

Appraised:

*The Persistent Evaluation of White Neighborhoods
as More Valuable Than Communities of Color*

JUNIA HOWELL

ELIZABETH KORVER-GLENN

NOVEMBER 2022



Weidenbaum Center on the Economy,
Government, and Public Policy

ARTS & SCIENCES AT WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

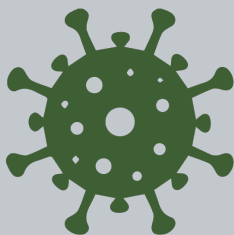
Using the recently released Uniform Appraisal Dataset—the most comprehensive set of market appraisals in the nation—a study of U.S. metropolitan areas with at least 500,000 people finds that:



Homes in White neighborhoods are appraised at double the value of homes in communities of color. Comparing similar homes, located in neighborhoods with the same socioeconomic status and comparable amenities, homes in White neighborhoods are appraised as worth \$371,000 more than their counterparts in communities of color.



Racial inequality in appraised values has increased 75 percent over the last decade. Not only is the racial gap in home values growing, the rate in which it is expanding tripled in the last decade.



The pandemic and its associated monetary policy further exacerbated the racial inequality in appraised values. In a mere two years, the average home in White neighborhoods increased in value \$136,000, which is more than twice the appreciation a comparable house in a community of color experienced (\$60,000).



Racial inequality is growing fastest in the hottest housing markets. In just two years, racial inequality in appraised values increased by \$91,000 (or 43 percent) in metropolitan areas experiencing the largest home price inflation. This increase in inequality is nearly three times greater than the increase in racial inequity in stable housing markets.



The difference between White neighborhoods and communities of color is particularly stark for American Indian, Alaska Native, Southeast Asian, and Pacific Islander communities. In 2021, homes in White neighborhoods were appraised over three times more valuable than comparable homes in similar American Indian and Alaska Native neighborhoods located within the same metropolitan area. Likewise, homes in White neighborhoods were appraised three times more valuable than comparable homes in otherwise similar Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander communities.

Racial inequality in home values directly contributes to persistent racial wealth gaps and residential segregation, which in turn influences racial inequalities in health, income, and educational outcomes. Home value inequalities are the result of appraisal practices that elevate White spaces as the most valuable. Addressing the increasing inequalities requires altering appraising practices and rectifying past injustices.



INTRODUCTION

Over the last two years, journalists have told the stories of families having to erase evidence of their Blackness so that their homes are appraised at similar amounts as their White neighbors.¹ These accounts epitomize the broader trends of racial inequality in appraised values recently documented by scholars.²

Yet, previous examinations of racial inequality in home values have not had access to appraisals themselves.³ This changed on Monday, October 24, 2022 when the Federal Housing Finance Agency (FHFA, hereafter) released the Uniform Appraisal Dataset (UAD, hereafter) Aggregate Statistics.

Not only does this data come directly from licensed appraisers, it is also more up-to-date than any previous research. Thus, it includes the unprecedented rise in home values during the COVID-19 pandemic that some have linked to growing racial inequality.⁴

This report uses this novel UAD data to evaluate neighborhood racial inequality in appraised values.

Specifically, we ask five questions:



Do appraisers evaluate homes in White neighborhoods as more valuable than homes in communities of color?



Has the neighborhood racial gap in appraised values improved over time?



Did the pandemic affect neighborhood racial inequality in appraisals?



Is racial inequality growing in the 'hottest' markets?



Does racial inequality in appraisals vary across different communities of color?

Establishing the extent of racial inequality in appraised values across communities and over time will enable government agencies and industry actors to fulfill their obligations under the 1968 Fair Housing Act, and aid activists seeking to redress the harms caused by such inequities. In what follows, we provide an overview of the appraisal process, its historical development, our empirical findings, and suggested action steps.

WHAT IS AN APPRAISAL ANYWAY?

An appraisal is a professional evaluation of a property's market value.

In the United States, purchasing or refinancing property with a mortgage loan requires a professional appraisal.⁵ The purpose of the appraisal is to minimize the financial institution's potential losses. Said another way, if the borrower is unable to pay back the loan, the lender will resell the house. To not lose money, the lender needs to sell the house for the same or a higher amount than they loaned the borrower. Thus, the lender asks a third party to help them determine what the property could sell for on the open market.

How the Appraisal Process Works

The lender requests an appraisal from a third-party entity, such as an appraisal management company (AMC). The AMC or other third-party entity then assigns a licensed appraiser to conduct an in-person evaluation of the home.

Appraisers come to the home and gather information—such as gross living area and number of bedrooms and bathrooms. After their visit, they use real estate records to look for recently sold, similar homes. They select nearby, comparable homes called 'comps.' Appraisers then use the amount these comps sold for to begin to establish what the house they are evaluating is worth.

Recognizing no property is identical, appraisers adjust the comp sale prices to account for notable differences in size, condition, or amenities. They record all their observations from the property, characteristics of the selected comps, and their opinion of the property's value on the Uni-



form Residential Appraisal Report. This form gets returned to the lender as well as the federal government.

The appraiser's opinion of value determines the maximum loan amount. If this value is lower than what a buyer was willing to pay, then the buyer must provide cash to make up the difference. In cases where that is not possible, the sale falls through. All the resources spent on the transaction (e.g., paying inspectors and other real estate professionals) are permanently lost and the seller will likely struggle to recover the equity they invested in the property.

In short, the appraisers' selection of comps is critical because they are the base numbers that determine value. Since comps are previous sales, they ensure past appraising practices are carried into the future. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the history of appraisal practices and contemporary comp selection processes.

HISTORY OF THE U.S. APPRAISAL INDUSTRY

In the early 1600s, European colonizers appraised land based on its inhabitants. They saw Indigenous lands as having little value unless White settlers took it over.⁶ Their racist land appraisals were used in treaties to justify Indigenous displacement and genocide.⁷ This created a legal precedent for racialized property evaluations.

Racialized property evaluations are the practice of appraising land based on the inhabitants' position in the White-dominated racial hierarchy.

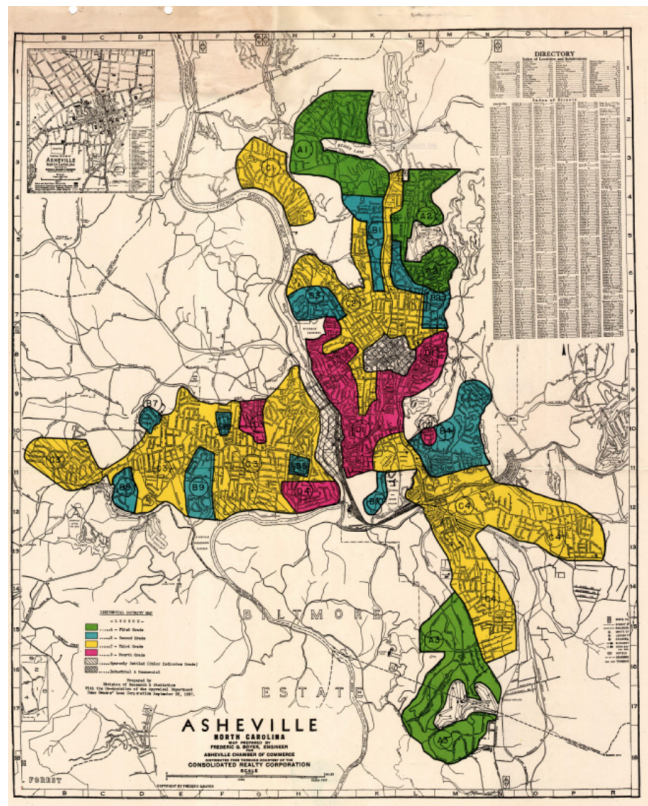
This evaluation system was further institutionalized within the United States in the early twentieth century. The first text book on appraising property, *The Appraisal of Real Estate* (1924), pulled on popular eugenics and social Darwinism theories to suggest land inhabited by Indigenous, Black, or other communities of color was inherently less valuable than White communities.⁸

A decade later, the federal government hired the author of that textbook, Frederick Babcock, to write the first federal underwriting manual. This manual systematized the racialized property evaluation system by instructing appraisers to determine a property's value based on past sales in racially and socioeconomically similar areas.⁹

Governmental agencies and industry organizations created color-coded maps that assisted appraisers in identifying the race and class of the neighborhood.¹⁰ Together, these processes ensured White property remained the most valuable.

Black, Indigenous, and Latinx activists and Civil Rights organizations began protesting these racist practices.¹¹ Their diligence led to new laws that prohibited the explicit use of racial demographics as a justification for what a property is worth. However, appraisers were still required to use past sale prices to determine property values without adjusting for the past injustices.

As a result, appraisal values continued to elevate the price of White communities over communities of color. Moreover, research has shown racial demographics still play a central role in how appraisers perceive neighborhoods and select comparable sales.¹² In short, despite some legal changes, residential appraisals still rely on the racist notion that White middle-class neighborhoods are more valuable than comparable communities of color.



Color-Coded Map of Asheville, North Carolina's Neighborhoods



METHODS

ESTABLISHING THE LEVEL OF RACIAL INEQUALITY IN APPRAISED VALUES

Although it is illegal for appraisers to explicitly use neighborhood racial composition as a justification for their appraised values, the national appraisal standards set forth in the Appraisal Institute's *The Appraisal of Real Estate* handbook encourage appraisers to evaluate multiple neighborhood factors as they select comps and arrive at opinions of value.¹³ These factors include education, household income, development and construction, and public services, among many others.¹⁴

Given ongoing racialized policies and practices, many of these neighborhood characteristics correlate with neighborhood racial composition. In other words, racist urban planning decisions have concentrated higher quality housing and communal resources in White neighborhoods. These policies are unjust. Yet, they are driven by a different set of processes.

To identify appraisers' racialized property evaluations net of these broader place-based inequalities, we use statistical modeling to compare communities with comparable housing stock, socioeconomic status, and local amenities. Specifically, we use census tracts as a proxy for neighborhoods and run separate models for each housing market—defined as metropolitan areas.¹⁵

Since we are analyzing each metropolitan area separately, we only include metropolitan areas with a total population greater than 500,000 and at least 50,000 residents of color.¹⁶ This helps us ensure our estimates of racial inequality are robust and not due to the abnormalities of a single house or neighborhood. Together, our analysis examines 32,322,858 appraisals.

DATA SOURCES

Appraised Values

The average appraised value within each neighborhood comes from the recently released FHFA UAD Aggregate Statistics Data. This data consists of every appraisal submitted to Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac from January 2013 to December 2021. For this report, we use the mean appraisal value within each census tract.¹⁷ However, all analyses were also run using the median appraisal value and results were comparable.¹⁸

Neighborhood Racial Composition

We defined neighborhood racial composition with the American Community Survey (ACS) estimates of census tracts' racial proportions. Since the ACS does not release yearly estimates for census tracts, we used the 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 five year summary files¹⁹ and employed linear imputation to estimate yearly values from 2013-2021.²⁰

Throughout the remainder of this report, we use the following eight terms to describe different socially constructed classifications of the U.S. population (in order of when the terms appear in the report):

1. **White.** Residents who self identify as monoracial non-Hispanic White.
2. **Residents of color.** All residents who do not identify as monoracial non-Hispanic White.
3. **Black.** Residents who self identify as monoracial non-Hispanic Black.
4. **Latinx.** Residents who self identify as Hispanic or Latino.
5. **American Indian and Alaska Native.** Residents who self identify as monoracial non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native.²¹

NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS



Housing Stock

- Number of Rooms
- Single Family Houses
- Year Built



Socioeconomic Status

- Owner Occupied Housing
- Employment Rate
- Poverty



Amenities

- Retail Shops
- Entertainment Establishments
- Services
- Parks
- Distance from Employment

6. **Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander.** Residents who self-identify as monoracial non-Hispanic Pacific Islander or non-Hispanic Asian with Burmese, Cambodian, Filipino, Hmong, Indonesian, Laotian, Malaysian, Thai, or Vietnamese ancestry.
7. **Southern Asian.** Residents who self-identify as monoracial non-Hispanic Asian with Bangladeshi, Bhutanese, Indian, Nepalese, Pakistani, or Sri Lankan ancestry.
8. **East Asian.** Residents who self-identify as monoracial non-Hispanic Asian with Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Mongolian, Okinawan, Taiwanese, or other Asian ancestry.²²

Neighborhood Housing Stock

To estimate the property characteristics appraised in each census tract, we use the same ACS data mentioned above. We control for the average number of rooms in each housing unit within the census tract, the proportion of housing units in the census tract that are detached single family units, and the mean year the housing stock in the census tract was built.

Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status

We also use ACS data to estimate the neighborhood's socioeconomic status. We define neighborhood socioeconomic status as the proportion of occupied housing units that are owned by their current occupant, the proportion of residents in the labor force that are currently employed, and the proportion of all residents living under the federal poverty line.

Neighborhood Amenities

To capture the neighborhood's amenities, we use the National Neighborhood Data Archive which pulls together administrative data on census tracts for longitudinal, national analyses. Specifically, from the National Establishment Time Series data (2003-2017), we measure the number of retail businesses (e.g., grocery, department, clothing, and cosmetics stores), entertainment establishments (e.g., restaurants, sport stadiums, and art galleries), and local services (e.g., post offices, libraries, banks, and daycare centers) per capita within the census tract.²³

Using the Trust for Public Land ParkServe Database, we estimated the proportion of the census tract's square footage that is a public park.²⁴ Finally, we also use the average commute time from the ACS to estimate the neighborhood's proximity to employment opportunities.





FINDINGS



Question 1: Do appraisers evaluate homes in White neighborhoods as more valuable than homes in communities of color?

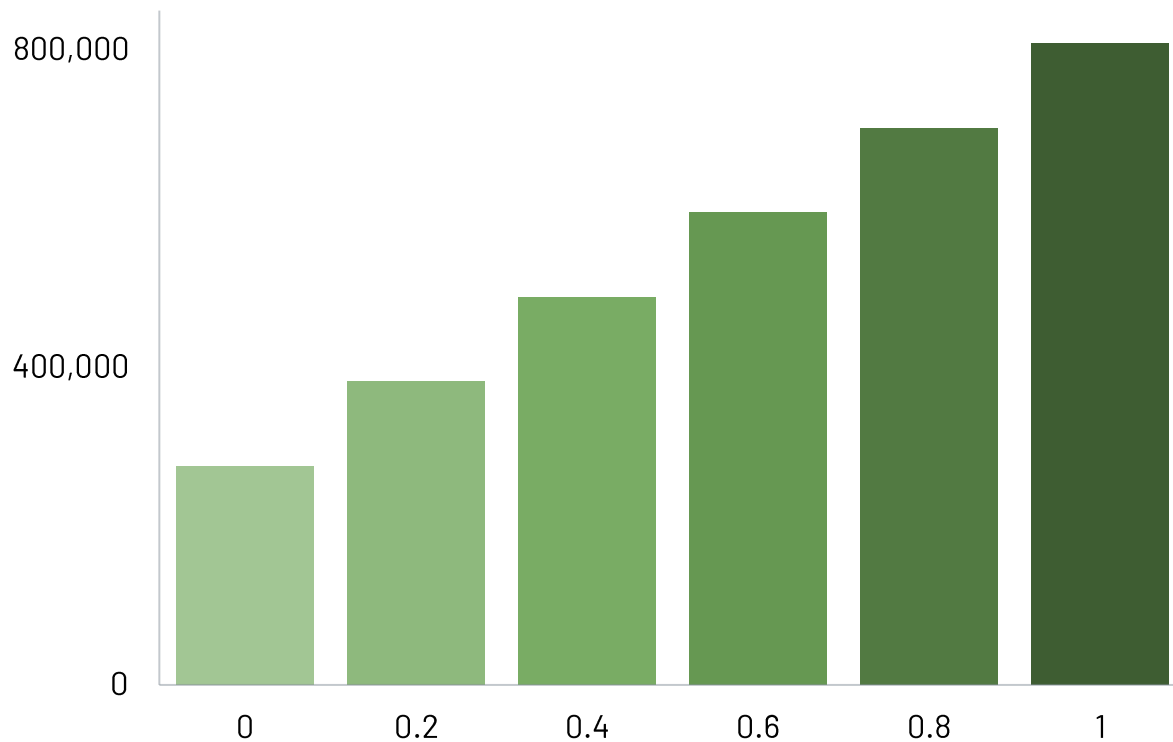
The higher the White proportion in a neighborhood the higher the appraised value. In 2021, the average appraised value for communities with no White residents

(hereafter communities of color) was \$276,000. Yet, as the White proportion in the neighborhood increases so does appraisers' valuation of homes. Appraisers valued homes in neighborhoods with 50 percent White residents and 50 percent residents of color as worth \$542,000 while those in all-White communities (hereafter White neighborhoods) as worth \$808,000. In other words, the

Figure 1

Mean Appraised Values by White Population Proportion

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2021



Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

Table 1

Mean Appraised Values in White Neighborhoods and Communities of Color

U.S. Expensive and Inexpensive Metropolitan Areas, 2021

	Communities of Color	White Neighborhoods
Expensive Markets	\$972,753	\$1,543,188
Inexpensive Markets	\$216,462	\$293,552

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. Expensive Markets include San Jose, San Francisco, Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Diego, Oxnard–Ventura, Seattle, Bridgeport–Norwalk, Boston, and New York. Inexpensive Markets include Cleveland, Rochester, Akron, McAllen, Lansing, Wichita, Syracuse, Dayton, Scranton, El Paso, Toledo, and Youngstown.

presence of White residents inflated appraisers' residential valuations by \$532,000—a three-fold increase.

Granted, these are national averages. Some metropolitan areas have mean appraised values higher than these averages while others have considerably lower home prices. In the top ten most expensive housing markets where the average 2021 appraisal is over \$700,000, homes in White neighborhoods were appraised on average as worth \$1,543,000 while homes in communities of color were only worth \$972,000.²⁵ Conversely, in the least expensive housing markets (where the average appraisal is less than \$250,000), homes in White neighborhoods are appraised at \$294,000 whereas those in communities of color are appraised at \$216,000.²⁶

Given the vast differences in home values across the country, we examined patterns in each metropolitan area individually. Generally speaking, each area has comparable trends. Thus, we present the national averages across these trends to convey the primary patterns.²⁷

Not only are the patterns consistent across the nation, they also mirror previous scholarship that has examined the inequality in home values using property tax assessment and self-reported home values. However, unlike the previous research, the newly accessible Uniform Appraisal Dataset allows us to confirm that these findings are the result of appraisers' own valuations.

That said, like past studies have found, the stark racial inequality is likely the result of both contemporary racialized property evaluations and historical racialized policies that have concentrated smaller, poorer quality homes in communities of color with few amenities.

To disentangle racial inequality in neighborhood characteristics from contemporary appraiser valuations, we hold constant house quality, neighborhood socioeconomic status, and area amenities. In other words, we compare identical homes in neighborhoods with the same socioeconomic status and comparable amenities to isolate the role that contemporary neighborhood racial composition has on appraised values.

Homes of average size, structure, and age located in neighborhoods of average socioeconomic status with an average number of parks, services, and retail establishments were appraised as worth \$732,000 if they were located in a White neighborhood but only \$361,000 if they were located in a community of color.

Even when considering comparable homes in comparable neighborhoods, homes in White neighborhoods are appraised as over twice as

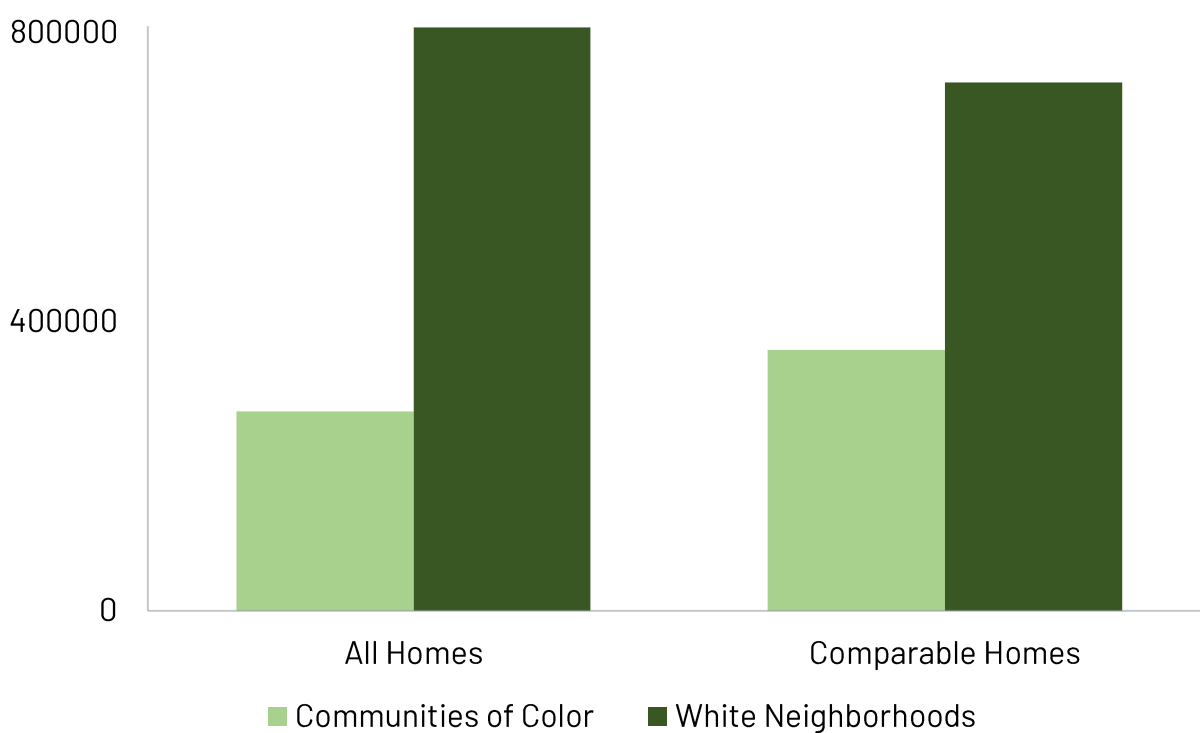
valuable as homes in communities of color. This means the average White family can use their average home to leverage \$370,000 more in capital than their counterparts living in a community of color.

In short, in 2021, licensed appraisers evaluated homes in White neighborhoods as double the value of homes in communities of color—even when property and other neighborhood characteristics were the same.

Figure 2

Mean Appraised Values in White Neighborhoods and Communities of Color

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2021



Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates, and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive.



Question 2: Has the neighborhood racial gap in appraised values improved over time?

Despite the reforms enacted after the 2008 housing crash, neighborhood racial inequality is not improving over time. Quite the opposite. The neighborhood racial gap in appraised values increased by \$157,000 from 2013 to 2021.

In 2013, homes in White neighborhoods were appraised at \$213,000 more than comparable homes in similar communities of color. By 2021, this gap had increased to \$370,000, a 75 percent increase.

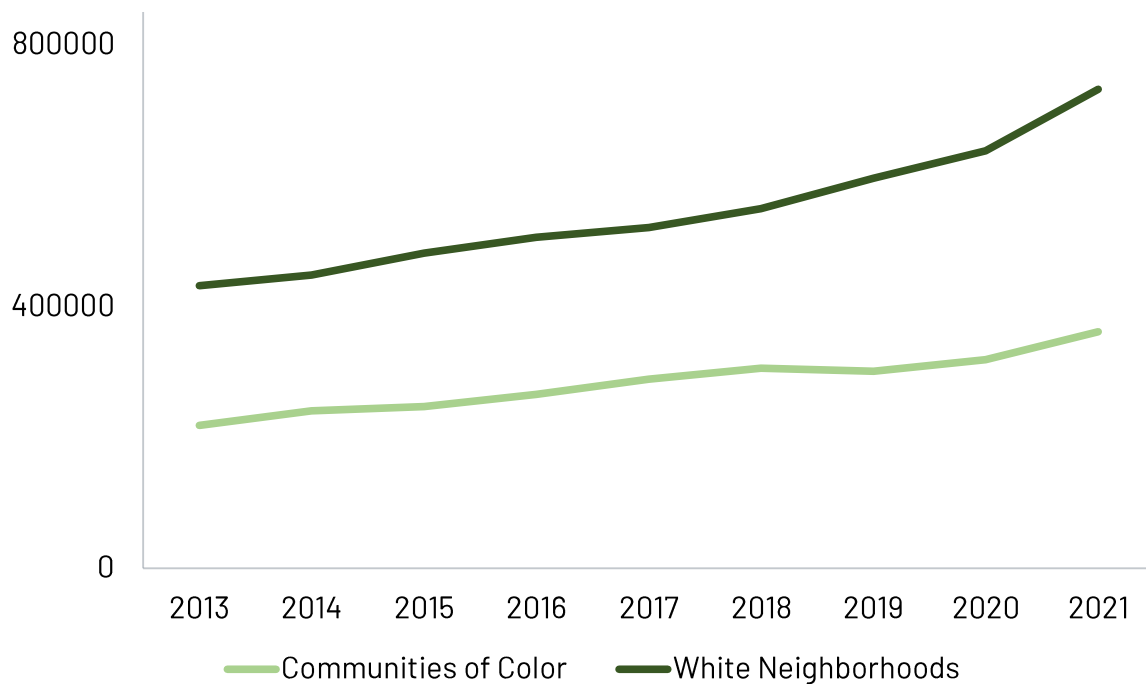
During this time period, appraisers' valuations of homes in White neighborhoods rose \$300,000 while homes in communities of color only increased \$143,000. In other words, appraisers valued homes in White neighborhoods as appreciating over two times faster than comparable homes in comparable communities of color.

Although the racial inequality in home values has been increasing since 1980, the rate by which it is increasing has tripled in the last decade. From 1980 to 2015, the neighborhood racial gap in appraisals expanded by \$6,000 a year.²⁸ Yet, in this last decade, this gap grew by \$18,000 a year. Put another way, racial inequality is continuing to grow and the rate at which it is expanding has accelerated.

Figure 3

Mean Appraised Values Over Time

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2013–2021



Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive.

Table 2

Mean Appraised Values Over Time

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2013-2021

	Communities of Color	White Neighborhoods
2013	\$218,337	\$431,786
2014	\$240,649	\$448,444
2015	\$246,799	\$481,148
2016	\$266,104	\$505,544
2017	\$289,416	\$520,486
2018	\$306,053	\$549,942
2019	\$301,243	\$596,279
2020	\$319,047	\$637,636
2021	\$361,427	\$731,922

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013-2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive.



Question 3: Did the pandemic affect neighborhood racial inequity in appraisals?

During the pandemic, the U.S. housing market saw an unprecedented rise in home prices. However, all homes did not increase at the same rate. In a mere two years, appraisers increased their valuation of the average-size and average-age home in a White neighborhood by \$136,000. But they increased their valuation of this same house located in a community of color by only \$60,000.

To be sure, both are unprecedented increases that have had ripple effects on affordable

housing and community stability. Yet, the 76,000 real-dollar increase in neighborhood racial inequality in appraisals represents 18 months of wages for the average U.S. worker. This substantial increase in inequality will have multiple ongoing ripple effects on racial inequities in wealth and well-being.

Moreover, nearly half of the growth of inequality observed over the decade occurred during the pandemic. In other words, the accelerating rate of inequality is the result of industry and monetary policy decisions made during the pandemic. Combined, these actions enabled an influx of capital into the housing market, primarily in White neighborhoods.



Question 4: Is racial inequality growing in the 'hottest' markets?

Nationally, the average metropolitan area experienced a 22 percent inflation in home prices from 2019 to 2021. Yet, some metropolitan areas like, Boise City, saw a 55 percent increase in home values. Noting how quickly homes are inflating in the hottest

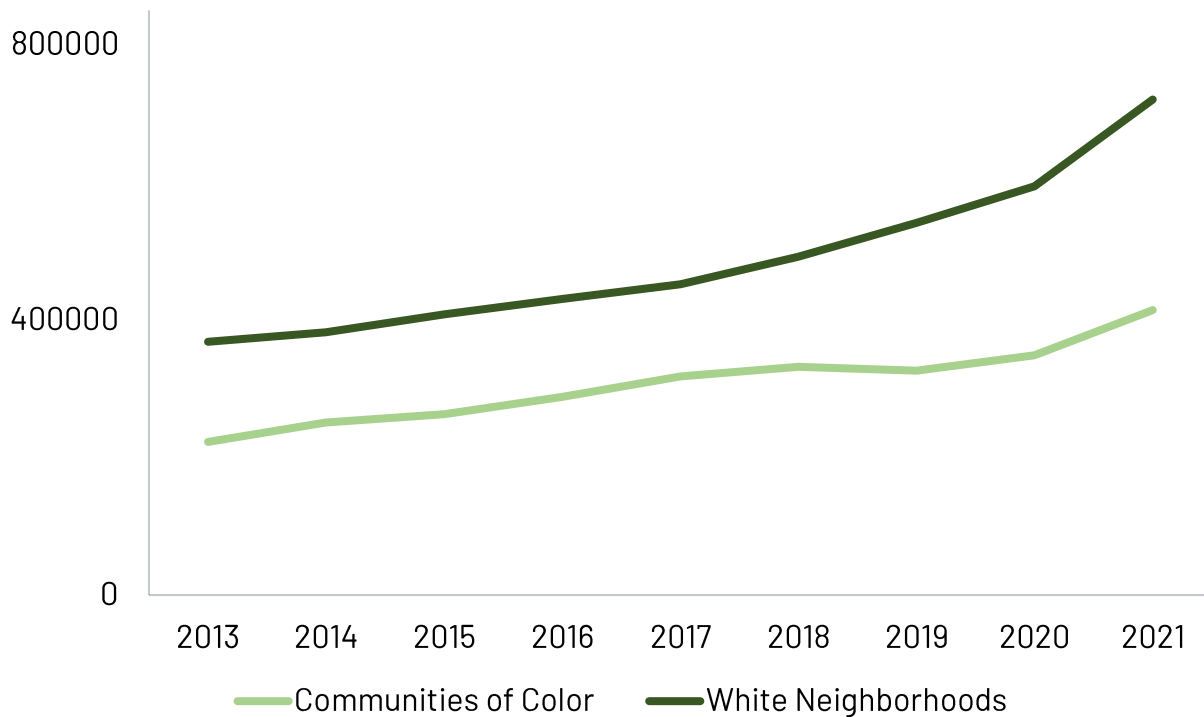
housing markets, including more rapid home price increases in communities of color than in White communities in some cases, some have hypothesized that these home price increases might help mitigate certain forms of racial inequality in these metropolitan areas.²⁹ Unfortunately, that is not the case.

In the metropolitan areas with the fastest increasing home values, racial inequality is also growing. Appraiser valuations of homes

Figure 4

Mean Appraised Values Over Time for Hot Markets

U.S. Hottest Housing Markets, 2013-2021



Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013-2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. Hot Housing Market are defined as metropolitan area whose average appraised value rose more than 25 percent from 2019 to 2021. These areas include Austin, Boise, Boston, Charlotte, Colorado Springs, Deltona, Fort Myers, Jacksonville, Knoxville, Lakeland, Miami, Modesto, Nashville, Ogden, Palm Bay, Phoenix, Providence, Provo, Raleigh, Riverside, Sarasota, Sacramento, Salt Lake City, San Diego, Seattle, Spokane, Stockton, Tampa, and Tucson.

in White neighborhoods in these metropolitan areas increased by 33 percent. But their valuations of homes in communities of color in these same metropolitan areas only increased by 27 percent—further exacerbating the already stark inequities.

As a result, the neighborhood racial gap in these hot markets expanded by \$91,000 from 2019 to 2021—a 43 percent increase. Specifically, within these markets, appraisers valued homes in White neighborhoods as increasing

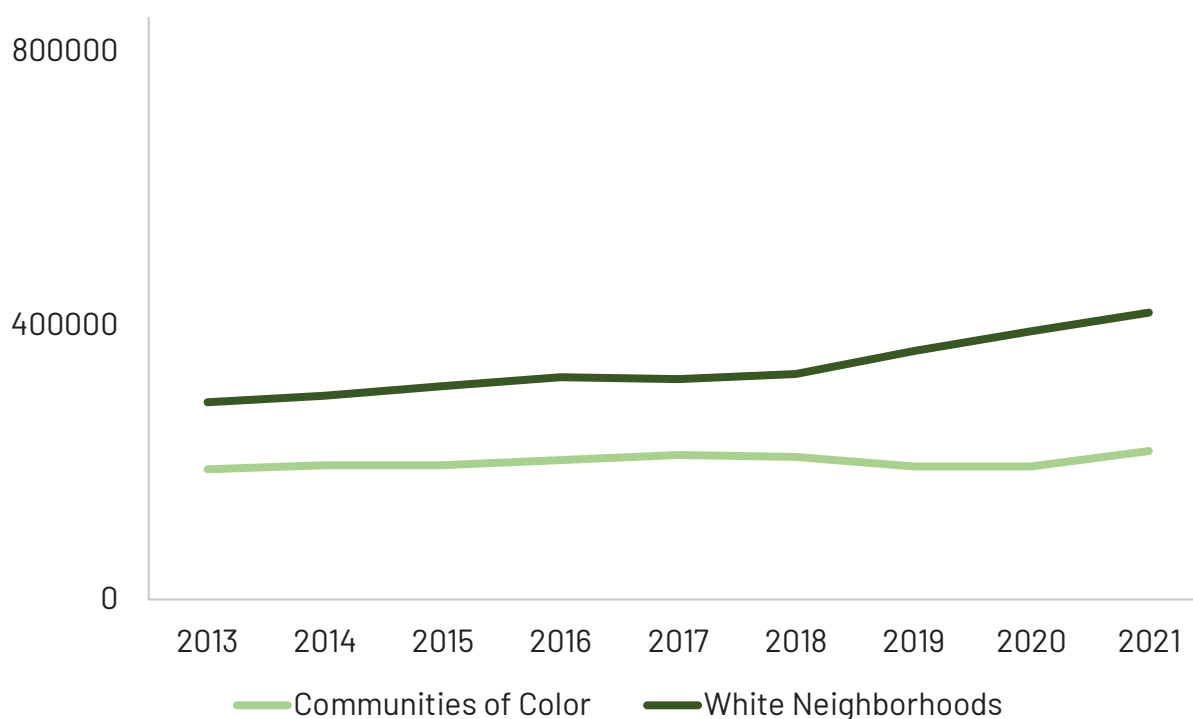
by \$179,000 in two years. But appraisers valued comparable homes in communities of color as only increasing \$88,000.

Conversely, the 16 metropolitan areas that saw the slowest growth during the pandemic also experienced more moderate increases in racial inequality. To be clear, in these metropolitan areas, homes in White neighborhoods are still worth nearly double similar homes in comparable communities of color and they also experienced increases in racial inequality

Figure 5

Mean Appraised Values Over Time for Stable Markets

U.S. Stable Housing Markets, 2013-2021



Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013-2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. Stable Housing Markets are defined as metropolitan areas whose average appraised value rose less than 15 percent from 2019 to 2021. These areas include Baltimore, Baton Rouge, Birmingham, Chicago, Des Moines, Detroit, Hartford, Jackson, Louisville, New Orleans, Oklahoma, Pittsburgh, Scranton, St. Louis, Syracuse, and Toledo.

during the pandemic. Yet, instead of the racial gap growing by 43 percent as in the hottest markets, more stable housing markets only saw a \$33,000, or 20 percent, increase in racial inequality.

No growth in racial inequality is desirable. Thus, even the patterns in the most stable markets are alarming. Yet, the comparison illuminates how hot markets are not serving everyone equally. Instead, appraisers' valuations in quickly appreciating markets are further exacerbating neighborhood racial inequality in home values.



Question 5: Does racial inequality in appraisals vary across different communities of color?

Examining inequality between White neighborhoods and communities of color is the most robust approach to examining patterns in the racial appraisal gap across the entire nation. Yet, the specific histories and migration patterns of American Indian and Alaska Native, Black, East Asian, Latinx, Southern Asian, and Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander people have resulted in distinct appraisal gaps.

Appraisers value Black and Latinx communities similarly—especially in relationship to White neighborhoods in the same metropolitan area. In 2021, the average house in a Black neighborhood within metropolitan areas where the Black population was 50,000 or more was appraised at \$262,000.³⁰ In these same metropolitan areas, comparable homes in White neighborhoods were appraised at \$629,000. Put another way, homes in White neighborhoods were appraised at values nearly two and half times higher than similar homes in Black neighborhoods within the same metropolitan areas.

Likewise, the average house in a Latinx neighborhood within a metropolitan area with at least 50,000 Latinx residents was appraised at \$321,000. Although this is a higher absolute amount than the home value in the average Black neighborhood, Latinx residents disproportionately live in metropolitan areas with higher home values. In the metropolitan areas where at least 50,000 Latinx residents reside, the average house in a White neighborhood was appraised at \$891,000. So even though houses in Latinx communities are appraised at larger absolute dollar values than houses in Black communities, the gap between Latinx neighborhood home values and White neighborhood home values in the same metropolitan areas is larger than it is between Black and White communities. The average house in a White neighborhood is appraised at 278 percent higher than its counterpart in a Latinx community.

American Indian, Alaska Native, Southeast Asian, and Pacific Islander communities experience an even larger gap in appraised values relative to White communities. In the two metropolitan areas where 50,000 or more American Indian and/or Alaska Native people live (Phoenix, Arizona and Tulsa, Oklahoma), average homes in American Indian and Alaska Native neighborhoods are appraised at \$137,000. Granted, homes in White neighborhoods in these two metropolitan areas are only appraised at \$464,000. Yet, this is still a staggering 338 percent difference for a comparable home located in the same metropolitan area within a community that has the same socioeconomic status and neighborhood amenities.

Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander communities live in metropolitan areas with higher home values but experience similar levels of relative inequity with White neighborhoods. On average, homes in

Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander communities are appraised at \$305,000, yet houses in White neighborhoods in these same metropolitan areas are appraised more than four times as much—\$1,268,000. The vast inequality experienced by Southeast Asian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, and Alaska Native communities speaks to the historical and ongoing devaluation of their lands.

Unlike the experiences of American Indian, Alaska Native, Black, Latinx, Pacific Islander, and Southeast Asian communities, East and Southern Asian neighborhoods are

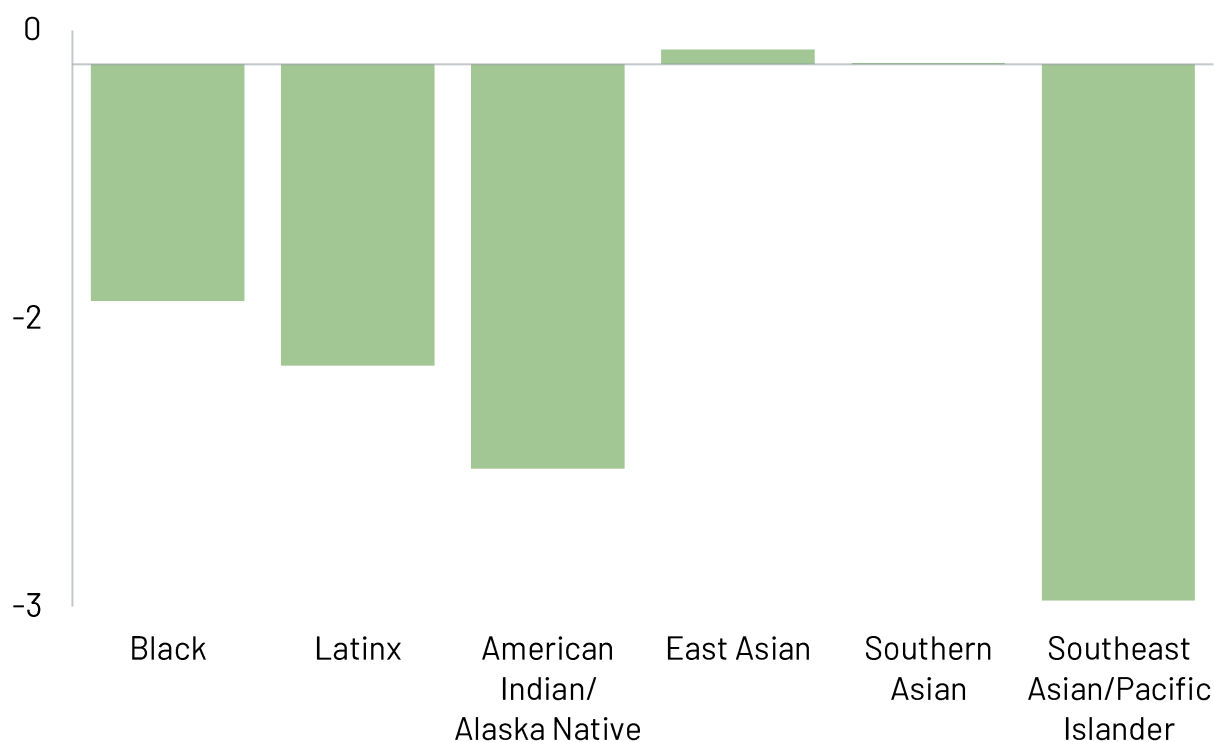
appraised at amounts comparable to their White counterparts. In fact, appraised values in Southern Asian neighborhoods are indistinguishable from appraised values in comparable White neighborhoods within the same metropolitan areas and homes in East Asian communities are appraised at 10 percent higher values than their counterpart homes in White neighborhoods.

This parity between White neighborhoods and East and Southern Asian communities is a result of immigration policies that have cultivated contemporary associations

Figure 6

Difference Between Communities of Color and White Neighborhoods Relative to The Mean Appraised Values in Each Community of Color

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2021



Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. Estimates are weighted by the total population and only include metropolitan areas where the relevant group has at least 50,000 residents.

between wealth and East and Southern Asian neighborhoods. That is, historically the United States prohibited all immigration from East and Southern Asian countries. When this law was changed in 1965, the government only granted visas to workers with high educational attainment and socioeconomic status as well as skills deemed high value by the U.S. government. From 1965 on, the entry of highly educated and wealthy East and Southern Asian residents into the U.S. fostered racialized assumptions that East and Southern Asians were successful due to their cultural and racial

background. This has translated into perceptions of East and Southern Asian communities as similar to or in some cases more valuable than White neighborhoods.

However, anti-Chinese and anti-East Asian hate crimes increased dramatically during the pandemic. During this period, home values in East Asian neighborhoods decreased relative to their White counterparts. This suggests that racist stereotypes negatively affected home prices in East Asian communities in ways they had not prior to the pandemic.





CONCLUSION

For the first time in history, the FHFA UAD data provides the public with a systematic look at appraisal reports. Using this data, we find appraisers assign higher values to homes in White neighborhoods compared to comparable houses in similar communities of color.

Rather than improving over time, this inequality increased by 75 percent over the last decade. The pandemic further exacerbated the observed racial inequality, especially in the metropolitan areas with the hottest housing markets.

The inequality between White neighborhood appraised values and those in communities of color is particularly stark for American Indian, Alaska Native, Southeast Asian, and Pacific Islander communities whose homes are worth between three and four times less than com-

parable homes in White neighborhoods in the same metropolitan areas.

Although explicitly referencing race as a justification for an appraisal value is illegal, these findings show neighborhood racial composition remains a key factor in how appraisers assign property values—even if it is not recorded on official forms. This report, in combination with previous scholarship, shows that the persistent and growing neighborhood inequality in home values cannot be explained by differences in property type or quality, neighborhood socioeconomic status or amenities, or even the amount of real estate demand in the area.

Instead, neighborhood racial inequality in appraised values is largely a product of the sales comparison approach. Appraisers are

explicitly and implicitly trained to conceptualize similar neighborhoods as those with the same racial demographics.³¹ Given this, racist sale prices from the past are carried into the present and combined with contemporary racist stereotypes to further exacerbate inequality.

This inequality directly contributes to the persistent racial wealth gaps and residential segregation.³² In turn, racial wealth and

residential inequalities influence residents' health, employment, income, and education. Addressing the gaps in appraised values will have multiple ripple effects on racial inequality more broadly.

To this end, we propose two primary action steps: reparations to adjudicate for past injustices and a new appraisal approach.



REPARATIONS

Without adjudicating for the past injustices, inequities will likely persist and grow. Although these inequities have long histories, they also have contemporary and documented effects on today's families. Using the Uniform Appraisal Dataset and other federal data sources, we can estimate the cost of the racialized appraisal process on specific neighborhoods. With this information, targeted tax credits or stimulus programs can redirect wealth from communities that have experienced excessive appreciation to those that have suffered from persistent racism.



NEW APPRAISAL APPROACH

Moving forward, appraisal processes should not rely on past sales. Instead, recommended approaches should evaluate the property's cost and societal contribution. New methods, like eruka's lifespan approach, decouple the value of land from the racial or socioeconomic characteristics of its inhabitants. Government agencies and industry professionals should continue to innovate, evaluate, and elevate these and other alternative methods.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: A COLLECTIVE EFFORT FOR PUBLIC APPRAISAL DATA

After the 2008 housing crash, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (the Government Sponsored Enterprises, or GSEs) under the direction of the Federal Housing Agency and Federal Housing Finance Agency (FHFA) reformed the appraisal data collection process. These revisions further standardized and digitized the data collected on each property.

As part of this process, all appraisal reports were collected into a single dataset, the Uniform Appraisal Dataset (UAD). This data was used by the GSEs for internal purposes and by their own researchers for analyses. However, it was not made accessible to the public or external researchers desiring to examine racial inequality in appraised values.

Without access to appraisal data, scholars used alternative proxies for appraised values and documented extensive neighborhood racial inequality in home values.³³ This research began to catch regulators' attention, laying the groundwork for more data transparency as a way to investigate the appraisal industry's role in neighborhood racial home value inequalities.

On June 20, 2019, the U.S. House Financial Services Committee held a hearing on appraisals, racial home value inequities, and discrimination.³⁴ Congressman Al Green spoke poignantly about the vast racial inequities that Dr. Andre Perry had documented. But when asked, no appraisers in the room would acknowledge racial discrimination was present in the industry.

A year later in summer 2020, protestors and activists highlighted the multiple interlocking forms of racism and White supremacy. Journalists published numerous stories on the racial inequities in appraisals. Simultaneously, new research showed that the racial inequality in appraisals was getting worse, not better.³⁵ This and related research in 2020 helped get the issue of racial inequality in appraisals into the election cycle.³⁶

A few months into presidency, President Biden announced his new housing initiative, the creation of the Interagency Task Force on Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity (PAVE).³⁷ As the Task Force began carrying out their mandate, the GSEs released reports that documented various aspects of racial inequality in appraisals.³⁸

Then, the PAVE Task Force released its initial report and action plan in March 2022.³⁹ They articulated that releasing the de-identified UAD to the public via the FHFA would be a key priority. The FHFA moved very quickly to do so, releasing the data on October 24, 2022. For the first time, the public can view and examine aggregated market appraisal data that contains information on more than 47 million appraisals conducted around the country between 2013 and the second quarter of 2022.

For more information on the data and to view the dashboards visit:

<https://www.fhfa.gov/DataTools/Pages/UAD-Dashboards.aspx#Datasets>

APPENDIX B: REGRESSION RESULTS

To empirically disentangle neighborhood racial composition from other neighborhood characteristics (e.g., housing stock, socioeconomic status, local amenities), we estimated ordinary least squares regressions. Our unit of analysis is the census tract. We ran individual models for each year for each metropolitan area (a total of 945 models).

We then weighted the coefficients from each model by the total population in the metropolitan area to derive national coefficient averages. All control models were standardized within each year and each metropolitan area.

We ran an additional 945 models to differentiate between the communities of color. These models are available in the online supplemental materials alongside our code and data (see eruka.org). We estimated all models in Stata.

Table B1

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2013

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$373,217	\$213,449
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$2,667
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$33,726
Mean Year Built		-\$16,796
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		\$25,341
Poverty Proportion		-\$12,359
Employment Rate		\$40,149
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$11,716
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$3,987
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$42,790
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$8,278
Mean Commute Time		-\$6,776
Constant	\$121,003	\$218,337
Mean R² Across Models	0.1942	0.4403
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013-2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B2

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2014

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$386,158	\$207,794
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$3,691
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$34,619
Mean Year Built		-\$18,069
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		\$32,321
Poverty Proportion		-\$14,266
Employment Rate		\$39,271
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$11,605
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$6,331
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$43,993
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$9,107
Mean Commute Time		-\$9,328
Constant	\$133,247	\$240,649
Mean R² Across Models	0.1871	0.4308
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B3

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2015

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$397,337	\$234,349
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$2,805
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$40,051
Mean Year Built		-\$21,890
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		\$34,178
Poverty Proportion		-\$15,775
Employment Rate		\$35,060
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$12,114
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$6,173
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$47,797
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$9,870
Mean Commute Time		-\$8,853
Constant	\$151,051	\$246,799
Mean R² Across Models	0.1873	0.4235
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B4

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2016

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$416,634	\$239,439
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$14,366
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$47,584
Mean Year Built		-\$23,794
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		\$34,487
Poverty Proportion		-\$17,450
Employment Rate		\$36,079
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$9,886
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$1,730
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$52,151
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$8,916
Mean Commute Time		-\$16,736
Constant	\$163,916	\$266,104
Mean R² Across Models	0.1931	0.4374
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B5

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2017

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$429,559	\$231,070
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$29,747
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$49,874
Mean Year Built		-\$21,022
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		\$31,157
Poverty Proportion		-\$22,054
Employment Rate		\$32,583
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$8,666
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$5,982
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$50,535
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$9,070
Mean Commute Time		-\$24,000
Constant	\$176,419	\$289,416
Mean R² Across Models	0.1978	0.4470
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B6

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2018

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$446,848	\$243,889
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$52,900
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$58,125
Mean Year Built		-\$20,085
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		\$21,150
Poverty Proportion		-\$26,662
Employment Rate		\$26,063
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$12,620
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$11,392
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$50,379
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$7,928
Mean Commute Time		-\$28,221
Constant	\$193,202	\$306,053
Mean R² Across Models	0.1948	0.4481
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013-2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B7

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2019

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$464,408	\$295,036
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$95,037
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$85,459
Mean Year Built		-\$28,173
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		-\$494
Poverty Proportion		-\$25,887
Employment Rate		\$21,140
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$6,773
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$11,306
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$48,324
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$6,395
Mean Commute Time		-\$22,213
Constant	\$210,193	\$301,243
Mean R² Across Models	0.1921	0.4635
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006–2010, 2011–2015, and 2016–2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013–2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B8

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2020

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$472,051	\$318,588
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$142,751
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$113,534
Mean Year Built		-\$40,179
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		-\$17,795
Poverty Proportion		-\$24,393
Employment Rate		\$15,189
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$6,837
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$16,525
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$48,222
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$7,632
Mean Commute Time		-\$14,094
Constant	\$237,455	\$319,047
Mean R² Across Models	0.1956	0.4881
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013-2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

Table B9

Mean Coefficients from Linear Regressions Predicting Appraised Values.

U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 2021

	Model 1	Model 2
White Proportion	\$532,536	\$370,495
Neighborhood Housing Stock		
Median Rooms		\$154,761
Detached Single Family Proportion		-\$118,277
Mean Year Built		-\$43,963
Neighborhood Socioeconomic Status		
Owner Occupancy Rate		-\$12,574
Poverty Proportion		-\$28,096
Employment Rate		\$12,703
Neighborhood Amenities		
Number of Retail Businesses Per Capita		-\$7,966
Number of Entertainment Establishments Per Capita		\$13,712
Number of Local Services Per Capita		\$56,653
Proportion of Census Tract's Square Footage is a Public Park		\$13,149
Mean Commute Time		-\$21,906
Constant	\$275,876	\$361,427
Mean R² Across Models	0.1964	0.4726
Number of Models	105	105

Source: Authors' analysis of FHFA UAD, 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates and 2013-2018 National Neighborhood Data Archive. All control variables were standardized within the metropolitan area and year. Therefore, a value of zero represents the mean within the metropolitan area.

APPENDIX C: ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Academic Research

Airgood-Obrycki, Whitney, Alexander Hermann, and Sophia Weeden. 2022. [“The Rent Eats First: Rental Housing Unaffordability in The United States.”](#) *Housing Policy Debate*.

Banner, Stuart. 2005. *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier*. Belknap Press.

Faber, Jacob W. 2020. [“We Built This: Consequences of New Deal Era Intervention in America’s Racial Geography.”](#) *American Sociological Review*. 85(5): 739–775.

Garriga, Carlos, Pedro Gete, and Athena Tsouderou. 2020. “Investors and Housing Affordability, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.” *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Working Paper Series*.

Graetz, Nick and Michael H. Esposito. *Forthcoming*. “Historical Redlining and Contemporary Racial Disparities in Neighborhood Life Expectancy.” *Social Forces*.

Hermann, Alexander, and Thomas Shay Hill. 2021. [Home Prices Rose Fastest in Communities of Color During the Pandemic](#). Joint Center for Housing Studies.

Howell, Junia and Elizabeth Korver-Glenn. 2018. [“Neighborhoods, Race, and the Twenty-First-Century Housing Appraisal Industry.”](#) *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*. 4(4): 473–90.

Howell, Junia and Elizabeth Korver-Glenn. 2021. [“The Increasing Effect of Neighborhood Racial Composition on Housing Values, 1980–2015.”](#) *Social Problems*. 68(4): 1051–71.

Hoyt, Homer. 1933. *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise of Its Land Values, 1830–1933*. The University of Chicago Press.

Jackson, Kenneth. 1985. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. Oxford University Press.

Korver-Glenn, Elizabeth. 2021. *Race Brokers: Housing Markets and Segregation in 21st Century Urban America*. Oxford University Press.

Krysan, Maria and Kyle Crowder. 2017. *Cycle of Segregation: Social Processes and Residential Stratification*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Lee, Erika. 2015. *The Making of Asian America: A History*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Lee, Erika. 2019. *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States*. Basic Books.

Lung-Amam, Willow S. 2017. *Trespassers?: Asian Americans And The Battle For Suburbia*. University of California Press.

Marchiel, Rebecca K. 2020. *After Redlining: The Urban Reinvestment Movement in the Era of Financial Deregulation*. The University of Chicago Press.

Michney, Todd M. 2021. "[How the City Survey's Redlining Maps Were Made: A Closer Look at HOLC's Mortgage Rehabilitation Division](#)." *Journal of Planning History*.

Perry, Andre, Jonathan Rothwell, and David Harshbarger. 2018. "[The Devaluation of Assets In Black Neighborhoods: The Case of Residential Property](#)." *Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program*.

Rice, Roger L. 1968. "[Residential Segregation by Law, 1910-1917](#)." *The Journal of Southern History*. 34(2): 179-199.

Stuart, Guy. 2003. *Discriminating Risk: The US Mortgage Lending Industry in the Twentieth Century*. Cornell University Press.

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. 2019. *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership*. University of North Carolina Press.

Winling, LaDale C. and Todd M. Michney. 2021. "[The Roots of Redlining: Academic, Governmental, and Professional Networks in the Making of the New Deal Lending Regime](#)." *Journal of American History*. 108(1): 42-69.

Zhou, Min and Jennifer Lee. 2015. *The Asian American Achievement Paradox*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Datasets

[American Community Survey](#). 2010. 2006-2010 5-year estimates.

[American Community Survey](#). 2015. 2011-2015 5-year estimates.

[American Community Survey](#). 2020. 2016-2020 5-year estimates.

[National Neighborhood Data Archive](#). 2021

[National Establishment Time Series Data](#). 2017.

[Trust for Public Land ParkServe Database](#). 2018.

Governmental and Industry-Related Resources

Appraisal Institute. 2013. *The Appraisal of Real Estate*. 14th Edition. The Appraisal Institute.

Biden-Harris Platform. "[The Biden Plan for Investing in Our Communities through Housing](#)."

Federal Housing Finance Agency. "[FHFA Uniform Appraisal Dataset Aggregate Statistics](#)."

Federal Housing Finance Agency. 2021. "[Reducing Valuation Bias by Addressing Appraiser and Property Valuation Commentary](#)."

Freddie Mac. 2021. "[Racial and Ethnic Valuation Gaps in Home Purchase Appraisals](#)."

Freddie Mac. 2022. [Uniform Residential Appraisal Report](#) (Desktop).

Interagency Task force on Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity. 2022. [“Action Plan to Advance Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity.”](#)

The White House. 2022. [“Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Releases Action Plan to Address Racial and Ethnic Bias in Home Valuations.”](#)

U.S. House Committee on Financial Services. 2019. [“What’s Your Home Worth? A Review of the Appraisal Industry.”](#)

Moore, Natalie. 2021. [“Racial Gap in Appraisals Devalues Homes Owned by People of Color.”](#) Marketplace, June 8.

Passy, Jacob. 2020. [“Joe Biden wants tougher standards for real-estate appraisers to help black and Latinx homeowners.”](#) MarketWatch.

Vogell, Heather. 2022. [“When Private Equity Becomes Your Landlord.”](#) ProPublica.

Journalism and Essays

Kamin, Debra. 2020. [“Black Homeowners Face Discrimination in Appraisals.”](#) New York Times. x

Kamin, Debra. 2022. [“Home Appraised with a Black Owner: \\$472,000. With a White Owner: \\$750,000.”](#) New York Times.

Korver-Glenn, Elizabeth. 2021. [“How a Hot Housing Market Exacerbates Inequality.”](#) Bloomberg CityLab.

Mock, Brentin. 2020. [“A Neighborhood’s Race Affects Home Values More Now Than in 1980.”](#) Bloomberg CityLab, September 21.

Mock, Brentin. 2021. [“Freddie Mac Finds ‘Pervasive’ Bias in Home Appraisal Industry.”](#) Bloomberg CityLab, September 28.

Mock, Brentin. 2022. [“How an Art Exhibit Led to a Housing Discrimination Complaint.”](#) Bloomberg CityLab, June 9.

ENDNOTES

1. See Kamin, Debra. 2020. "[Black Homeowners Face Discrimination in Appraisals](#)." *New York Times*.

Kamin, Debra. 2022. "[Home Appraised with a Black Owner: \\$472,000. With a White Owner: \\$750,000](#)." *New York Times*.

2. Howell, Junia, and Elizabeth Korver-Glenn. 2018. "[Neighborhoods, Race, and the Twenty-First-Century Housing Appraisal Industry](#)." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 4(4):473–90

Perry, Andre, Jonathan Rothwell, and David Harshbarger. 2018. [The Devaluation of Assets in Black Neighborhoods: The Case of Residential Property](#). Brookings Institution.

Howell, Junia, and Elizabeth Korver-Glenn. 2021. "[The Increasing Effect of Neighborhood Racial Composition on Housing Values, 1980–2015](#)." *Social Problems* 68(4):1051–71.

3. Without appraisal data, researchers have used proxies that correlate with appraised values such as tax-appraised values, U.S. Census self-reported home values, and Zillow Zestimates.

4. Korver-Glenn, Elizabeth. 2021. "[How a Hot Housing Market Exacerbates Inequality](#)." *Bloomberg CityLab*.

Hermann, Alexander, and Thomas Shay Hill. 2021. [Home Prices Rose Fastest in Communities of Color During the Pandemic](#). Joint Center for Housing Studies. This study used Zillow home value data.

5. Some exceptions exist. For instance, home buyers with very large down payments can sometimes by-pass or waive appraisals.

6. Hoyt, Homer. 1933. *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago: The Relationship of the Growth of Chicago to the Rise of Its Land Values, 1830–1933*. The University of Chicago Press.

Banner, Stuart. 2005. *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier*. Belknap Press.

7. Banner, 2005.

8. Winling, LaDale C. and Todd M. Michney. 2021. "[The Roots of Redlining: Academic, Governmental, and Professional Networks in the Making of the New Deal Lending Regime](#)." *Journal of American History*. 108(1): 42–69.

9. Winling and Michney, 2021.

10. Marchiel, Rebecca K. 2020. *After Redlining: The Urban Reinvestment Movement in the Era of Financial Deregulation*. The University of Chicago Press.

Michney, Todd M. 2021. "How the City Survey's Redlining Maps Were Made: A Closer Look at HOLC's Mortgagee Rehabilitation Division." *Journal of Planning History*.

Winling and Michney, 2021.

11. Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. 2019. *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership*. University of North Carolina Press.

Marchiel, 2020.

12. [Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2018](#).

Korver-Glenn, Elizabeth. 2021. *Race Brokers: Housing Markets and Segregation in 21st Century Urban America*. Oxford University Press.

Federal Housing Finance Agency. 2021. [“Reducing Valuation Bias by Addressing Appraiser and Property Valuation Commentary.”](#)

13. The Uniform Residential Appraisal Report explicitly states, [“Race and the Neighborhood Racial Composition Are Not Appraisal Factors.”](#) Uniform Residential Appraisal Report (Desktop) (Freddie Mac Form 70D, Fannie Mae Form 1004).

14. Appraisal Institute. 2013. *The Appraisal of Real Estate*. 14th Edition. The Appraisal Institute.

15. These definitions follow common practice within the industry and research. See [Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2021](#).

16. To be included in the sample, metropolitan areas needed to meet these conditions for every year between 2013 and 2021.

17. For more information on the variable construction, see the [data dictionary](#).

18. Since the results were comparable across the mean and median models, we elected to present the mean appraisal values to mirror previous research on racial inequality in appraisals.

19. The FHFA released the UAD data with 2020 census tract boundaries. To link

these boundaries to the 2006-2010 and 2011-2015 ACS census tracts, we used the [crosswalk file provided by the census](#).

20. Models for research questions 1-4 define neighborhood racial composition with a continuous variable denoting the proportion of the neighborhood that is non-Hispanic White. For research question 5, metropolitan areas have different specifications. If the metropolitan area has at least 50,000 people in a given racial group, that specific racial group's proportion in each census tract is used in the models. All racial groups that do not have at least 50,000 people in a given metropolitan area are combined into one category that represents all other communities of color within the metropolitan area. The results from this coefficient are not used in the national averages but are estimated to avoid grouping these residents with the White population.

21. Complying with the terminology recommendations of the National Congress of American Indians, we use American Indian/Alaska Native to refer to communities whose ancestors lived in the Americas before European settler colonizers invaded the land.

22. We subdivide the culturally and sociohistorically diverse panethnic category, Asian, into three subgroups to better describe their residential and socioeconomic distribution in the United States.

23. We conducted a linear regression for each census tract individually to estimate the annual rate of change in the number of establishments. We used the coefficient from this model to impute the

number of establishments in each census tract from 2018 to 2021.

24. This data was collected in 2018. However, given park square footage rarely changes annually, we used a constant value for all years.

25. In order of most to least expensive, these metropolitan areas are as follows: San Jose, San Francisco, Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Diego, Oxnard-Ventura, Seattle, Bridgeport-Norwalk, Boston, and New York.

26. In order of most to least expensive, these metropolitan areas are as follows: Cleveland, Rochester, Akron, McAllen, Lansing, Wichita, Syracuse, Dayton, Scranton, El Paso, Toledo, and Youngstown.

27. All national averages are weighted by the metropolitan total population to reflect the lived experience of the average U.S. resident. For interested readers, the online supplemental materials provide specific trends for each metropolitan area.

28. [Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2021.](#)

29. See, for instance: Smith, Geoff, Sarah Duda, Jessie Wang, John Walsh, Gideon Berger, and Marcela Montes. 2021. "[Chicago Housing Overview: Preserving Affordability and Expanding Accessibility](#)." Institute for Housing Studies (DePaul University) and Urban Institute.

30. Individual reports for each of the 105 metropolitan areas in our analyses are available at [eruka.org](#).

31. Black neighborhoods refer to census tracts that are 100 percent Black. Similarly, Latinx neighborhoods are those that are 100 percent Latinx, and so on.

32. Individual reports for each of the 105 metropolitan areas in our analyses are available at [eruka.org](#).

33. Lee, Erika. 2015. *The Making of Asian America: A History*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Lee, Erika. 2019. *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States*. Basic Books.

Lung-Amam, Willow S. 2017. *Trespassers?: Asian Americans And The Battle For Suburbia*. University of California Press.

Zhou, Min and Jennifer Lee. 2015. *The Asian American Achievement Paradox*. Russell Sage Foundation.

34. [Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2018.](#)

[Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2021.](#)

35. Korver-Glenn, 2021.

36. Korver-Glenn, 2021.

37. Graetz, Nick and Michael H. Esposito. *Forthcoming*. "Historical Redlining and Contemporary Racial Disparities in Neighborhood Life Expectancy." *Social Forces*.

Krysan, Maria, and Kyle Crowder. 2017. *Cycle of Segregation: Social Processes and Residential Stratification*. Russell Sage Foundation.

38. [Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2018.](#)

[Perry et al., 2018.](#)

39. U.S. House Committee on Financial Services. 2019. "[What's Your Home Worth? A Review of the Appraisal Industry.](#)"

40. [Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2018.](#)

41. Passy, Jacob. 2020. "[Joe Biden Wants Tougher Standards For Real-Estate Appraisers To Help Black And Latinx Homeowners.](#)" *MarketWatch*.

See also the Biden-Harris Platform's "[The Biden Plan for Investing in Our Communities through Housing](#)", which references Perry et al.'s (2018) report.

42. The White House. 2022. "[Fact Sheet: Biden-Harris Administration Releases Action Plan to Address Racial and Ethnic Bias in Home Valuations.](#)"

43. See, for example, Freddie Mac. 2021. "[Racial and Ethnic Valuation Gaps in Home Purchase Appraisals.](#)"

44. Interagency Task force on Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity. 2022. "[Action Plan to Advance Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity.](#)"



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank those who have tirelessly worked for decades to highlight the racist practices within the U.S. housing market, including those who have shared their personal and painful discrimination experiences. Thanks also is due to the journalists, scholars, and elected officials—especially U.S. Congressman Al Green and U.S. Congresswoman Maxine Waters—who have elevated these experiences and called for change.

We would also like to thank the members of the Interagency Task Force on Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity (PAVE), especially Secretary Marcia Fudge, Susan Rice, and Melody Taylor, for their leadership and advocacy that led to the public release of the Uniform Appraisal Data.

A special thanks goes to all who dropped other things in their schedules to help us complete this report on extremely short notice. We particularly appreciate those who willingly completed mindless cutting, pasting, and formatting to complete the 105 supplemental metropolitan area reports. You are deeply appreciated, we owe you one!

We are also grateful for the Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy at Washington University in St. Louis, which supported the production of this report as part of its working paper series.

Finally, thanks to our families and friends who graciously pick up the personal and emotional slack when we decide a report on new federal data has to be completed in under a week.

IMAGE AND DESIGN CREDITS

Photos via Canva.

Icons, graphics, and page layouts were done by [Nora Howell](#).

SUGGESTED CITATION

Howell, Junia and Elizabeth Korver-Glenn. 2022. *Appraised: The Persistent Evaluation of White Neighborhoods as More Valuable Than Communities of Color*. DOI:

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Junia Howell, Ph.D. (*she/her*), is an urban sociologist and race scholar who uses quantitative and qualitative tools to identify and dismantle the specific policies, processes, and practices that uphold White supremacy. Currently, her work focuses on the [housing industry](#) and [disaster relief](#). Dr. Howell's research has won multiple national awards, been featured in hundreds of news articles, and been used as the bases for local and federal legislation. Dr. Howell received her PhD from Rice University. She currently holds a faculty position at the University of Illinois-Chicago and is the founder and co-director of eruka. Learn more at [Dr. Howell's website](#).

Elizabeth Korver-Glenn, Ph.D. (*she/her*), is assistant professor of sociology at Washington University in St. Louis. Her national award-winning research, which has been widely cited in academic, legislative, regulatory, legal, news media, and advocacy spaces, focuses on the sources of racial, gender, and class inequality in and across housing markets and urban built environments. Alongside her academic work, Dr. Korver-Glenn regularly presents her research to and consults governmental, corporate, non-profit, and other community stakeholders. Her recent book, [Race Brokers: Housing Markets and Segregation in 21st Century Urban America](#) (2021, Oxford University Press), examines how and why contemporary real estate industries and professionals infuse racism in the housing exchange process. You can find out more about Dr. Korver-Glenn's research at [her website](#).

ABOUT ERUKA

eruka is a non-profit housing and finance organization that seeks to cultivate equity across people and places by providing alternative financial services. eruka uses empirical research to innovate alternative methods for property appraisals, mortgage loans, and real estate transactions. These methods center the dignity of all humans and land. Learn more about eruka's vision at [their website](#).

ABOUT THE WEIDENBAUM CENTER ON THE ECONOMY, GOVERNMENT, AND PUBLIC POLICY

The Weidenbaum Center is a research institute at Washington University in St. Louis that supports social scientific research in the fields of public policy, economics, political science, and sociology. The Center addresses many of the pressing public policy issues facing America and the world today. To learn more about the center, visit [their website](#).



Weidenbaum Center on the Economy,
Government, and Public Policy

ARTS & SCIENCES AT WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY