 54.3 percent, 24.2 percentage points more than expected. The percentages of Black households declined in every census tract in Westbury. In tracts 4207 and 4220, the proportions were barely measurable.

The actual percentage of Asian households is pretty much as expected except in tract 4221 where the percentage of Asian households grew from 5.2 percent in 2000 to 24.6 percent, 18.7 percentage points greater than would be expected in a free housing market. At the same time, the proportion of Latino households shrank from 21 percent to next to nothing, leaving the actual percentage 28.3 percentage points lower than expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: It is very likely that testing will reveal any illegal discriminatory real estate practices that may account for the very different racial and Latino compositions among the Westbury census tracts.

Table 91: Brays Oaks

Super Neighborhood 36: Brays Oaks				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	32.9%	52.4%	4.7%	16.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	38.0%	47.3%	5.3%	27.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.3%	5.6%	30.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-26.6%	27.0%	-0.2%	-3.5%
2010 Census Tract 4222				
Householders (2000 Census)	10.1%	80.9%	1.5%	10.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	13.0%	75.4%	1.7%	16.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.2%	23.2%	5.0%	33.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-48.2%	52.2%	-3.4%	-17.6%
2010 Census Tract 4223.01 (Was Tract 4223 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.4%	71.9%	2.1%	13.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	25.9%	57.0%	9.4%	25.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.5%	22.9%	5.1%	33.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-35.6%	34.1%	4.4%	-8.8%
2010 Census Tract 4223.02 (Was Tract 4223 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.4%	71.9%	2.1%	13.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.4%	58.0%	0.9%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.5%	5.8%	28.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-34.4%	38.4%	-4.9%	-10.2%
2010 Census Tract 4224.01 (Was Tract 4224 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.0%	35.9%	4.3%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	32.3%	51.5%	8.8%	24.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.5%	23.4%	5.3%	31.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.2%	28.1%	3.5%	-6.9%
2010 Census Tract 4224.02 (Was Tract 4224 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	44.0%	35.9%	4.3%	28.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	67.2%	7.7%	2.4%	54.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.3%	20.9%	5.6%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	2.9%	-13.2%	-3.2%	24.2%

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Super Neighborhood 36: Brays Oaks (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4225				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.1%	37.0%	2.1%	24.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	57.1%	20.9%	3.5%	37.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.4%	19.8%	5.7%	29.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-8.3%	1.1%	-2.2%	8.3%
2010 Census Tract 4232.01 (Was Tract 4232 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	32.8%	52.4%	3.9%	18.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	59.4%	29.5%	5.7%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.4%	18.9%	5.9%	28.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-7.0%	10.7%	-0.2%	4.9%
2010 Census Tract 4232.02 (Was Tract 4232 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	32.8%	52.4%	3.9%	18.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	36.1%	51.8%	1.7%	41.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.8%	21.7%	5.0%	34.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-26.7%	30.1%	-3.2%	7.2%
2010 Census Tract 4233.01 (Was Tract 4233 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.2%	46.2%	3.4%	8.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.7%	33.1%	4.2%	20.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.3%	19.6%	5.7%	30.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.6%	13.4%	-1.5%	-9.3%
2010 Census Tract 4233.02 (Was Tract 4233 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.2%	46.2%	3.4%	8.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	32.3%	60.3%	4.0%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.4%	20.6%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.0%	39.7%	-1.4%	-20.7%
2010 Census Tract 4234.01 (Was Tract 4234 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	18.2%	64.6%	10.8%	9.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	18.0%	70.9%	3.1%	9.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.2%	18.9%	5.8%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-48.2%	51.9%	-2.7%	-19.6%

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Super Neighborhood 36: Brays Oaks (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4234.02 (Was Tract 4234 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	18.2%	64.6%	10.8%	9.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	18.2%	60.3%	16.1%	19.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.5%	6.1%	27.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-49.9%	42.7%	9.9%	-7.9%
2010 Census Tract 4235				
Householders (2000 Census)	62.7%	22.3%	10.6%	6.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	49.2%	41.3%	8.7%	12.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.3%	16.4%	6.4%	25.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.1%	24.9%	2.3%	-13.5%
2010 Census Tract 4236				
Householders (2000 Census)	30.7%	55.4%	6.4%	12.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	30.6%	52.9%	7.8%	26.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.3%	5.9%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-36.3%	34.6%	1.9%	-2.5%
2010 Census Tract 4401				
Householders (2000 Census)	45.4%	27.8%	7.4%	35.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	54.9%	35.7%	5.5%	35.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.5%	5.9%	28.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.0%	17.2%	-0.4%	7.3%

Brays Oaks, sometimes also referred to as Greater Fondren Southwest, is found at the southwest corner of Beltway 8. The center of the area was undeveloped until the 1970s when construction began in Fondren Southwest. The area includes the neighborhoods of Braeburn Valley West and Glenshire. Many of the homes built in Fondren Southwest were large and expensive, frequently contemporary in style. Much land was reserved for apartment construction, and thousands were built along the major thoroughfares. When the local market collapsed in the 1980s, these complexes deteriorated rapidly. The community has successfully worked to eliminate the worst of these complexes. Recently several orthodox Jewish congregations have located in the area, adding to its diversity. The population grew by about 20 percent, from 49,436 to 59,266 in 2012 while the annual median household income barely shifted from \$36,122 to \$38,579.



Brays Oaks is located immediately west of Westbury. In 11 of the 15 census tracts, the actual percentages of African American households surpasses the proportions expected in a free housing market absent discrimination by 17.2 to 52.2 percentage points while the actual percentages of Caucasian households falls

short of the expected proportions by 20.1 to 49.9 percentage points. The concentrations of Black households have become less intense in about half of these tracts while the proportions of white households have risen. These tracts appear to be moving in a pro-integrative direction.

The percentages of Hispanic households rose since 2000 in every census tract except 4224.01. In tract 4224.02 where the percentage of Latino households soared from 28.8 to 54.3 percent, the actual percentage exceeds the expected by 24.2 percentage points while the proportion of Black households plummeted from 35.9 to 7.7 percent. In a free market, this tract would be 20.9 percent African American.

However, the actual proportions of Latino households in tracts 4222, 4233.02, and 4324.01 are 17.6, 20.7, and 19.6 percentage points less than expected in a free housing market.

There is a measurable presence of Asian households in all 11 Brays Oaks census tracts comparable to the levels expected in a free housing market.

Recommended Actions: Testing may help account the for gaps between actual and expected percentages in the different census tracts in Brays Oaks.

Table 92: Westwood

Super Neighborhood 29: Westwood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.4%	45.7%	6.0%	36.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.6%	37.2%	4.7%	54.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.6%	23.8%	4.8%	34.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.0%	13.4%	-0.2%	19.5%
2010 Census Tract 4231				
Householders (2000 Census)	30.2%	47.4%	1.4%	42.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	39.5%	34.6%	0.0%	59.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.7%	24.8%	4.8%	34.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-20.2%	9.7%	-4.8%	25.2%
2010 Census Tract 4331 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	26.8%	53.7%	7.8%	29.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	47.1%	46.2%	0.0%	51.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.4%	24.1%	5.0%	33.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.4%	22.2%	-5.0%	17.5%
2010 Census Tract 4334				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.5%	35.0%	12.6%	30.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.2%	30.9%	9.1%	47.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.4%	21.1%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-12.2%	9.8%	4.0%	13.6%
2010 Census Tract 4335.01 (Was Tract 4335 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	32.4%	39.8%	4.9%	45.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	55.6%	23.5%	0.9%	73.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.4%	23.8%	4.7%	35.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.7%	-0.3%	-3.8%	37.3%
2010 Census Tract 4335.02 (Was Tract 4335 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	32.4%	39.8%	4.9%	45.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	46.1%	33.5%	6.3%	63.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	59.3%	24.9%	4.8%	35.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-13.3%	8.6%	1.6%	27.6%
2010 Census Tract 4336				
Householders (2000 Census)	17.5%	68.0%	6.2%	12.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	27.3%	57.9%	7.4%	30.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.1%	24.2%	4.8%	34.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-32.8%	33.7%	2.7%	-4.2%

Westwood is located just inside Beltway 8 at the Southwest Freeway. The area is primarily commercial and multi-family residential; only 2.6% is single-family. It is served by Alief Independent School District. The population grew a bit from 19,488 in 2000 to 21,186. The annual median household income actually declined from \$23,838 to \$23,229 in 2012, both well below the city's medians.



The actual proportions of Latino households exceed the expected proportions in five of the six census tracts by 17.5 to 37.3 percentage points. Westwood forms the southwest corner of a moderate Hispanic concentration that runs north of Westwood and east through the Sharpstown super neighborhood into Gulfton. While the concentration may be moderate, it has grown quickly and substantially since 2000, suggesting the *possibility* that Latinos are being steered to Westwood and others are being steered away from Westwood.

The actual proportions of African American households in tracts 4336 and 4231 are, respectively, 33.7 and 22.2 percentage points higher than would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. Tract 4336 is adjacent to tracts in Alief and Brays Oaks with similar characteristics. Tract 4231 is not adjacent to areas with similar characteristics.

In tract 4331, the proportion of Asian households fell from 7.8 percent to literally next to nothing. The percentage of Asian households was barely measurable in tracts 4131 and 4335.01.

The actual proportions of Caucasian households was significantly lower than would be expected in a free housing market in tracts 4231 and 4336 by 20.2 and 32.8 percentage points respectively.

Recommended Actions: The City of Houston needs to conduct real estate testing to determine whether illegal discriminatory practices are the causing the large and rapid in-migration of Latinos to nearly all of Westwood as well as the decline in the proportion of Asian residents and the differences between actual and expected proportions of African Americans and whites in several Westwood census tracts.

The city should take steps to expand housing choices to affirmatively further fair housing choice in Westwood.

Table 93: Alief

Super Neighborhood 25: Alief				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
Total for All Census Tracts Entirely or Partially in This Super Neighborhood				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.4%	30.2%	19.8%	21.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	33.8%	28.1%	21.6%	34.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.8%	5.5%	31.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-30.3%	7.3%	16.1%	3.0%
2010 Census Tract 4523				
Householders (2000 Census)	29.4%	18.1%	38.6%	22.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	26.8%	18.3%	30.7%	40.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.3%	19.4%	5.5%	31.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-38.5%	-1.1%	25.2%	9.0%
2010 Census Tract 4524				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.0%	23.3%	25.1%	26.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	30.7%	18.6%	26.7%	38.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.1%	20.7%	5.4%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-33.4%	-2.1%	21.2%	7.4%
2010 Census Tract 4525				
Householders (2000 Census)	43.5%	28.6%	11.1%	31.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	28.9%	24.3%	23.8%	39.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.0%	5.2%	33.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-33.6%	2.3%	18.6%	6.4%
2010 Census Tract 4526				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.9%	34.5%	19.4%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	26.8%	32.2%	23.4%	36.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.6%	21.3%	5.4%	31.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-36.8%	10.9%	18.0%	5.6%
2010 Census Tract 4527 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	38.8%	26.9%	24.1%	18.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	19.6%	38.0%	31.9%	21.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.2%	20.0%	5.7%	29.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-45.6%	18.0%	26.1%	-8.0%

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Super Neighborhood 25: Alief (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4528.01 (Was Tract 4528 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	35.1%	33.1%	17.0%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	26.4%	31.6%	23.8%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.2%	5.8%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-39.5%	12.4%	18.0%	-0.6%
2010 Census Tract 4528.02 (Was Tract 2528 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	35.1%	33.1%	17.0%	25.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	17.8%	29.3%	26.3%	38.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.7%	21.7%	5.1%	33.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-44.9%	7.6%	21.2%	4.7%
2010 Census Tract 4529				
Householders (2000 Census)	50.8%	17.4%	16.3%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.7%	19.0%	20.9%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.9%	5.3%	32.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.1%	-1.9%	15.6%	1.4%
2010 Census Tract 4530				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.8%	18.4%	15.5%	36.2%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	33.8%	15.4%	20.1%	50.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.3%	21.4%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.4%	-6.0%	14.8%	17.8%
2010 Census Tract 4531				
Householders (2000 Census)	27.8%	38.8%	17.4%	27.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	28.1%	32.1%	14.6%	38.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.1%	23.5%	5.0%	33.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-33.0%	8.7%	9.6%	5.2%
2010 Census Tract 4532				
Householders (2000 Census)	28.0%	51.2%	8.1%	22.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	33.0%	31.1%	15.2%	39.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	22.9%	5.0%	33.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.6%	8.2%	10.1%	5.8%

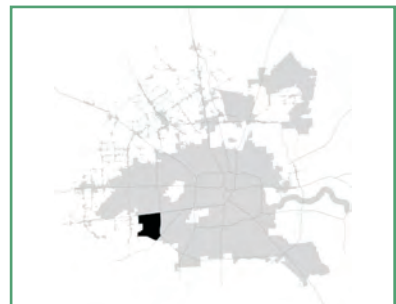
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Super Neighborhood 25: Alief (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4533				
Householders (2000 Census)	20.3%	50.3%	20.4%	11.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	19.3%	53.8%	19.7%	19.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	60.1%	24.3%	4.9%	34.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-40.8%	29.6%	14.8%	-14.7%
2010 Census Tract 4534.01 (Was Tract 4534 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.5%	32.3%	19.5%	19.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	60.3%	20.8%	13.2%	33.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.7%	20.2%	5.6%	30.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.4%	0.6%	7.6%	3.0%
2010 Census Tract 4534.02 (Was Tract 4534 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.5%	32.3%	19.5%	19.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.6%	23.9%	21.6%	36.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.9%	5.3%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.2%	3.0%	16.3%	4.6%
2010 Census Tract 4534.03 (Was Tract 4534 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	36.5%	32.3%	19.5%	19.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	15.6%	43.9%	24.3%	29.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	61.6%	23.1%	5.2%	32.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-46.0%	20.8%	19.2%	-2.7%
2010 Census Tract 4535.01 (Was Tract 4535 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.2%	26.7%	27.1%	16.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	39.8%	33.6%	18.8%	37.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.7%	21.2%	5.5%	30.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.9%	12.4%	13.3%	7.1%
2010 Census Tract 4535.02 (Was Tract 4535 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	33.2%	26.7%	27.1%	16.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	46.6%	36.8%	10.8%	27.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.0%	18.8%	5.5%	31.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-19.4%	18.0%	5.3%	-3.8%

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Super Neighborhood 25: Alief (Continued)				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4536.01 (Was Tract 4536 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	34.4%	31.2%	18.5%	26.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	42.7%	36.7%	7.3%	31.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	65.8%	19.3%	5.7%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.1%	17.4%	1.6%	1.9%
2010 Census Tract 4536.02 (Was Tract 4536 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	34.4%	31.2%	18.5%	26.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.2%	36.3%	14.3%	34.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	62.5%	22.2%	5.1%	32.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-27.3%	14.1%	9.2%	2.2%
2010 Census Tract 4537				
Householders (2000 Census)	31.3%	45.4%	12.2%	17.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	35.6%	39.1%	12.2%	35.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	63.8%	20.9%	5.4%	31.9%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.2%	18.2%	6.8%	3.1%
2010 Census Tract 4538				
Householders (2000 Census)	49.1%	25.0%	16.2%	16.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.6%	28.7%	12.7%	36.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.2%	19.0%	5.8%	29.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.6%	9.7%	6.8%	7.6%
2010 Census Tract 6720.01 (Was Tract 6720 in 2000. Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.3%	14.7%	24.0%	11.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	46.6%	11.8%	36.2%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.9%	17.7%	6.2%	26.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-21.3%	-5.8%	30.0%	-8.2%
2010 Census Tract 6724 (Less than 25% of tract is in this super neighborhood)				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.1%	15.4%	18.4%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	43.9%	10.5%	22.2%	39.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.4%	18.0%	6.0%	27.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-23.5%	-7.4%	16.2%	11.4%

Alief is a large ethnically-diverse community on Houston's far southwest side of Beltway 8. Most of the area is in Alief Independent School District, although a portion extends into Fort Bend County and is serviced by the Fort Bend Independent School District. Alief is a collection of medium-sized subdivisions with moderately priced homes and large affordably priced apartment and condominium complexes. The area's diversity is reflected in the stores found in shopping centers lining the area's major thoroughfares. The population increased almost by



half from 41,820 to 63,253 in 2012. The annual median household income which had been nearly \$2,500 above the city's median in 2000, had fallen to \$37,237 in 2012, below the city's 2012 median of \$44,648.

Since 2000, the proportions of Latino households grew in all 23 Alief census tracts, bringing the actual percentages to the levels expected in a free housing market in every tract except 4530. The percentage of Hispanic households grew from 36.2 percent in 2000 to 50 percent, raising the actual proportion to 17.8 percentage points higher than expected.

The actual proportions of African American households were at the levels expected in a free housing market except in six census tracts where they were greater than expected by 15.6 to 29.6 percentage points.

The actual percentage of Caucasian households is lower than the percentage expected in all 23 census tracts, ranging from 19.4 to 45.6 percentage points lower. Since 2000, the percentage of white households rose in ten tracts and fell in 13.

Throughout Alief, Asian households would constitute about five percent of the households in a free housing market. But the actual proportions of Asian households are greater than expected throughout Alief and from 15.6 to 26.1 percentage points greater in 12 of the 23 census tracts that comprise the Alief super neighborhood. As noted below, a number of adjacent census tracts not assigned to any super neighborhood have similar demographic characteristics.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in Alief, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for the Hispanic and Asian residents of Alief to areas outside the city's Latino and Asian enclaves and to expand housing choices of Caucasians to include more diverse areas including Alief.

Nearby Census Tracts Not in Any Super Neighborhood. Immediately west of the concentrations of Asian households in Alief are five census tracts not assigned to any super neighborhood. Along with several similar tracts discussed earlier in the section on the Eldridge/West Oaks super neighborhood, these extend the concentrations of Asian households further west of Alief.

In three of these (4539, 6723.01, 6727.01) the actual proportions of Asian households are greater than the expected proportions by 22.2 to 28.6 percentage points. The actual proportions of Asian households are as expected in tracts 6719 and 6725. The expected proportion of Asian households in both tracts 6723.01 and 6727.01 is 6.3 percent. A huge increase in the proportion of Asian households since 2000 from 8.1 to 34.9 percent in tract 6723.01 accounts for the gap between actual and expected being 28.6 percentage points. In tract 6727.01 the percentage of Asian households grew from 18.4 to 28.5 percent resulting in the actual proportion being 22.2 percentage points greater than expected. The actual proportion of Asian households grew in tract 4539 from 23.5 to 32.1 percent, 26.5 percentage points higher than expected.

While the actual proportions of African American households were about

what was expected in a free market, the actual proportions of Caucasian households were 42.6, 14.2, 27.9, 35.6, and 41.7 percentage points lower than expected. In the four tracts where the gap was larger than 15 points, the proportions of white households fell since 2000 from 80.2 to 41.3 percent, 54.1 to 31.7 percent, and 54.1 to 27.2 percent.

The actual percentages of Hispanic households in these tracts near Alief are what are expected in the absence of discrimination.

Recommended Actions: To affirmatively further fair housing in these census tracts near the Alief super neighborhood, the City of Houston needs to implement the recommendations proffered in this document to expand housing choices for Asian residents to areas outside the city's Asian concentrations and to expand housing choices of Caucasians to include fairly integrated areas like these census tracts.

The city has not assigned the census tracts in the table below to any super neighborhood. Each was reported on earlier in this section along with the super neighborhood that is closest to it.

Table 94: Southwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood

Southwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4539				
Householders (2000 Census)	37.1%	25.6%	23.5%	26.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	22.3%	30.3%	32.1%	27.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	64.9%	20.0%	5.6%	30.1%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-42.6%	10.3%	26.5%	-2.9%
2010 Census Tract 4540				
Householders (2000 Census)	46.7%	23.8%	19.0%	17.3%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	40.2%	36.4%	14.7%	29.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	16.7%	6.3%	26.2%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-28.7%	19.7%	8.4%	3.8%
2010 Census Tract 4541				
Householders (2000 Census)	51.5%	22.6%	17.1%	14.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	37.8%	38.2%	16.0%	18.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.6%	17.9%	6.1%	27.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-29.8%	20.3%	10.0%	-9.2%
2010 Census Tract 4542				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.8%	18.6%	9.2%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	51.3%	24.6%	6.0%	51.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.9%	18.2%	5.9%	29.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-15.5%	6.4%	0.1%	22.1%
2010 Census Tract 4543.02 (Was Tract 4543 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	67.9%	15.8%	9.9%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	50.2%	21.8%	15.0%	33.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.8%	18.3%	5.8%	29.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-16.6%	3.5%	9.2%	4.2%
2010 Census Tract 4546				
Householders (2000 Census)	92.2%	2.5%	3.6%	5.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	83.3%	7.5%	5.7%	13.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.2%	18.4%	6.2%	26.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	16.1%	-10.9%	-0.5%	-12.9%

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Southwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 4547				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.3%	2.3%	4.9%	6.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	85.6%	5.4%	4.1%	13.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	73.0%	13.6%	7.0%	20.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	12.5%	-8.2%	-2.9%	-6.6%
2010 Census Tract 4548 (Tract consists of parts of 2000 tracts 4548 and 4549)				
Householders (2000 Census)	83.2%	4.4%	7.2%	10.5%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	82.2%	8.5%	3.9%	12.4%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.6%	17.1%	6.4%	25.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	13.6%	-8.7%	-2.4%	-13.3%
2010 Census Tract 4551.01 (Was Tract 4551 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.2%	3.4%	3.7%	9.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	91.1%	3.1%	0.7%	12.2%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.0%	17.5%	6.2%	27.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	23.2%	-14.4%	-5.5%	-14.8%
2010 Census Tract 4551.02 (Was Tract 4551 in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	88.2%	3.4%	3.7%	9.8%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	91.3%	0.9%	1.7%	18.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	71.6%	14.7%	7.0%	22.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	19.7%	-13.8%	-5.3%	-3.9%
2010 Census Tract 4552				
Householders (2000 Census)	90.8%	2.9%	1.7%	11.4%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	90.4%	5.2%	1.6%	13.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.3%	16.5%	6.5%	24.8%
2008–2012 Households Difference	21.1%	-11.3%	-4.9%	-11.0%
2010 Census Tract 4553 (Fewer than 20 households in 2000)				
Householders (2000 Census)	—	—	—	—
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	73.1%	16.7%	9.5%	12.1%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.2%	19.0%	5.8%	29.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	6.9%	-2.2%	3.7%	-16.9%

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Southwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 6719 Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.1%	5.3%	10.0%	9.7%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	84.3%	4.7%	9.8%	13.8%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	70.1%	15.9%	6.6%	24.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	14.2%	-11.2%	3.2%	-10.2%
2010 Census Tract 6723.01 (Was Tract 6723 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	80.2%	4.7%	8.1%	13.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	41.3%	15.6%	34.9%	20.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.2%	16.4%	6.3%	26.6%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-27.9%	-0.8%	28.6%	-5.9%
2010 Census Tract 6725 (Was Tract 6724 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.1%	15.4%	18.4%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	31.7%	28.6%	17.6%	28.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	67.3%	18.0%	6.0%	28.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-35.6%	10.6%	11.6%	1.0%
2010 Census Tract 6726.01 (Was Tract 4542 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	56.8%	18.6%	9.2%	27.9%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	27.0%	35.2%	10.0%	41.7%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	66.7%	18.4%	5.9%	29.3%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-39.7%	16.8%	4.2%	12.4%
2010 Census Tract 6727.01 (Was Tract 6724 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	54.1%	15.4%	18.4%	21.0%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	27.2%	28.3%	28.5%	25.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	68.9%	16.7%	6.3%	26.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-41.7%	11.6%	22.2%	-0.8%

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Southwest Quadrant: Census Tracts Not in a Super Neighborhood				
Geographic Unit	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic of Any Race
2010 Census Tract 6729 (Was Tract 6730 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	3.1%	6.9%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	44.6%	28.6%	19.8%	20.3%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	69.7%	16.3%	6.5%	24.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-25.1%	12.3%	13.3%	-4.1%
2010 Census Tract 6730.01 (Was Tract 6730 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	3.1%	6.9%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.6%	8.9%	9.0%	8.9%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.9%	12.1%	7.3%	18.5%
2008–2012 Households Difference	4.7%	-3.2%	1.7%	-9.6%
2010 Census Tract 6730.03 (Was Tract 6730 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	3.1%	6.9%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	70.7%	4.2%	22.0%	17.0%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	75.1%	12.1%	7.4%	17.7%
2008–2012 Households Difference	-4.4%	-7.8%	14.6%	-0.6%
2010 Census Tract 6731.02 (Was Tract 6730 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	3.1%	6.9%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	78.0%	5.8%	10.5%	16.5%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.8%	12.2%	7.3%	18.4%
2008–2012 Households Difference	3.2%	-6.5%	3.2%	-1.9%
2010 Census Tract 6734 (Was Tract 6730 in 2000) Fort Bend County				
Householders (2000 Census)	87.0%	3.1%	6.9%	6.6%
2008–2012 Households Actual Proportion	79.7%	10.8%	7.8%	15.6%
2008–2012 Households Free Market	74.0%	12.9%	7.3%	19.0%
2008–2012 Households Difference	5.7%	-2.0%	0.5%	-3.4%

Part 2: Impediments and Recommendations

The recommendations to mitigate the impediments identified in this chapter seek to help Houston fulfill its legal obligation to affirmatively further fair housing. Every jurisdiction that accepts Community Development Block Grants and other funds from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) agrees to affirmatively further fair housing. As HUD has acknowledged,

The Department believes that the principles embodied in the concept of “fair housing” are fundamental to healthy communities, and that communities must be encouraged and supported to include *real, effective*, fair housing strategies in their overall planning and development process, not only because it is the law, but because it is the right thing to do.¹

Although the grantee’s AFFH [affirmatively further fair housing] obligation arises in connection with the receipt of Federal funding, its AFFH obligation is not restricted to the design and operation of HUD-funded programs at the state or local level. ***The AFFH obligation extends to all housing and housing-related activities in the grantee’s jurisdictional area whether publicly or privately funded.***²

The recommendations in this chapter provide a framework upon which the City of Houston can build its efforts and incorporate them into its planning and implementation processes. They are not meant to constitute a complete menu of actions that can be taken. The city will likely find that there are additional actions and programs that might be appropriate that are not mentioned here.

Nor are these recommendations intended to solve all of Houston’s housing issues. The findings identified and recommendations offered are tightly focused on affirmatively furthering fair housing choice.

In the fullest sense of the term, “affirmatively furthering fair housing” means doing more than what so many other cities have done while ignoring the discriminatory practices that distort the free housing market and produce segregative living patterns. It means proactively establishing and implementing policies and

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1. Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Fair Housing Planning Guide*, (Washington, DC. March 1996), Vol. 1, i. Emphasis in original.
 2. Ibid. 1–3. *Emphasis added*. The courts have long embraced this concept. “...every court that has considered the question has held or stated that Title VIII imposes upon HUD an obligation to do more than simply refrain from discriminating (and from purposely aiding discrimination by others)....This broader goal [of truly open housing] ... reflects the desire to have HUD use its grant programs to assist in ending discrimination and segregation, to the point where the supply of genuinely open housing increases.” *NAACP v. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development*, 817 F.2d 149, 155 (1st Cir. 1987).

practices that counteract and mitigate discriminatory housing practices and policies. While a city itself might not engage in discriminatory housing practices or policies, it should recognize that when a passive approach results in segregative living patterns, the city needs to take action to correct this distortion of the free housing market as part of its legal obligation to affirmatively further fair housing. The recommendations of this chapter present many of the tools that Houston can use to “affirmatively further fair housing” in the fullest sense of the term.

Findings and abbreviated recommendations specific to each of the 88 super neighborhoods as well as the census tracts not assigned to any super neighborhood are detailed in the analysis of each super neighborhood in Part 1 of this study.

The findings and recommendations presented here flesh out the details and expand upon the super neighborhood–specific findings and recommendations.

While Houston’s population is very diverse, separate and often very intense concentrations of Latino households of any race or African American households dominate huge geographic sections of the city. Asian households tend to be concentrated in just a few areas, albeit not nearly as intensely as Black and Hispanic households are. These different concentrations are tightly intertwined with Houston’s economic stratification,³ which is not surprising given the significant differences in median household income and income distribution between each race and Latinos of any race as discussed in Part 1 of this appendix.

The Free Market Analysis™ in Part 1 of this appendix identified what the racial and Latino composition of each census tract would be in a free housing market absent the discrimination that distorts housing markets. By taking actual household incomes into account as well as housing costs, the analysis enables readers to pinpoint the census tracts where historic and/or current housing discrimination has been taking place. ***Achieving the “expected” free market composition of each census tract can serve as a long-term goal for Houston’s efforts to affirmatively further fair housing choice.***

It is important to stress that the levels of segregation reported in this study here are *not* primarily due to economic stratification even though racial and economic stratification are closely related. The “expected” percentages for each

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3. The City of Houston is the sixth most economically–segregated city in the U.S., after Tallahassee, FL; Trenton, NJ; Austin, TX; Tucson, AZ; and San Antonio, TX. The Houston metropolitan area has the seventh highest level of overall occupational segregation among large metropolitan areas, and thirteenth among all U.S. metro areas. In terms of segregation of the “creative class,” Houston is second only to Los Angeles. Houston is the eighth most segregated large metropolitan area for the working class but only the 241st most segregated city for people in poverty. Richard Florida and Charlotta Mellander, *Segregated City: The Geography of Economic Segregation in America’s Metros* (Toronto: Martin Prosperity Institute, Rotman School of Management, University of Toronto, February 2015) 9, 14, 38, 45, 49.

group can be attained by ending discriminatory practices and expanding housing choices — they assume no changes in household income or housing costs.

Even though 22.5 percent of the city’s white households have annual incomes under \$25,000, far fewer Caucasians live in most lower-income neighborhoods than would be expected in a free housing market absent discrimination. This phenomenon strongly suggests that even though Houston’s racial stratification and economic stratification are intertwined, racial segregation is *not* the primary cause of the city’s widespread economic stratification.

But that is only part of the picture.

If households with modest incomes regardless of race or ethnicity are to ever achieve upward mobility, they need to access the greater opportunities of better schools, health care, and jobs available in areas outside lower-income concentrations. It is essential for Houston to get housing that households with modest incomes can afford built in middle- and higher-income areas of the city as well as preserving existing housing they can afford.

Houston is a very “understudied” metropolis. When we could not find any research on Houston for many of the topics covered in this study we thought we were looking in all the wrong places. But interviews with local stakeholders and local academics revealed that very little research has been conducted on housing segregation and discrimination in Houston and the surrounding metropolitan area.

According to the planning adage, the better informed decision makers are, presumably the better decisions they will make. While this study will hopefully better inform Houston’s decision makers about the nature and extent of racial and Latino stratification within the city, there is still a crying need to conduct research in the Houston metropolitan area on the factors that contribute to housing segregation and possible discriminatory private and public sector policies and practices.

The data suggest that instead of a single, unitary free housing market in which all participate, Houston has separate and distinct housing markets for whites, another for African Americans, a third for Hispanics, and a fourth for Asians. Since the “expected proportions” take into account household income and the cost of housing, it is *possible* that these differences between the actual and expected racial and ethnic composition of census tracts are due to housing discrimination *possibly* including self-steering due to apprehension and fears that have resulted from experiences with housing discrimination.

The keys to achieving a unitary housing market are ending discriminatory practices, expanding the range of geographic choices households will consider when looking for a new home to rent or buy, getting developers to build additional housing affordable to households of modest means in the areas of Houston where the supply of affordable housing is low, and promoting housing to all segments of the Houston community. The impediments identified in this chapter and the recommendations proffered here directly address these keys.

Expanding Housing Choices

Impediment #1 The concentrations of minorities in Houston that would not exist in a free market not distorted by discrimination suggest that instead of a single, unitary housing market, Houston's housing market is divided into four separate markets, one for non-Hispanic whites, one for African Americans, one for Latinos of any race, and one for Asians.

As discussed at the beginning of this study, when minority households of all incomes include only majority-minority and integrated neighborhoods in their housing search and when Caucasian households include only predominantly white neighborhoods and do not even consider integrated neighborhoods, they ensure that integrated neighborhoods will resegregate to all-Black or all-Hispanic.⁴

If Houston is to reduce housing segregation and achieve greater integration, these households need to expand their housing choices to include all areas of the city with housing they can afford.

1. Recommendations to Expand Housing Choice

1. A. To achieve lasting stable racial, ethnic, and economic diversity, the Houston City Council needs to commit to the goal of transforming the multiple housing market into a single, unitary housing market in which all residents participate. The City of Houston should adopt an explicit goal and policy to promote the expansion of housing choice throughout the city and metropolitan area. This goal should be incorporated into the city's forthcoming general plan which should put forward objectives, policies, and programs to achieve it. While it will likely take decades or even longer to accomplish this goal, it can be attained only if the City of Houston publicly commits to achieving it and devotes the resources needed. The more entrenched the multiple housing markets become, the more difficult and expensive it is to transform it into a unitary market. Time frame: Complete within one year.

1. B. To reduce housing segregation, it is crucial that the City of Houston establish a metropolitan-wide housing service center as soon as possible to start the city on the road to a unitary housing market free of discrimination. Time frame: Initiate process this year; expect to have housing service center operational within three years.

Face-to-face housing counseling has been a very successful tool to expand housing choice. Houston should establish a housing service center, much like the Oak Park Regional Housing Center, where home seekers are introduced to housing options beyond the racial or ethnic neighborhoods to which they often feel they are limited. In Houston, the housing service center should seek to expand

4. For a detailed explanation of these dynamics, see Harvey Molotch, *Managed Integration: Dilemmas of Doing Good in the City*, 171–173, 205 (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1972) and Daniel Lauber, *Racially Diverse Communities: A National Necessity*, 2, 14 (River Forest, Illinois: Planning/Communications, 1990, 2015) which is available at <http://www.planningcommunications.com/publications>.

the housing search of minorities beyond the census tracts where the proportion of minorities is significantly greater than would be expected in a free market without discrimination. It should seek to expand the housing choices of whites to those parts of the city where the proportion of whites is less than would be expected in a discrimination-free housing market. Expanding housing choices is the polar opposite of steering which reduces housing choices.

A housing service center, supported largely with Community Development Block Grant funds,⁵ maintains listings of rentals and for-sale housing in all price ranges throughout a city and, in many cases, the entire metropolitan area. The underlying policy is that it gives listings to clients to make a pro-integrative move. For example, an African American client receives listings of homes in predominantly white areas to expand her choices beyond Black neighborhoods. A Caucasian client is given listings in integrated and integrating areas to expand his choices beyond nearly all-white neighborhoods.⁶

The City of Houston can use the data for each census tract and super neighborhood in the Free Market Analysis™ in Part 1 of this study to help determine the locations that would constitute pro-integrative moves.

To help overcome the very real apprehension and fear of running into hostility when just looking at housing in a predominantly white neighborhood, the housing service center should escort minority home seekers to see apartments and houses in those neighborhoods.

Housing counselors need to be carefully trained and staff is also needed to recruit listings from housing providers. In a jurisdiction as large as Houston, the housing service center should have branch offices located in all four quadrants of the city connected to a central computer system with the housing listings.

The City of Houston would be very prudent to thoroughly research how to establish and operate a housing service center. We strongly urge the city to contact one of the most successful housing service centers in the country, the Oak Park Regional Housing Center.⁷ The lessons it has learned during its more than 40

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5. Housing service centers do *not* charge their clients any fee for their services.
 6. Some people confuse this approach that expands housing choices with illegal steering that reduces housing choice by, for example, telling a Latino home seeker that he shouldn't even look at housing in a predominantly non-Hispanic white or a predominantly Black neighborhood or telling a white home seeker not to even consider looking at housing in an integrated neighborhood.
 7. Although Oak Park has faced the traditional integration pattern of African Americans moving into a previously all-white community and whites then being steered away from the newly-integrated village, the principles underlying its operation apply anywhere, including Houston. The center is located in Oak Park, Illinois and can be reached at 708/848-7150; Rob Breymaier, Executive Director. Website: <http://www.liveinoakpark.org>. The center maintains a constantly updated database of available rentals in racially-integrated Oak Park, provides fair housing and marketing technical assistance to landlords, and promotes the community to all races and ethnicities. Clients are encouraged to make "affirmative moves" or pro-integrative moves that will promote racial integration in the community. The Housing Center has also provided this service in the predominantly Caucasian western suburbs of Chicago and provides affirmative marketing in its homeownership counseling program. *In all cases, the final decision of which housing to look at is the client's.* How-

years of successful operation can help facilitate creation of effective housing service centers in Houston and environs.

1. C. Expanding where people will look for housing also requires an on-going long-term educational publicity campaign to make Latinos of any race, Blacks, and Asians aware that they can move anywhere in the metropolitan area that they can afford. Time frame: Initiate planning efforts in first year; implement in second year.

Such a campaign to expand housing choices can include the use of billboards, newspaper stories, display ads, radio and television public service announcements, and Houston's own website. Houston should rent billboards to advertise that housing throughout the city and county is available to all by showing models of all races and ethnicities.⁸ Similar small display ads should be run in the real estate advertising sections of any local newspapers with substantial minority readership. The City of Houston could also use its website to remind viewers that they can live anywhere they can afford and specifically suggest looking for housing in those parts of Houston with relatively low proportions of minority residents. The idea is to change the mind set among Houston's minority population to consider housing throughout the city and environs, particularly housing closer to their jobs, rather than limiting their search to the neighborhoods in which minority households are concentrated.

Combating Housing Discrimination

Impediment #2 The data strongly suggest that elements within Houston's real estate industry have been subjecting African Americans, Hispanics of any race, and Asians to housing discrimination when seeking to move to

ever, the Housing Center expands the housing options known to its clients and 70 to 80 percent of them make a pro-integrative move. The center has provided free escorts to see rentals in suburban areas that African Americans rarely considered and were reluctant to visit, although escorts are no longer needed at this particular housing center.

8. In California, the Fair Housing Council of the San Fernando Valley instituted a large-scale advertising and public relations blitz to convince African Americans that they could move to the valley if they so chose. The campaign used newspaper advertisements, radio commercials on Black-oriented stations, billboards, and four-color brochures distributed to 40,000 households in its target area. Of the 1,100 households that responded to the advertising campaign, 120 were referred to brokers. At least 12 households actually moved to the valley; an unknown number went directly to brokers without going through the Fair Housing Council. This effort did succeed at making African Americans aware that they could move to the valley. Before it started, a random sample survey found that 20 percent of Black respondents felt the valley was receptive to minorities. After the campaign, 75 percent felt the valley was receptive. Not surprisingly, the campaign did reveal that Blacks will *not* move somewhere solely for the sake of integration. As other research has found, African Americans and whites tend to move for the same reasons. The purpose of these campaigns is to expand where minorities will look for housing. See Daniel Lauber, *Racially Diverse Communities: A National Necessity* (River Forest, Illinois: Planning/Communications, 1990, 2015) available at <http://www.planningcommunications.com/publications>.

rental or ownership housing. There is a dearth of information on real estate industry practices in Houston and the surrounding metropolitan area.

2. Recommendation to Combat Housing Discrimination

Discriminatory real estate industry practices such as racial and ethnic steering distort the free market in housing as explained in Part 1 of this study.

Where one looks for housing is heavily influenced by the real estate industry. Racial and ethnic steering, which the Fair Housing Act prohibits, is a practice of real estate agents where, for example, an agent shows housing to African American only in neighborhoods with a concentration of Blacks and integrated areas rather than in neighborhoods with few minority residents. Across the nation, landlords, rental agents, and real estate agents have been known to suggest to applicants that they might be “more comfortable” living elsewhere “with their own kind.”

“Testing” the practices of real estate practitioners, in both ownership and rental housing, has long been a valuable and reliable tool for uncovering discriminatory practices that are at the heart of creating and maintaining minority concentrations. Testing can help determine the extent of steering, if any, by real estate professionals in Houston’s metropolitan area.

2. A. Houston should arrange with a qualified fair housing organization to conduct an ongoing, systematic, and thorough testing program to identify any discriminatory practices in rental and for sale housing, particularly steering. Tests should be conducted according to standards that would make their findings admissible in court proceedings. To bring an end to such practices, it is crucial that Houston follow up when testing uncovers discriminatory practices or policies by filing housing discrimination complaints against offending real estate practitioners with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development or by filing lawsuits. And it is important that the findings of the testing be widely reported in language that lay people can easily understand. Testing should seek to uncover illegal discriminatory practices including, but not limited to, steering and differential treatment based on disability, familial status, religion, race, national origin, and gender. In person testing and telephone testing can be used.⁹ Time frame: Initiate testing within one year. Continue systematic testing each year.

Real estate testing is eligible for Community Development Block Grant funds.

2. B. In the absence of housing affordable to households with modest incomes in many Houston super neighborhoods, Housing Choice Vouchers offer households with modest incomes one of their few avenues to opportunity and upward mobility. The city needs to learn the extent, if any, of source of income discrimination in Houston and environs. Houston should commission testing to determine the extent, if any, to which landlords are refusing to rent to oth-

9. For an introduction to testing, see the articles in *Evidence Matters* (Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Spring/Summer 2014). The city would be well advised to retain the services of an organization experienced in real estate testing.

erwise qualified candidates who hold a Housing Choice Voucher. While 12 states and at least 45 cities have outlawed this “source of income” discrimination to at least some extent, Austin is the only city in Texas to outlaw it.¹⁰ Time frame: Conduct testing within two years. If needed, adopt a source of income ordinance within year three.

2. C. Houston should also have studies conducted to determine whether lenders are engaging in mortgage pricing practices unrelated to creditworthiness and mortgage redlining. It should commission studies to determine whether insurance redlining is taking place and whether there is discrimination in real estate appraisals. Time frame: Initiate in year one with completion by year three.

2. D. Print and online advertisements for homes and apartments have used language and photos to discourage protected classes from even looking at the advertised housing. The city should commission a study to examine print and online real estate advertising as well as the websites of real estate and rental firms to identify any discriminatory practices. Time frame: Complete in year one.

Reducing Economic Stratification

Impediment #3 While there is a serious need to expand where households will look for housing, the lower median household income of most minority groups and the relatively high cost of housing in many parts of Houston simply puts those areas out of reach. But those are the areas that offer their residents higher opportunities and avenues to upward mobility. One aspect of affirmatively furthering fair housing is enabling households of modest means to live in parts of a city with greater access to higher opportunities, which invariably are areas outside lower-income housing concentrations. As reported earlier, Houston is among the most economically stratified large jurisdictions in the nation. The absence of dwellings in these higher opportunity — and more expensive — neighborhoods that minority and Caucasian households with modest incomes can afford imposes a steep barrier to upward mobility.

3. Recommendations to Reduce Economic Stratification

While the differences between the actual composition of households and the composition expected in a free housing market absent discrimination identified in Part 1 of this study can eventually be alleviated by bringing an end to discriminatory real estate practices, households of any race with a modest income are still effectively excluded from living in the city’s middle and higher income neighborhoods due to a lack of housing they can afford — further exacerbating economic stratification throughout Houston.

10. *Expanding Choice: Practical Strategies For Building A Successful Housing Mobility Program* (Washington, DC: Poverty & Race Research Action Council, March 2015) Appendix B, 1–2, available at <http://www.prrac.org/projects/expandingchoice.php>; and “Source of Income Discrimination,” in *Tenant Talk* (Washington, DC: National Low Income Housing Coalition), Vol. 4, Issue 2, 10–11.

Like elsewhere, without government subsidies, Houston developers construct only housing that wealthier households can afford to buy or rent. To expand their housing choices and to give the city's children from lesser-income homes a realistic shot at living the American Dream, Houston needs new construction and rehabilitation of existing dwellings to increase the supply of housing affordable to modest income Houston households of all races and ethnicities outside the areas with significant concentrations of minorities and lesser-income households.

3. A. Houston should amend Chapter 42 of its codes, "Subdivisions, Developments, and Platting," to provide an appropriate density bonus to sell or rent at least 15 percent of the units in *all* subdivisions and multifamily buildings with 20 or more dwelling units affordable to households with modest incomes (low- and moderate-incomes). The requirement and density bonus should be mandatory. The ordinance should require that the affordable units be dispersed throughout the subdivision. Time frame: Amend Chapter 42 and implement the amendment within two years.

There is nothing new about an affordable housing requirement and density bonus like this. Cities and counties throughout the nation have used it since the 1970s to get developers to include in their new developments dwellings affordable to households of modest means that would otherwise be out of reach to all but higher income households. Affordable housing requirements like this have opened the door to upward mobility and the American Dream throughout the nation without harming the developer's profits or property values. It is one of the most effective tools available to get affordable housing built outside lower-income neighborhoods.

Throughout the nation, most of the cities and counties that have established affordable housing/density bonus requirements like that proposed here have made them mandatory. Voluntary requirements produce far fewer affordable units. In many jurisdictions they produce none

The American Planning Association, which has exhaustively studied this question reports:

"With inclusionary zoning, the path most chosen appears to be the more desirable. The experience of municipalities and counties nationwide demonstrates that mandatory inclusionary [housing] works as a practical and effective tool for creating affordable housing. While the success of voluntary programs is contingent on the availability of subsidies and aggressive staff implementation, mandatory programs have produced more affordable units overall, as well as more units for a wider range of income levels within the affordability spectrum — all without stifling development."¹¹

11. "The Inclusionary Housing Debate: The Effectiveness of Mandatory Programs Over Voluntary Programs," in *Zoning Practice* (Chicago: American Planning Association, Sept. 2004). Also see "Inclusionary Zoning: A Viable Solution to the Affordable Housing Crisis?" in *New Century Housing*, Vol. 1, Issue 2 (Oct. 2000) 19–20; "Inclusionary Housing" in *PAS Quick Notes No. 7* (Chicago: American Planning Association, 2006) 2; N. Brunick, L. Goldberg, S. Levine, *Voluntary or Manda-*

It is also critical that a density bonus be provided that enables the developer to make at least as much profit as she would without the inclusionary requirement. This density bonus avoids any constitutional “takings” issues.

When a jurisdiction starts to seriously consider an affordable housing requirement, it is not uncommon for developers to rush development proposals to beat the date on which the law would go into effect so they can avoid being subject to the forthcoming requirement.¹² It is critical that when Houston begins to study how to implement an affordable housing requirement, the city take steps to prevent avoidance of the forthcoming requirement. One option is to amend Chapter 42 to condition approval of all new developments on the developer agreeing to comply with whatever affordable housing requirement the city adopts. A more drastic and less desirable option is to establish a moratorium on new residential building permits until affordable housing provisions go into effect.

3. B. The City of Houston should place a restrictive covenant on land it has banked for possible residential development that requires at least 15 percent of the dwelling units built to be affordable to households of modest means, namely low- and moderate-income households as defined by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Time frame: Year one.

The City of Houston engages in land banking in which the city purchases land for future sale to developers. The city is certainly entitled to place this sort of a restrictive covenant on the land it owns that will require future purchasers to reserve a designated percentage of dwelling units for affordable housing. The restrictive covenants should also specify that the affordable units must be scattered throughout the development, not clustered together, and that no more than the designated percentage of units in any residential structure can be affordable units. This restriction will prevent the creation of economic stratification in developments built on land banked property.

3. C. Any affordable housing requirement that Houston adopts — be it by amending the subdivision ordinance or through restrictive covenants on banked land — should include provisions that give the Houston Housing Authority priority to purchase affordable units to provide scattered-site public housing and to rent units to holders of Housing Choice Vouchers. Time frame: First year.

In every large city there is an urgent need for children from lower-income households to be able to attend schools where at least a majority of pupils come from more affluent households. Under the current school attendance policies, this need can be met most effectively if Houston emulates the very successful affordable housing requirement in Montgomery County, Maryland where more

tory Inclusionary Housing? Production, Predictability, and Enforcement (Chicago, IL: Business and Professional People for the Public Interest, Nov. 2003).

12. The District of Columbia is the latest example where developers rushed 12,000 units through the approval process to avoid being subject to the new affordable housing requirement that went into effect in 2007. Six years later, only a handful of those developments had actually been built. See Planning/Communications, *District of Columbia Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice 2006–2011* (River Forest, IL: Planning/Communications, April 2012) 155.

than 1,000 scattered-site public housing units and Housing Choice Voucher units have been built in middle- and upper middle-class neighborhoods throughout the county.

3. D. To preserve existing housing affordable to households of modest means, Houston should look closely at leveraging Community Development Block Grant monies and other funds to facilitate the conversion of rental properties, including public housing, to limited-equity cooperatives.

Limited-equity cooperatives¹³ have been one of the nation's most successful forms of ownership housing for households of modest means. Over time, this form of homeownership keeps the dwelling units affordable to the same income cohort to which it was initially targeted — unlike housing subsidies, low-equity cooperatives offer housing that is permanently affordable to households in its targeted income range. It does this two ways. First, there is a mortgage only on the building or buildings in the low-equity cooperative, not on each individual dwelling unit. So the monthly mortgage payment, which usually constitutes the largest ownership expense, does not go up every time a unit changes hands. Second, the low-equity cooperative limits how much the price of ownership shares can increase.

All cooperatives are owned by a cooperative association comprised of the cooperatives' residents. Like the owner of any cooperative, each household in a low-equity cooperative buys a share in the cooperative association which entitles it to occupy a dwelling unit in the cooperative. The articles of incorporation or the by-laws of a low-equity cooperative set a limit on how much the resale price of a share can increase each year. The maximum increase is usually tied to increases in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) or some other measure of inflation. This practice is what keeps the low-equity cooperative affordable to the same income group for which it was originally intended.¹⁴

Each month the resident household pays the cooperative association its share of the mortgage on the cooperative, its share of property taxes, and its share of monthly operating expenses, including insurance and a contribution to the cooperative's reserve. Owners of a share in a limited-equity cooperative get to deduct their mortgage interest and property taxes from federal income tax exactly like all other home owners.

Low-equity cooperative residents save money because their monthly costs rise much more slowly than in conventionally-owned housing. The mortgage payment on the cooperative remains the same because a new mortgage — the single largest component of homeownership costs — is not needed whenever a unit changes hands like it does with the sale of a condominium, house, market rate cooperative, or town home. Because monthly costs rise much more slowly than under these other forms of home ownership, many residents of low-equity

13. Also known as "low-equity cooperatives." Any physical type of housing — multi-family and single-family — can be owned as a low-equity cooperative.

14. One form of limited-equity cooperative is the no-yield cooperative where the cost of the share is fixed and does not rise.

cooperatives are able to save money to later purchase a house or condominium without *any* government assistance.

The premier low-equity cooperative program is that of the District of Columbia where the District leverages Community Development Block Grant monies to issue interest-free loans to cover the soft costs (architectural, legal, engineering, etc.) of converting rental buildings to limited-equity cooperatives. The low-equity cooperative association repays the CDBG loan when it obtains permanent financing on the private market.¹⁵

The city might also want to look at encouraging developers of housing produced with Low Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC) to develop the housing as limited-equity cooperatives rather than rental housing if that is permissible under the LIHTC program.

It will take some time to research this option that offers the City of Houston a very promising means to preserve affordable housing and turn renters into home owners at a price they can afford now and in the long run. Time frame: Three years.

3. E. The City of Houston should establish siting policies for housing built with Low Income Housing Tax Credits that affirmatively further fair housing choice by locating such housing outside low-income and minority enclaves. Time frame: Six months.

Incorporating Fair Housing into the Planning and Subdivision Processes

Impediment #4 Like most other cities, Houston does not appear to have integrated affirmatively furthering fair housing choice into its planning processes and implementation tools. It is critical that the city incorporate affirmatively furthering fair housing into all aspects of its planning and subdivision processes that can affect the creation and maintenance of the racial, ethnic, and economic stratification that encompasses nearly all of Houston.

4. Adding Fair Housing to the Planning and Subdivision Processes

4. A. In writing its *General Plan*, the City of Houston should establish a goal and directly address how to reduce existing economic and racial/ethnic stratification and instead foster socio-economic diversity *throughout* the city.

As of this writing, the plan's vision statement is:

Houston offers opportunity for all. We celebrate our diversity of people, ideas, economy, culture, and places. We promote healthy and re-

15. Details on how these programs work in the nation's capital are available beginning on page 150 of the *District of Columbia Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing Choice 2006–2011* available online at <http://www.planningcommunications.com>. The District of Columbia is offered only as an example of the successful use of limited-equity cooperatives to preserve housing affordable to households of modest means.

silient communities through smart civic investments, dynamic partnerships, education, and innovation. Houston is the place where anyone can prosper and feel at home.

Houston: Opportunity. Diversity. Community. Home.¹⁶

According to the draft goal statement, “Goals further describe the vision and lay the foundation for identifying broad strategies for accomplishing the vision.” As of this writing, one draft goal for the *General Plan* touches on these concerns: “An integrated community that reflects our international heritage.”

Houston needs to establish more specific goals, objectives, policies, and strategies in its *General Plan*, expected to be completed before 2016, to achieve racial, Latino, and economic diversity *throughout* the city, prevent the creation of racially- and ethnically-segregated neighborhoods as well as economically-isolated neighborhoods, reduce existing levels of racial, ethnic, and economic segregation, and maintain existing stable, integrated neighborhoods.

It will take many generations of implementation efforts to achieve these goals. The longer Houston delays directly addressing these conditions, the more difficult it will be to reduce racial, Hispanic, and economic stratification and instead foster integration throughout the city, and to reverse current demographic patterns that are due in large part to historical and/or present discrimination that distorts the free market in housing. Time frame: By the end of 2015.

4. B. Subdivision and building permit approval should require developers of all residential developments and buildings to formally commit to take the steps needed to affirmatively further fair housing choice. The city should require every developer to comply with the guidelines suggested below in order to receive subdivision approval and/or a building permit.

Houston’s planning process needs to directly address fair housing issues that the city can help resolve and fair housing violations that the city can help prevent. The underlying concepts are to not only ensure that new housing is accessible to people with disabilities as the Americans With Disabilities Act and Fair Housing Act require, but to also make home seekers aware of the full array of housing choices available to them and to feel welcome in the proposed development. A number of cities including Hazel Crest and Matteson, Illinois have adopted ordinances that effectively require compliance with the Fair Housing Act to receive building permits or land-use control approval for new construction of all housing. A building permit cannot be issued until the city approves the developer’s plans for compliance.¹⁷

Houston should also require a developer or landlord to produce and implement a marketing plan to fulfill the mandates of fair housing laws and affirma-

16. Documents related to the developing *General Plan* are available online at <http://planhouston.gov>. As of this writing, the City of Houston is seeking feedback on this vision statement.

17. James Engstrom, *Municipal Fair Housing Notebook: A Description of Local Ordinances, Tools, and Strategies for Promoting a Unitary Housing Market* (Park Forest, IL: Fair Housing Legal Action Committee, 1983), 11, 97.

tively furthering fair housing choice.¹⁸ Goals could be established and a record could be kept on the racial/ethnic composition of current occupants and those looking for housing in the building or development solely to enable evaluating the plan's effectiveness. The legality of these types of requirements was upheld in federal court in *South Suburban Housing Center v. Board of Realtors*.¹⁹

For the developer or landlord, compliance with fair housing laws involves more than not overtly refusing to sell or rent to somebody due to the protected characteristic of the home seeker. It means taking positive steps to promote traffic from racial or ethnic groups "traditionally" unlikely to look at their housing.²⁰ Building permits and subdivision approval should require some or all of the following recommendations.

4. C. To receive subdivision approval, a developer should agree to produce print and Internet advertising targeted to the racial or ethnic groups whose actual percentages in the census tract and/or super neighborhood is 15 or more percentage points less than expected in a free housing market as shown in the tables in Part 1 of this study. To show that all are welcome to move to the advertised building or development, photographs and videos of models portraying residents or potential residents should reflect as much of the full diversity of Houston as feasible.

4. D. If a developer uses billboards to advertise her development, the billboards should use models to portray residents or potential residents who reflect Houston's rich diversity to show that all are welcome to move to the advertised building or development. Billboards should show people of different races and Latino ethnicity as well as families with children and people with mobility limitations. While no billboard could show *all* of the different protected classes, each billboard can show a variety of groups to indicate to viewers that the development is open to all in accord with state and federal law.

4. E. The developer and sales agents should give every client who comes to look at housing a brochure that clearly identifies illegal discriminatory practices and provides clear contact information on how and where to file a fair housing complaint. The city might want to provide a PDF file to each developer, real estate firm, landlord, and rental management firm to print — or

18. Marketing in accord with the Fair Housing Act is nothing new. The precursor of modern fair housing marketing rests in the 1972 federal government requirement that all developers who use Federal Housing Administration insurance must file an "affirmative marketing plan" with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to encourage a racially-integrated housing market. These plans are to specify "efforts to reach those persons who traditionally would not have been expected to apply for housing." Quoted in Phyllis Nelson, *Marketing Your Housing Complex in 1985* (Homewood, IL: South Suburban Housing Center, 1985), 10.

19. 713 F.Supp. 1069, 1086 (1989).

20. We are assuming that the building codes that the City of Houston has adopted incorporate the accessibility requirements of the Americans With Disabilities Act and the Fair Housing Act. If these requirements have not been incorporated yet, the City of Houston should amend these codes to comply with both national statutes.

provide printed brochures. Testers should be sent to each firm at least every two or three years to see if they are in compliance.

4. F. All print display advertising and online advertising as well as all printed brochures should include the Fair Housing logo and/or the phrase “Equal Opportunity Housing” *and* contact information to file a housing discrimination complaint. The city should also encourage the newspapers and magazines that publish real estate advertising to routinely publish a notice in non-bureaucratic language about how to recognize housing discrimination and how to file a housing discrimination complaint.

4. G. A building permit should be issued only if the proposed residential structure complies with the accessibility requirements of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA) and Fair Housing Act. Federal law has required compliance for over two decades. Every local jurisdiction should require compliance before issuing a building permit.

State Statutes Obstruct Cities’ Ability to Implement Fair Housing Choice

Impediment #5

It appears that several state statutes limiting the regulatory power of Texas municipalities deny the City of Houston and other Texas localities two key tools needed to affirmatively further fair housing. Section 214.905(b)(1) of the state statutes may prohibit the sort of mandatory affordable housing/density bonus requirement for ownership housing proposed in this document. If the state statute is interpreted to prohibit this kind of mandatory requirement, it creates a barrier to fair housing choice and affirmatively furthering fair housing. The state’s recently adopted prohibition of local source of income protection stymies fair housing and affirmatively furthering fair housing choice if testing shows a need for source of income protection for households that hold a Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher.

In 2005 the State of Texas may have prohibited mandatory inclusionary land-use regulations that offer a density bonus or other incentive for including housing that would “increase the supply of moderate or lower-cost housing units.”

5. Removing State Obstacles to Achieving Fair Housing Choice

5. A. Houston and other Texas municipalities should seek clarification whether Section 214.905(b)(1) prohibits mandatory affordable housing/density bonus requirements as proposed in this chapter. If the law is determined to allow *only voluntary* affordable housing/density bonus requirements, Texas municipalities should seek to amend the state statute to allow local government to establish mandatory requirements. Time frame: Two years.

Ten years ago, the state legislature amended Chapter 214, Municipal Regulation of Housing and Other Structures with Section 214.905. “Prohibition of Cer-

tain Municipal Requirements Regarding Sales of Housing Units or Residential Lots.”²¹ The statute reads:

- (a) A municipality may not adopt a requirement in any form, including through an ordinance or regulation or as a condition for granting a building permit, that establishes a maximum sales price for a privately produced housing unit or residential building lot.
- (b) This section does not affect any authority of a municipality to:
 - (1) create or implement an incentive, contract commitment, density bonus, or other voluntary program designed to increase the supply of moderate or lower-cost housing units; or
 - (2) adopt a requirement applicable to an area served under the provisions of Chapter 373A, Local Government Code, which authorizes homestead preservation districts, if such chapter is created by an act of the legislature.
- (c) This section does not apply to a requirement adopted by a municipality for an area as a part of a development agreement entered into before September 1, 2005.
- (d) This section does not apply to property that is part of an urban land bank program.²²

Whether or not this statute constitutes an impediment to fair housing hinges on how paragraph (b)(1) is interpreted. A legal analysis of the legislative history and statutory construction is needed to determine whether the phrase “other voluntary program” limits “an incentive, contract commitment, density bonus” to voluntary programs or the phrase simply is referring to other programs that are voluntary.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, voluntary affordable housing requirements coupled with a density bonus tend to produce little or no affordable dwelling units. Mandatory requirements with a density bonus, however, have been quite successful. If the statute is found to limit “an incentive, contracts commitment, density bonus” to voluntary requirements, this statute impedes fair housing and obstructs efforts to affirmatively further fair housing choice.

Note that this statute applies only to ownership housing. Texas cities like Houston are free to adopt measures that require a specified percentage of rental units to be affordable to households of lower incomes when a density bonus is granted.

5. B. This spring, the Texas legislature passed a bill that prohibits any municipality or county from adopting or enforcing any ordinance or regulation that prohibits refusing to rent due to the prospective tenant receiving “funding from a federal housing assistance program” — namely a Housing Choice

21. Act 2005, 79th Leg. Ch. 917 (H.B. 265), Sec. 1, effective Sept. 1, 2005.

22. Texas Local Government Code Annotated, Chpt. 214, Sec. 214.905 (2015).

Voucher. Once the governor signs this bill,²³ this statute will erect a barrier to fair housing choice and deny Houston and other Texas localities an important tool to affirmatively further fair housing by reducing economic, racial, and Latino stratification. Houston and other Texas municipalities should seek repeal of Senate Bill 267. Time frame: Two years.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the refusal to rent to an otherwise qualified household that holds a Housing Choice Voucher is among the practices that real estate testing can uncover. While the nation's Fair Housing Act does not include source of income as a protected class, the absence of source of income protection tends to create a barrier to economic, racial, and ethnic integration by allowing the systematic exclusion of lower-income households from the higher opportunity neighborhoods that can facilitate upward mobility which contributes to perpetuating segregation.

The new Texas statute, however, does *not* affect any local law or regulation “that prohibits the refusal to lease or rent a housing accommodation to a military veteran because of the veteran’s lawful source of income to pay rent.”²⁴ So Houston could pass an ordinance that provides source of income protection to military veterans. The statute also exempts programs with density bonuses for providing housing affordable to lower-income households.²⁵

This statute was introduced and passed within months of the City of Austin adopting an ordinance that established source of income protection. The state statute effectively eliminates part of the settlement of a 2010 housing discrimination complaint between the City of Dallas and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.²⁶

23. It is widely assumed that the governor will sign this bill. This report assumes that the bill will be signed.

24. 84th Leg. S.B. 267, Sec. 1(b), effective Sept. 1, 2015 if signed by the governor.

25. Ibid. Sec. 1(c).

26. The settlement required the City of Dallas to “consider” adopting source of income protection that would include Housing Choice Vouchers. Senate Bill 267 effectively takes consideration of this off the table. Tom Benning, “Bill would wipe out part of Dallas’ settlement with federal housing agency,” in *Dallas Morning News*, published online May 22, 2015.