



DISCRIMINATION AGAINST FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN IN RENTAL HOUSING MARKETS: FINDINGS OF THE PILOT STUDY



HUD published two reports based on the 2014 pilot study on housing discrimination against families with children in rental housing markets: this report on the findings of the pilot study and an essay on alternative approaches to studying and monitoring housing discrimination in the future. The reports are available from HUDUSER.gov.

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Disclaimer

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Foreword

This report provides results of the first large paired-testing study of discrimination against families with children in the rental housing market. When the Fair Housing Act was amended in 1988 to prohibit discrimination in housing and lending transactions against families with children less than the age of 18, including homeseekers who are pregnant, much discussion focused on the limitations that age-restricted housing (“adult” and “senior” or retirement communities) placed on access to housing for families with children. In addition, some observers argued that excluding families was sometimes actually a ruse for excluding African-Americans. The highest percentage of fair housing complaints filed in 1990 after the amendments went into effect involved discrimination against families, and the number of familial status complaints hit a high point in 1993. Today, this report indicates that families with children are not treated very differently from families without children when they apply for rental housing.

Paired testing was designed to detect race-based discrimination by sending otherwise equally qualified applicants of different races (originally one White and one African-American) to apply for housing selected to represent a housing market. To detect discrimination, researchers look for differences in the treatment of African-American and White testers. This study adapted paired-testing methods to families with children. Comparing the treatment of testers with and without children across more than 600 tests in three different cities, the study found no evidence of outright refusal to rent to families with children and very few differences in treatment overall. In addition, the study found no differences by race in the likelihood of experiencing familial status discrimination. Families with children were steered toward larger units, however, an action that may increase costs and limit availability. Occupancy standards

that limit occupancy to two persons per bedroom may also affect the opportunities available to families with children if such standards prevent consideration of smaller units that—in light of family composition, room size, or cost—might still be acceptably sized from the family’s point of view.

Limitations of the study are that it focused on documenting discrimination when financially well-qualified families apply for rental housing and only at the first stage of a family’s search, the point at which an appointment with the rental agent is scheduled and available units are viewed. Thus, this study does not measure discrimination that may occur during a family’s rental tenure or even if the family succeeded in obtaining a lease. Families with children may encounter discrimination throughout a rental relationship. For instance, a recent study of evictions in one U.S. city found that the presence of children in the household nearly tripled a tenant’s likelihood of receiving an eviction judgment relative to other households with similar rent arrears.* Traditional matched-pair testing cannot identify such differences later in the rental relationship or determine whether they arise from discrimination or other factors.

Nevertheless, this report shows room for optimism, indicating that a typical family with one or two children likely will not experience direct refusals in their search for rental housing and that some increased flexibility regarding the unit size and occupancy could increase the rental housing available to families even more.



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* Desmond, Matthew. 2013. “Evicting Children,” *Social Forces* 92 (1): 303–327.

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Abstract

This pilot study adapted a well-established paired-testing methodology to examine discrimination against families with children in the rental housing market, developed preliminary estimates of this form of discrimination, and explored what family or housing characteristics might affect it. Data were collected via telephone and in-person paired tests in three metropolitan sites: Dallas, Texas; Dayton, Ohio; and Los Angeles, California. The pilot study relied on a multifactor design using data from 612 matched pairs of rental applicants. Key findings are that homeseekers with or without children are equally likely to get an appointment with a rental agent and learn about at

least one available housing unit. Compared with their childless counterparts, prospective renters with children were shown slightly fewer units and were told about units that were slightly larger, and, as a result, were slightly more expensive to rent. Other outcomes did not vary by the presence of a child. Differential treatment was greater in tests targeting one-bedroom units (versus larger units) and tests involving two-child families (versus one-child families). Other factors, including race/ethnicity and marital status of the tester and ages and sexes of the children, did not appear to affect systematically how families with children were treated in the rental housing market.

Executive Summary

In 1988, the Federal Fair Housing Act of 1968 was amended to protect pregnant women and families with children from discrimination in the housing market. These protections cover many forms of discrimination, including advertising housing as being for specific groups (for example, adults), claiming housing is unavailable when it is, varying the terms of a sale or rental in ways that favor one group more than another, or terminating tenancy for discriminatory reasons. Before such protections were in place, it was not uncommon for landlords or property managers simply to bar children less than 18 years of age or restrict the number of children permitted in units (Colten and Marans, 1982). One study found that more than one-fourth of the nation's rental housing units barred children less than 18 years old (Marans et al., 1980).

Although rental homes and apartments are often thought of as housing for singles and unrelated roommates, increasingly families with children are renting (Schmit, 2012) and account for nearly as many renters as single individuals (JCHS, 2013). Housing, especially stable, affordable housing, is important to children's well-being (Galster, 2014; Newman and Holupka, 2014). Having a high-quality affordable home enables families to spend a greater share of their incomes on nutritious food, health care, and other things that promote good health. It also contributes to greater residential stability, which limits the stress and trauma associated with frequent or unwanted moves, and prevents homelessness (Anderson et al., 2014). Safe and stable housing also contributes to better educational outcomes (Brennan, 2011; Cohen, 2011).

By comparison with childless renters, families with children unfortunately face significant challenges in the rental housing market. Many families with children rely on the rental housing market to meet their basic housing needs. In communities where this market is tight, many families struggle to find housing that is safe, affordable, and conveniently located near schools, transportation, and employment (Aratani et al., 2011; JCHS, 2013). It is important from the perspective of both policy and practice to understand to what extent housing discrimination may contribute to these challenges.

Today, more than 25 years after passage of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, too little is known about the extent and forms of discrimination against families with children. Local fair housing groups and the U.S. Department of Housing

and Urban Development (HUD) regularly receive complaints about this form of housing discrimination. The National Fair Housing Alliance (NFHA) annual reports on fair housing complaints suggest families with children face discrimination (14 percent of HUD claims in 2010 and 12.5 percent in 2011), but no recent systematic studies have explored this problem (NFHA, 2011, 2012). The few studies that have been done are quite old and/or are limited in terms of geography and scope (Colten and Marans, 1982; Fairfax County Human Rights Commission, 2010; Marans et al., 1980).

Surveys of the public suggest that federal protections from discrimination based on family composition are not widely understood. In 2000, only 38 percent of respondents to a survey testing knowledge of fair housing law correctly identified discriminatory practices against families with children (Abravanel and Cunningham, 2002). When the same fair housing law survey was readministered in 2005, the share of respondents who could correctly identify discrimination against families with children was only slightly higher, at 44 percent (Abravanel, 2006). In both surveys, respondents had more difficulty identifying discrimination against families with children than other forms of housing discrimination.

Paired testing has proved to be a useful research tool for tracking the incidence and forms of discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities (Turner et al., 2002, 2013; Turner, Struyk, and Yinger, 1991; Wienk et al., 1979) and can be adapted to measure discrimination against families with children. In a paired test, two people who are very similar—except that one has children and the other does not—pose as equally qualified home-seekers and inquire about available homes or apartments. Each tester independently records the treatment he or she experiences, including information about all the homes or apartments recommended and shown. The results across many paired tests are compared to determine whether and how the treatment experienced by testers with children differs systematically from that experienced by testers without children, measuring the incidence and forms of discrimination. This approach can capture discrimination at multiple points in the homeseeking and rental process, from contacting the rental agent to secure an appointment to meeting with the agent to view available units and learn about move-in dates, monthly rent, security deposits, utilities, and the like. Paired testing does not extend into the lease-signing or postoccupancy stages of the process.

Research Goals and Questions

This pilot study is the first study to systematically examine rental housing discrimination against families with children. HUD commissioned the Urban Institute to adapt proven paired-testing methods to measure discrimination against families with children seeking rental housing and pilot these methods in three metropolitan areas across the United States. The primary goals of the study were to develop a preliminary estimate of discrimination against families with children in the rental housing market; to understand how interactions of race, ethnicity, the age and sex of the child or children, and the marital status of the parent might affect discrimination against families with children; and to assess the feasibility of this approach as a basis for a larger national study. Five specific research questions guided the overall direction and scope of the study.

1. What do we know about discrimination against families with children in rental housing, and what are the most important unanswered questions?
2. What are the most appropriate methods for measuring differential treatment in the rental market based on familial status?
3. How can rental housing discrimination on the basis of familial status be tested in the field?
4. What variations, if any, exist in rental housing discrimination against families with children based on family or landlord characteristics?
5. How can we produce a national estimate of rental housing discrimination against families with children that also takes into account variations in family and landlord characteristics?

This report presents the detailed findings of the paired-testing pilot study. A companion report published by HUD discusses alternative research options for continuing to study this issue. A related report published by the Urban Institute describes in detail how paired testing can be used to study discrimination against families with children.

Pilot Study Findings in Brief

This study found no evidence of outright refusals to meet with or rent to people with children. When well-qualified homeseekers with children contacted rental housing providers to inquire about recently advertised homes and apartments, those with children were as likely as comparably qualified homeseekers without children to get an appointment and learn about at least one available housing unit. Prospective

renters with children were told about larger units (on average) than childless households inquiring about the same-size units. Because larger units tend to cost more (all other things being equal), families with children were quoted higher rents than childless households. After adjusting for number of bedrooms, however, the overall rent, fees, and financial incentives did not differ for homeseekers with and without children.

One other form of differential treatment emerged from the study: families with children were shown fewer units than those without children. For every six in-person visits to housing providers, families with children were shown one fewer rental unit (0.18 fewer units per visit when both testers were told a unit was available) than families without children. This difference may not seem large, but even small differences such as this can constrain families' housing search experiences by either extending their housing search or reducing the options from which they can choose. Other treatment indicators, such as being offered a month-to-month or a 2-year lease, numbers of problems with the units, and remarks made by the rental agent, did not reveal evidence of differential treatment against families with children.

The study also examined whether certain family characteristics might affect discrimination against families with children. The following questions about family characteristics are answered by our findings.

- Are families of color more likely to experience discrimination based on the presence of children than are White families? We found no evidence that discrimination against families with children varied with race or ethnicity.
- Are families with two children more likely to experience discrimination based on the presence of children than families with one child? This factor did make a difference: compared with one-child families, two-child families were shown units with slightly higher rents and were shown slightly fewer units.
- Do the ages or sexes of the children affect the likelihood of discrimination against families with children? Because we had to limit the number of factors we could test, we examined three combinations of these characteristics: a child younger than 6 years of age (of either sex), a teen male, and a teen female. We found no evidence that these child characteristics made a difference.
- Does the marital status of the renter affect the likelihood of discrimination against families with children? Some testers presented themselves as single female heads of household or as being part of a married couple, and this factor did not affect the results of key outcomes of interest.

- Does the size of the apartment unit (one versus two or three bedrooms) affect how families with children are treated in the rental housing market relative to families without children? When comparing the experience of renters with and without children, we observe larger differences for the paired tests involving one-bedroom tests than those involving two- or three-bedroom tests. These larger differences are observed for four outcomes: (1) the ability to obtain any information over the phone about an advertised unit, (2) whether the tester is told about any unit being available, (3) whether the tester is told about the requested-size unit being available, and (4) the average number of units of the requested-size unit being available. In short, more evidence of differential treatment among the one-bedroom tests appeared than the tests involving two or three bedrooms.

The current study was also designed to explore the feasibility and cost-effectiveness of telephone testing versus in-person testing in a large national paired-testing study. In-person testing is about 2.5 times more costly than telephone testing, so it is important to understand what can be collected reliably through each method. Information on the number and size of units *shown* can be captured only through in-person visits, but for the subset of outcomes that can be collected by telephone or in person, our findings are mixed. In a multivariate analysis of tests combining both telephone and in-person results, we found higher levels of differential treatment during telephone inquiries for measures of *unit availability* and higher levels of differential treatment during in-person visits for measures relating to *unit size*. In particular, telephone tests yielded somewhat greater levels of differential treatment compared with in-person tests for two specific measures: (1) whether *any* unit was available ($p = 0.069$) or (2) whether an *advertised* unit was available ($p = 0.052$). Further, comments on occupancy standards were more common in the telephone tests ($p = 0.000$). In-person tests led to greater levels of differential treatment for three specific measures: (1) the *number* of units of another size the tester was told about ($p = 0.014$), (2) being told about a larger size than what the tester requested ($p = 0.004$), and (3) the number of larger units the tester was told about ($p = 0.002$).

Looking only at the treatment results between the in-person and telephone results, rather than the difference in the amount

of information that can be collected from each method, we found that if we conducted tests only by telephone we would conclude that families with children are more likely to be told about larger units, and thus, more expensive units. We would also capture agent comments about occupancy standards, but we would not know information about units shown or whether agents offered different incentives, which was the only measure of differential treatment for which the information was statistically significant for in-person versus telephone testing.

The good news from this pilot study is that overall rates of housing discrimination against families with children, as measured through a paired-testing approach, were low. No signs occurred of blatant door slamming or excluding of families with children. The news is not all good, however. The study revealed some evidence of steering, meaning that some rental agents show families with children larger units with higher rents and show them slightly fewer units. These subtle differences in the sizes and number of units available to these renters are important to consider because they may constrain the choices for some families seeking rental housing. The finding that slightly fewer units were shown to families with children parallels a similar finding in the most recent national study on housing discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities (Turner et al., 2013).

Remember the limitations of paired-testing housing discrimination studies. This pilot study on familial status discrimination focused on a specific period within the homeseeking continuum, namely the initial inquiry and interaction with housing providers and, by design, was limited to families whose financial circumstances made them well qualified for the housing they requested. Both of these features of the study design limit the applicability of the findings. The study was not designed to detect discrimination that might happen later in the process (that is, at lease signing or postoccupancy), nor does it speak to the experiences in the rental housing market of families with blemished credit, irregular employment, or incomes insufficient to cover the rent for the house or apartment under consideration. Many families with children experience much higher rent burdens (Aratani et al., 2011) than what a paired-testing study assumes, and so the findings presented here may not apply to that important subgroup of families with children.

Introduction

Families with children are an important segment of the rental housing market. Renter households with children currently comprise approximately one-third of the rental market (AHS, 2011), and they have recently started to comprise a larger portion of renter households because of the falloff in their homeownership rates (JCHS, 2013). Compared with other renters, renter households with children have similar incomes, but they have more family members to support, need larger (and often more expensive) rental units, and are more likely to experience rent burden, meaning more than 30 percent of their income goes toward rent (AHS, 2011). As a result, their housing is often less affordable than for their childless counterparts.

Families with children are protected under the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988. Reports from the National Fair Housing Alliance (NFHA) (2011, 2012) cite discrimination against families with children as the third most common form of complaint filed with fair housing groups, yet no rigorous studies focus on discrimination against families with children.¹

In the past, researchers have used paired testing to compare the experiences of different homeseekers to measure discrimination in the rental housing market. This paired-testing method was adapted for research purposes from fair housing groups that used equally qualified testers of different races to establish

discrimination. It is a method that has a long history of yielding evidence about discrimination and national estimates of discrimination, particularly against racial and ethnic minorities. These methods more recently have been adapted to measure discrimination against other protected classes under the Fair Housing Act.

This study used well-established paired-testing methods to determine whether renter households with children face discrimination at the inquiry stage of their housing search. The pilot study was designed to measure discrimination against families with children at three testing sites, with the intention of designing a study that could estimate discrimination across the country.

In the remainder of this report, chapter 2 summarizes the literature on discrimination, paired testing, and familial status discrimination and presents data on family renters from the 2011 American Housing Survey (AHS). Chapter 3 describes the methodology for the pilot study, and chapter 4 presents the findings, which were very surprising to the research team, the expert panel, and others in the field of housing discrimination studies. The surprising findings in chapter 4 motivate chapter 5, which presents additional analyses of the paired-testing data and other evidence. Chapter 6 sums up the study.

¹ The Fairfax County [Virginia] Human Rights Commission (2010) conducted an exploratory study using paired telephone testing of discrimination on the basis of familial status. Family size varied across the tests; in 3 of 20 tests, families with children were rejected or discouraged when expressing interest in renting a sampled unit.

Background on Family-Based Discrimination

In 1988, growing concerns about discrimination against families with children prompted policymakers to amend the Fair Housing Act (FHA) of 1968 to add families with children as a newly protected group. Before this time, landlords and property managers could legally discourage or even outright reject applicants with children. Enacted as Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, the Fair Housing Act originally prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, color, or national origin in the sale or rental of housing and other real estate-related transactions.² The Fair Housing Act was amended in 1988 to prohibit discrimination in the housing market against families with children, including “any person who is pregnant or is in the process of securing legal custody of any individual who has not attained the age of 18 years.”³ In addition to prohibiting the outright denial of housing to families with children, the Fair Housing Act restricts housing providers from subjecting families with children to special conditions or requirements, such as paying additional fees, being forced into special sections of a building, limiting access to recreational features of an apartment complex, and terminating tenancy for discriminatory reasons.

Although legal protections have been in place for more than 25 years, little research has focused on familial status discrimination in rental housing. Most housing discrimination research has focused on race and ethnicity. This focus is especially evident for systematic paired-testing studies that produce national estimates of discrimination against minority renters. Until quite recently, these methods have not been applied to other groups, such as families with children. Previous studies of discrimination against families with children are limited by their small sample sizes, narrow geographic coverage (often a single city or metropolitan area), and inconsistent comparison groups. The larger studies relied on survey methods rather than paired testing and were done before the enactment of the Fair Housing Amendments Act. The pilot study reported here is the first effort to estimate rates of familial status discrimination in rental housing, to use paired testing on a large scale,⁴ and to systematically evaluate the influence of race, ethnicity, and family composition on access to rental housing.

Why Care About Housing Discrimination?

When the federal Fair Housing Act was passed in 1968, African-American families were routinely and explicitly denied homes and apartments in White neighborhoods. The law unfortunately did not appear to significantly improve problems of residential segregation between White and African-American households (Massey, 2001), although the nature of the discrimination may have changed as a result of the new law. As Massey (2001) explained—

Black home seekers [now] face a more subtle process of exclusion. Rather than encountering ‘White only’ signs, they encounter a covert series of barriers. Blacks who inquire about an advertised unit may be told that it has just been sold or rented; they may be shown only the advertised unit and told that no others are available; they may only be shown houses in Black or racially mixed areas and led away from White neighborhoods; they may be quoted a higher rent or selling price than Whites; they may be told that the selling agents are too busy and to come back later; their phone number may be taken but a return call never made; they may be shown units but offered no assistance in arranging financing; or they simply may be treated brusquely and discourteously in hopes that they will leave. (Massey, 2001: 415)

Other protected groups, including families with children, may also experience these more subtle forms of exclusion, and it is important to understand to what extent they do.

The effects of discrimination can be particularly harmful for families with children. Research before the Fair Housing Amendments Act suggests that the effects of exclusionary policies for families with children resulted in employment-related problems, such as increased travel and decreased access to jobs in adjacent cities; fewer or no school choices; higher rent burdens on families; and emotional distress associated with having to move more

² The language of the law, including the 1988 amendments, appears in 42 U.S.C.A. §§ 3601–3631.

³ 42 U.S.C. 3601 et seq. See http://www.portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/fair_housing_equal_opp/FHLaws/yourrights.

⁴ We are aware of only one study conducted since the inclusion of familial status in the Fair Housing Act that has used paired testing to investigate discrimination against families with children. This small exploratory study is described in a report published by the Fairfax County [Virginia] Human Rights Commission (2010). The commission conducted paired telephone testing of discrimination on the basis of familial status. Family size varied across the tests; in 3 of 20 tests, families with children were rejected or discouraged when expressing interest in renting a sampled unit.

frequently (Blake and Greene, 1980; Simms, 1980). Other outcomes included longer housing searches, forced moves, overcrowding, lower housing quality, forced separation from family members, and more nontraditional living situations. Colten and Marans (1982) indicated that exclusionary policies can result in longer housing searches and less desirable housing or locational choice. Further, housing discrimination may harm children if it contributes to housing instability and frequent moves (Anderson et al., 2014). Moves resulting from unplanned or involuntary circumstances and moves that occur as part of a pattern of frequent mobility have negative effects on child and family welfare, including increased school absenteeism and a higher incidence of neighborhood problems (for example, vandalism, muggings, drug use, gangs; Cohen and Wardrip, 2011).

What Have Paired-Testing Studies of Housing Discrimination Found?

HUD has monitored trends in racial and ethnic discrimination in both rental and sales markets since the late 1970s through a series of national paired-testing studies. Paired testing is a powerful tool for measuring housing discrimination. Paired tests traditionally involve sending two individuals—one a minority and the other White—to pose as equally qualified homeseekers. Both testers are carefully trained to make the same inquiries, express the same preferences, and present the same qualifications and needs. From the perspective of the housing provider, the only difference between the two testers is their race or ethnicity, and so, by law, they should receive the same information and options. Testers keep track of treatment indicators such as whether they are told a unit is available. Systematic differences in treatment across many tests provide direct evidence of discrimination. The *intent* to discriminate is not explicitly necessary for differential treatment. The ability of paired testing to detect subtle differences *regardless of intent* is a key advantage of this approach.

Paired testing is a tool that was originally developed to enforce fair housing laws by enabling researchers to detect and document individual instances of discrimination. As described previously, it has also been used to rigorously measure the prevalence of discrimination in the housing market since the 1970s. When large numbers of tests are conducted consistently in a representative sample of housing markets, they can be used to develop statistically representative measures of adverse treatment of certain groups as defined by the characteristic that distinguishes the two halves of the paired test: the *protected class* tester (for example, a person who is African-American or a parent) and the *control* tester (for example, an otherwise matched tester who is White or childless). Research testing differs from enforcement testing in several important ways. Because its focus is the housing

market in a large community, such as a city or metropolitan area, research testing covers a representative sample of available rental units rather than specific properties or individual neighborhoods where discrimination is suspected. Research testing also requires larger numbers of consistent tests covering multiple housing providers rather than multiple tests of a single housing provider to establish discrimination.

The first national paired-testing study (conducted in 1977) focused on discrimination against African-American households and found high levels of discrimination in both rental and sales markets (Wienk et al., 1979). At that time, it was not uncommon for African-American homeseekers to be told that no homes or apartments were available or to be denied an opportunity to meet with a rental or sales agent. A 1989 study looked at discrimination against Hispanic and African-American homeseekers and again found high levels of discriminatory treatment in both rental and sales markets nationwide (Turner, Struyk, and Yinger, 1991). That study concluded that overall levels of discrimination against African-American homeseekers had not changed significantly since 1977, although its forms were changing to become more subtle and harder to detect. Since these early studies, two decennial studies have continued to estimate housing discrimination against African-American, Hispanic, and Asian homeseekers nationally (Turner et al., 2002, 2013; Turner and Ross, 2003a, 2003b). These studies show significant declines in discrimination against African-American homeseekers from their historically high levels, but discrimination persists. For example, African-American renters are much less likely than they were in the past to be told an advertised unit is no longer available, but, like Hispanic and Asian renters, they are still told about and shown fewer housing units than equally qualified White renters. Smaller levels of other forms of discrimination against minority renters were also found, relating to housing costs, quality, and helpfulness of the rental agent.

Although best known for studies of discrimination on the basis of race/ethnicity, systemic paired-testing studies are now being used to examine discrimination on the basis of other renter characteristics. Housing discrimination against people with various forms of disability (Levy et al., 2015), same-sex couples (Freidman et al., 2013), transgender individuals, and people who use housing vouchers have all been the subject of paired-testing studies. Each adaptation requires careful thought to best capture the subtleties and nuances that may contribute to different ways these groups may experience discrimination.

Despite its tremendous power and potential, paired testing also has a number of limitations. For practical reasons, paired testing cannot be used at certain important stages in a transaction. For example, research testers cannot formally submit fraudulent

information as part of a signed rental or loan application, so these studies do not capture discrimination that might occur at the final stage of a rental (or sales) transaction. In a similar way, discrimination against established tenants (such as in lease renewals or property use and maintenance) is not captured in paired-testing studies. Any discrimination that occurs before or after the time of initial inquiry and information gathering will not be reflected in a paired-testing study. In addition, many paired-testing studies have generally not reflected the circumstances of an average or typical homeseeker because all testers present themselves as unambiguously well qualified financially for the home. We know, however, that at least 41 percent of renters and 43 percent of family renters are not, in fact, “well qualified”⁵ (because they are rent burdened), so paired-testing methods might not reflect the actual experiences of large shares of rental housing applicants with children (AHS, 2011). Finally, paired testing does not get at intent and cannot answer questions as to why discrimination occurs.

What Do We Know About Discrimination Against Families?

Before the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act, landlords and property managers could legally discourage or reject applicants with children, often by adopting adults-only policies. In their survey of more than 1,000 tenants and more than 600 managers, Marans et al. (1980) found that more than one-fourth of the nation’s rental housing units barred children who were less than 18 years of age. In addition to no-child policies, rental housing managers were found to (1) restrict the ages of children permitted in units, (2) cap the number of children permitted in a unit, (3) discourage the sharing of bedrooms by children of the opposite sex, (4) restrict buildings or floors of buildings in complexes where children were permitted, and (5) charge higher rents or require larger security deposits (Colten and Marans, 1982). All these practices presented additional challenges for families with children and further restricted their ability to secure safe, affordable housing. We unfortunately have no reliable estimates of how common these practices were or how many families were affected by them.

Goebel and Rosenberg (1992) discuss three reasons landlords may discriminate against families with children: (1) they perceive an increased risk of liability and incur additional costs when providing various safeguards and other precautionary

measures, (2) they incur higher operating costs because of children’s “destructive nature,” and (3) they want to retain the ability to be more selective and exclude families with children when rental housing markets are tight. Since the implementation of the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act, the courts have not upheld any of these arguments as legitimate reasons for denying families with children access to rental housing.

The 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act curbed many of the overt strategies that landlords used to discriminate against families with children, but the forms and extent of discrimination that may persist today are unknown to researchers and policy-makers. Anecdotal evidence and personal accounts registered through complaint data suggest that landlords continue to discriminate against many families with children. Schill and Friedman (1999) examined the decade after the implementation of the Fair Housing Amendments Act and showed that familial status claims made up a significant share (45.7 percent) of all discrimination claims filed with HUD in 1990. In the next 7 years, a large drop occurred in the number of familial status complaints (18.2 percent of the complaints filed with HUD in 1997), but they still represented the third most common form of discrimination complaint. The practices covered by this evidence tend to fall into one of two categories: (1) practices that restrict access (for example, refusing to rent, misrepresenting availability, setting different terms or conditions) or (2) practices that treat renters with children differently from other renters (for example, providing different services, denying privileges).⁶ Two more recently published NFHA reports show that families with children might still face discrimination in the rental housing market. One study found that advertisements in violation of the Fair Housing Amendments Act were disproportionately directed at families with children (NFHA, 2009). The more recently published 2012 *Fair Housing Trends Report* found that complaints on the basis of familial status constituted 12.1 percent of all discrimination complaints filed with HUD, largely the same share found in their 2008 assessment (NFHA, 2012).

Complaint data provide an incomplete view of the actual extent of housing discrimination because they require that people both recognize the discrimination and also file a complaint. HUD has also recognized that limited public awareness of fair housing laws reduces recognition of discriminatory actions (HUD, 2000). Some overreporting of discrimination in complaint data may have occurred, because not all allegations are necessarily valid, and complaints from individuals who fall into more than

⁵ “Well qualified” typically indicates both a renter’s credit and income relative to the rent of the unit. Because the AHS data do not have information about renters’ credit, we used rent burden to define well qualified.

⁶ For a description of discriminatory actions prohibited by the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act, see <http://www.uscode.house.gov/download/pls/42C45.txt>.

one protected class may be filed in more than one category. In sum, complaint data provide information on the experiences that drive people to complain, but they cannot provide systematic evidence about the prevalence of housing discrimination.

Abravanel and Cunningham (2002) confirmed the public's limited awareness of fair housing rights. Their national survey of 1,001 respondents, conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center in late 2000, revealed a lack of awareness in general about fair housing and about discrimination specifically against families. According to their results, only 38 percent of those surveyed offered a correct response when asked about the legality of differential treatment of families with children. When the survey was readministered in 2005,⁷ the share of respondents who could correctly identify differential treatment of families as discriminatory was only slightly higher (44 percent; Abravanel, 2006). In both surveys, respondents had the greatest difficulty correctly identifying differential treatment of families with children as discriminatory compared with other forms of discrimination.

Thinking about who is affected by discrimination based on familial status seems relatively straightforward until one considers how much diversity exists in types of families and their housing. This diversity has important implications for how to design and conduct a paired-testing study on familial status discrimination in rental housing. Because of the multidimensional nature of family composition, discrimination directed at families with children can take different forms among different groups of families. In fact, some observers think these differences can interact with each other in ways that may mitigate or exacerbate the denial of housing opportunities for families. The following sections discuss some of these family and housing characteristics in depth. These same factors were considered when designing the pilot study, because ignoring them might limit our ability to detect discrimination in some cases.

Race/Ethnicity, Marital Status, and Sex

In the leadup to the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act, many observers argued that no-child policies actually served as a pretext to deny renters on the basis of race, sex, or marital status. In examining state and federal housing complaint data, Tester (2006) argued that discrimination based on familial status intersects with other factors, specifically parents' race, sex, and marital status. He looked at data from the Ohio Civil Rights Commission on 648 settled housing discrimination cases filed on the basis of sex (including sexual harassment) and familial status from 1988 through 2003. He found that

African-American renters were disproportionately affected by familial status discrimination, representing 84 percent of all familial status cases. Women were also disproportionately represented in most claims of discrimination filed on the basis of familial status. In particular, African-American women represented 57 percent of the 173 serious familial status cases. He notes, however, that African-American women may underreport discrimination based on race, sex, or familial status. First, complaint data do not accurately reflect all acts of discrimination because landlords can misrepresent available units and rents in a way that conceals their discriminatory behavior. Second, landlords are not always explicit in their preferences, which makes identifying a landlord's motivation for discrimination difficult (for example, renters may not be accepted for one or more reasons—because they are African-American, because they have children, because they are women). Tester's (2006) findings contradict those of Colton and Marans (1982), which predate the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act. They found that “the data do not directly support the oft-repeated claim that female headed households and minority groups are more likely to be victims of restrictive practices.”

A paired-testing study conducted by Galster and Constantine (1991) focused primarily on discrimination against female-headed households, with 11 tests in January 1985 in Wooster, Ohio. This study predated federal protections for families with children and used very small samples, but it did document outright denials to women with children on telephone interviews and also found that these same women were treated less courteously than childless female testers during in-person appointments.

Ages and Number of Children

Families may have different experiences in the rental housing market depending on the ages or number of their children. Landlords might worry more about the possibility of excessive noise or wear and tear associated with tenants with young children or the possibility of vandalism and loitering with older youth. The 2010 Fairfax County paired-testing telephone audit suggests that landlords may be more likely to discriminate against families with more children (Fairfax County Human Rights Commission, 2010).

Housing Characteristics

The studies by Tester (2006) and Galster and Constantine (1991) suggest that the characteristics of rental housing and the neighborhood in which it is located may be important indicators of what type of housing is inaccessible to families.

⁷ Abravanel's 2005 survey sampled 1,029 adults nationally (Abravanel, 2006).

Local occupancy standards may restrict families with children from the smallest—and most affordable—units in the rental market, further reducing the total number of units available to families with children or forcing families to make tradeoffs in the location or quality of the units.

Moreover, Marans et al. (1980) found that the presence of restrictive policies and practices varied according to the size of the rental unit. Efficiencies and one-bedroom units were more likely than units of two or more bedrooms to have no-child policies. Large shares of two-bedroom units were closed to families with children: nearly one-fourth were unavailable to families with one child, one-third to families with two children, and 6 in 10 to families with three children. Nearly one in five (18 percent) managers of single-family detached rental housing did not rent to families with children, although as the size of the single-family rental home increased, the proportion of units excluding children decreased.

The literature also suggests that other market characteristics matter as well. Higher rents and newer units have been found to be positively associated with restrictive practices (Marans et al., 1980). Although the size of the apartment building or complex had no bearing on exclusionary policies, larger buildings or complexes were more likely than smaller ones to impose some kind of limitation on families with children. The racial composition of neighborhoods may also matter. In predominantly White neighborhoods, the share of units that excluded families with children was two-thirds greater than the share in predominantly African-American neighborhoods (29 versus 18 percent; Marans et al., 1980).

How Might Discrimination Against Families With Children Affect Childhood Development?

Housing discrimination can contribute to housing instability and the narrowing of housing options for families, and both these factors negatively affect children. Housing, especially stable, affordable housing, is important to children's well-being. Having a high-quality affordable home enables families to spend a greater share of their incomes on nutritious food, health care, and other things that promote good health. It also contributes to greater residential stability (Wood, Turnham, and Mills, 2008), which limits the stress and trauma associated with frequent or unwanted moves (Cohen and Wardrip, 2011) and prevents homelessness. Safe and stable housing also contributes to better educational outcomes (Brennan, 2011; Cohen, 2011).

Many studies of housing and children have focused on the effects or experiences of residential moves among low-income families with children. One study of low-income families living in Boston, Massachusetts, Chicago, Illinois, and San Antonio, Texas, found that certain housing and neighborhood characteristics were associated with better reading skills and fewer emotional and behavioral problems among children. These characteristics included high cost, few housing problems and low neighborhood disorder, moderate residential instability, and homes that were mostly owner-occupied and private rentals (Coley, Leventhal, and Lynch, 2014). Another study found that not only are evictions commonplace in inner-city African-American neighborhoods but also that women are evicted at much higher rates than men (Desmond, 2012). Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork to explore the different kinds of mechanisms involved in these evictions, Desmond (2012: 117) concluded, "In inner-city black neighborhoods, women not only are overrepresented on leases but also are disadvantaged in relation to male leaseholders from similar neighborhoods. Broadly speaking, they bring in less income but pay more in rent. Many women's incomes, moreover, are fixed, making them especially vulnerable to unexpected expenses. Their children can also cause landlords problems: damaging property, annoying neighbors, and attracting unwanted attention from state agencies."

In their review, Sandstrom and Huerta (2013) found that children experiencing residential instability have worse academic and social outcomes, including weaker vocabulary skills, more problem behaviors, higher grade-retention and high school drop-out rates, and lower adult educational attainment, than their residentially stable peers. Elementary school children are especially sensitive to poorer academic outcomes (as compared with younger, non-school-age children and adolescents), but residential instability is related to poor social development among children of all ages. Home and neighborhood quality, however, may mediate the effect of residential instability on children if housing moves lead to positive changes in children's environments.

Family Renters in the American Housing Survey

The American Housing Survey is the most comprehensive national housing survey in the United States. Conducted biannually by HUD and the U.S. Census Bureau, AHS collects detailed information about housing units and the characteristics of individual occupants and also respondents' assessments of housing and neighborhood quality and move-in dates that support estimates of length of stay in a given rental unit.

The 2011 AHS Public Use Microdata on renter households nationally can be used to compare households with children and those without children.⁸ For this analysis, the presence of any individual less than the age of 18 in the unit constituted a family with a child, even if multiple households lived in a unit or the person less than age 18 was unrelated to the household head. This definition offers the greatest opportunity to examine the true picture of families covered by Fair Housing Amendments Act protections, because the relationship to the household head does not necessarily dictate the enforcement of discrimination against families with children.

We examined a variety of renter household characteristics (race/ethnicity, marital status, gender), housing characteristics (number of bedrooms and single-family versus multifamily units), and other housing outcomes (neighborhood quality and housing quality). Neither neighborhood quality nor housing quality (as perceived by the respondent) showed significant differences between families with and without children. We also looked at the housing market for owner-occupied and renter-occupied units and vacancy rates.

Household Characteristics

Households with children comprise approximately one-third (35 percent) of the rental market (exhibit 1). More than 55

percent of households with children are headed by a person of color compared with about 40 percent of households without children. Larger shares of Hispanic and of non-Hispanic African-American households account for the racial differences between renter households with and without children.

Households with children are also disproportionately headed by women (exhibit 1). The total rental market is nearly evenly split between male- and female-headed households (50.4 and 49.6 percent, respectively). Women head 57.2 percent of households with children compared with 45.5 percent of those without children.

Exhibit 1 shows that unmarried household heads comprise a large share (70.5 percent) of the total rental housing market. Compared with households without children, however, households with children are more likely to have two adults in the household (18.2 versus 50.7 percent). Households with children are therefore likely to be larger.

On average, renter households with and without children have comparable annual household incomes (see exhibit 2). Slightly less than one-half of all renter households make less than \$30,000 a year. This income does not vary significantly for households with and without children; however, households with children have to make their finances stretch further because they have

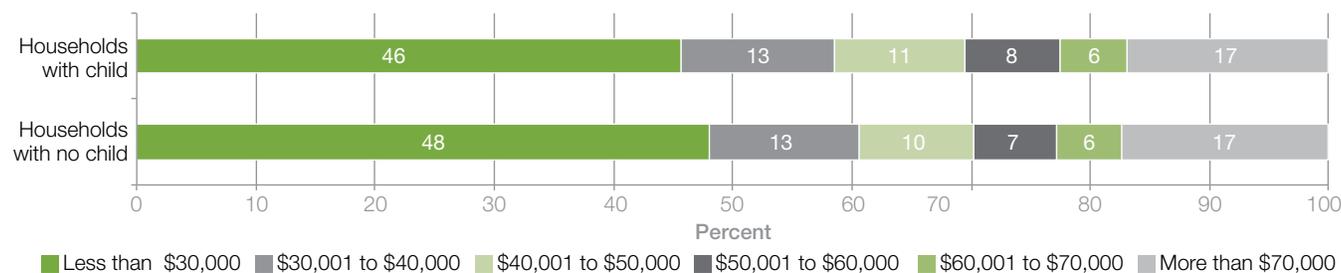
Exhibit 1. Household Characteristics of Renter Families With and Without Children

| | Total | Households Without Children | Households With Children | χ^2 |
|--|--------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Sample | 39,767 | 25,844 | 13,923 | |
| Weighted total (thousands) | 31,021 | 20,209 | 10,811 | |
| Share of weighted total | 100.0% | 65.1% | 34.9% | |
| Race/ethnicity | | | | < 0.0001 |
| Non-Hispanic White | 56.3% | 62.8% | 44.2% | |
| Non-Hispanic African-American | 16.8% | 15.9% | 18.5% | |
| Hispanic | 19.4% | 13.9% | 29.7% | |
| Non-Hispanic Asian | 5.5% | 5.4% | 5.6% | |
| Non-Hispanic other race | 2.1% | 2.1% | 2.1% | |
| Household head's marital status | | | | < 0.0001 |
| Married | 29.5% | 18.2% | 50.7% | |
| Unmarried | 70.5% | 81.8% | 49.3% | |
| Household head's gender | | | | < 0.0001 |
| Female | 49.6% | 45.5% | 57.2% | |
| Male | 50.4% | 54.5% | 42.8% | |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

⁸ The analysis included only households in the private market (that is, unsubsidized units) and households paying rent. Subsidized units and households living in them represent a unique subset of the rental market; rents are often inaccurately reported and might misrepresent the income and rent distribution of renter families. Furthermore, paired-testing studies, including this pilot study, generally exclude subsidized housing from the sample frame.

Exhibit 2. Distribution of Annual Household Income for Renters With and Without Children



Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

to support more people in the household. About 88 percent of households with children support three or more people with their household income. By contrast, about 88 percent of households without children support only one or two people.

Housing Characteristics

Households with and without children have similar incomes (exhibit 2), but households with children spend more on rent (exhibit 3). About one-fourth of childless renter households spend less than \$500 a month in rent, but less than one in five (18 percent) of renter households with children have rents that low. The differences in rent may be attributable to the preference of households with children to occupy larger and, thus, more expensive units, but they may be also partly the outcome of landlords steering families with children to larger units. In fact, further analyses of AHS data show that families with children tend to occupy larger units, and findings of the familial status pilot study suggest that landlord steering could be a contributing factor.

Exhibit 4 shows that families with children tend to occupy larger (two- and three-bedroom) units than families without children. Families with children occupy studio (0.3 percent) or one-bedroom (9 percent) apartments noticeably rarely. Families appear to frequently compete with childless households for two-bedroom units; 42 percent of households with children and 41 percent of households without children occupy this size unit.

Compared with households without children, families with children more frequently occupy units with more than two bedrooms.

The type of rental unit differs significantly by familial status. Most rental units (60 percent) are in multifamily buildings; these units house 67 percent of renter households without children compared with 48 percent of households with children. Most (53 percent) renter households with children reside in single-family buildings, such as mobile homes, stand-alone single-family residences, or rowhouses.

The competition for two-bedroom units is more evident when we look at the share of the population in each sized unit by households with and without children (exhibit 5). Households with and without children also seem to compete for three-, four-, and five-bedroom units or larger in the market. Households without children dominate use of studio and one-bedroom units, even though these smaller units might be suitable for many families with children. For this reason, despite the small proportion of families with children in one-bedroom units, the pilot study on familial status discrimination included one-bedroom units. By comparing the treatment of families with children with those without children when applying for one-bedroom units, the research can assess whether discrimination contributes to the small number of families in one-bedroom units.

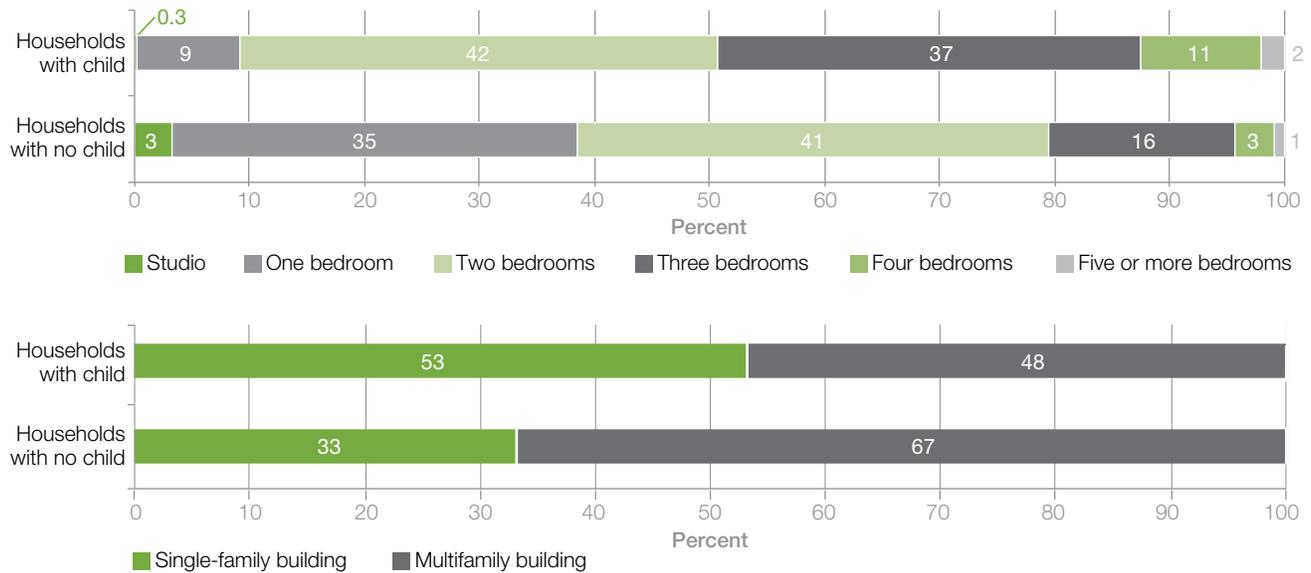
Residential occupancy standards may restrict where families with children are able to live. Residential occupancy standards are limits on the number of people permitted per dwelling unit,

Exhibit 3. Distribution of Monthly Rents for Renters With and Without Children



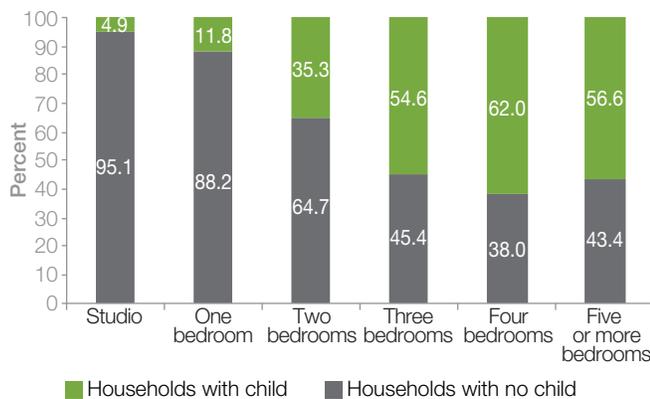
Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

Exhibit 4. Number of Bedrooms and Type of Rental Unit for Renters With and Without Children



Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

Exhibit 5. Share of Households With and Without Children by Number of Bedrooms in Unit



Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

based on the size of the unit (typically “habitable space”). No federal law exists on residential occupancy standards. The Fair Housing Amendments Act permits state and local governments to set “reasonable” residential occupancy standards for health

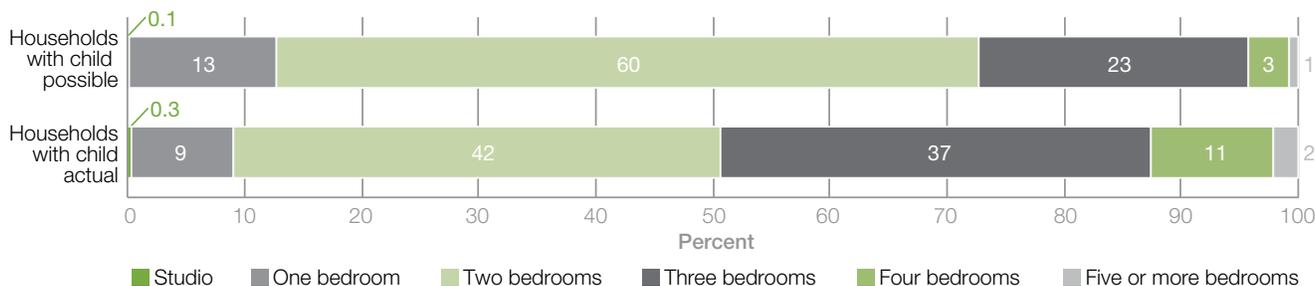
and safety.⁹ Landlords may also set residential occupancy limits that are more restrictive than those imposed by the government (under health and safety codes). It is possible that families with children may prefer smaller units than they actually occupy, but they may be hindered in their search by housing providers who are unwilling to rent small units if a family with a child might exceed their perception of appropriate occupancy limits. Thus, data showing the number of bedrooms in units families actually occupy (as seen in exhibit 5) may not accurately reflect the size of units families prefer to occupy. To assess the extent that families with children might be restricted in their choices, we use the number of occupants in a household to calculate the “minimum unit size” that would be considered appropriate under that standard given a two-persons-per-bedroom residential occupancy standard (exhibit 6).¹⁰

The upper row of exhibit 6 shows the smallest-size unit (by number of bedrooms) that households could occupy under a two-persons-per-bedroom residential occupancy standard and the lower row shows the number of bedrooms in units that households with children actually occupy. The exhibit shows

⁹ See 42 U.S.C. § 3607(b)(1) and *City of Edmonds v. Oxford House, Inc.*, 514 U.S. 725 (1995).

¹⁰ Many housing providers use the two-persons-per-bedroom occupancy standard as their general rule on residential occupancy standards. The analysis in exhibit 6 does not attempt to exceed this general rule. Note that a two-persons-per-bedroom occupancy standard might still violate the Fair Housing Amendments Act if a landlord counts only bedrooms as habitable space and additional space in the unit exists. For instance, if the landlord does not include habitable space in a basement or den, then he or she would underestimate the number of people who could live in the unit under a two-persons-per-bedroom standard.

Exhibit 6. Minimum Number of Bedrooms Assuming a Two-Persons-per-Bedroom Standard Versus Actual Number of Bedrooms in Occupied Unit



Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

that households with children end up selecting units with more bedrooms than the minimum occupancy standard. Of households with children, 60 percent could occupy a two-bedroom unit, but only 42 percent of them select two-bedroom units. They instead opt for larger three- and four-bedroom units. Not all households with children choose to live in smaller units, of course, but the choice lets some families opt for better locations or use the rental saving of a smaller unit for other expenses. If landlords are imposing stricter occupancy standards than two persons per bedroom, then families with children will be further restricted in their housing choices.

As shown in exhibit 5, households with children tend to live in larger units. These units have correspondingly higher rents. In addition, families with children tend to have similar incomes to households without children, which suggests that families with children end up paying a higher percentage of their income on housing. Exhibit 7 shows, however, that families with children are only slightly more likely to be rent burdened than households without children (43 and 41 percent, respectively).¹¹ Further, renter families with children are about as likely as families without children to be extremely rent burdened (spending

more than 50 percent of their income on rent). This finding is unexpected in light of the fact that larger families live in larger units (exhibit 5), which tend to be more expensive.

Housing Market

Our preceding analysis shows that families with children are outnumbered by childless renters in the rental market, especially for smaller rental units. A close examination of the entire housing market (not only owner-occupied and renter housing units) also reveals that the larger units many families need are more likely to be owner occupied and thus less available in the rental market (see exhibit 8). In fact, three- and four-bedroom houses are more likely to be available for sale than for rent. This low availability puts renters with children at a disadvantage and leaves them competing with other types of renters for smaller, more affordable rental units. Large rental units also have much lower vacancy rates than other units.

In sum, since the passage of the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments Act, it is illegal to discriminate against families with children in rental housing, but familial status complaints are still common.

Exhibit 7. Rent Burden for Renter Households With and Without Children

| | Total | Households Without Children | Households With Children | χ^2 |
|---------------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Sample | 39,767 | 25,844 | 13,923 | |
| Weighted total (thousands) | 31,021 | 20,209 | 10,811 | |
| Share of weighted total | 100.0% | 65.1% | 34.9% | |
| Rent burden | | | | < 0.0001 |
| No rent burden (< 30% of income) | 58.3% | 59.2% | 56.6% | |
| Rent burden (30 to 50% of income) | 21.1% | 20.0% | 23.2% | |
| Extreme rent burden (> 50% of income) | 20.6% | 20.8% | 20.2% | |

Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

¹¹ Rent burdened is typically defined as having rent that exceeds 30 percent of income.

Exhibit 8. U.S. Housing by Unit Size

| Number of Bedrooms | Housing Stock (%) | Occupied | | | Rental Vacancy Rate (%) | Vacant | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | | Owner Occupied (%) | Renter Occupied (%) | Sum (%) | | Vacancies for Rent by Unit Size (%) | Vacancies for Sale Only by Unit Size (%) |
| None (studio) | 1.0 | 8.0 | 92.0 | 100.0 | 12.8 | 40.0 | 3.9 |
| One | 11.0 | 14.0 | 86.0 | 100.0 | 9.9 | 51.7 | 3.7 |
| Two | 26.0 | 46.0 | 54.0 | 100.0 | 9.8 | 35.0 | 8.7 |
| Three | 41.0 | 81.0 | 19.0 | 100.0 | 7.4 | 16.8 | 18.4 |
| Four or more | 20.0 | 88.0 | 12.0 | 100.0 | 5.7 | 11.8 | 24.8 |

Note: The rental vacancy rate is the number of vacant year-round units for rent as a percentage of the total rental inventory.

Source: Urban Institute analysis of 2011 American Housing Survey Public Use Microdata

In addition to fairness concerns, discrimination against families with children could contribute to greater housing mobility and higher rent burdens for families, both of which are bad for child development. We know nearly nothing, however, about familial status discrimination in rental housing markets. This pilot study on discrimination against families with children in rental housing markets starts to fill this gap. To study familial status-based discrimination, we adapted the rigorous paired-testing methods pioneered in the fight against racial segregation

and used effectively to monitor trends in race- and ethnicity-based discrimination. The research design was informed by the small body of previous research that suggests race, ethnicity, and family composition influence experiences of familial status discrimination and by the AHS data presented in this chapter showing that a large share of renter households with children compete with childless households for available rental housing. The next chapter describes how the research tested for familial status discrimination and possible interactions with race, ethnicity, and family composition.

Pilot Study Methods

To answer the research questions with paired testing, we needed to compare households with children and households without children and be able to observe variations by important factors, such as race and ethnicity. We developed a unique counterfactual (or comparison group) and a complex, elegant partial factorial design. The research design compares families with children with families who were otherwise the same but did not have children. Single mothers were compared with single women without children. Married couples with children were compared with married couples without children. To observe racial/ethnic differences and also consider marital status and household size, we developed a factorial design that enabled us to maximize the number of characteristics we could include while keeping sample sizes large enough to support the statistical analysis.

Overview of the Study Design

The pilot study adapted existing paired-testing protocols from the 2012 Housing Discrimination Study (HDS2012) on racial and ethnic minorities (Turner et al., 2013). The pilot study design required striking a balance between complexity (in terms of numbers and combinations of factors), feasibility, and cost efficiency. The final study design included the following elements:

- A paired-testing methodology.
- A design that reflected race/ethnicity, household size, children's ages and sexes, one- versus two-parent family, and number of bedrooms.
- Three metropolitan testing sites.
- A total of 612 in-person tests and a slightly larger number of telephone tests (because not all telephone tests necessarily led to in-person tests).
- Counterfactuals (more on this follows), defined as—
 - *Single female childless households* for testing female-headed single-parent families with children.
 - *Childless couple households* for testing married/partnered families with children.
- Matching the paired testers on—
 - Race/ethnicity.
 - Sex.
 - Age (group).
 - Household income (income was aligned to the advertised rent).
 - Length of time in previous unit.
- Use of one-, two-, and three-bedroom rental ads to generate sufficient in-person tests to satisfy sample size targets set forth in the partial factorial design.
- Integration of telephone and in-person testing.

The design has 54 cells representing all combinations of the following four dimensions:

1. Three racial/ethnic categories (African-American, Hispanic, White).
2. Three combinations of numbers of bedrooms and numbers of children (one bedroom with one child; two or three bedrooms with one child; two or three bedrooms with two children).
3. Three combinations of child age/sex (younger than 6 years of age; teen male; teen female).¹²
4. Two household head marital statuses (single female, married couple).

This design enabled us to test each combination of factors an average of 11.3 times to achieve an overall sample size of 612 in-person tests and to combine cells (groups of tests) in various ways to examine potentially important variations by race/ethnicity, child characteristics, and number of bedrooms.

Exhibit 9 shows the sample sizes for various subgroups of interest (all numbers are in-person paired tests). The design called for 204 tests per site, 204 tests for each racial/ethnic group, and 204 tests for each number of bedrooms and number of children category. The tests are equally divided (306) in each group among one- and two-parent families, and the three child age/sex categories are also divided roughly equally with a slight preference allocated to the young child (216 tests) relative to the teen boy and teen girl (198 tests each) categories.

¹² *Teenager* is defined as an adolescent age 12 to 17 years. Landlords may perceive male and female teenagers differently.

Exhibit 9. Summary of In-Person Paired Tests by Factor

| Factor | In-Person Paired Tests (N) |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Per site | 204 |
| Race/ethnicity | |
| African-American | 204 |
| Hispanic | 204 |
| White | 204 |
| Marital status | |
| Married couple | 306 |
| Single female parent | 306 |
| Bedroom/child | |
| One bedroom/one child | 204 |
| Two to three bedrooms/one child | 204 |
| Two to three bedrooms/two children | 204 |
| Child's age and sex | |
| Younger child | 216 |
| Teen boy | 198 |
| Teen girl | 198 |
| Total | 612 |

Counterfactual

A unique strength of paired testing is its ability to measure differential treatment of one tester versus another (the other half of the matched pair), with the only key difference between the two being the characteristic of interest (for example, race or, in this case, familial status). The tester with the characteristic that may be subject to discrimination (for example, being African-American or having a child) is known as the protected class tester, and the tester for the other half of the paired test (for example, the one who is White or childless) is known as the control tester. The control tester's distinguishing characteristics are referred to as the *counterfactual* because they allow one to know what would happen if the key characteristics of interest were not present. Without this counterfactual, the study would have no effective comparisons and observers would have no way of knowing if the observed treatment of a rental housing seeker differs from another homeseeker who did not have the protected class characteristic (in this case, a child). A difference in treatment between the protected class tester and the control tester constitutes discrimination. Determining a reasonable counterfactual for a rental applicant who is part of a family with children is critical for testing for familial status discrimination.

Counterfactuals are relatively straightforward in the case of racial and ethnic minority discrimination testing: the attributes (age, sex, financial capacities) of a nonminority tester are matched to those of the minority tester, so the only difference between the two members of the tester pair is their race or ethnicity. A childless household with three, four, or more members, however, is fundamentally different from a household of the same size with children. Consider, for example, an approach in which the two households of the matched pair are the same size, but, in one case, some of the household members are children and, in the other, they are all adults. All other characteristics (for example, marital status, race/ethnicity, financial status) that might affect landlords' perceptions and treatment of homeseekers are matched between the two households. Under this design, the counterfactual paired to a family with two adults and three children would be a household of five adults. This counterfactual is problematic for at least two reasons. First, it represents a household structure that is rarely seen in the United States: only 2 percent of all rental households have four or more adults and no children (American Community Survey [ACS] 2010). The situation becomes even more unusual when considering that we would want this five-adult household to have the same combined income as a married couple with three children. Second, having five adults in a household resembles a group quarters situation (for example, five immigrant adults or five college students sharing a house) or an extended family situation (for example, a household of related adults sharing quarters perhaps for reasons of economic hardship). In some jurisdictions, renting to a large group of unrelated adults violates residential occupancy standards. Similar incongruences emerge with most other family sizes and scenarios. A paired-testing methodology for families with children that holds household size constant yields an inappropriate apples-to-oranges comparison; it simply lacks face validity.

Our analysis of American Community Survey (ACS) and AHS data comparing households with and without children found that childless renters (who compete with renter families in the housing market) are mostly singles and couples, as opposed to larger groups of childless adults. For this pilot study, the counterfactuals for families with children are childless singles and childless couples. To be more specific, for single-parent female-headed households, we made the counterfactual a childless single female, and for married couples with one or two children, the counterfactual was a childless married couple.

Family Characteristics

A variety of characteristics may affect how families with children are treated in the rental housing market, and it was important to build those characteristics into the design of this pilot study so we could empirically examine if and how they mattered. Evidence from previous studies and from experts and practitioners suggests that the most important variables to study are the race, ethnicity, and marital status of the household head and the age, sex, and number of children in the household.

Race/ethnicity and marital status. Given the history of racial and ethnic discrimination in housing, the pilot study examined family-based discrimination separately for three racial/ethnic groups: African-American, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic White groups. This factor is complicated because people hold different perceptions of race and ethnicity, and this characteristic is the basis for discriminatory behaviors. The racial and ethnic identity of a tester presents a challenge if a housing provider or rental agent does not perceive or identify this characteristic accurately or identifies the race or ethnicity of both members of a matched pair as the same. As in previous housing discrimination studies (HDSs), the racial and ethnic identifiability of testers (over the telephone and in person) was studied separately to verify that this characteristic was identifiable.¹³ Marital status may also be important when parents seek rental housing, so some testers were single parents, and all single parents were women. We did not include single male parents because they account for only one in five rentals of one- to three-bedroom units among all single-parent families.¹⁴

Age, sex, and number of children. The age and sex of the children may also play a role in whether landlords perceive families with children as more or less desirable tenants. These characteristics may also affect what kind of housing a landlord thinks is suitable for a given family. Our design needed to thoughtfully incorporate different family compositions to test this hypothesis. The panel recommended that the pilot study include families with young children (less than 6 years old) and teens (12 to 17 years old). Because teen boys may be

perceived differently than teen girls, this factor was also varied in the study, but the panel thought that sex of the child was less important in the case of the younger children.

Because the potential number of combinations of factors was high, we restricted the tests to families with one or two children, and, for all the two-child tests, the children were of the same sex, meaning both were girls or both were boys.¹⁵

Housing Characteristics

A key feature of the pilot study was the size of the rental apartments that testers would seek. Background analysis revealed that four in five (79 percent) renter families reside in two- or three-bedroom units, 8 percent live in one-bedroom units, and 12 percent occupy units with four or more bedrooms. Further, this distribution does not vary much by number of children. Among families with one child, only 11 percent occupy one-bedroom units, and, among families with three or more children, only 23 percent occupy units with four or more bedrooms.

Despite the low share of families with children in one-bedroom units, this size unit was included to test the hypothesis that families with children are steered away from one-bedroom units. One possible reason so few families occupy these units is that they are in such high demand (given their affordability relative to larger apartments) that landlords can easily rent them to childless renters. In other words, data on where families live may reflect ongoing discriminatory practices, so we should interpret them with care. The pilot study design used one-, two-, and three-bedroom unit rental ads to generate tests, because these unit sizes account for 80 percent of family rentals. For simplicity, two- and three-bedroom units were combined into a single group in the partial factorial design.¹⁶

One concern with including one-bedroom units was whether notions of residential occupancy standards would complicate our finding, which raised another question: Should tests allow for more than two people per bedroom? Some landlords think local laws limit occupancy to two persons per bedroom, even

¹³ Not only stereotypical individuals were hired as testers. Identifiability falls on a continuum and, as we expected, we were able to recruit individuals who were identifiable in terms of appearance and linguistic style without being at the extreme. To examine identifiability as a part of the analysis, a picture and voice recording were collected and provided to Urban Institute staff after the completion of testing. Staff outside the research team were then surveyed to assess the identifiability of testers.

¹⁴ Including single male parents would have also increased detection risks, because these families are much less common.

¹⁵ These restrictions simplified the testing because of sample size considerations.

¹⁶ As with some of the other factors, the pilot study sample size necessitated this simplification.

though this limitation may not be the case, and others may use the two-persons-per-bedroom limit as an excuse for excluding families with children. Actual occupancy standards vary by local jurisdiction and typically can rely on the number of bedrooms and/or the square footage of the unit as a whole. In some instances, landlords might set residential occupancy standards that are more restrictive than those required by the government without violating the Fair Housing Act.¹⁷

Because the central purpose of this study was to measure differential treatment of renter households based on the presence of children—not to assess landlord adherence to varying and potentially complex residential occupancy standards—we decided to simplify the pilot study design by capping the number of children in a family at two children and limiting the one-bedroom tests to either single or married parents with only one child. Thus, two-child families would never seek a one-bedroom unit. Even under this scenario, married couples with one child might stretch a landlord’s perception of residential occupancy standards, because a family of three would be seeking a one-bedroom unit. If large shares of landlords are using residential occupancy standards as an excuse to exclude families with children or believe such families violate the standards, the results of the one-bedroom tests should show this discriminatory practice.

Site Selection

The pilot study was conducted in three metropolitan markets, with two racial/ethnic groups assigned to each one. This approach simplified the design and target tests in each place to two racial/ethnic categories, easing implementation while ensuring more than one site was covered for each racial/ethnic group. As a result, it was possible to distinguish the roles of site and race/ethnicity in observed differential treatment. The pilot study included three metropolitan areas:

1. Dayton, Ohio, for African-American and White testing.
2. Dallas, Texas, for Hispanic and non-Hispanic White testing.
3. Los Angeles, California, for African-American and Hispanic testing.

The sites were selected to cover different regions of the country and to contain sufficient population to keep the risk of detection to a reasonably low level. Each site was allocated 204 in-person paired tests (612 tests in all). Given the design, all tests could be used to estimate headline measures of discrimination against families with children and for statistically identifying which sociodemographic factors might be important for future national studies of this form of discrimination.

Within metropolitan areas, we used the same method employed for HDS2012 on racial and ethnic minorities (Turner et al., 2013) in terms of sampling rental ads in direct proportion to the geographic distribution of rental housing (see appendix A for ad sampling information). This testing method reflected the entire local rental market. Spatial analyses show these tests to be widely distributed across each metropolitan area (see maps in appendix B).

Telephone Versus In-Person Testing

In addition to testing for housing discrimination against families with children, this pilot study had the goal of assessing the feasibility and cost implications of alternative data collection methods, including e-mail, telephone, and in-person testing. Our recent experience with HDS2012 showed that tests that began with e-mail contact often required a followup telephone call to the landlord to gather information about the available unit and to make an appointment; given the limited sample size in the pilot study, e-mail tests were eliminated as a factor in our design.

The final design called for all tests to begin with a telephone call during which testers would attempt to gather as much information as possible for a complete test, followed by full in-person tests (in which the same information would be gathered along with additional observational measures). This nesting of a telephone test within the in-person test (a full telephone test before a full in-person test) provided efficiencies that allowed for larger sample sizes to be obtained for both sets of tests. The telephone and in-person tests involved many of the same outcome measures, and the only measures unique to the in-person tests had to do with observations or inspections of actual units. This nested design enabled us to explore the marginal benefit of an in-person visit or test and to compare the measures common to both sets of tests.¹⁸

¹⁷ Investigation into residential occupancy standards in the pilot study sites found that jurisdictions restrict occupancy based on a unit’s “habitable space” and most often use standards set by the International Building Code Standards or the Uniform Building Code. The specification for bedroom size typically is 70 square feet for the first person to occupy a bedroom and 50 square feet for every additional person. In addition to restrictions on bedroom size, restrictions are also in place for the overall square footage of the unit. The initial requirement for a one-person occupancy is 150 square feet, with an additional 100 square feet required for each additional occupant. If a jurisdiction uses the number of bedrooms as a measure of maximum occupancy, then the most common formula is two occupants per bedroom *plus one*. That is, a one-bedroom apartment could have three occupants, and a two-bedroom apartment could have five occupants.

¹⁸ This approach assumes that having in-person tests preceded by telephone calls asking for the same information does not influence the results of the in-person tests.

Information on the testing protocols and field implementation challenges is in appendix C, and pilot study test forms used to collect data are in appendix D. Appendix E lists the analysis variables the testers collected during the telephone calls and site visits.

Other Design Features

Several variables that might affect prevalence of familial status discrimination, including building type, landlord type, rent level, and timing of fieldwork, were considered but were ultimately not incorporated into the partial factorial design. The availability of different types of units primarily reflects the local rental housing market at the time of testing. In fact, there is no guarantee that sufficient counts of rental housing by structure and landlord type could be found in a condensed data collection period. Moreover, including landlord status would require that rental housing ads be screened for landlord type, which would be an unusual occurrence and a potential threat to both tester disclosure and test validity. It would also be very costly. For all these reasons, we excluded these factors in the study design. As a result, the distributions of these two housing factors across the tests are in proportion to their prevalence in the rental housing market.

Rent levels were also not a factor in the design. Despite the high levels of cost burden among family renters, the pilot study used the same approach used in previous paired-testing studies of examining the incidence of discrimination in the context of the available housing stock. In other words, we sampled ads from all available rental ads spanning the 5th to the 95th percentile of rents in a given metropolitan area and had the protected class tester (with one or two children) inquire about renting housing from those units. We assigned the protected class tester and the matched control tester financial characteristics that made them equally well qualified for the rental property. This approach enabled us to answer this question: What levels of discrimination exist when a person in a protected class inquires about available housing? Had we limited the sample of rental housing ads to those within a narrower price range, we would have excluded a substantial portion of the rental housing market (in which discrimination may occur). Moreover, we would have deviated from established practice within the field of housing discrimination research, which might have compromised the face validity of the findings and our ability to compare them with findings from other HDSs.

Another consideration, given the study's focus on families, was the timing of the fieldwork and whether families with children tend to move during the summer months to avoid disrupting

their children's school attendance. Marlay and Fields's (2010) analysis of ACS data found that during the winter, spring, and fall of 2004, 21 to 24 percent of adults with children less than age 18 moved into their homes each season, and 30 percent moved into their homes during the summer. Thus, although more families do move during the summer, two out of three move at other times of the year, and they tend to do so in a roughly uniform pattern by season. This finding gave us more confidence and flexibility with respect to timing pilot study data collection in the field.

Analytical Approach to Estimating Differences in Treatment

Overall Estimates

For the full set of 612 in-person tests, we report estimates of differential treatment for every measure of the tester-rental agent interaction. The estimates are based on data from the in-person component of the tests, which corresponds to our previous paired-testing studies. One exception is the ability to obtain an appointment, which can come only from the telephone component of the tests.

The study was designed to assess the prevalence of differential treatment in various indicators, such as being able to reach a rental agent, obtain information about the rental unit, get an appointment to see the unit, and meet with a rental agent. For testers who were able to meet with an agent, measures included being told any units were available, how many units they were told were available, the size of the units, and the monthly rent of the units. To measure average differences in treatment across a large number of tests, paired-testing studies use *gross* and *net* measures of discrimination. Because it is possible for either of the testers in a paired-testing study to be treated more favorably than the other or for them to be treated equally, each measure was looked at in three ways: (1) the share of tests in which the control tester was favored, (2) the share of tests in which the protected class tester (the tester with children) was favored, and (3) the difference in these shares. The first measure, the share of tests in which the control tester is favored, is known as a gross measure of discrimination against families with children. This measure overstates the extent of systematic preference for this group if nondiscriminatory random events are responsible for a portion of the differential treatment observed. The second measure, the share of tests in which the protected class tester is favored, is the gross measure of favorable treatment for families with children. This measure estimates the extent of systemic preferences that favor families with children.

The third measure, the difference in the two shares, is the net measure of discrimination. For a given outcome, the net measure provides a direct estimate of the degree of disadvantage in the rental markets for homeseekers with children. It understates the true level of discrimination against families with children if any systematic preference exists for families with children. For outcomes that can be measured in amounts (for example, dollar rent amount or number of rental units shown), we report the averages (means) for the control testers and the protected class testers and the difference in these two averages, which provides the measure of the severity of discrimination. Because the difference compares outcomes of tests in response to the same set of ads, it represents a meaningful measure of differential treatment of families with children compared with childless households.

Like statistical samples are typically handled, our full-sample estimates of discrimination are weighted to correspond to the actual sociodemographic profile of the three metropolitan areas where the pilot study took place.¹⁹ In this way, our estimates more accurately represent the populations from which the statistical samples were drawn.

Estimates by Subgroup and Mode of Testing

To estimate how the differential treatment of testers with children varied with characteristics of families and units, we estimated a series of multivariate regression models by using data from the in-person portions of the tests.²⁰ A separate model was estimated for each outcome of interest.²¹

Each model takes the following form:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Difference in treatment}_i &= a_0 + b_1 \text{black}_i + b_2 \text{Hispanic}_i + b_3 \text{married}_i + b_4 (\text{one bedroom})_i \\ &+ b_5 (\text{one child})_i + b_6 \text{teen male}_i + b_7 \text{teen female}_i + b_8 \text{site2}_i \\ &+ b_9 \text{site3}_i + \text{residual}_i \end{aligned}$$

where the dependent variable is the difference in treatment for the two testers in test i . For binary yes-no outcomes, such as whether each tester was offered an incentive, the difference was defined as 1 if only the tester without children received the offer, -1 if only the tester with children received the offer,

and 0 if neither or both testers received the offer (that is, neither tester was favored). For continuous outcomes, such as the number of units available, the difference was defined as the number of units available for the control tester minus the number of units available for the protected class tester.

The independent variables take the value 1 if the characteristic is true for a given test and 0 if it is not true; black_i equals 1 if conducted by African-American testers, and Hispanic_i equals 1 if conducted by Hispanic testers; teen male_i equals 1 if the tester with children claimed to have one or two teenage male children. The other variables follow the same pattern.

The comparison of differential treatment against families with children for two subgroups can be obtained directly from the coefficients of this regression model. The regression coefficients measure the average difference in differential treatment for the group indicated (for example, African-American group) as compared with the group not included in the model (for example, White group). For subgroups based on race, the difference between the net discrimination against families with children for all tests with African-American testers and the net discrimination for all tests with White testers is measured by the coefficient b_1 .

The differential for each group is measured by comparison with the differential for the omitted (or reference) group. Suppose, for example, White testers without children saw an average of 0.3 more units per visit than White testers with children, and African-American testers without children saw 0.1 more units than African-American testers with children. The model coefficient on African-American (b_1) would be negative 0.2 (-0.2). If Hispanic testers without children saw 0.5 more units than Hispanic testers with children, the model coefficient on Hispanic (b_2) would equal +0.2. We can assess whether differential treatment of families with children is the same for African-American and White testers by testing whether the coefficient b_1 is equal to 0. We can test whether African-American and Hispanic testers are equally likely to experience familial status discrimination by testing whether $b_1 = b_2$. The regression output from the Stata statistical package provides all information needed to perform this kind of test, including appropriate confidence intervals.

¹⁹ The weights were developed using the ACS 5-year estimates for renter households with children totaled across the three metropolitan areas by using the following criteria: households have one or two children and are renting in one of the three metropolitan statistical areas; household head is African-American, White, or Hispanic; household head is married or an unmarried female; and rental unit is one bedroom with one child or two or three bedrooms.

²⁰ The models were estimated using ordinary least squares.

²¹ Two exceptions are "obtaining an appointment" and "number of units inspected," because these outcomes are limited to the telephone call and in-person visit portions of the test, respectively. These outcomes were modeled separately using the relevant data.

The comparisons of demographic and unit subgroups included the following:

- African-American versus White (test whether $b_1 = 0$).
- Hispanic versus White (test whether $b_2 = 0$).
- African-American versus Hispanic (test whether $b_1 = b_2$).
- Married versus single parent (test whether $b_3 = 0$).
- Two- or three-bedroom unit with two children versus two- or three-bedroom unit with one child (test whether $b_4 + b_5 = b_5$).
- Two- or three-bedroom unit with one child versus one-bedroom unit with one child (test whether $b_5 = 0$).
- Teen males versus young child (test whether $b_6 = 0$).
- Teen females versus young child (test whether $b_7 = 0$).
- Teen females versus teen males (test whether $b_6 = b_7$).
- Teen versus young child (test whether $b_6 = b_7 = 0$).

Because we were uncertain of the direction of the differences between population subgroups, each coefficient was tested using a two-tailed significance test.

Comparing the demographic groups by using regression methods had several advantages. First, it enabled us to control for any unintended relationships between the assigned demographic characteristics that could confound the comparisons. Recall that the assignments were designed so that no one characteristic was related to other characteristics. In reality, however, we expected that some relationships between characteristics would result from implementation practices or from differential ability to meet with an agent (the regression model controls for such relationships). Second, using a regression model enabled us to estimate the precision of the difference in discrimination between groups. Third, this approach also enabled us to obtain more precise estimates by comparing the subgroup averages, controlling for the demographic and unit assignment of each test. Including such controls reduces the standard error of the regression model and, in turn, increases the precision of each comparison.

Comparing Costs of Units

For this pilot study, we created a measure of the differential treatment in the rent and net cost of comparable units. The measure for all units *told about*, a factor that was emphasized in previous testing studies, includes any differential in rent resulting from being told about larger units. The new size-adjusted measure attempts to measure the difference in rent asked for similar-sized units.

To calculate the size-adjusted rent (that is, rent adjusted for number of bedrooms), for each test we first calculated the average rent and number of units by size (no bedrooms, one bedroom, two bedrooms, and three bedrooms) for the tester with and without children. For a given test, the average rent for each sized unit was weighted by the distribution of the number of units for the two testers across sizes of units. The estimate of differential treatment using this size-adjusted measure excludes the differential resulting from testers having been told about different sizes of units.

Indicators of Differential Treatment

One strength of paired testing is its ability to capture large amounts of information about interactions with housing providers. This ability includes being able to look at subtle differences in treatment. Testers recorded virtually every aspect of their interaction with a housing provider. These test indicators fall into two broad categories: (1) indicators that ensure the testers followed protocols and (2) indicators used to analyze differential treatment. The severity of differential treatment depends on which indicators show families with children being treated differently than matched childless renters. For example, outright denials for an appointment or being quoted a higher rent have a fundamentally different effect than would differences in being offered a business card at the end of an appointment.

Past paired-testing studies documenting housing discrimination generally measure differential treatment at the various stages of the housing search process. These stages include initial inquiry, meeting the housing provider, and seeing a unit.²²

Door slamming, one of the most blatant forms of discrimination, typically happens at the point of initial inquiry. It occurs in a number of different ways, including not making an appointment when a unit is available, canceling appointments, or not showing the unit when a renter has come for an appointment. Such deliberate denial of access to a housing unit is one of the most severe forms of differential treatment.

Discrimination can also occur when housing providers offer different terms or conditions for leasing a unit. This practice is often harder for renters to detect and can cause them to pay higher rents or select a different unit. Indicators of the condition of the lease focus primarily on the financial cost of renting, and we therefore classified them as financial indicators. The primary factors we looked at included differences in rent, security deposit, or surety bond and any incentives or fees. Differences in these financial factors can be severe and result

²² A list of the analysis indicators for the study is in appendix E.

in homeseekers paying more for less or having to find more affordable options. The length of the lease offered may also affect a renter's decision, but its effect is unclear.

Housing providers can also limit the number of units shown or show units of lesser quality or sizes as a way to discourage renters. These practices can have a negative effect by limiting the rental options available to a family and making housing searches longer and more expensive. They are not as detrimental as door slamming, but they are discriminatory and illegal.

Other indicators that could show differential treatment include landlord comments about the neighborhood, schools, or amenities. These comments are often hard to interpret, and although they may limit access to a particular unit, the landlord may in fact be attempting to provide information rather

than steer a renter away from renting their unit. Differential treatment in landlord comments about the neighborhood, schools, and amenities varied, and, as in past studies they were difficult to interpret.

Because we collected the same information in the same way on the telephone and in person, for most indicators we can compare the results, particularly for those indicators that would constitute the most severe differential treatment. An exception occurred when a particular indicator required the tester to physically observe the unit. In those cases, testers collected information in person but not over the telephone. Our findings from the three sites included in this pilot study are reported in the next chapter.

Pilot Study Findings

Overall, this pilot study shows that when well-qualified homeseekers with children contacted rental housing providers to inquire about recently advertised homes and apartments, those with children were as likely as comparably qualified homeseekers without children to get an appointment with a rental agent and learn about at least one available housing unit. Families with children were told about larger units on average than childless households inquiring about the same-size units, were quoted correspondingly higher rents, and were shown fewer units than families without children. For every six in-person visits to housing providers, families with children were shown one fewer rental unit (0.18 fewer units per visit when both testers were told a unit was available) compared with homeseekers without children. After adjusting for differences in number of bedrooms per unit, the overall rent, fees, and financial incentives did not differ significantly for homeseekers with and without children. The overall finding of being shown fewer units and being steered to somewhat larger and more expensive units, however, constrained the housing options of homeseekers with children.

The pilot study also examined variations in family discrimination based on race and ethnicity, family composition, and housing unit size. In brief, the questions we asked and the answers we found are as follows:

- Are families of color more likely to experience discrimination based on the presence of children than White families? The study found no evidence that discrimination against families with children varies with race or ethnicity.
- Are families with two children more likely to experience discrimination based on the presence of children than one-child families? This factor did make a difference: compared with one-child families, two-child families were shown slightly fewer units and units with slightly higher rents.
- Do the ages or sexes of the children affect the likelihood of discrimination against families with children? No differences were evident in the likelihood of discrimination for the three combinations of ages and sexes included in the study (a child younger than age 6, without specifying the sex; a teen female; a teen male).
- Does the marital status of the renter affect the likelihood of discrimination against families with children? Testers presenting as single female heads of household and testers presenting themselves as being married were equally likely to reach an agent, get an appointment, and be shown a unit.
- Does the size of the apartment unit (one versus two or three bedrooms) affect how families with children are treated in the rental housing market relative to families without children? When comparing the experience of renters with and without children, we observe larger differences for the paired tests involving one-bedroom tests than those involving two- or three-bedroom tests. These larger differences are observed for four outcomes: (1) the ability to obtain any information over the phone about an advertised unit, (2) whether the tester is told about any unit being available, (3) whether the tester is told about the requested-size unit being available, and (4) the average number of units of the requested-size unit being available. In short, there was more evidence of differential treatment among the one-bedroom tests than the tests involving two or three bedrooms.

Overall Estimates of Discrimination

Exhibit 10 presents estimates of summary measures for both the telephone and in-person paired tests. These summary measures are a select group of measures that have been used in past HDSs. Because they are summary measures, some of the measures in exhibit 10 are repeated in subsequent exhibits. Large statistically significant estimates indicate severe discrimination.

Looking at exhibit 10, we see that most prospective renters with and without children were able to reach an agent, obtain information about housing, and make an appointment to meet with a rental agent in person.²³ As shown in the upper panel of exhibit 10, in 98 percent of telephone tests, both testers in the matched pairs were able to speak with an agent about available housing; in 98 percent of tests, both testers were able to obtain information from a rental agent; and, in 96 percent of tests, both testers were able to make an in-person appointment. The differences in these rates are quite small and not statistically different from zero.

²³ As discussed in the previous chapter, the overall findings are weighted to adjust for disproportionate inclusion of groups based on race and ethnicity, marital status, number of bedrooms in housing units, and number of children in the test design.

Exhibit 10. Estimates of Family-Based Discrimination—Summary Measures

| Measures of Differential Treatment | | Both | Without Children | With Children | Difference | SE | N |
|------------------------------------|---|-------|------------------|---------------|------------|------|-----|
| Telephone | Tester able to reach an agent | 98.1% | 0.3% | 0.6% | -0.3% | 0.3% | 664 |
| | Tester able to obtain information | 98.1% | 0.8% | 0.7% | 0.1% | 0.5% | 641 |
| | Tester able to get an appointment | 95.9% | 0.8% | 1.2% | -0.4% | 0.6% | 664 |
| In person | Tester able to meet with an agent | 99.8% | 0.0% | 0.2% | -0.2% | 0.2% | 619 |
| | If able to meet with an agent | | | | | | |
| | Tester told any units available | 95.7% | 1.9% | 2.0% | -0.1% | 1.2% | 615 |
| | Tester told about more units | | 28.9% | 25.1% | 3.8% | 4.0% | 615 |
| | Tester told about more units (of requested number of bedrooms) | | 25.9% | 23.1% | 2.7% | 3.8% | 615 |
| | Average number of units tester was told were available | | 1.95 | 1.85 | 0.10 | 0.07 | 615 |
| | If told about any units | | | | | | |
| | Tester told about a different unit size (number of bedrooms) | | 4.5% | 13.6% | -9.1%*** | 2.3% | 590 |
| | Average unit size (number of bedrooms) | | 1.87 | 1.94 | -0.06*** | 0.01 | 590 |
| | Average square footage of units | | 1,001 | 1,023 | -22*** | 7 | 567 |
| | Tester told about only larger units (than the requested number of bedrooms) | | 0.6% | 2.7% | 2.1%** | 0.8% | 590 |
| | Average rent | | \$1,311 | \$1,325 | -\$13* | \$7 | 590 |
| | Average rent (controlling for number of bedrooms) | | \$1,341 | \$1,336 | \$5 | \$4 | 546 |
| | Tester shown more units | | 30.1% | 23.0% | 7.1%* | 4.1% | 590 |
| | Average number of units shown | | 1.83 | 1.65 | 0.18** | 0.07 | 590 |

SE = standard error of the difference.

*Significant at the .10 level. **Significant at the .05 level. ***Significant at the .01 level.

The middle panel of exhibit 10 (If able to meet with an agent) shows that at the in-person meeting with the rental agent, both testers were told about at least one available unit 96 percent of the time. Differences in treatment for these availability measures are not statistically significant.

Renters with children were told about larger units (both in terms of number of bedrooms and square footage) more often on average than childless applicants inquiring about the same-size units and were quoted correspondingly higher rents, as shown in the lowest panel of exhibit 10 (If told about any unit). The number of bedrooms available to renters with children was greater than that available to those without children by 0.06 bedrooms per inquiry; the average square footage of the units available to those with children was more than that of the units available to renters without children by 22 square feet. These differences translate into renters with children being told about one additional bedroom for every 17 inquiries. Renters with children were also more likely to be told only about units with more bedrooms. These differences translate into renters with children being quoted rents \$13 per month higher than renters without children; this difference goes away when we control

for the number of bedrooms the tester was told about. Testers with children were shown fewer units; the difference translates into renters with children being shown one less unit for every six in-person visits.

Differences in the financial terms of available housing are presented in exhibit 11. For most of these indicators, the differences between renters with and without children are not statistically significant. One clear difference is seen in whether the tester was told about an incentive of some kind. Compared with renters who have children, those without children were told about incentives in 5.5 percent more tests. For other measures, such as rent, security deposit, and net costs (all adjusted for the number of bedrooms), no statistically significant differences are found between what testers with and without children were told.

Exhibit 12 shows that renters with children were shown fewer units than those without children. Testers with children were equally likely to be shown at least one unit, but testers without children were shown more units in 30 percent of the tests, and testers with children were shown more units in 23 percent of tests; this difference is statistically significant. On average,

Exhibit 11. Financial Indicators for Discrimination in the Rental Market Against Families With Children

| Measures of Differential Treatment | | Both | Without Children | With Children | Difference | SE | N |
|------------------------------------|--|-------|------------------|---------------|------------|---------|-----|
| Rent and security deposit | Tester told higher rent ^a | | 8.9% | 7.3% | 1.7% | 2.2% | 546 |
| | Average rent ^a | | \$1,341 | \$1,336 | \$5 | \$4 | 546 |
| | Average rent | | \$1,311 | \$1,324 | -\$13* | \$7 | 591 |
| | Tester told a security deposit required ^a | 93.6% | 2.1% | 1.2% | 0.9% | 1.0% | 590 |
| | Tester told about a higher security deposit ^a | | 10.1% | 13.1% | -2.9% | 2.8% | 542 |
| | Average security deposit ^a | | \$580 | \$582 | -\$2 | \$24 | 542 |
| Leasing | Tester offered month-to-month lease | 2.0% | 4.7% | 3.3% | 1.4% | 1.5% | 590 |
| | Tester offered 2-year lease | 0.4% | 2.8% | 1.8% | 1.0% | 1.0% | 590 |
| Fees and incentives | Tester told fees required for any unit | 46.5% | 8.3% | 9.9% | -1.6% | 2.4% | 590 |
| | Tester told higher fees than partner | | 19.8% | 24.4% | -4.5% | 3.8% | 590 |
| | Average fees for any unit | | \$156 | \$182 | -\$26 | \$16 | 590 |
| | Tester told about incentives | 32.0% | 12.2% | 6.7% | 5.5%** | 2.5% | 590 |
| | Tester told about more incentives | | 20.1% | 17.0% | 3.1% | 3.4% | 590 |
| | Average amount of incentives | | \$276 | \$277 | -\$1 | \$30 | 590 |
| Net cost | Tester told a higher yearly cost ^a | | 11.1% | 12.9% | -1.8% | 2.8% | 546 |
| | Average yearly net cost ^a | | \$16,614.25 | \$16,588.23 | \$26.01 | \$63.87 | 546 |

SE = standard error of the difference.

^aControlling for number of bedrooms.

*Significant at the .10 level. **Significant at the .05 level.

Note: For all measures, the tester was told a unit was available.

Exhibit 12. Inspections and Unit Problem Indicators of Discrimination in the Rental Market Against Families With Children

| Measures of Differential Treatment | Both | Without Children | With Children | Difference | SE | N |
|---|-------|------------------|---------------|------------|------|-----|
| Tester shown any units | 91.5% | 3.6% | 2.6% | 1.0% | 1.5% | 590 |
| Tester shown more units | | 30.1% | 23.0% | 7.1%* | 4.1% | 590 |
| Average number of units shown (of any size) | | 1.83 | 1.65 | 0.18** | 0.07 | 590 |
| If any units shown | | | | | | |
| Tester shown any unit without any problems | 93.0% | 3.1% | 3.3% | -0.2% | 1.4% | 554 |
| Tester saw more problems per unit | | 6.0% | 4.7% | 1.3% | 1.7% | 554 |
| Average number of problems per unit | | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 554 |

SE = standard error of the difference.

*Significant at the .10 level. **Significant at the .05 level.

Note: For all measures, the tester was told a unit was available.

testers with children were shown 0.18 fewer units per visit than testers without children (when both testers were told a unit was available). Testers with children were shown an average of 1.65 units, and testers without children were shown an average of 1.83 units. In other words, for every six in-person visits to housing providers, families with children were shown one less rental unit than those without children. No differences appear in whether and how often problems were seen when renters with and without children inspected rental units.

When both testers met with an agent, no significant treatment differences were noted in terms of the comments that agents made to the testers (see exhibit 13). The same is true for comments made over the telephone, except for comments relating to occupancy standards. Rental agents were more likely to make remarks about occupancy standards to testers with children: they mentioned a two-persons-per-bedroom policy and the legality of renting a one-bedroom unit to three occupants.

Exhibit 13. Comments and Helpfulness Indicators for Discrimination in the Rental Market Against Families With Children

| Measures of Differential Treatment | Both (%) | Without Children (%) | With Children (%) | Difference (%) | SE | N |
|--|----------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----|-----|
| If testers met with an agent | | | | | | |
| Agent made remarks about children | 0.1 | 3.1 | 4.4 | - 1.3 | 1.6 | 615 |
| Agent made remarks about their specific household composition | 0.1 | 1.8 | 2.3 | - 0.5 | 1.0 | 615 |
| Agent made remarks about occupancy standards | 0.0 | 0.7 | 1.3 | - 0.6 | 0.6 | 615 |
| Agent made remarks about fair housing | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.3 | - 0.1 | 0.2 | 615 |
| If told about any unit | | | | | | |
| Agent suggested application was necessary | 99.2 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 593 |
| Agent suggested an application fee was needed | 95.5 | 1.9 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 590 |
| Agent suggested credit check must be completed as part of an application | 98.6 | 1.0 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 593 |
| Agent suggested background check must be completed as part of an application | 40.7 | 15.5 | 12.8 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 593 |
| Agent requested information about tester's credit standing | 0.0 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 593 |
| Agent requested information about tester's rental history | 1.5 | 6.4 | 7.1 | - 0.7 | 2.0 | 593 |
| Agent requested information about tester's income | 0.5 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 593 |
| Agent provided tester(s) listings, floor plan, brochure, and so forth | 79.3 | 6.4 | 7.3 | - 0.9 | 2.0 | 593 |
| Agent provided tester(s) more total items | | 36.4 | 30.0 | 6.4 | 4.6 | 593 |
| Agent suggested arrangements for future contact | 52.0 | 18.1 | 17.2 | 0.9 | 3.4 | 593 |
| Agent made positive remarks | 22.8 | 19.7 | 18.6 | 1.1 | 3.4 | 593 |
| Agent made more positive remarks | | 27.8 | 25.6 | 2.2 | 4.2 | 593 |
| Agent made negative remarks | 0.0 | 0.5 | 1.2 | - 0.7 | 0.7 | 593 |
| Agent made more negative remarks | | 0.5 | 1.2 | - 0.7 | 0.7 | 593 |
| Tester received followup from agent | 16.4 | 12.2 | 10.6 | 1.6 | 2.4 | 592 |

SE = standard error of the difference.

Estimates of Discrimination by Family Characteristics

An important goal of this study was to explore whether discrimination against families with children plays out differently for different subgroups of families with children or for different rental unit types. Families are diverse in their racial and ethnic identities and in their structure and the housing they seek. It is possible that rental agents treat certain families with children differently than others. To capture some of these differences, various family and unit characteristics were built into the partial factorial design of the pilot study. With all the data in hand, our goal was to assess whether certain factors matter (or if one factor matters more than another). This examination was done using multivariate regression models, which estimate the effects of each factor on a given outcome while simultaneously controlling for the influence of the other factors. The outcomes are the summary measures reported in exhibit 10.

Exhibit 14 presents the results of our multivariate analysis with the predictor variables (variables that might influence the likelihood of experiencing familial status-based discrimination) listed in the far-left column. The top row represents the overall effect for each measure. For example, the average difference between testers with and without children on the indicator “tester able to get an appointment” was -0.004. The negative sign indicates that testers without children were less likely to get an appointment than testers with children. The estimate is not statistically significant, and so we conclude that homeseekers with and without children are equally likely to get an appointment. (This finding is also displayed in exhibit 10, where it appears as a -0.4 percent difference.)

The rows below the top row display measures of the average difference between two groups of the differential treatment between testers with and without children. In other words, as explained in technical detail in chapter 3, the numbers in

Exhibit 14. Multivariate Regression Analysis (Ordinary Least Squares) of Testing Factors

| Multivariate Factors (reference group) | Summary Measures | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|---|---|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | Tester Able To Reach an Agent (%) | Tester Able To Obtain Information (%) | Tester Able To Get an Appointment (%) | Tester Able To Meet With an Agent (%) | Tester Told Any Units Available (%) | Average Number of Units Tester Told Any Size (%) | Tester Told About Any Unit of Requested Size (%) | Average Number of Units Tester Told Available of Requested Size | Average Square Footage of Any Unit Told About | Average Rent* (\$) | Average Rent (\$) | Tester Shown Any Unit (%) | Number of Units Shown of Any Size | Told About Any Incentives (%) |
| Summary measures differences (no reference group) | -0.3 | 0.1 | -0.4 | -0.2 | -0.1 | 0.1 | 1.3 | 0.07 | -22*** | 5 | -13 | 0.01 | 0.18** | 5.5** |
| African-American test (White tester) | -0.011 | -0.006 | 0.002 | -0.003 | -0.006 | -0.217 | 0.016 | -0.233 | -2.976 | 1.307 | -12.859 | -0.001 | -0.227 | 0.006 |
| Hispanic test (White tester) | -0.005 | -0.013 | -0.003 | -0.007 | 0.016 | -0.233 | 0.032 | -0.275* | -6.468 | 12.483 | -13.172 | 0.005 | -0.246 | 0.020 |
| One bedroom (two or three bedrooms) | 0.005 | 0.024** | 0.022 | 0.010 | 0.029* | 0.145 | 0.162*** | 0.377*** | -16.929 | 1.364 | -3.742 | 0.025 | 0.076 | -0.040 |
| One child (two children) | 0.018 | -0.023 | -0.013 | -0.005 | -0.024 | -0.155 | -0.014 | -0.138 | -11.096 | -11.270* | -17.509* | -0.056 | -0.263* | -0.032 |
| Single (married) | -0.006 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.007 | 0.003 | 0.079 | -0.076*** | -0.046 | 19.123** | 2.880 | 8.810 | 0.011 | 0.044 | -0.030 |
| Teen male (young child) | -0.026** | 0.018 | 0.018 | 0.004 | 0.005 | 0.066 | 0.004 | 0.059 | -0.786 | -11.410 | -12.877* | -0.004 | -0.036 | -0.022 |
| Teen female (young child) | -0.026* | 0.014* | -0.010 | 0.010 | -0.010 | 0.099 | -0.019 | -0.039 | 11.439 | -2.194 | -4.501 | -0.004 | -0.035 | 0.009 |
| Dayton (Dallas) | 0.010 | 0.014 | 0.006 | -0.007 | 0.026 | -0.165 | 0.092 | -0.032 | -1.912 | 7.218 | 8.294 | 0.003 | -0.101 | -0.075 |
| Los Angeles (Dallas) | -0.005 | 0.003 | -0.015 | 0.006 | 0.013 | -0.141 | -0.034 | -0.210 | 26.832** | 8.632 | 26.330** | -0.024 | -0.211 | -0.110** |
| Constant | 0.009 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.002 | -0.012 | 0.318 | 0.002 | 0.364 | -25.035 | 1.138 | 0.360 | 0.044 | 0.574 | 0.140 |

^aControlling for number of bedrooms.

*Significant at the .10 level. **Significant at the .05 level. ***Significant at the .01 level.

Note: Italicized numbers indicate statistically significant coefficients.

the table represent a difference of differences. For instance, the row labeled “African-American test” shows whether the differences between testers with and without children were the same for African-American and White testers. The data in this row answer this question: Among African-American testers, was the difference in treatment experienced by testers with and without children the same as what was found among White testers? For the indicator “tester able to get an appointment,” the table displays “0.002.” Because the number is positive, the average differential treatment among African-American testers was greater than the average among White testers, but again the difference is not statistically significant. We conclude that African-American and White homeseekers are equally likely to experience (or not experience) this type of familial status discrimination.

When examining ethnicity, Hispanic and White testers were equally likely to experience—or in this case not experience—familial status-based discrimination. The one exception was on the indicator “average number of units told available of requested size.” The difference displayed is negative (-0.275 units), showing that the difference between testers with and without children was smaller for Hispanic testers than for White testers. Only one indicator appeared as statistically significant, however, so this finding is very weak evidence for ethnicity influencing the likelihood of housing discrimination.²⁴

To confirm the lack of evidence for the influence of race and ethnicity, we went one step further and limited the analysis to the 96 percent of paired tests for which two-thirds or more of raters correctly identified both testers’ race/ethnicity (meaning that the correct race/ethnicity of the tester was clear to most people). Once again, African-American and Hispanic testers were less likely to see a difference between testers with and without children than were White testers. Although the changes in the estimates were very small, on two outcome measures—total available units and total advertised units—the estimates changed just enough to become statistically significant at the 10-percent level. Thus, the evidence continues to show that, compared to Whites, African-American and Hispanic testers were equally likely, or possibly less likely, to experience familial-status based discrimination.

Seeking a one-bedroom unit, however, increased the likelihood of familial status discrimination. Exhibit 14 shows that, on average, when testers with and without children applied for one-bedroom apartments, they were more likely to be treated differently than when they asked for two- or three-bedroom units. The difference between testers with and without children

in the likelihood of obtaining any information was 2.4 percentage points greater, and the difference in the likelihood of being told about any unit of the requested size was 16 percentage points greater. The difference in number of units told about was 0.377 units. The difference between testers with and without children for each indicator is statistically significant. In other words, for all these indicators, compared with testers without children, when applying for one-bedroom units instead of two- or three-bedroom units, testers with children were less likely to learn about available units.

Compared with families with two children, families with only one child similarly were treated more like families without children for measures of rent and the number of units shown. The difference between testers with one child and testers without children in average rent offered, average rent controlling for number of bedrooms, and number of units they got to see was smaller than the difference between families with two children and families without children. These differences are statistically significant. Families with one child were closer to families without children by \$11 per month in rent (adjusted for the number of bedrooms in a unit) and by 0.263 units shown.

Finally, based on the tests of statistical significance, three other factors might influence the likelihood of differential treatment based on familial status: (1) age of child, (2) sex of child, and (3) location of rental unit. Interpreting these findings substantively, however, is difficult.

Marital status (single versus married) influenced differential treatment. In terms of being told about any unit of the requested size, the difference between testers posing as single women (without children) and single mothers was smaller than the difference between testers posing as married couples with and without children, by 7.6 percentage points. The difference between testers posing as single women and single mothers in terms of the size of units they were told about was larger by 19 square feet than the difference between married couple testers with and without children. Having a child did not seem to affect the landlord’s or rental agent’s notion of the size of a unit to offer a married couple, but it did so for a single woman. In general, testers with children were offered larger units than were testers without children (see exhibit 10), and it seems this effect was larger among single renters than married renters.

Statistically significant differences showed up in the likelihood of differential treatment based on the age and sex of the tester’s child. Testers with a teenager (boy or girl) were closer on the indicator “able to reach an agent” to testers without

²⁴ For the outcome indicators in exhibit 14, no difference in treatment was notable for African-American and Hispanic testers.

children than were testers with a young child, by 0.026 or 2.6 percentage points. On average, the difference between testers with teenage boys and testers without children in terms of the average rent offered was \$12.80 per month less than the difference between testers with a young child and testers without children. This finding was not statistically significant when controlling for number of bedrooms.²⁵

Being in Los Angeles instead of Dallas influenced the likelihood of differential treatment associated with familial status. The difference between testers with and without children in terms of average size (square feet) of units offered was greater by 26.8 square feet in Los Angeles; the rents quoted—without controlling for bedroom size—were also farther apart, by \$26.30 per month.

Estimates of Discrimination by Data Collection Method

The pilot study used two methods to collect data: telephone calls and in-person visits to rental housing providers. For each test, both testers first called the housing provider (collecting as much information as possible about available units and conditions for their rental) and then requested an in-person appointment. After these calls, they made an in-person visit to the housing provider to collect the same information and inspect some units. The goal was to understand whether both methods led to the same findings. In this section, we focus on measures that can be gathered by telephone calls and in-person visits, namely whether the tester was told any units were available; how many units of any size they were told were available; how many units of a specific size they were told were available; and various details about the units they were told about, such as size, rent, fees, and incentives.

In-person tests are considered the gold standard against which less-expensive telephone tests should be compared. One concern with telephone testing is that the measures (or test outcomes) may be harder to collect or less reliable than data collected through in-person tests. Local testing organizations have reported that the people responding to telephone calls may be management company personnel with little detailed information about particular units, and, in some cases, it seemed as if their primary goal was to encourage an in-person visit to the rental site. The organizations also reported that testers were more likely to be told about a range of possible rents rather than a specific dollar value when asking about rents over

the telephone. Being told of a range of rents is not necessarily a problem, but the range may reflect the rents for the inventory in that building rather than the units that are actually available for rent.

Exhibit 15 shows selected outcomes we captured through both telephone calls and in-person visits. The close correspondence of the means for the outcomes across the two data collection methods suggests that testers collected similar information using both methods. Several differences were observed. Remarks about occupancy standards were more common over the telephone, and information about incentives and fees was more common in the in-person tests. Also, testers found out about more units during the in-person tests. Finally, a key finding from this study is seen in both sets of outcome measures: namely, families with children were told about larger units on average than childless households inquiring about the same-size units and were quoted correspondingly higher rents.

We also extended the multivariate regression analysis discussed in the previous section to obtain a more systematic analysis of whether outcomes captured by telephone calls versus in-person visits yielded different estimates of differential treatment. These regression results yielded estimates of the effect of telephone versus in-person testing controlling for race, unit size, number and ages of children, and pilot study site.

The results indicated greater levels of differential treatment over the telephone for measures of unit availability and greater differential treatment when meeting in person for measures related to unit size. In particular, telephone tests yielded somewhat greater levels of differential treatment than in-person tests for two specific measures: (1) whether any unit was available ($p = .069$) and (2) whether an advertised unit was available ($p = .052$). Comments on occupancy standards were also more common in the telephone tests ($p = .000$). In-person tests led to greater levels of differential treatment for three specific measures: (1) the number of units of another size told about ($p = .014$), (2) being told about a larger size than what was requested ($p = .004$), and (3) the number of larger units the tester was told about ($p = .002$).

If using telephone tests only, the findings on differential treatment of families with children would yield the same general finding that families are being steered into larger units, but the estimate of prevalence might be different. Telephone tests only would tend to produce a larger estimate of differential treatment in being told about an advertised unit or about any

²⁵ No difference in treatment was evident between teen males and females for any of the treatment outcomes in exhibit 14.

Exhibit 15. Selected Telephone and In-Person Measures

| | Telephone Measures | | | | In-Person Measures | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------|------------------|------------|--------------------|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------|------|-----|
| | Both/ Same | Without Children | With Children | Difference | SE | N | Both/ Same | Without Children | With Children | Difference | SE | N |
| | If able to reach an agent with information about housing | | | | | | If able to meet with an agent | | | | | |
| Tester told any units available | 95.5% | 2.2% | 1.3% | 0.9% | 0.9% | 641 | 95.7% | 1.9% | 2.0% | -0.1% | 1.2% | 615 |
| Tester told about more units (of any number of bedrooms) | 54.1% | 24.9% | 21.0% | 3.9% | 3.7% | 641 | 46.0% | 28.9% | 25.1% | 3.8% | 4.0% | 615 |
| Average number of units tester told available (of any number of bedrooms) | 1.67 | 1.61 | 1.61 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 641 | 1.95 | 1.95 | 1.85 | 0.10 | 0.07 | 615 |
| Tester told about more units (of the requested number of bedrooms) | 57.3% | 20.9% | 21.8% | -0.9% | 3.6% | 633 | 51.0% | 25.9% | 23.1% | 2.7% | 3.8% | 615 |
| Average number of units tester told available (of the requested number of bedrooms) | 1.48 | 1.45 | 1.45 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 629 | 1.71 | 1.71 | 1.65 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 615 |
| | If told about any unit | | | | | | If told about any unit | | | | | |
| Average square footage of units | 974 | 993 | 993 | -19*** | 6 | 593 | 1,001 | 1,023 | 1,023 | -22*** | 7 | 567 |
| Average rent | \$1,280 | \$1,302 | \$1,302 | -\$22*** | \$7 | 611 | \$1,311 | \$1,325 | \$1,325 | -\$13* | \$7 | 590 |
| Average rent ^a | \$1,308 | \$1,312 | \$1,312 | -\$4 | \$3 | 567 | \$1,341 | \$1,336 | \$1,336 | \$5 | \$4 | 546 |
| Tester told about incentives | 24.4% | 9.9% | 8.2% | 1.6% | 2.3% | 611 | 32.0% | 12.2% | 6.7% | 5.5%** | 2.5% | 590 |
| Average amount of incentives | \$190 | \$189 | \$189 | \$1 | \$18 | 611 | \$276 | \$276 | \$277 | -\$1 | \$30 | 590 |
| Tester told fees required for any unit | 40.6% | 7.3% | 9.8% | -2.7% | 2.1% | 611 | 46.5% | 8.3% | 9.9% | -1.6% | 2.4% | 590 |
| Average fees for any unit | \$129 | \$135 | \$135 | -\$6 | \$13 | 611 | \$156 | \$182 | \$182 | -\$26 | \$16 | 590 |

SE = standard error of the difference.

^aControlling for number of bedrooms.

*Significant at the .10 level. **Significant at the .05 level. ***Significant at the .01 level.

available unit. Compared with in-person tests, telephone tests only would produce a lower estimate of the extent to which families are told about units of another size, larger units, and a greater number of larger units.

In light of the existing literature and the commentary and experiences of practitioners, the findings of this rigorous paired-testing study are very surprising. We expected to find stronger evidence of discrimination against families with children in rental housing markets. We found some evidence of steering to slightly larger and more expensive units. This finding was more pronounced for families with two children than for

families with one child and when seeking a one-bedroom unit rather than a two- or three-bedroom unit. Further, we expected to find that race and ethnicity and family composition would influence experiences of discrimination. The likelihood of experiencing familial status discrimination, however, was the same for African-American, Hispanic, and White testers. We also expected to see differences between the treatment of male and female children, teenagers and young children, and single and married couples, yet no evidence supported this expectation. These findings raised a host of additional questions. The next chapter reports on complementary analyses undertaken to address many of these questions.

Extended Data Analyses

The study findings diverge from the limited background information available on discrimination against children in the rental housing market. The results are particularly puzzling given the prevalence of familial status complaints historically and during the past few years (NFHA, 2011, 2012, 2013). In light of the unanticipated findings, in this chapter we explore possible reasons for the differences between complaints of familial status discrimination and the findings from the pilot study. In particular, we ask—

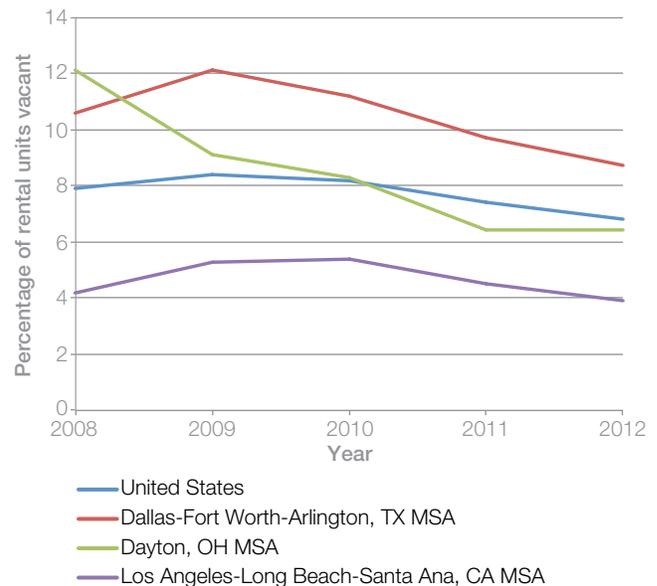
- Were rental vacancy rates unusually high in the three pilot study sites, making housing providers less likely to discriminate?
- Are agents working for large, professional management companies less likely than smaller rental housing providers to discriminate?
- Did housing providers make comments that might reflect subtle forms of discrimination against families with children?
- Could the assignment of testers to protected or control status have distorted the test results?
- Do HUD's complaint data suggest that most familial status discrimination occurs later in the lease-up process or after occupancy?
- Do local occupancy standards explain some or all of the findings of differential treatment?

Each question provides evidence to help validate the results of the pilot study. We approach each in turn in the following sections.

Vacancy Rates in the Pilot Study Sites

If rental housing vacancy rates in the pilot study sites were unusually high, then rental agents may have been more willing than usual to rent to families with children (in other words, they were not in a position to be as choosy or discriminating as they might otherwise have been). Exhibit 16 shows that, in one site (Dallas), the vacancy rate for all rentals in the metropolitan area was a bit higher than the national average and that, in the other two sites (Dayton and Los Angeles), the rate was below the national average. None of these sites seemed to be major outliers relative to the national average, and trends over time showed no major changes, with the exception of Dayton, which moved much closer to the national average in the 4-year period between 2008 and 2012.

Exhibit 16. National and Metropolitan Statistical Area-Specific Rental Vacancy Rates



MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

Source: American Community Survey 1-year estimates (CP04, Housing Characteristics)

When comparing the three metropolitan areas with the 381 metropolitan statistical areas in the 2013 ACS, we found that Los Angeles had the lowest vacancy rate and was ranked at the 14th percentile of the metropolitan statistical areas, with Dayton at the 30th percentile and Dallas at the 63rd. In short, none of the three sites were extreme outliers, whether compared nationally or over time within their own markets, and we see no reason to believe that rental housing vacancy rates in the three pilot study sites systematically affected our findings.

Role of Professional Management Companies

Another potential explanation for our findings is that management companies, and the people who work for them, may have a different set of incentives and behaviors when it comes to interacting with prospective renters compared with small landlords or landlords of apartment buildings that are not professionally managed. Rather than slamming a door, hanging up the phone, or quoting less desirable financial terms for one renter versus another, their goals may be to get as many potential renters to available units as possible or to rent apartments as quickly and efficiently as possible.

Using rental property addresses and the names of properties collected by testers during data collection, we sought to identify properties that were or were not managed professionally. Our results are shown in exhibit 17. We found that Dallas had the highest share of professionally managed test sites (95 percent), and Dayton and Los Angeles had higher shares of independently managed test sites (12 and 13 percent, respectively). Dayton and Los Angeles also had higher shares of properties for which the property management arrangement was unknown (about 9 percent each).

Within each of the three sites, we also counted the number of professional property management firms identified by the local testing organization during the study and the share of these firms that were identified only for a single property (exhibit 18). Dallas had the largest number of professional management firms overseeing only one property among our test sites, and Dayton had the smallest share of such firms.

A small number of unique professional management firms, along with a small share of firms identified only once, suggests a relatively concentrated professional property management market. For example, the most well-represented professional management firms in Dayton and Los Angeles were associated with more unique test sites (20 in Dayton and 25 in Los Angeles) than the most well-represented professional management firm in Dallas (13). It is possible that such concentrated property management markets might yield less variation in rental agent treatment and, hence, less discrimination, than what might be found in cities and markets in which management companies account for a smaller share of the market.

From this analysis, it is clear that many rental properties are being professionally managed. We compared the subset of tests of properties that were professionally managed with those that were not to see if we could determine clear differences in

Exhibit 17. Management Status of Rental Properties

| | Professionally Managed (%) | Independently Managed (%) | Inconclusive (%) |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| Dallas, Texas | 95 | 4 | 2 |
| Dayton, Ohio | 79 | 12 | 9 |
| Los Angeles, California | 78 | 13 | 9 |

Exhibit 18. Number of Professional Management Firms and Share Managing Only One Test Site

| | Professional Management Companies Identified | Share Identified Only Once |
|-------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Dallas, Texas | 93 | 59 |
| Dayton, Ohio | 64 | 34 |
| Los Angeles, California | 54 | 48 |

treatment between the two, but the small sample sizes of the pilot study and the small size of our overall estimates limited our ability to explore this question fully. We found no difference in access to housing. This pattern does not cause us to question the appropriateness of our outcome measures in reflecting the actual experiences of applicants in these rental housing markets, because the presence of the management companies in our tests reflects their presence in the available housing in these cities. It might, however, suggest that we cannot rule out the possibility of larger differences in treatment in cities in which management companies account for a small share of the market.

Rental Agent Comments and Tester Narratives

Given our overall findings, we decided to further examine the tester narratives in our database in an effort to identify any comments (positive or negative) or other indications of differential treatment regarding familial status. We read through the comments and searched on many terms that might be mentioned when talking about children (for example, kid, child, teen, family, play, run, climb, noise, drugs, school, bike, pool) or the absence of children (for example, adult, peace, calm, quiet, safe, orderly, rules, retire, rest). The search did not yield many such comments, but most of those it did yield were supportive of children and families, even in the comments made to testers with no children. For example, rental agents mentioned a summer feeding program with a bike giveaway; an afterschool supervision in a common recreational room where children could do homework until 6 p.m., when many working parents returned home; and playgrounds that were close by and safe and easy for parents to monitor from a kitchen window. The few comments about local schools were all positive.

Because we found some evidence of steering families with children to slightly larger and more expensive units, we also looked at and searched for comments relating to apartment size (for example, big, small, bedroom, space, storage, occupancy). We found two comments about occupancy standards. In one case, the tester explained that she was looking for a one-bedroom apartment for herself, her husband, and their 4-year-old son, and the agent replied, “You know, you’re pushing the occupancy limits with a one bedroom, but we have one available on the third floor that can be ready October 11 if you can wait until then.” In a second similar case (a tester presenting herself as married with a 4-year-old son), the tester reports in her narrative that the agent told her that “the Texas occupancy law that states that no more than two people can occupy a one-bedroom apartment. She said that we’d have to go with a two bedroom.” Given our finding of steering to larger units and these two

comments, future studies of potential housing discrimination against families with children should include the issue of occupancy standards.

We also searched the narratives for terms and phrases that might indicate whether agents were probing about the financial situations of the testers (for example, afford, job, employment, pay, check, finance, stable, rent, fees, deposit). Once again, we did not find any comments or observations that would suggest systematic differences between testers with and without children. Finally, none of the sampled ads included explicitly discriminatory language about families with children.

Tester Assignment to Protected Class Versus Control Tests

Another question we considered after completing our initial analyses was how testers were assigned to protected class (a family with a child) versus control (a family without a child) tests. These assignments ideally would have been random, ensuring no systematic relationship between a tester’s personality or other characteristics and their assignment on the tests. Unlike previous paired-testing studies examining race/ethnicity, testers in this pilot study could pose either as a parent or as a childless homeseeker. If the same testers always posed as parents (and other testers always posed as childless homeseekers), it is possible that testers posing as parents might have appeared to be more appealing tenants on other (unmeasured) attributes, thus systematically reducing differences in treatment.

Exhibit 19 shows that 34 percent of testers were assigned the same role 90 percent of the time across all the tests they conducted. These testers did not conduct many completed tests, individually or as a share of the total. In fact, they accounted for only 6 percent of all completed tests conducted in the pilot study. Among testers who conducted multiple tests, most tended to split their time between the two options (that is,

Exhibit 19. Tester Assignment to Protected Class and Control Tests

| Tester Assigned to Same Status in Tests (%) | All Testers (%) | All Tests (%) |
|---|-----------------|---------------|
| > 90 | 34 | 6 |
| 80–90 | 4 | 5 |
| 70–80 | 9 | 13 |
| 60–70 | 26 | 35 |
| 50–60 | 27 | 41 |

protected and control). More than one-fourth (27 percent) of all testers played the same role approximately one-half the time (between 50 and 60 percent), and they accounted for 41 percent of all the tests conducted.

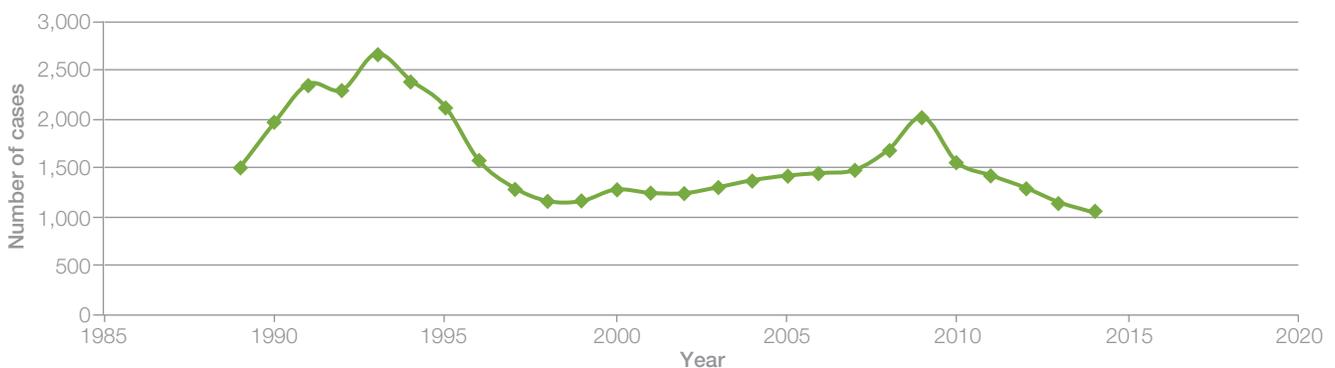
As a result, we believe that it is unlikely that the assignment to the protected and controlled class is the source of the observed findings.

TEAPOTS Data and Familial Status

A potentially important limitation of the paired-testing approach to estimating housing discrimination is that it examines a relatively narrow window within the home seeking-occupancy continuum. It does not extend to the actual lease-signing stage, nor does it reflect the experiences of renters after they have moved in (postoccupancy). Fair housing groups have reported that many of the problems that families with children face actually occur when families are occupying units. To begin to explore this issue in a preliminary way, we looked at data from HUD’s Title Eight Automated Paperless Office Tracking System (TEAPOTS).

We looked at familial status cases in both sales and rental housing over time, since 1988, when the Fair Housing Amendments Act was passed. Exhibit 20 demonstrates that familial status cases have declined since the implementation of the Fair Housing Amendments Act. Immediately after these amendments, cases of discrimination grew steadily until 1993, when the number

Exhibit 20. Number of Familial Status Cases, 1988 to 2014



began to fall until they leveled out before 2000. The increase in the number of cases in the late 2000s was associated with larger numbers of cases involving advertising, when landlords began to use Internet advertising more frequently. The number of familial status cases has declined since then.

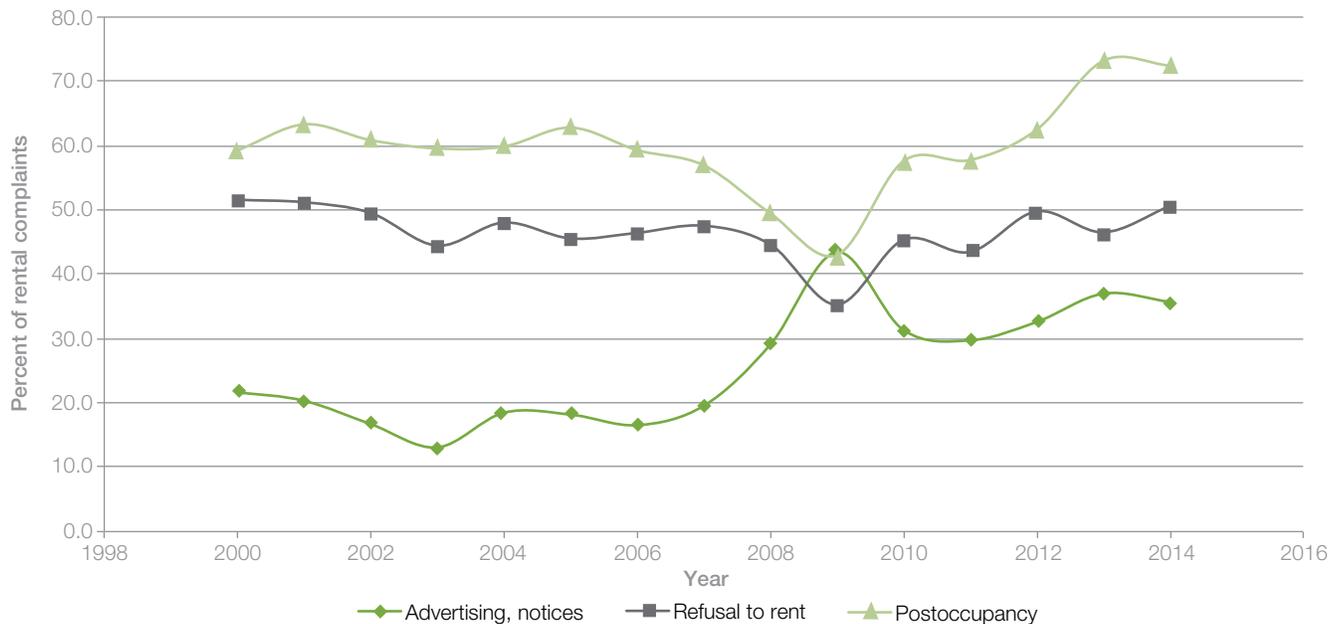
We also examined familial status cases from 2000 to 2014 by type of complaint recorded in TEAPOTS to determine whether discrimination was occurring before occupancy or after families with children had moved into their units.²⁶ Exhibit 21 shows that the TEAPOTS data show that cases of family discrimination in rental housing occurred as prospective tenants tried to obtain a rental and after they moved in. Exhibit 21 also shows that trends in the percentages of complaints for pre-occupancy and postoccupancy have been fairly stable since 2000. On average, 26 percent of rental cases involved discriminatory advertising, 46 percent involved discriminatory refusal to rent; and 55 percent involved discriminatory terms, conditions, and privileges. Analysis of a sample of individual cases for 2013 showed that nearly all complaints on discriminatory terms, conditions, and privileges were for problems that occurred postoccupancy. The relatively large shares of complaints associated with advertising and discriminatory refusal to rent suggest we had reason to expect discrimination in the window examined in this study.

Role of Residential Occupancy Standards in the Pilot Study Sites

As expected, residential occupancy standards were different in each testing site. In fact, they differed even within the three metropolitan areas we tested. As described in chapter 2, occupancy standards vary by jurisdiction, and litigation relying on the Fair Housing Amendments Act covering families with children can hinge on the definition of *habitable space* that is included in a jurisdiction’s building codes. The sample for this pilot study included advance calls to advertised units in 109 jurisdictions across the three metropolitan areas. Some of the housing providers in our sample were in states with clearly defined residential occupancy limits,²⁷ but others were not. To further complicate matters, even in states with laws defining residential occupancy standards, local laws can be more restrictive. Also, under some circumstances, landlords can set even more restrictive occupancy standards than what state or local laws dictate.

The variance in residential occupancy standards across and within the testing sites made it difficult to evaluate whether testers were being illegally denied housing under the Fair Housing Amendments Act. For these reasons most of our tests

Exhibit 21. Percentage of Rental Cases by Complaint (Discriminatory Advertising; Refusal to Rent; and Post-occupancy Discriminatory Terms, Conditions, and Privileges), 2000 to 2014



²⁶ The total percentage of cases adds up to more than 100 percent because of some cases being included in multiple categories of cases. In addition, the sample here is limited to cases after 2000, when HUD began counting sales and rental cases separately in the TEAPOTS database.

²⁷ Texas has a maximum occupancy standard of three times the number of bedrooms in the dwelling. This standard theoretically should cover one-third of the tests in this pilot study.

(by design) did not exceed the guideline of two persons per bedroom, a guideline that has been widely circulated in a document known as the Keating Memo.²⁸ A small portion of the tests were designed to push and possibly exceed the residential occupancy standards, because the literature suggests that residential occupancy standards potentially play a significant role in discrimination against families with children. As described in chapter 3, the pilot study was designed to examine a variety of potentially important family and housing characteristics. One combination of characteristics, namely married couples with one child seeking one-bedroom apartments, could have exceeded government residential occupancy limits. We looked at the outcomes for this subset of tests to examine whether discrimination was more apparent for families with this set of characteristics.

We examined the outcomes for which we found differential treatment against families with children in the whole sample and found that discrimination against families with children was more severe for the subsample of tests in which the family size would exceed a two-persons-per-bedroom standard (which may or may not have violated the actual occupancy standard that prevailed). In this subsample, we found that testers with children were 21 percentage points more likely to be told about larger units with more bedrooms than their childless counterparts (exhibit 22). In fact, these testers were 21 percentage points more likely than their childless counterparts to be told about *only* larger units. Testers without children were 16 percentage points more likely to be told about the advertised unit or a smaller unit. This practice resulted in families with children being told about units with 0.19 more

bedrooms on average than their childless counterparts. Thus, for every five visits to a housing provider, married testers with one child looking for a one-bedroom unit would be told about a larger unit than their childless counterparts.

We also looked at outcomes after removing tests in which family size could potentially exceed the government-imposed occupancy limits to check that our previous findings were not the product of a small number of cases that might exceed residential occupancy standards. In this subsample, families with children were still told about larger units on average than their childless counterparts, but the difference was much smaller than for those families who were close to pushing the residential occupancy standards. Families with children who did not come close to exceeding residential occupancy standards were told about larger units 8 percent of the time. The difference in number of bedrooms on average was 0.05 bedrooms (exhibit 23). In this case, for every 20 in-person visits to a housing provider, the testers with a child would be told about one unit with more bedrooms than their childless counterpart. In this subsample of tests, testers with children were not more likely to be told about *only* larger units than their childless counterparts.

These findings, along with some of the occupancy-related comments in the tester narratives, suggest that residential occupancy standards may play an important role in discrimination against families with children. Although these estimates are suggestive, we generally do not find a significant difference *between* the estimates at usual levels of significance. They matter in our results, but they are not the only factor contributing to rental agents showing families with children larger and more expensive units.

Exhibit 22. Unit Size and Price for Married Couples With a Child Seeking a One-Bedroom Apartment

| Measures of Differential Treatment | Both (%) | Without Children | With Child | Difference | SE | N |
|--|----------|------------------|------------|------------|------|-----|
| Tester told different number of bedrooms | 62.7 | 8.1% | 29.2% | -21.1%*** | 7.8% | 106 |
| Average number of bedrooms | | 1.15 | 1.34 | -0.19*** | 0.06 | 106 |
| Tester told different average rent | 55.3 | 16.1% | 28.6% | -12.4% | 8.9% | 106 |
| Average rent | | \$1,347 | \$1,388 | -\$41* | \$22 | 106 |
| Tester told different average rent ^a | 74.0 | 13.3% | 12.7% | 0.6% | 8.0% | 84 |
| Average rent ^a | | \$1,453 | \$1,446 | \$7 | \$12 | 84 |
| Tester told about only larger units | 7.8 | 2.7% | 23.4% | -20.7%*** | 6.3% | 106 |
| Tester told about only smaller units | 0.0 | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | NA | 106 |
| Tester told about a unit of the assigned size or smaller unit | 54.5 | 23.5% | 7.6% | 15.8%*** | 7.4% | 106 |
| Tester told about both a larger unit and at least one assigned or smaller unit | 3.2 | 8.4% | 3.5% | 4.8% | 4.6% | 106 |

SE = standard error of the difference.

^a Controlling for number of bedrooms.

*Significant at the .10 level. **Significant at the .05 level. ***Significant at the .01 level.

²⁸ See HUD (1998): <http://www.hud.gov/offices/fheo/library/occupancystds.pdf>.

In summary, the extended analyses reported in this chapter support the overall findings of the pilot study, but they also suggest some important dimensions for future studies of

discrimination against families with children in the rental housing market, especially regarding postoccupancy and occupancy standards.

Exhibit 23. Unit Size and Price for Married Couples With a Child Seeking a One-Bedroom Apartment

| Measures of Differential Treatment | Both (%) | Without Children | With Child | Difference | SE | N |
|--|----------|------------------|------------|------------|------|-----|
| Tester told different number of bedrooms | 83.5 | 4.2% | 12.3% | - 8.0%*** | 2.5% | 485 |
| Average number of bedrooms | | 1.95 | 2.00 | - 0.05*** | 0.02 | 485 |
| Tester told different average rent | 73.5 | 10.7% | 15.8% | - 5.1%* | 3.1% | 485 |
| Average rent | | \$1,308 | \$1,318 | - \$10 | \$7 | 485 |
| Tester told different average rent ^a | 84.7 | 8.6% | 6.7% | 1.8% | 2.2% | 463 |
| Average rent ^a | | \$1,331 | \$1,326 | \$5 | \$5 | 463 |
| Tester told about only larger units | 2.0 | 0.4% | 0.7% | - 0.3% | 0.6% | 485 |
| Tester told about only smaller units | 2.3 | 2.0% | 1.2% | 0.8% | 0.9% | 485 |
| Tester told about a unit of the assigned size or smaller unit | 93.3 | 3.0% | 0.9% | 2.0% | 1.2% | 485 |
| Tester told about both a larger unit and at least one assigned or smaller unit | 0.2 | 1.2% | 2.8% | - 1.6% | 1.3% | 485 |

SE = standard error of the difference.

^a Controlling for number of bedrooms.

*Significant at the .10 level. **Significant at the .05 level. ***Significant at the .01 level.

Discussion and Conclusions

Many families with children face significant challenges in the rental housing market, and it is critical that we understand to what extent discrimination is part of this problem. This pilot study set out to answer a number of key questions, including what we know about discrimination against families with children in rental housing, how best to measure this form of discrimination and test it in the field, and potential variations in this form of discrimination based on family or housing characteristics. A companion report, *Future Directions for Research on Discrimination Against Families With Children in Rental Housing Markets*, examines the implications of this pilot study for a national study of rental housing discrimination against families with children.

Our review of the literature found that little rigorous research has been done on this topic, and the few available studies are dated. The available research indicates many factors might play a role in discrimination against families, including the race/ethnicity or marital status of the household head; the number, ages, and sex of children in the household; and the type of housing a family is seeking. Our background analysis of renters in AHS finds that families with children in the rental market are more likely to be female- and minority-headed households. They pay more in rent despite having incomes that are similar to those of childless renters, and they occupy larger rental units than do childless renters. These units are also more likely to be single-family homes rather than multifamily rental properties. Families with children compete with childless renters for housing of all sizes, and they often occupy larger units than their actual family size requires. Some families, especially those who are rent burdened, may be forgoing smaller, more affordable units against their preferences. Larger families, who require larger housing units, must still compete with childless renters for the more limited share of two- and three-bedroom rental units.

A key goal of this study was to adapt and apply a well-established methodology—paired testing—within the field of housing discrimination research to this population of renters. At first glance, this new application seems quite straightforward, but the diversity of family types and the complexity of establishing a reasonable counterfactual (or matched comparison) means it was far from simple. We confirm that paired testing can be used successfully for family renters, but the method needs to be designed and applied with care. A separate user-friendly practitioner's guide that distills lessons learned in this and many other paired-testing studies conducted by the Urban

Institute, *How To Test for Discrimination Against Families With Children in Rental Housing Markets: A Guide for Practitioners*, has been published by the Urban Institute.

As part of this study, we developed preliminary estimates of the size and nature of rental housing discrimination against families with children and examined what family and housing characteristics might be influencing this form of discrimination. Overall, our findings show that well-qualified homeseekers with and without children are equally likely to get an appointment with a rental agent and to learn about at least one available housing unit. Families with children are told about slightly fewer and somewhat larger and more expensive units (on average) than childless households inquiring about the same-size units. For every six in-person visits to housing providers, families with children are shown one fewer rental unit (0.18 fewer units per visit when both testers were told a unit was available) than were families without children. After adjusting for differences in number of bedrooms per unit, the overall rent, fees, and financial incentives do not differ significantly for homeseekers with and without children.

Regarding family and housing characteristics that might shape how this form of housing discrimination plays out in the market, this pilot study finds differential treatment to be greater in tests targeting one-bedroom units (versus two- or three-bedroom units) and in tests involving two-child families (versus one-child families). Other family factors, including the race, ethnicity, and marital status of the tester and the ages and sexes of the children, do not appear to affect systematically how rental housing agents treated families with children.

Even small differences can constrain housing options for homeseekers with children. The literature suggests that steering and constrained housing choices have significant effects on families with children. Some of the consequences of discriminatory practices against families with children include increased travel and decreased access to jobs in adjacent cities, fewer or no school choices, higher rent burdens on families, and emotional distress associated with having to move more frequently (Blake and Greene, 1980). Other outcomes include longer housing searches, forced moves, overcrowding, lower housing quality, and forced separation of family members and more nontraditional living situations.

The findings of this rigorous paired-testing study are very surprising in light of previous studies. We expected to find stronger

evidence of discrimination against families with children in rental housing markets. In light of the unexpected findings we conducted six additional data analyses, including (1) the vacancy rates in the three pilot study sites, (2) the extent to which rental housing is overseen by professional management companies, (3) how testers were assigned to the protected class (with child) versus control (no child) status, (4) the type of complaints recorded in the TEAPOTS data, and (5) an examination of a subset of tests that pushed the residential occupancy standard. Finally, the sixth additional analysis involved reexamining the narratives from the tests to determine if specific examples of discrimination against families with children were not picked up during data collection. None of these additional analyses caused us to question the validity of the pilot study findings as a measure of discrimination in rental inquiries in the three metropolitan areas.

Two of our six analyses provided support for future areas of research. First, our preliminary analyses of HUD's TEAPOTS data demonstrate that families with children are equally likely to experience discrimination in the preoccupancy and post-occupancy stages of the rental cycle. Because paired testing is limited to the preoccupancy stage of the rental cycle, the present study would not capture differences in treatment for households with children after they occupy a unit. Second, we found that the point estimates are largest in tests in which agents might believe a family exceeds the occupancy standard. Because local ordinances help landlords set residential occupancy standards, the differential treatment in these cases may be agents trying to behave in line with what they believe to be the local residential occupancy standard. This finding suggests that residential occupancy standards may play an important role in restricting the housing options of families with children.

It is important to keep in mind the limitations of paired-testing studies. They target a specific window within the overall housing identification-search-inquiry-occupancy continuum. The approach was not designed to capture renters' experiences at lease signing or postoccupancy, and anecdotal evidence from local fair housing groups across the country suggests families face more problems at these later stages. In addition, in paired-testing studies, the testers posing as prospective renters always present themselves as financially well qualified for the housing they are seeking to avoid compromising the specific quality or characteristic being studied—in this case, familial status. Because many families with children struggle economically (with blemished credit histories, irregular employment, and low incomes relative to the cost of the housing they seek), we do not know what the experiences of these families are in the rental housing market and to what extent discrimination on the basis of family status plays a role for less financially well-qualified renters.

Given that more than one-fourth of landlords barred children outright as recently as 35 years ago, the findings from this study are surprising. They are also at odds with complaints received by HUD (14 percent of discrimination claims in 2010 involved families with children). We also know that the federal housing protections for families with children that came into effect in 1988 are still not well known or understood by the public at large. For advocates and researchers looking at the results of this paired-testing pilot study, it would seem some discrimination against families with children occurs during the initial inquiry for housing. Less clear is whether engaging the resources required to examine discrimination nationally would be appropriate given the limited findings. The lack of recent research on discrimination against families with children and the findings from this pilot study, however, indicate the need for further examination of different approaches to measure this type of discrimination.

Appendix A. Sampling Rental Housing Ads

As in the 2012 Housing Discrimination Study (HDS2012) by Turner et al. (2013), we sampled the available rental housing stock for each metropolitan site (Dallas, Texas, Dayton, Ohio, and Los Angeles, California) by harvesting ads from apartmentguide.com, Apartments.com, craigslist.org, and ForRent.com.

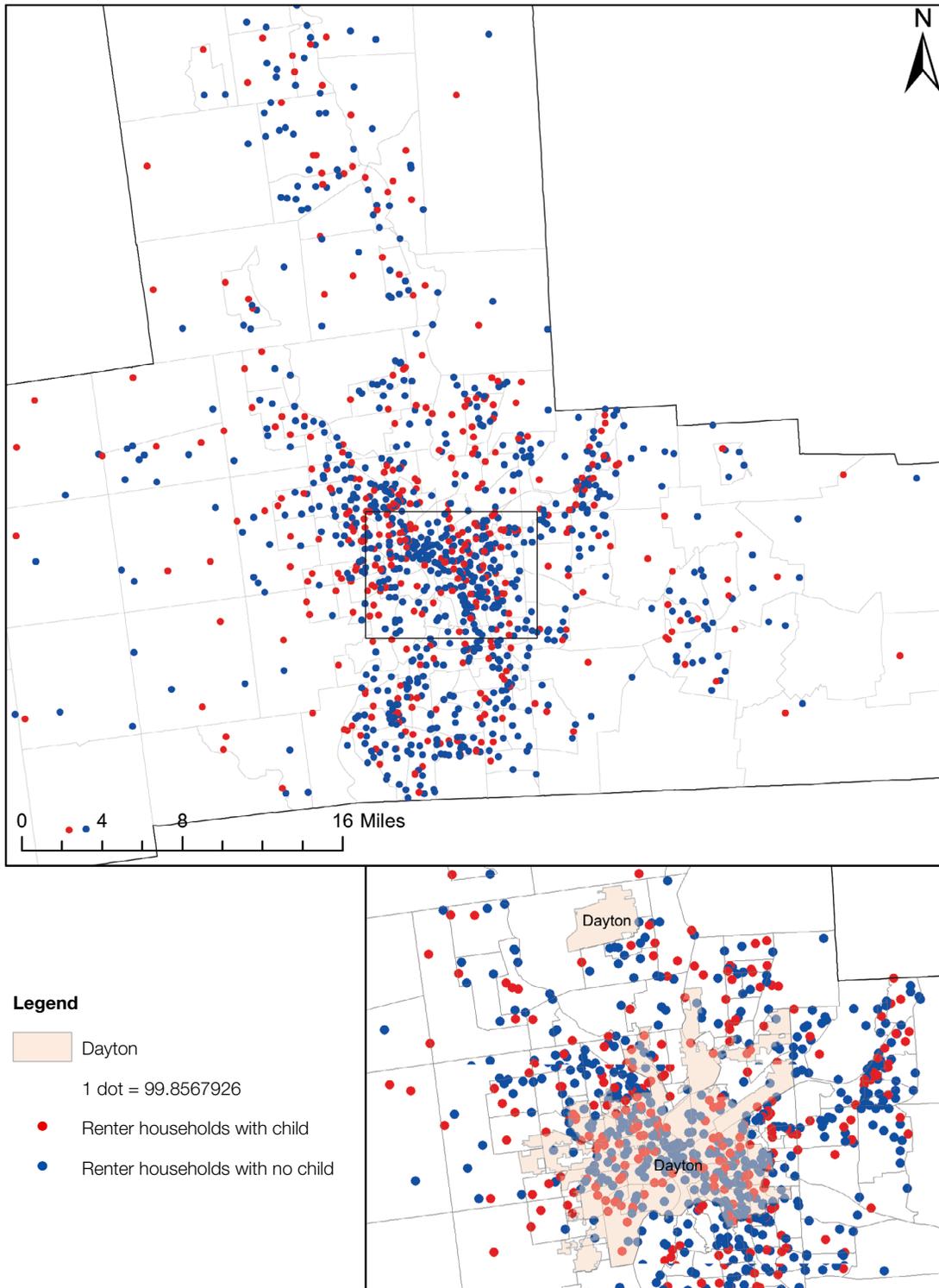
The same protocols and methods used in HDS2012 were replicated with an adjustment to filter on one-, two-, and three-bedroom rental homes. Sample size targets were set by the partial factorial design for one-bedroom and for two- or three-bedroom rental tests. Ads for two- or three-bedroom units were sampled randomly as they arose, using our geographic sampling plan; that is, we did not fix the number of two-bedroom versus three-bedroom tests.

Ads were sampled using a two-stage process. First, ZIP Codes were sampled in proportion to the rental housing ZIP Codes from across a given metropolitan area. Second, ads were sampled weekly from all sources for each ZIP Code selected into the sample for that week. The ads were also stratified by source to give each source priority for selection on a rotating basis. For example, using the order of websites in the preceding list, ads sampled in the first week of sampling were drawn from apartmentguide.com first; if additional ads were needed, they were drawn from Apartments.com, followed by craigslist.org, and so forth. In the second week, ads would be first sampled from Apartments.com, and if additional samples were needed, they were from craigslist.org, followed by ForRent.com, and so on.²⁹

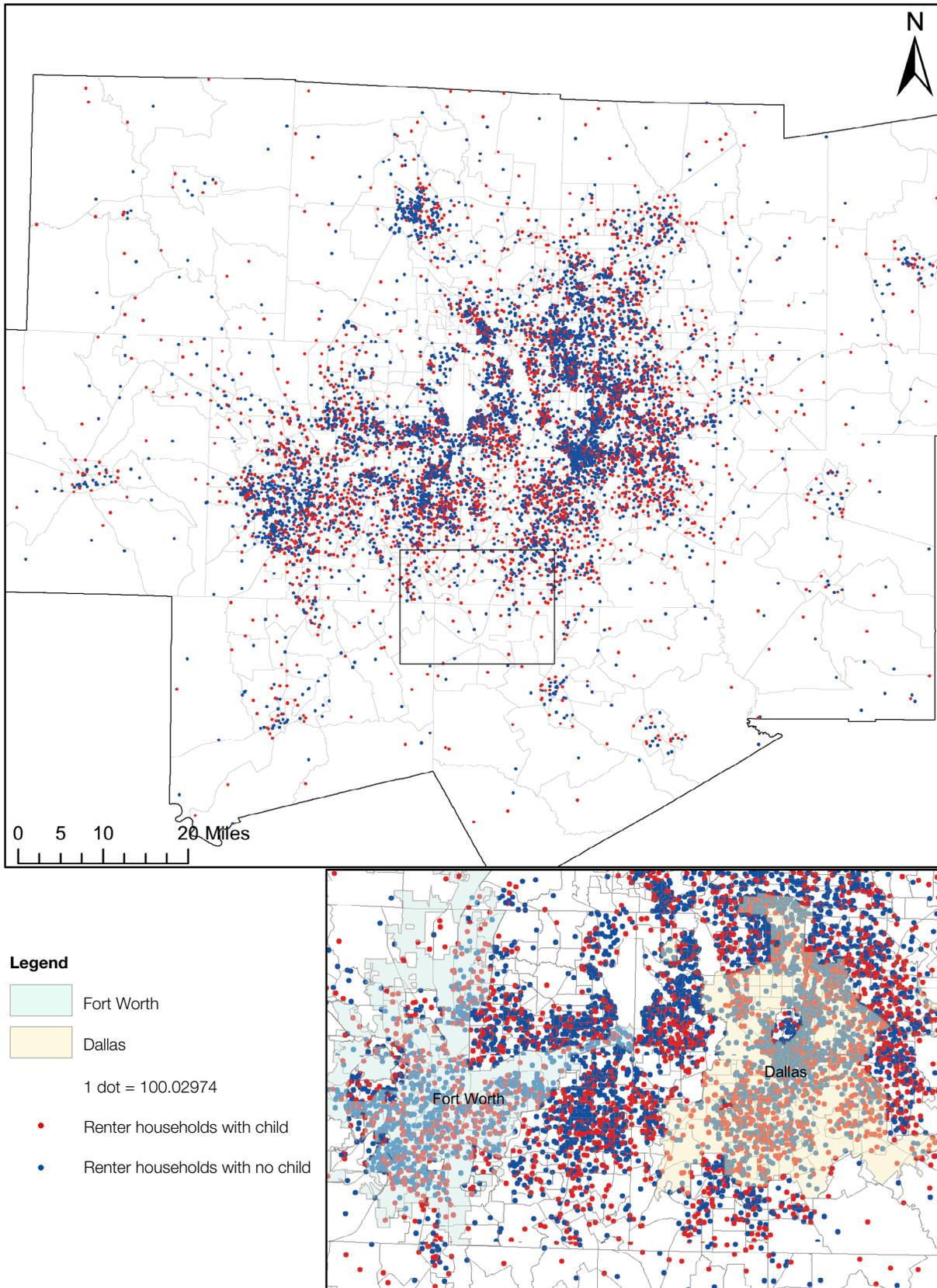
²⁹ By the second half of the data collection period, the weekly sampled advertisements for Dayton routinely included a significant number of repeat housing providers or housing that had been previously tested, which made the identification of eligible test sites even more challenging for the local testing organization. As a result, Urban Institute staff used an onsite screening process to eliminate properties that could no longer be used before the release of advertisements to test coordinators. This procedure helped local project staff make the most efficient use of their time (that is, by spending less time weeding through ineligible ads, they were able to focus more attention on the tests themselves) while still ensuring test sites were selected at random, according to the study's geographic sampling plan.

Appendix B. Maps of Testing Metropolitan Statistical Areas

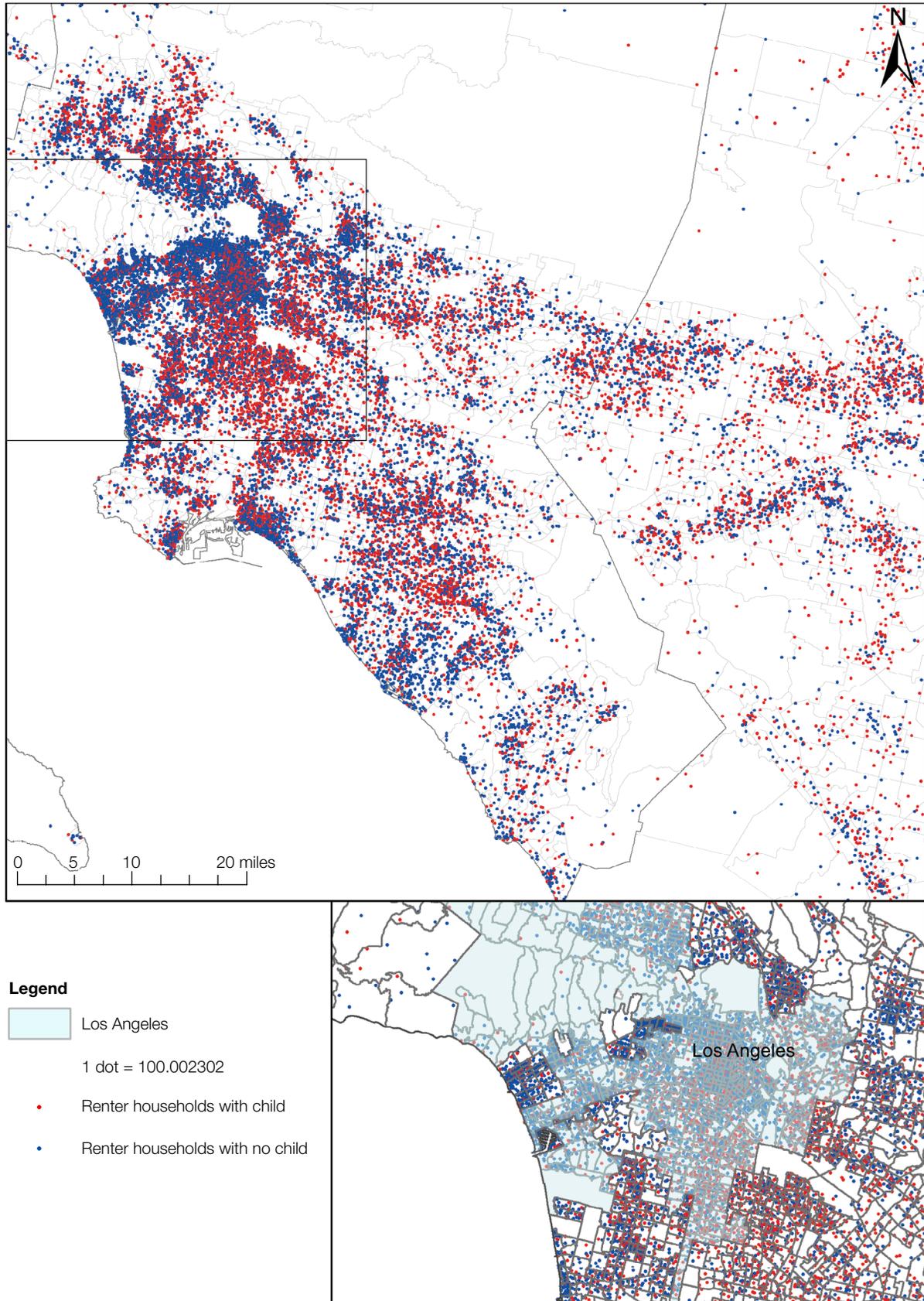
Map 1 . Dayton, OH Metropolitan Statistical Area



Map 2 . Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX Metropolitan Statistical Area



Map 3 . Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA Metropolitan Statistical Area



Appendix C. Testing Protocols Overview and Field Management

The paired-testing protocols and field management procedures used in this pilot study were based on protocols and procedures developed for previous housing discrimination studies (HDSs) conducted under contract to HUD, including the national 2012 Housing Discrimination Study (HDS2012), which included more than 8,000 completed tests in 28 metropolitan areas (Turner et al., 2013). For the present pilot study, the field operations team was led by a director based at the Urban Institute and a field-based regional coordinator who trained all local field staff, reviewed test reports, and maintained daily telephone and e-mail contact with test coordinators at each of the three pilot study sites. This careful oversight and regular communication helped the field operations team to identify and correct any problems as quickly as possible. The three local testing organizations that served as subcontractors to the Urban Institute on the study were responsible for recruiting and managing testers. Each organization had considerable testing experience and previous experience working on HDS projects. The three organizations were the North Texas Fair Housing Center (Dallas, Texas), the Miami Valley Fair Housing Center (Dayton, Ohio), and the Fair Housing Foundation (Los Angeles, California).

As with the HDS2012 study, the research team used the Central Online Data Entry (CODE) system, a test management database we designed to collect test data in each site. Because CODE integrates the assignment, data entry, and test management functions, it streamlines the process and reduces data entry errors by automating multiple components and implementing checks for consistency and completeness. Field operations staff continually monitored incoming data, assessed tester adherence to reporting requirements, and tracked progress toward testing targets. CODE automatically assigned identification numbers for rental ads, testers, e-mail and/or telephone inquiries, in-person visits, and inspected units, reducing a major source of potential data-entry errors.

Testers completed electronic forms for telephone calls, appointment contacts, in-person visits, and any followup contact. Test coordinators reviewed tests to ensure that report forms were complete and accurate before approving tests and submitting them to the research team. After tests were recorded in CODE

as completed, the regional coordinator reviewed files to identify any problems with data quality. CODE also enabled the field staff to identify who entered information on report forms and when the information was entered. This information enabled the field staff to identify the rare tests that seemed suspicious and to assess whether a test had been tampered with or fabricated in any respect.

Testing Process

The protocols for the HDS-Families tests were divided into eight steps:

1. **Advance contact.** Local field staff perceived as a nonminority made contact on each sampled advertisement before it was assigned to testers. The advance contact confirmed the details in an advertisement and collected additional information required to determine eligibility and assign tester characteristics.
2. **Test assignment.** The local test coordinator created a test assignment based on information collected from the sampled advertisement and the advance contact. Testers in a pair were matched on age, gender, and race or ethnicity. They were both financially well qualified for the housing about which they inquired, and testers with children were assigned the same or slightly better qualifications (that is, slightly higher income, longer time on the job) than the control testers.
3. **Briefing.** The local test coordinator met with each tester in the matched pair separately. During the briefings, testers received and reviewed their assignment, reviewed test protocols, and discussed any questions or concerns with the coordinator.
4. **Telephone contact.** Testers inquired about and requested an appointment to view the advertised housing. If the testers were told the advertised housing was no longer available, testers inquired about other housing that was (a) adequate for the tester's household in terms of size (number of bedrooms), (b) within the tester's price range, and (c) available for the time the tester needed the housing.³⁰

³⁰ Testers were assigned a Google Voice number and a Gmail account that they used to make appointments and to receive messages from housing providers. The use of Google Voice and Gmail helped streamline communication by enabling testers to use a phone number that was solely for use on the project and the digital voice-mail of which could be accessed on line by test coordinators and transcribed to text. Because voicemail messages from housing providers appeared as a written record in the testers' assigned Gmail account and test coordinators received an e-mail alert when such messages were received, coordinators were able to monitor important and timely communication by forwarding messages received by tester accounts to a central e-mail account. When agents called to cancel or reschedule appointments, for example, test coordinators saw the message and alerted testers to take the appropriate next steps. Testers could make calls through the Google Voice system via a landline or their own cell phone (their Google number—not the number of the phone used to make the call—appeared on the housing provider's caller ID).

5. **Site visit.** Testers visited a rental housing provider at the time of their appointment to inquire about the advertised unit and other available housing that met their requirements and to view such housing. Under no circumstances did testers submit a rental application or agree to a credit check, which would disclose the fact that their actual income and other information differed from what they told the provider.
 6. **Test forms.** Testers completed report forms soon after finishing a telephone test or an in-person visit to record information on the application process; whether and which utilities were included in the rent; the exact address of the unit; number of bedrooms; rent amount; amount of security deposit and any other fees or incentives; the lease length; the date of availability; and any information about the tester gathered by the housing provider, such as income, employment, and family size.
 7. **Debriefing.** After testers completed all report forms, they met with the test coordinator to review report forms and, if necessary, talk about any issues or concerns with the test. Debriefings were held in person with testers until coordinators were confident that a tester had mastered testing protocols and was comfortable with all the test report forms. After that, testers had the option of debriefing over the telephone.
 8. **Followup contact.** The final step in the test process was to document in a report form any followup contact with a housing provider. Testers recorded information on any e-mail or telephone calls from a housing provider and any followup contact a tester was instructed to initiate.
- **Disclosure of household composition.** Testers were directed to disclose their assigned household composition at the beginning of the call or during a telephone message or e-mail. For example, testers assigned a married profile told housing providers that the tester and his or her spouse were looking for housing. Testers assigned children for a given test indicated the age and sex of the children. Testers also disclosed their assigned household composition at the beginning of the site visit.³¹
 - **Appointment contact/request for housing.** The appointment contact protocol for HDS2012 had testers limit their telephone and e-mail³² contact to (1) asking about the advertised unit, (2) asking whether they could make an appointment, and (3) confirming the name of the agent and address of the appointment location. The appointment contact protocol for HDS-Families was enhanced to capture information about available housing that met the testers' needs and any agent requests for information and/or qualifications. If testers did not initially reach a person who could provide information about the available housing, they asked to be connected with an agent who had that information. Testers then tried to obtain the following information about each available unit: number of bedrooms, rent, date of availability, lease length, utilities included (if any), exact address, security deposit (if any), whether an application was required, the amount of the application fee (if any), whether a credit check was required, and other fees (if any). Testers took notes during the call about the information they obtained and were asked to complete the telephone report forms within 1 hour of the call. They also recorded when the call started and ended, enabling the research team to calculate the length of the telephone contact (HDS2012 testers were asked to log only when the call was placed).
 - **Site visit/request for housing.** Testers were directed to restate their assigned household composition and to make their request for housing again at the beginning of the site visit regardless of whether the agent they met was the same person with whom they had spoken on the telephone. The testers attempted to obtain the same pieces of information about available housing as they obtained during the telephone contact. In addition, they completed additional questions based on their observations of the inspected

The adapted protocols and forms are presented in full in appendix D. Given the various goals of this pilot study, including obtaining as much information as possible about available housing both over the telephone and at the in-person site visit, the following key additions or modifications were made to the HDS2012 protocols.

- **Type of approach.** All HDS-Families tests required testers to make in-person appointments, a shift from the HDS2012 protocol. No drop-in appointments were permitted to ensure as much information as possible about available housing was captured at the telephone stage.

³¹ Because not all married people wear wedding rings, we did not require the wearing of rings as part of the protocol. In general, testers were expected to wear clothes and other accessories that were as neutral as possible and to use their discretion in this matter.

³² When the only way to make contact with the housing provider in an advertisement was via e-mail (that is, no telephone number was provided), field staff conducting the advance contact sent an e-mail to obtain information about the available housing. Testers who were assigned tests in which no phone number was provided in the advertisement sent an e-mail after the test coordinator approved the wording. No set scripts were used for these e-mail communications, because scripts could have increased the risk of detection.

housing.³³ Testers were instructed to begin completing test forms within an hour after the site visit. During the debriefing, test coordinators reviewed all answers for completeness and collected all notes and any documents, handouts, or business cards obtained during the site visit.

Because previous HDS testing protocols and forms were adapted significantly for this pilot study, we pretested both appointment contact and site visit protocols and data collection instruments before they were finalized for use in the field. To pretest the telephone protocols, regional coordinators based at the Urban Institute made telephone calls to housing providers in each of the three pilot study sites and posed as being married with a young child. According to protocol, they identified their household composition at the outset of the call and obtained as much information as they could about the available housing. To pretest the in-person protocols, the regional coordinators conducted site visits at apartment complexes in Washington, D.C. Advance contact was first completed with the identified housing providers (selected from online advertisements) to obtain information about housing availability, price, and number of bedrooms. The regional coordinators were then instructed to complete appointment contact and site visits according to HDS-Families protocols. The pretests helped us confirm the following:

1. During telephone contact and appointments, it can be awkward, and therefore conspicuous, to have testers obtain unit numbers for available units. Because this practice can pose a serious detection risk, we had testers obtain the floor the units were on and the square footage, both characteristics that are frequently volunteered by housing providers.
2. When asking about their assigned housing (for example, a two-bedroom unit), testers asked about the availability of units with other numbers of bedrooms only if an agent said that no two-bedroom units were available. When agents reported the availability of multiple units with the same number of bedrooms as the requested unit in the pretests, the regional coordinators sought to obtain detailed information about each unit. Testers who then asked the agent about any other units that had their required number of bedrooms and date needed reported varying degrees to which the agent seemed to want to end the call—the calls had become quite long at that point. In a number of instances, after the agent told the tester about the availability of at least one unit, he or she began encouraging the tester to visit the building and view the unit. The modified protocol is consistent with the

HDS2012 site visit protocol in which testers asked about only “other” units (that is, units with a different number of bedrooms than the advertised or assigned unit) when no advertised or assigned units were available. Also consistent with the HDS2012 protocol, HDS-Families testers captured information for all housing they were told about that met their needs (regarding size, date of availability, and price).

The core reporting forms for this study are the same as those used for HDS2012, with some modifications to align with the changes in indicators. Tester forms, the advance contact form, and the tester application are all reproduced in appendix D.

Field Implementation Challenges

As with previous HDSs, a major challenge the local testing organizations faced was recruiting and retaining testers. Although the three organizations participating in this pilot study all have active testing programs, they still needed to recruit a large pool of new testers to meet the study’s required number of tests. They succeeded in recruiting available field staff, but the groups experienced a high rate of attrition, which forced the regional and local coordinators to continue recruiting and training while simultaneously coordinating and reviewing large numbers of tests. As in HDS2012, the research team anticipated some level of tester attrition both immediately after the tester training session (when testers learn how detailed the protocols are) and after testers conducted their first practice test (when some testers realize they are not comfortable assuming a set of assigned but untrue characteristics). In one of the three sites, however, the level of tester attrition was unexpectedly high, and, when new testers were recruited, the regional coordinator had to conduct ongoing (sometimes weekly) webinar training sessions.

The local testing organizations in the pilot study sites encountered management companies that owned or managed many of the rental properties in the sampled ads. Because local field staff were required to make advance contact before testers were assigned to make telephone calls, the repeated contacts with the same housing provider staff could pose a detection risk. As a result, coordinators were directed to keep careful records about which housing providers had been contacted and subsequently visited by testers. Local testing organizations also noted that the management company staff at the call centers were often off site (sometimes in a different state than the advertised housing), could not provide detailed or accurate information about the advertised housing or other available housing, and pressed advance contact staff and testers alike to make appointments to obtain additional information.

³³ Our pretests confirmed that asking the same questions already covered in the telephone call did not present any unusual risks or problems. Prospective renters often call about and see multiple units and do not retain information from one call or visit to the next.

Appendix D. Pilot Study Report Forms

ADVANCE CONTACT FORM – FWC

Control Number: _____
 Advance Contact Form sequence: _____

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

Who initiated contact? Advance Caller/E-mailer or Test Coordinator
 Housing Provider

With whom did you speak, if given: _____

Type of contact: Phone
 E-mail
 Text Message

Phone Number of housing provider
 (If called/text messaged only): _____

E-mail Address of housing provider
 (If e-mailed only): _____

Day of the week that contact was made: Monday
 Tuesday
 Wednesday
 Thursday
 Friday
 Saturday
 Sunday

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): ____/____/____
 Time (HH:MM): ____:____
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

SECTION 2: DISPOSITION OF THE ADVANCE CONTACT

Is this the final advance contact? YES, and housing is eligible
 YES, and housing is ineligible
 NO, and will attempt to contact housing provider again

If this is NOT the final advance contact, why not? No answer/kept ringing/went to voicemail
 Was hung up on
 Dropped call
 Left message with a person who did not have information
 Housing provider will call back
 Told to call back later
 Other

If other, please specify: _____

If this is the final advance contact and you have determined that ad is INELIGIBLE, what is the reason?
 Housing provider could not be reached after 3 calls
 No reply to e-mail sent w/in 24 hours
 Telephone number incorrect/no longer in service
 Invalid e-mail address
 Automatic e-mail response stating recipient is unavailable
 Outside of target area for MSA

- Located on Indian land (e.g., reservations, Rancherias, etc.)
- Housing for older persons
- Test was already conducted here/Testers have already visited housing provider
- Another reason approved by Director of Field Operations
- Electronic contact form only method to reach agent
- Exceeds price range for MSA
- Share situation
- Single room occupancy
- Apartment locator service charging up-front fee
- Sublet
- Temporary/short term rental
- Public/subsidized housing development
- No unit is available for rent
- Owner does not have more than four units
- Only had studio and 4+ bedroom units
- Already completed bedroom targets for available bedroom type
- Site tested within the last four weeks
- Site tested for both race/ethnicity groups

If this is the final advance contact and you have determined that this ad is ELIGIBLE, please enter information about each available unit (or type of unit, if applicable) below:

| Address of available unit | # of Bedrooms | Rent Price | Date Available MM/DD/YY |
|---------------------------|---------------|------------|-------------------------|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

What are the office hours?

Does the agent/rental office accept appointments?

- Yes, you must make an appointment
- Yes, you have the option of making an appointment or just dropping-in during office hours
- No, but you may drop-in anytime during office hours

Verify the address to be visited:

SECTION 3: FORM SUBMISSION

General Comments:

This form is complete

- Yes

Delete this record (for TC use only) No
 Yes
 No

RENTAL ASSIGNMENT FORM – FWC

Site: [auto-fill]
 Control #: [auto-fill]
 Tester Sequence: [auto-fill]
 Tester ID #: [auto-fill]

Narrative requirement: [auto-fill]

Target date and time of 1st appointment call: _____
 Target date and time for scheduling an appointment: _____

SECTION 1: INFORMATION ABOUT TESTER’S HOUSEHOLD FOR SPECIFIC TEST

Household Composition [auto-fill]

| Household Income | Gross Monthly Income | Gross Annual Income |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Tester | [auto-fill] | [auto-fill] |
| Spouse | [auto-fill] | [auto-fill] |
| Total for Household | [auto-fill] | [auto-fill] |

| Household Members | Relationship (none, spouse, child) | Name | Sex | Age | Grade of Child |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|------|-------------|-----|----------------|
| Person 2 | [auto-fill] | | [auto-fill] | | |
| Person 3 | [auto-fill] | | [auto-fill] | | |
| Person 4 | [auto-fill] | | [auto-fill] | | |

EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION

Tester’s current occupation: _____
 Name of tester’s current employer: _____
 First line of tester’s employer’s address: _____
 Second line of tester’s employer’s address: _____
 Length of employment at current job: _____

Spouse’s current occupation: _____
 Name of spouse’s current employer: _____
 First line of spouse’s employer’s address: _____
 Second line of spouse’s employer’s address: _____
 Spouse’s length of employment at current job: _____

CURRENT RENTAL HOUSING SITUATION

Amount of current rent: [auto-fill]

Years at Current Residence: _____

Type of Rental Agreement at Current Residence: Month-to-Month
 Lease

Tester owns a car? Yes
 No

Other characteristics:

Type of current housing: Renting

Credit standing: Excellent credit standing, no late payments

History of rent payment at current residence: Have always paid rent on time

Other: Non-smoking; no pets
Just started looking for housing

Name of Child(ren)'s Current School: _____

SECTION 2: ASSIGNED HOUSING

Information About Housing Provider

Name of housing provider
(agent, company, and/or complex): [auto-fill]

Address of advertised unit: [auto-fill]
City [auto-fill]
State [auto-fill]
Zip code: [auto-fill]

Phone number: [auto-fill]
E-mail address: [auto-fill]

Name of advertisement source: [auto-fill]
Date of advertisement publication: [auto-fill]
Text of advertisement: [auto-fill]
Advertisement URL: [auto-fill]

TYPE OF HOUSING TO BE REQUESTED

Number of bedrooms to request: [auto-fill]
Minimum number of bedrooms willing to accept: [auto-fill]
Type of unit [auto-fill]
Move-in date to request: [auto-fill]
Maximum rental price: [auto-fill]

AREA PREFERENCE

If you are pressed by the agent, you may state that you are looking in: _____

Remember: You are always open to considering any areas recommended by the agent!

Reason for moving: Lived at current apartment long enough, ready for change
 Have to move while landlord is remodeling
 Landlord wants to rent to family member/friend
 Owner selling building; want to start looking now
 Ad sounded like something would be interested in
 Would like to be settled before school starts
 Living with family member/friend; want own place
 Currently subletting; tenant moving back
 Have recently relocated to the area
 No reason, just would like a new place

SECTION 3: TESTER'S INFORMATION

Tester Name: [auto-fill]
Home Address: [auto-fill]
Phone Number: [auto-fill]
E-mail Address: [auto-fill]
Race: [auto-fill]
National Origin: [auto-fill]

Gender: [auto-fill]
Age: [auto-fill]

SECTION 4: FORM SUBMISSION

General comments: _____

This form is complete. Yes
 No

Timestamp: [auto-fill]
Test released: [auto-fill]

INSTRUCTIONS FOR HDS-FAMILIES INITIAL CONTACT

Please contact the housing provider listed on your Rental Assignment Form and request an appointment to view the rental housing that was advertised.

You should always contact the housing provider by telephone unless there is only an e-mail address listed, in which case you should contact the housing provider via e-mail. You do not need to make your appointment with any particular agent.

If you are contacting a housing provider via telephone:

- Place the call to the housing provider using your Google Voice number.
To make a call with Google Voice through a computer:
 1. Log in to Google Voice at voice.google.com
 2. On the left-hand side of the screen, click the red Call button, which will prompt a box to appear.
 3. Type in the number you wish to call, and choose the forwarding telephone you'd like to call with from the drop down menu.
 4. Click Connect. Google will now call the forwarding telephone you selected in Step 3.
 5. Pick up the call when it rings. Google will connect you with the number you typed in Step 3.
 6. Talk!

 - To make a call with Google Voice from one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones:
 1. Choose one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones, and dial your Google Voice number.
 2. When the voicemail begins, hit *
 3. Enter voicemail pin, and, when prompted, press 2 to make an outgoing call.
 4. Dial the number you wish to call.
 5. Google Voice will connect you.

 - You **must offer your full name and refer to your assigned household composition** during Initial Contact:
 1. Testers with children must refer to their marital status, indicate that they have a child/children, and must reference their child/children's age and gender.
 2. Control testers must convey that they would live in the unit by themselves, or, depending on their assigned profile, together with their spouse.

 - During Initial Contact, you will first inquire about the availability of Assigned Housing, explicitly referring to:
 1. The specific advertisement (if applicable) listed on your Rental Assignment Form **AND**
 2. Your assigned number of bedrooms

 - You will NOT explicitly mention a price range, move-in date, or minimum number of bedrooms, but will instead refer to these characteristics internally to filter acceptable units from the agent's response. If, however, you are asked directly about your maximum rent, desired move-in date, or minimum number of bedrooms, you may respond with this information.

 - If there are no available units with your assigned number of bedrooms, ask the housing provider if anything else is available, and make an appointment to view any units that:
 1. Have at least the minimum number of bedrooms you are willing to consider
 2. Are priced at or under your price maximum
 3. Are available up to one week before or after your move-in date

 - If you are able to obtain an appointment, please remember to obtain the exact date and time of your appointment along with the name of the person with whom you spoke. Also, make sure that you have the exact address and directions to the rental housing or rental office.

 - If the agent indicates that absolutely no housing is available, thank the agent for his/her assistance and ask for the agent's name if it has not yet been provided. Notify the Test Coordinator after your contact with the agent.

 - When contacting the housing provider by telephone, you may make up to three calls. If you do not initially reach a person who can provide you with information about available housing, you will ask to be connected with an agent who may have that information. If, during the first two calls, you cannot reach a housing provider, do not
-

leave a message. If, on the third attempt, you are still unable to reach a housing provider, you will leave a message.

- When leaving a message, **you must offer your full name and refer to your assigned household composition:**
 1. Testers with children must refer to their marital status, indicate that they have a child/children, and must reference their child/children's age and gender.
 2. Control testers must convey that they would live in the unit by themselves, or, depending on their assigned profile, together with their spouse.
- Some housing providers use text messages to communicate. If you receive a text message from a housing provider, you may respond with a text message. However, you should never initiate communication with a housing provider via text.
- Always thank the person you speak with for their assistance and ask for their name if it has not been provided by the end of your call.

If you are contacting a housing provider via e-mail:

- Your Test Coordinator must approve all text in appointment contact e-mails.
- Use only the e-mail address assigned to you for use on HDS tests.
- Follow all protocols listed above under telephone contact section.

For both telephone and e-mail contact:

- Record every contact you make on a Test Contact Form.

Information to obtain during Initial Contact:

There are **12** crucial pieces of information that you must obtain for every unit that meets your needs that you are told about during the Initial Contact stage. **Note: Information should be obtained naturally. You should allow the housing provider the opportunity to offer as much information as possible before making specific inquiries about the following twelve pieces of information:**

1. Square footage
2. Floor number
3. Number of bedrooms
4. Rent (\$/month)
5. Security deposit (\$, if any)
6. Other fees (if applicable, \$ and purpose)
7. Lease length (ALL available lease lengths)
8. Date of availability
9. Which utilities are included in rent, if any (list)
10. Whether an application is required (Y/N)
11. Whether an application fee must accompany a completed application (Y/N, if Yes, how much?)
12. Whether a credit check is required (Y/N)

Complete a Telephone Test Report Form when an appointment call results in contact with a housing provider, and complete an Available Rental Unit Form- Telephone for every unit that meets your needs that was mentioned by the housing provider. All testers must complete an Initial Contact narrative for their Telephone Test Report Form to be considered complete.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR HDS-FAMILIES SITE VISITS:

- Inquire about and ask to view the housing you discussed during your appointment call. At the outset of the site visit, you must again offer your full name and refer to your household composition, regardless of whether the agent conducting the site visit is the same agent you spoke with during Initial Contact.
- After inquiring about the housing discussed during Initial Contact, and regardless of whether such housing is still available, you will ALSO ask about the availability of units with your assigned number of bedrooms, ignoring any information about availability obtained during your appointment call.

- In the event that neither the unit(s) you discussed during Initial Contact nor units with your assigned number of bedrooms are available, you will inquire about any other available housing, and you will express interest in viewing units that meet your needs as dictated by your Assigned Housing characteristics. Additionally, if an agent independently suggests that you view additional units, you will express interest in viewing units that align with your Assigned Housing. Assigned Housing includes units that:
 1. Have at least the minimum number of bedrooms you are willing to consider
 2. Are priced at or under your price maximum
 3. Are available up to one week before or after your move-in date
- If you are asked to sign a guest log or complete a guest card, you may do so using the information from your Rental Assignment Form, making sure to use your HDS-assigned e-mail and Google Voice number.
- Do not ask for or complete a rental application. If the agent offers you an application, you should agree to take it with you.
- Make sure to obtain the name of the rental agent.
- Allow the rental agent to suggest any follow-up contact. You should not initiate, suggest or offer to make any arrangements for future contact with the rental agent. As a tester, you may thank a rental agent for his or her assistance, but you must refrain from suggesting that you will get back to the agent or that the agent should contact you.
- Notify your Test Coordinator upon completion of a site visit.

Information to obtain during a site visit:

During the site visit, you will be responsible for obtaining **13** crucial pieces of information for every unit that you view or are told about during a rental visit. These pieces of information are identical to what was obtained during Initial Contact, with unit number as the only addition.

1. **Unit number**
 2. Square footage
 3. Floor number
 4. Number of bedrooms
 5. Rent (\$/month)
 6. Security deposit (\$, if any)
 7. Other fees (if applicable, \$ and purpose)
 8. Lease length (ALL available lease lengths)
 9. Date of availability
 10. Which utilities are included in rent, if any (list)
 11. Whether an application is required (Y/N)
 12. Whether an application fee must accompany a completed application (Y/N, if Yes, how much?)
 13. Whether a credit check is required (Y/N)
-

TEST CONTACT FORM – FWC

Tester ID: _____
 Control Number: _____
 Appointment Contact Form Sequence: _____

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

Who initiated contact? Tester initiated to conduct test
 Housing provider

Type of contact: Phone
 E-mail
 Text Message

Day of the Week Contact was Attempted: Monday
 Tuesday
 Wednesday
 Thursday
 Friday
 Saturday
 Sunday

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): _____/_____/_____

Start Time
 Time (hh:mm): _____:
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

End Time
 Time (hh:mm): _____:
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

Name of housing provider, if given: _____
 Phone number of housing provider
 (If called/text messaged only): _____
 E-mail address of housing provider (if e-mailed only): _____

SECTION 2: DISPOSITION OF CONTACT

Result of the Call: [1] Spoke to someone regarding housing info or apt.
 [2] Wrong number/number no longer in service
 [3] No answer/kept ringing/went to voicemail
 [4] Left message with a person who did not have information
 [5] Housing provider will call back
 [6] Told to call back later
 [7] Left message on 3rd call
 [8] Other

If Other Specify: _____

SECTION 3: FORM SUBMISSION

This form is complete: Yes
 No
 Delete this record (for TC use only): Yes
 No

TELEPHONE TEST REPORT FORM – FWC

Site: _____
 CONTROL #: _____
 TESTER ID NUMBER: _____

SECTION 1: DISPOSITION OF CONTACT

Were you able to reach someone who was able to provide information?

- Yes
 No

If yes, proceed to Section 2. If no, why not?

- Housing provider could not be reached after 3 calls
 Wrong number/number no longer in service
 Left message with a person who did not have information and never received a call back
 Agent said s/he would call back and never did
 Agent hung up/refused to provide info
 Other

If other, specify

SECTION 2: INFORMATION ABOUT HOUSING PROVIDER

Did you obtain information about housing?

- Yes
 No

If not, why not? Proceed to Section 3 after answering this question.

- Agent suggested we communicate in person
 Other

If other, specify

Assigned Units: How many units were available that had your assigned number of bedrooms to request, were available when you need them, and were at or below your price max?

Other Units: Because zero (0) is the number to the above question OR the agent volunteered, how many units were available that had at least your minimum number of bedrooms willing to accept, were available when you need them, and were at or below your price max (excluding any "assigned units")?

How many TOTAL rental housing units that meet your needs did the agent tell you were available:

Did the agent inform you that any of the following was necessary for the application process?

- Application form Yes
 No
 Credit check Yes
 No
 Co-signer Yes
 No
 Criminal background check Yes
 No

Did the agent offer to send you a copy of the rental application?

- Yes
- No

Please indicate if the following pieces of personal information were volunteered by you, requested by the agent, or not obtained by the agent.

| | I volunteered | Agent requested | Agent did not obtain |
|--|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| a. Your marital status | | | |
| b. Your household size | | | |
| c. The number of children you have | | | |
| d. Your Children's Age | | | |
| e. Your Children's Gender | | | |
| f. Your or spouse's income | | | |
| g. Your or spouse's source of income | | | |
| h. Your or spouse's occupation | | | |
| i. Your or spouse's length of employment | | | |
| j. Your credit standing | | | |
| k. Your rent history | | | |
| l. Your address/phone number | | | |
| m. Other: | | | |

If Other, specify: _____

SECTION 3: Comments

Did the agent make any comments on your qualifications to rent?

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment: _____

Did the agent comment on or make reference to any of the following:

Fair Housing Laws, Equal Housing Opportunity, Open Housing Ordinance or Anti-discrimination Laws

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment: _____

Race or ethnicity

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment: _____

Children or Families

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment: _____

Tester's Household Composition

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment: _____

An Occupancy Standard

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment: _____

Did the housing provider make any of the following comments?

Noise Quiet
 Noisy
 No comment

Safety Safe / low crime
 Dangerous / high crime
 No comment

Schools Good
 Poor
 No comment

Amenities / Services Yes
 No
 No comment

SECTION 4: APPOINTMENT INFORMATION

Were you able to obtain an appointment? Yes
 No

If no, why not? (Proceed to Section 5 after answering this question.)
 No units were available/nothing to show
 Agent hung up/refused to schedule appt/did not recommend the unit(s)
 Leasing office/agent too busy within the upcoming week
 Other

If other, specify

If yes, proceed with the rest of this section.
 Day of the Appointment Monday
 Tuesday
 Wednesday
 Thursday
 Friday
 Saturday
 Sunday

Date (mm/dd/yyyy) _____
 Time (hh:mm) _____
 AM or PM AM PM

Name of the person you have arranged to meet with _____
 Location of meeting – specify type (e.g., agent's office or address of specific home) and actual address _____

SECTION 5: TELEPHONE NARRATIVE

SECTION 6: FORM SUBMISSION

This form is complete:

Yes

No

Delete this record (for TC use only)

Yes

No

AVAILABLE RENTAL UNIT FORM (telephone)– FWC

Control Number: _____
 Tester ID Number: _____
 Available Unit Form Sequence: _____

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT AVAILABLE UNIT

Where was the Information obtained

- e-mail from agent
 website
 described by agent over the phone

Address of Available Unit

Number and Street _____

City _____

State _____

Zip Code _____

Floor Unit is on _____

Square footage of unit _____

Number of bedrooms: _____

Date Available (mm/dd/yyyy): _____

Length of Lease? [check all that apply]

- Month-to-month
 Three month
 Six month
 One year
 Two year
 Other

If other, please specify: _____

SECTION 2: COSTS AND INCENTIVES

Costs: Please carefully record all costs related to renting this available unit.

What is the rent per month? _____

Is a security deposit and/or surety bond required?

1. Yes – choice of security deposit or surety bond
 2. Yes – security deposit
 3. Yes – surety bond
 4. No
 5. Did not obtain

If you answered 1, 2, or 3, please report the amount accordingly:

Security deposit amount _____

Surety bond amount _____

Is a non-refundable application fee required?

- Yes
 No
 Did not obtain

If yes, what is the total application fee for your household? _____

Is a non-refundable move-in fee required?

- Yes
 No
 Did not obtain

If yes, what is the total move-in fee for your household? _____

Where you told about any other fees or payment at the time of application or move-in?

- Yes
 No

Name of additional fee 1 _____

Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Name of additional fee 2 _____

Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Name of additional fee 3 _____

Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Name of additional fee 4 _____

Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Financial Incentives/Specials

Were you told about any financial incentives or special if you decide to apply for and rent this unit immediately?

- Yes
 No

Name of financial incentives/specials 1 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

Name of financial incentives/specials 2 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

Name of financial incentives/specials 3 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

Name of financial incentives/specials 4 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

SECTION 3: COMMENTS

Did the housing provider make any of the following comments about the building/unit.

Did the agent make any comments suggesting this unit might be more or less suitable for you because of your assigned household composition (i.e., because you do or do not have children)?

Yes
 No

If yes, specify: _____

Any other comments about this particular unit/building?

Yes
 No

If yes, what was the comment? _____

SECTION 4: FORM SUBMISSION

General comments _____

This form is complete Yes
 No

Delete this record (TC use only) Yes
 No

SITE VISIT REPORT FORM – FWC

Site: _____
 CONTROL #: _____
 TESTER ID NUMBER: _____

SECTION 1: INFORMATION ABOUT HOUSING PROVIDER

Name of Test Site (Agent/Company/Complex, if known): _____

Address of leasing office _____
 Suite number (if applicable): _____
 City: _____
 State: _____
 Zip Code: _____

SECTION 2: DATE AND TIME OF SITE VISIT:

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): ____/____/____
 Day of Week: Monday
 Tuesday
 Wednesday
 Thursday
 Friday
 Saturday
 Sunday

Appointment Time (hh:mm): ____:____
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

Time began (office arrival)
 Arrival time (hh:mm): ____:____
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

Time greeted by staff/agent (if applicable)
 Time (hh:mm): ____:____
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

Time began meeting with agent (if applicable)
 Time (hh:mm): ____:____
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

Time ended (departure)
 Departure Time (hh:mm): ____:____
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

SECTION 3: INFORMATION ON PERSONS WITH WHOM YOU HAD CONTACT DURING YOUR VISIT

Name: _____
 Position: _____

Race/Ethnicity: White
 Black
 Hispanic
 Asian/Pacific Islander
 American Indian

Don't Know
 Other

Gender: M
 F

Age Group: 18-30
 31-45
 46-65
 Over 65

Primary Person who provided info: Yes
 No

Is this the same person you spoke with over the phone?
 Yes
 No

Name: _____
Position: _____

Race/Ethnicity: White
 Black
 Hispanic
 Asian/Pacific Islander
 American Indian
 Don't Know
 Other

Gender: M
 F

Age Group: 18-30
 31-45
 46-65
 Over 65

Primary Person who provided info: Yes
 No

Is this the same person you spoke with over the phone?
 Yes
 No

Name: _____
Position: _____

Race/Ethnicity: White
 Black
 Hispanic
 Asian/Pacific Islander
 American Indian
 Don't Know
 Other

Gender: M
 F

Age Group: 18-30
 31-45
 46-65
 Over 65

Primary Person who provided info: Yes
 No

Is this the same person you spoke with over the phone?
 Yes
 No

Were you able to meet with an agent to discuss housing options?
 Yes
 No

If No, why not? _____

Did you meet with the agent: Individually (i.e., one-on-one)
 In a group (i.e., with at least one other homeseeker)

SECTION 4: AVAILABILITY OF UNITS

Assigned Units: How many units were available that had your assigned number of bedrooms to request, were available when you need them, and were at or below your price max? _____

Other Units: Because zero (0) is the number to the above question OR the agent volunteered, how many units were available that had at least your minimum number of bedrooms willing to accept, were available when you need them, and were at or below your price max (excluding any "assigned units")? _____

How many TOTAL rental housing units that meet your needs did the agent tell you were available: _____

SECTION 5: APPLICATION INFORMATION

Did the agent inform you that any of the following was necessary for the application process?

Application form? Yes
 No

Credit check? Yes
 No

Co-signer? Yes
 No

Criminal background check? Yes
 No

Did the agent ask you to complete an application during your visit?
 Yes
 No

Did the agent give you an application to take with you?
 Yes
 No

SECTION 6: QUALIFICATIONS

Please indicate if the following pieces of personal information were volunteered by you, requested by the agent, exchanged in an earlier contact, or not obtained by the agent.

| | I volunteered | Agent requested | Agent did not obtain |
|--|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| a. Your marital status | | | |
| b. Your household size | | | |
| c. The number of children you have | | | |
| d. Your Children's Age | | | |
| e. Your Children's Gender | | | |
| f. Your or spouse's income | | | |
| g. Your or spouse's source of income | | | |
| h. Your or spouse's occupation | | | |
| i. Your or spouse's length of employment | | | |
| j. Your credit standing | | | |
| k. Your rent history | | | |
| l. Your address/phone number | | | |
| m. Other: | | | |

If Other, specify: _____

SECTION 7: COMMENTS

Did the agent make any comments on your qualifications to rent?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what was the comment? _____

Did the agent comment on or make reference to any of the following:

Fair Housing Laws, Equal Housing Opportunity, Open Housing Ordinance, or Anti-discrimination Laws?

- Yes
- No

If Yes, what was the comment or reference?

Race or ethnicity Yes
 No

If yes, record agent's comment:

Children or Families Yes
 No

If yes, record agent's comment:

Tester's Household Composition Yes
 No

If yes, record agent's comment:

An Occupancy Standard Yes
 No

If yes, record agent's comment:

Noise Quiet

- Noisy
- No comment

- Safety Safe / low crime
- Dangerous / high crime
- No comment

- Schools Good
- Poor
- No comment

- Maintenance / Services Good Services / Amenities
- Poor Services / Amenities
- No comment

SECTION 8: MATERIALS RECEIVED

Did the agent provide you with any of the following items THAT YOU DID NOT ASK FOR? (check all that apply)

- Rental Application Yes
- No

- Business Card Yes
- No

- Brochure Yes
- No

- Listings Yes
- No

- Floor Plan Yes
- No

- Rental/Lease Agreement Yes
- No

- Gift Yes
- No

- Food or beverage Yes
- No

- Other Yes
- No
- If Other, specify: _____
- _____

SECTION 9: ARRANGEMENTS FOR FUTURE CONTACT

- Were arrangements for future contact made? Yes
- No

If arrangements for future contact were made, please specify:

- The agent said that he/she would contact you Yes
- No

- The agent invited you to call him/her Yes

No

Other (specify):

Yes

No

Specify: _____

SECTION 10: FORM SUBMISSION

This form is complete:

Yes

No

Did you receive assistance from a companion or personal aide in completing form?

Yes

No

Delete this record (for TC use only)

Yes

No

AVAILABLE RENTAL UNIT FORM (In-Person Site Visit) – FWC

Control Number: _____
 Tester ID Number: _____
 Available Unit Form Sequence: _____

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT AVAILABLE UNIT

Address of Available Unit
 Number and Street _____
 Unit Number _____
 City _____
 State _____
 Zip Code _____

Type of Building: Apartment Building - 4 or Fewer Units
 Apartment Building - 5 or more
 Single-Family Home
 Mobile Home

How many floors are in the building? _____

On which floor is the available unit located? _____

What was the sq. footage of the unit? _____

Does this unit have your requested number of bedrooms, is available when you need it, and is at or below your price max?
 Yes
 No

Number of bedrooms: _____
 Date Available (mm/dd/yyyy): _____

Length of Lease? [check all that apply]
 Month-to-month
 Three month
 Six month
 One year
 Two year
 Other

If other, please specify: _____

Did you inspect a unit during your site visit?
 Yes
 No

What type of unit did you inspect?
 Actual available unit
 Model unit
 Other unit similar to the actual available unit

Did the unit have any of the following INTERIOR physical conditions?

Broken plaster or peeling paint: Yes
 No

Discoloration of a floor, wall or ceiling due to water leakage:
 Yes
 No

Exposed wiring Yes
 No

Did the building's EXTERIOR have any of the following physical conditions?

- Sagging roof Yes
 No
- Broken window Yes
 No
- Boarded up windows Yes
 No

SECTION 2: COSTS AND INCENTIVES**Costs: Please carefully record all costs related to renting this available unit.**

What is the rent per month? _____

- Is a security deposit and/or surety bond required? 1. Yes – choice of security deposit or surety bond
 2. Yes – security deposit
 3. Yes – surety bond
 4. No
 5. Did not obtain

If you answered 1, 2, or 3, please report the amount accordingly:

Security deposit amount _____

Surety bond amount _____

- Is a non-refundable application fee required? Yes
 No
 Did not obtain

If yes, what is the total application fee for your household? _____

- Is a non-refundable move-in fee required? Yes
 No
 Did not obtain

If yes, what is the total move-in fee for your household? _____

Where you told about any other fees or payment at the time of application or move-in?

- Yes
 No

Name of additional fee 1 _____

- Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Name of additional fee 2 _____

- Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Name of additional fee 3 _____

Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Name of additional fee 4 _____

Is this a one-time or reoccurring monthly fee? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee/payment, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this fee? _____

Financial Incentives/Specials

Were you told about any financial incentives or special if you decide to apply for and rent this unit immediately?
 Yes
 No

Name of financial incentives/specials 1 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

Name of financial incentives/specials 2 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

Name of financial incentives/specials 3 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

Name of financial incentives/specials 4 _____

Is this a one-time/annual or a monthly fee reduction? one-time/annual
 monthly

If this is a reoccurring monthly fee reduction, how many months? _____

What is the amount of this incentive or special? _____

SECTION 3: COMMENTS

Did the housing provider make any of the following comments about the building/unit.

Did the agent make any comments suggesting this unit might be more or less suitable for you because of your assigned household composition (i.e., because you do or do not have children)?

- Yes
- No

If yes, specify:

Any other comments about this particular unit/building?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what was the comment?

SECTION 4: FORM SUBMISSION

General comments

This form is complete

- Yes
- No

Delete this record (TC use only)

- Yes
- No

FOLLOW-UP CONTACT FORM – Families with Children

Control Number: _____
 Tester Id Number: _____
 Follow-up Form Sequence Number: _____

SECTION 1: DOCUMENTING FOLLOW-UP CONTACT

Was there any follow-up contact? Yes
 No

Who initiated contact? Tester
 Housing provider

(Alias) Name of Tester _____
 Name of housing provider/agent (if given) _____

Type of Contact Telephone call / voicemail
 Postal mail
 E-mail
 Text Message

Date and time of contact

Day of the Week: Monday
 Tuesday
 Wednesday
 Thursday
 Friday
 Saturday
 Sunday

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): _____
 Time (hh:mm): _____
 AM or PM: AM
 PM

What was the stated purpose of the contact? [select “yes” or “no” for all statements]

Personal message from housing provider thanking tester for calling and/or asking if tester has any additional questions. Yes
 No

Personal message from housing provider asking if tester is still interested in housing. Yes
 No

Personal message from housing provider wanting to let tester know about more available units. Yes
 No

Personal message from housing provider wanting to get more information from tester. Yes
 No

Automated message (call or e-mail) from housing provider thanking tester for calling or visiting and/or providing additional general information. Yes

No

Automated message asking tester to take part in a marketing survey or something similar.

Yes

No

Other

Yes

No

If Other, specify: _____

SECTION 2: FORM SUBMISSION

This form is complete

Yes

No

Delete this record (for TC use only)

Yes

No

Appendix E. Analysis Indicators

| Data Source | Analysis Variables for HDS-Families |
|--|--|
| Tester Files (<i>tester application and assessments</i>) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tester Identifiability Assessment |
| Test Report Form (<i>telephone and in-person site visit</i>) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Able to connect with agent to discuss housing options • Advertised unit availability that met tester needs • Number of units available to tester • Agent comment on FH laws • Application required • Invited to complete application • Credit check required • Criminal background check required • Info on renter qualification requested by agent • Agent comments on tester’s qualifications to rent • Agent remarks on race/ethnicity • Whether agent offered tester any items (7 items)* • Able to make an appointment** • Any arrangements for future contact* • Number of units inspected by tester* • Agent remarks about Children • Agent remarks about unit size or occupancy limits |
| Available Rental Unit Form (<i>telephone and in-person site visit</i>) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether unit was advertised unit • Whether inspected unit and whether it was actual available unit or other unit* • Rent amount • Number of bedrooms • Number of units in building* • Length of lease • Interior condition: broken plaster/peeling paint, exposed wiring, water leakage* • Exterior condition: sagging roof, boarded windows, broken windows* • Type & amount of any required fee • How much security deposit required • Told of rent specials or incentives; description • Agent comments about: Noise, Safety, Schools, Maintenance/services, Race or ethnicity • What floor of the building the unit is on** • Number of floors in building* • Square Footage of the Unit** |
| Follow-up Contact Form | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any follow-up contact |

FH = fair housing.

*Data collected during site visit only. **Data collected during telephone contact only.

Appendix F. References

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