

Prove It!

Fred Freiberg

In 1976, I began working as a community organizer for a Milwaukee neighborhood organization, the Sherman Park Community Association (SPCA). Two significant events occurred just prior to my being offered this position.

First, in 1975 a federal court ruled that a key provision in the Wisconsin Open Housing Law prohibiting “testing” could no longer be enforced. The testing ban had been in effect since the Open Housing Law passed in 1965. Recognizing that a prohibition on testing would make it nearly impossible for victims to prove that housing discrimination had occurred, the Wisconsin Realtors lobbied hard for the ban. The 1975 court decision, *U.S. v. Wisconsin*, found that the testing ban “chilled the exercise” of fair housing rights under the federal Fair Housing Act.¹ This paved the way for organizations like the SPCA to conduct testing.

Second, SPCA’s President spoke at an annual luncheon of the Milwaukee Board of Realtors. His prepared remarks focused on the pervasiveness of racial steering and blockbusting and its deleterious impact on efforts to create more integrated communities. He reported back to the SPCA that he had been loudly heckled by many of the

brokers and agents who attended the luncheon and his speech was drowned out by chants of “Prove It! Prove It.”

So...prove it, we did. The first project I was asked to coordinate was an investigation of real estate sales practices. Joseph Battle, an African American real estate agent from Cleveland, Ohio who was with an organization called Operation Equality, came to Milwaukee to consult with the SPCA. Battle trained me to coordinate sales testing and he trained a group of volunteers to serve as “testers” in a 14-month investigation into real estate practices. Black and white testers were matched on personal, socio-economic, and homebuying characteristics so that the primary difference between them was their race. The testers were deployed to various offices of four of the largest Wisconsin real estate companies so that we could compare

whether homebuyers were being afforded the same information, service, treatment, and ultimately, access to housing without regard to their race. The test results revealed that agents with all four companies engaged in racial steering and other racially discriminatory practices. Examples included the following:

- An agent met a white couple at an open house for a home located in a racially integrated neighborhood. The agent remarked that the white testers might not like the neighborhood because Black families lived on both sides of the home. The agent told the white couple that the home might be better as an “income-producing property.” When an interracial couple visited the same open house and met with the same

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agent, no comments were made about the racial make-up of the neighborhood, and the agent told them that the home would be a “good starter home.”

- Black and white testers visited a real estate office in a predominantly white southside neighborhood. The testers expressed no neighborhood preferences. An agent provided listing books with homes on the southside to the white testers with a cautionary note not to consider the “near southside” because it had old homes and was a “changing neighborhood” (an area with a Latino population). For the African American tester, the same agent brought out a listing book with homes on the west side of Milwaukee which included many racially integrated neighborhoods.

The SPCA and 39 testers filed a complaint with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1977 and later filed a federal lawsuit against the four companies.² Shortly before the SPCA initiated this legal action, the organization was approached by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) to participate in the first HUD-sponsored national study of housing market practices.³ Milwaukee was one of five “in-depth” cities selected where 200 Black/white tests were slated to be conducted: 80 real estate sales tests and 120 rental tests. I was one of two test coordinators who worked on this three-month investigation in Milwaukee. After the testing was completed, and contrary to the directives we received from NCDH,

we did our own analysis of the test results in Milwaukee and found that roughly 45% of the rental tests and 63% of the sales tests involved some type of differential treatment based on race. And, as with SPCA’s sales testing investigation from the previous year, the discrimination we found was notably lacking in subtleties.

The results of the HUD study provided compelling evidence of widespread non-compliance with fair housing laws. The housing choices of Af-

Now, fast forward four decades to 2019 on Long Island, New York. . . . [N]early half or 49% of the tests conducted by teams of Black and white testers showed evidence of differential treatment or possible racial steering.

rican American renters and buyers were being severely limited by illegal racial discrimination, including racial steering.

The earlier litigation filed by the SPCA resulted in some dramatic changes. Two of the large real estate companies went out of business and a third closed its residential sales business. A fourth company entered into a settlement agreement with the plaintiffs to pay damages and take specific action to correct their practices. This experience convinced me that testing was a particularly potent tool for creating change and obtaining compliance with fair housing laws.

Now, fast forward four decades to 2019 on Long Island, New York.

Newsday released the results from the largest journalistic investigation into real estate sales practices conducted by any media outlet in the nation. I had the privilege of working as a consultant on this project. Released on November 17, 2019, the investigative report, *Long Island Divided*, found that nearly half or 49% of the tests conducted by teams of Black and white testers showed evidence of differential treatment or possible racial steering.⁴ There were many differences between this media investigation on Long Island and the earlier Wisconsin testing. But the striking similarity is that test results from both investigations revealed considerable evidence of differential treatment that appeared to be based on race. Here are two examples from the recent *Newsday* investigation:

- An agent discouraged a white tester from considering homes in the predominantly minority community of Brentwood by suggesting that he “may want to look into recent gang killings in the Brentwood area,” while the same agent encouraged the African American tester to consider 27 home listings in Brentwood (located in census tracts averaging 17% white) by telling him that people in Brentwood “are the nicest people.” The agent provided no Brentwood home listings to the white tester and instead provided 11 listings in other areas (located in census tracts averaging 86% white).
- An agent requested photo identification from an African American tester and, absent identification, would not agree to show homes, stating it was company policy. The agent provided the Black tester with two listings in East Meadow and Hicksville (located in census tracts that averaged 58% white). The same agent provided a white tester with eight home listings (located in census tracts averaging 88% white) and took the white tester to see homes without requesting any photo identification. The agent also made

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The Roots of Race, Class, and Gender Disparities in College STEM Outcomes in North Carolina

Roslyn Arlin Mickelson, Elizabeth Stearns, Martha Cecilia Bottia, Katherine Rainey, Melissa Dancy, Stephanie Moller, DeeDee Allen & Jason Giersch

There is widespread agreement that the nation's science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) workforce is inadequate for current openings in key sectors of the economy and projected labor force needs. Moreover, the current STEM workforce is not representative of the U.S. population's gender and demographic mix. Most STEM workers are disproportionately men whose families came from Europe, the Indian subcontinent, or Pacific Rim Asian nations. Women and African Americans, Latinx, Native Americans, and descendants of southeast Asian immigrants are underrepresented in the STEM work force. People from these ethnic groups are often referred to as underrepresented minorities (URM).

This problem is serious for several reasons. Even though STEM jobs are not a silver bullet capable of solving our society's myriad problems, science, engineering, and technology jobs tend to pay well, offer desirable ca-

reer pathways, and provide opportunities for greater social power to those who work in them. Thus, the demographic skew in the workforce toward Whites and men has implications for social mobility, and economic, gender, racial, and social justice. Our nation's STEM infrastructure is impoverished by virtue of the missing talent from the would-be scientists,

The demographic skew in the workforce toward Whites and men has implications for social mobility, economic, gender, racial and social justice.

engineers, and computer scientists who are women and people of color.

Unfortunately, we cannot rely on our universities' STEM programs to adequately address the problem in the

foreseeable future because a similar disproportionality exists to a large degree in current undergraduate STEM program enrollments and graduation rates. The notable exception is biology, which currently enrolls more undergraduate women than men.

To understand the sources of the disproportionality problem, it is critical to acknowledge that the decision to major in STEM involves multiple processes unfolding over time, beginning well before an undergraduate steps foot on a campus. The choice to major in STEM begins when children's interest in science is sparked either by their family, community, or elementary school. Primary schools must nurture this spark. Secondary schools must continue to inspire and nurture students' interests while preparing them for college. Specifically, high schools must offer youth the opportunities to enroll in rigorous mathematics and science taught by passionate educators instructing in their fields of expertise. Research indicates that while many youth have informal family, community, and K-12 school experiences that spark, nurture, and prepare them for college STEM majors, too often students' race, gender, and social class predict their opportunities to learn, with lower-income URM youth having fewer of these critical experiences.

Once students arrive in college, their interests, skills, aptitudes, and socioeconomic backgrounds intersect with their university's array of opportunities to learn STEM. The cultural climate and organizational structure of STEM departments, along with the content of courses and how they are taught, together create conditions for STEM success in college. College students encounter an array of structural and cultural forces that foster or im-

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pede their progress toward a degree. Our study, which we summarize in the next section, identifies forces that operate as barriers for females and URM youth as well as practices that can augment their degree attainment.

The Roots of Race, Class, and Gender Disproportionalities in STEM

The Roots of STEM Project is a multi-method study that investigates how individual, family, and institutional factors interactively influence students' decisions to pursue STEM as a major. Our study's conceptual framework proposes that the underrepresentation of women and underserved minorities in STEM fields is generated over time by student characteristics interacting with their experiences in secondary and post-secondary schools. This accumulation of advantages or disadvantages reflects social structural, school organizational, and cultural processes intersecting with individual students' strengths, interests, and opportunities to learn in and out of school.

We conducted our research in multiple phases. The first phase began in 2010 with the creation of a large longitudinal dataset we named the NC Roots of STEM. The North Carolina Education Research Center compiled it for us from data provided by the University of North Carolina (UNC) System Office, the NC Department of Public Instruction, and the College Board. This dataset follows the entire cohort of the 2004 public high school graduating class who enrolled at any campus in the UNC-system in the fall of that year. Each undergraduate's administrative records from middle school, through high school, and into their university provided the indicators for this dataset (N= 21,200). In 2015, we added the administrative records from members of the 2004 high school graduating class who first attended community college and then

transferred to a UNC campus (N=4,000).

Another phase of the project began in 2013 when we conducted in-depth interviews with 316 seniors enrolled in one of the 16 campuses of the UNC-system. Interviews helped us to better understand students' STEM experiences in secondary school and college. In 2015, we interviewed 120 students interested in STEM enrolled in a NC community college, and planning to transfer to four-year colleges. In 2018, we conducted follow-up interviews with these same community college students, and a small additional sample of students who successfully trans-

Our mixed-method study offers insights into racialized and gendered pathways during childhood and adolescence.

ferred from community colleges to four-year university campuses.

Together, our mixed-method study offers insights into racialized and gendered pathways during childhood and adolescence that lead students toward preparing to study STEM before college and once they matriculate, graduating with STEM degrees (majors) or switching to non-STEM majors (leavers). We identify the experiences they had in their homes, schools, and communities before college; and the structural arrangements and cultural climates that either fostered or impeded their STEM success once they arrived in college. The next sections present our key findings.

Experiences Contributing to STEM Preparation

High School Opportunities and Experiences

Drawing upon the detailed administrative data in our Roots of STEM dataset, we examined how secondary school experiences intersected with student backgrounds. Our quantitative

analyses suggest that opportunities to learn math and science are necessary but not sufficient for STEM success.

- Forming an intention to major in STEM during high school is a critically important predictor of the probability of actually majoring in STEM.
- Availability of more STEM-related co-curricular and extracurricular experiences increase student interest in STEM, which then increases students' odds of choosing a STEM major.
- Students who take high level math and science courses are more likely to choose STEM majors in college.
- Taking physics during high school is positively associated with students' choice of most college STEM majors, especially for women.
- A focus on accountability through standardized testing as currently practiced in NC secondary schools undermines the broader learning and teaching process. For students from lower performing high schools (typically segregated minority, high poverty schools), test preparation often narrows curricula by focusing on "facts" that will appear on standardized tests and distorts teaching practices toward "drill and kill" rather than developing higher order thinking skills.

Together these distortions leave these students less prepared for college STEM success.

Secondary Schools' Racial and SES Composition

The characteristics of secondary schools themselves are essential to STEM success but opportunities to learn math and science during secondary school are not equitably available. The scope of the math and science sequences, the availability of STEM Advanced Placement courses, and the distribution of highly qualified teach-

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Infusing Race Equity Into State Legislation: Report from California

Navneet Grewal

“As Rents Outrun Pay, California Families Live on a Knife’s Edge.”¹ “California Home to 91 Of America’s 100 Most Expensive Zip Codes.”² “How do we solve our housing crisis in California?”³ The headlines have become too many to count. As the state’s own Supreme Court declared several years ago, California’s housing crisis has “reached what might be described as epic proportions.”⁴ But what is often left unsaid is that the housing crisis is and has been a catastrophe for communities of color.

Since 2000, California has been a majority people of color state. By 2040, about three quarters of the population will be people of color.⁵ But while the entire state is facing high housing cost burdens,⁶ the situation worsens when viewed by race. For example, of households who are Black alone, 59% are rent-burdened, in comparison to 48% of households who are White alone.⁷ Studies of homelessness reveal the same disparities. The City of Los Angeles found that, “[i]n 2017, Black people represented only 9% of the general population in Los Angeles County yet comprised 40% of the population experiencing homelessness.”⁸ These disparities are no accident. Like the rest of the United States, California’s history includes laws that led to the displacement and genocide of indigenous communities, segregation, land laws prohibiting home-ownership by immigrants, and other policies that have led to racialized, place-based poverty. So to ensure that the solutions to the housing crisis do not build the racialized access to stable housing, tenants’ rights and civil rights groups have sought to ensure that new state laws prioritize race equity.

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Land Use & Planning

As civil rights practitioners know intimately, our segregated and unequal housing patterns most often result from exclusionary planning and zoning practices. Anti-poverty advocates have sponsored and supported the following bills which were signed into law:

AB 686 Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing

With HUD Secretary Ben Carson having derided the federal duty to affirmatively further fair housing as “social engineering,”⁹ California knew that it would have to act to protect the

As civil rights practitioners know intimately, our segregated and unequal housing patterns most often result from exclusionary planning and zoning practices.

AFFH gains made during the Obama Administration. As a result, in 2018, the Legislature passed AB 686, creating an obligation for every public agency in the state to administer their programs and activities in a manner that affirmatively furthers fair housing. The California law makes clear that the duty to affirmatively further fair housing includes opening up access to high opportunity neighborhoods, preventing displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods, and transforming historically disinvested neighborhoods. The law specifically requires that every local jurisdiction engage in the AFFH analysis as part of the state-mandated housing element, which is a legally enforceable blueprint

for housing policy in each city and county. Advocates have now turned to the hard task of implementation and are working with the state Department of Housing and Community Development to ensure that AB 686 guidelines are meaningful and effective.

AB 1771 Regional Housing Needs Allocation Process

The principles articulated in the New Jersey Supreme Court’s *Mt. Laurel* decision—that municipalities’ have an “affirmative obligation” to meet their “fair share” of the regional need for low and moderate income housing¹⁰ served as a blueprint for states like California. We have, for decades, required that all localities “facilitate the improvement and development of housing to make adequate provision for the housing needs of all economic segments of the community.”¹¹ To do this, the state and local councils of governments engage in a process by which each region is allocated a certain number of units, separated by income category, for which it must adequately zone sites for development. But that process has long contained loopholes allowing for political horse trading that resulted in exclusionary communities often having to accommodate a lower amount of housing. AB 1771 reformed the regional housing needs allocation (RHNA) process by requiring a more data-driven approach, explicitly mandating the consideration of race and equity in the allocations, and establishing greater transparency in the distribution process. Many of the state’s regions are currently undergoing the allocation process, subject to this new law. Advocates are monitoring to ensure that those regions abide by the race equity principles articulated in AB 1771.

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AB 1505 Inclusionary Zoning

Long recognized as an important tool for integrated housing patterns, the state of California's more than 170 inclusionary zoning laws were thrown into disarray when a Court of Appeal decided, in *Palmer/Sixth Street Properties L.P. v. City of Los Angeles*, 175 Cal.App.4th 1396 (2009), that state law prohibited local mandatory inclusionary ordinances for rental housing. Advocates quickly mobilized to restore cities' ability to pass these ordinances, but were faced with vetoes and other setbacks. Finally, in 2017, AB 1505 was signed into law, once again allowing California's cities to require that private developers include affordable units in any new development.

Tenants' Rights

As the state discusses how to accelerate the pace of housing development, communities of color see the potential for a new wave of urban renewal and the devastation it wrought on black and brown communities. Rising housing costs have already begun the resegregation of the San Francisco Bay Area.¹² To combat displacement, communities are fighting for greater tenants' rights. While many have organized and won local battles, 2019 is the first year since the beginning of the current housing crisis that tenants have succeeded in passing major legislation on the state level.

AB 1482 Keep Families Home

California enacted the country's strongest statewide rent cap—5% plus CPI for all units covered. And more significantly, the law requires just cause for evictions once tenants have resided in their units for a year or more. This law will be crucial for preventing displacement of tenants in gentrifying neighborhoods.

SB 329 Voucher Anti-Discrimination

For years, advocates have fought in

the state legislature, in the courts, and on the local level to prohibit discrimination against people who are using voucher assistance to pay a portion of their rent. Such vouchers can provide a pathway for people using them to move to communities they choose, but rampant discrimination has prevented their effectiveness in doing so. SB 329 adds housing assistance as a protected source of income under the Fair Employment and Housing Act, meaning landlords would no longer be permitted to discriminate against tenants with Section 8 Housing Choice Vouchers,

We must ensure that the low-income communities of color most harmed by our housing crisis are at the forefront of developing the response to it.

or similar assistance. This anti-discrimination law should open up more neighborhoods and housing opportunities to any voucher holders, but particularly low-income families of color.

AB 291 Immigrant Tenant Protection Act

In the wake of Donald Trump's election and ensuring anti-immigrant rhetoric and policy, landlords across California began using threatening tactics to harass and evict Latinx and other families whom they perceived to be immigrants. AB 291 created a slew of protections for immigrant families—or people perceived to be immigrants.¹³ These include codifying an affirmative defense to evictions based on immigration status, prohibiting landlords from threatening to report tenants to immigration authorities, and creating a new private right of action against landlords who make such a report for purposes of retaliation, intimidation, or forcing an eviction. The law also prohibited inquiries into immigration status for the purposes of any housing-related litigation.

Looking Forward

California's recent legislative successes are important to celebrate. But as we see our unhoused population continue to explode and our communities of color displaced to low-resourced exurbs, we have a lot of work to do. We must implement and enforce the laws that we have passed. As we continue to debate land use reforms, we must ensure that the low-income communities of color most harmed by our housing crisis are at the forefront in developing the response to it. And that response must prioritize racial equity and justice so that we do not trap future generations in the cycle of poverty that our country's history of race- and place-based segregation, violence, and inequitable development has created. □

Endnotes

¹ Jill Cowan and Robert Gebeloff, "As Rents Outrun Pay, California Families Live on a Knife's Edge," *The New York Times* (Nov. 21, 2019).

² Vivian Ho, "California Home to 91 Of America's 100 Most Expensive Zip Codes," *The Guardian* (Nov. 18, 2019).

³ Dan Dunmoyer, "Open Forum: How do we solve our housing crisis in California?" *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 23, 2019).

⁴ *California Bldg. Indus. Assn. v. City of San Jose*, 61 Cal. 4th 435, 441 (2015)

⁵ www.hcd.ca.gov/policy-research/plans-reports/docs/SHA_Final_Combined.pdf

⁶ www.hcd.ca.gov/policy-research/plans-reports/docs/SHA_Final_Combined.pdf at 27

⁷ Id. at 28.

⁸ Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, "Report And Recommendations of The Ad Hoc Committee On Black People Experiencing Homelessness," (Dec. 2018), available at www.lahsa.org/documents?id=2823-report-and-recommendations-of-the-ad-hoc-committee-on-black-people-experiencing-homelessness

⁹ Ben S. Carson, "Experimenting With Failed Socialism Again," *The Washington Times* (July 23, 2015) www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jul/23/ben-carson-obamas-housing-rules-try-to-accomplish/

¹⁰ *S. Burlington County N.A.A.C.P. et al. v. Township of Mount Laurel*, 336 A.2d 713, 724, 727-28 (N.J. 1975).

¹¹ Government Code § 65880.

¹² www.urbandisplacement.org/sites/default/files/images/bay_area_re-segregation_rising_housing_costs_report_2019.pdf

¹³ www.citylab.com/equity/2017/04/landlords-are-threatening-immigrant-tenants-with-ice-deportations/521370/

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comments about school districts informing the white tester that Wantagh was “blue ribbon” and touted Seaford, Plainsedge, Bethpage, Levittown, Bellmore, North Bellmore, and Merrick (communities ranging from 79% to 92% white) as good school districts. The agent also suggested the 91% white Massapequa area, but not the part that falls within the Amityville district (92% Black and Hispanic student populations) stating “You’re not going to like those schools.”

While investigations from different time periods and geographic locations cannot be compared to assess progress in achieving compliance with fair housing laws, the testing investigation completed by *Newsday* raises a serious and legitimate question. Why hasn’t more progress been made by the real estate industry to comply with fair housing laws?

While I do not profess to have all the answers to this question, after more than four decades of experience working in the fair housing field, I have some suggestions.

First, fair housing laws have never been vigorously enforced. We will never achieve a non-discriminatory housing market if the paradigm for enforcing fair housing laws remains purely reactive and only occurs in response to complaints. Housing discrimination is more subtle today. Often people do not know they are being discriminated against. The burden of ensuring that fair housing laws are vigorously enforced should not rest entirely on the shoulders of the victims of discrimination. What is needed is a more pro-active and smarter enforcement approach with systemic testing as the centerpiece. Substantially more federal, state, and local funding should be allocated to support systemic testing investigations aimed at obtaining greater compliance with fair housing laws.

Second, states possess a grossly underutilized tool to regulate the conduct of real estate agents and brokers.

December 2019

Dear reader,

PRRAC relies on your individual contributions and subscriptions to keep this journal in print!

At the same time we are actively pursuing research and advocacy on federal housing policy, school integration, and environmental justice, we are also committed to maintaining *Poverty & Race* as an independent voice on issues of structural racial inequality. After 28 years, *P&R* continues to distribute through the mail, after many sister publications have gone all-digital or disappeared altogether. We hope we can keep this going, but we need your help—please donate to PRRAC today, either by check to 740 15th St. NW #300, Washington DC 20005, or on our website at www.prrac.org.

Thank you!

Megan Haberle
Deputy Director, and Editor, *Poverty & Race*

The Division of Licensing Services (DLS) for the New York Department of State should investigate allegations of racial steering and housing discrimination by real estate licensees (including those documented in the *Newsday*

States possess a grossly underutilized tool to regulate the conduct of real estate agents and brokers.

investigation) and, when warranted, take disciplinary action, including possible suspension or revocation of licenses. People reporting discriminatory conduct by a licensee should not be required to file a separate complaint with the New York State Division of Human Rights (DHR). Also, the DLS should carefully review and certify curriculum used to provide the required continuing fair housing education credits to real estate licensees. Finally, New York State should eliminate the current rule that exempts any real estate broker who is engaged full time in the real estate business and who has been licensed prior to July 1, 2008 for at least 15 consecutive years from need-

ing to attend fair housing training as part of their continuing education.⁵

Third, implementation of a key provision of the Fair Housing Act that requires HUD as well as local and state recipients of federal funds to “affirmatively further fair housing” in all housing and community development activities has largely been ignored.⁶ Local and state governments have, with few exceptions, have failed to ensure that housing policies and programs are expanding housing choice and reducing residential racial segregation. HUD should fully implement the AFFH rule enacted in 2015, restore the assessment tool that communities could use to identify inequities and barriers to housing choice, require extensive community engagement, and ensure that recipients of federal funds are taking action to affirmatively further fair housing.

Fourth, the real estate industry is still highly segregated by race and many of the major white-owned companies do not even serve predominantly minority communities. The industry should promote more diversity in hiring, locate offices in predominantly minority communities, and develop and enforce fair housing policies that gov-

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ern their marketing and sales practices.

Fifth, educational programs and resources should be used in our schools to teach students about our history of residential racial apartheid, focus on the values of equity and fairness, and promote integrated neighborhoods and schools. Such programs should be based on the premise that the responsibility for creating and sustaining open and inclusive communities does not only rest with the real estate industry. Government, private institutions, the housing industry, and each of us can do our part to advance these values and societal goals.

Also, it is important to recognize that from the time the real estate industry organized in 1908 until the passage of the federal Fair Housing Act in 1968, racial bias infected most real estate transactions. In 1913, the National Association of Real Estate Exchanges (NAREE) informed its members not to contribute to race mixing.⁷ In 1916, NAREE changed its name to the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) and began advocating for the use of race restrictive covenants on property deeds to segregate the races. From 1924-1950, NAREB (the former name of the National Association of Realtors) made it the ethical duty of a Realtor to engage in racial discrimination.⁸ During the same period, realty boards promoted the use of a model race restrictive covenant, enforceable in state courts, and, by the 1940's these covenants blanketed many of our metropolitan regions. In the 1930's, the federal government

adopted many of the policies and practices that had been promoted by the real estate industry and codified them in federal housing policy.

It is difficult to even grasp the sheer number of people involved, the immense devotion of resources, and the level of private-public coordination needed to create the racially segregated living patterns in our metropolitan regions over more than six decades. That segregation was eventually so pro-

Changing deeply engrained attitudes and learned behavior shaped by structural racism and decades of segregated living is not easily accomplished.

nounced and entrenched that it became self-perpetuating long before fair housing laws were enacted. Changing deeply engrained attitudes and learned behavior shaped by structural racism and decades of segregated living is not easily accomplished. Eradicating housing discrimination is essential if we hope to dismantle the architecture of segregation and the self-sustaining cycle of inequality that continues to deliver unfair advantages, privileges, and economic gains to most white people while locking many African American people out of social, political, and economic opportunities.

I confess that I tire of having to periodically “prove” to the real estate industry (and white people generally) that racial bias continues to infect hous-

ing transactions. It is time we stipulate that this lawless, abhorrent, unequal, and often systemic behavior continues in our nation's housing markets and we must do all that we can to root out and stop violators from harming people and dividing communities. That would be in the best interest of the real estate industry and the communities that they purport to serve.

Finally, for local, state, and federal policy-makers who insist that they support fair housing, it is our turn to shout “Prove It!” Prove you support bold initiatives to substantially increase resources for pro-active testing investigations and more vigorous fair housing enforcement. Prove that State real estate licensing agencies are capable of sanctioning real estate licensees for engaging in unlawful discrimination and only certifying qualified instructors with approved curriculums to provide fair housing training to the real estate industry. Prove that the cities, counties, housing authorities, and states you represent take their duty to “affirmatively further fair housing” seriously and are willing to develop and implement meaningful action plans with measurable goals aimed at removing barriers to housing choice and reducing residential racial segregation. Prove it! Prove it! □

Endnotes

¹ *United States v. Wisconsin*, 395 F. Supp. 732 (W.D. Wis. 1975).

² *Sherman Park Community Ass'n v. Wauwatosa Realty et al.*, Civ. No. 77-C-541 (E.D. Wis. 1977)

³ *Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Markets: The Housing Market Practices Survey*, Wienk, Ronald E. and others, 1979.

⁴ *Newsday, Long Island Divided*, Nov. 17, 2019.

⁵ https://www.dos.ny.gov/licensing/re_salesperson/re_sales_broker_faq.html#DLS

⁶ 42 U.S.C. §3608

⁷ Stephen P. Meyer, *As Long As They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods* 7 (2001).ll

⁸ Joe R. Feagin, “A House is Not a Home: White Racism and U.S. Housing Practices,” in *Residential Apartheid: The American Legacy* (1994).

New on PRRAC's website

Comments on HUD's proposed “disparate impact” rule from PRRAC and other civil rights groups

Review of first-year implementation of HUD's Small Area Fair Market Rent rule

“Working with PHAs to Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing” (recorded webinar)

(STEM OUTCOMES: Continued from p.4)

ers with expertise and certification in science and math varies with demographic composition of the school's student body. Secondary schools with high concentrations of low socioeconomic status (SES) and URM students are the least likely to offer full math and science course sequences taught by teachers who are highly qualified in the subjects they teach. Our Roots of STEM results show that:

- High schools with STEM-focused programs attract students who are highly interested in math and science. But once self-selection and family SES are controlled, graduates of specialized STEM high schools are no more likely to major in STEM than are graduates of other high schools.
- Opportunities to learn math and science are unequally distributed across high schools by racial or SES composition. For example, NC high schools are allowed to offer either physics or chemistry and not necessarily both. Nationally, students attending low-poverty high schools are more likely to take physics than youth attending high-poverty high schools. This limits the STEM preparatory experiences of students in high poverty schools.
- Low-SES and high-SES students experience differences in opportunities to learn in high schools that cause their pathways into STEM to be differentially limited or enhanced. Sometimes this occurs even within the same high schools due to tracking.
- Exposure to racial segregation during secondary education at both the school-level and classroom-level (tracking) negatively affects students' college freshman grade point average, especially low-income and URM students.
- Attending racially isolated White high schools depresses all students' likelihood of majoring in STEM.

- Any student who attends a sequence of racially diverse middle schools, high schools, community colleges, and universities is more likely to major in STEM than comparable peers who attend a sequence of either segregated white or segregated minority schools.

Teacher Characteristics, Student Demographics, and STEM Preparation

The centrality of highly qualified teachers to secondary school preparation for college STEM success is evident in both the Roots of STEM administrative data and the hundreds of interviews we conducted. Our findings about teachers reveal that:

- Schools with the greatest proportion of teachers designated as highly qualified (certified, teaching in their field of certification, experienced) also have the highest concentration of White students.

The proportion of female math and science teachers at a particular high school has a positive effect on female students' likelihood of declaring and graduating with a STEM degree.

- Latinx students identify teachers as important influences in their college major choice more than members of other racial/ethnic groups do.
- Latinx students are more likely to major in STEM during college if they were educated in high schools where they studied with teachers who worked in collaborative professional communities, and in schools where teachers had a high level of satisfaction with their jobs.
- Credentialed, experienced, knowledgeable, and passionate high school chemistry teachers are positively associated with choices to major in chemistry.

Courtney Everts Mykytyn

We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to Courtney Everts Mykytyn, who died on December 30 in Los Angeles at the age of 46, after being struck by a car outside her home. As founder of the grassroots organization Integrated Schools, Courtney built community with white parents across the nation who "humbly, joyfully and intentionally" enrolled their children in diverse schools. Courtney recognized white parents as a crucial constituency in the fight for education justice, and she helped thousands of parents interrogate their own privilege and come to their children's schools as equal partners.

- The proportion of female math and science teachers at a particular high school has a positive effect on female students' likelihood of declaring and graduating with a STEM degree, yet it has no impact on male students' STEM outcomes. The positive effects of greater proportions of female STEM teachers are strongest for White women and female students with the highest math skills.

Experiences Contributing to College STEM Success

The findings from our quantitative dataset demonstrate that student- and school-level race, gender, and SES characteristics differentially shape students' preparation for college STEM success. We draw upon our qualitative interviews to illustrate how race, class, and gender dynamics once again intersect with organizational and cultural features of the university once a secondary school graduate arrives on
(Please turn to page 10)

(STEM OUTCOMES: Continued from p.9)

a college campus. Our interviews illustrate how the university’s cultural climate and organizational characteristics also have an impact on whether the undergraduate succeeds in graduating with a STEM degree.

Feelings of Belonging in Chosen STEM Major. Students who feel they belong in their STEM major are more likely to persist. We found that White men were most likely to report a sense of belonging whereas women of color were the least likely (see Figure 1). Compared to the physical sciences and engineering, women were more likely to report a sense of belonging in biology—a field in which they are the majority. Four key factors contributed to sense of belonging for all students: interpersonal relationships with peers or professors, perceived self-competence, personal interest in the field, and a science identity (that is, feeling like a “science person”). Our findings indicate that students who remain in STEM majors report a greater sense of belonging than those who leave STEM. These results suggest that structural and cultural features of universities, including the foci of STEM curricula and choice of instructional approach, likely advantage White male STEM undergraduates.

Perceptions of Professors’ Care about Students Learning. We found that students who perceived that their professors cared about their learning reported a greater sense of belonging in STEM. Among both leavers and majors, White women were most likely to perceive their STEM professors cared about their learning while women of color were the least likely.

Figure 1: STEM Majors’ Sense of Belonging by Race and Gender

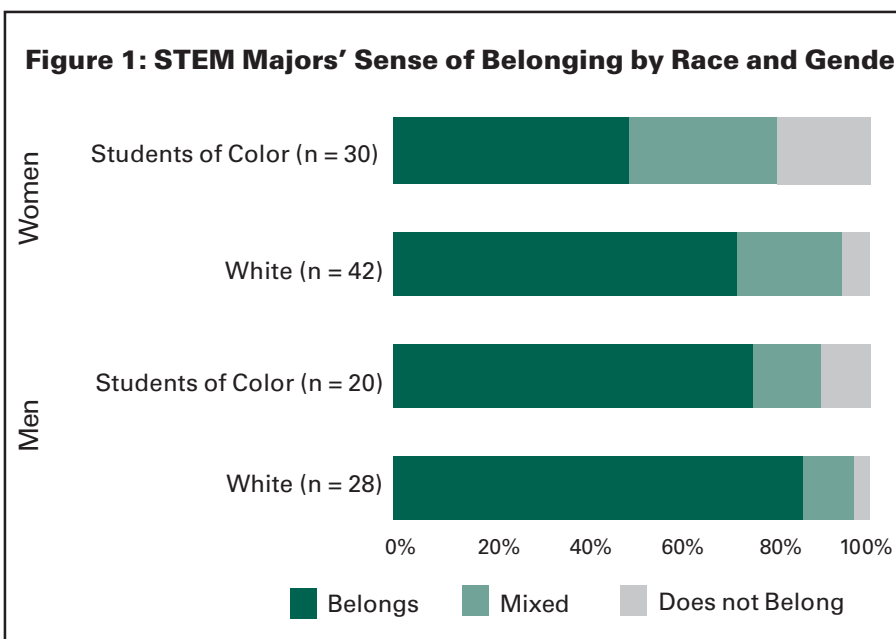
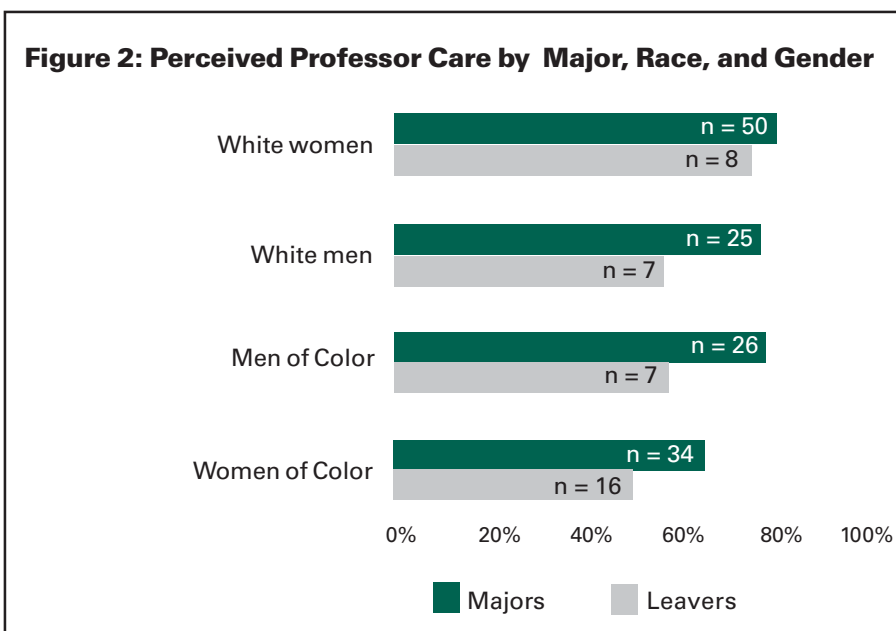


Figure 2: Perceived Professor Care by Major, Race, and Gender



We found no discernible difference by race in men’s reported perceptions of professor care (see Figure 2).

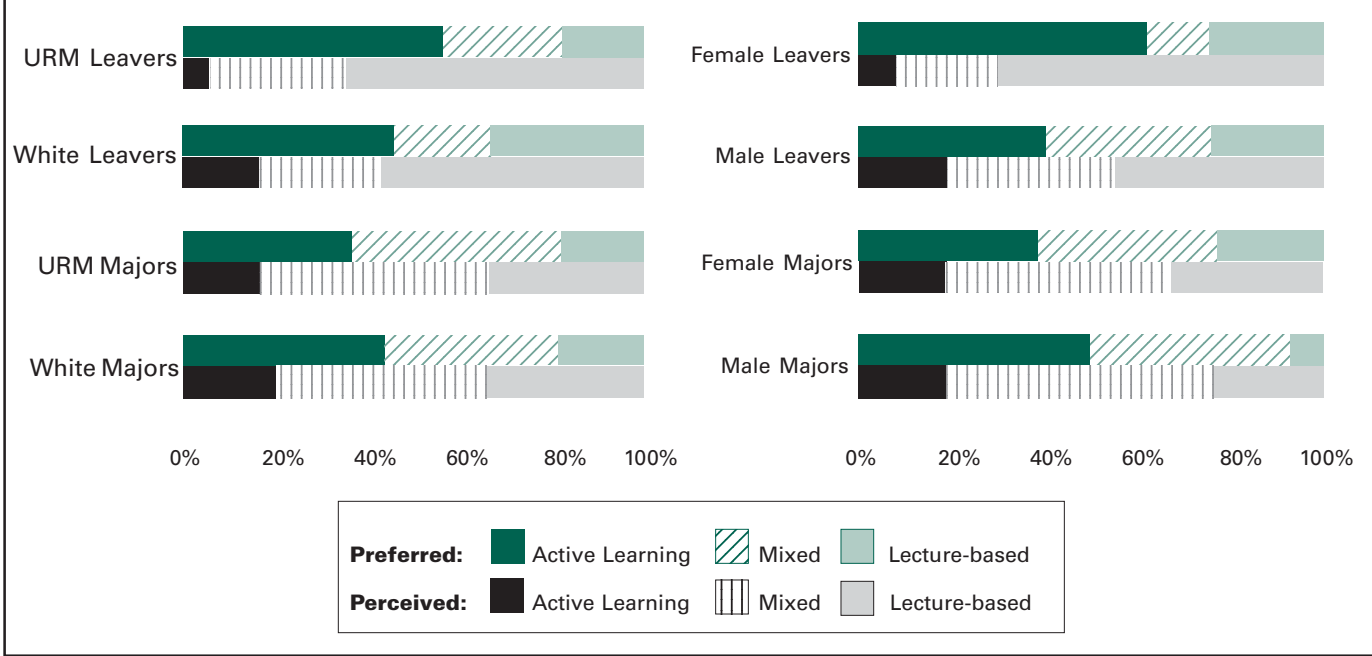
Perceptions of Instructional Approaches. Certain instructional approaches also influence STEM learning. Our findings indicate that active teaching environments often positively impact students’ sense of belonging as well as their desire to continue in STEM (see Figure 3). We found that most students prefer a more active learning environment than they report

experiencing. Notably, discrepancies between preferred mode of instruction and perceived mode of instruction are greater among leavers than those who remain in the major. Active learning is the clear preference among URM leavers (55%) and female leavers (61%). Yet, only 8% of URM leavers and 11% of female leavers perceive their college STEM professors utilize active learning approaches. Lecture-based instruction is not preferred by any race-by-gender cohort. At the same time, 65%

Save the Date

The National Coalition on School Diversity will be holding its bi-annual conference in Washington DC on **March 26-27, 2020**. Go to www.school-diversity.org for more details.

Figure 3: Preferred versus Perceived Instructional Style among STEM Majors and Leavers, by Gender and Race



of URM leavers and 70% of female leavers perceived that their STEM classes were lecture-based. These results indicate that lecture-based environments may discourage the retention of underrepresented students.

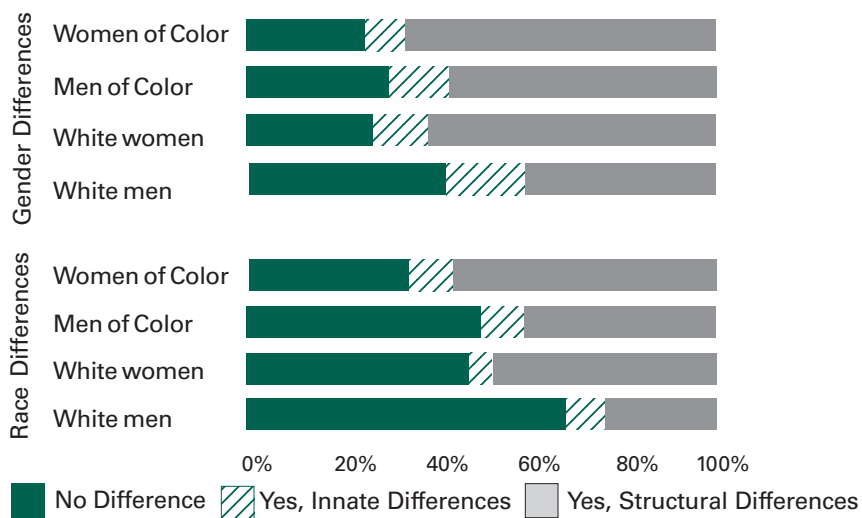
Chilly Gender and Race Climate. All learning is fostered by inclusive and respectful cultural climates. Yet, it is well-documented that women and URM experience STEM courses differently than students demographically well-represented in STEM. In fact,

female and URM students in STEM programs often describe a “chilly” climate where they face microaggressions that undermine their success. We tap into this cultural dimension of the STEM experience through questions about students’ awareness of White and male privilege in STEM. We asked our sample of NC undergraduate STEM majors their views about whether the experience of being in a STEM major was different for people of different races and genders.

We found a large majority of women of color perceive that both race and gender impact their own and others’ experiences as STEM majors (see Figure 4). In contrast, White men are likely to be unaware of any impact of race or gender on being a student in STEM. Students who acknowledged racialized or gendered experiences in STEM classrooms did not always attribute disparate experiences to cultural or systemic factors. We categorized reasons that were offered as either innate, internal differences among undergraduates (i.e., men are better in math) or systemic factors in schools and society (i.e., racism, sexism).

(Please turn to page 12)

Figure 4: Percent Respondents Who Believe Their Peers Experience Being a STEM Major Differently Depending Upon Their Race or Gender, By Respondents’ Own Gender-by-Race Cohort



(STEM OUTCOMES: Continued from p.11)

Students who attributed disparate experiences in STEM to systemic factors commonly mentioned being a demographic minority, intimidation, feeling out of place, feeling pressure to work harder, and/or discrimination, teacher/peer bias against women or people of color, or cultural assumptions implying the superiority of White people and men. A small number of students—who were mostly White women—stated that women or people of color can benefit from their under-represented status, because they may receive extra encouragement and opportunities. We also found some interviewees, irrespective of their own demographics, believe women and students of color often work harder than men and Whites as a response to the sexism and racism they encounter. Together, interview findings suggest that many female and URM students face “chilly” cultural climates in some of their STEM courses.

Conclusions

The roots of race, class, and gender disparities in college STEM outcomes among North Carolina youth are complex and far-reaching. They extend across the larger culture and society, including educational systems, and they begin long before students enter college. Efforts to close gaps in college STEM outcomes require a long-term approach. We can start by acknowledging that current disparities are the result of cumulative smaller inequitable acts and larger institutional arrangements that accrue advantages or disadvantages across students' educational trajectories. Our results point to the dynamic structural and cultural forces related to class, race, and gender that influence whether students become interested in STEM, are prepared in high school to study these fields once they matriculate, and whether they declare and graduate with STEM majors. The differential experiences of female and URM students in STEM are often invisible to stu-

dents who are most privileged by their race and gender. Because the roots of the disparities are broad and deep, they defy simple solutions. However, our findings point to several dynamics at the college level—a sense of belonging in a STEM major, caring professors, active learning instructional approaches—that may positively influence female and URM students' ex-

periences in college STEM programs. Findings suggest that reforming structural arrangements and fostering cultural climates that shift the focus away from deficit models—fix the women and students of color—likely will create conditions that begin to broaden the roots of STEM success for all youth. □

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