DIVERSITY, DEMOLITION, AND HOUSING IN SAN ANTONIO'S HISTORIC DISTRICTS

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INTRODUCTION

Neighborhood diversity contributes to stronger, healthier neighborhoods. This analysis looked at diversity in historic districts, demolitions citywide, and the impact of demolition on neighborhood demographics.

Neighborhood diversity is important for many reasons, chief among them being that diversity creates a more inclusive and vibrant neighborhood. Not only is San Antonio a Hispanic-majority city, but it has a significant non-White population and a wide range of income and educational levels. San Antonio is also diverse in housing options, largely thanks to its stock of historic and older building types. The Office of Historic Preservation wanted to know how closely the city's historic districts reflect the demographic, economic, and housing diversity of the city as a whole. To do this, PlaceEconomics developed two new methodologies: the Mirror Metric and Economic Integration Metric.¹

San Antonio is also a city that understands the negative impacts that demolition can have on a community. As one of the first major cities in the county to adopt a deconstruction ordinance, they are leaders in the deconstruction movement. The Office of Historic Preservation wanted to investigate what happens after demolition. This analysis looked at what happened on a parcel following demolition, its effect on the surrounding area, and changes in use and affordability. The second half of this report seeks to answer some of these questions by looking at demolition permits and outcomes in San Antonio between 2010 and 2022, and measuring the impact of concentrated demolitions on demographics.

The goal of this report is to arm policy makers and city staff with quantitative data, in a usable and reader-friendly format to better inform decision making and policy development.

1 For the purposes of this report, all demographic metrics relied on analysis of the city's residential local historic districts. These include: Dignowity Hill, East French Place, Fulton, Government Hill, Keystone Park, King William, Knob Hill, Lavaca, Monticello Park, Monte Vista, Nathan, Olmos Park Terrace, River Road, Tobin Hill, Westford, and residential areas of Mission. Greenlawn Estates is a very small residential historic district composed of relatively moderate to large single family homes on generous lots. It is located in a very large census block group that spans natural physical boundaries (highways, busy thoroughfares, etc.) and includes many apartment complexes and other housing typologies that differ greatly from those found in Greenlawn Estates. While a certain margin of error is generally accepted when apportioning census geography data to create historic district level estimates, the margin of error was too great in the instance of Greenlawn Estate to include this district in the demographic analysis.



KEY FINDINGS

Diversity

- The 16 primarily-residential local historic districts in San Antonio are widely diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, home ownership rates, educational attainment, and median household income.
- While demographic and economic characteristics differ between individual districts, in the aggregate, local historic districts in San Antonio closely mirror the population of the city as a whole.
- As a group, local historic districts are slightly more White and slightly less Hispanic with homeownership rates nominally lower, and educational and income levels slightly higher than San Antonio overall.
- Of all local historic districts, Monticello Park most closely represents the demographic and economic distribution of San Antonio.
- Historic districts have both more long term homeowners and more recent residents than does San Antonio overall.
- There are as many local historic districts with median household income significantly below the city's average as there are districts with incomes significantly higher.
- Ninety-two percent of the rental units in historic districts have rental costs that are affordable to households making less than 120% of Area Median Income.

Demolition

- Between 2010 and 2013, 3,880 demolition permits were issued by the City of San Antonio, 2,792 (actual) or 3,231 (est.) of which resulted in the demolition of a primary structure.
- Only 37.4% of the lots in which a primary structure was demolished have a new building on it today. Meaning 62.5 have either remained vacant or became a parking lot.
- 114 permits in historic districts resulted in the demolition of primary structures, many of which were on non-contributing buildings.
- 68.4% of the primary structure demolitions did not result in a new building being constructed.
- On parcels that had a demolition permit, there was a net loss in the number of residential units after demolition.
- The average time between when a permit was issued and when the new building was constructed was 2.2 years.
- Demolitions tend to cluster; nearly twothirds of demolitions occurred within 500 feet of another demolition.
- Block groups that had a concentration of demolitions tended to be located near historic districts.

- Block groups that had a concentration of demolitions tend to have dramatic demographic change. Notably:
 - These block groups saw a dramatic loss of Black residents.
 - There was a dramatic increase in the number of households who earn more than 80% of the Area Median Income (AMI) in these block groups. Likewise, the median income in these block groups increased by 84%.
 - The number of owner-occupied housing units affordable to households making less than 80% of the AMI decreased slightly, while the number of housing units affordable to households making more than 120% of the AMI dramatically increased.
 - The number of rental units affordable to households making more than 120% of the AMI increased dramatically, while there was a moderate increase in units affordable to those making between 30-80% of the AMI.



HISTORIC DISTRICT DIVERSITY METRICS EXPLAINED

PlaceEconomics was assigned the task of reporting on the diversity of San Antonio's historic districts. For the purpose of this report, diversity is defined as having a distribution of demographic and economic characteristics at the historic district level that are reflective of the patterns of the city of San Antonio overall. Diversity indicators include race, ethnicity, tenure (rate of home ownership), education (share of population with at least some college), and median household income. To respond to this assignment, PlaceEconomics developed two metrics: the Mirror Metric and the Economic Integration Metric.

THE MIRROR METRIC

The Mirror Metric is a measure that considers how each local historic district "mirrors" the demographic and economic distribution of the entire city of San Antonio. To make these comparisons, the patterns of distribution of the city as a whole were calculated for five demographic/economic indicators: Race, Ethnicity, Education (share of the population that has at least some college), Tenure (rates of home ownership), and Median Household Income. The city-level share of each category measured was "indexed" with a base number of 100.² Then the share of each bracket in each demographic category was calculated at the historic district level to determine how closely that demographic in each historic district differed from San Antonio overall. If the difference was +/- 10% from the city's average, it was ranked as "Strong Correlation," meaning the neighborhood largely mirrored the city's pattern. For example, if the homeownership rate for San Antonio overall was 50%, then a neighborhood with a home ownership of between 45% and 55% was deemed a "Strong Correlation" or a good mirror of the city. When the difference between the city and the neighborhood was more than 10% but less than 20% in either direction, it was called a "Moderate Correlation," meaning it was somewhat but not strongly mirroring the city's pattern. So a historic district with homeownership rates of between 40% and 45% or 55% to 60% would fall into this second category. Any neighborhood's share that was more than 20% greater or lesser than the city's share was deemed a "Weak Correlation," not a good mirror of San Antonio overall.

COMPOSITE MEASURE (SAN ANTONIO BASE = 100) 160 132. 150 127. 140 109.5 ω 106.8 D 105.0 110. 130 100.3 106. 96.5 97.0 97.0 2 120 92.3 6 110 6 ы. 100 81. 90 80 70 60 50 40 Government Hill TobinHill DignowityHill 4nob Hill nos Patt Terrace Monticello Part King William EFrench Place WestFort Montevista River Road Mission 4eystone Part Fulton Nathan

MIRROR METRIC - ALL HISTORIC DISTRICTS

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The second of the measurements developed for this report is the Economic Integration Metric. Like the Mirror Metric, this measurement looks at how the distribution of income brackets at the historic district level compares with the distribution of San Antonio as a whole. A base of 100 was established reflecting the percentage of households in each income bracket for the city overall. Then, that share was compared to the share in each historic district. While the Mirror Metric includes median household income as one of the comparative measures, the Economic Integration Metric looks at which income brackets are under- or over represented in a neighborhood compared to the city overall.

While there is considerable variation among the 15 districts, San Antonio's historic districts are a strong reflection of who lives in the city overall. Looking at the combined household income distribution of historic districts, the graph shows a shallow "W" shape, indicating that historic districts have a greater share of the lowest, highest and middle income households than San Antonio overall and are home to local citizens at every income level.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION -- ALL HISTORIC DISTRICTS (SAN ANTONIO BASE = 100)



RACIAL DIVERSITY

Racial diversity at the neighborhood level is a good sign of neighborhood health. Historic districts should be accessible to everyone. In San Antonio overall, 43.4% of the population is non-White.

In the aggregate, racial diversity across San Antonio's historic districts largely mirror the racial diversity in the city as a whole.

41.2% 43.4% of population in Historic Districts is overall is non-

white.

RACE BY DISTRICT

non-white.



The table below outlines how strongly the racial distribution in each historic district correlates to the distribution in the city as a whole.

Name	% White	Mirror Metric	Description
Dignowity Hill	45.7%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately less white than city as a whole
Knob Hill	50.0%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately less white than city as a whole
Mission	53.0%	Strong Correlation	Similar to the city as a whole
Keystone Park	54.7%	Strong Correlation	Similar to the city as a whole
Tobin Hill	56.0%	Strong Correlation	Similar to the city as a whole
Monticello Park	56.1%	Strong Correlation	Similar to the city as a whole
City Overall	56.6%		
Monte Vista	60.6%	Strong Correlation	Similar to the city as a whole
Government Hill	61.9%	Strong Correlation	Similar to the city as a whole
Olmos Park Terrace	63.6%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more white than city as a whole
Nathan	64.3%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more white than city as a whole
Lavaca	66.3%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more white than city as a whole
King William	68.4%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more white than city as a whole
Fulton	68.5%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more white than city as a whole
Westfort	73.3%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more white than city as a whole
River Road	78.3%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more white than city as a whole
E French Place	78.9%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more white than city as a whole

Comparison with City by Race

Six of San Antonio's historic districts strongly mirror diversity in the city as a whole. Two historic districts have a significantly lower White population than San Antonio as a whole, and 5 districts have a significantly higher White population.

RACE MIRROR METRIC - ALL HISTORIC DISTRICTS SAN ANTONIO BASE = 100



■ White ■ Black ■ Asian ■ Other

HISPANIC POPULATION

San Antonio is famously a city with a high Hispanic population. Overall, 65% of the city's population identifies as Hispanic.

In historic districts, the majority (58.4%) of residents identify as Hispanic. 58.4% 65.4% of population in Historic Districts is Hispanic. 65.4%

HISPANIC POPULATION BY DISTRICT



The chart below outlines how strongly the percentage of Hispanic population in each historic distribution correlates to that in the city as a whole.

Name	Share Hispanic	Mirror Metric	Description
Westfort	34.1%	Weak Correlation	Significantly less Hispanic than city as a whole
Monte Vista	43.0%	Weak Correlation	Significantly less Hispanic than city as a whole
Nathan	50.0%	Weak Correlation	Significantly less Hispanic than city as a whole
Olmos Park Terrace	52.6%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately less Hispanic than city as a whole
King William	53.1%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately less Hispanic than city as a whole
Dignowity Hill	54.6%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately less Hispanic than city as a whole
Tobin Hill	60.9%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
Government Hill	62.0%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
River Road	62.4%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
E French Place	63.2%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
City Overall	65.4%		
Monticello Park	69.8%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
Lavaca	73.8%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more Hispanic than city as a whole
Knob Hill	76.5%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more Hispanic than city as a whole
Keystone Park	86.5%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more Hispanic than city as a whole
Fulton	87.9%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more Hispanic than city as a whole
Mission	88.9%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more Hispanic than city as a whole

Comparison with City by Ethnicity

Five historic districts have a Hispanic population that mirrors that found citywide. Five historic districts have a moderate correlation to the city's overall Hispanic population, and six have a weak correlation.





TENURE

While homeownership is a goal for many Americans and is a crucial part of building household and generational wealth, healthy neighborhoods accommodate all types of occupants, homeowners and tenants alike.

Historic districts in San Antonio have a slightly higher share of renters than the city as a whole. 52.6% of households in historic districts are renter households.

47.5% 52.6% of households of households

in Historic	in San Antonio
Districts are	overall are
owner-occupied.	owner-occupied.

	TENURE BY DISTRICT	
Keystone Park	76.1%	23.9%
Fulton	68.1%	31.9%
Knob Hill	64.2%	35.8%
Monticello Park	60.8%	39.3%
E French Place	60.0%	40.0%
River Road	59.0%	41.0%
Olmos Park Terrace	58.4%	41.8%
Nathan	63.2%	42.1%
City Overall	52.6%	47.4%
Dignowity Hill	49.0%	51.0%
King William	48.6%	51.4%
All Historic Districts	46.5%	53.5%
Monte Vista	43.3%	56.7%
Lavaca	34.8%	65.0%
Mission	31.5%	67.4%
Tobin Hill	28.8%	71.8%
Government Hill	25.6% 7	4.0%
(0% 20% 40% 6	0% 80% 100%

Owner	Renter
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The chart below outlines how strongly the percentage of owner-occupied households in each historic distribution correlates to that in the city as a whole.³

Name	Share Home- owners	Mirror Metric	Description
Government Hill	25.6%	Weak Correlation	Significantly fewer homeowners than city overall
Tobin Hill	28.8%	Weak Correlation	Significantly fewer homeowners than city overall
Mission	31.5%	Weak Correlation	Significantly fewer homeowners than city overall
Lavaca	34.8%	Weak Correlation	Significantly fewer homeowners than city overall
Monte Vista	43.3%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately fewer homeowners than city overall
King William	48.6%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city overall
Dignowity Hill	49.0%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city overall
City Overall	52.6 %		
Olmos Park Terrace	58.4%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more homeowners than city overall
River Road	59.0%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more homeowners than city overall
E French Place	60.0%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more homeowners than city overall
Monticello Park	60.8%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more homeowners than city overall
Nathan	63.2%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more homeowners than city overall
Knob Hill	64.2%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more homeowners than city overall
Fulton	68.1%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more homeowners than city overall
Keystone Park	76.1%	Weak High	Significantly more homeowners than city overall

Comparison with City by Tenure

There are only two historic districts that closely resemble the homeownership rate in the city overall. Six historic districts have a moderate correlation to the homeownership rate in the city overall, and seven historic districts have a weak correlation.

TENURE MIRROR METRIC - ALL HISTORIC DISTRICTS SAN ANTONIO BASE = 100



EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

ATTAINMENT The chart below outlines how strongly the percentage of owner-occupied households in each historic distribution correlates to that in the city as a whole.

Historic districts tend to house residents with higher levels of educational attainment than the city overall.

Sixty-eight percent of residents over the age of 25 in historic districts have more than a high school diploma, compared to only 58% in the city overall.

68.0% of population in **Historic Districts** have some college education.

58.4%

of population in **San Antonio** overall have some college education.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY DISTRICT

Westfort	239	6		54%		2	2%	
Monte Vista	1 <mark>% 8</mark> %	27%		29%		35%	7 0	
King William	11% 1	4%	9 %	20%		36%)	
E French Place	27	% 1	3%	20%		40%		
Nathan	15%	12%	5%	27%		31%	6	
River Road	<mark>2% 28</mark>	3%	<mark>9%</mark>	22%		39%		
Olmos Park Terrace	13%	20%	17%	6 20	5%	24	1%	
All Historic Districts	13%	21%	2	4%	20%	2	2%	
Lavaca	14%	22%		26%	24	%	13%	
Monticello Park	15%	24%	0	28%	16	%	17%	
City Overall	16%	25	%	30%	5	17%	11%	
Government Hill	21%	2	3%	32	%	12%	12%	
Dignowity Hill	24%	6	22%	12%	21%	2	0%	
Tobin Hill	<mark>6%</mark>	41%		3	1%	<mark>9</mark> %	13%	
Knob Hill		44%		22%	11%	15%	<mark>% 8</mark> %	
Mission	3	4%		32%	2	3%	<mark>5%</mark> %	
Keystone Park	23%	6	44	4%		26%	<mark>5%</mark>	3%
Fulton	21%		5	51%		17%	7%	4%
0% 25% 50% 75% 100%								
 Less than High School Some College/Associates Degree Bachelors Degree 								

Name	Share College or above	Mirror Metric	Description
Mission	23%	Weak Correlation	Significantly less educated than city as a whole
Fulton	28.0%	Weak Correlation	Significantly less educated than city as a whole
Keystone Park	33.1%	Weak Correlation	Significantly less educated than city as a whole
Knob Hill	34.0%	Weak Correlation	Significantly less educated than city as a whole
Tobin Hill	53.1%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
Dignowity Hill	53.6%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
Government Hill	55.7%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
City Overall	58.4%		
Monticello Park	61.4%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
Lavaca	63.1%	Strong Correlation	Similar to city as a whole
Olmos Park Terrace	67.4%	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more educated the city as a whole
River Road	71.3%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more educated than city as a whole
Nathan	73.1%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more educated than city as a whole
E French Place	73.3%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more educated than city as a whole
King William	74.8%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more educated than city as a whole
Monte Vista	90.8%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more educated than city as a whole
Westfort	99.5%	Weak Correlation	Significantly more educated than city as a whole

Comparison with City by Educational Attainment

All but four historic districts in San Antonio have a level of educational attainment that mirrors or is higher than the educational attainment in the city as a whole.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT MIRROR METRIC - ALL HISTORIC DISTRICTS SAN ANTONIO BASE = 100



Advanced Degree

HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Calculating a city's Area Median Income (AMI) is a key metric in determining housing affordability. AMI is defined as the midpoint of a specific area's income distribution. It is often used for assessing eligibility for housing assistance programs, such as those provided by HUD or grants from the city. This metric is also essential for forecasting affordable housing costs. "Affordable housing" is commonly defined as housing with costs that do not exceed 30% of a household's monthly income. Regardless of total income, households that spend more than 30% of their income on housing are considered cost burdened.

According to the 2022 U.S. Census, the Median Household Income in San Antonio is \$60,082. That is represented as 100% in the table below. The table below shows the monthly housing costs that would be affordable to a household in each income range using the 30% rule, as well as occupations that fall within the given income range.

Percentage of Median Income	Yearly Income Range	"Affordable" Monthly Housing Cost Range	Example Occupation
<30% AMI	≤\$18,025	≤\$451	Part-time worker or unemployed
30-60% AMI	\$18,025-\$36,049	\$452-\$901	Cashier, Childcare Worker, Hairstylist, Janitor
60-80% AMI	60-80% AMI \$36,050- \$48,066 \$902-\$1		Carpenter, Construction Laborer, Paramedic
80-100% AMI	\$48,067- \$60,082	\$1,203-\$1,502	Teacher, Electrician, Social Worker, Plumber
100-120% AMI	\$60,083- \$72,098	\$1,503-\$1,802	Firefighter, Police Officer, HR Specialist, Loan Officer
120-150%	\$72,099-\$90,123	\$1,803-\$2,253	Accountant, Nurse, Architect, Computer Programmer
150-200%	\$90,124-\$120,164	\$2,254-\$3,004	Physical Therapist, Electrical Engineer, Veterinarian
>200%	≥\$120,165	≥\$3,005	Dentist, Pharmacist, Physician, Chemical Engineer, Lawyer

Overall, 47% of the households in San Antonio's historic districts are making less than the city's area median income of \$60,082. A slightly higher share of historic district households, nearly 43%, are making more than 120% of the city's AMI, compared to 40% in the city overall.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY DISTRICT

Mission	31.1%	5	33.4%	20.0%	15.4%
Keystone Park	31.1%	2	7.8%	22.2%	18.9%
Fulton	29.2%	5 29	9.2%	22.9 %	18.8%
Government Hill	30.2%	6 2	8.1% 9	.4% 32	2.4%
Dignowity Hill	30.0%	6 15.7	%6 <mark>.8%</mark>	47.55	%
Nathan	25.0%	20.0%	65 <mark>.0</mark> %	50.0%	6
Lavaca	19.6%	23.4%	22.2%	34	.7%
City Overall	15.1%	26.8%	18.4%	39.	7%
Tobin Hill	<mark>0.3%</mark> 3	0.9%	28.3%	δ 3	0.6%
Knob Hill	17.9%	22.6% 1	0.7%	48.8%	6
All Historic Districts	19.3%	20.7%	18.7%	41.3	8%
Monticello Park	19.4%	17.8%	22.3%	40.	5%
Monte Vista	<mark>13.4%</mark> 20	0.0% 17	.4%	49.2 %	6
King William	14.1% 19	9.2% <mark>15</mark> .	2%	51.5%	
Westfort	19.7%	13.5% <mark>2</mark>	1.9%	44.9	%
Olmos Park Terrace	<mark>3.9%</mark> 20.3	3% 3	81.9%	38.	9%
E French Place	1 <mark>2.5%</mark> 12.5	% <mark>25.0</mark>	%	50.0%	6
River Road	<mark>11.8%</mark> 0.69	<mark>% 25.9</mark> %	6	51.8%	
O	% 20	% 40	% 60	% 80	% 100%
≤ <30% AMI	0-80% AI	∕II <mark>=</mark> 80	-120% A	MI ■>12	20% AMI

All

MEDIAN INCOME

The median income in San Antonio overall is around \$60,000, only slightly lower than the US national median income of \$74,580

In San Antonio's historic districts, 47.2% of households make less than the city's median income of \$60,000.

47.2% of households in **Historic Districts** make less than the city's median income.

% **49.9**%

of households in **San Antonio overall** make less than the city's median income.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY DISTRICT

	Mission	4	5%		20%	20	<mark>)%</mark> 7	'% <mark>5%</mark>	4%
k	eystone Park	39	%	20)%	22%	7%	<mark>6%</mark>	7%
	Fulton	4	2%	17	7%	23%	8%	<mark>6%</mark>	4%
Go	vernment Hill	36	%	22	%	9% 10	5% <mark>9</mark>	<mark>7%</mark>	
	Dignowity Hill	32%	6	13% 7	<mark>%</mark> 8%	18%	2	21%	
	Nathan	25%	20)% <mark>5</mark> %	<mark>610%</mark>	10%	30	%	
	Lavaca	23%	20	%	22%	17	% 1	1% <mark>6%</mark>	
	City Overall	20%	22%	5 1	8%	13%	14%	12%	
	Tobin Hill	12%	29%		28%	5%	5% Z	21%	
	Knob Hill	18%	23%	11%	2	3%	10%	17%	
All His	toric Districts	23%	17%	5 19	% 1	<mark>0%</mark> 12	% 2	20%	
M	onticello Park	23%	14%	22	%	7 <mark>%</mark> 139	% 2	0%	
	Monte Vista	18%	16%	17%	12%	9 %	29	%	
	King William	17%	17%	15%	9%	20%	2	3%	
	Westfort	20%	13%	22%	1	7%	17%	11%	
Olmos	Park Terrace	<mark>10%</mark> 19	%	32%	5	<mark>5%</mark> 9%	25	5%	
E	French Place	13% 13	% 2	5%	2	5%	25	5%	
	River Road	12% 11%	5 <mark>2</mark> 6	5%	22	%	29	%	
	0	% 20)%	40%	60	%	80%	100	0%
Less than \$25,000			00	\$	25-5	0,000)		
	\$ 50-75,000			\$	75-10	00,00	0		
o ■ \$100-150,000				0	ver \$	6150,0	00		

The chart below outlines how strongly the percentage of owner-occupied households in each historic distribution correlates to that in the city as a whole.

Name	Median HH Income	Mirror Metric	Description
Fulton	\$31,875	Weak Correlation	Significantly less than City's median income
Keystone Park	\$32,692	Weak Correlation	Significantly less than City's median income
Government Hill	\$36,696	Weak Correlation	Significantly less than City's median income
Mission	\$43,124	Weak Correlation	Significantly less than City's median income
Tobin Hill	\$55,086	Strong Correlation	Similar to City's median income
Knob Hill	\$58,124	Strong Correlation	Similar to City's median income
Lavaca	\$58,529	Strong Correlation	Similar to City's median income
City Overall	\$60,082		City's median income
Olmos Park Terrace	\$63,382	Strong Correlation	Similar to City's median income
Monticello Park	\$64,513	Strong Correlation	Similar to City's median income
Nathan	\$67,500	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more than City's median income
Dignowity Hill	\$67,663	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more than City's median income
Westfort	\$68,289	Moderate Correlation	Moderately more than City's median income
Monte Vista	\$73,287	Weak Correlation	Significantly more than City's median income
King William	\$78,906	Weak Correlation	Significantly more than City's median income
River Road	\$100,658	Weak Correlation	Significantly more than City's median income
E French Place	\$112,500	Weak Correlation	Significantly more than City's median income

Comparison with City by Median Income

There are five historic districts with a strong correlation to the city as a whole, four historic districts with a lower median household income, and seven with a higher median household income.

MEDIAN INCOME MIRROR METRIC - ALL HISTORIC DISTRICTS SAN ANTONIO BASE = 100



HOUSING TYPES AND COSTS

The dominant housing typology in San Antonio is single family homes. Ninety-eight percent of the parcels in San Antonio are single family homes, but 12 out of the 15 residential historic districts have more parcels with multifamily structures than does the city as a whole.

HOUSING TYPOLOGY

Westfort	57.9%	14.0% 28.1%
Tobin Hill	73.3%	10.0% 16.7%
Government Hill	80.2%	7.0 <mark>%12.8</mark> %
Monte Vista	85.8%	<mark>6</mark> .7 <mark>%7</mark> .4%
King William	89.1%	4. <mark>9%</mark> 5.0%
All Historic Districts	91%	5 <mark>%</mark> 3%
Lavaca	91.2%	3.1 <mark>%</mark> 5.7%
River Road	92.1%	3.9 <mark>%</mark> 3.9%
Monticello Park	93.6%	5 1.8 <mark>%</mark> 4.6%
Knob Hill	93.7%	5 1.3 <mark>%</mark> 5.1%
E French Place	93.9%	3.0 <mark>%</mark> 3.0%
Dignowity Hill	94.1%	
Nathan	94.9%	6 1.7 <mark>%</mark> 3.49
Mission	96.39	۰ 1.6 <mark>%</mark> 2.09
City Overall	97.99	% 0.6 <mark>%</mark> 1.59
Fulton	98.19	% .9%
Olmos Park Terrace	99.7	<mark>% 0.</mark> 0%
Keystone Park	100.0	<mark>0% 0.</mark> 0%
C	0% 50%	6 100%

■ Single Family ■ Two-Four Family ■ Multifamily Over Four

When broken down by AMI category, historic districts have a smaller share of owner-occupied housing units that are affordable to households making less than the area median income of \$60,082. Thirty-nine percent of the owner-occupied housing units in historic districts have housing costs accessible above 120% AMI, as opposed to only 20% in the city as a whole. Monthly owner costs include sum payments of mortgages, real estate taxes, insurance, utilities and fuels.

MONTHLY OWNER COSTS



Rental costs in historic districts very closely mirror the city as a whole. Ninety-two percent of the rental units in historic districts have rental costs that are affordable to households making less than 120% AMI. Monthly renter costs include the contract rent plus the estimated average monthly cost of utilities and fuels.

MONTHLY RENTER COSTS



<30% AMI 30-80% AMI

80-120% AMI >120% AMI

DemolitionsHistoric DistrictsParcels

DEMOLITIONS IN SAN ANTONIO

IMPACT OF DEMOLITIONS

Between 2010 and 2023,⁴ 3,880 demolition permits were issued in San Antonio, 3,231⁵ of which resulted in a primary structure demoliton.⁶ This analysis looked at demolition permits on all property types. Overall, there has been a steady increase in the number of permits issued during the study period.

DEMOLITION PERMITS ISSUED BY YEAR IN SAN ANTONIO

Primary Structure Demolished No Primary Structure Demolished

Of all parcels with a primary structure demolition, 62.6% have either remained vacant or became a parking lot.

While there are many factors that increase a building's risk of demolition, including development pressure and the ratio between land and improvement value, building age is certainly a factor. Of the properties that were demolished citywide, over two-thirds were constructed prior to 1960.



YEAR BUILT OF DEMOLISHED STRUCTURES

Of the permits that resulted in new construction, the majority, 69.1%, of the new buildings were completed within 2 years of issuance of a demolition permit. The average time between when a permit was issued and when the new building was built was 2.2 years.

TIME BETWEEN PERMIT ISSUED AND NEW CONSTRUCTION COMPLETION



4 The low number of demolitions in 2020 is attributable to the COVID-19 shutdown.

5 This number includes verified primary structure demolitions for 2010-2021 and estimated primary structure demolitions for 2022 and 2023. The estimates were based on the average ratio of primary structure demolitions for all years is 2,729.

6 All attempts were made to eliminate demolition permits that did not involve the primary structure through careful consideration of scope descriptions and assessment data. For the purposes of this analysis, permits categorized as "no primary structure demolished" can mean one of two things: 1) a permit for the demolition of a primary structure was issued, but based on the year built in the assessment data, the primary structure never came down, 2) the permit was intended for a non-primary building or for interior/partial demolition, but the scope of work was not descriptive enough to indicate otherwise-therefore, the year built in the assessment data does not indicate the construction of a new primary structure.

OUTCOMES OF PRIMARY STRUCTURE DEMOLITIONS

CHANGE IN USE AND SQUARE FOOTAGE

Of the single family residential properties that were demolished and have since had new construction on their sites, 86.3% remained single family, 3.8% transitioned to multifamily, and another 9.9% were converted to nonresidential use. Nearly half (49%) of all multifamily properties were converted into single family uses after demolition and new construction. Over three-quarters (77%) of all nonresidential properties remained nonresidential when they were demolished and rebuilt.

CHANGE IN USE

Previous Use	New Use			
	New Use Single Family	New Use Multi- Family	New Use Non- Residential	
Single Family	86.3%	3.8%	9.9%	
Multi-Family	49.0%	37.3%	13.7%	
Non-Residential	14.2%	8.7%	77.0%	

Demolition has resulted a net loss in the number of residential buildings namely in the single family and 2-4 unit multi-family building typologies. This is because a large share of these parcels did not have a new residential structure built after demolition. The table below reflects changes only on parcels where the primary structure was demolished.

NET CHANGE IN RESIDENTIAL HOUSING TYPES (BY PARCEL)

	Count Before	Count After	Net Change
Single Family units	1,656	723	-933
Multi-Family (2-4 units)	87	29	-58
Multi-Family (over 4 units)	31	42	11

Just the loss of 58 small scale multifamily structures translates to a loss of between 116 and 232 units of housing.

The average square footage of new construction single family units increased compared to their predecessors. Of the properties that were single family residential before demolition and were replaced by a new single family unit, the average square footage increased from 1,230 square feet to 1,660 square feet.

AVERAGE SINGLE FAMILY HOME SQUARE FOOTAGE BEFORE AND AFTER DEMOLITION



Overall, there has been a loss in commercial square footage due to demolition. At the beginning of the study period, there was over 8.3 million square feet of commercial space. However, at the end of the time period in 2023, there was a loss of 128,259 square feet of commercial space. The table below reflects changes only on parcels that received a demolition permit.

	Total Commercial Square Footage	
Before	8,328,810	
After	8,200,551	
Net Change	-128,259	

IMPACT ON PROPERTY VALUES

PROPERTY VALUE CHANGE BY OUTCOME

Change in value of parcels that experienced a demolition with no new construction saw a relatively small increase in value compared to other outcomes. It is not surprising that a site with a new building would increase substantially in value. But even the properties that had obtained a demolition permit but ultimately did not raze the building saw a rate of value increase nearly twice that of the properties left vacant.

Properties in historic districts saw a slightly higher change in value than the city overall. Even where demolitions happened in historic districts without a new structure constructed in its place, property value increases outpaced the rest of the city. An analysis of the ratio to land value to improvement value demolition data in historic districts (at right) suggests that the HDRC is only granting demolition permits to buildings in historic districts that are in very poor condition. Therefore, those demolitions in historic districts resulted in a value increase both for that lot and properties within 500 feet. The negative valuation of blighted properties underscores the importance of city programs which ensure that property maintenance codes and the standard of care requirements for vacant buildings are met.

	VALUE 2010	VALUE 2022	CHANGE IN VALUE	% CHANGE IN VALUE
Value All San Antonio	\$73,910,256,536	\$142,692,129,263	\$68,781,872,727	93.1%
Not Demolished	\$808,769,842	\$1,658,788,209	\$850,018,367	105.10%
All Demo with No building	\$418,231,340	\$642,653,189	\$224,421,849	53.7%
All within 500' of Demo no Building	\$5,322,308,704	\$13,820,311,880	\$8,498,003,176	159.7%
New Construction	\$534,402,039	\$2,486,154,648	\$1,951,752,609	365.20%
All Historic Districts	\$2,321,452,511	\$4,894,308,029	\$2,572,855,518	110.8%
All HD Demo with no building	\$394,083,767	\$927,624,226	\$533,540,459	135.4%
HD within 500' of Demo no building	\$9,796,762,811	\$26,393,668,843	\$16,596,906,032	169.4%

An analysis of demolition data in historic districts suggests that the HDRC is only granting demolition permits to buildings in very poor condition.

In the city of San Antonio, land value typically makes up 27.3% of a property's total value, while the improvement value (i.e. building) makes up 72.7%. In historic districts, land value typically makes up a larger share (48.9%) of a property's total value. For properties that were demolished in historic districts, the land value represented 94% of the total value. This suggests that the Historic Design and Review Commission is generally granting demolition approval only when the existing structure is in very poor condition and rehabilitation is probably not feasible.

LAND TO IMPROVEMENT RATIO

	Land	Improvements
Historic Districts, Demolished	<u>94.0%</u>	<u>6.0%</u>
Historic Districts Properties Overall	48.9%	51.1%
City of San Antonio	27.3%	72.7%

CHANGE IN AFFORDABILITY

Without a database that tracks the rent of individual rental properties, it is difficult to measure the exact change in affordability after demolition and subsequent new construction. However, with steady increases in the cost of new construction, it is less and less likely that a replacement structure would be more affordable than what was demolished. In lieu of a rental registry to measure rental affordability, this analysis used two alternate data sources using two differing methodologies: assessment data and Zillow property data. While these two approaches produced slightly different results, the general pattern is overall the same. When viewed in comparison to one another, the results likely bracket the change in affordability that has taken place on properties that were demolished and replaced by new construction.

ASSESSMENT ANALYSIS

Based on changes in assessed values, rental estimates for newer and older structures in the same neighborhood, and the application of local rent to value ratios, some general conclusions can be reached. On the selling side, this analysis indicated that a new structure will be priced around 52% more per square foot than a comparable existing building in the same local historic district. On the rental side, the new building will command rents of between \$1,275 and \$1,390 more per month than existing similar properties in the neighborhood.

> Based on an analysis of assessed values, a new structure will sell for 52% more and rent for around \$1,300 more than a comparable, existing structure in the same neighborhood.

ZILLOW MICRO ANALYSIS

An alternative way to approach this analysis is through a comparison of Zillow records. Fifteen properties were identified across the city where a home was demolished and replaced by a new single-family home. Then, five houses near to each newly constructed home were identified. The five adjacent properties were then compared to the new construction based on a number of Zillow metrics, such as overall value Zestimate and Rent Zestimate.

The new construction properties were found to be, on average, 452 square feet, or almost 40%, larger than nearby comparable properties. On average, the new construction properties have a Zestimate that is 24.5% greater than the nearby comparable properties. The Rent Zestimates on the selected new construction properties were, on average, almost \$334, or 22.7%, more per month than the Rent Zestimate on the nearby comps. While this approach does not provide the same numbers as the method above, the patterns and direction of change are consistent.

Based on an analysis of Zillow data, a new structure will have a Zestimate that is 24.5% more than nearby comparable properties. The new structure will have a Rent Zestimate that is 22.7% more than nearby comparable properties.



AFFORDABILITY MICROANALYSIS

There are numerous instances in which contiguous parcels with smaller homes are bought, torn down, and replaced with more intensive development. These developments add density, but the new units are often not as affordable as what they replace. Below are two such examples that are located just outside the boundary of the Tobin Hill Historic District.



EUCLID/ST. MARY'S STREET

Housing units before: 4 Housing units after: 19

In 2018, four housing units were demolished at the corner of Euclid and St. Marys. In 2020, 19 townhouses were built on the site. There was a 169% increase in the value per square foot of the new construction compared to the houses that were previously on these lots.

ELMIRA STREET

Housing units before: 2 Housing units after: 14

In 2017, two housing units were demolished nearby on Euclid Street. That same year, 14 townhouses were built on the site. Overall, there was a 379% increase in the value per square foot of the new construction condos compared to the houses that were previously on these lots.

> AVERAGE VALUE/SQFT BEFORE AND AFTER DEMOLITION



Demolitions at these two sites added density by creating more housing units, which undeniably meets policy goals around housing production. However, when the type of development described above takes place, demolitions resulted in much more expensive housing and fewer opportunities for affordable housing.

DEMOLITIONS IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

Between 2010 and 2022, only 165 demolition permits, or 4.2% of the City's total demolition permits, were issued for buildings in historic districts. Of those, 114 resulted in a full primary structure demolition. This comes out to an average of 8 demolitions per year.⁷



DEMOLITION PERMITS ISSUED 2010 - 2022

The majority of the parcels where the primary structure was demolished have remained vacant. Only 31.6% of these demolished properties have been replaced by new construction.



OUTCOMES OF PRIMARY STRUCTURE DEMOLITIONS

Of the single family residential properties that were demolished and have since had new construction in historic districts, 84.2% remained single family, 5.3% transitioned to multi-family, and another 10.5% were converted to non-residential use. While there was only one multi-family building, the property was converted into single family use after demolition and new construction. Three-quarters of all non-residential properties remained non-residential.

Previous Use	New Use			
	New Use Single Family	New Use Multi- Family	New Use Non- Residential	
Single Family	16 (84.2%)	1(5.3%)	2 (10.5%)	
Multi-Family	1 (100%)	-	-	
Non-Residential	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	12 (75.0%)	

Of the 114 primary structures in historic districts that were actually demolished, 29.8% were emergency or city mandated demolitions. Nearly 43% of permits approved by OHP were for non-contributing properties.

PURVIEW OF DEMOLITIONS IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS



7 For the purposes of this analysis, permits categorized as "no primary structure demolished" can mean one of two things: 1) a permit for the demolition of a primary structure was issued, but based on the year built in the assessment data, the primary structure never came down, 2) the permit was intended for a non-primary building or for interior/partial demolition, but the scope of work was not descriptive enough to indicate otherwise-therefore, the year built in the assessment data does not indicate the construction of a new primary structure.

Historic Districts have seen a relatively low number of demolitions. Together, Mission and Dignowity Hill make up a majority (64%) of all primary structures demolitions in historic districts.

OUTCOMES OF PRIMARY STRUCTURE DEMOLITIONS BY DISTRICT

	Approved by OHP	BSB / CODE	Emergency demo (fire)	Non- contributing	TOTAL
Mission	9	3	2	26	40
Dignowity Hill	4	16	8	5	33
Lavaca	2	2	-	2	6
Cattleman Square	4	-	-	1	5
Hemisfair	1	-	-	3	4
King William	-	-	-	4	4
Monte Vista	-	-	-	3	3
River Road	1	1	-	1	3
Tobin Hill	1	1	-	1	3
Alamo Plaza	2	-	-	-	2
Brooks School	2	-	-	-	2
La Villita	1	-	1	-	2
Main/Military Plaza	2	-	-	-	2
Monticello Park	1	-	-	1	2
Arsenal	-	-	-	1	1
Government Hill	-	-	-	1	1
Woodlawn Lake and Park	1	-	_	_	1





IMPACT OF CONCENTRATED DEMOLITIONS

METHODOLOGY EXPLANATION

To look more closely at the impact of concentrations of demolitions, PlaceEconomics identified block groups that had experienced 20 or more demolitions between 2010 and 2023. These areas tended to be around historic districts, particularly in the neighborhoods on the east side of downtown. The following series of maps demonstrate how the study area block groups were selected.

Map 1: All Demolitions This analysis was limited to permits where a primary structure was demolished. There is a large concentration of demolitions in and around San Antonio's downtown. This is also the area with the highest concentration of older and historic buildings.



The size of the dots in Map 2 correspond to the number of demolitions in that block group. PlaceEconomics identified block groups with 20 or more demolitions since the year 2010. This resulted in 14 block groups as the final study area, shown in Map 3. These block groups tended to be clustered near or around historic districts. While demolitions do occasionally happen in historic districts, the areas immediately surrounding historic districts tend to see a lot of development pressure and demolition activity, which results in demographic change. These demographic changes were calculated for these study areas compared to both historic districts and the city overall.

Map 2: Demolitions per Block Group



Map 3: Demolition Cluster Study Areas



DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN DEMOLITION CLUSTER STUDY AREAS

CHANGE IN RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

Overall, areas that have had a concentration of demolitions have seen an increase in White, Asian, and Other population, but a decrease in Black population. Historic districts saw a much less dramatic change.⁸



CHANGE IN WHITE AND BLACK POPULATION, 2010-2022

While in the aggregate, historic districts saw a 23% decrease in Black population, there is an interesting story when one investigates at the individual historic district level. Dignowity Hill is a historic district that is unique in two ways. First, it has seen the second greatest

In the aggregate, historic districts saw an increase in nonwhite population when Dignowity Hill is removed.

number of demolitions among historic districts with 30 structures demolished. It also saw a 44% decrease in Black population. However, when looking at all other historic districts in the aggregate, historic districts saw a modest increase in Black population. In historic districts that have experienced fewer demolitions, there has been a stabilizing impact on demographic diversity.



CHANGE IN ASIAN AND OTHER POPULATION, 2010-2022

Historic Districts Demolition Clusters San Antonio



CHANGE IN RACE IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS WITHOUT DIGNOWITY HILL, 2010-2022

8 The dramatic change in Asian population is due to a small sample error. The Asian population grew from 65 in 2010 to 298 in 2022. The White and Black population are separated from the Asian and Other population to make the graphs easier to read when the scales of change are so different.

CHANGE IN HISPANIC POPULATION

Between 2010 and 2022, areas that saw a concentration of demolitions also saw an increase in Hispanic population that was on par with the city as a whole, while historic districts saw a slight decrease.

CHANGE IN HISPANIC POPULATION, 2010-2022



CHANGE IN HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Overall, areas that have seen a concentration of demolitions have also seen an increase in household income. The number of households in these areas making more than \$75,000 dramatically increased between 2010 and 2022. Historic districts saw a change in household income that more closely mirrored the city overall.⁹



The dramatic change in household income in block groups with high numbers of demolitions translates to an increase in the median household income. Block groups with a concentration of demolitions saw an 84% increase in the median household income. Historic districts saw a more modest increase of 30%, slightly higher than the change in the city overall.

CHANGE IN HOUSEHOLD INCOME ABOVE \$75,000 2010-2022







9 Because there was such a dramatic increase in household incomes above \$75,000, these graphs were separated to make the scales more legible.

CHANGE IN MONTHLY OWNER COSTS

Housing costs have also increased across the city. For homeowners in block groups with a concentration of demolitions, the number of units affordable to those making more than 80% AMI has increased at a rate higher than the rest of the city.¹⁰



CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF OWNED UNITS AFFORDABLE BY AMI, 2010-2022 (ABOVE 80% AMI)



CHANGE IN RENT

Likewise, the change in rent across the city has been dramatic. Historic districts, demolition clusters, and the city overall have seen a decrease or only moderate increases in units affordable to those making less than 80% AMI. All three categories saw a dramatic increase in units affordable to those making above 80%. Where there were concentrations of demolitions, there was also a dramatic increase in the number of units affordable to those making above 120% AMI.¹¹



CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF RENTAL UNITS AFFORDABLE BY AMI, 2010-2022 (ABOVE 80% AMI)



10-11 The graphs for change in monthly owner and renter costs were divided into above and below 80% AMI. Because the change above 80% AMI tended to be more dramatic, it created a scale that was difficult to read on one graph. They are separated for ease of comprehension.

CONCLUSIONS

DIVERSITY

San Antonians of every race, ethnicity, education level, and income have found a home in historic districts. When the entire population of historic districts is considered, who lives in those neighborhoods is a mirror of who lives in the city as a whole. But in many cases the diversity is evident at the neighborhood level.

Most often in San Antonio, new historic districts are created because of a passion by residents to maintain the quality and the character of their neighborhood. What is clear from the demographic profile of San Antonio's historic districts, that passion crosses economic, racial, educational, and ethnic boundaries. While a very small percentage of the land area and population of San Antonio is within local historic districts, those neighborhoods truly represent a microcosm of the city.

DEMOLITIONS

For environmental reasons, to preserve affordable housing, and to maintain the city's character, demolition is seen as a last resort alternative. But when demolition does take place, it is important to understand the consequences. Most demolitions do not result in a new building being constructed. When new buildings are built they tend to be less affordable than what they replaced.

Historic districts have proven to be an effective tool to mitigate demolition, with the actual number of buildings razed small. In most instances when a building was demolished, the value of the improvements was a very small portion of the overall property value.

Policy makers make better decisions when they are well informed. The data in this report both details the diversity of San Antonio's historic districts and also identifies the outcomes when demolition takes place. Hopefully both sets of findings provide the quantitative context for future decision making.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

Indexing. For this report the PlaceEconomics Mirror Index and the PlaceEconomics Economic Integration Index were created. The methodologies and applications of these indexes are defined below. Indexing is creating a benchmark which serves as a comparative reference for similar data. Indexing is sometimes used to measure change over time and in other cases to compare numbers that vary significantly in size. Commonly cited indexes are the Dow Jones Industrial Average and the Consumer Price Index.

In this case the benchmark was the distribution of economic and demographic characteristics of San Antonio as a whole and assigning that benchmark the value of 100. Then the characteristics of any given Historic District were compared to that benchmark and an index value for that District was calculated. For example, if the homeownership rate for San Antonio as a whole were 50%, then 50% was given the value of 100. A Historic District that also had a homeownership rate of 50% would also have a homeownership index number of 100. A Historic District that had a homeownership rate of 46% would have an index number less than 100 (in this example 92); a Historic Districts that had a homeownership rate of 54% would have an index number greater than 100. (in this example 108)

Mirror Metric Methodology. Each of the diversity measures was given a score of "High Correlation", "Moderate Correlation" or "Low Correlation" for each of the Historic Districts. A score of "High Correlation" was given when the characteristics of the Historic District were within +/- 10% of the distribution in the City as a whole. For example, if the rate of homeownership in San Antonio were 50%, a Historic District that had a homeownership rate of between 45% and 55% would receive a "High Correlation" score. "Moderate Correlation" was when a Historic District would receive a "Moderate Correlation" score if the homeownership rate were between 40% and 45% OR between 55% and 60%. Any District that had a homeownership rate of less than 40% or more than 60% would receive a "Weak Correlation" score. A Composite Measure was also calculated as simply the average of the scores of the five diversity metrics.

Economic Integration Methodology. Within cities there is usually a wide diversity of income levels, between those of very modest incomes to those with substantial salaries with a wide range of income levels in between. But do those households of very different income levels live in close proximity or in neighborhoods composed of others of the same economic circumstances. For this report PlaceEconomics created the Economic Integration Index. It considers the distribution of household incomes in the City of San Antonio as a whole and then compares how that distribution is (or is not) reflected at the Historic District level. Using the distribution patterns of the city as the benchmark, the share of households in each income category for each Historic District is compared to the benchmark. Income brackets were established by using the Area Median Income (AMI) categories.

Again, indexing was used for this analysis. Each of the percentages for the City of San Antonio in each of the AMI income brackets was given an index score of 100. That index was then compared to the same income bracket index for each Historic District. For example, if 10% of the households in San Antonio had incomes of 80% to 100% of the AMI, then 10% was given an index value of 100. A Historic District that had more than 10% of its households in that income bracket, its index score would be greater than 100. If fewer than 10% of the households were in that income bracket the index number would be less than 100.

The Economic Integration graph provides a quick visual way to see how closely the income distribution within a Historic District parallels the distribution in the city as a whole. The more reflective the line of the Historic District is to that San Antonio line, the greater the degree of economic integration.

DIVERSITY, DEMOLITION, AND HOUSING IN SAN ANTONIO'S HISTORIC DISTRICTS

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