

Racial and Ethnic Differences in Housing Search

Final Report



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Disclaimer

The contents of this report are the views of the contractor and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development or the U.S. government.

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Executive Summary

Since the passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has been charged with ensuring people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds have equal access to housing. As part of this work, HUD commissions decennial studies of housing discrimination in the rental market to estimate the prevalence of discrimination across the country. Although the kind of discrimination measured in these studies is declining, evidence suggests that discrimination against racial minorities persists. Moreover, discrimination is becoming increasingly difficult to detect, and other academic research shows that residential segregation, although declining, still divides Americans by race.

We know little about one of the core mechanisms through which this inequality may be perpetuated: how people search for housing. This is problematic because HUD's decennial studies of housing discrimination make assumptions about how people search for housing and conducts rigorous tests of a particular slice of the housing market at a particular stage in the process. HUD's tests of racial discrimination in housing are based on a random sample of apartment listings (usually advertised online or through newspapers) to which pairs of well-qualified renters are asked to inquire and attempt to visit. The studies document what happens to these matched pairs (matched on all dimensions except the tested characteristic, in this case race or ethnicity) from the initial inquiry and then visit to the unit. These studies have provided invaluable data that have been critical in HUD's efforts to identify the scope and scale of housing discrimination and to design policies that attempt to eliminate it.

What is missing from the methods used in the HUD's Housing Discrimination Studies, however, is what happens at the stages before and after the inquiry. The design does not capture what funnels people into inquiring about particular units and neighborhoods. The studies assume equal probability of inquiring about the same rental locations. Additionally, because the test concludes after one visit to see the unit, the study does not uncover discriminatory treatment during application and negotiation.¹ Moreover, this focus on one part of a housing search means that these studies cannot tap the overall costs of discrimination. For example, being denied access to a unit at the inquiry stage likely means a lengthier (and more costly) search or a less desirable unit for the searcher. Without understanding discrimination in other parts of the search, we are left with an incomplete story about how discrimination affects renters who experience it.

This project aims to understand how racial or ethnic groups differ in their search for *rental* housing to help HUD detect differential treatment and design policies and programs to better meet its goals. We seek to answer four research questions.

1. How do people search for rental housing?
2. How do housing searches differ by race and ethnicity?
3. What are the consequences of these differences for relative housing outcomes?
4. What are the implications for future research?

To answer these core questions, we need to go beyond the inquiry stage. Although the Housing Discrimination Studies have proven crucial in efforts to dismantle discrimination, the results of our study highlight how the story of how housing becomes racially segregated—and the role of

¹ Of course, ethical issues are associated with continuing the rental process beyond the initial inquiry or visit in this experimental context. Therefore, the limitations of the audit-style method are understandable.

discrimination in it—is masked by focusing on a particular style of housing search and particular assumptions about how discrimination affects that process. Our multimethods research design draws on statistically rigorous analyses of probability-based samples and large-scale cognitive interviews with convenience samples of renters in a single metropolitan area. It is an exploratory study that provides not definitive conclusions but promising directions for the next generation of HUD research, building on the foundation provided by the Housing Discrimination Studies.

In this report, we analyze original and secondary data to provide a portrait of the housing search process in general, followed by an intensive assessment of how White home seekers and racial or ethnic minorities compare in conducting those searches. Beyond having different experiences when inquiring into a housing unit, what happens before that inquiry (preinquiry phase) and after it (postinquiry phase) can be different for White, Black, and Latino renters. These differences reveal additional moments where discrimination can occur, but they also point to areas that may cause the racially stratified housing outcomes that define American cities. For example, we find racial differences in the resources brought to a search and the motivation for a search.

Additionally, people consult different sources. Many racial minorities rely on social networks not only to identify units, but also to get information about neighborhoods, find landlords who will not discriminate against them, and identify neighborhoods that are open to people of their racial or ethnic group. Relying on these sources means that some searchers do not access housing units through the means that audit studies assume (for example, seeing an apartment unit listed in a newspaper or on the internet). Our study also reveals that race shapes the kinds of neighborhoods people choose from; people do not randomly inquire about units, and in many cases, White, Black, and Latino renters search in altogether different neighborhoods.

Racial minorities often anticipate discrimination, which can shape how they search. The possibility of discrimination may funnel them away from certain possibilities and toward others in the preinquiry stage when deciding what units or neighborhoods to investigate. This anticipation can also influence the inquiry stage in *how* units are inquired about (for example, by email or phone). Expecting discrimination can also shape how searchers present to the landlord during an inquiry.

Anticipated discrimination may shape how searchers interpret what happens at the postinquiry stage, in terms of whether they will apply for a unit, and if they do, what they expect to happen. Searchers may decide not to apply for a unit or may not have their application accepted if they do. Our analyses provide both direct and indirect evidence of postvisit challenges that racial minorities face. Housing searches for racial minorities take longer, possibly because the motivation for the search is less time-urgent and more of a diffuse desire to improve neighborhood quality, or because searchers experience landlords who give them the runaround, stalling until a “more qualified” applicant is identified. Finally, many searchers identify credit history and its associated challenges as shaping their search at the preinquiry, inquiry, and postinquiry stages. The effects of credit history are underappreciated in current research and need more attention, particularly because our data suggest that, across income categories, Black renters are more likely to experience these challenges compared with White renters.

In this report, we outline a conceptual framework for the complexity of housing searches, describe the research methods used to answer our core research questions, and then provide our analysis, beginning with a general overview of the complexity of housing searches, followed by analyses that pinpoint racial or ethnic differences in the searches and describe five factors that highlight the unique experiences of racial and ethnic minorities. We conclude with a cluster

analysis to characterize three types of searchers. Our final chapter brings together all these results to map out the next generation of research that will allow HUD to design additional studies and policies that take into account the greater complexity of a housing search—and the myriad ways that race shapes them—to fulfill its mission of “building inclusive and sustainable communities free from discrimination.”

Chapter 1: Background

To guide our investigation, we draw on a conceptual model designed to learn how people search for housing. This model highlights five dynamic dimensions of a housing search:

Context: Renters’ characteristics and circumstances as well as local housing market conditions shape all aspects of the search.

Decision making: Throughout a search, renters make decisions about what to look for and what steps to take.

Information gathering: Searchers gather a variety of information using various sources and methods.

Evaluating options: Searches involve assessing how options match expectations.

Final outcome: The end result of the search includes whether renters find a unit to rent as well as the subjective and objective features of the unit.

Chapter 2: Methodology

To answer these research questions, our team employed a mixed-methods approach, drawing on three components:

The Housing Search Study (HSS): We fielded telephone interviews with a convenience sample of 135 recent movers and 351 current searchers in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. This data set permits a full exploration of all the dimensions of a housing search.

Indepth interviews: We conducted face-to-face interviews with a subsample of 40 HSS respondents to provide depth and nuance to the quantitative data gathered in the more structured telephone interviews.

Secondary data analysis: We drew from three large, random-sample surveys: the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), the America Housing Survey (AHS), and the Chicago Area Study (CAS). These surveys provided statistically rigorous tests of racial or ethnic differences on a limited set of variables.

The research team also consulted with a panel of experts including HUD staff at both the beginning and final stages of the study to design the methodology and appropriately frame our findings. The result is this report, which presents a comprehensive picture of the housing search process with an eye toward future research to improve policy and practice.

Chapter 3: Complexity of Housing Searches

Because we know little about the housing search process, we begin our investigation with basic questions: what are the dimensions of a search, and what kind of variety is there in how people conduct their searches? This discussion will form the conceptual backdrop to explore if and how racial groups differ in how they conduct housing searches. By analyzing the convenience sample data from the HSS and indepth interviews, we illustrate how housing searches can vary. Because

of the sampling, we must be cautious of generalizing the results and instead focus on how searches can differ, without claims made of the prevalence of particular search behaviors.

Context

Housing searches are shaped by personal constraints and the circumstances surrounding the move. Constraints include household income, credit, family status, disability, and access to transportation. Circumstances can vary in the degree to which moves are planned or foreseen and renters' reasons for looking for housing. Searches are also affected by local housing market conditions. Our HSS and indepth interview data amplify the ways housing searches can be undertaken under varying circumstances with consequences for both the process and its outcomes.

- When asked what barriers they faced when searching, renters frequently mentioned poor credit history, insufficient funds for a security deposit, and not having transportation to get to units.
- Unplanned moves vary; some afford more agency to the searcher (for example, moving because of a conflict with neighbors) whereas others are reactions to events beyond the searcher's control (for example, rent increases or house fires).
- People move for a variety of reasons (for example, family, job, or a search for better quality housing) and can be either pushed out of their current arrangement or pulled by the possibility of better options.
- Even if two people move for the same apparent reason, the context can differ. For example, one mover might be looking for something more affordable so he or she can save for homeownership, whereas another may be looking to move because the building's laundry facilities were shut down, and the increased cost of doing laundry made rent unaffordable.

Decision Making

This dimension focuses on people's decisions about the types of neighborhoods they will search in and the number of units and neighborhoods they will inquire about, they will visit, and for which they will submit applications.

- The number of units people decide to inquire about, visit, and submit applications for varies considerably. Most people contact and visit many units but apply to relatively few. However, 18 percent of people in our HSS submitted applications to four or more units in a single search.
- In the HSS, searchers varied quite a bit in how many neighborhoods they considered in their search. Just a few considered only the neighborhood in which they were already living.
- Because a housing unit cannot be separated from its neighborhood, we question whether people place more importance on one or the other when conducting their search. In our study, most searchers said these were of equal importance, a response that remained stable throughout their search.

Information Gathering

Renters looking for housing vary not only in the sources of information they use (for example, internet, personal networks, or newspaper ads), but also in the types of information they gather (for example, on neighborhoods or units). Renters also vary in how they pursue opportunities, from the inquiry to the visit, and in their subsequent negotiations with landlords or property managers. Our HSS captured this dimension, focusing on how people drew on social networks to get information and what kinds of information were important to them.

- Renters use their social networks to find rental vacancies and learn more about neighborhoods. Some searchers used these networks to identify rentals that did not require credit checks. Many searchers who used social networks to identify the units they moved into or visited received help from a friend, and most searchers received help from someone of the same racial or ethnic background.
- To identify the neighborhoods to search in, people relied on personal knowledge of the area and concrete experiences. In-depth interview participants talked about filtering searches by neighborhood name or zip code, which they associated with beliefs about affordability, safety, and racial composition.
- Searchers look for a variety of information about neighborhoods. Our convenience sample of D.C. searchers prioritized information about public transportation, parks and other amenities, and crime levels.
- Identifying specific rental units was largely done through social networks (word of mouth) and advertisements—with a very heavy reliance on online advertisements. However, when communicating with the landlord, the division between renters who used email and those who used the telephone was greater.

Evaluating Options

Throughout a search, renters evaluate potential neighborhoods and units using several criteria; the importance of any criterion to their decision making can change in light of the options available to them and uncovered during their search. The HSS questioned searchers about the criteria important to them, and then tracked if and how the criteria changed through the course of the search. These data reveal a few suggestive patterns.

- Searchers tend to prioritize building security, landlord responsiveness, and rent. Safety crops up again in neighborhood criteria that are considered top priority, along with transportation.
- Over the course of a search, renters frequently expand the neighborhoods they are considering and the price they are willing to pay—the latter is likely because of the high cost of rental housing in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.
- Some priorities shift in importance during a search, including building type, size of the home, and building amenities. Safety and convenience to public transportation, however, remain quite stable in their level of importance.

Final Outcome

Not all renters find a new unit. If they do, the length of their housing search and their satisfaction with the search process, as well as with the unit and neighborhood, vary significantly. Our HSS sheds light on these dimensions of a housing outcome.

- Most of the HSS participants cited finding a unit in their price range as the reason their search was difficult.
- Housing searches vary in length, from less than a week to many months. The variety is so substantial that our attempts to interview current searchers were challenged because many searches were not completed before our field period ended. It may be that many people search with low intensity for an extensive period, on the lookout to improve their housing but not with urgency.
- Our indepth interviews conveyed how time-consuming searches can be. Finding time to contact landlords, get questions answered, inspect units, submit applications, and gather paperwork were examples of why searches can be challenging, in terms of time.
- Satisfaction with units and neighborhoods was high, although our searchers found what they hoped for in their neighborhood more than in the unit.

The HSS data illuminate the ingredients of the housing search. A housing search is a dynamic process, so the order and number of applicable dimensions—and variables within these dimensions—may vary significantly for different types of searchers. With this background, we turn to the extent to which housing search ingredients vary based on the searcher’s racial or ethnic background.

Chapter 4: Racial and Ethnic Differences in Housing Searches

Our most rigorous assessment of the extent to which racial or ethnic groups have different experiences relies on the secondary analysis of three data sets—the AHS, PSID, and CAS. Although we could draw on statistical principles to determine if racial or ethnic differences exist beyond other characteristics (income, in particular), the data sets do not provide complete data on all aspects of the complex housing search process. However, the data do reveal systematic racial or ethnic differences, even after controlling for group differences in demographics, socioeconomic status, and—in some cases—housing market conditions.

Context

Searches are affected by searcher characteristics, the circumstances of a move, and the larger housing market. Specifically,

- Black and Latino renters have lower incomes than White renters.
- Black and Latino renters are more likely than White renters to have children in their household.

Other factors, such as transportation and disability status, also create challenging circumstances. In some cases, these racial or ethnic differences can be explained by social class, income, the presence of children, age, and gender. In other cases, however, the racial or ethnic differences persist, such as for the reasons a move is initiated.

- Black and Latino renters are more likely than White renters to move to improve the quality of their living conditions.
- White renters are more likely than Black or Latino renters to move to be closer to work or school, a difference that cannot be explained by background characteristics.

Decision Making

Decisions about which neighborhoods to search are critical to housing outcomes. Understanding the differences in how Black, White, and Latino home seekers approach this decision is crucial for understanding racialized patterns of housing. Our secondary data analyses provide a glimpse into this issue and reveal that—

- Although Latino and White renters are equally likely to look outside their current neighborhood, Black renters are more likely than White renters to do so, suggesting a more expansive search among Black renters.
- When looking at the neighborhoods people search in, White renters are more likely to search only in places where White residents are the majority, whereas Black and Latino renters are more likely to search in a mix of places, some where their racial or ethnic group is in the majority and others where their group is in the minority.

Information Gathering

A crucial step in searching involves gathering information about neighborhoods and units. Racial or ethnic differences may emerge in how people to find this information—information that can translate into different options and opportunities. Our secondary data provide a glimpse into the ways that groups differ in this regard.

- Drawing on social networks (word of mouth) is the most common method used by Black and Latino renters, and Black and Latino renters are significantly more likely than White renters to use this method to identify the unit they moved into.
- White renters use online resources the most and are significantly more likely than Black and Latino renters to use this source to identify the unit they moved into.
- Black and Latino renters are more likely than White renters to have first heard about their unit by seeing a sign on a building, although this source is uncommon.

Evaluating Options

Although secondary data do not provide much information about how people evaluate their options and which factors are primary and secondary, they do provide a few hints based on a question asking renters why they *ended* their search.

- Black and Latino renters appear to settle on a unit that does not satisfy their criteria, because they are less likely than White renters to say they ended their search because they were happy with the unit.
- Latino renters' evaluation process may be truncated because of too few options or too little time, suggested by the finding that they are more likely than White renters to say they stopped their search because they had to move quickly or because they knew no other options. Differences between Black and White renters in this regard are explained by racial differences in background characteristics.

- Challenges getting transportation to possible units, although rare, was cited more often by Black than White renters. This challenge may have resulted in an abridged evaluation process.

Final Outcomes

The secondary data analysis sheds light on the racial or ethnic differences in both objective and subjective aspects of a search's final outcome.

- In any given year, White renters are more likely to move than are Black and Latino renters.
- White renters are less likely to have a failed search than are Black and Latino renters.
- When they do move, Black and Latino renters are more likely than White renters to stay in the same neighborhood. Some of these racial or ethnic differences can be explained by background characteristics, particularly having children in the household and receiving housing assistance.
- Black renters report longer searches than White and Latino renters.
- Black and Latino renters rate their new neighborhood as lower in quality and less safe than White renters, although the Latino-White difference becomes non-statistically significant when background controls are used.
- Despite giving negative neighborhood ratings, Black renters are more likely than White renters to say their new places are better than their old ones. However, objective neighborhood measures demonstrate little to no improvement in the quality of the destination neighborhoods when compared with the origin ones.

Connections Among Search Dimensions

The secondary data analyses provide important insights into the ingredients of housing searches and point us to racial or ethnic differences. Because of the scattered nature of existing data—with limited information on only selected aspects in separate data sets—we cannot achieve a comprehensive view of the consequences of these different housing search strategies on the outcomes of the search or the possible racial or ethnic differences in them. However, we can examine bivariate relationships among those aspects of housing searches identified as having substantial and persistent differences based on race or ethnicity. Although these bivariate relationships cannot be interpreted as causal links, the connections we uncover point us to clues worthy of further investigation.

- People who move for work or school are more likely to use online resources than people who move for other reasons.
- Involuntary movers are more likely to end a search with a less-than-ideal outcome and to say the new dwelling was chosen because the alternatives were constrained.
- Renters who searched only in the immediate neighborhood saw fewer units and were more likely to report that they chose their new dwelling because they perceived no better options.
- Searchers who were constrained in the preceding ways rated their new dwelling and neighborhood as lower in quality.

The secondary data provide solid evidence that racial or ethnic differences exist in virtually every dimension of housing searches: the reason for the search, how information is gathered, the decisions made about where to search, and the eventual outcomes of the search. These results are based on probability samples of White, Black, and Latino renters and permit rigorous statistical tests. However, the data sets were limited in the scope and range of measures of housing search processes, so our knowledge about housing search processes has substantial gaps. For a more indepth look, we turn to the original data collection we conducted from the HSS and indepth interviews.

Chapter 5: Identifying Other Clues About How and Why Racial Differences Arise in Housing Searches

In addition to racial differences in some of the mechanics and approaches of a housing search that we uncovered in our secondary data analysis of probability sample data, in our analysis of the HSS and indepth interviews we also uncovered several clues about how and why racial difference in housing searches occur.

Because of their exploratory nature and convenience sampling methods, our conclusions based on the HSS and indepth interview data are less definitive and take a different approach than the statistically rigorous analysis of the probability-based samples in the PSID, AHS, and CAS. The HSS cannot draw on the principles of statistics to determine significant findings, given its convenience sample. We instead identify search strategies and experiences that show racial differences at the bivariate level that are not substantially diminished when controls for income and other background characteristics are included. We use this approach to draw general conclusions about the patterns across different questions and dimensions of a housing search to highlight clusters of search features that appear to be distinct for racial minorities. The indepth interview data draw out some of these themes and give nuance and insight to why some of the racial differences emerge.

Together, the HSS and indepth interviews cast a spotlight on how and why Black renters' experiences are distinct. Although some strategies and approaches are not *exclusive* to Black renters, they reflect experiences and concerns that, when taken together, pinpoint ways Black renters' search experiences and processes are unique. The themes that emerged in our HSS and indepth interviews highlight (1) the role of neighborhood quality in shaping a search, (2) efforts and strategies used to avoid bad treatment, (3) the role of anticipated discrimination in shaping stages of a search, (4) the emerging challenges associated with credit history, and (5) the challenges faced by searchers after visiting a housing unit.

Prioritizing Neighborhood Quality

Our convenience sample of searchers in D.C. revealed that improving housing quality was a primary motivation for undergoing a move or search for Black respondents, a finding similar to the national data. Perhaps because of the fundamental differences also identified in national data about quality of initial neighborhoods and neighborhoods searched, Black renters in the HSS—

- Were more likely than White renters to seek information about crime and school quality.
- Were more concerned about neighborhood safety and more likely to rate its importance at the same level throughout the search.

- Considered building security significantly more important than White renters throughout their search.

Our indepth interview study also affirmed the significance of safety and revealed that Black and White searchers spoke differently about safety, with White searchers more likely to refer to areas they wish to avoid using hypotheticals, whereas Black searchers gave more details of the exact characteristics they wanted to avoid and related personal experiences with unsafe neighborhoods that drove these priorities.

Avoiding Bad Treatment

Black renters are especially likely to approach a search focused on ways to avoid bad treatment from landlords.

- Black renters more than White renters prioritize landlord responsiveness.
- Black renters more than White renters take special efforts to learn more about a potential landlord by using social networks to gather information about landlords and communicating by phone (rather than email) with the potential landlord, which gives more information about what kind of person the landlord is.

Expectations of Discrimination

Our study included some of the most detailed and direct questions about perceptions of fairness or discrimination in housing that exist. We asked questions about general perceptions of discrimination, past perceived discrimination, and methods used to avoid discrimination. We found the following.

- Many Black renters perceive that Black people do not enjoy equal access to housing in the D.C. area, and a large share report having personally experienced what they perceived to be housing discrimination.
- Black renters prefer diverse neighborhoods but want to avoid those that are too White. One indepth interview participant explained, “I like a blend of people. ... I think that’s always better because you can get a taste of everything, the good, the bad, and the different. You all could blend together, grow together, working it out together.” He went on to explain that he avoided all-White neighborhoods because “I always feel like I have to walk on eggs. In the sense that if I mess up or something go wrong ... I don’t want that pressure.”
- Learning about how welcoming a community would be to their racial group was an important step for more than one-half of our Black sample of current searchers. Some assessed the level of welcome by visiting the neighborhood to do “informal surveys” of residents.
- Black renters attempt to avoid discrimination by relying on social networks to help them find landlords who would not discriminate against them. One-fourth of our sample of Black recent movers and 60 percent of our sample of Black current searchers report they used social networks for this purpose.

Despite these efforts to avoid discrimination—

- About one-fourth of Black recent movers and 15 percent of Black current searchers reported experiencing racial discrimination during their housing search.
- Black recent movers and current searchers were substantially more likely than their White counterparts to report difficulty finding a landlord who would rent to them. In-depth interviews reveal how challenging it is for minority searchers to determine if the difficulty they experience is because of racial discrimination, such as wondering if the landlord is being truthful when they are told that a unit has just been rented. Our interviews also highlighted the steps minority searchers take to try to convey their middle-class status (for example, dressing up when they meet the landlord or driving a nice car) to try to overcome stereotypes landlords have about them based on race.

Credit History

Black searchers work hard to find landlords who do not require credit history and sometimes suspect that landlords prioritize credit history more than other criteria (for example, income) to dismiss their applications. Our HSS and in-depth interviews uncovered the salience of this issue in several ways and at several points in the search process.

- Even after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic differences, our Black respondents were more likely than our White respondents to indicate that they had poor credit history.
- Black renters were more likely than White renters to use their social networks to find rental units that did not require a credit check.
- Some searchers limit where they search because of their credit history, avoiding the “little bit nicer places” that they believe will be out of reach because their credit has been “dinged.” Some searchers feel a need to wait until their credit improves before they search. One respondent reported being unable to rely on referrals from coworkers because of a reluctance to share private information about credit status.
- Poor credit history can also increase the cost of leasing or renting. Some in-depth interview participants had to put up a bigger security deposit or pay more in monthly rent to compensate for poor credit.

Postvisit Challenges

Previous HUD Housing Discrimination Studies (HDS) have measured the moment of an inquiry and initial visit to a housing unit but do not measure anything after that point. Our HSS captures reports and experiences of searchers throughout the entire process, and our results suggest several ways that Black experiences are unique.

- Despite a multiplicity of differences in terms of context, search parameters, and methods of gathering information, Black and White renters nevertheless inquire about and visit similar numbers of units during the course of their searches.
- However, even after controlling for income and other personal factors, Black renters submit many more applications than White renters.

- In-depth interviews offer rich stories of experiences after initial visits to housing units that paint a picture of landlords giving the runaround to minority renters. Interviewees referred to the length of time it took to hear back from landlords; this ranged from renters being told that they met all the criteria but being informed after a month of back and forth that “someone more qualified” got the unit, to the complexity and ambiguity of the process, with credit reports, paperwork, and application fees. None of these searchers can be certain their race caused these problems, but the perception is there. One Latina renter said, “I have great references, both professional and personal ... it’s not just bias like again—it’s not just a class thing. It very much intersects with race and ethnicity.”

Chapter 6: Tying It All Together: Identifying Search Typologies and Their Implications

A housing search is more than the sum of the ingredients of context, decision making, information gathering, and evaluating options. These ingredients come together to shape a final outcome. We used the recent movers in our HSS to craft a typology of searchers, characterizing three different general patterns of how these ingredients come together in individual searchers. We identified nine key indicators: two related to the context of the search (difficult search circumstances, like reasons for the search or barriers to searching, and the importance of push and pull factors to the search motivation), three related to information gathering (reliance on online activities, reliance on interpersonal context, and use of professional services), two related to evaluating options (persistent importance of neighborhood conditions and persistent emphasis on unit characteristics), and two related to decision making (volume of units inquired about, visited, and applied for; and number of neighborhoods involved). Using these nine indicators, we conducted a cluster analysis that allowed us to characterize how these different indicators grouped together in individuals to describe general types of searchers.

We use that typology to explore if Black and White renters are more or less likely to be different kinds of searchers, and then we compare consequences of particular searcher types for a handful of outcomes. We identified three kinds of searchers: open searchers, high-threshold searchers, and constrained searchers. There are similarities and differences in how these groups approach their search.

Open Searchers

Thirty-eight percent of searchers in the recent mover sample of the HSS engage in open searches.² Open searchers are likely what many people imagine is the prototypical housing searcher: he or she has relatively few constraints, uses a range of methods for gathering information, and assesses many units across a wide set of neighborhoods. In our study—

- Black and White renters in the HSS (recent movers) were equally likely to be open searchers.
- Open searchers report the highest level of unit improvement and report that their new neighborhood is the same or better than their prior one.

² Because our sample is a convenience sample, the percentages of searchers in each of these three categories is not necessarily representative of their prevalence in the population—either among D.C. recent movers or among movers in other areas of the country. We report the percentages to characterize the distribution of different searcher types in the data set analyzed in this study.

High-Threshold Searchers

The 22 percent of our convenience sample of recent movers in the D.C. area who fall into this category embark on a search with a high level of planning and research, confront few constraints, and demand new locations that satisfy long lists of unit and neighborhood criteria. They use many tools to perform the search and investigate many neighborhoods, but they inquire, visit, and apply for relatively few units.

- White recent movers are more likely to be classified as high-threshold searchers than Black recent movers, a difference that does not appear to be attributable to differences in income or to the different age or gender profile.
- High-threshold searchers tend to report that their new unit is worse than where they started, which may be because of the high quality of the original unit or because searchers in this category have particularly high expectations.
- High-threshold searchers generally report that their new neighborhoods are the same or better than their old ones.

Constrained Searchers

Constrained searchers tend to report a high number of push and pull factors and are likely to have to search for housing unexpectedly and with limited resources; they also draw on fewer tools (and a limited reliance on online tools) in their search, often relying on interpersonal contacts. Neighborhood characteristics are of comparatively lower priority, whereas a relatively large number of unit characteristics are top priorities. They search fewer neighborhoods and unit options compared with our other searcher types. This group was the largest in our study (40 percent).

- In our study, Black recent movers were more likely than White recent movers to be constrained searchers, and this racial difference persists even when accounting for racial differences in income.
- Constrained searchers report unit improvements but are most likely to report that their new neighborhood is worse than their original one.

Chapter 7: Implications for Research

Every 10 years, HUD conducts audit studies of the rental housing market to determine whether housing discrimination influences the housing outcomes of racial or ethnic minorities. These audit studies have tracked societal changes and have been instrumental in the efforts to uphold the mandates of the 1968 Fair Housing Act. However, on its own, the research design—which determines whether discrimination occurs at the point of inquiry into a housing unit advertised in a particular way—may not be the most effective, relevant, and appropriate means for tracking housing discrimination.

The results of our research, of which the goal was to conduct an exploratory study that would permit as detailed and comprehensive picture of housing searches as possible, suggest several directions for the next generation of research studies. Our results call into question the simplistic model of a housing search that underpins the design of prior HDS. The HDS focus only on the step at which a searcher inquires of a landlord about a housing unit advertised online or in a newspaper and attempts to visit it. Our Housing Search Study (HSS) draws attention to all that

happens before and after that inquiry. We describe the myriad ways that racial considerations shape which units and neighborhoods a person will inquire about and how they are treated after the inquiry. Our results suggest that the road map for future research needs to have this more expansive model of housing searches in mind to pinpoint the processes most in need of investigation. The inquiry stage is important, but so are the ways people come to inquire about a unit and how they are treated after they inquire about it.

Preinquiry Phase

Before inquiring about a particular housing unit, searchers identify neighborhoods to search in, gather information from several sources, uncover units to inquire about, and set priorities. Our study identified several aspects of this phase of a housing search that are influenced by race or ethnicity and may shape whether someone is exposed to, or shielded from, discrimination. The widespread anticipation of discrimination on the part of racial and ethnic minorities, the differential use of social networks, and the tendency for minority and White home seekers to look in different neighborhoods all point to important future directions for research into the preinquiry phase.

- What is the effect of anticipated discrimination on the decisions searchers make about how they will search and what units they will inquire about?
- What impact does a reliance on particular information sources have on the places where people end up inquiring about and living in?
- How often does discrimination occur when searchers use methods other than online listings to find out about units?
- How often does discrimination occur in neighborhoods where minorities are most likely to search for housing?

Inquiry Phase

Of the three phases, it is the inquiry phase where the HDS is the strongest. Even so, our exploratory study of housing searches uncovered additional areas for future HUD studies to consider when gauging the extent of discrimination experienced by racial or ethnic minorities.

- To what degree does discrimination vary based on the mode of inquiry used by the searcher (that is, by phone, internet, or in person)?
- To what degree do socioeconomic status and credit history shape racial or ethnic discrimination when inquiries are made?

Postinquiry Phase

What happens after the initial inquiry into a housing unit is crucial and is an area ripe with the potential for discrimination. That Black renters submit more applications than White renters despite inquiring about and visiting the same number of units hints at discrimination. Minority renters' housing searches last longer than White renters'. The hassles and roadblocks that racial or ethnic minorities experience are described in great detail in our indepth interviews. These findings suggest that the point when the HDS studies stop tracking searchers may be precisely when contemporary forms of discrimination start. HUD might consider studies that address the following research questions.

- What role does credit history play, and how does it affect how landlords treat renters in the application process?
- What happens at the application stage, and how often does discrimination occur at this stage?
- How do landlords decide to whom to rent, and how often does discrimination occur at this final stage?
- What is the cumulative cost of discrimination during the entire course of a housing search?

To address these research questions, HUD can adapt the American Housing Survey (AHS), conduct new analyses of existing 2012 Housing Discrimination Study data, analyze complaint data, rethink the design of paired testing, design a longitudinal study of searchers, and research landlord decision making.

What follows is our effort to provide an empirical and conceptual foundation for future research, policy, and practice that understands the microprocesses of rental housing searches that, in the aggregate, contribute to the stratified housing outcomes that impede HUD's ability to "build inclusive and sustainable communities free from discrimination."

Chapter 1: Background

Research bears out that White, Black, and Latino people have significantly different housing outcomes—that is, they live in different neighborhoods, and those neighborhoods have, on average, quite different characteristics (Peterson and Krivo, 2010; Sharkey, 2013). We also know that racial and ethnic minorities may experience continued discrimination when they attempt to buy or rent a place to live (Turner et al., 2013). However, remarkably little is known about one of the core mechanisms through which this inequality is perpetuated: the manner by which people search for housing. It is the process of people searching for and moving into homes that, when taken in the aggregate, is a driver of the racially segregated neighborhoods that define much of the residential landscape in our nation’s cities. The purpose of this project is to understand how racial or ethnic groups differ in their search for rental housing in order to design policies to better meet HUD’s goal of “building inclusive and sustainable communities free from discrimination.”

We know from decades of research largely using census data that White, Black, and—to a lesser (although, in some cases, increasing) extent—Latino citizens live in different neighborhoods. Racial residential segregation, although declining, nevertheless continues to characterize many of our nation’s cities, suburbs, and even small towns (Reardon et al., 2009). The consequences of segregation have also been the topic of substantial research, demonstrating the many and varied ways in which segregated housing negatively affects individuals and communities (Massey and Denton, 1993; Peterson and Krivo, 1993; Williams et al., 2001). Racial minorities are disadvantaged in their neighborhood and community outcomes; they are exposed to more crime (Peterson and Krivo, 2010), greater environmental hazards (Crowder and Downey, 2010; Jones et al., 2014), poorer-quality schools and job opportunities (De la Roca et al., 2014; Frankenberg, 2013; Kneebone and Holmes, 2015; Logan et al., 2012), and generally less desirable community services and amenities (Charles, Dinwiddie, and Massey, 2004; Cutler and Glaeser, 1997; Massey, 2004; Santiago and Wilder, 1991). Property values in minority neighborhoods increase less rapidly, segregation translates into poorer health outcomes, and racial or ethnic minorities living in segregated communities have fewer opportunities—that is, they are more likely than White residents to live in “low-opportunity” areas (Kershaw and Albrecht, 2015; Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Williams et al., 2001). In short, where one lives affects so many different aspects of one’s life outcomes that a racially stratified housing system has ripple effects that serve to perpetuate what are persistent problems of racial inequality in our country (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz, 2016); indeed, some scholars have called housing the “structural linchpin” of racial inequality in the United States (Bobo, 1989).

Although there is little debate as to whether segregation has negative consequences, there is substantial debate about what causes these segregated patterns. The most frequently identified causes in the literature are people’s preferences about where they want to live, the persistence of racial discrimination in the housing market, racial differences in economic outcomes (income and wealth), and public policies and historical trajectories (see Krysan et al., 2014, for review). However, no consensus exists as to which of these factors is most important.

Unfortunately, most studies, regardless of their findings, have one thing in common—they are unmoored from the reality of actual housing searches. Assumptions are generally made about how the housing search process unfolds, but those assumptions have rarely been systematically assessed. Take audit studies of housing discrimination as an example. These studies are considered the gold standard, in terms of research design, for measuring discrimination because they pair housing searchers who are matched on all characteristics except for their race, and send

the searchers to inquire about available housing. Because the paired auditors are (in theory) identical in all ways except for their race, any differences in treatment that are observed (less-friendly reception, being told the unit is unavailable, being quoted a different rent) can be interpreted as evidence of discrimination. These studies have provided invaluable insights as to the question of whether the 1968 Fair Housing Act successfully rooted out housing discrimination (Turner et al., 2002, 2013). We know from these rigorous audit experiments that, although housing discrimination is decreasing, it is still the case that people are treated differently by landlords and real estate agents based on their racial or ethnic background. Nevertheless, we do not know whether the stages of the process captured by the audit studies map onto what people actually do and onto the moments in a search where discrimination occurs.

To be sure, at some point in a housing search, most individuals interact with a landlord in the way that the audit studies capture, but the interaction may not come about in the manner assumed by an audit study methodology (for example, finding a listing on the internet or in the newspaper). We also know nothing about how the searcher decided to inquire about the unit, what factors shaped that decision, how the searcher interprets the interaction with the landlord, and how this interaction shapes the searcher's subsequent housing search decisions. In other words, although we know a great deal about what happens in terms of race or ethnicity at the point of the interaction between a prospective tenant and landlord, we know very little about what precedes and follows that interaction and how these factors ultimately affect housing outcomes. Thus, although audit studies have demonstrated that housing discrimination exists (Fischer and Massey, 2004; Massey and Lundy, 2001; Turner et al., 2013, 2002), further exploration is needed to understand how discrimination—anticipated or experienced—factors into the multidimensional process of a housing search. Discrimination might influence the decisions individuals make about which neighborhoods they search in, which units within which neighborhoods people inquire about, or any number of other aspects of a search.

Another body of research that helps inform our understanding of race and housing includes studies of the preferences people hold about a neighborhood's racial or ethnic composition. Research on racial residential preferences teaches us that people do hold preferences about the racial or ethnic composition of the neighborhood, and for racial or ethnic minorities, these preferences are shaped in important ways by concerns about possible discriminatory treatment (Charles, 2006; Farley et al., 1994; Krysan and Farley, 2002). Although we know a great deal about how people react to neighborhoods of varying racial or ethnic compositions (both in attitudinal surveys and housing mobility studies), however, we know nearly nothing about how a neighborhood's racial or ethnic composition actually factors into an individual's housing search, particularly compared with other neighborhood characteristics like housing costs, location, and school quality.

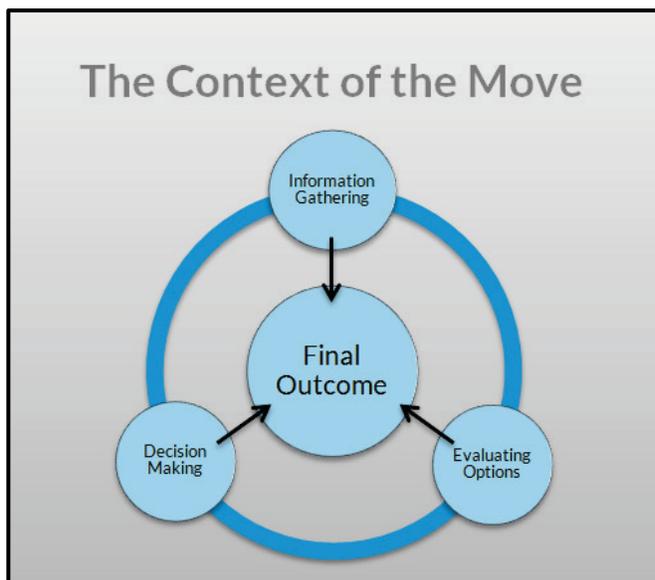
In sum, although existing studies provide important insights into the larger questions about race or ethnicity and questions related to housing, they fail to consider directly the question of how these factors—preferences and discrimination, for example—play out when people actually undergo a housing search. We know little about how people approach a housing search—what shapes the context of the search, how people make decisions during a search, what information they draw on, and how are options evaluated. These factors may have an important role in shaping the outcomes that, in turn, affect segregation. For example, do people rely on social networks to identify available units? If they do, and if those networks are racially homogeneous, then the set of possible apartments that are identified through this search process may be racially distinct (Krysan, Crowder, and Bader, 2014).

Our attempts to understand the factors that differentiate racial or ethnic groups in terms of their housing search patterns is hampered by the fact that we know very little in general about the details and nuances of housing searches. Therefore, we begin our study with a conceptual framework that identifies core dimensions and describe what we learn about the way that searches unfold and how people approach them. From that point, we can then explore whether housing searches differ for racial or ethnic groups. Specifically, in this exploratory study, we seek to answer four key research questions.

1. How do people search for rental housing?
2. How do housing searches differ by race or ethnicity?
3. What are the consequences of these differences for relative housing outcomes?
4. What are the implications for future research?

To make progress on these questions, we develop a conceptual model to guide our investigations. Existing research leads us to believe that recognizing—and tapping into—the range of complexities and the dynamic nature of the process is critical to uncovering the existence and consequences of racial or ethnic difference in housing searches (Krysan, 2008). The housing search process is anything but linear and static. As a result, the conceptual framework that provides the foundation of this project (exhibit 1.1) is constructed in a way to draw attention to the complex and dynamic process that we seek to capture.

Exhibit 1.1: Conceptual Framework for Housing Search Process



The core structure of the housing search is reflected in the three outer circles: information gathering, evaluating options, and decision making. All three of these circles are connected, with no clear starting or stopping point. One might move through this cycle once or many times before arriving at a final outcome (as shown in the circle at the center of the figure). The housing search is also undertaken in a particular context—reflected by the box that surrounds the figure—a context that is shaped by the individual’s personal circumstances, the characteristics of the search, and the conditions of the housing market.

Although our conceptual model clearly demonstrates the structure of housing searches and the core dimensions of a housing search, it is important to keep in mind that the process of the search can unfold altogether differently, even if it includes all these components. For example, some housing searches are extremely truncated—the entire search could happen in a single day—or the search could extend for weeks and even months. Time, or the length of the search, is therefore a critical variable that can severely affect the process and outcome. Similarly, some people will undergo searches that are information rich, in that they generate lots of options, undergo considerable information gathering, and face numerous intermediate decisions. Others may find a single option and sign a lease without much information gathering or intermediate decision making.

For decades, HUD has used paired audit studies to detect discrimination in the housing market. Additionally, researchers have explored important questions about the causes and consequences of racial residential segregation, with substantial focus on the role of discrimination and racial residential preferences. Little attention is paid, however, to the housing search process, which is an important mechanism in all these efforts and studies. For example, existing large-scale studies like the American Housing Survey (AHS) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) were not designed specifically to examine housing searches. The purpose of this study is to sketch out a much fuller picture of all the dimensions of housing searches by drawing on existing literature, original analyses of existing secondary data, and original data that were collected for this specific purpose. The design of our original data collection—the Housing Search Study (HSS)—was informed by existing literature and relies on a conceptual model of housing searches that are complex and dynamic, with four key dimensions: context, decision making, information gathering, and evaluating options. Because the HSS was a convenience sample (see chapter 2), we cannot make claims that these data are representative of trends in the general population. However, they capture the housing search process in significant detail. Where appropriate, we also leverage data from a series of in-depth interviews to flesh out nuanced aspects of the dimensions in our conceptual framework.

Our report therefore draws on a mixed-methods approach to develop a detailed conceptual model of housing search, identify discrete racial or ethnic differences in housing search and outcomes, sketch out themes that emerge to explain these differences, and develop a typology of searchers. This data collection and analysis provides the insights needed to inform future research that can be used to inform policy and practice.

Chapter 2: Methodology

To construct the strongest research design possible for exploring these issues, the research team engaged in a series of preliminary information-gathering tasks, including an indepth literature review, exploratory qualitative analyses of transcripts from three focus groups and 12 interviews, and a detailed review of existing secondary data sources. The information gleaned from these tasks provided not only the substance to create our conceptual framework (see chapter 3), but also important insights into the appropriate methods for answering our research questions.

Given the dynamic and complex nature of housing searches and the paucity of existing data that can shed light on them, we use a mixed-methods approach that allows us to capitalize on the specific strengths of each method. At the same time, such an approach allows us to overcome the weaknesses of one method by also drawing on a different method. Together, the results generate the most comprehensive exploratory study of these issues, providing a foundation for future research and policy agenda on this topic.

This chapter describes each of the methodologies—the Housing Search Study (HSS), the indepth interviews, and the secondary data analyses. For each, we present an overview of their contributions to the overall study, as well as a description of the sample and the analyses performed. For primary data collection activities like the HSS and indepth interviews, we also describe recruitment activities and the instruments used for data collection.

Housing Search Study

In order to gain nuanced information about all the aspects of housing search as delineated in our conceptual framework, the research team fielded an original data collection. This process consisted of large-scale cognitive phone interviews with a convenience sample in the metropolitan D.C. area of two kinds of individuals: recent movers and current searchers. We conducted studies of both recent movers and current searchers for both conceptual and practical reasons. First, housing searches have a number of dynamic elements (for example, assessments of specific units and evolving search criteria). In order to produce the highest-quality data of a “moving target,” a real-time data collection would yield the most accurate responses. Thus, we felt it was critical to include in our design a data collection effort that sampled from people who were actively engaged in a search. This inclusion would allow us to capture the fluidity of a search as it was happening, rather than after it was over, and it would limit recall issues and post-hoc rationalizations. We refer to this as our Current Searcher Study. Although the current searchers held the most promise conceptually, we anticipated that finding participants during what was probably a busy and stressful time would be extremely difficult. Thus, we decided to also recruit a sample of participants who we expected would be an easier group to find and recruit—people who had already completed their search but had done so relatively recently, thus reducing recall biases. We refer to this as our Recent Mover Study. The two have distinct designs.

- **Recent Mover Study:** We administered these one-time telephone interviews to people who had moved into a new rental residence within the past 2 months. This narrow time window allowed us to improve on the reliability of responses in existing data and to ask much more detailed questions about the search process.
- **Current Searcher Study:** We interviewed current searchers by telephone up to three times. These were individuals who, on first contact, were actively searching for a place to live.

Wave 1 was the initial point of contact with a searcher; interviewers attempted a wave 2 interview a specified number of weeks³ after wave 1; if the searcher had not yet found a place to live at wave 2, he or she was then contacted for a wave 3 interview. Throughout the course of the study, as described below, we modified the time that elapsed among the three waves of data collection.

Sample

Our final HSS sample included 135 recent movers and 351 current searchers who were interviewed between September 2015 and June 2016. It is worth noting that our study period did not include two particularly busy months in terms of the rental market—July and August. Our target study area was the Washington, D.C. metropolitan region, which we defined as the District of Columbia; Montgomery County, Maryland, Prince George’s County, Maryland; Fairfax County, Virginia (including the independent cities of Fairfax and Falls Church); Arlington County, Virginia; and the City of Alexandria. This sample differed from our plans both in the mix of recent movers versus current searchers and on some of the intended demographic characteristics. We describe these methodological issues below.

Our original design for the HSS called for recruiting a total of 700 unique respondents—525 recent movers and 175 current searchers—evenly distributed across three racial and ethnic groups (Black, White, and Latino) and stratified by three levels of household income.⁴ In the next section, we describe extensively our recruitment efforts. The research team used these initial numbers as recruitment targets, but the realities of the recruitment process required flexibility. Unexpectedly, it was current searchers who were much easier to find and recruit than recent movers; as a result, we ultimately allocated more resources to this group. These resources allowed us to secure more interviews from a group that is, arguably, the more interesting one because the search is in process and is not at all subject to possible retrospective reporting biases. The second challenge, which was less unexpected, was that Latino respondents were very difficult to recruit. After many attempts to target this population, we eventually diverted resources to focus on ensuring that we attained as economically diverse a sample of White and Black respondents as we could get. The third challenge was that, because of a combination of slow startup, sudden surges in participation, and varying levels of success recruiting different types of respondents, our ideal balance in groups by race and by household income was not achieved.

As these challenges surfaced during the field period, we took a flexible approach and tweaked our targets and quotas in response. Specifically, we eliminated caps to the strata by mover status, race, and income until a critical mass of respondents had participated, and we had a better sense of overall recruitment trends. We reached this stage roughly 6 months into data collection. At this point, we closed recruitment for the most oversubscribed groups—low- and moderate-income Black current searchers—and allocated the remaining interviews to achieve a more diverse sample for the recent mover, current searcher wave 2, and current searcher wave 3 interviews.

³ As described in exhibit 2.2, the number of days among waves 1, 2, and 3 varied through the course of the study. This variation was because we discovered that our current searchers were not completing their search by the time of wave 3, so we stretched out the time among the waves to try to ensure that our current searchers had completed their searches.

⁴ The research team executed this strategy by asking each respondent whether his or her household income was higher or lower than two household income cutoff points, \$25,000 and \$65,000, which respectively correspond roughly to the 33rd and 67th percentile of renter household incomes in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, based on 2008–2012 American Community Survey data.

Exhibit 2.1: Description of Housing Search Study Samples

	Recent Movers	Wave 1	Current Searchers Wave 2	Wave 3
Geography	Washington, D.C. metropolitan area	Washington, D.C. metropolitan area	Washington, D.C. metropolitan area	Washington, D.C. metropolitan area
Type of renter or mover	Moved into rental unit within the past two months	Currently searching for rental housing	Current searchers	Current searchers
Still searching (%)		100	86	49
Done searching (%)	100		14	51
Total sample <i>N</i>	135	351	257	110
Race/ethnicity (%)				
Black	52	71	70	73
White	45	26	27	25
Latino	3	3	3	3
Income—total (%)				
Low (< \$25,000)	22	36	36	39
Middle (\$25–65,000)	45	45	42	40
High (>\$65,000)	33	19	22	21
Income—African American (%)				
Low (< \$25,000)	33	41	40	45
Middle (\$25–65,000)	46	46	44	38
High (>\$65,000)	21	13	16	17
Income—White (%)				
Low (< \$25,000)	10	23	27	26
Middle (\$25–65,000)	46	40	36	44
High (>\$65,000)	44	37	37	30

The resulting HSS sample included 135 recent movers and 351 current searchers. Across all samples, roughly one-third of the sample was White, a little less than two-thirds Black, and less than 3 percent Latino. However, the current searcher sample had a higher proportion of Black respondents (71 percent) compared with the sample of recent movers (52 percent). Few signs of differential attrition existed across the waves of our longitudinal study. Most of the sample of current searchers did not move into housing by the point of last contact. For the wave 2 sample, 86 percent was still searching at point of interview, and for wave 3 respondents, 49 percent was still searching at point of last contact. Middle-income households were most common between both major racial groups; but fewer low-income households were among White respondents, and fewer high-income households were among Black respondents. Our interpretation of the results will need to be attentive to the way in which the recent movers and current searcher samples are different.

Recruitment

Our recruitment strategy was to identify a convenience sample of people who had recently moved into a rental unit (Recent Mover Study) or who were currently undergoing a search for a new rental unit (Current Searcher Study). As a result of our convenience sampling approach, our HSS sample cannot be understood as representative of housing searchers in the Washington,

D.C. metropolitan area, and we cannot draw on the inferential benefits of tests of statistical significance. The decision to do a convenience sample was based on the expected challenges and prohibitive costs of creating a probability sample of housing searchers. The prohibitive costs are that no sample frame (list) of people actively engaged in a housing search that could be used to draw a probability sample is easily available. In addition, using a general population sample and screening for this relatively rare trait (being currently involved in a housing search) was outside the scope of the budget parameters of this exploratory study. Therefore, we had to undertake wide-ranging recruitment efforts in order to find individuals meeting our criteria and encourage them to participate in the study.

In an initial recruitment stage starting in September 2015, we offered \$30 incentives for completion of each 20-minute phone interview and advertised the study using a variety of methods, including—

- HSS website.
- Ads in local targeted newspapers.
- Mass mailings of postcards to addresses listed for rent in prior months in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area on Craigslist.
- Distributing fliers at retail locations that might be frequented by movers, including U-Haul, storage facilities, Target, rental properties.
- Targeted ads on Facebook and Google.
- Twitter.
- Craigslist advertisements.
- Postings on local community pages or listservs.
- Partnerships with property management companies and nonprofit organizations.

After receiving a limited response in the first 2 months of the data collection period, the research team met with experts from the White House Social and Behavioral Sciences Team, who provided feedback on print and web promotional materials, both of which were then redesigned to reflect their recommendations. Urban Institute staff also relaunched the study website to include a form that site visitors could use to securely submit their contact information for the research team to use to follow up with them. 6D Global, a digital marketing firm who oversees the Urban Institute's social media outreach, began managing the social media outreach and advertising accounts for Facebook and Google. The advertising budgets for social media were significantly increased, and the research team tested their original strategies with the new materials.

In early 2016, with no measurable change, the incentive was raised from \$30 to \$50 in order to improve the likelihood of successful recruitment. The website, social media ad campaigns, and other promotional material were redesigned to reflect the incentive increase and were used for several new large-scale and higher-cost recruitment methods.

- Bus advertising campaign consisting of 21-by-22-inch posters placed on 405 WMATA buses with routes across the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

- A print advertising campaign that was a one-half-page color advertisement placed in three editions of the Express—a free weekday newspaper published by the Washington Post that has an average daily readership of 314,600 and more than 1,700 distribution points. The ad was placed in the Monday and Tuesday papers on the week of 2/29/16. The following week, the same ad was placed in the Monday edition and the Friday “Rent to Rent”—an insert in the paper that is specifically targeted toward renters in the region.

For an indepth description of recruitment and the efficacy of different methods, see appendix A.

Instruments

In the first stage of the HSS, interviewers administered a consent protocol and a short screening interview to determine eligibility and funnel the participant into modules suited either to recent movers or current searchers (see appendix B).

Recent Movers

Eligible recent movers completed a single 30-minute cognitive interview (appendix C). The questionnaire consisted of those elements of the housing search process that are not well documented by the AHS and other existing studies. Thus, one of the contributions of this study is that we have created instruments that can be used in future studies to effectively tap housing search processes. In general, the questions focused on overall and summary responses and evaluations rather than specific detailed questions about individual housing units, neighborhoods, or visits.

Current Searchers

Despite the generally similar content of the modules administered to recent movers and current searchers, including a series of concluding demographic questions (appendix E), the ways they differ are important. Current searcher cognitive interviews took place in three waves. Wave 1 was the initial interview, and its contents were identical for all respondents (see appendix D for the baseline instrument). When we contacted these respondents for a wave 2 interview, we asked them questions from either a still-searching or a done-searching module, depending on the status of their search (see appendix D for the text of both modules). Respondents who had still not completed their search at wave 2 were interviewed for a third time in wave 3. We either administered them a still-searching or a done-searching module as appropriate. However, because those respondents who were still searching would not be interviewed again (we were limited to three waves), we asked a set of questions at the end of the still-searching module that were triggered by the fact that it was a wave 3 interview, despite the search not being complete. These questions focused on how respondents thought the search would end (see appendix D, questions at end).

In order to facilitate the recollection process involved in generating detailed information about the locations a respondent inquired about and visited, and to create rapport and increase motivation for continued participation in subsequent interviews, we mailed a housing search log that could be used to keep track of search locations, as well as a pen with the study logo and name on it, along with current searchers’ first incentive payments. In order to increase motivation for respondents to use the log, we designed it so that it doubled as a useful “housing search” notebook, with sections for notetaking, which might include reflections on what they thought of a unit they visited, the address of the unit, or maps of the region.

Initially, the research design called for followup with current searchers within 10 to 12 days between the wave 1 and 2 interviews and the wave 2 and 3 interviews. However, during the field period, we realized that these time windows were not allowing us to capture the end of the search for many, if not most, of our current searchers. Consequently, we adjusted our design. We fixed a 3-week followup for the wave 2 and wave 3 interviews. In addition, at the initial point of contact at wave 3, interviewers asked respondents about the status of their search. Only respondents who reported that they were finished with their search were interviewed at that time; respondents who reported they were still searching were placed back in the queue to receive a followup another 3 weeks later. These decisions were made in hopes of increasing the chances that the interviews would capture the end of the search. During the final 3 weeks of data collection, the survey firm interviewed all respondents slated for a wave 3 followup, regardless of the status of their housing search.

Because of these variations in our approach to the timing of the current searcher followup interviews, the timing between waves varies substantially across our sample and is described in exhibit 2.2.

Exhibit 2.2: Description of Timing of Wave 2 and Wave 3 Interviews

	Wave 2	Wave 3
Minimum days since last interview	10	13
Average days since last interview	29.0	37.2
Maximum days since last interview	127	209
<i>N</i>	254	110

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Analyses

We analyzed the HSS data on recent movers and current searchers separately in order to exploit the unique advantages of the data collection instruments of the two groups. Because of their very small sample size, Latino renters were excluded from HSS analyses altogether but are included in discussions of indepth interviews where possible (see indepth interviews for further explanation).

In the both the Recent Mover Study and Current Searcher Study, respondents were asked to identify the neighborhoods or communities in which they searched, lived, and ended up moving into, and we were interested in being able to describe the racial composition of these neighborhoods. We used the 2010–14 American Community Survey (ACS) data to do this. In some cases, the names of the communities corresponded directly to official U.S. Census designations (such as incorporated places or Census Designated Places). Specifically, for Montgomery County, Prince George’s County, and Fairfax County, which are more suburban in character, respondents were asked to identify incorporated places (such as towns, villages, or cities) or Census Designated Places, so we were easily able to use the ACS data, which provided racial composition information for these geographic entities. For the more urban District of Columbia, Arlington County, and the city of Alexandria, respondents were asked to identify areas by referencing the name of the neighborhoods within these areas. In order to link the racial

composition to these nonofficial U.S. Census designations, the research team used a crosswalk that matched census tracts to neighborhood geographies.

The first step in our analysis of the HSS is to use these data sets to shed light on the basic patterns in frequencies of search dimensions within all the constructs—context, decision making, information gathering, evaluating options, and final outcomes. We also used cross-tabulations and comparisons of means to gauge those dimensions where racial differences might be present. Subsequently, we employed multiple regression to determine whether the evidence of racial differences in the housing search process in the bivariate analyses (information gathering, evaluating options, and final outcomes) held up when we controlled for income and household composition. Because of the nature of our convenience sample, tests of statistical significance are inappropriate. Nevertheless, in our analysis, we inspect multiple regression models and assess racial differences based on the reduction in the size of the coefficients between the unadjusted and adjusted effects of being Black on the dependent variable of interest. Finally, in order to explore how the different dimensions of housing searches are interconnected, and ultimately to identify a typology of searches, we conducted a two-stage data reduction process, beginning with principal components analyses of each of the core housing search dimensions (context, decision making, evaluating options, and information gathering) and then a cluster analysis of those dimensions in order to identify a housing search typology.

Indepth Interviews

The indepth interviews complement the cognitive interviews by providing additional insights into the nuances of housing searches. They also present an opportunity to explore themes or patterns that emerged in the analyses of the HSS data.

Sample

Our first challenge in designing the indepth interview sample was to identify the individuals who would most likely be able to share a full picture of their housing search. Recent movers were excellent candidates, but they made up a relatively small part of the overall sample. On the other hand, our current searchers sample was larger, but the time window for their searches varied widely. In order to capture the most detailed and nuanced information possible, we chose to constrain the indepth interviews to recent movers and current searchers who had either finished their search, had been searching for less than 2 months at the point of wave 1 contact, or had a set date to finish their search (such as the end of a lease or the birth of a new child) that was less than 3 months away from the wave 1 interview.

The literature review and expert panel discussion during the research design period highlighted two particularly important factors in exploring racial or ethnic differences in housing searches: household income and family composition (for the importance of distinguishing income and family composition, see Owens, 2016). For this reason, we sought to stratify our indepth interview sample not only by race, but also by income and the presence of children under age 18 in the household.

However, we made an exception to both the inclusion criteria and our stratification guidelines for Latino renters. The HSS sample did not have enough Latino respondents to take the same approach. Consequently, research staff contacted all Latino HSS respondents to try to maximize their overall participation.

As shown in Exhibit 2.3, we conducted a total of 40 indepth interviews, comprised of 16 White, 16 Black, and 8 Latino interviewees. The number of cases within each stratum reflects the characteristics of the HSS respondents. For example, households without children were most common among both White and Black interviewees. Moreover, within the low-income group, we were unable to recruit White interviewees with children; the Latino sample consisted exclusively of middle- and high-income households, although we were able to achieve an even balance between households with and without children. In addition, the research team worked to balance the sample as much as possible in other respects, such as recent mover versus current searcher, gender, and age.

Exhibit 2.3: Description of Sample for Indepth Interviews

	All	White	Black	Latino
Low income				
With children	2	0	2	0
Without children	8	4	4	0
Medium income				
With children	6	3	2	1
Without children	8	4	3	1
High income				
With children	6	2	2	2
Without children	10	3	3	4
Total	40	16	16	8

Recruitment

Indepth interview respondents were recruited exclusively through their participation in the HSS. At the conclusion of each cognitive test, the interviewer asked all eligible movers if they would be willing to share their contact information directly with the Urban Institute and participate in an additional approximately 1-hour in-person interview about their housing search process.⁵

The Urban Institute research team contacted respondents who expressed interest in the indepth interviews, gave consent to share their contact information, and met the basic selection criteria described previously in the section about the sample. Urban Institute staff explained the goals of the indepth interviews and scheduled appointments, making adjustments throughout the process to fill the sampling goals. All interviews were conducted in person: in the respondents' home or a location of their choosing, such as a library, coffee shop, or their workplace. The researchers provided an additional \$50 to thank respondents for their time.

Instruments

The interviews encouraged respondents to tell the detailed story of their move, from the initial decision or impetus to find new housing and through the search process. The interviews prompted respondents to reflect on all aspects of our conceptual framework, including the specific search strategies used for the completed move, any constraints that affected their search strategies or decisions, and the final outcome of the move. These interviews also asked respondents to elaborate about their feelings and impressions of neighborhoods and their

⁵ Note that our indepth interview-recruitment efforts excluded individuals who were recipients of subsidized housing assistance.

demographics, experiences with landlords and property management companies at all stages of the process, and perceptions of and experiences with discrimination.

Analyses

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Transcriptions were coded using NVivo using a structured set of codes. At the document level, the interviews were coded with the characteristics of the individual, including their race, income, and household composition. Within the text of each interview, we coded common themes with regard to the primary dimensions of interest within our conceptual framework.

Secondary Data Analyses

In addition to the original data collection efforts in the HSS and indepth interviews, we also conducted secondary data analyses of existing large-scale surveys. No existing large-scale surveys focus primarily on housing search processes. For this reason, the surveys that do include it as a construct capture only a handful of elements explored in our conceptual framework. Moreover, respondents are often asked to describe housing searches that may have been several years before the survey and may be subject to both recall issues, as well as post-hoc rationalizations of past residential decisions that limit the scope and quality of the data.

However, the great strength of leveraging existing survey data is that their representative samples allow us to create a more generalizable portrait and identify statistically reliable differences between racial or ethnic groups in some key elements of the housing search. Because two of the three secondary data sets draw on national samples, we are also able to assess how key processes vary depending on housing market conditions in some cases.

Sources

Our primary data sets for this analysis are the 2011 Metropolitan Sample of the American Housing Survey (AHS) and the 1997–2011 waves of the Panel Study on Income Dynamics (PSID). We also draw on the 2004–2005 Chicago Area Study (CAS) to provide more detailed information about the places searched during recent moves.

2011 American Housing Survey's Metropolitan Sample

The AHS provides representative samples of approximately 4,500 housing units in each of 29 metropolitan statistical areas for a total sample of more than 130,000 housing units. We rely primarily on the AHS recent mover module, which asks householders who moved into an AHS unit within the 24 months preceding the survey a series of questions about their housing search. The AHS provides the opportunity to assess racial or ethnic differences in the housing search process both before and after while controlling for other factors, such as income, education, and household composition.

We utilize the AHS data specifically because they enable us to assess the extent to which housing market conditions affect search processes and racial or ethnic differences therein. We attach information on key characteristics of the metropolitan housing market—the overall vacancy rate, the ratio of renter- to owner-occupied housing, and the ratio of median gross rent to median income in the area—to the individual records of the AHS and assess the extent to which these metropolitan characteristics affect key features of the housing search or alter racial differences in search processes. All of the measures of housing market conditions are drawn from U.S. census data.

The main weaknesses of the AHS for our purposes are that it does not allow for detailed analysis of the types of units and neighborhoods movers visited or how they adapted their search and expectations during the process. Also, because the AHS is a sample of housing units, recent movers are only included in the data set by virtue of having moved into a sampled unit. Thus, it is not possible to analyze the data longitudinally to compare their housing conditions before and after their moves.

Panel Study of Income Dynamics

In contrast to the cross-sectional nature of the AHS (in terms of respondents), the PSID is a longitudinal survey of nearly 9,000 families distributed across hundreds of metropolitan areas. The PSID traces, prospectively, renters who move from one housing unit to another in the 2-year period between PSID interviews. Although the PSID lacks questions about the housing search process, it does allow us to track households' mobility patterns over time and to distinguish between different types of moves—including those between neighborhoods and those between housing units within the same neighborhood—and to examine several moves carried out by the same householder at different points in time. The PSID also captures information on renters' anticipation of a move and the correspondence between plans for mobility and actual mobility. The wide geographic dispersion of the PSID panel, in combination with geographic identifiers in the PSID's Supplemental Geospatial File, also allows us to assess the role of housing market conditions in these search processes.

2004–2005 Chicago Area Study

The CAS is, to our knowledge, the only existing data set that asked detailed questions about the communities in which people have actually searched for housing. The limitations of the CAS are that it focuses on a single metropolitan area, and the renter subsample of the study is relatively small. In addition, respondents were asked about searches that may have been as many as 10 years before the interview. However, the data provide a rare glimpse into racial differences in where people actually search for housing. The CAS is an area probability sample that is representative of adults (ages 21 and older) living in Cook County, Illinois (which includes the city of Chicago). This face-to-face survey oversampled Black and Latino home seekers and involved detailed questions gauging respondents' perceptions and experiences of places in the Chicago metropolitan area, including those places in which they had searched for housing in the prior 10 years.

Samples

Basic descriptive information for the AHS, PSID, and CAS are provided in exhibit 2.4.

Exhibit 2.4: Description of Secondary Data Samples

	AHS	PSID	CAS
Type of renter or mover	Renters who moved within the past 24 months	Renters who moved within the past 24 months	Renters who moved in the past 10 years
Geography	National	National	Cook County, Illinois
Year(s) of study	2011	1997–2011	2004–2005
Total sample <i>N</i>	9,685	7,647	188
Race or ethnicity (%)			
African-American	18%	41%	25%
White	54%	51%	30%
Latino	28%	8%	45%

AHS = American Housing Survey. CAS = Chicago Area Study. PSID = Panel Study of Income Dynamics.

Analyses

Our report analyzes the AHS, PSID, and CAS to assess the housing search processes used by minority renters and how those processes differ from those of White, non-Latino renters. Where possible, we also analyze correlations between the search processes and both subjective and objective outcomes of the housing search.

By focusing on recent movers, we are able to examine the factors associated with the search for housing. In the AHS, recent movers refer to renters who moved into the sampled housing unit within the 2 years preceding the interview. With the PSID, we trace, prospectively, renters who move from one housing unit to another in the 2-year period between PSID interviews. In the CAS, we have a single point-in-time survey of an area probability sample of renters in Cook County (which includes the city of Chicago) who had searched for housing in the 10 years before the survey.

We incorporate information about the characteristics of the individual renter, their family and household, and, for the PSID and AHS, the metropolitan housing market conditions in which their housing searches take place. We consider three central housing market conditions—overall housing vacancy rate, the ratio of renter- to owner-occupied housing, and the ratio of median gross rent to median income in area—on several aspects of the housing search and mobility process. We also examine interactions between these contextual characteristics and individual race or ethnicity to assess group differences in the effects of housing market conditions.

We utilize a three-stage process in the analyses of the AHS and PSID data. First, we compare group-specific statistics and bivariate regression models to examine basic racial or ethnic differences within each of the constructs of our conceptual framework—context, decision making, information gathering, evaluating options, and final outcomes. Second, we assess whether racial differences persist (or emerge) after adding statistical controls for individual characteristics (for example, income and education), household composition, and rental market conditions. Third, we use group-specific models and regression analyses with product terms to examine if race and ethnicity interact with market factors to affect housing search processes and outcomes. Finally, we do limited analyses to investigate whether any relationship exists between racial or ethnic differences in the search process and search outcomes. Because of small sample sizes, the analyses of the CAS are more limited and include a focus on racial or ethnic differences in the makeup of the neighborhoods in which they had searched.

In sum, given the relative lack of existing research on the question of how people search for housing and how this might differ by race and ethnicity, we take a multi-methods approach that brings together insights from background scholarship on the topic, original analyses of secondary data sources, and an original data collection (HSS) that included large-scale cognitive interview tests of recent movers and current searchers and complementary indepth interviews. The HSS involved developing an innovative instrument that captures the important dimensions of housing searches as reflected in the conceptual framework that guides study. Researchers fielded the study using extensive outreach techniques in an attempt to identify a convenience sample of people who had either recently moved in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area or who were currently undertaking a housing search. Our report uses each of these sources of information to paint as detailed a picture possible of housing searches, and the extent to which people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds undertake them differently.

Chapter 3. The Search Process

Existing research leads us to believe that recognizing—and tapping into—the range of complexities and the dynamic nature of the housing search process is critical to uncovering the existence and consequences of racial or ethnic differences in housing searches (Krysan, 2008). The housing search process is anything but linear and static. As a result, the conceptual framework that provides the foundation of this project (exhibit 1.1) is constructed in a way to draw attention to this complexity. The Housing Search Study (HSS), by design, provides a window into this complexity. Before we can launch into an assessment of the primary focus of this report—the extent to which housing searches vary by race or ethnicity—we must take a step back, because we know little about the various dimensions of the search outlined in our conceptual model. These dimensions include the context of the search, the decision making, information gathering, evaluating of options, and the final outcome in general. In this chapter, we define and explore these complex and dynamic elements of searches to get a grasp of what features of housing searches might matter. In chapters 4 through 6, we will return to the question of how housing searches differ across racial or ethnic groups.

Therefore, in this chapter, we limit our discussion to overall patterns that emerged in the HSS that was conducted for this report—setting aside an analysis of differences between Black and White searchers and across different income levels. Bear in mind, because the HSS and indepth interviews used in this chapter are convenience samples, we cannot make claims that these data are representative of trends in the general population.

Context

All housing searches happen within a particular context, which includes both fixed individual characteristics and the circumstances surrounding the move, as well as the characteristics of the housing market in which the search is undertaken. On this note, it is important to understand that the HSS data we describe in this chapter come from searches that took place in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area; the context of that housing market must be kept in mind—specifically, D.C. is an area with low vacancy rates, high rental costs, and substantial levels of racial residential segregation.

Not All Renters Start Their Search With the Same Advantages

Of primary consideration as a search context are the economic resources someone brings to the search. Clearly, housing searches are profoundly shaped by social class considerations. The financial resources at the searcher’s disposal influence the parameters, choices, and expectations about housing searches. Indeed, whether it is even appropriate to characterize the process as one of a person “choosing” a place to live depends a great deal on their financial and other circumstances (Deluca, Rosenblatt, and Wood, forthcoming). The literature also indicates other individual characteristics, besides social class, that are likely to affect aspects of a housing search, including family composition, employment status, age, and gender (Breugel, 1996; Jarvis, 1999; Kohlhase, 1986).

In addition to income, family status, age, and gender, other factors include disability status and automobile accessibility, which we captured in the HSS. Exhibit 3.1 shows the details for each of these individual characteristics. In terms of income, our samples of current searchers and recent

movers differ significantly from each other, with the latter having a higher percentage of low-income searchers. Our samples contain disproportionately more women. It is notable that among our sample of recent movers, disability is relatively rare, but among the sample of current searchers, fully 1 in 10 respondents reported having someone in their household with a disability.

Exhibit 3.1: Demographic Characteristics of Housing Search Study Samples

	Recent Movers	Current Searchers
Household income		
Low (<\$25,000)	22.1	36.1
Middle (\$25–65,000)	45	44.5
High (>\$65,000)	32.8	19.4
Children in household	19.1	24.2
Married or cohabitating	29	17.3
Female	60.3	66
Mean age	36.4	42.6
Person in household with disability	1.5	10.5
Number of automobiles kept at home for use by household members		
0	27.5	50.1
1	48.1	36.7
2	20.6	9.6
3	1.5	2.4
4	2.3	1.2
<i>N</i>	131	335

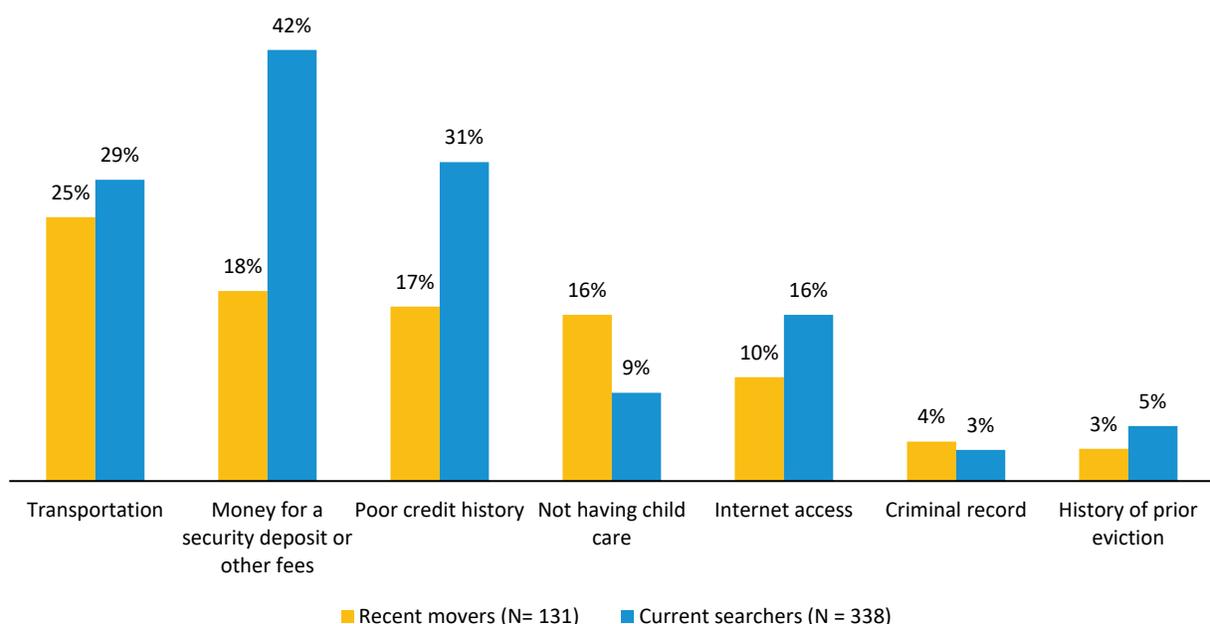
Source: Housing Search Study, 2016

Perhaps not surprisingly, given their relative socioeconomic disadvantage, our current searchers also have more limited access to cars than recent movers; one-half of current searchers have no automobiles kept at home for use by household members, as opposed to only about 28 percent of recent movers.⁶

In the HSS, we also asked searchers directly what constraints they felt affected their ability to search for housing. Exhibit 3.2 shows for our sample of recent movers that transportation challenges were the most common—with one in four indicating this constraint. Criminal records and evictions were quite rare, and the rest of the constraints asked about were equally common. The sample of current searchers, consistent with their less-advantaged economic status, reported poor credit history and lack of security deposit funds as the most common challenges—with 31 and 42 percent, respectively.

⁶ In addition to the samples of recent movers and current searchers being different from each other, it is useful to understand—given that the HSS is a convenience sample—how the HSS samples are different from the movers in the national surveys used in this report (PSID and AHS). First, the sample of recent movers in the HSS has a much greater share of high-income households and report having children or a partner living in the household much less frequently than households in the PSID and AHS. Women also make up fully 60 percent of the recent mover sample in the HSS, as opposed to only 36 and 48 percent in the PSID and AHS, respectively. Similar trends, relative to the PSID and AHS samples, are present among current searchers sample in the HSS, although the sample of current searchers tends to have lower household income, more children, and more older, female respondents than the HSS recent mover sample. See appendix F.15 for specific comparisons.

Exhibit 3.2: Constraints on Housing Search



Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING MOVES VARY WIDELY

An important search context is the circumstances behind a move. Searches for moves that are planned likely unfold quite differently than those that are unplanned; searches that are involuntary probably look different than those that are driven by a desire to improve the quality of one’s neighborhood. We gauged both of these contextual features. We found that 35 percent of our sample of recent movers had unplanned moves, whereas the sample of current searchers were much less likely undergo a search that was for an unplanned (19 percent). This finding is likely because our current searchers were actively involved in executing their move at the time of data collection.

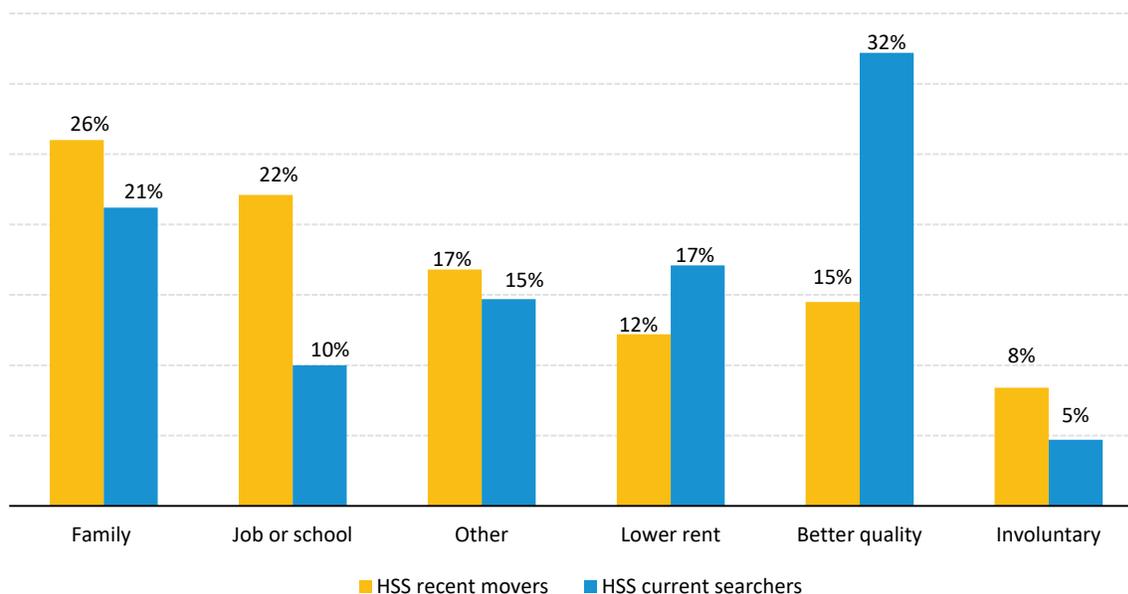
Our indepth interviews shed light on the heterogeneity of unplanned moves, and they point to how the kind of unplanned move can shape the resulting search process. That is, some searchers have unplanned moves that come about from having to react to a sudden event beyond their control, such as landlords who would not renew their leases, rent increases, family circumstances (having to take on new family members), or house fires. Other reasons for unplanned moves provide more of a sense of agency on the part of the mover—trying to get away from neighbors with whom someone has a conflict or living with family members indefinitely while conducting a search. Each of these may be classified as an unplanned move, but they have distinctive features that may have consequences for the kind of search one is able to undertake.

Apart from being planned or unplanned, people also move for different reasons. The recent mover and current searcher interviews asked respondents specifically about their reasons for moving, including (1) involuntary moves because their home was destroyed, condemned or unsafe, or because their landlord said they had to move; (2) a desire for better-quality homes or neighborhoods; (3) family reasons, including forming their own household, being closer to

family, or changes in households like marriage, divorce, separation, or child birth or adoption; (4) a new job or school, or reducing commute time; (5) finding a less expensive place to live; or (6) some other reason. After listing all the options that applied, respondents then indicated which one was most important.

We find that the most important reason given for a move varies substantially between our recent movers and current searchers samples (exhibit 3.3). The top three responses for our sample of recent movers have to do with family, job or school, and other reasons. In contrast, current searchers reported better quality—either of their unit or neighborhood—as the most important reason for their move, followed by family and lower rent. This may offer important insights into our current searchers’ housing search processes. Searches based mostly on a desire for better quality may feel less urgent than other kinds of moves, and this desire may result in the lengthy searches that this group, on average, was undertaking. This pattern highlights the importance of understanding how search context can significantly shape the entire search process.

Exhibit 3.3: Most Important Reason for Moving, by Analytic Sample



HSS = Housing Search Study.
Source: HSS survey, 2016

The indepth interviews provide additional insights into the importance of the reason for respondents’ moves. First, some people are pushed out of their current arrangements; others are being pulled by the possibility of better options elsewhere. Some people are moving for positive reasons—getting married or taking a new job—and others are moving to get away from antagonistic landlords or increasing rents. A second theme from our indepth interviews is that although people were able to identify their “primary” reason for undertaking a search, more than one-third of the searchers we talked to in our indepth interviews told stories that portrayed a layered or cascading set of reasons for moving. For example, one respondent was moving to change her unit type but also cited that it was becoming unaffordable. Another said they were moving to find something more affordable but also to pursue homeownership and to downsize.

Thus, “housing affordability” as a reason for a move can look very different for different searchers. Some might explain their search as a function of the high cost of rent because it is making it more difficult to save downpayment money for the house they want to buy; for others, affordability may mean that the building’s laundry facilities were not working, and the additional cost burden of doing laundry was making the rent unaffordable. Again, this variability complicates the way in which we understand constraints like housing cost and how it motivates moves for positive or negative reasons.

Decision Making

Throughout their housing search, individuals must make two key decisions over and over again: 1) whether to start, continue, or stop searching, and 2) what parameters they will apply to their search, including both neighborhood and unit characteristics. At the beginning of the search, these decisions are shaped by the information gathered and evaluated from lived experience. Afterward, these iterative decisions drive the ways in which individuals gather information and evaluate their options until the search ends.

People make a number of different decisions in the course of a housing search, and in this section, we are able to use the HSS data to describe the basic patterns in terms of how many units people consider, what neighborhoods they consider, and other decisions made during the process.

Recent Movers Contact and Visit Many Units, but Submit Relatively Few Applications

In this first section, we get insight into the scope of housing searches, tapping into the number of units that people inquire about, visit, and for which they submit applications. On average, searchers inquired about and visited five units; and applied for slightly more than two.

As shown in Exhibit 3.4, a great deal of variation is in the volume of searchers’ contacts, visits, and applications. About one-half of the recent movers inquire about and visit zero to three units, whereas the other half does more than this. The number of applications is, not surprisingly, fewer, but even here, 45 percent of recent movers submitted applications for more than one unit, and nearly one in five submits four or more applications in the course of a single housing search.

Exhibit 3.4: Number of Units Contacted, Visited, and Applied To

	Total
Number of units for which respondents contacted the landlord to find out more information	
0–1	26.6
2–3	30.4
4–5	18.4
6 or more	24.8
<i>N</i>	125
Number of units visited in person during search	
0	2.4
1	13.7
2–3	31.4
4 or more	52.4
<i>N</i>	124
Number of units for which submitted applications	
0	6.5
1	50.0
2–3	25.8
4 or more	17.7
<i>N</i>	124

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

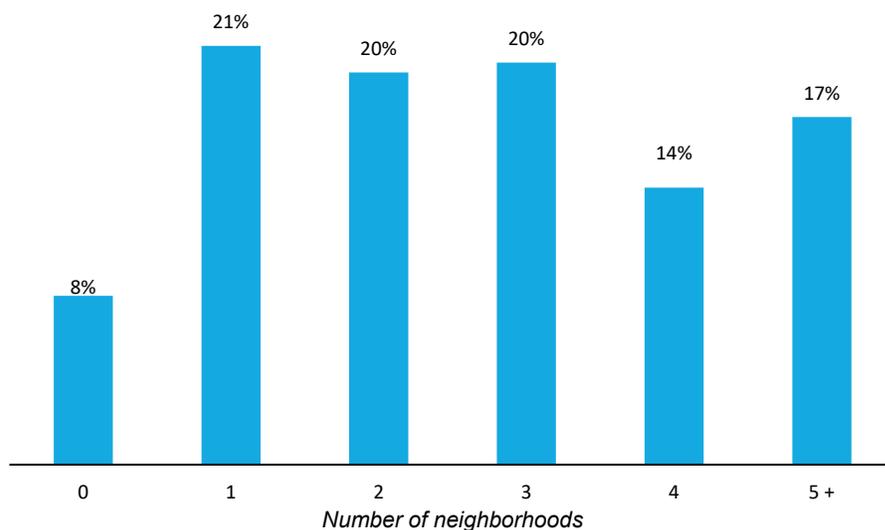
Most Recent Movers Search in Neighborhoods With Relatively Large Representations of Their Racial or Ethnic Group

Our Recent Movers Study asked respondents in what neighborhoods they had searched, and we were able to characterize the average racial or ethnic composition of those neighborhoods. For the overall sample, people searched on average in neighborhoods where 45 percent of the residents were of the searcher’s racial background. The range was from 4 percent own-group to 95 percent own-group.

Most Look Outside Their Neighborhood

Searchers also differ in terms of the number of neighborhoods they visit. As exhibit 3.5 shows, only 8 percent of our searcher sample considers only the neighborhood in which they were living when they searched. The rest of the searchers were about evenly distributed across the remaining options, with about 20 percent searching in one, two, and three other neighborhoods. Seventeen percent considered five or more other neighborhoods during their search.

Exhibit 3.5: Number of Other Neighborhoods Considered



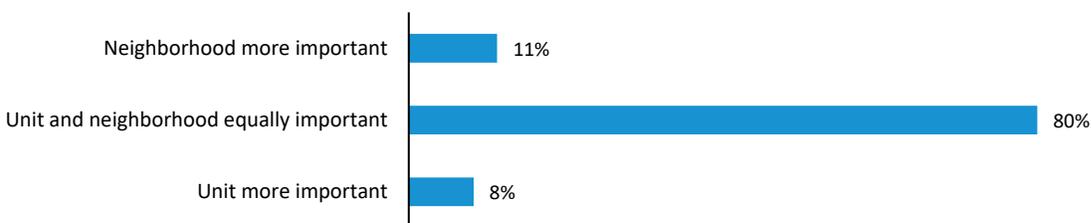
Note: N = 369.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers and current searchers, 2016

Most Current Searchers Put Equal Importance on Housing Units and Neighborhoods

Housing is a bundled good, which means that the unit and the neighborhood it is within cannot be separated. Prior research draws attention to the possibility that individuals vary in whether they prioritize the unit or the neighborhood in which it is when they are making decisions about their search. However, when directly asked which feature was more important—the unit or the neighborhood—the response was clearly dominant: fully 80 percent of the searchers in this study reported that both the unit and the neighborhood were equally important (exhibit 3.6). The remaining was about evenly split between selecting the unit or the neighborhood as most important.

Exhibit 3.6: Unit and Neighborhood Priorities



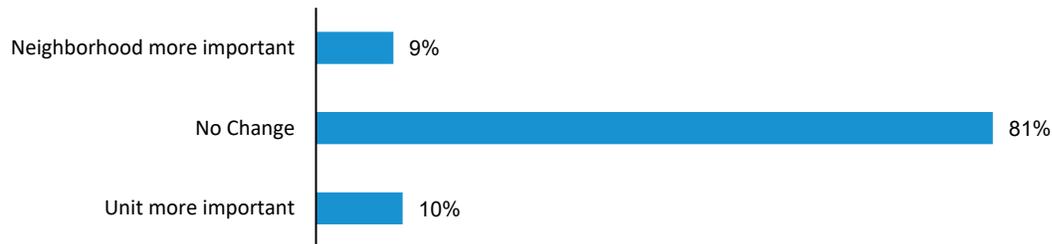
Notes: Current searchers wave 1. N = 336.

Source: Housing Search Study, current searchers, 2016

One of the central reasons we interviewed people in the middle of a housing search was because we were interested in capturing the dynamic nature of a housing search. This allows us, for example, to find out if during the course of a housing search people change their priorities. Do the experiences of a search have an effect on how people prioritize various aspects of it? In terms

of whether the unit or neighborhood is more important, the searches have quite a bit of stability; eighty percent of searchers maintain their same priority throughout the search process (exhibit 3.7).

Exhibit 3.7: Changes in Unit and Neighborhood Priorities for Current Searchers



Notes: Still-searching current searcher respondents in wave 2 and wave 3. N = 185.
Source: Housing Search Study Survey, current searchers, 2016

Information Gathering

Like decision making, information gathering is an iterative process. Qualitative interview data suggest that, at the outset, searchers set initial search parameters informed by passive information gathering strategies, such as personal observations of different neighborhoods. However, after a housing search for a particular unit begins, individuals may use many different strategies for finding potentially available units, including media, social networks, brokers or intermediaries, or among other methods (Farley, 1996; Krysan, 2008). At later stages, individuals seek more in-depth information, calling or emailing landlords or property management, and visiting the specific property. Searchers may have varying degrees of difficulty progressing from one stage to another during the search process (that is, from a friend's referral to a landlord, to a returned phone call, or to a scheduled visit) and may have to apply different groupings of methods at different frequencies to achieve the same result.

However, it is not only the way searchers gather information that is important. The type of information sought and obtained also shapes individuals' housing searches. One can seek a wide range of information about both neighborhoods and units, including their location, application process, amenities, building types, costs, school quality, racial or ethnic composition, and crime levels. This information may or may not line up with the corresponding search parameters at any given time. Further, searchers may experience varying degrees of success getting the information that they seek to inform their decisions.

People Leverage Social Networks Within Their Racial or Ethnic Group To Find Rentals or Learn About Neighborhoods

The HSS included measures of several different aspects of the social networks people use to gather information as a way to better understand how and why social networks are used. In both the Recent Mover and Current Searcher Study, searchers were asked if they used the people they knew to learn more about neighborhoods, help find vacancies, and find rentals that did not require a credit check. The results for both samples, in exhibit 3.8, are similar in which things are

most common, but the magnitude is quite different. Both the recent movers and current searchers use social networks to help them learn more about neighborhoods and to help them find specific vacancies, but it is one-half of recent movers and fully 80 percent of current searchers who do this. In addition, one-half of the current searchers said they used social networks to help them find rentals that do not require a credit check.

Exhibit 3.8: How People Use Their Social Networks

	Recent Movers (%)	Current Searchers (%)
To find rental vacancies	58	85.1
To find rentals that do not require credit check	16.2	51.4
To learn more about specific neighborhood	51.9	84.7
N	131	249

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

One of the reasons that the use of social networks as an information source is likely to be consequential for racially stratified housing outcomes is that social networks tend to be racially homogenous. Thus, if searchers receive information about potential vacancies and possible neighborhoods from people of their same racial or ethnic background, the resulting moves may be similarly racially stratified. Our Recent Mover Study sheds some light on this possibility because respondents who found out about the unit they rented from “someone they knew” were asked to identify the racial or ethnic background of the person who referred them. As shown in exhibit 3.9, the pattern is suggestive of racially disparate social networks—disparate in a way that likely funnels people to places about which members of their own racial group are more likely to know.

Exhibit 3.9: Racial Background of Person Who Helped, Recent Movers Sample

	Percent
Racial background of person who helped find rental vacancies	
Did not learn about units from someone	42.3
Different	16.9
Same	40.8
Racial background of person who referred to unit rented	
Did not learn about unit rented from someone	76.2
Different	3.8
Same	20
N	130

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Beginning with the broad question of the racial background of people who helped searchers find vacancies, we see that searchers who used social networks to find vacancies very likely used someone of their own racial group from within that network; 41 percent of searchers learned about vacancies from someone of their racial group. Turning to the perhaps more consequential question of who referred the searcher to the unit they ended up renting, the racial homogamy persists; of the 24 percent of searchers who learned about a unit from someone they knew, 83 percent learned from someone who was of the same race.

Searchers who used social networks to help find units to inquire about were also asked how they were related to the person who helped them—family member, friend, coworker, neighbor, or

roommate (exhibit 3.10). Our recent movers who used their networks to help find units to inquire about were most likely to rely on friends (51 percent), followed by family members (22 percent) and coworkers (20 percent). Very few relied on roommates or neighbors. The only difference between recent movers and current searchers is that they used friends more often (62 percent relied on friends), and much fewer (10 percent) used family members, coworkers, and neighbors. This finding means that people generally rely on relatively close ties—but not family members—for assistance in finding units to consider. A small number of recent movers (n = 31) found the actual unit they ended up moving into through their social networks. The results show that friends, again, were the most common source (61 percent), however in this case, family members were the second most common source (23 percent).

Exhibit 3.10: Social Relationship of Person Who Helped Respondents Find Rental Vacancies

	Recent Movers (%)	Current Searchers (%)
Relationship to the person who helped find rental vacancies		
Family member	21.6	11.4
Friend	51.4	62.3
Coworker	20.3	10.5
Roommate	1.4	4.4
Neighbor	5.4	11.4
<i>N</i>	74	114

Note: Sample limited to respondents who identified that they used social networks to find out about rental vacancies.
Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

SEARCHERS RELY ON PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCES TO PINPOINT NEIGHBORHOODS TO SEARCH

On the question of how people obtain information about the neighborhoods they will search, the indepth interviews reinforced existing research pointing to the importance of lived experiences. Searchers who were not new to the Washington, D.C. area talked a lot about personal knowledge and experiences. This experience often involved filtering their search activity based on the neighborhood name or zip code, which often cued their beliefs about affordability, safety, and racial composition. As one low-income man with no children explains, “So we were pretty much just looking at finances—at the cost, and then we kind of—I would put in the cost and then I would go through judging on neighborhoods, and I know the city pretty well. So seeing the name of the neighborhood or the name of the intersection, I would think like either I wanted to live there or if I didn’t want to live there.”

When asked how she narrowed down her options, one middle-income woman with children reports, “Demographics and proximity and certain addresses, yeah. Certain cities that everyone just knows.... We searched for certain areas that wasn’t too bad with our credit in mind. We—because we already knew in certain areas what might be a problem. (And so, did you use like geographic locations to decide that?) Yeah. Just living here because I grew—born and raised around this area.” Many indepth interview respondents talked about relying on their knowledge of the city to filter out particular options and narrow down their search.

In other cases, personal research, through visits to possible neighborhoods, was an important strategy. One middle-income woman with children explains her approach to gathering

information about neighborhoods: “We would go at odd times to see what was going on in the neighborhood, to see who was standing outside, what that activity was outside. So, we want—that was important so we would have to go out at odd times throughout the day. That’s what we were looking for and to see just what it would look like. Then we’ll schedule an appointment...In the evening at night, like, you know, like I said, a lot of these guys outside.”

MOST RECENT MOVERS GATHER INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, AMENITIES, AND CRIME

In addition to gathering information about possible vacancies, searchers also seek information about the neighborhoods in which they might search. It is clearly an important step in the process for most searchers; about 70 percent of the recent movers in our sample gathered information about neighborhoods. Exhibit 3.11 sheds light on what kinds of information searchers are trying to uncover; the vast majority are seeking information on public transportation, parks and other amenities, and crime.

Exhibit 3.11: Information Gathered About Neighborhoods, Recent Movers Sample

	Percent
School quality	17.8
Public transportation	88.9
Parks and other amenities	88.9
Crime	76.7
Other features	13.3
N	90

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

PERSONAL CONTACTS AND ADS ARE POPULAR SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT AVAILABLE UNITS

The HSS asked searchers about (1) all the methods used throughout the search, as well as those used to (2) identify the units to visit, and to (3) identify the unit into which the respondent moved. As shown in exhibit 3.12, recent movers most frequently used the two following methods “someone you knew” and “ads”; well more than one-half of the searchers (58 percent–74 percent) used each. Among Current Searchers, more than one-half of the searchers used the following three methods: “someone you knew,” “ads,” and “signs on buildings.”

Exhibit 3.12: Methods Ever Used To Identify Housing Units

	Recent Movers (%)	Current Searchers (%)
Someone you knew	58	51.7
Ads	74	82.8
Signs	29.8	56.3
Professional service	28.2	34
Social media	27.5	38
Community or religious organization	10.7	23.5
Other	4.6	3.4
N	131	238

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

It is important to look more closely at the use of “ads” because people can find ads in a number of places—from websites to newspapers to bulletin boards and billboards. For the recent movers, the most common source, by far, was online or on websites; overall, 91 percent of recent movers who used ads used the internet to find the ads. This finding is compared with about 14 percent who used newspaper ads. Clearly, online search processes have come to be a dominant source for housing searchers.

Our indepth interview participants also talked at length about the online resources they used, with many favoring Craigslist, but others saying “95 percent of it (Craigslist), is garbage. You don’t really know what it is...and then, by the time you get to it, it’s either gone or, I don’t know.... We were primarily looking through Zillow, which seemed to work out really well.” Other people had a trust issue with Craigslist: “It was nerve wracking; I did not want to use Craigslist, that was my last resort just because there’s a lot of creepy people on there. So I was hesitant at first, but it worked out.” Despite these kinds of reservations, almost all searchers used online resources of one kind or another (Zillow, Apartments.com, and so on) to locate units and learn about neighborhoods.

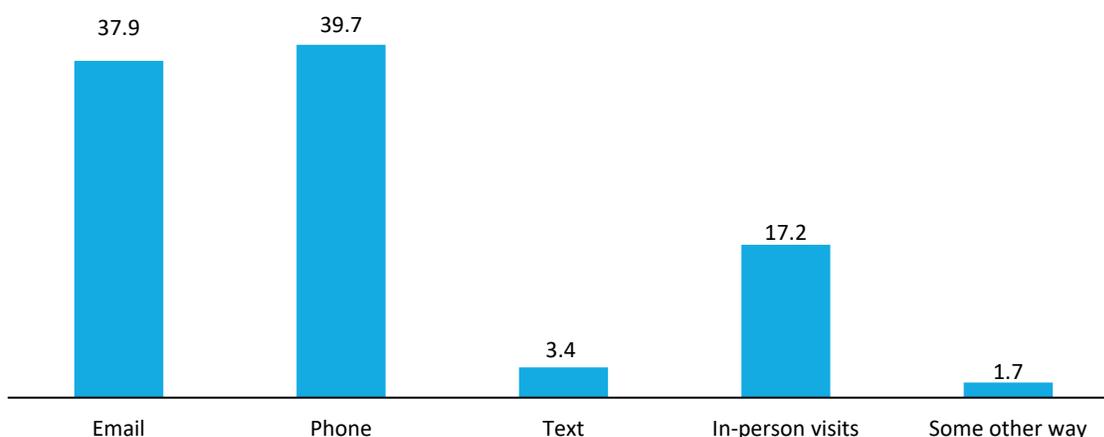
Another advantage of online searches that our indepth interviews drew our attention to was that they were considered more efficient, as one renter explains, “email ... most of the time I would email, sometimes I would call. But my guess is that it was probably 80/20 as the first choice just because it was easier. There was an email contact, I could do that on my lunch break. I can do it. It was harder to carve out a phone time, and that was just an easier way. Sometimes I also wanted to make sure I kept track of what I was doing because if I did something three or four contacts in a day, I didn’t want to forget which one I was doing or what it was referring to.” This respondent, however, explains what he prefers about the phone: “Most of the time when I see something, either I’ll call or send an email. Then the communication over the phone, normally I can tell if it’s good or bad.” Other searchers use the in-person and phone communication to get a better sense of the landlord, and what kind of a person they will be able to rent from.

MOST INQUIRE BY EMAIL OR PHONE, BUT LANDLORDS ARE NOT ALWAYS RESPONSIVE

Once potential units are identified, whether from a friend, a Craigslist ad, or a community organization, a searcher may gather additional information by contacting the landlord or management company. During the initial contact, a searcher can get questions answered and arrange to see the unit. Each of these stages of information gathering can be accomplished differently and with potentially different consequences for the outcomes. Given the predominance of online sources of information, it is interesting to see more variation in terms of whether that initial inquiry is made through email or by telephone.

As shown in exhibit 3.13, our sample was evenly split between respondents who primarily inquired about units by phone and respondents who primarily inquired via email; in-person visits were much less common. So, although our searchers rely heavily on the internet to identify units, the next step of the process—reaching out to the landlord or property management firm—is not as dominated by an online approach. Instead, substantial numbers of respondents use the telephone to contact the landlord, bypassing the internet for this stage of the search.

Exhibit 3.13: How Searchers Inquire About Units, Recent Movers Sample (percent)



Note: N = 116.
Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

GETTING INFORMATION FROM LANDLORDS CAN BE DIFFICULT

Current searchers were asked for assessments of how difficult it was to get information through their inquiries with landlords or property managers. The results are reported in exhibit 3.14 and show that nearly 40 percent of our sample of current searchers had a difficult time getting information from landlords.

Exhibit 3.14: Difficulty Getting Information Needed Through Inquiries

	Current Searchers (%)
Not at all difficult	61.7
A little difficult	19.1
Somewhat difficult	15.7
Very difficult	2.1
Extremely difficult	1.3
N	235

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

MANY USE ACTIVE STRATEGIES TO MAKE THEMSELVES APPEAR MORE ATTRACTIVE AS TENANTS TO LANDLORDS

In the HSS, we specifically asked respondents to indicate whether they used any of six different strategies while gathering information in order to be treated more fairly: dress differently; speak differently; bring or leave a partner, child, or friend at home; mention career or professional background; and send someone else to check out the unit.

Overall, from both our current searchers and recent movers samples, most searchers said they mentioned their career or professional background when meeting with a potential landlord (exhibit 3.15). Among recent movers, about 30 percent of the searchers reported bringing

someone along, whereas one in five said they dressed differently. Our current searchers (who are generally lower income than the recent movers) were more likely to use several of these strategies, with 41 percent saying they dressed differently, and about the same percent indicated they brought along someone to the visit. One in five said they “spoke differently” and that they “left someone at home.”

Exhibit 3.15: How Searchers Change Their Behavior When They Inquire About Units

	Recent Movers (%)	Current Searchers (%)
Dress differently	20.8	40.6
Speak differently	10.8	20.5
Bring a partner, friend, or children	29.2	36.8
Leave a partner, friend, or children at home	6.2	21.3
Mention your career or professional background	52.3	60.1
Send someone else to check out a place for you	9.2	6.7
N	130	239

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

MOST CURRENT SEARCHERS FEEL THEY ARE TREATED WELL WHEN VISITING UNITS

Current searchers were also asked about how they were treated during visits (in part, to gather more information) to potential housing units. In general, current searchers were quite satisfied with their treatment when visiting units. On a scale from 1 to 4 (with 4 representing “very satisfied” and 1 “not at all satisfied”), the average rating was a 3.34.

As shown in exhibit 3.16, out of the 577 visits current searchers recorded in waves 2 and 3, respondents indicated that they were “very satisfied” with their treatment in more than one-half (54 percent) of the visits. Respondents reported feeling “a little satisfied” or “not at all satisfied” with their treatment in only 13 percent of visits, and the remainder—32 percent—were somewhat mixed in their assessment.

Exhibit 3.16: Assessment of Treatment During Housing Visit

	Recent Movers (%)
Very satisfied	54.4
Somewhat satisfied	31.7
A little satisfied	7.1
Not at all satisfied	5.9
N	577

Note: Sample (N) represents total number of units visited by current searchers in wave 2 and wave 3.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, current searchers, 2016

Searchers in the indepth interviews described how stressful it was in terms of coordinating the logistics of connecting with landlords and visiting units. One woman paints an especially vivid picture of the stressful aspects of searches: “Sometime I might have one [scheduled visit] at 9:00, then I have one at 2:30, then I have another one at 5:00 and then that might get cancelled. I have to reschedule, but I couldn’t do it until the next weekend. There were things like that along the way that I hadn’t expected. In my mind, all the work was going to be in the prep and then I would just show up to the place, and go thumbs up, thumbs down. But there was so much more time trying to visit a location and time spent waiting around for somebody else to let me in to the

unit. Then, those kinds of like little details really added up. It felt like every Saturday was a wasted day. I couldn't take off from work to go and do it. I just started a job. It wasn't that easy and trying to set things up on the weekends wasn't always convenient."

Another searcher explains, "Like one guy, he wasn't really like responsive to us, and like he just gave us this Montgomery County applications form that I've never seen before. Told us to mail it back with like a check to process. It was like a weird process and I didn't feel comfortable just having him as a landlord."

Evaluating Options

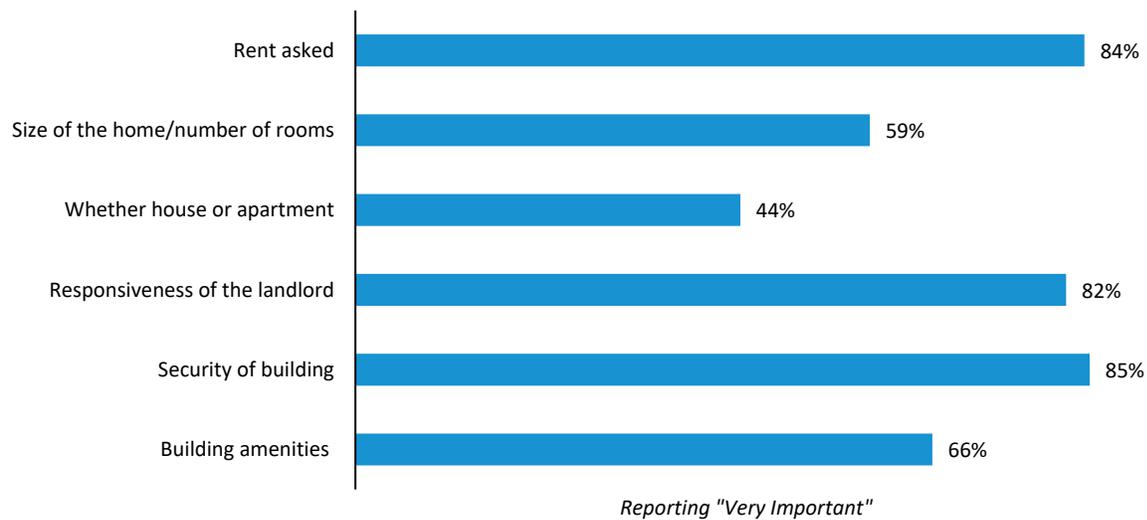
Data from the HSS provide unique information on the criteria used by individuals as they enter the housing search. Because they define the basic parameters of the search, these criteria are likely quite important in determining housing outcomes. The first part of evaluating options is a qualitative assessment of the information gathered about units and neighborhoods against corresponding search parameters and the current place of residence (Brown and Moore, 1970; Landale and Guest, 1985; Simon, 1957; Speare, 1974). Second, individuals evaluate their experience with the housing search—how long it has taken, how difficult or easy it has been, and how satisfied they have been with their experience. Lastly, searchers constantly assess the efficacy of their information gathering methods.

Regardless of how extensive or lengthy it is, this evaluation directly informs decision making about what happens next in the search.

Current Searchers Prioritize Building Security, Landlord Responsiveness, and Rent

We asked searchers to rate a number of different housing unit features on a scale from very important to not at all important. These features included building amenities, security of the building, responsiveness of the landlord, style of the building, size of the unit, and the rent asked. As shown in exhibit 3.17, three features stand out as being rated as very important by more than one in three searchers in our sample: security of the building, responsiveness of the landlord, and the rent being asked. Whether a unit is a house or apartment is the least likely to be rated as "very important."

Exhibit 3.17: Importance of Housing Unit Search Criteria



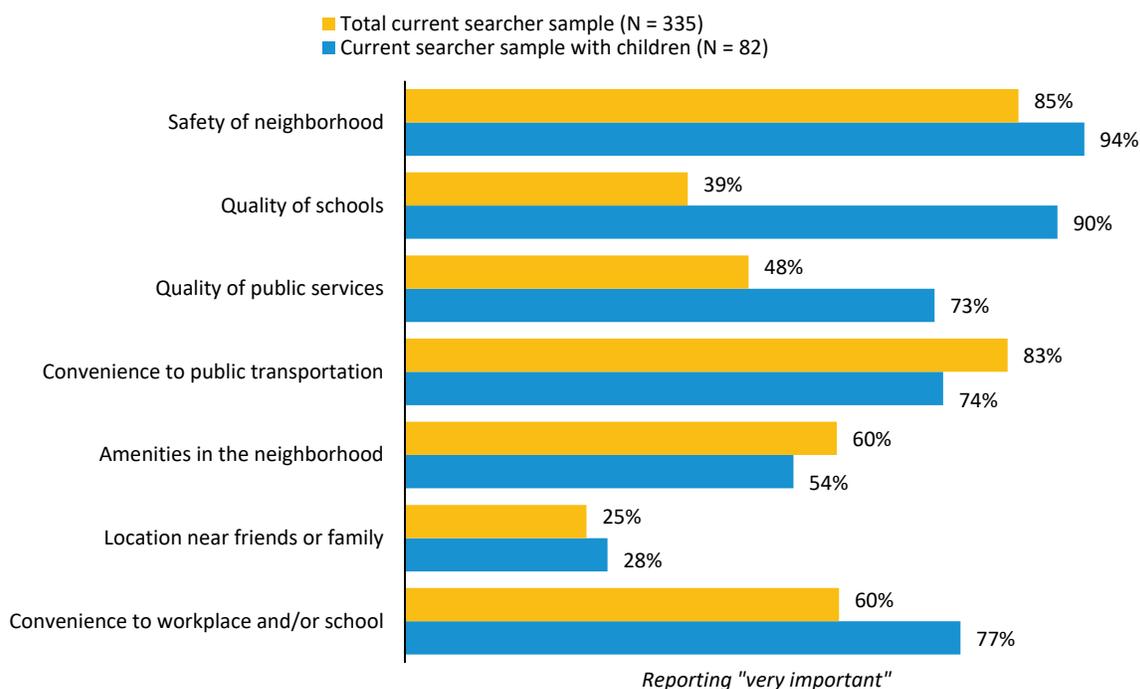
Note: N = 336.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, current searchers, 2016

Transportation and Safety Are Top Priorities in Terms of Neighborhood Criteria

A similar style of question was asked that focused on the neighborhood characteristics and asked about safety of the neighborhood, quality of schools, quality of public services, convenience to public transportation, amenities in the neighborhood, location near friends or family, and convenience to workplace or school. Given that families with children are nearly certainly different from those without, in terms of the relevance of school quality, we present the results both for the total sample and for only those searchers with children in the household in exhibit 3.18. First, for the overall sample, two neighborhood features stand out: convenience to public transportation and safety of the neighborhood. More than 80 percent of searchers rated these features as “very important.” In our sample, being close to family or friends is the feature least likely to have been rated as “very important.” Not surprisingly, however, the pattern is quite different among families with children in the household. Specifically, although neighborhood safety was also a top criterion among those with children, school quality replaced convenience to transportation as the other highly rated feature, with both being evaluated as very important by at least 90 percent of the current searcher sample.

Exhibit 3.18: Importance of Neighborhood Search Criteria

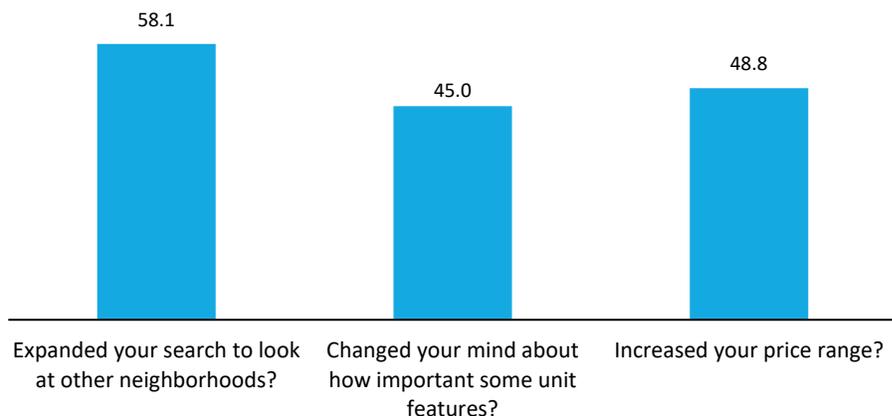


Source: Housing Search Study survey, current searchers, 2016

Most Recent Movers Expanded the Geographic Scope or Budget During Their Search

After assessing available options and facing potential difficulty in locating housing that meets all the initial search criteria, searchers may modify the importance of these various neighborhood and unit features. We asked our sample of recent movers to look back on their search and (retrospectively) report whether they adjusted their housing criteria in three specific ways: expanded their search to other neighborhoods, changed their mind about how important certain unit criteria were, and increased their price range (exhibit 3.19). A majority (or near majority) of recent movers adjusted their search criteria in each of these ways. Nearly 60 percent expanded the neighborhoods in which they searched, and nearly one-half had to increase the price they would pay in order to find a place to rent. The particular salience of the price of rental units is likely due at least in part to the particular context of this study: the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area has very high median rent levels. The 2011 median gross rent for the Washington metropolitan area was \$1,391, the second most expensive rental housing market in the country. The national median gross rent during the same period was \$871, nearly 40 percent lower than the median rent for the Washington region (Flanagan and Schwartz, 2013).

Exhibit 3.19: Adjustments to Search Criteria for Recent Movers (percent)

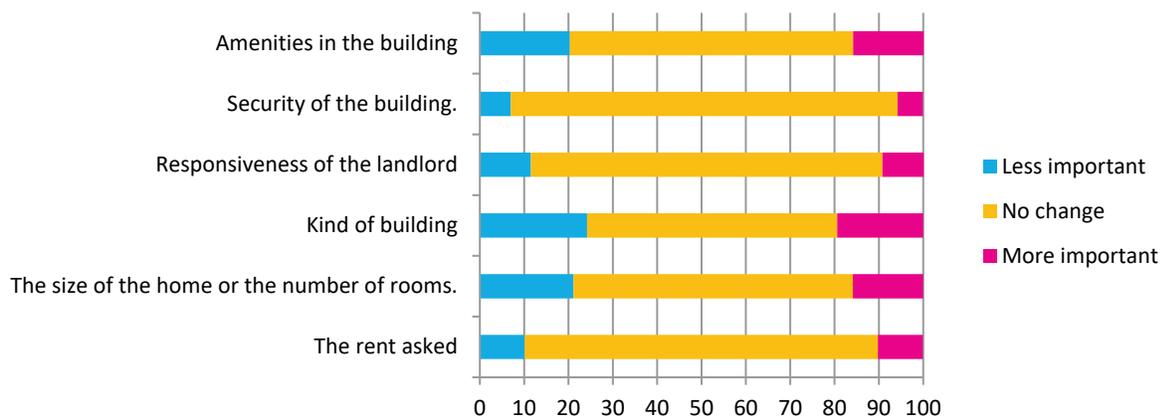


Notes: Figure shows total number of responses. N = 129.
Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

Many Criteria Change in Importance Throughout Search, but the Biggest Priorities Do Not Change

Beginning with unit characteristics, we see that as a search unfolds, some features are more malleable in their importance than others. Preferences related to amenities in the building, the kind of building (apartment or single-family home), and the size of the home or number of bedrooms are relatively unstable. In each of these cases, 35 to 40 percent of searchers reevaluated their importance—in some cases, it became more important, and in others, it became less important. At the other extreme, the two most stable preferences are the security of the building and the rent being asked. In both cases, more than 80 percent of searchers remained consistent across their search in terms of the importance of these two features (exhibit 3.20).

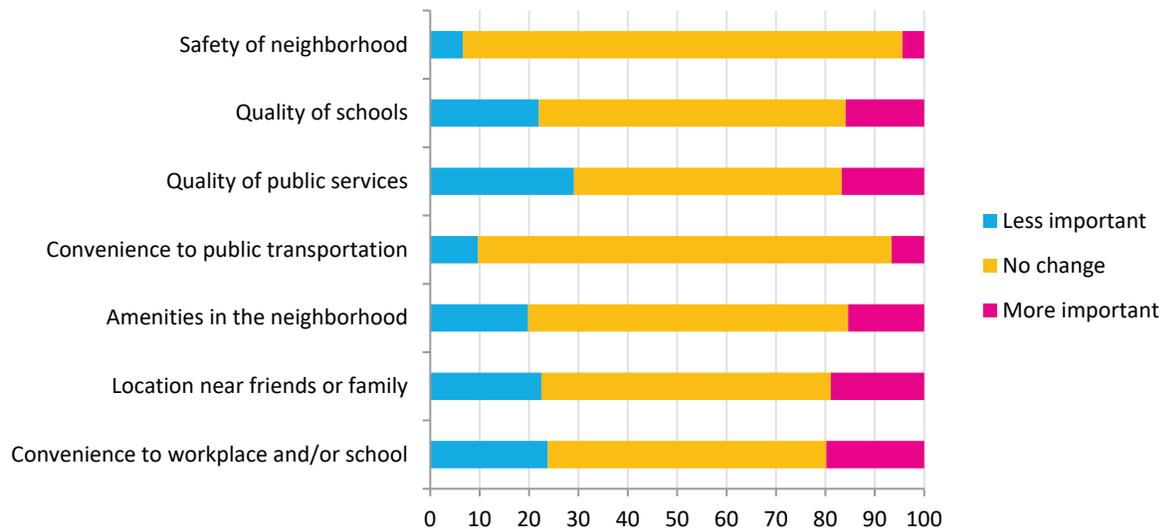
Exhibit 3.20: Changes in the Importance of Unit Search Criteria



Note: N = 227.
Source: Housing Search Study survey, current searchers, 2016

Safety of the neighborhood and convenience to public transportation are the most stable of the neighborhood features in terms of their importance; 80 percent of searchers maintained the same level of importance for each of these features during the course of their search (exhibit 3.21). Conversely, the quality of public services was least stable and tended to become less important for searchers.

Exhibit 3.21: Changes in Importance of Neighborhood Search Criteria



Note: N = 227.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, current searchers, 2016

Recent Movers and Current Searchers Eliminate Neighborhoods From Their Search for Different Reasons

Our HSS asked both recent movers and current searchers if they eliminated any neighborhoods from their search at any point. Among those who stopped searching in particular neighborhoods, we further asked them why they stopped considering it. Exhibit 3.22 shows that the reasons differed substantially between the sample of recent movers and that of current searchers. For the sample of recent movers, the most common reason was “did not feel safe.” The next most common reasons were either that its location was too far from school or work or too far from public transportation. For the sample of current searchers, however, the dominant reason for eliminating a neighborhood was financial; on closer inspection, the searchers typically determined that they could not afford the neighborhood. The next most common reasons for this sample were the “too far from school or work” and also the “did not feel safe” response.

Exhibit 3.22: Reasons for Eliminating Neighborhoods From Search

	Recent Movers (%)	Current Searchers (%)
Reasons stopped considering		
Did not feel safe	40.0	25.0
Too far from school or work	32.5	33.3
Too far from public transportation	22.5	17.1
Racial or ethnic mix of the neighborhood	12.5	11.1
Financial reasons	12.5	47.2
Quality of housing	12.5	5.6
Neighborhood amenities and quality	17.5	—
Something else	5.0	19.4
N	40.0	36.0

Note: Sample limited to respondents who identified that they eliminated neighborhoods from search.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

The indepth interviews illuminated the variety of ways that people adjusted their search preferences to make rent fit within their budget. Some individuals compromised on the unit features, lease terms, or living arrangements. For example, one woman with children says, “A lot of stuff is really out the price range because everything is becoming just gentrified; even bad neighborhoods ask for outrageous sums of money for two bedrooms. I’m like now changing, after like almost 6 months, I’m changing maybe one bedroom with like den, and then maybe that will bring down the price, but I really did want a two bedroom because I have a teenager.... We’re going from a house to a two bedroom to a one bedroom. It would be really difficult.” Another woman with children explains, “We accepted the one [bathroom] because we needed a place. We really didn’t want the washer and dryer not to be in the house, but we accepted that, too.” Affordability also resulted in one middle-income woman with children adjusting her lease terms: “To be honest, I wanted to have a 6-month lease at first, but then later on, if I was the one to take 6-month, I have to pay like \$100 extra per month. That’s why I switch my terms to 1 year. If it was 6-month, with the same price, it was better.” One middle-income man with no children puts it quite succinctly: “Price versus safety. Price versus convenience. Price, cost versus location.”

Final Outcome

In the simplest sense, the final outcome is whether the searcher successfully found a unit and leased up. However, the characteristics of the unit and neighborhood chosen also to add an important dimension. This dimension includes both objective characteristics, like the size of the unit and the location of the neighborhood, as well as subjective characteristics, such as how satisfied the searcher is with the unit relative to his or her initial preferences and expectations as well, as relative to his or her old unit. The final outcome also includes an assessment of the housing search process, its length, the reasons for stopping, and the searcher’s reports of unfair treatment during the process.

Most Report Some Difficulty With Their Housing Search

About a third of our recent mover sample said their housing search was “not at all difficult,” which means that 70 percent said it was “somewhat,” “very,” or “extremely difficult” (exhibit 3.23). Searchers who rated their search at least “a little” difficult were then asked to explain what made it difficult. Their responses are reported in exhibit 3.24.

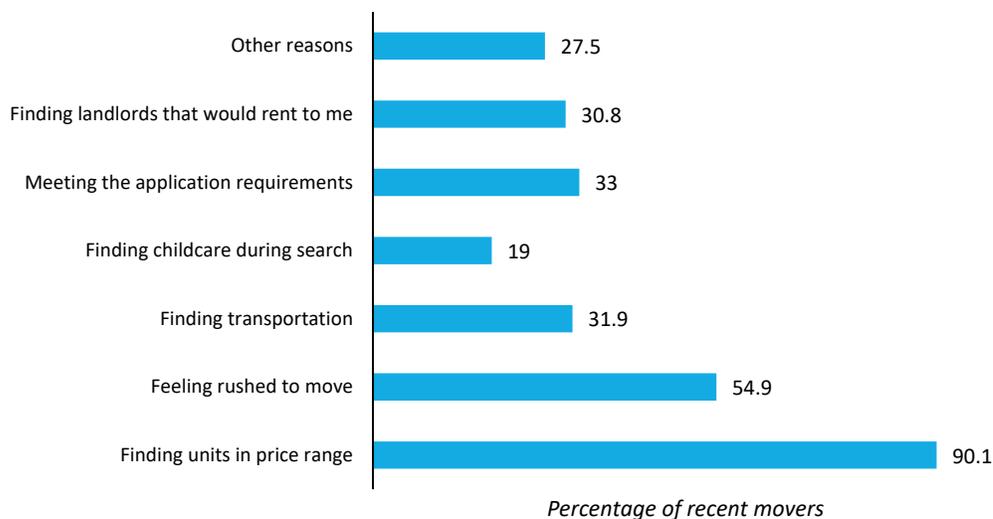
Exhibit 3.23: Difficulty of Search for Recent Movers

Overall, would you say this housing search was...	Percent
Not at all difficult	30.0
A little difficult	26.2
Somewhat difficult	30.0
Very difficult	7.7
Extremely difficult	6.2
N	130

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

As shown in exhibit 3.24, a few key factors emerge as very common reasons for recent movers to report that their search was difficult. Affordability again emerges as crucial; it is, far and away, the most common reason why a search was difficult (for those who had a difficult search). About 90 percent of our sample reported that finding units in their price range made the search difficult. Timing was the second most common response, with most recent movers indicating that “feeling rushed to move” was the reason it was a difficult search.

Exhibit 3.24: Reasons for Difficulty of Search



Note: N = 91.
Source: Housing Search Study, recent movers, 2016

The Time It Takes To Find a Unit Varies, and Success Is Far From Guaranteed

Our recent mover sample revealed a great deal of variation on search length; a few people (12 percent) took less than a week for their search (exhibit 3.25). The rest of the sample was about evenly spread across the other three categories: more than a week or less than a month; 1 to 2 months; and more than 2 months. This spread reveals a heterogeneity that is reinforced when we consider the length of searches in our Current Searcher Study.

Exhibit 3.25: Length of Housing Search, Recent Movers

How long did it take you to find your new place?	%
Less than a week	11.5
More than a week but less than a month	30.5
1–2 months	29.8
More than 2 months	28.2
N	131

Source: Housing Search Study, recent movers, 2016

Exhibit 3.26 shows that most current searchers are long-term searchers. Almost one-half had already been searching for 2 months by the time they called us for the first interview. Another 30 percent had been searching for 1 to 2 months. Moreover, during the field period, we found ourselves needing to extend the time between waves of the Current Searcher Study because we found that our searchers had not yet completed their search when we tried to interview them for the third time according to our original schedule (see chapter 2). By the close of the survey, only 39 percent of current searchers had actually found a unit.

This finding may also be explained by the unusually high number of people who gave as their reason for searching to find “better quality housing.” This group of people may be on the lookout for better options, but they are not urgently looking for new housing. This category of searchers is interesting—that it exists has implications both for understanding how search processes unfold and sampling for researchers interested in studying searchers.

Exhibit 3.26: Length of Housing Search at Point of Wave 1 Contact, Current Searcher Study

How long have you been searching at this point? Would you say...	%
Less than a week	2.9
More than a week but less than a month	19.2
1–2 months	29.5
More than 2 months	48.4
N	339

Source: Housing Search Study, current searchers, 2016

Many indepth interview participants talked about how time-consuming a housing search is—both in terms of the hours of a day (visiting units, scheduling appointments, and so on) and in terms of the length of the process that can come from protracted searches. For example, one middle-income woman with children describes why the search was protracted: “I guess another part was trying, we wanted to stay in the same school district and just trying to find something that was semi-affordable. You’re in Bethesda, so it’s expensive here. So, um, trying to find something that was a nice house, not gross because there’s a lot of old houses here in this area also. I probably searched, well...I probably started in like June, and I found this place in September, so it took me a number of months to find something that was between our location, the niceness of the place, and the rent price.”

Others focus on how grueling the process can be. One woman recognizes that she was fortunate that she had ample time to conduct the search, and in describing the process, illustrates how time-consuming it can be: “If you are somebody who doesn’t have a lot of time in—either

because you are moving or maybe you've been evicted or maybe, you know, for whatever reason, if you don't have time to wade through every listing on Craigslist, like I did, because I was doing it for like every day for like 2 weeks, you know. I think that would make the housing process much more difficult because then, you know, you are looking for place that pop up more readily and those places are more competitive."

Finally, one of the searchers reflects on how fortunate she was because she had a job that allowed her some flexibility and how crucial that was to making her search work: "If you have a job where you don't have any control over your hours and you're working shifts and weekends, I don't even know how you move. I just think that would be so much worse. I don't really have any sage wisdom or advice or thoughts other than thank goodness that's not my situation."

Most Are More Satisfied With Their New Neighborhoods Than With Their Units

In the Recent Mover Study, respondents were asked a series of questions asking if they felt they got "better than they hoped for," "not as good as they hoped for," or "about what they hoped for" in terms of a number of different unit and neighborhood characteristics.

Movers generally reported being able to get what they hoped for or more on most neighborhood dimensions. As shown in exhibit 3.27, the percentage of searchers who "settled for less" on any of these dimensions ranged from 7 percent (on convenience to public transportation) to 18 percent (on amenities).

Exhibit 3.27: Assessment of New Neighborhood Features Compared With What Was Hoped For

	Recent Movers (%)
<hr/>	
Convenience to your workplace or school	
Better than hoped for	31.3
About what hoped for	42.7
Not as good as hoped for	13.0
N/A: Convenience to workplace or school did not matter	13.0
N	131
<hr/>	
Location near friends or family	
Better than hoped for	25.2
About what hoped for	33.6
Not as good as hoped for	16.8
N/A: Location near friends or family did not matter	24.4
N	131
<hr/>	
Amenities like restaurants, grocery stores, theaters, shopping, and doctor's offices	
Better than hoped for	44.6
About what hoped for	34.6
Not as good as hoped for	17.7
N/A: neighborhood amenities did not matter	3.1
N	130
<hr/>	
Convenience to public transportation	
Better than hoped for	54.2
About what hoped for	33.6
Not as good as hoped for	9.2
N/A: Convenience to public transportation not important	3.1
N	131
<hr/>	

	Recent Movers (%)
Quality of public services like libraries, playgrounds, and community centers	
Better than hoped for	34.9
About what hoped for	33.3
Not as good as hoped for	15.9
N/A: Quality of public services not important	15.9
N	126
Quality of the schools	
Better than hoped for	13.9
About what hoped for	15.6
Not as good as hoped for	7.4
N/A: Quality of schools not important	63.1
N	128
Safety	
Better than hoped for	27.3
About what hoped for	55.5
Not as good as hoped for	13.3
N/A: Quality of schools not important	3.9
N	131

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

Overall, our sample of recent movers also felt positively about their unit feature preferences. Sixty percent rated their new unit as better than their prior one. However, more searchers appeared to express dissatisfaction with unit features (rent, size of the home, security of the building, and other amenities in the building) than of neighborhood features. First, one-third of searchers felt that they were paying more than they hoped to pay; this finding is consistent with prevailing themes around cost and income. In addition, 1 in 5 respondents got less than they hoped for, in terms of the amenities in the building (see exhibit 3.28).

Exhibit 3.28: Assessment of Various New Unit Features Compared With What Was Hoped For

	Recent Movers (%)
Rent paid is...	
More than thought would pay	33.6
About what thought would pay	38.9
Less than thought would pay	21.4
N/A: Rent did not matter	6.1
N	131
The size of the home or number of rooms...	
Better than hoped for	42.7
About what hoped for	38.9
Not as good as hoped for	11.5
N/A: Size did not matter	6.9
N	131
The security of the building is...	
Better than hoped for	33.8
About what hoped for	46.9
Not as good as hoped for	13.1
N/A: Building security did not matter	6.2

	Recent Movers (%)
N	130
The amenities in the building are...	
Better than hoped for	38.2
About what hoped for	38.2
Not as good as hoped for	20.6
N/A: Amenities did not matter	3.1
N	131

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

It is clear from this discussion of the ingredients of a housing search that it is a complicated and dynamic process that is challenging to measure and describe. However, the Housing Search Study (HSS), an instrument designed specifically with housing searches in mind, provides a window into this complexity, and the complementary indepth interviews provide nuance to the quantitative descriptions. With this more complex and complete picture of the different dimensions of a housing search, we now turn to a discussion of the secondary data to provide our first picture of racial differences in these processes.

Chapter 4: Racial and Ethnic Differences in Housing Searches

With the complexities of housing searches described in chapter 3 in mind, we now turn to our detailed investigation of racial differences in housing searches. We begin with the method that allows us to provide the most rigorous tests of racial differences using representative samples of either the nation or a major metropolitan area: secondary data analyses of three surveys. Specifically, this chapter reports the results of our analyses of the American Housing Study (AHS), the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), and the Chicago Area Study (CAS). We draw on original analyses of these survey data sets to assess, to the extent that the data permit, the housing search processes used by minority renters and how those processes differ from those of White, non-Latino renters. In appendix F.15, we report some basic comparisons between the nationally representative PSID and AHS data sets. Where possible, we also analyze correlations between the search processes and both subjective and objective outcomes of the housing search.

Context

As described in our conceptual framework, the housing search process is highly contingent on its context: the individual and family characteristics associated with residential mobility and the circumstances related to the decision to move. In this section, we assess racial differences in the characteristics of renters and the metropolitan housing structures they face, as well as differences in the extent to which a residential move was planned or unplanned—that is, related to factors outside of the individual’s control. It is important to keep these circumstances and characteristics in mind because racial or ethnic differences in these are likely to help shape group differences in search processes.

Black and Latino Renters Are Demographically and Economically Different From White Renters

As exhibit 4.1 shows, by comparison with both White and Black renters, Latino renters tend to have substantially lower levels of education, and household income is higher for White renters than for both Black and Latino renters. A larger share of Black renters (56 percent) than Latino (27 percent) and White renters (31 percent) are female, and White renters are less likely than Black and Latino renters to have children in the household. By comparison with White and Latino renters, Black renters are also more likely to receive housing assistance—either in the form of receiving rental assistance or by living in public housing.

Exhibit 4.1: Descriptive Statistics for Black, Latino, and White Renters in PSID, 1997–2011

	Black		Latino		White	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Education of head	12.1	(2.3)	10.2	(4.2)	13.2	(2.9)
Family income (\$1000s)	24.7	(22.6)	29.7	(22.2)	37.9	(34.1)
Age of householder	38.8	(13.6)	37.8	(13.9)	38.9	(17.0)
Female householder (1=yes)	0.562	(0.50)	0.265	(0.44)	0.313	(0.46)
Married or cohabiting (1=yes)	0.237	(0.43)	0.566	(0.50)	0.391	(0.49)
Whether children in house (1=yes)	0.568	(0.50)	0.586	(0.49)	0.323	(0.47)
Receiving housing assistance (1=yes)	0.292	(0.46)	0.086	(0.28)	0.079	(0.27)
Metropolitan-area variables						
Housing vacancy rate	11.5	(4.1)	10.3	(4.2)	11.9	(5.8)
Homeownership	66.7	(5.6)	59.9	(7.1)	67.2	(6.5)
Rent-to-income ratio	0.188	(0.02)	0.212	(0.03)	0.184	(0.02)
N	9,314		1,372		8,379	

PSID = Panel Study of Income Dynamics. SD = standard deviation.
Source: PSID, 1997–2011

Latino Renters Tend To Reside in Metropolitan Areas With Tighter Housing Markets

Although Black, Latino, and White renters generally face similar housing market conditions, as can be seen in exhibit 4.1, Latino renters do tend to live in areas where a lower percentage of housing units are vacant, overall levels of homeownership are lower, and median rent levels are higher relative to median incomes.

These tighter housing market conditions and group differences in individual- and family-level characteristics are important to consider in developing our understanding of group differences in housing search processes. Accordingly, we control for all these variables in our subsequent analyses of the PSID data. A similar set of controls is included in analyses of the AHS and CAS data.⁷

Renters and Recent Movers Are Not That Different From Each Other

Also, important to our analysis is the possibility that recent movers are not a random cross-section of the full rental population, and the factors associated with mobility in general represent important features of the context in which housing searches occur. Appendix exhibit F.1 presents descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) derived from PSID data for two groups of

⁷ That having been said, the CAS reflects a single metropolitan area, so housing market conditions are not controlled for in the analyses of this data set. Other individual-level characteristics are, however, included in analyses of the CAS.

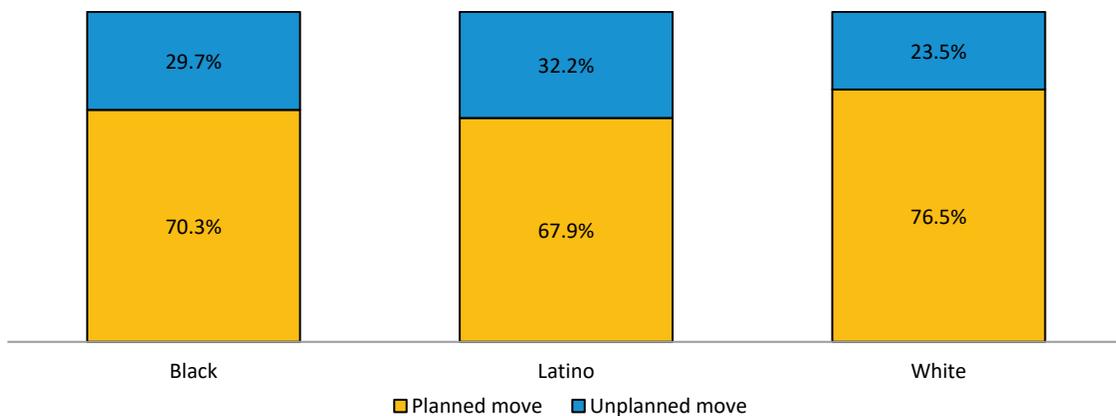
renters: those who moved between PSID interviews (recent movers) and those who did not (nonmovers). These statistics indicate that relatively few individual- and family-level circumstances differentiate renters who moved in the 2 years between PSID interviews and renters who did not.

Housing search processes are likely influenced by the extent to which the search was planned or anticipated, as opposed to being precipitated by some unexpected event. Fully anticipated moves may be more likely to involve more planning, the use of more comprehensive search strategies, and consideration of a wider set of options. In contrast, an unanticipated move may involve a more truncated search process and a lower likelihood of favorable residential outcomes. Given these expectations, assessing racial or ethnic differences in the likelihood of experiencing an unplanned search helps us better understand the extent to which this contextual factor might explain group differences in search strategies and outcomes.

Black and Latino Movers Are More Likely To Make an Unplanned Move Than White Movers, but This Difference Is Explained by Differences in Background Characteristics

Using the longitudinal data in the PSID, we examine the link between the anticipation of a move at one interview and the likelihood of a move by the subsequent interview (2 years later). Basic racial and ethnic differences are displayed in exhibit 4.2, and the more detailed logistic regression analysis predicting the log-odds that a move was unplanned (among mobile PSID renters) is presented in appendix exhibit F.2.

Exhibit 4.2: Group Differences in Whether a Move Was Planned or Anticipated



Note: N = 9,789.

Source: Recently mobile renters in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1997–2011

The results point to potentially important racial or ethnic differences; about 24 percent of White respondents who moved between interviews had not anticipated a move 2 years earlier (exhibit

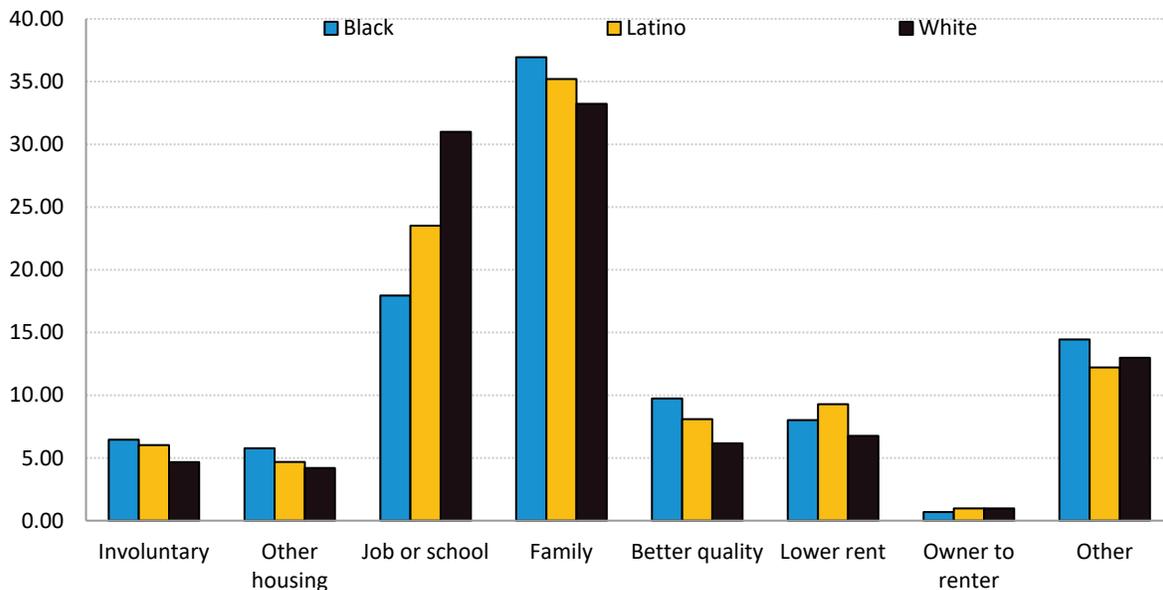
4.2). In contrast, about 30 percent of moves by Black and 32 percent of moves by Latino respondents were unanticipated. These racial or ethnic differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$; see model 1 of appendix exhibit F.2). However, the differences disappear after controlling for other factors that influence the likelihood of an unplanned move (see model 2 of appendix exhibit F.2). This change is because Black and Latino renters tend to have lower levels of income and education, as well as other characteristics that increase their risk of unanticipated moves.

In Tighter Housing Markets, the Latino-White Contrast Is Particularly Strong

Also, some evidence exists that the Latino-White contrast is especially strong in metropolitan areas with relatively few vacancies and high levels of homeownership (see model 3 of appendix exhibit F.2), indicating that, in tighter housing markets with relatively few rental units and few vacancies, Latino renters are more likely to have to make unanticipated moves than are White renters.

The observed racial or ethnic differences in unanticipated moves raise important questions about the specific reasons why renters move. We address this topic with the more detailed information provided in the AHS, which asked recent movers the main reason they moved into the new unit during the preceding 2 years (exhibit 4.3).

Exhibit 4.3: Racial or Ethnic Differences in Primary Reasons for Moving (percent)



Notes: N = 9,833.
 Source: Recently mobile renters in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Black and Latino Renters Are More Likely To Make Involuntary Moves, Largely Because of Socioeconomic Standing

Compared with 4.7 percent of White respondents, 6.0 percent of Latino respondents and 6.5 percent of Black respondents reported making a move for involuntary reasons, such as an eviction, foreclosure, fire or other disaster damage to the previous housing unit, or because they were forced to move because the government or private party wanted to use the property. Although small, both the difference between Black and White renters and the difference between Latino and White renters are statistically significant.

These differences are consistent with the PSID analysis indicating that Latino and Black renters are more likely to experience an unplanned move. Moreover, like in the PSID, supplemental analyses indicate that these racial or ethnic differences in the likelihood of making a forced move are rooted in group differences in socioeconomic resources; racial or ethnic differences disappear when individual characteristics—especially income and education—are introduced, indicating that the relatively lower socioeconomic standing of Black and Latino renters puts them at greater risk for a forced move.

White Renters Are More Likely To Move To Improve Convenience Than Are Black or Latino Renters

The AHS also shows (exhibit 4.3) sharp racial or ethnic differences in the likelihood of making a clearly purposive move—changing residence with the intent to improve convenience or living conditions. For example, 31 percent of White recent movers, but only 18 percent of Black and 23.5 percent of Latino recent movers, reported that their primary reason for moving was to be closer to work or school. Unlike other differences in reasons, these statistically significant differences cannot be explained by group differences in socioeconomic characteristics, family composition, or features of the broader housing market.

Black and Latino Renters Are More Likely To Move To Improve the Quality of Their Housing

Although the percentages are quite low for all groups, a slightly larger share of Black and Latino renters report that they moved in order to find better quality housing. Specifically, 6 percent of White renters, but 8 percent of Latino and nearly 10 percent of Black renters, report that the main reason for a move was to find better-quality housing. Again, these racial or ethnic differences are statistically significant and persist even with controls for individual characteristics and housing market conditions. Although the absence of data on residential origins in the AHS prevents analysis of the topic, these differences in reporting moves for higher-quality housing likely reflects racial or ethnic differences in the quality of housing from which renters moved.

Decision Making

As described in our conceptual framework, racial or ethnic differences in residential outcomes might emerge out of variations in decision making during the housing search. For example, important considerations may be racial or ethnic differences in the development of desired features of housing units and neighborhoods sought during the search process, the criteria used to decide whether to investigate specific housing options, decisions about how many housing options and which neighborhoods to investigate, and decisions about when to end the search. Variations at any of these decision-making points may have important implications for racial stratification in the types of units and the type of neighborhoods renters occupy. Existing surveys provide very little information about these aspects of the search process, but we report here what is available, and note that the Housing Search Study (HSS) data will shed more light.

Black and White Renters Look at Comparable Numbers of Units, but Latino-White Differences Persist

The AHS survey measured how many housing units recent movers considered when they made their move. By comparison with recent White movers (those moving into the current unit within the past 2 years), recent Black and Latino movers report looking at significantly fewer units before moving (see model 1 of appendix exhibit F.3). Specifically, White movers looked at, on average, 6.56 other units before choosing the current location, whereas Black movers considered 5.48 other options, and Latino movers considered 4.89 other options. However, the difference between Black and White renters appears to be a function of group differences in sociodemographic characteristics and the conditions of the housing market because it becomes statistically insignificant when controls for these factors are introduced (see model 2 of appendix exhibit F.3). In contrast, the difference between Latino and White renters remains statistically significant even with the full slate of controls. Thus, available evidence suggests that even among those with similar economic resources, family characteristics, and housing market conditions, Latino renters tend to consider fewer units than do White renters during the search process.

Latino and White Renters Are Equally Likely To Look Outside Their Current Neighborhoods, but Black Renters Are More Likely Than White Renters To Do So

By comparison with White renters, Latino renters are also less likely to have looked at other neighborhoods outside of the one into which they moved. According to the AHS, about 50 percent of Latino renters looked in other neighborhoods before choosing the neighborhood of residence, compared with about 57 percent among both White and Black renters. After controlling for other factors, however, the Latino effect disappears (see model 2 of appendix exhibit F.4), suggesting that the difference between Latino and White renters is a function of differences in economic resources and other individual and family characteristics.

In contrast, although the basic model showed no differences between Black and White renters, once these factors are controlled, a Black-White difference emerges in the likelihood of having considered other neighborhoods (see model 2 of appendix exhibit F.4). Specifically, the odds of having considered other potential neighborhood destinations during the search process are about 28 percent higher for Black renters than for White renters with similar characteristics. Thus, available evidence suggests that, all else being equal, Black renters tend to take a more inclusive search approach—at least in terms of employing the simple strategy of considering options outside of the current neighborhoods—than do White renters.

Beyond the simple number of units considered and whether other neighborhoods were considered, the location of these potential residences and the characteristics of the neighborhoods in which they are may have crucial effects on racial differences in residential outcomes. We know that White, Black, and Latino renters end up living, to a great extent, in segregated neighborhoods. What is unclear is the extent to which actions made during the step before a move—during which people decide the places they wish to search—also lead to segregation. Alternatively, for example, it may be that people decide to search in a wide range of different neighborhoods with different racial characteristics but for one reason or another end up living in a segregated own-group neighborhood. The CAS is the only existing data set that sheds light on the decisions that White, Black, and Latino renters make about which neighborhoods to consider during the search process.⁸ Taking into account that people often search in more than one neighborhood or community, we classify a person into one of the following mutually exclusive categories: searched only in communities where their own group was the majority (> 50 percent); searched only in communities where some other group was in the majority; searched in a combination of communities—some where their group was the majority and others where another group was in the majority; searched only in communities without a majority group; or did not search in any of the communities labeled on the map. Using this, we can gauge the extent to which the kinds of places people search varies by race or ethnicity.

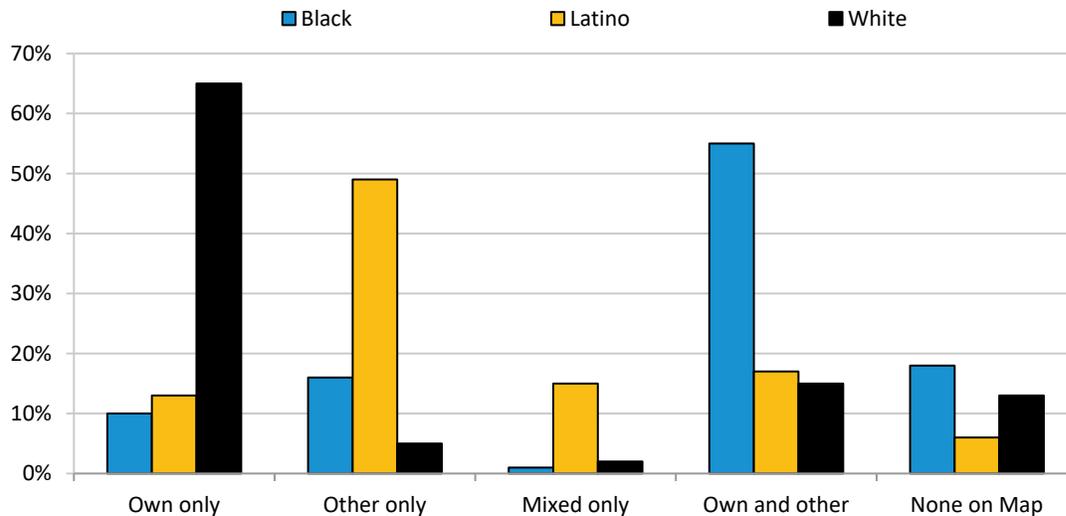
Black and Latino Renters Search in Communities With a Wider Variety of Racial Compositions Than Do Whites

As shown in exhibit 4.4, whereas most White renters (65 percent) searched only in neighborhoods in which their own group was the majority, only 10 percent of Black and 13 percent of Latino renters did the same. Conversely, fully 55 percent of Black renters had in their search set both communities where Black residents were the majority and communities where White residents were the majority. Likely owing to the small percentage of communities that were majority Latino on our maps (and in the metropolitan area in general), Latino renters' patterns are different; the modal category for Latino renters is to search only in communities where some other group is in the majority (49 percent). Latino renters are also much more likely than Black or White renters to search only in communities without a racial or ethnic majority

⁸ The CAS provides information on a random sample of adults ages 21 and older living in Cook County, Illinois (which includes the city of Chicago). Survey respondents were presented with a simplified and colorful map of the Chicago metropolitan area. A large number—but by no means all—of the communities in the region (41) were labeled on the map and had a checkbox next to them. Respondents were asked to check (using a pen) the boxes next to all the communities in which they had searched for housing in the last 10 years. The communities labeled on the map reflect a range of racial compositions, social class characteristics, and geographies.

group. Controlling for background characteristics does little to diminish these racial or ethnic differences. For example, the greater likelihood of Latino and Black renters for searching in “Other only” neighborhoods compared with “Own only” neighborhoods persists even after controlling for individual and family characteristics. One exception is that for Black, but not Latino, renters the greater likelihood of looking in both “Own” and “Other” group majority neighborhoods (compared with “Own only”) also holds after controlling for background differences.

Exhibit 4.4: Racial-Ethnic Differences in Types of Neighborhoods Searched by Renters



Note: N = 188.

Source: Chicago Area Study, 2004–2005

Looked at another way, about one-fourth of White renters reported search locations that included at least one community in which their own group was not in the majority, compared with 72 percent of Black and fully 81 percent of Latino renters.

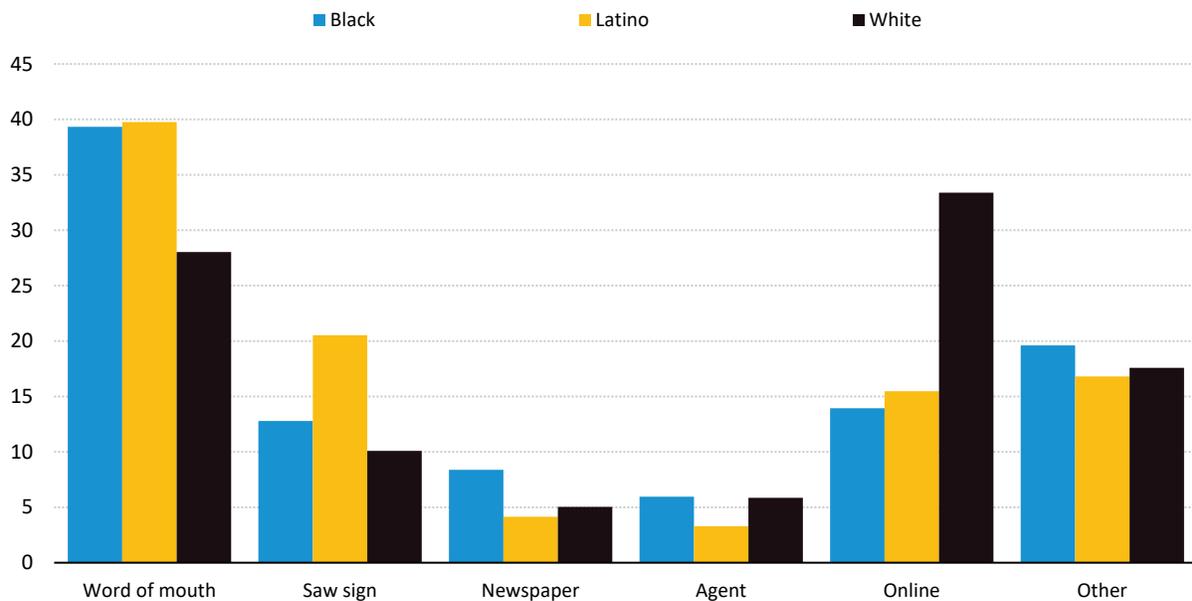
Information Gathering

Racial or ethnic differences in the types of neighborhoods searched and ultimately occupied by renters may emerge out of group differences in the type of information gathered during the search process. The use of different sources of information—for example, from newspapers, rental agents, or online resources—may lead to racial-ethnic variation in the number, type, and location of housing options identified during the search and, by extension, contribute to racial-ethnic differences in residential outcomes. In this sense, assessing racial-ethnic differences in methods of gathering information is potentially important for understanding broader patterns of residential stratification.

Black and Latino Renters Are More Likely Than White Renters To Find a Place To Live by Word of Mouth

Among recent movers, based on the American Housing Survey (AHS) data (exhibit 4.5), Black and Latino renters are more likely than White renters to have used word of mouth to find their current residence: about 39 percent of both Black and Latino renters first heard about their new place through this type of interpersonal contact, compared with 28 percent of White renters. These Black-White and Latino-White differences are statistically significant and remain so even after controlling for education, income, and other family-level characteristics, as well as differences in housing market conditions (see appendix exhibit F.5). Although the AHS data provide no information on the rationale for utilizing particular search methods, this finding is consistent with the expectation that minority renters are more likely than White renters to rely on social networks and other information sources that allow them to avoid discrimination in the search process.

Exhibit 4.5: Racial-Ethnic Differences in Method Used To First Identify the New Housing Unit (percent)



Note: N = 9,833.
Source: Recently mobile renters in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Black and Latino Renters Are More Likely Than White Renters To Use Signs on Buildings To Find an Apartment

By comparison with White renters, Black and Latino renters are more likely to have found their current residence by viewing “For Rent” signs posted on buildings; more than 20 percent of Latino and nearly 13 percent of Black renters found their home through this method, by comparison with 10 percent of White renters. Again, these differences remain statistically significant with controls for the full slate of individual, family, and metropolitan characteristics

(see appendix exhibit F.6). These differences are important in that they point to a potential source of racial or ethnic differences in the geographic scope of the housing search process. If, as these results suggest, Latino and Black searchers are more likely than their White counterparts to rely on building signs to identify housing options, then their housing search is likely to be more circumscribed to the areas in which they already spend time: their home neighborhood or the areas in which they go for work, school, or other activities. However, the AHS is limited because it provides information only on the strategy through which the renter first heard of the current residence and cannot shed light on the broader set of strategies employed during the search.

Black Renters Are More Likely To Use Newspapers, and Latino Renters Are Less Likely To Use Rental Agents

The AHS data also point to some group differences in the likelihood of methods that, as of 2011, were less common approaches for searching for housing. Black respondents in the AHS are significantly more likely than White respondents to have heard about their new residence in the newspaper,⁹ a difference that remains significant even with controls for market conditions and sociodemographic characteristics (see appendix exhibit F.7). Latino and White respondents are not different in terms of the likelihood of using a newspaper for the housing search. However, Latino renters are significantly less likely than White renters to have used a rental agent to find their current residence, and this difference is statistically significant both with and without controls for other search factors. In contrast, recent Black movers (5.96 percent) are slightly more likely than their White (5.85 percent) counterparts to have used an agent during the housing search. Although modest, this difference becomes statistically significant after controls for education, income, and other individual-level characteristics (see appendix exhibit F.8), suggesting that Black renters rely on agents more than do White renters with similar characteristics.

Black and Latino Renters Use Online Resources Much Less Than White Renters

The more pronounced racial or ethnic differences in search methods are in the use of the online resources. Black and Latino renters are significantly less likely than White renters to have used online resources to find their current residence. Specifically, only about 14 percent of Black and 15.5 percent of Latino renters found their new home online by comparison with more than one-third of White renters. Again, these differences are only partially explained by group differences in sociodemographic characteristics and whether the move was undertaken involuntarily. Even after controlling for individual- and family-level characteristics, as well as the basic reason for the move, the odds of having found the dwelling online are about 51 percent lower for Black and 41 percent lower for Latino renters than for their White counterparts (see model 2 of appendix exhibit F.9). Metropolitan-level housing market conditions do little to explain these differences (see model 3 of appendix exhibit F.9), nor do the differences appear to vary significantly across metropolitan contexts (see model 4 of appendix exhibit F.9).

⁹ The AHS item does not specify whether newspaper ads used in the housing search were online or print.

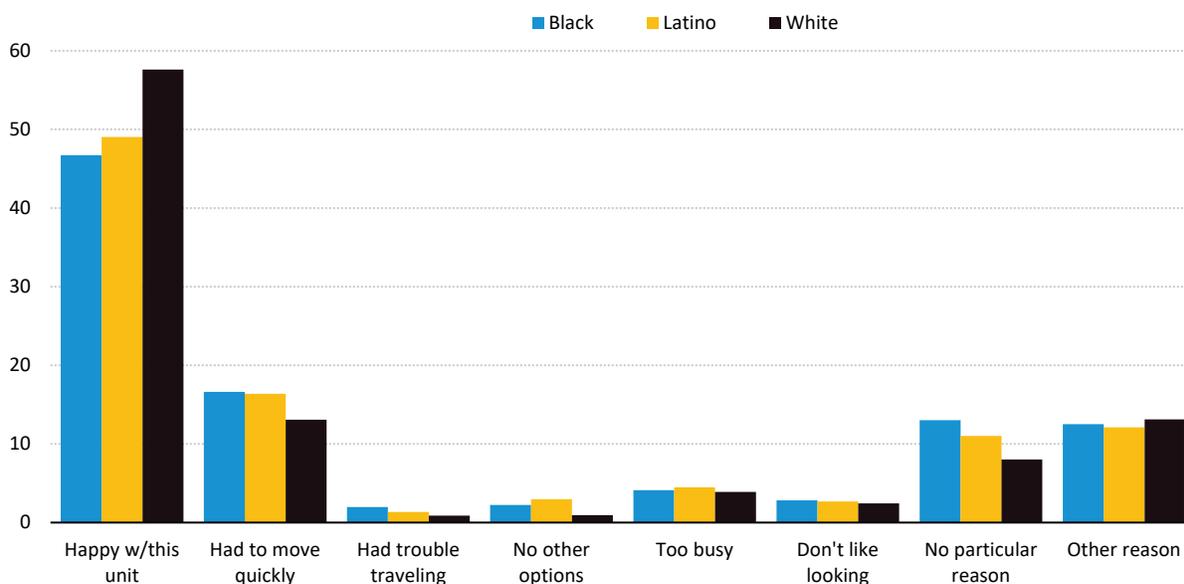
Evaluating Options

Little data are available on the question of how people evaluate their options, although some hints are provided in a question in the AHS that asks people why they ended their search—essentially the endgame of the evaluation process. These reasons say nothing about the process of evaluation or the evolution of priorities, but racial or ethnic differences in the reasons for why people end their search do hint at an important additional line of stratification.

White Renters Are More Likely Than Black and Latino Renters To End a Search Because They Are Happy With What They Found

As shown in exhibit 4.6, most recent movers who provided a reason for ending the search reported that they did so because they were happy with the unit into which they actually moved. However, racial differences in this response are important. About 58 percent of White recent movers reported that they stopped looking for housing because they were happy with the unit they found. The comparable percentages among Black and Latino recent movers are 47 percent and 49 percent, respectively. As shown in appendix exhibit F.10, these differences are statistically significant ($p < .001$).

Exhibit 4.6: Racial or Ethnic Differences in Reasons for Stopping the Search (percent)



Note: N = 9,833.

Source: Recently mobile renters in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Moreover, although the likelihood of ending a search because renters were happy with the unit is higher for those with relatively higher levels of education and income and for those who move voluntarily, controlling for group differences in these and other individual- and family-level circumstances only partially explains racial or ethnic differences (see model 2 of appendix

exhibit F.10). Even among those renters with similar personal characteristics, the odds of ending the search because of satisfaction with the unit are about 22 percent lower for Black renters, and 15 percent lower for Latino renters than for White renters.

The Housing Markets in Which People Search Affects Whether They End a Search Because They Are Happy With What They Found

The likelihood of stopping the search because of being happy with the unit is, not surprisingly, significantly affected by the conditions of the broader housing market. As shown in appendix exhibit F.10, the likelihood of ending a search for this ideal reason is lower in metropolitan areas with higher housing costs (ratio of median rent to median income), a relatively low number of rental units, and a high percentage of homeowners. Controlling for these metropolitan-level variables reduces the size of the racial or ethnic differences only modestly. Moreover, evidence to suggest that the magnitude of these racial differences varies across housing market contexts is limited; only the Black-White contrast is significantly ($p = 0.043$) moderated by the level of homeownership in the metropolitan area.

Latino Renters Are More Likely Than White Renters To Stop a Search Because They Had To Move Quickly and Because They Knew of No Other Options

Exhibit 4.6 also shows racial or ethnic differences in other less-than-ideal reasons for stopping the search. For example, whereas about 13 percent of White renters reported stopping their search because they had to move quickly, 17 percent of Black and 16 percent of Latino renters report this kind of desperation decision. Supplemental analysis shows that these differences are largely explained by group differences in the likelihood of moving for involuntary reasons, but the difference between White and Latino renters remains significant even when the reason for moving and other individual- and family-level circumstances are controlled.

Similarly, by comparison with White recent movers, Black and Latino recent movers are more likely to report that they stopped searching because they knew of no other housing options. Specifically, slightly less than 1 percent of White recent movers reported this reason for stopping compared with 2.2 percent of Black and 3.0 percent of Latino recent movers. Once again, although modest, these differences are statistically significant, and the Latino-White contrast remains so even after controlling for racial or ethnic differences in education, income, and the reason for moving.

Black Renters Are More Likely Than White Renters To Report Ending Their Search Because of Transportation Problems

Black renters who are recent movers (2 percent) are also more likely than their White counterparts (0.9 percent) to report that they stopped searching because they had trouble

traveling to look at other options. This small but statistically significant difference is completely explained by the lower tendency for Black respondents to have access to a car.

Overall, these results suggest that, by comparison with White renters, Black and Latino renters may feel more constrained during the housing search process, leading them to settle for a new location for less-than-ideal reasons. The extent to which this racial or ethnic stratification reflects, and emerges out of, differences in more nuanced features of the search process deserve considerably more attention.

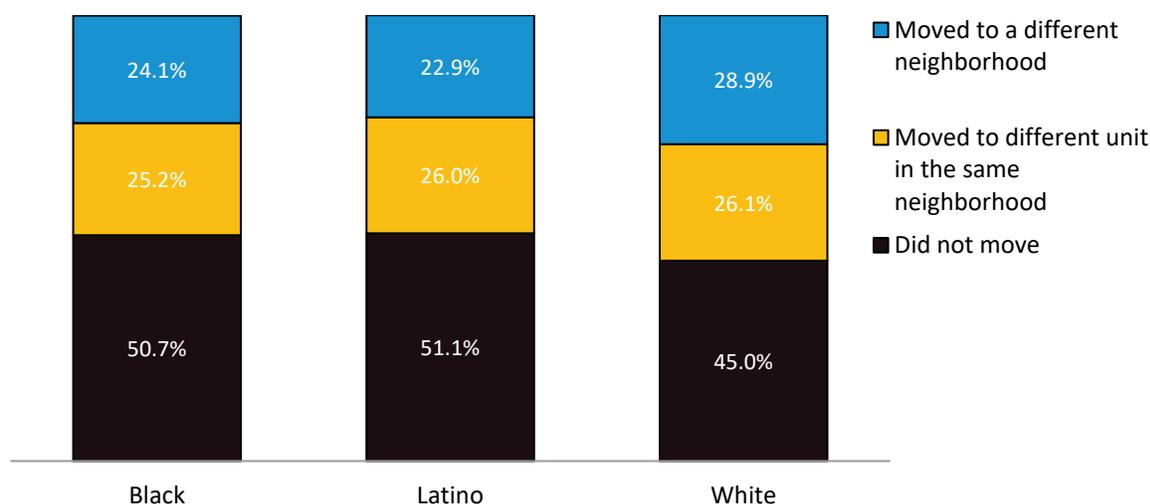
Final Outcome

Housing searches vary in terms of the length of time it takes to find a destination and the characteristics of the destination; the AHS and Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) data provide a range of insights into a variety of racial or ethnic features of search outcomes, beginning with the basic question of whether people move at all.

White Renters Are More Likely To Move Than Either Black or Latino Renters

According to the PSID, the likelihood of moving varies substantially by race. As shown in exhibit 4.7, whereas 55 percent of White renters make some kind of move during the 2-year period, the mobility rate is around 49 percent for both Black and Latino renters. Results in appendix exhibit F.11 indicate that these racial or ethnic differences are statistically significant and persist, even after accounting for a wide range of factors shown in past research to affect mobility. Controlling for individual and family characteristics, as well as key characteristics of the local housing market (vacancy rate, homeownership rate, and ratio of income to median rent in the metropolitan area), both Latino and Black renters are still significantly less likely than White renters to move to a different housing unit during a 2-year period (see model 2 of appendix exhibit F.11). However, the extent of these group differences varies significantly across metropolitan area contexts (see model 3 of appendix exhibit F.11). The lower mobility of Latino renters (compared with White renters) is especially pronounced in metropolitan areas in which the median rent is high relative to local income levels. In contrast, a high level of homeownership in the metropolitan area diminishes the Black-White difference in mobility.

Exhibit 4.7: Group Differences in Residential Mobility Between Interviews



Note: N = 19,065.

Source: Renters in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1997–2011

Black and Latino Renters Seem Less Likely Than White Renters To Move to a Different Neighborhood

Roughly comparable percentages of White, Black, and Latino renters move to a different housing unit within the same neighborhood during a typical 2-year period (exhibit 4.7). However, by comparison with White renters, both Black and Latino renters are less likely to move to a different neighborhood; on average, about 29 percent of White renters, but only about 23 percent of Latino and 24 percent of Black renters, move to a different neighborhood in the 2-year period between PSID interviews. These differences in mobility type are potentially important for understanding stratification in the search process, suggesting that housing searches may be more spatially circumscribed for renters from minority groups than for White renters.

Appendix exhibit F.12 presents results of a logistic regression analysis predicting the log-odds that a move is between neighborhoods (rather than within the same neighborhood) among renters making any kind of move during the 2-year period between PSID interviews. The results in this table show that the racial or ethnic differences in the tendency to move to a different neighborhood are statistically significant (see model 1 in appendix exhibit F.12) but can be partially attributed to group differences in individual- and family level circumstances. Specifically, the Black-White difference in the likelihood of a move to a different neighborhood is cut in half (from -.143 in model 1 to -.056 in model 2) and reduced to statistical insignificance when individual and family controls are introduced. Most influential is that Black movers are more likely than White movers to be receiving housing assistance and to have children in the

household, both factors of which tend to reduce longer-distance moves.¹⁰ In contrast, Latino-White differences in the tendency to move to a different neighborhood remain significant and even increase slightly in magnitude, with controls for individual- and family level characteristics.

Appendix exhibit F.12 also shows that the conditions of the metropolitan area have strong effects on the distance renters travel when they move; likely reflecting the search for more affordable options, renters are more likely to switch neighborhoods in housing markets with low vacancy rates, high rates of homeownership, and more expensive housing. However, these market characteristics do not appear to alter patterns of racial stratification in this outcome; only high rent levels appear to moderate the racial difference such that the reduced likelihood for Black renters to move to a different neighborhood is more pronounced in areas where the ratio of median rents to median incomes is high.¹¹

Black and Latino Renters Are More Likely To Have a Failed Search Than White Renters

As outlined in our conceptual framework, constraints on housing options can increase the risk that a housing search ends without an actual move taking place. Although existing data sources provide little direct information about such failed searches, the PSID does provide information about the extent to which the expectation of moving at one interview is followed by an actual move at the next interview. Our analysis of this information shows that about 71 percent of the White PSID renters who reported the expectation of a move at one interview actually moved by the subsequent interview. Although search intensity likely varies greatly among those who did not move, these figures indicate that up to 29 percent of searches for White renters can be considered failed searches. In contrast, as much as 39 percent of searches by Black and 38 percent of searches by Latino renters might be considered failed searches. As shown in appendix exhibit F.13, these racial or ethnic differences in unconsummated searches remain pronounced and statistically significant even after controlling for family economic resources, demographic conditions, and characteristics of the housing market, and no evidence that the racial difference is softened by favorable housing market conditions exists. Thus, not only are Black and Latino renters less likely than White renters to end their search because they find a unit they like, they may also be more likely to end a search without moving at all.

Black Renters Have Longer Searches Than White and Latino Searchers

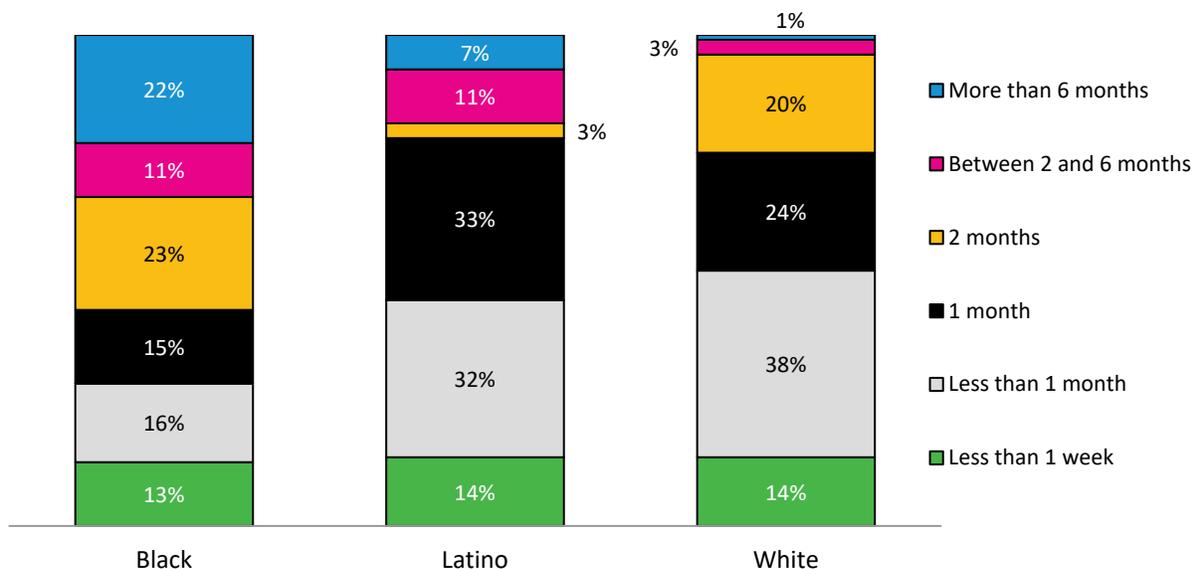
As noted previously, American Housing Survey (AHS) data suggest that Black and Latino recent movers are more likely than their White counterparts to have ended their housing search for less-than-ideal reasons. Complementing this finding, data from CAS also show that Black renters

¹⁰ The relatively low likelihood of inter-neighborhood mobility among those receiving housing assistance likely reflects, at least in part, the limited portability of vouchers and the geographic clustering of subsidized housing. See Turner, Popkin, and Cunningham (2000).

¹¹ Supplemental information on the geographic distance between origin and destination neighborhoods suggests that when they do move to a different neighborhood, Black and Latino renters tend to move shorter distances than do White renters who change neighborhoods. This tendency for Black and Latino renters to move over shorter geographic distances than their White counterparts is also more pronounced in more-expensive housing markets, and lower vacancy rates and lower concentrations of rental units in the housing market and probably by less access to a car also enhances the Black-White difference in distance moved.

reported significantly longer searches than did White renters (exhibit 4.8). Whereas 76 percent of White renters (and 79 percent of Latino renters) completed their search in a month or less, only 44 percent of Black renter does. The Black-White differences persist even with individual-level characteristics included as controls. In contrast, Latino renters appear to be statistically similar to White renters in terms of the length of search.

Exhibit 4.8: Group Differences in Length of Most Recent Housing Search



Note: N = 188.
Source: Renters in the Chicago Area Study, 2004–2005

Our secondary data also provide insight into the residential destinations of those renters who do move. Here, we draw on the PSID Child Development Supplement (PSID-CDS)—administered in 1997, 2002, and 2007 to families with children in the household—to assess mobile renters’ satisfaction with their current unit and neighborhood, as well as their assessment of the new location relative to their location before the move. Our results point to substantial racial or ethnic stratification on all these outcomes.

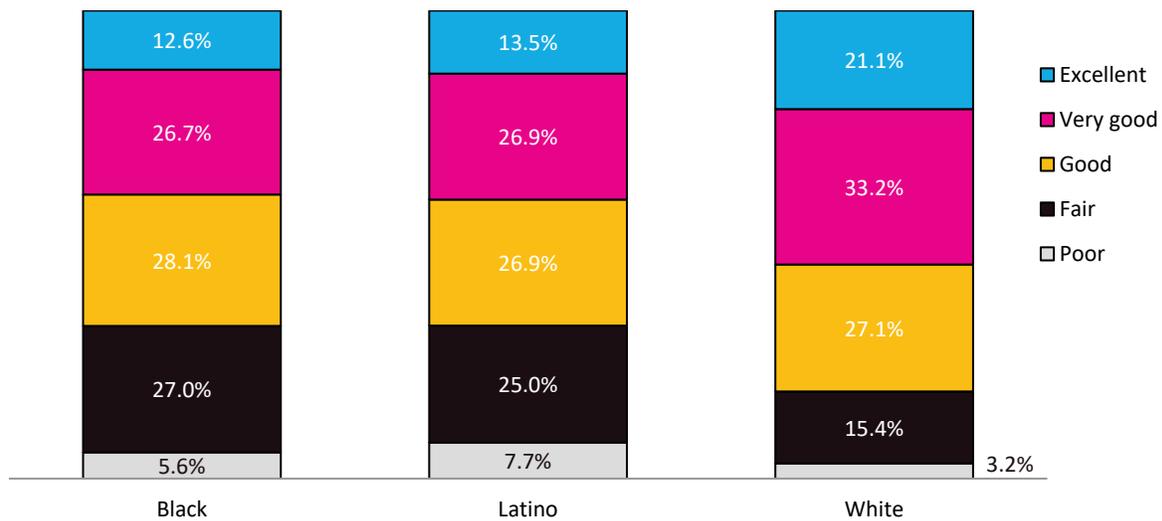
Black and Latino Renters Seem To Rate Their New Neighborhood as Lower in Quality Than Do White Renters

Slightly more than one-half (54 percent) of recent White movers rate their new neighborhood as either excellent or very good, whereas only 39 percent of Black and 40 percent of Latino recent movers rate their neighborhood in this way (exhibit 4.9). Results of ordered logit models reveal that overall racial or ethnic differences in neighborhood ratings are statistically significant, and the contrast between Black and White movers (but not between Latino and White movers) in

neighborhood ratings remains statistically significant, even with controls for individual, family, and metropolitan characteristics.

Similar racial or ethnic differences are apparent in data on the new neighborhoods of recent movers in the AHS data. By comparison with White recent movers, Black recent movers provide lower ratings for both their new neighborhood and their new housing unit, and these differences persist even with controls for individual and metropolitan conditions that may affect residential outcomes. The data show no significant difference between White and Latino recent movers in their ratings of their new unit or new neighborhood.

Exhibit 4.9: Group Differences in Rating of New Neighborhood



Note: N = 584.

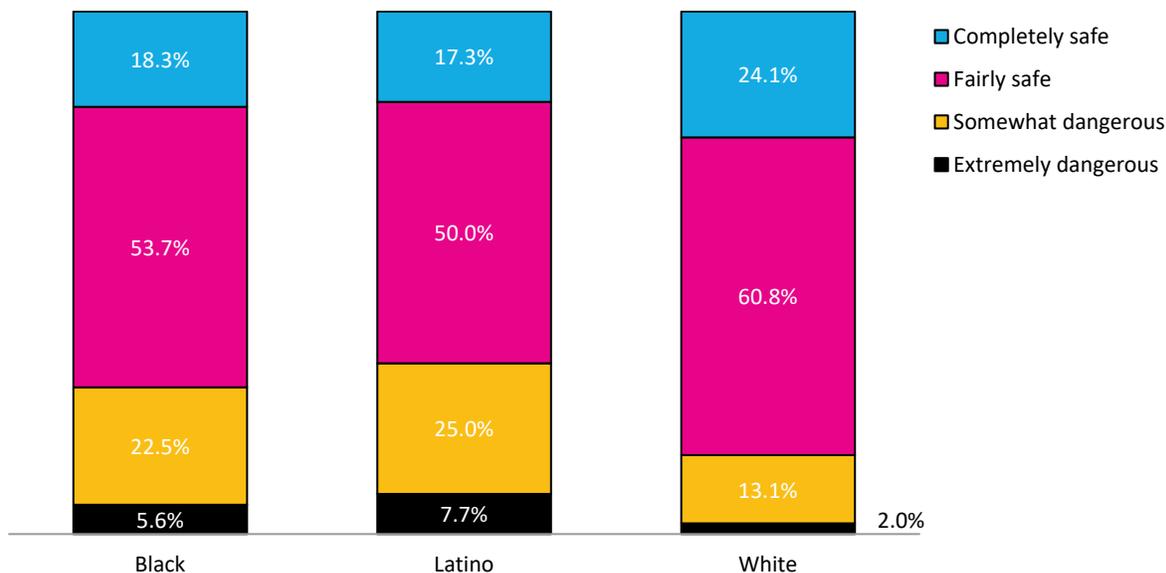
Source: Recently mobile renters in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics-Child Development Supplement, 1997–2011

At First Glance, Black and Latino Renters Are More Likely Than White Renters To Say Their New Neighborhood Is Unsafe

In terms of specific characteristics that might affect overall neighborhood ratings, data from the PSID-CDS indicate that Black and Latino renters are more likely than White renters to indicate that it is “somewhat dangerous” or “extremely dangerous” to walk in their new neighborhood alone at night. As shown in exhibit 4.10, fully 28 percent of Black and 33 percent of Latino renters indicate these lowest levels of neighborhood safety by comparison with 15 percent of White renters. Once again, these racial or ethnic differences are statistically significant and, although controlling for housing market conditions forces the Latino-White contrast to statistical nonsignificance ($p = 0.06$) at conventional levels, the contrast between Black and White renters remains significant even when controls for individual-, family-, and metropolitan-level characteristics are taken into account. Thus, even among renters with similar levels of education

and income, similar age and family characteristics, and facing similar housing market conditions, Black renters are less likely than White renters to move into neighborhoods they perceive as safe.

Exhibit 4.10: Group Differences in Perceptions of Whether It Is Safe To Walk Alone in the New Neighborhood



Note: N = 584.

Source: Recently mobile renters in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics-Child Development Supplement, 1997–2011

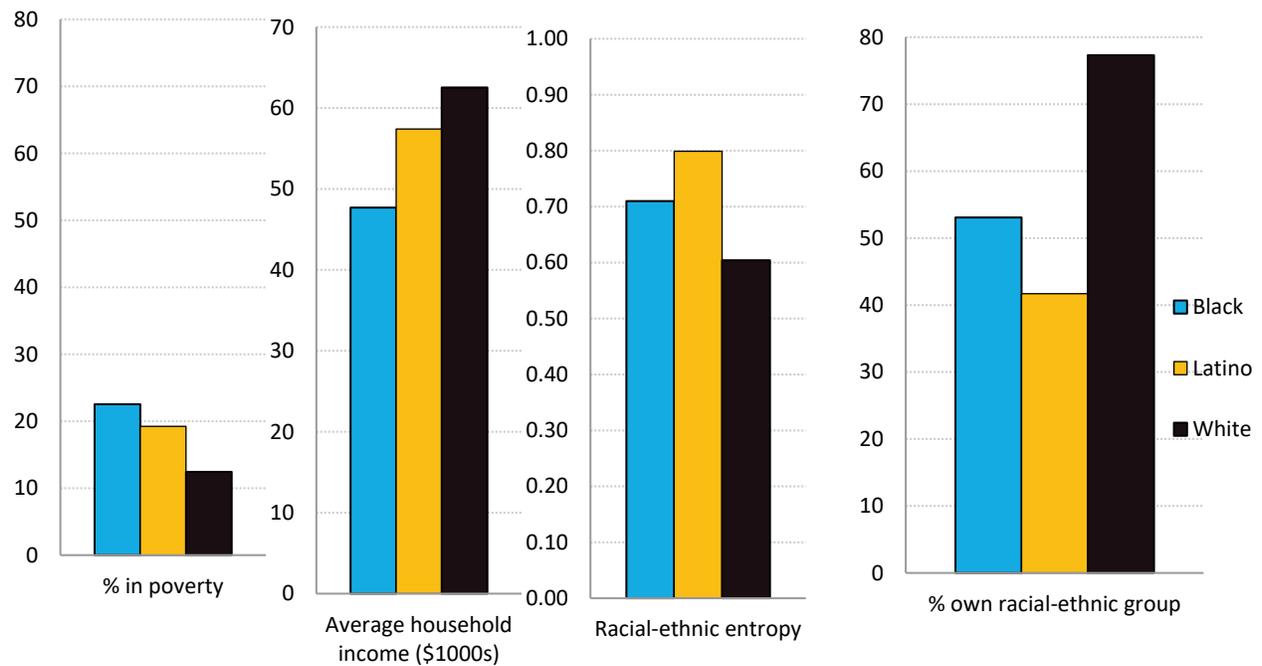
Black Renters Are More Likely To Say Their New Places Are Better Than Their Old

Interestingly, even though they tend to move to units that are rated lower than the destination units of White movers, Black recent movers are more likely to report that their new unit and their new neighborhood are still better than the units and neighborhoods they left. However, the differences are slight; about 42 percent of Black recent movers in the AHS report that their new neighborhood is better than the neighborhood from which they moved, compared with 37 percent of White recent movers. Similarly, 52 percent of Black recent movers say that their new housing unit is an improvement over the old one, compared with 45 percent of White recent movers. These Black-White differences, although modest, remain statistically significant even with sociodemographic controls, and hint at racial differences in the perceived returns to residential mobility that may be important to consider in the assessment of the search processes that lead to these outcomes.

Black and Latino Recent Movers End Up in More-Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Than White Recent Movers

Putting into context the observed racial difference in subjective neighborhood ratings, our analysis of the PSID data shows substantial racial or ethnic differences in the objective characteristics of residential destinations for mobile renters. Specifically, as shown in exhibit 4.11, by comparison with White renters who moved in the preceding 2-year period, Black and Latino recent movers ended up in neighborhoods with higher levels of poverty and lower levels of average household income. They also entered neighborhoods characterized by higher levels of racial or ethnic diversity (as measured by the multigroup entropy index) and lower levels of racial isolation (percent own-group) than those neighborhoods White recent movers entered. Supplemental analyses indicate that all these differences are statistically significant and remain so even with controls for individual-, family-, and metropolitan-level factors.

Exhibit 4.11: Differences in Characteristics of Destination Neighborhoods



Note: N = 9,879.
 Source: Recently mobile renters in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1997–2011

Destination Differences Are Not Much Different Than the Differences in Origins

These racial or ethnic differences in destinations largely reflect group differences in the neighborhoods these movers left. For members of all groups, differences between the sociodemographic characteristics (average income, poverty levels, and racial composition) of their old and new neighborhoods are only modest. However, the group differences in changes in neighborhood characteristics resulting from mobility are all quite small, and none are statistically

significant. The similarities between origins and destinations for members of each group help explain why racial or ethnic differences in the comparison of old and new neighborhoods are so modest, despite substantial differences in destination characteristics. For Black and Latino recent movers, the search tends to culminate in residence in neighborhoods with higher levels of poverty, lower safety, and lower overall quality than the neighborhoods entered by White recent movers, but these new neighborhoods are so similar to their old neighborhood that, for all groups, the residential mobility tends to result in little change in objective conditions or subjective rating of these conditions. In addition to highlighting profound residential inequity, these results suggest that housing search processes for members of different races likely involve churning within sets of neighborhoods that are highly circumscribed by race.

Connections Among the Search Stages

Overall, the results of our analysis point to potentially important racial or ethnic differences in various individual aspects of the housing search process, including the context of the move, the strategies used to search for housing, and reasons for ending the search. Ultimately, however, our goal is to understand the connections between these various features of the search process and their effects on racially differentiated residential outcomes.

Unfortunately, the scattered nature of existing data—with limited information on only selected aspects in separate data sets—prohibits the comprehensive view that we seek. Although falling well short of a full view on the topic, data from the AHS provide some clues about the interconnections between aspects of a housing search. Appendix exhibits F.14A and F.14B present basic bivariate correlations between the key aspects of the search process shown in the preceding analyses to vary substantially by race or ethnicity. This analysis is, of course, limited in several ways but primarily because it focuses solely on bivariate correlations that cannot be interpreted as causal links, and because it is based on AHS data that contain only limited and completely retrospective information on only a small selection of aspects of the search process, and only for successful movers (rather than all searchers).

Despite these limitations, the data show several interesting patterns of association, particularly between reasons for mobility and other search processes and outcomes.

People Who Move for Work or School Are More Likely To Use Online Resources

Those respondents who report that a move for work or school was the primary reason were less likely to find their new residence through word of mouth or by seeing a building sign, and more likely to have found their housing with online resources. This finding is to be expected in that these types of moves likely involve moving to more distant locations that are not part of the individuals' daily activities before the move and about which previous social contacts likely had little specific information. In these situations, where the respondent had to find housing far away from their previous location, online resources were an important tool. Moving for school or a job is also associated with considering a larger number of potential units and other neighborhoods, but also with reporting

that the current housing unit was chosen because of constraints on options, that the search ended with less than an ideal outcome, and that the new dwelling is not better than the previous residence.

In contrast to those respondents moving for school or a job, reporting a move for involuntary reasons—because of a foreclosure, eviction, disaster, or demanded use by another party—is not as clearly associated with specific search strategies; it has only a weak positive correlation with finding the current unit by seeing a sign on a building.

Involuntary Movers Are More Likely To End a Search With a Less-Than-Ideal Outcome

However, involuntary moves are strongly associated with a number of the factors related to the outcome of the search. Reporting an involuntary reason for moving is positively correlated with the likelihood of reporting that the housing search ended with a less-than-ideal outcome, and that the new dwelling was chosen because the set of alternative options was constrained. Just as important is the fact that moving involuntarily is negatively associated with the rating of the new neighborhood and the new housing unit and with the likelihood of reporting that the new dwelling is better than the old.

Constrained Searchers Look Different in Terms of Decisions and Outcomes

Finally, these results point to some potentially important interconnections between search constraints and residential outcomes. Renters who searched only in the immediate neighborhood of residence viewed smaller numbers of units during the search process and were also more likely to report that they chose their new dwelling because they perceived no better options. These constrained choices are, in turn, negatively associated with the rating of both the new dwelling and the new neighborhood.

Given the data limitations, these results should be interpreted with some caution. These results do suggest that the significant racial or ethnic differences in search parameters, and processes revealed in previous analyses—especially those related to decision making, information gathering, and evaluating options—likely play an important role in shaping substantial group differences in residential outcomes.

The analysis of secondary data provides us with solid evidence that racial or ethnic differences are in virtually every dimension of housing searches: the reason for the search, the way information is gathered, the decisions that are made about where to search, and the eventual outcomes of the search. Importantly, these results are based on probability samples of White, Black, and Latino renters and permit rigorous statistical tests; although some of the racial or ethnic differences in housing searches can be explained by differences in background characteristics like income. However, the existing data sets were limited in the scope and range of measures of housing search processes, so what we know about housing search processes has substantial gaps. For this more indepth look, we turn to the original data collection we conducted, the Housing Search Study (HSS) and indepth interviews.

Chapter 5: Identifying Other Clues About How and Why Racial Differences Arise in Housing Searches

The previous chapter identifies a number of clear but limited racial or ethnic differences in both housing search processes and outcomes. This chapter leverages data from the Housing Search Study (HSS) and indepth interviews to describe the factors that might be driving these differences and clues to the parts in the process that might be most ripe for additional exploration. It is important to remember that, unlike chapter 4, which drew mainly on nationally representative samples, our HSS data are a convenience sample of searchers in a single urban context: the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. As noted in chapter 3, the Washington, D.C. area has vacancy rates about one-half of those in the average areas occupied by Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) renters, for example. In addition, the individual characteristics of the sample differ from national samples (see appendix F.15 and discussion in chapter 3). However, despite their differences, racial trends among the recent movers and current searchers in our HSS are similar to what we see in the PSID and AHS. Compared with White respondents, Black respondents in our HSS samples tend to be older, disproportionately female, and report lower household income, less frequent marriage or cohabitation, and more children in their household.

The implications of our convenience sample mean that the insights based on the HSS are thematic and exploratory in nature. The HSS is a convenience sample of renters in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area that does not lend to prevalence estimates or tests of statistical significance. The themes identified in this chapter represent an assessment of patterns we observed in related variables across the HSS and were also echoed in the indepth interviews.

Given that housing search contexts are importantly shaped by the economic resources available to a searcher, it becomes crucial in our efforts to paint a picture of racial differences; using this convenience sample, that we take measures to determine which racial differences remain, after taking into consideration the racially distinct economic characteristics of our samples. Our strategy in this report is to refrain from drawing conclusions about racial differences without taking social class into consideration. Rather than rely on the presence or absence of statistical significance, we instead compare the size of the coefficient for the variable identifying racial background between a regression model that includes race as the sole independent variable (bivariate) with the size of the coefficient of this same variable (racial background) in a regression model in which background characteristics, including, importantly, social class, presence of children, and gender. Our rule of thumb is that dependent variables, in which the coefficient for racial background is reduced by about one-half in the multivariate model, are instances where we are uncomfortable asserting that race, per se, matters. However, where the size of the coefficient retains its strength (does not get reduced by more than one-half) in the multivariate context, we believe our assertion of racial difference is justified. After running these comparative models, we performed a synthesis across the different housing search dimensions and incorporated insights from the indepth interviews to identify the larger patterns of racial difference. The themes that emerged are (1) the role of neighborhood quality in shaping a search, (2) conscientious efforts and strategies used to avoid bad treatment, (3) the important role of anticipated discrimination in shaping many different stages of a search, (4) the emerging challenges associated with credit history, and (5) the challenges faced by searchers after a visit to a housing unit.

Although the results presented in our exhibits in this chapter do not incorporate searchers' income in them (instead, they show the basic results for each racial group), bear in mind that we are only reporting in this chapter those racial differences that, based on the criteria described previously, do not appear to be explained away by income differences.

Prioritizing Neighborhood Quality

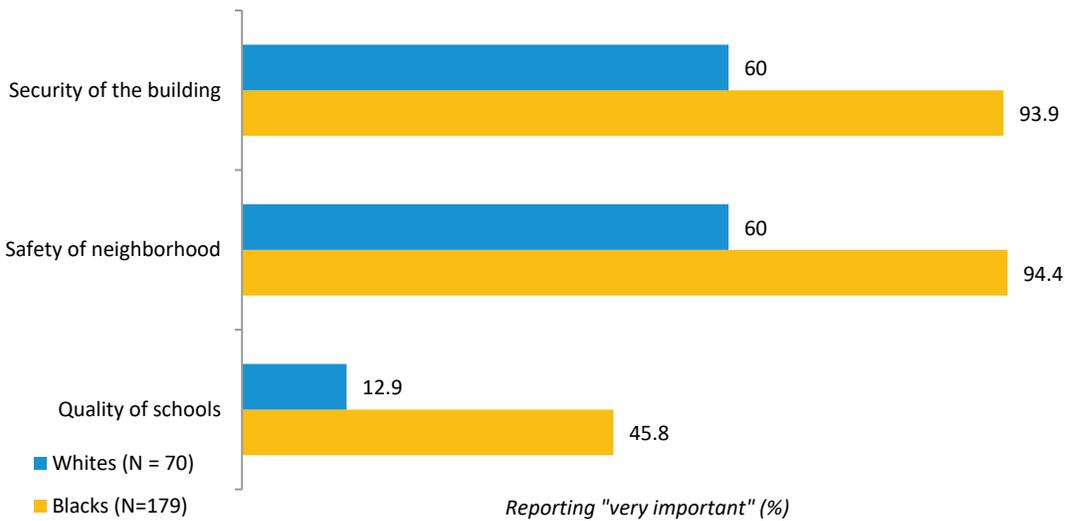
Consistent with the results from the secondary data analyses, our convenience sample of searchers in D.C. revealed that improving the quality of their housing was a primary motivation for undergoing a move or search for Black respondents. Specifically, the modal reason for moving among our sample of current searchers was a desire for better-quality housing, and Black searchers (37 percent) were much more likely than White searchers (18 percent) to indicate that they were moving primarily to secure higher-quality housing. The coefficient for racial background in a multiple regression model is only slightly reduced when controlling for social class. This finding is consistent with the long history of research showing that Black and White renters of similar social class live in markedly different kinds of neighborhoods.

For Black Renters, Safety and Good Schools Are Highly Valued Features

Perhaps because the impetus for the move was to get a better-quality living arrangement, information about neighborhood crime and other features are substantially more likely to be sought by Black than White searchers. For example, 87 percent of Black searchers indicated that they gathered information about the crime levels in a neighborhood, compared with only 64 percent of White searchers. In a regression analysis, the size of the coefficients that reflect these racial differences are not reduced—indeed, they are increased—once background characteristics are controlled.

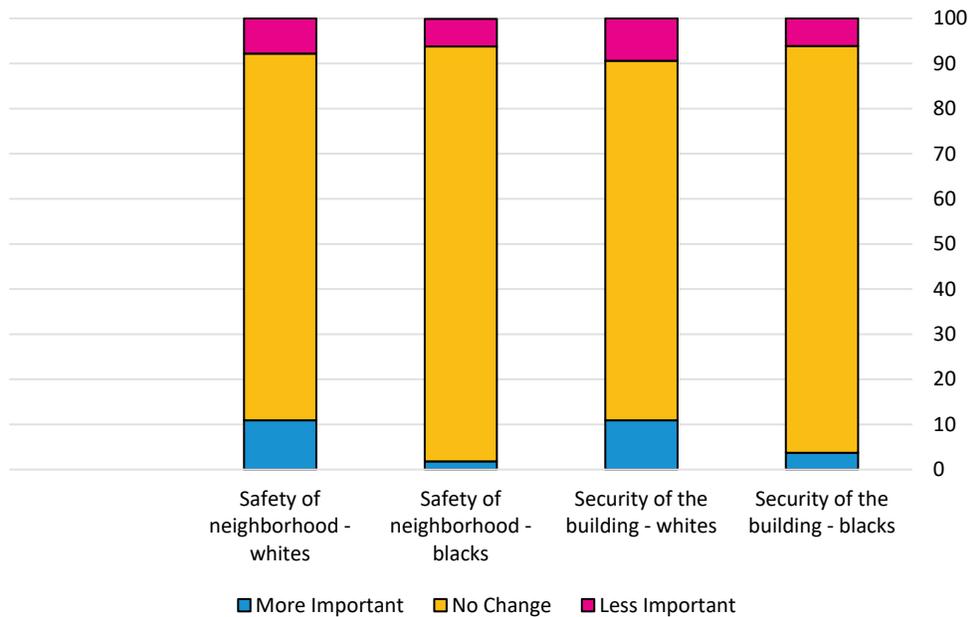
Black renters also disproportionately prioritize building security and school quality; in both cases, Black renters rate these as “very important” at much higher rates than White renters do (exhibit 5.1). Moreover, the importance of building security and neighborhood safety remained much more stable for Black than for White renters throughout their search process (exhibit 5.2). In the case of neighborhood safety, rather than disappear or reduce in size when background characteristics are included as control variables, the coefficient for race increases in magnitude.

Exhibit 5.1: Racial Differences in Importance of Housing Unit and Neighborhood Search Criteria



Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit 5.2: Changes in the Importance of Unit and Neighborhood Search Criteria (percent)



Notes: Black renters (N = 163), White renters (N = 64).
Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

These differences in the importance of safety and schools for White and Black searchers may simply reflect important racial differences in the geographic parameters of the housing search. For White searchers, living in a safe neighborhood with good-quality schools is likely as important as it is for Black searchers. Because these neighborhood characteristics are fairly standard features of the neighborhoods in which White renters conduct their search for housing, these characteristics never rise to the level of being listed as key search criteria; White renters are

likely to achieve these neighborhood features without prioritizing them in the housing search. In contrast, because Black renters are likely to search for housing in a much more diverse set of neighborhoods—some with higher levels of crime, relatively low safety, and weak public services—and prioritizing neighborhood safety and schools is likely more important to Black renters' likelihood of ending up in an acceptable neighborhood.

Black Renters' Perceptions of Safety Are Often Influenced by Personal Experiences in High-Crime Neighborhoods

The indepth interviews lend support for this interpretation. When White respondents talked about neighborhood safety considerations in their search, they tended to frame them in terms of impressions of a hypothetical type of area they wanted to avoid; Black searchers tended to be more likely to clearly indicate specific neighborhood characteristics that they associate with an unsafe environment, and to point to specific experiences and examples. That is, Black searchers were more likely to report actual encounters with unsafe neighborhoods than White searchers. For example, one high-income Black woman with children describes the difference in neighborhood safety by only moving across the street: “We’re on Georgia Avenue in the center of Wheaton. So, I guess they call it Wheaton Triangle. And our apartment was in Wheaton Triangle in a cluster of apartment buildings. And so on that side of Georgia Avenue, the crime rate is very high. Our neighbor was raped at gunpoint. Our bikes were stolen. Someone was robbed at gunpoint in our garage. And it’s right on top of the Metro. So, the crime rate is just ridiculous. So, we moved across the street where the Metro isn’t directly located. And it’s all houses and townhouses, and it’s very safe. It’s very safe. You don’t see any sketchy activity. I’m a part of this neighborhood group online. Ever since I moved to this side of the street, I don’t hear about the same things that I heard on that side of the street.”

Black Renters Tended To Be More Satisfied Than White Renters With Their New Units

Along a number of different dimensions, Black searchers felt they did better than they hoped for—and this was truer of Black than of White searchers. For example, in terms of the neighborhoods they moved into, Black searchers were more likely than White searchers to say they got “better than they hoped for” in terms of the quality of schools (exhibit 5.3), an effect that is unchanged with the inclusion of background characteristics as control variables.

When asked about their unit’s features, in our recent mover sample, most searchers reported that they improved on their unit’s features relative to their prior one; 60 percent rated their new unit as better than their prior one, with another one-fourth indicating that the new unit was about the same (exhibit 5.3). Our results hint that Black searchers are more satisfied with their new unit, vis-à-vis their old unit; for example, 21 percent of White searchers rate their new unit as worse than the old one compared with only 9 percent of Black searchers. This difference (worse versus all others) remains at essentially the same magnitude when controls for background characteristics are included.

The only neighborhood feature that Black searchers were less likely than White searchers to get what they were hoping for was in terms of location. Black searchers were more likely than White searchers to say that their new unit was “not as good as they hoped for” in terms of its location near family or friends.

Exhibit 5.3: Assessment of New Neighborhood Features Compared With What Was Hoped For

	Black Searchers	White Searchers	Total
Quality of the schools			
Better than hoped for	20.9	5.5	13.9
About what hoped for	19.4	10.9	15.6
Not as good as hoped for	9	5.5	7.4
N/A: Quality of schools not important	50.7	78.2	63.1
Assessment of unit in comparison to previous home			
Better	64.3	55.7	60.3
Worse	8.6	21.3	14.5
About the same	27.1	23	25.2
Location near friends or family			
Better than hoped for	27.1	23	25.2
About what hoped for	24.3	44.3	33.6
Not as good as hoped for	22.9	9.8	16.8
N/A: Location near friends or family did not matter	25.7	23	24.4
N	70	61	131

N/A = not applicable.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

Avoiding Bad Treatment

A second theme that emerges from our HSS is that Black renters may be especially likely to approach a search with the intentional goal of avoiding bad treatment at the hands of landlords. This goal is accomplished by picking particular techniques with which to conduct a search or by selecting certain criteria to prioritize.

Black Renters More Than White Renters Prioritize Landlord Responsiveness as an Important Criterion Throughout Their Search

These concerns are expressed in many ways throughout our data set. For example, Black renters are concerned about having potentially negative experiences interacting with landlords or property managers (exhibit 5.4). Compared with White searchers, Black searchers appear to enter the housing search process with much greater emphasis on the treatment they receive from the prospective landlord, and the importance of landlord interactions remained unchanged for most Black searchers—and for a handful, this criterion became more important during the search.

Exhibit 5.4: Racial Differences in the Importance of Treatment by Landlords

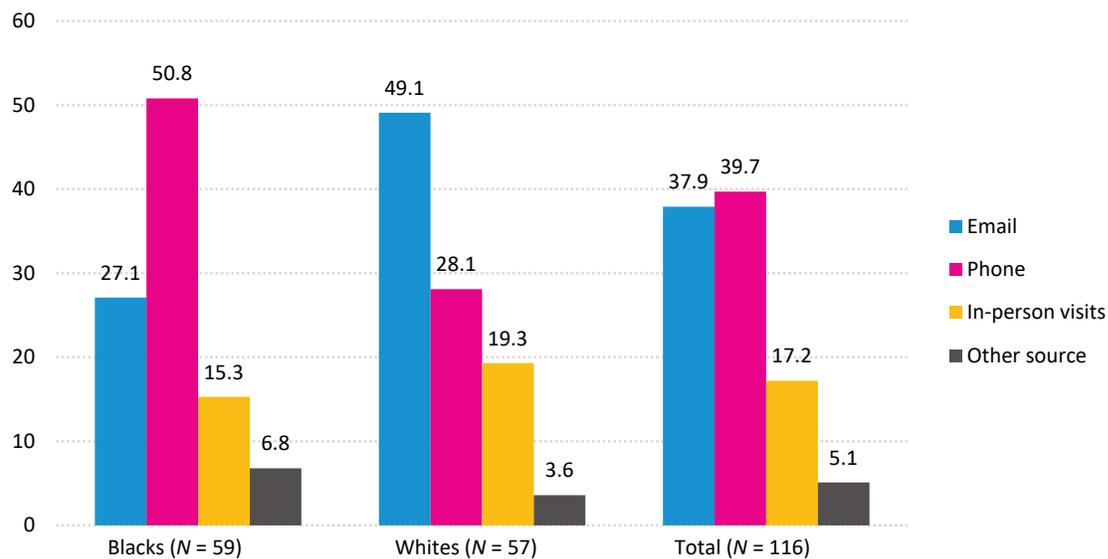
	Black Searchers	White Searchers	Total
Responsiveness of the landlord or management company to respondent's concerns			
Very important	89.9	60	81.5
Somewhat important	9.5	31.4	15.7
Not very important	0	5.7	1.6
Not at all important	0.6	2.9	1.2
N	179	70	249
Responsiveness of the landlord or management company to respondent's concerns			
Less Important	8.6	18.8	11.5
More Important	6.1	17.2	9.3
No change	85.3	64.1	79.3
N	163	64	227

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

Black Renters Are More Likely Than White Renters To Execute Their Search in a Way That Helps Them Learn More About Their Potential Landlord

For this reason, Black searchers in the indepth interviews talked about taking time to actually talk with landlords to figure out what kind of landlord the person would be. This may explain why Black searchers disproportionately favor social networks when information gathering and their preference for personally communicating by phone, rather than online sources of information and email communication (exhibit 5.5). One low-income Black man explains, “I have a good eye, it’s just the relationship that I have with the landlord. If we have a good communication, we can talk. I can tell if we are going to bump heads or something like that. The place can always be nice, but if you don’t have a good relationship with the landlord or leasing office or something like that, then eventually it’s not going to work out.”

Exhibit 5.5: Racial Differences in How Searchers Inquire About Units, Recent Movers Sample (percent)



Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

Expectations of Discrimination

Another theme that emerged in our Housing Search Study (HSS) focuses on a particular type of bad treatment—racial discrimination. Our study included one of the most detailed and direct sets of questions about perceptions of fairness or discrimination in housing that exists. We asked questions across a range of different steps in the search, from before the search even starts to past, perceived discrimination to methods used to avoid the possibility of discrimination in their search. We found the following results.

Black Renters Often Start Their Search Expecting Unfair Treatment

One of the unique contributions of the HSS is the detailed questions about perceived housing discrimination it contains. Researchers asked Black respondents if they thought that Black people had as good a chance as White people to get any housing they could afford. One-half of the Black recent movers and nearly two-thirds (63 percent) of Black current searchers reported that they felt that Black people in their community did not enjoy equal access to housing in the D.C. area.

These views are often informed by direct experiences. As exhibit 5.6 shows, about 40 percent of Black current searchers reported at least one experience with racial discrimination during a prior housing search. The most common experience was steering; about 30 percent felt that a rental agent or landlord had shown them only apartments in certain neighborhoods because of their race or ethnicity. A little less than 20 percent of Black current searchers had other types of experiences, including believing they were denied housing because the rental agent or landlord didn't want to rent to them or feeling that other residents in the building or neighborhoods that they visited treated them unfairly because of their race or ethnicity.

Exhibit 5.6: Current Searchers' Perceptions of Discrimination in the Past

	Black Searchers	White Searchers	Total
Ever felt... were denied housing because the rental agent or landlord didn't want to rent to you because of your race or ethnicity?	18.5	4.4	14.7
a rental agent or landlord was showing them only apartments in certain neighborhoods because of your race or ethnicity?	29.7	8.9	24.1
other residents in the building or neighborhoods visited treated you unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?	17.5	3.3	13.7
Count of experiences of perceived discrimination in earlier searches			
0	59.8	86.7	67
1	22	11.1	19
2	11.4	1.1	8.6
3	6.9	1.1	5.4
N	246	90	336

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Black Searchers Tend To Prefer Diverse Neighborhoods but Avoid Areas That Are Too White and Prioritize Finding Neighborhoods That are Welcoming to Black Residents

When directly asked to reflect on their racial residential composition preferences, Black searchers in the indepth interviews explained their preferences in a way that mirrors what other research has found (Krysan and Farley, 2002). First, desire for diversity is strong, as one Black man we interviewed describes: “I like a blend of people. I like multi-whatever. I think that’s always better because you can get a taste of everything, the good, the bad, and the different. You all could, blend together, grow together, working it out together. I like that much better. I will say more on the even side all the way across the board. I don’t want too much of anything.”

Also, some desire to avoid areas that are too White, as this same respondent, when asked if any demographic groups made him feel uncomfortable, explains, “Yeah. Caucasian. Because I always feel like I have to walk on eggs. In the sense that if I mess up or something go wrong. ... I don’t want that pressure.” The desire for diversity is coupled with a desire to avoid places where the other residents might make life unpleasant.

This theme is also uncovered in the HSS, where we were interested in learning which neighborhood features searchers viewed as important to learn more about during their search. In addition to finding widespread interest among our samples of searchers for information on transportation, neighborhood amenities, and crime levels, we asked whether people sought information on the openness of the community to people of their racial or ethnic group. Our results showed that most Black searchers selected this as an important part of their information-gathering process; 56 percent of the recent movers said they sought such information during their search.

Our indepth interviews revealed a specific strategy that some Black renters use in order to figure out if a neighborhood would be welcoming: in-person visits to the neighborhood. They do this to find out directly, sometimes conducting an informal “survey.” One of the Black men (low income, with children) we interviewed said he would ask other residents, “How hard was it,

how’s the neighborhood? If there’s someone outside of my race or whatever, I’ll ask about that. ‘How many [of] my race is there; do you think I could fit in in that? I want you to be honest with me,’ and that kind of thing.”

To Avoid Discrimination, Black Renters Rely on Social Networks To Identify Units

White and Black renters alike draw on family, friends, and coworkers to help them in their search, and these networks tend to belong to their same racial group. However, Black renters use their social networks specifically to help them find landlords who will not discriminate against people of their racial or ethnic group. Among our sample of recent movers, one-fourth of Black searchers reported using their social networks to help them in this way. Among the current searchers in our sample, it is much more prevalent; more than 60 percent indicated that they had used their networks to find nondiscriminatory landlords during their search.

Despite Their Efforts To Avoid It, Many Renters Still Perceive Racial Discrimination During Their Housing Search

Between 10 and 13 percent of Black Housing Search Study respondents (recent movers and current searchers) reported the most extreme case of being denied housing based on their race or ethnicity during this most recent search (exhibit 5.7). A higher percentage (15 percent of recent movers and 9 percent of current searchers) reported that “a rental agent or landlord was showing you only units in certain neighborhoods because of your race or ethnicity”—that is, reported being steered. A small percentage reported discrimination at the hands of other residents (7 percent and 4 percent, respectively).

Exhibit 5.7: Reports of Perceived Housing Discrimination Based on Race or Ethnicity

	Recent Mover			Current Searcher		
	Black	White	Total	Black	White	Total
During your search, did you ever feel that... you were denied housing because the rental agent didn’t want to rent to you because of your race or ethnicity?	13.2	0	7	10	3.8	8.5
a rental agent or landlord was showing you only units in certain neighborhoods because of your race or ethnicity?	14.5	1.7	8.5	8.8	3.8	7.5
the other residents in the buildings or neighborhoods that you visited treated you unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?	7.4	1.6	4.7	3.8	3.8	3.8
Count of perceived racial biases perceived during search						
0	76.5	98.4	86.8	85	96.2	87.7
1	14.7	0	7.8	8.8	0	6.6
2	5.9	1.6	3.9	5	0	3.8
3	2.9	0	1.6	1.3	3.8	1.9
N	68	61	129	80	26	106

Source: Housing Search Study Survey, 2016

Taken together, only about one-fourth of Black recent movers and 15 percent of Black current searchers reported experiencing one or more of these kinds of discriminatory treatment in the search they just completed.¹²

An important part of a housing search is the visit to potential units. The HSS asked searchers detailed questions about individual visits to possible rentals, and one of the questions was whether the searcher ever felt that they were treated unfairly during their visit because of their race or ethnicity. Fourteen percent of our Black current searchers said yes to this during one of their interviews (exhibit 5.8).

Black and Latino Renters Describe the Complexity of the Visits and the Ambiguity of Perceived Discrimination

The following extended excerpt of our interview with a high-income Black woman with children is rich with insights about the complexity of contemporary forms of discrimination and the conscientious efforts some Black searchers must go through to try to ensure they are treated fairly.

Interviewer: Some folks have certain aspects of like their personal circumstances that make it difficult for them to secure housing. Do you have any of those? You and your husband?

Respondents: Yeah, I mean, our names get us really far. My name is Stephanie,¹³ so no one ever is hesitant to talk to me I think. My husband's name is Leroy, so they don't know what he is. He could be any race. And we always made sure that we were wearing our work attire when we met with people.

Interviewer: I don't want to make any assumptions. So, why did you feel like you needed to do that?

Respondent: Because if we weren't wearing our work attire, we would just look like a young Black couple, they don't know if we're married. Even if I do have my ring on, they don't know if we're responsible. I mean, we're not naïve. We know how it works.

Interviewer: How do you think it works?

Respondent: For example, my brother is homeless. He's single. When he looks for a place, he doesn't wear work attire, and he made a comment 2 days ago. He was like, "No one is going to let a young Black man rent a basement from them" or "be a roommate to them." And that's his experience. My experience with my husband is it's not too much different from that. We have to look responsible, and we know that. And when we're dressed in our work attire—he's a manager, he wears suits. And I'm a consultant, so except for Fridays, I wear my dresses and heels. And that is what we made sure we were wearing when we met with the people at the different locations.

¹² As discussed previously, it is important to remember that these are questions about perceptions and experiences; we lack an ability to ascertain if these were instances of discrimination, and we also cannot know if individuals who said "no" to this question were victims of subtle forms of discrimination that are impossible to detect by the individual.

¹³ Stephanie and Leroy are pseudonyms but chosen to convey the point that the respondent is making by selecting names that are similar in terms of being "White-sounding" (Stephanie) and "ambiguous" (Leroy).

Interviewer: And how do you think people received you because you were dressed in that kind of attire?

Respondent: That we made money and we were a responsible couple. Sometimes we even have our son with us. And then my current landlord, he was actually standing outside when we pulled up, and I have a Mercedes. And we came out in our work attire. So, I already know he had probably no negative thoughts about us because we kind of have this appearance that we have it all together, we're responsible, we've obviously making money together, and I think that added to the trust. I think if we pulled up in a car that was like maybe raggedy, and my husband had on his jeans with his like ball shirt, and I had on like skinny jeans, and some regular T-shirt with like Jordans, I don't think we would have received the same feedback from him. And somebody was viewing the house when we pulled up. And he said he liked us so much he just stopped responding to everybody. He did. He said we just seemed so well put together. He didn't say that, but we did seem well put together, and my son put on his little cuteness. And he just said he liked us very much.

Interviewer: When you say again, I just don't want to assume, but when you say your name gives it away or it makes people comfortable, what do you mean by that?

Respondent: My name is popularly like given to White girls, and the way I talk is very proper because I'm from Montgomery County. And people don't always know that they're talking to a Black girl or a Black woman. And even when they do see me and see that I'm Black, I talk so proper and I kind of have this appearance and etiquette that even if I am Black, they can always tell I'm educated or I'm well put together.

Interviewer: And why would that be important for somebody who's leasing something to you?

Respondent: Right. I think property managers have—just like getting a car. They think you're not going to pay rent, you're not going to pay your car loan. I've been a victim of discrimination. I received a check from Department of Justice ... for being discriminated against for my car. They inflated my interest rate because I'm Black, because they expected me to—what's it called—like bounce my checks, default on my loan. So that same thing could happen with renting a home. They could have made me pay higher—put more money down or safety deposit down for the house. I mean, they didn't, but I know those things happen. So, we give off this appearance that we don't hold the same stereotypes that most African Americans have.

This detailed exchange highlights the disadvantages this respondent perceives—starting with the advantage she perceives because her name does not signal to a potential landlord (before meeting her) that she is Black. It also includes an insight into the complicated role that the trappings of her social class play in shaping how she is treated. She believes that she has to dress a particular way and emphasize her middle-class status in order to overcome the discriminatory treatment that Black people generally receive. She couches this in efforts to ensure that landlords do not make assumptions about her ability to pay rent based on their stereotypes about Black renters.

Clearly the mechanics of her search are affected by these perceptions, and it is within this context of a discriminatory housing system that she adapts her behavior during the visits to units to hopefully ensure fair treatment and overcome the tendency to discriminate against Black people.

Black Renters Have Difficulty Finding Landlords To Rent to Them

Similarly, and perhaps because of this, Black HSS respondents disproportionately identified “finding landlords who would rent to them” as one of their biggest difficulties during their housing search (exhibit 5.8). Indeed, with background controls, the effect of being Black on whether this reason was selected, was actually greater than it was in a bivariate context. Black respondents were substantially more likely to say “finding landlords to rent to me” was the reason a search was difficult. This difference is consistent with the notion that Black renters continue to face significant discrimination at the hands of potential landlords.

Exhibit 5.8: Reason for Search Difficulty

	Recent Movers			Current Searchers		
	Black	White	Total	Black	White	Total
Finding landlords that would rent to respondent	45.8	14	30.8	41.3	15.2	32.3
N	48	43	91	63	33	96
Respondent felt he or she was treated unfairly during a visit because of his or her race or ethnicity	—	—	—	13.6	7.4	11.9
N				147	54	201

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

In the indepth interviews, many minority respondents described experiences where they sensed unfair treatment during their search. One high-income Latino woman (with no children), for example, relates a story about how she sent a friend to look at a potential rental unit because she was unable to do it herself because she was out of town for work. She explains, “And she was there first, and she knocked on the door. The woman didn’t answer, and she was like, ‘are you sure this is the address?’ I’m like, ‘that’s the address she gave me.’ I sent her a screen shot. Anyway, the next couple showed up, and it was two White people, and then the woman opened the door, and then that’s when my friend kind of went, like, ‘Hey, like I have been out here.’ The woman was like, ‘Oh, I didn’t see you. Come in.’ She goes in. I’m like, ‘Was it a mistake to like invite my Black friend?’ I told my friend, Bridget, I’m like, ‘Girl, you are Black. I’m brown. I don’t know if that was a good combo.’ And she was like, right. I’m like, yeah. I could have asked another friend, you know. I have like diverse friends.”

This respondent later refers to the instance again and is very explicit about how she understands what was going on and also how it shapes her search strategies. The interviewer asks, “Do you feel like you’re more comfortable going to like kind of a one-on-one meeting versus this group meeting, like an open house?” She responds: “If I’m competing with like young White couples, yeah” and then elaborates: “What I have a problem with is that you are only telling me this now when you are not going to review my applications, but like, whatever, whatever. I actually didn’t think that was going to happen to me, because I’m all like college educated and shit and I have a decent job, but you are not immune to this stuff. It’s crazy.”

Our indepth interviews also highlighted experiences with discrimination after their initial visit, and we describe them in more detail in our discussion of postvisit challenges.

Credit History

Our study uncovered the many ways that credit history shapes Black searchers’ experiences. They work hard to find landlords who did not require it and suspect that landlords prioritize credit history more than other criteria (such as income) to dismiss their applications. Our HSS and indepth interviews uncovered the salience of this issue in several different ways and at several different points in the search process.

Across Income Groups, Black Renters Disproportionately Report Having Issues With Their Credit That Makes Their Search Difficult and Affects Their Search Strategy

Our HSS provides consistent evidence that, even when comparing Black and White renters with similar economic profiles and family circumstances, Black housing searchers in our sample are substantially more likely to report that problems with credit history make it difficult to search for housing (exhibit 5.9). Among our sample of recent movers, more than five times more Black renters than White renters mention having poor credit history. The levels are higher among the sample of current searchers, but racial disparities are still apparent, with twice as many Black renters than White renters (35 percent versus 17 percent) reporting poor credit history.

Exhibit 5.9: Racial Differences in Credit History

	Recent Movers			Current Searchers		
	Black	White	Total	Black	White	Total
Constraint on search—Poor credit history	27.1	4.9	16.8	35.9	16.7	30.7
N	70	61	131	248	89	337
Respondent uses social networks to find rentals that do not require credit check	24.6	6.6	16.2	55.9	40	51.4
N	69	61	130	179	70	249

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Credit Issues Affect How Black and Latino Renters Approach Their Search in Different Ways

Our indepth interviews confirm that problems with credit are an overarching issue for Black renters. The topic came up more with our Latino and Black searchers than with our White searchers and was mentioned by low-, medium-, and high-income minority searchers.

Searchers gave examples of how they alter their housing search in different ways to accommodate or address their credit issues. For example, a high-income Latino woman with no children explains what happened when she discovered she had credit issues: “In December I learned that my credit took a big hit. It was actually really—it wasn’t very good. I have been working to fix it, because I know—and that’s actually one of the reasons I’m waiting till late summer, to have more time to better it.... It was pretty low, and I’m talking like low 600s, like 590 something. I was like, ‘shit, it’s never been this low,’ so I’m working on bettering or repairing it. And so, in addition to everything... I’m aware of that kind of information a potential

landlord could see about me that I would have like to justify to them or like address, you know.” When asked if she limits the places she’s searching based on her credit history: “No. I’m just going to hope for the best. I think I’m a desirable tenant. I know I am, so I’m kind of focusing on that versus the things that might like weigh me down.”

Another searcher, a low-income Black male with children, explains the awkwardness he experienced around following up on his coworkers’ suggestions for possible places to rent: “You only could share so much with coworkers when it comes to your credit and things like that. And obviously they must’ve thought my credit was better than it was, and obviously you’re not going to share that. Most of that was like my credit was up to par. Obviously, theirs must have been. Most of that was just a waste of my time to be honest with you.” Thus, relying on this social network for leads on apartments was rendered ineffective because of the credit issues he faced, but did not want to share that with his coworkers. As the next examples illustrate, some renters use their social networks to avoid such problems.

Black Renters Use Social Networks To Identify Units Where Credit Will Not Be an Issue

As with avoiding racial discrimination, Black renters disproportionately use social networks to help identify units where their credit won’t be an issue (exhibit 5.6). In both the recent mover and current searcher samples, Black searchers are markedly more likely than White searchers to indicate that they use their social networks in this way. Indeed, most Black current searchers do this. By including background characteristics in a regression model, this racial difference is reduced, but only minimally.

Problems With Credit Disadvantage Minority Renters in Many Different Ways

Bad credit can affect housing search outcomes in many ways. First, it restricts the kind of properties renters seek out. One middle-income Black woman with no children explains “[Private landlords] are a little more lenient with credit because they’re paying mortgage on a place that they’re not living in and they want to hurry up and get it filled.” Credit issues may also limit the properties that are open to them, as one middle-income Latino with no kids describes it: “My credit is dinged. That’s affecting probably if I want to live in a little bit nicer place. People, I’ll explain to them. I can pay. I can show you bank statements, stuff, but that did come up. So, yeah, and you have—it’s a constraint. I think it’s a constraint. It’s a huge problem.” In another case, a middle-income Black woman with no children and good credit explains how credit issues nevertheless constrain her search: “No, I have good credit. It’s just with Craigslist, I don’t trust anyone to check my credit. So if I seen anything like that, I normally didn’t look at that ad any longer—it’s not that I have anything to hide. It’s just like, you know, I don’t know you and why do you need that information. So no.”

Other indepth interview participants elaborate on how their credit situation can result in a costlier or administratively more complicated rental arrangement, even if they ultimately get the unit. For example, one low-income Black man with no kids explains, “You might have to put an extra security deposit, or you might have to put up another month’s rent.... I let them know up front, you know, ‘Look, my credit score is not that good, but I do want to live here, what’s required? Do I need a co-signor? Do I need to put down like another month’s rent?’”

Some renters explained that when landlords pull credit checks on them, it can only make their issues with credit worse. As one low-income Black male with children explains, credit checks can create a vicious cycle: “They say they’re going to do a soft pull, and it’s not a soft pull and it

cost you, it will affect your credit. I knew what I was working with [in terms of credit score] before I started looking. I tell them that over the phone before I come and see you and when I get there, they switch up on me. I get kind of really livid over that, but at this point, you are already three-quarters through your paperwork and everything. To me, it's beyond silly, waste of time."

One middle-income Latino man with no children succinctly summarizes the precariousness that comes from the emphasis on credit reports in determining who would be a good tenant: "People, I'll explain to them, 'I can pay. I can show you bank statements', stuff, but that didn't come up... I think it's a constraint. It's a huge problem, because everyone has been through that before. I had very, very, very, very good credit, and lost a job, lost a house. I mean, it's life. Things happen, and then your credit gets dinged and people don't want to rent to you."

Postvisit Challenges

Several decades of Housing Discrimination Studies have measured the moment of an inquiry and initial visit to a housing unit, but it does not measure everything that happens after that point. The Housing Search Study (HSS) conducted in this project captures reports and experiences of searchers throughout the entire process; our results revealed that this is another area where Black searchers have unique experiences.

One of the indicators we used to measure the decision-making process of searchers is the number of applications they submitted during their search. Despite the fact that Black and White renters inquire about similar numbers of units and actually visit similar numbers of units, the differences in the average number of applications submitted during the search were pronounced.

As shown in exhibit 5.10, nearly one-third of our sample of Black recent movers reported applying for four or more units, compared with only one percent of White recent movers. These data—all for individuals who recently completed their housing search—suggest that, although White and Black renters seek information on and visit similar numbers of units during the search process, it takes Black renters more tries at the application process before successfully landing a new home. Taking into consideration the searchers' economic resources has essentially no effect on the magnitude of the coefficient representing the effect of racial background on number of applications, suggesting that the need for multiple applications cannot be explained away by racial differences in income. We believe that this pattern points to the possibility of a range of different ways in which White and Black searchers are treated differently after visiting units and deciding to submit applications.

Exhibit 5.10: Number of Units Contacted, Visited, and Applied To

	Black Searchers	White Searchers	Total
Number of units for which contacted the landlord to find out more information			
0–1	32.4	20	26.6
2–3	26.5	35	30.5
4–5	19.1	18.3	18.8
6 or more	22.1	26.7	24.2
Number of units visited in person during search			
0	2.9	6.6	4.7
1	17.6	8.2	13.2
2–3	27.9	34.4	31
4 or more	51.5	50.8	51.2
Number of units for which submitted applications			
0	6.0	6.9	6.4
1	32.8	70.7	50.4
2–3	29.9	20.7	25.6
4 or more	31.3	1.7	17.6
N	67	58	125

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

Indeed, it may be that this is the point in the process where much discrimination occurs—a point that the design of audit-style housing discrimination studies that have been conducted to date cannot uncover (because they do not include the stage of the process when applications are submitted). It may be that other factors like credit scores are affecting the success of these applications. More research focused on identifying why Black searchers end up submitting more applications is called for, but our indepth interviews shed light on the kinds of postvisit experiences that may be at play.

Black and Latino Renters Describe Getting the Runaround When They Are Interested in a Unit

Some interviewees talked about being rejected for unclear reasons, although often they suspect it is racial discrimination. For example, one low-income Black man describes one experience: “I qualified for everything and all of that, but at the end from nowhere, no real excuse, they just told me, ‘Well, we found someone that’s more qualified’ after we’ve been dealing together for almost a month or better. I tell you that was crushing. Unless you have a lawyer or you’re going to put more money to that, what can you really do? You move on.”

In another example, one middle-income Latino woman with children describes the layers of requirements she had to navigate: “I went—the same day that I applied, I got a money order to do the background check and a hundred-something-dollar holding fee. And I applied—I brought my pay stubs and everything. The only thing that I forgot was my social.... So, there was a bunch of us in the office and the leasing consultant put my information in, put my application in. And she printed out, I guess, an approval sheet. So, she took me in the back and she told me that I was approved contingent upon my background check coming back, if that was clean. I wasn’t worried about that because I hadn’t had anything on it. And then she told me the building that I’d be moving in and everything. And the next thing I know—well, she said that she—she told me my security deposit. She said because of my credit history, that I may have to pay a full month. And I said that’s fine. But she said she was going to talk to her property manager to see if she

could get it down to at least half... So, the next thing I know I'm waiting, waiting, waiting, waiting to hear back. And the next thing I know, I'm being told that I have to have a cosigner because they said that my income wasn't enough. I made enough, but my income—I didn't meet the income requirements. It was kind of thing after thing.”

Ultimately, this same respondent is explicit about the role of discrimination: “I think I've experienced barriers I hadn't anticipated as someone who—I perceive myself, again, to be like a good tenant. I have great references, both professional and personal...it's not just bias like against—it's not just a class thing. It very much intersects with race and ethnicity.”

Together, the HSS and indepth interviews cast a spotlight on how and why Black renters' experiences are distinct. Although some of the specific strategies and approaches are not exclusive to Black renters, they reflect a cluster of experiences and concerns that, when taken together, pinpoint ways in which Black renters' search experiences and processes are unique. The themes that emerged in our HSS and indepth interviews highlight (1) the role of neighborhood quality in shaping a search, (2) conscientious efforts and strategies used to avoid bad treatment, (3) the important role of anticipated discrimination in shaping many different stages of a search, (4) the emerging challenges associated with credit history, and (5) the challenges searchers face after a visit to a housing unit.

Our final exploration of housing searches and racial differences puts the pieces of a search (context, decisions, evaluations, and information gathering) back together again, and develops a typology of searchers. Using this typology, we then ask whether differences in the kinds of searches people undertake are racial.

Chapter 6: Tying It All Together: Identifying Search Typologies and Their Implications

As our conceptual model (exhibit 3.1) reminds us, housing searches are dynamic and nonlinear. In order to capture the complexity of housing searches and to bring together the key conceptual dimensions that we have been describing to this point, in this chapter, we describe our efforts to develop search typologies. That is, we use the richness of our Housing Search Study (HSS), which attempted to capture all these different dimensions of search, and ask how these dimensions hang together—are certain kinds of search characteristics and behaviors more likely to cluster together in any given searcher? Once we have identified these different search types, to what extent are certain kinds of searches more common among Black and White renters? Finally, what is the connection between these different search types and outcomes? To do this, we use a cluster analysis based on the Recent Mover Study (because of our interest in the connection between search processes and outcomes, which are unavailable for the full set of current searchers). By tying all this information across dimensions together, we are able to paint an even richer picture of the variation in types of searches people undergo—and how Black and White searchers might vary in them. Moreover, we are also able to answer, using a different approach than described in chapter 4, the question of what the implications of those searches are for residential outcome.

Our conceptual framework highlights four dimensions of the housing search process: the search context, information gathering, evaluating options, and decision making. Our goal is to examine how these dimensions are interconnected in order to create a typology of typical searches. Because the HSS data contain multiple measures of each of these, we must begin by identifying the key aspects of each search dimension.

The Key Features of Each Housing Search Dimension

To simultaneously take advantage of these rich data and provide an accessible typology of searches, we employ a two-stage data reduction process. In the first stage, we used a principal components analysis (PCA) to reduce our many measures of each dimension to a core set of the key aspects of each search dimension. The PCA, by examining the statistical associations between multiple variables within a given dimension, enables us to condense the data to provide the key indicators for each dimension. The statistics from the PCA can be found in appendix H, but the substantive results are described next, following the four key dimensions of the search: context, decision making, information gathering, and evaluating options.

CONTEXT

To identify key components of the first search dimension—the context of the search—we used PCA to examine the association between four broad sets of variables: (1) whether the respondent reported that the search was made difficult because of transportation difficulties, a shortage of money, insufficient child care, a physical disability, credit issues, a criminal record, or a past eviction; (2) whether the respondent reported that he or she had to move because of unforeseen circumstances; (3) push factors indicating that the respondent reported that the most important reason for moving was the current rent is too expensive, or the quality of the current housing is too low; and (4) pull factors indicating whether the respondent reported the most important reason for moving was to be closer to a job, school, or family. When combined into a single

PCA, two distinct components emerge¹⁴ from these indicators: (1) an index that combines variables that reflect difficult search circumstances, including variables related to starting the housing search because of unforeseen circumstances and barriers to carrying out the search; and (2) an index of variables related to the relative importance of push and pull factors. Together, these indexes appear to highlight a contrast between search constraints and the volitional push-pull motivations for the search.

INFORMATION GATHERING

To portray the information-gathering dimension of the search process, we use a PCA to assess interconnections between variables related to the tools and processes searchers use to identify and investigate housing options. These variables come from survey items asking respondents how often they use advertisements, professional services (real estate agents and community organizations), direct contact (phoning or in-person meetings), and online tools (online ads, social media, and email) to collect information about housing options. Two strong dimensions emerged from this analysis as well, one indicating the reliance on online activities to gather information and one referring to the level of reliance on interpersonal contact. The variable indicating whether the searcher used professional services loaded on neither of these two dimensions and was retained as a separate dimension of the information-gathering process.

EVALUATING OPTIONS

Several variables were used to identify key aspects of the process through which individuals evaluate the options identified during their search: the number of characteristics of housing units that were rated by the respondent as “very important,” the number of neighborhood characteristics rated as “very important,” the stated relative importance of unit and neighborhood characteristics, and questions related to the stability of selection criteria during the search process. The PCA suggests two key dimensions from this set of variables: one set of variables load strongly on a dimension related to the persistent importance of neighborhood conditions in evaluating housing options and another set that suggests an emphasis on housing-unit characteristics in the evaluation process.

DECISION MAKING

Finally, the PCA related to the decision-making component of the search process identifies a dimension related to the numbers of housing units inquired about, visited, and applied for before a decision was made, and a separate orthogonal dimension related to the number of different neighborhoods involved in the search process.

Identifying a Typology of Searches

With the results of this data reduction in hand, we use a cluster analysis to identify groups of individual searchers who are similar in terms of the combination of these various features of the housing search process. The result of this second stage is a typology that characterizes common

¹⁴ We use a varimax rotation and follow the standard convention of retaining components with eigenvalues above 1 and for which the eigenvalue produced is stronger in the observed data than in the average of 10 randomly generated data sets.

types of housing searches completed by the respondents to the Recent Mover Study. Key statistics from the cluster analyses can be found in appendix H, but here we focus on the substantive meaning.

The nine key indicators emerging out of the PCAs—two related to the context of the search, three related to information gathering, two related to evaluating options, and two related to the decision-making process—were used as the basis of a cluster analysis. The goal of this cluster analysis was to understand the structure of the data to identify groups (clusters) of recent searchers with similar characteristics along the dimensions of the search. In essence, the cluster analysis assisted in the identification of a core set of search types that vary in terms of constraints they face, factors pushing or pulling them, the priorities of units or neighborhoods, and their orientation toward information-gathering processes.¹⁵

OPEN SEARCHERS

The group we classify as open searchers tend to report relatively few characteristics that either compelled them to leave their old residence or draw them toward a new location. They also have only a moderate level of constraints on their search (relatively unlikely to report that the move is unplanned and moderate barriers to searching). Although they tend not to rely on interpersonal contact (phoning or making in-person inquiries) when they gather information, they do tend to rely heavily on both online tools and professional services. Open searchers also tend to emphasize a balance of neighborhood and unit characteristics in assessing their housing options and tend to visit a relatively large number of units spread across a large number of neighborhoods as they conduct their search. Thirty-eight percent (42 of 111) of the individuals for whom we have complete search information are classified as open searchers.

HIGH-THRESHOLD SEARCHERS

High-threshold searchers have much in common with open searchers; they tend to report relatively few push or pull motivators for their move, likely reflecting at least a moderate level of residential satisfaction with their previous residence, and they report a heavy use of online tools to conduct their search. However, high-threshold searchers also differ from open searchers in several important ways. First, they are much less likely to use real estate professionals to identify housing options. More importantly, they are even less likely to report that their search is unplanned or is affected by limitations on access to time or search resources. In contrast to open searchers, high-threshold searchers tend to place a high level of importance on both neighborhood and unit characteristics in weighing their residential options, and although they report searching in a relatively large number of neighborhoods, they investigate, visit, and apply for relatively few units. High-threshold searchers are the smallest group in our sample, at 22 percent.

¹⁵ We used an iterative K-means cluster approach to identify the cluster model that best fits the Recent Mover Study data (that is, had lowest entropy and highest purity). Based on these criteria, the result was a three-cluster solution.

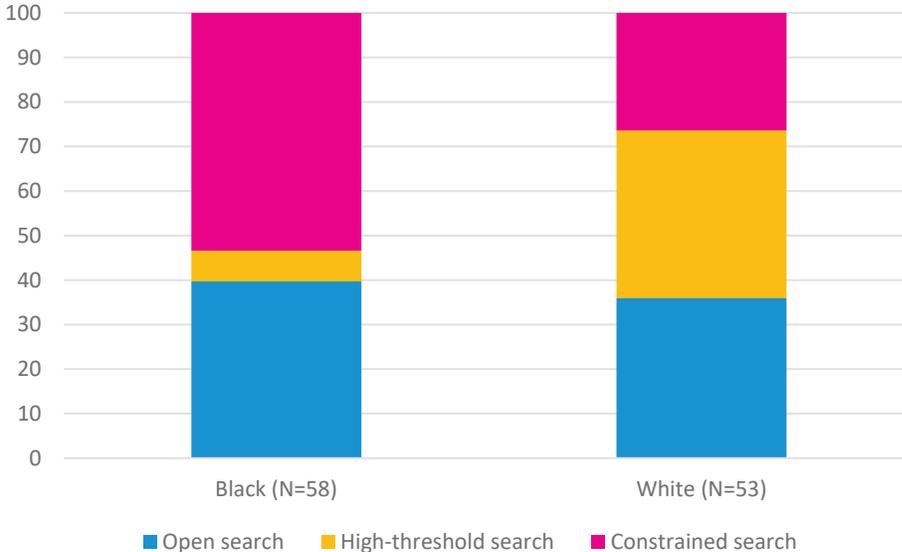
CONSTRAINED SEARCHERS

Constrained searchers tend to report a high number of push and pull factors that motivate their search, but are also much more likely than members of other search types to report that the search was unplanned and that their opportunities to search for housing are limited by a shortage of resources, little access to childcare or transportation, low access to online resources, and other constraints. Constrained searchers report a limited reliance on online resources to search for housing options but are even less likely than high-threshold searchers to rely on professionals. They are also much more likely than other groups to use interpersonal contacts such as phone calls or in-person visits to investigate housing options.¹⁶ Whereas they tend to report a low priority on neighborhood characteristics, constrained searchers tend to report a relatively large number of unit characteristics as priorities in investigating their housing options. Finally, the scope of the housing search tends to be relatively limited for constrained searchers in terms of investigating relatively few neighborhoods and a relatively low number of housing-unit options. Slightly more than 40 percent of our sample of searchers was constrained searchers.

Racial Differences in Search Types

Having identified a common set of search types, we now turn to the question of whether the likelihood of engaging in a particular type of search varies by the race of the respondent. The statistics in exhibit 6.1 suggest that such racial differences are fairly prominent for some searcher types.

Exhibit 6.1: Racial Differences in Search Type



Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

¹⁶ Data from the Current Searcher Study also indicate that constrained searchers tend to use a larger number of friends and personal contacts than do individuals who do not face constraints, and frequently use their social networks to find housing options. These network measures are not available in the Recent Mover Study and are, therefore, not included in the cluster analysis presented here.

BLACK AND WHITE RECENT MOVERS ARE ABOUT EQUALLY LIKELY TO BE OPEN SEARCHERS

About 40 percent of Black searchers and 36 percent of White searchers fall into the open searcher cluster, with few constraints and expansive searches using a wide range of search tools. As shown in the linear-probability regression model in appendix exhibit H.1, this racial difference widens a bit after accounting for racial differences in age, gender, and income but is generally modest.

WHITE RECENT MOVERS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN BLACK RECENT MOVERS TO BE HIGH-THRESHOLD SEARCHERS

Although open searchers are equally prevalent among our White and Black recent movers, among high-threshold searchers, the racial differences are much more striking. These are individuals who tend to emphasize both neighborhood and unit characteristics in weighing their residential options, tend to employ a wide range of tools to perform the search, investigate options in a wide range of neighborhoods, but ultimately investigate, visit, and apply for relatively few units. As shown in exhibit 6.1, nearly 38 percent of White recent movers can be characterized as high-threshold searchers. In contrast, only about 7 percent of Black recent movers engaged in a high-threshold search. Interestingly, as shown in the comparison of model 1 and model 2 of appendix exhibit H.2, this racial difference remains largely unchanged after controlling for income, gender, and age. Thus, the stronger tendency toward high-threshold searches cannot be attributed to the fact that White recent movers, compared with recently mobile Black renters, tend to have higher incomes or a different age or gender profile.

BLACK RECENT MOVERS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN WHITE RECENT MOVERS TO BE CONSTRAINED SEARCHERS

Exhibit 6.1 shows that more than one-half (53.4 percent) of Black recent movers but only one-fourth (26.4 percent) of White movers are in the constrained-searcher category. Again, this category includes searchers who are likely to have reported that their search was unplanned or made difficult by a lack of money, childcare, transportation, or other resources; rely on a limited set of tools for the search process; and assess relatively few units in a restricted set of neighborhoods before making their residential decisions. As shown in appendix exhibit H.3, low- and middle-income movers are more likely than higher-income movers to have engaged in a constrained search. However, the sharp racial difference in the likelihood of experiencing this kind of search remains even after controlling for income, gender, and age of the individual.

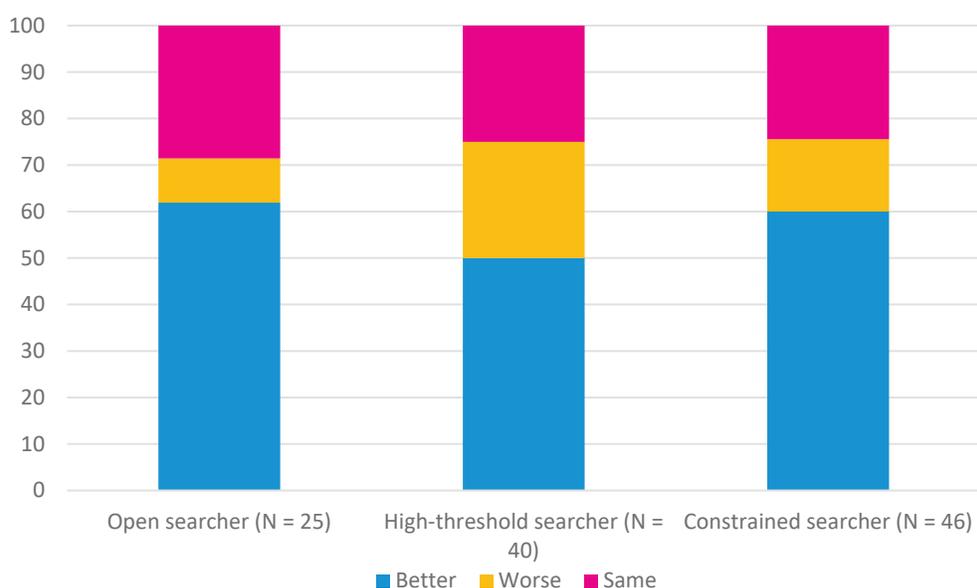
The Relationship Between Searcher Type and Outcomes

To the extent that search strategies have effects on actual residential outcomes, these racial differences in search type have potentially important implications for racial-residential stratification. Hints of these potential implications are provided by examining the association between search type and the extent to which the resulting move was viewed as an improvement in residential location. Recent movers were asked two questions about their new homes: (1) Is this unit better, worse, or about the same as your old home? and (2) Is the quality of your new neighborhood better, worse, or about the same as your old neighborhood? We examine how these ratings are related to the searcher type.

OPEN SEARCHERS REPORT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF UNIT IMPROVEMENT

As shown in exhibit 6.2, individuals classified as open searchers tend to report the highest level of unit improvement; about 62 percent of these open searchers report that their new unit is better than their old place, and less than 1 in 10 report that the new unit is worse. In contrast, among those engaged in constrained searches, 60 percent report that their new unit is better, and about 16 percent report that it is worse. High-threshold searchers express the least amount of residential improvement with a move; only one-half report an improvement of unit quality after the move, and one-fourth report that the new unit is worse than the old. This tendency for high-threshold searchers to report that their new unit is worse than where they started may reflect either the quality of the residential origin (recall that these searchers tended to report relatively few push factors) or the fact that individuals in this category have especially high residential expectations that are not easily met.

Exhibit 6.2: Change in Unit Perception After Residential Move, by Searcher Type



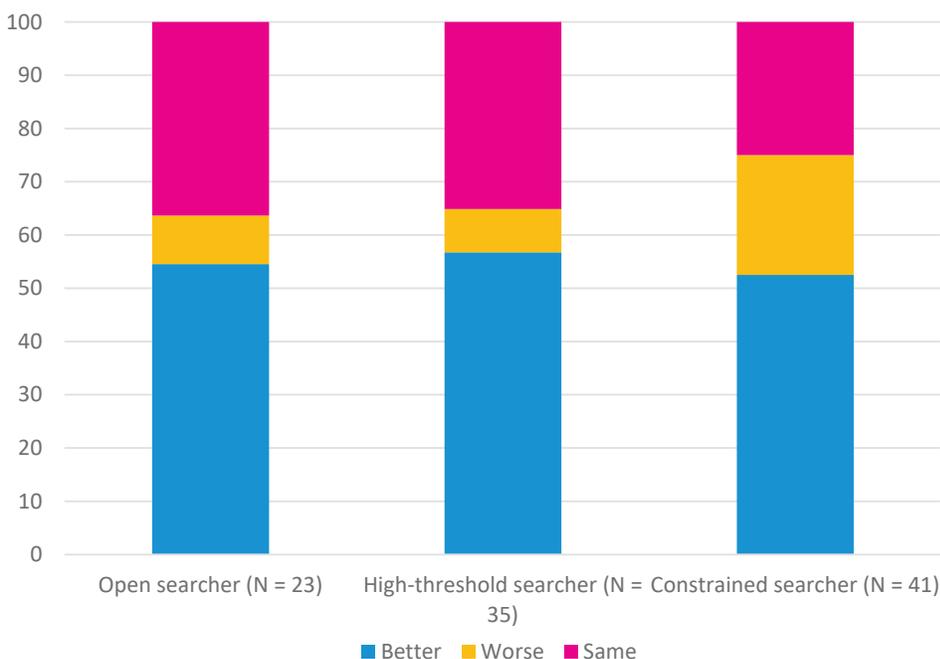
Note: Question: "Is this unit better, worse, or about the same as your old home?"

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

CONSTRAINED SEARCHERS TEND TO HAVE THE WORST NEIGHBORHOOD OUTCOMES

Searcher-type differences in neighborhood improvement are even more pronounced. As shown in exhibit 6.3, more than one-half of each search-type group report that their new neighborhood is better than the neighborhood they left, although the percentage is slightly lower for constrained searchers (52.5 percent) than for open searchers (56.8 percent) and high-threshold searchers (54.6 percent). However, although only 8 percent of open searchers and 9 percent of high-threshold searchers report that their new neighborhood is worse, nearly one in four (22.5 percent) of constrained searchers report this kind of neighborhood downward mobility. This tendency for constrained movers to experience downward neighborhood mobility may reflect, in part, their focus on unit characteristics in assessing residential options.

Exhibit 6.3: Change in Neighborhood Perception After Residential Move, by Searcher Type



Note: Question: “Is the quality of your new neighborhood better, worse, or about the same as your old neighborhood?”

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

The results of our cluster analysis reinforce many of the points emerging from the analysis of individual dimensions of the search process but enable us to illustrate how a search is more than only the sum of its ingredients. We find that roughly equal proportions of Black and White searchers engage in the kinds of searches that are often envisioned in the conceptual models of residential searching—the open searcher, whose search is extensive—and results in moves to neighborhoods and units that are, at least subjectively, improvements over the previous location. These kinds of searches are not the norm. Rather, most Black and White renters in our sample of recent movers group engaged in a type of search that does not neatly match the theoretically standard depiction of an extensive, open search. Racial differences are large here. Among White movers, a slightly more common search strategy is the high-threshold searcher, characterized by a high level of planning and research, few constraints, and a demand for new locations that satisfy relatively long lists of unit and neighborhood criteria. These high-threshold searchers tend to have high residential standards that are often not met in the search for housing. Among Black movers, it is the constrained searcher that is more common. Constrained searchers tend to employ fewer tools in their search for housing, often relying on interpersonal contacts during the search.

The results from this analysis are, of course, limited by our reliance on a convenience sample of searchers in a specific metropolitan area. To more fully flesh out the prevalence and consequences of these different searcher types requires a new generation of research studies that focus specifically on housing search processes. In the next chapter, we turn to the more general question of the research implications of this project.

Chapter 7: Implications for Research

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is charged with ensuring equal opportunity in housing for all racial or ethnic groups and must find ways to both accurately estimate the prevalence of housing discrimination and effectively detect it for purposes of enforcement. Much of HUD's research on housing discrimination has focused on how home seekers are treated by rental agents or realtors when they search for rental housing or a home to purchase. The characteristics of those interactions, the incidence of differential treatment (between housing testers paired on all aspects but one, such as race, family status, source of income, and so on) and therefore the extent of discrimination was chronicled during four decades. Researchers paid little attention, however, to how people search for a home. Indeed, HUD's decennial studies of housing discrimination make explicit and implicit assumptions about how this process happens, and conduct rigorous tests of a particular slice of the housing market and at a particular stage in the process. For example, HUD's tests of racial discrimination in housing are based on a random sample of apartment listings (usually advertised online or through newspapers) to which pairs of highly qualified renters are asked to inquire and attempt to visit. The studies document what happens to these matched pairs of housing searchers (matched on all dimensions but the tested characteristic: in this case, race or ethnicity) from the initial inquiry to the visit of the unit.

What is missing from the methods used in the Housing Discrimination Studies is what happens at the preinquiry and postinquiry stages. In particular, the design does not capture the processes that funnel people into inquiring about particular units and neighborhoods—in other words, the existing studies assume equal probability of inquiring about the same rental locations. Additionally, because the test concludes at the end of one visit to see the unit, the study does not uncover possible discriminatory treatment during the application and negotiation process. In short, it is unclear whether the stage of the housing search that is measured by these studies (the inquiry stage), is sufficient to tell us whether people of all racial or ethnic backgrounds do, in fact, enjoy equal access to housing. Moreover, this focus on one part of a housing search means that these studies cannot tap the overall costs of discrimination. For example, being denied access to a unit at the inquiry stage likely translates for the searcher into a lengthier (and more costly) search, and a less desirable unit. Without understanding the fuller housing search in which any instance of discrimination occurs, we are left with an incomplete story about how discrimination affects those who experience it.

The present study, therefore, explored the methods, experiences, and outcomes of current housing searchers and how they differed by race and ethnicity, with an eye toward better understanding the obstacles to equal access to quality housing. As a practical matter, as we approach the year 2020, HUD will likely be asked, as it has each decade, to evaluate the extent of housing discrimination in the rental and sales markets. The purpose of this commissioned study is a better understanding of how people search for housing in today's marketplace; this understanding will help inform the design of HUD's housing discrimination research.

The results of this exploratory research, with its detailed and comprehensive picture of housing searches, suggest several directions for the next generation of research studies to pursue. At the most abstract level, the results call into question the quite simplistic model of a housing search that underpins the design of prior Housing Discrimination Studies, which have focused on a particular moment—the step at which a searcher inquires of a landlord about an advertised (internet or newspaper) housing unit and attempts to visit it. Our study draws attention to all that

happens before that inquiry (preinquiry) and after that inquiry (postinquiry). We describe the myriad ways that racial background and racial considerations shape which units and neighborhoods a searcher will inquire about and how searchers are treated after the inquiry. Our results suggest that the road map for future research needs to have this more expansive model of housing searches in mind in order to pinpoint the processes most in need of investigation.

In the following, we bring together key findings from our research into housing searches so that we can highlight new research directions that encourage HUD to move beyond the traditional focus of the Housing Discrimination Studies on the inquiry stage and include a call for studies that examine the preinquiry and postinquiry phases as well. By acknowledging the full complexity of a housing search, it becomes clear that each of these phases has features that lend to potential discriminatory treatment, and to ignore them is to provide an incomplete picture of how discrimination can shape unequal housing outcomes for racial or ethnic minorities.

Preinquiry Phase

Much happens before a searcher inquires about a particular housing unit; searchers identify neighborhoods to search in, gather information from a number of possible sources, identify units to inquire about, and set their priorities. As a result of the full picture of the entire search process that was the purpose of this study, we have identified many ways that the preinquiry phase is shaped by race or ethnicity. To focus on the preinquiry phase means to consider all the factors that shape the places where people ultimately do inquire about housing. In particular, based on the results of this study, we should consider the relationship between certain search approaches (in the preinquiry phase) and the units where inquiries are actually made. To be clear, when we shift the focus to the preinquiry phase, we are no longer investigating the direct effect of instances of discrimination in the sense of denying people access to particular units. Instead, the emphasis is on how the anticipation of discrimination influences what people do in the preinquiry phase by, for example, funneling people away from certain neighborhoods and into others. Of course, where searchers inquire about units has a direct effect on where they end up living and the extent to which they are exposed to discrimination. To date, we know quite little about how either of these processes unfolds. Based on the results of this study, fruitful research would address the following questions.

- **What is the effect of anticipated discrimination on the decisions searchers make about how they will search and what units they will inquire about?** One clear conclusion from our analysis of housing searches is that racial or ethnic minorities often anticipate and perceive racially discriminatory treatment in the housing market. Regardless of whether the perceived discrimination is real, or the anticipated discrimination comes to pass, the *anticipation* of discrimination can affect search strategies.
 - The expectation of discrimination can funnel searchers to use certain sources of information (social networks) more than others (internet).
 - The desire to avoid discriminatory treatment once a person moves into a neighborhood can deter searchers from inquiring about units in certain neighborhoods if they learn something about the neighborhood that suggests it may be uncomfortable for people of their racial or ethnic group.

- An interest in assuring that a landlord will treat them fairly may result in a lengthier and more costly process in the form of desiring a face-to-face meeting with a potential landlord more than an online interaction.
- **What effect does a reliance on particular information sources have on the places where people end up inquiring about and ultimately living in?** To address the larger question of how discrimination affects residential segregation patterns, HUD studies that examine the effect of using different information sources on the final outcome would be valuable. For example, we know that racial minorities are less likely to use the internet and more likely to use word-of-mouth. This may be partly because of anticipated discrimination. Given the importance of social networks throughout the search process and, particularly so, in terms of funneling people to inquire about units in particular places, what are the consequences of using social networks on the outcomes of the housing search? To fully understand how this more expansive understanding of how discrimination shapes housing outcomes requires that research connect the source of information about units to the final outcome, both in terms of where the units are and whether they are likely to experience discrimination.

The next two questions focus specifically on the prevalence of discrimination that arises out of the decisions searchers made in the preinquiry phase.

- **How often does discrimination occur when searchers use methods other than online listings to find out about units?** Both secondary data analysis and the Housing Search Study (HSS) indicate that minorities are less likely to find their units online; however, the most recent paired-testing study depended exclusively on online listings. Using alternative methods to identify units—such as through word of mouth or bulletin boards—may expose searchers to very different sets of landlords and circumstances. Thus, HUD studies that explore the preinquiry stage—that is, how the person found out about the potential unit to rent—would better capture the extent of discrimination that reflects the variety of ways people find out about units and therefore to which they are exposed.
- **How often does discrimination occur in the neighborhoods where minorities are most likely to search for housing?** In light of the findings that anticipated discrimination can shape where people inquire about housing, and given racial differences in where people inquire about housing, an important consideration when attempting to gauge the real-world consequences of discrimination is the prevalence of discrimination in the types of areas where minorities are most likely to search. Existing paired-testing studies provide estimates of discrimination at the metropolitan level using a random sample of listings. However, analysis of secondary data clearly shows that minorities are not equally likely to look for housing in all neighborhoods. The probability of experiencing discrimination may vary by neighborhood demographics, and more nuanced assessments of discrimination’s prevalence would incorporate measures that capture the prevalence of discrimination across different neighborhood types.

Each of these different research questions, which focuses on what happens before an inquiry takes place, pushes HUD to begin to consider a more expansive understanding of how and where discrimination can affect the housing process in a way that may impinge on the equal access to housing promised by the Fair Housing Act. Some of these ways are indirect effects of discrimination, whereas others push to fine-tune our estimates of the extent to which racial

minorities face discrimination in the real world, adjusting for the realities of how units are identified and pursued.

Inquiry Phase

Where the Housing Discrimination Study is strongest is in the ability to estimate the prevalence of discrimination at the inquiry phase. Even at this phase, the results of this study of housing search processes have identified some additional areas to focus research attention on the inquiry phase.

- **To what degree does discrimination vary based on the mode of inquiry used by the searcher—phone, internet, or in person?** Some evidence in this study suggests that racial minorities may favor inquiring about units over the phone or in-person rather than by internet. Although studies have been conducted to compare rates of discrimination in online settings, to our knowledge, no studies directly compare different modes of inquiry to the same housing unit. It is useful to ask the extent to which one or another mode of inquiry protects searchers from discrimination or, conversely, exposes them to heightened risks.
- **To what degree do socioeconomic status and credit history mask racial or ethnic discrimination when inquiries are made?** Analysis of secondary data shows clearly that White and minority renters have fundamentally different socioeconomic characteristics; minorities have lower household income and credit scores, on average. As a result, landlords who intend to discriminate against people of a particular race or ethnicity can, in theory, successfully exclude these potential tenants by applying criteria having to do with income or credit history, which are not protected classes. In existing paired-testing studies, testers are all well-qualified renters. In-depth interview participants in our study referred to the challenges they faced because of assumptions they felt landlords made about their social class status because of their racial background. Studies that seek to disentangle these effects would help clarify the prevalence of discrimination faced at the inquiry phase.

Postinquiry Phase

Perhaps the most compelling set of results with the strongest research implications from this study comes in the form of the many findings that suggest that what happens after the inquiry into a unit is of crucial importance to the outcomes. Among these findings is the fact that, although racial or ethnic minority searchers inquire about and visit comparable numbers of units as White searchers, they apply to many more units. Their searches also last longer. They describe the many ways that, after they initiate the process of applying to a unit, they are given misinformation, are told they meet the criteria but then are passed over in favor of a “more qualified” applicant, or in general, are dodged or given the runaround, making the application process sometimes last weeks and months. In other words, at the point where the Housing Discrimination Studies stop—the inquiry—is exactly where contemporary forms of discrimination may start.

- **What happens at the application stage, and how often does discrimination occur at this stage?** Our quantitative analyses drew attention to the fact that racial minorities had longer housing searches, applied to more units in a single search (despite inquiring about and visiting the same number of units as White searchers), and describe in in-depth interviews that they were often given the “runaround” by landlords after initiating the

application process (for example, prospective landlords requested additional requirements and paperwork, were slow to return phone calls, or would string them along but ultimately select someone else who the landlord said was “more qualified”). All of these pieces of evidence point to the need to expand studies of housing discrimination beyond the initial inquiry phase and into the application (postinquiry) phase.

- **Why do existing paired-testing studies, which track testers up until the viewing of units, document only very modest instances of discrimination against minority renters?** Our analyses of secondary data points to a greater probability of ending a search without finding a unit, as well as systematically longer housing searches for minority renters. The HSS offers that Black renters inquire about and visit the same number of units as White renters, but submit more applications; yet, we know little or nothing about this part of the process and how minorities may experience discrimination at this stage (for example, differences in fees and requirements).
- **What role does credit history play, and how does it affect how the landlord during the application process treats the renter?** Racial minority renters more often than White renters refer to credit history as an area of challenge when conducting a housing search. Understanding how credit history shapes both the places people inquire about (in the preinquiry phase) and how the applicant is evaluated by the potential landlord should be an important area of concern for HUD, because it may be another criterion along which discrimination can occur. Because credit history is not necessarily an indicator of whether a person currently has the financial resources to pay their rent, it may be that racial minorities are affected disproportionately by the use of credit history as a screener for rental housing. Alternatively, landlords may use credit history as an excuse to pick a different applicant for their unit. A study that examined the extent to which credit history shapes the outcome of an inquiry or application and whether this varies based on the racial or ethnic background of the searcher would shed light on what may be a contemporary form of housing discrimination.
- **How do landlords make decisions about which person to rent to, and how often does discrimination in this final stage occur?** Similar to the application process, no research documents the landlord or property management side of the last stage of filling a vacancy. Moreover, paired-testing studies never measure differences in outcomes—that is, whether landlords actually offer the tester the unit.
- **What is the cumulative cost of discrimination over the course of a housing search?** Analysis of secondary data shows that searches last longer for minority renters, but the HSS was unable to capture the consequences of these longer searches, in terms of their direct costs (that is, application fees, gas, parking, or bus fares) and indirect costs (that is, time). Studies that examine the prevalence of discrimination rarely explore the full extent of the consequences of discrimination. Such studies would be valuable complements to the studies described here that focus on pinpointing the various stages and phases when discrimination can occur.

In short, in order to determine the full extent of discrimination that racial minorities experience in the housing market, the measurement of discrimination cannot be limited to a single point in what is a complicated and dynamic process. HUD investigations would be well served by broadening their conceptual framework of housing searches to include preinquiry and postinquiry phases that importantly shape the housing search experience. Understanding how the myriad racial or ethnic differences throughout the housing search process translate into points

when discrimination can happen or anticipated discrimination can affect the housing outcomes is needed. To do this, an expanded methodological toolkit is in order. In the next section, we suggest some specific study designs that could be used to begin to tap into these more complicated processes.

Exhibit 7.1: Possible Methods for Future Studies of Housing Search and Discrimination

	Adapting the AHS	New Analysis of HDS Data	Analysis of Complaint Data	Redesigned Paired Testing	Longitudinal Study of Searchers	Research on Landlord Decision Making
Preinquiry phase						
Effects of anticipated discrimination	X				X	
Impact of information sources on outcomes	X				X	
How often does discrimination occur when source of unit information is online versus other?				X		
How often does discrimination occur in neighborhoods minorities are likely to search for housing?		X		X		
How often does discrimination occur when searchers use methods other than online listings to find out about units?		X		X		
Inquiry phase						
To what degree is discrimination based on the mode of inquiry used by the searcher?						
To what degree do socioeconomic status and credit history affect racial or ethnic discrimination at the inquiry stage?				X		
Postinquiry phase						
What role does credit history play, and how does it affect how the renter is treated at the application process?				X		
What happens at the application stage, and how often does discrimination occur at this stage?			X	X	X	X
How do landlords make decisions about to whom to rent, and how often does discrimination in this final stage occur?			X			X
What are the cumulative costs of discrimination during the course of a housing search?					X	

AHS = American Housing Survey. HDS = Housing Discrimination Studies.

Proposed Methodologies

The appropriate method to answer each of these questions varies substantially. Exhibit 7.1 summarizes the possible methods for each of the questions.

Adapting the American Housing Survey (AHS). The AHS, a biennial survey sponsored by HUD, presents a great opportunity to generate national prevalence estimates of perceptions and anticipation of discrimination as well as differences in housing search process and outcomes. HUD administers the existing instrument to occupants of a representative sample of American housing units, and a smaller module asks a set of targeted questions to people who report moving into their unit within the past couple of years. Using this survey as a platform would be considerably less expensive than fielding an original survey of housing searches. Our HSS developed and tested an extensive battery of questions that cover the broad scope of housing searches; these instruments are a valuable resource for designing the targeted module, with an ability to draw on the large-scale cognitive interview instruments to guide the identification of the most useful survey questions for tapping the most relevant concepts. Researchers may add some questions for the entire population, whereas they could administer others only to recent movers. In addition, this vehicle is likely to generate the kind of sample size that would enable for sophisticated multivariate analyses that our HSS was only able to begin to tap. The AHS modules could also be adapted to include questions about the selection of units and neighborhoods (preinquiry phase) for further exploration by the searcher, thus permitting linkages among anticipated discrimination, types of communities and units searched, and final outcomes.

Analysis of existing HDS data. The 2012 Housing Discrimination Study documented the location of listings as well as the mode of inquiry— that is, in-person visit, email, or phone call. The research team did some exploration of differences in discrimination by type of neighborhood; however, it may be useful to revisit these data to focus on the types of neighborhoods where minority renters are most likely to look for housing. Further, other opportunities to explore how the mode of inquiry is related to instances of discrimination may exist.

Analysis of complaint data. Paired testing only documents up to the viewing of units at a visit to a particular property. However, much of our analyses suggest that discrimination may be occurring after that point in the process. Analyzing trends in existing fair-housing complaint data could be an important first step in understanding how discrimination at the application stage and beyond may manifest. These insights from complaints could then be used to design experimental studies for documenting discrimination.

Redesign of paired testing. Paired testing has many advantages, not least of which is its experimental design and its strength of documenting microcomponents of housing search at the individual property level. Its weakness, as it is currently conceptualized, is that it may be missing many important areas where discriminatory treatment may occur. Our exploratory work on housing searches suggests that HUD may want to evaluate the feasibility of three different ways that together or separately could be used to adapt the testing methodology to measure discrimination more expansively throughout the course of a housing search.

First, HUD could consider a change in the way it matches testers to better understand the interaction of race, income, and credit. One way would be to consider multipart tests, where two sets of different race pairs present at each property: one pair with income and credit similar to the

typical White renter, and another pair with income and credit similar to the typical Black or Latino renter. Although methodologically sound, these kinds of tests would also be costly and difficult to implement. Alternatively, HUD could try a nontraditional approach, sending out two purposefully dissimilar testers: a White tester with income and credit typical of Black or Latino renters, and a Black or Latino tester with income and credit typical of a White renter. Either of these designs would help distinguish the application of economic criteria from racial or ethnic discrimination.

Second, HUD could consider changing the underlying assumptions about housing searches to match minority search patterns. The tests could focus on the kinds of neighborhoods and the information strategies that minorities are more likely to be looking in and using. Testers could be assigned to specific neighborhoods, asked to use methods other than online sources to identify units, and follow up by phone or in-person.

Third, HUD could consider expanding tests beyond the in-person inquiry stage to document the application process and potential differential treatment at this stage. This expansion could include keeping track of landlord's requirements for next steps, including fees, paperwork, credit checks, and background checks, as well as negotiations about rent amounts, security deposits, and timing of move-in. Because of elevated risk for detection and cost, it is not practical to expect testers to actually go through this process to completion, but much can be learned by expanding the testing protocol to include questions about these next steps. Even landlords' willingness to provide this kind of information would provide valuable insights.

Longitudinal study of searchers. We learned many lessons from the design and implementation of our study of current searchers for this project. The strength of a longitudinal study of searchers is that by tracking a search as it is happening, we can capture the full, ongoing scope of a housing search. However, it has several methodological weaknesses: its convenience sample, its geographic scope, and its difficulty capturing the full length of a search because of wide variance among respondents. To identify people who expect to start searching for rental housing within a given window of time, HUD could piggyback on a nationally representative survey like the AHS to recruit individuals from their sample of respondents. This action would generate nationally representative samples without the tremendous cost associated with trying to recruit and identify this unique population. HUD might also consider a different format to record observations, to complement or even replace interviews, such as online logs or self-administered surveys, about interactions with particular properties, as well as to document time and costs in real time. The burden of this kind of data collection is high; HUD would likely have to put in place substantial, ongoing incentives or offer technology (computers or smart phones) that respondents could use to record their experiences.

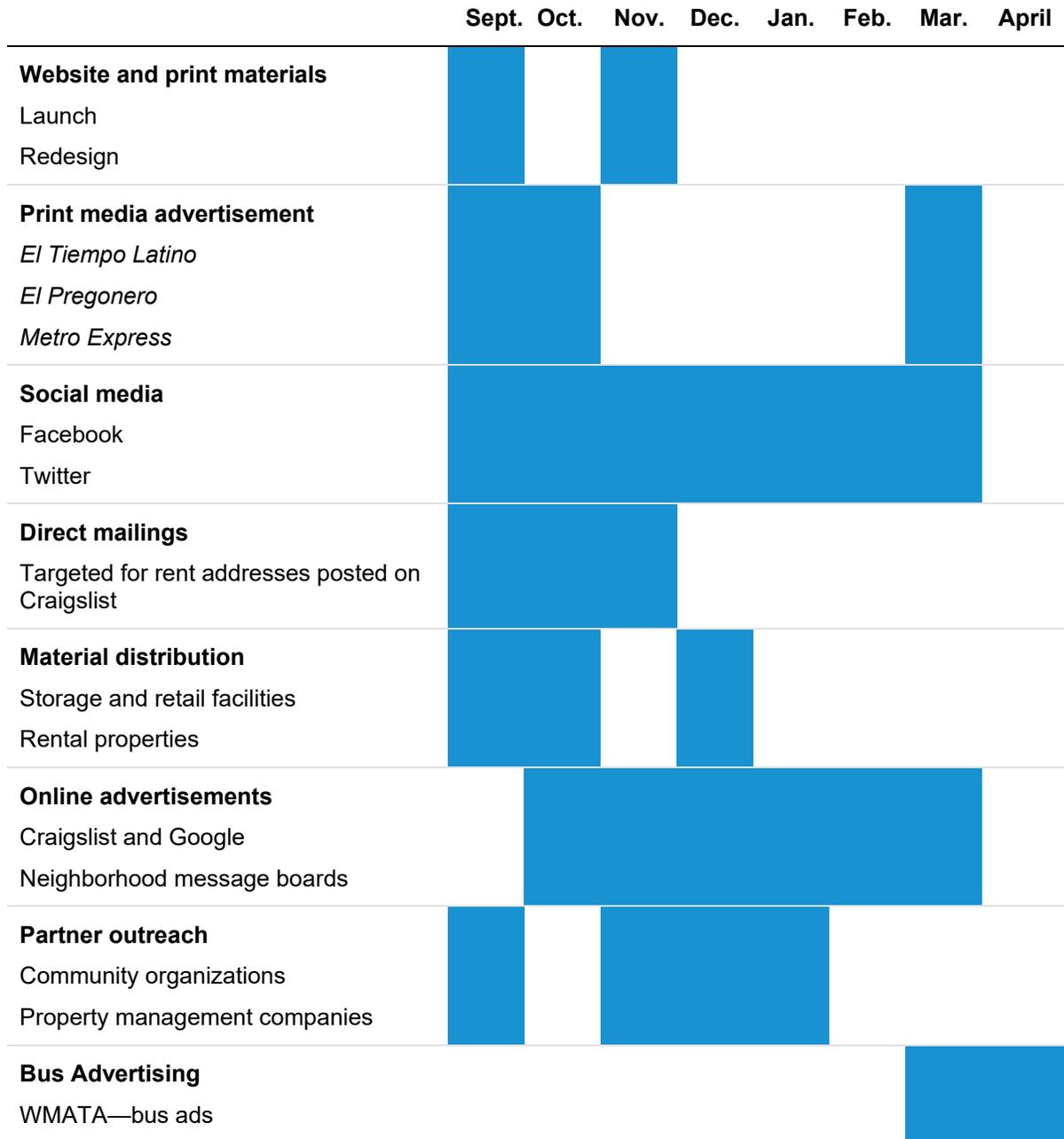
Research on landlord decision making. The only way to learn about how landlords make decisions from the application stage on is to talk directly with landlords about these processes, their rationales, and how they are communicated to potential tenants. The last survey of landlords took place in 1995. HUD may want to consider partnering with the National Association of Rental Property Owners, American Rental Properties Owners and Landlords Association, or other trade groups to convene conversations on these topics and field an updated survey equipped to capture information about landlord decision-making processes.

In conclusion, HUD has for decades provided critical information about the dynamics of housing discrimination in the United States. Racial dynamics in the United States, however, have

changed, and so too have the ways that people search for housing. What has not changed is that our nation's housing, for the most part, remains substantially segregated on the basis of race and ethnicity. The purpose of this exploratory study was to step back and consider how people actually search for housing and use that to frame a discussion of how we can best identify the moments in that process where discrimination might emerge. What we have uncovered is evidence that race permeates the process—moving well beyond the single moment in time captured by existing studies of discrimination to include both aspects of the search that precede and follow that moment in time that has been measured and studied for decades. The next decades of research into housing discrimination must be cognizant of these many ways that interfere with the rights of all Americans, regardless of race or ethnicity, to access high-quality housing of their choosing. We hope this report provides the road map for the next generation of HUD studies, and that these future studies, in turn, provide the framework for policies that can ultimately help break down the segregation and discrimination that have affected generations of Americans.

Appendix A. Lessons Learned From Housing Search Study Recruitment

Exhibit A.1: Types of Outreach Efforts



WMATA = Washington Metropolitan Area Transportation Authority.

Exhibit A.2: Interview Tracking

Month	New Callers (Wave 1)	Wave 2	Wave 3	All Complete Interviews
September	1	0	0	1
October	46	8	1	55
November	28	37	16	81
December	17	14	20	51
January	16	6	9	31
February	53	8	2	63
March	248	80	1	329
April	36	31	21	88
May	32	50	40	122
Total	477	234	100	811

Note: Survey launched Sept. 22, 2015.

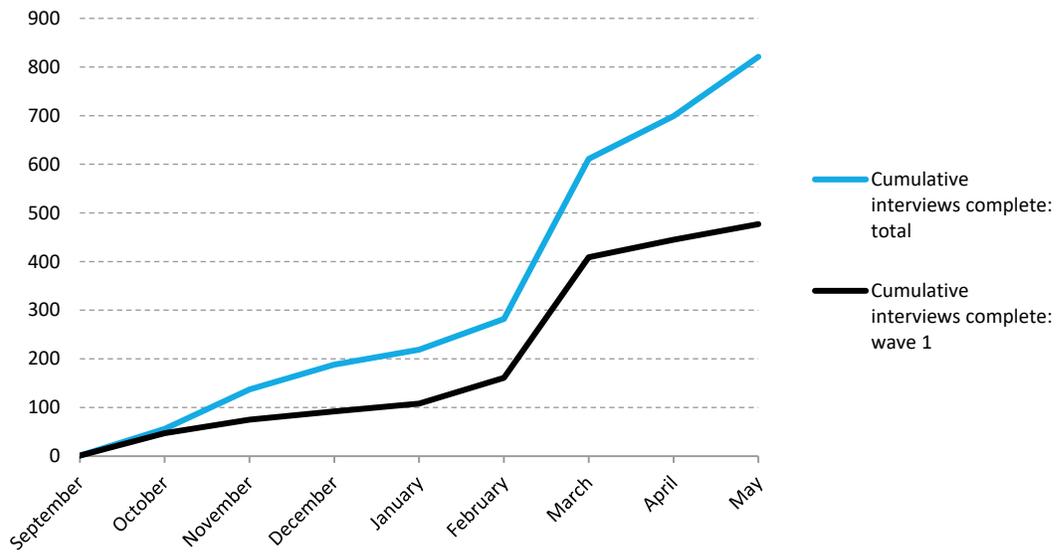


Exhibit A.3: Total Interviews and Unique Respondents

Exhibit A.4: Stated Source of Referral

	Percent
Saw poster or newspaper ad	39.3
Received postcard in the mail	0.9
Handed flyer	12.9
Online mailing list or listserv	3.2
Twitter	0.3
Facebook	1.4
Craigslist	13.8
Through a friend	6.2
Other	21.7

Note: Includes all call-ins.

Exhibit A.5: High-Cost, High-Exposure Outreach Efforts

Outreach	Description	Audience	Date
Metro bus advertisement	405 interior bus cards (22"x21") placed on bus routes throughout eligible counties in the DC area.	Northern-15 Western-70 Bladensburg-10 Southern-15 Shepherd-40 Landover-5 Four-Mile-100 West Ox-50 Montgomery-100	2/29/16- 04/24/2016
Metro Express, high-volume days and/or strategic placement in "Ready to Rent" supplement	Express is a free commuter daily (Monday-Friday) newspaper targeting readers and commuters in the D.C. metro area.	314,600 average daily readership	2/29/16, 3/1/16, 3/7/16, 3/11/16

Appendix B. Housing Search Study Screener

CATI: TIME STAMP

QTYPE.

INTERVIEWER: WHAT IS CALL STATUS?

- 1 RESPONDENT CALLED IN (**GO TO QLINTRO**)
- 2 CALL INITIATED BY PHONE CENTER (**GO TO INTRO1**)
- 3 ANSWERING MACHINE (**GO TO QANSW**)
- 4 CALL INITIATED BY PHONE CENTER THROUGH SNOWBALL
 RECRUITING (**GO TO INTRO1**)

QANSW.

ANSWERING MACHINE SCRIPT

Hello, my name is **Holly/Henry Smith** and I am calling from Decision Information Resources for the //DIR INSERT NAME OF SURVEY//. I am trying to reach **[FLNAME]** for a short paid interview.

Please have **[FLNAME]** call us at **1-866-986-1968**. Thank you.

INTERVIEWER: PRESS "NEXT" TO EXIT AND RECORD CALL DISPOSITION.

CATI: GO TO END INTERVIEW.

QLINTRO.

Hello, thank you for calling about the Housing Search Study. My name is **Holly/Henry Smith** and I work at Decision Information Resources, Inc.; we are working with the Urban Institute on this study of people's experiences searching for housing, which is funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

INTERVIEWER: PRESS "NEXT" TO CONTINUE.

CATI: GO TO INTRO1a.

INTRO1.

Hello, my name is **Holly/Henry Smith** and I work at Decision Information Resources, Inc.; we are working with the Urban Institute on this study of people’s experiences searching for housing, which is funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [**CATI: IF QTYPE=4 SHOW** (“and one of our participants nominated you as someone who might want to participate in this study and might be eligible”). There is a thank-you gift for eligible people who participate.

CATI IF QTYPE=4 [Disclose if the subject asks who nominated them]

INTERVIEWER: IF NECESSARY, READ: “[**FLNAME**] has agreed to help with a study of renters who have recently moved or who are planning to move to a new home within the Washington, DC, Virginia, Maryland metropolitan area.

- 1 RESPONDENT AVAILABLE – CONTINUE
- 2 RESPONDENT NOT AVAILABLE – ARRANGE CALLBACK AND
ENTER CALL NOTE (**GO TO RCONU**)
- 8 REFUSED – ENTER DISPOSITION CODE AND CALL NOTE
DESCRIBING SITUATION IN THE CALL RECORD TEXT BOX (**GO
TO END INTERVIEW**)

INTRO1a.

I’d like to ask you a few screening questions to see if you are eligible. This will take just a few minutes. Of course, if you get started and are uncomfortable with any questions, you don’t have to answer them. You can stop your participation at any time. The researchers involved in the study respect your privacy and your name will not be linked to any of the answers you give us. Can I go ahead and get started with the screening questions?

INTRO2A

Screening Questions

CATI: TIMESTAMPS

In case we get disconnected, please provide me a name and phone number so I can call you back:

NAME: _____ **CATI: CREATE FLNAME**

PHONE: _____ - _____ - _____ **[CATI: CREATE RPHONE]**

CATI: TO MINIMIZE “DON’T KNOW”/” REFUSED” RESPONSES IN SCREENER PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS TO IVWR TO PROMPT R WHEN DON’T KNOW/REFUSED GIVEN: “In order to determine if you are eligible for the study, we need to know this information. Even if you aren't completely sure, what is your best guess?”

RENTER STATUS

S1. Do you currently rent or own the place in which you are living?

- 1. Rent **(SKIP TO S2)**
- 2. Own
- 3. Some other arrangement? SPECIFY _____
- 8. **DON’T KNOW OR 1ST REFUSAL, READ PROMPT**
- 9. **CONFIRMED REFUSAL (SKIP TO SCRNFALL)**

S1a. Are you undergoing a housing search for a house or apartment that you wish to RENT?

- 1. YES **(CATI, CREATE CURSRCH=1) (SKIP TO S2c)**
- 2. NO **(SKIP TO SCRNFALL)**
- 8. **NO ANSWER GIVEN, READ PROMPT**
- 9. **CONFIRMED REFUSAL (SKIP TO SCRNFALL)**

SCRNFALL INTERVIEWER: R IS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR THE STUDY

Thank you for your participation.

Without an answer to all of the screener questions, I’m unable to determine your eligibility. Thank you for your time.

S1a: This study is for people who are renters or planning to become renters, so I am sorry but you are not eligible.

S2: This study is for people who are currently searching for a place to live or who have recently moved, so I am sorry but you are not eligible.

S3A: This study is for people who are currently searching to rent outside of a public housing development, so I am sorry but you are not eligible. (ONLY WHEN YES IS THE ANSWER)

S4: This study is for people living in the area for a long-term basis, so I am sorry but you are not eligible.

S5a: This study is for people who are currently searching in specific areas, so I am sorry but you are not eligible.

S6: This study is for people who were involved in searching for your current home, so I am sorry but you are not eligible.

S8: This study is for people in specific groups, so I am sorry but you are not eligible.

S9: This study is for people who are at least 21 years old, so I am sorry but you are not eligible.

S2. Have you moved in the last two months, that is, since [DATE] (**2 MONTHS BEFORE CURRENT DATE**) OR are you currently searching for housing?

1. MOVED WITHIN THE LAST 2 MONTHS (**SKIP TO S2a**)
2. CURRENTLY SEARCHING FOR HOUSING (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)
3. BOTH SEARCHING AND RECENTLY MOVED (**CATI, CREATE CURSRCH=1**) (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)
4. NONE OF THE ABOVE (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)
5. SIGNED A LEASE, BUT NOT YET MOVED IN [IF VOLUNTEERED] (**SKIP TO S2a**)
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, READ PROMPT
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)

MOVED WITHIN THE LAST TWO MONTHS

S2a. **[CATI: IF S2=5 READ** Although you have not yet moved into your new place, for the rest of the survey, I would like to ask you to answer questions about your current unit or neighborhood in terms of the new place that you will soon be moving into. Questions about your past unit should refer to where you are living right now. First, what day will your new lease begin?" **OTHERWISE, READ** "When did you move into the place where you are living now?"

DD ____ MM ____ YYYY ____

98. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, READ PROMPT

99. CONFIRMED REFUSAL

CATI: IF DATE IS WITHIN 2-MONTH TIMEFRAME FROM CURRENT DATE CREATE RECMVR=1, SKIP TO S3

CATI: IF DATE IS OUTSIDE 2-MONTH TIME FRAME SKIP TO SCRNFALL

S2b. Are you planning to buy or rent?

1. RENT (CATI: CREATE CURSRCH=1, SKIP TO S3a.)
2. BUY (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)
3. OPEN TO BOTH RENTING OR BUYING (CATI: CREATE CURSRCH=1, SKIP TO S3)
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, READ PROMPT
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)

S2C. Is there a set date when you need to finish your search, such as the end of a lease, the birth of a new child, or another date?

INTERVIEWER: IF A DTE IS SELECTED, YOU MUST SELECT "YES, SPECIFY DATE" TO CONTINUE, OTHERWISE YOU MUST SELECT NO TO CONTINUE

1. YES, SPECIFY DATE _____ (GET DATE)
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)

CATI: IF S2C IS > 90 DAYS FROM TODAY, SKIP TO SCRNFAIL

IF RECMVR=1

- S3. Are you currently living in a unit owned by the local housing authority? [**CATI: IF S2=5 ALSO ADD "Remember, by current we are referring to the home you will soon be moving into."**]
1. YES (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)
 2. NO
 8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, READ PROMPT
 9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)

IF CURSRCH=1

- S3a. Are you currently searching for housing only through the local housing authority?
1. YES (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)
 2. NO
 3. DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE
 8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, READ PROMPT
 9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)

S4. Did you recently move to the DC area for a short-term internship or educational program lasting less than four months?

1. YES **(SKIP TO SCRNFALL)**
2. NO
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL **(SKIP TO SCRNFALL)**

LOCATION QUESTIONS

CURRENT SEARCHERS MODULE: **IF CURSRCH=1, SHOW:**

S5a. In what counties are you looking or considering for housing? **[CATI: IF S2=5 ALSO ADD "Remember, by current we are referring to the home you will soon be moving into."]**

INTERVIEWER: DO NOT READ LIST; CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

1. WASHINGTON, DC **[RESPONDENT MAY SAY, "DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA" OR "DC"]**
2. MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD
3. PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, OR "PG COUNTY"
4. FAIRFAX COUNTY, VA (INCLUDING THE INDEPENDENT CITIES OF FAIRFAX AND FALLS CHURCH)
5. ARLINGTON COUNTY, VA
6. CITY OF ALEXANDRIA (INDEPENDENT CITY ADJACENT TO ARLINGTON AND FAIRFAX COUNTIES)
7. NONE OF THE ABOVE **(SKIP TO SCRNFALL)**
8. NOT SURE _____
9. OTHER, SPECIFY _____ **(GO TO S5A2)**
98. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
99. CONFIRMED REFUSAL **(SKIP TO SCRNFALL)**

S5a2. So, just to be clear, this is not in either the DC area, or Montgomery County, Prince George’s County, Fairfax County, Arlington County, or the City of Alexandria?

1. YES, SEARCH AREAS ARE **NOT** IN ANY OF THE COUNTIES/AREAS LISTED (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)
2. NO, SEARCH AREAS **ARE** IN ONE OF THE COUNTIES/AREAS LISTED
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON’T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, READ PROMPT (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)

RECENT MOVERS MODULE: **IF RECEMVR=1, SHOW:**

S5b. In what county do you currently live? [**CATI: IF S2=5 ALSO ADD** “Remember, by current we are referring to the home you will soon be moving into.”]

INTERVIEWER: DO NOT READ LIST

1. WASHINGTON, DC [**RESPONDENT MAY SAY, “DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA” OR “DC”**]
2. MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD
3. PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, OR “PG COUNTY”
4. FAIRFAX COUNTY, VA (INCLUDING THE INDEPENDENT CITIES OF FAIRFAX AND FALLS CHURCH)
5. ARLINGTON COUNTY, VA
6. CITY OF ALEXANDRIA (INDEPENDENT CITY ADJACENT TO ARLINGTON AND FAIRFAX COUNTIES)
7. NONE OF THE ABOVE (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)
8. NOT SURE _____
9. OTHER, SPECIFY _____ (**GO TO S5B2**)
98. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON’T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**

99. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)

S5b2. So, just to be clear, this is not in either the DC area, or Montgomery County, Prince George's County, Fairfax County, Arlington County, or the City of Alexandria?

1. RESPONDENT **IS NOT CURRENTLY** LIVING IN ANY OF THE COUNTIES/AREAS LISTED (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)
2. RESPONDENT **IS CURRENTLY** LIVING IN ONE OF THE COUNTIES/AREAS LISTED
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)

INVOLVEMENT IN SEARCH

RECENT MOVERS MODULE VERSION

S6. **CATI: IF RECMVR=1, SHOW:** Thinking about the search you did for your current home, how much were you personally involved in the search? Would you say you were ...

1. Very involved
2. Somewhat involved
3. Involved a little
4. Not involved at all (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)

CURRENT SEARCHERS MODULE VERSION

S6a. **CATI: IF CURSRCH=1, SHOW:** How much do you expect to be involved in the search for your new home? Would you say ...

1. Very involved
2. Somewhat involved
3. Involved a little
4. Not involved at all (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)

RACE/ETHNICITY (Adapted from Census 2010)

S7. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

1. YES (**SKIP TO N4**)
2. NO
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFAIL**)

S8R. What is your race? Please tell me all that apply.

INTERVIEWER: ONLY READ OPTIONS IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT VOLUNTEER RACE. SELECT MULTIRACIAL OR BIRACIAL ONLY IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS IT AND SELECTS NO OTHER RACE OPTION.

	Yes	No
S8_1. White	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL AFTER QUOTA)	2
S8_2. Black or African American	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL AFTER QUOTA)	2
S8_3. Asian	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)	2
S8_4. American Indian or Alaska Native	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)	2
S8_5. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)	2
S8_6. Some other race	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)	2
S8_7. MULTIRACIAL OR BIRACIAL (ONLY IF VOLUNTEERED AND NO OTHER RACE IS SELECTED, DO NOT READ)	1 (SKIP TO S8A_R)	2
S8_8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL	1 (READ PROMPT)	2
S8_9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFAIL)	2

INTERVIEWER: IF R ANSWERS, “DON’T KNOW/REFUSED” PROMPT WITH: “In order to determine if you are eligible for the study, we need to know this information. Even if you aren't completely sure, what is your best guess?”

RACE QUOTA: IF RESPONDENT = WHITE, NON-HISPANIC AND CAP HAS BEEN REACHED, NOT ELIGIBLE FOR STUDY, SKIP TO SCRNFALL

(IF S8R=7)

S8A_R. What racial groups do you identify with? Please tell me all that apply.

INTERVIEWER: ONLY READ OPTIONS IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT VOLUNTEER RACE. SELECT MULTIRACIAL OR BIRACIAL ONLY IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS IT AND SELECTS NO OTHER RACE OPTION.

	Yes	No
S8A_1. White	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFALL AFTER QUOTA)	2
S8A_2. Black or African American	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFALL AFTER QUOTA)	2
S8A_3. Asian	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFALL)	2
S8A_4. American Indian or Alaska Native	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFALL)	2
S8A_5. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFALL)	2
S8A_6. Some other race	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFALL)	2
S8A_7. MULTIRACIAL OR BIRACIAL (ONLY IF VOLUNTEERED AND NO OTHER RACE IS SELECTED, DO NOT READ)	1 (SKIP TO S8A_R)	2
S8A_8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON’T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL	1 (READ PROMPT)	2
S8A_9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL	1 (SKIP TO SCRNFALL)	2

INCOME/AGE

S9. What is your age? Are you...

1. Under 21 (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)
2. 21-29
3. 30-39
4. 40-49
5. 50-59
6. 60-69
7. 70 or older
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)

AGE QUOTA: CATI: SKIP TO SCRNFALL IF CAP FOR AGE GROUP HAS BEEN REACHED, NOT ELIGIBLE FOR STUDY

S10. Are there any children under the age of 18 who live with you?

1. YES
2. NO
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL

CATI: ASK IF RECMVR=1, ELSE SKIP TO S11b_1

S11a_1. In your current living situation, do you have roommates—that is, unrelated adults with whom you share the house or apartment?

1. YES (**SKIP TO S11a_2**)
2. NO (**SKIP TO S11a_3**)
3. BOTH SITUATIONS (IF VOLUNTEERED) (**SKIP TO S11a_3**)
4. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)

S11a_2. We are looking for a range of people to participate in this study so we would like to ask you about your yearly individual income. We are interested in only your individual income and not that of any of your roommates. Is your individual yearly income...

1. Less than \$25,000
2. Between \$25,000 and \$65,000
3. More than \$65,000
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFALL**)

CATI: SKIP TO S12

S11a_3. We are looking for a range of people to participate in this study so we would like to ask you about your yearly total household income. We would like to know the total household income that includes all adults. Is your yearly total household income...

1. Less than \$25,000
2. Between \$25,000 and \$65,000
3. More than \$65, 000
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFIL**)

CATI: ASK IF CURSRCH=1

S11b_1. Are you planning to move into a living situation where you have roommates – that is, unrelated adults with whom you will share the house or apartment?

1. YES (**SKIP TO S11b_2**)
2. NO (**SKIP TO S11b_3**)
3. BOTH SITUATIONS (IF VOLUNTEERED) (**SKIP TO S11b_3**)
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (**SKIP TO SCRNFIL**)

S11b_2. We are looking for a range of people to participate in this study so we would like to ask you about your yearly individual income. We are interested in only your individual income and not that of any of your roommates. Is your individual yearly income...

1. Less than \$25,000
2. Between \$25,000 and \$65,000
3. More than \$65, 000
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL, **READ PROMPT**

9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (SKIP TO SCRNFAL)

CATI: SKIP TO S12

S11b_3. We are looking for a range of people to participate in this study so we would like to ask you about your yearly total household income. We would like to know the total household income amongst the adults that will be sharing the new apartment or house. Will the yearly total household income be...

1. Less than \$25,000
2. Between \$25,000 and \$65,000
3. More than \$65, 000
8. NO ANSWER GIVEN, DON'T KNOW, OR 1ST REFUSAL,
READ PROMPT
9. CONFIRMED REFUSAL (SKIP TO SCRNFAL)

INTERVIEWER: IF R ANSWERS, "DON'T KNOW/REFUSED" PROMPT WITH: "In order to determine if you are eligible for the study, we need to know this information. Even if you aren't completely sure, what is your best guess?"

S12. How did you hear about this study?

1. Saw poster or bus ad
2. Received postcard in the mail
3. Handed flyer or saw an ad in a newspaper
4. Online mailing list or listserv
5. Twitter
6. Facebook
7. Craigslist
8. Through a friend
9. Other (specify)
- 98. DON'T KNOW, READ PROMPT**
99. CONFIRMED REFUSAL

RECRUITMENT QUOTA: [CATI: IF CAP FOR RECRUITMENT METHODS HAS BEEN REACHED- E.G. CRAIGSLIST, NOT ELIGIBLE, SKIP TO SCRNFAL]

---END SCREENING QUESTIONS---

S5. Based on the answers you gave me, you are eligible for participating in the Housing Search Study. Before we begin, could you provide your current street address?

STREET: _____

CITY: _____

STATE: _____

ZIP: _____

98. DON'T KNOW, **READ PROMPT**

99. CONFIRMED REFUSAL

S5_1. What is the name of the neighborhood or area you live in?

INTERVIEWER: IF R HAS SIGNED A LEASE BUT NOT YET MOVED THEN WE ARE ASKING ABOUT THE NEIGHBORHOOD THEY WILL BE MOVING TO

_____ List neighborhood(s) and Other, specify option

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

CATI: IF RECMVR=1, SKIP TO (RECENT MOVERS MODULE, ELSE IF CURSRCH=1 SKIP TO CURRENT SEARCHERS

Appendix C. Recent Mover Cognitive Test Protocol

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

Q_START. Ok, thanks. This study is for people who have moved to a new home in the DC area within the last two months. We would like to ask you some questions about your recent housing search experience, how you searched for housing, and how it was that you ended up renting the home that you currently live in. We will also ask some basic questions about your background and other experiences. This study will take about 30 minutes and you will receive a \$50 gift card to thank you for your time. We respect your privacy, and your name will not be linked to any of your answers. The study is completely voluntary, and you can refuse to answer any question or stop the study at any time. May I continue?

1. YES
2. NOT NOW (**SKIP TO RCONU**)
3. REFUSED (**SKIP TO END_INT**)

HOUSING BASICS

The first set of questions is about your current housing situation.

- B3. What is your current rent, that is, [CATI: IF S11a_1=1 SHOW: “that part of the rent that you are responsible for”; IF S11a_1=2 OR 3 SHOW: “the total rent for the unit”?

INTERVIEWER: IF R IS NOT PAYING RENT, SELECT OPTION BOX BELOW.

_____ \$\$ [**Range: 1-9997**]

NOT PAYING RENT (**SKIP TO B5**)

9998. DON'T KNOW (**SKIP TO B5**)
9999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO B5**)

B4. Is that...

1. Per week
2. Every other week,
3. Per month, or
4. Something else? Specify
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

B5. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about where you lived before you moved on [INT_1_DATE: FROM S2a].

What was your address before you lived at [FROM S5: FULLADD]?

Number and Street: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW ADDRESS, PROBE FOR CROSS STREETS OR GENERAL AREA

Cross streets or general area: _____

CATI: IF ZIP CODE MATCHES ZIP CODE IN S5 SKIP TO B6

B5b. Would you say this was the same neighborhood as you currently live in, or is it a different neighborhood?

1. SAME NEIGHBORHOOD
2. DIFFERENT NEIGHBORHOOD
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

B6. When you lived at [FROM B5: PRIOR_STREET], did you own the place or were you renting?

1. OWN
2. RENTING
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

B7. Now I would like to ask you questions about the neighborhood you recently moved to – that is, the one you are currently living in.

Overall, how would you rate the quality of your [CATI: IF B5b=2 INSERT "new"]} neighborhood on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the best and 1 being the worst?

_____ Rating [Range: 1-10]

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

CATI: IF B5b=1 SKIP TO B9

B8. In general, is the quality of your **new** neighborhood better, worse, or about the same as your previous neighborhood?

1. BETTER
2. WORSE
3. ABOUT THE SAME
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

B9. Now we would like to ask you about several features of the neighborhood you are currently living in and how they compare to what you were hoping for when you were looking for a place to live.

	Better than you hoped for	About what you hoped for	Not as good as you hoped for	Or did that not matter to you	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
B9. First, how about your current neighborhood's convenience to your workplace or school? Would you say it is...						
B10. How about your current neighborhood's location near friends or family? Would you say it is...						
B11. How about the amenities like restaurants, grocery stores, theaters, shopping, and doctor's offices in your current neighborhood?						
B12. What about your current neighborhood's convenience to public transportation?						
B13. What about your current neighborhood's quality of public services like libraries, playgrounds, and community centers?						
B14. What about the quality of the schools in your current neighborhood?						
B15. What about the safety of your current neighborhood?						

B16. Now we would like to ask you about one last neighborhood characteristic. How about the mix of racial and ethnic groups in your current neighborhood?

Would you say it is...

1. Better than you hoped for, **(GO TO B16A)**
2. About what you hoped for, **(GO TO B16A)**
3. Not as good as you hoped for, or **(GO TO B16A)**
4. Did it not matter to you? **(GO TO B18)**

- 8. DON'T KNOW (GO TO B18)
- 9. REFUSED (GO TO B18)

IF B16 = 1,2, or 3

B16a. In what way [is it better than you hoped for/is it about what you hoped for/is it not as good as you hoped for]?

SPECIFY: _____

- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

UNIT-SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

B18a. Now I am going to ask you some questions about the building and home that you currently live in.

What kind of building is your unit in? Is it a...

- 1. Single family home
- 2. Small building with four or fewer
- 3. Medium sized building with 5-50 units
- 4. Large apartment building or complex with more than 50 units
- 5. VOLUNTEERED: OTHER (SPECIFY) _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

B18. How many bedrooms does your unit have?

_____ BEDROOMS [Range: 1-9]

- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B21. Is this **housing unit** better, worse, or about the same as your previous home?

- 1. Better
- 2. Worse
- 3. About the Same
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

B22. Now we would like to ask about a number of features of your new home and how they compare to what you were hoping for.

Would you say the rent you pay for it is...

1. More than you thought you would pay,
2. About what you thought you would pay,
3. Less than you thought you would pay, or
4. Did the rent not matter to you?
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

B24-B28.

	Better than you hoped for	About what you hoped for	Not as good as you hoped for	Or did that not matter to you	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
B24. How about the size of the home or number of rooms? Would you say the size of the home or number of rooms is...						
B27. How about the security of the building? Would you say the security of the building is...						
B28. How about the amenities in the building, like laundry facilities, parking, and other on-site facilities?						

B32. In your search, which was more important to you, ...

1. The unit itself,
2. The neighborhood where it was located, or
3. were both equally important?
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

B33. People move for a number of different reasons. I'm going to read several possibilities and I would like you to tell me which, if any, was an important reason why you decided to move.

First, did you move:

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Because your old home or building was destroyed, condemned or unsafe?	1	2	8	9
c. Because your landlord said you had to move?	1	2	8	9
d. Because of a new job or job transfer?	1	2	8	9
e. To form your own household?	1	2	8	9
f. To be closer to family?	1	2	8	9

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
g. Because of a change in household or family size, including marriage, divorce, separation, or child birth or adoption?	1	2	8	9
h. To reduce commuting time?	1	2	8	9
i. To upgrade to a larger home or a better-quality home?	1	2	8	9
j. To find a less expensive place to live?	1	2	8	9
k. To live in a better neighborhood?	1	2	8	9
l. Because of some other reason?	1	2	8	9

B33_o. What is the other important reason you moved?

CATI: IF 2 OR MORE =1 (YES) CONTINUE, ELSE SKIP TO B33n

CATI: SHOW B33A-B33K WHEN =1 (YES)

B33_m. Which reason is the most important?

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

B33_n. Thinking about your decision to search for a new place to live, would you say this was something you had been planning to do for a while or did the need to search for a new place come up unexpectedly?

1. Planning for awhile
 2. Came up unexpectedly
 3. DON'T KNOW
 4. REFUSED
-

B34. Once you started looking for a new place to live, how long did it take you to find your new place?

Would you say it took...

1. Less than a week
2. More than a week but less than a month
3. 1-2 months
4. More than 2 months
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

FINANCIAL HEALTH

B36. We would like to know if there are any things that made it difficult for you to search for housing. Please tell me if any of the following made it difficult for you.

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Not having access to the internet?	1	2	8	9
b. [Skip if S_10 =2]: Not having childcare?	1	2	8	9
c. Not having transportation to get to units?	1	2	8	9
d. History of prior eviction?	1	2	8	9
e. Criminal record for you or anyone in your household?	1	2	8	9
f. Poor credit history?	1	2	8	9
g. Not enough money for a security deposit or other fees?	1	2	8	9

B37. Do you currently have a Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher, or other form of subsidized housing?

1. YES
2. NO
3. NO BUT AM ON WAITING LIST **[ONLY IF VOLUNTEERED]**
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: IF RACE = WHITE, SKIP TO B39

B38. In general, do you think that **[RACE (add 's' so it is African AmericanS, LatinoS, etc.)** have as good a chance as whites in this community to get any housing they can afford, or do you think they don't have as good a chance?

INTERVIEWER: IF R ALSO IDENTIFIES AS "WHITE", SAY "I understand. This question is being asked because you also identified as Black or African American."

1. HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
2. DON'T HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
8. DON'T KNOW [VOLUNTEERED]
9. REFUSED

CATI: IF R IS LATINO AND BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN; THEN [RACE] = BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN

B38a. In general, do you think that **[RACE (add 's' so it is African AmericanS, LatinoS, etc.)** have as good a chance as whites in this community to get any housing they can afford, or do you think they don't have as good a chance?

INTERVIEWER: IF R ALSO IDENTIFIES AS “WHITE”, SAY “I understand. This question is being asked because you also identified as Latino.”

1. HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
2. DON'T HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
8. DON'T KNOW [VOLUNTEERED]
9. REFUSED

CATI: IF R IS LATINO AND BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN; THEN [RACE] = LATINO

B39. When you **first** started searching for a place to live, did you **consider** any other neighborhoods besides the one you moved into?

1. YES
2. NO (**GO TO B42**)
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

B40. Which neighborhood(s) or areas did you consider? **PROBE:** Any others?

INTERVIEWER: ONCE SELECTION OF NEIGHBORHOODS IS COMPLETE, YOU MUST SELECT 97: 'NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS' TO PROCEED TO THE NEXT QUESTION

_____ List neighborhood(s) and Other, specify option

97. NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOOD
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

B42. We would like to know how you **first** heard about the unit that you **moved into**. Would you say you heard about it from someone you knew, that you saw or heard an advertisement for it, saw a sign in the window, learned about it from a professional service, learned about it through social media, through a community or religious organization, or some other way?

1. SOMEONE YOU KNEW (**ASK B43**)
2. ADVERTISEMENT (**ASK B45**)
3. SIGN ON THE WINDOW (**SKIP TO B49**)
4. PROFESSIONAL SERVICE
5. SOCIAL MEDIA (**ASK B47**)
6. COMMUNITY OR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION (**SKIP TO B50**)
7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T REMEMBER (**SKIP TO B50**)
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B42_1 = 1

B43. What best describes your relationship to the person who told you about this unit, was it:

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. A family member
2. A friend
3. A co-worker
4. A roommate
5. A neighbor
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B42_1 = 1

B44. What best describes the race and ethnicity of the person/people who told you about this unit? Would you say...

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. Hispanic/Latino
2. White
3. Black or African American
4. Asian
5. Other, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B42_2 = 1

B45. Where was this ad? Was it in a newspaper, on a website, billboard, or radio?

1. NEWSPAPER, SPECIFY: Which newspaper?
2. WEBSITE, SPECIFY: Which website?
3. BILLBOARD
4. RADIO, SPECIFY: Which station? _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B42_4 = 1

CATI: ASK IF B42_5 = 1

B47. Which social media site did you first hear about the unit on?

1. Facebook
2. Twitter
3. Myspace
4. Email listservs (e.g., community listservs, interest group listservs)
5. Other social media
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B42_6 = 1

CATI: ASK ALL

B50. Now instead of just asking about **the unit that you ended up moving into**, we would like to ask you about all of the different things you did during your housing search. What sources of information did you use in general to find out about **all of the units** you considered in your search?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. First, did you hear about units from someone you knew?	1	2	8	9
b. Did you see or hear advertisements for them?	1	2	8	9
c. Did you see signs in the windows of units or buildings?	1	2	8	9
d. Did you learn about them from a professional service?	1	2	8	9
e. Did you learn about them on social media?	1	2	8	9
f. Did you learn about them through community or religious organizations?	1	2	8	9
g. Did you use any other sources? (IF YES: SPECIFY)	1	2	8	9

CATI: ASK IF B50g=1

B50_O. What other sources did you use?

1. Other, Specify: _____
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[IF SOMEONE YOU KNEW ASK 51-52]

CATI: ASK IF B50_1 = 1

B51. Thinking about the person you knew who told you about units, what best describes your relationship to this person? If there was more than one person, tell me about your relationship to the person who told you about the most units.

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

Was it...

1. A family member
2. A friend
3. A co-worker
4. A roommate
5. A neighbor
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B50_1 = 1

B52. What best describes the race and ethnicity of the person/people who told you about units? If there was more than one person, tell me the race/ethnicity of the person who told you about the most units.

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

Would you say...

1. Hispanic/Latino
2. White
3. Black or African American
4. Asian
5. Other, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B50_2 = 1

B53. Thinking about the ads you used to find out about units, where were these ads? Were they in a newspaper, on a website, billboard, or radio?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

1. NEWSPAPER, SPECIFY: Which newspaper?
2. WEBSITE, SPECIFY: Which website?
3. BILLBOARD
4. RADIO, SPECIFY: Which station? _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF B50_5 = 1

B55. Which social media sites did you use to find out about units?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

1. Facebook
2. Twitter
3. Myspace
4. Email listservs (e.g., community listservs, interest group listservs)
5. Other social media, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

B57. Sometimes the people we know help us in different ways during a housing search. Can you tell me if you used the people you know to assist with your housing search in any of the following ways?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
b. To find rentals that did not require a credit check or other application requirements?	1	2	7	8
c. To learn more about specific neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
d. To find landlords that would not discriminate against people of your race/ethnicity?	1	2	7	8

B58. Sometimes people gather information about the neighborhoods they are thinking about moving to.

Did you try to find out anything about the neighborhoods you were thinking of moving into?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO **(SKIP TO B60)**
- 8. DON'T KNOW **(SKIP TO B60)**
- 9. REFUSED **(SKIP TO B60)**

B59. What neighborhood features did you try to learn more about?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. School quality	1	2	7	8
b. Public transportation	1	2	7	8
c. Parks and other amenities such as restaurants, bars, and shopping	1	2	7	8
d. Crime	1	2	7	8
e. How open the neighborhood would be to people of your racial or ethnic background	1	2	7	8
f. Are there any other neighborhood features you tried to learn about? Specify	1	2	7	8

CATI: ASK IF B59f=1

B59_O. What other features did you try to learn about?

- 1. Other, Specify: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B60. People sometimes contact the landlord or property management company to gather additional information about a unit to decide if they want to continue considering it.

How many units did you contact the landlord, management company, or current tenant(s) about to find out more information?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

- 998. DON'T KNOW **(GO TO B60A)**
- 999. REFUSED

B60a. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

- 1. 0
- 2. 1
- 3. 2
- 4. 3-5

- 5. 6-10
- 6. 11-15
- 7. 16-25
- 8. More than 25
- 998. DON'T KNOW
- 999. REFUSED

CATI: IF B60=0 OR B60A=1 SKIP TO B63

B60b. Did you **primarily** inquire about units through...

- 1. Email,
- 2. Phone call,
- 3. Text
- 4. In-person visits, or
- 5. Some other way? SPECIFY: _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

B63. At any point in your search, did you:

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Expand your search to look at other neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
b. Change your mind about how important some unit features were?	1	2	7	8
c. Increase your price range?	1	2	7	8

B64. Now, I am going to ask you a few questions about your experiences visiting rental units and applying for rental units.

How many units did you actually visit in person during your search?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

- 998 DON'T KNOW (**GO TO B64a**)
- 999 REFUSED (**SKIP TO B65**)

B64a. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

- 1. 0
- 2. 1
- 3. 2
- 4. 3-5
- 5. 6-10
- 6. 11-15
- 7. 16-25
- 8. More than 25

- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B65. How many units did you attempt to visit in person, but were unable to because you were told they weren't available?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

- 998 DON'T KNOW (**GO TO B65a**)
- 999 REFUSED (**SKIP TO B66**)

B65a. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

- 1. 0
- 2. 1
- 3. 2
- 4. 3-5
- 5. 6-10
- 6. 11-15
- 7. 16-25
- 8. More than 25
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B66. Did you do any of the following when you called or met with a potential landlord in order to increase the chance that a landlord would treat you well? Did you...

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Dress differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
b. Speak differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
c. Bring a partner/friend/children?	1	2	7	8
d. Leave a partner/friend/children at home to increase the chance that the landlord would treat you well?	1	2	7	8
e. Mention your career or professional background?	1	2	7	8
f. Send someone else to check out the unit for you?	1	2	7	8

CATI: IF (B64<1 OR B64 = 999) OR (B64A <1 OR B64A = 99) GO TO B70

B68. Did you visit units in more than one neighborhood?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO (**GO TO B70**)
- 8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO B70**)
- 9. REFUSED (**GO TO B70**)

B69. What areas or neighborhoods did you visit units in? **PROBE:** Any others?

INTERVIEWER: ONCE SELECTION OF NEIGHBORHOODS IS COMPLETE, YOU MUST SELECT 97: 'NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS' TO PROCEED TO THE NEXT QUESTION

_____List neighborhood(s) and Other, specify option

- 97. NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOOD
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B70. Were there any neighborhoods that you stopped considering after visiting?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO (**GO TO B72**)
- 8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO B72**)
- 9. REFUSED (**GO TO B72**)

B70a. Which neighborhoods did you stop considering?

CATI: LIST NEIGHBORHOODS FROM B69 FOR SELECTION

B71. Why did you stop considering those neighborhoods after visiting them?

Was it because...

INTERVIEWER: IF R INDICATES DIFFERENT REASONS FOR DIFFERENT NEIGHBORHOODS, CHECK ALL REASONS MENTIONED

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. You did not feel safe?	1	2	7	8
c. It was too far from school/work?	1	2	7	8
d. It was too far from public transportation?	1	2	7	8
f. Of the racial/ethnic mix of the neighborhood?	1	2	7	8
g. Of something else? SPECIFY: _____	1	2	7	8

CATI: ASK IF B71g = 1

B71_O. For what other reasons did you stop considering those neighborhoods?

- 1. Other, Specify: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

CATI: IF (B64<1 OR B64 = 999) OR (B64A <1 OR B64A = 99) GO TO B74

B72. Were there any units that you stopped considering after visiting?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO (**GO TO B74**)
- 8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO B74**)
- 9. REFUSED (**GO TO B74**)

B73. Now I will read several reasons you might have stopped considering a unit. Please tell me if any of these apply to you.

First, did you stop considering any units because you ...

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Did not like the unit?	1	2	7	8
b. Did not like the building?	1	2	7	8
c. Did not like the landlord or management company?	1	2	7	8
d. Did not like the application process?	1	2	7	8
e. Did not like the neighbors?	1	2	7	8
f. Any other reason? Specify: _____	1	2	7	8

CATI: ASK IF B73e = 1

B73_O. For what other reasons did you stop considering those units?

- 1. Other, Specify: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B74. How many units did you submit applications for?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

- 998 DON'T KNOW (**GO TO B74a**)
- 999 REFUSED

B74a. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

- 1. 0
- 2. 1

- 3. 2-3
- 4. 4-5
- 5. 6-10
- 6. More than 10
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

[CATI: If B74=0 OR B74a=1 skip to B77]

B75. How many times was your application denied?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

- 998 DON'T KNOW (**GO TO B75a**)
- 999 REFUSED

B75a. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

- 1. 0
- 2. 1
- 3. 2-3
- 4. 4-5
- 5. 6-10
- 6. More than 10
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

[CATI: If B75=0 OR B75a=1 skip to B77]

B76. Why were your application(s) denied?

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

- 1. SOMEONE ELSE APPLIED FIRST
- 2. UNIT WAS TAKEN
- 3. PROBLEM WITH REFERENCES
- 4. PROBLEM WITH CREDIT HISTORY
- 5. PROBLEM WITH RENTAL HISTORY
- 6. PROBLEM WITH CRIMINAL HISTORY
- 7. INCOME TOO LOW
- 8. WAS NOT TOLD WHY/NEVER HEARD BACK FROM LANDLORD OR MANAGEMENT COMPANY
- 9. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B77. Now I am going to ask you a few questions about your housing search overall.

Overall, would you say this housing search was...

- 1. Extremely difficult

- 2. Very difficult
- 3. Somewhat difficult
- 4. A little difficult
- 5. Not at all difficult
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: IF B77>=5, GO TO B79

B78. Which of the following things would you say made it difficult?

Would you say....

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Finding units in your price range?	1	2	7	8
b. Feeling rushed to move?	1	2	7	8
c. Gathering information about units?	1	2	7	8
d. Gathering information about neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
e. Finding transportation to get to units?	1	2	7	8
f. [Skip if S_10B & S10C=0]: Finding someone to take care of your children so you could visit units	1	2	7	8
g. Meeting the application requirements?	1	2	7	8
h. Finding landlords that would rent to you?	1	2	7	8
i. Were there any other reasons why it was difficult? SPECIFY	1	2	7	8

CATI: ASK IF B78 = 1.

B78_O. What else made it difficult?

- 1. Other, Specify: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

B79. During your search, did you ever feel that you were denied housing because the rental agent or landlord didn't want to rent to you because of your race or ethnicity?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

B80. During your search, did you ever feel that a rental agent or landlord was showing you only units in certain neighborhoods because of your race or ethnicity?

- 1. YES

- 2. NO
- 3. DID NOT USE RENTAL AGENT (IF VOLUNTEERED)
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

B81. During your search, did you ever feel that the other residents in the buildings or neighborhoods that you visited treated you unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

Appendix D. Current Searcher Cognitive Test Protocol

Baseline Module

INTRODUCTORY TEXT

C_START Ok, thanks. We will be asking you questions about your current housing search—both your experiences and how you are doing your search. The survey also includes basic questions about your background, and other experiences. This study will take about 30 minutes and you will receive a \$50 gift card to thank you for your time. We respect your privacy, and your name will not be linked to any of your answers. This study is completely voluntary, and you can refuse to answer any question or stop the study at any time.

May I continue?

BASELINE QUESTIONS

HOUSING BASICS

The first set of questions is about your current housing situation.

C3. What is your current rent, that is, **[CATI: IF S11a_1=1 SHOW: “that part of the rent that you are responsible for”; IF S11a_1=2 OR 3 SHOW: “the total rent for the unit”]**?

INTERVIEWER: IF R IS NOT PAYING RENT, SELECT OPTION BELOW BOX

\$_____ [Rent Amount] **[Range: 1-9997]**

00. NOT PAYING RENT **(GO TO C5)**

9998. DON'T KNOW **(GO TO C5)**

9999. REFUSED **(GO TO C5)**

C4a. Is that...

1. Per week,
2. Every other week,
3. Per month,
4. Something else? Specify: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

C5. How many years have you lived in the D.C. metropolitan area?

_____ [years] [Range: 1-100]

INTERVIEWER: ROUND UP TO NEAREST WHOLE NUMBER, IF LESS THAN ONE YEAR, RECORD 0

9997. ALL MY LIFE [IF VOLUNTEERED]

9998. DON'T KNOW

9999. REFUSED

- C6. People move for a number of different reasons. I'm going to read several possibilities and I would like you to tell me which, if any, are an important reason you are looking to move.

Are you moving:

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Because your old home or building was destroyed, condemned or unsafe?	1	2	8	9
c. Because your landlord said you had to move?	1	2	8	9
d. Because of a new job or job transfer?	1	2	8	9
e. To form your own household?	1	2	8	9
f. To be closer to family?	1	2	8	9
g. Because of a change in household or family size, including marriage, divorce, separation, or child birth or adoption?	1	2	8	9
h. To reduce commuting time?	1	2	8	9
i. To upgrade to a larger home or a better-quality home?	1	2	8	9
j. To find a less expensive place to live?	1	2	8	9
k. To live in a better neighborhood?	1	2	8	9
l. Because of some other reason?	1	2	8	9

C6_O. _____ What is the other important reason you are moving?

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

CATI: IF 2 OR MORE =1 (YES) CONTINUE, ELSE SKIP TO C6_n

C6_m. Which reason is the most important?

CATI: SHOW C6A-C6K WHEN =1 (YES)

- _____ [Reason]
- 98. DON'T KNOW
 - 99. REFUSED

C6_n. Thinking about your decision to search for a new place to live, would you say this was something you had been planning to do for a while or did the need to search for a new place come up unexpectedly?

- 1. Planning for a while
- 2. Came up unexpectedly
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

C7. How long have you been searching at this point? Would you say...

- 1. Less than a week
- 2. More than a week but less than a month
- 3. 1 – 2 months
- 4. More than 2 months
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

C8. Is there a set date when you need to finish your search, such as the end of a lease, the birth of a new child, or another date?

- 1. YES, SPECIFY DATE _____ (GET DATE)
- 2. NO
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

C9. /C9_2. We would like to know if there are any things that are making it difficult for you to search for housing. Please tell me if any of the following is making it difficult for you.

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Not having access to the internet?	1	2	8	9
b. [Skip if S10=2 (NO)]: Not having childcare?	1	2	8	9
c. Not having transportation to get to units?	1	2	8	9
d. History of prior eviction?	1	2	8	9
e. Criminal record for you or anyone in your household?	1	2	8	9
f. Poor credit history?	1	2	8	9
g. Not enough money for a security deposit or other fees?	1	2	8	9

C10. Do you currently have a Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher, or other form of subsidized housing?

1. YES
2. NO
3. NO BUT AM ON WAITING LIST **[ONLY IF VOLUNTEERED]**
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: IF RACE = WHITE, SKIP TO C12

C11. In general, do you think that **[RACE add 's' to end of racial group name to match 'whites']** have as good a chance as whites in this community to get any housing they can afford, or do you think they don't have as good a chance?

INTERVIEWER: IF R ALSO IDENTIFIES AS "WHITE", SAY "I understand. This question is being asked because you also identified as Black or African American."

1. HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
2. DON'T HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
8. DON'T KNOW [VOLUNTEERED]
9. REFUSED

CATI: SHOW IF R IS LATINO AND BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN; THEN [RACE] = BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN

C11a. In general, do you think that [RACE add 's' to end of racial group name to match 'whites'] have as good a chance as whites in this community to get any housing they can afford, or you think they don't have as good a chance?

INTERVIEWER: IF R ALSO IDENTIFIES AS "WHITE", SAY "I understand. This question is being asked because you also identified as Latino."

1. HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
2. DON'T HAVE AS GOOD A CHANCE
8. DON'T KNOW [VOLUNTEERED]
9. REFUSED

CATI: SHOW IF R IS LATINO; THEN [RACE] = LATINO

C12. In your previous housing searches, did you ever feel that you were denied housing because the rental agent or landlord didn't want to rent to you because of your race or ethnicity?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

C13. In your previous housing searches, did you ever feel that a rental agent or landlord was showing you only apartments in certain neighborhoods because of your race or ethnicity?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

C14. In your previous housing searches, did you ever feel that other residents in the building or neighborhoods that you visited treated you unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

---End Contextual Questions---

Baseline Parameters

These next few questions are about the kind of home and neighborhood you think you want to live in.

C16. Which neighborhood(s) or areas are you considering? **PROBE:** Any others?

INTERVIEWER: ONCE SELECTION OF NEIGHBORHOODS IS COMPLETE, YOU MUST SELECT 97: 'NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS' TO PROCEED TO THE NEXT QUESTION

_____List neighborhood(s) and Other, specify option

- 97. NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOOD
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

C16a. In which neighborhood do you currently live?

_____List neighborhood(s) and Other, specify option

- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

C17. How important are the following neighborhood features to you in deciding where to live?

For each, tell me if you consider it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Convenience to workplace and/or school.	1	2	3	4	7	8
b. Location near friends or family.	1	2	3	4	7	8
c. Amenities like restaurants, grocery	1	2	3	4	7	8

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
stores, theaters, shopping, and doctor's offices in the neighborhood.						
d. Convenience to public transportation.	1	2	3	4	7	8
e. Quality of public services like libraries, playgrounds, and community centers.	1	2	3	4	7	8
f. Quality of the schools.	1	2	3	4	7	8
g. Safety of the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8
h. The mix of racial and ethnic groups in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8

C19. What is the maximum amount you are willing to pay per month in rent?

_____ RANGE: [\$0-\$9997]

9998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO C19A**)

9999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO C20**)

C19A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0-\$799
2. \$800-\$1,599
3. \$1,600-\$2,399
4. \$2,400-\$3,199
5. \$3,200 or more
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

C20. What size unit are you looking for?

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

- 1. Studio
- 2. 1 bedroom
- 3. 2 bedrooms
- 4. 3 bedrooms
- 5. 4 bedrooms
- 6. 5 or more bedrooms
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

C20a. What kind of building are you looking for a unit in? Is it a...

- 1. Single family home
- 2. Small building with four or fewer
- 3. Medium sized building with 5-50 units
- 4. Large apartment building or complex with more than 50 units
- 5. VOLUNTEERED: OTHER (SPECIFY) _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

C21. How important are the following characteristics in deciding which place you will choose to rent?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. The rent you pay for it. Would you say that is?	1	2	3	4	7	8
c. The size of the home or number of rooms.	1	2	3	4	7	8
cc. The kind of building like a single-family home or a particular size apartment building or complex.	1	2	3	4	7	8
e. Responsiveness of the landlord or management company to your concerns.	1	2	3	4	7	8

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
f. Security of the building.	1	2	3	4	7	8
g. Amenities in the building like laundry facilities, parking, and other on-site facilities.	1	2	3	4	7	8

C21_O. Are there any other unit features that you considered in deciding where to live?

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT ADDS FEATURE, TYPE FEATURE INTO TEXT BOX AND ASK: "Do you consider this feature very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?" THEN SELECT R'S CHOICE FROM DROP DOWN NEXT TO EACH FEATURE ADDED.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
ENTER TEXT	1	2	3	4	7	8
ENTER TEXT	1	2	3	4	7	8
ENTER TEXT	1	2	3	4	7	8

- 1. OTHER FEATURES HAVE BEEN ADDED
- 2. NO OTHER FEATURES HAVE BEEN ADDED
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

C22. Now I am going to ask you some questions about how you are gathering information about apartments/homes during your housing search.

Please tell me if you use the people you know to assist with the housing search in any of the following ways.

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. To find out about rental vacancies?	1	2	7	8
b. To find rentals that do not require a credit check or other application requirements?	1	2	7	8
c. To learn more about specific neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
d. To find landlords that would not discriminate against people of your race/ethnicity?	1	2	7	8

C30. Which is more important to you at this point in your search:

1. The unit itself,
2. The neighborhood where it is located, or
3. Are both equally important?
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

C31. People sometimes contact the landlord or property management company to gather additional information about a unit to decide if they want to continue considering it.

How many units have you contacted the landlord, management company, or current tenant(s) to find out more information?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO C31A**)

999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO C33**)

C31A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. 15-25
8. More than 25
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

CATI: IF C31 = 0 OR C31A = 1 SKP C33

C32. Have you **primarily** inquired about units through...

1. Email,
2. Phone call,
3. Text,
4. In-person visits, or
5. Some other way? SPECIFY
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

C33. Now I am going to ask you a few questions about your experiences visiting apartments.

How many units have you actually visited in person during your search so far?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO C33A**)

999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO C34**)

C33A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. 15-25
8. More than 25
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

C34. How many units have you attempted to visit in person, but were unable to because you were told they weren't available?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO C34A**)

999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO C35**)

C34A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5

- 5. 6-10
- 6. 11-15
- 7. 15-25
- 8. More than 25
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

CATI: IF C33=0 OR 999 GO TO C46

CATI: IF C33=998 & (C33A = 0 OR 99) GO TO C46

C35. Have you visited apartments in any neighborhood other than where you currently live?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO (**GO TO C37**)
- 8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO C37**)
- 9. REFUSED (**GO TO C37**)

C36. What areas or neighborhoods did you visit apartments in? **PROBE:** Any others?

INTERVIEWER: ONCE SELECTION OF NEIGHBORHOODS IS COMPLETE, YOU MUST SELECT 97: 'NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS' TO PROCEED TO THE NEXT QUESTION

_____ List neighborhood(s) and Other, specify option

- 97. NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOOD
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

C36A. Thinking of the **most recent unit** you visited, what neighborhood was it in?

_____ List neighborhood(s) and Other, specify option

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

C37. Thinking of the **most recent unit** you visited, how did you hear about it? Would you say you **first** heard about it from someone you knew, saw or heard an advertisement for it, saw a sign in the window, learned about it from a professional service, learned about it through social media, through a community or religious organization, or some other way?

1. SOMEONE YOU KNEW
2. ADVERTISEMENT (GO TO C40)
3. SIGN ON THE WINDOW (GO TO C45)
4. PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (GO TO C45)
5. SOCIAL MEDIA (GO TO C42)
6. COMMUNITY OR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION (GO TO C45)
7. OTHER, SPECIFY (GO TO C45)
8. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T REMEMBER (GO TO C45)
9. REFUSED (GO TO C45)

CATI: ASK IF C37_1 = 1

C38. What best describes your relationship to the person who told you about this unit, was it:

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. A family member
2. A friend
3. A co-worker
4. A roommate
5. A neighbor
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF C37_1 = 1

C39. What best describes the race and ethnicity of the person who told you about this unit? Would you say...

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. Hispanic, Latino
2. White
3. Black or African American
4. Asian
5. Other, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF C37_2 = 1

C40. Where was this ad? Was it in a newspaper, on a website, billboard, or radio?

1. NEWSPAPER, SPECIFY: Which newspaper?
2. WEBSITE, SPECIFY: Which website?
3. BILLBOARD
4. RADIO, SPECIFY: Which station? _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF C37_4 = 1

CATI: ASK IF C37_5 = 1

C42. Which social media site did you use to find the unit?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. Facebook
2. Twitter
3. Myspace
4. Email listservs (e.g., community listservs, interest group listservs)
5. Other social media
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK ALL

C45. When you contacted the landlord and then visited this unit, did you do any of the following in order to increase the chance that the landlord would treat you well?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Dress differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
b. Speak differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
c. Bring a partner/friend/children?	1	2	7	8
d. Leave a partner/friend/children at home to increase the chance that the landlord would treat you well?	1	2	7	8
e. Mention your career or professional background?	1	2	7	8
f. Send someone else to check out the unit for you?	1	2	7	8

C46. How many apartments or rental houses have you submitted applications for so far?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO C46A**)

999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO C47**)

C46A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2-3
4. 4-5
5. 6-10
6. More than 10
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF C46 > 0 OR C46A = 2, 3, 4, OR 5, ELSE GOTO D1

C47. How many times have you had an application denied so far?

_____ RANGE: [0-99] **(SKIP TO C48)**

997. DON'T KNOW **(GO TO C47a)**

998. REFUSED **(SKIP TO C48)**

C47A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0 **(SKIP TO C48)**

2. 1

3. 2-3

4. 4-5

5. 6-10

6. More than 10

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF C47 >0 OR C47A >1

C48. Why was / were your applications denied?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. SOMEONE ELSE APPLIED FIRST

2. UNIT WAS TAKEN

3. PROBLEM WITH REFERENCES

4. PROBLEM WITH CREDIT HISTORY

5. PROBLEM WITH RENTAL HISTORY

6. PROBLEM WITH CRIMINAL HISTORY

7. INCOME TOO LOW

8. WAS NOT TOLD WHY/NEVER HEARD BACK FROM LANDLORD OR MANAGEMENT COMPANY

9. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____

88. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

CATI: C SECTION WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THE DEMOGRAPHICS (D SECTION), IN DEPTH INTERVIEW (N SECTION), AND CONTACT INFORMATION (Z SECTION) AT THE END OF THE APPENDIX A, B, D DOCUMENT

Still Searching Module

Search Background

[IF WAVE 2: IF CURRENT SEARCHER BASELINE ANSWER TO C8 NOT EQUAL TO 1 (NO SPECIFIC SEARCH END DATE)] GO TO SS1

[IF WAVE 3: IF STILL SEARCHING ANSWER TO S1 EQUAL TO 1 (NO SPECIFIC SEARCH END DATE)] GO TO SS1

[IF WAVE 2: IF CURRENT SEARCHER BASELINE ANSWER TO C8 = 1, YES, (SPECIFIC END DATE)] GO TO SS2

[IF WAVE 3: IF STILL SEARCHING ANSWER TO S1 = 2, NO OR TO S2 = 2, (SPECIFIC END DATE)] GO TO SS2

SS1. These first few questions are about whether there have been any changes to your housing search since your last interview.

When we last talked you said that you had no set date by which you had to finish your housing search, is that still the case?

1. YES (**GO TO SS4**)
2. NO (**SKIP TO SS3**)
8. DON'T KNOW (**SKIP TO SS3**)
9. REFUSED (**SKIP TO SS3**)

SS2. These first few questions are about whether there have been any changes to your housing search since your last interview.

The last time we talked to you, you said you wanted to finish the search by [ENDSEARCHDT].

Is this still the goal?

1. YES (**GO TO SS4**)
2. NO (**SKIP TO SS3**)
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS3. By what date do you need to finish your search for housing?

1. _____ **CATI: GET DATE**
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS4. When we last spoke, you said that the maximum amount you were willing to pay per month in rent is [WAVE 2:C19 MAX_C /C19A MAX_CA / WAVE 3: S5 MAX_S /S5A MAX_SA].].

Is that still the case?

1. YES (**GO TO SS6**)
2. NO (**SKIP TO SS5**)
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS5. What is the new maximum amount you are willing to pay per month in rent?

_____ RANGE: [\$0-\$9,997]

9998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO SS5A**)
9999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO SS6**)

SS5A. Which answer comes closest? Is it...

1. 0-\$799
2. \$800-\$1,599
3. \$1,600-\$2,399
4. \$2,400-\$3,199
5. \$3,200 or more
9998. DON'T KNOW (**SKIP TO SS6**)
9999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO SS6**)

CATI: IF WAVE 2: SS5 > C19, MAX_C=increased

CATI: IF WAVE 2: SS5 < C19, MAX_C=decreased

CATI: IF WAVE 2: SS5A > C19A, MAX_CA=increased

CATI: IF WAVE 2: SS5A < C19A, MAX_CA=decreased

CATI: IF WAVE 3: SS5 > SS5, MAX_S=increased

CATI: IF WAVE 3: SS5 < SS5, MAX_S=decreased

CATI: IF WAVE 3: SS5A > SS5A, MAX_SA=increased

CATI: IF WAVE 3: SS5A < SS5A, MAX_SA=decreased

SS5B. In comparing your response to last time, it looks like you [**MAX_C/MAX_S**] the amount of rent you were willing to pay. Can you tell me why you [**MAX_C/MAX_S**] it?

-
- 98 DON'T KNOW
 - 99 REFUSED

CATI: IF C16 = 98 OR 99, SKIP TO SS8

SS6. Now I am going to ask you a few questions about the kind of neighborhood and home you would like to live in.

I am going to read to you the neighborhood[s] or area[s] that you said you were interested in at your last interview; please tell me if you are still searching in these neighborhoods or areas.

[CATI: SHOW LIST FROM PRIOR WAVE 2 C16 OR WAVE 3 SS6 AND ASK YES/NO FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD] NOTE: THE INDICATOR “INTERVIEWER: MAKE NO SELECTION FOR THIS ROW” WILL APPEAR IN ROWS WHERE NO SELECTION WAS MADE AT C16.

[CATI: SHOW UP TO THREE NEIGHBORHOODS R IS NO LONGER CONSIDERING AND ASK SS7 FOR EACH ONE. IF R IS NO LONGER CONSIDERING MORE THAN THREE NEIGHBORHOODS, RANDOMLY SELECT THREE.]]

SS7. Why are you no longer searching in **[CATI: SHOW CHOICE FROM SS6]**?

[INTERVIEWER: DO NOT READ; SELECT ALL THAT APPLY]

1. AVAILABLE UNITS WERE NOT IN MY PRICE RANGE
2. SCHOOL QUALITY
3. CRIME/SAFETY
4. NEIGHBORS
5. DID NOT THINK IT WOULD BE WELCOMING TO PEOPLE OF MY RACE/ETHNICITY
6. TOO FAR FROM FAMILY OR FRIENDS
7. TOO FAR FROM WORK OR SCHOOL
8. LACKED AMENITIES (E.G., PARKS, RESTAURANTS, SHOPPING)
9. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

SS8. Are there any additional neighborhoods or areas that you have started considering since our last interview?

1. YES
2. NO (**GO TO SS10**)
8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO SS10**)
9. REFUSED (**GO TO SS10**)

SS9. What neighborhood or neighborhoods are you now considering?

PROBE: Any others?

_____ List neighborhood(s)

1. Other, Specify: _____
97. NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

SS10. How important are the following neighborhood features to you in deciding where to live?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Convenience to workplace and/or school. Would you say that it is:	1	2	3	4	7	8
b. Location near friends or family.	1	2	3	4	7	8
c. Amenities like restaurants, grocery stores, theaters, shopping, and doctor's offices in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8
d. Convenience to public transportation.	1	2	3	4	7	8
e. Quality of public services like libraries, playgrounds, and community centers.	1	2	3	4	7	8
f. Quality of the schools.	1	2	3	4	7	8
g. Safety of the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8
h. The mix of racial and ethnic groups in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8

CATI: IF WAVE 2: ASK ABOUT R/E COMPOSITION, IF 1 DEGREE OR MORE CHANGE IN C17h; IF WAVE 3: ASK ABOUT R/E COMPOSITION, IF 1 DEGREE OR MORE CHANGE IN S10h

SS10_i. Sometimes people change their minds about what they are looking for in their housing. In comparing your responses to your last interview, it looks like **[CATI: INSERT NEIGHBORHOOD FACTOR]** has become [more/less] important to you. Can you tell me why you changed your mind about how important it is?

98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

SS11. How important are the following characteristics in deciding which place you will choose to rent?

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. The rent you pay for it. Would you say that is:	1	2	3	4	7	8
c. The size of the home or number of rooms.	1	2	3	4	7	8
d. The kind of building like a single-family home or a particular size apartment building or complex.	1	2	3	4	7	8
e. Responsiveness of the landlord or management company to your concerns.	1	2	3	4	7	8
f. Security of the building.	1	2	3	4	7	8
g. Amenities in the building like laundry facilities, parking, and other on-site facilities.	1	2	3	4	7	8

SS11_O. Are there any other characteristics that you consider in deciding where to live?

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT ADDS FEATURE, TYPE FEATURE INTO TEXT BOX AND ASK: "Do you consider this feature very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?" THEN SELECT R'S CHOICE FROM DROP DOWN NEXT TO EACH FEATURE ADDED.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
ENTER TEXT	1	2	3	4	7	8
ENTER TEXT	1	2	3	4	7	8
ENTER TEXT	1	2	3	4	7	8

- 1. OTHER FEATURES HAVE BEEN ADDED
- 2. NO OTHER FEATURES HAVE BEEN ADDED
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

SS12. Which is more important to you at this point in your search:

- 1. The unit itself,
- 2. The neighborhood where it is located, or
- 3. Are both equally important?
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

[CATI: COMPARE TO ANSWER IN BASELINE]

SS12A/B. Sometimes people change their minds about what they are looking for in their housing. In comparing your responses to your last interview, it looks like

[CATI: INSERT CHANGE IN PREFERENCE FOR UNIT OR

NEIGHBORHOOD]. Can you tell me why you changed your mind about how important it is?

-
- 8. DON'T KNOW
 - 9. REFUSED

SS13. People sometimes contact the landlord or property management company to gather additional information about a unit to decide if they want to continue considering it.

Since we last talked to you, how many housing units have you contacted the landlord, management company, or current tenant(s) about to find out more information?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO SS13A**)

999. REFUSED

SS13A. Which answer comes closest? Is it...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. More than 15
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

SS14. We would like to know what sources of information you have been using to find out about possible **units**.

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. First, do you hear about units from someone you know?	1	2	8	9
b. [Have you been] ... seeing or hearing advertisements for them?	1	2	8	9
c. ...seeing signs in the windows of units or buildings?	1	2	8	9
d. ... learning about them from a professional service?	1	2	8	9
e. ... learning about them on social media?	1	2	8	9
f. ... learning about them from community or religious organizations?	1	2	8	9
g. Or have you been hearing about them from some other sources? (IF YES: SPECIFY)	1	2	8	9

SS14_O. What other sources have you been using?

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF SS14_a = 1

SS15. Thinking about the person who has told you about units, what best describes your relationship to this person? If there is more than one person, tell me about your relationship to the person who has told you about **the most units**.

Are they:

1. A family member
2. A friend
3. A co-worker
4. A roommate
5. A neighbor
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF SS14_a = 1

SS16. What best describes the race and ethnicity of the person who has told you about units? If there is more than one person, tell me the race and ethnicity of the person who has told you about the most units. Would you say...

1. Hispanic, Latino
2. White
3. Black or African American
4. Asian
5. Other, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF SS14_b = 1

SS17. Thinking about the ads you used to find out about units, where were these ads? Were they in a newspaper, on a website, billboard, or radio?

1. NEWSPAPER, SPECIFY: Which newspaper? _____
2. WEBSITE, SPECIFY: Which website? _____

- 3. BILLBOARD
- 4. RADIO, SPECIFY: Which station? _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF SS14_e = 1

SS19. Which social media sites have you used?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

- 1. Facebook
- 2. Twitter
- 3. Myspace
- 4. Email listservs (e.g., community listservs, interest group listservs)
- 5. Other social media, SPECIFY: _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

SS22. Sometimes the people we know help us in different ways during a housing search. Can you tell me if you used the people you know to assist with your housing search in any of the following ways?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. To find out about rental vacancies?	1	2	7	8
b. To find rentals that did not require a credit check or other application requirements?	1	2	7	8
c. To learn more about specific neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
d. To find landlords that would not discriminate against people of your race/ethnicity?	1	2	7	8

CATI: IF SS13 = 0 OR 999 OR SS13A = 1 OR 99 SKP SS24

SS23. In general, since our last interview, have you inquired about **units** through...

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. Email,
2. Phone call,
3. Text
4. In-person visits, or
5. Some other way? SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS24. In general, how difficult has it been to get the information you needed through your inquiries? Has it been...

1. Extremely difficult
2. Very difficult
3. Somewhat difficult
4. A little difficult
5. Not at all difficult
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS25. Now I am going to ask you some questions about your experiences visiting apartments or homes. Since our last interview, how many units have you actually visited in-person?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO SS25A**)

999. REFUSED (**SKIP TO SS26**)

SS25A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. More than 15
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

CATI: IF SS25=0 OR 999, OR SS25A=1 OR 99, SKIP TO SS26

SS35. Thinking about the visits to units you have made since the last interview, please tell me if you did any of the following when you called or met with potential landlords to increase the chance that the landlord would treat you well?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Dress differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
b. Speak differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
c. Bring a partner/friend/children?	1	2	7	8
d. Leave a partner/friend/children at home to increase the chance that the landlord would treat you well.				
e. Mention your career or professional background?	1	2	7	8
f. Send someone else to check out the unit for you?	1	2	7	8

SS26. How many units have you attempted to visit in person, since the last interview, that is since [DATE OF LAST INTERVIEW (MM_DD)], but were unable to because you were told they were unavailable?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (GO TO SS26A)

999. REFUSED (SKIP TO SS26)

SS26A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. More than 15
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

CATI: IF SS25=0 [IF WAVE 2 INTERVIEW PROCEED TO EXIT_W2] [IF WAVE 3 INTERVIEW PROCEED TO SS41]

CATI: If SS25 >3 OR SS25A>3, SHOW: Now I am going to ask you about the 3 units you most recently visited. Let's start with the one you visited most recently. **[THEN SUBSEQUENTLY ASK ABOUT THE SECOND MOST RECENTLY VISITED; THEN THE THIRD MOST RECENTLY VISITED]**

CATI: IF SS25 < 4 OR SS25A < 4, SHOW: Now I am going to ask you about each of the units you visited starting with the most recent one.

SS28. What was the address of this unit? PROBE: Do you remember the cross streets or general area?

INTERVIEWER: ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE STREET ADDRESS, CITY, AND STATE.

Street: _____
City: _____
State: _____

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW ADDRESS, PROBE FOR CROSS STREETS OR GENERAL AREA

Cross streets or general area: _____

- 98. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO SS137**)
- 99. REFUSED (**GO TO SS137**)

CATI: IF SS28= 98, 99 ASK SS29, ELSE SKIP TO SS137

SS29. What neighborhood or community was it in?

_____ List neighborhood(s)
97. Other, Specify: _____
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

SS137. How did you first hear about the unit that you visited? Would you say you **first** heard about it from someone you knew, that you saw or heard an advertisement for it, saw a sign in the window, learned about it from a professional service, learned about it through social media, through a community or religious organization, or some other way?

- 1. SOMEONE YOU KNEW (**GO TO SS138**)
- 2. ADVERTISEMENT (**GO TO SS140**)
- 3. SIGN ON THE WINDOW (**GO TO SS32**)
- 4. PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (**GO TO SS32**)
- 5. SOCIAL MEDIA (**GO TO SS142**)
- 6. COMMUNITY OR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION (**GO TO SS32**)
- 7. OTHER, SPECIFY (**GO TO SS32**)

8. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T REMEMBER (GO TO SS32)
9. REFUSED (GO TO SS32)

CATI: ASK IF SS137_1 = 1

SS138. What best describes your relationship to the person who told you about this unit, was it:

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. A family member
2. A friend
3. A co-worker
4. A roommate
5. A neighbor
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF SS137_1 = 1

SS139. What best describes the race and ethnicity of the person who told you about this unit? Would you say...

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. Hispanic, Latino
2. White
3. Black or African American
4. Asian
5. Other, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF SS137_2 = 1

SS140. Where was this ad? Was it in a newspaper, on a website, billboard, or radio?

1. NEWSPAPER, SPECIFY: Which newspaper?
2. WEBSITE, SPECIFY: Which website?
3. BILLBOARD
4. RADIO, SPECIFY: Which station? _____

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF SS137_5 = 1

SS142. Which social media site did you use to find the unit?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

- 1. Facebook
- 2. Twitter
- 3. Myspace
- 4. Email listservs (e.g., community listservs, interest group listservs)
- 5. Other social media, SPECIFY: _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

SS32. Which of the following best describes the type of visit you had?

- 1. You went to an open house,
- 2. You went to a private viewing with a rental agent,
- 3. You had a private viewing with landlord, or
- 4. Something else? Specify: _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

SS33. How satisfied were you with the way you were treated during this visit?

Were you:

- 1. Very satisfied
- 2. Somewhat satisfied
- 3. Only a little satisfied
- 4. Not at all satisfied
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

SS34. Did you feel you were treated unfairly during your visit because of your race or ethnicity?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

SS36. Did you decide to submit an application for this unit?

- 1. YES (GO TO SS37)
- 2. NO (GO TO SS36A)
- 8. DON'T KNOW (GO TO END OF LOOP)
- 9. REFUSED (GO TO END OF LOOP)

SS36A. Why did you decide not to apply for this unit?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Price was too high?	1	2	7	8
b. Did not like the unit?	1	2	7	8
c. Did not like the building?	1	2	7	8
d. Did not like the landlord or management company?	1	2	7	8
e. Did not like the neighbors?	1	2	7	8
f. Were there any other reasons why you decided not to apply for this unit?	1	2	7	8

CATI: IF SS36AF=1

SS36A_O. What were the other reasons you decided not to apply for this unit?

- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

CATI: ALL GO TO END OF LOOP

SS37. Was your application accepted?

- 1. YES (GO TO SS39)
- 2. NO (GO TO SS38)
- 8. DON'T KNOW/DON'T KNOW YET (SKIP TO SS39)
- 9. REFUSED (SKIP TO SS39)

SS38. Why was your application denied?

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

1. SOMEONE ELSE APPLIED FIRST
2. UNIT WAS TAKEN
3. PROBLEM WITH REFERENCES
4. PROBLEM WITH CREDIT HISTORY
5. PROBLEM WITH RENTAL HISTORY
6. PROBLEM WITH CRIMINAL HISTORY
5. INCOME TOO LOW
6. WAS NOT TOLD WHY/NEVER HEARD BACK FROM LANDLORD OR
MANAGEMENT COMPANY
7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: IF SS37=2 SKIP TO END OF LOOP

SS39. Are you hoping to move into this unit?

1. YES (**GO TO END OF LOOP**)
2. NO (**GO TO SS40**)
8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO END OF LOOP**)
9. REFUSED (**GO TO END OF LOOP**)

CATI: ASK IF SS39=2

SS40. Why not?

-
98. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

[CATI: REPEAT QUESTIONS 28-40 FOR ALL VISITS MADE BY RESPONDENT OR, IF RESPONDENT VISITED MORE THAN 3 UNITS, THE 3 MOST RECENT VISITS]

[CATI: IF WAVE 2 INTERVIEW—PROCEED TO EXIT_W2]

[CATI: IF WAVE 3 INTERVIEW PROCEED TO SS41]

EXIT SCRIPT for Wave 2

EXIT_W2 Thank you for completing the survey! Your answers will help researchers better understand how and why people search for housing.

[CATI: INSERT INSTRUCTIONS ON RECEIPT OF INCENTIVE PAYMENT]

Is it OK to contact you again on or about [**2 weekends from interview date**] for another paid interview?

[INTERVIEWER: NOTE IF CLIENT DOES NOT CONSENT TO NEW INTERVIEW]

1. OK TO CONTACT
2. NOT OK TO CONTACT

[INTERVIEWER: IF CLIENT AGREES TO BE CONTACTED, SAY: "Thanks! And don't forget to keep logging your housing search in the log we sent you."]

SUMMARY QUESTIONS [ASKED AT WAVE 3 ONLY]

This is our last interview, so even though your search is still going on, I am going to ask you a few questions about how the search has gone so far and how you think it will end.

SS41. What statement best describes why you think you are still searching for a unit?

1. You haven't found the perfect unit yet,
2. You haven't found a unit that meets your basic needs,
3. You don't need to move yet,
4. You enjoy searching?
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS42. Would you say this housing search has been...

1. Extremely difficult
2. Very difficult
3. Somewhat difficult
4. A little difficult
5. Not at all difficult (**SKIP TO SS44**)
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

[CATI: IF SS42 = 5 (Not at all difficult) SKIP TO SS44]

SS43. Which of the following things would you say made it difficult?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Finding units in your price range?	1	2	7	8
b. Feeling rushed to move?	1	2	7	8
c. Gathering information about units?	1	2	7	8
d. Gathering information about neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
e. Finding transportation to get to units?	1	2	7	8
f. [Skip if S10 = 2 (No Children)]: Finding someone to take care of your children so you could visit units	1	2	7	8
g. Meeting the application requirements?	1	2	7	8
h. Finding landlords that would rent to you?	1	2	7	8
i. Were there any other reasons why it was difficult? SPECIFY: _____	1	2	7	8

CATI: ASK IF SS43k=1:

SS43_O. What else made it difficult?

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

[CATI: IF SS1=1 OR SS3=8,9 (SEARCH HAS NO DEFINITE END DATE) SKIP TO SS45]

SS44. How confident are you that you will be able to find a new home or apartment before you have to move out of your current residence? Would you say...

1. Extremely confident
2. Very confident
3. Somewhat confident
4. Not at all confident
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS45. During your search, did you ever feel that you were denied housing because the rental agent or landlord didn't want to rent to you because of your race or ethnicity?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS46. During your search, did you ever feel that a rental agent or landlord was showing you only units in certain neighborhoods because of your race or ethnicity?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

SS47. During your search, did you ever feel that the other residents in the building or neighborhoods that you visited treated you unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

(WAVE 2) EXIT_SUMM

Thank you for completing the interview survey! Your answers will help researchers better understand how and why people search for housing.

GOTO Z1

(WAVE 3) EXIT_SUMM

Thank you for completing the survey! Your answers will help researchers better understand how and why people search for housing.

We are still looking for more people who have recently moved or who are currently looking for housing and we are hoping that the people we've talked to already can help spread the word. In addition to your \$50\$50 for this interview, we will mail you fliers about the Housing Search Study. We would appreciate it if you could

give these fliers and the information about this study to anyone you know—this might be neighbors, friends, acquaintances—who might also be searching for housing or have recently moved.

Would you be willing to share anyone’s contact information with us so that we can reach out to them? We will share your name as the referring person if they ask how we received their contact information.

1. YES
2. NO **GOTO Z1**

SNOW1.

Thank you very much. In order to make this as easy as possible, could you please tell me the best phone number to reach them?

CATI: PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR PHONE

Is that a cell phone, home phone, or other?

1. Cell phone
2. Home phone
3. Other
8. DON'T KNOW

Do you have an email address of theirs that you could share with me?

CATI: PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR email

Thank you, you should expect to get a package from us within a few days.

Z1. Those are all the questions I have to ask you today. Thank you for the time you’ve spent talking with me and for your participation in this study. In order to send your \$50\$50 gift card, I need to confirm your name and address. You gave your contact information as:

CATI: SHOW NAME FROM FLNAME AND ADDRESS FROM S5] [FULLADD, RCITY, RSTATE, RZIP]

INTERVIEWER: READ R’S NAME AND ONLY STREET ADDRESS TO CONFIRM AND ASK:

Is that correct?

1. YES (**SKIP TO THANK**)
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: IF Z1=8 OR 9 DISPLAY “In order to send your \$50\$50 gift card, I am required to ask for your full name and address.”

Z1a. OK, could you give me the name and address you would like me to use to send your gift card?

CATI: SHOW NAME FROM FLNAME AND ADDRESS FROM S5] [FULLADD, RCITY, RSTATE, RZIP]

INTERVIEWER: ENTER CORRECTED NAME AND/OR ADDRESS. READ BACK THE ADDRESS INFORMATION TO R, SPELLING THE WORDS.

First Name: _____

Last Name: _____

Street: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

CATI: PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR ENTRY OF CORRECTED FULL NAME AND ADDRESS WHILE ORIGINAL NAME AND ADDRESS IS DISPLAYED FOR COMPARISON PURPOSES

CATI: CREATE CDMO USING DATA ENTERED AT Z2 TO REPLACE:

FULLADD – FULL ADDRESS

RCITY – CITY

RSTATE – STATE

RZIP – ZIP

THANK. Thank you very much for your time and assistance.

Done Searching Module

UI: Instructions to DIR screener: Prior to the interview record the following information:

RESPONDENT NAME:

DATE OF WAVE 1 INTERVIEW:

DATE OF WAVE 2 INTERVIEW:

DATE OF WAVE 3 INTERVIEW:

INTRO3

Hello, this is **Holly/Henry Smith** and I am calling from Decision Information Resources for the Housing Search Survey. I am trying to reach **[FLNAME]** for a short-paid interview. Is h/she available?

INTERVIEWER: IF NECESSARY, READ: “[**FLNAME**] has agreed to help with a study of renters who have recently moved or who are planning to move to a new home within the Washington, DC, Virginia, Maryland metropolitan area.

- 1 RESPONDENT AVAILABLE – CONTINUE (**GO TO INTRO3a**)
- 2 RESPONDENT NOT AVAILABLE – ARRANGE CALLBACK AND
ENTER CALL NOTE (**GO TO RCONU**)
- 9 REFUSED – ENTER DISPOSITION CODE AND CALL NOTE
DESCRIBING SITUATION IN THE CALL RECORD TEXT BOX (**GO
TO END INTERVIEW**)

INTRO3a

Hello, we interviewed you via phone on [date of baseline interview] about your housing search process. At that time, we said we’d contact you 14 days later to follow up on your housing search. This set of questions will take about 20 minutes. Are you still willing to participate?

1. YES (**GO TO DS_a**)
2. NO (**GO TO END INTERVIEW**)
3. NOT NOW [**INTERVIEWER:** ARRANGE CALLBACK AND ENTER
CALL NOTE (**GO TO RCONU**)

RCONU:

IF R IS CONFIRMED BUT UNAVAILABLE READ:

Could you tell me a good time to call back to reach him/her?

_____ [CALL BACK DATE/TIME]

Thank you, I will call back then.

IF SPEAKING WITH R READ:

What is the best time for us to call you back to complete the survey?

_____ [CALL BACK DATE/TIME]

IF R NO LONGER LIVES THERE READ:

Is there a number where he/she can be reached? May I have it please?

_____ [NEW CONTACT NUMBER FOR R]

INTERVIEWER: MAKE NOTE OF NEW NUMBER AND MAKE PERMANENT MESSAGE. THEN TRY NEW NUMBER.

ENTER 1 TO EXIT AND SET APPOINTMENT.

IN WAVE 3 ONLY

INTERVIEWER: IF R IS STILL SEARCHING OR DOES NOT KNOW READ:

If you don't mind, we would like to continue this interview once your search has ended. May we call you back in two weeks to check in?

Thanks you, I will call back then.

END INTERVIEW

Thank you for your time. We are sorry that you do not want to complete the survey. If you change your mind or have any questions, please contact DIR at **1-866-986-1968**.

Screener – Follow-up Waves

- DS_b. Are you still searching for housing?
1. YES (GO TO DS_ba)
 2. NO (GO TO DS_a)
 8. DON'T KNOW (GO TO RCONU)
 9. REFUSED (GO TO RCONU)

FOR WAVE 3 ONLY

DS_ba It's really important to our research that we talk to you when you have finished your search so we can learn the most about this process. Since you aren't done yet, we would like to wait for our final interview until your search is over.

What is your best guess as to when your search will be done?

1. R GIVES DATE
2. R DOES NOT GIVE DATE
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

FOR WAVE 3 ONLY

DS_bb [CATI: IF DS_ba=1 SAY "Thank you so much, we will call you back then to check in.

INTERVIEWER: SELECT NEXT, CODE AS 11 AND SCHEDULE AN APPOINTMENT FOR DATE INDICATED BY R"]

[CATI: IF DS_ba=2 SAY "OK, we would like to call you back in three weeks to check in and conduct the final interview then.

INTERVIEWER: SELECT NEXT, CODE AS 11 AND SCHEDULE AN APPOINTMENT FOR THREE WEEKS FROM TODAY'S DATE"]

INTERVIEWER: IF R IS RELUCTANT TO SCHEDULE A CALL BACK OR WANTS TO COMPLETE NOW, SAY: "I understand. However, the final interview is meant to gather information about the end of your search, so we will have to wait until your search is over to conduct that interview. If you have any questions you may call the project director, Lenin Williams at 1-888-864-1425 x132."

IF R REFUSES TO SCHEDULE A CALL BACK, SELECT NEXT AND CODE AS 35 HARD REFUSAL

CATI: DS_bb IS A CLOSING QUESTION END INTERVIEW

DS_a. Do you have your housing search log handy?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

INTERVIEWER: IF R ANSWERS "YES" SAY "It would be helpful to have it in front of you, would you like to get it?" GIVE THEM TIME TO RETRIEVE THEIR LOG BEFORE PROCEEDING; IF NOT CONTINUE AS NORMAL

STILL SEARCHING

DS_c. Thank you. I am going to ask you a series of questions about your ongoing housing search

[CATI: GO TO CURRENT SEARCHERS: STILL SEARCHING MODULE]

DONE SEARCHING

DS_d. Thank you. I am going to ask you a series of questions about your housing search and your current housing situation.

Are you done searching because you found a new place to live or because you decided to stop searching and stay in your old place?

1. FOUND A NEW PLACE
2. STAYING IN OLD PLACE

Done Searching – Introductory Text

DS_START

We would like to ask you some questions about how your housing search ended and your housing search activities since your last interview. This will only take about 20 minutes and you will receive a gift of \$30 to thank you for your time. We respect your privacy, and your name will not be linked to any of your answers. The study is completely voluntary, and you can refuse to answer any question or stop the study at any time. May I continue?

Housing Basics

DS1. When did you stop your housing search?

_____ **CATI: GET DATE**

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

CATI: IF DS_d=2 (OLD PLACE) SKIP TO DS27

DS2. Have you actually moved into your new home yet or are you in the process of moving?

- 1. Actually moved
- 2. Still in the process
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

[Note to DIR: this is just to determine the phrasing of the questions about the respondent's new home, the rest of the questions assume that the respondent has actually moved but there needs to be a fill logic included so that we can fill it appropriately]

DS3. What is [CATI: IF DS2>=2 SHOW: "the address of your new home"; OTHERWISE SHOW: "your current street address"]?

INTERVIEWER: ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE STREET ADDRESS, CITY, STATE AND ZIP CODE.

Street: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW ADDRESS, PROBE FOR CROSS STREETS OR GENERAL AREA

Cross streets
or general area: _____

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

DS3a. Would you say this is the same neighborhood you previously lived in, or is it a different neighborhood?

- 1. SAME NEIGHBORHOOD
- 2. DIFFERENT NEIGHBORHOOD
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

DS6. What is [CATI: IF DS2>=2 SHOW: "the rent at your new home"; OTHERWISE SHOW: "your current rent"]?

INTERVIEWER: IF R IS NOT PAYING RENT, SELECT OPTION BOX BELOW.

_____ \$\$ [Range: 1-2000]

NOT PAYING RENT (GO TO DS8)

9998. DON'T KNOW (GO TO DS8)

9999. REFUSED (GO TO DS8)

DS7. Is that...

- 1. Per week,
- 2. Every other week
- 3. Per month, or
- 4. Something else? Specify: _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

DS8. Now I would like to ask you questions about the neighborhood your new unit is in.

Overall, how would you rate the quality of the neighborhood on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the best and 1 being the worst?

_____ Rating [Range: 1-10]

- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

CATI: IF DS3a=1 SKIP TO DS10

DS9. Is this **new** neighborhood better, worse, or about the same as your previous neighborhood?

1. BETTER
2. WORSE
3. ABOUT THE SAME
4. SAME NEIGHBORHOOD
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

DS10. How important were each of the following neighborhood features to you in deciding where to live? For each factor, tell me if you considered it very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important.

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Convenience to workplace and/or school.	1	2	3	4	7	8
b. Location near friends or family.	1	2	3	4	7	8
c. Amenities like restaurants, grocery stores, theaters, shopping, and doctor's offices in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8
d. Convenience to public transportation.	1	2	3	4	7	8
e. Quality of public services like libraries, playgrounds, and community centers.	1	2	3	4	7	8
f. Quality of the schools.	1	2	3	4	7	8
g. Safety of the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8
h. The mix of racial and ethnic groups in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	7	8

CATI: IF WAVE 2 ASK ABOUT R/E COMPOSITION [C17h], IF 1 DEGREE OR MORE CHANGE; IF WAVE 3 ASK ABOUT R/E COMPOSITION [S10h], IF 1 DEGREE OR MORE CHANGE

DS11. Sometimes people change their minds about what they are looking for in their housing. In comparing your responses to your last interview, it looks like [CATI: INSERT NEIGHBORHOOD FACTOR] became [more/less] important to you. Can you tell me why you changed your mind about how important it was?

-
- 98. DON'T KNOW
 - 99. REFUSED

CATI: ASK FOR EACH: DS10A | DS10B | DS10C | DS10D | DS10E | DS10F | DS10G | DS10H when = 1 or 2

DS12. [CATI: FOR EACH FACTOR RESPONDENT SELECTED AS “very” or “somewhat important”] How satisfied are you with the following features in the neighborhood your new unit is in?

INTERVIEWER: READ FIRST RESPONSE OPTION, THEN “Would you say you were...” THEN READ RESPONSE OPTIONS.

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Only a little Satisfied	Not at all satisfied	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
CATI: INCLUDE EACH FACTOR RESPONDENT SELECTED AS “very” or “somewhat important” AT DS10	1	2	3	4	7	8

DS13a. Now I am going to ask you some questions about the building and home that you [CATI: IF DS2>=2 **SHOW:** “will be living in”; **OTHERWISE SHOW:** “currently live in”].

What kind of building is your unit in? Is it a...

- 1. Single family home
- 2. Small building with four or fewer
- 3. Medium sized building with 5-50 units
- 4. Large apartment building or complex with more than 50 units

- 5. VOLUNTEERED: OTHER (SPECIFY) _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

DS13, how many bedrooms does your unit have?

_____ Bedrooms [Range: 1-9]

- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

DS16. Is this **housing unit** better, worse, or about the same as your previous home?

- 1. BETTER
- 2. WORSE
- 3. ABOUT THE SAME
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

DS17. How important were each of the following unit features to you in deciding where to live?

INTERVIEWER: READ FIRST RESPONSE OPTION, THEN "Would you say it was..."

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not at All Important	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. The rent you pay for it.	1	2	3	4	7	8
c. The size of the home or number of rooms.						
d. The kind of building like a single-family home or a particular size apartment building or complex	1	2	3	4	7	8
e. Responsiveness of the landlord or management company to your concerns.	1	2	3	4	7	8
f. Security of the building.	1	2	3	4	7	8
g. Amenities in the building like laundry facilities, parking, and other on-site facilities.	1	2	3	4	7	8

CATI: ASK DS19 IF: DS17A | DS17B | DS17C | DS17D | DS17E | DS17F | DS17G | DS17H | DS17I | DS17J when = 1(Very Important) or 2 (Somewhat Important)

DS19. How satisfied are you with the following features in your new home?

INTERVIEWER: READ FIRST RESPONSE OPTION, THEN “Would you say that you were...”

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Only a little satisfied	Not at all satisfied	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
CATI: ASK FOR EACH DS17 ITEM = 1 or 2:	1	2	3	4	7	8

Gathering Information

Now I am going to ask you some questions about how you found your new home and how you gathered information in general about homes during your housing search.

DS20. We would like to know how you **first** heard about the unit that you [CATI: IF DS2>=2 SHOW: “will be moving to”; OTHERWISE SHOW: “moved into”].

Would you say you heard about it from someone you knew, that you saw or heard an advertisement for it, saw a sign in the window, learned about it from a professional service, learned about it through social media, learned about it through a community or religious organization or some other way?

1. SOMEONE YOU KNEW
2. ADVERTISEMENT
3. SIGN ON THE WINDOW
4. PROFESSIONAL SERVICE
5. SOCIAL MEDIA
6. COMMUNITY OR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION
7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____

- 8. DON'T KNOW/CAN'T REMEMBER
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS20_1 = 1

DS21. What best describes your relationship to the person who told you about this unit, was it:

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

- 1. A family member
- 2. A friend
- 3. A co-worker
- 4. A roommate
- 5. A neighbor
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS20_1 = 1

DS22. What best describes the race and ethnicity of the person who told you about this unit? Would you say...

- 1. Hispanic/Latino
- 2. White
- 3. Black or African American
- 4. Asian
- 5. Other, SPECIFY: _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS20_2 = 1

DS23. Where was this ad? Was it in a newspaper, on a website, billboard, or radio?

- 1. NEWSPAPER, SPECIFY: Which newspaper?
- 2. WEBSITE, SPECIFY: Which website?
- 3. BILLBOARD
- 4. RADIO, SPECIFY: Which station? _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS20_5 = 1

DS25. Which social media site did you first hear about the unit on?

1. Facebook
2. Twitter
3. Myspace
4. Email listservs (e.g., community listservs, interest group listservs)
5. Other social media, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS20_6 = 1

[Failed searchers start here; ask failed searchers DS1as well]

DS27. Between the last time we talked to you and when you ended your search, how many housing units did you inquire about? That is, for how many units did you contact the landlord, management company, or current tenant(s) to find out more information?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

997. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO DS27A**)

998. REFUSED

DS27A. Which answer comes closest? Was it...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. More than 15
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

DS28. Now we would like to ask you about sources of information you used in general to find out about **all of the units** you considered during your search.

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. First, did you hear about units from someone you know?	1	2	8	9
b. Did you see or hear an advertisement for them?	1	2	8	9
c. Did you see signs in the windows of units or buildings?	1	2	8	9
d. Did you learn about them from a professional service?	1	2	8	9
e. Did you learn about them on social media?	1	2	8	9
f. Did you learn about them though community or religious organizations?	1	2	8	9
g. Did you use some other sources? (IF YES: SPECIFY)	1	2	8	9

CATI: ASK IF DS28g=1

DS28_O. What other sources did you use?

- 1. Other, Specify: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS28a = 1

DS29. Thinking about the person who told you about units, what best describes your relationship to this person? If there was more than one person, tell me about your relationship to the person who told you about **the most units**.

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

- 1. A family member
- 2. A friend
- 3. A co-worker
- 4. A roommate
- 5. A neighbor
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS28a = 1

DS30. What best describes the race and ethnicity of the person who told you about units? If there was more than one person, tell me the race/ethnicity of the person who told you about **the most units**.

1. Hispanic/Latino
2. White
3. Black or African American
4. Asian
5. Other, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS28b = 1

DS31. Thinking about the ads you used to find out about units, where were these ads? Were they in a newspaper, on a website, billboard, or radio?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

1. NEWSPAPER, SPECIFY: Which newspaper?
2. WEBSITE, SPECIFY: Which website?
3. BILLBOARD
4. RADIO: Which station?
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF DS28_5 = 1

DS33. Which of the following social media sites did you use to find out about units?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

1. Facebook
2. Twitter
3. Myspace
4. Email listservs (e.g., community listservs, interest group listservs)
5. Other social media
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

DS36. Sometimes the people we know help us in different ways during a housing search. Can you tell me if you used the people you know to assist with your housing search in any of the following ways?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. To find out about rental vacancies?	1	2	7	8
b. To find rentals that did not require a credit check or other application requirements?	1	2	7	8
c. To learn more about specific neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
d. To find landlords that would not discriminate against people of your race/ethnicity?	1	2	7	8

CATI: IF D27=0 or D27a=1, SKIP TO DS39

DS37. In general, since our last interview, did you inquire about units through...

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

1. Email,
2. Phone call,
3. Text,
4. In-person visits, or
5. Some other way? SPECIFY _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

DS38. Overall, how difficult was it to get the information you needed through these inquiries.

Would you say:

1. Extremely difficult
2. Very difficult
3. Somewhat difficult
4. A little difficult
5. Not at all difficult
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

Search Goals

DS39. I am going to read to you the neighborhood or neighborhoods that you said you were considering in your last interview; please tell me if you stopped considering any of these neighborhoods during your search.

[CATI: IF WAVE 2 LIST NEIGHBORHOODS FROM PRIOR WAVE [C16] AND ASK YES, STOPPED CONSIDERING/NO, DID NOT STOP CONSIDERING FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD; IF WAVE 3 LIST NEIGHBORHOODS FROM PRIOR WAVE [SS6] AND ASK YES, STOPPED CONSIDERING/NO, DID NOT STOP CONSIDERING FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD]

DS131. Why did you stop considering this/these neighborhood(s) after your visit? Was it because...

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. You did not feel safe?	1	2	7	8
c. It was too far from school/work?	1	2	7	8
d. It was too far from public transportation?	1	2	7	8
e. Of the racial or ethnic mix of the neighborhood?	1	2	7	8
f. Something else (specify)	1	2	7	8

ASK IF DS13f=1 (YES)

DS131_O. For what other reasons did you stop considering this/these neighborhood(s) after your visit?

- 1. _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

DS41. Since the last time we talked, did you add any more neighborhoods to the list of places where you searched for housing?

1. YES
2. NO (SKIP TO DS43)
8. DON'T KNOW (SKIP TO DS43)
9. REFUSED (SKIP TO DS43)

ASK IF DS41=1 (YES)

DS42. What neighborhood or neighborhoods did you add? **PROBE:** Any others?

_____ List neighborhood(s)

Other, Specify: _____

97. NO OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Visiting Apartments

Now I am going to ask you some questions about your attempts to visit apartments or homes you were interested in renting.

DS43. Since our last interview, how many units did you actually visit in person?

_____ RANGE: [0-99] (IF ANS=0 SKIP TO DS44)

998. DON'T KNOW (GO TO DS43A)
999. REFUSED (SKIP TO DS44)

DS43A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. More than 15
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

CATI: IF DS43='0', OR DS43A=1 OR 99 SKIP TO DS44

DS52X. Thinking about the visits to units you have made since the last interview, please tell me if you did any of the following when you called or met with potential landlords to increase the chance that the landlord would treat you well?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Dress differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
b. Speak differently than you usually do?	1	2	7	8
c. Bring a partner/friend/children?	1	2	7	8
d. Leave a partner/friend/children at home to increase the chance the landlord would treat you well?	1	2	7	8
e. Mention your career or professional background?	1	2	7	8
f. Send someone else to check out the unit for you?	1	2	7	8

DS44. How many units have you attempted to visit in person, since the last interview, that is since [DATE OF LAST INTERVIEW (MM_DD)], but were unable to because you were told they weren't available?

_____ RANGE: [0-99]

998. DON'T KNOW (GO TO DS44A)

998. DON'T KNOW (GO TO DS44A)

DS44A. Which answer comes closest? Would you say...

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3-5
5. 6-10
6. 11-15
7. More than 15
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

DS46. **CATI: IF DS43 >3 AND < 999 OR DS43A > 4 and < 99, SHOW:** Now I am going to ask you about the 3 units you most recently visited, including the unit you decided to rent.

CATI: IF DS43 <4 OR DS43A <4, SHOW: Now I am going to ask you about each of the units you visited starting with the unit you decided to rent.

CATI: IF DS43=0 OR DS43A=1 OR 99 SHOW: Now I am going to ask you about the visit you made to the unit you decided to rent.

CATI: BEGIN LOOP: DS46 – DS57 (Loop will cycle a maximum of 3 times)

CATI: DO NOT ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR UNIT RESPONDENT DECIDED TO RENT, WHICH WILL BE THE FIRST LOOP THROUGH

What was the address of this unit?

INTERVIEWER: ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE STREET ADDRESS, CITY, AND STATE.

Street: _____
City: _____
State: _____

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW ADDRESS, PROBE FOR CROSS STREETS OR GENERAL AREA

Cross streets or general area: _____

- 98. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO D47**)
- 99. REFUSED (**SKIP TO DS47**)

CATI: IF DS46= 98, 99 ASK DS47, ELSE SKIP TO DS50

DS47. What neighborhood or community was it in?
_____ (Neighborhood)

- 97. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

CATI: ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR ALL THREE UNITS

DS50. How satisfied were you with the way you were treated during this visit?

- 1. Very satisfied
- 2. Somewhat satisfied
- 3. Only a little Satisfied
- 4. Not at all satisfied
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR ALL THREE UNITS

DS51. Did you feel you were treated unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: DO NOT ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR UNIT RESPONDENT DECIDED TO RENT

DS53. Did you decide to submit an application for this unit?

1. YES (**GO TO DS54**)
2. NO (**GO TO DS55**)
8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO DS55**)
9. REFUSED (**GO TO DS55**)

CATI: DO NOT ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR UNIT RESPONDENT DECIDED TO RENT

DS54. Why did you apply for this unit?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.

1. LIKED THE BUILDING
2. LIKED THE UNIT
3. AFFORDABLE
4. LIKED THE NEIGHBORHOOD
5. LIKED THE LANDLORD/MANAGEMENT COMPANY
6. TIRED OF SEARCHING
7. NEEDED TO MOVE QUICKLY
8. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

(CATI: ALL GO TO DS56)

CATI: DO NOT ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR UNIT RESPONDENT DECIDED TO RENT

DS55. Why did you decide not to apply for this unit?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a, Price was too high?	1	2	7	8
b. Did not like the unit?	1	2	7	8
c. Did not like the building?	1	2	7	8
d. Did not like the landlord or management company?	1	2	7	8
e. Did not like the application process?	1	2	7	8
f. Did not like the neighbors?	1	2	7	8
g. Were there any other reasons why you decided not to apply for this unit?	1	2	7	8

CATI: IF DS55F=1

DS55_O. What were the other reasons you decided not to apply for this unit?

OTHER, SPECIFY: _____

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

CATI: DO NOT ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR UNIT RESPONDENT DECIDED TO RENT

DS56. Was your application accepted?

1. YES (**GO TO DS58**)
2. NO (**GO TO DS57**)
8. DON'T KNOW (**GO TO DS58**)
9. REFUSED (**GO TO DS58**)

CATI: DO NOT ASK QUESTION BELOW FOR UNIT RESPONDENT DECIDED TO RENT

DS57. Why was your application denied?

INTERVIEWER: CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

1. SOMEONE ELSE APPLIED FIRST
2. UNIT WAS TAKEN
3. PROBLEM WITH REFERENCES
4. PROBLEM WITH CREDIT HISTORY
5. PROBLEM WITH RENTAL HISTORY

- 6. PROBLEM WITH CRIMINAL HISTORY
- 5. INCOME TOO LOW
- 6. WAS NOT TOLD WHY/NEVER HEARD BACK FROM LANDLORD OR MANAGEMENT COMPANY
- 7. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

[Repeat questions until you have asked about all units respondent visited or, if respondent visited more than 3 units, the 3 most recent]

CATI: END LOOP: DS46 – DS57

DS58. Overall, would you say this housing search was...

- 1. Extremely difficult,
- 2. Very difficult,
- 3. Somewhat difficult,
- 4. A little difficult, or
- 5. Not at all difficult?
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

[CATI: IF DS58 =5 (NOT AT ALL DIFFICULT) SKIP TO DS60]

DS59. Which of the following things made it difficult? Would you say...

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
a. Finding units in your price range?	1	2	7	8
b. Feeling rushed to move?	1	2	7	8
c. Gathering information about units?	1	2	7	8
d. Gathering information about neighborhoods?	1	2	7	8
e. Finding transportation to get to units?	1	2	7	8
f. [Skip if S_10B & S10C=0]: Finding someone to take care of your children so you could visit units	1	2	7	8

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	REFUSED
g. Meeting the application requirements?	1	2	7	8
h. Finding landlords that would rent to you?	1	2	7	8
i. Were there any other reasons why it was difficult? SPECIFY	1	2	7	8

CATI: ASK IF DS59i = 1.

DS59_O. What else made it difficult?

- 1. Other, Specify: _____
- 98. DON'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

DS60. During your search, did you ever feel that you were denied housing because the rental agent or landlord didn't want to rent to you because of your race or ethnicity?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

DS61. During your search, did you ever feel that a rental agent or landlord was showing you only units in certain neighborhoods because of your race or ethnicity?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

DS62. During your search, did you ever feel that the other residents in the building or neighborhoods that you visited treated you unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?

- 1. YES
- 2. NO
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: IF DS_d=1 ("FOUND A NEW PLACE") SKIP TO Z1

DS64. Why did you decide **not** to move?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. WAS TOLD I COULD REMAIN IN MY CURRENT HOME
2. MOVING WAS TOO EXPENSIVE
3. LIFE CIRCUMSTANCE CHANGED
4. DID NOT FIND ANY UNITS THAT MET ALL MY CRITERIA
5. OTHER, SPECIFY: _____
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

DS65. Do you think you might move in the next couple of years?

1. YES
2. NO (**SKIP TO END**)
8. DON'T KNOW (**SKIP TO END**)
9. REFUSED (**SKIP TO END**)

CATI: ASK IF DS65=1 (YES)

DS66. Would you say you definitely will move, probably will move, or are you more uncertain?

1. Definitely
2. Probably
3. Uncertain
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

(WAVE 2) EXIT_SUMM

Thank you for completing the interview survey! Your answers will help researchers better understand how and why people search for housing.

GOTO Z1

(WAVE 3) EXIT_SUMM

Thank you for completing the survey! Your answers will help researchers better understand how and why people search for housing.

We are still looking for more people who have recently moved or who are currently looking for housing and we are hoping that the people we've talked to already can help spread the word. In addition to your \$50 for this interview, we will mail you fliers about the Housing Search Study. We would appreciate it if you could give these fliers and the information about this study to anyone you know—this might be neighbors, friends, acquaintances—who might also be searching for housing or have recently moved.

Would you be willing to share anyone's contact information with us so that we can reach out to them? We will share your name as the referring person if they ask how we received their contact information.

3. YES
4. NO **GOTO Z1**

SNOW1.

Thank you very much. In order to make this as easy as possible, could you please tell me the best phone number to reach them?

CATI: PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR PHONE

Is that a cell phone, home phone, or other?

1. Cell phone
2. Home phone
3. Other
4. Don't know

Do you have an email address of theirs that you could share with me?

CATI: PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR email

Thank you, you should expect to get a package from us within a few weeks.

Z1. Those are all the questions I have to ask you today. Thank you for the time you've spent talking with me and for your participation in this study. In order to send your \$50 gift card, I need to confirm your name and address.

You gave your contact information as:

CATI: SHOW NAME FROM FLNAME AND ADDRESS FROM S5] [FULLADD, RCITY, RSTATE, RZIP]

INTERVIEWER: READ R'S NAME AND ONLY STREET ADDRESS TO CONFIRM AND ASK:

Is that correct?

1. YES (**SKIP TO THANK**)
2. NO

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: IF Z1=8 OR 9 DISPLAY "In order to send your \$50 gift card, I am required to ask for your full name and address."

Z1a. OK, could you give me the name and address you would like me to use to send your gift card?

CATI: SHOW NAME FROM FLNAME AND ADDRESS FROM S5] [FULLADD, RCITY, RSTATE, RZIP]

INTERVIEWER: ENTER CORRECTED NAME AND/OR ADDRESS. READ BACK THE ADDRESS INFORMATION TO R.

First Name: _____

Last Name: _____

Street: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

CATI: PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR ENTRY OF CORRECTED FULL NAME AND ADDRESS WHILE ORIGINAL NAME AND ADDRESS IS DISPLAYED FOR COMPARISON PURPOSES

CATI: CREATE CDMO USING DATA ENTERED AT Z2 TO REPLACE:

FULLADD – FULL ADDRESS

RCITY – CITY

RSTATE – STATE

RZIP – ZIP

THANK. Thank you very much for your time and assistance. If you have any questions about this study, please call Lenin Williams at **1-888-864-1425 x 132.**

Appendix E. Demographic Questions

CATI: ASK DEMOGRAPHICS (D SECTION), IN DEPTH INTERVIEW (N SECTION), AND CONTACT INFORMATION (Z SECTION) FOR BOTH RECENT MOVERS (B SECTION) AND CURRENT SEARCHERS (C SECTION)

We are almost done. Now I would like to ask you some basic questions about your background.

DEMOGRAPHICS

AGE, GENDER, MARITAL STATUS

D1. What year were you born?

_____ (YYYY)

[Calculate and confirm age]

- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

D2. Are you male or female?

- 1. MALE
- 2. FEMALE
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

D3. Are you currently...

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE IS VOLUNTEERED.

- 1. Married
- 2. Widowed
- 3. Divorced
- 4. Separated
- 5. Never married
- 6. In a civil union or domestic partnership
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

S10A. How many other adults age 18 and over live with you in your housing unit?

S10A_1. _____ Number of adults:

CATI: IF S10 > 1 SHOW "INTERVIEWER: RESPONDENT HAS ALREADY INDICATED THAT 0 CHILDREN LIVE IN THE HOME, SELECT 0 FROM THE DROP DOWN BELOW AND CONTINUE"

How many children under the age of 18 live in this home?

S10A_2. _____ Number of children:

S10A_CONFIRM That's [S10A_1] adult(s) and [S10A_2] child/children that live with you in your house.

1. YES CORRECT
2. INCORRECT (**GO TO S10A**)

CATI: IF CURSRCHR=1, ASK S10B, ELSE SKIP TO D4

S10B. When you move, how many other adults age 18 and over will live with you in your housing unit?

S10B_1. _____ Number of adults:

How many children under age 18 and over will live with you in your housing unit?

S10B_2. _____ Number of children:

S10B_CONFIRM. So when you move you plan to live with [S10B] person / people?

1. YES CORRECT
2. INCORRECT (**GO TO S10B_1**)

SOCIAL CLASS (INCOME/EDUCATION/OCCUPATION)

D4. Was your total [CATI: IF S11A_1=1 SHOW "individual"; IF S11A_1=2 OR 3 SHOW "household family"] income over the last 12 months, that is, since [MONTH, PRIOR YEAR], from all sources, before taxes, more or less than \$60,000?

1. More than \$60,000 (**SKIP TO D4a**)
2. Less than \$60,000 (**SKIP TO D4b**)
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

D4a. Was it more than \$80,000?

1. YES
2. NO (**SKIP TO D5**)
3. EXACTLY \$80,000 (**SKIP TO D5**)
8. DON'T KNOW (**SKIP TO D5**)
9. REFUSED (**SKIP TO D5**)

D4a_1. Was it more than \$100,00?

1. YES
2. NO (**SKIP TO D5**)
3. EXACTLY \$100,000 (**SKIP TO D5**)

8. DON'T KNOW (SKIP TO D5)

9. REFUSED (SKIP TO D5)

D4a_2.

Was it more than \$150,000?

1. YES (SKIP TO D5)

2. NO (SKIP TO D5)

3. EXACTLY \$150,000 (SKIP TO D5)

8. DON'T KNOW (SKIP TO D5)

9. REFUSED (SKIP TO D5)

D4b. Was it less than \$40,000?

1. YES

2. NO (SKIP TO D5)

3. EXACTLY \$40,000 (SKIP TO D5)

8. DON'T KNOW (SKIP TO D5)

9. REFUSED (SKIP TO D5)

D4b_1. Was it less than \$20,000?

1. YES

2. NO

3. EXACTLY \$20,000

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED

D5. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have earned?

1. Less than high school diploma

2. High school graduate - High school DIPLOMA or equivalent (*For example: GED*)

3. Some college but no degree

4. Associate degree

5. Bachelor's degree [*For example: BA, AB, BS*]

6. Master's degree, Professional School Degree, Doctorate Degree

98. DON'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

D6. What is your current employment status?

INTERVIEWER: SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

1. Employed full time (40 HOURS/WEEK OR MORE)
2. Employed part time
3. Unemployed, looking for work
4. Unemployed, other reason (E.G RECEIVES SSI, CANNOT WORK DUE TO DISABILITY)
5. Student
6. Retiree
7. Stay at home parent
8. Other, SPECIFY: _____
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

D7. Were you born in the United States?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

CATI: FILL PAST TENSE IF RECMVR=1 AND PRESENT TENSE IF CURSRCH = 1

D8. Did/Does anyone in your household who moved/is moving with you have a disability that requires special housing accommodations?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

D9. How many automobiles are kept at home for use by members of your household? (AHS)

1. NONE
2. _____ (Vehicles) **[RANGE 1-5] INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS MORE THAN 5 VEHICLES, RECORD AS 5**
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

[Conclude with corresponding exit script from Recent Mover Module, and Current Searchers Wave 1 Baseline Test, and In-Depth Interviews]

Contact Information

Those are all the questions I have to ask you today. Thank you for the time you've spent talking with me and for your participation in this study. In order to send your \$50 gift card, I need to confirm your name and address.

Z1. You gave your contact information as:

CATI: SHOW NAME FROM FLNAME AND ADDRESS FROM S5] [FULLADD, RCITY, RSTATE, RZIP]

INTERVIEWER: READ R'S NAME AND ONLY STREET ADDRESS TO CONFIRM AND ASK:

Is that correct?

- 1. YES (**SKIP TO Z3**)
- 2. NO
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

CATI: IF Z1=8 OR 9 DISPLAY "In order to send your \$50 gift card, I am required to ask for your full name and address."

Z2. OK, could you give me the name and address you would like me to use to send your gift card?

CATI: SHOW NAME FROM FLNAME AND ADDRESS FROM S5] [FULLADD, RCITY, RSTATE, RZIP]

INTERVIEWER: ENTER CORRECTED NAME AND/OR ADDRESS. READ BACK THE ADDRESS INFORMATION TO R, SPELLING THE WORDS.

First Name: _____

Last Name: _____

Street: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

CATI: PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR ENTRY OF CORRECTED FULL NAME AND ADDRESS WHILE ORIGINAL NAME AND ADDRESS IS DISPLAYED FOR COMPARISON PURPOSES

CATI: CREATE CDMO USING DATA ENTERED AT Z2 TO REPLACE:

FULLADD – FULL ADDRESS

RCITY – CITY

RSTATE – STATE

RZIP – ZIP

Z3. I also need to confirm your phone number in case we have any questions about the interview.

INTERVIEWER: READ THE PHONE NUMBER. Is this [**CATI: DISPLAY RPHONE1**] the phone number you would like us to use to contact you in the future?

1. YES (**SKIP TO Z4**)
2. NO
8. REFUSED (**SKIP TO Z4**)

CATI: IF Z3=2 PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR ENTRY OF CORRECTED PHONE NUMBER. DISPLAY ORIGINAL PHONE NUMBER FOR COMPARISON PURPOSES. DISPLAY “INTERVIEWER: ENTER CORRECTED PHONE NUMBER. READ BACK TO R TO CONFIRM.”

CATI: IF RECMVR=1 SKIP TO Z7

Z4. Is this a home, work, or cell phone number?

1. Home
2. Work
3. Cell
8. Don't know
9. REFUSED

Z4A. Is there an additional phone number you would like to provide?

1. YES
2. NO (**SKIP TO Z7**)
8. REFUSED (**SKIP TO Z7**)

CATI: IF Z4A= 1 PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR ENTRY OF SECOND PHONE NUMBER

INTERVIEWER: ENTER PHONE NUMBER. READ BACK TO R TO CONFIRM.

Z5. Is this a home, work, or cell phone number?

1. Home
2. Work
3. Cell
8. Don't know
9. REFUSED

CATI: ASK IF Z4=3 OR Z5=3

Z6. In the future, may we call or send a text message to the cell phone number you provided?

1. YES
2. NO
8. DON'T KNOW
9. REFUSED

Z7. Is there an e-mail address you would like to provide?

1. YES
2. NO (**SKIP TO Z8**)
8. REFUSED (**SKIP TO Z8**)

CATI: IF Z7= 1 PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR ENTRY OF EMAIL ADDRESS

CATI: ALL SKIP TO Z11 (INACTIVE UNTIL GIVEN FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS)

Z8. We are still looking for more people who have recently moved or who are currently looking for housing and we are hoping that the people we've talked to already can help spread the word. In addition to your \$50 gift card for this interview, we will mail you fliers about the Housing Search Study. We would appreciate it if you could give these fliers and the information about this study to anyone you know—this might be neighbors, friends, acquaintances—who might also be searching for housing or have recently moved.

Would you be willing to share anyone's contact information with us so that we can reach out to them? We will share your name as the referring person if they ask how we received their contact information.

INTERVIEWER: IF YES IS SELECTED, SAY: "Thank you, may I have that person's name?" AND ENTER THE NAME IN THE TEXT BOX PROVIDED

1. YES (**GO TO Z9**)
2. NO (**GO TO Z11**)
9. REFUSED

Z9. Thank you very much. In order to make this as easy as possible, could you please tell me the best phone number to reach them?

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| _____ [PHONE1] | _____ [PHONE2] |
| 1. CELL | 1. CELL |
| 2. HOME | 2. HOME |
| 3. OTHER | 3. OTHER |
| 9. REFUSED | 9. REFUSED |

Z10. Do you have an email address of theirs that you could share with me?

1. YES
2. NO
9. REFUSED

CATI: IF Z10= 1 PROVIDE TEXT BOX FOR ENTRY OF EMAIL ADDRESS

**REQUEST FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW WITH UI
N4.**

[ASKED OF RECENT MOVERS AND CURRENT SEARCHERS WHO ARE DONE SEARCHING AT WAVE 2, STILL SEARCHING AT WAVE 3 OR DONE SEARCHING AT WAVE 3]

Lastly, we are working with researchers at the Urban Institute on this project, and they will also be conducting a small number of in-person interviews with some of the participants in this project. Participants would receive a \$50 token of appreciation for this interview. We would like to share your contact information with researchers at the Urban Institute who are working with us on this research. If you meet their criteria, one of the researchers may contact you to explain the study and see if you are interested in participating. I should note that your contact information is always kept separate from your survey responses, and we will not share the contact information with anyone outside of the researchers involved in the project.

Is it ok for us to share your information with the Urban Institute and have their staff reach out to you for this in-person interview?

1. Yes
2. No (**GO TO Z11**)

[If YES and RECENT MOVER or CURRENT SEARCHER WHO REFUSED CALL-BACK]:

N4a. Thank you very much. In order to make this as easy as possible, could you please tell me if this is the best phone number to reach you?

That is *[insert from Screener]* XXX XXX XXXX / AAAAAAA@AAAAAAA.COM?

1. Yes
2. No, the phone number is incorrect (ENTER CORRECT PHONE NUMBER)
3. No, the email is incorrect (ENTER CORRECT EMAIL)

N5. Some people find it easier to arrange an interview in advance, and one way we could do this is by text or email. What is the best way to reach you for this purpose?

1. TEXT
2. EMAIL
3. PHONE CALL (**GO TO N5a**)

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT SELECTS EMAIL, BUT DECLINED TO PROVIDE AN EMAIL AT PRIOR QUESTION, SELECT THE PREV BUTTON BELOW AND COLLECT THE EMAIL ADDRESS.

N5a. *[If phone]* What time of day is the best to reach you? Morning, Afternoon, Evening, or anytime?

1. MORNING
2. AFTERNOON
3. EVENING
4. ANYTIME

N5b. Are any days better than others?

1. MONDAY
2. TUESDAY
3. WEDNESDAY
4. THURSDAY

5. FRIDAY
6. SATURDAY
7. SUNDAY
8. ANY DAY IS FINE

Z11. [CATI: IF N4=1 SHOW “Thank you for sharing your information with UI. A researcher will only call you if there is a need for respondents matching your criteria, but your willingness to participate is greatly appreciated.”] You should expect to get a gift card from us in [CATI: IF CURSRCH=1 SHOW “a few days” IF RECMVR=1 SHOW “about 3 weeks”] with your gift card.

CATI: IF RECMVR=1 SKIP TO THANK; ELSE IF CURSRCHR=1 SKIP TO Z12

Z12. If it is OK with you, we will be contacting you again on or about [CATI: ADD 10 DAYS FROM INTERVIEW DATE] for another paid interview to ask you about your search, whether you are still searching or you are done searching. Would that be OK?

1. YES, OK TO CONTACT (**GO TO Z12a**)
2. NO, NOT OK TO CONTACT (**SKIP TO Z12b**)

Z12. If it is OK with you, depending on our need for more respondents, we may be contacting you again on or about

[CATI: ADD 10 DAYS FROM INTERVIEW DATE] for another paid interview to ask you about your search, whether you are still searching or you are done searching. Would that be OK?

1. YES, OK TO CONTACT (**GO TO Z12a**)
2. NO, NOT OK TO CONTACT (**SKIP TO Z12b**)

Z12a. OK, we will contact you again on **CATI: ADD 10 DAYS FROM INTERVIEW DATE**, but only if there’s a need for more interviews. Along with your gift card we will be sending in the mail a housing search log so that you can keep track of your search experience. If we talk to you again you may use the log to help with remembering your activities. If you have any questions, please call Lenin Williams at **1-888-864-1425 x 132**.

INTERVIEWER: PRESS NEXT TO CONTINUE TO EXIT SCREEN.

THANK. Thank you very much for your time and assistance. If you have any questions about this study, please call Lenin Williams at **1-888-864-1425**
132.

x

CATI: RECORD END DATE (SECTNEDDT) AND TIME (SECNEDTM)

CATI: CALCULATE SECTION TIMES

Appendix F. Secondary Data Analysis Figures

Exhibit F.1: Descriptive Statistics for Recent Movers and Nonmovers in Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID)

	Nonmovers		Recent Movers	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Race of householder				
Black	0.514	0.500	0.465	0.499
Latino	0.076	0.266	0.068	0.252
White	0.410	0.492	0.467	0.499
Education of head	12.249	3.004	12.634	2.716
Family income (\$1,000s)	30.425	28.633	31.292	29.162
Age of householder	43.389	16.131	34.521	12.915
Female householder (1=yes)	0.459	0.498	0.405	0.491
Married or cohabiting (1=yes)	0.322	0.467	0.334	0.472
Whether children in house (1=yes)	0.461	0.498	0.462	0.499
Receiving housing assistance (1=yes)	0.215	0.411	0.155	0.362
Metropolitan-area variables				
Housing vacancy rate	11.517	4.864	11.667	4.981
Homeownership	66.100	6.714	66.734	6.060
Rent-to-income ratio	0.189	0.023	0.187	0.023
Number of observations		9,186		9,879

SD = standard deviation.
Source: PSID 1997–2011

Exhibit F.2: Logit Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Residential Move Was Unplanned

Recent Movers in Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Race (reference=White)			
Black	0.319 (0.057)	0.069 (0.063)	0.496 (0.496)
Latino	0.433 (0.102)	0.187 (0.111)	- 5.003 (2.287)
Education of head		- 0.072 (0.012)	- 0.073 (0.012)
Family income (\$1000s)		- 0.007 (0.001)	- 0.007 (0.001)
Age of householder		0.038 (0.002)	0.038 (0.002)
Female householder (1=yes)		0.218 (0.075)	0.219 (0.075)
Married or cohabiting (1=yes)		0.167 (0.083)	0.162 (0.083)
Whether children in house (1=yes)		0.167 (0.063)	0.169 (0.063)
Receiving housing assistance (1=yes)		0.041 (0.075)	0.042 (0.076)
Year of observation		0.006 (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)
Metropolitan-area variables			
Housing vacancy rate			0.008 (0.009)
Homeownership rate			- 0.008 (0.010)
Rent-to-income ratio			- 1.276 (2.329)
Interactions			
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black			0.012 (0.015)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino			- 0.087 (0.039)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black			- 0.006 (0.015)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino			0.068 (0.028)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black			- 0.737 (3.633)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino			9.316 (5.311)
Constant	- 1.180 (0.042)	- 12.619 (12.724)	- 12.514 (12.776)
BIC	10508.479	1938.164	10009.131

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: PSID 1997–2011

Exhibit F.3: OLS Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Number of Units Viewed During the Housing Search

Recent movers in AHS

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference: White)				
Black	- 1.079 (0.23)	- 0.444 (0.25)	- 0.295 (0.25)	- 31.236 (12.36)
Latino	- 1.669 (0.21)	- 0.862 (0.25)	- 1.130 (0.26)	- 12.894 (12.05)
Education (reference: < high school)		ref.	ref.	ref.
HS degree		0.938 (0.28)	0.852 (0.28)	0.830 (0.28)
College degree		1.850 (0.33)	1.736 (0.33)	1.703 (0.33)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5-10k		1.071 (0.47)	1.155 (0.47)	1.146 (0.47)
10-15k		0.323 (0.44)	0.366 (0.44)	0.355 (0.44)
15-20k		0.387 (0.45)	0.405 (0.45)	0.380 (0.45)
20-30k		0.701 (0.37)	0.721 (0.37)	0.706 (0.37)
30-40k		1.372 (0.41)	1.370 (0.41)	1.344 (0.41)
40-50k		0.305 (0.42)	0.250 (0.42)	0.236 (0.42)
50-60k		0.545 (0.46)	0.450 (0.46)	0.432 (0.46)
60-70k		1.355 (0.50)	1.228 (0.50)	1.212 (0.50)
70-80k		1.053 (0.52)	0.919 (0.52)	0.897 (0.52)
80-90k		0.561 (0.58)	0.274 (0.58)	0.254 (0.58)
90-100k		0.929 (0.65)	0.715 (0.65)	0.719 (0.65)
100-125k		1.614 (0.57)	1.392 (0.57)	1.370 (0.57)
125-150k		1.541 (0.68)	1.207 (0.69)	1.188 (0.69)
150k+		1.480 (0.56)	1.110 (0.56)	1.085 (0.56)
Age		- 0.008 (0.01)	- 0.010 (0.01)	- 0.010 (0.01)
Female (1=yes)		- 0.121 (0.19)	- 0.100 (0.19)	- 0.095 (0.19)
Married (1=yes)		0.557 (0.21)	0.533 (0.21)	0.542 (0.21)
Foreign born (1=yes)		- 0.650* (0.27)	- 0.821 (0.27)	- 0.830 (0.27)
Involuntary move (1=yes)		1.158 (0.33)	1.142 (0.33)	1.144 (0.33)
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)		- 0.514 (0.36)	- 0.533 (0.36)	- 0.510 (0.36)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Access to car (1=yes)		- 0.107 (0.22)	- 0.133 (0.22)	- 0.148 (0.22)
Single-family building (1=yes)		0.845 (0.21)	0.963 (0.21)	0.962 (0.21)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Homeownership rate			- 5.652 (5.31)	- 16.756 (7.50)
Rent-to-income ratio			7.717 (10.51)	- 19.000 (15.36)
Housing vacancy rate			- 2.631 (7.16)	9.778 (9.76)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				30.853 (13.21)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				10.184 (13.71)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				73.434 (27.25)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				30.633 (25.17)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				- 37.809 (17.54)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				- 10.399 (19.18)
Constant	6.562 (0.12)	4.490 (0.50)	7.171 (4.88)	18.548 (7.06)
Model R-squared	0.007	0.023	0.027	0.028

AHS = American Housing Survey. OLS = ordinary least squares.

Source: Recent movers in the AHS 2011

Exhibit F.4: Logistic Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Considered Other Neighborhoods During the Housing Search

Recent movers in AHS

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference: White)				
Black	0.021 (0.05)	0.239 (0.06)	0.246 (0.06)	– (2.76)
Latino	– 0.265 (0.05)	– 0.024 (0.06)	– 0.035 (0.06)	– (2.64)
Education (reference: < high school)				
HS degree		0.245 (0.06)	0.241 (0.06)	0.241 (0.06)
College degree		0.552 (0.07)	0.549 (0.07)	0.548 (0.07)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5–10k		0.098 (0.10)	0.099 (0.10)	0.097 (0.10)
10–15k		0.099 (0.10)	0.099 (0.10)	0.098 (0.10)
15–20k		0.222 (0.10)	0.219 (0.10)	0.218* (0.10)
20–30k	0.062 (0.08)	0.058 (0.08)	0.057 (0.08)	
30–40k	0.298 (0.09)	0.292 (0.09)	0.292 (0.09)	
40–50k	0.132 (0.09)	0.126 (0.09)	0.128 (0.09)	
50–60k	0.291 (0.10)	0.282 (0.10)	0.282 (0.10)	
60–70k	0.206 (0.11)	0.196 (0.11)	0.201 (0.11)	
70–80k	0.116 (0.11)	0.107 (0.11)	0.100 (0.11)	
80–90k	0.341 (0.13)	0.324 (0.14)	0.321 (0.14)	
90–100k	0.405 (0.15)	0.389 (0.15)	0.386 (0.15)	
100–125k	0.112 (0.13)	0.103 (0.13)	0.098 (0.13)	
125–150k	0.295 (0.15)	0.276 (0.15)	0.270 (0.15)	
150k+	0.284 (0.13)	0.268 (0.13)	0.261 (0.13)	
Age	– 0.008 (0.00)	– 0.008 (0.00)	– 0.008 (0.00)	
Female (1=yes)	– 0.068 (0.04)	– 0.068 (0.04)	– 0.069 (0.04)	
Married (1=yes)	0.251 (0.05)	0.246 (0.05)	0.246 (0.05)	
Foreign born (1=yes)	– 0.260 (0.06)	– 0.266 (0.06)	– 0.270 (0.06)	
Involuntary move (1=yes)	0.334	0.333	0.332	

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)	0.024 (0.07)	0.022 (0.07)	0.025 (0.07)	
Access to car (1=yes)	0.205 (0.05)	0.203 (0.05)	0.207 (0.05)	
Single-family building (1=yes)		- 0.039 (0.05)	- 0.032 (0.05)	- 0.032 (0.05)
Metropolitan-area variables			1.349 (1.17)	-0.776 (1.66)
Homeownership rate			3.375 (2.32)	- 0.687 (3.42)
Rent-to-income ratio			- 2.373 (1.57)	0.040 (2.17)
Housing vacancy rate				
Interactions				4.006 (2.94)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				3.697 (3.00)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				4.984 (6.08)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				8.296 (5.53)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				- 4.058 (3.86)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				- 4.408 (4.20)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				
Constant	0.262 (0.03)	- 0.164 (0.11)	- 1.469 (1.08)	0.487 (1.57)
BIC	14661.73 9	14603.98 2	14628.10 6	14677.8 11

AHS = American Housing Survey. BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in AHS 2011

Exhibit F.5: Logistic Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Recently Mobile Householder First Heard of the New Dwelling Through Word of Mouth

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference: White)				
Black	0.509 (0.05)	0.314 (0.06)	0.280 (0.06)	- 5.383 (2.86)
Latino	0.527 (0.05)	0.252 (0.06)	0.328 (0.06)	4.735 (2.74)
Education (reference: < high school)				
HS degree		- 0.215 (0.06)	- 0.197 (0.06)	- 0.202 (0.06)
College degree		- 0.552 (0.08)	- 0.524 (0.08)	- 0.524 (0.08)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5-10k		0.051 (0.10)	0.027 (0.10)	0.032 (0.10)
10-15k		- 0.037 (0.10)	- 0.057 (0.10)	- 0.053 (0.10)
15-20k		- 0.095 (0.10)	- 0.111 (0.10)	- 0.108 (0.10)
20-30k		- 0.073 (0.08)	- 0.087 (0.08)	- 0.089 (0.08)
30-40k		- 0.267 (0.09)	- 0.273 (0.09)	- 0.272 (0.09)
40-50k		- 0.193 (0.10)	- 0.183 (0.10)	- 0.183 (0.10)
50-60k		- 0.228 (0.11)	- 0.208 (0.11)	- 0.204 (0.11)
60-70k		- 0.480 (0.12)	- 0.448 (0.12)	- 0.435 (0.12)
70-80k		- 0.305 (0.12)	- 0.279 (0.12)	- 0.277 (0.12)
80-90k		- 0.681 (0.16)	- 0.615 (0.16)	- 0.629 (0.16)
90-100k		- 0.363 (0.16)	- 0.313 (0.16)	- 0.309 (0.16)
100-125k		- 0.413 (0.14)	- 0.348 (0.14)	- 0.354 (0.14)
125-150k		- 0.543 (0.17)	- 0.467 (0.18)	- 0.466 (0.18)
150k+		- 0.358* (0.14)	- 0.253 (0.14)	- 0.248 (0.14)
Age				
	0.004 (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)	
Female (1=yes)	- 0.080 (0.04)	- 0.087 (0.04)	- 0.093 (0.04)	
Married (1=yes)	- 0.170 (0.05)	- 0.165 (0.05)	- 0.169 (0.05)	
Foreign born (1=yes)	0.245 (0.06)	0.303 (0.06)	0.288 (0.06)	
Involuntary move (1=yes)	- 0.218 (0.08)	- 0.219 (0.08)	- 0.217 (0.08)	
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)	- 0.032 (0.08)	- 0.032 (0.08)	- 0.024 (0.08)	
Access to car (1=yes)	- 0.059	- 0.048	- 0.045	

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Single-family building (1=yes)	(0.05) 0.143 (0.05)	(0.05) 0.110 (0.05)	(0.05) 0.108 (0.05)	
Metropolitan-area variables				
Homeownership rate		3.812 (1.22)	3.374 (1.79)	
Rent-to-income ratio		2.209 (2.43)	1.626 (3.71)	
Housing vacancy rate		- 1.917 (1.66)	- 0.304 (2.35)	
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black			6.868 (3.05)	
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino			- 5.309 (3.11)	
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black			8.832 (6.33)	
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino			- 6.888 (5.76)	
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black			- 6.608 (4.03)	
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino			3.916 (4.34)	
Constant	- 0.942 (0.03)	- 0.461 (0.11)	- 3.273 (1.12)	- 3.026 (1.69)
BIC	13428.872	13417.389	13390.45	13422.567

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Exhibit F.6: Logistic Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Recently Mobile Householder First Heard of the New Dwelling by Seeing a Sign

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference: White)				
Black	0.267 (0.08)	0.207 (0.08)	0.224 (0.08)	- 3.103 (4.21)
Latino	0.833 (0.06)	0.655 (0.08)	0.582 (0.08)	- 2.292 (3.67)
Education (reference: < high school)				
High school degree		0.068 (0.08)	0.054 (0.08)	0.054 (0.08)
College degree		- 0.311 (0.11)	- 0.323 (0.11)	- 0.329 (0.11)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5-10k		0.089 (0.15)	0.118 (0.15)	0.119 (0.15)
10-15k		0.353 (0.14)	0.367 (0.14)	0.367 (0.14)
15-20k		0.480 (0.13)	0.481 (0.13)	0.483 (0.13)
20-30k		0.159 (0.12)	0.173 (0.12)	0.177 (0.12)
30-40k		0.068 (0.13)	0.080 (0.13)	0.082 (0.13)
40-50k		0.050 (0.14)	0.062 (0.14)	0.066 (0.14)
50-60k		- 0.115 (0.16)	- 0.116 (0.16)	- 0.113 (0.16)
60-70k		0.018 (0.17)	0.028 (0.17)	0.031 (0.17)
70-80k		- 0.029 (0.17)	- 0.034 (0.17)	- 0.034 (0.17)
80-90k		0.089 (0.20)	0.061 (0.20)	0.058 (0.20)
90-100k		0.325 (0.21)	0.303 (0.21)	0.309 (0.21)
100-125k		- 0.936 (0.27)	- 0.948 (0.27)	- 0.948 (0.27)
125-150k		- 0.589 (0.29)	- 0.613 (0.29)	- 0.626 (0.29)
150k+		- 0.425 (0.23)	- 0.444 (0.23)	- 0.460 (0.23)
Age				
		0.003 (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)
Female (1=yes)		- 0.038 (0.06)	- 0.031 (0.06)	- 0.032 (0.06)
Married (1=yes)		0.107 (0.07)	0.091 (0.07)	0.093 (0.07)
Foreign born (1=yes)		0.077 (0.08)	0.055 (0.08)	0.052 (0.08)
Involuntary move (1=yes)		0.155 (0.10)	0.146 (0.10)	0.145 (0.10)
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)		- 0.582 (0.12)	- 0.587 (0.12)	- 0.590 (0.12)
Access to car (1=yes)		0.013	- 0.004	- 0.002

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Single-family building (1=yes)		(0.07) - 0.100 (0.07)	(0.07) - 0.115 (0.07)	(0.07) - 0.114 (0.07)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Homeownership rate			- 1.935 (1.71)	- 3.960 (2.74)
Rent-to-income ratio			2.217 (3.30)	- 1.872 (5.54)
Housing vacancy rate			4.261 (2.30)	4.960 (3.50)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				3.432 (4.50)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				2.799 (4.15)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				5.363 (9.23)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				5.885 (7.67)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				- 0.065 (5.79)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				- 1.232 (5.72)
Constant	- 2.187 (0.04)	- 2.258 (0.16)	- 1.791 (1.55)	0.268 (2.56)
BIC	8264.831	8348.377	8348.778	8401.361

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Exhibit F.7: Logistic Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Recently Mobile Renter First Heard of the New Dwelling in a Newspaper

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference: White)				
Black	0.544 (0.10)	0.270 (0.11)	0.260 (0.11)	20.321 (5.28)
Latino	- 0.203 (0.11)	- 0.230 (0.13)	- 0.184 (0.13)	- 4.549 (6.61)
Education (reference: < high school)				
High school degree		- 0.023 (0.12)	- 0.015 (0.12)	- 0.005 (0.12)
College degree		- 0.421 (0.16)	- 0.404 (0.16)	- 0.375 (0.16)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5-10k		0.098 (0.19)	0.078 (0.19)	0.083 (0.19)
10-15k		- 0.009 (0.19)	- 0.024 (0.19)	- 0.016 (0.19)
15-20k		0.225 (0.18)	0.213 (0.18)	0.219 (0.19)
20-30k		- 0.228 (0.17)	- 0.244 (0.17)	- 0.242 (0.17)
30-40k		0.002 (0.18)	- 0.011 (0.18)	- 0.004 (0.18)
40-50k		- 0.161 (0.20)	- 0.165 (0.20)	- 0.155 (0.20)
50-60k		- 0.044 (0.21)	- 0.040 (0.21)	- 0.029 (0.21)
60-70k		- 0.695 (0.28)	- 0.692 (0.29)	- 0.679 (0.29)
70-80k		- 0.476 (0.27)	- 0.470 (0.27)	- 0.474 (0.27)
80-90k		- 0.872 (0.37)	- 0.854 (0.37)	- 0.828 (0.37)
90-100k		- 0.634 (0.39)	- 0.619 (0.39)	- 0.626 (0.39)
100-125k		- 0.734 (0.34)	- 0.707 (0.34)	- 0.682 (0.34)
125-150k		- 1.673 (0.60)	- 1.655 (0.60)	- 1.623 (0.60)
150k+		- 1.227 (0.41)	- 1.189 (0.42)	- 1.122 (0.42)
Age				
		0.010 (0.00)	0.010 (0.00)	0.011 (0.00)
Female (1=yes)				
		0.256 (0.09)	0.249 (0.09)	0.244 (0.09)
Married (1=yes)				
		0.295 (0.10)	0.296 (0.10)	0.297 (0.11)
Foreign born (1=yes)				
		- 0.457 (0.15)	- 0.424 (0.15)	- 0.432 (0.15)
Involuntary move (1=yes)				
		- 0.207 (0.16)	- 0.204 (0.16)	- 0.213 (0.16)
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)				
		0.008 (0.14)	0.004 (0.14)	-0.007 (0.14)
Access to car (1=yes)				
		- 0.066	- 0.058	- 0.055

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Single-family building (1=yes)		(0.10) 0.125 (0.10)	(0.10) 0.122 (0.10)	(0.10) 0.131 (0.10)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Homeownership rate			4.553 (2.46)	10.666 (3.56)
Rent-to-income ratio			5.505 (4.96)	15.611 (7.38)
Housing vacancy rate			- 5.739 (3.37)	- 11.334 (4.92)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				- 21.230 (5.63)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				3.798 (7.52)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				- 43.317 (11.72)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				14.727 (13.93)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				24.348 (7.53)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				- 11.421 (11.10)
Constant	- 2.936 (0.06)	- 3.091 (0.23)	- 6.638 (2.27)	- 12.146 (3.35)
BIC	4502.178	4603.566	4624.901	4654.210

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Exhibit F.8: Logistic Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Recently Mobile Householder First Heard About the New Dwelling From an Agent

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference: White)				
Black	0.020 (0.11)	0.259 (0.12)	0.261 (0.12)	6.831 (5.71)
Latino	-0.603 (0.12)	-0.416** (0.14)	-0.435 (0.14)	7.427 (6.80)
Education (reference: < high school)				
High school degree		0.006 (0.15)	-0.001 (0.15)	0.007 (0.15)
College degree		0.059 (0.17)	0.062 (0.17)	0.073 (0.17)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5-10k		-0.392 (0.25)	-0.391 (0.25)	-0.395 (0.25)
10-15k		-0.329 (0.23)	-0.332 (0.23)	-0.325 (0.23)
15-20k		-0.493 (0.25)	-0.505 (0.25)	-0.500 (0.25)
20-30k		-0.430 (0.20)	-0.439 (0.20)	-0.439 (0.20)
30-40k		-0.141 (0.20)	-0.150 (0.20)	-0.140 (0.20)
40-50k		0.021 (0.21)	0.015 (0.21)	0.015 (0.21)
50-60k		-0.126 (0.23)	-0.137 (0.23)	-0.131 (0.23)
60-70k		0.206 (0.23)	0.198 (0.23)	0.200 (0.23)
70-80k		0.057 (0.24)	0.049 (0.24)	0.061 (0.24)
80-90k		0.288 (0.26)	0.268 (0.26)	0.266 (0.26)
90-100k		0.344 (0.28)	0.326 (0.28)	0.313 (0.28)
100-125k		0.294 (0.25)	0.293 (0.25)	0.290 (0.26)
125-150k		0.247 (0.29)	0.229 (0.29)	0.234 (0.29)
150k+		0.629 (0.23)	0.625 (0.24)	0.621 (0.24)
<hr/>				
Married (1=yes)		0.122 (0.10)	0.109 (0.10)	0.101 (0.10)
Foreign born (1=yes)		-0.107 (0.14)	-0.104 (0.14)	-0.095 (0.14)
Age		0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)
Female (1=yes)		-0.105 (0.09)	-0.103 (0.09)	-0.107 (0.09)
Involuntary move (1=yes)		-0.093 (0.17)	-0.099 (0.17)	-0.095 (0.17)
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)		0.174 (0.18)	0.171 (0.18)	0.164 (0.18)
Access to car (1=yes)		0.289	0.284	0.296

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
		(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Single-family building (1=yes)		0.236	0.232	0.231
		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Homeownership rate			3.741	7.262
			(2.63)	(3.51)
Rent-to-income ratio			8.725	19.448
			(5.26)	(7.15)
Housing vacancy rate			- 4.425	- 7.295
			(3.55)	(4.67)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				- 5.419
				(6.11)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				- 5.308
				(7.73)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				- 17.930
				(12.60)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				- 22.978
				(14.22)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				5.183
				- 8.23
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				2.51
				- 10.93
Constant	- 2.778	- 3.113	- 6.833	- 10.999
	(0.06)	(0.25)	(2.43)	(3.29)
BIC	4324.414	4464.401	4489.316	4534.719

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Exhibit F.9: Logistic Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Recently Mobile Householder First Heard of the New Dwelling From Online Sources

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference: White)				
Black	- 1.131 (0.07)	- 0.711 (0.07)	- 0.669 (0.07)	0.146 (3.83)
Latino	- 1.008 (0.06)	- 0.526 (0.07)	- 0.585 (0.07)	- 6.543 (3.59)
Education (reference: < high school)				
High school degree		0.620 (0.10)	0.600 (0.10)	0.605 (0.10)
College degree		1.286 (0.10)	1.255 (0.11)	1.255 (0.11)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5-10k		- 0.083 (0.15)	- 0.064 (0.15)	- 0.071 (0.15)
10-15k		- 0.099 (0.14)	- 0.083 (0.14)	- 0.085 (0.14)
15-20k		- 0.164 (0.14)	- 0.138 (0.14)	- 0.144 (0.14)
20-30k		0.117 (0.11)	0.129 (0.11)	0.131 (0.11)
30-40k		0.330 (0.12)	0.333 (0.12)	0.330 (0.12)
40-50k		0.230 (0.12)	0.212 (0.12)	0.210 (0.12)
50-60k		0.454 (0.13)	0.430 (0.13)	0.426 (0.13)
60-70k		0.558 (0.13)	0.517 (0.13)	0.506 (0.13)
70-80k		0.449 (0.14)	0.415 (0.14)	0.415 (0.14)
80-90k		0.713 (0.15)	0.647 (0.15)	0.653 (0.15)
90-100k		0.500 (0.17)	0.446 (0.17)	0.441 (0.17)
100-125k		0.769 (0.15)	0.704 (0.15)	0.701 (0.15)
125-150k		0.706 (0.17)	0.615 (0.17)	0.613 (0.17)
150k+		0.796 (0.14)	0.674 (0.14)	0.666 (0.14)
Age		- 0.025 (0.00)	- 0.026 (0.00)	- 0.026 (0.00)
Female (1=yes)		0.099 (0.05)	0.106 (0.05)	0.109 (0.05)
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Married (1=yes)		0.080 (0.06)	0.083 (0.06)	0.086 (0.06)
Foreign born (1=yes)		- 0.329 (0.08)	- 0.381 (0.08)	- 0.371 (0.08)
Involuntary move (1=yes)		0.226 (0.09)	0.233 (0.09)	0.233 (0.09)
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)		- 0.487 (0.13)	- 0.487 (0.13)	- 0.493 (0.13)
Access to car (1=yes)		0.095 (0.06)	0.093 (0.06)	0.090 (0.06)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Single-family building (1=yes)		- 0.031 (0.06)	0.026 (0.06)	0.025 (0.06)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Homeownership rate			- 3.111 (1.49)	- 4.003 (1.87)
Rent-to-income ratio			- 3.192 (2.99)	- 4.782 (3.85)
Housing vacancy rate			- 1.304 (1.98)	- 0.450 (2.41)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				- 1.363 (4.12)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				7.468 (4.10)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				1.315 (8.37)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				9.584 (7.50)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				- 1.500 (5.50)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				- 7.682 (5.82)
Constant	- 0.691 (0.03)	- 1.085 (0.15)	1.744 (1.39)	2.561 (1.77)
BIC	11345.261	10728.223	10711.391	10755.417

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Exhibit F.10: Logistic Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Stopped Searching Because Happy With Unit

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
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Race (reference: White)				
Black	- 0.466 (0.070)	- 0.243 (0.076)	- 0.232 (0.076)	- 8.420 (3.851)
Latino	- 0.322 (0.062)	- 0.164 (0.077)	- 0.157 (0.078)	- 3.053 (3.543)
Education (reference: < high school)				
High school degree		0.165 (0.076)	0.164 (0.076)	0.164 (0.077)
College degree		0.236 (0.097)	0.230 (0.098)	0.223 (0.098)
Income (reference: <\$5k)				
5-10k		0.090 (0.132)	0.096 (0.132)	0.094 (0.132)
10-15k		0.180 (0.123)	0.189 (0.123)	0.188 (0.124)
15-20k		0.357 (0.128)	0.382 (0.128)	0.381 (0.128)
20-30k		0.332 (0.107)	0.341 (0.107)	0.349 (0.107)
30-40k		0.578 (0.122)	0.588 (0.122)	0.588 (0.122)
40-50k		0.526 (0.125)	0.523 (0.125)	0.530 (0.125)
50-60k		0.431 (0.139)	0.426 (0.139)	0.428 (0.140)
60-70k		0.610 (0.157)	0.598 (0.157)	0.601 (0.158)
70-80k		0.638 (0.158)	0.629 (0.158)	0.627 (0.159)
80-90k		0.727 (0.204)	0.708 (0.204)	0.698 (0.205)
90-100k		0.887 (0.240)	0.894 (0.241)	0.908 (0.242)
100-125k		0.693 (0.183)	0.666 (0.183)	0.654 (0.184)
125-150k		0.747 (0.236)	0.728 (0.237)	0.700 (0.237)
150k+		0.820 (0.192)	0.775 (0.193)	0.742 (0.193)
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Age		0.005 (0.002)	0.005 (0.002)	0.005 (0.002)
Female (1=yes)		- 0.032 (0.057)	- 0.030 (0.057)	- 0.031 (0.057)
Married (1=yes)		- 0.090 (0.066)	- 0.083 (0.067)	- 0.082 (0.067)
Foreign born (1=yes)		- 0.024 (0.080)	- 0.051 (0.081)	- 0.056 (0.081)
Involuntary move (1=yes)		- 0.727 (0.103)	- 0.710 (0.103)	- 0.708 (0.103)
Receives housing assistance (1=yes)		- 0.129 (0.099)	- 0.121 (0.099)	- 0.118 (0.099)
Access to car (1=yes)		0.096	0.094	0.097

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Single-family building (1=yes)		(0.064) 0.195 (0.065)	(0.064) 0.235 (0.066)	(0.065) 0.238 (0.067)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Homeownership rate			- 3.973 (1.613)	- 6.775 (2.387)
Rent-to-income ratio			- 8.429 (3.197)	- 13.623 (4.916)
Housing vacancy rate			1.793 (2.156)	2.606 (3.082)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				8.293 (4.093)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				3.116 (3.991)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				15.447 (8.499)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				4.683 (7.448)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				- 3.296 (5.300)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				- 0.546 (5.516)
Constant	0.459 (0.039)	- 0.360 (0.143)	3.719 (1.484)	6.498 (2.251)
BIC	7802.293	7834.662	7845.037	7886.616

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Exhibit F.11: Logit Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Moved to a Different Housing Unit Between 2-Year Interviews

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Race (reference = White)			
Black	- 0.229 (0.042)	- 0.190 (0.045)	1.760 (1.018)
Latino	- 0.246 (0.081)	- 0.285 (0.088)	- 2.316 (1.732)
Education of head		- 0.012 (0.008)	- 0.016 (0.008)
Family income (thousands in dollars)		0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Age of householder		- 0.046 (0.002)	- 0.046 (0.002)
Female householder (1=yes)		0.058 (0.055)	0.060 (0.055)
Married or cohabiting (1=yes)		0.001 (0.056)	0.010 (0.056)
Whether children in house (1=yes)		- 0.221 (0.043)	- 0.208 (0.043)
Receiving housing assistance (1=yes)		- 0.271 (0.049)	- 0.281 (0.049)
Year of observation		0.081 (0.004)	0.082 (0.004)
Metropolitan-area variables			
Housing vacancy rate		- 0.001 (0.005)	- 0.007 (0.007)
Homeownership rate		0.014 (0.005)	0.014 (0.007)
Rent-to-income ratio		0.295 (1.215)	3.932 (1.782)
Interactions			
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black			0.011 (0.011)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino			- 0.008 (0.031)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black			- 0.011 (0.010)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino			0.056 (0.021)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black			- 7.316 (2.611)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino			- 6.366 (4.124)
Constant	0.202 (0.030)	- 161.268 (7.245)	- 162.750 (7.263)
BIC	26371.654	24039.458	24035.813

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1997–2011

Exhibit F.12: Logit Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether Residential Move Was to a Different Neighborhood

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference = White)				
Black	-0.143 (0.046)	-0.056 (0.052)	-0.082 (0.053)	2.575 (1.188)
Latino	-0.232 (0.091)	-0.260 (0.097)	-0.330 (0.102)	0.547 (1.999)
Education of head		0.019 (0.010)	0.016 (0.010)	0.015 (0.010)
Family income (thousands in dollars)		0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Age of householder		-0.034 (0.002)	-0.034 (0.002)	-0.034 (0.002)
Female householder (1=yes)		-0.003 (0.062)	-0.002 (0.062)	0.003 (0.062)
Married or cohabiting (1=yes)		-0.098 (0.066)	-0.085 (0.066)	-0.080 (0.066)
Whether children in house (1=yes)		-0.121 (0.052)	-0.114 (0.052)	-0.112 (0.052)
Receiving housing assistance (1=yes)		-0.357 (0.062)	-0.360 (0.062)	-0.364 (0.062)
Year of observation		0.083 (0.005)	0.084 (0.005)	0.084 (0.005)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Housing vacancy rate			-0.032 (0.006)	-0.036 (0.007)
Homeownership rate			0.014 (0.006)	0.023 (0.008)
Rent-to-income ratio			4.064 (1.396)	7.780 (1.929)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				0.006 (0.013)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				-0.017 (0.035)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				-0.022 (0.012)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				0.015 (0.023)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				-6.648 (3.023)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				-8.065 (4.891)
Constant	0.103 (0.032)	-165.825 (9.903)	-167.912 (9.929)	-170.069 (9.942)
BIC	13705.910	13027.032	13020.245	13059.665

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Recent movers in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1997–2011

Exhibit F.13: Logit Coefficients and Standard Errors From Regression Analysis of Whether an Expected Move Was Not Carried Out

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Race (reference = White)				
Black	0.438 (0.053)	0.329 (0.058)	0.304 (0.059)	- 0.909 (1.314)
Latino	0.399 (0.097)	0.479 (0.100)	0.343 (0.104)	1.937 (2.090)
Education of head		0.021 (0.010)	0.018 (0.010)	0.020 (0.010)
Family income (thousands in dollars)		0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Age of householder		0.042 (0.002)	0.042 (0.002)	0.042 (0.002)
Female householder (1=yes)		- 0.080 (0.068)	- 0.075 (0.068)	- 0.079 (0.068)
Married or cohabiting (1=yes)		- 0.196 (0.071)	- 0.188 (0.071)	- 0.192 (0.071)
Whether children in house (1=yes)		0.192 (0.057)	0.204 (0.057)	0.196 (0.057)
Receiving housing assistance (1=yes)		0.343 (0.068)	0.335 (0.067)	0.342 (0.068)
Year of observation		- 0.057 (0.006)	- 0.057 (0.006)	- 0.057 (0.006)
Metropolitan-area variables				
Housing vacancy rate			- 0.012 (0.007)	- 0.008 (0.009)
Homeownership rate			- 0.005 (0.006)	- 0.006 (0.009)
Rent-to-income ratio			2.675 (1.526)	0.165 (2.305)
Interactions				
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Black				- 0.008 (0.015)
Metropolitan-area vacancy rate x Latino				0.029 (0.038)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Black				0.006 (0.013)
Metropolitan-area homeownership rate x Latino				- 0.042 (0.026)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Black				4.727 (3.357)
Metropolitan-area rent-to-income ratio x Latino				3.400 (4.877)
Constant	- 0.885 (0.039)	111.895 (11.469)	110.986 (11.492)	111.618 (11.500)
BIC	2899.919	12281.533	12289.420	12332.370

BIC = Bayesian information criterion.

Source: Renters in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1997–2011

Exhibit F.14A: Bivariate Correlation Coefficients for Selected Aspects of the Housing Search

Reason for move	Reason for Move		
	Forced	Closer to Job or School	Get Better Quality
Forced	1		
Closer to job or school	- 0.1427	1	
Get better quality	- 0.0678	- 0.1691	1
Method of search			
Word of mouth	- 0.0149	- 0.053	0.0135
Online	- 0.0088	0.133	- 0.0239
Saw a sign	0.0237	- 0.046	0.0244
Number of units searched	0.0224	0.0572	- 0.0342
Searched other neighborhoods	0.0245	0.0572	- 0.0126
Constrained choice	0.0331	0.0361	- 0.0382
Rating of unit	- 0.047	- 0.0066	0.0513
Rating of neighborhood	-0.0252	0.0162	0.0432

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Exhibit F.14B: Bivariate Correlation Coefficients for Selected Aspects of the Housing Search

Method of Search	Method of Search						
	Word of Mouth	Online	Saw a Sign	Number of Units Searched	Searched Other Neighborhoods	Constrained Choice	Rating of Unit
Method of search							
Word of mouth	1						
Online	- 0.4048	1					
Saw a sign	- 0.2806	0.2249	1				
Number of units searched	- 0.1335	0.1517	0.0082	1			
Searched other neighborhoods	- 0.1667	0.2017	0.0453	0.3052	1		
Constrained choice	0.0568	0.0063	0.0159	0.0163	0.0176	1	
Rating of unit	0.0037	0.0113	0.0056	- 0.0388	- 0.0337	- 0.1346	1
Rating of neighborhood	- 0.0028	0.0311	0.0086	- 0.0316	- 0.0236	- 0.1248	0.5924

Source: Recent movers in the American Housing Survey, 2011

Appendix G. Regression Analysis of Racial and Ethnic Differences in Factors That May Shape Housing Searches

Racial Differences in Importance of Housing Unit and Neighborhood Search Criteria

Exhibit G.1: Baseline Importance, Quality of Schools

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.987***	(0.29)
Low-income	0.423	(0.35)
Medium-income	- 0.067	(0.33)
Age	- 0.016	(0.01)
Female	0.178	(0.27)
Children	3.396***	(0.51)
Cut1		
Constant	- 0.253	(0.48)
Cut2		
Constant	0.866	(0.48)
Cut3		
Constant	1.581**	(0.49)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"very important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.2: Baseline Importance, Quality of Schools

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.340***	(0.27)
Cut1		
Constant	0.106	(0.22)
Cut2		
Constant	1.043***	(0.23)
Cut3		
Constant	1.556***	(0.24)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"very important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.3: Baseline Importance, Safety of Neighborhood

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	2.084***	(0.44)
Low-income	0.456	(0.54)
Medium-income	0.827	(0.48)
Age	0.028	(0.02)
Female	1.264**	(0.43)
Children	0.172	(0.70)
Cut1		
Constant	- 1.421	(0.85)
Cut2		
Constant	1.709*	(0.72)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"very important." No participant listed "not at all important" so estimates are not available.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.4: Baseline Importance, Safety of Neighborhood

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	2.409***	(0.41)
Cut1		
Constant	- 3.332***	(0.59)
Cut2		
Constant	- 0.416	(0.24)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"very important." No participant listed "not at all important" so estimates are not available.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.5: Baseline Importance, Security of the Building

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	2.113***	(0.44)
Low-income	0.403	(0.50)
Medium-income	1.424**	(0.49)
Age	0.030*	(0.02)
Female	0.685	(0.41)
Children	- 0.324	(0.60)
Cut1		
Constant	- 1.47	(0.85)
Cut2		
Constant	- 0.564	(0.73)
Cut3		
Constant	1.657*	(0.70)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"Very important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.6: Baseline Importance, Security of the Building

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	2.301***	(0.39)
Cut1		
Constant	- 3.364***	(0.60)
Cut2		
Constant	- 2.482***	(0.41)
Cut3		
Constant	- 0.421	(0.24)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"Very important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Changes in the Importance of Unit and Neighborhood Search Criteria

Exhibit G.7: Change in Importance, Safety of Neighborhood

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 0.788	(0.52)
Low-income	- 1.623*	(0.65)
Medium-income	- 1.367*	(0.62)
Age	0.024	(0.02)
Female	0.108	(0.46)
Children	0.798	(0.56)
Cut1		
Constant	- 3.298***	(0.92)
Cut2		
Constant	2.913**	(0.89)
N	227	(0.52)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the three ordered categories: 1—"less important"; 2—"no change"; and 3—"more important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.8: Change in Importance, Safety of Neighborhood

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 0.753	(0.50)
Cut1		
Constant	- 3.242***	(0.50)
Cut2		
Constant	2.583***	(0.44)
N	227	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the three ordered categories: 1—"less important"; 2—"no change"; and 3—"more important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.9: Change in Importance, Security of the Building

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 0.562	(0.48)
Low income	- 0.156	(0.57)
Medium income	- 0.334	(0.54)
Age	0.019	(0.02)
Female	0.77	(0.45)
Children	0.24	(0.52)
Cut1		
Constant	- 1.907*	(0.79)
Cut2		
Constant	3.665***	(0.86)
N	227	(0.48)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the three ordered categories: 1—"less important"; 2—"no change"; and 3—"more important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.10: Change in Importance, Security of the Building

Current searcher, ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 0.342	(0.45)
Constant		
Cut2	- 2.838***	(0.44)
Constant		
N	2.562***	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the three ordered categories: 1—"less important"; 2—"no change"; and 3—"more important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Assessment of New Neighborhood Features as Compared With What Was Hoped For

Exhibit G.11: What About the Quality of the Schools in Your Current Neighborhood?

Recent mover, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.150*	(0.45)
Low-income	0.558	(0.60)
Medium-income	0.639	(0.49)
Age	0.038*	(0.02)
Female	0.135	(0.44)
Children	1.728***	(0.45)
Cut1		
Constant	3.583***	(0.84)
Cut2		
Constant	4.020***	(0.86)
Cut3		
Constant	5.135***	(0.91)
N	121	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: “Cut#” represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—“did that not matter to you”; 2—“not as good as you hoped for”; 3—“about what you hoped for”; and 4—“better than you hoped for.”

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.12: What About the Quality of the Schools in Your Current Neighborhood?

Recent mover, ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.271**	(0.40)
Cut1		
Constant	1.287***	(0.32)
Cut2		
Constant	1.647***	(0.34)
Cut3		
Constant	2.651***	(0.39)
N	121	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: “Cut#” represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—“did that not matter to you”; 2—“not as good as you hoped for”; 3—“about what you hoped for”; and 4—“better than you hoped for.”

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.13: Is This Housing Unit Better, Worse, or About the Same as Your Previous Home?

Recent mover, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.977*	(0.41)
Low-income	- 0.762	(0.56)
Medium-income	- 1.045*	(0.45)
Age	- 0.033*	(0.02)
Female	- 0.612	(0.38)
Children	0.187	(0.49)
Cut1		
Constant	- 3.579***	(0.75)
Cut2		
Constant	- 2.108**	(0.71)
N	130	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: “Cut#” represent the cut points of the estimation for the three ordered categories: 1—“worse”; 2—“about the same”; and 3—“better”.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.14: Is This Housing Unit Better, Worse, or About the Same as Your Previous Home?

Recent mover, ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.49	(0.35)
Cut1		
Constant	- 1.524***	(0.30)
Cut2		
Constant	- 0.153	(0.26)
N	131	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.15: How About Your Current Neighborhood’s Location Near Friends or Family?

Recent mover, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 0.213	(0.36)
Low-income	0.258	(0.50)
Medium-income	0.007	(0.38)
Age	- 0.011	(0.01)
Female	0.324	(0.34)
Children	0.009	(0.40)
Cut1		
Constant	- 1.424*	(0.64)
Cut2		
Constant	- 0.624	(0.63)
Cut3		
Constant	0.849	(0.63)
N	130	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: “Cut#” represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—“did that not matter to you”; 2—“not as good as you hoped for”; 3—“about what you hoped for”; and 4—“better than you hoped for.”

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.16

How About Your Current Neighborhood’s Location Near Friends or Family?

Recent mover, ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 0.215	(0.32)
Cut1		
Constant	- 1.248***	(0.27)
Cut2		
Constant	- 0.468	(0.24)
Cut3		
Constant	0.982***	(0.25)
N	131	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: “Cut#” represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—“did that not matter to you”; 2—“not as good as you hoped for”; 3—“about what you hoped for”; and 4—“better than you hoped for.”

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Baseline Racial Differences in the Importance of Treatment by Landlords

Exhibit G.17: Responsiveness of the Landlord or Management Company to Respondent's Concerns

Recent movers, ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.850***	(0.39)
Low-income	0.176	(0.47)
Medium-income	0.771	(0.45)
Age	0.013	(0.01)
Female	0.522	(0.38)
Children	- 0.806	(0.47)
Cut1		
Constant	- 2.511**	(0.82)
Cut2		
Constant	- 1.613*	(0.70)
Cut3		
Constant	0.668	(0.64)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"Very important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.18: Responsiveness of the Landlord or Management Company to Respondent's Concerns

Recent movers ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.819***	(0.35)
Cut1		
Constant	- 3.475***	(0.60)
Cut2		
Constant	- 2.591***	(0.41)
Cut3		
Constant	- 0.379	(0.24)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: "Cut#" represent the cut points of the estimation for the four ordered categories: 1—"not at all important"; 2—"not very important"; 3—"somewhat important"; and 4—"Very important."

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.19: Change in Importance—Responsiveness of the Landlord or Management Company to Respondent’s Concerns

Recent movers ordered logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	– 0.305	(0.39)
Low-income	0.545	(0.47)
Medium-income	0.318	(0.44)
Age	0.012	(0.01)
Female	– 0.352	(0.36)
Children	0.948*	(0.43)
Cut1		
Constant	– 1.501*	(0.66)
Cut2		
Constant	2.998***	(0.70)
N	227	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: “Cut#” represent the cut points of the estimation for the three ordered categories: 1—“less important”; 2—“no change”; and 3—“more important.”

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.20: Change in Importance—Responsiveness of the Landlord or Management Company to Respondent’s Concerns

Recent movers ordered logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	– 0.036	(0.37)
Cut1		
Constant	– 2.072***	(0.35)
Cut2		
Constant	2.257***	(0.36)
N	227	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: “Cut#” represent the cut points of the estimation for the three ordered categories: 1—“less important”; 2—“no change”; and 3—“more important.”

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Racial Differences in How Searchers Inquire About Units

Exhibit G.21

Primary Method of Inquiry About Units

Recent movers, multinomial logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
email		
Black	-0.931	(0.49)
Low-income	-0.794	(0.71)
Medium-income	0.084	(0.55)
Age	-0.013	(0.02)
Female	-0.135	(0.49)
Children	-1.12	(0.60)
Constant	1.322	(0.89)
Phone		
Black	0	(.)
Low-income	0	(.)
Medium-income	0	(.)
Age	0	(.)
Female	0	(.)
Children	0	(.)
Constant	0	(.)
In-person visit		
Black	-0.413	(0.64)
Low-income	-1.808*	(0.87)
Medium-income	-1.16	(0.67)
Age	0.014	(0.02)
Female	-0.533	(0.62)
Children	-1.403	(0.85)
Constant	0.285	(1.07)
All other methods		
Black	0.708	(1.09)
Low-income	-0.741	(1.22)
Medium-income	-1.323	(1.24)
Age	-0.064	(0.05)
Female	-1.578	(0.98)
Children	-0.019	(1.00)
Constant	1.171	(1.86)
N	116	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.22: Racial Differences in How Searchers Inquire About Units

Recent movers, multinomial logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
email		
Black	- 1.188**	(0.44)
Constant	0.56	(0.31)
Phone		
Black	0	(.)
Constant	0	(.)
In-person visit		
Black	- 0.829	(0.55)
Constant	- 0.375	(0.39)
All other methods		
Black	0.065	(0.92)
Constant	- 2.079**	(0.75)
N	116	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Reports of Housing Discrimination Based on Race or Ethnicity

Exhibit G.23: Did You Ever Feel You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent or Landlord Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.666**	(0.56)
Low-income	- 0.027	(0.51)
Medium-income	0.212	(0.48)
Age	- 0.004	(0.01)
Female	- 0.133	(0.35)
Children	- 0.339	(0.40)
Constant	- 2.911***	(0.74)
N	330	(0.56)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.24: Did You Ever Feel You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent or Landlord Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current Searcher, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.586**	(0.54)
Constant	- 3.068***	(0.51)
N	333	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.25: Did You Ever Feel That a Rental Agent or Landlord Was Showing You Only Units in Certain Neighborhoods Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.523***	(0.43)
Low-income	- 0.537	(0.41)
Medium-income	- 0.656	(0.39)
Age	0.004	(0.01)
Female	- 0.645*	(0.30)
Children	0.996**	(0.32)
Constant	- 1.923***	(0.58)
N	333	(0.43)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.26: Did You Ever Feel That a Rental Agent or Landlord Was Showing You Only Units in Certain Neighborhoods Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.464***	(0.40)
Constant	- 2.327***	(0.37)
N	336	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.27: Did You Ever Feel That Other Residents in the Building or Neighborhoods Visited Treated You Unfairly Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.998**	(0.64)
Low-income	0.076	(0.52)
Medium-income	0.057	(0.49)
Age	- 0.023	(0.01)
Female	- 0.331	(0.36)
Children	0.145	(0.38)
Constant	- 2.443**	(0.78)
N	333	(0.64)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.28: Did You Ever Feel That Other Residents in the Building or Neighborhoods Visited Treated You Unfairly Because Of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.815**	(0.61)
Constant	- 3.367***	(0.59)
N	336	

$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Reports of Housing Discrimination Based on Race or Ethnicity

Exhibit G.29: Count of Explicitly Racial Housing Search Outcomes

Current searcher, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.506***	(0.11)
Low-income	-0.075	(0.14)
Medium-income	-0.071	(0.13)
Age	-0.003	(0.00)
Female	-0.162	(0.10)
Children	0.167	(0.12)
Constant	0.384*	(0.18)
N	335	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.30: Count of Explicitly Racial Housing Search Outcomes

Current searcher, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.483***	(0.17)
Constant	0.167	(0.09)
N	338	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Reports of Perceived Housing Discrimination Based on Race or Ethnicity

Exhibit G.31: Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Recent mover, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0	(omitted)
Low-income	4.877	(350.25)
Medium-income	5.333	(350.25)
Age	0.013	(0.02)
Female	0.794	(0.52)
Children	0.88	(0.54)
Constant	- 7.412	(350.25)
N	68	

$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: No White respondents indicated 'yes' to this question.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.32: Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Recent mover, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0	(omitted)
Constant	- 1.115***	(0.19)
N	68	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Notes: No White respondents indicated 'yes' to this question. Unable to test differences by race.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.33: Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Recent mover, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.107*	(0.48)
Low-income	- 0.298	(0.50)
Medium-income	- 0.135	(0.42)
Age	0.009	(0.01)
Female	- 0.051	(0.37)
Children	- 0.101	(0.44)
Constant	- 2.324***	(0.68)
N	129	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.34: Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Recent mover, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.070*	(0.44)
Constant	- 2.128***	(0.40)
N	129	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Recent mover, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.608	(0.52)
Low-income	0.44	(0.59)
Medium-income	- 0.127	(0.58)
Age	- 0.014	(0.02)
Female	- 0.195	(0.42)
Children	0.305	(0.46)
Constant	- 1.623*	(0.82)
N	129	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.36: Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Recent mover, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.685	(0.49)
Constant	- 2.135***	(0.40)
N	129	

$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Exhibit G.37: Count of Perceived Racial Biases During the Search

Recent mover, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.284*	(0.11)
Low-income	0.084	(0.15)
Medium-income	0.082	(0.12)
Age	0.002	(0.00)
Female	0.014	(0.11)
Children	0.08	(0.13)
Constant	- 0.083	(0.19)
N	129	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.38: Count of Perceived Racial Biases During the Search

Recent mover, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.320**	(0.10)
Constant	0.033	(0.07)
N	129	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.39: Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, probit regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.713	- 0.562
Low-income	4.287	- 283.301
Medium-income	4.602	- 283.301
Age	0.002	- 0.015
Female	0.127	- 0.431
Children	- 0.88	- 0.535
Constant	- 6.26	- 283.302
N	106	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.40: Did You Ever Feel That You Were Denied Housing Because the Rental Agent Didn't Want To Rent to You Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, probit regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.487	(0.49)
Constant	- 1.769***	(0.45)
N	106	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.41: Did You Ever Feel That a Rental Agent or Landlord Was Showing You Only Units in Certain Neighborhoods Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, probit regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.532	(0.53)
Low-income	0.279	(0.60)
Medium-income	0.481	(0.56)
Age	- 0.009	(0.02)
Female	- 0.101	(0.43)
Children	- 0.254	(0.48)
Constant	- 1.676*	(0.84)
N	106	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.42: Did You Ever Feel That a Rental Agent or Landlord Was Showing You Only Units in Certain Neighborhoods Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, probit regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.413	(0.49)
Constant	- 1.769***	(0.45)
N	106	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.43: Did You Ever Feel That the Other Residents in the Buildings or Neighborhoods That You Visited Treated You Unfairly Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, probit regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.321	(0.76)
Low-income	0	(omitted)
Medium-income	0	(omitted)
Age	- 0.002	(0.03)
Female	0	(omitted)
Children	0	(omitted)
Constant	- 0.743	(1.37)
N	15	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: A very limited sample reported 'yes' to this question, so we were unable to test differences across income, gender, and presence of children variables.

Source: Housing Search Study survey, recent movers, 2016

Exhibit G.44: Did You Ever Feel That the Other Residents in the Buildings or Neighborhoods That You Visited Treated You Unfairly Because of Your Race or Ethnicity?

Current searcher, probit regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 0.012	(0.52)
Constant	- 1.769***	(0.45)
N	106	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.45: Count of Explicitly Racial Housing Search Outcomes

Current searcher, OLS regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.176	(0.14)
Low-income	0.122	(0.17)
Medium-income	0.308	(0.16)
Age	- 0.001	(0.01)
Female	0.082	(0.13)
Children	- 0.27	(0.15)
Constant	- 0.047	(0.23)
N	106	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G. 46: Count of Explicitly Racial Housing Search Outcomes

Current searcher, OLS regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.11	(0.13)
Constant	0.115	(0.12)
N	106	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Reason for Search Difficulty

Exhibit G.47: Difficult Finding a Landlord Who Would Rent to You

Recent movers, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.767**	(0.61)
Low-income	0.816	(0.72)
Medium-income	0.375	(0.68)
Age	- 0.004	(0.02)
Female	- 1.517**	(0.57)
Children	0.971	(0.61)
Constant	- 1.508	(0.98)
N	91	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G48: Difficult Finding a Landlord Who Would Rent to You

Recent movers, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.652**	(0.53)
Constant	- 1.819***	(0.44)
N	91	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.49: Difficult Finding a Landlord Who Would Rent to You

Current searcher, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.065	(0.63)
Low-income	2.587**	(0.86)
Medium-income	1.613	(0.85)
Age	0.014	(0.02)
Female	- 0.312	(0.58)
Children	- 0.464	(0.62)
Constant	- 3.460**	(1.20)
N	96	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.50: Difficult Finding a Landlord Who Would Rent to You

Current searcher, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.370*	(0.55)
Constant	- 1.723***	(0.49)
N	96	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.51: Respondents Felt They Were Treated Unfairly During a Visit Because of Their Race or Ethnicity

Current searcher, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.462	(0.61)
Low-income	0.346	(0.67)
Medium-income	0.068	(0.66)
Age	0.019	(0.02)
Female	0.752	(0.52)
Children	- 0.329	(0.58)
Constant	- 3.812***	(1.01)
N	201	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.52: Respondents Felt They Were Treated Unfairly During a Visit Because of Their Race or Ethnicity

Current searcher, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.677	(0.57)
Constant	- 2.526***	(0.52)
N	201	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Racial Differences in Credit History

Exhibit G.53: Respondents Report of Search Difficulty Because of Their Poor Credit History

Recent movers, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.797*	(0.71)
Low-income	1.049	(0.78)
Medium-income	0.525	(0.75)
Age	0.021	(0.02)
Female	- 0.891	(0.54)
Children	0.264	(0.63)
Constant	- 3.768***	(1.08)
N	130	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.54: Respondents Felt They Had Search Difficulty Because of Their Poor Credit History

Recent movers, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.974**	(0.65)
Constant	- 2.962***	(0.59)
N	131	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.55: Respondents Felt They Had Search Difficulty Because of Their Poor Credit History

Current searchers, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.698*	(0.33)
Low-income	0.888*	(0.41)
Medium-income	0.658	(0.40)
Age	0.011	(0.01)
Female	0.203	(0.28)
Children	0.435	(0.30)
Constant	-2.687***	(0.56)
N	332	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.56: Respondents Felt They Had Search Difficulty Because of Their Poor Credit History

Current searchers, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.031***	(0.31)
Constant	-1.609***	(0.28)
N	335	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.57: Respondents Used People They Knew To Find Rentals That Did Not Require Credit Checks

Recent movers, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.277*	(0.64)
Low-income	1.32	(0.77)
Medium-income	0.652	(0.73)
Age	0.001	(0.02)
Female	0.088	(0.54)
Children	-0.505	(0.71)
Constant	-3.190**	(1.06)
N	130	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.58: Respondents Used People They Knew To Find Rentals That Did Not Require Credit Checks

Recent movers, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.520**	(0.59)
Constant	- 2.657***	(0.52)
N	131	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.59: Respondents Used People They Knew To Find Rentals That Did Not Require Credit Checks

Current searchers, logistic regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.47	(0.33)
Low-income	1.578***	(0.41)
Medium-income	1.021**	(0.38)
Age	0.02	(0.01)
Female	- 0.592	(0.31)
Children	- 0.005	(0.35)
Constant	- 1.752**	(0.55)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.60: Racial Differences in Credit History

Current searchers, logistic regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	0.641*	(0.29)
Constant	- 0.405	(0.24)
N	249	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Number of Units Contacted, Visited, and Applied To

Exhibit G.61: Number of Units for Which the Landlord Was Contacted To Find Out More Information

Recent movers, OLS regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 1.042	(1.36)
Low-income	0.881	(1.80)
Medium-income	1.791	(1.45)
Age	0.026	(0.05)
Female	0.939	(1.29)
Children	- 0.826	(1.56)
Constant	3.378	(2.31)
N	128	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.62: Number of Units for Which the Landlord Was Contacted To Find Out More Information

Recent movers, OLS regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- .601	(1.22)
Constant	5.483 ***	(0.34)
N	128	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.63: Number of Units Visited in Person During Search

Recent movers, OLS regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 1.380	(0.94)
Low-income	- 1.020	(1.25)
Medium-income	- 0.129	(1.00)
Age	0.062	(0.04)
Female	0.045	(0.89)
Children	- 0.727	(1.08)
Constant	3.908*	(1.59)
N	129	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.64: Number of Units Visited in Person During Search

Recent movers, OLS regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	- 1.245	(0.84)
Constant	5.672 ***	(0.61)
N	129	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G. 65: Mean Number of Units for Which Respondents Submitted Applications

Recent movers, OLS regression, multivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.593**	(0.51)
Low-income	0.594	(0.67)
Medium-income	0.334	(0.55)
Age	0.012	(0.02)
Female	- 1.235*	(0.48)
Children	- 0.078	(0.59)
Constant	1.504	(0.87)
N	125	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Exhibit G.66: Mean Number of Units for Which Respondents Submitted Applications

Recent movers, OLS regression, bivariate

	Coefficient	Std. Error
Black	1.626***	(0.47)
Constant	1.448***	(0.34)
N	125	

OLS = ordinary least squares.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Housing Search Study survey, 2016

Appendix H. Regression Analysis of Search Typologies

Exhibit H.1: OLS Regression of the Probability of Experiencing an Open Search

Individuals participating in the Recent Mover Survey

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coefficient	Std. error	Coefficient	Std. error
Black	0.038	(0.093)	0.051	(0.101)
Low-income			0.103	(0.134)
Medium-income			0.083	(0.111)
Age			- 0.005	(0.004)
Female			- 0.108	(0.098)
Constant	0.358***	(0.067)	0.543**	(0.176)
R2	0.002		0.040	
N	111		111	

** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Note: OLS = Ordinary Least Squares.

Exhibit H.2: OLS Regression of the Probability of Experiencing a High-Threshold Search

Individuals participating in the Recent Mover Survey

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coefficient	Std. error	Coefficient	Std. error
Black	- 0.308***	(0.073)	- 0.305***	(0.077)
Low-income			- 0.099	(0.103)
Medium-income			0.185*	(0.085)
Age			0.020	(0.075)
Female			0.003	(0.003)
Constant	0.377***	(0.053)	0.185	(0.135)
R2	0.140		0.218	
N	111		111	

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Exhibit H.3: OLS Regression of the Probability of Experiencing a Constrained Search

Individuals participating in the Recent Mover Survey

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coefficient	Std. error	Coefficient	Std. error
Black	0.270**	(0.091)	0.253**	(0.095)
Low-income			- 0.004	(0.127)
Medium-income			- 0.268*	(0.105)
Age			0.088	(0.093)
Female			0.002	(0.004)
Constant	0.264***	(0.065)	0.272	(0.167)
R2	0.076		0.160	
N	111		111	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix I. References

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