

# Evidence from the Housing Structure

**“Can you eliminate colored people  
in the zoning plan?”**

Question asked at National Association of Real Estate Boards Annual Convention 1921

**“I wish we could, but every decision of the courts makes it extremely dangerous to suggest anything about race in a zoning ordinance. Certain kinds of zoning districts eliminates most of the colored people by setting requirements above what they can afford.”**

George B. Ford, leading zoning administrator in the U.S., founder of Technical Advisory Group  
Source: *Freedom to Discriminate*, Gene Slater, 2022

# Evidence from the Housing Structure (cont.)

24. The town of Lincoln, for example, began "warning out" black families 10 years after its incorporation as a town. See Town Records of Lincoln, Mass., 1757-1762.

Needham reversed its decision early in 1952, and the construction of the first industrial park by the firm of Cabot, Cabot, and Forbes began that March. Five years later, there were at least 99 new commercial or industrial plants, mainly grouped in seven locations along 128. Seventy-seven of these plants had come from Boston, with more than half of them from within a 2 1/2-mile radius of the State House. These plants represented a loss to the city of 3,701 jobs but a net gain to the suburbs of 18,000 jobs. Including jobs in new industries or branches, the total gain to the suburbs by September 1958 was estimated at 19,000 jobs. Between 1958 and 1967, the number of companies located on 128 rose to 729 and employed 66,041 workers.<sup>66</sup>

It should be noted that Route 128 was designed for space where land costs were low and where there would be little interference with established homesites. Between 1953 and 1961, however, certain industrial sites on the road had appreciated in value by 500 percent.<sup>68</sup> During the following decade, the cost of land in the more residential suburbs, such as Weston, had become so high that no new housing for the medium-price market could be built.

During the 1950's, the more affluent towns near the road responded to the possibility of immigration by enacting large-lot zoning ordinances. This had an additional effect on the already rising land values. Towns like Lincoln and Weston, threatened with a massive inrush for single-family housing on their graceful stretches of farmland, were among the first to protect themselves in this way. For other towns like Waltham, 128 answered the need for an improved tax base, and they set about zoning for industry; some towns, including Lexington, did both almost simultaneously.

Although communities accommodated the higher population densities, it became increasingly difficult to build new housing for the low- and moderate-income group without special

Source: 1975, *Boston's Road to Segregation*, Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Massachusetts Commission against Discrimination

## **Breakout Discussion:**

**Identify which concepts enlightened you and why.**

***(Racialization, racism policies and practices,  
structural advantage, bias)***



# Bias and Blind Spots

Making Racial Equity Standard Operating Procedure.



# Riddle me that...

A father and his son are in a horrible car crash. The father dies at the scene and the son, badly injured, is rushed to the hospital. In the operating room, the surgeon looks at the boy and says, "I can't operate on this boy. He is my son!" Explain how can this be?

# Racism and Sexism Structured Workplaces



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- RECEPTIONIST
- RESERVATIONIST
- TICKET AGENT

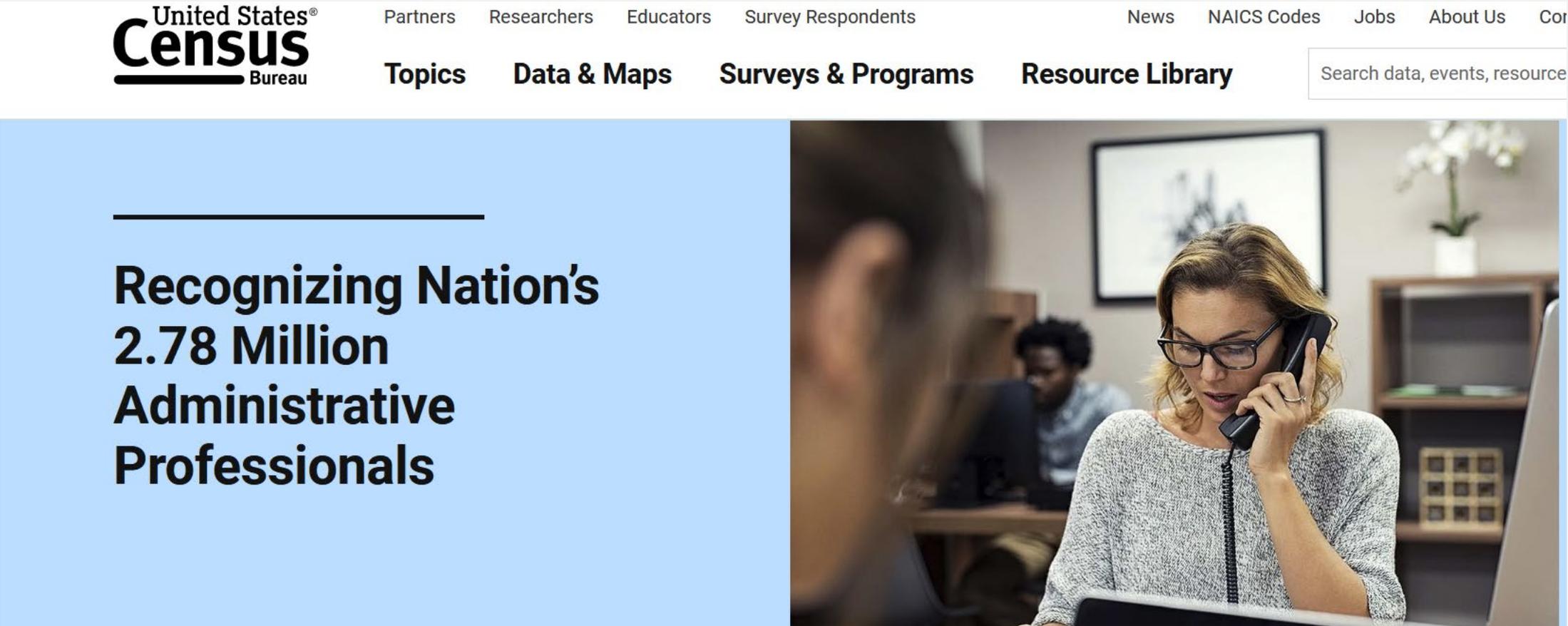
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TO GET OUT RIPRAP

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# Racism and Sexism Structured Workplaces, Biases Maintain the Structure



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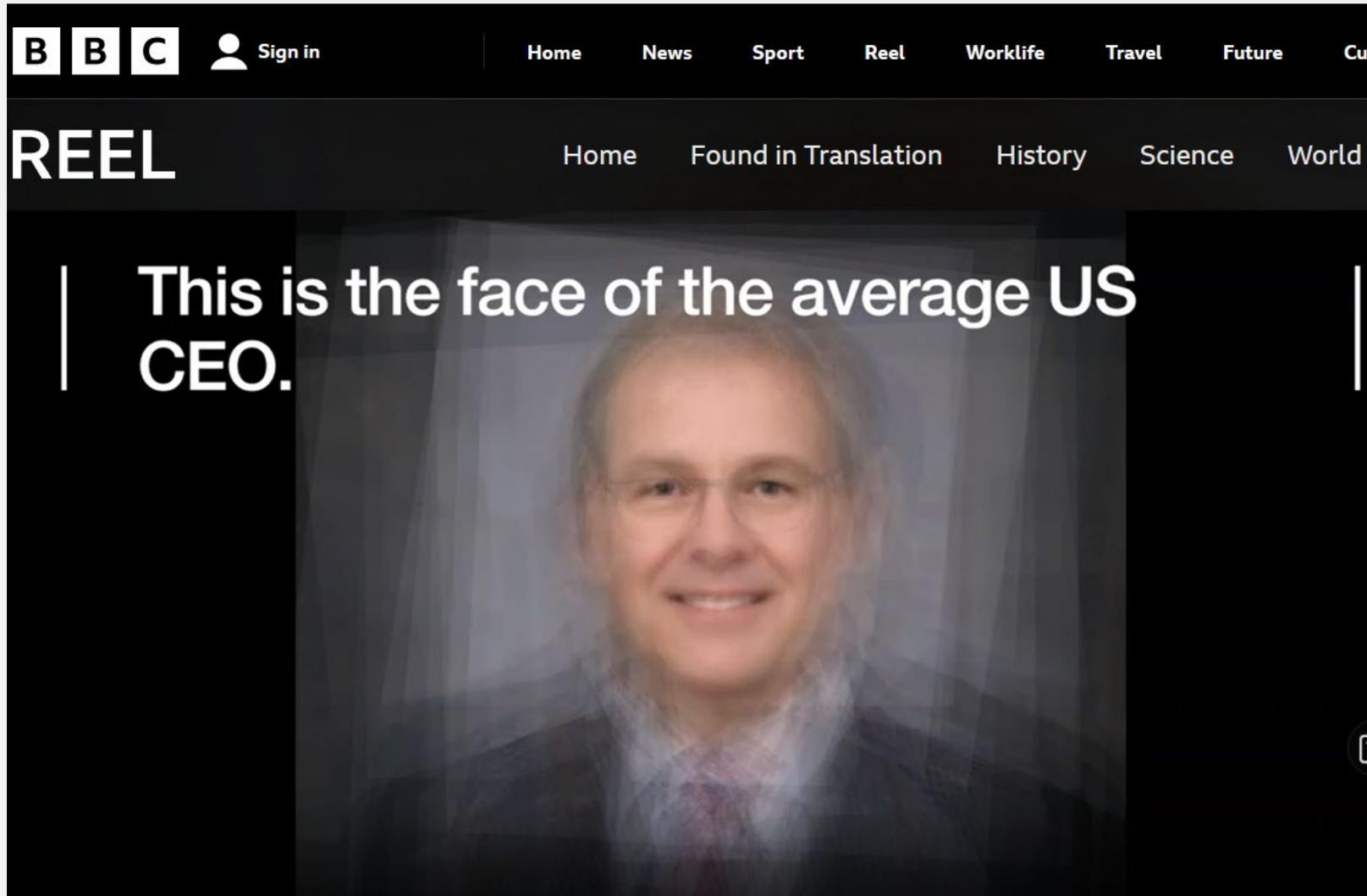
Search data, events, resource

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## Recognizing Nation's 2.78 Million Administrative Professionals



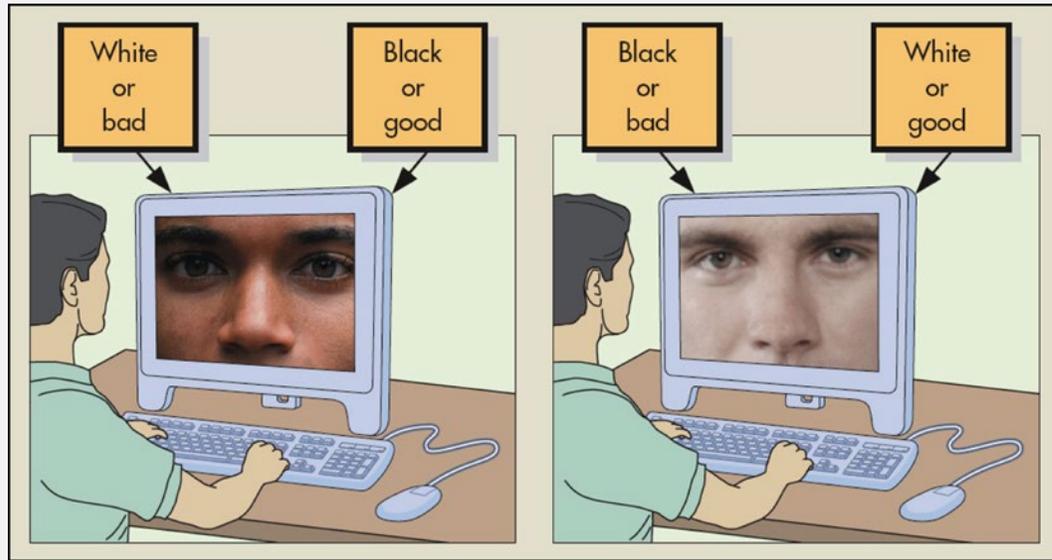
# Racism and Sexism Structured Workplaces, Biases Maintain the Structure



“Relative to their participation in the state’s labor market, White men are **overrepresented in executive jobs in every state**”

*Donald Tomaskovic-Devey & Eric Hoyt, University of Massachusetts*

# Understanding Racial Implicit (unconscious) Bias



Harvard Implicit Association Test, Blind Spot (Greenwald and Banaji)  
<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>

\*How American Biases are Changing over Time, Charlesworth, Banaji, 2019  
Harvard Business Review

- › Bias produces behavior contrary from conscious (stated) beliefs or values
- › 70% of Americans have implicit biases that **favor Whites** over Blacks  
(Some Asians, Hispanics, Blacks prefer Whites over their in-groups)
- › Racial biases most persistent over time
- › Preference does not mean hostility or hatred toward other groups, but involves discomfort, anxiety, or indifference
- › From 2007 to 2016\*
  - › anti-gay bias decreased fastest by 33%
  - › racial and skin tone biases decreased by 17% and 15% respectively
  - › Age (elderly) and Disability bias (decreased less than 5%)

# Origins of Human Biases



- › Our brains are automatic association machines
- › Familiarity, shared group identity (“in-groups”), survival value
- › Newborns, familiarity is critical, similar to ducklings and imprinting
  - › Ethiopian and Israeli babies\*

Source: \*Mahzarin Banaji, *The Development of Social Group Cognition in Infancy and Childhood*  
Face race processing and racial bias in early development: *A perceptual-social linkage* 2017, Kang Lee, Paul C. Quinn

# Origins of Human Biases (cont.)



- › **Biases:** automatic mental associations that inform conscious thoughts, and shapes decision-making and social interactions with people.
  - › Racism created structural advantage and disadvantage for certain groups, and shaped how groups are perceived throughout society. These perceptions become our mental associations.
- › Positive attributes or negative attributes
- › Conscious (explicit) or unconscious (implicit)
- › Pervasive (e.g. race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, physical ability)
- › Persistent, hard to change individually without societal structural change

# How our Minds Work



**AP** Associated Press AP - Tue Aug 30, 11:31 AM ET

A young man walks through chest deep flood water after **looting** a grocery store in New Orleans on Tuesday, Aug. 30, 2005. Flood waters continue to rise in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina did extensive damage when it

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# How our Minds Work (cont.)



AFP/Getty Images - Tue Aug 30, 3:47 AM ET

Two residents waded through chest-deep water after **finding** bread and soda from a local grocery store after Hurricane Katrina came through the area in New Orleans, Louisiana. (AFP/Getty Images/Chris Graythen)

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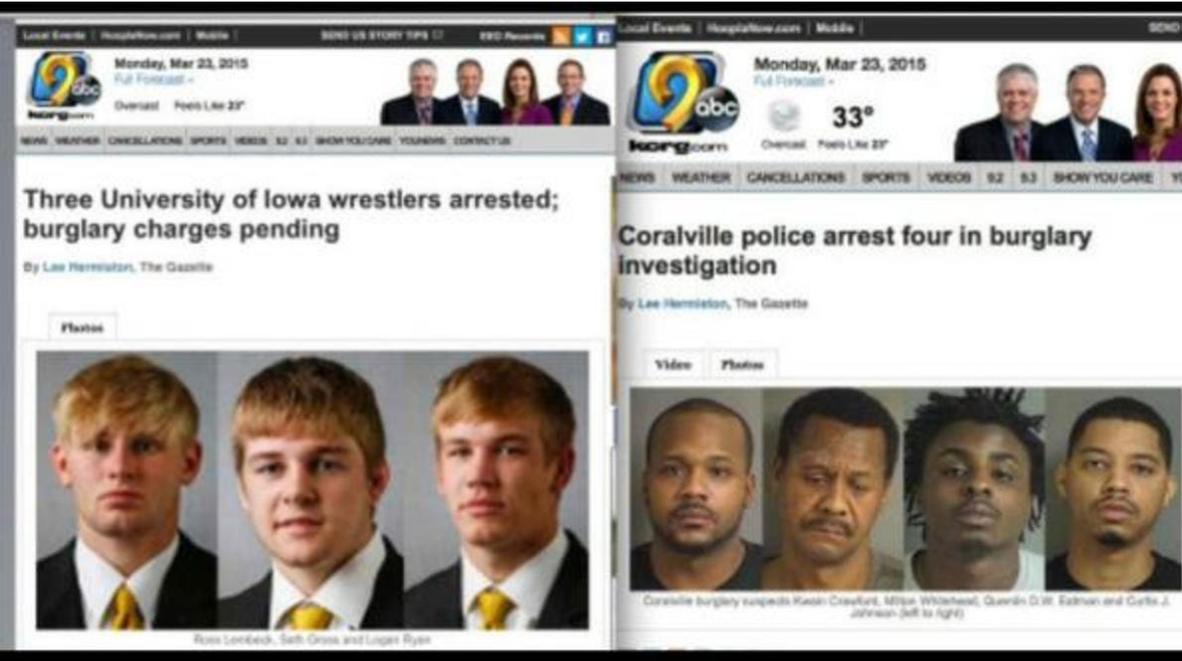
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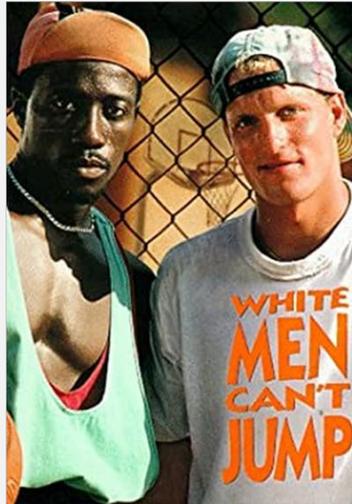
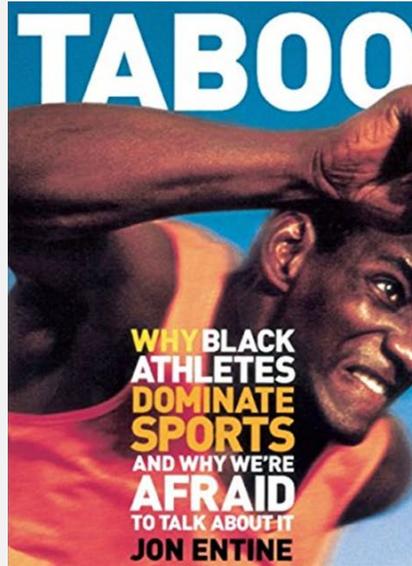
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# Origins of Human Biases (cont.)



- › **Structural:** where we live and who are our neighbors, where we attend school, where we work, who we work and socialize with
- › **Cultural:** internet, social media, television, music, movies, sports, books, magazines, statues, names of schools, streets, highways and professional buildings
- › **Personal:** parents, family members, friends

# Origins of Human Biases (cont.)



- › **Positive biases:** desirable qualities assigned to categories of people
- › **Negative biases:** undesirable qualities assigned to categories of people
- › All Asians are? Black men are great at? White men can't? Women are just too? Old people are too? People with disabilities are?

# Impacts of Biases: Who are the Most Beautiful People?

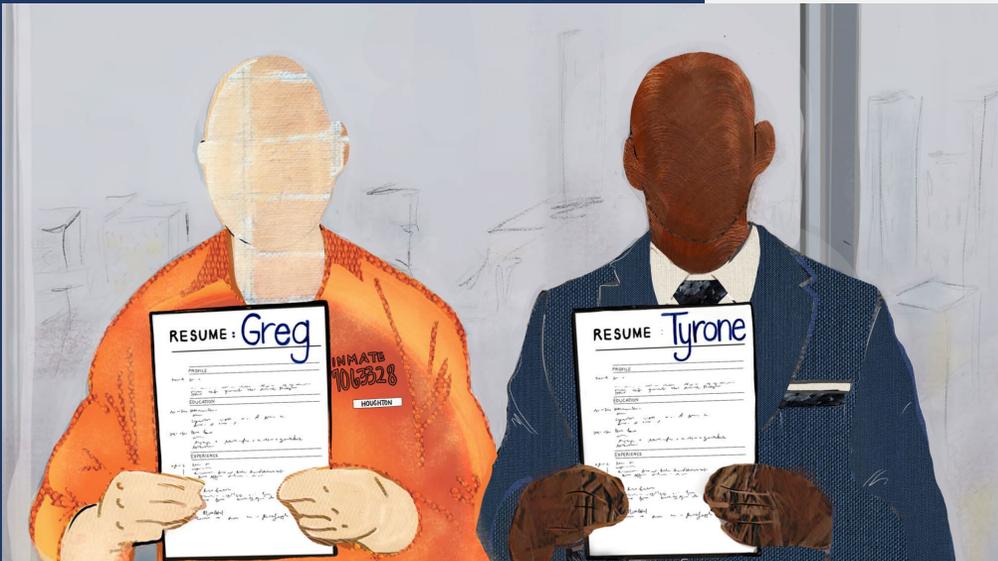


- › 1990: Whites 76% of the list, non-Whites 24%
- › 2017: Non-whites increased to 40% of the list, Whites 60%
- › Bias impact: *People* largest audience of any U.S. magazine, readership of 43.6 million adults\*

Source: *Most Beautiful People Evolving Standards of Beauty*, Mayra B. C. Maymone, MD, JAMA Dermatology 2017

# IMPACTS OF BIASES: Are Emily and Greg more Employable than Lakisha and Tyrone?

- › Imagine two resumes exact same qualifications, including education and experience
- › Only difference candidate names
- › In Boston and Chicago, 5,000 job advertisements, White sounding names received 50 percent more callbacks for interviews than Black sounding names
- › In another study, employers more likely to call back Whites with a criminal record (17% were offered an interview) than Blacks without criminal record (14%)

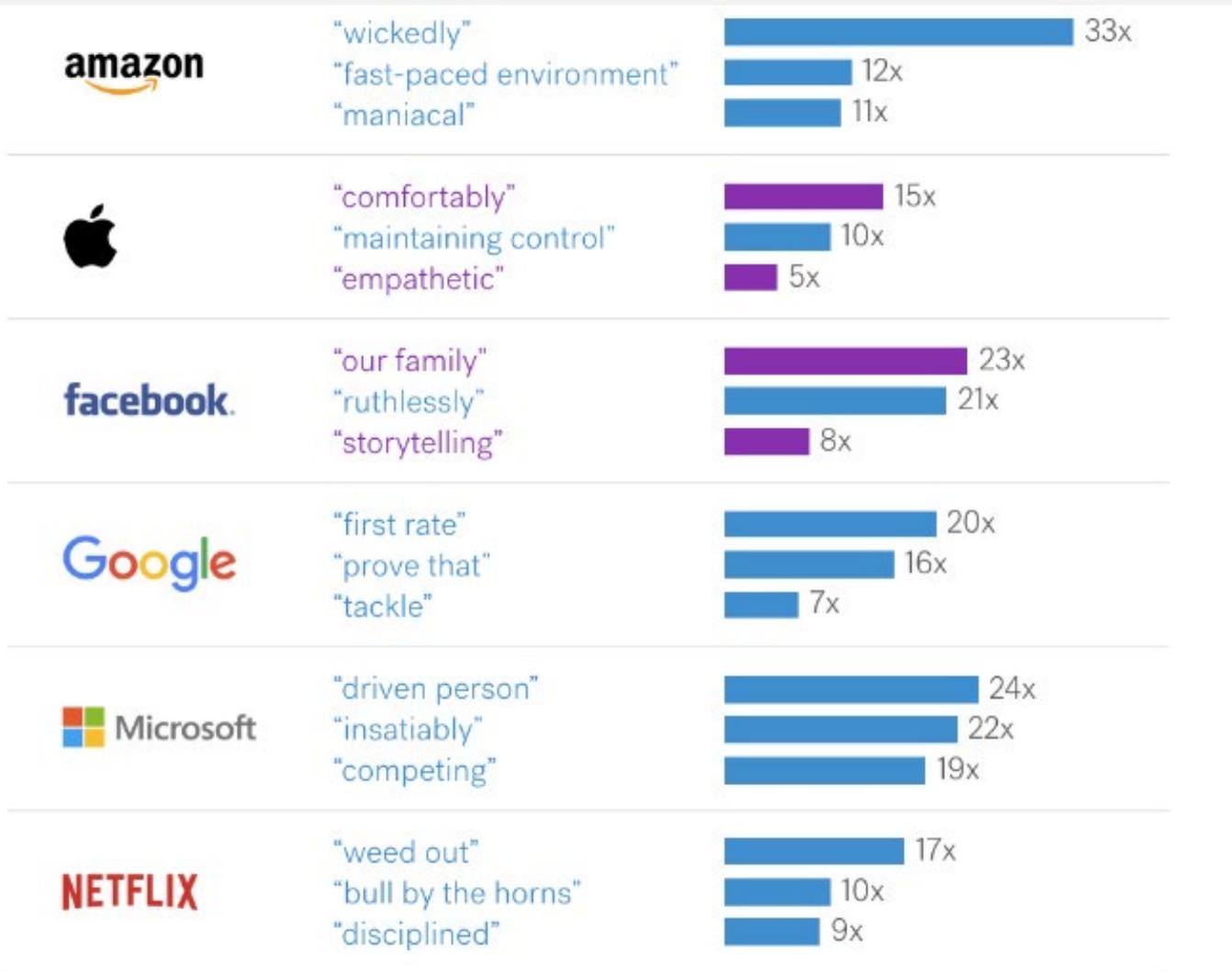


Source: Marianne Bertrand Distinguished Service Professor of Economics at Chicago Booth "Field Experiments on Discrimination." Devah Pager, Mark of a Criminal Record

# Impacts of Biases: Normative Language Matters

Textio analyzed the language of 25,060 job descriptions from 10 top tech companies, including Amazon, Apple, Google and Facebook.

They looked for which words appeared most frequently in each company's descriptions.



■ Phrase statistically results in a higher proportion of applications from **men**

■ Phrase statistically results in a higher proportion of applications from **women**

# Biases in Action

## BIAS FOR INGROUP (favoritism)

Positive beliefs for ingroup  
Seeks out ingroup  
Provides insider information  
Uses influence  
Offers direct opportunity



High quality opportunities to perform  
Highly favorable performance ratings  
Provided sponsors and visibility  
High expectations, assumed competence  
Receives benefit of doubt



In-group  
Maintains overrepresentation in "best jobs" without harming outgroup  
Biases for ingroup reinforced

*Help or favor* (direct or indirect)  
unintentional disparities  
overt, covert, normalized

## BIAS APATHY (discrimination)

Unconcerned or indifferent toward outgroups  
Does not provide similar or equal help to outgroup members

Lower quality opportunities to perform  
Less favorable performance ratings  
Provided mentors not sponsors  
Lower expectations, surprised by competence and high performance

Outgroup  
Maintains overrepresentation in "worst jobs," and unemployment, biases reinforced

*Absence of Help or favor*  
maintains disparities  
overt and covert, normalized

## BIAS AGAINST (discrimination)

Negative beliefs against outgroups  
Avoids outgroups  
Uses influence to exclude  
Social interaction insults and incivility

Denied job interview or offer  
Excluded from opportunities to perform  
Unfavorable performance ratings  
Assumed inferiority, no concern, or empathy  
Harsher punishment for violations

Outgroup  
Maintains overrepresentation in "worst jobs," and unemployment, biases reinforced

*Harm* (direct or indirect)  
intentional or unintentional disparities  
covert and overt actions

## **Breakout Discussion:**

**Which type of bias do you think occurs more in our society?  
(bias against, bias apathy, bias for ingroup)**

**In-group favoritism occurs more than out-group hostility.  
When groups are giving resources they are more motivated  
to give more resources to their own in-group than by  
withholding or denying resources to out-group members.**

Source: Lowell Gaertner and Charles Insko, Texas A&M and UNC Chapel Hill, *On the measurement of social orientations in the minimal group paradigm: norms as moderators of the expression of intergroup bias, 2001*

(assist, help, protect)

WARMTH

HIGH



**PITY=APATHY AND BIAS**

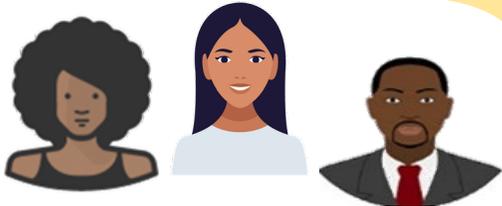
**ADMIRE=BIAS FOR**



(exclude, ignore)

(cooperate, associate)

LOW



**DISDAIN=BIAS AGAINST**



**ENVY=APATHY**

LOW

(attack, harass)

HIGH

**COMPETENCE**

\*SCM: social structure predicts stereotypes, which in turn predict Emotions, which may predict behavior competing for resources

Source: DiTomaso, American Non-Dilemma, Susan Fiske, \*A Model of Stereotype Content, 2009

# Biases and Segregation

TABLE 2	Whites living in 90%+ white tracts		Extreme Affluent in very high income tracts	
	Number	Pct	Number	Pct
Atlanta	234,952	8.7	48,177	46.7
Baltimore	402,080	24.8	37,088	48.7
<b>Boston</b>	<b>1,483,586</b>	<b>43.5</b>	<b>71,452</b>	<b>44.2</b>
Chicago	805,054	15.5	81,669	38.2
Detroit	1,227,760	42.1	30,933	48.0
Houston	32,352	1.4	68,006	51.9
Los Angeles	47,304	1.2	109,385	35.6
Miami	167,338	8.6	25,312	26.4
Minneapolis	978,526	37.8	30,491	40.0
Philadelphia	1,151,049	29.7	67,332	46.4
Phoenix	285,152	11.6	27,126	43.3
St. Louis	1,148,885	54.4	23,166	52.0
San Francisco	18,286	1.0	92,003	46.4
Seattle	201,790	8.6	33,166	36.7
Washington DC	176,791	6.5	166,294	60.8
<b>Sample average</b>	<b>557,394</b>	<b>19.8</b>	<b>60,773</b>	<b>44.4</b>

RCAA: census tract 90% or greater White and median household income exceeding four times the cost-of-living adjusted poverty level for MSA (metropolitan statistical area).

Boston : 43.5 percent of Whites live in census tracts 90% or more White and median household income four times cost-adjusted poverty level for MSA. 77 RCAAs most nationwide

Boston= Boston MSA Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH; Essex County, Middlesex County, Norfolk County, Plymouth County, Rockingham County, Strafford County, Suffolk County

Extreme Affluent = income > \$200,000  
Source: ACS

Edward Goetz, University of Minnesota, *Racially Concentrated Areas of Affluence: A Preliminary Investigation 2017*

## **Open Discussion:**

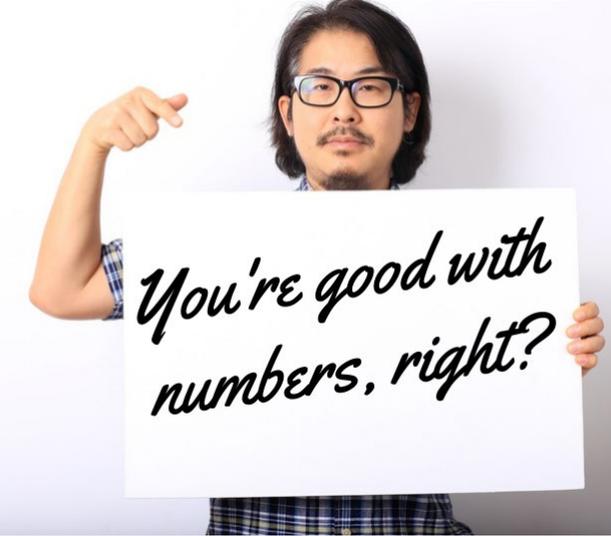
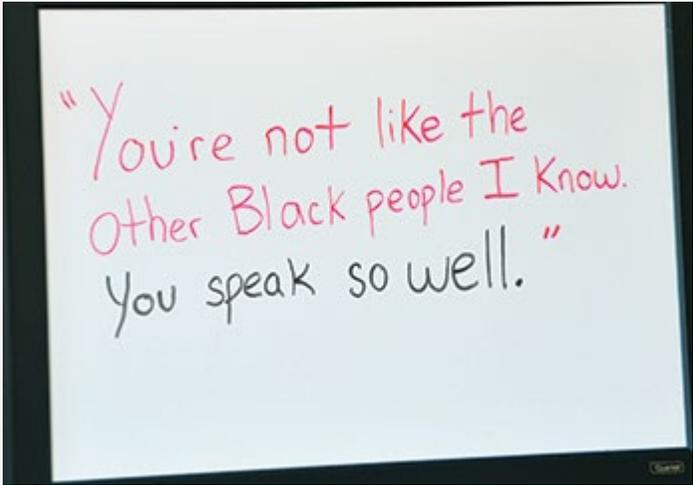
**If racial groups are highly segregated where they live, and biases are shaped by social contact and familiarity, what could be the consequences of residential racial segregation?**

# **Biases can manifest into many forms**

# Microaggressions

❖ verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, intentional or unintentional, that communicate who belongs and who is normal.

# Understanding Micro-aggressions



# When and How to Respond to Microaggressions



- › **Letting it go.** Avoid addressing, most common response.
- › **Immediately respond.** Address the act in the moment and explain its impact.
- › **Respond later.** Address after a period of time has passed.

# Pros and Cons of Responses

- ❖ **Letting it go:** avoids confrontation, reinforces behavior may continue, impacts work environment
- ❖ **Immediately respond:** emotions may create escalation, minimizes debate on what actually happened, fresh on mind
- ❖ **Respond later:** defuse emotions, focus on facts, mentally and emotionally prepare, what actually happened may be debated or forgotten

# Addressing Micro-aggressions: Delivering Feedback



- › Explore Intent:
  - › Help me understand your intent when you...
  - › What did you want to communicate with your comment?
  - › What was your intended outcome?
  - › Explain how you interpreted it and why. If they respond they “didn’t mean it like that,” acknowledge and appreciate their willingness to clarify intent, and ensure they understand your willingness to clarify impact.
- › Is what I am about to say or do helpful or hurtful?
- › Am I focused on facts or feelings?
- › Am I focused on the problem or the person?

# Addressing Micro-aggressions: Receiving Feedback (cont.)



- › Assume positive intent (*this is critical*)
- › Ask clarifying questions (*focus on problem not person*)
- › Respond don't react
- › Acknowledge the impact of your actions
  - › Don't judge them (they're too sensitive etc.)
- › Be accountable, have empathy, learn

# Actions for Managing Biases

## Individual:

- Recognize and reflect
- Where do my personal biases come from?
- Why do I believe this about categories of people? Is this valid or logical?
- Treat people as ***unique individuals*** not as ***categories***
- Focus on facts not feelings

## Organizational:

- **Minimize decision maker discretion in allocating advantages and disadvantages**
- Increase accountability and transparency for selection or resource allocation decisions
- Facilitate intergroup contact, be intentional, ***exposure and contact with different people***, learn, explore don't judge

## **Post-training homework**

**Identify which concepts enlightened you and why.**

**Continue to discuss and share as a team.**

Harvard Implicit Association Test, <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html>