



RESEARCH REPORT

# A Paired-Testing Pilot Study of Housing Discrimination against Same-Sex Couples and Transgender Individuals

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# Executive Summary

The US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has sponsored paired-testing studies to document and estimate rates of discrimination in housing markets since the late 1970s. Since the earliest studies that focused on race- and ethnicity-based discrimination, HUD has extended the paired-testing methodology to estimate discrimination based on other attributes protected under the Fair Housing Act. This report presents findings from a pilot study of discrimination in the rental housing market based on sexual orientation (using same-sex relationship status as a proxy) and gender status,<sup>1</sup> two categories that are not covered explicitly by the Fair Housing Act.<sup>2</sup> Although a few researchers and fair housing organizations have conducted tests for housing discrimination against same-sex couples and transgender individuals, no one has conducted a systematic, in-person study until now.

This study had three goals: (1) to develop and pilot test an in-person, paired-testing protocol to estimate rental housing discrimination against men partnering with men and women partnering with women relative to comparable heterosexual couples, (2) to develop and pilot test an in-person, paired-testing protocol to estimate rental housing discrimination against transgender individuals, and (3) to compare the utility of remote testing conducted by telephone or e-mail with in-person testing.

To address these goals, the research team conducted 2,009 paired tests: 1,200 in-person tests split evenly between women and men posing as part of a same-sex couple, 204 in-person tests with transgender individuals split between two protocols, 300 remote tests with women posing as part of a same-sex couple, and 305 remote tests with men posing as part of a same-sex couple. Paired testing for same-sex couple renters was conducted in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX, Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) and the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, MSA (hereafter, the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA and the Los Angeles MSA); paired testing for transgender renters was conducted in the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV, MSA (hereafter, the Washington, DC, MSA).<sup>3</sup>

Findings include the following: housing providers treated lesbians comparably to heterosexual women seeking rental housing, told gay men about one fewer available rental unit for every 4.2 tests than they told heterosexual men, and told transgender testers about fewer units than they told cisgender homeseekers. The comparison of findings from the remote and in-person testing methods does not lead to a conclusive finding on the sufficiency of remote testing.



# Legal and Regulatory Context Affecting Lesbian, Gay Male, Bisexual, and Transgender Homeseekers

Previous HUD-sponsored studies measuring housing discrimination have focused on members of protected classes as identified in the Fair Housing Act, which provides legal protection against discrimination based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, disability, and familial status. Sexual orientation and gender status are not named as federally protected classes, though the Fair Housing Act has been used to protect against certain discriminatory acts because of sex against members of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities. Numerous protective laws and ordinances are in place at the state and local levels, however, including in portions of the MSAs selected for this study: the Dallas-Fort Worth, Los Angeles, and Washington, DC, MSAs.<sup>4</sup>

## Past Research on Housing Discrimination against Lesbians, Gay Men, Bisexuals, and Transgender Individuals

Much of what is known about housing discrimination based on sexual orientation and transgender status comes from survey studies that ask respondents to report whether they have experienced discrimination while searching for housing. These studies reveal that many lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgender people believe they have been discriminated against, but they provide limited details on the forms this discrimination can take. Because the self-reports of discrimination gathered by the surveys might capture only the most blatant forms of discrimination, the findings likely underestimate its actual frequency.

Most of the research using paired testing to measure discrimination was based on e-mail contact with housing providers that testers posing as part of a same- or opposite-sex couple made. Findings from these studies are limited, with the most extensive of them reporting only three forms of treatment: whether housing providers (1) respond to an e-mail, (2) request additional information, or (3) invite the homeseeker to inspect available housing units. For example, a nationwide paired-testing study found that same-sex couples were slightly less likely to receive an e-mail response from housing providers than were comparable heterosexual couples, but the difference was statistically significant only for gay men (Friedman et al. 2013).

Several fair housing organizations have conducted telephone and in-person paired tests of discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender status for research and enforcement purposes. Such studies have found that an in-person approach is feasible and can detect more forms of disparate treatment than an e-mail-based approach, including rent amount, the number of available units discussed and shown, rental application offers, and offers of move-in incentives. A study conducted by the Fair Housing Centers of Michigan (2007) found widely different treatment against same-sex couples in rental housing, housing for sale, and home-purchase financing. Findings from this study and other research and enforcement testing efforts are suggestive, but the small number of tests for the complex study designs limits the results.

## Paired-Testing Methodology

Paired testing is a powerful tool for observing discrimination in action. In a paired test of housing discrimination, two individuals—one a member of a protected class or class of interest and the other a control tester as similar as possible in ways other than the characteristic being tested—pose as equally qualified homeseekers. Both testers are carefully trained to make the same inquiries, express the same preferences, and offer the same qualifications and needs. From the perspective of the housing provider, the only difference between the two is the characteristic of interest, such as sexual orientation or gender status. If no discriminatory practices are in play, testers should receive the same information and assistance. Systematic differences in treatment found in data from consistently implemented tests—telling focal<sup>5</sup> homeseekers that apartments are no longer available but telling control homeseekers they can move in next month, for example—provide direct evidence of differential treatment.

Paired testing is designed to control for all relevant differences between testers so differences in treatment can be attributed to discrimination based on a particular characteristic. Nonetheless, random factors and systematic factors may contribute to observed differences, and some tester attributes or behaviors might not be fully controlled or observed. In accordance with these factors, not every instance of favored treatment of control testers should be interpreted as systematic discrimination. In some instances, focal testers are treated more favorably than their control partners for either random or systematic reasons.

This study reports three measures of differential treatment in the rental market: (1) the share of tests in which the control tester is favored over the focal tester—or gross measure, (2) the share of tests

in which the focal tester is favored over the control tester, and (3) the difference between the two—or net measure. The net measure provides a conservative, lower-bound measure of systematic discrimination against lesbian, gay male, or transgender homeseekers because it subtracts not only random differences from the gross measure of control-favored treatment but also some differences that may reflect systematic preference for the focal tester.

Paired testing is used for research and enforcement, two related but different activities. Research testing aims to measure the prevalence of discrimination across a whole market by covering a representative sample of available housing, whereas enforcement testing targets properties or areas where discrimination is suspected, such as in a complaint-based investigation. Research testing relies on a large number of tests across many housing providers to produce generalizable results. Results from research testing can be aggregated because the protocols are consistent for every test and rely on highly structured report forms. Enforcement testing relies on multiple tests to establish discrimination by a single provider. Its protocols are flexible and rely more heavily on detailed, open-ended narratives.

## Study Design

The Dallas-Fort Worth, Los Angeles, and Washington, DC, MSAs are large, demographically diverse areas that have experienced local testing organizations with the capacity and experience required for this pilot study. Testing was conducted using samples of rental advertisements that were geographically representative of rental housing in each MSA. The research team sampled advertisements from various publicly available sources.

All tester pairs were matched on race, ethnicity, and approximate age and were assigned comparable employment and income. In the matched tests, a woman presenting as part of a lesbian couple was paired with a woman presenting as part of a heterosexual couple. In a similar way, a man presenting as part of a gay couple was paired with a man presenting as part of a heterosexual couple.<sup>6</sup> Control testers were cisgender men for transgender men and cisgender women for transgender women; gender queer<sup>7</sup> testers were paired with cisgender men and women assigned roughly equally.

This study required decisions distinct from previous paired-testing studies. Questions on the diversity of the tester pools, whether testers would be assigned a profile as a single person or a couple, and when and how to disclose sexual orientation and gender status all required careful consideration. To help answer these questions, the research team arrived at the decisions outlined here through

discussions with research, practitioner, and civil rights experts and focus group discussions with lesbians, gay men, and transgender and cisgender people.

## **Tester Recruitment**

The research team recruited all testers without regard for their expression of sexual orientation, gender expression, or gender conformity.

## **Singles Versus Couples**

The research team assigned testers participating in the same-sex couple component of the study to pose as members of couples both with and without children. The team assigned transgender tester pairs single-person household profiles without children.

## **Disclosure of Sexual Orientation**

Testers disclosed their sexual orientation early during appointment contacts and in-person visits by referring to their assigned partner, girlfriend or boyfriend, or spouse by a gender-specific name and pronoun.<sup>8</sup>

## **Disclosure of Transgender Status**

The research team developed two protocols: (1) in half of the tests, transgender testers told housing providers that they were transgender; (2) in the other half, transgender testers did not disclose their gender status. During tests in which transgender testers disclosed their gender status, they told housing providers early in their visits that they were transgender and had not yet changed their name legally; if they were to apply for an available unit, they would have to use their legal name rather than their name of choice. The disclose and nondisclose protocols enabled the team to test the feasibility of explicit disclosure and whether treatment based on gender status could be captured when status is not disclosed explicitly.

# Summary of Findings

## Discrimination and Variation in Treatment of Same-Sex Couples

### **Housing providers treated lesbians comparably to heterosexual women seeking rental housing.**

Providers were about equally likely to schedule an appointment with lesbians and with heterosexual women. When both testers were able to meet with a provider, agents were slightly less likely to tell lesbian testers that a unit was available. Agents told lesbians and control testers about approximately the same average number of units, showed both about the same number of units, and provided comparable information on rents and incentives. Differences across treatment measures of availability and inspections consistently disadvantage lesbian testers, but the differences generally are small and not statistically significant.

**Providers told gay men about one fewer available rental unit for every 4.2 tests than they told heterosexual men.** Providers were slightly less likely to schedule an appointment with gay men. When both testers could meet with a provider, agents were less likely to tell gay testers about at least one available unit. Gay and heterosexual men inspected about the same number of units, on average. The average yearly costs agents quoted gay men were \$272 higher than the costs quoted to heterosexual men.

**The treatment of same-sex couples varied little by race or by city.** Overall, findings suggest that differential treatment was somewhat greater for white same-sex couples than for minority same-sex couples. Results of multivariate analysis found that this slight difference stemmed largely from an unexpected favorable treatment of Hispanic testers. Analysis also found greater differential treatment in the number of units shown and in annual net costs for gay men in Los Angeles than in Dallas-Fort Worth. Further analysis of patterns of the results and analysis of test narratives did not offer insights into these unexpected results, without which they are difficult to interpret. In light of the small findings of differential treatment against lesbians and gay men, the authors caution against reading much into the results of these analyses of differences in treatment by race or MSA.

## Discrimination in Treatment of Transgender Testers

**Housing providers told transgender testers about fewer units than they told cisgender testers, regardless of the protocol used.** Agents quoted about the same rent and average net yearly costs to transgender and cisgender testers for both disclose and nondisclose tests.

**Differences in results by protocol were small and inconsistent across treatment measures.**

Providers were less likely to tell transgender homeseekers who disclosed their gender status about any available units and told them about fewer units on average. Providers, however, were more likely to allow these testers to inspect units than to allow transgender testers who did not disclose their gender status. Some differences in treatment were larger on the nondisclose tests than on the disclose tests. The source of these results is unclear. The inconsistent results across the measures may result from the small samples within each approach, from a weeding out of housing providers prone to discriminate against transgender people during the initial inquiry phase of the disclose tests such that providers willing to show units were a subsample favorably disposed toward transgender people, or characteristics of the testers or the sampled advertisements that affected the tests in ways not captured by any test data.

## Utility of Telephone or E-Mail Testing Compared with In-Person Testing

The comparison of findings from the remote and in-person testing methods does not lead to a conclusive finding on the sufficiency of remote testing. Despite the limited differences found in the results from this pilot study, this effort and experiences from other recent housing discrimination paired-testing studies suggest that a remote-only approach could be limiting. Relying on remote-only testing would eliminate measures from analysis that can be captured only in person. The in-person approach ensures testing captures the treatment of frontline property managers.

## Important Limitations and Caveats

The findings reported here capture treatment that occurred during an initial housing search inquiry and information gathering; they do not capture all forms of discriminatory treatment that renters may experience, such as treatment during the rental application phase, when negotiating lease terms, or post occupancy. Results may understate the discrimination that occurs because they do not reflect the experience of the average homeseeker. Testers presented themselves as well qualified for the housing

units about which they inquired. Some evidence suggests that testers posing as marginally qualified homeseekers are more frequently discriminated against (Hunter and Walker 1996). It has been hypothesized that lesbians who are part of a couple are treated more favorably than single lesbians, though research so far has found little evidence of such a difference (Weichselbaumer 2013). This study did not include single-household profiles in the same-sex testing component. It also was not structured to detect differences among transgender women, transgender men, and gender queer people. Finally, and perhaps most important, this pilot study was conducted in only three major MSAs. The authors do not know whether the selection of other large MSAs, including some without any state-level or local-level protective laws or ordinances, smaller areas, or a larger sample of sites would have led to different results. Findings from this pilot study are not generalizable beyond the MSAs in which tests were conducted.

## Recommendations for Future Research and Practice

This pilot study provides evidence on the treatment of same-sex couples and transgender individuals in a few locations and valuable lessons for conducting paired tests.<sup>9</sup> It also raises questions and points to next steps in better understanding treatment in the rental market based on sexual orientation and gender status. The authors recommend the following studies and activities for HUD, researchers, and fair housing practitioners.

**Conduct research in a greater diversity and larger sample of sites.** This goal could be achieved through one larger study (at a regional or larger scale) or a set of city-focused or regionally focused studies based on shared protocols. Results from paired testing implemented in more sites would show whether results from this pilot study hold in smaller MSAs and in other regions of the country.

**Analyze housing discrimination complaint data.** In cities or states that prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender status, complaint data could be an additional source of information on the types and forms of differential treatment. Federal complaint data filed based on sex discrimination also should be analyzed for treatment based on gender status and nonconformance with gender stereotypes. Data may include complaints about treatment received during the housing search process, during the application and leasing stages, and during tenancy.

**Explore protocol design ideas to test for sexual orientation discrimination directly rather than by proxy.** Testers signaled their sexual orientation through gendered references to a significant other. Small research studies or innovative enforcement efforts could experiment with protocol designs with

testers posing as single lesbians, gay men, and bisexual women and men to test directly for sexual orientation discrimination.

**Conduct additional research into best practices for paired testing for gender status-based housing discrimination.** The research team expected larger differences in the results between the two protocols and expected the differences to be consistent across measures within each protocol. Data from tester report forms and narratives do not shed light on why the differences were inconsistent and smaller than expected. When considering the results from the use of two protocols in one MSA, the research team cannot recommend one protocol over the other. It may not matter which protocol is used, but it is premature to accept that possibility without exploring factors that may have led to the unclear pilot results or other approaches to conducting paired testing for gender-status discrimination.

**Explore variations in treatment based on gender identity and gender presentation.** Testing efforts structured with a larger and equal number of tests for transgender women, transgender men, and gender queer people—and with more testers within each group—could detect differences in treatment along these dimensions. Testing also could explore whether the way in which testers, transgender and cisgender, present themselves may affect treatment. In particular, it could examine whether gender conformity (the degree to which a person’s appearance and behaviors match societal norms for women and men) affects treatment. The research team grappled with gender presentation during the design phase, especially in tester recruitment decisions. Because this study was a pilot, the research team was unable to explore this possible facet of treatment.

**Document the insights from this study for designing and implementing paired-testing studies based on sexual orientation and gender status.** Guidelines and design considerations, including tester safety issues and tester recruitment and retention, would be useful to HUD, other researchers, and fair housing practitioners.

**Convene researchers and practitioners to share knowledge on housing discrimination issues based on sexual orientation and gender status.** A convening could support an exploration of best practices and next-generation approaches to the design and implementation of paired-testing efforts.

**Continue to support in-person paired-testing studies.** In-person testing captures data on more variables than is possible with remote-only testing, and it captures treatment from onsite property management staff who interact directly with prospective renters. Although this pilot study found only small differences in treatment by method, differences that may surface from an in-person study conducted in different MSAs would be missed were tests conducted only by telephone or e-mail.



# Chapter 1. Introduction

The US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has sponsored paired-testing studies to document and estimate rates of discrimination in housing markets since the late 1970s (Turner and James 2015). Since the earliest studies that focused on race- and ethnicity-based discrimination, HUD has extended the paired-testing methodology to estimate discrimination based on other attributes protected under the Fair Housing Act. This report presents findings from a pilot study of discrimination in the rental housing market based on sexual orientation and gender status,<sup>10</sup> two categories not covered explicitly by the Fair Housing Act. Although a small number of researchers and fair housing organizations have conducted tests for housing discrimination against same-sex couples and transgender individuals, no systematic, in-person study has been undertaken toward this end until now.

This housing discrimination study against same-sex couples and transgender individuals has three goals: (1) to develop an in-person, paired-testing protocol and conduct a pilot test to estimate rental housing discrimination against men partnering with men and women partnering with women relative to comparable heterosexual couples; (2) to develop and pilot test an in-person, paired-testing protocol to estimate rental housing discrimination against transgender individuals; and (3) to compare the utility of e-mail testing with in-person testing. After discussing the issues with experts during the design phase, the research team modified the second goal to develop and test two protocols for in-person testing of discrimination against transgender individuals.

## Legal and Regulatory Context Affecting Lesbian, Gay Male, Bisexual, and Transgender Homeseekers

Previous HUD-sponsored studies to measure housing discrimination focused on members of protected classes as identified in the Fair Housing Act, which provides legal protection against discrimination in housing based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, disability, and familial status. Sexual orientation and gender identity, however, are not explicitly named as federally protected classes.<sup>11</sup>

The Fair Housing Act has been used to protect against certain discriminatory acts against members of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) communities. For example, if an LGBTQ person with HIV/AIDS (human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) is denied housing, the Fair Housing Act can be used to claim discrimination based on disability. In addition, sex discrimination prohibited by the Fair Housing Act includes discrimination based on gender

identity.<sup>12</sup> For example, if a transgender person is denied housing based on gender nonconformity (for example, because that person's gender identity does not match the sex that person was assigned at birth), discrimination has occurred under the Fair Housing Act.<sup>13</sup> HUD also recognized that claims of housing discrimination against gays and lesbians because they fail to conform to gender stereotypes can be investigated under a sex-stereotyping theory put forth in *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*.<sup>14</sup>

LGBTQ people have also been extended some federal-level rights through regulatory action. HUD's "Equal Access to Housing in HUD Programs Regardless of Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity,"<sup>15</sup> issued in 2012, provides that a determination of eligibility for housing that is assisted by HUD or subject to a mortgage insured by HUD shall be made in accordance with the eligibility requirements of the program and without regard to actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity, or marital status. The rule also defines family to include members regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity, or marital status (HUD 2015).

Numerous protective laws and ordinances are in place at the state and local levels. A scan of the 10 largest US metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) found that all 10 have state-level or local-level protective laws or ordinances in at least a portion of the metropolitan area. Exhibit 1.1 provides an overview of legal coverage as of November 2015. The legal landscape is quite fluid. On May 28, 2014, the city council of Houston, Texas, passed the Houston Equal Rights Ordinance (HERO), which extended protection from housing discrimination to include the bases of sexual orientation and gender identity. On July 24, 2015, the Texas Supreme Court ruled that enforcement of HERO be suspended and either repealed or placed to a vote as a ballot initiative. On August 26, 2015, the Houston City Council finalized language for the HERO ballot initiative to be decided by vote. Voters rejected the antidiscrimination ordinance on November 3, 2015. On November 10, 2015, the Dallas City Council unanimously approved an amendment to its antidiscrimination ordinance that makes it illegal to deny employment, housing, or access to public spaces based on real or perceived gender identity.<sup>16</sup>

EXHIBIT 1.1

State and Local LGBTQ Housing Nondiscrimination Protection in Selected Cities and Counties, by MSA

Selected cities and counties by MSA	Protection Based on Sexual Orientation		Protection Based on Gender Status	
	State level	Local level	State level	Local level
<b>Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA MSA</b>				
Atlanta, Georgia		x		x
<b>Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH MSA</b>				
Boston, Massachusetts	x	x	x	x
<b>Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI MSA</b>				
Chicago, Illinois	x	x	x	x
Lake County, Indiana				
<b>Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX MSA</b>				
Dallas, Texas		x		+
Fort Worth, Texas		x		x
<b>Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX MSA</b>				
Houston, Texas		—		—
Brazoria County, Texas				
<b>Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA MSA</b>				
Los Angeles, California	x	x	x	x
<b>Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL MSA</b>				
Miami, Florida		x		x
<b>New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA MSA</b>				
New York, New York	x	x		x
Jersey City, New Jersey	x	x	x	x
<b>Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD MSA</b>				
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania		x		x
Delaware County, Pennsylvania				
Camden County, New Jersey	x	x	x	x
<b>Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV MSA</b>				
Washington, DC		x		x
Arlington, Virginia		x		
Silver Spring, Maryland	x	x	x	x

Sources: Movement Advancement Project, 2015, [http://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/non\\_discrimination\\_laws/housing](http://www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/non_discrimination_laws/housing); Lake County, Indiana, Code of Ordinances, 2012; Arlington County Government, “Fair Housing,” <http://housing.arlingtonva.us/get-help/fair-housing/>; Montgomery County, Maryland, County Code, 2015, [http://www.amlegal.com/codes/client/montgomery-county\\_md/](http://www.amlegal.com/codes/client/montgomery-county_md/); City of Houston, Ordinance No. 2014-530, 2014; Texas Workforce Commission, 2015, Housing Discrimination, Brazoria County, TX, <http://www.twc.state.tx.us/partners/housing-discrimination>; City of Philadelphia, Fair Housing Commission, “Discrimination Is Illegal,” <http://www.phila.gov/FairHousingCommission/Pages/DiscriminationIsIllegal.aspx>; Delaware County, Pennsylvania, “Fair Housing,” <http://www.co.delaware.pa.us/hcd/fairhousing.html>; City of Atlanta, Human Relations Commission, 2015, <http://www.atlantaga.gov/index.aspx?page=138>; City of Dallas, Fair Housing Department, “Fair Housing 101,” [http://dallascityhall.com/departments/fairhousing/Pages/fair\\_housing\\_101.aspx](http://dallascityhall.com/departments/fairhousing/Pages/fair_housing_101.aspx); City of Fort Worth, Texas, Ordinance No. 18909-11-2009, (2009); City of Miami, Florida, Code of Ordinances, (2015).

**Notes:** Among study sites, protections were in place throughout the Los Angeles-Long Beach- Anaheim, CA Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) but only in portions of the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV and Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX MSAs. During this study, Houston voted down existing local-level protection based on sexual orientation, as indicated by the dash. Dallas added protection against gender status discrimination to its antidiscrimination ordinance that already covered sexual orientation, as indicated by the plus sign. MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

## Past Research on Housing Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

Until recently, much of what has been known about housing discrimination against lesbian, gay male, and transgender people came from survey studies. Findings indicate that LGBTQ respondents experience discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity while buying or renting a home (Colvin 2004; Grant, Mottet, and Tanis 2011; Gross and Aurand 1996; Herek 2009; Kaiser Family Foundation 2001).<sup>17</sup> These studies offer limited information on the forms this discrimination can take. To the extent that self-reports of discrimination gathered by the surveys may capture only the most blatant forms of discrimination, the findings likely underestimate its actual occurrence.

Most of the research studies to date that do not rely on self-reporting have used e-mail contact to measure discrimination. Findings from these studies are limited, reporting at most only three forms of treatment: (1) response, (2) request for additional information, and (3) invitation to see the housing unit. HUD conducted a nationwide e-mail study that revealed that same-sex couples were slightly less likely to receive e-mail responses from housing providers relative to comparable heterosexual couples, but the difference was statistically significant only for gay men (Friedman et al. 2013).

Several smaller-scale e-mail studies have been conducted internationally. A study in Sweden found that gay male couples compared with heterosexual couples were less likely to receive a response from a housing agent. Among those who did receive responses, gay male couples were less likely to be invited to provide additional information or see an apartment (Ahmed and Hammarstedt 2009). Another e-mail-based study conducted in Vancouver, Canada, found no difference in treatment between lesbian couples and heterosexual couples, but it found significant differential treatment of gay male couples compared with heterosexual couples in rental markets (Lauster and Easterbrook 2011).

Several fair housing organizations in the United States have conducted telephone and in-person paired tests of housing discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender status for both research and enforcement purposes. When using these testing methods, researchers identified differential treatment by comparing the experiences of LGBTQ people with those of heterosexual or cisgender<sup>18</sup>

people. Differences in the amount or quality of information given to testers are used to determine the extent of discrimination in the housing market (Equal Rights Center 2014; Fair Housing Centers of Michigan 2007).<sup>19</sup>

These studies indicate that an in-person testing approach captures a broader range of treatment variables compared with the limited number of variables observed in the remote e-mail or telephone studies. Testers reported treatment on rent amount, the number of units discussed and shown, offers of rental applications, and offers of move-in incentives. Testers also reported on subtler forms of treatment, such as whether an agent made any comments about gay people or homosexuality. Given the small number of tests and the number of variables (gender, race, type of test) included in these studies, the results are suggestive but limited. The tests indicate, however, that research testing for discrimination against same-sex couples is feasible and that in-person tests can detect considerably more forms of disparate treatment than single-contact e-mail-based approaches.

As part of this study, the research team conducted focus groups in Washington, DC, to discuss rental housing search practices and experiences with lesbians, gay men, heterosexual cisgender women and men, and transgender and gender queer people. Lesbian and gay male participants discussed somewhat subtle forms of discrimination, such as being told by a landlord that she or he has no problem with gay people but not offering a lease. Experiences recounted by transgender people were overt. Participants talked about seeing rental advertisements that stated “no transgenders” or being denied housing after disclosing transgender status. Participants thought that one’s outward appearance and the degree to which a person is perceived as male or female affect landlords’ decisions to offer a unit, with people who are perceived as transgender or gender nonconforming receiving poor treatment. Other experiences included being kicked out of a group house after housemates learned that one person was transgender, being denied access to the kitchen and common areas after a landlord realized the tenant was transgender, and encountering landlords who believe that all transgender women are prostitutes. See appendix D for a detailed discussion of the focus groups.

## Paired-Testing Methodology

The paired-testing methodology originated as a tool for detecting discrimination and producing evidence for fair housing enforcement because it could be used to document individual instances of discrimination. Since the late 1970s, HUD has used the tool for research purposes to rigorously monitor trends in the incidence of racial and ethnic discrimination in both rental and sales markets

approximately once each decade through a series of nationwide paired-testing studies. HUD also has sponsored research that extends the paired-testing methodology to other protected classes, including families and people with a disability. This study is an example of using paired testing to learn more about the prevalence and forms of housing discrimination against classes not explicitly protected by the Fair Housing Act.

Paired testing is a powerful tool for observing housing discrimination in action. In a paired test, two individuals—one a member of a protected class or class of interest and the other a tester similar in every way except for the characteristic being tested—pose as equally qualified homeseekers. Both testers are carefully trained to make the same inquiries, express the same preferences, and offer the same qualifications and needs. From the perspective of the housing provider, the only difference between the two is the one focal characteristic, such as sexual orientation, gender status. On average, if no discriminatory practices occur, testers should receive the same information and assistance. Systematic differences in treatment found in data from consistently implemented tests—telling focal<sup>20</sup> homeseekers that apartments are no longer available but telling control partners they could move in next month, for example—provide direct evidence of differential treatment.

Research testing shares common origins with enforcement testing, but it differs in important ways. Because its goal is to measure the prevalence of discrimination across the market as a whole, research testing usually covers a representative sample of available homes and apartments rather than targeting properties or communities where discrimination is suspected. Research testing requires a large number of tests to produce generalizable results, thus covering many different housing providers, rather than multiple tests to establish discrimination by a single provider. Because this study includes pilot and exploratory research goals, the number of tests conducted overall is lower than it would be for a national study but otherwise meets research-testing requirements. To generate results that can be aggregated across many tests, research protocols must be consistent for every test; by contrast, the best enforcement protocols are flexible enough to respond to circumstances that arise tests. Finally, research testing report forms require predefined, closed-ended responses that can be consistently compared across many tests rather than detailed narratives that convey exactly what happened in an individual test (narratives also are produced for some portion of tests conducted for research purposes).

Paired testing has tremendous power and potential, but the methodology also has limitations. For practical reasons, paired testing cannot be applied to some of the important stages in a rental transaction. For example, third-party testing protocols cannot legitimately involve the formal submission of fraudulent information in a signed rental application, so it is not possible to capture

discrimination that may occur at the final stage of a rental transaction. Discrimination against established tenants (such as in lease renewals, property maintenance, or use of amenities) cannot readily be captured through paired testing because the housing provider already knows the details of residents' actual characteristics and it would be difficult to match existing tenants. As a consequence, the findings reported here do not capture all the forms of discriminatory treatment that renters may experience but capture only those that occur during the initial inquiry and information-gathering stages.

Moreover, the results presented here do not reflect the experience of the average or typical homeseeker, because testers presented themselves as unambiguously well qualified for the homes and apartments about which they inquired. Evidence from research on mortgage-lending discrimination suggests that when testers pose as marginally qualified homebuyers, differential treatment occurs more frequently (Hunter and Walker 1996). Therefore, results reported here probably understate the total level of discrimination that occurs in the rental marketplace.

Paired testing is explicitly designed to control for all relevant differences between testers so differences in treatment can be attributed to discrimination based on the focal characteristic. Nonetheless, random and systematic factors may contribute to observed differences, and some tester attributes or behaviors may not be fully controlled or observed. Therefore, not every instance of favored treatment to control testers should be interpreted as systematic discrimination. In some instances, either for random or systematic reasons, focal testers experience more favorable treatment than do their test partners. Therefore, the authors report the share of tests in which the control tester was favored over the focal tester, the share in which the focal tester was favored over the control tester, and the difference between the two. This difference—or net measure—provides a conservative, lower-bound measure of systematic discrimination against homeseekers who are same-sex couples or transgender individuals because it subtracts not only random differences from the gross measure of control-favored treatment but also some differences that may reflect systematic reverse discrimination. Paired testing, however, does measure the focal group's overall disadvantage in the housing market.

Critics of paired testing have raised ethical and legal objections, arguing that the methodology deceives or entraps research subjects, imposes costs (of interacting with a fictitious customer), and may invade the privacy rights of the person or office being tested (Edley 1993). A convincing argument can be made, however, that paired testing is often the only feasible strategy for detecting and measuring discrimination and that the benefits far outweigh the drawbacks. These studies provide no lure or incentive for rental agents to act any differently from the way they would otherwise act.<sup>21</sup> Responsible

testing studies intentionally involve as limited an intrusion as possible and take the minimum amount of time necessary. They also involve responding to offers for housing that are publicly advertised and, in some metropolitan areas, subject to laws or regulations, such as those that explicitly bar discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity (Fix and Struyk 1993).

## Organization of the Report

The remainder of this report details the data-gathering methods and the study results. Chapter 2, “Study Design and Paired-Testing Protocols,” describes the design challenges and elements and the data collection protocols for each component of the study. Chapter 3, “Sampling and Analysis Methods,” documents sampling and analysis methods. Chapter 4, “Discrimination Against Same-Sex Couples: Pilot Study,” presents estimates of discrimination based on in-person tests and discusses findings from multivariate analyses. This chapter also presents findings from the comparison of in-person testing data with remote testing data. Chapter 5, “Discrimination Against Transgender Individuals: Exploratory Study,” presents findings on the feasibility of testing for discrimination against transgender individuals and results from exploratory testing in one MSA. Chapter 6, “Conclusions,” presents suggestions for future research and action to further understand housing discrimination based on sexual orientation and transgender status.



# Chapter 2. Study Design and Paired-Testing Protocols

The goals of the same-sex couples testing component of this pilot study were to develop an in-person, paired-testing protocol and produce measures of rental housing discrimination against same-sex couples and to compare the relative utility of remote testing with in-person testing. The transgender component of the study was an exploratory effort intended to serve as a solid starting point for future discrimination studies. The goal of this component was to develop and test an in-person, paired-testing protocol to measure rental housing discrimination against transgender individuals. The field protocols and processes build on those used for recent housing discrimination studies (HDSs) (Levy et al. 2015; Turner et al. 2013). See appendix A for a description of data collection oversight and management procedures and the list of participating local testing organizations (LTOs).

The study design called for 2,000 paired tests to be conducted in three metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs): 1,800 same-sex couples tests in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX, MSA and the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, MSAs (hereafter, the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA and the Los Angeles MSA) and 200 transgender tests in the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV, MSA (hereafter, the Washington, DC, MSA).<sup>22</sup> Details on site selection and test targets are discussed in chapter 3. The LTOs in these cities recruited testers according to the types of tests and tester targets a site was assigned. Focal testers participating in the same-sex couples tests had to be lesbian, gay, or bisexual and willing to portray a person in a same-sex relationship.<sup>23</sup> Focal testers participating in the transgender tests had to be transgender or gender queer and willing to identify as a transgender person during the tests (box 2.1). Organizations were provided recruitment targets for racial and ethnic groups based on census data for their respective MSA.

Focal and control testers were matched on race, ethnicity, and approximate age and assigned comparable employment, income, and household compositions. All testers were assigned sufficient income to make them unambiguously well qualified for the sample of advertised units and to make the focal tester slightly better qualified.<sup>24</sup> Lesbian testers were paired with heterosexual women and gay men were paired with heterosexual men. Transgender women were matched with cisgender women, transgender men were matched with cisgender men, and gender queer testers were matched with cisgender women and men assigned in roughly equal proportion. Testers contacted rental agents and systematically recorded the information and assistance they received about the advertised unit and other units, including rent price, the application process, and other terms and conditions. Testers were not told who their test partner was; partners did not compare their experiences with one another.

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## BOX 2.1

### Study Testers

**cisgender.** A person who, for the most part, identifies as the gender he or she was assigned at birth.

**control tester.** The heterosexual or cisgender tester of a matched pair.

**focal tester.** The tester of a matched pair who is lesbian, gay male, or transgender.

**gay male.** A male whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attraction is to other men.

**gender queer.** A person who does not subscribe to conventional gender distinctions but identifies with neither, both, or a combination of male and female attributes.

**heterosexual.** A person whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attraction is to people of the opposite sex.

**lesbian.** A female whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attraction is to other women.

**transgender.** A person whose gender identity, expression, or behavior is different from those typically associated with their assigned sex at birth.

**Sources:** Definitions were compiled and modified from “GLAAD Media Reference Guide—Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual Glossary of Terms,” GLAAD, accessed May 26, 2017, <http://www.glaad.org/reference/lgbtq>;

———. 2016b. “GLAAD Media Reference Guide—Transgender,” GLAAD, accessed May 26, 2017,

<http://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender>; Transgender Terminology,” National Center for Transgender Equality, Last modified January 15, 2014, <http://www.transequality.org/issues/resources/transgender-terminology>; and the Oxford English Living Dictionaries, accessed May 30, 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/>.

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## Pilot Testing for Discrimination against Same-Sex Couples

The same-sex couple component of this study was a pilot effort to produce estimates of rental housing discrimination and to compare the utility of remote testing by telephone or e-mail with in-person testing. The research team allocated a total of 1,800 paired tests divided between the Dallas-Fort Worth and Los Angeles MSAs. Of these tests, 1,200 were conducted in person, divided between lesbian and gay male tests, and 605 were conducted as remote tests, also divided between lesbian and gay male tests.

### Testers

Local testing organizations aimed to recruit a diverse pool of focal testers rather than limiting the pool to testers who may more readily be perceived as lesbians or gay males. Focal testers could include bisexual women and men. Asian, black, and Hispanic testers were included, to the extent possible, in proportion to

the minority population in each MSA. LTOs were given goals for the number of tests to be conducted by Asian, black, Hispanic, and white testers within each testing component but were not assigned hard targets.

For the 1,200 in-person tests, 42 lesbians, 1 bisexual woman, 39 gay men, and 91 control testers participated. Approximately one-half of the testers were white and one-half were minorities (13 Asian, 30 black, and 50 Hispanic testers). For the 605 remote tests, 19 lesbians, 20 gay men, and 42 control testers participated. Similar to the in-person tests, the split of white and minority testers was relatively even, with 10 black testers and 24 Hispanic testers. No Asian testers conducted any of the remote tests because of the challenges the LTOs faced in identifying willing and eligible participants.

## Protocol Design Challenges for Lesbian and Gay Male Tests

Testers would need to disclose their sexual orientation to housing providers in as natural a way as possible before discussing available rental units. After consideration of how testers may disclose sexual orientation other than by referencing a same- or opposite-sex partner, the research team decided the protocol challenges related to a single-person profile would be substantial and risky to a pilot study. Testers were assigned a household composition that included a significant other and, for some portion of the tests, a child; no tester was assigned a single-person profile. This approach, used in other lesbian and gay male paired-testing studies, uses same-sex relationships as a proxy for sexual orientation. The use of “coupled” testers limits the findings to the treatment of lesbians and gay men in a relationship, but it reduced the challenge associated with disclosing sexual orientation and eliminated a need to develop separate instructions for single and coupled testers to disclose orientation.

Another challenge was settling on the relationship terms to assign to testers. The research team was concerned that certain terms may be misconstrued. For example, a housing provider may misunderstand “girlfriend” to refer to a platonic relationship when used by a lesbian tester. “Partner” may be misunderstood as a business associate instead of a romantic partner. The LTO from the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA was unsure how the use of “husband” or “wife” would be received by providers in Texas, where same-sex marriage was not then legal, and whether the terms themselves would affect treatment. The research team decided to use a mix of terms. For half of the tests, testers posed as being married and were assigned to refer to their spouse as husband or wife, as appropriate for the test. For the other half of the tests, testers posed as unmarried and were assigned to refer to their significant other as their girlfriend, boyfriend, or partner. Testers were assigned to use the terms *girlfriend* or *boyfriend* on about 25 percent of tests and to use the term *partner* on the remaining 25 percent of tests.

## Testing Protocols and Reporting

Researchers developed two sets of protocols for the lesbian and gay male tests. Testers used the first set described in the next paragraph for the in-person tests. They used the second set for the remote tests conducted by telephone or e-mail.

### IN-PERSON DATA COLLECTION PROTOCOLS

Protocols for the same-sex couples in-person tests were divided into eight steps. See appendix B.1 for a flowchart depiction of the paired-testing process for the in-person tests. The first step required making contact on each sampled advertisement before it could be assigned to testers. This advance contact confirmed details from an advertisement and collected additional information required to determine eligibility and to assign tester characteristics. Second, a local test coordinator created a test assignment based on information collected from the sampled advertisement and the advance contact. Third, the coordinator met with each tester in the matched pair separately. During these briefings, testers received and reviewed their assignment, reviewed test protocols, and discussed any questions or concerns with the coordinator.

Fourth, all testers were assigned to contact the housing provider to make an appointment to view available units. Testers were instructed to make contact by telephone unless the advertisement provided only an e-mail address. They were assigned a web-based telephone number and e-mail account to use to make appointments and to receive messages from housing providers. Testers documented their appointment contacts on appointment report forms. All testers posed as members of couples, married or unmarried, with or without children. They were directed to disclose clearly to the agent their same-sex relationship during the appointment contact, either at the beginning of the call or in a telephone message or e-mail, by referring to their partner or spouse using gendered names and pronouns and the assigned term that referenced their relationship (e.g., partner, girlfriend or boyfriend, wife or husband). The terms used to reference the relationship were consistent for both testers of a matched pair.

Fifth, testers conducted visits following standardized protocols designed to gather key information for assessing differential treatment. Testers began each test by referring to their significant other using gendered names, pronouns, and the assigned terms that referenced their relationship. Testers would then ask about the advertised unit and other available units that met their needs. Units that met a tester's needs were defined as those that were within a tester's price range, were available when needed, and had at least the minimum number of bedrooms required for the tester's assigned household. Under no circumstances were testers to agree to a credit check, which would disclose the fact that their actual income and other information differed from what they told the provider.

Sixth, testers completed reports soon after finishing a test visit to record information on the application process—whether and which utilities were included in the rent, the exact address of the unit, the unit number, the number of bedrooms, the rent amount, the amount of security deposit and any other fees, the lease length, the date of availability, and any information about the tester that the housing provider gathered (such as income, employment, and family size). See appendix C.2 for the report forms.

Seventh, after testers completed all report forms, they attended a debriefing meeting with the test coordinator to clarify the report forms, if necessary, and talk about any issues or concerns with the test. Debriefings were held in person until coordinators were confident that a tester had mastered the testing protocols and understood all the test report forms. After that, testers had the option of debriefing over the telephone.

The eighth and final step was documenting any follow-up contact with a housing provider. Testers completed a report form to record information on any e-mail or telephone calls from a housing provider and on any follow-up a tester was instructed to initiate.

#### REMOTE DATA COLLECTION PROTOCOLS

Protocols for the same-sex couples remote tests were divided into seven steps. See appendix B.1 for a flowchart depiction of the paired-testing process for the remote tests. The first three steps were identical to the protocol for the in-person tests. Local test coordinators first verified that sampled advertisements were eligible for assignment; second, created an assignment with testers matched based on race, ethnicity, approximate age, comparable employment and income, and household composition; and, third, briefed each tester in the matched pair separately.

Fourth, all testers were assigned to contact the housing provider to gather information on available units and to make an appointment to view the units. The protocol directed testers to make contact by telephone unless the advertisement provided only an e-mail address. As with the in-person tests, all testers posed as members of couples, married or unmarried, with or without children. They were directed to disclose their same-sex relationship at the beginning of the call or in a telephone message or e-mail by referring to their significant other using gendered names and pronouns and the assigned term that referenced their relationship. The terms used to reference the relationship were consistent across the testers of a matched pair. After gathering information on the terms and conditions for available rental units, testers requested an appointment. Testers who successfully obtained an appointment were directed to cancel it within a reasonable amount of time.

Fifth, testers completed reports soon after finishing a test to record information on unit availability, the application process, any information about the tester gathered by the housing provider (such as income,

employment, and family size), and site visit appointment details (if the tester was able to make an appointment). See appendix C.3 for the report forms.

Sixth, testers attended a debriefing meeting with the test coordinator to clarify report forms, if necessary, and talk about any issues or concerns with the test.

The seventh and final step was documenting any follow-up contact with a housing provider.

## Field Operations Challenges

In addition to having the significant challenge of recruiting and retaining a sufficient tester pool, the same-sex couples component of the study also faced other hurdles, including an increased risk of detection as a tester from the large number of tests conducted in both MSAs. A total of 600 in-person tests and 300 remote (telephone or e-mail) tests were planned for each MSA. To complete the required number of tests within the project schedule, the three LTOs responsible for the testing had to make advance contact weekly on a large volume of advertisements. Each LTO carefully tracked the housing providers that were being contacted by telephone or visited by testers to ensure repeat visits by the same testers (or by different testers within a small window of time) did not occur. The successful execution of this process was essential to averting detection by the housing industry.

The tracking system required for this study was more complicated than the systems used on recent HDSs because two LTOs were conducting tests in each site during the study: one LTO conducted the in-person tests and the other conducted the remote tests. Thus, test coordinators based in different organizations worked closely with each other (and shared detailed tracking spreadsheets) to ensure multiple tester pairs did not contact the same housing provider in a given week. The LTO completing the remote tests also alternated weekly the MSA in which testing was conducted, helping to minimize the amount of coordination required among test coordinators at any given time. The test coordinators carefully executed monitoring enabled the LTO to successfully complete the required number of tests.

## Exploratory Testing for Discrimination against Transgender Individuals

Through this exploratory study, the research team examined the feasibility of protocols for explicitly (verbally) disclosing transgender status, whether it was possible to disclose gender status across several tests without a high risk of detection, and whether tests in which transgender status was not explicitly

disclosed were able to capture treatment based on gender status. After considering options, the research team allocated the 200 transgender tests to explore two approaches: (1) 100 in-person, paired tests in which the transgender testers would explicitly disclose their gender status and (2) 100 in-person, paired tests in which the transgender testers would not explicitly disclose their gender status. Testing was carried out in the Washington, DC, MSA. The transgender study also identified important implementation lessons that could be used in subsequent testing efforts.

## Testers

Transgender testers were diverse in gender identity. Local test coordinators recruited testers who identified as transgender women, transgender men, and gender nonconforming or gender queer. Test coordinators aimed to recruit a diverse pool of testers from the transgender community rather than limiting the pool to those who may more readily be perceived as transgender or to those who identify as transgender male or transgender female. Transgender testers were not guided or required to express their gender identity in any manner.

A total of 19 transgender testers and 28 control testers conducted the 103 nondisclose and 101 disclose tests. Testers included 11 transgender women, 3 transgender men, 5 gender queer people, 18 cisgender women, and 10 cisgender men. The 11 transgender women conducted 52 nondisclose tests and 35 disclose tests (43 percent of the transgender tests); the 3 transgender men conducted 24 nondisclose and 17 disclose tests (20 percent of tests); and the 5 gender queer testers conducted 27 nondisclose and 49 disclose tests (37 percent of tests). Of the testers, 26 were black (8 focal and 18 control testers), 12 were white (6 focal and 6 control testers), 7 were Hispanic (3 focal and 4 control testers), and 2 were Asian (1 focal and 1 control tester).

## Protocol Design Challenge for Transgender Tests

During the design phase of the study, the research team wrestled with how transgender testers could identify their transgender status during the disclose tests as naturally as possible. In addition to expert advisors' input, design discussions were informed by transgender participants through the focus groups the Urban Institute facilitated to discuss housing search practices. See appendix D for an overview of the focus group discussions. The research team decided that, for the 100 tests in which transgender testers would explicitly disclose their transgender status, testers would reference a difference between the name they go by and the name on their license, passport, or credit report or under which they have rented housing previously. Testers were trained to reference the name the housing provider would find were the tester to

submit a rental application and have their credit report pulled (though neither of these steps occurred) and say that they were transgender by way of explanation. All transgender testers participating in the disclose tests referenced a difference in name even though some of them had legally changed their name and held name-congruent documents.

## **Tester Safety during Data Collection**

At the outset of the study, HUD and the research team acknowledged that transgender testers may be more likely, compared with testers on previous HDSs, to experience insensitive or inappropriate responses and possibly physical threats, all of which could result in emotional, psychological, or physical harm. Project advisors echoed this concern during expert panel meetings, and, during the focus groups conducted with recent homeseekers, many participants raised the threat of physical harm. During the study, some tester applicants chose not to participate in testing because of safety concerns. For example, some transgender testers thought they may be more likely to be physically threatened if they explicitly disclosed their transgender status to a housing provider. To address the concerns about tester safety, the project team worked closely with project partners, including mental health professionals at Whitman-Walker Health, to develop a tester safety and well-being plan (see appendix F) that mitigated risks and provided additional support to LTOs and testers. As part of the safety plan, test coordinators were instructed in the use of particular test coordination tools, such as the tester briefing and debriefing checklists, which were revised to include tester safety reminders. The tester training also was enhanced to provide more detailed guidance on how to respond to any rude, discriminatory, or threatening behaviors evidenced by housing providers. Although the entire project team stood prepared to implement the safety plan at any time, no threats to tester safety were documented during the study.

## **Transgender In-Person Data Collection Protocols and Reporting**

Protocols for the transgender in-person tests also were divided into eight steps. See appendix B.1 for a flowchart depiction of the paired-testing process for the transgender tests. The first step required making contact on each sampled advertisement before it could be assigned to testers. This advance contact confirmed details from an advertisement and collected additional information required to determine eligibility and to assign tester characteristics. Second, a local test coordinator created a test assignment based on information collected from the sampled advertisement and the advance contact. Third, the coordinator met with each tester in the matched pair separately. During these briefings, testers received and reviewed their assignment, reviewed test protocols, and discussed any questions or concerns with the coordinator.



Fourth, all testers were assigned a drop-in test approach when possible.<sup>25</sup> If an appointment was necessary to obtain a site visit, transgender testers were instructed not to disclose their gender status during the appointment contact. All testers posed as single adults with no children. Testers were assigned a web-based telephone number and e-mail account that they used to make appointments, when necessary, and to receive messages from housing providers.

Fifth, testers followed one of the two standardized protocols designed to gather key information for assessing differential treatment. Protocols required transgender testers to explicitly disclose their gender status in 100 of the 200 tests. Transgender testers were trained to disclose their status early during the site visit, before discussing the availability of rental units and rent details. Examples of disclosure approaches include signing a guest book with both one's legal or birth name and current name while mentioning the difference to the housing provider, or, when asked to leave identification with the provider during the visit, noting that the name and gender on one's license or other form of identification was incongruent with the tester's identity (for testers with a gender-incongruent form of identification). All testers asked about the advertised unit and other available units that met their needs. Units that met a tester's needs were defined as those that were within a tester's price range, were available when needed, and had at least the minimum number of bedrooms required for the tester's assigned household. Under no circumstances were testers to agree to a credit check, which would disclose the fact that their assigned income and other information differed from what they told the provider.

Sixth, testers completed reports soon after finishing a test visit to record information on the application process—whether and which utilities were included in the rent, the exact address of the unit, the unit number, the number of bedrooms, the rent amount, the amount of security deposit and any other fees, the lease length, the date of availability, and any information about the tester gathered by the housing provider, such as income, employment, or family size. See appendix C.4 for the report forms.

Seventh, after testers completed all report forms, they attended a debriefing meeting with the test coordinator to clarify report forms, if necessary, and talk about any issues or concerns with the test. Debriefings were in person 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.

The eighth and final step was documenting any follow-up contact with a housing provider. Testers completed a report form to record information on any e-mail or telephone calls from a housing provider and on any follow-up a tester was instructed to initiate.

# Tester Recruitment and Retention Challenges

The LTOs worked closely with lesbian, gay male, bisexual, and transgender groups in their areas during the outreach and recruitment phase of data collection to assemble a sufficiently large tester pool by contacting established lesbian, gay male, and transgender advocacy organizations that offer a wide range of services and groups that serve segments of the communities (e.g., age groups, races, ethnicities, and gender identities). As researchers experienced in previous HDSs, the recruitment of groups of testers can prove to be extremely challenging, sometimes requiring significant time and yielding marginal increases to the tester pool. For this study, the recruitment of Asian and Hispanic testers proved to be the most challenging overall, but it was particularly difficult to recruit lesbian, gay male, and transgender testers who were Asian or Hispanic. LTOs worked hard to meet the tester distribution goals, but the research team ultimately had to balance the diversity goals with the need to complete the required number of tests within the project timeline.

Based on experience, the research team expected that most tester attrition would occur after the initial tester training sessions (when testers learn the detailed protocols) and after testers conducted their first practice test (when some testers realize they are uncomfortable assuming a set of assigned but untrue characteristics). The team also anticipated that testers who were underemployed would be most likely to leave the study before its completion if they found long-term employment. These expectations were fully realized during the study, but the level of tester attrition during the study also was exacerbated by a limit imposed on the number of tests each tester could complete: each tester could conduct a maximum of 20 tests. This tester cap helped ensure that the number of tests to be conducted was distributed among a larger pool of testers, thereby minimizing the impact that any single tester could have on the study findings.

The transgender testing component of the study especially was challenged by tester recruitment and retention. The LTO had to continue recruitment throughout the course of testing. The tester cap imposed for transgender tests was slightly more restrictive than that for the same-sex couples component because transgender testers were allowed to conduct only 10 nondisclose tests and 10 disclose tests, for a total of 20 tests. Toward the end of the data collection period, a core group of testers who had met the cap for both the protocols had to stop testing even though they were available and interested in continuing to test.

Other factors led to additional challenges for transgender tester recruitment and retention. Some people interviewed for the tester role were uncomfortable with the protocol to disclose their transgender status. Many of the transgender testers were underemployed or unemployed when they began testing; a few testers left the study after accepting a full-time job. In other cases, testers' low incomes led to obstacles.<sup>26</sup> For example, some testers did not own cell phones; others were homeless and were staying with

friends or family temporarily. Both circumstances made it difficult to assign tests to them in a timely manner.

# Chapter 3. Sampling and Analysis Methods

The principal objectives of this pilot study were to develop paired-testing protocols and conduct pilot and exploratory tests to measure rental housing discrimination against same-sex couples and transgender individuals. The study also sought to compare the utility of remote testing with in-person testing. To achieve these objectives, the research team selected study sites and randomly sampled rental housing advertisements. This chapter addresses the sampling methods, measurement approaches, and analysis methods used in this study.

## Sampling

The overall sampling design involved 2,000 paired tests conducted in three metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs). A total of 1,800 same-sex couples tests were targeted for two sites, and 200 paired transgender tests were designated to a third site.

In identifying sites for this study, the research team considered state-level or local-level protective laws or ordinances in the 10 largest MSAs in the United States and the racial and ethnic diversity of the population. The team sought sites with sufficient Asian, black, Hispanic, and white populations so that paired testing could be conducted separately for white and minority individuals. A final factor was the need to have efficient local testing organizations (LTOs), preferably ones with which the Urban Institute had successfully worked.

After weighing these considerations, the research team chose the following testing populations for three MSAs.

1. Same-sex couples testing—the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA.
2. Same-sex couples testing—the Los Angeles MSA.
3. Transgender testing—Washington, DC, MSA.

Same-sex couples tests were conducted in the Dallas-Fort Worth and Los Angeles MSAs, where sizable populations of Asian, black, Hispanic, and white people reside. Transgender testing was conducted in the Washington, DC, MSA, near the Urban Institute for maximal control and oversight of this exploratory component. The three MSAs collectively offered demographic and limited geographic diversity and featured tests in very different urban locations. In addition, all three locations had excellent LTOs with seasoned

testing staff. Nondiscrimination ordinances were in place in at least some portion of each MSA during the testing period.

## In-Person and Remote Testing of Same-Sex Couples

This section discusses the sample sizes for the in-person lesbian and gay male tests. It covers the number of tests for each component of tests (in-person and remote tests) and the allocation of tests by race of testers. It also describes the process for sampling advertisements for available rental housing.

### Sample Sizes and Detectable Differences

A total of 1,800 same-sex couples rental tests were targeted across two sites: 1,200 in-person tests and 600 remote (telephone or e-mail) tests split evenly between paired tests with lesbian and gay male couples. Exhibit 3.1 summarizes the testing targets by test type, race, MSA, and mode of approach.

#### EXHIBIT 3.1

#### Paired-Testing Targets for Same-Sex Couple Renters by Test Type, Race, and MSA

Test type or mode	Site 1	Site 2	Total
<b>In person</b>			
<i>Lesbian</i>	300	300	600
White	150	150	300
Minority	150	150	300
<i>Gay male</i>	300	300	600
White	150	150	300
Minority	150	150	300
<i>Subtotal</i>	600	600	1,200
<b>Remote</b>			
Lesbian	300	—	300
Gay male	—	300	300
<i>Subtotal</i>	300	300	600
<b>Total</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>1,800</b>

The research team further allocated in-person tests equally to white and minority testers: 300 white and 300 minority tests for lesbians and 300 white and 300 minority tests for gay males. Minority tests comprised a mix of Asian, black, and Hispanic paired tests. The proportions of Asian, black, and Hispanic tests were matched approximately to their respective population prevalence within the study sites. This allocation allows for the comparison of discrimination against white and minority same-sex couples (the latter being the combined group of Asian, black, and Hispanic testers) to determine whether white and minority pairs experience the same differences in treatment based on sexual orientation. The research team

allocated 300 paired lesbian and 300 paired gay male in-person tests to each city. This allocation allows for within-site analyses to detect a difference in treatment as small as 7.7 percentage points (for example, 71.1 versus 78.8). In terms of the effectiveness of remote testing, in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA, the gay male in-person tests were to be compared with 300 gay male remote tests. In the Los Angeles MSA, the lesbian in-person tests were to be compared with 300 paired lesbian remote tests. The study was designed to detect differences between methods (that is, remote versus in person) as small as 10.8 percentage points (for example, 69.6 versus 80.4).

The number of same-sex couples tests was to be large enough to detect relatively small differences in treatment when pooling tests from both MSAs (yielding 600 lesbian and 600 gay male in-person tests). For example, the research team anticipated being able to detect heterosexual versus lesbian couple differences as small as 5.4 percentage points (for example, 72.3 versus 77.7). Similar differences could be detected for gay male couples. (All comparisons were made separately for lesbian and gay male couples.) Pooling tests across sites also allowed for an assessment of differences in differential treatment between white and minority pairs for lesbian couples and gay male couples. For such comparisons, the research team could detect differences as small as 10.8 percentage points. Moreover, pooling tests across sites would enable the team to detect similar differences by characteristics of the building or agency that effectively divide the sample into halves, such as sex of agent, whether the agent was white, whether the property had many units, or perhaps whether the agency was a large corporation or small property owner.

## Advertisement Sampling

As Urban Institute researchers have done for previous HDSs, testing was conducted by using samples of rental advertisements that were geographically representative of rental housing in each MSA. The research team sampled from rental housing units advertised in several publicly available sources, including ApartmentGuide.com, Apartments.com, craigslist.org, Move.com, and Rent.com.

The protocols and methods for advertisement sampling that were used in the HDS-2012 (Turner et al. 2013), HDS-Disabilities (Levy et al. 2015), and HDS-Families with Children (Aron et al. 2016) studies were replicated in this pilot study with an adjustment to filter on rental homes with one or more bedrooms for the same-sex couples testing. Rental housing advertisements were sampled randomly as they arose, according to the prevalence of rental housing in each market.

Advertisements were stratified by web source to give each source priority for selection on a rotating basis. For instance, using the order of sites in the previous listing, in the first week of sampling, advertisements were sampled from ApartmentGuide.com first, and, if additional advertisements were needed, they were drawn from Apartments.com, followed by craigslist.org, and so on. In the second week,

advertisements were first sampled from Apartments.com, and, if additional samples were needed, they were taken from craigslist.org, followed by Move.com, and so on. The rotation continued to allow for the primary selection of advertisements from a different source each week until all sources were given a turn to be used first in the five-week rotation, and then the process was repeated. This process allowed for a good mix of rental advertisements by advertisement source throughout the field period. The research team also staggered the days on which sampled advertisements were released.

Within each MSA the research team used a two-stage approach to identify units for testing. In the first stage, zip codes were sampled in proportion to the rental housing across zip codes within the MSA.<sup>27</sup> Advertisements were sampled weekly from all sources for each zip code selected into the sample for that week. This approach was designed to mimic the types of online searches used by homeseekers. It assumes that the rental market was relatively stable over time and across neighborhoods.

To operationalize the random sampling of zip codes (proportional to rental housing) for each MSA the research team generated a large random sequence of zip codes with each distinct zip code appearing in the sequence proportionate to its measure of size (that is, the amount of rental housing). The random sequence could be partitioned into subsequences of almost any number of random zip codes, with each subsequence being the equivalent of a representative sample of the MSA. These subsequences were input into the CODE system<sup>28</sup> either weekly or daily, and the zip codes triggered the extraction of harvested advertisements for processing (that is, screening for eligibility and unit availability) and testing.

A key design feature involved using fresh (i.e., recently posted) advertisement listings; older advertisements were less likely to yield available housing. The advertisement sampling process began with an initial harvest to establish existing inventory (before the start of field work) and was followed by continual updating to identify previously unpublished advertisements. As new listings appeared in the daily or weekly harvesting cycle, they were given selection priority for use in testing. If the number of new advertisements exceeded the number needed for testing, then a subset was randomly taken. When the volume of new listings fell short of the number needed for testing, the balance of advertisements was randomly drawn from the preexisting inventory.

## Transgender In-Person Testing

This section discusses the allocation of tests by protocol. It also identifies differences in weighting for analysis between the transgender and the same-sex couple components of the study.

## Sample Sizes and Detectable Differences

The research team targeted 200 transgender tests in the Washington, DC, MSA: 100 in-person paired tests in which the transgender testers explicitly disclosed their gender status and 100 tests in which the transgender testers did not explicitly disclose. A sample size of 100 tests using each approach was adequate to detect differences as small as 13.3 percentage points (68.4 versus 81.7) by test approach but would not yield estimates by race and ethnicity subgroup or transgender identity group (i.e., transgender women, transgender men, and gender queer people).<sup>29</sup>

## Advertisement Sampling and Weighting

Advertisement sampling for the transgender testing used the same two-stage sampling method used for same-sex couples testing. No weighting was used for the analyses of transgender tests. The research team did not attempt to pool tests across gender-status disclosure methods.

## Measures of Discrimination

Paired testing provides a detailed picture of the forms discrimination takes, not just a single “yes or no” answer. This precision matters, because forms of discrimination have changed over time and patterns of discrimination differ across focal classes. Understanding such specifics is essential to having effective fair housing enforcement, public education, and housing provider training. In addition, understandable summary measures are required that capture the overall incidence of differential treatment. Therefore, this study reports both headline measures of discrimination and more detailed indicators of the various forms that discrimination may take.

The remainder of this chapter first addresses the issues of using gross and net measures of discrimination and explains this study’s approach. It then describes the strategy for summarizing the findings across many treatment indicators into a set of headline measures of discrimination against same-sex couples and transgender individuals. The headline measures based on remote tests are limited to information that can be gathered over the telephone or by e-mail; the measures based on in-person tests include findings related to appointment contacts (for same-sex couples testing) and inspections. The lists of variables underlying the measures for each study component are included in appendix E. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the approach to data analysis, including analysis of qualitative data. The data analysis approaches for study components are similar. Differences in approach are discussed as needed.



## Gross versus Net Measures of Discrimination

The authors report both gross and net measures of differential treatment for each element of treatment being analyzed. Gross measures represent the share of all tests in which the control homeseeker is favored over the lesbian, gay male, or transgender homeseeker. Some tests likely will yield the opposite result (for at least some indicators), with the focal tester favored over the control tester. Therefore, they report the incidence of favored treatment for both the control and focal testers.

Although gross measures of differential treatment are easily understandable, they generally overstate the frequency of systematic discrimination, because nondiscriminatory random events are responsible for some portion of observed treatment.<sup>30</sup> Such random occurrences can result in focal testers experiencing less (or more) favorable treatment than control testers. Looking at only one outcome, namely the frequency of unfavorable treatment, does not show the full story, which can be corrected by examining net measures.

The study reports net measures of discrimination, defined as the proportion of tests that favor the control tester minus the proportion of tests that favor the focal tester for a given treatment indicator, with corresponding measures of statistical significance. For a given measure, the net measure provides a direct estimate of the degree of disadvantage in the rental markets for lesbian couples, gay male couples, and transgender individuals compared with similar heterosexual couples and cisgender individuals. In general, the net measure will understate the rate of systematic discrimination, unless the discrimination in all tests in which the focal tester is favored is solely because of random factors. For treatment indicators that can be measured in amounts (for example, rent), the authors report the average amounts for control testers and focal testers and the net difference in the average amounts as a measure of the severity of discrimination. Because the difference is measured over a common set of tests, it provides a meaningful measure of the average degree of differential treatment of same-sex couples and transgender individuals relative to matched heterosexual couples and cisgender individuals.

## Summary Measures and Groups for Analysis

For each type of test, a sequence of key summary measures provides a rounded picture of both the incidence and the severity of differential treatment. These measures represent treatment milestones in the sequence of events that comprise a paired test. The summary measures highlight both the frequency with which housing agents deny same-sex couple and transgender homeseekers access to available housing units and the severity of differential treatment those homeseekers who gain access experience. The net measures for the number of units available, number of units inspected during in-person tests, rents, and annual net costs are expected to provide solid and continuous measures of the severity of differential treatment.

In general, these sequences of measures provide an easily understandable description of differential treatment in today’s housing markets that no single measure can communicate. They follow the natural sequence of the interaction between the homeseeker and the housing provider, which is appealing for ease in conveying the findings and allows for reliance on data for an inspection. The cost elements are measured only for cases in which an actual unit is available. The in-person testing process for same-sex couple homeseekers includes a request for an appointment made by telephone or e-mail, and, for transgender homeseekers, it begins with an in-person attempt to talk with an agent. The remote testing for same-sex couple homeseekers begins with a call asking about available units.<sup>31</sup>

The summary measures for in-person tests are reported separately for lesbian and gay male couple homeseekers and for transgender individual homeseekers, with differences as noted in exhibit 3.2.

**EXHIBIT 3.2**

**Summary Measures of Discrimination for In-Person Tests**

Same-sex couples in-person tests	Transgender in-person tests
For each test, whether both testers of a pair can obtain an appointment. Summary measure 1 reports <i>differential denial of appointment for in-person meeting</i> .	For each test, whether both testers of a pair can meet with an agent. Summary measure 1 reports <i>differential denial of in-person meeting</i> .
For tests in which both testers obtain appointments, whether both testers of a pair are told that any units are available. Summary measure 2 reports <i>differential denial of available units</i> .	For tests in which both testers meet with an agent, whether both testers are told that any units are available. Summary measure 2 reports <i>differential denial of available units</i> .
For tests in which both testers obtain appointments, the average number of units recommended. Summary measure 3 reports the <i>differential number of units recommended</i> .	For tests in which both testers meet with an agent, the average number of units recommended. Summary measure 3 reports the <i>differential number of units recommended</i> .
For those tests in which units are available to both testers, the number of units inspected. Summary measure 4 reports the <i>differential number of units shown</i> .	For those tests in which units are available to both testers, the number of units inspected. Summary measure 4 reports the <i>differential number of units shown</i> .
For those tests in which units are available for both testers, the average rent and net annual costs. Summary measure 5 reports the <i>differential cost</i> .	For those tests in which units are available for both testers, the average rent and net annual costs. Summary measure 5 reports the <i>differential cost</i> .

The research team also combined key elements of the summary measures into two overall summary measures: (1) the overall average number of homes recommended to a tester and (2) the overall average number of homes inspected by a tester. For the same-sex couples testing, the summary measures combine information on whether testers in each role (focal or control) got an appointment with the average number of units recommended or shown for all those who met with an agent. To be specific, the summary measure of the average number of units *recommended* to a tester was calculated as follows:

Overall average number of units recommended = (proportion of tests that led to an appointment to meet an agent) × (average number of units recommended to testers who met an agent).

The summary measure of the average number of units shown to a tester was calculated as follows:

Overall average number of units inspected = (proportion of tests that led to an appointment to meet an agent) × (average number of units shown to testers who met an agent).

These statistics combine the incidences of differential rates of getting appointments, being told units are available, and being shown units with the severity measures of the average number of number of units available and shown.

The approach for the transgender testing was similar, but it excluded the appointment contact from the calculation because the tests did not include an appointment phase.

For the remote tests, the research team compared the summary measures described in exhibit 3.3 to the extent possible with parallel measures obtained from in-person tests. Remote tests for lesbian couple homeseekers were conducted in the Los Angeles MSA, and those for gay male couple homeseekers were conducted in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA. The estimates for lesbian remote tests are compared with those for the lesbian in-person tests conducted in the Los Angeles MSA; the estimates for gay male remote tests are compared with the gay male in-person tests conducted in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA.<sup>32</sup>

### EXHIBIT 3.3

#### Summary Measures of Discrimination for Remote Tests

##### Response to Remote Inquiry

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For each test, whether both testers can talk to someone about housing. Summary measure 1 reports *differential denial of a telephone meeting*.

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For tests in which both testers talked to someone about housing, whether both testers of a pair are told that any units are available. Summary measure 2 reports *differential denial of available units*.

---

For tests in which both testers talked to someone about housing, the average number of units recommended. Summary measure 3 reports the *differential number of units recommended*.

---

For those tests in which units are available to both testers, the average rent and net annual costs. Summary measure 4 reports the *differential cost*.

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For those tests in which units are available to both testers, whether both can make an appointment to meet with an agent. Summary measure 5 reports *differential denial of in-person meeting*.

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## Analysis Approach

Our approach to the analysis of paired-testing data is designed to maximize insight into discrimination. It provides a more complete portrait of both the magnitude of and nuances associated with housing discrimination. The approach features

- tabular analyses showing both overall favorable treatment for control and focal testers and the net estimate of adverse treatment (which is their difference);

- significance levels associated with a two-sided test of the hypothesis of “no adverse net treatment;”
- multivariate analysis of whether and how environmental and personal factors may influence aspects of discrimination; and
- analysis of qualitative data related to sexual orientation and gender identity to inform quantitative findings.

## Tabular Analyses

The tabular analyses present estimates of gross and net adverse treatment from a paired-testing paradigm, drawing on the well-known formulation illustrated in exhibit 3.4. The formulation directly applies to outcomes that can be categorized as “yes” or “no” for each tester (for example, told apartment is available, told incentives are available). Exhibits 3.4 and 3.5 use the following definitions:

- $P_{11}$  = proportion of tests with “yes” for control tester and “yes” for lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester
- $P_{10}$  = proportion of tests with “yes” for control tester and “no” for lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester
- $P_{01}$  = proportion of tests with “no” for control tester and “yes” for lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester
- $P_{00}$  = proportion of tests with “no” for control tester and “no” for lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester
- $P_{1+}$  = proportion of tests with “yes” for control tester
- $P_{0+}$  = proportion of tests with “no” for control tester
- $P_{+1}$  = proportion of tests with “yes” for lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester
- $P_{+0}$  = proportion of tests with “no” for lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester

EXHIBIT 3.4

**Formulation of Gross and Net Adverse Treatment in a Paired-Testing Design for Lesbian, Gay Male, and Transgender Testers**

Control tester	Lesbian, Gay Male, and Transgender Tester		
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Total
Favorable	$P_{11}$	$P_{10}$	$P_{1+}$
Unfavorable	$P_{01}$	$P_{00}$	$P_{0+}$
<b>Total</b>	<b><math>P_{+1}</math></b>	<b><math>P_{+0}</math></b>	<b>1.0</b>

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**Gross unfavorable treatment =  $P_{10}$**

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**Net unfavorable treatment =  $P_{10} - P_{01}$**

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An illustration of selected data in tabular form is shown in exhibit 3.5. Each row reports the shares of tests in which both testers of a matched pair received favorable treatment, the shares in which only the control or only the focal tester received favorable treatment, the net difference in favored treatment, and the standard error of the net difference. Separate tables in chapters 4 and 5 are devoted to the treatment of lesbian testers, gay male testers, and transgender testers.

EXHIBIT 3.5

**Illustration of Tabular Analyses of Adverse Treatment in Rental Housing Seeking among Lesbian Testers**

Outcome (partial list)	A	B	C	D = B - C	Standard error
	Both testers	Control favored	Lesbian tester favored	Net difference	
Tester(s) told units available	$P_{11}$	$P_{10}$	$P_{01}$	$P_{10} - P_{01}$	SEnet
Tester(s) shown units	$P_{11}$	$P_{10}$	$P_{01}$	$P_{10} - P_{01}$	SEnet
Tester(s) offered an incentive	$P_{11}$	$P_{10}$	$P_{01}$	$P_{10} - P_{01}$	SEnet

Two approaches are used to describe preference on continuous outcomes, such as the number of homes recommended or the rent amount. First, the proportions of tests for which the control tester is preferred and for which the focal tester is preferred, the net difference in the proportions, and the standard error of the net difference are reported. For most of the outcomes defined in dollars (e.g., rent, incentives), the average of the measure (e.g., average rent) is first calculated across available units. Testers are considered preferred if they were quoted a lower cost by at least 5 percent. The research team compares the proportions of tests for which the control and focal testers are preferred. The difference in these proportions provides a net measure of the incidence of differential treatment in the measure of cost.

Second, the team reports the averages over all tests of the test-level measure (for example, average rent across units available) for control testers and focal testers, the net difference in the averages, and the standard error of the net difference. This latter approach provides a summary of the severity of the different treatment observed. Examples of each approach are shown for the outcome “number of inspections” in

exhibit 3.6. The column headed “Both testers” is blank, because the measure is defined based on a comparison.

EXHIBIT 3.6

**Illustration of Tabular Analyses of Adverse Treatment for Number of Recommended Rental Housing Units among Transgender Testers**

Outcome	A	B	C	D = B - C	Standard error
	Both testers	Control tester	Transgender tester	Net difference	
Tester told about more available units		$P_{N_c > N_t}$	$P_{N_c < N_t}$	$P_{N_c > N_t} - P_{N_c < N_t}$	$SE_{net}$
Number of units available		$Avg(N_c)$	$Avg(N_t)$	$Avg(N_c) - Avg(N_t)$	$SE_{net}$

**Notes:**  $N_c$  = number of units shown to the control tester on a test.  $N_t$  = number of units shown to the tester who is transgender on the same test.  $P_{N_c > N_t}$  = proportion of tests with control tester shown more units.  $P_{N_c < N_t}$  = proportion of tests with tester who is transgender shown more units.  $Avg(N_c)$  = average number of units recommended to control testers.  $Avg(N_t)$  = average number of units recommended to testers who are transgender.

The authors provide tables separately for in-person lesbian, gay male, and transgender tests and separate tables for the remote lesbian and gay male tests in chapters 4 and 5. The tests are not weighted.<sup>33</sup> For in-person tests involving lesbian and gay male testers, they report overall estimates for summary and detailed measures. In appendix G, the authors report summary and detailed estimates by MSA and by whether the testers were white or minority. For the tests with transgender testers, they report summary estimates by test approach (that is, by whether the tester explicitly disclosed gender status), because the interpretation of the findings is so different. More detailed estimates for each test approach are reported in appendix J.

The research team used the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression model to calculate net measures of differential treatment and their standard errors. The dependent variable in each regression is the difference in the outcome between the two testers of a matched pair.<sup>34</sup> The only independent variable in this model is a constant, which provides the estimate of differential treatment. The team then used robust standard errors and t-tests to conduct a two-sided test of net adverse treatment.

Within each component of the study, the net weighted average difference in each outcome between the control and focal testers was calculated. Robust-clustered standard errors and t-tests were then used to conduct a two-sided test of net adverse treatment that accounts for clustering because of common tester pairs. The degrees of freedom are based on the number of clusters included in the analysis, following the suggestion of Angrist and Pischke (2008).<sup>35</sup> For estimates that combine the estimated probability of an appointment and the average number of units, the team used the standard error of the average number of units.

## Multivariate Analyses

The research team used OLS regression models to estimate whether differential treatment of focal testers varied with the characteristics of the test, testers, agents, and neighborhood. The team performed the following sets of analysis:

- differences in differential treatment of lesbian and gay male testers between white and minority testers, separately for lesbian and gay male couples in-person tests
- differences in differential treatment between the Dallas-Fort Worth and Los Angeles MSAs, separately for lesbian and gay male couples in-person tests
- differences in differential treatment of lesbian and gay male testers between in-person versus remote contact, separately for lesbian couples tests in the Los Angeles MSA and gay male couples tests in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA
- patterns of differential treatment by characteristics of testers, agents, buildings, and neighborhoods, separately for lesbian and gay male couples in-person tests
- differences in differential treatment of transgender testers between tests in which the testers did or did not disclose their gender status

Estimates of differences in differential treatment by race and ethnicity and method of test (remote or in-person test approach) for same-sex couples tests and whether transgender testers disclosed their gender status are reported for all summary outcome measures. Patterns of differential treatment by characteristics of the testers, agents, buildings, and neighborhoods are reported for selected outcomes for which the research team observed significant differential treatment against the lesbian and gay male testers.

### COMPARISON OF DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT ACROSS SUBGROUPS

To explain the method for comparing differential treatment of same-sex couples testers across subgroups defined by race and ethnicity and test approach and of transgender testers by whether they disclosed their gender status, the research team focuses on one analysis: whether differential treatment of lesbian testers was equal for white and minority testers. (A parallel analysis was performed using the gay male tests.) This analysis is based on the combined data for the two MSAs. The dependent variable is the net difference in treatment for the two matched testers on a given summary measure. (Comparisons of white and minority differences in discrimination are performed for all the summary measures.) The model includes an indicator for whether the testers are white and an indicator for the site of the test, taking the form

*Net difference in treatment*<sub>*i*</sub> = *a*<sub>0</sub> + *a*<sub>1</sub>*white*<sub>*i*</sub> + *a*<sub>2</sub>*site* + *residual*<sub>*i*</sub>.

The regression coefficients measure the average difference in differential treatment for the group indicated (for example, white individuals) as compared with the group not included in the model (minorities). The regression coefficient on white ( $a_1$ ) measures the within-site difference between the net discrimination against lesbian testers who are white and the net discrimination against lesbian testers who are minorities. Suppose, for example, white lesbian testers saw an average of 0.3 more units per visit than white control testers and minority lesbian testers saw 0.1 more units per visit than minority control testers. (Both estimates are obtained as the average of the findings within each site.) The model coefficient on white ( $a_1$ ) will be 0.2 because the differential is measured in comparison with the differential for the omitted group—minorities.

The research team assessed whether differential treatment of lesbian homeseekers is likely the same for white and minority lesbian couples by testing whether the coefficient  $a_1$  is equal to zero. The team used *t*-tests to conduct two-sided tests of the hypothesis of “no difference in the extent of differential treatment against lesbians between whites and minorities.” The models account for the clustering of findings (similarity of results) by tester to the extent feasible. The regression output from the Stata statistical package provided all information needed to perform this test, including appropriate confidence intervals.

The other analyses of differential treatment across subgroups followed the same approach:

- The comparison by test method (remote versus in person) was conducted separately for lesbian and gay male testers and was based on the remote and in-person tests from the site with both approaches of testing for the group. The regression model includes a constant, an indicator of whether the test was conducted remotely, and an indicator of whether the tester was white. The coefficient on the remote indicator provides an estimate of how differential treatment varies with the mode of the test.
- The comparison by whether the transgender testers disclosed their gender status was based on all transgender tests for an outcome measure. The regression model includes a constant and an indicator of whether the tester disclosed, and the coefficient on disclosed provides an estimate of how much the estimate of differential treatment varies with whether the testers disclosed their status.

## Patterns of Differential Treatment against Same-Sex Couples Testers

The methods described provide estimates of adverse treatment against same-sex couples in the two MSAs. One may think, however, that adverse treatment may vary with a tester’s assigned demographic or economic characteristics. Discrimination may also vary with the socioeconomic composition of a



neighborhood. For example, discrimination against lesbian couples may be greater in areas with higher or lower average incomes. Regression models help explore whether and how adverse treatment against lesbian and gay male couples varies with tester characteristics, rental agency characteristics, and neighborhood characteristics.<sup>36</sup> These models provide estimates of how the net measure of discrimination varies with these factors.

The models were estimated for two outcomes that showed significant differences in treatment of gay male couples: number of recommended units and net annual cost. The research team expects that, if notable variation in discrimination exists, it will show up in these measures. As discussed in chapter 4, the multivariate models show few significant differences. The authors describe the models here, provide a brief overview of the findings, and report selected model coefficients in appendix H.

The basic approach follows that used in Turner and colleagues (2013). The team used ordinary least squares regression to estimate relationships between the net differences in treatment for the two outcomes of interest and characteristics of tests, testers, agencies, and neighborhoods. The models for each outcome variable are based on all in-person tests in the two pilot MSAs for that outcome and for which all independent variables are complete.<sup>37</sup> Models were estimated separately for lesbian testers and gay male testers. The dependent variable for each model is the difference in the treatment of the two testers in a matched pair.<sup>38</sup> This approach appropriately takes into account the paired nature of the data.

## FULL MODEL SPECIFICATION

For the multivariate models of net differences in number of available units and net costs, the research team used a parsimonious model specification that includes characteristics of the test, testers, agency, and the census tract. The models exclude predictors that show little variation within the MSA.<sup>39</sup>

Most of the independent variables (predictors) in the models described in this section are indicators, defined as 1 if a test has a given characteristic and 0 if it does not.<sup>40</sup> In listing the measures included in the model, the authors indicate with an asterisk (\*) those measures defined as 1 only if both testers met the condition. For these measures, the model also includes separate indicators for “control tester only” and for “lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester only.”<sup>41</sup>

The predictors are as follows:

- Test characteristics
  - » Los Angeles MSA
  - » Control tester called first

The research team also experimented with including the month of the test.

- Tester characteristics
  - » Assigned marriage—both testers assigned to be married
  - » Assigned child—both testers assigned to have a child
  - » Black or Asian—both testers are black or both are Asian
  - » Hispanic—both testers are Hispanic
  - » Age of control tester
  - » Difference in age of testers
  - » Log of monthly household income assigned to control tester
  - » Whether the testers were employed (included in the model for gay males)\*
  - » Whether the testers were renters\*

Other experiments included whether the testers had previously served as testers\* and the education of the testers.

- Agency characteristics
  - » Faced the same agent
  - » Maximum number of people seen by the two testers (proxy for agency size)
  - » Whether testers saw agents who were black or Asian\*
  - » Whether testers saw agents who were Hispanic\*
  - » Whether testers saw agents who were female\*

Other experiments included perceived age of agent\* and perceived gay or lesbian status of agent.\*

- Census tract characteristics (defined according to the location of the units told to the control tester)<sup>42</sup>
  - » Median household income in tract (\$10,000s)
  - » Percentage of white people in tract/10
  - » Percentage of same-sex households of households in tract

Other experiments included the average price of rentals and the percentage of rentals in the tract.

As with the subgroup analysis, the research team used *t*-tests to conduct a two-sided test of the hypothesis that differential treatment does not vary with each predictor. The reported standard errors account for the clustering of findings (similarity of results) by tester pair.

## Qualitative Data Analyses

The research team analyzed qualitative data collected in text boxes on test report forms and narrative forms<sup>43</sup> to identify any emergent themes in the comments made by agents that shed light on agent perception of prospective renters or people in general who are lesbian, gay male, or transgender and to help interpret findings from quantitative analyses. Data from the same-sex couples tests were analyzed by MSA, test approach (in person or remote), and test type (lesbian or gay male); data from the transgender tests were analyzed by whether the tester disclosed transgender status. The research team also used data from text boxes and narratives to illustrate treatment experienced by lesbians, gay men, and transgender individuals when searching for rental housing.

## Tester Identifiability Analysis

When a tester calls or e-mails a housing provider to make an appointment and meet with a provider in person, it is not certain that the tester's race or ethnicity is accurately identified. To assess tester racial and ethnic identifiability, which the research team defines as the likelihood that a housing provider accurately perceives a tester's race or ethnicity, the team used the method developed for HDS-2012 (Turner et al. 2013). The team's approach mimicked the information on testers' characteristics available to housing providers during remote and in-person interactions. LTOs recorded testers reading a short, prepared script and, for testers participating in in-person testing, took a photograph.<sup>44</sup> Test coordinators sent the audio recordings, photographs, and names of all participating testers to the Urban Institute.

Urban Institute employees, who did not know the testers, assessed racial and ethnic identifiability through a two-step process. First, they read the names of testers who conducted remote and in-person tests and listened to each tester's audio recording (that is, the information available to an agent over the telephone). Next, the coders viewed photographs along with the names and audio recordings of those testers who conducted in-person tests (that is, the information available to an agent during an in-person meeting). Three independent coders assessed each tester. The research team used these data for a sensitivity analysis to see whether results varied when the team excluded tests with testers whose race or ethnicity was not readily identifiable.

The research team conducted a similar assessment to support analysis of whether testers who are more identifiable as transgender are more likely to experience discrimination. The team used the same approach described previously (third-party coding of testers based on name, audio recording, and photograph) to code the gender identifiability of transgender and cisgender testers who participated in the transgender testing component of the study. In addition, a researcher who had met each tester coded whether a person meeting the tester likely would think that the person was transgender or cisgender. In practice, the sample

sizes for the various identifiability groups were too small to draw meaningful conclusions. Further, these assessments were based on a single snapshot or meeting. Gender expression can vary over time (and across tests), which limits the value of one-time assessments.

## Testing Results

LTOs could meet the test targets by type, race, and MSA. The authors show the final allocation of completed tests in exhibit 3.7.

### EXHIBIT 3.7

#### Distribution of Completed Paired Tests by Test Type, Race, and MSA

Test Type/Mode	Dallas-Fort Worth MSA	Los Angeles MSA	Washington, DC, MSA	Total
<b>In person</b>				
<i>Lesbian</i>				
White	150	150		300
Minority	150	150		300
<i>Gay male</i>				
White	150	150		300
Minority	150	150		300
<i>Subtotal</i>	600	600		1,200
<i>Transgender</i>				
Disclose			101	101
Nondisclose			103	103
<i>Subtotal</i>			204	204
<b>Remote</b>				
Lesbian	300	—		300
Gay male	—	305		305
<i>Subtotal</i>	300	305		605
<b>Total</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>905</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>2,009</b>

# Chapter 4. Discrimination against Same-Sex Couples: Pilot Study

This chapter presents estimates of the incidence and forms of discrimination against lesbian couples and gay male couples. Findings include summary and detailed treatment measures; variations based on city, race and ethnicity, and terms testers used to refer to their significant other; and multivariate analysis results. The chapter concludes with findings from the comparative analysis of remote and in-person results.

## Discrimination against Lesbian Couples

Exhibit 4.1 provides summary measures for treatment of lesbian homeseekers at each step of the rental housing inquiry of agents with suitable units available.

- Is the homeseeker able to make an appointment with a housing agent? If so,
  - » is the homeseeker told about an available unit?
- If units are available,
  - » is the homeseeker shown a unit?
  - » what rent is quoted?
  - » what incentives, fees, terms, and conditions are offered?

Housing providers were as likely to schedule an appointment with lesbian renters who called to inquire about recently advertised homes or apartments as they were with heterosexual counterparts. When both testers were able to meet with a housing provider, agents were slightly less likely to tell lesbian testers that a unit was available. There was no significant difference in the average number of units lesbian and control testers were told were available. In addition, there were no significant differences in the number of units housing providers showed to lesbian and control testers. Looking across the treatment measures, small differences consistently disadvantaged lesbian testers, but the differences generally are not statistically significant.

The lower panel in exhibit 4.1 presents overall measures of differential treatment for renters, taking into account the availability of units and agents' willingness to show units. The summary and overall measures show that lesbian renters and heterosexual female renters experienced similar treatment when inquiring about available housing.

The remainder of this section provides more detail about the treatment of lesbian homeseekers at each step of the housing inquiry.

#### EXHIBIT 4.1

#### Summary Measures of Discrimination against Lesbian Couple Renters

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Lesbian tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
Percentage of tests in which one tester can make an appointment with an agent	97.4%	1.5%	1.0%	0.5%	0.6%	609
<b>If able to meet with an agent</b>						
Percentage of tests in which one tester is told units are available	93.9%	3.1%	1.2%	1.9%**	0.8%	588
Average number of units available		2.02	1.91	0.11	0.08	588
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Percentage of tests in which one tester is shown units	87.4%	5.2%	3.4%	1.8%	1.4%	554
Average number of units inspected		1.38	1.34	0.05	0.04	554
Average rent		\$1,585	\$1,580	\$5	\$5	554
Average yearly net cost		\$19,481	\$19,420	\$61	\$60	554
Overall average number of units told available		2.00	1.88	0.12	0.08	609
Overall average number of units inspected		1.33	1.27	0.07	0.04	609

**Note:** The difference between control and lesbian tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

#### Is the Homeseeker Able to Make an Appointment to Meet with an Agent? If So, Is the Homeseeker Told about an Available Unit?

Housing providers were equally likely to make an appointment with a lesbian tester or a control tester, as indicated by the data in exhibit 4.2. When both testers were able to meet with an agent, housing providers were 1.9 percentage points less likely to tell lesbian testers about any available units. Despite this difference, there is no statistically significant difference in the average number of units providers told paired testers were available.

## EXHIBIT 4.2

### Information and Availability Indicators for Lesbian and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Lesbian tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
Percentage of tests in which one tester is able to make an appointment with an agent	97.4%	1.5%	1.0%	0.5%	0.6%	609
<b>If able to meet with an agent</b>						
Percentage of tests in which one tester is told units are available	93.9%	3.1%	1.2%	1.9%**	0.8%	588
One tester told about more units		29.1%	25.7%	3.4%	4.2%	588
Average number of units available		2.02	1.91	0.11	0.08	588

**Note:** The difference between control and lesbian tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

### If Units Are Available, Is the Homeseeker Shown a Unit?

When rental units were available, housing providers showed units to lesbian and control testers in roughly the same percentage of tests (see exhibit 4.3). The average number of units they showed also was similar. Although the individual differences are not statistically significant, the pattern across the measures of units shown and the measures of recommendations consistently favored the control tester.

Providers were likely to show lesbian renters housing that was in similar condition to the housing they showed to heterosexual renters. The housing units shown were generally reported to be in good condition; only a small number of instances occurred in which either the lesbian tester or the control tester reported any housing-quality problems.<sup>45</sup> The average number of housing-quality problems per unit shown was the same for both lesbian testers and control testers.

### EXHIBIT 4.3

#### Inspections and Unit Problem Indicators for Lesbian and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Lesbian tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Tester(s) able to inspect any units	87.4%	5.2%	3.4%	1.8%	1.4%	554
One tester inspected more units		20.2%	17.0%	3.2%	2.9%	554
Average number of units inspected		1.38	1.34	0.05	0.04	554
<b>If units shown</b>						
Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any housing-quality problems	94.0%	2.9%	2.5%	0.4%	1.1%	482
One tester saw more problems per unit		4.2%	4.2%	0.0%	1.4%	479
Average number of housing-quality problems per unit		0.06	0.06	0.0%	0.02	479

**Note:** The difference between control and lesbian tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

### If Units Are Available, What Rent Is Quoted?

Overall, the average net cost of units that housing providers offered lesbian testers was similar to that offered to control testers, as shown in exhibit 4.4. The small difference in net costs resulted from housing providers who told lesbian testers slightly higher amounts for rents and lower amounts of incentives than they told control testers.

Housing providers gave both focal and control testers similar information about most financial indicators, including lease terms, rents, fees, incentives, and security deposits. One exception is the application fee. Lesbian renters were 5.0 percentage points more likely than control testers to be quoted a higher application fee. On average, providers quoted lesbian testers an application fee of \$84.82, which is \$3.56 higher than the average application fee of \$81.26 quoted to the control testers. (See examples in box 4.1.)



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#### BOX 4.1

A housing agent in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA told a lesbian tester who said she was married that the fee to apply for a rental unit was \$100. The agent noted that, although same-sex marriages were legal in other states, Texas does not recognize them; the lesbian tester and her spouse would have to pay separate application fees as though they were two single people rather than the \$75 fee for married couples. The agent told the control tester that the fee would be \$75.

Many housing agents quoted lesbian and gay male testers application fees at both the married and single rate. For example, an agent told a tester that the “application fee is \$75 per applicant or \$100 for a married couple.” The agents seemed unsure whether married lesbian or gay male couples should be treated as married or single. Most such instances occurred in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA.

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Housing providers gave lesbian testers and control testers roughly the same amount of information about the application process, as shown in exhibit 4.5. The only observed difference was that providers were 3.2 percentage points more likely to make a comment about credit standing to the control tester than to the lesbian tester, though the research team does not know if this represents favored treatment. Providers also gave roughly the same number of materials, such as listings, floor plans, or brochures, to lesbian and control testers.

Housing providers tended to be more helpful to lesbian testers than to their heterosexual counterparts. Providers were 12.4 percentage points more likely near the end of a test visit to make arrangements for future contact with lesbian testers and 6.3 percentage points more likely to make a follow-up contact with lesbian testers after a visit.

Finally, the research team analyzed the number of positive comments made to the testers. This measure is simply each tester’s impression of whether comments regarding the unit or location made by the agent are noteworthy and encouraging rather than discouraging. The team found that housing providers were 12.4 percentage points more likely to make positive remarks to lesbian testers and 12.9 percentage points more likely to make a greater number of positive remarks to lesbian testers than to control testers. (See box 4.2.)

EXHIBIT 4.4

Financial Indicators for Lesbian and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Lesbian tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Average rent		\$1,585	\$1,580	\$5	\$5	554
Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	2.7%	3.1%	5.8%	- 2.7%*	1.5%	554
Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	1.1%	1.4%	2.5%	- 1.1%	0.8%	554
Tester(s) told fees required	99.1%	0.5%	0.2%	0.4%	0.4%	554
One tester told higher fees		25.1%	30.7%	- 5.6%	4.1%	554
Average fees		\$267	\$273	-\$6	\$12	554
One tester told higher application fee		6.0%	11.0%	- 5.0%***	1.7%	529
Average application fee		\$81.26	\$84.82	- \$3.56***	\$1.04	529
Tester(s) told about incentives	23.8%	8.7%	9.6%	- 0.9%	1.9%	554
One tester told higher incentives		15.5%	15.3%	0.2%	2.5%	554
Average yearly incentives		\$224	\$218	\$7	\$23	554
Tester(s) told security deposit required	87.2%	1.8%	2.9%	- 1.1%	0.9%	554
One tester told higher security deposit		8.5%	7.7%	0.8%	1.6%	554
Average security deposit		\$453	\$440	\$12	\$9	506
Average surety bond		\$109	\$105	\$4	\$5	10
Average effective deposit		\$453	\$440	\$12	\$9	506
One tester told higher yearly net cost		15.9%	12.8%	3.1%	2.3%	554
Average yearly net cost		\$19,481	\$19,420	\$61	\$60	554

**Note:** The difference between control and lesbian tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

EXHIBIT 4.5

Comments and Helpfulness Indicators for Lesbian and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control Tester	Lesbian Tester	Difference	Standard Error of Difference	N
<b>If able to meet with agent</b>						
Agent commented on people who are lesbian, gay male, or transgender	0.2%	0.7%	1.4%	-0.7%	0.6%	588
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	1.0%	1.7%	- 0.7%	0.8%	588
Tester(s) told an application must be completed	98.4%	0.5%	0.9%	- 0.4%	0.4%	554
Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	95.8%	2.2%	1.6%	0.5%	1.1%	554
Tester(s) told a background check must be done	30.9%	19.9%	15.7%	4.2%	4.5%	554
Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.5%	5.1%	1.8%	3.2%**	1.4%	554
Tester(s) told comments about rent history	0.7%	5.2%	3.6%	1.6%	1.5%	554
Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.9%	0.3%	0.5%	0.5%	588
Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	93.5%	3.6%	2.0%	1.5%	1.0%	588
Tester(s) provided more total items		32.8%	36.9%	- 4.1%	4.7%	588
Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	36.9%	13.8%	26.2%	- 12.4%***	3.9%	588
Tester(s) told positive remark	30.3%	13.9%	26.3%	- 12.4%***	4.1%	482
Tester(s) told more positive remarks		23.2%	36.1%	- 12.9%**	5.2%	482
Tester(s) told negative remark	0.4%	1.5%	2.1%	- 0.6%	0.8%	482
Tester(s) told more negative remarks		1.5%	2.3%	- 0.8%	0.8%	482
Tester(s) received agent follow-up	31.2%	12.1%	18.4%	- 6.3%***	3.1%	554

**Note:** The difference between control and lesbian tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

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## BOX 4.2

After a lesbian tester in Dallas indicated that she was looking for an apartment for herself, her wife, and their two daughters, the housing agent replied that she and her family lived in the apartment complex and that the place “is welcoming to all eligible residents, regardless of race, nationality, sexual orientation, and such.”

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## Discrimination against Gay Male Couples

Exhibit 4.6 provides summary measures for treatment of gay male homeseekers at each step of the rental housing inquiry of agents with suitable units available:

- Is the homeseeker able to make an appointment with a housing agent? If so,
  - » is the homeseeker told about an available unit?
  
- If units are available,
  - » is the homeseeker shown a unit;
  - » what rent is quoted; or
  - » what incentives, fees, terms, and conditions are offered?

Gay male testers were more likely than control testers to experience adverse outcomes in their search for housing. Housing providers were less likely to schedule an appointment with gay men than they were with their heterosexual counterparts. When gay male renters met in person with housing providers, housing providers were less likely to tell them about at least one available unit and told them about fewer units, on average, than they told heterosexual renters. Gay male testers and control testers both inspected about the same number of units. The recommended units had a higher average rent and net cost for the gay male testers than for control testers.

The lower panel in exhibit 4.6 presents overall measures of differential treatment for renters, taking into account the availability of units and agents’ willingness to show units. Gay male renters experienced adverse treatment when inquiring about available housing. On average, housing providers told gay male testers about 0.24 fewer units than they told control testers. Overall, providers told gay men about one fewer available rental unit for every 4.2 tests than they told heterosexual men. This difference does not translate into a significant difference in the number of units housing providers showed to gay male and control testers.

EXHIBIT 4.6

Summary Measures of Discrimination against Gay Male Renters

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Gay male tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
Percentage of tests in which one tester is able to make an appointment with an agent	96.8%	2.3%	1.0%	1.3%*	0.7%	617
<b>If able to meet with an agent</b>						
Percentage of tests in which one tester is told units are available	94.9%	2.4%	0.7%	1.7%**	0.7%	594
Average number of units available		2.06	1.84	0.22***	0.08	594
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Percentage of tests in which one tester is shown units	83.2%	4.6%	7.1%	- 2.5%	2.0%	564
Average number of units inspected		1.36	1.35	0.01	0.06	564
Average rent		\$1,624	\$1,642	- \$18***	\$5	564
Average yearly net cost		\$19,921	\$20,193	- \$272***	\$65	564
Overall average number of units told available		2.04	1.80	0.24***	0.08	617
Overall average number of units inspected		1.33	1.29	0.03	0.05	617

Note: The difference between control and gay male tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

**Is the Homeseeker Able to Make an Appointment to Meet with an Agent? If So, Is the Homeseeker Told About an Available Unit?**

Housing providers were 1.3 percentage points less likely to make an appointment with gay male testers after an initial telephone or e-mail contact than they were with control testers, as shown in exhibit 4.7.

When both testers were able to meet with an agent, providers were 1.7 percentage points less likely to tell gay male testers about any available units.<sup>46</sup> On average, providers told gay male testers about 0.22 fewer units per meeting: control testers were told about 2.06 units per meeting, and focal testers were told about 1.84 units.

## EXHIBIT 4.7

### Information and Availability Indicators for Gay Male and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Gay male tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
Percentage of tests in which one tester is able to make an appointment with an agent	96.8%	2.3%	1.0%	1.3%*	0.7%	617
<b>If able to meet with an agent</b>						
Percentage of tests in which one tester is told units are available	94.9%	2.4%	0.7%	1.7%**	0.7%	594
One tester told about more units		31.3%	21.0%	10.3%***	3.8%	594
Average number of units available		2.06	1.84	0.22***	0.08	594

**Note:** The difference between control and gay male tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

### If Units Are Available, Is the Homeseeker Shown a Unit?

When testers were told about available units, housing providers were as likely to show units to gay male testers as they were to control testers. The average number of units shown to focal testers and control testers also was similar.

Housing providers showed gay male renters housing that was in slightly worse condition than the housing they showed to heterosexual renters, as shown in exhibit 4.8. Overall, housing providers were 1.9 percentage points less likely to show a unit to a gay male tester without any housing-quality issues. This difference, however, did not affect the average number of housing-quality problems per unit, which was the same for both focal and control testers.

## EXHIBIT 4.8

### Inspections and Unit Problem Indicators for Gay Male and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Gay male tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Tester(s) able to inspect any units	83.2%	4.6%	7.1%	- 2.5%	2.0%	564
One tester inspected more units		22.5%	22.2%	0.4%	4.1%	564
Average number of units inspected		1.36	1.35	0.01	0.06	564
<b>If units shown</b>						
Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any housing-quality problems	95.1%	3.2%	1.3%	1.9%*	1.0%	470
One tester saw more problems per unit		3.8%	4.3%	- 0.4%	1.4%	468
Average number of housing-quality problems per unit		0.06	0.06	- 0.00	0.03	468

**Note:** The difference between control and gay male tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

### If Units Are Available, What Rent Is Quoted?

Housing providers were 8.0 percentage points more likely to quote gay male renters a higher net cost than they quoted to their heterosexual counterparts. The average net cost of units that housing providers offered focal testers was \$272 higher than that offered to control testers, as shown in exhibit 4.9. On average, providers told gay male testers about rents that were \$18 higher per month than the rents quoted to the control testers. Although providers offered incentives to focal testers that were slightly higher in value than those offered to the control testers, the difference is not significant and did not offset the difference in net cost between paired testers.

Housing providers were 22.7 percentage points more likely to tell gay male testers about higher fees than control testers; the average difference in fees was \$69. Providers were also 7.0 percentage points more likely to quote a higher application fee and 5.4 percentage points more likely to quote a higher security deposit to a focal tester. On average, housing providers told gay male testers about application fees that were \$2.60 higher than those told to control testers, and security deposits that were \$10.00 higher than those told to control testers. (See example in box 4.3.)

### BOX 4.3

After a housing agent quoted a gay male tester the application fee for single homeseekers and married couples, the agent told the tester that he would have to provide proof of marriage to qualify for the married rate. He would have to show a marriage license or have the same last name as his spouse. The agent did not tell the control tester that he would have to prove that he was married to pay the lower application fee.

### EXHIBIT 4.9

#### Financial Indicators for Gay Male and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Gay male tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Average rent		\$1,624	\$1,642	-\$18***	\$5	564
Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	3.9%	3.2%	5.7%	-2.5%*	1.5%	564
Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	1.1%	1.6%	3.2%	-1.6%	1.1%	564
Tester(s) told fees required	99.3%	0.2%	0.4%	-0.2%	0.3%	564
One tester told higher fees		14.4%	37.1%	-22.7%***	4.4%	564
Average fees		\$253	\$323	-\$69***	\$19	564
One tester told higher application fee		4.0%	11.0%	-7.0%***	1.8%	545
Average application fee		\$80.81	\$83.41	-\$2.60***	\$0.80	545
Tester(s) told about incentives	21.8%	9.4%	8.3%	1.1%	1.7%	564
One tester told higher incentives		13.3%	13.5%	-0.2%	2.1%	564
Average yearly incentives		\$215	\$230	-\$14	\$18	564
Tester(s) told security deposit required	84.9%	2.7%	2.0%	0.7%	1.1%	564
One tester told higher security deposit		4.8%	10.2%	-5.4%***	1.7%	502
Average security deposit		\$431	\$441	-\$10***	\$3	502
Average surety bond		\$111	\$111	\$0	-	15
Average effective deposit		\$431	\$441	-\$10***	\$3	502
One tester told higher yearly net cost		9.6%	17.6%	-8.0%***	2.8%	564
Average yearly net cost		\$19,921	\$20,193	-\$272***	\$65	564

**Note:** The difference between control and gay male tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$



Housing providers gave focal testers and control testers roughly the same amount of information about the application process, with the exception that providers were 10.3 percentage points more likely to tell gay male testers about a background check requirement and 3.5 percentage points more likely to comment on gay male testers' rent history (exhibit 4.10). Providers gave roughly the same number of listings, floor plans, and brochures to gay male and control testers. Other indicators of agent helpfulness were similar for both gay male and control testers.

#### EXHIBIT 4.10

#### Comments and Helpfulness Indicators for Gay Male and Control Testers

Treatment measures	Both	Control tester	Gay male tester	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
<b>If able to meet with agent</b>						
Agent commented on people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender	0.0%	0.2%	1.7%	-1.5%	-0.6%	594
<b>If available units recommended</b>						
Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	1.0%	1.3%	-0.3%	0.7%	594
Tester(s) told an application must be completed	99.5%	0.2%	0.4%	-0.2%	0.3%	564
Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	97.3%	1.1%	1.2%	-0.2%	0.6%	564
Tester(s) told a background check must be done	26.2%	11.9%	22.2%	-10.3%**	4.4%	564
Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.0%	3.5%	3.0%	0.5%	1.1%	564
Tester(s) told comments about rent history	0.9%	4.1%	7.6%	-3.5%*	1.9%	564
Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.2%	0.3%	-0.2%	0.3%	594
Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	92.3%	3.5%	3.7%	0.5%	-0.2%	594
Tester(s) provided more total items		37.4%	34.7%	2.7%	5.1%	594
Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	33.3%	20.0%	24.6%	-4.5%	5.7%	594
Tester(s) told positive remark	36.0%	23.8%	18.3%	5.5%	5.3%	470
Tester(s) told more positive remarks		32.8%	33.6%	-0.9%	7.4%	470
Tester(s) told negative remark	0.2%	3.4%	1.7%	1.7%	1.1%	470
Tester(s) told more negative remarks		3.4%	1.9%	1.5%	1.1%	470
Tester(s) received agent follow-up	29.6%	14.0%	14.0%	0.0%	3.1%	564

**Note:** The difference between control and gay male tester measures may not equal the measure in the difference column due to rounding.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

# Variation in Estimated Differential Treatment of Same-Sex Couples

The overall estimates provide evidence of discrimination in rental markets against same-sex couples, but questions remain about the circumstances in which discrimination may be more or less likely. In the remainder of this chapter the authors first describe the differences in differential treatment by MSA and for white and minority testers. Next, they briefly discuss the differences in differential treatment by the term that testers used to describe their significant other. They then turn to an exploration of the potential contributions of homeseeker characteristics, agent attributes, and neighborhood composition to differences in treatment of lesbian or gay male testers; however, the authors found few consistent or compelling patterns for either group of same-sex couples. Model coefficients are reported in appendix H.

## Differences by MSA and Racial Group

The study was undertaken in two MSAs, with the sample split evenly between white and minority testers. If there were very different results across MSAs or racial groups, the authors would worry that the results found in this study were particular to the study sites or racial mix of the testers. For simplicity, they present estimates from a model in which the only predictors of treatment are MSA and minority or white. This model provides estimates of the effect of race within a site and estimates of the effect of MSA for a given race. The results are reported in exhibit 4.11.

In general, the research team found greater housing discrimination in the Los Angeles MSA than in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA. Housing providers showed fewer units to gay males in the Los Angeles MSA than in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA (relative to the numbers shown to their counterparts). In addition, adverse treatment of gay males for rents and net costs and lesbians for rents was greater in the Los Angeles MSA than in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA. For both rent and annual net cost, the differential treatment in each MSA appears to exceed the differences in rent and annual net costs between the cities. For example, exhibit 4.11 shows that the cross-city difference in net-cost differential treatment is \$310: in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA, gay males were offered units with net costs \$120 higher than were their counterpart compared with a differential of \$430 in the Los Angeles MSA (see appendixes G.1 and G.3 for details). These differences, as a share of average net cost for the control tester, are 0.9 percent in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA and 1.6 percent in the Los Angeles MSA. That is, the degree of differential treatment exceeds the cost differences across cities.

The comparison of white and minority testers shows no consistent evidence of greater adverse treatment of minority same-sex couples (compared with minority heterosexual couples) than of white same-

sex couples (relative to their heterosexual counterparts) or vice versa. Two of the six outcome measures (number of available units and shown a unit) saw greater adverse treatment of lesbians among white than among minorities. We see greater adverse treatment of gay men among whites than minorities on two different outcomes (average rent and annual net cost). For these latter outcomes, the cost of higher rents and annual net cost amounts cited to gay men relative to control testers was less for minorities than for whites.<sup>47</sup> Housing providers were more likely, however, to show a white gay male tester a unit than a minority gay male (relative to the differences in whether units were shown to their counterparts).<sup>48</sup>

EXHIBIT 4.11

Variation in Differential Treatment by MSA and for White and Minority Testers

	Told Units Available		Number of Available Units		Shown a Unit		Number of Units Shown		Average Rent (\$)		Annual Net Cost (\$)	
	Coef.	Std. error	Coef.	Std. error	Coef.	Std. error	Coef.	Std. error	Coef.	Std. error	Coef.	Std. error
<b>Lesbians</b>												
Dallas-Fort Worth	0.016	0.017	-0.209	0.154	0.014	0.028	0.056	0.079	18.99**	9.14	160.4	115.2
Minority	-0.017	0.017	-0.354**	0.153	-0.050*	0.028	-0.038	0.079	4.09	9.12	72.9	115.2
Intercept	0.019	0.012	0.392	0.135	0.036*	0.018	0.096*	0.058	-6.33	8.84	-57.1	111.7
<b>Gay males</b>												
Dallas-Fort Worth	-0.014	0.014	-0.112	0.16	-0.056	0.039	-0.245**	0.107	22.36**	9.85	309.7***	115.2
Minority	0.014	0.014	-0.092	0.161	0.070*	0.039	0.004	0.107	24.37**	9.86	245.9**	115.2
Intercept	0.017	0.012	0.321**	0.145	-0.03	0.022	0.135**	0.209	-40.89***	9.26	-550.0***	113.5

**Notes:** The table reports coefficients from a series of regression models of the difference in treatment between testers who are in the control group and testers who are lesbians or gay males. The coefficient on Dallas-Fort Worth represents the average difference in treatment associated with being in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX MSA rather than the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA MSA; the coefficient on minority represents the average difference in treatment between white and minority people. Coef. = coefficient. MSA = metropolitan statistical area. Std. = standard.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

## Differences by Term Used for Significant Other

The research team investigated whether treatment differed by the term that testers were assigned to use for their significant other—partner, girlfriend or boyfriend, or wife or husband. They examined four key measures of differential treatment: (1) number of units available, (2) number of units shown, (3) average rent, and (4) net annual cost. Most of the observed differences by relationship term were not statistically significant, although the sample sizes by term were very small. For example, the disparities for tests using the term *partner* were not statistically different from either of those for wife or husband or for girlfriend or boyfriend. Two exceptions relate to use of the term *boyfriend* or *girlfriend*. A greater disparity was evident in the number of unit inspections when gay males referred to their significant other as boyfriend rather than husband. A greater disparity was evident in net costs when lesbians referred to their significant other as girlfriend rather than wife. To assess the consistency of the results, the research team looked at the patterns of the differences while ignoring statistical significance. Three out of four outcomes for both lesbian and gay male testers had point estimates indicating greater differential treatment when the term *girlfriend* or *boyfriend* was used. Qualitative data do not clarify this difference. Data indicate that some agents may have been confused by the terms *girlfriend* and *boyfriend* or simply ignored the relationship reference. (See example in box 4.4.)

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### BOX 4.4

Some agents appeared not to understand the nature of a tester’s relationship with his or her significant other. On one test, an agent referred to a lesbian tester’s “roommate” after the tester had said that she was looking for an apartment for her and her girlfriend.

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## MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

The research team examined the correlates of differential treatment for two outcomes (number of units recommended and net costs) and outcomes that showed a significant level of differential treatment for gay males. As with the earlier analyses, these models were estimated separately for lesbians and gay males, for a total of four models. Each model provides an estimate of the additional effect on the observed level of differential treatment of one characteristic of the tester, agent, or local census tract, controlling for the other characteristics.

Only four of the tested predictors have a significant effect on differential treatment in more than one model. Coefficients are reported in appendix H.<sup>49</sup>

1. **MSA.** Adverse treatment of both lesbian and gay male testers in terms of number of units available and lesbian testers in terms of net costs was significantly greater in the Los Angeles MSA than in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA, even after controlling for tester, agent, and tract characteristics.
2. **Hispanics.** For both lesbians and gay males, adverse treatment in terms of number of units recommended and net costs among Hispanic testers was less than that of white testers for both outcomes, meaning that housing providers told Hispanic lesbian and gay male testers about more units and quoted them lower net costs than they told white lesbian and gay male testers measured relative to the control testers. This finding shows that the earlier findings indicating slightly less differential treatment of minorities was mostly because of the treatment of Hispanic testers.
3. **Assigned income.** For lesbians, discrimination in the number of units recommended and net cost was less when testers saw housing with higher rents and had higher assigned income.
4. **Tract same-sex couples as share of couples.** One would expect that areas more receptive to gay male renters would have a higher rate of same-sex couples. To test this hypothesis, the research team included the share of same-sex couples as a share of all couples in the census tract based on the 2010 census. For gay males, this measure was associated with greater differentials (rather than less as the team had expected), meaning that the greater the share of same-sex couples in a tract, the greater the differential treatment for gay male testers. This finding was unexpected.

## Findings on Remote Versus In-Person Discrimination against Same-Sex Couples

The research team compared data from remote and in-person tests on four key outcomes to determine whether in-person testing yielded results statistically different from those found in telephone or e-mail testing. The team conducted remote lesbian tests only in the Los Angeles MSA and gay male tests only in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA. For this comparison, remote tests are compared with only those in-person tests conducted in the same MSA by sex. That is, the team compared lesbian in-person tests with lesbian remote tests from Los Angeles and gay male in-person tests with gay male remote tests from the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA. These analyses exclude in-person tests with lesbian testers in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA and gay male testers in Los Angeles.

Exhibit 4.12 provides summary differences for in-person lesbian tests, remote lesbian tests, and the difference of the difference. The analysis finds no evidence that housing providers treated the lesbian

testers differently than their control counterparts with either the remote or in-person approach. The research team found no significant difference between the average treatment of lesbian and control homeseekers from a remote test and the average treatment of lesbian and control homeseekers from an in-person test. A full set of outcomes from lesbian remote versus in-person tests is included in appendix I.1.

Exhibit 4.13 provides summary differences for gay male in-person tests, gay male remote tests, and the difference of the difference. For gay males in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA, there are no statistically significant differences between remote and in-person results regarding the number of units told about or the monthly rent. Average yearly net cost, however, shows higher differential treatment using in-person tests. This finding appears to result from a difference in whether the testers were told about incentives. A full set of outcomes from gay male remote versus in-person tests are presented in appendix I.2.

The comparison of findings between the remote and in-person methods does not lead to a conclusive finding regarding whether remote testing is sufficient. Two housing discrimination studies used remote and in-person methods: HDS-Families with Children (Aron et al. 2016) and the current study. These studies suggest that modestly different patterns can be observed using in-person rather than remote tests. The HDS-Families with Children had relatively high power to detect differences between methods, because in-person and remote tests were conducted in response to the same advertisements. That study found that in-person testing detected more steering of homeseekers to larger units, and remote testing detected slightly larger differences in housing providers telling testers that a unit was available.

**EXHIBIT 4.12**

**Remote versus In-Person Differences for Lesbians in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, MSA**

<b>Treatment measures</b>	<b>In-person difference (control: lesbian)</b>	<b>Remote difference (control: lesbian)</b>	<b>Difference of difference (in person: remote)</b>	<b>Standard error</b>	<b>N</b>
Percentage of tests in which one tester is told units are available	1.7%	0.7%	1.1%	1.4%	598
Average number of units available	0.22	0.09	0.13	0.15	598
Average rent	-\$4	\$5	-\$10	\$15	568
Average yearly net cost	-\$23	\$26	-\$49	\$202	588

**Note:** MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\**p* < 0.10 \*\**p* < 0.05 \*\*\**p* < 0.01

EXHIBIT 4.13

Remote Versus In-Person Differences for Gay Male Testers in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX, MSA

Treatment measures	In-person difference (control: gay male)	Remote difference (control: gay male)	Difference of difference (in person: remote)	Standard error	N
Percentage of tests in which one tester is told units are available	1.0%	1.0%	- 0.0%	1.3%	609
Average number of units available	0.16	- 0.07	0.24	0.16	609
Average rent	-\$7	\$8	-\$15	\$12	582
Average yearly net cost	-\$120	\$136	-\$257*	\$142	597

Note: MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

In this study, the in-person and remote tests were conducted separately, leading to relatively imprecise estimates of differences. In-person testing found larger differences in net costs for gay men, but other differences between methods were not statistically significant. A comparison of the point estimates suggests slightly larger differential treatment for availability measures for lesbians using in-person testing; however, this finding is not observed for gay men. Both components of the study had relatively modest findings for the in-person tests, making it harder to detect differences across methods. For example, if no differential treatment was evident in the behavior of agents, the analysis could not show a difference between the methods. A measurable difference would be observed only in cases in which a relatively large difference is evident in the treatment of focal and control testers.

Despite the limited difference in findings between the methods, the researchers' experience during several paired-testing studies of housing discrimination led them to be wary of findings obtained remotely for two reasons. First, information on the number of units that testers inspect, which is thought to be a good bottom line measure of housing agent treatment, is available from in-person tests only. HDS-2012 (race and ethnicity) found differential treatment in the number of units inspected (Turner et al. 2013), as did HDS-Families with Children (Aron et al. 2016), in which few other differences were found. HDS-Disabilities (people who are deaf and people who use wheelchairs) found differences in the parallel measure of whether testers inspected any units (Levy et al. 2015). These differences would have been missed using remote testing.

Second, the in-person tests come closer to imitating what would happen in a rental housing search by instructing testers to talk with the person who most likely would be making leasing decisions. Many larger property-holding companies receive telephone and e-mail inquiries in response to advertisements through centralized call centers. Little is known about how call centers function, but experience from recent HDSs suggests that call-center staff are carefully trained to follow a script and may have an incentive to provide



information to homeseekers that will lead to an in-person appointment. Even if little difference is found between the treatment offered by call-center staff and onsite staff on those measures that can be captured remotely, the call-center staff person does not decide who is invited to submit a rental application or who is offered a lease. As a result, the remote findings of differences across MSAs may result from differences in the presence of companies that use centralized call centers rather than differences in treatment that would occur after homeseekers interact with leasing agents.

# Chapter 5. Discrimination against Transgender Individuals: Exploratory Study

This chapter presents findings from the exploratory study of discrimination against transgender homeseekers. The tests were divided between two protocols. The first protocol captures housing providers' treatment of transgender renters who explicitly disclosed their gender status at the outset of their interaction with a housing provider. The second examines the treatment when testers did not explicitly disclose and the agents were left with their own perceptions of testers' gender status. Despite the relatively small number of tests from a statistical point of view, the research team hoped to gain insight into the feasibility of each approach, estimate measures of differential treatment using each approach, and assess whether the two approaches led to similar findings.

## Incidence, Severity, and Forms of Rental Discrimination

In exhibit 5.1, the authors present summary measures for transgender homeseekers who explicitly disclosed their gender status. Exhibit 5.2 shows summary measures for focal testers who did not explicitly disclose their gender status. Examining the summary measures for both approaches simultaneously helps identify observable differences and similarities by testing approach. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the authors focus more on the observed patterns of findings and less on the statistical significance of the outcomes. All the treatment measures included in the study for both transgender renters who disclosed their gender status and those who did not are presented in appendix J.

As exhibit 5.1 shows, transgender testers who disclosed their gender status were just as likely to meet with a housing provider as were their cisgender counterparts. Both focal and control testers were able to meet with a housing provider 99 percent of the time. In only one instance was the transgender tester unable to meet with a provider. This same pattern is true for focal testers who did not disclose their gender status. On the nondisclose tests, both cisgender and transgender testers were able to meet with housing providers 96 percent of the time (exhibit 5.2). In 4 of the 103 tests (4 percent), the housing provider met with the cisgender tester but did not meet with the transgender tester. This difference is not statistically significant. Even if it were significant, three of the four instances involved the same transgender tester, making it difficult to distinguish whether the difference relates to the individual tester or the provider's tendency to differential treatment.<sup>50</sup> (See example in box 5.1.)

When both testers were able to meet with an agent, focal testers who disclosed their gender status were 11 percentage points less likely to be told that there were any units available (exhibit 5.1). No such difference was observed between focal testers who did not disclose and their control counterparts. Transgender renters who disclosed also were told about 0.39 fewer units than equally qualified cisgender renters. In other words, for every 2.6 meetings with a housing provider, transgender renters who disclosed their gender status were told about one fewer unit than were equally qualified cisgender renters. For tests in which testers did not disclose their gender status, the difference in the number of units told about to transgender and cisgender testers was similar to that on the disclose tests (a difference of 0.30 versus 0.39), though the difference was not statistically significant. This difference for transgender renters who did not disclose translates to housing providers telling them about one fewer unit for every 3.3 meetings.

#### EXHIBIT 5.1

##### Summary Measures of Discrimination Against Testers Who Disclosed Gender Status

Transgender disclose measures	Control	Transgender	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
One tester able to meet with an agent about housing	1.0%	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	101
<b>If both testers able to meet with an agent</b>					
One tester told units available	15.0%	4.0%	11.0%**	5.1%	100
Average number of units available	2.05	1.66	0.39**	0.15	100
<b>If available units recommended</b>					
One tester able to inspect a unit	3.9%	5.2%	-1.3%	3.5%	77
Average number of units able to inspect	1.62	1.48	0.14	0.10	77
Average rent	\$1,800	\$1,798	\$1	\$19	77
Average net yearly cost	\$21,592	\$21,684	-\$91	\$225	77
Overall average number of units inspected	1.46	1.28	0.18*	0.09	100

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

## EXHIBIT 5.2

### Summary Measures of Discrimination Against Testers Who Did Not Disclose Gender Status

Transgender nondisclose measures	Control	Transgender	Difference	Standard error of difference	N
One tester able to meet with an agent about housing	3.9%	0.0%	3.9%	2.4%	103
<b>If both testers able to meet with an agent</b>					
One tester told units available	2.0%	3.0%	-1.0%	2.3%	99
Average number of units available	2.67	2.36	0.30	0.21	99
<b>If available units recommended</b>					
One tester able to inspect a unit	5.4%	1.1%	4.3%*	2.4%	93
Average number of units able to inspect	2.17	1.86	0.31**	0.14	93
Average rent	\$1,822	\$1,824	-\$2	\$14	92
Average net yearly cost	\$22,065	\$22,145	-\$80	\$190	92
Overall average number of units inspected	2.10	1.78	0.32**	0.14	99

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

## BOX 5.1

A transgender tester visited a leasing office on a Friday afternoon at around 2:40 p.m. The tester, identifiable as a transgender woman, checked in with the receptionist who then told the leasing agent that someone was waiting to discuss available housing and told the tester to wait a few minutes for the agent. After 20 minutes, the receptionist told the tester that the agent was tied up with paperwork and would be at least another 20 minutes. The receptionist added, “It’s busy on Fridays and everyone is tied up with work trying to go home and wrap up the day.” The tester waited until 3:50 p.m. and then left without having an opportunity to meet with the agent.

On another test, a transgender tester met with a rental agent who refused service. After the tester disclosed their<sup>a</sup> gender status, the agent said, “There is no excuse for not using your government-issued name and gender marker,” and ended the meeting.

<sup>a</sup> This tester prefers use of the pronoun *their* instead of a gendered pronoun.

The research team was surprised that the estimated differences in the average number of units recommended are as similar across the two approaches as they are, given the large share of disclosing testers who did not learn about any available units. One hypothesis for this similarity is that, in the nondisclose tests, housing providers picked up cues of the tester’s gender status and then changed their attitude toward the homeseeker later in the test visit (for example, while thinking of units to recommend). To assess this possibility, the team reviewed the test narratives completed by transgender testers at the end

of each in-person visit. The researchers conducted a close reading of the relevant narratives to identify any shifts in housing providers' language or behaviors, as documented by the testers, which may indicate such a change. Their examination of narratives, however, did not find any evidence to support this hypothesis.

Next, the researchers turned to the average number of units inspected among those tests in which both testers learned about an available unit. They expected that transgender testers who disclosed their status would face greater levels of discrimination at each stage of the process than those who did not disclose. (The testers who disclosed were known to be transgender. Of the nondisclose tests, 63 percent were conducted by a tester whom the staff deemed likely to be identified as transgender.)

To the research team's surprise, the differences in focal testers' ability to inspect units when their counterpart control testers were told about units were driven largely by transgender testers who did not disclose their gender status. When housing providers told testers about available units, focal testers who disclosed their gender status were just as likely to inspect a unit as were their control counterparts (exhibit 5.1). Housing providers showed 0.14 more units to control testers than to testers who disclosed (not a statistically significant difference). Transgender testers who did not disclose their gender status were 4.3 percent less likely to be able to inspect any unit than were control testers (exhibit 5.2). They also inspected 0.31 fewer units, on average, than control testers. One possible explanation for this result is that, after the researchers restrict the sample to housing providers who recommended a unit to the focal testers, they have excluded those providers most likely to discriminate, leading to a subsample that is favorably disposed toward transgender individuals. Another possible explanation is that the result may be an artifact of small samples within each approach.

When housing providers told both testers about available units, they quoted similar average rents and average annual net costs to transgender testers and their matched counterparts, whether the testers did or did not disclose their gender status.<sup>51</sup> (See examples in box 5.2.)

The lower row in exhibits 5.1 and 5.2 reports a summary measure of the testing, measured as the overall average number of units inspected. This measure is a composite measure of the number of units that testers inspected that takes into account whether testers were told units were available. Overall, transgender renters who disclosed their gender status inspected 0.18 fewer units than did their cisgender counterparts (exhibit 5.1). This difference translates to housing providers' allowing testers to inspect one fewer unit for every 5.6 times they met with an agent. Transgender renters who did not disclose their gender status inspected 0.32 fewer units than did their cisgender counterparts (exhibit 5.2). This difference translates to housing providers' allowing them to inspect one fewer unit for every 3.1 meetings. A comparison of the two overall measures suggests the difference in the number of units inspected between transgender testers who disclosed and who did not disclose their gender status is similar. The point estimates show a slightly smaller difference for those who disclosed than for those who did not. Differences for both groups are large, with

point estimates greater than those observed in other rental housing discrimination studies; for example, HDS-2012 (Turner et al. 2013), HDS-Disabilities (Levy et al. 2015), and HDS-Families with Children (Aron et al. 2016).

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#### BOX 5.2

After a transgender tester disclosed her transgender status to a leasing agent and inquired about available housing, the agent paused and then said, “Let me talk to my associate.” After a brief conversation with her colleague, the agent said they had no housing options that matched the tester’s needs. This test visit occurred one day after the control tester visited the same leasing office and was told about three available units.

Some transgender testers received positive comments from agents after disclosing their gender status. One transgender tester recounted their experience with an agent as follows: “He said, ‘You’re looking for one-bedrooms?’ I said ‘yes’ and then stopped. I said, ‘I’m transgendered, though, so the name . . .’ The agent stopped me and said, ‘Whatever you are, you’re welcome here! We go by income and credit only. You open to two bedrooms?’ I said, ‘yes.’”

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These findings provide evidence that transgender renters in the Washington, DC, MSA face more barriers in obtaining rental housing than do cisgender renters. The two protocols led to somewhat different findings: the disclosure protocol led to bigger differences in whether and how many units were recommended, and the nondisclosure protocol led to bigger differences in whether the testers inspected units. Neither protocol led to a large difference in the cost of recommended housing. The pattern of differences is somewhat surprising, particularly given the qualitative finding that agents did not become notably aware of the gender status of the focal testers who did not disclose.

Overall, the data do not suggest one approach over the other for paired-testing efforts. Each protocol provided evidence of differential treatment, even with relatively small samples. The authors have some concerns about each protocol that future testing efforts should consider. The disclosure protocol may lead to differential treatment based on housing providers’ concerns about the difficulty of checking references rather than on transgender identity per se. The nondisclosure protocol avoids this issue, but the results likely are affected by the specific mix of testers used, in particular, the identifiability of the transgender testers. The approach selected for testing ideally would match the homeseeking practices of transgender people, about which too little is known.

# Chapter 6. Conclusions

The landscape of legal protection from housing discrimination for same-sex couples and transgender individuals changed even during the course of this study.<sup>52</sup> Regardless of whether they are legally protected from housing discrimination, lesbians, gay men, and transgender people have reported experiences of discrimination in a number of survey studies, and remote paired-testing research also has found some evidence of differential treatment. The findings from this pilot and exploratory study—the first in-person, paired-testing study funded by HUD that focuses on same-sex couples and transgender individuals—indicate that housing providers offer comparable treatment to lesbians and heterosexual women but discriminate against gay men and transgender individuals on some treatment measures at the early stage of the rental search process. These results are similar to those from recent national and pilot paired-testing studies of discrimination based on race and ethnicity (Turner et al. 2013), disability status (Levy et al. 2015), and families with children (Aron et al. 2016): housing providers demonstrate some differences in treatment between focal and control testers but do not blatantly deny access to homeseekers.

Housing providers treated lesbians comparably to heterosexual women seeking rental housing, but small differences across treatment measures of availability and inspections consistently disadvantaged lesbians. Providers told gay men about one fewer available unit on every 4.2 tests than they told heterosexual men and quoted gay men average yearly costs that were \$272 higher.

Housing providers told transgender testers about fewer units than they told cisgender homeseekers, and they were less likely to tell transgender testers who disclosed their gender status about available units. Transgender testers who disclosed, however, were more likely to be allowed to inspect units than were transgender testers who did not disclose their gender status. The transgender component of the study was as much an experiment with protocol design as an attempt to identify forms of discrimination and to estimate the incidence of differential treatment. Differences in results by protocol were not large or consistent enough across variables to favor either approach over the other.

This study also considered the utility of remote paired testing (paired testing conducted by telephone or e-mail) compared with in-person testing. The comparison of findings between methods suggests that modestly different patterns can be observed using in-person rather than remote approaches. Also, in-person testing ensures testers interact with frontline housing provider staff who make occupancy decisions. When considering this study and experience from other recent housing discrimination studies, the authors would be wary of shifting to a reliance on remote testing methods.

This report represents an important step in the development and implementation of in-person paired-testing tools for the study of discrimination based on sexual orientation and transgender status, but the

findings are not comprehensive. Similar to other paired-testing studies, this one focused on homeseekers' experiences at the early stages of rental housing searches. The study does not shed light on what would happen if testers were able to submit applications for available units. The authors also do not know whether treatment would have been different if testers had presented themselves as less well qualified to rent (for example, with lower incomes, marginal credit, or less stable rent histories).

The pilot and exploratory structure of the study introduced limitations in addition to those related to methodology and protocols. Paired testing for treatment of same-sex couples was conducted in only two MSAs, and testing based on gender status was conducted in only one MSA. Each of the three study sites is a major MSA that includes jurisdictions with state or local ordinances barring sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination. Larger cities, in general, also can serve as destinations for lesbians, gay men, and transgender people who, according to focus group participants, seek places to live where they can feel free to be themselves. The authors do not know whether the results would have been different had testing been conducted in a different or a more diverse set of metropolitan areas. The small number of transgender tests also did not support an analysis of differences in treatment of transgender women, transgender men, and gender queer individuals. They do not know whether and how treatment may vary across these groups.

These limitations, taken together, may account for the differences in the magnitude of findings between this study and other paired-testing studies discussed in chapter 1. It is possible that the study's more modest findings reflect differences in study scale (multiple versus a small number of study sites), study sites (a mix of metropolitan areas by size and geography versus large metropolitan areas), or even a change in housing providers' reception of same-sex couples and transgender individuals. Subtle differences in methodology among the studies could exist as well. This study was not designed to produce results that could be compared with those of other efforts; the authors cannot explain the differences based on data from this study.

The findings and the limitations of this study lead to a number of questions that would require additional research to answer. The authors recommend the following studies and activities.

**Conduct research in a greater diversity and larger sample of sites.** Such research could be achieved through one larger study (at a regional or larger scale) or a set of city- or region-focused studies based on shared protocols. Results from paired testing implemented in more sites would show whether results from this pilot study hold in smaller metropolitan areas and in other regions of the country.

**Analyze housing discrimination complaint data. In cities or states that prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender status, discrimination complaint data could serve as an additional source of information on the types and forms of differential treatment.** Federal complaint data filed based on sex discrimination also should be analyzed for treatment based on gender status and nonconformance with



gender stereotypes. Data may include complaints about treatment received during the housing search process, during the application and leasing stages of applying for rental housing, and during tenancy.

**Explore protocol design ideas to test for sexual orientation discrimination directly rather than by proxy.** Testers signaled their sexual orientation through gendered references to a significant other. Small research studies or innovative enforcement efforts could experiment with protocol designs with testers posing as single lesbians, gay men, and bisexual women and men to directly test for sexual orientation discrimination.

**Conduct additional research into best practices for paired testing for gender status-based housing discrimination.** When considering the results from the use of two protocols in one MSA, the researchers cannot recommend one protocol over the other. Findings do not shed light on why differences between the two protocols were not larger and were inconsistent across treatment measures.

**Explore variations in treatment based on gender identity and gender presentation.** Testing efforts structured with equal numbers of tests for transgender women, transgender men, and gender queer people would discern differences in treatment along these dimensions. Testing also could explore whether the way in which testers—transgender and cisgender—present themselves may affect treatment. In particular, testing could examine whether gender conformity—the degree to which a person’s appearance and behaviors match societal norms for women and men—affects treatment. The issue of gender presentation was one with which the research team grappled during the design phase, especially with regard to tester recruitment decisions. Because this study was a pilot, the research team was unable to explore this possible facet of treatment.

**Document the insights from this study for designing and implementing paired-testing studies based on sexual orientation and gender status.** Guidelines and design considerations, including tester safety issues and tester recruitment and retention, would be useful to researchers and fair housing practitioners.

**Convene researchers and practitioners to share knowledge on housing discrimination issues based on sexual orientation and gender status.** A convening could support an exploration of best practices and next-generation approaches to the design and implementation of paired-testing efforts.

**Continue to support in-person paired-testing studies.** In-person testing captures data on a broader set of variables than is possible with remote-only testing, and it captures treatment from onsite property management staff who interact directly with prospective renters. Although this pilot study found only small differences in treatment by method, differences that may surface from an in-person study conducted in different MSAs would be missed were tests conducted only by telephone or e-mail.

# Appendix A. Management, Data Collection Oversight, and Quality Control

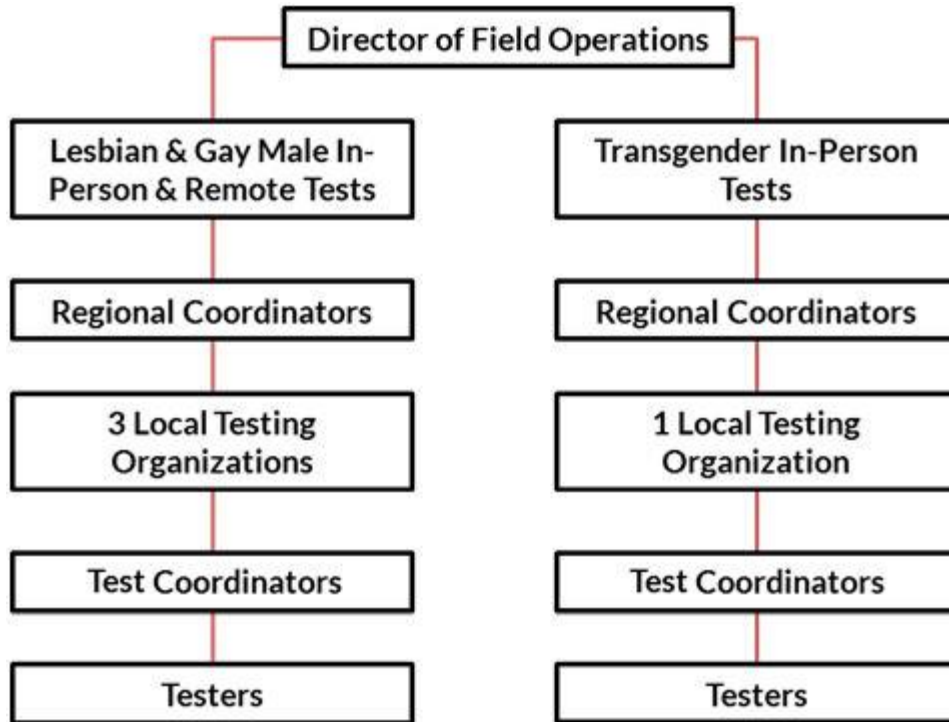
This appendix presents an overview of the field operations structure for *A Paired-Testing Pilot Study of Housing Discrimination Against Same-Sex Couples and Transgender Individuals*. Urban Institute contracted with three organizations to implement the paired testing activities, which required careful management and oversight throughout the data collection effort.

## A.1. Structure of Field Operations Team

The field operations team at the Urban Institute used the same management structure and processes on this housing discrimination study as it did on the paired-testing studies completed since 2011, including HDS-2012 (Turner et al. 2013), HDS-Disabilities (Levy et al. 2015), and HDS-Families with Children (Aron et al. 2016). Exhibit A.1 shows the organization of the field operations team. The team has now overseen the successful completion of more than 13,000 paired tests and has significant experience providing the level of oversight necessary to implement the detailed HDS protocols. The director of field operations oversaw the regional coordinators, local testing organizations (LTOs), and testers as each site completed the required number of tests. Throughout the course of data collection, the team worked to identify any potential problems and swiftly implement solutions.

EXHIBIT A.1

Field Operations Organizational Chart



## A.2. Local Testing Organizations

The following organizations were contracted to conduct paired tests:

- Equal Rights Center (Washington, DC)
- Fair Housing Foundation (Long Beach, California)
- Housing Rights Center (Los Angeles, California)
- North Texas Fair Housing Center (Dallas, Texas)

## A. 3. Oversight of Local Testing Organizations

Two highly experienced regional coordinators oversaw the day-to-day efforts of each LTO and helped ensure they adhered to project guidelines and timeframes. Together, the regional coordinators used their testing and management experience to perform highly detailed work under pressure, provide regular feedback to sites, and carefully review each test conducted.

The regional coordinators' responsibilities included the following:

- **Training local test coordinators.** The field operations team conducted a 2-day training session for local test coordinators.
- **Overseeing tester recruitment.** Regional coordinators provided guidance to local test coordinators on tester recruitment, including a specific outline for how interviews should be conducted.
- **Training testers.** Regional coordinators worked with LTOs to plan and conduct training sessions for local testers in each project site and supervised the practice tests conducted as part of the tester training process.
- **Overseeing testing and test report preparation.** Regional coordinators maintained frequent, regular contact with local test coordinators throughout the testing period, including facilitating a weekly meeting with each site. Many of these meetings were conducted via webinar, enabling regional coordinators to review report forms and test-tracking spreadsheets while both parties viewed the documents. These quality control reviews ensured the highest-quality data were being collected.
- **Troubleshooting problems.** When local test coordinators struggled with particular protocols, the test assignment process, or navigating the project's Central Online Data Collection (CODE) system, specific webinar tutorials were scheduled to remedy the problems.
- **Providing onsite assistance, as needed.** When a site required more assistance than could be provided via telephone, e-mail, or webinar, regional coordinators were prepared to visit to diagnose the full extent of the problem.

A 2-day training session was held in September 2014 in Washington, DC, for local test coordinators. During the training, local test coordinators learned the test coordinator and tester protocols and reviewed test management best practices. An opportunity also was provided for the field operations

team and local test coordinators to work together on CODE. Test coordinators used the online system to make practice test assignments for each other and to complete the test coordinator and tester forms; test coordinators completed the in-person site visits when they returned to their hometowns. The regional coordinators briefed and debriefed the local test coordinators over the telephone or via webinar to discuss the test, review checklists and report forms, and ensure the protocol had been mastered. After the local test coordinators completed the training—the practice test was an essential, final step—they proceeded with their organization’s startup efforts as they prepared to begin testing.

When significant issues arose, the regional coordinators worked with the director of field operations to ascertain the extent of the challenge and determine the required response. The regional coordinators documented specific problematic events via a daily incident report that was due at the end of any day when such an issue arose. The report included the identification of all relevant issues and resolutions and whether any member of the field operations team needed to take any further action. In addition to preparing the daily incident report, the regional coordinators completed a weekly site report that included a summary of each site’s number of completed tests, a listing of any questions or issues that arose during the week, and the resulting actions that were taken. The entire field operations team had a joint meeting at least once each week to discuss the progress of all the sites. When a particularly stubborn issue challenged a site, the team used the weekly meeting to deconstruct the problem and brainstorm possible solutions. During previous HDSs, this team approach was particularly useful in helping to develop specific strategies. In addition, the team scheduled occasional sessions to discuss best practices for various topics, including regional coordinator and site communication, test management tools, and tester recruitment and retention. The best practices that emerged throughout the course of previous HDSs were fully integrated into the training materials and testing procedures to ensure the LTOs were thoroughly supported as they completed high-quality tests according to schedule.

## A.4. Quality Control Measures

To ensure accuracy, objectivity, and completeness of the data collection effort, the project team used the CODE system that was designed for previous HDSs. This web-based data entry and test management system was updated for use on HDS-2012 (Turner et al. 2013) and subsequent studies, and the data management team revised CODE again for this study to enhance its efficiency and to accommodate new sampling techniques, research protocols, tester forms, and tracking reports.

At the beginning of each new testing cycle, advertisements were randomly selected by CODE and automatically transmitted to the LTOs. Local test coordinators reviewed each randomly selected advertisement in the order specified. For advertisements that were eligible for testing, local test coordinators used CODE to create test assignments based on the information gathered and then met with testers to discuss their test assignment before the start of their work. After testers completed each phase of their individual assignment, they logged into CODE, electronically documented their experience, and submitted the corresponding tester forms. Local test coordinators then conducted an immediate and thorough review of the testers' forms and confirmed they were completed. CODE's integrated test assignment, data entry, and test management tools reduced errors with built-in consistency checks and streamlined the process of database delivery, data management, cleaning, and analysis.

Each CODE user was assigned a unique identification number and was granted a different level of access to CODE forms, depending on the user's role (that is, tester, test coordinator, regional coordinator, or data management team CODE administrator). Each test was assigned a unique identification number as well. This design allowed CODE to capture and log all activities within the system, which helped diagnose rare incidents of suspicious activity. In the event a regional coordinator had concerns or questions about a particular field staff member's work, the CODE log files for that particular user were pulled and analyzed to confirm whether tests had been tampered with.

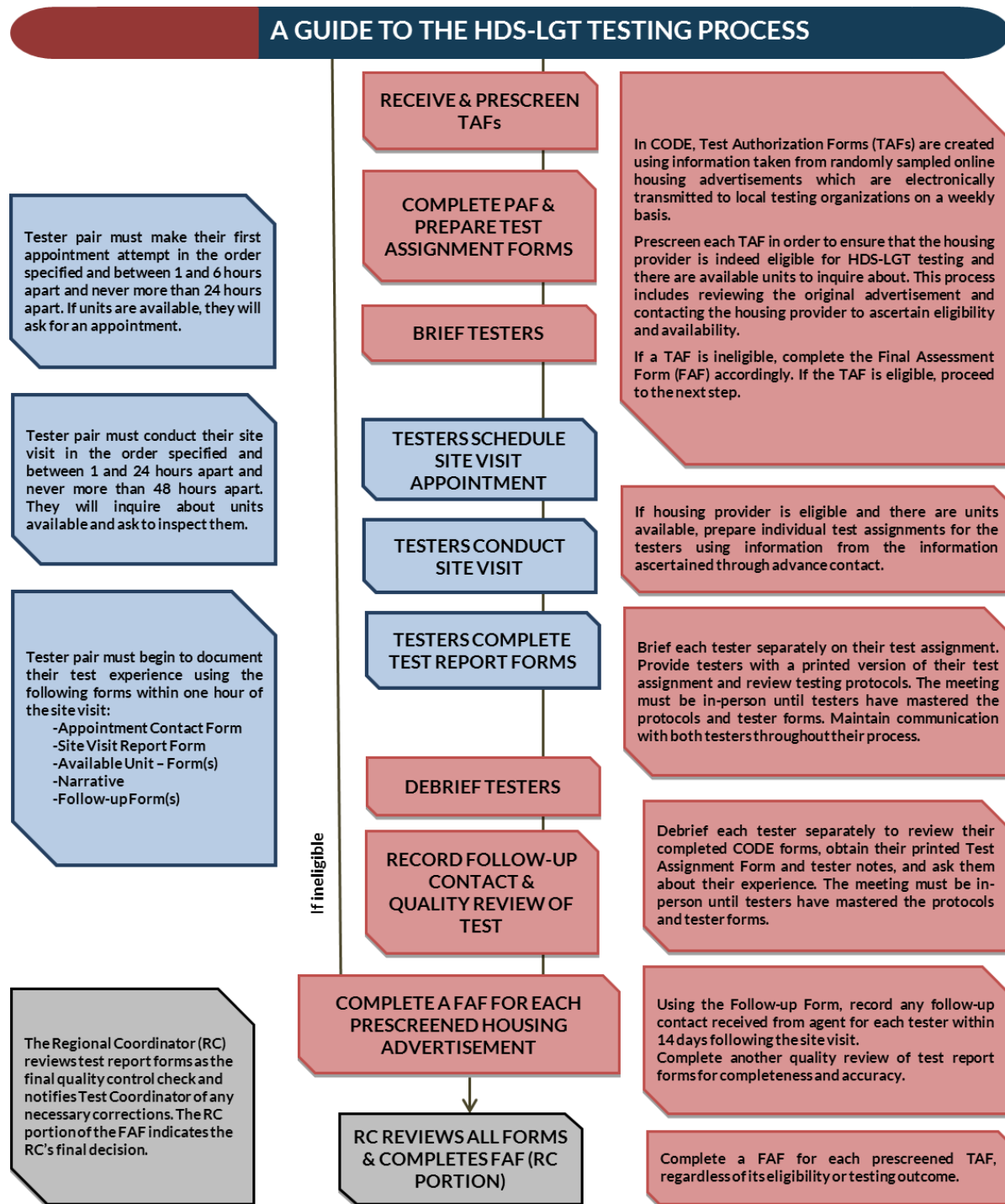
The field operations team continually monitored data in CODE to assess testers' and test coordinators' adherence to reporting requirements and progress toward testing targets. After tests were indicated in CODE as completed, regional coordinators reviewed files from their sites to identify any data quality issues and to determine which tests could be included for analysis. Because CODE allows Urban Institute staff to monitor data quality in real time, regional coordinators provided immediate feedback to local test coordinators whenever they identified missing data or protocol mistakes. Project staff at the Urban Institute and in the field were able to use CODE reports to track the progress of a test assignment, monitor which testers had been sent to particular housing providers, and identify the number of successfully completed tests in each site. During HDS-2012 (Turner et al. 2013), HDS-Disabilities (Levy et al. 2015), and HDS-Families with Children (Aron et al. 2016), additional tracking and diagnostic reports were added to the CODE system, further increasing the ability of LTOs and regional coordinators to address and correct problems. The entire team on this study was able to use the enhanced CODE system to produce test data of the highest accuracy.

# Appendix B. Testing Protocols

Some of the protocol documents include references to HDS-LGT, which is the abbreviation for Housing Discrimination Study—Lesbians, Gay Men, and Transgender People. The authors changed the project title to *A Paired-Testing Pilot Study of Housing Discrimination Against Same-Sex Couples and Transgender Individuals* during the report-writing phase to reflect the study’s focus on same-sex couples and transgender individuals. They have not retrospectively changed the wording used in the flowcharts and research materials.

# B.1. Testing Flowcharts

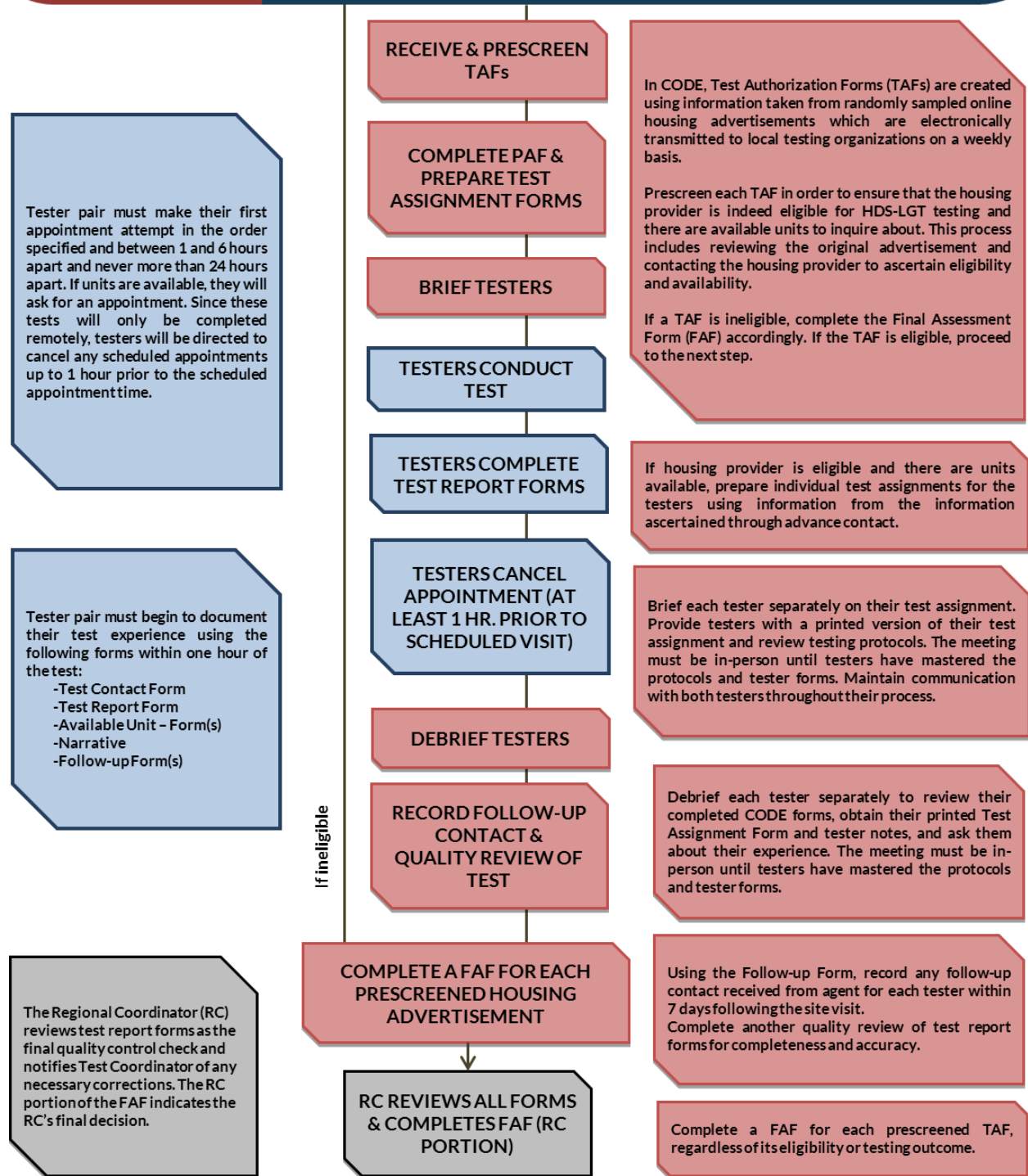
## Same-Sex Couples In-Person Tests



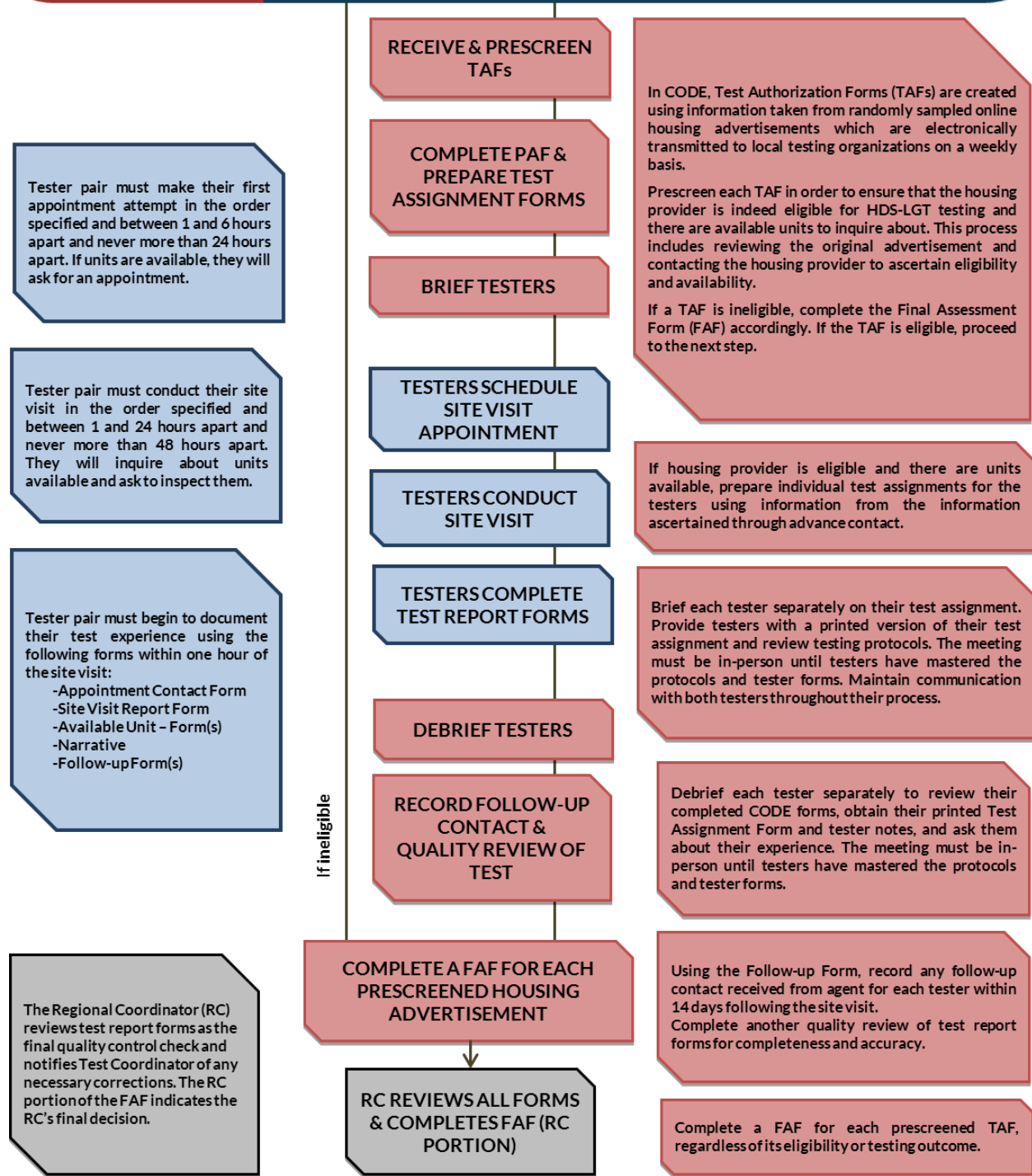
**Notes:** PAF = Preliminary Assessment Form. Information collected during the prescreening step is entered into a PAF, which is used to create a test assignment.



## A GUIDE TO THE HDS-LGT TESTING PROCESS



## A GUIDE TO THE HDS-LGT TESTING PROCESS



**Notes:** PAF = Preliminary Assessment Form. Information collected during the prescreening step is entered into a PAF, which is used to create a test assignment.

## B.2. Testing Protocol Charts

### Testing Protocols: Same-Sex Couples In-Person Tests

#	Issue	Testing protocol
1	TYPES OF TEST TEAMS	<p>All test teams will consist of two individuals, a lesbian or gay tester and a control tester, who are paired on personal, financial and household characteristics so that the primary difference between them is their sexual orientation.</p> <p>Local Test Coordinators will make an effort to ensure that the skin color, accent and surname of each tester in a matched pair are as comparable as possible.</p>
2	AUTHORIZATION TO TEST	<p>Local Test Coordinators will receive a Test Authorization Form for each test, which will include information from the ad sampled and specifies the order in which the lesbian or gay tester and the control tester will contact a housing provider.</p>
3	ADVANCE CONTACTS	<p>A project staff member (non-tester) who is perceived as non-Hispanic, white and heterosexual (in name and voice) will make advance contact in response to <u>all</u> rental samples via telephone, if possible, or by email if no telephone number is provided. The contact will establish (to the extent this information is not contained in the sample advertisement):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The exact date that the advertised housing is available (and, if the advertised housing is no longer available, what housing is available and when)</li> <li>■ The price of the available rental housing</li> <li>■ The size (# of bedrooms) of available apartments</li> <li>■ The exact address of the advertised housing and the rental office, if applicable</li> <li>■ Office hours (or, if there are no office hours, whether an appointment is required)</li> </ul> <p>The project staff member can make up to three telephone calls (without leaving a message) or send one email, if the ad does not include a telephone number. If the housing provider cannot be reached within 24 hours of the first attempted contact, the ad will be dropped. If the advertisement remains eligible, the sample will be assigned as an appointment test, even if a drop-in would be possible.</p> <p>The information obtained from advance contacts will be used by Local Test Coordinators to make credible test assignments that will focus tester requests and qualifications on available housing opportunities. Persons making advance contacts will record the results on an Advance Contact Form. Testers will not be told about any information obtained from advance contacts.</p>
4	QUALIFICATIONS OF TESTERS	<p>Lesbian and gay testers will be assigned the same or slightly better qualifications (i.e., slightly higher income, longer time on the job, etc.) than the control testers. Both types of testers will be well qualified for the housing about which they will inquire. The level of qualification, well qualified instead of minimally or exceptionally qualified, will not vary across tests in keeping with past practice.</p>
5	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER	<p>Tester characteristics will be assigned by the Local Test</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
	CHARACTERISTICS: GENERAL	<p>Coordinator. Some information assigned to testers will be true, such as age, gender, race/ethnicity, and in most cases home address and name. Other characteristics will be assumed by the tester for the purpose of conducting the test. A tester will complete one test assignment at a time before receiving the next assignment.</p> <p>Testers will be assigned to portray different types of households. The following four family composition types will be assumed by participating testers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Couple, no children - female tester</li> <li>▪ Couple, no children - male tester</li> <li>▪ Couple, w/children - female tester</li> <li>▪ Couple, w/children - male tester</li> </ul> <p>Local Test Coordinators will assign household characteristics to testers based on the size of the advertised housing to be tested while, to the extent possible, obtaining distribution of family composition types based on secondary data on actual household types (provided by UI). Local Test Coordinators will use the Household Composition Report on the CODE system to keep track of tests assigned and to obtain the best distribution possible.</p>
6	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - INCOME AND DEBT ISSUES	<p>The amount of income assigned to a tester will be based on the price of the advertised housing. As previously stated, lesbian and gay testers will have the same or slightly better qualifications than control testers. The CODE system will automatically generate testers' financial information based on financial inputs developed during the design phase:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ If both partners/spouses are employed in the lesbian or gay household and one partner/spouse has a higher income than the other, the same partner/spouse in the control household will be assigned a higher income as well.</li> <li>▪ Testers will be equipped to provide annual and/or monthly gross income amounts.</li> </ul> <p>While all testers will decline to authorize any type of credit check, testers will be able to respond to inquiries about their credit standing. All testers will say that their credit is excellent and that there are no problems with their credit history.</p>
7	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - EMPLOYMENT & OCCUPATION	<p>Local Test Coordinators will assign credible occupations in view of the income required to qualify for the housing. Local Test Coordinators will be instructed on occupations to avoid using in test situations. Lesbian and gay testers will have the same or slightly greater length of time on the job than their control matches consistent with the practice of slightly better qualifying testers in the past.</p>
8	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - CURRENT HOUSING	<p>Testers will never pose as current homeowners. All testers will be assigned to say that they are currently renters. In situations where more expensive housing is being sought and older testers are utilized, testers may be assigned to have owned a home at one time but they are presently renting a home or apartment.</p>
9	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER	<p>Testers will state a specific date by which they need to find rental</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
	CHARACTERISTICS - WHEN HOUSING IS NEEDED	housing. They will be allowed to consider housing that is available up to one week before and after their requested move-in date. The Local Test Coordinator will assign testers to request housing based on information in the selected advertisement and/or on information obtained from the advance contact made in response to the advertisement.
10	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - REASON FOR MOVING	Considerable guidance will be provided to Local Test Coordinators and testers in training sessions on how to respond appropriately to questions regarding the reason for moving. Proximity to work, looking for a larger place, and going through foreclosure are NOT appropriate responses. 'Having recently relocated to the area' will be allowed.
11	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - HOME TELEPHONE NUMBERS & EMAIL ADDRESSES	Each tester will be assigned a Google Voice telephone number and Gmail address. Testers will record personalized greetings on their Google Voice voicemail. Voicemail and email accounts will be systematically checked for messages at least twice a day after a test has taken place. This process will ensure that all follow-up by housing providers is recorded systematically.
12	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - AREA/NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCES	Testers will never volunteer any area or neighborhood preferences. If pressed by a housing provider to state whether a tester has a preference for any area, a tester will be able to identify a broad geographic area (either by name or by street boundaries). The broad geographic area will always include the area in which the advertised housing is located. Testers will always be open to considering other areas as well. Regional Coordinators will work with Local Test Coordinators prior to the assignment of practice tests to develop the broad geographic area definitions within each MSA.
13	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - SIZE AND TYPE OF HOUSING TO BE REQUESTED	<p>Testers will initially inquire about and ask to view the assigned housing. A tester will also inquire about other housing that is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Adequate for the tester's household in terms of size (# of bedrooms)</li> <li>■ Within the tester's price range; and</li> <li>■ Available when the tester needs the housing</li> </ul> <p>Local Test Coordinators will assign household composition based on the number of bedrooms indicated in the advertisement. CODE will assign the minimum number of bedrooms adequate for testers based on household composition.</p>
14	TESTER INSTRUCTIONS	Local Test Coordinators will provide every tester with a detailed set of instructions along with each test assignment form. These instructions will remind testers of testing protocols they must follow.
15	BRIEFING OF TESTERS	Test Coordinators will meet with each Tester separately and in person prior to every test in order to present and discuss the Test Assignment Form, any appointment calls, directions to the site, or any other pre-site visit activities, as necessary. Also, once the Local Test Coordinator is confident a tester has mastered all test protocols, a tester may be assigned more than one test at a time.

#	Issue	Testing protocol
16	COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TESTERS	<p>Local Test Coordinators will coordinate the times and dates that testers make phone calls, emails or site visits to ensure that tests are conducted in accordance with the prescribed order and spacing requirements for such contacts and visits. Testers will not be told when their tester matches have contacted or visited a particular test site.</p> <p>Testers may discuss their testing experiences with the Local Test Coordinator. However, testers are to maintain absolute confidentiality and not discuss their testing experiences with anyone else, including other testers.</p>
17	TESTING APPROACH: ENTRY METHOD	<p>All test assignments will require a tester to make an appointment prior to making a site visit. A tester will be assigned to contact the housing provider by telephone unless the advertisement only provides an email address.</p>
18	ORDER AND SPACING OF CONTACTS FOR APPOINTMENTS	<p>The order in which contact with the housing provider should be conducted is assigned at random and conveyed to the Local Test Coordinator on the Test Authorization Form.</p> <p>The spacing requirements on initial contacts for appointments are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The spacing of <i>telephone</i> contacts for appointments by members of the test team should be between 1-6 hours apart and never more than 24 hours apart.</li> <li>■ The spacing of <i>email</i> contacts for appointments by members of a test team should be between 1-6 hours apart and never more than 24 hours apart.</li> </ul> <p><i>Following every contact to schedule an appointment, a tester will complete an Appointment Contact Form.</i></p>
19	INITIAL CONTACTS – APPOINTMENT CONTACTS	<p>Testers will use their own names and natural accents during testing activities.</p> <p>Testers contacting the housing provider by telephone will make one attempt, and leave a message on the first attempt if the housing provider cannot be immediately reached. If the tester does not receive a response to their message within 24 hours, then the tester will make a second attempt to contact the housing provider by telephone. If the housing provider still cannot be immediately reached, then the tester will not leave a second message. Testers contacting the housing provider by email will send only one email inquiry.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Testers must alert the Local Test Coordinator immediately after sending an email message or leaving a telephone message so that voicemail and email accounts can be monitored.</li> <li>■ If both testers in the pair do not receive a response from the housing provider within 24 hours or are both denied an appointment, the pre-visit phase of the tests will be documented but the test will not proceed to the site visit stage.</li> <li>■ If both testers in the pair receive a response from the housing provider within 24 hours and are able to make an appointment, the pre-visit phase of the test will be documented and the test will proceed to the site visit stage.</li> </ul> <p>A test will move on to the site visit stage only if both testers are</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		<p>able to secure an appointment.</p> <p>Lesbian, gay and control testers will explain that they and their partner or spouse are looking for housing in the email contact, voicemail, or during the telephone call. Testers will be instructed to refer to their partner or spouse using gendered names and pronouns.</p>
20	ORDER AND SPACING OF SITE VISITS	<p>Local Test Coordinators are responsible to ensure that testers make site visits in the order specified on the Test Authorization Form. The spacing requirements for site visits are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The spacing of visits by members of a test team should be between 1 and 24 hours, but no more than 48 hours.</li> </ul>
21	SITE VISITS	<p>Testers will visit a rental housing site to inquire about the advertised unit and other available housing that meets their requirements, and to view such housing. Provided that there is contact with a rental housing provider or agent, rental tests should be accomplished in one visit and no appointments should be made for a second visit. If a tester is ever told that no rental housing is available in response to the request that is made, the tester will always inquire about when the agent expects to have an available unit.</p> <p>Testers will be instructed to wait up to one hour to meet with a housing provider who can show available rental units. If no assistance is offered within one hour, the tester may leave the test site. If a tester is told they cannot be shown units until a later time, they will be instructed how to end the site visit.</p> <p>After each site visit, a Site Visit Report Form and other appropriate forms must be completed by a tester. Testers must begin to complete test forms within an hour following the completion of each site visit.</p>
22	NOTE-TAKING BY TESTERS	<p>Note-taking by all testers is <i>required</i>. Testers will only note information that an ordinary homeseeker would typically record. Local Test Coordinators will equip testers with notepads of different shapes, sizes and colors. Notes taken by testers will be turned in to the Local Test Coordinator, identified by test ID number, and retained until sent to UI.</p>
23	DOCUMENTING SITE VISITS MADE BY TESTERS	<p>Testers must begin to complete the appropriate test forms within one (1) hour of completing site visits. Testers submit all test reports to the Local Test Coordinator via CODE before receiving the next test assignment. Testers may use a personal computer or approved electronic device to complete test forms.</p> <p>Test narratives will be required on <u>all</u> tests, which will be specified on the Test Authorization Form.</p>
24	TIMING OF DEBRIEFINGS	<p>Local Test Coordinators will debrief testers within 24 hours after each site visit is completed and <i>before</i> providing the tester with the next test assignment. The Local Test Coordinator will review all of the test materials from that tester and check to make sure that all appropriate forms have been filled out in a complete and accurate manner. Once the Local Test Coordinator is confident a</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		tester has mastered the testing and reporting requirements, subsequent debriefings may take place via telephone.
25	FOLLOW-UP CONTACT	Local Test Coordinators will retrieve all follow-up messages left for testers on their assigned Google Voice voicemail or Gmail accounts. Local Test Coordinators will document any kind of follow-up contact from a housing provider within 14 days and, if necessary, instruct testers to indicate that they are no longer interested.
26	SUBMISSION OF TEST REPORT FORMS	Local Test Coordinators will review test report forms for completeness and accuracy prior to submitting them electronically to UI. Local Test Coordinators will complete a Final Assessment Form for each test indicating whether the test was completed and if not, the reason. The Regional Coordinator will complete the form after reviewing the test file, indicating whether the test has passed quality review and if not, the reason.
27	ANALYSIS OF TEST RESULTS	Local Test Coordinators are not expected to complete any type of comparative analysis of tester experiences.



## Testing Protocols: Same-Sex Couples Remote Tests

#	Issue	Testing protocol
1	TYPES OF TEST TEAMS	<p>All test teams will consist of two individuals, a lesbian or gay tester and a control tester, who are paired on personal, financial and household characteristics so that the primary difference between them is their sexual orientation.</p> <p>Local Test Coordinators will make an effort to ensure that the accent and surname of each tester in a matched pair are as comparable as possible.</p>
2	AUTHORIZATION TO TEST	<p>Local Test Coordinators will receive a Test Authorization Form for each test, which will include information from the ad sampled and specifies the order in which the lesbian or gay tester and the control tester will contact a housing provider.</p>
3	ADVANCE CONTACTS	<p>A project staff member (nontester) who is perceived as a non-Hispanic, white heterosexual (in name and voice) will make advance contact in response to <i>all</i> rental samples via telephone, if possible, or by email if no telephone number is provided. The contact will establish (to the extent this information is not contained in the sample advertisement):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The exact date that the advertised housing is available (and, if the advertised housing is no longer available, what housing is available and when)</li> <li>■ The price of the available rental housing</li> <li>■ The size (# of bedrooms) of available apartments</li> <li>■ The exact address of the advertised housing</li> <li>■ Office hours (or, if there are no office hours)</li> </ul> <p>The project staff member can make up to three telephone calls (without leaving a message) or send one email, if the ad does not include a telephone number. If the housing provider cannot be reached within 24 hours of the first attempted contact, the ad will be dropped. If the advertisement remains eligible, the sample will be assigned as a test.</p> <p>The information obtained from advance contacts will be used by Local Test Coordinators to make credible test assignments that will focus tester requests and qualifications on available housing opportunities. Persons making advance contacts will record the results on an Advance Contact Form. Testers will not be told about any information obtained from advance contacts.</p>
4	QUALIFICATIONS OF TESTERS	<p>Lesbian and gay testers will be assigned the same or slightly better qualifications (i.e., slightly higher income, longer time on the job, etc.) than the control testers. Both types of testers will be well qualified for the housing about which they will inquire. The level of qualification, well qualified instead of minimally or exceptionally qualified, will not vary across tests in keeping with past practice.</p>
5	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - GENERAL	<p>Tester characteristics will be assigned by the Local Test Coordinator. Some information assigned to testers will be true, such as age, gender, race/ethnicity, and in most cases home address and name. Other characteristics will be assumed by the tester for the purpose of conducting the test. A tester will complete one test assignment at a time before receiving the</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		<p>next assignment.</p> <p>Testers will be assigned to portray different types of households. The following four family composition types will be assumed by participating testers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Couple, no children: female tester</li> <li>▪ Couple, no children: male tester</li> <li>▪ Couple, w/children: female tester</li> <li>▪ Couple, w/children: male tester</li> </ul> <p>Local Test Coordinators will assign household characteristics to testers based on the size of the advertised housing to be tested while, to the extent possible, obtaining distribution of family composition types based on secondary data on actual household types (provided by UI). Local Test Coordinators will use the Household Composition Report on the CODE system to keep track of tests assigned and to obtain the best distribution possible.</p>
6	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - INCOME AND DEBT ISSUES	<p>The amount of income assigned to a tester will be based on the price of the advertised housing. As previously stated, lesbian and gay testers will have the same or slightly better qualifications than control testers. The CODE system will automatically generate testers' financial information based on financial inputs developed during the design phase:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ If both partners/spouses are employed in the lesbian and gay household and one partner/spouse has a higher income than the other, the same partner/spouse in the control household will be assigned a higher income as well.</li> <li>▪ Testers will be equipped to provide annual and/or monthly gross income amounts.</li> </ul> <p>While all testers will decline to authorize any type of credit check, testers will be able to respond to inquiries about their credit standing. All testers will say that their credit is excellent and that there are no problems with their credit history.</p>
7	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - EMPLOYMENT & OCCUPATION	<p>Local Test Coordinators will assign credible occupations in view of the income required to qualify for the housing. Local Test Coordinators will be instructed on occupations to avoid using in test situations. Lesbian and gay testers will have the same or slightly greater length of time on the job than their control matches consistent with the practice of slightly better qualifying testers in the past.</p>
8	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - CURRENT HOUSING	<p>Testers will never pose as current homeowners. All testers will be assigned to say that they are currently renters. In situations where more expensive housing is being sought and older testers are utilized, testers may be assigned to have owned a home at one time but they are presently renting a home or apartment.</p>
9	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - WHEN HOUSING IS NEEDED	<p>Testers will state a specific date by which they need to find rental housing. They will be allowed to consider housing that is available up to one week before and after their requested move-in date. The Local Test Coordinator will assign testers to request housing based on information in the selected</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		advertisement and/or on information obtained from the advance contact made in response to the advertisement.
10	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - REASON FOR MOVING	Considerable guidance will be provided to Local Test Coordinators and testers in training sessions on how to respond appropriately to questions regarding the reason for moving. Proximity to work, looking for a larger place, and going through foreclosure are NOT appropriate responses. 'Having recently relocated to the area' will be allowed.
11	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - HOME TELEPHONE NUMBERS & EMAIL ADDRESSES	Each tester will be assigned a Google Voice telephone number and Gmail address. Testers will record personalized greetings on their Google Voice voicemail. Voicemail and email accounts will be systematically checked for messages at least twice a day after a test has taken place. This process will ensure that all follow-up by housing providers is recorded systematically.
12	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - AREA/NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCES	Testers will never volunteer any area or neighborhood preferences. If pressed by a housing provider to state whether a tester has a preference for any area, a tester will be able to identify a broad geographic area (either by name or by street boundaries). The broad geographic area will always include the area in which the advertised housing is located. Testers will always be open to considering other areas as well. Regional Coordinators will work with Local Test Coordinators prior to the assignment of practice tests to develop the broad geographic area definitions within each MSA.
13	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - SIZE AND TYPE OF HOUSING TO BE REQUESTED	<p>Testers will initially inquire about and ask to view the assigned housing. A tester will also inquire about other housing that is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Adequate for the tester's household in terms of size (# of bedrooms)</li> <li>■ Within the tester's price range; and</li> <li>■ Available when the tester needs the housing</li> </ul> <p>Local Test Coordinators will assign household composition based on the number of bedrooms indicated in the advertisement. CODE will assign the minimum number of bedrooms adequate for testers based on household composition.</p>
14	TESTER INSTRUCTIONS	Local Test Coordinators will provide every tester with a detailed set of instructions along with each test assignment form. These instructions will remind testers of testing protocols they must follow.
15	BRIEFING OF TESTERS	Test Coordinators will meet with each Tester separately and in person prior to every test in order to present and discuss the Test Assignment Form, test instructions, directions to the site, or any other activities, as necessary. Also, once the Local Test Coordinator is confident a tester has mastered all test protocols, a tester may be assigned more than one test at a time.

#	Issue	Testing protocol
16	COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TESTERS	<p>Local Test Coordinators will coordinate the times and dates that testers make emails and phone calls to ensure that tests are conducted in accordance with the prescribed order and spacing requirements for such emails and calls. Testers will not be told when their tester matches have emailed or called a particular test site.</p> <p>Testers may discuss their testing experiences with the Local Test Coordinator. However, testers are to maintain absolute confidentiality and not discuss their testing experiences with anyone else, including other testers.</p>
17	TESTING APPROACH: ENTRY METHOD	<p>All test assignments will require a tester to conduct tests via either email or telephone.</p>
18	ORDER AND SPACING OF CONTACTS FOR TESTS	<p>The order in which contact with the housing provider should be conducted is assigned at random and conveyed to the Local Test Coordinator on the Test Authorization Form.</p> <p>The spacing requirements for tests are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="769 888 1419 972">■ The spacing of <i>email</i> contacts by members of the test team should be between 1-6 hours apart and never more than 24 hours apart.</li> <li data-bbox="769 1003 1419 1085">■ The spacing of <i>telephone</i> contacts by members of a test team should be between 1-6 hours apart and never more than 24 hours apart.</li> </ul>
19	TEST CONTACTS	<p>Testers will use their own names and natural accents during testing activities.</p> <p>Testers contacting the housing provider by telephone will make one attempt, and leave a message on the first attempt if the housing provider cannot be immediately reached. If the tester does not receive a response to their message within 24 hours, then the tester will make a second attempt to contact the housing provider by telephone. If the housing provider still cannot be immediately reached, then the tester will not leave a second message. Testers contacting the housing provider by email will send only one email inquiry.</p> <p>Testers must alert the Local Test Coordinator immediately after sending an email message or leaving a voicemail so that Google Voice and Gmail accounts can be monitored.</p> <p>If either tester in a pair does not receive a response to an email or voicemail within 24 hours or is explicitly denied an appointment, the other tester must still complete and document the test.</p> <p>If a housing provider responds via text message, the tester will respond accordingly and suggest they communicate by telephone.</p> <p>Lesbian, gay and control testers will explain that they and their partner or spouse are looking for housing in the email contact, voicemail, or during a telephone call. Testers will be instructed to refer to their partner or spouse using gendered</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		names and pronouns.
20	TESTS	<p>Testers will email or telephone eligible housing providers in response to an online advertisement to inquire about available housing. The initial contact may lead to subsequent emails or to telephone contact. Testers will attempt to obtain an appointment to inspect available units.</p> <p>Since no site visits will be conducted, testers who successfully obtain appointments with a rental housing provider will be directed to cancel within a reasonable amount of time, but no later than 1 hour prior to the appointment (if appointment is on same day as phone contact).</p> <p>After each contact, a Test Report Form and other appropriate forms must be completed by a tester. Testers must begin to complete test forms within an hour of completing the test.</p>
21	NOTE-TAKING BY TESTERS	Note-taking by all testers is <i>required</i> . Notes taken by testers will be turned in to the Local Test Coordinator, identified by test ID number, and retained until sent to UI.
22	DOCUMENTING CONTACT MADE BY TESTERS	<p>Testers must begin to complete the appropriate test forms within one (1) hour of completing the test. Testers submit all test reports to the Local Test Coordinator via CODE before receiving the next test assignment. Testers may use a personal computer or approved electronic device to complete test forms.</p> <p>Test narratives will be required on <u>all</u> tests, which will be specified on the Test Authorization Form.</p>
23	TIMING OF DEBRIEFINGS	Local Test Coordinators will debrief testers within 24 hours after each test is completed and <i>before</i> providing the tester with the next test assignment. The Local Test Coordinator will review all of the test materials from that tester and check to make sure that all appropriate forms have been filled out in a complete and accurate manner. Once the Local Test Coordinator is confident a tester has mastered the testing and reporting requirements, subsequent debriefings may take place via telephone.
24	FOLLOW-UP CONTACT	As mentioned above, testers who successfully obtain appointments with a housing provider will be directed to cancel at least 1 hour prior to the appointment time. After that time, testers will not initiate any additional follow-up contact with a housing provider. Local Test Coordinators will retrieve all follow-up messages left for testers on their assigned Google Voice phone numbers or email accounts. Local Test Coordinators will document any kind of follow-up contact from a housing provider within 7 days and, if necessary, instruct testers to indicate that they are no longer interested.
25	SUBMISSION OF TEST REPORT FORMS	Local Test Coordinators will review test report forms for completeness and accuracy prior to submitting them electronically to UI. Local Test Coordinators will complete a Final Assessment Form for each test indicating whether the test

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		was completed and if not, the reason. The Regional Coordinator will complete the form after reviewing the test file, indicating whether the test has passed quality review and if not, the reason.
26	ANALYSIS OF TEST RESULTS	Local Test Coordinators are not expected to complete any type of comparative analysis of tester experiences.

## Testing Protocols: Transgender In-Person Tests

#	Issue	Testing protocol
1	TYPES OF TEST TEAMS	<p>All test teams will consist of two individuals, a transgender tester and a control tester, who are paired on personal, financial and household characteristics so that the primary difference between them is their gender identity.</p> <p>Local Test Coordinators will aim to recruit a diverse pool of testers from the transgender community rather than to focus on people who might more readily be perceived as transgender or to limit testers to those who identify as trans male or trans female. Control testers for trans men will be cisgender men, for trans women will be cisgender women, and for gender queer testers will be cisgender men and women assigned in roughly equal proportion.</p> <p>Local Test Coordinators will make an effort to ensure that the skin color, accent and surname of each tester in a matched pair are as comparable as possible.</p>
2	AUTHORIZATION TO TEST	<p>Local Test Coordinators will receive a Test Authorization Form for each test, which will include information from the ad sampled and specifies the order in which the transgender tester and the control tester will contact a housing provider.</p>
3	ADVANCE CONTACTS	<p>A project staff member (non-tester) who is perceived as non-Hispanic, white and cisgender (in name and voice) will make advance contact in response to <i>all</i> rental samples via telephone, if possible, or by email if no telephone number is provided. The contact will establish (to the extent this information is not contained in the sample advertisement):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The exact date that the advertised housing is available (and, if the advertised housing is no longer available, what housing is available and when)</li> <li>■ The price of the available rental housing</li> <li>■ The size (# of bedrooms) of available apartments</li> <li>■ The exact address of the advertised housing and the rental office, if applicable</li> <li>■ Office hours (or, if there are no office hours, whether an appointment is required)</li> </ul> <p>The project staff member can make up to three telephone calls (without leaving a message) or send one email, if the ad does not include a telephone number. If the housing provider cannot be reached within 24 hours of the first attempted contact, the ad will be dropped. If the advertisement remains eligible, the sample will be assigned as a drop-in test unless an appointment is necessary.</p> <p>The information obtained from advance contacts will be used by Local Test Coordinators to make credible test assignments that will focus tester requests and qualifications on available housing opportunities. Persons making advance contacts will record the results on an Advance Contact Form. Testers will not be told about any information obtained from advance contacts.</p>
4	QUALIFICATIONS OF TESTERS	<p>Transgender testers will be assigned the same or slightly</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		<p>better qualifications (i.e., slightly higher income, longer time on the job, etc.) than the control testers. Both types of testers will be well qualified for the housing about which they will inquire. The level of qualification, well qualified instead of minimally or exceptionally qualified, will not vary across tests in keeping with past practice.</p>
5	<p>ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - GENERAL</p>	<p>Tester characteristics will be assigned by the Local Test Coordinator. Some information assigned to testers will be true, such as age, gender identity, race/ethnicity, and in most cases home address and name. Other characteristics will be assumed by the tester for the purpose of conducting the test. A tester will complete one test assignment at a time before receiving the next assignment.</p> <p>Testers will be assigned single profiles without children.</p>
6	<p>ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - INCOME AND DEBT ISSUES</p>	<p>The amount of income assigned to a tester will be based on the price of the advertised housing. As previously stated, transgender testers will have the same or slightly better qualifications than control testers. The CODE system will automatically generate testers' financial information based on financial inputs developed during the design phase. Testers will be equipped to provide annual and/or monthly gross income amounts.</p> <p>While all testers will decline to authorize any type of credit check, testers will be able to respond to inquiries about their credit standing. All testers will say that their credit is excellent and that there are no problems with their credit history.</p>
7	<p>ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - EMPLOYMENT &amp; OCCUPATION</p>	<p>Local Test Coordinators will assign credible occupations in view of the income required to qualify for the housing. Local Test Coordinators will be instructed on occupations to avoid using in test situations. Transgender testers will have the same or slightly greater length of time on the job than their control matches consistent with the practice of slightly better qualifying testers in the past.</p>
8	<p>ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - CURRENT HOUSING</p>	<p>Testers will never pose as current homeowners. All testers will be assigned to say that they are currently renters. In situations where more expensive housing is being sought and older testers are utilized, testers may be assigned to have owned a home at one time but they are presently renting a home or apartment.</p>
9	<p>ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - WHEN HOUSING IS NEEDED</p>	<p>Testers will state a specific date by which they need to find rental housing. They will be allowed to consider housing that is be available up to one week before and after their requested move-in date. The Local Test Coordinator will assign testers to request housing based on information in the selected advertisement and/or on information obtained from the advance contact made in response to the advertisement.</p>
10	<p>ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - REASON FOR</p>	<p>Considerable guidance will be provided to Local Test Coordinators and testers in training sessions on how to</p>



#	Issue	Testing protocol
	MOVING	respond appropriately to questions regarding the reason for moving. Proximity to work, looking for a larger place, and going through foreclosure are NOT appropriate responses. 'Having recently relocated to the area' will be allowed.
11	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - HOME TELEPHONE NUMBERS & EMAIL ADDRESSES	Each tester will be assigned a Google Voice telephone number and Gmail address. Testers will record personalized greetings on their Google Voice voicemail. Voicemail and email accounts will be systematically checked for messages at least twice a day after a test has taken place. This process will ensure that all follow-up by housing providers is recorded systematically.
12	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - AREA/NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCES	Testers will never volunteer any area or neighborhood preferences. If pressed by a housing provider to state whether a tester has a preference for any area, a tester will be able to identify a broad geographic area (either by name or by street boundaries). The broad geographic area will always include the area in which the advertised housing is located. Testers will always be open to considering other areas as well. Regional Coordinators will work with Local Test Coordinators prior to the assignment of practice tests to develop the broad geographic area definitions within each MSA.
13	ASSIGNMENT OF TESTER CHARACTERISTICS - SIZE AND TYPE OF HOUSING TO BE REQUESTED	<p>Testers will initially inquire about and ask to view the assigned housing. A tester will also inquire about other housing that is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Adequate for the tester's household in terms of size (# of bedrooms)</li> <li>■ Within the tester's price range; and</li> <li>■ Available when the tester needs the housing</li> </ul> <p>Local Test Coordinators will assign a single, no children household composition regardless of the number of bedrooms indicated in the advertisement. CODE will assign the minimum number of bedrooms adequate for testers as zero.</p>
14	TESTER INSTRUCTIONS	Local Test Coordinators will provide every tester with a detailed set of instructions along with each test assignment form. These instructions will remind testers of testing protocols they must follow.
15	BRIEFING OF TESTERS	Test Coordinators will meet with each tester separately and in person prior to every test in order to present and discuss the Test Assignment Form, any appointment calls, directions to the site, or any other pre-site visit activities, as necessary. Also, once the Local Test Coordinator is confident a tester has mastered all test protocols, a tester may be assigned more than one test at a time.
16	COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TESTERS	<p>Local Test Coordinators will coordinate the times and dates that testers make phone calls, emails or site visits to ensure that tests are conducted in accordance with the prescribed order and spacing requirements for such contacts and visits. Testers will not be told when their tester matches have contacted or visited a particular test site.</p> <p>Testers may discuss their testing experiences with the</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		<p>Local Test Coordinator. However, testers are to maintain absolute confidentiality and not discuss their testing experiences with anyone else, including other testers.</p>
17	TESTING APPROACH: ENTRY METHOD	<p>Tests will begin with testers dropping in to the rental office, if possible, or by making contact with housing providers to obtain appointments to inspect available units.</p> <p>The only circumstances that will prompt a Test Coordinator to require a Tester to make an appointment is when:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ the address of the advertised housing is not in the advertisement; or</li> <li>■ the advertisement indicates that an appointment is required; or</li> <li>■ the advance contact yields information which confirms that an appointment is required.</li> </ul> <p>If an appointment is necessary, a tester will be assigned to contact the housing provider by telephone unless the advertisement only provides an email address.</p>
18	ORDER AND SPACING OF CONTACTS FOR APPOINTMENTS	<p>The order in which contact with the housing provider should be conducted is assigned at random and conveyed to the Local Test Coordinator on the Test Authorization Form.</p> <p>The spacing requirements on initial contacts for appointments are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The spacing of <i>telephone</i> contacts for appointments by members of the test team should be between 1-6 hours apart and never more than 24 hours apart.</li> <li>■ The spacing of <i>email</i> contacts for appointments by members of a test team should be between 1-6 hours apart and never more than 24 hours apart.</li> </ul> <p>Following every contact to schedule an appointment, a tester will complete an Appointment Contact Form.</p>
19	INITIAL CONTACTS – APPOINTMENT CONTACTS	<p>Testers will use their own names and natural accents during testing activities.</p> <p>For tests that require an appointment, testers contacting the housing provider by telephone will make one attempt, and leave a message on the first attempt if the housing provider cannot be immediately reached. If the tester does not receive a response to their message within 24 hours, then the tester will make a second attempt to contact the housing provider by telephone. If the housing provider still cannot be immediately reached, then the tester will not leave a second message. Testers contacting the housing provider by email will send only one email inquiry.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Testers must alert the Local Test Coordinator immediately after sending an email message or leaving a telephone message so that voicemail and email accounts can be monitored.</li> <li>■ If both testers in the pair do not receive a response from the housing provider within 24 hours or are both denied an appointment, the pre-visit phase of the tests will be documented but the test will not proceed to the site visit</li> </ul>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		<p>stage.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ If both testers in the pair receive a response from the housing provider within 24 hours and are able to make an appointment, the pre-visit phase of the test will be documented and the test will proceed to the site visit stage. A test will move on to the site visit stage only if both testers are able to secure an appointment.</li> </ul> <p>Transgender testers will not convey their gender identity over the telephone or email.</p>
20	ORDER AND SPACING OF SITE VISITS	<p>Local Test Coordinators are responsible to ensure that testers make site visits in the order specified on the Test Authorization Form. The spacing requirements for site visits are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ The spacing of visits by members of a test team should be between 1 and 24 hours, but no more than 48 hours.</li> </ul>
21	SITE VISITS	<p>Testers will visit a rental housing site to inquire about the advertised unit and other available housing that meets their requirements, and to view such housing. Provided there is contact with a rental housing provider or agent, rental tests should be accomplished in one visit and no appointments should be made for a second visit. If a tester is ever told that no rental housing is available in response to the request that is made, the tester will always inquire about when the agent expects to have an available unit.</p> <p>Protocol for one half of tests will direct transgender testers to explicitly convey their gender identity during the in-person stage of the tests and protocol for the other half of tests will direct transgender testers not to explicitly convey their gender identity.</p> <p>Testers will be instructed to wait up to one hour to meet with a housing provider who can show available rental units. If no assistance is offered within one hour, the tester may leave the test site. If a tester is told they cannot be shown units until a later time, they will be instructed how to end the site visit.</p> <p>After each site visit, a Site Visit Report Form and other appropriate forms must be completed by a tester. Testers must begin to complete test forms within an hour following the completion of each site visit.</p>
22	NOTE-TAKING BY TESTERS	<p>Note-taking by all testers is <i>required</i>. Testers will only note information that an ordinary homeseeker would typically record. Local Test Coordinators will equip testers with notepads of different shapes, sizes and colors. Notes taken by testers will be turned in to the Local Test Coordinator, identified by test ID number, and retained until sent to UI.</p>
23	DOCUMENTING SITE VISITS MADE BY TESTERS	<p>Testers must begin to complete the appropriate test forms within one (1) hour of completing site visits. Testers submit all test reports to the Local Test Coordinator via CODE before receiving the next test assignment. Testers may use a personal computer or approved electronic device to complete test forms.</p>

#	Issue	Testing protocol
		<p>Test narratives will be required on <i>all</i> tests, which will be specified on the Test Authorization Form.</p>
24	TIMING OF DEBRIEFINGS	<p>Local Test Coordinators will debrief testers within 24 hours after each site visit is completed and prior to providing the tester with the next test assignment. The Local Test Coordinator will review all of the test materials from that tester and check to make sure that all appropriate forms have been filled out in a complete and accurate manner. Once the Local Test Coordinator is confident a tester has mastered the testing and reporting requirements, subsequent debriefings may take place via telephone.</p>
25	FOLLOW-UP CONTACT	<p>Local Test Coordinators will retrieve all follow-up messages left for testers on their assigned Google Voice voicemail or Gmail accounts. Local Test Coordinators will document any kind of follow-up contact from a housing provider within 14 days and, if necessary, instruct testers to indicate that they are no longer interested.</p>
26	SUBMISSION OF TEST REPORT FORMS	<p>Local Test Coordinators will review test report forms for completeness and accuracy prior to submitting them electronically to UI. Local Test Coordinators will complete a Final Assessment Form for each test indicating whether the test was completed and if not, the reason. The Regional Coordinator will complete the form after reviewing the test file, indicating whether the test has passed quality review and if not, the reason.</p>
27	ANALYSIS OF TEST RESULTS	<p>Local Test Coordinators are not expected to complete any type of comparative analysis of tester experiences.</p>

# Appendix C. Report Forms

This appendix includes all forms used by the field operations team and testers for *A Paired-Testing Pilot Study of Housing Discrimination Against Same-Sex Couples and Transgender Individuals*. Some of the documents include references to HDS-LGT, which is the abbreviation for Housing Discrimination Study—Lesbians, Gay Men, and Transgender People, the previous working title of this study. Forms include the tester application form, test assignment forms, advance contact forms, and all tester report forms.

# C.1. General Forms

## TESTER APPLICATION – HDS-LGT

### SECTION 1: APPLICANT'S BASIC INFORMATION

Name (first name last name): \_\_\_\_\_

Street address: \_\_\_\_\_

City, State & Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Primary Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail address: \_\_\_\_\_

### SECTION 2: APPLICANT'S QUALIFICATIONS

Do you or a member of your immediate family presently work for, serve on the board of directors of, or have a financial interest in any housing-industry trade association or companies that are in the business of providing housing or real estate services?  Yes  No

If yes, describe your or your family member's involvement: \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, would this involvement or interest prevent you from being objective or reporting your test experiences in a fair and unbiased manner?  Yes  No

Do you hold any views, positive or negative, about any segment of the housing industry that would prevent you from being objective or reporting your test experiences in a fair, accurate and unbiased manner?  Yes  No

If yes, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

One part of testing is playing an assigned role and assuming characteristics, which are not your own. Do you have any reservations (religious or otherwise) about providing information about yourself that is not true, including marital status, familial status, employment characteristics, and financial characteristics?

Yes  No

If yes, please describe: \_\_\_\_\_

Do your current professional or volunteer activities in the community give you such a high profile that you might be recognized on a test?  Yes  No

If yes, please describe: \_\_\_\_\_

Is there any reason you can think of that might make it difficult for you to maintain confidentiality about your testing activities?  Yes  No

If yes, please describe: \_\_\_\_\_

Aside from anything previously mentioned, is there anything else that might exclude or disqualify you from being a tester?  Yes  No

If yes, please describe: \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any prior experience using a computer (e.g., word processing, data entry, Internet, etc.)?  Yes  No

Please provide your general availability to participate by selecting “yes” or “no” for each date and time:

Time	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning (8-12 pm)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Afternoon (12-4 pm)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Evening (4-8 pm)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

Do you have a valid driver’s license?  Yes  No

Do you own or have regular access to a vehicle that you can use for testing?  Yes  No

Are you willing to travel for testing?  Yes  No

**SECTION 3: APPLICANT’S PERSONAL INFORMATION**

Date of Birth (mm/dd/yyyy): \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Race:  White  
 Black/African-American  
 Asian Pacific Islander  
 Other race (please specify)

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

National Origin:  Non-Hispanic  
 Hispanic

What sex was recorded on your original birth certificate?  
 Male  
 Female

What is your current gender identity?  
 Male  
 Female  
 Transgender male/transgender man  
 Transgender female/transgender woman  
 Gender queer/gender non-conforming  
 Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Are you:  Straight/heterosexual  
 Gay/homosexual  
 Lesbian/homosexual  
 Bisexual  
 Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

What is your first language?  
 English  
 Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Are you currently employed?  
 Yes  
 No

If Yes, are you currently employed on a full-time or part-time basis?  
 Full-time



Part-time

If you are currently employed, provide the name of employer, location, your job title, and length of employment:

---

---

Please provide a list of previous types of employment:

---

---

Are you currently attending school?

Yes  
 No

If Yes, are you currently attending school on a full-time or part-time basis?

Full-time  
 Part-time

If you are currently attending school, provide the name of school, location, degree you are seeking, and program/department:

---

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Highest level of education completed:

Grade school or less  
 Some high school  
 GED  
 High school diploma

Some vocational/technical or business school

Vocational/technical/business certificate/degree

Some college  
 Associates degree  
 Bachelor's degree  
 Some graduate/professional school  
 Graduate/professional degree

Your estimated gross annual income:

Under \$10,000  
 \$10,000 - \$19,999  
 \$20,000 - \$29,999  
 \$30,000 - \$39,999  
 \$40,000 - \$49,999  
 \$50,000 - \$74,999  
 \$75,000 - \$99,999  
 \$100,000 or more

Your family’s estimated gross annual income (i.e., the shared gross annual income of you and all other people in the living quarters who are either related to you by birth, marriage, or adoption; or persons with whom you share a romantic relationship):

- Under \$10,000
- \$10,000 - \$19,999
- \$20,000 - \$29,999
- \$30,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$74,999
- \$75,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 or more

Please provide the name, gender, age, and relationship of all other members of your family (people in the living quarters [not including yourself] who are either related to you by birth, marriage, or adoption; or persons with whom you share a romantic relationship):

	Name	Gender	Age	Relationship to Applicant
Person 1		<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender		
Person 2		<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender		
Person 3		<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender		
Person 4		<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender		
Person 5		<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Transgender		

***For transgender and/or gender queer/non-conforming testers only:***

People can tell I’m transgender/gender non-conforming even if I don’t tell them.

- Always
- Most of the time
- Sometimes
- Occasionally
- Never

Have you legally changed your name?  Yes  
 No

Please complete the following questions about your identification documents:

Type of Identification Document	Do you have this type of identification?	Does this type of identification match your gender identity and name?	Is this identification current or expired?
Government issued driver's license	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Expired Expiry Date: _____
Provincial/Territorial or state identification card	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Expired Expiry Date: _____
U.S. passport or passport card	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Expired Expiry Date: _____
Permanent resident card	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Expired Expiry Date: _____
US Military ID or dependent card with photo	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Expired Expiry Date: _____
Other (please specify):	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Expired Expiry Date: _____

#### SECTION 4: APPLICANT'S EXPERIENCE AS A HOMESEEKER

Length of time at current residence:  Less than 1 year  
 1 to 2 years  
 3 to 5 years  
 6 to 10 years  
 More than 10 years

Do you presently rent or own your home?  Rent  
 Own  
 Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Do you live in shared housing (group home, with roommates, etc.)?  
 Yes  
 No

Type of dwelling:

- Single-family home – detached
- Mobile
- Apartment
- Condo
- Co-op
- Duplex/townhouse
- Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Are you looking to rent or purchase housing at the present time or within the next several months?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please describe: \_\_\_\_\_

#### **SECTION 5: APPLICANT'S EXPERIENCE AS A TESTER**

Have you ever been a tester?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please estimate how many tests you have completed: \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, what types of testing have you conducted in the past? (Check all that apply.)

- Rental
- Sales
- Lending
- Insurance
- Employment
- Public Accommodations
- Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION 6: APPLICATION SUBMISSION

*Please read each of the following statements carefully and mark your initials to agree to the terms of participation as presented.*

I understand that I have voluntarily agreed to participate as a tester in the Housing Discrimination Study – LGT (HDS-LGT), which is being conducted by the Urban Institute and sponsored by the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). I agree. \_\_\_\_\_

I agree to maintain complete confidentiality about HDS-LGT, and all of my HDS-LGT testing activities, including the names of housing providers I contact, any materials I receive from them or my organization, and the testing protocols for this project. Once the Test Coordinator notifies me that the project is complete, I can talk about my participation; however, I will keep confidential information about housing agents I met with during this project.

I agree. \_\_\_\_\_

Should I choose to end my involvement in the project prior to its completion, I agree to maintain confidentiality about HDS-LGT for a period of three (3) years unless direct notice is provided to me by the local testing organization, the Urban institute, or HUD informing me that HDS-LGT information is no longer confidential.

I agree. \_\_\_\_\_

I agree that I will have no claim against the Urban Institute in the event that unlawful discrimination is indicated or established by my testing experience. I agree. \_\_\_\_\_

I have read and signed the HDS-LGT Tester Consent and Limited Waiver Agreement in its entirety and agree to the terms of my participation as presented. I agree. \_\_\_\_\_

Signature:

\_\_\_\_\_

Date (mm/dd/yyyy):

\_\_\_\_\_

**FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:**

Please complete the following information for all applicants.

What position is this applicant applying for?

- L In-Person Protected Tester
- L In-Person Protected Tester
- G In-Person Control Tester
- G In-Person Control Tester
- L Phone/Email Protected Tester
- L Phone/Email Protected Tester
- G Phone/Email Control Tester
- G Phone/Email Control Tester
- T In-Person Protected Tester
- T In-Person Control Tester

Is this applicant proficient in reading and writing in English?

- Yes  No

Is this applicant fluent in English?

- Yes  No

If fluent in English, does this applicant have a discernible accent of any kind?

- Yes  No

If yes, describe.

\_\_\_\_\_

**For LG & T In-Person Tests Only:**

Is this applicant's race or ethnicity clearly discernible based on their photo?

- Yes
- No

**For All Applicants:**

Is this applicant's race or ethnicity clearly discernible based on their name and voice recording?

- Yes
- No

Was the applicant selected?

- Yes
- No

If no, why not?

\_\_\_\_\_

**FOR SELECTED APPLICANTS, PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION AFTER THE TESTER TRAINING:**

Date tester attended training session (mm/dd/yyyy)	_____
Name/Location of Facility	_____
Date tester completed practice tests (mm/dd/yyyy)	_____
Name to be used for testing	_____
Address to be used for testing	_____
Google Voice number to be used for testing (000)000-0000	_____
E-mail address to be used for testing	_____
Additional comments	_____

# RENTAL ASSIGNMENT FORM – HDS-LGT

Site: [auto-fill]  
 Control Number: [auto-fill]  
 Tester Sequence: [auto-fill]  
 Transaction Type: [auto-fill]  
 Tester Type: [auto-fill]  
 Type of Approach: [auto-fill]  
 Tester ID Number: [auto-fill]

Target date and time of 1st appointment call: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Target date and time for scheduling appointment: \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION 1: INFORMATION ABOUT TESTER'S HOUSEHOLD FOR SPECIFIC TEST

Household Composition: [auto-fill]  
 How tester should refer to their partner/spouse: [auto-fill]  
 (Only for Lesbian and Gay tests)

Household Income	Gross Monthly Income	Gross Annual Income
Tester		
Partner/Spouse		
Total for Household		

Household Members	Relationship (partner/husband/wife/ boyfriend/girlfriend/child)	Name	Sex	Age
Person 2				
Person 3				
Person 4				
Person 5				

## 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: \_\_\_\_\_



Name of partner/spouse's current employer: \_\_\_\_\_  
First line of partner/spouse's employer's address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Second line of partner/spouse's employer's address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Partner/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

- Reason for Moving?  Lived at current apartment long enough; ready for change  
 Had 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 I'd be interested in  
 Would like to be settled before school starts  
 Renting from relative/friend; want my own place  
 Currently subletting; tenant moving back  
 Have recently relocated to the area  
 No reason, just would like a new place

**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 characteristics: Non-smoking; no pets  
Other places visited: Just started looking

## 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 [ ] Furnished  
[ ] Unfurnished

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!*

## SECTION 3: TESTER'S INFORMATION

Tester Name: [auto-fill]  
Phone Number: [auto-fill]  
E-mail Address: [auto-fill]  
Tester's Race: [auto-fill]  
National Origin: [auto-fill]  
Tester's Gender at Birth: [auto-fill]  
Tester's Age: [auto-fill]

Your Current Gender Identity:

[auto-fill]

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR HDS-LGT APPOINTMENT CONTACTS – LG IN-PERSON TESTS

Please contact the housing provider listed in the advertisement and request an appointment to meet with someone to discuss the rental housing that was advertised. You should always contact the housing provider by telephone unless the advertisement does not include a telephone number, in which case you will be directed to use e-mail or an electronic contact form. You need not make your appointment with any particular agent.

**At the outset of your voice message or telephone call, you must mention that you and your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse (depending on which one you are assigned) will be living in the unit.** You must refer to your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse by name at least once early in the Appointment Contact. If you refer to her or him again during the contact, use their name or the appropriate gender-specific pronoun (she, he, her, his, etc.).

**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](http://voice.google.com)
2. In the upper left-hand corner, 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.

To make a call with Google Voice from one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones:

1. Use one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones, and dial your Google Voice number.
2. When prompted, enter your pin number and press #
3. Follow the voice instructions to make an outgoing call by pressing 2
4. Dial the number you wish to call.
5. Google Voice will connect you.

To make a call with Google Voice from a telephone not associated with your Google Voice account:

1. Dial your Google Voice number from any phone.
  2. When you reach your voice message, hit \*
  3. When prompted, enter your pin.
  4. You will be prompted to enter the forwarding phone number associated with your Google Voice account and then #.
  5. To place a call, press 2.
  6. Enter the phone number you'd like to dial followed by #.
- If you cannot reach a housing provider on your first call, leave a message and wait up to 24 hours for a response. In your message, you must explain that you and your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse (depending on which you are assigned) will be living in the unit. You must refer to your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse by name at least once early in your voice message. If you refer to her or him again during the voice message, use her or his name or the appropriate gender-specific pronoun (she, he, her, his, etc.). You will also leave your assigned Google Voice number in your message. You must alert your Test Coordinator immediately after leaving a telephone message. If you do not receive a return call within 24 hours, you must call the housing provider again, but this time you should not leave a message. Once you make the second call, you should advise your Test Coordinator.
  - If you reach the housing provider (or if the housing provider returns your call), express interest in and ask for an appointment to view the specific advertised unit from your *Rental Assignment Form* as well as any available units with your assigned number of bedrooms. You must tell the housing provider that you and your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse (depending on which you are assigned) will be living in the unit. You must refer to your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse by name at least once early in the conversation. If you refer to her or him again during the conversation, use her or his name or the appropriate gender-specific pronoun (she, he, her, his, etc.). If the housing provider agrees to show you an available unit, thank the agent and schedule an appointment. If a housing provider suggests that you view other units in addition to the advertised unit, express interest in viewing units that meet your needs as dictated by your Assigned Housing characteristics.
  - If the agent informs you that there are no units with your assigned number of bedrooms, ask the agent if there are any other units available, and make an appointment to view any unit(s) that:
    - Have at least the minimum number of bedrooms you are willing to consider;
    - Since you will always portray the role of a person who will be living alone, your minimum number of bedrooms will always be zero (i.e., a studio apartment)
    - Are within your maximum rent; and
    - Are available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date.

Notify your Test Coordinator of your appointment.

- If the agent tells you that no rental housing is available that meets your needs, thank the agent and ask for her or his name if you do not already have it. Notify the Test Coordinator after your contact with the agent.
- If possible, avoid having an extended or lengthy conversation about rental housing options, your qualifications, or your housing needs over the telephone. If necessary, you can always say that you are pressed for time and that you would prefer to discuss these details when you visit the office.
- Some testers have reported that 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 document any message from a housing provider with either an appointment contact form or a follow-up contact form. If you ever have any questions about how to record a message, ask your Test Coordinator.
- 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/electronic contact form:**

- If your Test Coordinator authorizes you to e-mail or electronically contact the housing provider, send only one e-mail from your assigned HDS e-mail account. Alert your Test Coordinator so that the e-mail account can be monitored
- Use the text or language that has been provided to you by your Test Coordinator, and inquire about making an appointment to view the advertised rental housing from your *Rental Assignment Form*. The text or language provided by your Test Coordinator will always include a reference to your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner or spouse (depending on which you are assigned), his or her assigned name, as well as pronouns that match his or her gender. If the housing provider agrees to show you the advertised unit, thank the agent and schedule an appointment. If a housing provider suggests that you view other units in addition to the advertised unit, express interest in viewing units that meet your needs as dictated by your Assigned Housing characteristics. Notify your Test Coordinator of the appointment.
- If the agent informs you that the advertised unit is not available, ask the agent if there are any other units available, and make an appointment to view any unit(s) that:
  - Have at least the minimum number of bedrooms you are willing to consider;
  - Since you will always portray the role of a person who will be living alone, your minimum number of bedrooms will always be zero (i.e., a studio apartment)
  - Are within your maximum rent; and
  - Are available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date.

Notify your Test Coordinator of the appointment.

**For ALL Appointment Contacts:**

- If you are able to make an appointment, please remember to obtain the exact date and time of your appointment along with the name of the person who will be meeting with you (if applicable). Also, make sure you have the exact address and directions to the rental office.
- Record every contact you make as part of your effort to obtain an appointment on the Appointment Contact Form

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR HDS-LGT IN-PERSON SITE VISITS – LG IN-PERSON TESTS:

At the outset of your site visit, you must tell the housing provider that you and your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse (depending on which one you are assigned) will be living in the unit, regardless of whether the agent conducting the site visit is the same agent you spoke with during the Appointment Call. You must refer to your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner or spouse by name at least once early in the Site Visit. If you refer to her or him again during the contact, use their name or the appropriate gender-specific pronoun (she, he, her, his, etc.).

- Inquire about and ask to view the housing you discussed during your Appointment Call.
- After inquiring about the housing discussed during the Appointment Call, and regardless of whether such housing is still available, you must ALWAYS ask about the availability of other units with your assigned housing characteristics.
- Assigned Housing includes units that:
- Have at least the minimum number of bedrooms you are willing to consider;
- Since you will always portray the role of a person who will be living alone, your minimum number of bedrooms will always be zero (i.e., a studio apartment);
- Are within your maximum rent; and
- Are available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date.

### 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 that meets your needs (i.e., number of bedrooms, maximum rent, and date of availability) during a rental visit.

### Unit Information

1. Exact address
2. Unit number
3. Floor number
4. Number of bedrooms
5. Lease length (ALL available lease lengths)
6. Date of availability

### Rent and Fees

You must record the monthly rent amount based on a 12-month lease for each unit you're told about, as well as fees associated with moving in and renting the unit. Specifically, you must find out:

7. Rent (\$/month)
8. Security deposit (if any)
9. Other fees (if any)

### Utilities and Amenities

You must ask about utilities. You should NOT ask about amenities (laundry room, gym, pool, roof deck, etc.); however, if you are told about any amenities, you should include them in your notes.

10. Which utilities are included in rent, if any (list)

### Application Process:

11. Whether an application is required (Y/N)
12. Whether an application fee must accompany a completed application (Y/N, If yes, how much and is it per person or per household?)
13. Whether a credit check is required (Y/N)
  - 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.

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR HDS-LGT TELEPHONE/E-MAIL/ELECTRONIC CONTACTS – LG REMOTE TESTS

### INSTRUCTIONS:

Please contact the housing provider listed in the advertisement and request an appointment to meet with someone to discuss the rental housing that was advertised. You should always contact the housing provider by telephone unless the advertisement does not include a telephone number, in which case you will be directed to use e-mail or an electronic contact form. You need not make your appointment with any particular agent.

**At the outset of your telephone call, voicemail message, e-mail, or electronic contact, you must mention that you and your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse (depending on which one you are assigned) will be living in the unit.** You must refer to your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse by name at least once early in the Appointment Contact. If you refer to her or him again during the contact, use their name or the appropriate gender-specific pronoun (she, he, her, his, etc.).

Remember there are two key goals to keep in mind when contacting a housing provider:

1. Obtain information about all available housing that meets your needs
2. Request an appointment to view housing that meets your needs, although eventually you will cancel your scheduled appointment

**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](http://voice.google.com)
2. In the upper left-hand corner, 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.

To make a call with Google Voice from one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones:

1. Use one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones, and dial your Google Voice number.
2. When prompted, enter your pin number and press #
3. Follow the voice instructions to make an outgoing call by pressing 2
4. Dial the number you wish to call.
5. Google Voice will connect you.

To make a call with Google Voice from a telephone not associated with your Google Voice account:

1. Dial your Google Voice number from any phone.
2. When you reach your voice message, hit \*
3. When prompted, enter your pin.
4. You will be prompted to enter the forwarding phone number associated with your Google Voice account and then #.
5. To place a call, press 2.
6. Enter the phone number you'd like to dial followed by #.

### Completing telephone contact:

- If you cannot reach a housing provider on your first call, leave a message and wait up to 24 hours for a response. In your message, you must explain that you and your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner or spouse (depending on which you are assigned) will be living in the unit. You must refer to her or him by name at least once early in your voice message. If you refer to her or him again during the voice message, use their name or the appropriate gender-specific pronoun (she, he, her, his, etc.). You also will leave your assigned Google Voice number in your message. You must alert your Test Coordinator immediately after leaving a telephone message. If you do not receive a return call within 24 hours, you must call the housing provider again, but this time you should not leave a message. Once you make the second call, you should advise your Test Coordinator.
- If you reach the housing provider (or if the housing provider returns your call), you must explain that you and your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner or spouse (depending on which you are assigned) will be living in the unit. You must refer to your girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse by name early on in the conversation. If you refer to her or him again, use their name or the appropriate gender-specific pronoun (she, he, her, his, etc.).

**You will first inquire about the availability of Assigned Housing, explicitly referring to:**

A. The specific advertised unit (if applicable) from your *Rental Assignment Form*

AND

B. Any available units with your assigned number of bedrooms.

You will NOT explicitly mention a maximum rent, 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.* Obtain information about and make an appointment to view any unit(s) that meet your needs.

**Regardless of whether there are available units with your assigned number of bedrooms, you must ask the agent if there are any other units available.** Again, internally refer to your maximum rent, move-in date and minimum number of bedrooms to filter out which units meet your needs. Obtain information about and make an appointment to view any units that meet your needs:

- Have at least the minimum of bedrooms you are willing to consider;
- Are available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date.
- Are within your maximum rent; and

**Goal #1: Obtain information about available housing:**

There are **12 crucial pieces of information** you must obtain for every unit that meets your needs:

**Unit Information**

Whenever you are informed about rental housing that meets your needs (i.e., at least your minimum number of bedrooms, at or below your maximum rent, and available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date), you must document the following for each unit that you are told about:

1. Exact address
2. Floor number
3. Number of bedrooms
4. Lease length (ALL available lease lengths)
5. Date of availability

**Rent and Fees**

You must record the monthly rent amount based on a 12-month lease for each unit you are told about, as well as fees associated with moving in and renting the unit. Specifically, you must find out:

6. Rent (\$/month)
7. Security deposit (if any)
8. Other fees (if any)

**Utilities and Amenities**

You must ask about utilities. You should NOT ask about amenities (laundry room, gym, pool, roof deck, etc.); however, if you are told about any amenities, you should include them in your notes.

9. Which utilities are included in rent, if any (list)

**Application Process:**

10. Whether an application is required (Y/N)
11. Whether an application fee must accompany a completed application (Y/N, If yes, how much and is it per person or per household?)
12. Whether a credit check is required (Y/N)

**Goal #2: Request an appointment to view housing that meets your needs:**

If there is at least one unit that meets your needs (i.e. at least your minimum number of bedrooms, at or below your maximum rent, and available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date), you should request an appointment to meet with an agent to view units on the day/time assigned by your Test Coordinator. You will need to capture the following specific information about your appointment:

1. Day of the appointment
2. Date
3. Time
4. Name of person with whom you will meet
5. Address and meeting location (agent's office, a specific unit, other)

Notify your Test Coordinator of your appointment.

- **If the agent tells you that no rental housing is available that meets your needs**, thank the agent and ask for her or his name if you do not already have it. Notify the Test Coordinator after your contact with the agent.
- Some testers have reported that 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 document any message from a housing provider with either a Test Contact Form or a Follow-up Contact Form. If you ever have any questions about how to record a message, ask your Test Coordinator.
- 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.
- Once you have finished the test, notify your Test Coordinator, who will provide you with directions for cancelling your scheduled appointment with the housing provider.

If you are contacting a housing provider via e-mail/electronic contact, your Test Coordinator will provide you with approved text to use. After the initial e-mail/electronic contact, your interaction with a housing provider may proceed via e-mail or may continue on the telephone. Your Test Coordinator will provide you with additional instructions. Remember you must always use your HDS-LGT e-mail address for all contact with housing providers



## INSTRUCTIONS FOR HDS-LGT APPOINTMENT CONTACTS – TRANSGENDER IN-PERSON TESTS

### WHEN APPOINTMENT CONTACT IS REQUIRED

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](http://voice.google.com)
2. In the upper left-hand corner, 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.

To make a call with Google Voice from one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones:

1. Use one of your Google Voice forwarding telephones, and dial your Google Voice number.
2. When prompted, enter your pin number and press #
3. Follow the voice instructions to make an outgoing call by pressing 2
4. Dial the number you wish to call.
5. Google Voice will connect you.

To make a call with Google Voice from a telephone not associated with your Google Voice account:

1. Dial your Google Voice number from any phone.
2. When you reach your voice message, hit \*
3. When prompted, enter your pin.
4. You will be prompted to enter the forwarding phone number associated with your Google Voice account and then #.
5. To place a call, press 2.
6. Enter the phone number you'd like to dial followed by #.

NOTE: Transgender testers will NOT explicitly convey they are transgender during appointment contact, either over the telephone or e-mail. Testers will wait to convey their transgender identity until meeting with an agent in-person.

- When you are assigned to make appointment contact on a test, please contact the housing provider listed in the advertisement and request an appointment to meet with someone to discuss the advertised rental housing. You should always contact the housing provider by telephone unless the advertisement does not feature a telephone number, in which case you will be directed to use e-mail or an electronic contact form. You need not make your appointment with any particular agent.
- If you cannot reach a housing provider on your first call, leave a message and wait up to 24 hours for a response. You will leave your assigned Google Voice number in your message. You must alert your Test Coordinator immediately after leaving a telephone message. If you do not receive a return call within 24 hours, you must call the housing provider again, but this time you should not leave a message. Once you make the second call, you should advise your Test Coordinator.
- If you reach the housing provider (or if the housing provider returns your call), express interest in and ask for an appointment to view the specific advertised unit from your *Rental Assignment Form* as well as any available units with your assigned number of bedrooms. If the housing provider agrees to show you an available unit, thank the agent and schedule an appointment. If a housing provider suggests that you view other units in addition to the advertised unit, express interest in viewing units that meet your needs as dictated by your Assigned Housing characteristics.
- If the agent informs you that there are no units with your assigned number of bedrooms, ask the agent if there are any other units available, and make an appointment to view any unit(s) that:
  - » Have at least the minimum of bedrooms you are willing to consider;
  - » Since you will always portray the role of a person who will be living alone, your minimum number of bedrooms will always be zero (i.e., a studio apartment)
  - » Are within your maximum rent; and
  - » Are available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date.

Notify your Test Coordinator of your appointment.

- If the agent tells you that no rental housing is available that meets your needs, thank the agent and ask for her or his name if you do not already have it. Notify the Test Coordinator after your contact with the agent.
- If possible, avoid having an extended or lengthy conversation about rental housing options, your qualifications, or your housing needs over the telephone. If necessary, you can always say that you are pressed for time and that you would prefer to discuss these details when you visit the office.
- Some testers have reported that 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 document any message from a housing provider with either an *Appointment Contact Form* or a *Follow-Up Contact Form*. If you ever have any questions about how to record a message, ask your Test Coordinator.

- 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/electronic contact form:**

- If your Test Coordinator authorizes you to e-mail or electronically contact the housing provider, send only one e-mail from your assigned HDS e-mail account. Alert your Test Coordinator so that the e-mail account can be monitored.
- Use the text or language that has been provided to you by your Test Coordinator, and inquire about making an appointment to view the advertised rental housing from your *Rental Assignment Form*. If the housing provider agrees to show you the advertised unit, thank the agent and schedule an appointment. If a housing provider suggests that you view other units in addition to the advertised unit, express interest in viewing units that meet your needs as dictated by your Assigned Housing characteristics. Notify your Test Coordinator of the appointment.
- If the agent informs you that the advertised unit is not available, ask the agent if there are any other units available, and make an appointment to view any unit(s) that:
  - » Have at least the minimum of bedrooms you are willing to consider;
  - » Since you will always portray the role of a person who will be living alone, your minimum number of bedrooms will always be zero (i.e., a studio apartment)
  - » Are within your maximum rent; and
  - » Are available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date.
  - » Notify your Test Coordinator of the appointment.

**For ALL Appointment Contact:**

- If you are able to make an appointment, please remember to obtain the exact date and time of your appointment along with the name of the person who will be meeting with you (if applicable). Also, make sure you have the exact address and directions to the rental office.
- Record every contact you make as part of your effort to obtain an appointment on the *Appointment Contact Form*.

## **INSTRUCTIONS FOR HDS-LGT IN-PERSON SITE VISITS – TRANSGENDER IN-PERSON TESTS:**

NOTE: All transgender testers will explicitly convey they are transgender at the beginning of their in-person meeting with an agent. You should explain that if you were to submit an application, you would complete it under the name and gender you were assigned at birth. If a housing provider asks questions related to your gender identity, you should respond willingly and truthfully to questions those about your gender identity but you do not need to respond to questions about transitioning or your body. Keep your responses brief and to-the-point; a simple “yes” or “that’s personal” will suffice. Do not, however, prolong the conversation by offering additional details about your gender identity, other than what you have been instructed to convey by your Test Coordinator.

- If you are dropping into a rental office, you will first inquire about the availability of Assigned Housing, explicitly referring to:

A. The specific advertisement (if applicable) listed on your Rental Assignment Form

AND

B. Your assigned number of bedrooms

- If you scheduled an appointment always inquire about and ask to view the housing you discussed during your appointment call.
- Additionally (for either approach), you must ALWAYS ask about the availability of other units with your assigned housing characteristics.
- Assigned Housing includes units that:
  - » Have at least the minimum number of bedrooms you are willing to consider;
  - » Since you will always portray the role of a person who will be living alone, your minimum number of bedrooms will always be zero (i.e., a studio apartment)
  - » Are within your maximum rent; and
  - » Are available up to 7 days before or after your assigned move-in date.

### **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 that meets your needs (i.e., number of bedrooms, maximum rent, and date of availability) during a rental visit.

### **Unit Information**

1. Exact address
2. Unit number
3. Floor number
4. Number of bedrooms
5. Lease length (ALL available lease lengths)
6. Date of availability

### **Rent and Fees**

You must record the monthly rent amount based on a 12-month lease for each unit you’re told about, as well as fees associated with moving in and renting the unit. Specifically, you must find out:

7. Rent (\$/month)
8. Security deposit (if any)
9. Other fees (if any)

### **Utilities and Amenities**

You must ask about utilities. You should NOT ask about amenities (laundry room, gym, pool, roof deck, etc.); however, if you are told about any amenities, you should include them in your notes.

10. Which utilities are included in rent, if any (list)

### **Application Process:**

11. Whether an application is required (Y/N)
  12. Whether an application fee must accompany a completed application (Y/N, If yes, how much and is it per person or per household?)
  13. Whether a credit check is required (Y/N)
- 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 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



## 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 email response stating recipient is unavailable  
 Outside of target area for MSA  
 Duplicate ad  
 Homes/condos for sale  
 Located on Indian land (e.g., reservations, Rancherias, etc.)  
 Housing for older persons  
 Testers have already visited housing provider  
 Another reason approved by Director of Field Operations  
 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
- Met weekly goal prior to reaching housing provider/obtaining housing info
- LG Tests: same housing provider tested twice in two weeks
- T Tests: housing provider already tested

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

No

Delete this record (for TC use only)

Yes

No



# APPOINTMENT CONTACT FORM – LESBIAN AND GAY MALE IN-PERSON TESTS

Tester ID: \_\_\_\_\_  
Control Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
Appointment Contact Form Sequence: \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

Who initiated contact?  Tester  
 Housing Provider

Name of housing provider, if given: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of contact:  Phone  
 E-mail  
 Text Message  
 Electronic Contact Form

Phone number of housing provider  
(If called/text messaged only): \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail address of housing provider (if e-mailed only): \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

## SECTION 2: DISPOSITION OF CONTACT

Was appointment scheduled?  NO  
 YES, appointment was scheduled  
 YES, appointment was confirmed (previously scheduled)

- If appointment was NOT scheduled, why not?  No answer; left message
- No answer/kept ringing/voicemail full; was not able to leave message
- No answer; did not leave message (2<sup>nd</sup> call attempt)
- Was hung up on
- Dropped call
- Wrong number/number no longer in service
- Left message with a person who did not have information
- Told housing provider will call back
- Told to call back later
- No units were available/nothing to show
- Housing provider refused to make appointment
- Housing provider cancelled appointment; suggested rescheduling
- Housing provider cancelled appointment; did not reschedule
- No response within 24 hours to e-mail inquiry sent
- Told to call a different location
- Other
- If other, please specify:
- \_\_\_\_\_

For testers who are lesbian or gay only:

When you conveyed your sexual orientation to the agent, please indicate what language you used to reference your partner/spouse:

- Partner
- Boyfriend
- Girlfriend
- Husband
- Wife

After you conveyed your sexual orientation to the agent, were you told that there were no units available, were you unable to obtain rental information for a unit(s), or did the agent hang up?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**If an appointment was scheduled/confirmed, complete below:**

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

Date (mm/dd/yyyy):                    \_/\_/\_\_\_

Time (hh:mm):                            \_:\_\_

AM or PM:                                AM  
    PM

Name of person you have arranged to meet with: \_\_\_\_\_

Location to meet (housing provider's office, address of specific home, other):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Additional Information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

General comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 3: FORM SUBMISSION**

This form is complete:                Yes  
    No

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

# SITE VISIT REPORT FORM – LESBIAN AND GAY MALE IN-PERSON TESTS

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: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Perceived gender:  Male  
 Female  
 Transgender  
 Don't Know

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

Perceived Sexual Orientation:  Lesbian/Gay  
 Heterosexual  
 Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:  Yes  
 No

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Position: \_\_\_\_\_

Perceived Race/Ethnicity:

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Don't Know
- Other

Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Transgender
- Don't Know

Age Group:

- 18-30
- 31-45
- 46-65
- Over 65

Perceived Sexual Orientation:

- Lesbian/Gay
- Heterosexual
- Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:

- No
- Yes

Name:

---

Position:

---

Perceived Race/Ethnicity:

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Don't Know
- Other

Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Transgender
- Don't Know

Age Group:

- 18-30
- 31-45
- 46-65
- Over 65

Perceived Sexual Orientation:

- Lesbian/Gay
- Heterosexual
- Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:

No

Yes

Were you able to meet with an agent to discuss housing options?

Yes

No

If No, why not?

\_\_\_\_\_

If Yes, please complete the following:

Did you meet with the agent:

In a group (i.e., with at least one other homeseeker)

Individually (i.e., one-on-one)

Did you clearly convey your sexual orientation to the agent with whom you discussed housing before the agent conveyed housing information to you?

Yes

No

If No, why not?

\_\_\_\_\_

Please describe how and when you conveyed your sexual orientation:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please indicate what language you used to reference your partner/spouse:

- Partner
- Boyfriend
- Girlfriend
- Husband
- Wife

#### SECTION 4: AVAILABILITY OF UNITS

How many TOTAL units were you told were available that had at least your minimum number of bedrooms, were available when you need them, and were below your maximum rent?

\_\_\_\_\_

How many TOTAL units did you inspect? \_\_\_\_\_  
(Model units inspected may be included in this total.)

How many actual available units were inspected? \_\_\_\_\_

How many model units or other units (similar to the actual available unit) were inspected?

\_\_\_\_\_

If no units were available, were you offered to be placed on a waiting list?

- Yes
- No

After you conveyed your sexual orientation to the agent, were you told that there were no units available or were you unable to obtain rental information for a unit(s)?

- Yes
- No

#### 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	Exchanged in earlier contact	Agent did not obtain
a. Your marital status				
b. Your household size and composition				
c. Your or spouse's income				
d. Your or spouse's source of income				
e. Your or spouse's occupation				
f. Your or spouse's length of employment				
g. Your credit standing				
h. Your rent history				
i. Your address/phone number				
j. Other:				

If Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 7: COMMENTS**

**Did the agent comment on any of the following, and if so, what was the nature of the comment?**

Your qualifications to rent (i.e., renters insurance, income verification, etc.)?

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Race or ethnicity?

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Your household/household composition?  Yes  
 No

If yes, what was the comment? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Persons who are lesbian, gay or transgender?  Yes  
 No

If yes, what was the 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)

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

# AVAILABLE RENTAL UNIT FORM – LESBIAN AND GAY MALE IN-PERSON TESTS

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 to 50 Units  
 Apartment Building - 51 or more Units  
 Single-Family Home  
 Mobile Home  
 Not sure/Don't Know

How many floors are in the building? \_\_\_\_\_  
On which floor is the available unit located? \_\_\_\_\_

Number of bedrooms:  Studio  
 1 bedroom  
 1 bedroom & den  
 2 bedrooms  
 2 bedrooms & den  
 3 bedrooms  
 4 bedrooms  
 Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of bathrooms: \_\_\_\_\_  
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?

Yes – choice of security deposit or

surety bond

Yes – security deposit

Yes – surety bond

No

If yes, please report the amount accordingly:

Security deposit amount  
Surety bond amount

---

---



Were you told about any additional mandatory fees?  Yes

No

Name of first mandatory fee:

General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of fee

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of second mandatory fee:

General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

One-time/annual

Amount of fee  Monthly  
\_\_\_\_\_

Name of third mandatory fee:  General admin/processing/ fee

- Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee
- Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)
- Application fee (total per household)
- Cleaning/pest control fee
- Credit/background check fee
- HOA/condo fee
- Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee
- Key/lock/access fee
- Parking/garage fee
- Maintenance fee
- Move-in fee (total per household)
- Mandatory renter's insurance
- Township/village/borough fee
- Other

If other, please specify:  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

Monthly  
Amount of fee \_\_\_\_\_

**Incentives: Please carefully record all incentives related to renting this available unit.**

Were you told about any incentives available to you if you decide to apply and rent the unit right away?

*(Do not include incentives available if you refer a friend or if you rent the apartment before your assigned move-in date. If the agent offered a free month's rent amortized over the length of the lease, record this only as a free month's rent.)*

Yes

No

Name of first incentive:

Gift card/cash back

Reduced/waived admin/processing fee

Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Reduced/waived amenity fee

Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)

Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee

Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)

Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee

Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)

Reduced/waived maintenance fee

Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)

Reduced/waived parking/garage fee

Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond

Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee

Rent (free months)

Rent (monthly reduction)

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive:

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of second incentive:

- Gift card/cash back
- Reduced/waived admin/processing fee
- Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

- Reduced/waived amenity fee
- Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee
- Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)
- Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee
- Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)
- Reduced/waived maintenance fee
- Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived parking/garage fee
- Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond
- Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee
- Rent (free months)
- Rent (monthly reduction)

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?

- One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive:

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of third incentive:

- Gift card/cash back
- Reduced/waived admin/processing fee
- Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

- Reduced/waived amenity fee
- Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee
- Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)
- Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee
- Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)
- Reduced/waived maintenance fee
- Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived parking/garage fee
- Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond
- Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee
- Rent (free months)
- Rent (monthly reduction)

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive:

\_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 3: COMMENTS**

Did the housing provider make any of the following comments about the building and/or surrounding neighborhood?

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

Any other comments about this particular unit/building?  Yes  
 No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 5: FORM SUBMISSION**

General comments

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

This form is complete  Yes  
 No

Delete this record (TC use only)  Yes  
 No



# FOLLOW-UP CONTACT FORM – LESBIAN AND GAY MALE IN-PERSON TESTS

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



## 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 email response stating recipient is unavailable  
 Outside of target area for MSA  
 Duplicate ad  
 Homes/condos for sale  
 Located on Indian land (e.g., reservations, Rancherias, etc.)  
 Housing for older persons  
 Testers have already visited housing provider  
 Another reason approved by Director of Field Operations  
 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
- Met weekly goal prior to reaching housing provider/obtaining housing info
- LG Tests: same housing provider tested twice in two weeks
- T Tests: housing provider already tested

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

No

Delete this record (for TC use only)

Yes

No

## TEST CONTACT FORM – LESBIAN AND GAY MALE REMOTE TESTS

Tester ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Control Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Appointment Contact Form Sequence:  
\_\_\_\_\_

### SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

Who initiated contact?  Tester initiated to conduct test

Tester initiated to cancel appointment

Housing provider

Type of contact:

Phone

E-mail

Text Message

Electronic Contact Form

Day of the Week Contact was Attempted:

Monday

Tuesday

Wednesday

Thursday

Friday

Saturday

Sunday

Date (mm/dd/yyyy):

\_\_\_/\_\_\_/\_\_\_

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

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

Yes

No

- If no, why not?  No answer; left message
- No answer/kept ringing/voicemail full; was not able to leave message
- No answer; did not leave message (2<sup>nd</sup> call attempt)
- Was hung up on before disclosure of sexual orientation
- Was hung up on after disclosure of sexual orientation
- Dropped call
- Wrong number/number no longer in service
- Left message with a person who did not have information
- Told housing provider will call back
- Told to call back later
- No response within 24 hours to e-mail inquiry sent
- Told to call a different location
- Other
- If other, please specify:
- \_\_\_\_\_

### SECTION 3: FORM SUBMISSION

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

## TEST REPORT FORM – LESBIAN AND GAY MALE REMOTE TESTS

Site: \_\_\_\_\_  
CONTROL #: \_\_\_\_\_  
TESTER ID NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

### SECTION 1: INFORMATION ABOUT HOUSING PROVIDER

Did you clearly convey your sexual orientation to the person you reached at the beginning of the call and/or phone/email message?  Yes  
 No

Please indicate what language you used to reference your partner/spouse:

Partner  Boyfriend  
 Girlfriend  
 Husband  
 Wife

Did you obtain information about housing?  Yes  
 No

If not, why not?  Agent suggested we communicate in person  
 Agent/person contacted was not knowledgeable about the details of any available housing  
 Other

If other, specify

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### Information on persons with whom you had contact:

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Position: \_\_\_\_\_

Perceived Race/Ethnicity:

White  
 Black  
 Hispanic  
 Asian/Pacific Islander



- American Indian
- Don't Know
- Other

Perceived Gender:

- M
- F

Age Group:

- 18-30
- 31-45
- 46-65
- Over 65

Perceived Sexual Orientation:

- Lesbian/Gay
- Heterosexual
- Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:

- Yes
- No

Name:

Position:

---

---

Perceived Race/Ethnicity:

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Don't Know
- Other

Perceived Gender:

- M
- F

Age Group:

- 18-30
- 31-45
- 46-65

Over 65

Perceived Sexual Orientation:

- Lesbian/Gay
- Heterosexual
- Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:

- Yes
- No

Name:

Position:

---

---

Perceived Race/Ethnicity:

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Don't Know
- Other

Perceived Gender:

- M
- F

Age Group:

- 18-30
- 31-45
- 46-65
- Over 65

Perceived Sexual Orientation:

- Lesbian/Gay
- Heterosexual
- Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:

- Yes
- No

## SECTION 2: AVAILABILITY OF UNITS

How many TOTAL units were you told were available that had at least your minimum number of bedrooms, were available when you need them, and were below your maximum rent?

\_\_\_\_\_

If no units were available, were you offered to be placed on a waiting list?

Yes

No

After you conveyed your sexual orientation to the agent, were you told that there were no units available or were you unable to obtain rental information?

Yes

No

### SECTION 3: 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 offer to send you a copy of the rental application?

Yes  
 No

**SECTION 4: QUALIFICATIONS**

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 and composition			
c. Your or spouse's income			
d. Your or spouse's source of income			
e. Your or spouse's occupation			
f. Your or your spouse's employer			
g. Your or spouse's length of employment			
h. Your credit standing			
i. Your rent history			
j. Your address/phone number			
k. Other:			

If Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 5: COMMENTS**

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

Your qualifications to rent (i.e., renters insurance, income verification, etc.)?

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment:  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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:

\_\_\_\_\_

Your household/household composition ?

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment:

\_\_\_\_\_

Persons who are lesbian, gay or transgender?

- Yes
- No

If yes, record agent's comment:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Did the housing provider make any of the following comments about the building(s) and/or surrounding neighborhood(s) of any of the available units?

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 6: APPOINTMENT INFORMATION**

Were you able to obtain an appointment?  NO  
 YES, appointment was scheduled  
 YES, appointment was confirmed (previously scheduled)

If appointment was NOT scheduled, why not?  No units were available/nothing to show  
 Agent hung up/refused to schedule appt/did not recommend the unit(s)  
 Housing provider cancelled appointment; suggested rescheduling  
 Housing provider cancelled appointment; did not reschedule  
 Leasing office/agent too busy within the upcoming week  
 Other  
If other, specify

\_\_\_\_\_

After you conveyed your sexual orientation to the agent, were you told that there were no units available, were you unable to obtain rental information for a unit(s), or did the agent hang up?

Yes  
 No

If yes, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If you were able to obtain an appointment, please complete the section below.

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 specific address:  
\_\_\_\_\_



**SECTION 7: FORM SUBMISSION**

This form is complete:

\_\_\_\_\_

Yes

No

**AVAILABLE RENTAL UNIT FORM - LESBIAN AND GAY MALE REMOTE TESTS**

Control Number:

Tester ID Number:

Available Unit Form Sequence:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT AVAILABLE UNIT**

Address of Available Unit

Number and Street

Floor Number

City

State

Zip Code

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Type of Building:

Apartment Building - 4 or Fewer Units

Apartment Building - 5 to 50 Units

Apartment Building - 51 or more Units

Single-Family Home

Mobile Home

Not sure/Don't Know

Number of bedrooms:

Studio

1 bedroom

1 bedroom & den

2 bedrooms

2 bedrooms & den

3 bedrooms

4 bedrooms

Other

If Other, specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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?  Yes – choice of security deposit or surety bond

Yes – security deposit

Yes – surety bond

No

If yes, please report the amount accordingly:

Security deposit amount

\_\_\_\_\_

Surety bond amount

\_\_\_\_\_

Were you told about any additional mandatory fees?  Yes

No

Name of first mandatory fee:

General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of fee

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of second mandatory fee:

General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of fee

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of third mandatory fee:

General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of fee

\_\_\_\_\_

**Incentives: Please carefully record all incentives related to renting this available unit.**

Were you told about any incentives available to you if you decide to apply and rent the unit right away?

*(Do not include incentives available if you refer a friend or if you rent the apartment before your assigned move-in date. If the agent offered a free month's rent amortized over the length of the lease, record this only as a free month's rent.)*

Yes

No

Name of first incentive:

Gift card/cash back

Reduced/waived admin/processing fee

Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Reduced/waived amenity fee

Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)

Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee

Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)

Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee

Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)

Reduced/waived maintenance fee

Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)

Reduced/waived parking/garage fee

Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond

Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee

Rent (free months)

Rent (monthly reduction)

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive:

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of first incentive:

Gift card/cash back

Reduced/waived admin/processing fee

Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Reduced/waived amenity fee

Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)

Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee

- Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)
- Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee
- Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)
- Reduced/waived maintenance fee
- Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived parking/garage fee
- Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond
- Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee
- Rent (free months)
- Rent (monthly reduction)
- Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

- Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?  One-time/annual  
 Monthly

Amount of incentive: \_\_\_\_\_

- Name of first incentive:  Gift card/cash back  
 Reduced/waived admin/processing fee  
 Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

- Reduced/waived amenity fee
- Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee
- Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)
- Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee
- Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)
- Reduced/waived maintenance fee
- Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived parking/garage fee
- Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond
- Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee
- Rent (free months)
- Rent (monthly reduction)
- Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive:

\_\_\_\_\_

### SECTION 3: COMMENTS

Any 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 – LESBIAN AND GAY MALE REMOTE TESTS

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

Name of tester or alias  
\_\_\_\_\_

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 to confirm  
appointment  Yes  No

Personal message from housing provider to cancel  
scheduled appointment  Yes  No

Personal message from housing provider to confirm cancellation of appointment by tester  Yes  No

Personal message from housing provider wanting to know if tester would like to reschedule appointment  Yes  No

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



## 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 email response stating recipient is unavailable  
 Outside of target area for MSA  
 Duplicate ad  
 Homes/condos for sale  
 Located on Indian land (e.g., reservations, Rancherias, etc.)  
 Housing for older persons  
 Testers have already visited housing provider  
 Another reason approved by Director of Field Operations  
 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
- Met weekly goal prior to reaching housing provider/obtaining housing info
- LG Tests: same housing provider tested twice in two weeks
- T Tests: housing provider already tested

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  
 No

Delete this record (for TC use only)  Yes  
 No

## APPOINTMENT CONTACT FORM – TRANSGENDER IN-PERSON TESTS

Tester ID: \_\_\_\_\_  
Control Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
Appointment Contact Form Sequence:  
\_\_\_\_\_

### SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

Who initiated contact?  Tester  
 Housing Provider

Name of housing provider, if given: \_\_\_\_\_

Type of contact:  Phone  
 E-mail  
 Text Message  
 Electronic Contact Form

Phone number of housing provider  
(If called/text messaged only): \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail address of housing provider (if e-mailed only): \_\_\_\_\_

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

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

Time (hh:mm): \_\_\_\_:\_\_\_\_

AM or PM:  AM  
 PM

### SECTION 2: DISPOSITION OF CONTACT

Was appointment scheduled?  NO  
 YES, appointment was scheduled  
 YES, appointment was confirmed (previously scheduled)

- If appointment was NOT scheduled, why not?  No answer; left message
- No answer/kept ringing/voicemail full; was not able to leave message
- No answer; did not leave message (2<sup>nd</sup> call attempt)
- Was hung up on
- Dropped call
- Wrong number/number no longer in service
- Left message with a person who did not have information
- Told housing provider will call back
- Told to call back later
- No units were available/nothing to show
- Housing provider refused to make appointment
- Housing provider cancelled appointment; suggested rescheduling
- Housing provider cancelled appointment; did not reschedule
- No response within 24 hours to e-mail inquiry sent
- Told to call a different location
- Other
- If other, please specify:
- \_\_\_\_\_

**If an appointment was scheduled/confirmed, complete below:**

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

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): \_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_

Time (hh:mm): \_\_\_\_\_:\_\_\_\_\_

AM or PM:  AM

PM

Name of person you have arranged to meet with: \_\_\_\_\_

Location to meet (housing provider's office, address of specific home, other):

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Additional Information:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



**SECTION 3: FORM SUBMISSION**

This form is complete:  Yes  
 No

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

**SITE VISIT REPORT FORM – TRANSGENDER IN-PERSON TESTS**

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:**

Did you have a scheduled appointment or did you drop in?  
 Appointment  
 Drop-in

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

Appointment Time (if applicable - 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: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Perceived Gender:  
 Male  
 Female  
 Transgender/gender non-conforming  
 Don't know

uhnjiAge Group:  
 18-30  
 31-45

- 46-65
- Over 65

Perceived Sexual Orientation:

- Lesbian/Gay
- Heterosexual
- Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:

- Yes
- No

Name:

---

Position:

---

Perceived Race/Ethnicity:

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- American Indian
- Don't Know
- Other

Perceived Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Transgender/gender non-conforming
- Don't know

Age Group:

- 18-30
- 31-45
- 46-65
- Over 65

Perceived Sexual Orientation:

- Lesbian/Gay
- Heterosexual
- Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:  Yes  
 No

Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Position: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Perceived Gender:  Male  
 Female  
 Transgender/gender non-conforming  
 Don't know

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

Perceived Sexual Orientation:  Lesbian/Gay  
 Heterosexual  
 Don't Know

Primary Person who provided info:  
 Yes  
 No

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

If No, why not? \_\_\_\_\_

If Yes, please complete the following:

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

*For transgender testers only:*

For safety reasons or otherwise, was it necessary for you to prematurely end your site visit prior to obtaining all necessary information about available housing?  Yes  
 No

If Yes, please describe: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

For this test, were you instructed by your Test Coordinator to clearly convey your transgender identity to the agent?  Yes  
 No

If Yes: did you clearly convey your transgender identity to the agent with whom you discussed housing?  
 Yes  
 No

If No, why not? \_\_\_\_\_

If Yes, Please describe how you conveyed your transgender identity:

\_\_\_\_\_  
At what point in the conversation did you convey your transgender identity to the agent?  
 At the outset of the meeting, prior to discussing available housing  
 After discussing available housing  
 While inspecting available units  
 After inspecting available units  
 Other

If Other, please specify:  
\_\_\_\_\_

Did the agent ask about or make reference to your gender/gender expression/transgender identity, or misconstrue your gender during the course of your meeting?  
 Yes  
 No

If Yes, please describe what the agent said. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If Yes, please also describe how you responded to the agent's inquiry or reference, or if you corrected the agent about your gender/gender expression/transgender identity.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

At what point in the conversation did the agent ask about or make reference to gender/gender expression/transgender identity, or misconstrue your gender?

- At the outset of the meeting, prior to discussing available housing
- After discussing available housing
- While inspecting available units
- After inspecting available units
- Other

If Other, please specify:  
\_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 4: AVAILABILITY OF UNITS**

How many TOTAL units were you told were available that had at least your minimum number of bedrooms, were available when you need them, and were below your maximum rent?

\_\_\_\_\_

How many TOTAL units did you inspect? \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Model units inspected may be included in this total.)*

How many actual available units were inspected? \_\_\_\_\_

How many model units or other units (similar to the actual available unit) were inspected?

\_\_\_\_\_

If no units were available, were you offered to be placed on a waiting list?

- Yes
- No

*For transgender testers only:*

After you conveyed your transgender identity to the agent, were you told that there were no units available or were you unable to obtain rental information for a unit(s)?

Yes

No

For safety reasons or otherwise, was it necessary for you to prematurely end your site visit prior to obtaining all necessary information about available housing?

Yes

No

If Yes, please describe:

---

---

### 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	Exchanged in earlier contact	Agent did not obtain
a. Your marital status				
b. Your household size and composition				
c. Your income				
d. Your source of income				
e. Your occupation				
f. Your length of employment				
g. Your credit standing				
h. Your rent history				
i. Your address/phone number				
j. Other:				

If Other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 7: COMMENTS**

**Did the agent comment on any of the following, and if so, what was the nature of the comment?**

Your qualifications to rent (i.e., renters insurance, income verification, etc.)?

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Race or ethnicity?

Yes



No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Your household/household composition ?

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Your gender identity?

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Persons who are lesbian, gay or transgender?

Yes

No

If yes, what was the 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)

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

## AVAILABLE RENTAL UNIT FORM – TRANSGENDER IN-PERSON TESTS

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 to 50 Units  
 Apartment Building - 51 or more Units  
 Single-Family Home  
 Mobile Home  
 Not sure/Don't Know

How many floors are in the building? \_\_\_\_\_  
On which floor is the available unit located? \_\_\_\_\_

Number of bedrooms:  Studio  
 1 bedroom  
 1 bedroom & den  
 2 bedrooms  
 2 bedrooms & den  
 3 bedrooms  
 4 bedrooms  
 Other

If other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of bathrooms: \_\_\_\_\_  
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?  Yes – choice of security deposit or surety bond

Yes – security deposit

Yes – surety bond

No

If yes, please report the amount accordingly:

Security deposit amount \_\_\_\_\_

Surety bond amount \_\_\_\_\_

Were you told about any additional mandatory fees?  Yes

No

Name of first mandatory fee:  General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Monthly

Amount of fee \_\_\_\_\_

Name of second mandatory fee:  General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of fee

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of third mandatory fee:

General admin/processing/ fee

Agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Amenity fee (access to gym, pool, etc.)

Application fee (total per household)

Cleaning/pest control fee

Credit/background check fee

HOA/condo fee

Fee to hold housing off the market/reservation fee

Key/lock/access fee

Parking/garage fee

Maintenance fee

Move-in fee (total per household)

Mandatory renter's insurance

Township/village/borough fee

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

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

One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of fee

\_\_\_\_\_

**Incentives: Please carefully record all incentives related to renting this available unit.**

Were you told about any incentives available to you if you decide to apply and rent the unit right away?

*(Do not include incentives available if you refer a friend or if you rent the apartment before your assigned move-in date. If the agent offered a free month's rent amortized over the length of the lease, record this only as a free month's rent.)*

Yes

No

Name of first incentive:

- Gift card/cash back
- Reduced/waived admin/processing fee
- Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

- Reduced/waived amenity fee
- Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee
- Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)
- Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee
- Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)
- Reduced/waived maintenance fee
- Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived parking/garage fee
- Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond
- Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee
- Rent (free months)
- Rent (monthly reduction)
- Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?

- One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive:

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of first incentive:

- Gift card/cash back
- Reduced/waived admin/processing fee
- Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

- Reduced/waived amenity fee
- Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee
- Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)
- Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee
- Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)
- Reduced/waived maintenance fee
- Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)
- Reduced/waived parking/garage fee
- Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond
- Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee

- Rent (free months)
- Rent (monthly reduction)
- Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?  One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of first incentive:

Gift card/cash back

Reduced/waived admin/processing fee

Reduced/waived

agent's/Broker's/Realtor's/ALS fee

Reduced/waived amenity fee

Reduced/waived application fee (total per household)

Reduced/waived cleaning/pest control fee

Reduced/waived credit/background check fee (separate from application fee)

Reduced/waived HOA/condo fee

Reduced/waived key/lock/access fee (for first set)

Reduced/waived maintenance fee

Reduced/waived move-in fee (total per household)

Reduced/waived parking/garage fee

Reduced/waived security deposit/security bond

Reduced/waived township/village/borough fee

Rent (free months)

Rent (monthly reduction)

Other

If other, please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_

Is this a one-time/annual or monthly incentive?  One-time/annual

Monthly

Amount of incentive: \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION 3: COMMENTS**

Did the housing provider make any of the following comments about the building and/or surrounding neighborhood?

Noise

Quiet

Noisy

No comment



Safety  
 Dangerous / high crime  
 No comment

Safe / low crime

Schools  
 Poor  
 No comment

Good

Maintenance / Services  
 Poor Services / Amenities  
 No comment

Good Services / Amenities

Any other comments about this particular unit/building?

Yes

No

If yes, what was the comment?

---

---

## SECTION 5: FORM SUBMISSION

General comments

---

---

---

This form is complete

Yes

No

Delete this record (TC use only)

Yes

No



## FOLLOW-UP CONTACT FORM – TRANSGENDER IN-PERSON TESTS

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 D. Focus Group Discussions on Housing Search Methods

During the summer of 2014, the Urban Institute facilitated focus groups for lesbians, gay men, transgender individuals, and heterosexuals to learn about their housing search processes. Participants were asked about the sources they use to find housing, whether and how they limit their search to specific neighborhoods or other geographic areas, how they identify themselves to a housing provider (including their gender status and sexual orientation), and whether they ever encounter discrimination during their search process. Participants in the six focus groups were diverse in race, ethnicity, and age and included 5 lesbians, 6 gay men, 19 transgender and gender queer people, 5 heterosexual women, and 4 heterosexual men. All participants had recently or were currently looking for housing in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area. The following sections summarize the research team's findings based on participants' responses.

## D.1. Sources and Strategies for a Housing Search

Focus group participants listed a variety of sources for use in their housing search. Most participants, across all groups, said they use only online sources for housing advertisements, but a few said they check print newspapers, specifically the *Washington City Paper*. The *Washington Post*, Apartment Showcase, craigslist.org, Facebook, the *Washington Blade*, and Roommates.com were cited as useful online sources. Most focus group participants stated that craigslist.org was a key source but with caveats. For example, participants said they have to weed through a large number of advertisements, some of which are spam or repeat ads. Also, they said they might encounter scams when searching on craigslist.org. Participants recommended that someone searching for legitimate housing on craigslist.org should stay away from advertisements without photos or prices, and that if it seems too good to be true, it probably is. Walking around a neighborhood to look for “for rent” signs and using social networks and “word of mouth” also were cited as important strategies for finding housing options.

Many participants across all groups said that, when visiting available housing, they brought someone along with them to provide a second opinion on the quality of the housing and the neighborhood and for safety reasons, which was specifically mentioned by lesbians, transgender women, and heterosexual women. Transgender participants indicated that, in most cases, they looked for shared housing because it was the only way to afford living in the city. Participants also looked for advertisements that indicate housing is “trans friendly” or “queer friendly” so they know the housing is a safe space for them to reside.

Participants said many listings for shared housing indicate a preference for roommates of a particular gender. One participant came across an advertisement that read “no transgenders.”

## D.2. Important Neighborhood Qualities

Most focus group participants indicated that they look for certain qualities or traits in a neighborhood. Many cited their interest in living in the city, although some said the inflated cost of living in Washington, DC, was prohibitive. Whether participants searched for housing in Washington, DC, or the surrounding areas, most of them wanted to find housing that was affordable in a neighborhood that was relatively safe. Many participants who do not own a vehicle said public transit access was an important factor for choosing a neighborhood, as were walkability and neighborhood amenities. Participants listed several strategies they used to learn about the qualities or characteristics of a neighborhood, including talking to friends, family, and coworkers; searching Yelp for apartment reviews; and visiting the neighborhood in which an advertised unit is located during both the day and at night to see if noticeable differences in activity are present.

Safety was cited across the board as an important factor in determining where to look for available housing, particularly for lesbians, transgender individuals, and heterosexual women. Building safety was particularly important, and participants said they look for controlled building access. Some participants indicated that they look for housing only in areas perceived as safe and avoid neighborhoods or areas that participants said have “a bad reputation” or where drugs or visible drug users are visible. One gay male participant indicated that he wanted a neighborhood where his sexual orientation would allow him to “fit in.” One transgender participant said that it is better to live in Washington, DC, than in the suburbs, because DC has more health service organizations and legal protections for lesbians, gay men, and transgender people. Transgender participants also said that a safe *and* diverse neighborhood would be preferred to avoid “standing out.” Transgender participants discussed being at a high risk for violence because they are transgender.

## D.3. Self-Identification

Whether a participant would identify openly as a lesbian, gay male, or transgender individual to a housing provider during a housing search greatly differed across the focus groups. Most gay male participants indicated they would have no problem identifying as gay to a housing provider and would not want to live in an area or a housing complex where they would feel uncomfortable being out. Lesbian and heterosexual female participants were a little more safety conscious when asked about how much information they would

initially provide to a housing provider or if they would feel comfortable conveying their sexual orientation to an agent. Most agreed that they would share only the personal information they had to, although one lesbian participant thought it better to identify her sexual orientation up front to avoid problems later. Given the strong Washington, DC, housing market, participants explained that competition for the most affordable housing is very strong and the process turns into a popularity contest at open houses. You often have to share a lot of information about yourself and “sell” yourself to be chosen.

Transgender participants had the most uniform point of view on the subject, and most (if not all) indicated they would not identify as transgender or gender queer to a housing provider. They explained that it is easier to get away with not identifying yourself as transgender when you are looking for housing at a larger apartment complex. You may not be able to avoid identifying, however, in a shared housing situation or if your name or gender does not match information on your license. Participants said that if you do identify your gender to a housing provider, your outward appearance and how well you are able to “pass” as male or female, for transgender men and transgender women, respectively, would affect whether you are accepted by a landlord.

## D.4. Discrimination

With the exception of the heterosexual individuals, most participants had encountered discrimination based on their sexual orientation or gender status while searching for housing. Many lesbian and gay male participants described encountering subtle forms of discrimination, in which housing providers would say they have no problem with lesbians or gays but would not offer a rental lease. By contrast, transgender participants recounted experiences of overt discrimination. They told of seeing advertisements that stated “no transgenders,” and they said they had been denied housing outright when they conveyed that they are transgender. One participant described how he had not conveyed that he was transgender to the landlord when he applied for a room in a group house and was subsequently kicked out after the other housemates found out he was transgender and complained he was not the right fit. Another participant recounted how her landlord would not allow her to use the kitchen or common areas after the landlord realized she was transgender. Participants said that some landlords believe that all transgender women are prostitutes.

## D.5. Conclusion

Most focus group participants said that, compared with other areas of the country, Washington, DC, is more open to lesbians, gay men, and transgender people. Overall, participants said that they are more content

living in DC than they would be in other places, and they feel freer to “be who they are” openly; however, participants said that housing providers should be better educated about fair housing laws, including the DC’s antidiscrimination laws precluding discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Transgender participants explained that, because many people in the community have low incomes, they need a greater supply of low-income housing and assistance with rent, security deposits, and other fees. An increase in the supply of affordable units and rental assistance would enable transgender residents to avoid the challenges they face in shared housing situations, which frequently can lead to housing instability and homelessness. Although many focus group participants said they would feel comfortable reaching out for help with housing to advocacy groups, civil rights enforcement agencies, or support groups, transgender participants felt less inclined to take any action if they were the victim of discrimination, violence, or hate crimes. Participants described a general mistrust for law enforcement. Although they could turn to transgender advocacy groups for help, they said that organizations are chronically overworked with backed-up caseloads. Transgender participants said that, because taking legal action can be costly, they would be unlikely to have the financial resources to pursue legal claims.



# Appendix E. Analysis Variables

The three exhibits in this appendix show the variables researchers used to guide the development of testing protocols for each component of the study. The first column in each exhibit lists the variables and the second column identifies the test report form on which testers documented the information and explanations of variables that are marked with a number.

## EXHIBIT E.1.

### Analysis Variables Collected by Testers for In-Person Same-Sex Couples Tests

Analysis variables	Data source and notes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Tester gender identity</li> <li>■ Tester sexual orientation</li> </ul>	<p><b>Tester files</b> <i>(tester application and assessments)</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Able to make an appointment to meet with an agent</li> <li>■ Able to actually meet with agent to discuss housing options</li> <li>■ Unit availability that met tester needs</li> <li>■ Number of units available to tester</li> <li>■ Agent comment on fair housing laws</li> <li>■ Application required</li> <li>■ Credit check required</li> <li>■ Criminal background check required</li> <li>■ Agent comments on tester's credit standing</li> <li>■ Agent comments on tester's rent history</li> <li>■ Agent remarks on race/ethnicity</li> <li>■ Whether agent offered tester any items (1)</li> <li>■ Any arrangements made for future contact with agent</li> <li>■ Number of units inspected by tester</li> <li>■ Perceived sexual orientation of agent</li> <li>■ Agent comments on people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender</li> </ul>	<p><b>Test report form</b> <i>(in-person site visit)</i> (1) Items included business card, brochure, listings, floor plan, lease, gift, food or beverage, and other</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Whether physically inspected units</li> <li>■ Rent amount for each unit (2)</li> <li>■ Number of bedrooms for each unit</li> <li>■ Number of units in building</li> <li>■ Length of lease</li> <li>■ Type and amount of any required fees (3)</li> <li>■ Amount of security deposit or surety bond required (3)</li> <li>■ Rent specials or incentives (3)</li> <li>■ Agent comments about noise, safety, schools, maintenance and services, the building (4)</li> <li>■ Whether units had housing-quality problems (5)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Available rental unit form</b> <i>(in-person site visit)</i> (2) Rent was considered greater for one tester if the difference was more than 5 percent (3) Fees, security deposits, and incentives were considered greater for one tester if the difference was more than 5 percent (4) Testers indicated whether the comments about noise, safety, and schools were positive or negative (5) Problems included interior and exterior problems (peeling paint, discolored walls, exposed wiring, sagging roof, broken and boarded-up windows)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Any follow-up contact</li> </ul>	<p><b>Follow-up contact form</b></p>

EXHIBIT E.2.

**Analysis Variables Collected by Testers for Remote Same-Sex Couples Tests**

Analysis variables	Data source and notes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Tester gender identity</li> <li>▪ Tester sexual orientation</li> </ul>	<p><b>Tester files</b> <i>(tester application and assessments)</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Able to connect with agent to discuss housing options</li> <li>▪ Unit availability that met tester needs</li> <li>▪ Number of units available to tester</li> <li>▪ Agent comment on fair housing laws</li> <li>▪ Application required</li> <li>▪ Credit check required</li> <li>▪ Criminal background check required</li> <li>▪ Information on renter qualification requested by agent</li> <li>▪ Agent comments on tester’s qualifications to rent</li> <li>▪ Agent remarks on race/ethnicity</li> <li>▪ Agent remarks about household composition</li> <li>▪ Agent comments on tester’s household composition, sexual orientation</li> <li>▪ Agent comments on people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender</li> </ul>	<p><b>Test report form</b> <i>(telephone site visit)</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Whether unit was advertised unit</li> <li>▪ Rent amount (1)</li> <li>▪ Number of bedrooms</li> <li>▪ Length of lease</li> <li>▪ Type and amount of any required fees (2)</li> <li>▪ Amount of security deposit or surety bond required (2)</li> <li>▪ Told of rent specials or incentives (2)</li> <li>▪ Agent comments about noise, safety, schools, maintenance and services, the building (3)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Available rental unit form</b> <i>(telephone site visit)</i></p> <p>(1) Rent was considered greater for one tester if the difference was more than 5 percent</p> <p>(2) Fees, security deposits, and incentives were considered greater for one tester if the difference was more than 5 percent</p> <p>(3) Testers indicated whether the comments about noise, safety, and schools were positive or negative</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Any follow-up contact</li> </ul>	<p><b>Follow-up contact form</b></p>

EXHIBIT E.3.

**Analysis Variables Collected by Testers for In-Person Transgender Tests**

Analysis variables	Data source and notes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Tester gender identity</li> <li>▪ Tester sexual orientation</li> </ul>	<p><b>Tester files</b> <i>(tester application and assessments)</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Able to make an appointment to meet with an agent</li> <li>▪ Able to actually meet with agent to discuss housing options</li> <li>▪ Unit availability that met tester needs</li> <li>▪ Number of units available to tester</li> <li>▪ Agent comment on fair housing laws</li> <li>▪ Application required</li> <li>▪ Credit check required</li> <li>▪ Criminal background check required</li> <li>▪ Agent comments on tester’s credit standing</li> <li>▪ Agent comments on tester’s rent history</li> <li>▪ Agent remarks on race/ethnicity</li> <li>▪ Whether agent offered tester any items (1)</li> <li>▪ Any arrangements made for future contact</li> <li>▪ Number of units inspected by tester</li> <li>▪ Perceived sexual orientation of agent</li> <li>▪ Agent comments on people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender</li> </ul>	<p><b>Test report form</b> <i>(in-person site visit)</i> (1) Items included business card, brochure, listings, floor plan, lease, gift, food or beverage, and other</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Whether physically inspected units</li> <li>▪ Rent amount for each unit (2)</li> <li>▪ Number of bedrooms for each unit</li> <li>▪ Number of units in building</li> <li>▪ Length of lease</li> <li>▪ Type and amount of any required fee (3)</li> <li>▪ Amount of security deposit or surety bond required (3)</li> <li>▪ Rent specials or incentives (3)</li> <li>▪ Agent comments about noise, safety, schools, maintenance and services, the building (4)</li> <li>▪ Whether units had housing-quality problems (5)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Available rental unit form</b> <i>(in-person site visit)</i> (2) Rent was considered greater for one tester if the difference was more than 5 percent (3) Fees, security deposits, and incentives were considered greater for one tester if the difference was more than 5 percent (4) Testers indicated whether the comments about noise, safety, and schools were positive or negative (5) Problems included interior and exterior problems (peeling paint, discolored walls, exposed wiring, sagging roof, broken and boarded-up windows)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Any follow-up contact</li> </ul>	<p><b>Follow-up contact form</b></p>

# Appendix F. Tester Safety and Well-Being Plan

At the outset of the study, the research team acknowledged that testers participating in the study may be at a high risk for experiencing insensitive, inappropriate, and discriminatory treatment and possibly physical threats. Potential risks ranged from experiencing rude, inappropriate, or overtly discriminatory treatment to aggressive and possibly physically threatening actions, all of which could result in emotional, psychological, or physical harm. The research team worked closely with its project partners, including mental health professionals at Whitman-Walker Health (WWH) whose clients include lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people, to develop a tester safety and well-being plan that mitigated risks and provided additional support to local testing organizations and testers. Test coordinators were instructed in the use of particular test coordination tools, such as the tester briefing and debriefing checklists, which were revised to include tester safety reminders. Before each new site visit, test coordinators provided testers with the telephone number at which they could be reached in case a safety issue arose during a test.

The tester safety plan incorporated input gathered at expert panel meetings and focus groups and from key staff at WWH. To minimize risks, the researchers identified the following safety and tester-support measures.

## F.1. Training of Test Coordinators and Testers

- **Safety and support (test coordinators).** The tester safety component of the test coordinator training was enhanced to include more detailed safety protocols that test coordinators were instructed to follow before, during, and after testers conducted site visits. Some of these details are presented in the next paragraphs. Because risk is believed to be high for transgender people, the research team wanted to ensure test coordinators understood the risks transgender testers might face.
- **Safety and well-being (testers).** Testers were trained on how to respond to any rude, discriminatory, or threatening behaviors evidenced by housing providers. The standard HDS tester training was enhanced to provide more detailed guidance.

## F.2. Safety During Tests

- **Tester briefing.** Testers met with their test coordinator before tests to receive and review the test assignment, review protocols, and discuss any concerns they may have about a test site. The briefing checklist, which guides the briefing, was revised to include reminders about safety procedures.
- **Test coordinator contact.** Test coordinators provided testers with a telephone number in case they needed to reach the test coordinator during a test; for example, if the tester found that he or she was in danger and in need of immediate support. Test coordinators were instructed to remain available to testers anytime tests were under way.
- **Test termination.** Testers were trained to leave a test site immediately should they believe themselves to be in danger. After they were a safe distance from the site, they were instructed to notify the test coordinator about what had occurred during the test.
- **Tester companion.** The project team considered allowing transgender testers to travel to a test site with a companion. Costs associated with test companions, however, would have been prohibitive, because companions would need to be identified in advance, oriented to the study and confidentiality requirements, included in test scheduling, and paid even though they would not interact with housing providers. Other safety measures were determined to sufficiently minimize risk. (If a tester did not feel safe traveling to a test site, the tester was encouraged to discuss the concern with the test coordinator during the briefing to determine whether the assignment would move forward.)

## F.3. Support after Tests

- **Tester debriefing.** Testers met with the test coordinator after conducting each test to review completed test report forms, discuss protocol questions, and address any concerns that arose during the test visit, all topics of discussion that were included in the debriefing checklist. If a tester's experience indicated that a test site presented a significant safety risk, the test coordinators were instructed to contact the Urban Institute staff to discuss whether a provider would be ruled ineligible for additional testing because of tester safety concerns.
- **Test coordinator support.** Test coordinators served as the first line of support for testers. During the test coordinator training, the Urban Institute staff explained that if test coordinators were presented an issue they were unable to address alone, they should contact one of the Urban

Institute's regional coordinators. Test coordinators also were provided the name and contact information for staff at WWH whom they could contact with questions about how best to support a tester in the event of a particularly upsetting experience.

- **Peer counseling.** For transgender testers who may need support beyond the level available from their test coordinator or the Urban Institute staff, the project team planned to refer testers to the peer-counseling program at WWH. The Urban Institute staff initially considered the option of retaining WWH staff to moderate group sessions with transgender testers during testing to create a safe space in which to talk about stresses or problems testers may encounter; however, a group session would contradict the standard paired-testing rule that prohibits testers from talking to other testers about their experiences. The project team thought that one-on-one peer counseling would better meet the needs of individual testers who may need such support and would better align with HDS protocols.

# Appendix G. Detailed Estimates by Metropolitan Statistical Area, Minority Status, and Test Approach

Exhibits G.1 to G.4 provide summary and detailed estimates from in-person, lesbian and gay male tests by MSA. Exhibits G.5 to G.8 provide summary and detailed estimates from these tests by whether testers were white or minority.

EXHIBIT G.1

Outcomes from Lesbian In-Person Tests in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim MSA

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N	
Information and availability	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	95.7%	2.3%	2.0%	0.0%	0.3%	1.1%	0.76	305	
	Tester(s) met with agent	99.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.5%	0.06	292 *	
	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>									
	Tester told units available	93.1%	2.8%	1.7%	2.4%	1.0%	1.2%	0.40	289	
	One tester told about more units		30.1%	22.1%	47.8%	8.0%	6.2%	0.21	289	
	Average number of units available (per visit)		1.92	1.70		0.21	0.13	0.10	289 *	
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.3%	0.7%	1.0%	97.9%	-0.3%	0.6%	0.57	289	
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>									
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	96.3%	1.9%	0.7%	1.1%	1.1%	1.0%	0.27	270	
	One tester inspected more units		21.9%	16.3%	61.9%	5.6%	4.0%	0.17	270	
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.60	1.52		0.08	0.06	0.18	270	
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	1.4%	2.4%	96.2%	-1.0%	1.3%	0.42	289	
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	99.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	—	—	270	
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	99.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	—	—	270	
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	9.3%	20.0%	16.7%	54.1%	3.3%	7.7%	0.67	270	
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.7%	4.4%	3.0%	91.9%	1.5%	2.0%	0.47	270	
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	0.7%	4.1%	2.2%	93.0%	1.9%	2.2%	0.40	270	
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	1.0%	0.7%	98.3%	0.3%	0.9%	0.71	289	
	Unit problems	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	95.4%	2.3%	1.5%	0.8%	0.8%	1.3%	0.57	259
One tester saw more problems per unit			3.5%	3.5%	93.1%	0.0%	1.7%	1.00	259	
Average number of problems per unit			0.06	0.05		1.1%	0.03	0.72	259	
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		9.6%	9.3%	81.1%	0.4%	2.9%	0.90	270	
	Average rent		\$2,087	\$2,092		-\$4	\$7	0.53	270	
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	2.6%	1.9%	3.7%	91.9%	-1.9%	1.6%	0.25	270	
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	1.9%	0.7%	2.6%	94.8%	-1.9%	1.1%	0.11	270	
Fees, incentives, and	Tester(s) told fees required	98.9%	0.7%	0.0%	0.4%	0.7%	0.5%	0.13	270	
	One tester told higher fees		23.7%	27.0%	49.3%	-3.3%	6.6%	0.61	270	
	Average fees		\$234	\$234		\$0	\$20	1.00	270	



LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
move-in costs	One tester told higher application fee		3%	2%	95%	1%	1%	0.37	257
	Average application fee		\$74.50	\$74.16		\$0.34	\$0.35	0.35	257
	Tester(s) told about incentives	14.1%	7.8%	11.1%	67.0%	-3.3%	2.7%	0.23	270
	One tester told of higher incentives		13.3%	13.3%	73.3%	0.0%	3.6%	1.00	270
	Average yearly incentives		\$195	\$204		-\$10	\$40	0.81	270
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	99.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.5%	0.15	270
	One tester told higher security deposit		7.8%	5.9%	86.2%	1.9%	2.0%	0.35	269
	Average security deposit		\$637	\$616		\$21	\$15	0.18	269
	Tester told about a surety bond	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0%	—	—	270
	Average effective deposit		\$637	\$616		\$21	\$15	0.18	269
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		12.6%	10.4%	77.0%	2.2%	2.8%	0.43	270
Average yearly net cost		\$25,722	\$25,744		-\$22	\$84	0.80	270	
Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	89.6%	5.5%	3.1%	1.7%	2.4%	1.7%	0.17	289
	Tester(s) provided more total items		35.6%	32.5%	31.8%	3.1%	7.5%	0.68	289
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	46.0%	11.1%	18.0%	24.9%	-6.9%	5.0%	0.17	289
	Tester(s) told positive remark	44.4%	13.5%	25.5%	16.6%	-12.0%	6.9%	0.09	259 *
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		28.2%	39.4%	32.4%	-11.2%	8.8%	0.21	259
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.4%	1.9%	3.1%	94.6%	-1.2%	1.3%	0.38	259
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		1.9%	3.5%	94.6%	-1.5%	1.3%	0.23	259
Tester(s) received agent follow-up	36.7%	11.5%	21.9%	30.0%	-10.4%	5.2%	0.05	270 *	
Overall	<b>Overall average number of units available</b>		<b>1.88</b>	<b>1.66</b>		<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>305 *</b>
	<b>Overall average number of units inspected</b>		<b>1.53</b>	<b>1.43</b>		<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>305</b>

Notes: LG = lesbian or gay male; LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender; MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\*p < 0.10 \*\*p < 0.05 \*\*\*p < 0.01

EXHIBIT G.2.

Outcomes from Lesbian In-Person Tests in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington MSA

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N		
Information and availability	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	99.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.3%	0.7%	0.5%	0.16	304		
	Tester(s) met with agent	99.7%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.33	300		
	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>										
	Tester told units available	94.6%	3.3%	0.7%	1.3%	2.7%	1.1%	0.02	299	**	
	One tester told about more units		28.1%	29.1%	42.8%	-1.0%	5.5%	0.86	299		
	Average number of units available (per visit)		2.12	2.11		0.01	0.09	0.94	299		
<i>Agent comment on people who are LGT</i>											
Agent comment on people who are LGT		0.0%	0.7%	1.7%	97.7%	-1.0%	1.0%	0.31	299		
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>										
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	78.9%	8.5%	6.0%	6.7%	2.5%	2.6%	0.34	284		
	One tester inspected more units		18.7%	17.6%	63.7%	1.1%	4.0%	0.79	284		
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.18	1.16		0.02	0.05	0.70	284		
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	0.7%	1.0%	98.3%	-0.3%	1.1%	0.76	299		
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	97.2%	1.1%	1.8%	0.0%	-0.7%	0.9%	0.42	284		
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	92.3%	4.2%	3.2%	0.4%	1.1%	2.2%	0.63	284		
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	51.4%	19.7%	14.8%	14.1%	4.9%	5.0%	0.33	284		
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.4%	5.6%	0.7%	93.3%	4.9%	1.8%	0.01	284	***	
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	0.7%	6.3%	4.9%	88.0%	1.4%	2.1%	0.51	284		
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%	0.5%	0.15	299		
Unit problems	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	92.4%	3.6%	3.6%	0.4%	0.0%	1.8%	1.00	223		
	One tester saw more problems per unit		5.0%	5.0%	90.0%	0.0%	2.2%	1.00	220		
	Average number of problems per unit		0.05	0.06		-1.3%	0.03	0.64	223		
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		16.9%	10.9%	72.2%	6.0%	3.3%	0.07	284	*	
	Average rent		\$1,108	\$1,093		\$15	\$6	0.02	284	**	
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	2.8%	4.2%	7.7%	85.2%	-3.5%	2.4%	0.15	284		
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	0.4%	2.1%	2.5%	95.1%	-0.4%	1.2%	0.76	284		
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	99.3%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	1.00	284		
	One tester told higher fees		26.4%	34.2%	39.4%	-7.7%	5.0%	0.13	284		
	Average fees		\$299	\$311		-\$12	\$13	0.35	284		
	One tester told higher application fee		8%	19%	72%	-11%	3%	0.00	272	***	
Average application fee		\$87.65	\$94.89		-\$7.25	\$1.76	0.00	272	***		

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
	Tester(s) told about incentives	33.1%	9.5%	8.1%	49.3%	1.4%	2.5%	0.58	284
	One tester told of higher incentives		17.6%	17.3%	65.1%	0.4%	3.4%	0.92	284
	Average yearly incentives		\$252	\$230		\$22	\$24	0.38	284
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	75.7%	2.8%	5.6%	15.8%	-2.8%	1.6%	0.08	284 *
	One tester told higher security deposit		9.3%	9.7%	81.0%	-0.4%	2.7%	0.87	237
	Average security deposit		\$243	\$240		\$3	\$7	0.68	237
	Tester told about a surety bond	1.4%	1.4%	0.4%	96.8%	1%	1%	0.18	284
	Average surety bond		\$109	\$105		\$4	\$5	0.37	10
	Average effective deposit		\$243	\$240		\$3	\$7	0.68	237
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		19.0%	15.1%	65.8%	3.9%	3.7%	0.29	284
	Average yearly net cost		\$13,548	\$13,408		\$140	\$81	0.09	284 *
<b>Helpfulness</b>	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	97.3%	1.7%	1.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.8%	0.41	299
	Tester(s) provided more total items		30.1%	41.1%	28.8%	-11.0%	5.5%	0.05	299 **
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	28.1%	16.4%	34.1%	21.4%	-17.7%	6.0%	0.00	299 ***
	Tester(s) told positive remark	13.9%	14.3%	27.4%	44.4%	-13.0%	4.1%	0.00	223 ***
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		17.5%	32.3%	50.2%	-14.8%	4.6%	0.00	223 ***
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.4%	0.9%	0.9%	97.8%	0.0%	0.9%	1.00	223
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		0.9%	0.9%	98.2%	0.0%	0.9%	1.00	223
	Tester(s) received agent follow-up	26.1%	12.7%	15.1%	46.1%	-2.5%	3.2%	0.44	284
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units inspected (if met with agent)</b>		<b>1.15</b>	<b>1.12</b>		<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.61</b>	<b>299</b>
	<b>Overall average number of units inspected</b>		<b>1.14</b>	<b>1.11</b>		<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.61</b>	<b>304</b>

Notes: LG = lesbian or gay male. LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender. MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

EXHIBIT G.3

Outcomes from Gay Male In-Person Tests in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim MSA

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N	
Information and availability	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	97.1%	1.6%	1.3%	0.0%	0.3%	1.0%	0.74	308	
	Tester(s) met with agent	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	—	—	294	
	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>									
	Tester told units available	94.2%	3.1%	0.7%	2.0%	2.4%	1.3%	0.07	294	*
	One tester told about more units		31.3%	18.0%	50.7%	13.3%	5.6%	0.02	294	**
	Average number of units available (per visit)		1.86	1.58		0.28	0.11	0.02	294	**
<i>Agent comment on people who are LGT</i>										
	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	99.3%	-0.7%	0.5%	0.14	294		
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>									
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	96.8%	0.7%	0.4%	2.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.57	277	
	One tester inspected more units		24.2%	15.2%	60.6%	9.0%	4.9%	0.08	277	*
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.61	1.47		0.14	0.08	0.09	277	*
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	2.0%	1.4%	96.6%	0.7%	1.3%	0.60	294	
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	—	—	277	
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	99.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%	-0.4%	0.4%	0.32	277	
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	7.6%	7.9%	20.9%	63.5%	-13.0%	7.3%	0.08	277	*
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.0%	2.2%	4.0%	93.9%	-1.8%	1.7%	0.28	277	
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	0.7%	2.5%	4.0%	92.8%	-1.4%	1.6%	0.38	277	
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	99.7%	-0.3%	0.3%	0.33	294	
Unit problems	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	97.0%	1.5%	1.1%	0.4%	0.4%	1.1%	0.74	268	
	One tester saw more problems per unit		2.6%	2.6%	94.8%	0.0%	1.5%	1.00	267	
	Average number of problems per unit		0.03	0.04		-1.2%	0.02	0.51	268	
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		5.8%	15.5%	78.7%	-9.7%	3.6%	0.01	277	***
	Average rent		\$2,143	\$2,172		-\$29	\$9	0.00	277	***
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	5.1%	2.9%	4.7%	87.4%	-1.8%	2.0%	0.38	277	
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	1.8%	0.7%	2.2%	95.3%	-1.4%	1.3%	0.26	277	
Fees incentives	Tester(s) told fees required	98.9%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	0.5%	1.00	277	

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N	
and move-in costs	One tester told higher fees		10.1%	40.1%	49.8%	-30.0%	6.8%	0.00	277	***
	Average fees		\$202	\$318		-\$116	\$34	0.00	277	***
	One tester told higher application fee		2%	5%	93%	-3%	1.2%	0.02	267	**
	Average application fee		\$75.90	\$76.47		-\$0.57	\$0.29	0.06	267	*
	Tester(s) told about incentives	13.7%	9.0%	7.9%	69.3%	1.1%	2.6%	0.68	277	
	One tester told of higher incentives		9.7%	10.8%	79.4%	-1.1%	2.7%	0.69	277	
	Average yearly incentives		\$220	\$271		-\$51	\$31	0.10	277	
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	98.6%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.6%	0.57	277	
	One tester told higher security deposit		3.3%	11.2%	85.5%	-8.0%	2.2%	0.00	276	***
	Average security deposit		\$584	\$601		-\$17	\$6	0.01	276	***
	Tester told about a surety bond	0%	0%	1%	99%	0%	0.6%	0.57	277	
	Average surety bond		\$0	\$0		\$0	—	—	1	
	Average effective deposit		\$584	\$601		-\$17	\$6	0.01	276	***
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		6.1%	18.8%	75.1%	-12.6%	4.1%	0.00	277	***
Average yearly net cost		\$26,286	\$26,716		-\$430	\$98	0.00	277	***	
Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	88.4%	5.1%	5.8%	0.7%	-0.7%	2.4%	0.78	294	
	Tester(s) provided more total items		37.8%	32.3%	29.9%	5.4%	7.6%	0.48	294	
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	53.1%	13.9%	25.9%	7.1%	-11.9%	8.5%	0.17	294	
	Tester(s) told positive remark	47.8%	16.4%	23.1%	12.7%	-6.7%	6.8%	0.33	268	
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		26.5%	43.7%	29.9%	-17.2%	10.2%	0.10	268	
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.4%	4.9%	2.6%	92.2%	2.2%	1.7%	0.21	268	
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		4.9%	3.0%	92.2%	1.9%	1.7%	0.28	268	
	Tester(s) received agent follow-up	28.9%	14.8%	17.7%	38.6%	-2.9%	5.5%	0.60	277	
Overall	Overall average number of units inspected (if met with agent)		1.58	1.45		0.13	0.07	0.08	294	*
	Overall average number of units inspected		1.56	1.42		0.14	0.07	0.08	308	*

Notes: LG = lesbian or gay male; LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender; MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

EXHIBIT G.4

Outcomes from Gay Male In-Person Tests in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington MSA

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	96.4%	2.9%	0.6%	0.0%	2.3%	1.1%	0.04	309 **
	Tester(s) met with agent	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	—	—	300
Information and availability	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>								
	Tester told units available	95.7%	1.7%	0.7%	2.0%	1.0%	0.6%	0.08	300 *
	One tester told about more units		31.3%	24.0%	44.7%	7.3%	5.3%	0.17	300
	Average number of units available (per visit)		2.25	2.09		0.16	0.12	0.18	300
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.0%	0.3%	2.7%	97.0%	-2.3%	1.0%	0.03	300 **
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>								
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	70.0%	8.4%	13.6%	8.0%	-5.2%	3.8%	0.18	287
	One tester inspected more units		20.9%	28.9%	50.2%	-8.0%	6.2%	0.20	287
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.13	1.24		-0.11	0.07	0.15	287
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	98.7%	-1.3%	0.7%	0.05	300 **
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	99.0%	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	-0.3%	0.6%	0.57	287
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	95.5%	2.1%	2.1%	0.3%	0.0%	1.2%	1.00	287
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	44.3%	15.7%	23.3%	16.7%	-7.7%	5.2%	0.15	287
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.0%	4.9%	2.1%	93.0%	2.8%	1.4%	0.05	287 *
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	1.0%	5.6%	11.1%	82.2%	-5.6%	3.3%	0.09	287 *
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	99.3%	0.0%	0.5%	1.00	300
Unit problems	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	92.6%	5.4%	1.5%	0.5%	4.0%	1.9%	0.04	202 **
	One tester saw more problems per unit		5.5%	6.5%	88.1%	-1.0%	2.4%	0.68	201
	Average number of problems per unit		0.10	0.09		1.2%	0.06	0.84	202
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		12.5%	13.6%	73.9%	-1.0%	3.4%	0.76	287
	Average rent		\$1,123	\$1,130		-\$7	\$6	0.30	287
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	2.8%	3.5%	6.6%	87.1%	-3.1%	2.3%	0.19	287
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	0.3%	2.4%	4.2%	93.0%	-1.7%	1.8%	0.33	287

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	99.7%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	-0.3%	0.4%	0.33	287
	One tester told higher fees		18.5%	34.1%	47.4%	-15.7%	5.0%	0.00	287 ***
	Average fees		\$303	\$328		-\$25	\$11	0.03	287 **
	One tester told higher application fee		6%	16%	78%	-10%	3.2%	0.00	278 ***
	Average application fee		\$85.53	\$90.07		-\$4.54	\$1.48	0.00	278 ***
	Tester(s) told about incentives	29.6%	9.8%	8.7%	51.9%	1.0%	2.3%	0.65	287
	One tester told of higher incentives		16.7%	16.0%	67.2%	0.7%	3.1%	0.83	287
	Average yearly incentives		\$212	\$190		\$21	\$16	0.19	287
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	71.8%	4.5%	3.5%	20.2%	1.0%	2.1%	0.62	287
	One tester told higher security deposit		6.6%	8.8%	84.5%	-2.2%	2.6%	0.40	226
	Average security deposit		\$245	\$246		-\$1	\$2	0.68	226
	Tester told about a surety bond	0%	0%	1%	99%	-1%	0.5%	0.16	287
	Average surety bond		\$111	\$111		\$0	-	-	15
	Average effective deposit		\$245	\$246		-\$1	\$2	0.68	226
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		12.9%	16.4%	70.7%	-3.5%	3.6%	0.34	287
Average yearly net cost		\$13,778	\$13,898		-\$120	\$75	0.11	287	
Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	96.0%	2.0%	1.7%	0.3%	0.3%	1.0%	0.74	300
	Tester(s) provided more total items		37.0%	37.0%	26.0%	0.0%	6.9%	1.00	300
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	14.0%	26.0%	23.3%	36.7%	2.7%	7.3%	0.72	300
	Tester(s) told positive remark	20.3%	33.7%	11.9%	34.2%	21.8%	6.7%	0.00	202 ***
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		41.1%	20.3%	38.6%	20.8%	8.1%	0.01	202 **
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.0%	1.5%	0.5%	98.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.32	202
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		1.5%	0.5%	98.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.32	202
	Tester(s) received agent follow-up	30.3%	13.2%	10.5%	43.9%	2.8%	2.8%	0.32	287
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units available</b>		<b>2.24</b>	<b>2.03</b>		<b>0.21</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>309</b>
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units inspected</b>		<b>1.10</b>	<b>1.17</b>		<b>-0.07</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.17</b>	<b>309</b>

Note: LG = lesbian or gay male; LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender; MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\*p < 0.10 \*\*p < 0.05 \*\*\*p < 0.01

EXHIBIT G.5

Outcomes from Lesbian White In-Person Tests

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N	
Information and availability	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	97.4%	1.6%	0.7%	0.3%	1.0%	0.7%	0.18	305	
	Tester(s) met with agent	99.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.5%	0.06	297 *	
	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>									
	Tester told units available	94.9%	3.4%	0.7%	1.0%	2.7%	0.9%	0.00	294 ***	
	One tester told about more units		34.0%	18.7%	47.3%	15.3%	5.0%	0.00	294 ***	
	Average number of units available (per visit)		2.09	1.81		0.29	0.10	0.00	294 ***	
<i>Agent comment on people who are LGT</i>										
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.0%	1.4%	1.0%	97.6%	0.3%	0.8%	0.66	294	
<i>If available units recommended</i>										
Inspections	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	85.0%	7.5%	3.2%	4.3%	4.3%	2.3%	0.07	280 *	
	One tester inspected more units		19.6%	13.9%	66.4%	5.7%	3.5%	0.11	280	
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.29	1.23		0.07	0.04	0.13	280	
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	1.7%	1.4%	96.9%	0.3%	1.0%	0.74	294	
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	98.2%	0.7%	1.1%	0.0%	-0.4%	0.6%	0.57	280	
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	97.5%	0.7%	1.4%	0.4%	-0.7%	0.7%	0.33	280	
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	32.5%	15.4%	16.8%	35.4%	-1.4%	4.6%	0.76	280	
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.4%	2.9%	2.5%	94.3%	0.4%	1.4%	0.80	280	
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	0.4%	5.0%	3.9%	90.7%	1.1%	2.0%	0.60	280	
Unit problems	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	1.4%	0.3%	98.3%	1.0%	0.9%	0.25	294	
	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	94.9%	2.1%	2.1%	0.8%	0.0%	1.6%	1.00	236	
	One tester saw more problems per unit		3.4%	3.8%	92.8%	-0.4%	2.0%	0.83	236	
	Average number of problems per unit		0.04	0.05		-0.6%	0.02	0.81	236	
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		15.0%	10.7%	74.3%	4.3%	2.9%	0.15	280	
	Average rent		\$1,615	\$1,612		\$3	\$6	0.61	280	
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	1.4%	1.8%	3.9%	92.9%	-2.1%	1.7%	0.21	280	
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	2.1%	0.7%	1.8%	95.4%	-1.1%	1.0%	0.31	280	



LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N		
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	98.9%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.6%	0.06	280	*	
	One tester told higher fees		22.1%	32.1%	45.7%	-10.0%	5.8%	0.09	280	*	
	Average fees		\$257	\$276		-\$18	\$14	0.21	280		
	One tester told higher application fee		4%	9%	87%	-5%	2%	0.02	268	**	
	Average application fee		\$79.78	\$83.47		-\$3.69	\$1.37	0.01	268	***	
	Tester(s) told about incentives	25.7%	9.6%	7.5%	57.1%	2.1%	2.6%	0.42	280		
	One tester told of higher incentives		17.1%	12.5%	70.4%	4.6%	3.2%	0.15	280		
	Average yearly incentives		\$245	\$221		\$23	\$25	0.35	280		
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	89.6%	1.4%	2.1%	6.8%	-0.7%	1.0%	0.48	280		
	One tester told higher security deposit		8.8%	5.7%	85.4%	3.1%	2.2%	0.17	261		
	Average security deposit		\$470	\$441		\$29	\$13	0.03	261	**	
	Tester told about a surety bond	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	99.6%	0%	—	—	280		
	Average surety bond		\$118	\$112		\$6	\$7	0.42	7		
	Average effective deposit		\$470	\$441		\$29	\$13	0.03	261	**	
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		16.1%	12.1%	71.8%	3.9%	3.0%	0.19	280		
	Average yearly net cost		\$19,833	\$19,809		\$24	\$81	0.77	280		
	Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	93.2%	3.4%	2.7%	0.7%	0.7%	1.3%	0.61	294	
		Tester(s) provided more total items		32.7%	38.1%	29.3%	-5.4%	6.0%	0.36	294	
Tester(s) told arrangement for contact		34.0%	12.2%	31.0%	22.8%	-18.7%	5.4%	0.00	294	***	
Tester(s) told positive remark		30.9%	15.3%	27.1%	26.7%	-11.9%	7.0%	0.09	236	*	
Tester(s) told more positive remarks			23.3%	40.3%	36.4%	-16.9%	8.2%	0.04	236	**	
Tester(s) told negative remark		0.8%	1.3%	1.7%	96.2%	-0.4%	1.1%	0.71	236		
Tester(s) told more negative remarks			1.3%	2.1%	96.6%	-0.8%	1.1%	0.44	236		
Tester(s) received agent follow-up		26.4%	13.2%	16.1%	44.3%	-2.9%	4.2%	0.49	280		
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units available</b>		2.07	1.77		0.30	0.10	0.00	305	***	
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units inspected</b>		1.24	1.16		0.08	0.04	0.14	305		

Note: LG = lesbian or gay male. LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

EXHIBIT G.6

Outcomes from Lesbian Minority In-Person Tests

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	97.4%	1.3%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	1.00	304
	Tester(s) met with agent	99.7%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.33	295
Information and availability	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>								
	Tester told units available	92.9%	2.7%	1.7%	2.7%	1.0%	1.4%	0.46	294
	One tester told about more units		24.1%	32.7%	43.2%	-8.5%	6.5%	0.19	294
	Average number of units available (per visit)		1.95	2.02		-0.07	0.13	0.59	294
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.3%	0.0%	1.7%	98.0%	-1.7%	0.9%	0.05	294 *
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>								
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	89.8%	2.9%	3.6%	3.6%	-0.7%	1.6%	0.64	274
	One tester inspected more units		20.8%	20.1%	59.1%	0.7%	4.5%	0.87	274
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.48	1.45		0.03	0.07	0.66	274
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	0.3%	2.0%	97.6%	-1.7%	1.3%	0.18	294
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	98.5%	0.4%	0.7%	0.4%	-0.4%	0.6%	0.57	274
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	94.2%	3.6%	1.8%	0.4%	1.8%	2.1%	0.39	274
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	29.2%	24.5%	14.6%	31.8%	9.9%	7.6%	0.20	274
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.7%	7.3%	1.1%	90.9%	6.2%	2.2%	0.01	274 ***
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	1.1%	5.5%	3.3%	90.1%	2.2%	2.3%	0.34	274
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	99.3%	0.0%	0.5%	1.00	294
Unit problems	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	93.1%	3.7%	2.8%	0.4%	0.8%	1.5%	0.60	246
	One tester saw more problems per unit		4.9%	4.5%	90.5%	0.4%	2.0%	0.84	243
	Average number of problems per unit		0.07	0.07		0.6%	0.03	0.87	246
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		11.7%	9.5%	78.8%	2.2%	3.4%	0.52	274
	Average rent		\$1,555	\$1,547		\$8	\$7	0.30	274
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	4.0%	4.4%	7.7%	83.9%	-3.3%	2.4%	0.18	274
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	0.0%	2.2%	3.3%	94.5%	-1.1%	1.3%	0.40	274

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Lesbian	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	99.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%	-0.4%	0.4%	0.31	274
	One tester told higher fees		28.1%	29.2%	42.7%	-1.1%	5.8%	0.85	274
	Average fees		\$277	\$271		\$6	\$18	0.72	274
	One tester told higher application fee		8%	13%	79%	-5%	3%	0.07	261 *
	Average application fee		\$82.78	\$86.21		-\$3.43	\$1.59	0.03	261 **
	Tester(s) told about incentives	21.9%	7.7%	11.7%	58.8%	-4.0%	2.6%	0.13	274
	One tester told of higher incentives		13.9%	18.2%	67.9%	-4.4%	3.5%	0.22	274
	Average yearly incentives		\$203	\$214		-\$11	\$38	0.78	274
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	84.7%	2.2%	3.6%	9.5%	-1.5%	1.5%	0.32	274
	One tester told higher security deposit		8.2%	9.8%	82.0%	-1.6%	2.4%	0.49	245
	Average security deposit		\$434	\$439		-\$5	\$10	0.60	245
	Tester told about a surety bond	1.1%	1.5%	0.4%	97.1%	1.1%	0.8%	0.19	274
	Average surety bond		\$87	\$87		\$0	-	-	3
	Average effective deposit		\$434	\$439		-\$5	\$10	0.60	245
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		15.7%	13.5%	70.8%	2.2%	3.6%	0.54	274
	Average yearly net cost		\$19,122	\$19,022		\$100	\$89	0.27	274
	Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	93.9%	3.7%	1.4%	1.0%	2.4%	1.4%	0.09
Tester(s) provided more total items			33.0%	35.7%	31.3%	-2.7%	7.3%	0.71	294
Tester(s) told arrangement for contact		39.8%	15.3%	21.4%	23.5%	-6.1%	5.5%	0.27	294
Tester(s) told positive remark		29.7%	12.6%	25.6%	32.1%	-13.0%	4.6%	0.01	246 ***
Tester(s) told more positive remarks			23.2%	32.1%	44.7%	-8.9%	6.3%	0.16	246
Tester(s) told negative remark		0.0%	1.6%	2.4%	95.9%	-0.8%	1.1%	0.48	246
Tester(s) told more negative remarks			1.6%	2.4%	95.9%	-0.8%	1.1%	0.48	246
Tester(s) received agent follow-up	36.1%	10.9%	20.8%	32.1%	-9.9%	4.5%	0.03	274 **	
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units available</b>		1.92	1.99		-0.07	0.13	0.59	304
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units inspected</b>		1.43	1.38		0.06	0.07	0.42	304

Notes: LG = lesbian or gay male; LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

EXHIBIT G.7

Outcomes from Gay White In-Person Tests

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	97.1%	1.9%	1.0%	0.0%	1.0%	0.9%	0.27	311
	Tester(s) met with agent	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	—	—	298
Information and availability	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>								
	Tester told units available	97.0%	1.3%	0.3%	1.3%	1.0%	0.7%	0.18	298
	One tester told about more units		33.2%	19.8%	47.0%	13.4%	5.4%	0.02	298 **
	Average number of units available (per visit)		2.19	1.93		0.27	0.11	0.02	298 **
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.0%	0.3%	1.3%	98.3%	-1.0%	0.8%	0.19	298
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>								
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	86.5%	2.1%	8.0%	3.5%	-5.9%	2.6%	0.03	289 **
	One tester inspected more units		22.8%	24.2%	52.9%	-1.4%	5.9%	0.82	289
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.47	1.46		0.01	0.08	0.90	289
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	1.7%	1.3%	97.0%	0.3%	1.2%	0.78	298
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	99.0%	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	-0.3%	0.6%	0.57	289
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	95.5%	2.1%	2.1%	0.3%	0.0%	1.2%	1.00	289
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	28.7%	13.5%	19.4%	38.4%	-5.9%	5.9%	0.33	289
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.0%	4.2%	3.8%	92.0%	0.3%	1.7%	0.84	289
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	0.7%	3.8%	9.7%	85.8%	-5.9%	2.7%	0.03	289 **
Unit problems	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	99.3%	0.0%	0.5%	1.00	298
	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	95.2%	2.0%	2.0%	0.8%	0.0%	1.4%	1.00	250
	One tester saw more problems per unit		4.0%	2.4%	93.6%	1.6%	1.6%	0.32	249
	Average number of problems per unit		0.09	0.04		4.5%	0.05	0.33	250
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		6.2%	18.7%	75.1%	-12.5%	3.4%	0.00	289 ***
	Average rent		\$1,623	\$1,652		-\$30	\$7	0.00	289 ***
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	3.1%	1.7%	4.2%	91.0%	-2.4%	1.6%	0.14	289
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	1.0%	1.4%	1.4%	96.2%	0.0%	1.1%	1.00	289

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N	
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	99.7%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	-0.3%	0.4%	0.33	289	
	One tester told higher fees		17.0%	29.4%	53.6%	-12.5%	4.7%	0.01	289	***
	Average fees		\$283	\$332		-\$49	\$21	0.03	289	**
	One tester told higher application fee		4%	11%	85%	-8%	3%	0.01	280	***
	Average application fee		\$80.42	\$83.86		-\$3.43	\$1.37	0.01	280	**
	Tester(s) told about incentives	22.5%	10.0%	8.0%	59.5%	2.1%	2.3%	0.38	289	
	One tester told of higher incentives		12.5%	14.9%	72.7%	-2.4%	2.8%	0.38	289	
	Average yearly incentives		\$271	\$289		-\$18	\$24	0.47	289	
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	87.2%	2.4%	1.0%	9.3%	1.4%	1.1%	0.21	289	
	One tester told higher security deposit		3.7%	10.4%	85.8%	-6.7%	1.9%	0.00	268	***
	Average security deposit		\$423	\$437		-\$14	\$5	0.01	268	**
	Tester told about a surety bond	0%	0%	1%	99%	-1.4%	0.7%	0.04	289	**
	Average surety bond		\$113	\$113		\$0	—	—	14	
	Average effective deposit		\$423	\$437		-\$14	\$5	0.01	268	**
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		6.6%	20.8%	72.7%	-14.2%	3.9%	0.00	289	***
	Average yearly net cost		\$19,886	\$20,278		-\$392	\$86	0.00	289	***
Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	91.9%	2.7%	4.4%	1.0%	-1.7%	1.9%	0.38	298	
	Tester(s) provided more total items		37.9%	34.2%	27.9%	3.7%	6.4%	0.57	298	
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	33.2%	17.8%	28.9%	20.1%	-11.1%	7.8%	0.16	298	
	Tester(s) told positive remark	36.4%	18.0%	19.6%	26.0%	-1.6%	6.0%	0.79	250	
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		25.2%	36.8%	38.0%	-11.6%	9.0%	0.20	250	
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.4%	4.0%	2.4%	93.2%	1.6%	1.6%	0.33	250	
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		4.0%	2.8%	93.2%	1.2%	1.6%	0.45	250	
	Tester(s) received agent follow-up	32.2%	14.5%	17.0%	36.3%	-2.4%	4.1%	0.56	289	
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units available</b>		2.17	1.89		0.28	0.11	0.02	311	**
	<b>Overall average number of units inspected</b>		1.45	1.42		0.02	0.08	0.90	311	

Notes: LG = lesbian or gay male. LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

EXHIBIT G.8.

Outcomes from Gay Minority In-Person Tests

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
	Tester(s) able to make an appointment	96.4%	2.6%	1.0%	0.0%	1.6%	1.2%	0.18	306
	Tester(s) met with agent	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	—	—	296
Information and availability	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>								
	Tester told units available	92.9%	3.4%	1.0%	2.7%	2.4%	1.2%	0.05	296 *
	One tester told about more units		29.4%	22.3%	48.3%	7.1%	5.4%	0.19	296
	Average number of units available (per visit)		1.92	1.75		0.17	0.12	0.16	296
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	98.0%	-2.0%	0.9%	0.02	296 **
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>								
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	79.6%	7.3%	6.2%	6.9%	1.1%	3.0%	0.72	275
	One tester inspected more units		22.2%	20.0%	57.8%	2.2%	5.6%	0.70	275
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.25	1.23		0.01	0.07	0.84	275
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	0.3%	1.4%	98.3%	-1.0%	0.8%	0.20	296
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	—	—	275
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	99.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%	-0.4%	0.4%	0.32	275
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	23.6%	10.2%	25.1%	41.1%	-14.9%	6.6%	0.03	275 **
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.0%	2.9%	2.2%	94.9%	0.7%	1.4%	0.60	275
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	1.1%	4.4%	5.5%	89.1%	-1.1%	2.5%	0.67	275
Unit problems	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	99.7%	-0.3%	0.3%	0.32	296
	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	95.0%	4.5%	0.5%	0.0%	4.1%	1.5%	0.01	220 ***
	One tester saw more problems per unit		3.7%	6.4%	90.0%	-2.7%	2.2%	0.21	219
	Average number of problems per unit		0.02	0.08		-5.4%	0.02	0.03	220 **
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		12.4%	10.2%	77.5%	2.2%	3.0%	0.46	275
	Average rent		\$1,626	\$1,631		-\$5	\$8	0.50	275
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	4.7%	4.7%	7.3%	83.3%	-2.5%	2.7%	0.35	275
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	1.1%	1.8%	5.1%	92.0%	-3.3%	1.9%	0.10	275 *

LG in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Gay	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	98.9%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	0.5%	1.00	275
	One tester told higher fees		11.6%	45.1%	43.3%	-33.5%	7.0%	0.00	275 ***
	Average fees		\$222	\$314		-\$91	\$31	0.01	275 ***
	One tester told higher application fee		4%	10%	86%	-6%	2%	0.01	265 **
	Average application fee		\$81.22	\$82.93		-\$1.71	\$0.78	0.03	265 **
	Tester(s) told about incentives	21.1%	8.7%	8.7%	61.5%	0.0%	2.6%	1.00	275
	One tester told of higher incentives		14.2%	12.0%	73.8%	2.2%	3.0%	0.47	275
	Average yearly incentives		\$157	\$168		-\$11	\$26	0.68	275
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	82.5%	2.9%	2.9%	11.6%	0.0%	1.9%	1.00	275
	One tester told higher security deposit		6.0%	9.8%	84.2%	-3.8%	2.8%	0.18	234
	Average security deposit		\$441	\$446		-\$5	\$4	0.15	234
	Tester told about a surety bond	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	99.6%	0%	0.4%	0.31	275
	Average surety bond		\$44	\$44		\$0	—	—	2
	Average effective deposit		\$441	\$446		-\$5	\$4	0.15	234
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		12.7%	14.2%	73.1%	-1.5%	3.4%	0.67	275
Average yearly net cost		\$19,958	\$20,104		-\$146	\$87	0.10	275	
Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	92.6%	4.4%	3.0%	0.0%	1.4%	1.7%	0.44	296
	Tester(s) provided more total items		36.8%	35.1%	28.0%	1.7%	8.1%	0.84	296
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	33.4%	22.3%	20.3%	24.0%	2.0%	8.1%	0.80	296
	Tester(s) told positive remark	35.5%	30.5%	16.8%	17.3%	13.6%	8.7%	0.12	220
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		41.4%	30.0%	28.6%	11.4%	11.9%	0.34	220
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.0%	2.7%	0.9%	96.4%	1.8%	1.4%	0.19	220
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		2.7%	0.9%	96.4%	1.8%	1.4%	0.19	220
	Tester(s) received agent follow-up	26.9%	13.5%	10.9%	46.5%	2.5%	4.6%	0.58	275
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units available</b>		1.90	1.70		0.20	0.12	0.16	306
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Overall average number of units inspected</b>		1.21	1.17		0.04	0.07	0.76	306

Notes: LG = lesbian or gay male; LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender.

\*p < 0.10 \*\*p < 0.05 \*\*\*p < 0.01

# Appendix H. Model Coefficients

The two exhibits in this appendix provide selected model coefficients by lesbian and by gay male testers.

## EXHIBIT H.1

### Multivariate Models of Difference in Number of Available Units and Net Cost from Tests of Lesbian Couples

	Number of Available Units		Net Cost	
	Coefficient	Standard error	Coefficient	Standard error
Site: Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, MSA	0.345**	0.149	-240.262	154.687
Control tester went first	0.063	0.119	-193.440	161.783
Tester was Asian or black	-0.153	0.233	-237.784*	141.798
Tester was Hispanic	-0.409***	0.141	298.445**	150.123
Both testers visited agent in the afternoon	-0.240	0.211	24.263	268.725
Has a child	-0.104	0.237	182.590	164.478
Married	-0.043	0.214	-330.237	183.056
Log of control tester's assigned monthly income	-0.201*	0.121	215.109**	105.405
Age of control tester	-0.001	0.009	5.490	8.441
Both testers currently renters	0.530**	0.207	-256.301	161.219
Maximum number of people encountered by either tester	-0.152	0.095	-228.474*	119.887
Testers saw the same agent	-0.052	0.143	-42.971	148.959
Both testers met with female agent	0.007	0.128	7.436	171.105
Both testers met with Asian or black agent	0.009	0.200	20.173	165.571
Both testers met with Hispanic agent	0.126	0.132	34.331	138.967
Median income (tract)/10,000	-0.008	0.029	25.035	26.042
% White (tract)/10	0.030	0.032	18.142	33.805
% lesbian or gay male of couples (tract)	-0.017	0.015	-10.841	24.998
_cons	0.680	0.583	-150.417	594.350
N	566		532	
R-squared	0.093		0.065	

**Notes:** The table reports coefficients from weighted regression models of (1) the difference in the number of units recommended to control and focal testers and (2) the difference in the net cost of available units for control and recommended units. The model independent variables are those listed in the table and the controls for when only the tester faces a condition (for example, only the control tester is employed). MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\* p < 0.10. \*\* p < 0.05. \*\*\* p < 0.01.



EXHIBIT H.2

Multivariate Models of Difference in Number of Available Units and Net Cost from Tests of Gay Male Couples

	Number of Available Units		Net Cost	
	Coefficient	Standard error	Coefficient	Standard error
Site: Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, MSA	0.040	0.155	-334.671**	98.570
Control tester went first	-0.046	0.118	-11.298	121.835
Tester was Asian or black	0.069	0.249	-5.716	213.519
Tester was Hispanic	-0.395*	0.202	240.511**	116.175
Both testers visited agent in the afternoon	-0.083	0.208	-315.582**	135.659
Has a child	-0.177	0.283	-184.406	156.288
Married	0.307	0.288	70.458	148.701
Log of control tester's assigned monthly income	0.000	0.166	88.592	114.233
Age of control tester	0.000	0.010	-7.683	6.766
Both testers currently employed	-0.334	0.259	301.913*	177.851
Both testers currently renters	0.178	0.225	-31.949	133.768
Maximum number of people encountered by either tester	-0.100	0.200	-192.070	344.444
Testers saw the same agent	-0.199	0.180	198.039	183.444
Both testers met with female agent	-0.170	0.158	-81.187	156.513
Both testers met with Asian or black	0.167	0.194	-177.697	162.178
Both testers met with Hispanic agent	0.299*	0.176	-77.009	115.508
Median income (tract)/10,000	0.001	0.027	-49.020*	27.362
% White (tract)/10	0.009	0.037	-1.599	34.098
% lesbian or gay male of couples (tract)_cons	0.036*	0.019	-40.307**	17.777
	0.667	0.657	685.193	613.498
N	574		546	
R-squared	0.065		0.100	

**Notes:** The table reports coefficients from weighted regression models of (1) the difference in the number of units recommended to control and focal testers and (2) the difference in the net cost of available units for control and recommended units. The model independent variables are those listed in the table and the controls for when only the tester faces a condition (for example, only the control tester is employed). MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

\* p < 0.10. \*\* p < 0.05. \*\*\* p < 0.01.

# Appendix I. Outcomes from Remote Versus In-Person Tests

The two exhibits in this appendix present the full set of outcomes from lesbian and gay remote versus in-person tests.

EXHIBIT I.1.

Outcomes from Lesbian Remote Versus In-Person Tests in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, MSA

		In-person difference	In-person standard error	Remote difference	Remote standard error	Difference of difference	Difference of difference of standard error	N
Information and availability	<i>Tester(s) able to speak to someone about housing</i>	1.0%	0.5%	1.9%	2.9%	0.9%	3.0%	653
	Tester(s) told any units available	1.7%	1.3%	0.7%	0.6%	-1.1%	1.4%	598
	One tester told about more units	8.6%	6.2%	5.6%	4.5%	-3.0%	7.6%	598
	Average number of units available (per call)	0.22	0.13	0.09	0.08	-0.13	0.15	598
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	-0.3%	0.6%	-2.0%	1.0%	-1.6%	1.2%	598
Comments and requirements	<i>If available units recommended</i>							
	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	-1.0%	1.3%	-0.3%	0.3%	0.7%	1.3%	588
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	1.3%	588
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	0.0%	0.9%	3.3%	1.5%	3.3%	1.7%	588
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	2.4%	7.7%	10.7%	6.1%	8.3%	9.8%	588
	Tester(s) told comments on income	2.1%	2.1%	-0.3%	0.7%	-2.4%	2.3%	588
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	1.4%	2.2%	2.3%	0.9%	1.0%	2.4%	588
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	2.4%	2.3%	0.0%	1.1%	-2.4%	2.5%	588
Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.3%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	-0.3%	0.9%	588	
Rent and lease	Average rent	-\$4	\$7	\$5	\$14	\$10	\$15	568
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	-1.9%	1.6%	0.3%	3.0%	2.2%	3.4%	588
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	-1.9%	1.2%	0.3%	1.4%	2.2%	1.8%	588
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	0.7%	0.5%	-2.7%	2.4%	-3.4%	2.4%	588
	One tester told higher fees	-3.7%	6.7%	-8.1%	5.9%	-4.3%	8.8%	588
	Average fees	-\$2	\$20	-\$38	\$27	-\$36	\$33	588
	Tester(s) told about incentives	-3.3%	2.7%	1.3%	2.8%	4.7%	3.9%	588
	One tester told of higher incentives	0.0%	3.6%	1.0%	2.9%	1.0%	4.6%	588
	Average yearly incentives	-\$10	\$40	\$25	\$37	\$35	\$54	588
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	0.7%	0.5%	0.7%	1.3%	-0.1%	1.4%	588
	Tester(s) given choice between security deposit and bond	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	588
	Average security deposit	\$21	\$15	\$37	\$27	\$17	\$31	559
	Average surety bond	\$0	\$0	-\$11	\$23	-\$11	\$22	4
Average effective deposit	\$21	\$15	\$37	\$27	\$17	\$31	559	
One tester told higher yearly net cost	2.2%	2.8%	2.3%	3.7%	0.1%	4.6%	588	
Average yearly net cost	-\$23	\$85	\$26	\$185	\$49	\$203	588	

Notes: LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender. MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

EXHIBIT I.2

Outcomes from Gay Male Remote Versus In-Person Tests in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX, MSA

		In-person difference	In-person standard error	Remote difference	Remote standard error	Difference of difference	Difference of difference of standard error	N
Information and availability	<i>Tester(s) able to speak to someone about housing</i>	0.0%	0.0%	2.2%	1.5%	2.2%	1.5%	618
	<i>If able to speak to someone:</i>							
	Tester(s) told any units available	1.0%	0.6%	1.0%	1.1%	0.0%	1.3%	609
	One tester told about more units	7.3%	5.3%	-1.6%	5.2%	-9.0%	7.4%	609
	Average number of units available (per call)	0.16	0.12	-0.07	0.10	-0.24	0.16	609
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	-2.3%	1.1%	-0.6%	0.6%	1.7%	1.2%	609
Comments and requirements	<i>If available units recommended</i>							
	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	-1.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.7%	597
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	-0.3%	0.6%	-0.3%	0.6%	0.0%	0.8%	597
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	-0.7%	1.3%	0.3%	2.8%	1.0%	3.1%	597
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	-8.3%	5.0%	-9.4%	7.9%	-1.1%	9.4%	597
	Tester(s) told comments on income	-0.7%	0.9%	0.0%	0.5%	0.7%	1.0%	597
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	1.7%	1.5%	2.0%	1.1%	0.4%	1.9%	597
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	-5.7%	3.2%	-2.0%	1.1%	3.6%	3.4%	597
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	597
Rent and lease	Average rent	-\$7	\$6	\$8	\$10	\$15	\$12	582
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	-3.1%	2.3%	-6.8%	1.7%	-3.6%	2.9%	597
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	-1.7%	1.8%	0.3%	1.7%	2.1%	2.4%	597
	Tester(s) told fees required	-0.3%	0.4%	0.3%	1.1%	0.7%	1.2%	597
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	One tester told higher fees	-15.7%	5.0%	-0.7%	9.5%	15.0%	10.7%	597
	Average fees	-\$25	\$11	-\$27	\$35	-\$3	\$36	597
	Tester(s) told about incentives	1.0%	2.3%	-5.8%	2.5%	-6.8%	3.4%	597
	One tester told of higher incentives	0.7%	3.1%	-7.8%	3.7%	-8.5%	4.8%	597
	Average yearly incentives	\$21	\$16	-\$23	\$24	-\$44	\$29	597
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	1.0%	2.1%	-3.1%	2.0%	-4.1%	2.9%	597
	Tester(s) given choice between security deposit and bond	-0.7%	0.5%	0.0%	0.8%	0.7%	1.0%	597
	Average security deposit	-\$1	\$2	\$23	\$18	\$24	\$18	473
	Average surety bond	\$0	\$0	-\$11	\$23	-\$11	\$22	23
	Average effective deposit	-\$1	\$2	\$23	\$18	\$24	\$18	473
One tester told higher yearly net cost	-3.5%	3.6%	2.4%	5.2%	5.9%	6.3%	597	
	Average yearly net cost	-\$120	\$75	\$136	\$121	\$257	\$142	597

Notes: LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender. MSA = metropolitan statistical area.

# Appendix J. Measures of Discrimination for Transgender Testers

The two exhibits in this appendix present the summary and detailed estimates by the test approach—nondisclose or disclose gender status.

EXHIBIT J.1.

Outcomes from Transgender Testers Who Did Not Disclose Their Gender Status

LGT in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Transgender	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N	
Information and availability	Tester(s) met with agent	96.1%	3.9%	0.0%	0.0%	3.9%	2.4%	0.11	103	
	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>									
	Tester told units available	93.9%	2.0%	3.0%	1.0%	- 1.0%	2.3%	0.66	99	
	One tester told about more units		39.4%	29.3%	31.3%	10.1%	10.4%	0.34	99	
	Average number of units available (per visit)		2.67	2.36		0.30	0.21	0.16	99	
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	99.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.34	99	
Inspections	<i>If available units recommended</i>									
	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	91.4%	5.4%	1.1%	2.2%	4.3%	2.4%	0.09	93	*
	One tester inspected more units		36.6%	19.4%	44.1%	17.2%	10.3%	0.11	93	
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		2.17	1.86		0.31	0.14	0.03	93	**
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	97.0%	0.0%	1.5%	1.00	99	
	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	95.7%	2.2%	2.2%	0.0%	0.0%	2.2%	1.00	93	
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	89.2%	4.3%	5.4%	1.1%	- 1.1%	2.9%	0.71	93	
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	29.0%	17.2%	24.7%	29.0%	- 7.5%	7.7%	0.34	93	
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	98.9%	- 1.1%	1.1%	0.34	93	
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	0.0%	1.1%	2.2%	96.8%	- 1.1%	2.3%	0.65	93	
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	-	-	99	
Unit problems	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	95.3%	2.4%	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%	2.1%	0.57	85	
	One tester saw more problems per unit		7.1%	9.5%	83.3%	- 2.4%	5.6%	0.67	84	
	Average number of problems per unit		0.09	0.07		1.6%	0.05	0.74	84	
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		13.0%	14.1%	72.8%	- 1.1%	6.4%	0.87	92	
	Average rent		\$1,822	\$1,824		- \$2	\$14	0.88	92	
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	2.2%	2.2%	16.1%	79.6%	- 14.0%	5.3%	0.01	93	**
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	9.7%	0.0%	9.7%	80.6%	- 9.7%	4.1%	0.03	93	**
Fees	Tester(s) told fees required	95.7%	3.2%	1.1%	0.0%	2.2%	2.2%	0.33	93	

LGT in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Transgender	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
incentives, and move-in costs	One tester told higher fees		15.1%	23.7%	61.3%	- 8.6%	5.7%	0.14	93
	Average fees		\$398	\$409		- \$11	\$26	0.68	93
	One tester told higher application fee		2%	4%	94%	- 1%	3%	0.67	84
	Average application fee		\$49.81	\$50.11		- \$0.31	\$0.44	0.49	84
	Tester(s) told about incentives	46.2%	14.0%	6.5%	33.3%	7.5%	4.9%	0.13	93
	One tester told of higher incentives		23.7%	24.7%	51.6%	- 1.1%	8.5%	0.90	93
	Average yearly incentives		\$582	\$553		\$28	\$77	0.72	93
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	79.6%	3.2%	3.2%	14.0%	0.0%	2.2%	1.00	93
	One tester told higher security deposit		11.8%	7.9%	80.3%	3.9%	4.2%	0.35	76
	Average security deposit		\$466	\$497		- \$31	\$33	0.36	76
	Tester told about a surety bond	0%	1%	0%	99%	1%	1%	0.27	93
	Average surety bond		\$87	\$87		\$0	-	-	2
	Average effective deposit		\$466	\$497		- \$31	\$33	0.36	76
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		15.2%	18.5%	66.3%	- 3.3%	6.6%	0.63	92
Average yearly net cost		\$22,065	\$22,145		- \$80	\$190	0.68	92	
Helpfulness	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	91.9%	6.1%	2.0%	0.0%	4.0%	3.0%	0.183	99
	Tester(s) provided more total items		43.4%	27.3%	29.3%	16.2%	8.0%	0.052	99 *
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	49.5%	12.1%	20.2%	18.2%	- 8.1%	7.9%	0.314	99
	Tester(s) told positive remark	25.9%	31.8%	8.2%	34.1%	23.5%	6.1%	0.001	85 ***
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		38.8%	18.8%	42.4%	20.0%	6.6%	0.006	85 ***
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.0%	0.0%	4.7%	95.3%	- 4.7%	2.6%	0.077	85 *
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		0.0%	4.7%	95.3%	- 4.7%	2.6%	0.077	85 *
	Tester(s) received agent follow-up	43.0%	17.2%	15.1%	24.7%	2.2%	6.0%	0.723	93
<b>Overall</b>	Overall average number of units inspected		2.10	1.78		0.32	0.15	0.040	99 **

Note: LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

EXHIBIT J.2.

Outcomes from Transgender Testers Who Disclosed Their Gender Status

LGT in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Transgender	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N
	Tester(s) met with agent	99.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.33	101
	<i>If able to meet with an agent</i>								
Information and availability	Tester told units available	77.0%	15.0%	4.0%	4.0%	11.0%	5.1%	0.04	100 **
	One tester told about more units		45.0%	19.0%	36.0%	26.0%	8.7%	0.01	100 ***
	Average number of units available (per visit)		2.05	1.66		0.39	0.15	0.01	100 **
	Agent comment on people who are LGT	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	95.0%	-5.0%	2.4%	0.04	100 **
	<i>If available units recommended</i>								
Inspections	Tester(s) able to inspect any units	88.3%	3.9%	5.2%	2.6%	-1.3%	3.5%	0.71	77
	One tester inspected more units		28.6%	16.9%	54.5%	11.7%	7.8%	0.14	77
	Average number of units inspected (per visit)		1.62	1.48		0.14	0.10	0.15	77
	Tester(s) told comment on fair housing	0.0%	1.0%	4.0%	95.0%	-3.0%	2.3%	0.19	100
Comments and requirements	Tester(s) told an application must be completed	94.8%	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	5.2%	2.2%	0.03	77 **
	Tester(s) told a credit check must be completed	97.4%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	-2.6%	1.9%	0.18	77
	Tester(s) told a background check must be done	50.6%	16.9%	19.5%	13.0%	-2.6%	9.7%	0.79	77
	Tester(s) told comments on credit standing	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	-	-	77
	Tester(s) told comments on rent history	0.0%	2.6%	1.3%	96.1%	1.3%	2.3%	0.58	77
	Tester(s) told remarks about race/ethnicity	1.0%	0.0%	1.0%	98.0%	-1.0%	1.0%	0.33	100
Unit problems	Tester(s) saw at least one unit without any problems	92.6%	5.9%	1.5%	0.0%	4.4%	2.3%	0.07	68 *
	One tester saw more problems per unit		7.5%	4.5%	88.1%	3.0%	3.6%	0.42	67
	Average number of problems per unit		0.09	0.06		3.0%	0.04	0.47	67
Rent and lease	One tester told higher rent		18.2%	19.5%	62.3%	-1.3%	5.8%	0.82	77
	Average rent		\$1,800	\$1,798		\$1	\$19	0.95	77
	Tester(s) offered month-to-month contract	0.0%	5.2%	9.1%	85.7%	-3.9%	4.9%	0.43	77
	Tester(s) offered 2-year lease	7.8%	3.9%	5.2%	83.1%	-1.3%	3.9%	0.74	77
Fees, incentives, and move-in costs	Tester(s) told fees required	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	-	-	77
	One tester told higher fees		15.6%	16.9%	67.5%	-1.3%	6.8%	0.85	77
	Average fees		\$399	\$390		\$9	\$37	0.80	77
	One tester told higher application fee		4%	4%	92%	0%	3%	1.00	74
	Average application fee		\$46.85	\$46.78		\$0.07	\$0.67	0.91	74



LGT in-person treatment measures		Both	Control	Transgender	Neither	Difference	Standard error of difference	p-value	N	
	Tester(s) told about incentives	32.5%	19.5%	7.8%	40.3%	11.7%	5.0%	0.03	77	**
	One tester told of higher incentives		27.3%	18.2%	54.5%	9.1%	7.4%	0.23	77	
	Average yearly incentives		\$756	\$675		\$80	\$115	0.49	77	
	Tester(s) told security deposit required	70.1%	9.1%	2.6%	18.2%	6.5%	4.5%	0.16	77	
	One tester told higher security deposit		3.3%	6.7%	90.0%	-3.3%	3.9%	0.41	60	
	Average security deposit		\$437	\$463		-\$27	\$16	0.11	60	
	Tester told about a surety bond	0%	3%	1%	96%	1%	2%	0.56	77	
	Average surety bond		\$87	\$225		-\$138	\$138	0.42	3	
	Average effective deposit		\$437	\$464		-\$27	\$16	0.09	60	*
	One tester told higher yearly net cost		23.4%	26.0%	50.6%	-2.6%	7.0%	0.71	77	
	Average yearly net cost		\$21,592	\$21,684		-\$91	\$225	0.69	77	
	Tester(s) provided listings, floor plan, brochure, etc.	89.0%	8.0%	3.0%	0.0%	5.0%	4.2%	0.24	100	
	Tester(s) provided more total items		52.0%	28.0%	20.0%	24.0%	8.5%	0.01	100	***
	Tester(s) told arrangement for contact	45.0%	15.0%	36.0%	4.0%	-21.0%	12.2%	0.10	100	*
Helpfulness	Tester(s) told positive remark	19.1%	23.5%	22.1%	35.3%	1.5%	10.5%	0.89	68	
	Tester(s) told more positive remarks		27.9%	32.4%	39.7%	-4.4%	11.7%	0.71	68	
	Tester(s) told negative remark	0.0%	2.9%	1.5%	95.6%	1.5%	1.5%	0.33	68	
	Tester(s) told more negative remarks		2.9%	1.5%	95.6%	1.5%	1.5%	0.33	68	
	Tester(s) received agent follow-up	24.7%	16.9%	15.6%	42.9%	1.3%	5.7%	0.82	77	
<b>Overall</b>	Overall average number of units inspected		1.46	1.28		0.18	0.09	0.06	100	*

Note: LGT = lesbian, gay male, or transgender.

\* $p < 0.10$  \*\* $p < 0.05$  \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

# Appendix K. Guidance for Practitioners

This appendix draws on the experiences of the study’s field operations team. The guidance is intended to be useful for fair housing practitioners who conduct paired testing focused on lesbians, gay men, and transgender people.

## K.1. Introduction

This guidance highlights the findings and experiences of a pilot study of discrimination in the rental housing market based on sexual orientation (using same-sex relationship status as a proxy) and gender status (*A Paired-Testing Pilot Study of Housing Discrimination against Same-Sex Couples and Transgender Individuals*, also referred to as HDS-LGT, reflecting an earlier title—Housing Discrimination Study—Lesbians, Gay Men, and Transgender People). It is a resource for advocates, enforcement and regulatory agencies, and other practitioners on how paired-testing projects can identify the forms and incidence of differential treatment. This guide is not a how-to manual but offers concrete practical advice and general guidance that can be incorporated into a fair housing testing project for research or enforcement purposes. It reflects the lessons and best practices learned by the Urban Institute’s field operations team while completing more than 13,000 paired tests across multiple testing studies in more than 40 metropolitan areas since 2011.

This introductory section of this guidance describes the key research questions and high-level findings of HDS-LGT and includes a brief examination of the paired-testing methodology. The second section—*Designing a Paired-Testing Project*—details how features of the HDS-LGT design were determined. The third section—*Test Administration*—offers best practices for structuring and implementing a testing program in which evidence is collected and analyzed systematically, allowing for the observation of market practices and behaviors that otherwise may go undetected. The fourth section—*Testing Tools*—describes the data collection tools and processes that can help make the testing process more efficient and avoid detection. The fifth section—*Using the Data*—provides examples of direct and indirect forms of differential treatment, addresses the analysis of test files, and discusses potential next steps when testing results indicate possible discrimination. The sixth and final section concludes the guidance.

## HDS-LGT Overview

HDS-LGT was a pilot study designed to accomplish three goals: (1) develop an in-person, paired-testing protocol and conduct a pilot test to estimate baseline levels of rental housing discrimination against men partnering with men and women partnering with women relative to comparable heterosexual couples; (2) develop and pilot test an in-person, paired-testing protocol to estimate rental housing discrimination against transgender individuals; and (3) compare the utility of remote testing conducted by telephone or e-mail with in-person testing.

To achieve these goals, the project team conducted 2,009 paired tests: 1,200 in-person tests split evenly between women and men posing as part of a same-sex couple; 204 in-person tests with transgender individuals; and 300 tests conducted by telephone or e-mail with women and 305 remote tests with men, all posing as part of same-sex couples. Testing was conducted in three metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs): 1,805 same-sex couples tests in the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX, MSA (hereafter, the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA) and the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, MSA (hereafter, the Los Angeles MSA), and 204 transgender tests in the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV MSA (hereafter, the Washington, DC, MSA). Testing was conducted from the fall of 2014 through the summer of 2015.

All tester pairs were matched on race, ethnicity, and approximate age and were assigned comparable employment and income. Lesbian testers were paired with heterosexual women, and gay men testers were paired with heterosexual men.<sup>53</sup> Control testers for transgender men were cisgender men,<sup>54</sup> control testers for transgender women were cisgender women, and gender queer<sup>55</sup> testers were paired with cisgender men and women assigned in roughly equal proportion.

Key findings from the study include the following: housing providers treated lesbians comparably to heterosexual women seeking rental housing, though small differences across treatment measures of availability and inspections consistently disadvantaged lesbians; overall, providers told gay men about one fewer available rental unit for every 4.2 tests than they told heterosexual men; and housing providers told transgender testers about fewer units than they told cisgender homeseekers. The comparison of findings from the remote and in-person testing methods does not lead to a conclusive finding on the sufficiency of remote testing. The main report provides additional details on the findings of HDS-LGT.

## Paired-Testing Methodology

The paired-testing methodology originated as a tool for fair housing enforcement, detecting and documenting instances of discrimination. Since the late 1970s, fair housing testing has also been used in housing discrimination studies to measure patterns of adverse treatment across the housing market.<sup>56</sup> In a

paired test of housing discrimination, two individuals—one a member of a focal class or class of interest and the other a control tester similar in every way other than the characteristic being tested—pose as equally qualified homeseekers. Both testers are assigned comparable personal and financial characteristics and are trained to make the same inquiries and express the same needs and preferences. From the perspective of the housing provider, the only difference between the two is the characteristic of interest, such as sexual orientation or gender status; if no discriminatory practices are in play, testers should receive the same information and assistance. Systematic differences in treatment found in data from consistently implemented tests (for example, telling focal<sup>57</sup> homeseekers that apartments are no longer available but telling control partners they could move in next month) provide direct evidence of differential treatment.

Paired testing can measure the incidence and forms of discrimination at multiple points in the homeseeking and rental process—from contacting the rental agent to securing an appointment, meeting with the agent to view available units, and learning about move-in dates—and in the differences in quoted monthly rent, security deposits, utilities, and the like. The paired-testing methodology used in the housing discrimination studies, however, has not extended into the lease-signing or occupancy stages of the process. Paired testing cannot capture discrimination against established tenants in lease renewals, property use and maintenance, and the like.<sup>58</sup>

## K.2. Designing a Paired-Testing Project

For HDS-LGT, the Urban Institute drew from the lessons of past housing discrimination projects, adapting the paired-testing methodology to address the study’s specific population and key research questions. In this section, the authors describe the process for selecting housing providers, tester characteristics, and test protocols.

### Selecting Housing Providers for Testing

HDS-LGT used the same process used in previous HDSs to select housing providers for testing. Advertisements were automatically harvested through the project’s online data collection system from publicly available online sources and selected at random.<sup>59</sup> The sources included ApartmentGuide.com; Apartments.com; craigslist.org; Move.com; and Rent.com.

Project staff screened the randomly selected housing advertisements before assigning them to testers and excluded those that were deemed ineligible for testing, such as subsidized or public housing, temporary or vacation rentals, and shared housing. This process identified market-rate, permanent housing covered by

the Fair Housing Act that could be tested using the established protocols. Testing organizations should consider the prevalence of certain types of advertised housing or housing providers in a locality when determining advertisement-eligibility criteria, such as single-room occupancy dwellings, mobile homes, properties located on Indian land, and apartment locator services or fee brokers.

Although testing organizations could use a process similar to the HDSs to identify housing providers, they could also select particular segments of the market, such as smaller “mom-and-pop” landlords (as opposed to property owners of multiple complexes) or housing providers in particular neighborhoods or suburbs. For example, if a testing organization had received previous complaints from a homeseeker or tenant about the practices in a particular building, a testing project could shed light on whether all the properties run by the same management company use similar application processes or steer particular homeseekers to units on particular floors or in specific buildings. See chapter 3 for more information about the ad-sampling methods and ad-eligibility criteria.

Testing organizations that plan to test multiple properties within the same company should be mindful of the procedures housing providers use to document homeseeker visits. Many companies collect basic information about prospective tenants, such as home addresses, e-mail addresses, telephone numbers, and details on the housing the tester inquired about and viewed. When testers conduct tests at more than one property within a company, they may be questioned about previous appointments by agents who can easily retrieve the homeseeker’s comprehensive record of visits. If testers provide information that is inconsistent with information they provided on a previous visit to a property, such as marital status or number of children, it may prompt further questions and could pose a significant detection risk. Test coordinators should keep careful records of where testers have conducted site visits and pay close attention to the personal and financial characteristics testers are assigned.

## Tester Characteristics

At the outset of any testing project, organizations and testing managers should be explicit about the questions the project seeks to answer. The choices made about the characteristics of the matched tester pairs should align with the information the organization intends to obtain. Depending on the number of tests planned in a study, project managers should consider whether any tester profiles will be more conspicuous and increase the risk for detection, which may affect the timeframe during which the tests can be conducted.

During the design phase of the lesbian and gay male tests for HDS-LGT, the project team determined that all focal testers would be assigned same-sex partners, allowing the same-sex relationships to serve as a proxy for sexual orientation, as in previous discrimination studies. Although the use of “coupled” testers

limits the study findings to the treatment of lesbians and gay men in a relationship, the design choice reduced the challenge associated with disclosing sexual orientation in some other manner and eliminated a need to develop separate instructions for single and coupled testers to disclose orientation.

The project team wrestled with the specific terms testers should use when referring to their partner because certain terms may be misconstrued. For example, a housing provider may misunderstand girlfriend to refer to a platonic relationship when used by a lesbian tester. Partner may be misunderstood as a business associate instead of a romantic partner. The local testing organization from the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA was unsure how husband or wife would be received by providers in Texas, where same-sex marriage was not then legal, and whether the terms would affect treatment. The team decided to use a mix of terms. On half the tests, testers posed as being married and were assigned to refer to their spouse as husband or wife, as appropriate for the test. For the other half of the tests, testers posed as unmarried and were assigned to refer to their significant other as their girlfriend, boyfriend, or partner. Testers were assigned to use girlfriend or boyfriend on about 25 percent of tests and partner on the remaining 25 percent. When designing a project on discrimination against lesbians and gay males, testing organizations should strongly consider which relationship or marital status to assign testers and which relationship terms may be most natural to use in the test's geographic area.

In addition, for the lesbian and gay tests, testers were assigned household compositions with or without children.<sup>60</sup> Although testers were not directed to disclose their family status initially when disclosing their same-sex relationship, they could respond to questions about their family status, if asked. Test profiles that included children could be assigned to both married and unmarried households. Testers were assigned anywhere from zero to three children, and the distribution of the assignments that included children in the household composition roughly matched the distribution of lesbian and gay households with children in the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA and the Los Angeles MSA. Testing organizations should consider which household compositions may be most appropriate when making test assignments.

## Test Protocols

Paired tests can be conducted via e-mail, over the telephone, or in person. Because extended interaction between the tester and housing provider offers the greatest potential for information and insight, in-person testing is considered the gold standard. HDS-LGT used telephone conversations, e-mail messages, and in-person visits with rental housing providers to collect data.

Whether practitioners decide to conduct systemic testing that includes telephone contact and in-person visits or only one method of interaction with the housing provider, the paired-testing protocols and field-management procedures used in HDS-LGT can help inform smaller-scale systemic testing. The

protocols and procedures were based on those developed for several previous housing discrimination studies, including the national *Housing Discrimination Against Racial and Ethnic Minorities 2012* (HDS-2012) (Turner et al. 2013). The following section outlines the HDS-LGT testing process, including protocols for telephone contact and in-person site visits. The detailed protocols used in HDS-LGT and flowcharts of the testing process are included in appendix B.

During the design phase of the transgender study, the research team wrestled with how transgender testers could identify their transgender status during the disclose tests as naturally as possible. In addition to receiving expert advisors' input, design discussions were informed by transgender participants through the focus groups the Urban Institute facilitated to discuss housing search practices. See appendix D for an overview of the focus group discussions. The project team decided that, for the 100 tests in which transgender testers would explicitly disclose their transgender status, testers would reference a difference between the name they go by and the name on their license, passport, or credit report or under which they had rented housing previously. Testers were trained to reference the name the housing provider would find if the tester submitted a rental application or have their credit report pulled (though neither of these steps occurred) and say that they were transgender by way of explanation. All transgender testers participating in the disclose tests referenced a difference in name, even though some of them had legally changed their name and held name-congruent documents.

## Testing Process

All three components of HDS-LGT—the same-sex couples in-person testing, the same-sex couples remote testing, and the transgender exploratory study—had the same first three steps.

1. **Advance contact.** The first step was making contact on each sampled advertisement before it could be assigned to testers. 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.** In the second step, a 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 focal testers (lesbians, gay men, and transgender individuals) were assigned the same or slightly better qualifications (for example, slightly higher income, longer time on the job) than were the control testers.

3. **Briefing.** In the third step, 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. See attachment K.2 for the HDS-LGT tester briefing checklist.

The following bullet points describe how housing provider contact was made for each of the three components of the study.

1. Same-Sex Couples In-Person Tests

- **Appointment contact.** As the fourth step, testers were assigned to contact the housing provider to make an appointment to view available units. Testers were instructed to make contact by telephone unless the advertisement provided only an e-mail address. They were assigned a web-based telephone number and e-mail account to make appointments and receive messages from housing providers. Testers documented their appointment contacts on appointment report forms. All testers posed as members of couples, married or unmarried, with or without children. They disclosed clearly to the agent their same-sex relationship during the appointment contact, either at the beginning of the telephone call or in a telephone or e-mail message, by referring to their partner or spouse using gendered names and pronouns and using the assigned term that referenced their relationship (that is, *partner, girlfriend or boyfriend, wife or husband*). The terms used to reference the relationship were consistent for both testers of a matched pair.
- **Site visit.** In the fifth step, testers conducted site visits, following standardized protocols designed to gather key information for assessing differential treatment. Testers began each test by referring to their significant other using gendered names, pronouns, and the assigned terms that referenced their relationship. Testers would then ask about the advertised unit and other available units that met their needs. Units that met a tester's needs were those within a tester's price range, were available when needed, and had at least the minimum number of bedrooms required for the tester's assigned household. Under no circumstances were testers to agree to a credit check, which would disclose that their actual income and other information differed from what they told the provider.

2. Same-Sex Couples Remote Tests

- **Remote contact.** As the fourth step on the same-sex couples remote testing, all testers contacted the housing provider to gather information on available units and to make an appointment to view the units. The protocol directed testers to make contact by telephone unless the advertisement provided only an e-mail address. As with the in-person tests, all testers posed as members of couples, married or unmarried, with or without children. They disclosed their same-sex relationship, either at the beginning of the telephone call or in a telephone or e-mail message, by referring to



their significant other using gendered names and pronouns and the assigned term that referenced their relationship. The terms used to reference the relationship were consistent across the testers of a matched pair. After gathering information on the terms and conditions for available rental units, testers requested an appointment. Testers who successfully obtained an appointment canceled it within a reasonable amount of time.

### 3. Transgender In-Person Tests

- **Drop-in and appointment contact.** As the fourth step in the testing process, testers were assigned a drop-in test approach, when possible. If an appointment was necessary to obtain a site visit, transgender testers were instructed not to disclose their gender status during the contact to set up an appointment. All testers posed as single adults with no children. Testers were assigned a web-based telephone number and e-mail account to make appointments and to receive messages from housing providers.
- **Site visit.** In the fifth step, testers followed one of the two standardized protocols to gather key information for assessing differential treatment. Protocols required transgender testers to explicitly disclose their gender status in 100 of the 200 tests. Transgender testers disclosed their status early during the site visit, before discussing the availability of rental units and rent details. Examples of disclosure approaches include signing a guest book with both one's legal or birth name and current name while mentioning the difference to the housing provider, or, when asked to leave identification with the provider during the visit, noting that the name and gender on one's license or other form of identification was incongruent with the tester's identity (for testers with gender-incongruent identification). All testers asked about the advertised unit and other available units that met their needs. Units that met a tester's needs were those within a tester's price range, were available when needed, and had at least the minimum number of bedrooms required for the tester's assigned household. Under no circumstances were testers to agree to a credit check, which would disclose that their assigned income and other information differed from what they told the provider.

For each component of the study, after testers made contact with the housing provider, they completed test forms, attended a debriefing session, and documented any follow-up contact:

**Test forms.** Testers were instructed to begin completing test forms within an hour of the telephone contact or in-person visit. Testers reported information about the application process, whether and which utilities were included in the rent, exact address of the unit, number of bedrooms, rent amount, amount of security deposit and any other fees or incentives, lease length, date of availability, and any information

about the tester gathered by the housing provider, such as income, employment, and family size. The HDS-LGT test report forms are in appendix C.

**Debriefing.** After testers completed all report forms, they met with the test coordinator to review report forms for completeness and talk about any issues or concerns with the test. Testers also submitted the handwritten notes they took during the telephone test and site visit and any documents, handouts, or business cards obtained during the site visit. 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 could debrief over the telephone. See attachment K.3 for the HDS-LGT tester debriefing checklist.

**Follow-up contact.** The final step in the test process was to document any follow-up contact with a housing provider. Testers completed a report form to record information on any e-mail or telephone calls from a housing provider and any follow-up contact a tester was instructed to initiate. For the same-sex couples in-person testing and the transgender testing, any follow-up contact occurring within 14 days after the site visit was recorded. For the same-sex couples remote testing, any follow-up contact occurring within 7 days after the contact with the housing provider was recorded. The follow-up contact form is also included in appendix C.

When determining the protocols for a testing project, testing organizations should consider the preferred spacing between contacts initiated by each tester in a pair or by multiple tester pairs. Depending on the housing market in an organization's metropolitan area, repeated contacts to the same housing provider may increase the likelihood of detection. In a competitive housing market, however, information collected through telephone calls or site visits that are spaced too far apart may reflect differences due to market conditions (and how briefly a unit may remain available) rather than discrimination. For example, if one tester in a pair will be conducting a site visit on a Tuesday, the test coordinator may have the second tester conduct a site visit before the end of the week, because many units may be rented during the weekend. When designing a project, test coordinators can pretest different protocols, including the spacing of contacts, to determine possible parameters to be used.

## K.3. Test Administration

The successful administration of any testing project requires thorough oversight, a solid tester pool, and excellent communication within the project team, especially with testers. The HDS testing organizations that consistently coordinated successful tests were in regular contact with their testers throughout a project. Whether a test coordinator called, texted, or e-mailed testers to remind them that they had a site

visit scheduled could make the difference between a failed test and one in which both testers completed their site visits. HDS testing organizations that clearly communicated with testers about expectations, project goals and timelines, and payment and reimbursement processes—and any unexpected changes to them—had the strongest relationships with their testers.

## Recruiting Testers

A major challenge many testing organizations face while implementing housing discrimination studies is recruiting and retaining testers. Although many organizations that participated in the studies the Urban Institute conducted had active testing programs, they still needed to recruit a large pool of new testers to complete their required number of tests. Many groups recruited the initial number of necessary testers but experienced a high attrition rate, which forced continued recruitment and training while coordinating and reviewing tests. The HDS-LGT project team anticipated attrition after the tester training session (when testers learned how detailed the protocols were) and after testers conducted their first practice test (when some testers realized they were uncomfortable assuming assigned but untrue characteristics).

Experience has demonstrated the importance of recruiting a pool of capable and committed testers at the beginning of any housing discrimination paired-testing project, regardless of the type of testing to be conducted. A careful and deliberate recruitment process is a significant first step toward ensuring the project's success. During the budgeting and planning phase, organizations should allocate sufficient staff time for recruitment. As practitioners understand, the testing process can involve complex assignments and detailed protocols, so testers should be selected carefully according to their ability to perform this work. Organizations should delve deeply within their existing networks of social service agencies, community groups, student associations, and interested nonprofit organizations to identify prospective tester candidates. Testing and fair housing organizations may need to conduct additional outreach to organizations that serve specific ethnic, racial, and immigrant communities to further increase the diversity of the tester pool. Because testing requires secrecy, any advertising should be part of a careful, comprehensive strategy that avoids using such terms as *testing* or *fair housing research* that may disclose the sensitive nature of the work.

The local testing organizations involved in HDS-LGT worked with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) groups in their areas during outreach and recruitment to assemble a sufficiently large tester pool. Project staff contacted established lesbian, gay male, and transgender advocacy organizations that offer a wide range of services and groups that serve particular segments of the communities (for example, age groups, races, ethnicities, and gender identities). For the same-sex couples tests, local testing organizations recruited people identifying as lesbian, gay, or bisexual to be focal testers. For the

transgender testing, focal testers had to identify as transgender or gender queer and could participate in the study regardless of their gender expression or gender conformity.<sup>61</sup>

Testing organizations that do not have relationships with LGBTQ organizations should be mindful that LGBTQ groups may not be familiar with testing and should be prepared to share numerous details, including job responsibilities and compensation rates, before communicating with their members about participating in a project. Testing staff may need to explain why specific segments of the LGBTQ community may not be able to participate in a study. For example, transgender individuals may not be able to serve as testers in a discrimination study about sexual orientation because their transgender status may introduce an additional variable, making the results difficult to assess. In a similar way, testing staff recruiting transgender people should be prepared to answer questions about whether prospective testers must “pass” as the gender with which they identify or be readily identifiable as transgender. Testing organizations that require outside assistance in determining the characteristics of the desired tester pool and the appropriate language to convey such decisions should consider inviting LGBTQ organization staff to serve as project advisors.

As the HDS-LGT project team experienced in previous HDSs, the recruitment of particular groups of testers can be extremely challenging, sometimes requiring significant time and yielding marginal increases to the tester pool. Recruiting Asian and Hispanic testers for the earlier studies proved to be the most challenging, but it was particularly difficult to recruit lesbian, gay male, and transgender testers who were Asian or Hispanic. In addition to conducting outreach to community and advocacy organizations serving the Asian and Hispanic communities, project staff also tapped their own personal and professional networks and relied on active testers to help recruit family and friends to the project. When recruiting new testers for an LGBTQ project, testing staff should think creatively and strategically about how to reach prospective testers that reflect the diversity of the surrounding area’s LGBTQ community.

Because tester attrition is likely within any organization, test coordinators should recruit 15 to 20 percent beyond their recruitment goals. Based on experience, the HDS-LGT team expected that most tester attrition would occur after the initial tester training sessions (when testers learn the detailed protocols) and after testers conducted their first practice test (when some testers realize they are uncomfortable assuming assigned but untrue characteristics). The team also anticipated that testers who are underemployed may leave the study before its completion if they find long-term employment. These expectations were realized during the study, but the level of tester attrition was exacerbated by a limit imposed on the number of tests each tester could complete (20 tests). This tester cap helped ensure that tests were distributed among a larger pool of testers, minimizing the impact any single tester could have on the study findings.

Other factors led to additional challenges for transgender tester recruitment and retention. Some prospective testers were uncomfortable disclosing their transgender status. One transgender female tester who was offered a job when she interviewed as a male (but not when she had initially interviewed as a

female) worried that her participation in the project could compromise her employment because she continued to present as a male at her workplace after she was hired. Project staff working with testers who identify as transgender should be mindful that, depending on where individuals are in their transition and whether their transgender status is known to friends, family, coworkers, and members of their household, they may not be able to accept as many assignments as the tester may want or as the project may require. Project staff must be sensitive to challenging circumstances that can affect testers' ability to participate in testing projects.

The implementation of the transgender study was also complicated by the underemployment or unemployment of many of the transgender testers. During the project, a few testers left the study when they accepted a full-time job. For other testers, their low income led to obstacles.<sup>62</sup> For example, some testers did not own cell phones; others were homeless and were staying with friends or family temporarily. Both circumstances made it difficult to assign tests to them in a timely manner. Some testers without access to vehicles could not accept certain assignments because they could not cover the cost of public transportation or a taxi to a test site, even though the local testing organization reimbursed testers for all travel expenses. After the group advanced transportation costs or paid for transportation directly, such as through Uber, transgender testers more readily accepted assignments.

Testing organizations should consider working with LGBTQ groups to better understand the socioeconomic composition of the LGBTQ population in their community, which may help project staff better anticipate challenges in implementing testing studies and may also contribute to the assignment of tester financial profiles that are more closely aligned with reality. Testing organizations can help mitigate the level of tester attrition by implementing efficient administrative procedures. Staff can ensure that scheduling, logistics, invoicing, and payments are handled in an efficient and timely manner. Although testing organizations will likely need to do routine tester trainings to incorporate new recruits, it can be worthwhile for test coordinators to keep in touch with their current tester pool, even after a project has come to an end, to gauge their interest in upcoming testing opportunities, ascertain any changes to their availability, and notify them of agency updates.

## **Interviewing and Selecting Testers**

After outreach efforts have identified prospective testers, in-person interviews with candidates should be arranged. The interview, the most crucial step in selecting testers, will help organizations determine which individuals can fulfill the responsibilities of the role. When meeting with transgender or gender-nonconforming applicants, test coordinators should inquire about the person's preferred name and pronoun.

## TESTER INTERVIEWS

Testing organizations should consider the following criteria when assessing whether an applicant should be selected as a tester.

- **Confidentiality.** A successful testing program requires confidentiality. If housing providers learn that testing is occurring, it could hinder efforts to capture information about ordinary business practices because the providers could temporarily alter their practices or intensify efforts to identify potential testers. During the interview process, before a detailed description of the project is given, groups should stress to potential testers that the information shared during the interview is to be kept strictly confidential, regardless of whether a candidate chooses to participate. If applicants will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement, they should do it at the beginning of the interview.
- **Objectivity.** Testing organizations should stress the importance of objectivity during the initial stages of candidate interviews. Prospective testers should be able to conduct each test without making assumptions about which housing providers are more likely to discriminate. Testers should be able to make fair and honest assessments of their experiences. Candidates who are unsure of their ability to remain objective throughout the testing process should not be considered.
- **Affiliation with the housing industry.** Because of the nature of testing, applicants who wish to be testers should not work for or have immediate family who work for any segment of the housing industry, such as property management companies, insurance companies, appraisal companies, real estate firms, lending institutions, or other housing providers.
- **Willingness to disclose personal information.** Depending on the nature of the study, testers may be required to convey information about their sexual orientation or gender status to housing providers. Project staff should be explicit about what personal information testers will be required to share and ask if the applicant has any reservations about doing so.
- **Ability to follow test protocols.** Testing staff should also convey to prospective testers that they must follow testing protocol at all times, regardless of how they may naturally be inclined to respond to something in their daily lives. For HDS-LGT, test coordinators explained that, although testers could encounter treatment by housing providers that could be considered discriminatory, the testing protocol dictated that they not react to such treatment. Instead, they were required to remain as neutral as possible in their behavior and demeanor.
- **Comfort with project's subject matter.** Testing staff should share enough details about the project's focus to gauge the comfort level of a prospective tester and help determine whether the person would be a good fit for testing. For HDS-LGT, test coordinators interviewing prospective testers

explained that the project measured discrimination against lesbians, gay men, and transgender individuals in the rental housing market. Test coordinators asked prospective control testers whether they knew any people who were lesbian, gay, or transgender or had knowledge surrounding issues that affect the LGBTQ community. They also asked them whether they would feel comfortable participating in a training session with people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender. If prospective testers indicated they would be uncomfortable attending the training with LGBTQ participants, applicants were not invited to participate in the study, ensuring a comfortable and safe space for all testers.

- **Logistics.** After an organization has determined that an applicant has satisfied the minimum qualifications for being a tester, the applicant may be invited to complete a tester application. Testing organizations may need to perform background checks on applicants who may be called on to provide testimony about any enforcement work they do. Therefore, different criteria for applicant selection may apply, depending on the type of testing being conducted (that is, research testing or enforcement testing). See the tester interview questions and evaluation sheet in attachment K.1 for suggested evaluation criteria.

## TESTER SELECTION AND MATCHING

Testing organizations can select testers after they have compiled a list of acceptable tester applicants. Selecting applicants will hinge on the ability to form tester pairs based on key characteristics such as race and ethnicity, gender, and age. Testers' personalities may also play a role in the formation of particular pairs (that is, matching outgoing or assertive people with other outgoing or assertive people, matching passive or reserved people with other passive or reserved people, and so on). In addition, when selecting testers, testing organizations should consider the applicant's availability for testing and aptitude to perform the work (for example, reliably follow through with test assignments, complete test reports, write clear and detailed narratives).

Testing organizations should consider the extent to which selecting testers who are racially or ethnically identifiable over the telephone or in person may be important for a study. Previous HDSs, including HDS-2012 (Turner et al. 2013) and HDS-LGT, assessed tester racial and ethnic identifiability or the likelihood that a housing provider accurately perceives a tester's race or ethnicity. The approach mimicked the information on testers' characteristics available to housing providers during remote and in-person interactions. The racial and ethnic identifiability of each tester was determined based on the tester's name, recorded voice (testers read a short prepared script), and a standardized photograph (for testers who participated in the in-person testing).<sup>63</sup> For testers who participated in the remote testing component of HDS-LGT, the racial and ethnic identifiability of each tester was determined based on the tester's name and recorded voice only. Urban Institute employees who did not know the testers assessed racial and ethnic

identifiability through a two-step process. First, they read the names of testers who conducted remote and in-person tests and listened to each tester’s audio recording (that is, the information available to an agent over the telephone). Next, the coders viewed photographs along with the names and audio recordings of testers who conducted in-person tests (that is, the information available to an agent during an in-person meeting). Three independent coders assessed each tester. The researchers used these data for a sensitivity analysis to see whether results varied when they excluded tests with testers whose race or ethnicity was not readily identifiable.

The research team conducted a similar assessment to support analysis of whether testers who are more identifiable as transgender are more likely to experience discrimination. The team used the same approach described previously (third-party coding of testers based on name, audio recording, and photograph) to code the gender identifiability of transgender and cisgender testers who participated in the transgender testing component of the study. In addition, a researcher who had met each tester coded whether a person meeting the tester would likely think the person was transgender or cisgender. In practice, the sample sizes for the various identifiability groups were too small to draw meaningful conclusions. Further, these assessments were based on a single snapshot or meeting. Gender expression can vary over time and across tests, which limits the value of one-time assessments. Depending on the goals of a specific transgender testing project, testing organizations could consider assessing the gender identifiability of prospective testers *before* data collection to inform tester selection rather than at the conclusion of the testing. In addition, project staff could work with testers to achieve more consistent gender expression across multiple tests. While the identifiability analysis for HDS-LGT asked coders to identify whether the person was a cisgender female, transgender female, cisgender male, transgender male (or, alternatively, coders could select the “don’t know” option), testing organizations may instead provide coders with the binary options of female/male and “don’t know.”

After testing organizations choose testers, they should notify applicants that they have or have not been selected to participate. During selection notification, testing organizations should provide testers with all relevant project information, including training dates, compensation, any other general expectations for the project, and answers to any questions.

## Tester Training

An essential component of any testing project is a thorough tester training program, which includes a training session and a practice test. The training session must explain the entire testing process in detail; it must establish protocols and guidelines, explain data collection forms, and review tricky or problematic testing scenarios. In addition, because paired testing largely hinges on consistency of behavior between



testers in a pair, training must delineate codes of conduct. The training session is also a forum for discussing any questions testers have before their first experience in the field. HDS-LGT used Microsoft PowerPoint for in-person training. Role playing, short film clips, and pop quizzes increased tester engagement and reinforced key protocols. As part of the HDS training program, testers also had to complete a practice test. During practice tests, testers conducted a site visit, completed test forms, and wrote a detailed narrative, as they did during real tests. When training testers for a new project, test coordinators should work with testers before and after their site visits to ensure that all protocols are followed and that narratives are well written and include a comprehensive description of the tester's interaction with the housing provider. By making this initial investment during the training phase of the project, testing staff will significantly increase the quality of the tests to be completed.

## Tester Safety Plan

At the outset of the study, the project team at the Urban Institute acknowledged that testers participating in the study may be at high risk for experiencing insensitive, inappropriate, and discriminatory treatment and physical threats. Risks ranged from experiencing rude, inappropriate, or overtly discriminatory treatment to aggressive and possibly physically threatening actions, all of which could result in emotional, psychological, or physical harm. The research team worked closely with its project partners, including LGBTQ mental health professionals at Whitman-Walker Health, to develop a plan for physical safety and emotional well-being that mitigated risks and provided additional support to local testing organizations and testers. Test coordinators were instructed on the use of particular test coordination tools, such as the tester briefing and debriefing checklists, which were revised to include tester safety reminders. Before each site visit, test coordinators provided testers with the telephone number at which they could be reached if a safety issue arose during a test. The tester safety plan incorporated input gathered at expert panel meetings and focus groups and from key staff at Whitman-Walker Health. For the entire safety plan, see appendix F.

## K.4. Testing Tools

The use of specific testing tools may make the testing process simpler and more efficient and may reduce the risk of detection. The Urban Institute's field operations team has used the following tools since the HDS-2012 study (Turner et al. 2013).

## Web-Based Telephone and E-Mail

The HDS project teams used web-based telephone and e-mail services that manage incoming calls, enable intelligent call forwarding, and provide digital voicemail services that can be accessed on line or transcribed to text.

Using web-based phone and e-mail accounts can streamline communication by allowing testers to use a telephone number solely for the project and whose digital voicemail could be accessed online by test coordinators and transcribed to text. Because voicemail messages from housing providers also appeared as a written record in the testers' assigned e-mail account and because test coordinators received an e-mail when such messages were received, coordinators could 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 on a landline or their own cell phone. Their web phone number—not the number of the telephone used to make the call—appeared on the housing provider's caller ID.

## Web Conferencing

HDS-LGT also used a subscription-based web-conferencing service to conduct webinars to train testers remotely; sometimes testers in several cities were trained simultaneously. Many companies offer such services, and testing organizations can identify the one that meets their needs at an affordable price. Testing organizations can also use free services to brief and debrief testers one on one via a live video call. By eliminating the need for seasoned testers to make frequent trips to an organization's office, such services can save time and money.

## Online Data Collection Tools

As with previous housing discrimination studies conducted by the Urban Institute, HDS-LGT used the Central Online Data Entry (CODE) System, a test management database, to collect test data at 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 advertisements, testers, e-mail and telephone inquiries, in-person visits, and inspected units, reducing a major source of potential data entry errors. Because a system

comparable to CODE may not be available, testing organizations may want to consider online survey tools to create their own tailored form, particularly when conducting a testing project in multiple metropolitan areas.

## **Effective File Management Systems**

On a given day, a test coordinator may be juggling multiple testers' schedules, obtaining information about potential test sites, creating test assignments, and answering questions from testers conducting tests. Test coordinators must be highly organized and detail oriented to manage a successful testing program. Test coordinators should retain organized test files to keep hard copies of all relevant information. These files should contain information about both testers' (in a pair) briefings, debriefings, test assignments, test reports, and notes they took when they met with the housing provider. In addition, test coordinators should keep a separate personnel file on each tester in the tester pool. All test files should be organized, and any confidential files should be held in a secure location (for example, a locked filing cabinet).

## **Quality Control**

Careful oversight is necessary for test coordinators to identify and correct any problems as soon as they develop at all stages of the testing process. For HDS-LGT, regional coordinators at the Urban Institute provided an extra layer of oversight; they trained all test coordinators and testers, reviewed all submitted tests, and regularly communicated with the test coordinators at each site about the quality of the tests and the effectiveness of the test management at each site. If the test protocols were not followed correctly, if test forms were not complete, if information was not consistent, or the test otherwise did not meet quality standards for the project, it would not be approved and included for data analysis. In a similar way, regional coordinators monitored any issues with recruiting testers, scheduling testers, briefing or debriefing testers, submitting tests, or otherwise adhering to the project timeline and budget, and took action, when necessary, to correct the problem.

Testing organizations can implement similar quality control checks at each stage of the process when conducting a testing project. Test coordinators must take responsibility for tester recruitment, training testers, overseeing testing and test report preparation, reviewing test reports, and maintaining regular communication with testers. Thorough briefings and debriefings can clarify protocols and address testing mistakes, and a detailed review of test reports with the testers is essential for making sure all test reports and narratives are complete, consistent, and free of errors.

## K.5. Using the Data

The implementation of any successful testing project requires testing organizations to determine (1) the documentation testers will complete following a test, (2) what key indicators will be analyzed to determine whether differential treatment has occurred, and (3) what steps will be taken following the project's completion.

### Documentation

The documentation of each test involves a thorough account of a tester's experience, often reported through forms. Testers report the basic rental information conveyed by the agent (for example, cost per month, fees, and date of availability), the extent to which agents inquired about their homeseeking characteristics or volunteered further rental information, details about the visit (for example, address of the tested property, time the visit occurred), and whether any follow-up contact was made. In addition to documentation through test forms, a written narrative description can provide further insight and information about a tester's experience. Narratives are an effective tool in corroborating report forms and offering further insight into a tester's experience.<sup>64</sup> They give testers the opportunity to report overtly discriminatory behavior and allow for elaboration of report-form responses that may not fully capture a tester's experience.

HDS testing protocol recommends that testers begin completing test forms and narratives as soon as possible after a test, preferably within 1 hour of the site visit. Test coordinators should also consider meeting with testers immediately after a test to review completed test information and reflect on what happened during a site visit. Test coordinators should give testers feedback about any questions left unanswered and narratives that lack detail or reflect mistakes in tester protocol. After each site visit, testers should turn in their handwritten notes and any brochures, floor plans, business cards, or similar materials offered by the housing provider. During the design phase of the testing project, test coordinators may also want to determine the period during which follow-up contact from a housing provider will be monitored. For HDS-LGT tests conducted in person, testing organizations monitored follow-up contact from housing providers for 14 days following the site visit.

### Analysis and Indicators of Housing Discrimination

Because a paired-testing project can help fair housing advocates better understand market behavior and housing provider practices, analyzing data requires a detailed inspection of individual test experiences and

an examination of patterns and trends. After both testers in a matched pair have completed their telephone calls or in-person visits, test coordinators can assess any differences in treatment, including those that may violate the Fair Housing Act, by comparing levels of information and service received, considering indicators that may occur throughout the testing process, including contact with an agent, unit availability, fees, the application process, the inspection, comments, items received, and any follow-up contact. Tests investigating discrimination against same-sex couples and transgender individuals may reveal discrimination when a housing provider

- makes an overtly discriminatory comment about not wanting to rent to a homeseeker;
- offers different information about unit availability;
- steers focal testers toward certain units, floors, and buildings, while offering control testers a broader range of rental options;
- requires different rental rates, deposits, and other fees of each tester in a pair; or
- discourages homeseekers from renting a unit by not returning telephone calls, inviting applications, or making follow-up contact.

After test coordinators complete their assessments for each test, the aggregated data from all the tester report forms can help describe market trends and housing provider behavior. The checklist of indicators for HDS-LGT is in attachment K.4 and can help test coordinators determine whether both testers in a pair experienced the same level of service and whether they were provided the same information. Test coordinators should also carefully review test narratives and other qualitative data collected by testers, which can reveal the different and subtle ways that discrimination can occur. For example, on the same-sex couples component of HDS-LGT, a housing agent in Dallas-Fort Worth told a lesbian tester who said she was married that the fee to apply for a rental unit was \$100. The tester recorded this application fee on the tester form. The test narrative revealed that the agent said that although same-sex marriages were legal in other states, Texas does not recognize them; the lesbian tester and her spouse would have to pay separate application fees (\$50 each) as though they were two single people rather than the \$75 fee for married couples. The agent told the control tester that the fee would be \$75.

Qualitative test data can also provide the appropriate context for interpreting the quantitative data testers report.

## Next Steps

After concluding a paired-testing project, testing organizations can take further action, including the following activities:

- **File a claim.** A testing organization may file a complaint if the evidence obtained from the tests indicates that a housing provider is discriminating.<sup>65</sup>
- **Conduct additional targeted testing.** If the outcomes from a testing project are slightly murky but uncover potentially discriminatory behavior by a certain housing provider or multiple housing providers, future targeted enforcement testing may be an important next step.
- **Implement a consumer education program.** Organizations can incorporate the lessons and findings into a consumer education program designed to make homeseekers aware of the various forms of housing discrimination.

As enforcement organizations establish and revise annual priorities for their testing agendas and programmatic goals, staff members may consider giving significant consideration to the changing demographics and evolving needs of the communities they serve. Because discrimination toward lesbians, gay males, and transgender people may intersect with other forms of adverse treatment, such as those aimed at people of color, testing organizations should consider whether they have sufficient outreach strategies within the black, Asian, Hispanic, and immigrant communities. By strengthening relationships with consumers who may experience discrimination as applicants and tenants, testing organizations can increase awareness of differential treatment and of the resources available to residents who encounter barriers to housing.

## K.6. Conclusion

Although the housing discrimination studies conducted since the late 1970s have shown a decrease in the level of blatant housing discrimination over time, some homeseekers still face adverse treatment in various forms. Testing organizations must continue to monitor housing provider practices. The tools and strategies discussed in this guidance for practitioners can be a resource for successfully implementing a testing program that investigates differential treatment based on sexual orientation or gender status, enabling testing organizations to identify evidence of discriminatory practices that may otherwise go undetected. When wielded alongside information gathered from complaint data, the data collected through testing projects can better enable testing organizations to examine how the housing choices of lesbians, gay males, transgender people, and other protected groups are affected by housing provider policies and behaviors.

Testing organizations can use paired-testing methods to better understand the pattern and practice of a housing provider or the emerging trends in the rental market as a whole. By collecting and analyzing data systemically alongside information gleaned from complaints, advocates can pursue enforcement and education strategies to increase awareness about how discrimination can affect housing outcomes for residents and ensure housing providers fulfill their obligations under the Fair Housing Act and other antidiscrimination laws and ordinances.

# Attachment K.1. HDS-LGT Tester Interview Questions and Evaluation Sheet

Tester name \_\_\_\_\_

## **When scheduling an interview, be sure to tell the applicant:**

- the estimated interview time (30 - 45 minutes),
- the interview location address,
- your contact information, and
- that a valid driver's license and access to transportation (or their own personal vehicle) are required

## **In-person interview**

### **Welcome and introductions**

- Introduce yourself and tell the applicant you are recruiting participants for a "research study." Do not offer specifics.
- Discuss the applicant's résumé and experience.

### **Affiliation with the housing industry**

- Tell the applicant that testers and/or their immediate family members cannot work in the housing industry.

**Example question:** *Are you or any of your immediate family members affiliated with the housing industry (e.g., real estate agent, property manager, mortgage lender, homeowner's insurance broker, title company employee, architect, developer)?*

### **Confidentiality**

- If applicant has answered the initial questions satisfactorily, have applicant sign the HDS Tester Consent and Limited Waiver Agreement.
- Make sure applicant understands the importance of keeping project information confidential, even if he or she decides not to be a tester.

### **Project introduction**

- Introduce HDS-LGT (research study, paired testing, importance of objectivity).
- Explain that testing is like acting or role playing, and testers are given personal, household, and financial characteristics that do not necessarily match their own.



- Explain that the project measures discrimination in the rental housing market against lesbians, gay men, and transgender people. Testers should be comfortable with the study's objective.
- Explain that testers will be required to convey their sexual orientation or gender identity to housing providers.

#### **Example questions:**

- *Are you comfortable conveying your sexual orientation or gender identity to a housing provider?*
- *Do you have any reservations about your ability to be convincing as a tester? Are you reluctant to provide fabricated information to a housing provider in a test situation?*
- *Do you know any people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender?*
- *What is your comfort level with people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender, or the LGBT community as a whole?*
- *Do you have any knowledge about issues that affect the lesbian, gay, or transgender community?*
- *Would you feel comfortable participating in a six-hour training with people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender?*

#### **Tester training session, project timeline, time commitment, and location details**

- Provide tester training date, time, and location. Stress that attendance is mandatory.
- Provide details about project timeline and potential testing locations.

*Example question: What is your general availability to test (i.e., days, nights, weekdays, weekends)?*

#### **Tester compensation**

- Explain tester stipend or pay rate for attending tester training and conducting practice test.
- Explain stipend or pay rate for each attempted test (appointment contact) and completed test (site visit), and discuss mileage rate, if applicable.

#### **Evaluation and tester application**

If applicant has answered the above questions to your satisfaction, have him or her complete a tester application on CODE, and review the applicant's

- race/ethnicity and age,
- current employment and employment history,
- weekly availability, and
- access to transportation for conducting tests.

*Does the applicant work in or have immediate family members who work in the housing industry?*  
Y/N

Does the applicant have a high profile in the community or a prominent online presence that could cause a detection risk?

Y / N

Can the applicant attend the tester training program and be available to conduct tests?

Y / N

Does the applicant seem comfortable with the study's objectives and with the LGBT community?

Y / N

Do you believe the applicant might be less than reliable and cooperative, or will have difficulty following instructions?

Y / N

Do you believe the applicant might have trouble reporting their test experiences in an accurate, complete, and objective manner?

Y / N

Is the applicant reasonably personable, well groomed, and articulate?

Y / N

Does the applicant possess adequate writing skills?

Y / N

Will the applicant be able to use CODE to enter test forms?

Y / N

Did you note whether the applicant had a more outgoing or reserved personality? Y / N

Explain: \_\_\_\_\_

Is the applicant a good match for any applicants you've previously interviewed? Y / N

Explain: \_\_\_\_\_

**Evaluation of appearance**

Tester's perceived race: \_\_\_\_\_

Tester's perceived age or age range: \_\_\_\_\_

Did the applicant have an accent? Y / N

Explain:  
\_\_\_\_\_

Did the applicant demonstrate characteristics that make him or her an unsuitable match? Y / N

Explain \_\_\_\_\_

*Did applicant have any of the following?*

- Neglect of personal hygiene Y/N
- Excessive tattoos or piercings Y/N
- Excessive facial hair, unkempt hair, or flashy hairstyle/hair color  
Y/N
- A style of dress that cannot be classified as “clean and casual”  
Y/N

**Applicant selected?**                      **Y/N**                      **Date** \_\_\_\_\_

# Attachment K.2. Briefing Checklist

## TESTER BRIEFING CHECKLIST: HDS-LGT In-Person

(For use by test coordinator; one briefing checklist must be placed in each test file)

Test control # \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tester 1 name \_\_\_\_\_ Tester 1 ID # \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tester 2 name \_\_\_\_\_ Tester 2 ID # \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tester 1 call to be made on (date) \_\_\_\_\_ between (time) \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tester 2 call to be made on (date) \_\_\_\_\_ between (time) \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tester 1 site visit to be made on (date) \_\_\_\_\_ between (time) \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tester 2 site visit to be made on (date) \_\_\_\_\_ between (time) \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_

**Note:** Tester 1 and Tester 2 must initiate contact in the order specified. If the order or spacing is incorrect, the test will be disqualified. The calls, e-mails, and electronic contact must be spaced 1 to 6 (but no more than 24) hours apart. Testers who do not get an answer will leave a message on the first call. If, after 24 hours, they have not received a call back, they will call a second time. If they still do not get an answer, they will NOT leave a message. Testers contacting the housing provider by e-mail or electronic contact will send only one initial e-mail inquiry or electronic contact form.

**Please complete the following tasks during the briefing. Never brief testers at the same time.**

Provide the tester with the following items:

	T1	T2
<input type="checkbox"/> Completed rental assignment form	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Tester instructions	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Copy of “Important Reminders for HDS Testers”	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Notepad or notebook	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Ballpoint pen	—	—
<input type="checkbox"/> Testing coordinator’s telephone number (for emergencies or after hours)	—	—

Review the rental assignment form with the tester to make sure the tester is comfortable portraying the assigned characteristics. — —

Review the test instructions with the tester, including when the tester should make the appointment call and the date and time when he or she should schedule the appointment. — —

Review “Important Reminders for HDS Testers.” — —

Reinforce protocols and make certain the tester understands them. — —

Remind the tester to call or text you when he or she has completed the appointment contact or test. — —

Remind the tester that you will be available to discuss insensitive, inappropriate, or discriminatory treatment after the test at the debriefing, and that he or she should leave their site visit immediately if he or she feels physically threatened. — —

Remind the tester that note taking is mandatory. Once the test is completed, the tester must turn in the notes, rental assignment form, and anything received from the housing provider. — —

Remind the tester that the forms must be started on CODE within an hour of completing the test. If the tester cannot comply with this requirement, provide the tester with paper forms. Remind the tester that he or she will have 24 hours to enter the data from the paper forms into CODE. — —

Ask the tester if he or she has any questions or concerns, and address them thoroughly.

— —

# Attachment K.3. Debriefing Checklist

## **TESTER DEBRIEFING CHECKLIST: HDS-LGT In-Person**

(For use by test coordinator; one debriefing checklist must be placed in each test file)

Test control # \_\_\_\_\_

Tester 1 name \_\_\_\_\_ Tester 1 ID # \_\_\_\_\_

Tester 2 name \_\_\_\_\_ Tester 2 ID # \_\_\_\_\_

Tester 1 appointment call date \_\_\_\_\_ time \_\_\_\_\_

Tester 2 appointment call date \_\_\_\_\_ time \_\_\_\_\_

Tester 1 site visit date \_\_\_\_\_ time \_\_\_\_\_

Tester 2 site visit date \_\_\_\_\_ time \_\_\_\_\_

### **REMINDER: DO NOT DEBRIEF TESTERS AT THE SAME TIME**

#### **Before the testers arrive:**

**T1**

**T2**

1. Review CODE to make sure all forms were completed correctly and corroborate each other.

- Appointment contact form (for each attempt)
- Site visit report form
- Available rental unit form (for each unit they were told about)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. If assigned, make sure the narrative provides a descriptive, chronological account of the tester's experience.

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Note any corrections that need to be made.

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Compare tester 1 information with tester 2 information to determine if spacing of tests is correct.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### **While tester is in your office:**

**T1**

**T2**

1. Collect all test materials from the tester:

- The original rental assignment form, including instructions
- Paper test forms if the tester could not access the CODE system within one hour of a site visit
- Initialed and dated tester notes; add the tester's ID number and test control number, and confirm all pertinent information is documented (e.g., rent, number of units, application and move-in fees)
- Any materials received from the housing provider during the site visit

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Ask the tester if he or she has any comments, questions, or safety concerns.

\_\_\_\_\_

- |    |   |           |           |
|----|---|-----------|-----------|
| 3. | Ask the tester to summarize her or his experience. By having the tester recount the full exchange with the housing provider, including what questions were asked and what responses were given, you can usually discern if the tester made any protocol mistakes and if the tester completed the forms correctly. | _____     | _____     |
| 4. | Based on your quality review of the tester’s CODE forms and notes, do you have questions about any of the answers provided? If so, talk to the tester about them and identify which answers are incomplete or require corrections. Once the corrections are made, check that the forms are complete and accurate. | _____     | _____     |
| 5. | Review all the forms:   | <b>T1</b> | <b>T2</b> |
|    | • <b>Appointment contact form</b> – Are all contact attempts documented?  | _____     | _____     |
|    | • <b>Site visit report form</b> – Are all questions answered?   | _____     | _____     |
|    | • <b>Available rental unit form</b> – Does each unit meet his or her needs (e.g., date needed, maximum rent, size)?   | _____     | _____     |
|    | • <b>Available rental unit form</b> – Does the tester have a form for each unit he or she was told about that met his or her needs?   | _____     | _____     |
|    | • <b>Available rental unit form</b> (costs and incentives section) – Are all fees discussed included?   | _____     | _____     |
|    | • <b>Narrative</b> – Is all the information in the narrative included on the other forms, and do they match?  | _____     | _____     |
|    | • <b>Narrative</b> – Is all the information from the notes included in the narrative, and do they match?  | _____     | _____     |
| 6. | Remind the tester to watch his or her Google Voice and HDS e-mail account to monitor follow-up contact for 14 days after test completion. Remind the tester to complete follow-up contact forms for any contact received.   | _____     | _____     |
| 7. | Discuss the tester’s availability for future tests, and (if possible) brief him or her on the next test, or schedule a time to do so.   | _____     | _____     |

**After both testers have been debriefed (final review):**

Compare forms between tester 1 and tester 2, and ask yourself the following questions:

- |    |  |          |         |
|----|--|----------|---------|
| 1. | Did testers initiate contact in order and between 1 and 24 hours of each other?                    | Yes_____ | No_____ |
| 2. | Did both testers inquire about the assigned housing?   | Yes_____ | No_____ |
| 3. | Did both testers mention girlfriend, boyfriend, partner, or spouse by name?                        | Yes_____ | No_____ |
| 4. | Did both testers only report units that met their needs (e.g., date needed, price range, size)?    | Yes_____ | No_____ |
| 5. | Did testers make their site visit between 1 and 24 hours and not more than 48 hours of each other? | Yes_____ | No_____ |
| 6. | Did both testers follow all other protocols correctly?   | Yes_____ | No_____ |
| 7. | Did both testers fill out CODE correctly and on time?  | Yes_____ | No_____ |

**After you have answered these questions, do the following:**

1. Whether or not the test is acceptable, complete the final assessment form.
2. Organize the following documents in one file folder:
  - Briefing checklist
  - Debriefing checklist
  - Rental assignment forms for both testers
  - Tester notes for both testers
3. Clearly label the folder with the test control number and the tester ID numbers.
4. Tell your regional coordinator that this test is complete and ready for review.
5. Discuss any safety concerns that may have come up during the test with your regional coordinator, and determine if the housing provider should not be tested again because of safety issues.



## Attachment K.4. Checklist of Indicators

The following indicators can be used to help determine whether both testers in a pair experienced the same level of service and were provided the same information. Although it may be possible to identify blatant discrimination in a single test, patterns of more subtle differential treatment or discrimination may emerge only when treatment indicators are applied across many tests.

Measures of Treatment	LGT Tester	Control Tester	Notes on Treatment
<b>Contact with agent</b>			
Tester able to reach agent?			
Tester able to get appointment?			
Tester able to meet with agent?			
Tester met with someone other than agent?			
Tester stood up by agent?			
<b>Availability of units</b>			
Tester able to obtain information about available units from agent?			
Tester experienced difficulty in getting information about available units?			
Advertised unit available?			
Other units of the same size available?			
Tester told about more available units of the same size?			
Tester told no units available?			
<b>Fees and costs</b>			
Tester told about higher rent amount?			
Tester told about required security deposit?			
Tester told about higher security deposit?			
Tester told about required fees?			
Tester told about higher fees?			
Tester told about incentives?			
Tester told about more incentives?			
Tester told about higher yearly cost?			

<b>Application process</b>			
Tester told about required application fee?			
Tester told about higher application fee?			
<i>Tester told about any of the following required for application:</i>			
Credit check?			
Co-signer?			
Criminal background check?			
Income?			
Credit standing?			
Rental history?			
Tester told about additional items required to apply?			
<b>Inspection</b>			
Tester shown units?			
Tester shown more units?			
Tester observed poor conditions in unit(s) shown?			
<b>Comments</b>			
Agent made remarks about sexual orientation or gender identity?			
Agent made remarks about fair housing?			
Agent made positive remarks?			
Agent made more positive remarks?			
Agent made negative remarks?			
Agent made more negative remarks?			
<b>Items received</b>			
Agent provided listings, floor plans, brochure, etc.?			
Agent provided more items?			
<b>Follow-up</b>			
Agent suggested arrangements for future contact?			
Tester received follow-up contact from agent?			

## Attachment K.5. Important Reminders for HDS Testers

### **IMPORTANT REMINDERS FOR HDS-LGT IN-PERSON TESTERS**

- Did you thoroughly review your Rental Assignment Form?
  - Have you memorized your assigned characteristics?
  - Do you know what size and type of housing you are requesting?
  - Have you reviewed the instructions attached to your site visit?
  
- Do you know where you are going? Do you need further directions to the test site? (When you arrive at the test site, double check the address to confirm you are at the correct location.)
  
- Are you dressed appropriately for the type of test you will be performing?
  
- Have you allowed enough time for travel to the test site so that you will arrive on time for your appointment? (If something happens that causes a delay and you know you will be late, call your test coordinator for further instructions.)
  
- Do you have a notepad and pen for taking notes? (REMEMBER: NOTE TAKING IS MANDATORY!)
  
- Do you have a plan for keeping all test-related HDS forms (e.g., your assignment form, paper forms for filling out CODE) out of sight in your car while you are on the assignment (e.g., in the glove box or under the seat)?
  
- Do you have a cell phone with you to call your test coordinator when you have completed the test or if any problems arise?
  
- Have you made arrangements with the test coordinator to start completing test forms in CODE within one hour after your site visit?
  
- If you are unable to start on CODE forms within one hour after your site visit, do you have all of the appropriate paper forms? Have you made arrangements to transfer the data from the paper forms into CODE within 24 hours of completing your site visit?
  
- Have you made arrangements with the test coordinator for debriefing and reviewing your test forms?

- Do you remember the key HDS testing guidelines?
  - Act interested in finding a place to live and be convincing in your role.
  - Be observant. Remember to take notes and record exact addresses, prices, and so on.
  - Keep an open mind and maintain your objectivity.
  - Stick to your assignment and put aside your personal tastes, interests, and preferences.
  - Always maintain confidentiality about your testing activities.
  - Do not volunteer too much information. Allow the agent to ask questions and inquire about your housing needs and qualifications.
  - If you are ever in doubt about what to do, call the test coordinator.

## Attachment K.6. Glossary

**briefing:** the meeting between a test coordinator and a tester before a test is conducted. The purpose of the meeting is to present the tester with a new assignment and prepare the tester to perform the test.

**CODE (Central Online Data Entry) System:** an online data entry system that testers used during HDS-LGT to record their testing experiences. Following any contact with a housing provider, HDS-LGT testers recorded their experiences by completing test forms using the CODE System.

**control tester:** the tester in a pair who is comparably matched with the focal tester on personal, financial, and homeseeking characteristics but who does not share the focal characteristic. In HDS-LGT, the control tester is the heterosexual or cisgender tester.

**debriefing:** the meeting between a test coordinator and a tester after a test has been completed. The purpose is to collect all test file materials from the tester; to review test forms to ensure that the tester recorded the test experience accurately, completely, and objectively; and to determine if the tester performed the test in accordance with his or her assignment and in compliance with established testing procedures.

**enforcement testing:** a type of testing that targets housing providers to gather credible evidence of fair housing violations that can be used in enforcement actions.

**fair housing testing:** a research or investigative technique that involves sending people who, without a bona fide intent to rent a home, pose as prospective renters to gather information for the purpose of determining whether housing providers are providing the same level of service, information, and treatment without regard to personal or household characteristics (for example, race, religion, familial status, sexual orientation, or gender identity).

**focal tester:** the tester in a pair portraying the member of a class that is the subject of testing. In HDS-LGT, the focal tester is the lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester. The term “protected tester” has been used in some paired testing research when the subject of testing focuses on a class explicitly covered by the Fair Housing Act.

**Google Voice:** a free telecommunications service that provides users with a 10-digit telephone number that can be attached to existing cell phones. Testers can make calls through this service using any telephone.

**Housing Discrimination Study–Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender People (HDS-LGT):** a national housing discrimination study, sponsored by HUD and conducted by the Urban Institute; a research project that used paired testing to collect data about housing market practices and to estimate the incidence of differential treatment based on sexual orientation and gender identity status in the provision of rental housing. HDS-LGT was the working title for the report, which was changed to, *A Paired-Testing Pilot Study of Housing Discrimination Against Same-Sex Couples and Transgender Individuals*.

**paired test:** consists of two testers—one lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester and one heterosexual female or male tester or cisgender control tester—who are comparably matched on personal, financial, and homeseeking characteristics. They are assigned to visit rental housing providers and collect data on their experiences.

**research testing:** a type of testing that aims to estimate the prevalence and nature of housing discrimination. Research testing generally features large sample sizes, randomization of the properties to be tested, and wide geographical coverage.

**site visit:** the stage in a test when a tester visits a property to meet with a housing provider and obtain housing information.

**systemic testing:** a series of tests conducted to produce an aggregated body of data that can reveal systematic marketwide practices and behaviors that might otherwise go undetected. Systemic testing is adaptable to both enforcement and research efforts.

**telephone test:** a type of test in which a tester makes contact with a housing provider through a telephone call and obtains housing information. These tests may be conducted separately or with an accompanying site visit.

**test coordinator:** a person who manages tests within a metropolitan area, supervises testers, and coordinates all testing activities.

**tester:** a person who has been selected and trained to conduct tests.

# Notes

1. The authors use *gender status* to indicate whether a person is transgender (gender identity differs from the gender assigned at birth) or cisgender (gender identity matches the gender assigned at birth). When indicating whether a person identifies as female or male, they use *gender identity*.
2. Several civil rights-enforcing federal agencies and several federal courts have held that sexual orientation and gender identity or gender status discrimination are forms of sex- or gender-based discrimination, which is explicitly prohibited by the Fair Housing Act (Harper Jean Tobin, personal communication).
3. Tests were conducted throughout the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA, in Los Angeles County in the Los Angeles MSA, and throughout the Washington, DC, MSA except for the portion in West Virginia.
4. At the time of the study, protections were in place throughout the Los Angeles MSA but only in portions of the Dallas-Fort Worth and the Washington, DC, MSAs.
5. The authors use *focal* rather than *protected* to refer to the lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester of a tester pair because, though the Fair Housing Act prohibits discrimination based on sex, it does not explicitly include the words “sexual orientation” or “gender status.”
6. Among the focal testers in the same-sex couples tests, one was a bisexual woman and the others were lesbians or gay men. For this study, which required focal testers to portray as part of a same-sex couple, the authors use *lesbian* and *gay* when referring to testers and *same-sex couples* when referring to the focus of the tests.
7. *Gender queer* refers to people who do not subscribe to conventional gender distinctions but identify with neither, both, or a combination of male and female attributes.
8. Housing providers may, in some cases, misinterpret the terms and misconstrue the testers’ sexual orientation.
9. See appendix K, “Guidance for Practitioners,” for insights useful for practitioners conducting paired tests focused on discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender status.
10. The authors use *gender status* to indicate whether a person is transgender or cisgender. When indicating whether a person identifies as female or male or another identity, they use *gender identity*.
11. In 1991 and in 1993, legislation was introduced in Congress to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation; neither bill passed out of committee. (Civil Rights Amendments Act of 1993, H.R. 423, 103rd Congress, 1993; <https://www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/house-bill/423/all-info>. US House of Representatives, Civil Rights Act of 1993, H.R. 431, 103rd Congress, 1993; <https://www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/house-bill/431/all-info>. Civil Rights Amendments Act of 1991, H.R. 1430, 102nd Congress, 1991; <https://www.congress.gov/bill/102nd-congress/house-bill/1430/all-info>. Civil Rights Amendments Act of 1991, S. 574, 102nd Congress, 1991; <https://www.congress.gov/bill/102nd-congress/senate-bill/574/all-info>.) Legislation (the Equality Act) was introduced in the Senate and the House in July 2015 that would amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Fair Housing Act of 1968, and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender status. During this study, the Equality Act was under Congressional review but was not approved. (Equality Act, S. 1858, 114th Congress, 2015; <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/senate-bill/1858/all-info>.)
12. 81 Fed. Reg. 63054, 63058 (Sept. 14, 2016).
13. US Department of Housing and Urban Development, “Ending Housing Discrimination Against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Individuals and Their Families.” Washington, DC: US Department of Housing and Urban Development. [https://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program\\_offices/fair\\_housing\\_equal\\_opp/LGBT\\_Housing\\_Discrimination](https://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/fair_housing_equal_opp/LGBT_Housing_Discrimination); US Department of Housing and Urban Development, “HUD Issues Guidance on LGBT Housing

Discrimination Complaints,” news release, July 1, 2010,  
[http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/press/press\\_releases\\_media\\_advisories/2010/HUDNo.10-139](http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/press/press_releases_media_advisories/2010/HUDNo.10-139).

14. 490 U.S. 228 (1989).
15. 77 Fed. Reg. 5662, 5674 (Feb. 3, 2012).
16. Lisa Maria Garza, “City of Dallas Extends Civil Rights Protection to Transgender People,” *Business Insider*, November 10, 2015, <http://www.businessinsider.com/r-city-of-dallas-extends-civil-rights-protection-to-transgender-people-2015-11>.
17. See also National Association of Gay and Lesbian Real Estate Professionals (2015).
18. The term *cisgender* refers to people for whom gender identity matches the gender assigned at birth.
19. Seattle Office for Civil Rights, “City files charges against 13 property owners for alleged violations of rental housing discrimination,” news release, June 9, 2015,  
<http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/CivilRights/socr-pr-060915.pdf>.
20. The authors use the term *focal* rather than *protected* to refer to the lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester of a tester pair because the Fair Housing Act does not explicitly cover sexual orientation or gender identity.
21. In *Havens Realty Corp. v. Coleman* 455 U.S. 363 (1982), the Supreme Court held, “A tester who has been the object of a misrepresentation made unlawful . . . has suffered injury in precisely the form the statute was intended to guard against, and therefore has standing to maintain a damages claim. . . . That the tester may have approached the real estate agent fully expecting that he would receive false information, and without any intention of buying or renting a home, does not negate the fact of injury.” See <http://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/455/363/case.html>.
22. Tests were conducted throughout the Dallas-Fort Worth MSA, in Los Angeles County in the Los Angeles MSA, and throughout the Washington, DC, MSA except for the portion in West Virginia.
23. Focal testers participating in the same-sex couples tests could be bisexual, lesbian, or gay. Among testers, one was a bisexual woman and the others were lesbians or gay men. For purposes of this study, which required focal testers to portray themselves as part of a same-sex couple, the authors use the terms *lesbian* and *gay* when referring to testers and use the term *same-sex couples* when referring to the focus of the tests.
24. Assigning income to make the focal tester slightly better qualified is in keeping with previous housing discrimination studies. The slight difference prevents matched testers from presenting the identical information in the event a housing provider asks about income.
25. Because the exploratory transgender component of the study was structured as a comparison of two test approaches and because conveying gender status would have been difficult to disclose by telephone, the research team decided to focus on in-person visits. To increase the likelihood that testers would be able to meet with providers in person, testers were assigned to drop in rather than schedule appointments.
26. Testers reported their gross annual income within ranges on the tester application form. The median gross annual income range for the transgender testers was \$10,000 to \$19,999 in the Washington, DC, MSA; 46 percent of these testers were employed during the time of the study. By comparison, the median gross annual income range for the cisgender testers in the Washington, DC, MSA was \$30,000 to \$39,999; 68 percent of these testers were employed.
27. Counts of zip code rental housing were taken from the five-year American Community Survey census tract tabulations and relied on the HUD-provided crosswalk of census tracts to zip codes.
28. CODE is the Central Online Data Entry system, the web-based data entry and test management system originally designed and implemented by the Urban Institute for phase 2 of HDS-2000 (Turner et al., 2003) and updated for each subsequent HDS study.



29. To develop estimates of discrimination by transgender identities, the research team would have needed to collect data from many more tests, which was not feasible as part of this pilot study. With three identity groups and two approaches to disclosure, the sample sizes were too small to produce meaningful estimates.
30. For example, an agent who does not feel well may provide less information when talking about units. If the agent feels better when speaking to the second tester who visits subsequently, this difference would show up as unfavorable treatment for the first tester.
31. This sequential approach is applied to the detailed (gross and net) measures for the individual elements of each test. That is, availability measures are reported only for tests in which both testers of a pair could meet with an agent; inspections, cost, and encouragement outcomes are presented for the subsample of tests in which both testers were told that at least one unit was available.
32. The measure of making an appointment cannot be compared between remote and in-person tests because the circumstances of the request for an appointment were not comparable across types of tests. For the remote tests, the request for an appointment was made only for tests in which both testers learn about an available unit; for in-person tests, the request for an appointment was made early in the call or e-mail.
33. The research team had planned to weight the white and minority lesbian and gay male tests by the share of lesbian or gay male renter couples who were white in the two MSAs. Data were not available from the American Community Survey, a Gallup survey, or the California Health Interview Survey, however, to provide relatively precise estimates of the racial/ethnic distribution of renters who are white. Therefore, the authors present the results using the sample distribution, which allocates the tests almost equally across the Dallas-Fort Worth and Los Angeles MSAs and within them to white and minority tester pairs.
34. For binary (yes-no) outcomes, such as whether each tester was offered an incentive, the net difference equals 1 if only the control tester received the offer, -1 if only the focal tester 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 net difference equals the difference in the continuous measure (for example, number of units available to the control tester minus the number of units available to the focal tester).
35. Ideally, one would account for the correlation of test outcomes that result from having a common focal tester and from having a common control tester. Incorporating two-dimensional clustering, however, is complicated, even with large numbers of tests and testers. Here, because the researchers had limited numbers of focal testers and control testers, they opted toward the simpler solution of taking into account clustering for the team.
36. Parallel regression models were not run for the transgender tests because the sample sizes were quite small (especially by the disclose-nondisclose approach).
37. The research team considered including the data from the remote tests in this analysis; however, the analysis and field operations teams both thought the data gathered from the phone calls were not sufficiently comparable to the data collected in person to include in the same models.
38. Each model takes the form  $\text{NetDifference}_i = a + b_1 * X_{i1} + b_2 * X_{i2} + \dots + b_k * X_{ik} + e_i$ , where NetDifference is the difference in the treatment of the two testers and the Xs are independent variables used to describe the variation in the net difference across tests.
39. For example, the researchers combined the indicators of the Asian and black agents. They excluded indicators that make up a small share of the sample (for example, less than 10 percent), because these indicators are likely to yield imprecise estimates.
40. Exceptions are the measures of age and income, the maximum number of people seen, and the measures of neighborhood characteristics such as tract per capita income, tract percentage white, and tract share of couples who are of the same sex.
41. For example, the research team included an indicator that both testers met a black agent, only the control tester met a black agent, and only the lesbian or gay male tester met a black agent. The researchers focus on

the comparison of both testers in the circumstance (for example, both met a black agent) versus neither tester was in the circumstance (for example, neither met a black agent).

42. The data analysis used the location of the control tester because, in the vast majority (95 percent) of tests, the lesbian or gay male and control tester learned about units in the same census tract. As a result, the share with different locations was too low to gauge the effects of the tracts separately.
43. Narratives were required in 20 percent of the same-sex couples tests (in person and remote) and in all transgender tests.
44. To produce standardized photographs, LTOs were provided with detailed instructions, including the camera settings and lighting conditions to use. Photographs that did not meet the established criteria were rejected by the Urban Institute project staff and retaken by the LTOs.
45. The problems that were documented include peeling paint, broken windows, and exposed wiring.
46. Providers told control testers about at least one more unit in 31 percent of tests and told gay male testers about at least one more unit in 21 percent of tests, for a difference of 10 percent. Even though this difference is large and significant, the researchers discount this measure because it is likely affected by random behavior in how agents dealt with each of the two testers of a pair. A sign of this behavior is the large share of tests on which the gay male tester was favored. Therefore, the researchers focus on measures of the average number of units told.
47. This difference can be seen in appendices G.7 and G.8. Gay white testers were told \$392 more in average yearly net costs than white control testers; and gay minority testers were told \$146 more than minority control testers.
48. The differences by race did not appear to result from agents not being aware of the race/ethnicity of the testers. The researchers experimented with using only tests conducted by testers whose race is determined to be readily identifiable: 85 percent of lesbian tests and 82.5 percent of gay male tests were conducted by pairs of testers who were both racially identifiable. Excluding those who were not readily identifiable changed the findings in only minor ways. The estimated difference between white and minority tester pairs generally changed by less than 1 standard error. This difference led to modest changes in significance, with previously significant differences in whether shown a unit becoming insignificant, and the difference for lesbian tests in whether units are available becoming significant.
49. Among the variables that did not show a significant pattern was whether testers were assigned a household profile that included one or more children.
50. The tester was coded as identifiable (with a ranking of four on a five-point scale). Treatment could have been because of discrimination based on gender status; however, the researchers do not know whether a characteristic of the tester's personality or the tester's gender presentation, separate from status, factored into the treatment.
51. The difference in the sign of differential treatment for rent and net cost for those who disclosed results largely from a significant 12 percentage point difference in the probability of being offered an incentive favoring the control tester, associated with an insignificant \$80 difference in average incentives offered to the two paired testers. See appendix J for more details.
52. The US Supreme Court's decision on June 26, 2015, in *Obergefell v. Hodges* guaranteed a right to same-sex marriage. Approximately 33 same-sex couples tests were completed after the legal decision was issued. It is possible that some housing providers may have changed their behavior after the decision, but qualitative data provide no evidence of such effect and it is not possible to detect such an effect statistically because of the small number of tests completed after June 24th.
53. Focal testers participating in the same-sex couples tests could be lesbians, gay men, or bisexual individuals. Among testers, one was a bisexual woman, and the others were lesbians or gay men. For this study, which

required focal testers to portray themselves as part of a same-sex couple, the authors use *lesbian* and *gay* when referring to testers and *same-sex couples* when referring to the focus of the tests.

54. *Cisgender* refers to people for whom gender identity matches the gender assigned at birth.
55. *Gender queer* refers to people who do not subscribe to conventional gender distinctions but identify with neither, both, or a combination of male and female attributes.
56. Testing organizations should determine at the outset whether the purpose of testing is for research or enforcement. This decision will affect the design and implementation of tests and the vetting of testers.
57. The authors use the term *focal* rather than *protected* to refer to the lesbian, gay male, or transgender tester of a tester pair because the Fair Housing Act does not explicitly cover sexual orientation or gender status.
58. Discrimination can occur at all stages of the rental process—from preapplication to occupancy. Because testing captures treatment only at the preapplication stage of a housing search, findings provide no indication of treatment at the application or occupancy stages. A finding of limited discrimination at the preapplication stage, therefore, does not preclude the possibility of discrimination at subsequent stages of the housing process.
59. Rental advertisements were harvested in direct proportion to the geographic distribution of rental housing, which allowed for the tests conducted in each site to reflect the entire local rental market.
60. Both testers in a matched pair were assigned the same household composition.
61. For HDS-LGT, control testers for transgender men were cisgender men, control testers for transgender women were cisgender women, and gender queer testers were matched with both cisgender men and cisgender women.
62. Testers reported their gross annual income within ranges on the tester application form. The median gross annual income range for the transgender testers was \$10,000 to \$19,999 in the Washington, DC, MSA; 46 percent of these testers were employed during the time of the study. By comparison, the median gross annual income range for the cisgender testers in the Washington, DC, MSA was \$30,000 to \$39,999; 68 percent of these testers were employed.
63. Project sites were given specific directions about how photographs should be taken. Test coordinators were required to take the photographs themselves with the same camera, showing testers from the waist up in front of a plain, white wall.
64. For testing organizations completing a testing project with a large number of tests, project staff should consider whether narratives should be required for remote and in-person contacts on all tests or whether only a portion of tests must be assigned narratives. In HDS-LGT, narratives were required in 20 percent of the same-sex couples tests (in person and remote) and in all transgender tests.
65. Testing organizations must, however, have standing to file a claim.

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